

THE MILITANT

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

Send back the shah!

By Fred Feldman

Escalating the drive toward war against Iran, President Carter granted the shah sanctuary at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas.

This followed the Mexican government's refusal November 29 to readmit the deposed tyrant, whose proven record of murder, torture, and theft have made him hated by working people around the world.

The granting of sanctuary is a step toward giving this criminal permanent asylum in the United States.

While pretending to seek the release of the hostages, Carter keeps the crisis boiling by refusing to return the ex-shah to Iran for trial. That simple act would produce instant freedom for the fifty Americans in the embassy.

Instead, administration officials are fabricating war propaganda about the treatment of the hostages. On December 4 the administration charged—without presenting a shred of evidence—that hostages “have been threatened with execution if they fail to cooperate.”

Students occupying the embassy angrily denied the slander.

Their assertion that the hostages are well treated is supported by everyone who has visited the embassy as well as by the public statements of the hostages who were released.

Administration officials hinted that released hostages were the sources of Carter's claim. But not a single freed hostage was quoted to support it.

To make sure that no former hostage contradicts the accusation, the Carter administration has pressured them to keep silent. They were subjected to intensive “decompression” at army bases in West Germany in an effort to get them to retract calls for the return of the ex-shah to Iran.

Carter's recent actions—including a steady drum-fire of threats that Iran will be attacked *even if the*



Militant/Rita Lee

SEATTLE—Hundreds demonstrate at University of Washington November 28. Action was part of growing wave of protests against U.S. war threats. See pages 6-13.

hostages are released—are a crude effort to provoke harm to the embassy personnel. Carter thinks the death of hostages would win popular support for war moves against the Iranian people.

Twenty-one U.S. warships, including two aircraft carriers, have been sent to the Arabian Sea in preparation for an attack on Iran. Two more aircraft carriers attached to the U.S. Sixth Fleet have been ordered to stand ready in the Mediterranean.

But Carter's push toward war is making little headway among American working people. Government-inspired rightist demonstrations that monopolized the headlines at the start of the crisis have been increasingly overshadowed by antiwar rallies, teach-ins, and polls showing overwhelming opposition to U.S. military action.

More and more Americans recognize that the Iranians have a point in calling for extradition of a man whose reign brought suffering, poverty, and death to so many.

Opposition to Carter's support of the shah is so widespread that it breached the solid front that Democratic and Republican politicians tried to

present in favor of the war drive.

In a December 2 campaign speech in Los Angeles, Sen. Edward Kennedy described the shah's reign as “one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind—in the form of terrorism and the basic and fundamental violations of human rights, in the most cruel circumstances, to his own people.”

“How do we justify,” he continued, “. . . accepting that individual because he would like to come here and stay here with his umpteen billions of dollars that he's stolen from Iran.” In an appeal particularly directed at the Chicano community Kennedy contrasted the red carpet treatment given the shah with the harassment meted out to Mexicans who seek work in this country.

Kennedy's statements provoked outraged howls by politicians and the media. He responded by backpedaling slightly, stressing his support to Carter's phony efforts to win release of the hostages. But he repeated his opposition to giving the ex-shah asylum in the U.S.

Some of Kennedy's critics pointed out his past

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Nicaragua launches literacy campaign

HEAR FSLN LEADER: New York, Dec. 7,
other cities on following days
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U.S. out of Puerto Rico!

Responsibility for the deaths of two navy personnel in Puerto Rico December 3 falls squarely on the U.S. government's brutal colonial repression of the island.

The ambush of the navy bus by a clandestine group was an expression of the rage created among the Puerto Rican people by eighty years of U.S. occupation of their country and disregard for their rights.

The group that carried out the attack declared that it was in response to three killings of Puerto Rican activists at Washington's hands.

One was Angel Rodriguez Cristóbal, who was found hanged in a Tallahassee, Florida, prison last month. Authorities said it was "suicide," but could not explain a gash on his forehead or a bruise on his temple.

Rodriguez Cristóbal was among a group of demonstrators jailed for protesting U.S. Navy use of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques as a shelling ground.

The other two died in July 1978 when Puerto Rican police ambushed three people. As the December 4 *Newark Star Ledger* blandly recalled, "Two of the three were killed, and the third turned out to be a police undercover agent who led them into the trap."

Each of these deaths clearly warrants a full-scale federal investigation. Yet none have been forthcoming.

Vieques has come to be a major symbol of U.S. colonial rule over Puerto Rico.

Claiming to own 80 percent of Vieques, the navy is continuing to bomb and shell the island for "practice" despite the mounting protest of the Puerto Rican people.

The lives of the people of Vieques have been totally disrupted and the livelihood of Vieques fishermen impaired.

Despite the broad protests, the navy remains adamant. In response to the death of the two young navy people, Rear Admiral Arthur Knoizen declared the navy had no intention of giving up its firing range. "If they think they will drive us out of Vieques with this action," he belligerently asserted, "they had better think again."

What is at stake, clearly, is not the need for a firing range. The admiral's hard-nosed stand is a measure of U.S. response to mounting independence sentiment among Puerto Ricans. Washington is determined to resist the nationalist aspirations of the Puerto Rican people by any means necessary.

Because the United States rulers are so determined to hang on to their colony, it will take a massive movement of the Puerto Rican people to achieve independence.

It will not be done by underground grouplets engaging in such acts as the assault on the navy bus.

Such actions are counterproductive. They permit the U.S. rulers to shift responsibility for violence from themselves onto the Puerto Rican people, the better to justify new repression.

Already, it is reported, the Puerto Rican big-business news media are trying to whip up a campaign of hysteria against the entire independence movement.

There is a simple way to end violence in Puerto Rico. Washington should withdraw its 4,000 occupation troops and permit the Puerto Rican people to determine their own destiny.

Korea crackdown

The new regime in South Korea carried out a series of arrests at the end of November, jailing 189 people. These included student protesters and most of the best known figures in church and intellectual circles who have

criticized continued suppression of democratic rights. In addition, three dissident journalists and an undisclosed number of other critics had been arrested earlier, under strict martial law regulations that were continued in force after dictator Park Chung Hee was slain on October 26 by his own secret police chief.

The new regime, headed by acting president Choi Kyu Hah and martial law commander Chung Seung Hwa—the top government and army officials under Park—reneged on its earlier promise to release political prisoners jailed by Park and announced that martial law will continue for an indefinite period.

The new Korean strongmen also announced that elections would be put off for a year. In the meantime a "caretaker" regime will be selected by the 2,561-person electoral college, a rubber-stamp body set up by dictator Park.

The course that the new Korean regime has charted is clear. As the arrested Korean protesters said in their statement, the regime has launched "a clear challenge to democracy and an attempt to extend dictatorial powers."

Washington bears full responsibility for the continued suppression of the Korean people.

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance flew to Korea immediately after Park was killed and held consultations with Park's successors. He stressed that Washington's chief concern was "the preservation of stability"—codewords for the repressive actions the new rulers are taking to stem the growing demands for democratic rights.

In fact, U.S. officials took the unusual step of publicly endorsing the plan for a "caretaker" regime that would function under the old dictatorial constitution.

And the U.S. position was backed up, after Park was killed, by the demonstrative alert of 38,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea.

American working people have no interest in these moves to prop up the successors of the hated and discredited Park dictatorship.

Our interests lie with the Korean working people, peasants, students, and intellectuals who want their democratic rights.

U.S. troops out of Korea now!

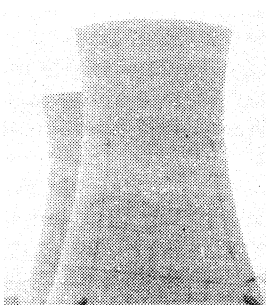
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Behind spy charges: U.S. Embassy vs. Iranian people

By Fred Feldman

In his November 28 news conference President Carter tried to fire up hatred of Iran by claiming that "innocent Americans" were being "abused" by the Iranian students holding the U.S. Embassy.

The news media here portray the fifty U.S. personnel as though they were working people like you or me who just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

That picture doesn't fit most of the hostages.

The students occupying the embassy say they have found documents that prove the hostages were spies and the embassy was a "spy center" that bears responsibility for many of the shah's crimes.

They say that the embassy continued to be a center for conspiracies against the revolution after the shah fled. Carter's decision to admit the deposed tyrant added to the evidence that the U.S. rulers were plotting to restore him to the throne.

And the students have begun to prove their case. They published a letter from U.S. charge d'affaires L. Bruce Laingen in which he asked that Malcolm Kalp and William Daugherty—two of the hostages—be given "cover" because of "great sensitivity locally to any hint of CIA activity."

The students say Daugherty has admitted his CIA ties.

Imam Ruhollah Khomeini endorsed the students' charges. While going ahead with plans to try the embassy personnel and prove their charges to the world, the students stress that all will be released when the shah is returned to Iran for trial.

U.S. doesn't deny charges

For all of Carter's demagoguery about "innocent" hostages, the U.S. government doesn't deny the charges.

"The White House and the State Department have refused to comment directly on that accusation," reported Bernard Gwertzman in the November 20 *New York Times*. "Instead they have insisted that the charge was irrelevant because even if some employees were engaged in intelligence-gathering functions their diplomatic immunity barred them from trial."

Carter is trying to swing public opinion behind a U.S. military attack on Iran if the hostages are even tried—regardless of what such an attack would mean for their fate.

One aim of the threats is to intimidate the Iranians from presenting the evidence they have accumulated.

Some U.S. officials try to defend U.S. spying in Iran. After all, they say, all governments use their embassies to "gather intelligence." But U.S. personnel in Iran and elsewhere are hardly limited to such scholarly pursuits.



Iranian students pray during occupation of U.S. Embassy. American personnel at thirty-three-acre embassy compound did a lot more than process visas.

In many countries dominated by U.S. economic interests, the U.S. embassy and spy agencies operating under cover of "diplomatic immunity" are often more powerful than local governments themselves.

This was true in Laos, where U.S. "ambassador" William Sullivan and his staff organized and ran a secret air war against Pathet Lao rebels. Hundreds of thousands of tons of U.S. bombs devastated the Laotian country-

side, killing hundreds of thousands of people. Washington carried this out in complete violation of international law and treaties.

'Destabilization' in Chile

When governments in Asia, Africa, and Latin America escape from U.S. control, U.S. embassies take on different tasks. Their job is to "destabilize" the government and help bring in a regime more amenable to the orders

dished out by embassy personnel.

That's what happened in Chile after Salvador Allende was elected president in 1970. The embassy and its "diplomatic" staff funnelled money to opposition groups and forged close ties with right-wing generals.

The embassy's work bore fruit in September 1973 when General Pinochet led a military coup that resulted in the murder of Allende and thousands of Chilean working people.

The Iranian people have had a lot of grim experience with the "intelligence-gathering" U.S. Embassy and its "innocent" employees.

In 1953, the masses in Iran rose up against the shah and he fled the country. The U.S. oil magnates wanted the shah back on the throne. So the CIA—operating through its agents at the embassy and elsewhere—put together a military conspiracy that brought down the new regime in August. The shah returned and began a twenty-five-year reign of terror.

CIA employees organized SAVAK, the shah's dreaded secret police force that terrorized Iranians for two decades.

Some 40,000 U.S. advisers helped run the shah's army, which gunned down 60,000 Iranians in the last year of the shah's regime.

When the shah fell, an embassy staff of 1,000 was left—a remnant of the force that had overseen every detail of Iranian life from the torture of poets to

Continued on page 5

Students nail CIA men at embassy

Students occupying the U.S. Embassy in Tehran distributed copies of a telex message proving that two of the embassy hostages—William Daugherty and Malcolm Kalp—have CIA ties.

The message was addressed to the U.S. secretary of state and signed "Laingen." That's L. Bruce Laingen, the U.S. charge d'affaires in Iran.

"I concur in assignments Malcolm Kalp and William Dougherty as demonstrated reftels," it begins.

"With opportunity available to us in the sense that we are starting from a clean slate in S.R.F. coverage at this mission, but with regard also for the great sensitivity locally to any hint of C.I.A. activity, it is of the highest importance that the cover be the best we can come up with. Hence there is no question as to the need for second and third secretary titles for these two officers. We must have it."

Such titles are used to place CIA operatives under the protection of diplomatic immunity.

The message goes on to recommend holding to the "present total of four S.R.F. officers."

Asked what SRF meant, the students admitted they didn't know. "Ask the CIA," they suggested.

The December 2 *New York Times* reported that SRF means "special reporting facility" and that it "refers to an office in embassies that is usually staffed by C.I.A. analysts. . . ."

Perhaps the most tantalizing passage in the message was the following:

"We are making effort to limit knowledge within emb of all S.R.F. assignments; that effort applies particularly to Daugherty, pursuant to new program of which he is a product and about which I have been informed" (emphasis added).

Laingen ends on a worried note: "I suppose I need not mind the department that the old and apparently insoluble problem of R designation for S.R.F. officers will inevitably complicate and to some degree weaken our cover efforts locally no matter how much we work at it." The message was marked for distribution through "Roger channel."

According to the December *New York Times*, this may only be the beginning of the students' revelations. "They also distributed a booklet in Persian and English of the documents they had previously released, several of which appeared to show that the United States had been considering admitting the shah at least as early as July, three months before he entered a New York hospital for medical treatment."

Washington has not disputed the accuracy of any of the documents released by the Iranian students.

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(Good through December 25, 1979)

Nicaragua tackles illiteracy, revolution's enemy

By Nancy Cole

While Democratic and Republican officials are cutting back on education funds despite studies showing an astounding 23,000,000 Americans are functional illiterates, the poor, war-torn nation of Nicaragua has launched a literacy drive as its top priority.

The National Literacy Campaign is aimed at teaching more than 800,000 Nicaraguans to read and write. More than 200,000 volunteers are expected to participate in the teaching brigades.

The Somoza dictatorship not only imposed bloody repression and poverty on the people of Nicaragua, but it denied them education, culture, and any kind of social welfare. All money Somoza and his crew could lay their hands on went directly into their own pockets.

Thus the illiteracy rate at the time Somoza fled in July was 65 percent, and even higher in many areas, especially in the countryside.

Added to the classroom shortage that already existed, severe damage was done to schools and educational equipment by the indiscriminate bomb-

ing by Somoza's air force during the civil war that ended in the dictator's ouster.

In conjunction with the literacy campaign, a national program is underway to construct and repair schools in Nicaragua.

Illiteracy is viewed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) as an immediate enemy of the Nicaraguan revolution.

All the mass organizations led by the FSLN will be involved in the literacy campaign—Sandinista Defense Committees, Sandinista Workers Federation, "Luisa Amanda Espinoza" National Women's Association, National Association of Nicaraguan Educators, "Luis Alfonso Velásquez" Sandinista Children's Association, and others.

On November 18, reported the FSLN daily *Barricada*, thousands of young people met for the First National Gathering of Nicaraguan Youth. Organized by the July 19 Sandinista Youth, the meeting's central slogan was: "We won in the insurrection, we will win in the literacy campaign."

The Ministry of Education has even called upon Nicaraguan composers to use their talents to aid the literacy drive with songs about the campaign. The ministry is sponsoring a contest for amateur composers.

A demonstration and fiesta welcomed 100 Cuban teachers when they arrived in the city of León last month to aid the literacy drive.

"We have come to share with you the needs, poverty, and calamities," Teresa Draker from the "General Augusto César Sandino" teachers contingent told the crowd. "We are willing to work and to reconstruct this city. We have come to show you the love of the Cuban people. We are willing to work with you day and night."

In all, more than 1,000 Cuban teachers will spend two years in Nicaragua. At the send-off in San Antonio de los Baños for the second contingent, Cuban President Fidel Castro told the teachers, "The country has suffered a great deal of destruction and they are



One hundred Cuban teachers arrive in León

Barricada

in need of widespread international cooperation. Remember that on July 26 we made an appeal, a challenge, to send aid to Nicaragua. It's true that aid is being sent, but it's not enough to meet the country's needs."

Castro explained that it was imperative that every Nicaraguan child have a chance to attend school, even if some classrooms were set up under a tree or inside a hut, explained the November 25 *Granma*. More than 29,000 teachers had applied for the mission in Nicaragua, he said.

gua, he said.

The U.S. solidarity movement has pledged to aid the literacy drive by immediately collecting 275,000 yards of fabric for uniforms for the literacy workers in Nicaragua.

At the November 17-18 national solidarity conference in Detroit, FSLN representatives explained that with the fabric they hope to reopen a clothing factory abandoned by the Somozaists and provide work for some of Nicaragua's many unemployed.

FSLN visit

Comandante Jaime Wheelock, one of the FSLN leaders of Nicaragua, and other Sandinistas will be in the United States for a friendship visit beginning December 7.

The FSLN leaders will visit New York, Boston, Chicago, Madison (Wisconsin), San Francisco, and New Orleans.

Five solidarity groups will sponsor a public meeting for the Sandinistas in New York, on Friday, December 7. The meeting is at 7:30 p.m. at the McMillan Auditorium, Columbia University, 116th Street and Broadway.

For information on public meetings that may be scheduled in the other cities, contact the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People in Washington, D.C. Telephone: (202) 223-2328.

Somozaists go on trial

By Pedro Camejo

MANAGUA—The Sandinista-led government of Nicaragua has announced the creation of a special court to try 7,000 members of Somoza's National Guard and other Somozaists.

It is expected that the trials of these torturers, murderers, and thieves—who ran Nicaragua with Washington's blessing until last July—will begin later in December.

The prisoners will be guaranteed all legal rights, including the right of appeal, that were denied to the Nicaraguan masses during Somoza's forty-five years of tyrannical rule.

On November 29, Humberto Ortega, head of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS), and EPS Commander Luis Carrión held a news conference here. Among the issues they addressed was the series of provocations in November by the right-wing government in neighboring Honduras. These included border incursions into Nicaragua, flights over Nicaraguan territory by the Honduran air force, and harassment of Nicaraguan diplomatic officials in Honduras.

The Nicaraguan government has sent delegations to Honduras and El Salvador to try to maintain peaceful relations with the governments of these two countries.

Ortega and Carrión said that the EPS is prepared to defend Nicaragua against any attempted invasion.

They reiterated the FSLN's policy of basing defense on the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. Along with efforts to train and equip the EPS as a professional army, they said, the FSLN is speeding up preparations to

begin forming a popular militia based in the workplaces and on the mass organizations.

Although the enemies of the revolution may be stronger militarily, Ortega said, "They cannot conquer us."

At the press conference, Ortega also commented on instances of undisciplined activity by EPS personnel, including unauthorized executions of some Somozaist prisoners. He said the EPS was investigating charges of such abuses and taking preventive measures.

Ortega announced an educational campaign to raise the political level of EPS members. Some 20 percent of the ranks are now illiterate, so the EPS has organized its own literacy campaign alongside the nationwide literacy drive.

Pointing to a serious problem impeding recovery of the Nicaraguan economy, Carrión said that some 300,000 of Nicaragua's stock of 3 million cattle have been illegally smuggled out of the country over the past few months. In just one two-week period, he reported, some eighty shipments of contraband were stopped along the Honduran border, and 434 people have been detained.

Also on November 29, the Government of National Reconstruction announced a special public works campaign to create jobs for the unemployed. Some 33 percent of Nicaraguans are jobless.

The program will be directed by a council of trade union and government officials. Among the contemplated projects are a flood control program in Managua and a new road from León to Managua.

Solidarity with Nicaragua!

Letter sent to 500 Bay Area unions

A letter initiated by Walter Johnson, president of Department Store Employees Local 1100, has gone out to 500 unions in the northern California Bay Area. The mailing included a leaflet advertising the December 8 "Labor/Community Rally for Emergency Aid to Nicaragua" in San Francisco and a brochure directed toward trade unionists printed by Casa Nicaragua, the Bay Area solidarity group.

In addition to Johnson, the letter is signed by Jack Weintraub, president of Teamsters Local 85; Curtis McClain, international secretary-treasurer of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Dave Jenkins, legislative representative for San Francisco ILWU; J. B. Martin, Automotive Machinists Local 1305; Hilding Martinson, United Electrical Workers Local 1412; and Vince Courtney, Service Employees International Union Local 400.

During the week of December 3, the Nicaraguan consulate organized several meetings for Rafael Solis, Nicaraguan ambassador to the White House, with unionists and Latino organizations in the Bay Area. This included a "labor breakfast" December 5 hosted by the ILWU.

100 attend film showing on Maryland campus

The Latin American Student Union at the University of Maryland in College Park sponsored a showing of the film *Nicaragua: September—1978* on November 29. More than 100 people attended the showing and heard a talk by David Funkhouser, coordinator of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

Network tables at national gatherings

Activists from the National Network set up tables at two national meetings in Washington, D.C., on the weekend of November 16—at the AFL-CIO convention and at the Democratic Agenda Conference. Names of unionists from across the country interested in organizing solidarity activity were collected.

Nicaragua: September—1978 was shown as part of the labor film series during the AFL-CIO convention sponsored by the International Association of Machinists and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Ann Arbor benefit concert

The Ann Arbor Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee sponsored a benefit concert and poetry reading at the University of Michigan November 18. About \$230 was raised for the Nicaraguan literacy drive.

Available from the Network

Fund-raising brochures, poetry pamphlets, reprints, and films are available from the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. Solidarity groups, unions, and other groups can rent the film *Nicaragua: September—1978*, and rent or buy (\$50) a slide show, *Nicaragua: A People in Struggle*, which also includes a thirty-minute cassette recording.

A new brochure will soon be available detailing the literacy drive and what the U.S. solidarity movement can do to support it.

Contact the National Network at 1322 Eighteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; telephone (202) 223-2328.

—Nancy Cole

'The tide is turning'

Militant sales key in debate on Iran

By Peter Seidman

For an entire month, the big-business politicians and news media have been doing their best to create racist, prowar, anti-Iranian hysteria among working people in the United States.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have been on a counter-campaign to answer the government's lies and organize protests against Washington's war drive.

The socialists have stepped up sales of their papers, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. They have organized picket lines, forums, and debates.

The response of working people has not been patriotic frenzy, but debate, discussion, and growing protest. Sentiment is going in a "send back the shah" direction.

"People's attitudes are changing," Andrea Doorack says. Doorack, a member of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 780, works at the Friedrich Refrigeration Company in San Antonio, Texas.

"Two weeks ago, after an antiwar picket line here," she explained, "there was a lot of confusion and hostility at the plant. In my department a sign went up reading 'Iranians go home.'"

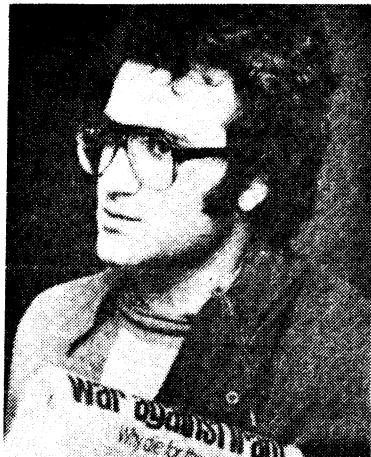
But now the mostly Black and Chicano workers at Friedrich's are getting angry about the shah, "and fearful about the danger of war," Doorack adds.

"When a local paper ran the headline 'Kennedy says shah is a thief' a few days ago, it went up in the plant—and stayed up," she said.

A *Militant* subscriber and member of the United Steelworkers at Capitol Casting in Phoenix told Dan Fein that "I sure wouldn't die for the shah."

Another steelworker there noted how "it's always the rich that make money off war."

Such antiwar sentiment runs deep, Karen Newton, SWP organizer in New Orleans, reports. "Workers at Avondale Shipyard here, especially the young workers—Black and white—are talking about how they'll go to jail rather than fight."



Socialists are campaigning to answer Carter's lies. Above, the 'Militant' was pictured in 'Detroit Free Press' (left) and in 'El Diario-La Prensa,' New York's Spanish-language daily.

But it's not only younger workers who feel this way.

One socialist at Westinghouse Airbrake in Pittsburgh posted the *Militant's* "Why die for the shah?" center-spread on his tool box. A heated discussion broke out among members of the United Electrical Workers Union there.

One older worker told another, "The shah must go back. Not one drop of American blood should be shed for him."

The second worker answered that he'd "be willing to die."

To which the first responded, "Sure, you would. But I'm not willing to let my son die."

"The tide is turning in an antiwar direction on campuses now," Twin Cities SWP organizer Susan LaMont reports.

"A socialist literature table at the University of Minnesota was a beehive of people talking about Iran. One student wearing an anti-Iran button changed his mind after a twenty-minute conversation," LaMont said.

"Another person who bought a *Militant* came back later and bought four more papers for his friends."

Black students at Howard University and the University of the District of Columbia in Washington, D.C., tell us they have "more in common with

the Iranian people than with Carter and the shah," SWP organizer Jerry Hunnicutt reports.

The work of socialists in circulating the *Militant* and *PM* has made a contribution to this shifting mood in factories and on campuses.

• The SWP's opposition to the U.S. war drive was one of the lead stories on the Channel 4 TV news in New Orleans December 2. Viewers saw former SWP gubernatorial candidate Greg Nelson selling the *Militant*. A few days earlier, Channel 4 broadcast an editorial reply by Nelson blasting Carter's moves.

Another New Orleans station interviewed participants in a *Militant* Forum on Iran November 28.

• In St. Louis, people who'd bought the *Militant* started calling up the Pathfinder bookstore for more information on the SWP.

• Many cities report increased industrial sales. A Communications Workers of America shop steward is helping get out the *Militant* to co-workers at the C&P Phone Company in Washington, D.C.

But this progress is only a modest beginning.

The response so far to the antiwar campaign of the *Militant* and *PM* underscores the key role that socialists

Demonstrations against U.S. embassies spread to Kuwait, the Philippines, India, and Libya.

And four governments—Syria, Libya, Vietnam, and Albania—have issued statements denouncing the U.S. war drive against Iran and blaming the Carter administration for provoking the conflict.

Growing opposition to Carter's course toward war even found a dim reflection in the United Nations Security Council—a faithful water-carrier for U.S. imperialism on all important questions.

At the beginning of the crisis the Security Council issued an unconditional call for the release of the hostages—without any recognition of Iran's grievances against the shah. This gave the aura of moral sanction to Carter's military threats.

The new resolution adopted December 4 by the Security Council helped Carter's cover-up of U.S. complicity with the shah's crimes by focusing on the demand for the release of the hostages. The Stalinist regimes in both Moscow and Peking joined in the cover-up.

He was succeeded by none other than William Sullivan, fresh from his murderous "intelligence-gathering" in Laos. Sullivan stood by the shah as the monarch attempted to drown the rising revolution in blood, and left after the February insurrection.

Laingen's role in protecting CIA operations in Tehran places him in this ugly tradition.

Given this record, is there any reason to doubt that the U.S. rulers have been trying to undermine the new regime as they did when the shah left in 1953 or when Allende came to power in Chile?

American working people have heard defenses of "innocent intelligence-gathering" right here in the United States. That's how the FBI tried to justify Cointelpro operations. But these turned out to be something else—burglaries, beatings, bombings, forgeries, disruption, provocation, and even murder directed at critics of the government.

Gary Rowe, a typical FBI "intelligence-gatherer," participated in the murder of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo and helped organize brutal beatings of Black and white freedom riders in the South.

Iran meetings

FLORIDA

MIAMI

U.S. HANDS OFF IRAN! STOP RACIST DEPORTATIONS! Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, member of Socialist Workers Party, seeking political asylum in U.S. Wed., Dec. 12, 8 p.m. 8171 Northeast 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

INDIANA

GARY

COMMUNITY SPEAKOUT ON IRAN. Wed., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. Glen Park Community Center, 3910 Broadway. Ausp: Calumet Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Iran. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

THE EVENTS IN IRAN: A PUBLIC FORUM. Speakers: Richard Falk, professor at Princeton Univ.; representative of Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts; others. Fri., Dec. 14, 7 p.m. Arlington St. Church, 355 Boylston St. Ausp: Boston Committee to Defend Iranian Students. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

STOP VICTIMIZATION OF IRANIANS. Speakers: Shelley Davis, attorney for Socialist Workers Party in suit challenging deportation of Iranians. Sat., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURGH

SPEAKOUT ON IRAN. Speakers: Phil Carter, chair of Western Pennsylvania Political Assembly; Eric Davin, editor of Civil Liberties Record; Ellis Jefferson, vice-president, United Steelworkers Local 1531; Jesse McDowell, Socialist Workers Party and United Electrical Workers Local 610; Liane Norman, professor at Univ. of Pittsburgh; others. Fri., Dec. 7, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

have to play as discussions and protests unfold.

Branches of the SWP and YSA are making sales a top priority. These papers are weapons in the fight to make sure the government's war drive continues to lose ground.

...shah

Continued from front page

record of support to the mass murderer. Kennedy visited him in Iran in 1975.

The blasts against Kennedy are really aimed at intimidating American working people. Any criticism of the shah is proclaimed to be unpatriotic and disloyal.

The U.S. rulers fear that widening knowledge of the shah's crimes will cripple efforts to present the hostages as the "only issue" in the Iran crisis. Any national debate on the shah would quickly make it clear that Washington's real concern is not freeing the hostages, but crushing the gains won by the Iranian workers and farmers and reestablishing U.S. economic and political dominance over Iran.

As opposition to war grows in the United States, the Carter administration is also running into problems internationally.

...embassy

Continued from page 3

evicting poor peasants from their homes. And all in the interests of the big U.S. oil companies, the arms manufacturers, the banks, and their faithful servant—the shah.

Gary Rows of Iran

The U.S. ambassadors typified the nature of the embassy's activity. Until 1976 Richard Helms—former director of the CIA and a specialist in illegal, covert operations—was Washington's man in Tehran.

Like Carter, the FBI tries to protect its stable of criminals by claiming "immunity" for them.

Is there any reason to think that the Gary Rows in the U.S. Embassy have cleaner hands?

U.S. working people have no reason to join Carter in trying to block the trials of the U.S. Embassy personnel in Tehran. We have an interest in giving the students every opportunity to lay out the full story of what the U.S. government has been doing in Iran.

If past experience is any yardstick, it will be a very educational experience.

U.S. protests demand:

'Send the shah back! No more Vietnams!'

Washington, D.C.

By Jerry Hunnicutt

WASHINGTON—Seven hundred people marched in a demonstration organized by Muslim students here November 29. Marchers carried signs reading, "Extradite the shah," "No more Vietnams," and "No U.S. intervention in Iran."

A rally that followed, across the street from the U.S. State Department, was heckled by well-dressed right-wingers who appeared to be department employees. The hecklers chanted racist obscenities.

Antiwar speakouts have taken place at Howard University and the University of the District of Columbia.

Kahile Hill, student government president at Howard, declared that Black people have no interest in fighting against the Iranian people. He said a war would mean that Blacks would be the first to go and the first to be killed.

On December 1, the D.C. Committee to Extradite the Shah held a march and rally in downtown Washington. Speakers included representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, as well as Luis Fernandez, president of the Latin American Student Union at Georgetown University.

Newark

By Gale Shangold

NEWARK, N.J.—"Deport the Shah, not the Iranian students" chanted more than 150 students—mostly Black and Iranian—as they marched from Essex County College to the federal building November 30.

Shoppers in the city's downtown area watched the march, some took literature as the march passed by, and others showed their solidarity with shouts of "Yeah, send that shah back!" Few observers voiced any hostility.

Akram Abdul-Majeed, ECC student government president and a leader of the march, said the group wants an end to the deportation of Iranian students and extradition of the shah to Iran.

"The students who took the hostages were reacting to the United States harboring the shah," he said. "The return of one man can end all this."

Atlanta

By Jean Savage

ATLANTA—A teach-in on Iran will be held at a major Black community church here December 8. The event is co-sponsored by the Committee Against Military Intervention in Iran and the Free For All Baptist church.

Speakers will include Rev. W.J. Stafford and Pastor Abdul Muhammad.



NEW YORK, Dec. 2—Chanting 'Butcher shah must go,' 500 people marched through midtown Manhattan. Marchers carried signs reading 'No war against Iran—send back the shah' and 'U.S.-CIA hands off Iran.'

The teach-in begins at 2 p.m. at Free For All Baptist Church, 2218 Candler Road in Decatur.

On November 29 the two ministers held a news conference to call for sending the shah back to Iran. They recounted his crimes and condemned the long-time U.S. support to his dictatorship.

The Committee Against Military Intervention in Iran has held two well-publicized picket lines in downtown Atlanta. It is circulating a fact sheet on the shah's atrocities and petitions demanding no U.S. intervention and an end to harassment of Iranians.

Cleveland

By Pat Wright

CLEVELAND—A hundred people, nearly all of them Black, came to a speakout November 28 at Cuyahoga Community College (CCC). It was the first Cleveland meeting called to protest the war threats against Iran.

Speakers included Linda Watson, national chairperson of the Third World Student Coalition, who applauded the Iranian revolution as a "turning point in the history of the world"; Ted Brown of the Black Students Union; Bangkola Ugundu of the International Students Union at CCC;

SEIU resolution hits war hysteria

The following resolution was adopted by the State Executive Board of Social Services Union Local 535, Service Employees International Union, in Los Angeles on November 18. Local 535 represents 10,000 social service workers.

WHEREAS the Shah of Iran is responsible for the torture and murder of tens of thousands of Iranian people, and

WHEREAS the Shah's regime, installed by the U.S. through a CIA coup in 1953, and maintained by U.S. military support for the following twenty-five years, denied the Iranian people all democratic rights, including the right to form trade unions, and

WHEREAS the demand for the

return of the Shah has the support of the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people, and

WHEREAS President Carter is responsible for the fate of the hostages in the American embassy in Teheran due to his actions in bringing the Shah to this country and protecting him, and

WHEREAS the denial of the democratic rights of Iranians in this country, including the racist hysteria being stirred up against them, the denial of their democratic right to political protest, and the threat of their deportation jeopardizes the rights of all in this country who may disagree with government policy on Iran or other issues, and

WHEREAS the war hysteria being whipped up in this country is aimed at laying the basis for possi-

John Roberts of the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party; and Joanna Misnik of the Socialist Workers Party.

Boston

By Anne Chase

BOSTON—Sixty people picketed Immigration and Naturalization Service offices here December 3 under the auspices of the Boston Committee to Defend Iranian Students.

The picket line was covered by local and national news media.

An earlier picket line at Boston University was disrupted by right-wing students and broken up by Boston cops. The committee will hold a public meeting December 14 to bring out the truth about the situation in Iran and the brutality of the shah's rule.

Gary

By Mitchel Rosenberg

GARY, Ind.—"Send back the shah," "No more Vietnams," chanted 25 opponents of U.S. intervention in Iran as they picketed the Armed Forces Recruiting Center December 3.

Organized by the Calumet Committee against U.S. Intervention in Iran as an informational picket, the demonstrators called for "No U.S. intervention in Iran"; "Bring the shah to justice"; and "Stop the deportations of Iranian students."

Passersby were almost unanimous in expressing agreement that the shah should be returned to Iran. Many raised clenched fists or shouted support.

ble military intervention in Iran to protect the Shah, and will also be used to justify increased military spending at the expense of human and social services at home, therefore be it

RESOLVED that Social Services Union, Local 535, calls on the federal government to immediately deport the Shah, and be it further

RESOLVED that we call for a halt to the deportations and other civil rights violations being committed against Iranians living in the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED that we oppose United States military intervention in Iran, and be it finally

RESOLVED that this resolution be submitted to the SEIU State Council and other appropriate bodies for their consideration and concurrence.

Polls show big majority against war

By August Nimitz

The solidarity of American Blacks with the struggle of the Iranian people was dramatically shown in a poll reported by the Detroit Free Press November 30.

Fully 61 percent of Detroit-area Blacks polled agreed that "the United States should meet the demands of the Iranians and return the shah to Iran in exchange for the American hostages." Twenty-one percent of whites surveyed were also for sending the mass murderer back.

The real concern of the White House has been the whipping up of war sentiment among the American people. However, both the Detroit poll and nationwide surveys reveal that Carter has been far from successful.

A nationwide Associated

Press/NBC News poll taken November 27 and 28 shows that 79 percent of adults surveyed "would oppose any military retaliation if the hostages were released unharmed." (New York Times, December 1). Carter has threatened just such retaliation.

In the Detroit poll, "More than 82 percent oppose a punitive military strike against Iran, and 91.6 percent oppose a seizure of Iranian oil fields in retaliation."

"I don't want a war," a Macomb County tool-and-die maker told the Detroit paper. "I fought a war, and I don't want my sons in a war."

The Carter administration has also been unable to get Americans to dismiss, as it does, the grievances of the Iranian masses against the shah. In a nationwide ABC News/Harris poll conducted the week of November 26, 70 percent of

those surveyed favored "an investigation by the UN of criminal charges against the Shah in return for the release of the hostages . . ."

And 76 percent favored "making sure" the shah leaves the United States.

This finding complements the Detroit poll: "63.6 percent agree with the statement that the Iranians seized the U.S. Embassy because they 'sincerely feel that the shah is a criminal and that this is the only way to get him back to Iran for trial.'"

Furthermore, the Detroit poll revealed, "A plurality of 48.4 percent say that the shah committed crimes such as murder and embezzlement when he ruled, while 10.8 percent disagree and 38.2 percent are unsure."

All of these figures suggest that

as people become more familiar with the crimes of the shah they are more likely to oppose U.S. military intervention and support Iranian demands for his extradition. This underscores the necessity of educating even broader layers of American workers on the real issues in the crisis.

It is no coincidence that Blacks in the Detroit area have a clear understanding on what must be done to resolve the crisis. Meeting in Detroit November 16, the first National Black Pastors Conference condemned the shah as a criminal and unanimously called on the Carter administration to deport him to Iran.

If leading labor officials adopted the stance of the Black ministers, the effects on American workers as a whole would be even more dramatic.

Can Carter ignore constitution?

Suit to halt Iranian deportations is heard

By Arnold Weissberg

WASHINGTON—Attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee have asked a federal judge to stop the government's persecution of the 50,000 Iranian students in this country.

Joined by David Carliner of the American Civil Liberties Union, Shelley Davis of the SWP and Eric Lieberman of the NECLC presented their arguments before Federal District Judge Joyce Green here December 4. Green will rule later on the suit.

The suit is a class action originally filed on behalf of three Iranian students—Cyrus Vahidnia, Behzad Vahedi, and Gholamreza Narenji.

It challenges Carter's order requiring Iranian students to report to the Immigration and Naturalization Service by December 14 or face deportation. The order violates constitutional guarantees, including that of free speech, the suit asserts.

Appearing with Vahidnia on NBC's "Today" show the morning of the hearing, SWP attorney Margaret Winter said that "President Carter is on a war drive against Iran and he's trying to whip up a racist hysteria against Iranians."

At a news conference, Cyrus Vahidnia said the government's goal was to "shut up" Iranian students. The government fears the students, Vahidnia said, because they dared to tell the truth about the shah and the Iranian revolution.

Vahidnia said that Iranian students who had reported to the INS had been asked about their political views—whether they supported the shah or Ayatollah Khomeini, for example. Such questioning has nothing to do with the student's legal status in this country and is flagrantly unconstitutional.

Also speaking to the press was Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Pulley said the roundup of Iranian students was aimed at "justifying a new racism." By seeking to prevent Iranians from speaking out about Iran, Pulley said, the government order deprives Americans of their right to hear the truth.

At the hearing, attorney Davis submitted sworn statements from Iranian students who said the INS order had made them fearful of expressing their views on Iran.

In arguing the case, Davis noted that the government admitted the purpose of its order was to prevent demonstrations by Iranian students.

Davis noted that the government claimed its order would protect Iranian students from violence by angry Americans. But, she asked, why didn't the government try to protect the Iranians' right to free speech instead of victimizing them for exercising that right?

If the government can suspend the Iranians' constitutional rights, Davis said, it could use the same argument to suspend the rights of civil rights marchers or anyone else who the government claimed represented an unpopular minority.

The government's response brushed aside these charges and focused instead on an asserted power of the



Left, Cyrus Vahidnia tells reporters 'U.S. gov't is trying to shut up Iranian students.' Right, New York City protest.



Militant/Lou Howort

president to do virtually whatever he wanted during an "international crisis."

Government attorney Brook Hedge admitted the Iranian students were being used as a "bargaining chip" to obtain the release of American hostages in Iran.

Hedge went so far as to admit the Iranians had been singled out for special treatment, asserting it was "crucial" for the president to have the right to do so.

In an appeal reminiscent of Nixon's defense of his Watergate crimes, Hedge insisted there could be no "second-guessing" of Carter's moves. "The plaintiffs' judgement," she said, "is not to be substituted for that of the president."

Hedge also admitted the government's order had silenced Iranian students, but she made the incredible claim that they were exercising "self-

imposed restraint" by not demonstrating or speaking for returning the shah to Iran.

Then, contradicting herself, Hedge cited Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti's assertion that the order was not aimed at stifling the rights of Iranian students.

Despite a request from attorney Carliner, Judge Green refused to order a freeze on deportation of Iranian students pending a decision in the case.

On the "Today" show, interviewer Robert Abernathy repeatedly asserted that Cyrus Vahidnia's presence on the show disproved the claims that Iranian student's rights were being violated.

Winter responded by noting that although the INS said it was no longer asking Iranian students about their political views, "what the administration has done is to publicize that it is asking these questions so that other

people—like Blacks, socialists, working people—who don't want to go to war in Iran will be intimidated and afraid to speak out against the administration's policies."

Meanwhile, the first Iranian student to be deported left the U.S. November 30. Ali Aminian, who had been studying at Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma, was seized only four days earlier by the INS. "I have stayed in school, and still they are going to deport me," Aminian said.

Opposition to the government's campaign against Iranian students was expressed editorially November 28 by the *Minneapolis Tribune*, which called the order "witchhunt tactics."

Opposition also came from the Committee for Public Justice, a New York-based group chaired by playwright Lillian Hellman, as well as from the National Lawyers Guild, and civil liberties groups.

'I'm afraid to say I'm Persian'

"Everyone is in a state of genuine panic. They call up and say, 'What if somebody comes and knocks on my door at night?'" said a Los Angeles attorney, 40 percent of whose clients are Iranian.

The Carter administration's anti-Iranian campaign continues to encourage violent harassment of both students and non-students.

- A Dallas clothing store owned by an Iranian was extensively damaged by fire. Anti-Iranian slogans and empty gasoline cans were found on the scene.

- The Minutemen, an extreme right-wing paramilitary outfit, has threatened "selective action" against Iranians in Colorado.

- The anti-Iranian actions descend to the crudest racism. "No Dogs and No Iranians Allowed," read a sign in a Chicago liquor store.

- One company printed a poster of the Ayatollah Khomeini and advertised it as suitable for "house-breaking a dog, covering the bottom of a bird cage." Others have printed Khomeini pictures as gun targets.

- A California state legislator proposed rounding up Iranian students as hostages.

- Los Angeles cut its sister city

ties with Tehran, a move never contemplated by the city's rulers during the long years of the shah's bloody reign.

- Five Iranian employees of a Chicago club were fired after they were arrested at a demonstration in defense of Iran.

Despite the government's efforts, the anti-Iran, pro-war forces have been unable to mount big public displays. Only 150 people showed up at a Newark rally December 2 to hear racist assemblyman Anthony Imperiale call for war, if necessary, to free the hostages.

Right-wing Cubans were also unable to muster more than 150 for a "pro-America" rally a few days earlier in New Jersey.

And despite tens of thousands of dollars poured into a vast publicity campaign, with prominent advance coverage in the media, an anti-Iran rally at the 100,000-seat Los Angeles Coliseum drew only 5,000.

The pressure is particularly intense for Iranian students.

"I'm afraid to say I'm Persian," said a Los Angeles student.

American Civil Liberties Union attorney David Carliner told a federal judge December 4 that students at one Washington-area campus had been threatened with loss

of student status if they didn't report to the Immigration and Naturalization Service on December 5, even though the government has officially given them until December 14.

And in Baltimore, Carliner said, the INS isn't scheduling any more appointments for Iranian students until after December 14. Yet any student who fails to report before then can be deported.

Iranian students have been among the most outspoken in defending the Iranian revolution and exposing the crimes of the shah.

"Nobody tells Americans: Who is the shah?" said Farrokh Khatami, president of Iranian Moslem Students at Western Michigan University. "Why are Iranians so upset by the shah? If Americans know the history [of Iran] they would not protest."

An Iranian student at Wayne State University in Detroit, identifying himself only as Karim, put his finger on the source of the hostility. "The American people are nice—great people. But they are not the government. The government is the CIA, the oil companies, Henry Kissinger."

—A.W.



SWP attorney Margaret Winter on 'Today' show.

Iran today: working masses enter politics

By Janice Lynn

The past weeks have seen masses of Iranians take to the streets to show their determination to resist Carter's war moves and to rid themselves of foreign domination.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist—HKS) report that on November 30 millions poured out. The throng of demonstrators completely filled the mile and a half stretch between Tehran University and the U.S. Embassy.

One of the striking features of the mobilization was the massive participation of workers and farmers, who came from all areas of the city and the surrounding towns and villages.

Training the population in the use of weapons continues, and on December 4 the government announced the formation of new "combat cadre" of thousands of former soldiers to help protect the country from U.S. attack. They paraded past the U.S. Embassy.

There has also been a marked outpouring of women, the majority wearing the *chador* (veil).

Many of the participants in the demonstrations are eager to receive leaflets and newspapers from political groups. The HKS reports selling 400 copies of its now legal newspaper *Kargar* (Worker) at one of the demonstrations. Many of those who purchased a copy of the paper were women who tucked it inside their veil.

One of the best selling items at the tables set up daily in front of the embassy by the HKS is the Persian translation of the pamphlet by Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed, *Is Biology Women's Destiny?*

The Iranian masses are also demanding that the billions of dollars stolen from them by the shah be returned to Iran. Last week the Iranian government filed suit in a New York court charging the shah with misappropriating \$20 billion and demanding its recovery.



Thousands march in Tehran and pledge to defend country from U.S. military attack

Iranian bank officials have disclosed documents showing that over \$1 billion was removed from banks in Iran and placed into secret accounts for the shah's personal use.

Demonstrations in support of the students occupying the U.S. Embassy have taken place throughout the country, including in Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, and other areas where Iran's oppressed minorities have been struggling for their right to control their own affairs.

In the midst of the mobilizations, voting on Iran's constitution took place December 2 and 3, stirring much debate on how best to further the revolution. Initial returns indicate its approval by a wide majority.

Many from Iran's oppressed nationalities, however, staged a boycott of the referendum. In Kurdistan an almost total boycott took place. The Kurds, along with the Baluchis, Azerbaijanis, Arabs, and Turkomans, object to the lack of any constitutional guarantees for their right of self-determination.

The constitution contains a state-

ment for women's rights.

Mina Tavana, a forty-two-year-old federal government employee who voted in favor, explained, "The new constitution guarantees that there will be full equality between men and women, but it does not define what equality means. I hope the new constitution will fully support women's rights because Iranian women have demonstrated and fought alongside men in this revolution of ours."

The voting was heaviest in the working class districts. Many voted for the constitution as a way of showing their support for Khomeini's unrelenting struggle against U.S. imperialism. Iran's leaders announced that there would be opportunity for amendments later on.

The HKS participated in the election and explained in *Kargar* why they were voting against the constitution.

In an article entitled, "A Worker's Guide to the Constitution," they explained that the constitution does not reflect the gains made by the revolution. It does not contain guarantees for

democratic rights or the rights of oppressed nationalities, and it falls short on the question of women's rights.

It also preserves private property, which the HKS explains is an obstacle to carrying through the revolution and breaking the grip of U.S. imperialism.

The HKS explains that the growth of *shoras* (councils) of workers in the factories and peasants in the villages is not adequately reflected. Although the constitution provides for electing *shoras* from the village to the state level, they are assigned only a consultative role.

The Tudeh (Communist) party gave uncritical support to the constitution.

The U.S. news media have been on a campaign to portray the constitution as a "tyranny of the clergy," "one-man rule," "giving astonishing powers to the nation's leader," and so on.

Such outcries against "one-man rule" were conspicuously absent during the twenty-five-year reign of terror by the shah.

What the pro-imperialist commentators really object to is not the lack of democratic guarantees but the possibility that further concessions may be won by Iran's working people as they press forward their demands for a decent life, free from U.S. domination.

From the same reactionary standpoint, a boycott of the elections was called for by bourgeois forces in Iran who are dead opposed to the massive mobilizations of workers and farmers.

The HKS is finding a growing interest in socialist ideas. The best-selling feature in *Kargar*, they report, is the Nicaraguan Bill of Rights, which is reprinted in full as an example of a constitution in the interests of workers and farmers.

The HKS has been receiving phone calls from people who wish to join the revolutionary socialist party. A group of sailors, a glass cutter, a General Motors auto worker, and a few nurses are among those who have expressed their support and asked to join.

Iran grieves for dead of the revolution

The November 30 *New York Times* printed a report by correspondent Pranay B. Gupte, capturing the sentiments of the hundreds of thousands of Iranians who lost loved ones to the shah's guns and tanks. It helps illuminate the deep hatred felt by the Iranian masses for this tyrant and the justice of their call to send back the shah to stand trial for his crimes. Excerpts follow.

SHAH ABDUL AZIM, Iran, Nov. 29—A cold rain drives through Beheste Zahra Cemetery. In the failing afternoon light, hundreds of men and women and children, some with umbrellas, most with jackets or robes drawn over their heads, walk silently toward a large meadow.

In the distance, beyond the squat pines, the elms and cypresses, there are faces, mostly young faces, faces of the dead. They are photographs framed in glass and mounted over the simple stone slabs of burial.

Today is Tasoah, a day of religious mourning in Shiite Islam, a time to remember the thousands of people who were killed during the reign of Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlavi.

'Come Back to Us'

Azizeh Amanzadeh, her traditional black robe wrapped loosely around her frail body, rivets her eyes on the picture of her son, Ghulam Reza Amanzadeh. He was 23 years old when he died at the hands of the Shah's secret police last January.

"Come back home, my loved one," Mrs. Amanzadeh says, in soft Persian. "My loved one, it is too cold



Tens of thousands of peaceful demonstrators were machine-gunned by the shah's troops.

down there where you are and too dark. You are alone there, aren't you, and we are alone up here. Come back to us, my beloved son."

Some of the photographs are in color, like that of Mehdi Spandi, a 22-year-old electrician from Teheran, about 15 miles from here. A bullet fired by an army officer pierced his heart late one night last January. Mr. Spandi was walking home to dinner.

His mother, Mahbobeh Spandi, stands in front of her son's picture. His face, smooth and clean-shaven, with bushy eyebrows and dark eyes, holds a smile, as if in gentle thought.

"Don't look at me like that," says the mother, who is a widow. "You are tearing my heart, my son, you are the only treasure I ever had."

A young man passes Mrs. Spandi. She looks at him and says: "Please

come and be my son for a few minutes."

She clasps him tightly and holds on for several minutes. The young man starts to cry. She comforts him.

Several rows away, Sadegh Hosseini huddles over the stone slab that covers his nephew, Hossein Amiri. Mr. Hosseini tenderly wipes the slab, trying to brush away the falling rain. His nephew was 27 when he was killed by the secret police a year ago.

A woman walks by carrying dates and offers them to the mourners. Many mourners bring fruits or sweets and pass them around in the cemetery. By nightfall more than 300,000 visitors will have come to this immense place. The parking lot outside the minareted gates is full. Some people have traveled from Teheran in buses.

One is Fakhari Shahkhalili. Her husband, Hussein Shahkhalili, an employee of the Ministry of Education, was tortured and shot by the police 11 months ago. He was 34. He left behind his 27-year-old wife and 4-year-old daughter, Shirwan, who has just been told that her father is "away."

His picture shows a man full of vigor. Next to it is a painting, showing the same man slumped on the ground, bleeding from a bullet wound in the heart.

'I Wanted to Never Forget'

"That is how I last saw him when I went to get his body in the morgue," Mrs. Shahkhalili says. "I wanted to never forget that and so I asked a friend to paint a scene for me. I described it to her from memory."

She pauses and looks at the inscription below the picture of her husband: "Never say to those who are killed for the way of God that they are dead. They are martyrs and they will always be alive."

Mrs. Shahkhalili stands up from her kneeling position. She looks around the cemetery. "This is the meadow of our country, filled with flowers of our youth—this is not a cemetery, it is a living park," she says.

It has turned cold. Mrs. Shahkhalili draws her fur-lined black coat around her and adjusts her scarf and starts to walk away. Two thin moist lines move down her face. But in the dying light of the wintry November afternoon it is hard to tell whether they are tears or the rain.

19th National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance

Come to Louisville December 29-January 1
Galt House

Hands Off Iran!

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally

Hear:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

Héctor Marroquín, YSA leader fighting for political asylum

Sunday, December 30

8:30 p.m.

Galt House, Archibald Room
(Fourth St. at River)
Louisville, Kentucky

Name _____ ☐ I want to join the YSA
Address _____ ☐ Send me more information
City _____ on the YSA convention
State _____ Zip _____ ☐ I want to subscribe to
Phone _____ the 'Young Socialist'
(\$2 for one year)

Clip and mail to YSA National Office, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Saturday, December 29

8:00 a.m. Registration
12:30 p.m. Welcoming Session
1:00 p.m. Defense of Nicaraguan Revolution Report
5:00 p.m. Greetings from Iran
7:30 p.m. Expansion of the Socialist Movement (slides from Iran and Nicaragua)
9:30 p.m. Disco/Movie

Sunday, December 30

9:00 a.m. Trade Union Workshops
11:00 a.m. Radicalization of the American Working Class and Tasks of the YSA Report
8:30 p.m. Socialist Campaign Rally
10:30 p.m. Disco/Movie

Monday, December 31

9:00 a.m. YSA Support for 1980 SWP Election Campaign Report
5:00 p.m. Workshops
9:30 p.m. New Year's Eve Party

Young Socialists spur antiwar protests

By Janice Lynn

Margaret Kelley is a twenty-five-year-old electrical worker at Louisville's giant General Electric plant. She is also the organizer of the Louisville Young Socialist Alliance.

Kelley is one of hundreds of young socialists around the country who are actively building a movement to protest U.S. war threats against Iran and to defend Iranian students' rights in this country.

Before she goes to work, Kelley and other YSA members fan out on the University of Louisville campus to sell the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers. They also distribute copies of a YSA statement pledging their support to the fight of young people in Iran to extradite the butcher shah.

The socialists are encouraging people to attend the YSA's Nineteenth National Convention, December 29-31, being held this year in Louisville. They have printed a special "come to the YSA Convention" leaflet.

"We have found a lot of people who are interested in finding out more about our convention especially after they learn about our opposition to a war against Iran. Our tables on cam-

pus are bustling with constant non-stop discussions on Iran," Kelley reports.

YSA member Robert Busch, also a GE worker, spoke at a widely covered news conference on the campus November 26 demanding that Washington stop its war threats, and against the deportation and victimization of Iranian students. A broad array of speakers participated.

Minnesota

In Minnesota, YSA national leader Cathy Sedwick spoke before 200 people November 16 at the University of Minnesota as part of a panel on the Iranian situation.

The St. Paul *Dispatch/Pioneer Press* quoted Sedwick: "'Send back the shah; put him on a plane and do it now,' demanded Cathy Sedwick, national chairwoman for the Young Socialist Alliance. 'He's a murderer. He's killed over 70,000 Iranians. The U.S. government is conducting a campaign of hysteria against Iranians, when the logical solution to the whole problem is to send the shah back to Iran to stand trial.'"

sian Gulf.

The racist campaign against Iranians in the U.S. only serves to increase the war hysteria.

There is one simple way to get the hostages released: stop the war threats and extradite the Hitler of Iran back to face the justice he deserves.

The shah held hundreds of thousands of political prisoners. He tortured tens of thousands—many to their death. My own father spent twenty-six years in exile and was only able to go home after the shah fled from his own people. Now the Iranians are demanding that the shah and his stolen billions be returned.

Channel 2 and President Carter called it "blackmail," but what the Iranians are asking for is simple justice.

The Socialist Workers Party demands the shah be sent back to Iran and that the racist deportation of Iranians from the U.S. end. We demand the U.S. keep its hands off Iran and stop the war threats now!

Twin Cities YSA organizer Betsy Gilson reports a lot of interest among young people in the Twin Cities area in the upcoming convention. The YSA's outspoken opposition to war and their simple proposal for resolving the crisis—to send back the shah—provokes much sympathy, and counters the small, but vocal groups of right-wingers.

At nearby Mankato State, where a racist frame-up against Iranian students was attempted, Sedwick spoke out against the victimizations. Several students from this campus are planning to come to Louisville for the convention.

"People are beginning to realize that the United States government is really hated around the world. Many young people didn't understand how strongly these countries resent U.S. domination and interference in their affairs," Gilson reports. "They are interested in finding out more about what the YSA says and our defense of the Iranian revolution."

YSA member Jerry Lamecker, twenty-one, works at the Twin Cities Ford Plant in St. Paul. He reports how young workers there do not want a war. "We'll just be dying over there for the shah," they say. They know they're the first ones to go if the U.S. sends troops.

New York

Sixteen-year-old Jamileh Sayrafiezadeh is the New York City YSA organizer. In addition to speaking before millions on CBS-TV (see box), she has been speaking at nearby campuses to get out the truth about Iran, and participating in picket lines and demonstrations demanding, "Hands Off Iran!"

The YSA at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, helped initiate an antiwar rally of 750. At the New School for Social Research in New York City, the YSA is participating in a Committee to Defend Iranian Students, which held a successful meeting of 250 November 29.

As a result of their activity the New York YSA reports that a number of Iranian students are interested in attending the YSA convention.

Washington

Twenty-three-year-old Margo Storsteen organizes the Seattle chapter of the YSA. Storsteen is also a member of International Association of Machinists Local 751(C) at Boeing.

The YSA has been in the forefront of

activities on the University of Washington campus in defense of Iranian students. They participated in a broadly sponsored news conference and a campus demonstration of about 300 which demanded, "No war! No racism! No deportations!"

The demonstration was initiated by Chicano students on the campus who had been attacked by small groups of right-wingers and jeered as "foreigners" because of their support for the rights of Iranian students.

Storsteen reports that 150 copies of the *Militant* were sold last week on the campus and at least thirty copies sold to workers at Boeing.

YSA members picketed outside the November 30 town meeting of Vice-president Walter Mondale with signs, "Why die for the shah?" and "No more Vietnams." They distributed a YSA statement to those who went inside.

On November 29, nineteen-year-old Delfino Muñoz spoke on behalf of the YSA at a meeting of 250 people at the University of Washington on "What's happening in Iran?" Gerry Foley, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Intercom*, was the featured speaker at the meeting.

'New birth of freedom'

In a teach-in like atmosphere, reminiscent of the anti-Vietnam war days, Foley told the truth about the Iranian revolution. He reminded people of the tortures of the shah's regime, placing the blame for training and funding of SAVAK secret police operations squarely on the American CIA.

Blasting the media portrayal of Iranian demonstrators as mobs of religious fanatics, Foley said when he visited Iran he found a mood of "festivity and confidence" at the victory in overthrowing the shah's tyranny. The advance of the revolution has brought "a new birth of freedom," he said.

The December 29-31 YSA convention will further discuss how best to build the crucial movement against military intervention in Iran; the defense of Iranian students against racist harassment and the threat of deportations; and defense of the continuing Iranian revolution.

Young socialists will also be discussing the revolution in Nicaragua; defense of Cuba; building support for the Socialist Workers presidential campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann; and sharing their experiences of work in the unions and on the campuses.

If you're interested in being part of these important discussions, clip the coupon above.

YSA leader on television

Jamileh Sayrafiezadeh is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee and organizer of the New York City YSA. A sixteen-year-old Iranian-American, she is also co-chairperson of the New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. On November 30 she appeared on CBS-TV to reply to an editorial on Iran. Below is the text of her rebuttal.

Channel 2 supports President Carter's attacks on Iran by calling them "prudent" and "likely to produce the safe return of the American hostages."

This is not true.

Carter's oil embargo is the same economic weapon the U.S. used in the 1953 CIA-backed coup which put the shah on the throne.

The seizure of billions of Iranian funds in U.S. banks is a major attack on the Iranian economy.

The two carrier task forces sent to Iranian waters are the first step toward a Vietnam war in the Per-

SWP candidate: 'Get shah out of San Antonio'

By Steve Marshall

SAN ANTONIO—The shah's arrival here December 2 has provoked a storm of controversy.

State and local officials, fearing public opposition, moved immediately to restrict free speech. Gov. Bill Clements is trying to ban demonstrations throughout the state, while the city administration prohibited pro- and anti-Iranian actions. And the Ku Klux Klan announced it would counter any anti-shah protests.

Nevertheless, working people here have been quick to express their outrage. The membership of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 1013 voted to publish a fact sheet on the shah's crimes against human and union rights. Iranian students are organizing protest activities. And a

coalition of labor, student, and community groups plans a picket line to demand the shah get out.

The San Antonio Socialist Workers Party is right in the middle of opposition to sanctuary for the criminal shah.

At an emergency news conference December 4, SWP congressional candidate Anthony González declared: "The arrival of the ex-shah is an insult to the working people of this city. It is no honor to harbor a mass murderer."

"The shah is in the same league with Hitler or Somoza," González told the media. "It is the height of hypocrisy to give protection to this criminal."

González denounced the racism of the anti-Iranian campaign whipped up by the Democrats and Republicans. "From violence against Iranian students today, it is a short step to vio-

lence against Blacks and Chicanos tomorrow."

He also hit the crackdown on civil liberties in Texas, saying the shah's arrival had given Texas "a taste of what his regime was like."

National, state, and local news media packed the conference to hear the only candidate in the city who is speaking out against the shah and Washington's war drive. Associated Press and United Press International wires sent González's statement to papers across the country.

The socialist was also covered by eight television stations from three Texas cities, as well as both San Antonio daily papers.

The SWP campaign has been helping organize protests demanding extradition of the shah, no deportations of

Iranian students, and no military intervention in Iran. An SWP-organized picket in defense of Iran November 20 received prominent coverage in the *San Antonio Light*.

At the news conference, González invited the public to join a "Get the shah out of San Antonio" picket line at city hall December 6.

The picket is sponsored by Jaime Martínez, IUE District 11; José Treviño, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 1735; Oscar Garcia, vice-president of IUE Local 1013 Tampo Group; Rosa Maria de la Torre, MEChA chairperson at University of Texas in San Antonio; and others.

Despite the ban on demonstrations requiring a permit, the picket line was declared legal by the city manager because it will be held on public property.

Right-wingers fail to block pro-Iran meeting

By Nancy Rosenstock

ALBANY, N.Y.—Right-wingers tried unsuccessfully to prevent Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, and others opposed to Washington's war moves against Iran from speaking to a campus meeting here November 28.

The meeting, which was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and titled "Stop U.S. Threats Against Iran," was widely publicized ahead of time by the news media.

It became clear that there would be some kind of right-wing intervention. Shortly before the meeting a leaflet appeared saying, "Support America, protest the pro-Iran meeting tonight—bring signs."

Four hundred people turned out. About 150 of them began an organized disruption as the meeting got under way.

The disrupters, who seemed to be mainly fraternity members and Zionists, heckled the first speaker in opposition to Carter's war drive, Prof. James McClellan. Several of them marched up on the stage and unfurled an American flag.

Some foreign students in the audience—mainly Indians—were physically threatened by the right wingers.

The thugs aimed most of their fire against Zimmermann, trying to shout her down with racist and sexist remarks. They also unfurled a banner saying, "Nuke Iran."

Organizers of the meeting were able to quiet the disrupters by offering them

the opportunity to speak after Zimmermann. A couple of them spoke, then most of the right wingers walked out.

The other speakers—an Indian student activist, and Tom Capuano from the campus Nicaragua Solidarity Committee—were able to present their remarks without incident. A question and answer period followed for one and a half hours.

Clearly the majority of those in attendance came to listen to the speakers and opposed the disruption. Many were upset at what had occurred.

Despite a local media attempt to make it seem that the rally had been halted, the fact that the meeting did continue was a major victory. It

helped to convince many in the audience of the correctness of opposing the war drive.

Prior to the meeting, the Ad Hoc U.S. Hands off Iran Committee had planned to picket the Chase Manhattan Bank on December 1. After the disruption of the meeting and phone threats against the picket—the SWP office also received such threats—the committee asked Police Chief Edward McCordle and Mayor Erastus Corning to assure the safety of the pickets.

McCordle refused, offering the incredible excuse that providing police protection would be equivalent to endorsing the picket. Mayor Corning accused the committee of trying to

instigate a riot.

In the face of this stance by the city, the committee decided to postpone the picket until December 8.

In the meantime the committee has gone on a campaign to expose the complicity of the mayor and police chief with the right wing. The actions of the two officials have become front page news here.

Anger at the disruption of the meeting and the response of the city officials has generated even more support for the picket line. The local anti-nuclear alliance is encouraging its supporters to attend the picket after learning about the right-wing slogan "Nuke Iran."



At Albany meeting of 400, Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, speaks out against war drive despite attempted right-wing disruption.



Militant

Iran: 'We felt something had to be done'

By L. Paltrineri

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann are fighters and doers.

That's why right now you will find them in every corner of this country, rolling up their sleeves and joining the campaign to defend the Iranian revolution.

Vermont is the scene of one such effort. Several

months ago a small group of campaign supporters decided to establish their own 1980 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

As Carter began escalating the war drive against Iran the Vermont committee went into action. As Jon Flanders, one of the campaign committee organizers explains, "We really felt something had to be done."

They printed a flyer explaining "Why the shah should be sent back" and distributed 1,000 copies on their jobs, on campuses, and on street corners.

Next, campaign activists went to a Burlington Peace Coalition meeting and suggested a protest demonstration.

On November 30 forty people marched in Burlington, Vermont, to protest the U.S. war drive against Iran. Also joining the action were activists from the Burlington Safe Energy Coalition.

It made front-page news in the *Rutland Herald* and the *Barre-Montpelier Times Argus*.

Says Flanders, "I would encourage other campaign committees to do the same thing."

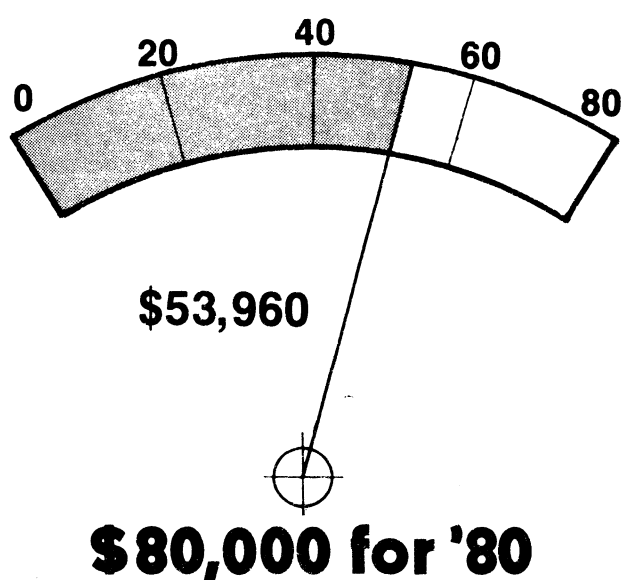
We couldn't agree more.

A big part of our defense effort is arming our supporters with the literature they need. This week the campaign office is reprinting 25,000 copies of the centerfold poster on Iran from the last issue of the *Militant*. And we have just ordered several thousand "Why die for the shah?" campaign but-

tons.

We need your help to distribute this literature. And we need your financial help to continue to print more.

There are only a few weeks left in our \$80,000 for '80 fund drive. Help us make it a big success. Send your contribution today.



Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____
I pledge \$15 _____ \$25 _____ \$50 _____
\$100 _____ to the Socialist Workers
Campaign by December 15.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____
Union/School/Org. _____

Make checks payable to:
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Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y.
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A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

A federal court ruling allows us not to disclose the names of contributors in order to protect their First Amendment rights.

Why Carter provoked Iran crisis

By Fred Feldman

Why did President Carter permit the hated ex-shah of Iran to come to the United States, even though he was warned that this would provoke upheaval in Iran and endanger U.S. Embassy personnel?

Why does Carter insist that the death of the fifty American hostages is preferable to returning the deposed mass murderer, torturer, and thief to Iran for trial?

More and more American working people are asking themselves these questions.

In the view of millions of Iranians, one explanation is that Carter still hopes to re-install the shah as the monarch of Iran, perhaps on the bayonets of American troops. This is not as improbable as some may think.

The shah has not abdicated the throne. He still claims to be Iran's legitimate ruler. Carter's refusal to admit any of the shah's proven crimes reinforces the shah's pretensions.

Iranian workers and farmers remember well that the shah fled a mass uprising once before—in 1953. He was returned to power by a military coup engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency and the U.S. Embassy.

Millions of Iranians are determined not to let this happen again.

It is becoming clear that the U.S. rulers had even broader aims in provoking the crisis with Iran. They hope that the propaganda barrage will make it easier for them to send U.S. troops to fight and die in other countries.

'Political watershed'

Correspondent Hedrick Smith explained in the December 2 *New York Times* that "administration officials, members of Congress, specialists on foreign policy and others, liberals as well as conservatives, speak of a political and psychological watershed far more important than the immediate concern over the American hostages in Teheran. They view the situation as a pivotal event marking the close of the post-Vietnam era" (emphasis added).

What does "close of the post-Vietnam era" mean? More Vietnams!

Washington was dealt a historic defeat in Vietnam. It was unable to smash the Vietnamese liberation fighters, and massive antiwar sentiment in the United States finally forced withdrawal of the expeditionary force of more than 500,000 sent to occupy the country.

Opposition to war took deep root among American working people, who learned they had nothing to gain and everything to lose from imperialism's drive to police the world. In this way, U.S. workers became a decisive ally of freedom fighters in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The U.S. rulers were unable to send



'Vietnam syndrome'—unwillingness of American workers to die for U.S. corporate interests around the world—is major obstacle to rulers' plans.

troops and bombers to prevent the overturn in 1979 of dictators such as the shah in Iran, Somoza in Nicaragua, and Pol Pot in Kampuchea. They fear more such setbacks are coming in 1980 unless the American people can be whipped into a war fever.

Bipartisan war drive

The campaign for war is a bipartisan one, with the leaders of both capitalist parties vying with each other in anti-Iranian demagoguery.

John C. White, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, expressed the hope that Iran would inspire "a feeling that we have a right to protect legitimate American interests anywhere in the world."

"Legitimate American interests" is White's term for the billions of dollars in profits that U.S. corporations rip off by exploiting the resources and low-paid workers of semicolonial countries. It is U.S. working people, of course, who will have to do the protecting—with their lives.

Liberals who have a reputation as "doves" are being given special prominence. Their endorsement of war moves is supposed to create the illusion that the war drive is supported by "all Americans."

Frank Church (D-Idaho), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stressed his readiness to sup-

port "military intervention even in friendly countries if Western oil interests are threatened," according to Smith.

Dotting the i's and crossing the t's, Church went on, "The vital interests of the United States, Western Europe and Japan in Saudi oilfields would necessitate military action if our interests were threatened. If that required organization of strike forces, there would be strong support for this on Capitol Hill."

Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) cheered that the Iranian crisis would make massive increases in military spending "politically much more palatable and acceptable now." He kept mum about the inflation, higher taxes, and cuts in funds for basic human needs that will accompany stepped-up arms expenditures.

And Sen. Charles Mathias (R-Md.) declared his readiness to "join conservatives in urging the rebuilding of intelligence capabilities"—meaning CIA covert operations like the one that put the shah back on the throne in 1953.

'Sense of guilt'?

George Ball, who was Lyndon Johnson's under-secretary of state during the Vietnam War, told correspondent Smith that "the nation was overcom-

ing 'its sense of guilt, its complexes' over the Vietnam War."

Ball—who can count on fighting any future war from the safety of a plush Washington office—wants us to believe that opposition to war is neurotic.

The hostages are pawns in this bipartisan drive to gull American working people into supporting a new Vietnam in the Middle East.

That's why the rulers press ahead with plans to attack Iran even if the hostages are released, even though they know such plans only create new obstacles to freeing them.

In a column in the December *New York Times*, Tom Wicker conceded that "a remarkable 79 percent of the Associated Press/NBC poll respondents said they would oppose military action if the hostages were released."

But he insisted nonetheless that Carter "would be obligated to act swiftly and sternly."

If the rulers get away with their attempt to herd us into war in Iran, the Iranian people and the U.S. personnel in the embassy will only be the first victims. As in Vietnam, the rulers are eager to sacrifice the lives of tens of thousands of working people—especially the poorest and most oppressed, such as Blacks and Chicanos—in order to protect the billion-dollar investments of the oil companies.

New ripoff by Big Oil: Iran used as scapegoat

By August Nimtz

A major assault on American working people is under way. It comes not from Iran, but from the Carter administration on behalf of Big Oil.

This offensive is taking a form all too familiar to most Americans—increasing fuel prices.

Already prices are creeping up again, gas lines are forming in some states, and the Department of Energy is taking the wraps off a rationing plan.

We're supposed to believe the problem is shortages, presumably caused by the Iranian revolution. But there is no shortage.

Crude oil inventories, at 355 million barrels, are now "the highest in our nation's history," reports New Jersey Energy Commissioner Joel Jacobson. But refineries are operating at only 84

percent capacity, compared to 90 percent at this time last year.

The real source of the price gouging is not hard to find. The Carter administration just proposed a 50 percent increase in the markup allowed to gasoline middlemen. And it is removing all price controls on butane and natural gasoline—both used to make gasoline—as of January 1.

As bad as these increases will be for most workers, the real stickup comes next year, when, the *Wall Street Journal* reports, "President Carter's phased decontrol of domestic crude-oil prices is scheduled to move into high gear. Each month in 1980 and 1981, more and more U.S. oil will automatically double in price, and then eventually be freed from controls altogether."

To make matters even worse, the *Journal* says that "the White House is

considering proposing in January a sharp increase in the current four-cent-a-gallon tax on gasoline, possible to 50 cents a gallon."

It becomes even clearer now why Carter has always coupled his major pronouncements on the Iran crisis with pleas for support to his energy program, the centerpiece of which is decontrol of domestic crude oil prices. Carter's aim is to use Iran not only to create a prowar climate in the U.S. but also as a cover for these fuel price hikes.

For Carter the contrived Iran crisis looks like a god-sent answer to a major problem—trying to convince American workers that we shouldn't mind being robbed at the gas pumps.

Along with Iran, Carter also wants Americans to blame the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries for

our economic plight. At their upcoming meeting on December 17, OPEC countries are expected to raise prices—to try to capture a share of the higher profits the oil companies are raking in.

And that, Jacobson says, is the key to current U.S. oil company stockpiling and refinery cutbacks. "There is only one conclusion I can draw: The major domestic oil companies are holding back on the production of refined products in anticipation of OPEC's meeting."

The companies will then reap "huge inventory profits," he explains. And use OPEC as a scapegoat.

As Jacobson asserts, "Even the record-breaking profits recorded by the oil companies during the first three-quarters of 1979 are apparently not enough to satisfy their, I can think of no other word for it but, greed."

SWP presidential candidate:

'American workers have no interest in

The following is excerpted from a speech given by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, to a December 2 campaign rally in New York City.

The United States government is at the brink of war with Iran. This war will be fought to protect the oil and banking interests of the Rockefellers and other billionaires, and, of course, to save the neck of the shah.

But the American working people, Black people, and other oppressed minorities have absolutely no interest in a war with the Iranian people.

We, like the Iranian masses, will be the victims of this war.

We are the victims of all the anti-Iran policies that are being mounted today.

The anti-Iran oil policy, for example, will permit the oil companies, which rule this country and most of the world, to force us to pay even more at the gas pumps. They're talking about two dollars a gallon!

We will pay for the suppression of the rights of Iranian students in this country, because that threatens our rights as well.

And we will pay on the battlefields with our very lives.

The fifty remaining hostages in the U.S. Embassy are simply being used as a pretext—a pretext to justify Washington's planned military action.

If Carter was serious about getting the hostages released, he would extradite the shah—that's all that's required.

Surely, if there's a war, more than forty-nine or fifty Americans will die. Certainly more than that number of Iranians will die. Thousands will die.

So saving lives is not Carter's concern at all.

The rulers of this country are talking



Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, addresses New York City campaign rally.

Militant/Lou Howort

about the nation's honor. They say the nation's honor is at stake and that this honor is now more important than the hostages.

Whose honor?

But whose honor are they talking about? Are they talking about the honor of American working people?

I submit that our honor was violated when the U.S. government followed the policies it did up to now in Iran—

when this government put into power and backed to the hilt a mass murderer, a butcher of thousands, an exploiter and thief.

That violated our honor. That violated the honor of humanity.

The honor they are talking about defending is the honor of Rockefeller. That is not honor at all, but rather Rockefeller's billions. That's what honor means to them.

Right now U.S. war ships are head-

ed into the Arabian sea toward Iran. Carter stated that even if the hostages are released the slate would not be swept clean. That's what he said, "The slate will not be swept clean."

This means the U.S. government is planning to go to war, regardless.

But the overwhelming support Carter wants for such a war will not be found among the American people. Rather, the great masses of people, as confirmed by recent polls, object to and

Pulley at 'Hands off Iran' rallies

By Betsy Farley

NEW YORK—"We're here to send a message to James Earl Carter: *American working people will not go to war against Iran.*"

That's how the Socialist Workers campaign rally held here December 2 began. As the NBC-TV cameras panned over the crowd, the two hundred people at the Marc ballroom chanted, "Hands off Iran! Send back the shah, not Iranian students."

The featured speaker that afternoon was SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley.

Reba Williams Dixon, SWP candidate in the Nineteenth Congressional District—which includes Harlem—chaired the rally. Dixon is a twenty-three-year-old assembly line worker at the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York. She is a member of United Auto Workers Local 664 and the National Organization for Women.

Dixon introduced the SWP's New York senatorial candidate, Victor Nieto. Born in Cuba, thirty-two-year-old Nieto is a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 173. He spoke out against the stepped-up campaign of right-wing terror against supporters of the Cuban revolution.

Robert Miller is running on the SWP ticket in New York's Seventeenth Congressional District. Miller is a leader of the New York chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance and a member of UAW Local 980 at the Ford assembly plant in Metuchen, New Jersey. He explained how the YSA and SWP are campaigning to aid the young freedom fighters in Nicaragua and Iran and invited rally participants to attend the upcoming YSA National Convention in

Louisville, Kentucky.

Peggy McKee of the Elias Ayoub Defense Committee brought greetings to the rally. Ayoub is a Palestinian student currently facing deportation from the United States.

"We thank the members of the SWP for your support in this case," McKee said. "You've taken an active role because you understand that Elias's case isn't just a case of one man. Elias's case is representative of thousands of cases in which the U.S. government harasses and intimidates those non-citizens who dare to speak out and tell the truth."

McKee continued, "We'll win Elias's case. We'll win Héctor Marroquín's case. We'll win the Iranian students' right to demonstrate and speak out against the shah and his regime of terror and exploitation. We will hear the truth. And that's why we're here today. We're here to hear your candidates speak the truth and we wholeheartedly support you in your efforts."

Greetings were also read from the Socialist Workers Party of Iran and from the Brooklyn Black United Front. The BUF message declared, "We say send the ex-shah back and the money back. Call off the war hawks. Stop the harassment of Iranian students."

A special guest at the rally was Cyrus Vahidnia, a plaintiff in the class-action suit against the roundup and deportation of Iranian students in the United States.

Stressing the importance of protests against the deportations, Vahidnia explained, "If the government sees no response to the deportations, this will be used against others, including against the U.S. people themselves."

"Iranian students are being denied their freedom of speech, and out of fear, many are forced to deny their nationality."

Rally participants came from all over the New York area. They included auto workers from New York and New Jersey, railroad and shipyard workers, and Teamsters. Also in attendance were several Iranian and Pakistani students, and young Latinos.

The rally raised more than \$7,500 in pledges to the SWP campaign.

By James Edwards

NEWARK—More than one hundred people gathered here December 1 to hear Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, denounce Carter's war drive against the Iranian people.

For at least one-third of those present, this was their first socialist campaign rally.

Railroad workers, electrical workers, teachers, members of the National Organization for Women, anti-nuclear power activists, young people, and a few retirees packed into the SWP headquarters. They greeted Pulley's fiery speech with cheers and applause.

Willie Mae Reid, the SWP's vice-presidential candidate in 1976 and an Exxon oil refinery worker, chaired the rally. She underscored the need for Blacks, women, and all working people to "rely on our own strength to win our rights."

Victor Nieto, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, condemned the November 25 assassination of Eulalio Negrín. Negrín was a member of the Committee of 75, a

group of Cuban leaders in the United States who favor a dialogue between the Cuban community abroad and the Castro government. Negrín was gunned down by right-wing Cubans in nearby Union City.

Comparing the assassins to a "nest of rats," Nieto urged the audience to join a national emergency telegram campaign to demand a federal investigation into Negrín's death.

Other rally speakers included Chris Hildebrand of New Jersey NOW's Labor Task Force; Robert Bersen of the Young Socialist Alliance; and Deborah Jamison, president of the Summit (New Jersey) Area NOW chapter.

Jamison described how she became disillusioned with Carter and other Democratic party politicians and how she arrived at the conclusion that socialism was the only way to change "an economic system that lines the pockets of a small minority of people, while denying the rest of us the right to full employment, decent wages, safe work environments, and the right to keep from freezing to death this winter."

Messages of solidarity were given by antinuclear activist Michele Hughes and by Barbara Harris, president of the Newark Teachers Association.

Harris expressed her appreciation of the *Militant*. "By the time I go from Iran to Mexico, to Nicaragua, down to Greensboro, North Carolina, I've fought a million battles," she said.

Rally participants expressed their enthusiasm for the SWP's 1980 campaign by pledging more than \$2,800 and volunteering their time to work for the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket.

war with Iranian people'

oppose this war drive.

Despite all the effort on the part of the newspapers and politicians, the war propaganda, the racist hysteria and the incitement to riot that has taken place this past month, the American people are not in a frame of mind to go to war.

Religious fanatics

So the newspapers, radio, and television owned by the superrich realize they have to step up the propaganda. They have shifted into high gear.

They are telling us the Iranian people are simple-minded fanatics, religious fanatics, medieval.

We are being told that the Muslim people (who happen to be dark-skinned, you may have noticed), are uncivilized. Their culture, along with their religion, is backward. Whereas the Western Christian culture is advanced, you see.

The newspapers tell us that Khomeini is a "madman"—a "holy madman," as they try to get us ready for war. That's why all this is going on.

Anybody who dares to challenge American imperialism is declared insane.

They said the same thing about Malcolm X, didn't they? They said, "He preaches hate"—because he hated racism, because he hated U.S. domination of foreign countries.

They said Fidel Castro was crazy—crazy because he dared to say Cubans should control Cuba. That's a crazy idea to Rockefeller.

And they say Khomeini is crazy because Iran won't sell oil any more to racist, apartheid South Africa. That's very crazy. Rockefeller wouldn't act that way.

They say Khomeini's crazy because he wants to bring the murderer shah to justice, because he wants to recover some of the billions stolen from the Iranian people.

When I think of crazy people, I'll tell you who I think about. I think about the first family—Jimmy Carter's family. I think about Billy Carter. I think about what I read the other day. Miss Lillian, Jimmy's mother, who got hot under the collar and said if only she had an extra million, an *extra* million, she would hire somebody to kill Khomeini.

Hostages

Carter and the media are lying about the "abuse" of the hostages. This is another way to whip up the public to favor war. But everyone who has seen the hostages, including the hostages themselves, deny they are being mistreated.

Who are these hostages anyway? Well, we can be sure that many of them are simply spies. That's what they are—spies or people assigned to protect the spies.

A U.S. embassy in a country in the middle of a revolution—a revolution against U.S. domination and repression—that U.S. embassy is not preoccupied with simply processing visas.

The few Americans who remain are part of the staff of 1,000 that existed after the revolution toppled the shah last February. And the 1,000 were those who remained from what was before a 70,000-strong American presence in Iran—advisers to the military, advisers to the secret police, advisers to the shah, CIA operatives, as well as employees of U.S. corporations.

It was the CIA in 1953 that organized the military coup that brought the shah back to power. Why should we think they have any different aims today?

It was the United States government ruling Iran—ruling through the shah—ruling from the hated U.S. Embassy.

The shah, acting for American cor-

porate interests, had to brutally suppress the masses. He prohibited any democracy.

Shah's tyranny

The Iranian people had no right to speak, no right to assemble. They didn't have the right to read what they wanted. Iranian workers didn't have the right to form trade unions. They didn't have the right to practice their



'It was the United States government ruling Iran—ruling through the shah—ruling from the hated U.S. Embassy.'

religion freely. Rights that we take for granted were denied.

The masses were forced to live in poverty, burdened by high unemployment and high inflation. They were forced to live in bad houses, small tin shacks, with very few schools. But lots of prisons.

They were forced to live like this in a country that is extremely rich in natural resources. But the wealth from that oil went directly to the shah and to his American friends, the Rockefellers, not to the Iranian masses.

The Iranian people rose up last year to change all this. And now they are continuing their revolution, fighting for some of the very same things we need too: to nationalize the big industries like they did with the oil industry; to win control of production in the factories; to halt inflation; provide jobs for the unemployed; to gain land to farm; to insure the rights of oppressed minorities.

And most of all they are striving to keep their country free from foreign domination—the same thing we fought for 200 years ago.

Send back shah

Let the U.S. government recognize, for the first time, the rights of the Iranian people to determine their own fate, by extraditing the shah. The shah should be returned to Iran where the massive evidence of his crimes exists.

It is in Iran where the hundreds of thousands who were tortured are. It is in Iran where the relatives of tens of thousands who were mowed down by

volley after volley of machine gun fire can testify. And it is in Iran where the masses who were victims of his robbery and thievery can point to the role he played.

The politicians and the news media say that other countries are kicking us around.

We *are* being kicked around. The American workers *are* being kicked around. But not by the Vietnamese. Not by the Black Africans. Not by the Nicaraguans. And not by the Iranians.

When you go to the gas pumps, somebody kicks you in the head. But it is Rockefeller.

When you go to the supermarket, somebody kicks you in the head. It's Rockefeller, or his cousins, or a member of his class.

When you breathe radiation, you're being kicked around in the lungs and in the chest, but not by the Iranians.

You're being kicked around by red-blooded American capitalists.

'One voice'

Carter and the other Democrats and Republicans keep telling us we have to "speak with one voice" about Iran, that all Americans must join together to defend our national interests.

Well, I disagree 100 percent.

There's no such thing as "common American interests." The interests of Rockefeller and the other tycoons are different from and antagonistic to the interests of Black people and to the interests of all working people in this country.

Our interests—the interests of the American working people—are the same as the interests of the working people of Iran.

I don't own anything in Iran. I don't own any oil wells or automobile plants. We have nothing to lose if the people of Iran establish their independence and deepen their revolution to gain a better life for themselves. We welcome this.

It is necessary that we here in the United States make *our* voice heard—our antiwar voice. It is necessary that we continue breaking through the wall of lies and distortions. In our unions, on our campuses, in our organizations, we will take the lead in helping to build and organize this antiwar consciousness and this future antiwar movement, just as we did against the war in Vietnam.

This is the main task of my campaign and of all the other campaigns of Socialist Workers Party candidates. We are helping explain the truth to the American working people.

The SWP and Young Socialist Alliance are helping build a movement to defend those who are suppressed by the rulers of this country and who resist that oppression. We are helping build a movement that can not only "kick around" Rockefeller's government, but that can ultimately kick it out—kick it out of power and replace it with a worker's government that will follow a real human rights policy abroad and follow policies to satisfy human needs at home.

New button, poster on Iran

The Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee now has available a new poster and button to protest Carter's war threats against Iran.

The poster, a reprint of the center-spread from the December 7 *Militant*, documents the atrocities of the shah's regime.

The button says "Why die for the shah—Stop U.S. war threats against Iran—Vote Socialist Workers."

Order yours today!

- ☐ Please send me _____ copies of the poster. Single copies free. \$2 for 100.
- ☐ Please send me _____ copies of the button. 50 cents each. 35 cents for 10 or more.
- ☐ Please send me more information on the SWP Campaign.

Clip and mail to Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____

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



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Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

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AFSCME District Council 33 Hdq.
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For more information call
(215) 927-4747.

PORTLAND

Stop U.S. War Threats
Against Iran

Speaker:

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

Saturday, December 8

Reception 6 p.m.

Dinner 6:30 p.m.

Rally 8 p.m.

1819 Northwest Everett

Dinner & rally: \$4

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Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

Dec. 13-16 Washington D.C./
Baltimore

Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

Dec. 9-12 Puget Sound

Other socialists on tour

Cathy Sedwick

Dec. 8-10 Louisville

Fred Halstead

Dec. 7-9 Denver

Héctor Marroquín

Dec. 6-8 Albuquerque

Dec. 12 Miami

S. Africa sends troops

Rhodesia regime escalates war on Blacks

By Ernest Harsch

At the Zimbabwe negotiations in London, the imperialists are talking of "peace." But in southern Africa, they are escalating their war drive.

With the backing of Washington and London, the white-dominated Rhodesian government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the apartheid regime of South Africa have greatly stepped up their attacks against the Zimbabwean freedom struggle—and against the Black masses of southern Africa as a whole.

On November 30, South Africa Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha admitted—for the first time—that South African military forces were already involved in Zimbabwe.

Botha said that "South Africa, after consultation with the Government of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, has for some time now been looking to the protection of our interests as well as our vital lines of communication, such as the rail links to Beitbridge and the railway links through it." Beitbridge is in southern Zimbabwe.

Paratroop battalions

Although Botha gave no further details, the South African intervention in Zimbabwe is already quite extensive. According to reports in the December 1 *Washington Post*, there is one, and possibly two, South African paratroop battalions stationed at Rutenga, in southern Zimbabwe.

South African helicopter pilots have flown with the Rhodesian forces, and South African Mirage jet fighters have participated in bombing raids into Mozambique.

South African officers are legally allowed to serve with the Rhodesian military for extended periods, without loss of seniority or rank. South African infantrymen have been asked to volunteer for the Rhodesian army.

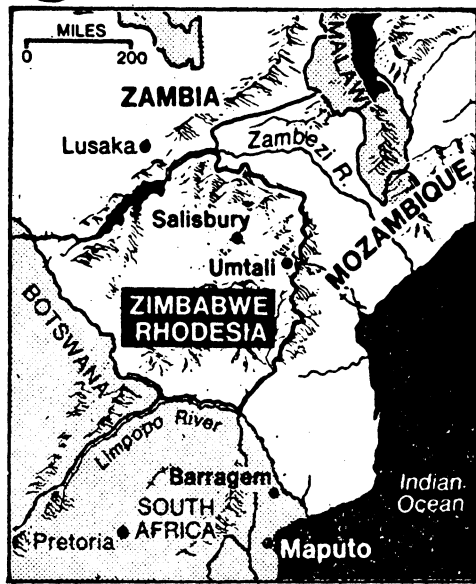
Rhodesian troops have received training in South Africa. And according to some reports more than 40 percent of the Rhodesian war budget—now estimated to run \$2 million a day—is provided by the South African government.

South African support for Muzorewa and former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith has long been apparent. But Botha's speech marked the first time since the withdrawal of South Africa's police from Zimbabwe in 1976 that the Pretoria regime has openly acknowledged that it was directly involved in the war.

His speech could only have been intended as a threat of even greater South African intervention against the peoples of Zimbabwe. It is part of the current efforts by British and U.S. imperialism to put maximum pressure on the Zimbabwean liberation forces and the so-called front line states.

Bombings & sabotage

Backed up by the much more powerful apartheid regime to the south, the Muzorewa-Smith regime has conducted frequent bombing raids, sabotage actions, and troop incursions into neigh-



New York Times

boring Zambia and Mozambique, both of which provide sanctuary to the Patriotic Front guerrilla forces.

Thousands of Zimbabwean refugees and Mozambican civilians have been killed by Rhodesian troops over the past two years. Dams, bridges, buildings, and railway lines have been seriously damaged as well, in a deliberate effort to disrupt the Mozambican economy. Rhodesian-backed terrorist groups within Mozambique have carried out numerous sabotage actions in Maputo and other cities.

Since October, Rhodesian planes and commando units have knocked out many of Zambia's main road and rail links to other countries, including the vital Tazara railway through Zambia and Tanzania. In early November, the Rhodesian government declared a blockade on all shipments of corn from South Africa to Zambia.

Muzorewa has threatened to use "far greater" force than Zambia "has experienced in the past, and the consequences will be disastrous for the unfortunate Zambian masses."

Declaring that Zambia was in a "full-scale war situation," Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda on November 20 ordered a mass military mobilization. All reservists were called up and all military leaves were cancelled.

"The party and its government," Kaunda said, "will also take the necessary steps to mobilize all other resources for the war."

In addition, Kaunda appealed for material and other forms of assistance to both Zambia and the Patriotic Front "to fight this just war to its logical conclusion."

'Britons go home'

Laying responsibility for the Rhodesian raids where it belongs—with London—several thousand Zambian youths marched on the British High Commission offices in Lusaka on November 23 and 24, chanting, "Britons go home!"

Within Zimbabwe itself, the Rhodesian army's efforts to crush the struggles of the Zimbabwean workers and peasants continue to claim the lives of scores of Blacks each week.

The vast bulk of the country is now ruled under martial law, under which the white-led armed forces can act with legal impunity against Black villagers and suspected supporters of the Patriotic Front.

Despite the massive force employed against the Zimbabwean freedom struggle, it has continued to gain in strength. There are now up to 17,000 Patriotic Front fighters operating in the country, and thousands more are based in Zambia and Mozambique. The Rhodesian regime has been forced to abandon some areas of the countryside to the liberation forces.

Pressure in London

Unable to defeat the Zimbabwean struggle on the ground, the imperialists are hoping to sidetrack it through

the London talks.

For several weeks, the British government—with tacit American backing—has been applying considerable pressure at the negotiating table to force political and military concessions from the leaders of the Patriotic Front.

Partly as a result of the devastating attacks on Zambia, Kaunda himself has counseled the front to compromise.

While giving barely disguised approval to the relentless Rhodesian war drive, the British negotiators, led by Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, issued a series of ultimatums to the Patriotic Front, warning that if it did not go along with the British settlement proposals, London would lift economic and military sanctions against the Rhodesian regime anyway.

'Blackmail'

In face of such "blackmail attacks"—as Zimbabwean leader Joshua Nkomo called them—the Patriotic Front made a number of concessions.

On October 18, it decided to accept a British-proposed constitution, which would ensure a disproportionate white representation in parliament; safeguard white control of the army, police,

and civil service; and prohibit any major constitutional changes for ten years.

On November 15, it also agreed to accept the authority of a British governor, who would take over the government of Zimbabwe until new elections had been held. The governor would also head a Commonwealth "peace-keeping" force, which is to include several hundred British troops.

Although the terms of the settlement carry grave risks for the Zimbabwean masses—in particular if British troops are sent—the actual course of the struggle will be decided in Zimbabwe itself.

Settlement or no settlement, the level of mobilization of the Zimbabwean masses will make it very difficult for the imperialists to impose their will.

The South African authorities themselves have very little confidence that the London talks will be successful in derailing the Zimbabwean struggle.

In an open threat to intervene with massive military force should the Patriotic Front come to power, Botha warned on November 19 that Pretoria would not tolerate "chaos" on its borders.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Auto reports

Agricultural Implement workers face long strike

More than 75,000 United Auto Workers members employed by International Harvester and Caterpillar—two of the three major agricultural implement corporations—are facing a long, hard strike.

In addition to economic demands, auto workers are striking against Harvester's attempt to impose forced overtime. Previous UAW contracts have included provisions against compulsory overtime. But the company is trying to take away the overtime safeguard.

Members of UAW Local 974 in Peoria, Illinois, walked out of Caterpillar on October 1. After they struck for three weeks without international UAW authorization, a nationwide walkout was sanctioned October 29. Some 40,000 workers in eight Caterpillar plants are participating. On November 1, 35,000 UAW members at Harvester joined the strike.

Negotiations are at an impasse. On November 26 the union and Harvester met for the first time since the strike began. But no progress was made and no further talks are planned.

What has already been a long strike is shaping up to be even longer—a major battle for the UAW.

The strike is a test not only for auto workers but for the entire union movement. Solidarity activities in support of the strikers are urgently needed.

Local fights sexism at A.C. Spark Plug

Sue Hagen from Local 1866 in Milwaukee sends this report:

Workers punching in at A.C. Spark Plug several weeks ago were greeted with a display of sexist placards around the time clock. Some of the signs read: "A woman's place is in the kitchen and the bedroom," and "Down with the ERA." The rest were crude references to the female anatomy.

Some of the workers on the previous shift were striking a blow at the "radicals" and "women's libbers" in the plant. They had the tacit backing of management—which removed one pornographic sign, but allowed the rest to stand.

The woman-baiters misjudged, however. The plant is nearly half women, and many of them were outraged.

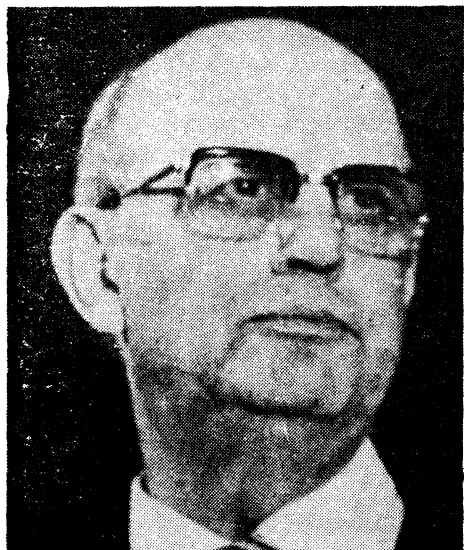
They weren't just personally insulted; they saw it as an attack on their right to work at A.C. A Local 1866 alternate committeeperson went one step further. "This is anti-union bullshit," she said. She collected the placards and marched up to the union office.

The next day, several of us circulated a statement condemning the incident as an attack on the whole union. We had no trouble collecting a page of signatures during break.

Local 1866 promised a quick response and came down hard on the woman-baiters. The next issue of the newsletter was out within a week. In a front-page editorial the union reaffirmed its defense of women's rights and explained the need for unity.

The union's action effectively silenced the antiwoman campaign. We are now in a stronger position to help the local build an active women's committee. That way, we can involve the whole membership in the fight to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

Compiled by Osborne Hart



South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha

Letter to Carter

Rail union head calls for oil nationalization

The following letter to President Carter from Al Chesser, president of the United Transportation Union, is reprinted from the November 17 'UTU News.'

Chesser's call for nationalization of the oil companies is part of an accelerating discussion within the labor movement on the energy crisis. Thousands of unionists across the country joined the Stop Big Oil protests October 17, where nationalization was a popular proposal by many rally speakers.

When the 'International Teamster' printed an energy survey in August, more than 10,000 Teamsters filled it out and sent it in, many adding their own angry comments. Fifty-five percent didn't believe there was an energy crisis, and 27 percent of the remainder believed the crisis was artificially created to drive up prices.

Recent conventions of the United Electrical Workers and the International Woodworkers of America passed resolutions calling for nationalization of the oil industry.

The United Transportation Union, with 238,000 members, is the largest rail union.

Dear Mr. President:

There is no more important matter facing this nation today than the energy crisis. Behind the scene, the heavy hand of the big oil companies makes human sacrifice to corporate profit.

Periodically, since monopolists discovered that oil can be manipulated in supply and price, we have had oil scares. I don't think it necessary to detail the events of the 1920 scare—the British were the bad guys then; nor the 1929 scare, this time "conservation," nor the 1947 scare when government officials said U.S. supply was at an end, nor the 1959 scare, when protective tariffs were raised to keep profits up.

Then came the heavy guns. OPEC, with the guidance of the four American oil giants—the core of the Seven Sisters: Aramco, dealt the cards that led to gas lines, big price increases and unsightly profits.

That was only a rehearsal for today. We now have not only the only game



Labor protests oil ripoff in Charleston, West Virginia, October 17. Demand to nationalize energy industry was well received at union demonstrations across country.

in town, but also the biggest game in history. The Four Sisters are willing to sell human lives for unsightly profits.

Again, you have seen the figures for the 1979 third quarter.

Profit increases:	
Mobil	130 per cent
Sohio	191 per cent
Cities Service	64 per cent
Exxon	118 per cent
Gulf Oil	97 per cent
Conoco (Standard Oil of Indiana)	134 per cent

All these figures topped outlandish growth figures for previous quarters.

These profits, representing a cancerous growth of energy company profits, have now reached the point where the profiteers have begun trading in human lives. Again, you know the headlines:

"South Dakota county prepares to house folks who can't pay heating oil bill"

"Cold is expected to kill thousands"

"Heating oil costs hits elderly"

"Federal aid may be too late"

As a by-product of this insatiable greed, the oil companies are spreading

the cancer of higher cost to the individual and his health: heating oil has gone from about 40 cents per gallon to about 90 cents per gallon in one year. Oil companies have been accused of getting out of the home heating oil field to enter the more profitable jet fuel market.

At this point, with the industry threatening the U.S. and the world at regular intervals, no citizen can believe anyone: not the oil companies, not Congress and, yes, Mr. President, not even you.

Already, it is too late to change the direction of greed in the multinational oil companies. Now that they have crossed the border of reason, it is time to follow the will of the people. The people of this country cannot directly impose their will on renegade corporations. They leave that to their elected representatives in Congress and in the White House. For the good of the nation, it is time to move directly, fearlessly, and with purpose to bend the will of the powerful men who head the oil companies.

We must have full and proper determination of facts: now, only the oil

companies know the facts. Even powerful Senate committees cannot get the facts about oil. That is the first job of the government.

To perform the task now necessary in the public interest, you must immobilize the runaway spiral of energy cost. Only the President can now lead the way to stabilizing energy development, production and supply for this country.

I call on you as the leader of this nation to nationalize the nation's oil companies so that the full measure of fact can be developed from their records and files. I call on you to hold this industry in nationalization, as a vital natural resource, until facts can be established and a formula devised to protect the public against the madness of oil profiteering, and the nation from the private rule of oil companies.

To move firmly and resolve doubts, to clear the present muddled picture, is the first step back to public confidence in the Congress, the Presidency and the nation.

Sincerely,
s/ Al H. Chesser, President

Workers pay for Milwaukee Road bankruptcy

By Cindy Burke

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Attempts to liquidate the Milwaukee Road came dangerously close to succeeding recently when U.S. District Court Judge Thomas McMillen authorized an "embargo" of half the railroad's trackage.

This embargo would idle some 5,000 railroad workers and deprive many small farmers and shippers of needed rail service.

The October 26 embargo order was followed a week later by President Carter's signing of a bill authorizing a \$10 million loan to the Milwaukee Road. Sources estimate that this sum will allow the Milwaukee to continue running until around mid-December.

The \$10 million was enough to suspend the embargo, but what happened in the week before the loan came through was an ominous sign of what is in store for Milwaukee Road workers in the future.

Within minutes of McMillen's embargo order, Trustee Richard Ogilvie issued one of his famous "to all concerned" notices on the teletype. These messages go out to all stations and are posted up in all yard offices.

He announced that "furlough noti-

ces" (pink slips) would start going out the following Monday to all affected employees. Then came the second blow. Furloughed employees would receive no back pay, no severance pay, and no vacation pay.

This was all confirmed in a "to all concerned" message sent out the following day by Worthington L. Smith, president of Milwaukee Road. Any claims for back pay or 1980 vacation time earned in 1979 would become claims against the Milwaukee "estate."

In other words, railroad workers would have to stand in line behind the Internal Revenue Service, government agencies, and private creditors for all their earned benefits and back pay.

Nothing was said about the fate of employees who had been injured on the job and had not yet settled for lost wages and other compensation owed them by the railroad.

As a parting shot, management announced that medical and dental coverage would be cut off within four months of furlough date.

To try to placate furloughed workers, Ogilvie and company continually refer to the chances of being rehired by a "directed carrier." A directed carrier is a railroad that the Interstate Com-

merce Commission (ICC) directs to service lines embargoed by the Milwaukee. In turn, the government insures the carrier a 6 percent profit as long as service is maintained.

However, word has it that due to expenses around directed service for the Rock Island Railroad, there are no government funds left for directed services and the logical carriers to perform such services for the Milwaukee Road have already declined to do so on a credit basis.

When the furlough notices went out after October 26, workers in the St. Paul terminal were angry and bitter. Although only a few employees here would be immediately affected, there was a pervasive feeling that what was happening to employees from the West was only a preview of what was in store for all workers in the Milwaukee in one or two short years.

Some employees talked strike—as a way of forcing the government to step in and stop the shutdown.

A general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks sent Ogilvie a telegram, charging the railroad with failure to live up to employee protection claims of the Rail-

way Labor Act and threatening employee "self-help" if this were not turned around.

The federal loan amounts to a stay of execution. It was granted supposedly to give employees and shippers time to come up with a stock ownership plan to buy the railroad. This plan must then be approved by the ICC.

But this will not solve the problems of Milwaukee Road workers and the shippers and farmers they service. Similar plans on other railroads, such as the Chicago and North Western, have meant only more of the same—the same management, the same conditions.

Since the current management has so clearly shown itself incapable of running the Milwaukee Road, the government should take it completely out of their hands and nationalize it as a public utility.

Two union locals here, BRAC Local 1478 and United Transportation Union Local 911, have endorsed that proposal. As have scores of Milwaukee workers who signed petitions during the past months calling on the U.S. government to halt the shutdown and nationalize the Milwaukee Road.

Despite frightening disclosures and warnings following the Three Mile Island accident, nuclear power plants continue to threaten humanity.

The 'Militant,' Socialist Workers Party candidates, and other antinuclear voices, including the United Mine Workers, have proposed that coal be the immediate alternative to nuclear power plants.

Below we reprint excerpts from some of the letters we have received since first explaining the coal alternative last spring, along with an answer by staff writer Nancy Cole.

COAL:

Our readers ask...

Utilities resist clean coal

The Socialist Workers Party should commend itself for its several-year-old opposition to nuclear power plants. And Harry Ring in the June 8 *Militant* is right on target in his article when he points out that reliance on capitalist politicians to stop nuclear power will get the movement nowhere, and that getting labor support behind the movement is the way to go.

But Harry is wrong to point to coal as "the feasible alternative to nuclear power"—especially without any qualification. The truth is that these are severe environmental and health problems associated with expanded use of coal.

Coal plants release huge quantities of air pollutants—sulfur dioxide gas, soot and microscopic "fly ash" particles. These fly ash particles contain many cancer-causing substances. Once in the atmosphere, the sulfur dioxide gas can be absorbed by the fly ash particle, where it is oxidized to extremely corrosive sulfuric acid.

The stuff falls out to earth, making our rivers and lakes acid, and killing off fish. And people breathe in these extremely fine particles, which can penetrate to the deepest of the lung.

The end result? Lung diseases such as asthma, bronchitis, emphysema, and lung cancer (and others).

It's true that pollution control devices on conventional coal-burning power plants can remove a great deal of this pollution.

Also, there are two new kinds of coal plants which promise to be almost pollution-free, called fluidized-bed boilers, and magnetohydrodynamic generation. The fluidized-bed boiler technology is all developed and ready to go, and with fluidized beds, pollutant releases can be cut by more than 95 percent.

But the electric utilities will resist building fluidized-bed boilers for the same old reasons.

First, they are slightly more expensive than conventional boilers, and hence mean lower profits.

Second, if a utility did install one or two clean-burning fluidized bed boilers, public outcry to replace all the filthy, conventional (but profitable) coal burning plants with fluidized bed boilers would be immense.

Profit demands of the coal companies create the same type of situation in the coal mines. Many thousands of miners have died and are dying from black lung disease from the high levels of coal dust, and from accidents, explosions, and cave-ins.

This outrageous situation could be halted by proper ventilation of the mines, paying attention to safety practices, and putting the coal miners in control of the whole process. But again, this would mean lower profits for the coal companies, and so we will have to struggle for it.

Instead of saying coal is "the alternative" to nuclear power, socialists should point to coal as a

resource which, if used properly in fluidized-bed boilers, can provide a part of the alternative.

The other parts, which have essentially no environmental problems associated with them, are the immediate adoption of an energy-conservation program and the immediate start of a building program of solar and wind power sources.

It's up to socialists to educate themselves on this vital issue, and then go on to educate the larger public that energy conservation means eliminating waste in the way we use energy, not freezing in the dark or having a lower standard of living; that photovoltaic cells which directly convert sunlight to electricity are feasible and economical now, and that wind power for making electricity has been used for many decades.

Edward Gogol
Chicago, Illinois

Safely and cleanly

Coal is indeed a feasible alternative. There have been many coal miners in my family in Pennsylvania so I take particular interest in any discussion of coal mining.

I ask that in any future mention of coal in the *Militant* or by your readers that certain other inseparable demands be included. One should be a demand that coal be burned cleanly.

Another demand to be coupled with any discussion of coal is that it be mined safely. The mines could be clean, safe, places to work except that the capitalists refuse to use the money they steal from us to let us work in safety.

Let's demand that coal be used, but let's also demand that it be mined safely and burned cleanly, as it can and must be.

Terry Mulcahy
Secretary,
Communications Workers of
America Local 8671
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Renewable energy

They tell us nukes generate 17 percent of our power, some areas more dependent than others (like Chicago). By actively fighting to invest research and development in solar, wind, cogeneration and conservation, we could probably make up the loss of nuclear power in about five years, given the proper political decisions, funding, and tax breaks.

Yes, coal can shoulder that 17 percent immediately, but it bothers me that I rarely see the phrase "renewable versus nonrenewable energy sources" mentioned in your paper. Just as shutting down nukes is an obligation to future generations, so is developing the renewable energy sources.

Your paper deserves credit for pushing coal. Other [energy] sources don't have the potential for mobilizing the American people around relevant issues like job safety, worker control, opening the bosses books. The UMW is the best organized and best

experienced at confronting the system and moving, inspiring people.

I just get a feeling your movement picked coal partly because of the potential for confrontation and consciousness raising.

Other energy sources tend to sidestep the confrontation and lack the political nature that coal has, although in the long run, scientifically and economically, they promise a better future for us.

Gilbert Lee
San Francisco, California

Nuclear needed for now

I believe nuclear power is an unsuitable long term energy source BUT as a short term source it is both necessary and desirable. It is safer and cleaner than coal at this point and will continue to be so.

Additionally, I support the dismantling of nuclear weapons, the shutting down of all breeder reactors, and the denial of licenses for any more construction of nuclear fission power plants.

We already have acid rain on a global scale. The scientists are now finding a lot of supportive reasons for believing that unless we drastically curtail those carbon dioxide emissions soon, we will, indeed, have a climatic cataclysm sometime before the end of the century.

Worse, they feel that if coal is developed on the scale that Carter is proposing, then this process will be greatly accelerated.

I have long been aware of the potential of fusion power—an energy system that's been ignored in the U.S. because we have so much money tied up in nuclear fission and in oil. Fusion energy is the kind of power generated in the heart of our sun, and England has been working in this field for a long time. It's quite possible they'll have a working plant by the early 1990s.

Another piece of "classified" information that took the invocation of the Freedom of Information Act to release is that there's a method of solar energy use (called Solaris) that is competitive with the installation of conventional oil, gas, or electric furnaces and is useful even in low sunlight areas.

The third piece of suppressed information is that we have enough nuclear fuel already to power all existing nuclear power plants through the year 2050—which I think is long enough to make a transition to solar/fusion methods.

Unlike coal, we do have the filtering and waste disposal capacity to deal with [nuclear] fission power for a short time. And it won't complicate the biosphere's carbon dioxide problem.

Confronted with this gloomy information, I think we must work to close the coal mines, get the nuclear power plants out of private hands, and push for the use of existing nuclear plants as a stopgap ONLY.

Wendy Hays
San Francisco, California

...The Militant

By Nancy Cole

Any discussion of alternatives to nuclear power must begin with a realistic assessment of the deadly time-bomb this technology represents for all of humanity.

Every day nuclear power plants continue to operate, they threaten a disaster that a 1965 government report predicted could kill 45,000 people immediately.

Every day nuclear power plants are allowed to operate, they produce more radioactive waste, which remains poisonous for thousands of years and for which there is no known method of disposal.

Every day, every hour, nuclear power plants are allowed to operate, they emit "low-level" radiation, greatly increasing cancer rates among residents of surrounding communities.

No other method of generating electricity—including even the dirtiest methods of burning coal—represents anything close to this nuclear threat to present and future generations.

Wendy Hays is wrong when she asserts that filtering and waste disposal for nuclear fission products exist. In addition to the problems of dismantling abandoned plants and disposing of used water from which radioactive atoms cannot be filtered, there is the frightening spectacle of temporary storage pools that are quickly filling up with tons of radioactive waste. There is no answer to this problem after thirty years of research.

Hays says that the problem of carbon dioxide, which is released into the atmosphere when fossil fuels are burned, will cause a climatic cataclysm before the end of the century.

The "greenhouse effect," where carbon dioxide in the atmosphere could possibly raise the earth's temperature to drastic levels, is a serious question

**What
Working People
Should Know
About
the Dangers of
Nuclear Power**



Why it's the immediate alternative to nuclear power

Ant replies

What deserves immediate research and consideration.

But the threatened nuclear cataclysm faces us—not in the year 2000—but even before the beginning of 1980!

Technology exists

Edward Gogol points to the acid rain and lung diseases that can accompany coal burning. Then he goes on to detail how this is totally unnecessary because the technology exists to burn coal cleanly.

But the utilities, he argues, will resist this relatively more expensive technology just as the coal companies have resisted operating their mines safely.

That is absolutely right.

It is part of the very nature of capitalist corporations to resist each and every measure that will cost them more money, whether it is safety and pollution controls or higher wages and job security. Every gain working people ever won from these profit-hungry companies was always the result of a struggle, including the safety advances coal miners have won through contract clauses and federal and state laws.

The demand to shut down the deadly nuclear power plants, as well as the demands for clean coal and safer mines, will be no different. They will take a fight.

The real question is, how do we go about organizing the most effective fight to ensure victory?

The Socialist Workers Party believes the answer is to educate the masses of American people on the nuclear danger and to mobilize their power to shut the nuclear plants down once and for all. The organized labor movement has the clout to do this, and there are encouraging signs that labor can and will take up the antinuclear cause.

That's exactly why the SWP says coal is so important. First, because to win over the vast majority of the

American people, the antinuclear movement needs an alternative to nuclear plants. And second, because the United Mine Workers—a major industrial union that is *already* on record against nuclear power—can be the key to drawing the entire labor movement into this struggle.

Immediate alternative

Why do antinuclear forces need to put forward an alternative energy source?

Because in the eyes of most working people, the strongest argument the pronuclear forces have is that shutting down nukes would mean factories closed, lights blacked out, millions jobless, and a drastic decline in our standard of living. Whatever the dangers of nuclear power, they say, stopping it would provoke an even worse catastrophe.

Coal is an abundant, immediate alternative that could substitute for nuclear power plants if they were all shut down tomorrow.

There are reserves of coal to last an estimated 400 years. And there are thousands of experienced coal miners now laid off who could be put back to work immediately to mine the needed coal.

It is a common-sense answer to those nuclear advocates who say shutting down nuclear power plants would throw the country into chaos.

And it will be apparent as such to millions of working people—the forces we must win to the antinuclear fight.

That is not the case with our readers' other proposals—"renewable" energy sources and energy conservation.

It is true that technology exists for generating electricity from the sun and wind. But it has not yet even approached the stage where solar or other "renewable" energy sources could generate enough electricity to keep the country going.

Gilbert Lee puts a five-year deadline on developing adequate solar power to replace nuclear if "proper political decisions, funding, and tax breaks" were to occur.

Five years is too long

Yet even if Lee's scenario were to happen (most solar advocates estimate the time much further in the future), five years is too long to jeopardize humanity!

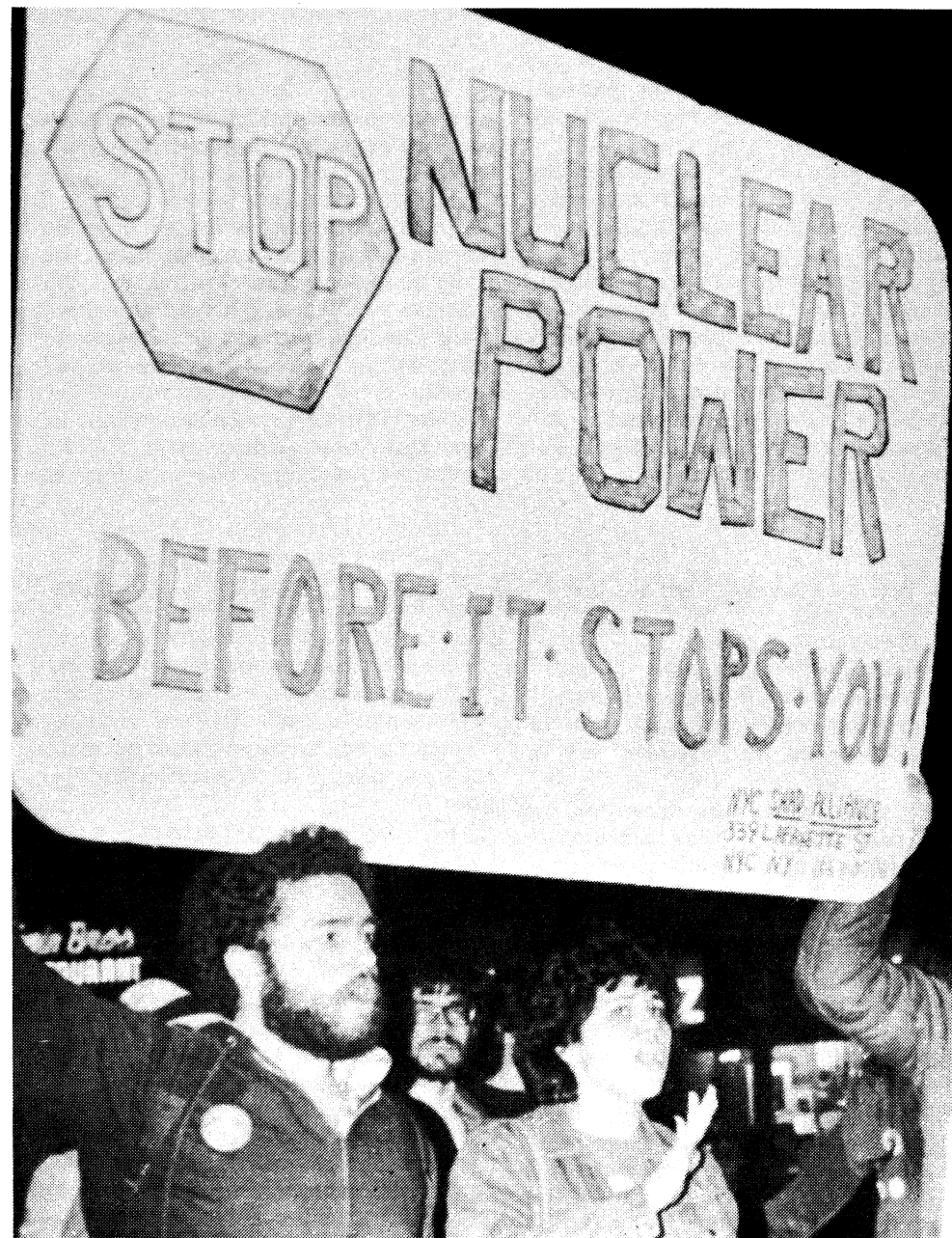
Insisting on development of solar energy as the alternative to nuclear power—regardless of the intentions of the many sincere activists who hold this position—thus cuts across the antinuclear movement's demand to shut all the nukes down now. Not five or ten or twenty years from now—but *now*!

Well, is conservation a reasonable answer while we wait for solar, wind, or tidal energy?

Gogol contends that to propose energy conservation means eliminating waste, not freezing in the dark or having a lower standard of living.

We certainly agree that there is vast waste of energy in this capitalist country. This is because the corporations design, construct, and manufacture solely on the basis of profit rather than what is in the best interests of society.

But whenever energy conservation is proposed as a national objective under capitalism it is *without exception* aimed at working people. According to



Militant/Anne Teesdale

the Democratic and Republican politicians, we drive too far and heat too much. "Energy conservation" always translates as, "Stay at home, turn down the thermostat—and pay higher energy prices to boot."

It is self-defeating for antinuclear activists intent on winning many more to their ranks to give credence to such anti-labor efforts by championing "energy conservation."

Socialist society

It is important to be clear on exactly what we mean by proposing coal as the alternative. We say, "Coal is the answer to how society can keep operating if all the nuclear plants are shut down immediately." No more and no less.

We are *not* saying that coal or any other fossil fuel will necessarily be the preferred energy source under a socialist society, where such decisions will be made rationally on the basis of human needs. We do not pretend to be qualified to make such a judgment in advance.

Nor do we deny that coal use poses environmental problems. But for coal, these problems can be solved, and many already have been.

As the United Mine Workers points out, since World War II the federal government has subsidized the nuclear industry to the tune of \$10 billion. It is still deadly. If even a fraction of that amount were put into research and development of coal technologies, every indication is that coal could be safely and cleanly burned.

'Mobilizing people'

That's what the UMWA is for, and they deserve our support.

Gilbert Lee explains that the demand for coal in place of nuclear power has the "potential for mobilizing the American people around relevant issues like job safety, worker control, opening the bosses books."

Yet he suspects the *Militant* and other proponents of the coal alternative have picked it "partly because of the potential for confrontation and consciousness raising."

Well, in a sense Lee is right. We didn't choose for there to be a confrontation, but there is one. Between those who want to see humanity survive, and the capitalist class that is jeopardizing that survival.

There are powerful forces working to promote nuclear power—from the energy monopolies to the president of the United States. Millions of dollars are poured into advertising campaigns alone to try to convince the American people of its desirability.

Carter's hand-picked Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island was forced to conclude that there is no "guarantee that there will be no serious future nuclear accidents."

But that didn't stop Carter from continuing to push nuclear power. Nor did it deter the House of Representatives from rejecting a bill this month to halt construction of new nuclear reactors.

It will take a powerful movement to win against these odds. And the prospect of bringing into the struggle one of the most powerful industrial unions—one that is "the best organized and best experienced at confronting the system and moving, inspiring people," as Lee describes it—could mean the difference between victory and defeat.

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USWA Local 8888 resists splitting efforts

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—An attempt by company union diehards to break from United Steelworkers Local 8888's bargaining unit is doomed to fail, USWA District 35 Subdirector Jack Hower told the *Militant*.

The splitting effort is being promoted by members of the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association in the mold loft of the Newport News shipyard. There are fewer than 100 workers assigned there, the overwhelming majority of them white. It is the most highly paid department in the yard.

The PSA has petitioned the National Labor Relations Board to separate the unit from Local 8888.

"The PSA is dead," Hower told the *Militant*, "and the sooner everybody realizes it, the better off everybody will be."

Workers in the mold loft voted in the January 1977 union representation election, in which the Steelworkers defeated the PSA as the bargaining agent for production and maintenance employees at the huge shipyard.

Nearly two years later, in the face of the shipyard's recognition of the Steel-



Workers at Newport News shipyard struck for union recognition and will resist any attempt to undermine their solidarity.

workers and in the midst of a massive signup of new union members, the PSA is seeking to peel off some 1,000 workers in the mold loft and elsewhere with the bogus claim of a separate bargaining unit for "technical workers."

"The USWA represents everybody in the shipyard," Hower said. "They [mold loft workers] were production

workers when they voted in the election, they are now, and they will be in the future." A Steelworker elected by mold loft members of Local 8888 serves on the union's negotiating committee.

A second pot shot against the Steelworkers—this one aimed at USWA Local 8417, which represents marine designers—was fired on November 18, when scab designers

launched a fourth attempt to gain a decertification election.

Three previous anti-Steelworker efforts were tossed out by the regional NLRB, the most recent in October.

But anti-union designers, who scabbed against Local 8417's two-and-a-half-year strike, are now taking their decertification petition to the NLRB's national office in Washington, D.C. They claim to have enough signatures to force an election. Leaders of the pro-company designers are working in cahoots with the ragtag remains of the PSA.

Discredited and despised by shipyard workers, the PSA is reduced to sniping attacks on the Steelworkers. The main concern of shipyard workers today is the progress of Local 8888's contract negotiations.

Three preliminary sessions were held prior to the Thanksgiving holiday. Negotiations were set to resume November 28.

The first issue of the "Steelworkers Bargaining Bulletin," published on November 15 by the subdistrict office, reported to members that the negotiations had gotten "off to a good start."

Steelworkers demand better conditions for women

By Maggie McCraw

CHICAGO—On November 14, more than 100 men and women members of United Steelworkers Local 65 picketed the main office at U.S. Steel South Works.

The rally, which was organized by the local's Women's Committee, was endorsed at a membership meeting in October.

U.S. Steel has refused to fulfill its obligation to provide lockers and showers for women workers. A survey by the Women's Committee found that 40 percent of the 500 women workers have inadequate facilities. Twenty percent of the women have no lockers or showers, and another 20 percent share lockers. Several grievances have been filed over the past three years. At the latest meeting with management in October, the union turned down U.S. Steel's inadequate proposals.

The company proposed dislocating men from their lockers and suggested that women be given lockers so far away from their work areas that it would add at least an hour onto their work time and would be impossible to walk to during Chicago's winter.

After this meeting the local called the rally around three demands: "build a locker room at Eighty-Third Street or

fix up the Chem. Lab" (near where the most women without lockers work), "safe, clean, adequate locker rooms for the women in each division without displacing our brothers," and "women are here to stay—fight sex discrimination."

The rally was very spirited, with picket signs reading: "Mice are nice but I'd rather shower alone," and "Fleas—an added benefit for women workers at U.S. Steel."

The son of one Women's Committee member carried a sign reading "Kids want clean moms."

Speakers included members of the Women's Committee and Local 65 President Alice Peurala.

The rally received good coverage from the media, with articles in two papers and wide coverage on radio and television. It also was watched closely by U.S. Steel officials. Throughout the two-hour rally the company took pictures of the participants and brought various foremen out to watch and take down names in their notebooks.

The union and the Women's Committee plan to press grievances around this issue through to arbitration if necessary and plan to make adequate facilities for women a part of the upcoming negotiations on local issues.



By refusing to provide decent locker rooms and toilets, U.S. Steel hopes to drive women out of the mill.

ERA calendar

December 8

San Francisco—"1980—the year for the ERA," sponsored by San Francisco CLUW. At Department Store Employees Local 1100 Hall, 1345 Mission Street.

Harrisburg, Virginia—March and rally from James Madison University to Court Square, sponsored by NOW and LERN. For more information call (804) 269-6331.

Newport News, Virginia—March and rally. Assemble 1 p.m. at 50th Street and Washington Avenue.

December 9

Baltimore—"Labor speaks out for the ERA," rally at 4 p.m. Local 2610 Steelworkers Hall, 540 Dundalk Avenue.

Alexandria, Virginia—Rally at 1 p.m. at Town Square. For more information call (202) 321-7711.

December 11

Pittsburgh—Rally sponsored by Allegheny Labor Council and USWA International. At 7:30 p.m. YMCA, 4th and Wood, Assembly Room.

December 12

Boston—"Labor's case for the ERA" sponsored by CLUW at 7:30, SEIU union hall, 145 Tremont Street.

December 15

Virginia, Minnesota—March and rally sponsored by Mesabi Iron Range NOW chapter. 1 p.m. Silver Lake, march. 2-4 p.m. rally at Carpenter's Hall, 307 N. 1st Street.

December 16

Oakland, California—"Salute to ERA," East Bay CLUW's annual holiday party at 2101 Woodbine.

...ERA

Continued from back page

pointed proudly to his union's involvement in the LERN coalition in Virginia.

Additional speakers came from the postal workers, Chicago CLUW, United Farm Workers, and others.

One of the high points of the meeting was the introduction of the members of the Local 65 Women's Committee. Local 65 President Alice Peurala praised them for doing what she called the "Jenny Higgins" work in the local. ("Jimmy Higgins" is the legendary union stalwart who sees that every chore, no matter how small, gets done.)

As the twenty-five names were read, the women rose to applause from the audience.

The women's committee presented Peurala with a dozen roses in appreciation of her support and inspiration to fighting union women.

To a standing ovation, Peurala said that she had recently accepted a *Ladies Home Journal* award as one of the ten women of the future, "on behalf of hundreds of thousands of women in the labor movement who had in the past and would continue to make such big contributions to labor's cause."

"It will take many organizations working together to win the ERA," she said. "We have the capacity and we certainly have the will. To win the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it took marches and a broad coalition. These laws came about only as a result of mass struggle."

Toni Sterling, a co-chair of the women's committee, closed the meeting. "Members of our committee were in Virginia for the LERN conference, and we will be there January 13," she said. "Failure is impossible."

ATLANTA, December 1—One hundred and fifty people attended a Georgia State AFL-CIO-sponsored benefit for the Equal Rights Amendment held at the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers hall here December 1.

Publicized to all of the AFL-CIO unions in the Atlanta area, rank-and-file workers and union officials—mostly Blacks and women—attended from a number of unions. Many people brought their families.

The program consisted of a panel on the ERA. The January 13 march in Richmond, Virginia, was announced and leaflets for it were on every chair. Twenty-three people signed up to go on buses or in car pools to Virginia.

Proposes company be nationalized

Pulley denounces U.S. Steel cutbacks

Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley was in Pittsburgh the week U.S. Steel announced one of the biggest industrial cutbacks in American history—13,000 jobs eliminated.

Anticipating a company offensive from the Board of Directors meeting scheduled for Tuesday, November 27, Socialist Workers campaign supporters had scheduled a Monday morning news conference for Pulley outside the U.S. Steel headquarters.

Pulley denounced both Carter's war threats against Iran and the company's war threats against steelworkers.

Andrew Pulley himself is a victim of the steel crisis—he is laid off from his production job at U.S. Steel Gary Works along with 5-6,000 other workers.

At his news conference, Pulley praised the steelworkers' vote against company blackmail at the U.S. Steel American Bridge plants a week earlier. "Their refusal to accept a wage freeze

or pay cut represents the fighting mood of labor. They realize the economy is worsening and they won't just let the company take it out on them," the socialist candidate said.

U.S. Steel had threatened to close the American Bridge plants if workers did not agree to the wage freeze.

"We still need steel. We need bridges and construction material. Closing the plants ruins the lives of the workers and their families," Pulley declared. "But the well-being of the workers is no concern of the company. Their only concern is profit."

The socialist candidate offered new proposals: "Nationalize steel. The government should take over these plants and run them in the public interest.

"If we had a labor party—a political party based on the unions—it would fight to prohibit the company from throwing workers out into the street. It tells you a lot to see what the parties that are now in power do: nothing. The Democrats and Republicans show no concern for the lives of workers."

What can be done now?

"The unions, especially the steelworkers, can take action. We can organize special local meetings all around the country. Discuss the layoffs and plant closings. Let's make our protests known.

"Our union can fight to open up the company books. How much money are they really making? What do they do with it? What are their hidden plans for increasing productivity at our expense?

"The union should fight to spread the work around. For a thirty-hour week with forty hours pay. That's a lot better than what the companies are doing: lay some off and work the rest overtime.

"We need more democracy in our unions," Pulley continued. That's the way to strengthen the union for the fights that lie ahead. Mobilize the power of the ranks.

"As a steelworker, I feel very strongly about the right to ratify our contract. We have to live with it. How can anyone but us decide on the contract? I bet when the company and the international let the American Bridge workers vote on their contract they didn't expect them to reject it. That vote shows the workers won't take this lying down."

Pulley's tour in Pittsburgh included campaigning at the gates of two of the biggest steel mills there, U.S. Steel's



Steelworkers march on U.S. Steel headquarters in Pittsburgh protesting elimination of thousands of jobs.

175 rally for right to vote

By Barbara Matson

EAST CHICAGO, Ind.—About 175 supporters of the union membership's right to vote on contracts attended a rally here November 30 sponsored by United Steelworkers Local 1010. With 18,000 members at Inland Steel's Harbor Works, 1010 is the largest local in the union.

Bill Andrews, Local 1010 president, opened the meeting. Also speaking were District 31 Director James Balanoff and local presidents Frank Guzzo of Local 1033 at Republic Steel and Pat Clark of Local 1026 at Blaw-Knox.

Local presidents representing the vast majority of steelworkers in the Chicago-Gary district are on record in favor of the right to ratify. The last three district conferences have passed right-to-ratify resolutions. The issue is to be debated at the USWA Basic Steel Industry Conference of local presidents in Pittsburgh December 6-7.

Over 5,000 signatures on petitions for the right to ratify were brought to the meeting from around the district.

Protest plant closings

Three hundred workers from Youngstown, Ohio, rode buses to Pittsburgh November 30 to protest the latest steel plant closings. They were joined by 100 to 200 steelworkers from the Pittsburgh area in a rally at U.S. Steel Corporation headquarters.

The workers stormed into the building demanding to see David Roderick, the new company chairman, who announced the closings on Tuesday. Neither Roderick nor any other company official appeared.

As the American steel industry cuts production, it is choking off the economic life of entire cities. Most victimized so far is Youngstown. Last week both U.S. Steel and Jones and Laughlin announced the elimination of about 5,000 more jobs there.

Marvin Weinstock, a United Steelworkers staff representative in Youngstown, was quoted there as

saying: "Out of your sweat, out of your muscle they took millions and millions, hundreds of millions and put it in hotels, Disneyland, everywhere except in Youngstown."

Various expressions of the Iran crisis came through at the rally. Ron Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works near Pittsburgh, where the company is cutting at least 100 jobs, said: "Send Roderick and the shah to Iran." This was greeted with loud cheers.

There were also signs reading: "Ayatollah Roderick" and "13,049 hostages." The views of the protesting workers about Iran were not consistent. But they certainly did not represent the war hysteria or readiness to sacrifice for "national unity" the government and news media are trying to whip up.

Another sign that was carried read "People Before Profits."

Homestead and Edgar Thompson Works.

"The response was especially good at Homestead on Tuesday morning," Pulley told the *Militant*. "Many people had seen me on TV the day before.

They were very friendly, came up and shook my hand, wished me luck."

More than eighty people attended the SWP campaign rally in Pittsburgh November 29, with a high proportion coming from the area's steel mills.

Happy Holidays from U.S. Steel

By David Salner

VIRGINIA, Minn.—It was the Wednesday before Thanksgiving in my lunchroom, one of many at U.S. Steel's giant Minntac iron ore mine operation. But instead of eating lunch, everyone started gathering around the bulletin board. So I went over to see what kind of Thanksgiving message the company had put up for us.

"The following employees have been terminated . . ." was the way the notice began.

Without warning, they were axing seventy-six workers who were just about to come off probation. So the company gets out of paying unemployment and health insurance.

They are "terminated," not even "laid off." This means U.S. Steel, the main employer in the area, is not obliged to hire them back in the

David Salner is a laborer at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant and a member of United Steelworkers Local 1938.

future, and probably won't hire back the ones they think are "troublemakers."

Few of the seventy-six will be able to find work in the middle of winter, but all of them will need extra funds to pay for heating fuel bills, which average over \$100 a month this time of year, or to buy Christmas presents for their families.

I double-checked to make sure my name wasn't on the list. I was lucky, because I'd worked overtime shifts and completed my 520-hour probation period ahead of schedule.

In the locker room at the end of the day one of the victims, a laborer, told me he only needed one more shift to get off probation. In another building a worker was terminated with 20 minutes to go.

Both workers asked the company if they could work out their probation, which would at least upgrade their status from "terminated" to "laid off."

Minntac employs almost 5,000 people, so it's clear that these two bor-

derline cases as well as the other seventy-four laborers could easily have been absorbed into the workforce.

But as one member of my crew put it, "They don't care about the human side, we're just a number to them." Most of my crew agreed that the firings—the "Thanksgiving Day Massacre"—were part of a calculated move. The company wants to soften us up and put our union, United Steelworkers Local 1938, on the defensive with negotiations on the basic steel contract coming up in 1980.

USWA Local 1938 and the other Mesabi Range and northern Michigan iron mining locals took the companies on in a 138-day strike over local issues after the last basic steel contract in 1977. In a move to undercut our fighting spirit, the company singled out the probationary employees because of the widespread notion that the union can't defend them.

Actually, it is the duty of the union

to defend all employees in the bargaining unit, no matter what kind of label the company puts on them.

One sentiment expressed by several people on my crew was that the union should take action to get those jobs back, not leave those seventy-six workers out in the cold. The discussions also broadened out.

"Don't worry about layoffs. They're going to send us to war in Iran," one older worker bitterly asserted to a friend of mine. "Once they start spilling blood, business usually picks up."

The war drive—discrimination—big business control of government—these are all ideas that I expect to hear more and more at work.

Everyone knows what the oil companies did, and no one thinks the steel companies are any different.

Yes, the Holiday Greetings being sent our way by U.S. Steel and a few other corporations may not give us much to be thankful for, but they certainly give us a lot to think about.

Gary steelworkers face uncertain future

By Stu Singer

GARY, Ind.—The massive new company attack on steelworkers' jobs hit the headlines November 27, when U.S. Steel announced the closing of sixteen plants and elimination of 13,000 jobs.

Even before the devastating shut-downs, 8,000 to 9,000 steelworkers in the Chicago-Gary area had been laid off. The largest number of these were at the giant Gary Works of U.S. Steel, where conflicting reports put the number between 4,100 and 5,500 out of an hourly workforce of around 20,000.

Gary Works was not directly hit by the November 27 job massacre, but steelworkers here are definitely among the company's intended victims. As the *Wall Street Journal* observed, U.S. Steel's action was "a thinly veiled threat to employees at [Gary Works and Fairfield Works in Birmingham, Alabama] to perform their jobs better or risk losing them."

With the opening of 1980 steel contract talks less than two months away, an industry analyst told the *Journal*, "The company's saying, in effect, that it's time for those steelworkers to ante up some productivity and, after this, the union better believe the company means business."

In Gary a few days before U.S. Steel's catastrophic announcement, I talked with many steelworkers, both working and laid off, to find out how they are getting along and how they see the future.

Blast furnaces down

In addition to the huge Gary Works layoffs, there are some 500 steelworkers laid off at U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago and 800 at Republic Steel's South Chicago mill.

At all three mills the layoffs are supposed to be temporary, while blast furnaces are relined and repaired. The blast furnaces produce molten iron from ore, a key initial step in steelmaking.

At Gary the number 13 blast furnace is down. Workers say this is the first time it has been relined in five years. The lining bricks had been burnt out, they say, to the point that the red-hot glow of the furnace could be seen outside through parts of the shell.

Engineers from Nippon Steel, a Japanese company, are advising in the work on number 13 to increase its output. The plan is more steel production per worker—or fewer workers producing the same amount of steel.

There is irony in the use of Japanese engineers here. Normally U.S. Steel blames everything from layoffs to price hikes on Japanese steel.

At South Works the number 8 furnace is down, and at Republic the only blast furnace is being worked on.

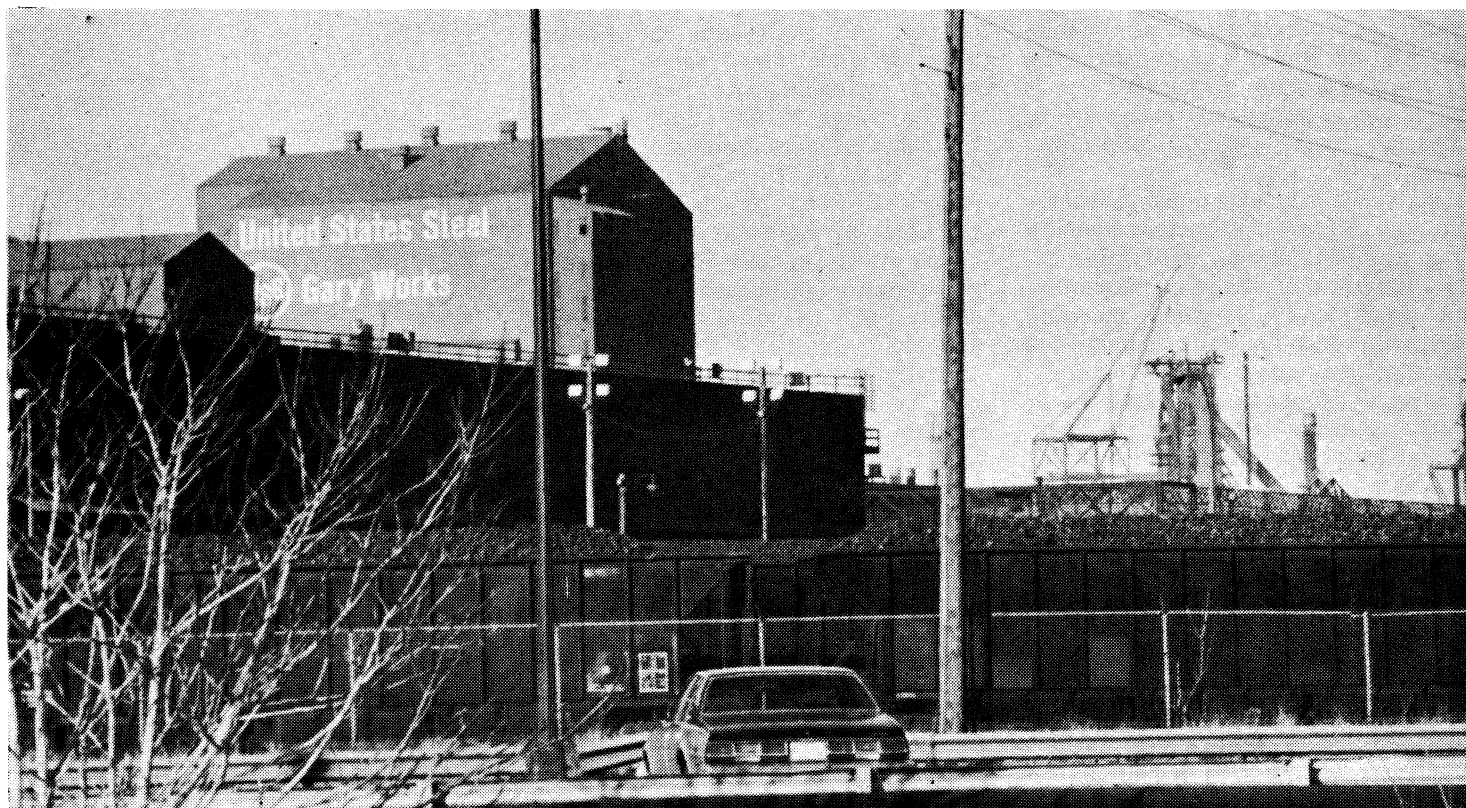
Blast furnace maintenance is a normal procedure, but it is no coincidence the mills are scheduling it now. A Republic spokesman said that "relatively lower business levels were a factor in our timing."

Blamed on strikes

The business problems are blamed on the United Auto Workers strikes at Caterpillar and International Harvester and on the slump in auto sales. Caterpillar and Harvester, makers of construction and agricultural equipment, are two of the biggest buyers of steel from the Chicago-Gary area mills.

Most Gary workers have been certified to receive TRA (Trade Readjustment Allowance) pay supplements while laid off. These federal government funds are authorized for workers supposedly laid off because of imports competing with American steel.

TRA funds are, of course, welcomed by those who get them. But the arbitrariness of the payments introduces a division within the union. For example, Gary workers who make galvanized steel do not get the TRA money because galvanized steel is not im-



At least 4,000 out of 20,000 workers at U.S. Steel Gary Works are laid off. Some layoffs are attributed to repair work on number 13 blast furnace, shown at right, under crane. Militant/Stu Singer

ported. But they pay the same prices at the store.

Linking the unemployment supplement to imports serves to reinforce the company campaign to blame foreign workers for the threat to jobs. With top officials of the United Steelworkers echoing this propaganda, it is not surprising that many workers believe it.

But the cause of these layoffs can easily be traced to U.S., not foreign, sources. Are imports to blame for the intransigence of Caterpillar and Harvester managements, which refuse to come to terms with the UAW? Are imports to blame for U.S. Steel's irrational maintenance procedures, which put short-term profit ahead of long-term production? Are imports to blame for the decline in auto production?

\$74 a week

Unemployment compensation in Indiana is ridiculously low. Workers get about seventy-four dollars a week, with about eleven dollars more for each dependent.

One Indiana State Employment Office is in the Glen Park area of Gary on the south edge of the city. The office does not distribute money, but you have to report every week to maintain your eligibility. The checks are mailed out.

After waiting in line thirty minutes to an hour, you get inside and are asked three questions: Were you eligible to work last week? Did you work? Did you refuse any work?

The normal answers for a laid-off steelworker are "yes, no, no." There is no pretense that other jobs might be available.

The state employment office also handles the federal TRA money. Workers eligible for TRA can receive \$250 minus what they get in unemployment compensation.

In addition, laid-off steelworkers are eligible for Supplemental Unemployment Benefits after working for two years. SUB pay was negotiated by the union, but is in a fund administered by the company. As long as the money holds out, it provides roughly the difference between unemployment compensation and average weekly take-home pay.

Disparities

All these programs lead to big disparities in what a worker can get.

Roderick Powell, twenty-eight, has been at Gary Works six years. His father has a lot of seniority and is still working in the mill.

Powell was laid off from his job in quality control on September 30. He has two children, both girls; his wife works as a waitress. With unemployment, TRA, and SUB he makes about fifty dollars a week more laid off than when he was working. But his family has cut back its standard of living while on layoff because the checks come erratically.

"I think it's unusual that both furnaces in Gary and South Works are down at the same time," he says. "The company says orders are down, but you never see the books."

Powell is Black and grew up in Gary. He went into the army after high school and was sent to Vietnam. "I thought the war was okay, but I changed my mind once I got there," he says.

What about Iran? "I don't think we should send back the shah. But I don't think Iran has anything to do with gas prices. That's a case of Israel and the oil companies dictating to us."

Would he volunteer to fight if there is a war in Iran? He looks at me as if I'm crazy. "No way. One time was enough."

Etta Ettlinger, twenty-five, has been at Gary Works a year and a half. She is a motor inspector on cranes that remove molds from the steel ingots. She was laid off October 6, the day she was supposed to start two weeks of apprentice school.

"Missing those two weeks of school will set me back a full year in my apprentice program. I heard of some people who were laid off in the middle of their two weeks school. I don't know if it was planned that way or not."

'Money comes so irregularly'

Ann Barney is thirty-eight and has five children, two of them working. She works at the Broadway machine shop in Gary Works and was also laid off October 6.

Barney gets unemployment, SUB, and TRA. "I have to be very careful with my money even though I'm supposedly getting seventy-five or a hundred dollars more every two weeks than when I was working. The money comes so irregularly. You have to pay for food and the house and you never know when the next check will come."

She expects to get her job back this time, but she's worried about future layoffs. "If they don't produce cars, they won't produce much steel. The layoffs are also caused by foreign steel and by bad management. Inland has better management and they aren't having layoffs."

Barney acknowledges that Inland is not a "foreign steel" competitor and that foreign competition may not really have much to do with the U.S. Steel layoffs.

Inland's giant Indiana Harbor Works is in East Chicago, Indiana, just west of Gary. A company spokesman said they have had ten layoffs recently, out of an hourly workforce of about 18,000. The ten were probationary workers in the open hearth, which is temporarily shut down.

It is hard to tell whether Inland management is more or less incompetent than that at U.S. Steel, as several people suggested. The two mills are designed for somewhat different markets.

I ask Ann Barney about the shah. "Send him back, at least to Mexico," she says.

A worker next to her declares: "Put some chains on him and send him back to Iran."

Then Barney says, "Why ask me? They don't care what we think. They'll just do whatever they want anyway. Look at Carter. He said everyone should sacrifice about the gas shortage. But he's still driving around in those big limousines. He's not sacrificing. I sacrifice every time I go to the grocery store."

'Become a Canadian'

Tim Polovitch is a tall, long-haired young man from Gary who works in the blooming mill, where the ingots are shaped into long, thick "blooms" before going to the rolling mills.

Polovitch has been laid off for a couple of weeks after being at Gary Works more than two years. He has not gotten TRA money yet. He expects work to pick up once the blast furnace is relined.

He knows he is draft-bait if there is a new war. What will he do if that happens? "I'll become a Canadian."

Laid-off workers I talked to did not seem desperate. Most expect to get their jobs back. The newest workers, including a disproportionate number of women, are having a hard time financially.

Those with more seniority, especially if they get TRA, may be suffering from government inefficiency but not yet losing money because of the layoffs.

These people do not seem too worried about the immediate future, but they are uneasy looking further ahead.

Now, with U.S. Steel sacrificing 13,000 workers' jobs to show it "means business" in driving for higher productivity and lower wages, both fear and anger are likely to increase.

Demand that gov't halt exile terrorism

By Harry Ring

Leaders of the Cuban community in the United States have opened a campaign to compel the federal government to act against counterrevolutionary exile terrorists.

The move comes in the wake of the November 25 assassination of Eulalio José Negrín in Union City, New Jersey.

Negrín was a member of the Committee of 75, leaders of the Cuban community abroad who travelled to Havana in November 1978 for the opening of a "dialogue" with the Cuban government.

That dialogue resulted in the release by Cuba of 3,600 prisoners convicted of crimes against the revolution. It also made it possible for some 100,000 Cuban emigrants in this country to visit their homeland in the past year.

Bitterly opposed to the dialogue, and increasingly isolated in the Cuban community, the counterrevolutionary killers have escalated their terrorist efforts.

One of these gangs, Omega 7, took credit for gunning down Negrín in front of his twelve-year-old son.

The Committee of 75 has appealed to individuals and organizations to send telegrams to President Carter demanding that he take action to put a halt to the terrorism.

Last April in Puerto Rico, counterre-



New York demonstration welcoming Fidel Castro to United Nations. Growing sentiment for normalization of U.S. relations with Cuba has driven counterrevolutionaries into a frenzy.

volutionaries assassinated Carlos Muñiz, a supporter of the Committee of 75. Muñiz operated one of the travel agencies that organized family reunification visits to Cuba.

There have also been a number of bombings directed against proponents of the dialogue.

Before his assassination, Negrín had his office bombed and received a series of death threats.

Union City officials, who have close political ties to the counterrevolutionaries, turned a deaf ear to his pleas for protection.

After a visit by a delegation of Cubans, the FBI announced November 28 that it would officially enter the investigation of the Negrín murder.

Meanwhile, on December 3, the first regular charter flight from Newark to Havana had to shift its scheduled departure to Kennedy Airport.

The first of seventeen December flights to Havana for members of the Cuban community in the New York-New Jersey area, the flight was switched after the company that was to provide ground service pulled out. Officials of the company said threats

of terrorist action were received from Omega 7.

The Cubana Airlines plane left from Kennedy without incident.

Shielded by officials, local and federal, the exile terrorists represent a serious threat.

But they are becoming increasingly isolated within the Cuban community.

A reflection of this was an editorial on the Negrín assassination in the November 28 issue of *El Diario*. This New York Spanish-language daily states that, "We bow to no one" in opposing "the oppressive Castro regime."

Despite that opposition, *El Diario* declared that the Negrín murder "must be condemned in the strongest possible terms."

The paper declared that, "Those who claim responsibility for the act must be hunted down by police authorities and sentenced to the stiffest penalties provided by law."

The editorial added:

"The authorities too bear their full share of the blame for the success of these activities. It is inconceivable to us that the Union City police could not protect a man who had been threatened numerous times in the past months."

"It is also inconceivable that the FBI has no clues as to who committed the act when a well-known gang claims responsibility for it."

Counterrevolutionaries an isolated minority

For many years it was assumed that counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles had a strong base among the Cuban emigré population.

The impressive support extended to the proponents of a dialogue with Cuba has demonstrated that this is not so.

Despite threats from the counterrevolutionary terrorists, an increasing number of Cubans in this country have spoken out and acted in favor of ending the blockade of Cuba and establishing a policy of friendship.

A principal proponent of such a position has been the Rev. Manuel Espinosa of Miami. A leading figure in the Committee of 75, Rev. Espinosa has stood fast in the face of persistent counterrevolutionary threats on his life.

On October 12, he led a group of more than 100 people from Miami to participate in a demonstration at the United Nations welcoming Fidel Castro.

At the demonstration, Rev. Espinosa was interviewed by *Perspectiva Mundial*. The following is a translation of a section of that interview.

* * *

Question: What possibility do you see that, with the new upsurge of activities in defense of Cuba, the blockade will be lifted?

Answer: One of the biggest problems that we've confronted is that for years the U.S. government has been using the Cuban community as a Trojan horse in order to say that relations can't be improved.

But the 80,000 Cubans who have visited Cuba since the dialogue was started have been the best answer to that. They have demonstrated the support for establishing relations.

Now it is the community itself which is asking that the blockade be lifted. Now it isn't only the Puerto Ricans, the Black Americans, the Chicanos, now it is the Cubans themselves.

Cubans who were once used by the U.S. government have now opened their eyes, have begun to understand that we have roots that go back to our homeland.

We are a majority that is speaking out, but they try to muffle our voices. They won't cover us in the newspapers, they limit our freedom of movement, they let the terrorists act with impunity.

For example, on September 7 terrorists put a bomb in my church. The authorities gave me names of suspects. They have not been arrested.

There have been eight attempts on my life. There have been attacks on people who were involved in the Dialogue with Cuba; recently they attacked the Antonio Maceo Brigade when they showed a film.

There has even been reliable information that they were going to try to assassinate me here this afternoon.

Those [counterrevolutionary] groups that are marching today up the street don't represent even one percent of those who have travelled to Cuba.

Q. And how do you see the role of the North American people in this struggle?

A. The North American people are waking up now. After the movement against the Vietnam war, they began to open their eyes and are now raising their voices in a better understanding of the smallest nations, nations which want to live in peace, nations which are independent, which are no longer colonies of the Yankees and who have the same right as the United States to carry out the plans that they consider best and to follow the road that they believe necessary to build a better future for their children.

Q. What impact do you think Fidel's visit will have on public opinion in the Hispanic community in the United States?

A. It was a brave gesture, a gesture worthy of a chief of state in a difficult situation.

They tried to discredit the visit of the president of Cuba here with the comedy of a so-called crisis [of the 'Soviet combat brigade' in Cuba]. In this way they try to create adverse conditions and the kind of atmosphere of panic they have used here for many years.

Here we have demonstrated that fear

has been defeated. The people here represent many different nationalities, and this is what is important, they represent the solidarity of the different peoples. Because you can struggle, but if you don't have solidarity you are forsaken, you are an orphan. And this demonstration shows one thing: the Cuban people are not alone.

Q. Is your organization in Miami in touch with groups in other cities that oppose the blockade?

A. Well, I'm pastor of a church which has 5,000 members. I am secretary general of the Christian Civic Move-

ment, which is organized throughout the United States. We are in touch with all members of the Christian community who were in Cuba and with the Committee of 75 that went to meet with the Cuban government.

Q. What are your plans for the immediate future?

A. First, to increase the pressure on the authorities to stop the terrorists once and for all. The government knows who they are, it has their names, and it knows all about their movements because the government trains them.

Voices of revolution

"We represent the immense majority of humanity."
Fidel Castro at the UN

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Literacy campaign: the Cuban example

Children of the Revolution. By Jonathan Kozol. Delacorte Press, New York, 1978, 245 pages.

Children of the Revolution is Jonathan Kozol's inspiring and thought-provoking account of the Cubans' battle for literacy, begun in 1961. UNESCO has called this campaign "a success story that has no end." Its implications and relevance for the United States are immense.

At the beginning of the campaign, nearly one million Cuban adults (one out of four) were illiterate.

Many of these people were peasants in remote mountain villages. The literacy campaign would be brought to them. They would be given instruction on a one-to-one or -two basis.

Books

The entire Cuban population was mobilized to participate in and contribute to this campaign. Posters, television, and radio sent the message out: "Those who know, teach. Those who don't, learn. Every Cuban a teacher, every house a school."

The young volunteer-teachers, known as brigadistas, were divided into brigades and were trained at a special camp, Varadero, for seven to ten days. The brigadistas were instructed in the use of two essential teaching aids—a book of oral readings (*Alfabetizadores*), which also served as a teacher's manual, and the learner's primer (*Venceremos*).

These booklets were prepared after an extensive search for "charged" or "active" words, words or ideas that come from the actual experience and interest of the learner.

The fifteen lessons in the primer were developed around these "active" words. For example, the chapter entitled "The Land" begins:

"The campesinos now at last are owners of the land.

"The campesinos cultivate their land.

"The Cuban land is rich."

A sense of solidarity

As part of the brigadistas' training, a great deal of emphasis was placed on the issue of "the city to the country." Building a sense of solidarity between the educated urban residents and the isolated peasants was one of the objectives of the literacy struggle.

"The goal of the campaign was always greater than to teach poor people how to read. The dream was to enable those two portions of the population who had been most instrumental in the process of the revolution from the first to find a common bond, a common spirit, and a common goal. The peasants discovered the word. The students discovered the



The Black Scholar

Illiteracy is a tool of repression used by reactionary regimes to keep workers and peasants under control. Cuba's 1961 literacy drive was part of program of liberation to prepare the masses to run their own lives and their own country.

poor. Together they all discovered their own *patria*." (Dr. Mier Febles)

The attitude of the brigadistas was also considered important. They were advised to avoid an authoritarian tone.

Dr. Ferrer, vice-coordinator of the campaign, explained: "The goal for us was to instruct the brigadistas not to try to imitate the condescending manner of the kinds of teachers they had known in public schools before the revolution. This was one-half the job of preparation . . . we emphasized to the brigadistas that the campesino, even though he is an adult, is extremely vulnerable in many ways. Courtesy—not falsified flattery, but feelings of respect and of affectionate collaboration—seemed essential to convey right from the start."

A well-defined sequence of conversation, reading, practice, and exercise was devised for the brigadistas to follow. The young teachers were also charged with the responsibility of keeping accurate records of the learner's previous experience, attendance, and progress. Each brigadista was equipped with a few pieces of clothing, a hammock, a lantern for travel, and studying light, and their primer and teacher's manual.

One former brigadista, Armando Valdez, summarized his reactions and experience as a young literacy teacher in this way:

"I never could have known that people lived in such conditions. I was the child of an educated, comfortable family. . . . It was, for me, the dying of an old life and the start of something absolutely new. . . . I did not need to read of this in Marx, in Lenin, in Marti. I did not need to read of what I saw before my eyes. I cried each night. I wrote my mother and my father. I was only twelve years old. I was excited to be part of something which had never happened in our land before."

Impressive results

The results of this literacy campaign were impressive. At the end of nine months, 707,212 (out of 979,207) illiterate adults had been taught to read and write at a minimal level, and less than 5 percent of Cuba's population remained illiterate.

No other country in Latin America had ever succeeded in bringing the rate as low as 8 percent. In fact, in 1960, the median for all of Latin America was 32.5 percent. By way of comparison, in 1973, UNESCO estimated the illiteracy rate in the United States as 6.6 percent.

Kozol goes on to tell of the Battle for the Sixth Grade, the follow-up to the first part of the literacy campaign. Five hundred thousand adults were successfully involved in this campaign.

Education today

The current goal in Cuba is for all citizens over fifteen years to reach the ninth grade level in the next few years. Today, the illiteracy rate in Cuba is less than 2 percent.

During the initial phase of the literacy campaign, 10,000 new schools were established. In 1976, the education ministry had a budget of 960 million pesos, compared to the 80 million pesos spent in 1958 under Batista. Education accounts for the single largest area in the budget, including military costs.

The socialist transformation of Cuba made it possible to mobilize the tremendous resources—human and material—necessary to teach a nation to read and write. In the U.S., a similar transformation will be necessary to eradicate illiteracy. Capitalism, under which private profit for the super-rich comes before meeting human needs, uses illiteracy to help keep a segment of the population uneducated, unskilled, and unemployed.

Only when the U.S. government represents the vast majority—working people, Blacks, Latinos, women—as does the Cuban government, will illiteracy be eliminated. Such a socialist reconstruction of society will open a new era in human progress in the field of education and every other area of human endeavor.

—Brenda Brdar

Nicaraguan film: 'Necessity for the revolution'

By Nancy Cole

During the last stages of the civil war that drove dictator Somoza from Nicaragua, the liberation fighters realized the need to document the revolution.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), however, had no film equipment nor skilled filmmakers—all that was in the camp of Somoza.

So the FSLN put out an international appeal for filmmakers willing to take part in the Nicaraguan revolution.

Emilio Rodríguez, a Puerto Rican filmmaker, was living in New York at the time. A socialist, Rodríguez viewed a victory for the Nicaraguan people as one way to help his own people achieve liberation from U.S. domination. In April 1979 he joined the FSLN war correspondents corps.

Rodríguez was in Detroit November 17 and 18 as part of the Nicaraguan delegation to the second national conference on Nicaragua. He planned to

stay in the United States for several weeks to raise money for the newly formed INCINE (Nicaraguan Film Institute).

"We filmed the FSLN training camps, the underground life" of the liberation fighters during the revolution, he told the *Militant*. At one point he was wounded and hospitalized for several weeks.

The camera crew entered Managua four days before the final insurrection in July.

On July 20, three days after Somoza fled, Rodríguez and others took over Somoza's film offices and formed INCINE.

Today they have a team of thirty-five Nicaraguan filmmakers, all trained during the past year by Rodríguez and Cubans.

"It might seem that to make movies would be a luxury that Nicaragua can't afford," says Rodríguez. "But it isn't. It's a necessity."

Somoza left a nation that is 65 percent illiterate, with the percentage even higher in many rural areas of the country. The massive literacy drive, although a top priority of the new government, will take time.

Reaching the people through film is an important part of consolidating the revolution.

One of INCINE's priority projects is a series of fifteen-to-twenty-minute black and white newsreels. Beginning in January, one newsreel a month will be distributed to movie theaters throughout Nicaragua to be shown as shorts before the regular feature films.

These newsreels will eventually be distributed elsewhere, with the priority being Latin America. They're working on subtitling so that the films can also be shown in non-Spanish-speaking countries.

The first newsreel will be on the nationalization of Nicaragua's foreign-held mines. It will include information

on how important the gold mines were for Somoza and interviews with miners on the unsafe working conditions under the dictator's rule.

INCINE also plans four feature-length documentaries next year. The first will be on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, the area most oppressed and exploited under decades of Somozaism.

As in every area of Nicaraguan reconstruction and cultural recovery, INCINE needs funds and equipment to carry through these ambitious projects. The thirty-five millimeter equipment being used for the newsreels is old and in need of repair. They don't yet have sixteen millimeter cameras needed for the color documentaries.

To contribute money or equipment, contact COMU-NICA, 512 Broadway, New York, New York 10012 (212) 226-2796. COMU-NICA works with the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

Wall posters condemn 'trial'

Protests hit jailing of Chinese dissident

By Dan Dickeson

When Wei Jingsheng, one of the best-known dissident activists in China, was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment in a show trial in Peking October 16, it drew an immediate, angry reaction.

Wall posters denouncing the "iniquitous trial" began appearing on "Democracy Wall" October 18, as Wei's supporters went on a campaign to protest the sentence, and even defied the authorities by publishing the transcript of Wei's courtroom defense. As a result at least five persons have been arrested, including dissident editor Liu Qing.

Wei, the editor of the unofficial magazine *Explorations*, was convicted on charges of "counterrevolutionary agitation" and "supplying a foreigner with Chinese military intelligence" during the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. His appeal to a higher court was rejected November 6.

Authorities had packed the courtroom for the supposedly public trial, forcing Wei's family and activists who supported him to wait outside during the six-hour hearing. Wei rejected the services of a state-appointed lawyer, and chose to speak in his own defense. (See excerpts below.)

Verdict, then trial

If Wei's trial was intended to demonstrate that things have changed since the days of Mao, it was a dismal flop. Journalists at the official Xinhua news agency had reportedly begun writing the reports of his conviction before the trial was over.

A sign of official concern over the unpopularity of the verdict was a massive media campaign launched to justify Wei's conviction and sentence. For at least two weeks after the trial the



South China Morning Post
Protest at offices of Xinhua news agency in Hong Kong October 29 demands release of Wei Jingsheng. Action was sponsored by Revolutionary Marxist League.

press and broadcast media ran story after story slandering Wei. Particular emphasis was placed on the accusation of "passing secrets" to foreigners in return for cash.

Despite the media witch-hunt against Wei—and by extension against other fighters for democratic rights—a number of courageous activists sought to publicize the truth about the case. Within a week of the trial, the editors of the dissident journal *April 5 Forum* began pasting up the transcript of the trial in installments on Democracy Wall in Peking. The text was apparently based on a tape recording smuggled out of the courtroom by a spectator.

On November 11, the trial transcripts in pamphlet form went on sale at Democracy Wall. But this time police moved in, and after an angry shoving match with hundreds of trans-

cript buyers and bystanders, seized most of the pamphlets and arrested four persons.

Activists later went to the police station to demand to know what those arrested were being charged with, given that the contents of the pamphlets were material from a supposedly public trial. Police officials could give no answer, but when a second delegation went to the station, *April 5 Forum* editor Liu Qing was arrested.

'Democracy movement'

Wei was arrested in late March, in one of a series of government attacks against the new dissident movement that has grown up since November 1978. An estimated twenty other activists were also arrested, new restrictions on the pasting up of wall posters were imposed, and the official press went on a campaign to discredit the

"democracy movement," thundering in particular against activists who had contacts with foreigners.

The witch-hunt whipped up over "suspicious" dealings between dissidents and foreigners represented an attempt by the regime to cut the dissidents off from any international solidarity, and also to prevent them from reaching a broader audience within China.

Dissident activists cultivate relationships with foreign journalists so that they can find out about news the official Chinese media do not report. In addition, reports on the dissidents that appear in the foreign press are reproduced in the foreign press summary distributed to ten million government and party officials throughout China, and are often picked up by the Chinese-language broadcasts of the BBC and the Voice of America.

But although the crackdown earlier this year was harsh, it did not crush the fledgling movement for democratic rights. For a few months after the arrests, other authors of wall posters steered clear of the most controversial topics, and some dissident magazines suspended publication, at least for a time.

But the "democracy movement" did not die out; on the contrary, dissident publications spread to other major cities, including Shanghai, Guangzhou (Canton), and Tianjin (Tientsin).

These publications, from which articles are often reproduced as wall posters, have become the forum for a lively discussion among dissidents. Some magazines devote much of their space to reprinting letters from their readers, or important articles from the dissident press in other cities.

Of course the publishers of the dissident magazines, and their readers and

Continued on page 26

Wei Jingsheng's courtroom defense

The following has been excerpted from the transcript of Wei Jingsheng's testimony in court. We have taken the translation from the November 15 'New York Times.'

* * *

I believe the charges enumerated in the prosecutor's indictment are untenable. I published articles and wrote big-character posters on the basis of Article 45 of the Constitution, which says that citizens have the freedom of speech, correspondence, assembly, publication, association, parade, demonstration and strike as well as freedom to write big-character posters and hold big debates.

On the first charge, the indictment states that a counterrevolutionary crime is committed when our country's military intelligence is given to a foreigner. The word military intelligence is a very broad concept. Citizens have the duty to keep secrets, but the premise is that citizens must know what secrets are to be kept.

I was never told of the secrets I must keep. After the outbreak of the Chinese-Vietnamese war, I had no

access to anything classified as secret.

I am an ordinary man in the street and my source of information was hearsay and not any official government documents. The news I talked about could not cause any harm to the situation on the front line. I took this into account beforehand.

For instance, I mentioned the name of the commander in chief at the front. Who has ever heard that one side ever lost a battle because the other side knows the name of the commander?

Second, the indictment states that I carried out counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation. If this is so, we should first clarify what is revolution and what is counterrevolution.

Because of the policy of hoodwinking the people adopted by the Gang of Four, some people have the following view: It is revolutionary to act in accordance with the will of the leaders in power and counterrevolutionary to oppose the will of the people in power.

I cannot agree with this debasing of the concept of revolution. Revolution is the struggle between the old and the new.

Third, the indictment says I "slandered Marxism-Leninism Mao Ze-

dong thought as a prescription only slightly better than the medicine peddled by charlatans." I did not. No things exist in the world that never change from beginning to end. Marxism is no exception.

After 100 years of development, Marxism has been successively changed into many different branches, for example, Kautskyism, Leninism, Trotskyism, Stalinism, Mao Zedong thought and Eurocommunism.

The fate of Marxism is like that of many schools of thought in history. Its revolutionary essence was emasculated after its second and third generations. Some of the ideals of its teachings have been used by rulers as the pretext for enslaving people.

Is this not a prescription that is only slightly better than the medicine peddled by charlatans?

Fourth, the indictment states that I "put forth the banner of so-called freedom of speech and the demand for democracy and human rights to agitate for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

I must point out that freedom of speech is not a wild allegation, but is guaranteed in black and white in the Constitution.

The tone in which the prosecutor

talks about that right shows not only that he is prejudiced in his thinking, but that he has forgotten his responsibility to protect the democratic rights of citizens.

The prosecutor accuses me of trying to overthrow the socialist system. In the course of my editing, our publication *Explorations* has never engaged in conspiracy or violence.

Explorations is a journal of theoretical investigation on public sale. It has never taken the overthrow of the government as its aim.

The prosecutors perhaps do not agree with my theories. In my several conversations with them we have talked about this. I would just like to add a point. The Constitution gives the people the right to criticize leaders because they are human beings and not deities. Only through criticism and supervision by the people can they reduce their errors.

Criticism cannot possibly be nice and appealing to the ear or all correct. To require criticism to be entirely correct and to inflict punishment if it is not is the same as prohibiting criticism and reforms and elevating the leaders to the position of deities. Is it really true that we must again take the path of superstition of the Gang of Four?

The above is my defense.

Class polarization deepening

Brazil: movement for workers party

By Socorro Ramírez

Until the end of 1978, the opposition to the Brazilian dictatorship seemed to be an undifferentiated grouping dominated by factions of the liberal bourgeoisie, such as the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB—Brazilian Democratic Movement), the official opposition party.

Since then, however, differing class perspectives have led to a process of differentiation within the opposition. The appearance of the workers movement in the struggle against the dictatorship—in strikes, street demonstrations, and in the debate over how to carry out the officially sponsored reorganization of political parties—has significantly changed the situation.

Following the May 1978 metalworkers strike in Santo André, São Bernardo, and São Caetano—the industrial suburbs of São Paulo known as ABC—and the later meetings of the metalworkers unions as well as other unions, a proposal to build a Workers Party was put forward.

It was proposed as a party “without bosses, without foremen, and without sell-outs, a party that would fight to defend the economic and democratic rights of the workers and for socialism” as “Lula” [Luis Inácio da Silva], the leader of the São Paulo metalworkers, put it in presenting the proposed definition of the party.

Pressure on military

Under the pressure of rising opposition to military rule and the economic crisis shaking Brazil, Gen. João Baptista de Figueiredo, who has been president of the country since last March, has proposed a series of political reforms that he calls a “democratic opening.”

These include the possibility of legalizing other political parties besides the two officially sanctioned ones—ARENA (Aliança Renovadora Nacional—Alliance for National Renewal) and the MDB.

It is within this context that the moves to establish a Workers Party take place.

The discussion now taking place on the reorganization of political parties is not simply restricted to the proposal and the initiatives made by the military dictatorship.

Figueiredo is looking for a way to set up a loyal parliamentary majority, as well as to form an independent liberal party that would be based on the bourgeois opposition but would remain an auxiliary of the regime.

Through his “proposals for an opening,” Figueiredo is trying to come up with an authorized representative with whom he can negotiate and ratify his regime’s self-reform. Above all he is looking for a partner who, through a combination of repression and concession, will be able to control and demobilize the workers movement.

Through “reorganization of political parties” the dictatorship hopes to resolve the crisis that the two-party ARENA-MDB system is going through, and to establish new forms of domination that correspond to the new situation, particularly to the rise of the workers movement.

The discussion over whether ARENA and the MDB should be retained or dropped takes place in this context. Numerous possible courses are being proposed. Some call for the possible dismantling of the MDB to benefit Leonel Brizola’s populist Brazilian Labor Party. The so-called “authentic” group of MDB parliamentary deputies



Striking metalworkers demonstrate in São Paulo. Hundreds of thousands struck during November, seeking wage increases to catch up with 64 percent annual inflation. Unions were subjected to severe police brutality and repression, with hundreds of strikers arrested.

is for the formation of a “People’s Party.”

Others call for maintaining the unity of the MDB as the vehicle for “unity of all the oppositionists.” The Brazilian Communist Party supports this proposal. So do the “historic leaders and the moderates of the MDB,” who hope to use it to their benefit.

The proposal for a Workers Party is a response to all these proposals.

‘Movement for Workers Party’

A “Movement for the Workers Party” has been established and is beginning to set up committees in several regions. The idea has assumed a national dimension, although on an organizational level it is still developing slowly and unevenly.

The proposal for the Workers Party is the expression of the present rise in the class struggle in Brazil. The push was given by what are called the “authentic” trade-union leaders (not to be confused with the wing of the MDB that uses the same designation).

They began to develop links with class-struggle currents that arose in recent struggles (administration, banks, teaching, construction, etc.) as well as links with trade-union opposition forces who for a long time were the only organized expression of the workers movement’s resistance to the dictatorship and to state control over the unions.

In most of the present struggles the workers are placing their confidence in the strike leaders, the strike command centers that are elected by general assemblies of workers. There are numerous strike command centers and their leaderships ultimately accepted the idea of building a Workers Party.

These leaders have been strengthening the pro-Workers Party nuclei and committees, the majority of which are made up of the leaders of recent strikes, “authentic” unionists, and members of the trade-union opposition.

The members of the trade-union opposition came in following long discussions on the program of the Workers Party and are, on the whole, integrated into the work of building the party.

Meetings of unions, meetings to support and set up the Workers Party, are taking place every week in many regions. In São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul, and Rio de Janeiro the proposal has begun to take concrete shape.

Important discussions on the question of how to organize the Workers Party have also taken place in Belo Horizonte—for example discussions on creating nuclei that can intervene in various areas of struggle: in the factories, the schools, committees against the high cost of living, and committees for general amnesty.

Union leaders meet

The process has particularly accelerated since the Contagem (Minas Gerais) meeting last July 28, which determined the platform and structure of the Workers Party.

In Porto Alegre the coordinating committee was enlarged through carrying out massive propaganda about the Platform of Principles and the Program in community organizations and neighborhoods, among unions and political groupings and organizations, as well as within the student movement.

There is, for example, a nucleus among bank employees that began several months ago to organize payment of monthly dues, to search for offices to function from and to set up a newspaper.

From August 2 to August 6 a national meeting of trade-union leaders was held in Gragoata (Rio de Janeiro) under the auspices of the Centro Brasileiro Democrático (Brazilian Democratic Center). This was the first such meeting since the 1964 coup. Many trade unionists from cities and from the countryside attended. Despite the absence of representatives of the trade-union oppositions, the meeting was very large and very representative.

This meeting played a preponderant role in analyzing the economic and political situation and especially in analyzing the perspectives outlined for the workers movement.

In the face of the severe economic crisis and the austerity that is hitting the working class, the meeting viewed the need to prepare a call for a general strike as one of the central tasks that must be undertaken.

Basic demands of the population—such as the “struggle against inflation, against the increase in the cost of living, for general wage increases, and for job security”—were taken up in the “Gragoata Charter.” Several places in the charter contain declarations in favor of “trade-union freedom and rights,” as well as declarations for a “general amnesty” and “against the

dictatorship.”

The meeting counterposed the slogan of “a free and sovereign constituent assembly” to Figueiredo’s proposals for a “democratic opening” and “institutionalization.”

At the same time, the meeting demanded the “dismantling of the repressive apparatus” and the “annulment of repressive measures.”

Concerning the situation of the trade-union movement, they came out for trade-union unity and for building a “United Workers Federation.”

Their declarations were also completely clear regarding the need to fight for a union structure freed from verticalism—the situation where each union functions in isolation from unions in other fields. This division and atomization of the workers movement is a relic of state and police control over the unions.

Demands for the establishment of “factory committees” elected by union assemblies to negotiate contracts through collective bargaining, as well as for the election of trade-union delegates with job security were among those adopted by the unionists. Also adopted was the demand for the creation of a trade-union coordinating body.

Discussions regarding the Workers Party were an important part of the deliberations that took place in Gragoata. Two proposals were debated—the “authentic” trade-union leaders supported the formation of the Workers Party, while Communist trade-union leaders proposed maintaining the unity of the MDB.

While the CPers explained that a proletarian party, the CP, already existed (since 1922), others called for a fight to legalize the CP and, more generally, to legalize all the parties now underground.

The representative of the São Paulo leatherworkers union stated: “Comrades from the CP, you must leave the MDB. That party is not a workers party. If you cannot get your party legalized, enter the Workers Party as a way of functioning legally. Tendencies will exist within it, because we would be utopians if we did not recognize the different tendencies within the workers movement.”

In the course of the debate it was decided that no position would be adopted on this question because some unionists did not agree with the major-

ity, who favored the Workers Party proposal, and there seemed to be no way to force them to take up this slogan among their rank and file.

Obstacles remain

While it is clear that the proposal to set up a Workers Party is a significant step forward for the working class on the road to its political independence, and while it illustrates the level of organization, combativity, and consciousness attained by the Brazilian workers movement, the proposal still faces objective obstacles and important subjective limitations and deficiencies. We should take note of at least some of them.

1. The first obstacle is the low level of consciousness, political education, and organizational experience of most of the union leaders who call for the formation of the Workers Party. This low level of consciousness is also one of the characteristics of the new layer of fighting, class-struggle unionists who have emerged in the recent struggles against the employers and the dictatorship.

2. The Brazilian Communist Party clearly opposes the proposal to set up the Workers Party and continues to argue for work inside the MDB. Other organizations, centrists such as the pro-Albanian Communist Party of Brazil, the Aliança Popular Marxista-Leninista, and the Movimento Revolucionário do 8 de Outubro are also against this proposal. Only centrist organizations like the MEP (Movement for the Emancipation of the Proletariat) and Trotskyist organizations like the Socialist Convergence and the POC (Communist Workers Party) are politically taking part in the discussion on the program and organization of the Workers Party.

3. Another big obstacle could be the reestablishment of the old Brazilian Labor Party (PTB), the populist organization led by Leonel Brizola. With strong support from the European Social Democracy and counting on a certain amount of "flexibility" from the dictatorship, the PTB is attempting to make a big reentry onto the political scene and to take over the Workers Party's political space.

4. In trying to build the Workers Party, the class-struggle militants in the unions run up against the maintenance of the vertical trade-union structure controlled by the state and by the dictatorship. The prohibition by law of any trade-union structure that cuts across occupational lines is a major obstacle to the Brazilian workers movement restructuring the unions on a class basis, a process that must be indissolubly linked to the building of the Workers Party as an independent political organ and united front of the working class.

5. Finally, we should note the maneuvers by the so-called "authentic" wing of MDB parliamentary deputies, who are calling for the formation of a "People's Party." Today they are the ones exerting the greatest pressure on the fighting trade-union leaders who are involved in the proposal for the Workers Party.

Several commissions of parliamentarians, intellectuals, and trade-unionists have been formed. Meetings and discussions between partisans of the "People's Party" and supporters of the Workers Party have taken place at the initiative of MDB deputies.

At the meeting in São Bernardo (a suburb of São Paulo), at the one in Vila Betânia (in Porto Alegre), as well as at the most recent one held in São Paulo,

the "authentic" deputies could be heard making the same "realistic" speech. According to them, "we must bring all the oppositionists into a single party," "those who are really fighting the dictatorship should form a truly people's party."

In trying to put their multi-class and collaborationist plan into operation, the "authentic" deputies use a weighty argument. Under the projected terms of the dictatorship's "opening" a party must have thirty deputies in the parliament that was elected last November to be given legal status. This means that a party must get thirty members who were elected on the slates of the two official parties—ARENA and the MDB—to vouch for it or join it.

These legal stipulations give a certain weight to the blackmail by the "authentics," who argue that a national political party cannot be set up solely with workers and unionists, but also needs to make use of politicians and members of parliament who know all the ins and outs of public life.

Another big, central weakness of the proposal to build the Workers Party is the slowness and the delays with which it is being built among the ranks, in the work places, and in the neighborhoods.

Up to now in practice the movement has been limited to nuclei of "authentic" trade-union leaders and a large portion of members of trade-union opposition groups who have begun to organize and coordinate around this proposal.

The current absence of rank-and-file organization of the Movement for the Workers Party obviously can only favor vacillation, including opportunist temptations, by the leaders who took the initiative on the question.

Objective need

While we must not ignore the weaknesses that weigh on the proposal to build the Workers Party, it is equally important to take note of the fact that this proposal has been made and has been increasingly taken up by the whole of the working masses in their struggle against the dictatorship.

Moreover, since these struggles of the Brazilian working class increasingly play a central and driving role in the anti-dictatorship movement, the political question posed by the building of the Workers Party, by the objective need shown in the class struggle for Brazilian workers to have an independent political expression on a class basis, becomes more pressing.

There is no doubt in our mind that the dictatorship and the bourgeoisie will utilize every means possible, will carry out all forms of repression and collaboration, sometimes combining the two, to try to dislocate or derail the proposal to set up the Workers Party.

An immediate milestone for building the Workers Party is the wage campaign that will draw together more than 2 million workers whose contracts are coming up for negotiation in October and November. This will obviously be a very important test to establish the viability of the proposal and to set up a rank-and-file structure for the Movement for the Workers Party.

In the words of Paulo Skromof, leader of the São Paulo leatherworkers union, this wage campaign can become "the launching pad for holding, within six months, the founding convention of the Workers Party, the first working-class party, without bosses, in Brazil's history."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Brazil unionist on workers party

The following is an interview with Paulo Skromof, leader of the leatherworkers union of São Paulo.

* * *

Question: What has been the situation in Brazil since the November 1978 elections?

Answer: The main element in the situation is the rise of struggles by the people and the workers. This is both causing and deepening the crisis of the military regime.

On March 12, 1978, the Scania strike in São Bernardo began a continuing process of localized (sectoral) strikes, strikes by industry, and even strikes simultaneously involving several branches of the economy, which rapidly spread throughout the country.

Today struggles are taking place in Minas Gerais and, in addition, we are



Economy run for profits of international corporations forces millions of Brazilians to live in shantytowns.

now welcoming the entry of the workers in the state of Rio Grande do Sul into the struggle. The crisis of the dictatorship has now reached the point where the repressive apparatus is no longer able to hold things back. Each repressive measure is answered by the mass movement.

In my opinion the November 1978 elections were of secondary importance compared to the crisis of the regime and the rise of workers struggles in Brazil.

But the elections showed that we are in an ambiguous system: the elections had the character of a plebescite. All the workers could do was show their rejection of the dictatorship in one of two ways. They could cast a blank ballot or could vote for the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB).

The significance of the elections evaporated as soon as the votes were cast. Between the blank ballots and the MDB vote the government suffered another defeat.

It is only now that we can pose a

clear alternative, which is the old goal of the workers movement—the struggle for an independent workers party. This struggle is being taken up by a very significant segment of trade-union leaders.

We're talking about the goal of building the Workers Party, a goal put forward in December 1978 just after the elections, and now in the process of being carried out.

This is the outline of the situation in the country. The masses have begun to struggle against the regime. But they do not yet have their own means of political expression. This has made it possible so far for the regime to be successful in beginning to make a peaceful transition toward another form of domination—one where police repression, such as torture, is only used as a final resort.

Q. Could you go into more detail about this plan to build a Workers Party?

A. Up to now the Brazilian working class has never been organized on the basis of class independence. The working class's entire political expression has taken place within bourgeois parties, except for the small segment that was won to the Communist Party.

In the months after it was announced in December 1978, the Movement for the Workers Party has grown. The movement was primarily made up of leaders of the official unions. They were a small minority within the trade-union structure, but the fact that they specifically came from the official structure is very important.

When "Lula" [Luis Inácio da Silva], the president of the São Bernardo metalworkers, put forward the idea for the party, he was able to win the adherence of the Santo André and Osasco metalworkers and the oil workers in the city of Campinas. Santo André and Osasco are industrial suburbs of São Paulo.

Today, having gotten all the union leaders we can, we are moving out from São Paulo to look for new leaderships. For example, in Rio de Janeiro the movement's coordinating committee is primarily made up of trade-union oppositionists.

In the last month, the oppositionists in the state of Minas Gerais have taken the leadership of the movement for a Workers Party on the state-wide level.

In São Paulo, José Ibrahim, the former leader of the Osasco union who was forced into exile after the 1968 strikes, has joined the movement. Since he joined, we are confident that we will win over the most consistent sectors of the trade-union opposition.

We are setting up the Movement for the Workers Party, which is being structured as a party. We hope to hold the founding convention within six months, although the date has not yet been set.

Moreover, we are trying to set up nuclei of the movement in every region of the country. We are holding three public meetings a week, and we no longer limit ourselves simply to propagandizing for a Workers Party. Now at the end of each meeting we organize nuclei of activists.

Our plan is to launch the Workers Party with a big public demonstration at the Praça da Sé, the traditional site of demonstrations by the workers movement.

The attitude of the traditional left has been mixed, depending on what currents and groups you talk about. With the exception of a group called

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...China

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subscribers, are just a tiny minority of the Chinese people. But they represent the most visible and articulate component of the broader movement of working people pressing for increased freedom and a better life.

Mass protests against repression have forced China's rulers to make concessions, including in their handling of the organized dissidents.

Peasant protests

The flow of peasants bringing their grievances to Peking and other major cities, which started as a trickle, grew to a flood by midyear. The September 26 *People's Daily* put their number in the hundreds of thousands.

In Peking, many peasants demonstrated in Tiananmen Square in the center of the city, or in front of government offices, or staged sit-ins at the entrance to Zhongnanhai, the walled compound in central Peking where top officials live.

It is impossible to gauge the extent of mass struggles in the countryside, given the lack of news reports in the official press and the absence of foreign journalists outside the largest cities. But the masses of peasants who travelled all the way to Peking are likely just the tip of the iceberg.

On August 21, the Hong Kong newspaper *Ta Kung Pao* reported that major antigovernment protests had broken out on the island of Hainan, in the far south of China. A local radio station was reportedly occupied, and the offices and homes of top Communist Party officials ransacked.

The dissident journal *Explorations*

later reported that as many as 10,000 people had participated in armed clashes with the police in the Hainan incident, and that troops had to be sent in to restore order.

One of the key measures taken at the June meeting of the National People's Congress, China's formal legislative body, was the adoption of a new legal code. The code spells out new rules and procedures for conducting trials, including a prohibition on forced confessions and the right of the accused to a legal defense. It was heralded in the official press as a cure for the arbitrary bureaucratic repression so many peasant protesters were complaining of.

Among the first to press for the extension of such guarantees in practice were the organized dissidents. Some of the publications that had shut down after the March-April crackdown began to reappear.

Hailing the fact that under the new legal code the mere expression of opinions was not considered a crime, dissidents demanded that Wei Jingsheng and the others arrested be either released or given public trials as specified in the new code.

Dissidents gained experience in the course of an ongoing political struggle to establish and defend their right to function openly. They began to publicize and protest every incident of police interference with the production or sale of their publications.

To establish the legality of their activity, some dissident authors submitted their articles for publication in official scholarly magazines.

In August, the editors of *April 5 Forum* and *Peking Spring* both published statements of their operating expenses and incomes, and offered to



Wei Jingsheng: fifteen years in frame-up trial.

pay tax on their modest profits, in an attempt to gain de facto recognition as legal enterprises.

A working-class movement

One notable feature of the dissident groups in China is their composition. *April 5 Forum* editor Xu Wenli told one interviewer: "Many foreign journalists have got us wrong in comparing us to the Soviet dissidents. The Soviet human rights movement is supported by high-grade intellectuals, while we in China are ordinary workers from the lowest social level" (September 7 *Far Eastern Economic Review*).

A large number of dissident activists are former Red Guards, who radicalized through the bitter experience of the Cultural Revolution.

Wei Jingsheng recalled in one of his articles: "I joined the first group of Red Guards (April-May 1966). I know ex-

actly that they rebelled not because Mao encouraged them, but because they were indignant at seeing all the inequalities and irregularities in society and in school. . . . Mao used them later by giving them full support so as to achieve his personal aims. . . ."

Also in contrast to most Soviet oppositionists today, the majority of dissident activists in China identify themselves as socialists. Commenting on letters from readers of the *April 5 Forum*, Xu Wenli noted that "there are many people who do not understand the West, and think everything is OK there. Despite that, the majority of our young people don't want either private redistribution of capital or the return of the big landlords, but no more do they want a new bureaucratic class at the head of our state."

There have been reports of some actions outside China in solidarity with the embattled dissidents. On the day after Wei's conviction, Soviet oppositionist Andrei Sakharov sent a statement to Chinese Premier Hua Guofeng protesting the verdict and demanding that it be reviewed.

On October 29 in Hong Kong, the Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Marxist League organized a picket line outside the offices of the Xinhua news agency to denounce the frame-up of Wei.

The Chinese dissidents deserve the broadest possible international solidarity. An ongoing campaign in their behalf by supporters of the Chinese revolution around the world can help assure these antibureaucratic fighters that they are not alone, while making it politically more costly for the bureaucracy to attack them.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...Brazil

Continued from preceding page

the Crimson Wing of the Communist Party of Brazil, the Maoists have not joined the Workers Party. The Maoists called for building a party within which a popular front with sectors of the national bourgeoisie can be cemented.

The groupings of Trotskyist origin have all supported the proposal for the Workers Party, with the exception of the Posadaists and the Lambertist OSI, which belongs to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

The Communist Party maintains that the workers party has already been in existence for 57 years and that they are it!

The other tendencies on the left, from the left Catholics to the nationalist movements, tend to support the Workers Party.

But all these groups still display a great deal of distrust toward the Workers Party. They don't understand the role it can play. They cannot conceive of building a Leninist party except through a handful of intellectuals who then attract thousands of workers in a process of organic growth.

They do not understand that the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party itself was decentralized for a very long period before the phase of centralization began in 1903. This is what we should use as our model.

Q. What are the prospects since the recent strikes?

A. Until recently strikes took place only through unions led by leaders of the Workers Party. Today the process of mobilization has gone well beyond that. We can say that the Workers Party is the reflection of all the struggles for the demands of the working class.

The strikes that are not organized by the unions, as in Belo Horizonte, are all identified with the Workers Party. When the head of the construction union shamefully sold out the strike, the strike committee brought together the main union leaders in São Paulo (who are the main forces behind the Workers Party) to take part in workers assemblies in order to counteract the weight of the bourgeois politicians from the MDB, who had nothing to do with the workers movement.

The presence of the Workers Party provided a certain form of continuity to the struggle, restoring the workers' full confidence to lead the struggle, side by side with the Workers Party, toward a Workers Government.

During the Vargas period [1930-55] the trade-union structure was tied into the state, and a vertical form of organization was imposed upon it. This still holds true today.

Recently a big movement has arisen with the aim of creating an autonomous union structure. This movement is made up of trade-union oppositionists and fighting trade-union leaders.

In my opinion the establishment of an autonomous union structure is the biggest task facing the workers movement.

A political instrument is needed to carry this task to completion, to organize the workers even inside the official unions with an understanding of the need to wrest these unions from state control, to eliminate the union tax, to win the right to freely establish by-laws, to control union finances, and, finally, to organize the workers struggles.

This is the fight to build a "United Workers Federation," which must come out of a big congress of labor in which every industry and every factory is represented. In contrast, the CP proposes establishing a federation simply by bringing together the present union leaders.

Q. What role will the Brazilian Labor Party play?

A. In past decades the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) was the trump card used by the ruling class. After the 1964 coup the trump card was the military dictatorship, which now is trying to cloak itself in limited formal democracy while keeping the working class excluded from politics.

Today the PTB is being revived again. Those who look to the past hope that by launching the PTB they can place a major obstacle in the way of the working class freely expressing itself, and they hope to avoid the destruction of the vertical union apparatus.

If the bourgeoisie is successful in imposing this party in Brazil, as hap-

pened in Argentina with the return of Peronism, no specifically working-class alternative will exist.

The PTB as it is today conceived under the leadership of Leonel Brizola or Ivete Vargas ("dismissed" former parliamentary deputy, and daughter of the late dictator) becomes an even more suspect instrument, despite its self-criticism of past errors. I do not believe that today the PTB can develop a nationalist program, opposed to imperialism. Perón could not do it during his second return to power.

Finally, we should note that since the launching of the proposal to build the Workers Party, the Brazilian Labor Party has not been able to win the adherence of any significant trade-union leaders.

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Agent Orange: continuing horror of Vietnam

In their rush to start a war with Iran, the men who own and run America would like us all to think that "the Vietnam syndrome"—that is, the deep antiwar feeling shared by most Americans—is over.

It may be over for them—they aren't the ones who will fight and die. But for a group of U.S. servicemen, the Vietnam war continues as a living horror.

These are the thousands of GI's and marines whose lives have been destroyed by exposure to the deadly toxic herbicide Agent Orange.

In an effort to "destroy sanctuaries" of Vietnamese freedom fighters, the U.S. government dropped twelve million gallons of Agent Orange on Vietnam. Tens of thousands of American soldiers were exposed to it. And thousands of them are suffering the results. Some have already died from cancer caused by exposure to Agent Orange. More will die.

Agent Orange is made up of two chemicals, known as 2, 4-D and 2, 4, 5-T. The manufacture of 2, 4, 5-T produces a byproduct called dioxin.

Even in the most minute amounts—dioxin is measured in parts per trillion—dioxin is one of the deadliest poisons on earth.

The herbicides spread over Vietnam included some 368 pounds of dioxin.

The effects are horrifying:

- Julio Martinez, a twenty-six-year-old former marine, has lost strength in his arms and is losing his hair. Four of his children have been born dead or deformed. Martinez remembers being sprayed in Vietnam. The brass told the marines "to cover our mouths and watch for the enemy," Martinez says.

- Kenneth Pullen, thirty-two, has been in constant pain since he left the marines in 1968. Earlier this year, he had surgery to remove rot-like scabs on his feet. Nerves leading to his feet have been deliberately severed. Doctors have suggested amputating his feet, but they are unable to agree on what is wrong.

- Other veterans' medical problems include changes in skin color, paranoia, hyperactivity, reduced sexual drives, and pain. Birth defects are common.

The effect of Agent Orange on the Vietnamese remains to be calculated fully. But a few facts have emerged. Beginning in 1974, four years after an

international outcry forced a halt to Agent Orange spraying, a liver cancer epidemic broke out in southern Vietnam, the area most heavily sprayed.

Cancer has taken a toll among U.S. veterans, too. The best-known case was that of Paul Reutershan, who died a year ago. Reutershan spent his last days demanding that the U.S. government accept its responsibility for the effects of Agent Orange.

The Pentagon, for its part, has tried to dismiss the claims of thousands of Vietnam veterans either by denying that they had been sprayed with Agent Orange, or denying that the plant killer was proven to have any serious health effects.

But a recent report by Congress's General Accounting Office exposed the military cover-up. According to the GAO, uncounted numbers of soldiers and at least 22,000 marines were either in sprayed areas or entered them shortly after the spraying.

No, "the Vietnam syndrome" has not gone away for these tens of thousands of men and their families. As Paul Reutershan put it. "I died in Vietnam and didn't even know it."

Union Talk

Unemployed committee at Jeep

This week's column is by George Windau, a member of the United Auto Workers union.

TOLEDO, Ohio—UAW members have voted overwhelmingly to establish an Unemployed Committee for the Jeep Unit of Local 12. More than thirty members signed up to serve on the committee after the November union meeting.

There is massive sentiment among those still working at Jeep to do something about the layoffs that, as of October 22, have put 1,700 people out of work.

UAW members both working and laid off see the committee as a first step. When petitions proposing an unemployed committee were circulated in the Jeep plant and at the Local 12 hall, almost 1,000 signatures were gathered.

"We have almost a fourth of our membership laid off," one worker said, "and it's time the union did something."

Two women workers who signed the proposal said, "They should shorten the work week and put more people back to work."

The establishment of this committee comes at a critical time for UAW Jeep members. Ohio state unemployment benefits are running out for those who were laid off last July. Many members feel benefits should be extended.

A new contract is being negotiated and the old one will expire in February. Involving laid-off members in this process is also an issue the committee could deal with.

There are rumors of more layoffs at Jeep. Yet the company is executing a mammoth speedup and job elimination campaign in the plant. Jobs have been retimed and combined. "They are pushing us to the max," as one worker on the body shop re-spot line said. Several severe accidents have taken place that can be attributed to the speedup and to the fact that

safety seems to have been "put out on the street" along with a fourth of the union members.

Management personnel can often be seen working right along with workers in full view of the union stewards. The company claims absenteeism is high, so foremen are put on the job.

The fact is that in most places absenteeism is less than normal. Workers are angry because the company will not honor their seniority and allow them to "bump" onto jobs. Basically, Jeep is putting whoever it wants on whatever job it wants.

Many workers who are still working are getting involved with the unemployed committee. They understand that speedups and layoffs go hand in hand and are a real threat to all employees.

Jeep is Toledo's largest employer, and now that the UAW has an unemployed committee a large sector of the city's jobless can begin to have some voice.

Black steelworker, civil rights fighter dies

By Jane Van Deusen

NEW ORLEANS—Rev. Isidore Booker, a Black steelworker and civil rights activist and a leader of the fight to overturn the *Weber* decision, died here November 9 at the age of fifty-two.

Booker helped lead a battle to destroy segregation and Jim Crow in his plant in the 1960s. He worked for twenty-seven years at Kaiser Aluminum's Chalmette, Louisiana, plant and was a leader of his union, United Steelworkers Local 13000.

When Booker hired into the plant in the early '50s, he and the other Black workers were relegated to the lowest paying jobs—porter and laborer. The plant, which employs 2,300 production and maintenance workers, was totally segregated—bathrooms, lunchrooms, showers, locker rooms, etc.

Booker and many other Black workers banded together to take on the company and fight for equal rights. The Black workers wanted equal pay, the right to bid on and hold any job in the plant, and the right to be treated with human dignity.

Jane Van Deusen is a member of United Steelworkers Local 13000 at Kaiser Aluminum in Chalmette, Louisiana. As a result of the defeat of Brian Weber's lawsuit against affirmative action, she is now in a skilled-job training program at the plant.

With the organization of the Black workers to fight and the filing of a lawsuit to win these rights in the mid-1960s, the company was forced to back down.

It wasn't an easy fight. The bosses had whipped up the racist views of many white workers and this had to be dealt with and overcome. Booker would always patiently explain to all the workers why racism was a tool of the bosses and only served to divide and weaken the union.

One of his biggest contributions was in the fight to defeat *Weber*. Brian Weber, a white worker at Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant, filed suit in 1974 against the company and the union there, USWA Local 5702, to halt a skilled-jobs training program.

Bidders for the training positions were chosen by an affirmative-action plan to increase the numbers of Blacks, women, and other minorities in skilled jobs.

Last fall, Booker, along with other members of our local and other unionists and activists, formed the Committee to Overturn the *Weber* Decision.

As a member of our local's executive board and chairman of its Civil Rights Committee, Booker helped lead the debate and educate on the dangers of *Weber* within the USWA nationally. He spoke on *Weber* to steelworkers in Chicago and

Baltimore and at the first International Civil Rights Conference of the USWA.

Weber was defeated last summer in a Supreme Court decision. The credit clearly goes to the union movement's strong anti-*Weber* stand. It was a victory we were all proud of.

Booker was not only a union leader but also president of the West Bank-Jefferson Parish NAACP for seventeen years and an activist and leader in numerous community and church organizations.

I knew Booker for only about two years but I came to appreciate his abilities and learned from him. I'm one of only four women in our plant and the going was rarely easy.

The women in our plant know the value of our fight and how to win largely because of Booker's patient help. He let us know we could lead the union too and pushed us forward every chance he got.

Booker died from cardiac complications after an automobile accident. In a tribute to his contributions, several hundred people attended his funeral and wake, including about 200 of his co-workers.

Many people in our union miss Booker and feel a great loss. I do too. But the most important thing is to keep on fighting for our rights as Black workers, as women workers, and above all as union members. Many white workers learned the importance of all these battles as well, and because of this we are stronger today.

In Brief

SEEMED LIKE ORDINARY NEW YORK-AREA SOOT

The CIA and army conducted bacteriological and chemical tests in the New York area in 1956.

Without warning to the public, they released as yet unidentified substances from aerosol devices concealed in trick suitcases and from exhaust pipes of a specially modified 1954 Mercury. The car traveled through area turnpikes and tunnels spraying the test substance.

The facts on "Operation Big City," as the spray job was called, were compiled by the Scientology Church from material obtained under the Freedom of Information Act.

Recently it was also disclosed that in a 1950 experiment, military personnel released a "harmless biological stimulant" from giant spray nozzles on a ship cruising off the San Francisco Bay area. The "harmless" substance caused an undetermined number of cases of pneumonia.

NEW YORK RALLY BACKS PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

Two hundred and fifty people rallied in New York City November 30 to support the Palestine Liberation Movement and condemn the deportation by Israeli authorities of Bassam al-Shaka, the mayor of Nabulus.

The rally, organized by the Palestine Solidarity Committee, featured Dave Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days* magazine, who recently returned from a fact-finding tour of the Middle East; Zuhdi Terzi, Palestine

Liberation Organization observer at the United Nations; and Rev. Michael Amon-Ra of the Black United Front.

The rally opened with solidarity songs by Rev. Fred Kirkpatrick, a longtime activist in the antiwar and civil rights movement.

Dellinger denounced the attacks on Black leaders who have spoken out in support of Palestinian liberation. He also pointed to the hypocrisy of those who accuse the PLO of being terrorist.

He said, "Israel was founded on terror. They say nothing about the mass terror carried out by the Israeli government against Palestinians. They are silent about the assassination of Eulalio José Negrín, who was brutally gunned down in the presence of his twelve-year-old son." Dellinger went on to describe the destruction he saw of hospitals, schools, and churches—by U.S.-made bombs.

Terzi condemned the Camp David accords as a cover for

war preparations. To loud applause he reported that the U.N. General Assembly voted to condemn the deportation of Bassam al-Shaka by a vote of 103-1.

Sheila Ryan of the PSC called upon the audience to step up the campaign against U.S. military aid to Israel.

KENNEDY GETTING SOFT ON CRIMINAL CODE?

A wide range of groups and individuals concerned with

civil liberties have opposed the pending new criminal code sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy. They point to ominous restrictions that would curb the labor and civil rights movements and more.

But, it was recently disclosed, Kennedy had moved quietly to soften some of the provisions of the projected code.

The ones that would apply to big business.

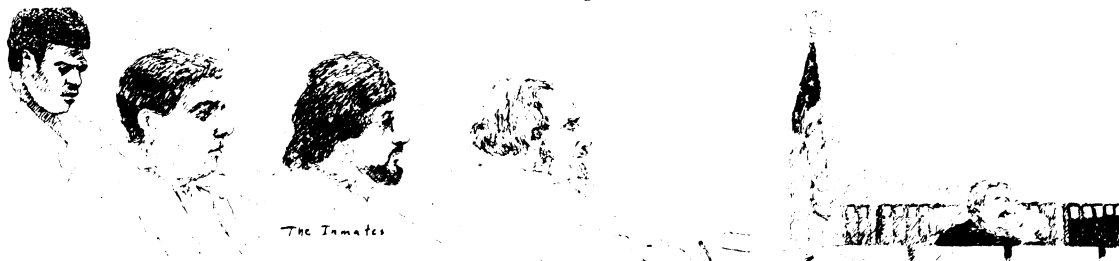
In a behind-the-scenes deal with a top executive of the duPont Corporation, Kennedy agreed to water down a statute to allow prosecution of companies that "recklessly" endanger the public; a requirement that companies convicted of fraud or deceptive practices notify the victims; and one that would permit courts to order restitution to victims.

These proposed secret amendments were apparently so raw that a representative of the Carter administration told the duPont man it couldn't go.

Earlier, however, Kennedy did get through modifications of a provision permitting treble damages against companies in civil suits for fraud, as well as one permitting judges to impose fines on defendants double the loss or gain resulting from their crime.

It adds up to just about what you should expect from a Democratic "friend of labor."

Colorado inmates win prison conditions case



By Sue Adley

DENVER—A federal judge has handed down a clean-up-or-else decision that could affect prisons all over the United States.

Prisoner Fidel Ramos initiated a suit in 1977 on behalf of all prisoners who are or will be confined in the maximum security unit of the Colorado State Prison at Cañon City.

The prison first opened in 1871. It has been described by prisoners and official investigators as unfit for human beings.

The plaintiffs estimated that at least two-thirds of inmates should not have been assigned to a maxi-

mum security institution. Also, there are few educational, vocational, or recreational programs or facilities at Cañon City.

In a letter to the *Militant* earlier this year, three prisoners wrote, "The conditions in cell-house #3 [punitive segregation] are outrageously bad, causing suicides, bitterness, destruction to self and property."

"It is physically and mentally oppressive to the extent of insanity."

After hearing testimony for several weeks, Judge John Kane paid a "surprise" visit to the prison. Forewarned officials had set prisoners to work in a flurry of

cleanup and repair. By coincidence, of course, the noon meal was fried chicken—the first appetizing lunch the prisoners had had in months.

Nevertheless, Kane ruled November 15 that conditions at the prison violate the Bill of Rights prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment. He gave oral orders for the strengthening of mental health and medical services at the prison.

Kane reportedly made it clear that if state officials don't act promptly after his written order is filed, he will shut down the whole facility.

AIR TRAFFIC DANGER KEEPS MOUNTING

A recent series of air traffic near-misses underline the growing danger of overcrowded flight facilities and continued use of obsolete traffic control

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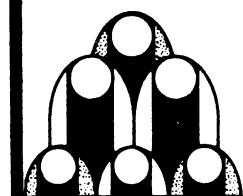
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Topeka schools still segregated

In 1954 the Supreme Court outlawed "separate but equal" public schools, which were strictly separate but never equal. A year later it admonished that desegregation be carried through with "deliberate speed."

Deliberate is right.

Twenty-five years later, on November 29, a federal district judge agreed to reopen the landmark Topeka *Brown v. Board of Education* case from which the high court desegregation ruling stemmed.

Linda Brown Smith, who was a plaintiff in the original suit, was among eight parents who asked that the case be reopened to force

Topeka to actually desegregate its schools.

The parents point out that twenty-five years after the Supreme Court ruling, some schools on the west side of Topeka have minority enrollment of less than 4 percent. Others, on the east side of town, have minority enrollment of 70 percent. Still separate, still unequal.

The case is scheduled to go to trial in mid-1980. The judge said he would like to see it finally closed. That could be done easily enough. Just get the buses rolling and desegregate the schools—with full, not "deliberate," speed.

equipment.

In September 1978, a Pacific Southwest 727 on its way into the San Diego airport collided with a small plane. The crash claimed 144 lives, including 7 killed on the ground by the flaming wreckage.

This past November 9, a Western Airlines jet approaching the same airport came within 150 feet of a collision with a small, single-engine plane.

And, nine days later, another PSA 727 came within 300 feet of an approaching plane there. That near-miss occurred just beyond San Diego's stadium where 52,000 were gathered for a football game.

Pilots told reporters that there have been a dozen near misses at the airport in recent months.

Nor is the problem confined to San Diego.

In mid-November, New York-area airports continued functioning during a two-and-a-half-day breakdown of the main traffic-control system. In October there was a similar failure for six minutes in Washington. During those six minutes two big airliners nearly collided.

The Air Lines Pilots Association and the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization are demanding that replacement of obsolete equipment be moved up from a present 1986 target date.

A spokesperson for the air traffic controllers warned that the increased breakdowns of

computerized equipment constituted "a serious menace."

POT RAIDS KEEP GANG-BUSTERS BUSY

FBI statistics confirm that hundreds of thousands of people are being busted for minor marijuana offenses each year, despite so-called decriminalization statutes.

In 1978, the FBI reports, 445,000 Americans were arrested on pot charges. Of these arrests, 87 percent were for possession, not sales.

Last year marijuana violations accounted for 70 percent of all drug arrests.

LITTLE GOV'T ACTION ON COP BRUTALITY

Addressing a Texas symposium on "Law Enforcement [?] and Community Relations," Drew Days, head of the civil rights division of the Justice Department, pointed to the growing national concern, particularly among minorities, with the problem of police brutality.

The question being posed, he said is "Who will watch the watchman?"

The answer, he said, is the civil rights division.

The figures Days gave suggest the civil rights division doesn't see very well.

The department, he reported, gets more than 10,000 complaints a year of police misconduct.

Of these, between fifty and a hundred of the most flagrant are prosecuted.

United Auto Workers Local 980, Socialist Workers Party; Naomi Vega, United Federation of Teachers Delegates Assembly, SWP. Sat., Dec. 15, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor (off Union Square East). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

HOW TO STOP KU KLUX KLAN ATTACKS. A panel discussion. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president; Jim Levitt, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., Dec. 9, 6 p.m. reception, 7:30 p.m. rally. Mayflower Hotel, Plymouth Room, 4th and Olive Way. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



Women & Iranian revolution

"He's taking [Iranian] women back into the twelfth century under his rule," right-winger Phyllis Schlafly says of Imam Ruhollah Khomeini.

Are "frenzied Islamic mobs" led by Khomeini trying to take women backward, as Carter, most of the news media, and Phyllis Schlafly would have us believe? The suspicions of women should be aroused by the fact that Schlafly opposes putting a simple statement of women's equality in the U.S. Constitution. Even Iran's new Islamic constitution includes that.

No, what is happening in Iran today is progressive, not reactionary. The media's charges about "Iran's return to the dark ages" are being used to justify U.S. intervention to stop the advances of the Iranian revolution.

Under the shah, women, as well as workers, peasants, and the oppressed nationalities, were brutally exploited. U.S. corporations and the Iranian capitalists profited from paying women less than

tion of their country. They are fighting for social and economic reforms such as health care, housing, education, jobs, land, a decent standard of living, women's rights, political freedom, and independence for the oppressed nationalities.

What is now occurring in Iran is a gain for the entire working class and the peasantry—and therefore for women.

Women are now in the army. They are leaders in the fight for factory committees that are organizing workers to control their job conditions. Women are participating in land redistribution, in the setting up of schools. Women are beginning to raise their own demands for child care and equal pay. They are getting the support of men for these demands.

Iranian women are not being pushed back by working men, but are being welcomed as co-fighters.

In the course of the struggle, many issues affecting women will be raised, including far-reaching aspects of women's liberation. These gains will be fought for



men and from women's unpaid labor in the home.

Traditional laws and customs—such as the right to murder women for "violating male honor"—were used to keep women completely subjugated.

The shah's policies left millions of peasants homeless and forced them into miserable urban slums. Under such conditions there was no possibility for women to better their status.

Opposition to the shah's brutal repression and the desire for a better life brought the masses into the streets in the insurrection that toppled the monarchy last February.

That was the beginning of a revolutionary process that has opened the road for millions of women to win liberation.

Women are freer than ever before in Iran. The participation of millions of women in overthrowing the shah has changed their consciousness and given them tremendous self-confidence. They will never return to the degrading position they held under the shah's rule.

The concept of an Islamic republic is identified by many Iranians with their nationalist and anti-capitalist aspirations—not as a movement toward reaction. Khomeini is looked to by the workers and peasants because of his resolute stance against the U.S. government and the shah.

Like the masses of workers and peasants in Vietnam and Nicaragua, the Iranians want to be rid of U.S. domina-

and won by the oppressed themselves.

A lot has been said in the media about the wearing of the chador—the veil assigned to women in many Moslem societies—as proof of reaction in Iran.

Iran is a semicolonial country. Millions of women are still affected by, and accept, age-old oppressive traditions, including the wearing of the chador. But millions of women have also come into the streets—with and without the chador—to fight for a better life for all.

Some women who never wore the veil are now doing so as a symbol of national liberation. Some wear it in opposition to western dress styles that turn women into sex objects. Some have chosen not to wear it.

When women demonstrated earlier this year against Khomeini's statement that women at work should wear the chador, he quickly agreed that it was not to be compulsory.

As the masses of Iranian women become self-confident through the revolutionary struggle they will shed many of the shackles of customs that bind them to the past. The main thing is that they are fighting now for the material changes that alone can lay the basis for real equality between the sexes.

It is a striking fact that Schlafly's denunciation of Iran finds no echo among millions of Iranian women.

The revolution that is occurring in Iran deserves the unqualified support of the women's movement in this country.

What's Going On

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president. Sun., Dec. 16, 6:30 p.m. reception, 7:30 p.m. rally, social to follow. Steelworker Hall, 550 Dundalk Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

THE POLITICS OF FAMINE: KAMPUCHEA. Speakers: Mark Schneider, Socialist Workers Party and Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way; representative of relief organization active in Kampuchea. Sun., Dec. 16, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW YORK LOWER MANHATTAN

LABOR'S STAKE IN THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speakers: Caryl Towner, railroad worker; Dianne Feeley,

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Seattle general strike

"Labor will not only SHUT DOWN the industries but Labor will REOPEN, under the management of the appropriate trades, such activities as are needed to preserve public health and public peace. If the strike continues, Labor may feel led to avoid public suffering by reopening more and more activities.

"UNDER ITS OWN MANAGEMENT.

"And that is why we say we are starting on a road that leads—NO ONE KNOWS WHERE!"

Thus the *Seattle Union Record* announced the start of America's first general strike. On February 6, 1919, in sympathy with striking shipyard workers, nearly all the workers in Seattle walked off their jobs and Seattle came to a halt. The only things that moved for the next five days were those that bore the sign "Exempt by Strike Committee."

The Seattle labor movement was in many ways ahead of the national movement. The Central Labor Council had already been threatened with expulsion by the national heads of the American Federation of Labor for admitting women to the barbers union and sending women delegates from this union to the national AFL convention.

The national labor bureaucracy also wanted to smash the orientation of the Seattle movement toward organizing on industrial principles, across craft lines.

Up until the 1930s, mass production workers in basic industry such as steel, auto, and rubber were left unorganized. The AFL organized only skilled crafts workers, keeping them in separate unions with separate contracts. The narrow-minded "business union" bureaucrats adamantly opposed efforts at industrial unionism, fearing their own petty privileges and cozy relations with the employers might be jeopardized.

Although the general strike was a complete success in Seattle, the working people of that city faced a national offensive by big business without support from national labor officials. When the general sympathy strike in support of the shipyard workers was called off, on February 11, 1919, a massive attack was made on the shipyard strikers.

Government orders to the yard were cancelled, and the jobs cutback this meant greatly weakened the strikers' position. Meanwhile, a national campaign of right-wing hysteria was whipped up to stiffen the owners against making any concessions that would set precedents for other businesses.

Even after the ship workers settled, Associated Industries, part of a national open-shop movement, blocked plans to

preserve Seattle's shipbuilding industry through conversion from wartime use. The bosses preferred to see the entire industry stagnate rather than allow Seattle's powerful industrial union movement to make precedent-setting gains.

In this the employers of American were at least tacitly supported by the AFL leadership, which editorialized against the strike and withdrew the charters of locals that opposed craft unionism.

Yet the workers of Seattle felt that their general strike had succeeded, and history confirms their opinion. Seattle remained a center of labor activity and is today one of the most highly unionized cities in the U.S.

The working-class consciousness fostered by the strike showed up in the elections of 1920, when Washington State gave the national Farmer-Labor ticket the highest votes of any state in the nation. Throughout the witch-hunts of the 1920s Seattle labor was a center of opposition to political repression.

Perhaps most importantly, the Seattle General Strike taught workers vital lessons that they summed up for themselves in the official history of the strike, written by the General Strike Committee. First, it drove home the power of working people to run a city, and, by extension, the entire country. Even the *New York Times* commented on the efficiency with which work sanctioned by the strike committee was carried on and the peacefulness of the city under workers' control.

Second, workers learned valuable lessons about relying on themselves. As the strike committee summed up: This "was not a strike engineered by leaders, but one voted for, carried on, and kept up by that part of the rank and file which attends union meetings or takes part in referendum votes."

Third, workers learned the need for industrial organization and labor solidarity, lessons to be put into action in the 1930s with the rise of the CIO and the successful organization of the Workers Union in the Northwest through an industrywide strike in 1935.

On May Day 1919 the Forge of Seattle, formed to organize returning soldiers into the labor movement, summed up labor's new understanding of the need to organize all workers: "The labor movement cannot go backward so with the entry of women into industry we shall see the extension of the idea that all workers should be organized without regard to race, color, sex, or age." The Seattle General Strike was a major step in the direction of such unity.

—Stephanie Coontz

Letter from Tehran

It was so very heartening the other day when I saw on the front page of a daily newspaper here a subheadline saying "Black U.S. presidential candidate demands shah's extradition." Inside there were excerpts of a statement by Andrew Pulley saying the Socialist Workers Party supports the just demand of the Iranian people and will fight the U.S. war drive.

The support we have received from the American Black community has been played up here and become a source of inspiration. A statement of support by Jesse Jackson and another one by Black priests have been widely publicized. I would think the decision to release Black and women hostages should also have a favorable impact there.

The day that first group of hostages (two Black marines and a woman) were being released, the national TV here interviewed them. When the reporter asked one Black marine what he thought about this whole affair, he said something like: "I'm proud to have

played a role in bringing the question of Iran's desire for independence to world attention."

He continued: "The Islamic revolution in Iran is just the beginning. And it's a sign of things to come in the U.S. The Black people of America are going to do the same and get their rights. . . ."

As I watched the interview, I told myself—look at this, our revolution has inspired Blacks thousands of miles away, and young Blacks are going to form the vanguard battalions of the coming American revolution.

Another interesting development was what I saw at a huge anti-imperialist demonstration near the U.S. Embassy two days ago. There he was—an American Black Muslim, lifted on the shoulders of a group of students who were carrying signs in English and photos of the Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad. One sign said "Free the Black nation from its U.S. captors."

Fariborz Kahasha
Tehran, Iran

Iranians are justified

I feel compelled to register sharp and angry dissent from Paul Dougan's November 30 letter, in which he criticizes the *Militant* for being "onesided" and not saying "a word about Iranian terrorism." The *Militant* does give a one-sided view—the truthful side. It would not serve the cause of objectivity to capitulate to lies.

The simplest political arguments lead inescapably to the conclusion that the Iranians are completely justified in holding American spies hostage. The U.S. government has consistently interfered in the internal affairs of Iran, and always with evil intent and consequences which are disastrous for the Iranian masses.

The embassy is, by definition, an outpost of the U.S. government. In the course of the recent upsurge of the Iranian revolution, a group occupied the embassy. Maybe it would have been tactically better if they had followed a different course, maybe not.

It does not matter—it is an established fact that it happened and that it was an expression of the justified anger of the Iranians against the government of "our" capitalists. That is why the embassy takeover is so popular among the masses of the world. Furthermore, the choice of tactics is entirely an Iranian affair.

We can be sure that the Iranian revolution will continue to produce many events that the capitalists will distort and attempt to use to gain support for their genocidal policies. Initial successes enjoyed by the

capitalists in their campaign of lies do, indeed, cause some frustration. But the proper response to this frustration is an escalation of truth-telling, not capitulation to lies!

Charles Cairns
New Hyde Park, New York

Protest to Carter

I have sent the following open letter to President Carter:

As a young worker I strongly protest the war threats which the U.S. government has been making at Iran.

Much has been said of the situation of the hostages. You have called on Americans to pray. Your spokesman, Mr. Cyrus Vance, has maintained that this government will utilize every effort (even war?) until the hostages are released.

All this bombast is hypocritical and shallow. If you cared one iota about the safety of the hostages you would send the shah back to face trial. It is this government that has provoked this serious crisis by offering the shah a haven in the United States.

The usual campaign of silence by this government and the newspapers on who the shah is and what he did while in power—not to mention the role this government played in supporting this butcher—has served your aim of confusing the American people.

In spite of this confusion, the vast majority of American working people are not buying your war threats. While many may at first echo the jingoistic diatribes they read in the newspapers, these workers often quickly change their minds when they hear the facts about who the shah really is and how he murdered and stole from the Iranian people.

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

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JOIN THE SWP

Learning About Socialism

Trotsky on hostages & morality

More than a few liberals have caved in to Carter's war drive against Iran by issuing denunciations of the "immoral" and "uncivilized" behavior of the Iranians. The November 24 issue of the liberal weekly *Nation* proclaimed:

"The seizure of hostages violated a bedrock principle of peaceful intercourse among nations—diplomatic immunity. The action of the 'students' and the all-potent blessing given it by Ayatollah Khomeini, can only be condemned. . . . The Iranians' crude use of blackmail undercuts any moral authority their proposals might have."

For such liberals the methods adopted and supported by millions of Iranians to advance their struggle are so heinous that they far outweigh the crimes of the shah and the complicity of the U.S. government in those crimes. Thus, for the *Nation's* editors, the demand of the whole Iranian people that the shah be returned for trial loses "any moral authority."

The *Nation* elevates the principle of "diplomatic immunity" to the status of an absolute moral law, soaring far above the class struggle here on earth. It completely disregards such issues as who are the hostages, who are their captors, and why they were taken.

The *Nation's* absolute morality is actually quite relative. The demands of Carter and his ilk are given moral priority over the demands of millions of oppressed and exploited Iranians who are fighting for their freedom.

The pretense of holding to absolute standards of morality allows the *Nation* to backhandedly support Carter's drive to crush the Iranian revolution.

The "morality" of the *Nation* is really class morality, which defends the oppressor against the struggles of the oppressed.

Malcolm X confronted such "moral" criticism when he supported the right of Black people to defend themselves against racist violence. He was denounced as a preacher of "violence and hatred" by people who accepted the violence of the racists as part of the natural order of things.

Class-conscious working people stand on the side of the millions who are demanding the return of the butcher shah, including the students in the embassy. We say the way to free the hostages is to meet the just demands of the Iranian people. For us, it is Carter's moral posturing about the hostages and diplomatic immunity that has no moral authority, because we remember how he backed the shah's murder of tens of thousands of peaceful demonstrators last year, and we know he wants to impose a similar regime on Iran in the future.

Carter's appeals to "morality" and "civilization" are a cover for his drive toward brutal military attacks on the Iranian people. These appeals are part of the employers' drive to con us into accepting the role of cannon fodder in a new Vietnam.

In an essay written in 1938 entitled *Their Morals and Ours*, Leon Trotsky—the exiled co-leader of the Russian revolution—explained morality from the standpoint of the interests of working people.

Here is some of what he wrote:

"History has different yardsticks for the cruelty of the Northerners and the cruelty of the Southerners in the

[United States] Civil War. A slaveholder who through cunning and violence shackles a slave in chains, and a slave who through cunning and violence breaks the chains—let not the contemptible eunuchs tell us that they are equals before a court of morality!

"After the Paris Commune [a working class revolt in France which was crushed in 1870] had been drowned in blood and the reactionary knaves of the whole world dragged its banner in the filth of vilification and slander, there were not a few democratic philistines who, adapting themselves to reaction, slandered the Communards for shooting sixty-four hostages headed by the Paris archbishop. Marx did not hesitate a moment in defending this bloody act of the Commune. In a circular issued by the General Council of the First International . . . Marx first reminds us of the bourgeoisie adopting the institution of hostages in the struggle against both colonial peoples and their own toiling masses and afterward refers to the systematic execution of the Commune captives by the frenzied reactionaries, continuing: ' . . . the Commune, to protect their (the captives') lives, was obliged to resort to the Prussian practice of securing hostages. The lives of the hostages had been forfeited over and over again by the continued shooting of prisoners on the part of the Versailles [the capitalist forces]. How could they be spared any longer after the carnage with which MacMahon's praetorians celebrated their entry into Paris? Was even the last check upon the unscrupulous ferocity of bourgeois governments—the taking of hostages—to be made a mere sham of?'"

Trotsky had a sharp reply to "socialists" who accused him of adopting "the morality of the Kaffir" because he defended such actions by working people in the course of their struggles. "Kaffir" was a term adopted by Europeans to refer to the Zulu and Xosa peoples of Southern Africa. Trotsky's response provided a good answer to those who today claim the right to read Iran out of the ranks of "civilized nations."

"First of all such a contemptuous reference to the Kaffirs is hardly proper from the pen of 'socialists.' Are the morals of the Kaffirs really so bad? . . .

"If we should tell the toiler-Kaffir how the workers arose in a part of our planet and caught their exploiters unawares, he would be very pleased. On the other hand, he would be chagrined to discover that the oppressors had succeeded in deceiving the oppressed. A Kaffir who has not been demoralized by missionaries to the marrow of his bones will never apply the same abstract moral norms to the oppressors and the oppressed. Yet he will easily comprehend an explanation that it is the function of these abstract norms to prevent the oppressed from arising against their oppressors. . . .

"We prefer the Kaffirs to all missionaries, both spiritual and secular!"

Their Morals and Ours is published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, and costs \$2.95. It can be obtained from Pathfinder or from the bookstores listed below.

—Fred Feldman

As you are aware, Americans are strongly against another Vietnam, whether it be in Iran, Africa, or anywhere else. This is why you have had to brew up this campaign of anti-Iranian hysteria to prepare Americans for another war.

By harboring the shah, your highly touted human rights campaign is nothing but a cynical farce. Along with American workers I demand:

Return the shah to face trial!
Stop all war threats against Iran!

Rescind immediately your ban on demonstrations by Iranian students!

An immediate halt to the (racist) threats of deportations against Iranian students!

U.S. hands off Iran!

Craig McKissic
Newport News, Virginia

Students not anti-Iran

In visiting Mankato State University with Cathy Sedwick on November 15, where she gave a speech on the current crisis in Iran and the Nicaraguan revolution, it soon became apparent that the right-wing reaction on campus to the current Iranian events was neither as widespread nor pervasive as reported in the local bourgeois media.

Four Iranian students from Mankato State had been arrested on phony kidnap charges; racist anti-Iranian articles had appeared in the student newspaper; and an Iranian student had been beat up there. The press has tried to give the impression that Mankato State was one solid block of anti-Iranian feeling.

The impression I received in discussion with students was that the right wing on campus had a very narrow base and had gone a long way in alienating uncommitted students by their racist statements toward Iranian students on campus.

The day Cathy spoke on campus there was a "pro-American" rally in the same building at the same time. Its sponsors had predicted a turnout of 1,000. In reality they drew approximately 300.

It soon became obvious that the majority of students attending came out of curiosity, as I observed many leaving in apparent disgust. I also observed several students corner the sponsors of the rally afterward to argue against the racist positions put forward.

It should also be noted that on the day of the rally, both the student body president and the campus paper, the *Reporter*, came out strongly against the rally and all racist attempts to create hysteria.

D.J. Simerson
St. Paul, Minnesota

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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THE MILITANT

Labor rallies for Equal Rights Amendment

Momentum builds for Jan. 13 march in Va.

New Jersey

By Steve Patt

CRANFORD, N.J.—Nearly 150 unionists and other supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment gathered here December 2 for a rally to build support for the January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia.

Held at the headquarters of United Auto Workers Region 9, the meeting was sponsored by the UAW, National Organization for Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Women's Affirmative Action Committee of the state Industrial Union Council.

The mood was spirited and determined. Participants responded with thunderous applause when Jerry Gordon, co-chair of Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) in Virginia, declared:

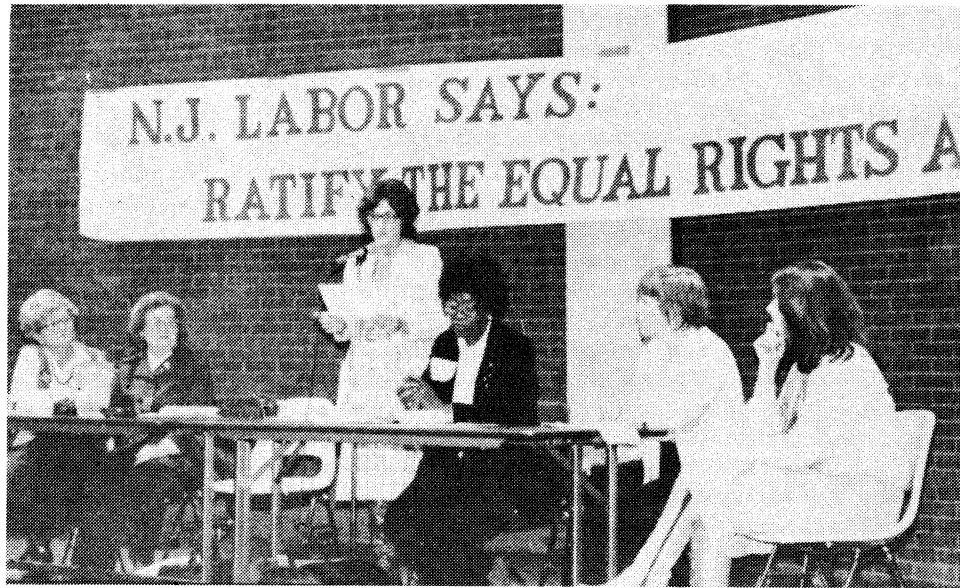
"We are entering the decisive stage of mobilization, the stage of going to the rank and file, the stage of building an alliance between the labor movement and the women's movement, the stage of turning out immense numbers of people into the streets—not to ask, not to beg, but to demand that the ERA be ratified."

Twenty unions were represented at the rally, with the biggest contingents from the UAW and the New Jersey Education Association. Banners around the hall proclaimed: "NJ Labor says: Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment," "We're in this together: Ratify the ERA," and "March on Richmond, January 13."

Nancy Stoltz, New Jersey NOW coordinator, said, "NOW has been very, very excited about the growing involvement of the labor movement in support of the ERA."

United action was also stressed by Archie Cole, representing International Union of Electrical Workers District 3 and the Industrial Union Council: "Labor cannot but get on board this type of fight because it's the same fight that labor has had these many years—to win equality for working people at the work place and in the community."

Gordon, who is assistant director of United Food and Commercial Workers District 2, summed up this theme: "This labor movement cannot be



North Jersey CLUW president Arlene Minardi chaired a panel of representatives from unions and women's organizations at New Jersey ERA rally.

strong, cannot be united cannot depend upon women becoming active and loyal unless it goes to bat all the way for women's rights and for the ERA."

Gordon detailed several new developments in the growing support for January 13. The executive board of the Virginia State AFL-CIO at its December 1 meeting voted unanimously to endorse the LERN program.

A Virginian just added to the January 13 speakers list is Sonia Johnson, a leader of "Mormons for the ERA" who is currently under attack by her church for speaking out in support of ERA. Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, will also be speaking.

Arlene Mainardi, president of North Jersey CLUW, who chaired the meeting, announced that fifteen buses had already been scheduled from New Jersey. Bus sign-up sheets were circulated.

Other speakers included Georgia Harris, speaking on behalf of UAW Region 9 Director Ed Gray, and Irene DiMateo, chair of the UAW Region 9 women's committee.

Gordon stressed the developing labor unity behind the ERA: "January 13 means a coming together of the labor movement, breaking down jurisdic-

tional barriers that have divided and separated us.

"It is the first call by the official labor movement for workers to take to the streets since 1975, and this is what we're going to have to do in this country."

"We didn't do it for labor law reform and we lost. We haven't done it for a lot of other things and we've lost."

"We have to bring out the ranks—make January 13 an all out national crusade."

The meeting ended with the audience on its feet, led by the "Labor Troubadours," singing *Solidarity Forever*.

Illinois

By Maggie McCraw

CHICAGO—"The labor movement united cannot be defeated." That's how Marcella Kitching, co-chair of the Women's Committee of United Steelworkers Local 65, opened a December 2 "Labor speak-out on the Equal Rights Amendment."

Sponsored by Local 65 and the Chicago chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), the meeting brought together more than 200 unionists and activists

in women's and civil rights groups. They came from thirteen unions, including seven Steelworker locals in District 31.

James Balanoff, director of USWA District 31, stressed a theme of the program: "We have to start doing this all over the district and Illinois. I'm here because I want to help bring Illinois into the twentieth century."

Robert Gibson, president of the Illinois State AFL-CIO, said, "The time for enactment of the ERA is past. There are no second-class citizens in this work force. When anyone is denied their rights, all the labor movement suffers. The cause of ERA is not just a woman's cause, but labor's cause."

Clara Day, second vice-president of national CLUW and trustee of Teamsters Local 743, held up the pamphlet *Labor's Case For the ERA* put out by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) and said, "This tells you everything you need to know. You won the extension [of the ERA ratification deadline], now let's get busy."

She gave a straight and simple answer to the question of the draft: "We have to save both the boys and the girls—and not go to war."

Pat Grogan, a member of the Local 65 Women's Committee and one of the co-chairs of the meeting, pointed to the LERN coalition in Virginia and the January 13 ERA demonstration planned for Richmond. "This is exactly what we need to do in Illinois," she said. "This meeting just has to be the beginning."

Mary-Jean Collins, president of Chicago NOW, stressed the common goal of labor and the women's movement. "The people who beat labor law reform are the people who want to beat the ERA. The people who worked for right-to-work laws in Missouri are the same people who want to beat the ERA."

James Wright, assistant director of Region 4 United Auto Workers, declared his union's determination to work for ERA in Illinois. Members from five UAW locals were at the meeting.

Harry Allton, assistant director of the Civil Rights Division of the United Food and Commercial Workers,

Continued on page 18

Industry escalates war against steelworkers

By Stu Singer

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 5—The basic steel industry conference of United Steelworker local presidents opens here tomorrow in the shadow of a deepening company war against steelworkers.

The latest attack came from Wheeling Pittsburgh Steel Corporation, the nation's eighth largest steel company.

Wheeling Pittsburgh announced a December 8 meeting for 2,000 workers at its Allenport, Pennsylvania, plant. The purpose is "to hear a presentation on the future of the plant."

Past company pleas of poverty resulted in the steelworkers there getting lower incentive pay than at other steel

mills, even though they are covered under the same basic steel contract.

The newest threat against Wheeling Pittsburgh workers follows the massive cuts by U.S. Steel announced November 27. Sixteen mills and 13,000 workers are to get the axe.

If Wheeling Pittsburgh tries to get more concessions from its workers under a blackmail threat of the plant closing, this will be the second such effort in a month.

In November, U.S. Steel forced workers at its three American Bridge division plants into a vote that was posed as accepting a wage freeze and twenty-five cents a year cost-of-living

ceiling or closing the plant.

American Bridge workers overwhelmingly rejected the wage freeze.

A week later, U.S. Steel included two of the three American Bridge plants in its massive shutdown.

On December 2 a TV program was aired here with Steelworker President Lloyd McBride, U.S. Steel Chairman David Roderick, and U.S. Rep. Joseph Gaydos. McBride publicly revealed for the first time that he supported the company proposal at American Bridge and had urged union members to accept the wage freeze in order to make the plants more competitive.

The steel industry's attacks are timed to wrest as much as it can from the union in the 1980 basic steel contract.

At the Steelworkers international convention in September 1978, some delegates fought to win the right for members to vote on their contracts in order to strengthen the union in upcoming negotiations.

The right-to-ratify discussion was tabled until the basic steel industry conference that opens tomorrow.

There have been many expressions of support for the right to vote from local Steelworker leaders.