

# THE MILITANT

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

# Protests say: 'No war against Iran!'

## Why die for the shah?

Defying the wishes of the vast majority of the American people, Carter is taking grave new steps toward war against Iran.

On November 20 the White House issued overt threats of military force. Carter ordered six more warships, including a guided-missile cruiser and the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk with eighty-five combat aircraft, into the Arabian Sea off Iran. And he reaffirmed even more strongly his intention to harbor the criminal shah.

These belligerent actions are Carter's answer to the freeing of thirteen hostages and to the failure of Washington's war propaganda to get the hoped-for response from the American people.

Carter's hostile reaction to the release of some hostages was further proof that his real aims have nothing to do with assuring their safety. Rather, Washington is desperately trying to exploit the hostages to win popular support for U.S. military action against the Iranian people's drive to free themselves from foreign domination. The U.S. rulers want to free their hands to send American

youth to fight and die not only in Iran but in Black Africa, the Caribbean, Indochina—anywhere mass revolutionary upheavals threaten U.S. corporate interests.

The American people are not buying it. There is still confusion over the hostages. But in spite of a concerted media campaign to whip up a war hysteria, the overwhelming majority oppose military intervention.

And as the truth about the shah's blood-soaked reign comes out, as Americans listen to the appeals made by the Iranian people to bring this mass murderer to justice, more and more Americans are speaking out for extradition of the shah.

Largely ignored by the news media, protest actions are beginning to be organized across the country against the war threats and against attacks on Iranian students.

Growing numbers of Americans realize that the hostages could be freed tomorrow. Their fate is in Carter's hands. All he has to do is return the shah. Instead of blind support for war, the Iran crisis

has provoked the biggest nationwide debate since Vietnam over the U.S. government's role in the world. And this time the debate is not only on campus but in the factories, mines, and mills.

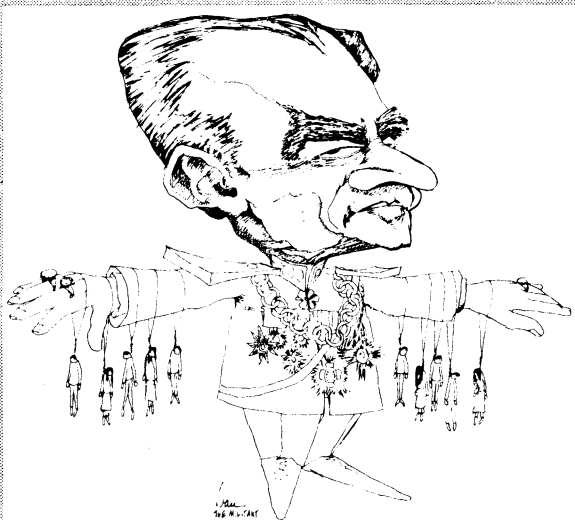
"Why should we die for the shah?" is a common question. "And why was our government supporting him, anyway?"

This growing questioning explains why Washington was less than enthusiastic about the release of five women and eight Black men from the U.S. Embassy. The *New York Times* reported November 20: "The Administration is irritated over the drawn-out release of the 13 blacks and women and by what the State Department said was Iran's effort to 'split' Americans by discriminating against white males."

The public recognition by the Iranians of the oppression suffered by Blacks in the United States was a bitter pill for the White House.

Nor was Carter's war drive aided by the statements by Sgt. William Quarles, one of the Black marines released November 18. "I'd like to, if I

*Continued on page 2*



## Inside shah's jails: murder and torture

### Why Iranian people want him to stand trial

# HELP US GET OUT THE TRUTH

Funds urgently needed

On November 17 the Tehran daily *Baamdad* printed—on its front page—a telegram from Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. Pulley declared his support to the struggle to extradite the shah and pledged: "American people oppose U.S. support to shah. We will fight any U.S. attempt to intervene in Iran. Long live Iranian revolution!"

The Iranian workers and peasants know that every effort to educate the American people about the justice of their cause, every voice in this country that speaks out against Carter's war moves, is a powerful aid to their freedom struggle.

And that's exactly what the Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential campaign is pulling out all the stops to do.

One way we responded to the war hysteria was to rush into print 25,000 copies of the poster shown at the right. That was a substantial, unplanned expense for a campaign of our limited resources. Unbudgeted expenses in support of social upheavals in this country and around the world are

*Continued on page 19*



## VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS

## ...protest war moves

*Continued from front page*

could, tell the American government to re-evaluate their foreign policies. A lot of them are terribly wrong and a lot of people are suffering for a few people at the top," Quarles told reporters in Tehran.

Both Quarles and Kathy Gross, a secretary also released November 18, expressed their support for the aspirations of the Iranian people. Quarles said that Iran should be "an example" to other oppressed peoples that "freedom isn't just handed to you on a silver platter." He said he "got a different look at American imperialism."

A majority of the hostages have now appealed for Carter to extradite the shah.

It's no wonder that the second group of hostages released was prevented from speaking to reporters. All have been whisked away to a U.S. military base in West Germany for what a State Department official called "decompression."

"Decompression" will undoubtedly include strong pressure on Quarles, Gross, and the others to recant

their pro-Iranian, antiwar statements.

In the latest attempt to kindle support for intervention, Carter has seized on the warning by Ayatollah Khomeini that—if the ex-shah is not returned—some of the remaining embassy personnel may be tried for spying. The White House declared that any trials "would be a further flagrant violation of elementary human rights, religious precepts and international law and practice."

But the real violator of human rights and international law is Carter, who protects the criminal shah and shields the U.S. government's complicity with twenty-six years of the worst human rights violations in history.

What Carter really fears is that in a trial, what the Iranian students and others are saying about the role of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran will be proven true: that this was no normal "diplomatic" mission but rather a "spy nest" and a "center of conspiracy."

The White House and State Department virtually admitted these charges, arrogantly declaring that

even if embassy personnel were engaged in "intelligence gathering functions," diplomatic immunity barred a trial.

As the U.S.-provoked crisis drags on and Carter refuses to return the shah, the danger of war is very real. Seeing the mood of the American people turn sharply against intervention, Carter and his advisors may gamble on a desperate military strike—which would likely leave the remaining hostages dead—to try to salvage their position. Any such move—sending U.S. troops into combat on the borders of the Soviet Union—could lead to catastrophe.

Mounting the largest possible protests against Carter's war moves thus takes on burning urgency.

The experience of the past two weeks shows that when the facts are presented about Iran—when someone stands up and answers the war propaganda—people are quickly won over. We must get out the truth about what the Iranian workers and peasants are fighting for—bringing the shah to justice, self-determination for their country, and a decent life for all working people. This helps to make clear that the interests of American workers lie with their Iranian brothers and sisters—not with the shah, Carter, or the giant oil companies they represent.

We must explain how the attacks on Iran are being used to further Carter's plans to make working people sacrifice—pay more for gasoline, turn down our thermostats, and suffer the dangers of nuclear power plants.

We must also explain that the racist assaults on Iranian students and curbs on their rights to speak out and demonstrate pose a threat to the democratic rights of all working people.

Emergency antiwar demonstrations, debates, forums, and teach-ins are urgently needed to expose Carter's lies and make forcefully known the majority's opposition to war against Iran.

Stepped-up sales of the *Militant*, and campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party 1980 candidates, are powerful weapons to get out the truth.

Those in the United States who are fighting to block Carter's war moves should draw inspiration from the heroic example of the Iranian masses, who stood up unarmed to the shah's tanks and guns and who are now mobilizing by the millions to defend their revolution.

Our job is to launch the broadest possible campaign of protest against Washington's war moves.

Stop the threats—withdraw the war fleet from the Arabian Sea!

Extradite the murderer shah—give back the wealth he stole from the Iranian people!

No deportations—halt the attacks on Iranian students!

U.S. hands off Iran!

## Militant sales: weapon for truth

In Birmingham last week, socialists sold all 150 copies of the *Militant* they had within an hour and a half.

Nelson Blackstock, the organizer of the Socialist Workers Party there, explained how "the main thing we saw was the degree to which people are not buying the line the government and the media are bombarding them with. And how anxious they are to buy the *Militant*."

Bruce Lesnick, who organizes sales in Kansas City, shares Blackstock's assessment.

"The Carter administration's attempts to create a war hysteria against Iran have largely failed," Lesnick said. "And one of the best indications of this is what's happening with *Militant* sales.

"We've been particularly excited about the impact of our industrial sales here," Lesnick added. "At the General Motors plant where I work, we sold seventeen papers last week—one of the highest totals ever.

"Workers here who read the *Militant* were encouraged to speak out against the government's war drive during our discussions on the job."

As these and other reports in this issue show (see page 8), there is widespread interest in what socialists have to say about Iran.

And what socialists have to say is making a difference in the discussions working people are

having about these life and death questions.

This means all our readers now have a historic opportunity to spread the message and build the circulation of the *Militant*, this country's most courageous and truthful antiwar and socialist newspaper.

This opportunity is also a big responsibility. For the *Militant* has a crucial role to play in getting out the facts to the thousands of workers who are looking for the truth.

So we are appealing to our supporters to redouble their efforts to circulate the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

After a big fall circulation drive like the one that's just ended, it's traditional to take something of a break during the holiday season—particularly in those parts of the country where freezing cold weather is now setting in.

But now, more than before, we need to get out the *Militant* and *PM* by selling at the numerous rallies and protest meetings taking place. By flooding the campuses with *Militants*. By organizing big weekend sales where working people live and shop. And maintaining and increasing our high level of industrial sales.

If you would like to help, contact the SWP or YSA branch in your city or the *Militant* Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

# Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Protests against war moves
- 6 Statement of Fourth International
- 7 Pulley on Iran
- 8 Workers say No! to war
- 10 New oil swindle
- 11 How CIA imposed shah
- 12 Torture in shah's jails
- 14 Officials discourage anti-KKK action
- 15 Women miners conference
- 17 Racism in navy
- 18 Matilde Zimmermann in Dallas
- 20 Phony rent-control referenda
- 21 U.S. withholds aid to Kampuchea
- 22 Plight of Palestinians
- 16 Countdown to January 13
- 18 Hear the socialist candidates
- 19 Campaigning For Socialism
- 27 In Review
- 28 In Brief
- 29 The Great Society  
Union Talk  
What's Going On?
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage,  
Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 23 Revolution in Grenada
- 24 Interview with Grenadian leader



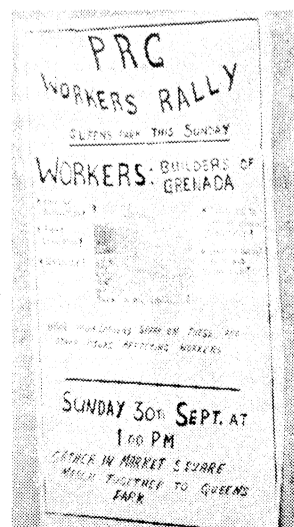
### Women coal miners meet

At national United Mine Workers conference, women made it clear that their fight is a union fight. **Page 15.**

### Revolution in Grenada

New Jewel Movement is leading social transformation on this Caribbean island. On-the-scene report by Ernest Harsch.

**Page 23.**



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# Iranian workers in lead of deepening revolution

By Janice Lynn

As the powerful wave of mass mobilizations in Iran gains momentum, the Iranian workers have increasingly come to the forefront of the struggle.

In addition, significant mobilizations have taken place in Kurdistan against Washington's attacks on the Iranian revolution.

The following article is based on reports received by the *Militant* from leaders of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (Hezb-e Kargarane Socialist—HKS).

Every day, every hour, delegations from factories and other work sites come to the U.S. Embassy in Tehran to show their support for the demand to return the shah to stand trial for his crimes.

The workers comprise by far the largest contingents, followed by the high school students.

Eyewitness observers report that on November 16 close to one million people were in the streets of Tehran to voice their solidarity.

Each day delegations continue to pour in until late in the evening. They carry banners with the names of their factory, union, or *shora* (factory council).

After giving a speech of solidarity, the workers leave the banners behind, filling the whole square in front of the embassy with a sea of banners demanding, "Give back the shah!"

Delegations have come from *shoras* of communications, auto, building, municipal, and gas workers. Representatives have also come from the newspaper and bank workers, the Pars



Close to one million Iranians took part in massive demonstration November 16 against U.S. war threats and for extradition of shah. Solidarity marches have also taken place in cities throughout Kurdistan.

electric workers, the air-taxi workers, and the syndicate of brick layers.

On November 16, Tehran's taxi drivers, all with their headlights on, came to the embassy in a large motorcade to show their support.

Contingents of teachers, air force cadets, university students, soldiers, and women have also filled the streets.

## Workers contingents

Reports from Tehran say that many of the workers' contingents are beginning to raise additional demands.

- The Persian Gulf shipbuilding workers carried a banner with the slogan, "The permanent struggle against imperialism is the key to the unity of Iranian nationalities."

- Auto workers from the Khaver plant called for the abolition of all military treaties with the United States.

- Steelworkers from Tehran called for the nationalization of all U.S.-controlled holdings.

- Workers from a helicopter repair factory chanted, "U.S. imperialism is empty and Vietnam is the proof."

- A delegation of oil workers from the south marched November 17 in their hard hats, demanding "Extradite the shah!" One of the oil workers unions issued a statement calling for "organizing nuclei of resistance" against threats of U.S. military intervention.

- On November 18, for the first time, the peasants from outside Tehran came to the U.S. Embassy to show their support. In addition to calling for extradition of the shah, they carried banners calling for nationalization of all land belonging to the U.S. imperialists, the Pahlavi dynasty, and those connected with them. One of their slogans was, "Long live the unity of the workers, peasants, and oppressed of Iran."

## Mobilizations in Kurdistan

Particularly significant were the demonstrations held in Kurdistan. In recent months the Kurds, a non-Persian people who live in northwestern Iran as well as in Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and the Soviet Union, had been subjected to a fierce military campaign aimed at denying them their fundamental right to control the affairs of Kurdistan.

The Kurds were able, however, to beat back the Islamic Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran) and have forced government representatives to negotiate with them.

On November 14 a mass demonstration in the Kurdish city of Saqqez took place in support of the embassy occupation and against U.S. war threats. The Kurdish demonstrators called for

*Continued on page 6*

## Iran socialists declare solidarity with struggle

As the mass upsurge against U.S. domination deepens, the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS) is in the thick of the fight to defend the Iranian revolution.

On November 17 the HKS sent a letter to the Islamic Revolutionary Council pledging its support in the struggle against U.S. war threats and for extradition of the shah.

The revolutionary socialists have put forth a series of proposals to help defend the revolution and also extend it, which is its best defense. These include:

- A proposal for the Islamic Revolutionary Council to arm the entire population and provide it with military training to defend the country. This could be immediately implemented through the councils of

workers, peasants, and students.

- Let the American people and the people of the world know the truth by publishing all secret documents showing U.S. government complicity with the shah's crimes. The HKS salutes the appeal being made by Iranian government officials to the American people, who can be won to oppose their government's war moves just as they opposed the war in Vietnam.

- Break every link in the chain that binds Iran to U.S. domination by nationalizing all imperialist-owned industries and banks and placing them under control of the *shoras* (workers councils). The same policy should be applied to the property of indigenous capitalists who have cooperated with the imperial-

ists.

- Revoke all government debts without compensation in order to prevent profiteering by the capitalists and the rich. Foreign trade should be monopolized by the government.

- Support the rights of the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities in order to unify all the masses in the fight against U.S. aggression. For withdrawal of government military forces from Kurdistan.

- For a planned economy free of imperialist control, which gives priority to agriculture, health, education, and housing.

- For a government of the majority—a workers and peasants government—to resist the imperialist offensive and turn society toward

the fulfillment of the needs of the immense majority.

In a statement issued November 12 the HKS summed up the situation in Iran this way: "By increasingly joining the political path, masses of the people, Iranian toilers, are announcing that they are not going to surrender, and at whatever cost, they are going to gain their freedom and bring the revolution to fruition."

Some of the socialists' proposals have appeared in the Tehran dailies, *Baamdad*, *Ettela'at*, and the *Tehran Times*. In addition, a special issue of their newspaper *Kargar* (Worker) is doing a brisk business. It receives an especially warm response from others demonstrating in front of the U.S. Embassy.



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# Demonstrations, meetings demand:

By Osborne Hart

The Carter administration's war campaign against Iran has fostered a racist frenzy on the part of a small minority.

The target?

Iranian students—and anyone who may look Iranian or dark-skinned.

Aided by the government's roundup order against Iranians and the sensationalist news coverage, right-wingers are trying to create an impression that the majority of Americans support the government's war intentions and victimization of Iranians. But the opposite is the truth.

In the midst of Carter's war threats, a growing number of working people and students are not taken in. And they are beginning to publicly express their antiwar and antiracist views in action.

In recent days, Black leaders, a Japanese-American group, and students have spoken out in defense of Iranian students.

In Detroit, Black religious figures called for the extradition of the ex-shah to solve the Iran crisis.

Although largely ignored by the media, pro-Iranian meetings and demonstrations have taken place on campuses across the nation. These actions have been significantly larger than their right-wing flag-waving counterparts featured by the big-business media.

More than 2,000 students rallied in Sproul Plaza on the University of California Berkeley campus November 15. Organized by the Committee Against Harboring Criminals, the demonstration called for "Extradition of the shah," and "Support to the Iranian people."

At the Berkeley rally, Ali Mhobarze, an Iranian and former U.C. student, said, "I don't think the sentiment of the American people has been portrayed accurately. I think the majority are behind us."

Four hundred students at Stanford University in California demonstrated November 19 against racist attacks on Iranian students and for returning the shah to Iran. The rally also opposed any use of military force by the U.S. against Iran. Speakers at the rally criticized U.S. news media for "sensa-



Speaking at Chicago Militant Forum against U.S. war threats were Reza Ghoraihi (left), representing Iranian Consulate, and Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate Lee Artz.

Militant photos by Nancy Cohen

tionalist" reporting on Iran which fueled anti-Iranian sentiment.

At Princeton University in New Jersey, a rally of ninety students called for no U.S. military intervention in Iran and an end to the harassment of Iranian students in the U.S.

A leaflet publicizing the rally read: "The shah should be tried along the lines of the Nuremberg trials for his crimes against humanity."

And in Washington, D.C., as the government banned demonstrations in front of the White House, the Immigration and Naturalization Service office was picketed November 20.

The main banner at the protest read: "Extradite the shah, not Iranians; Stop the deportation of Iranian students." Picketers chanted "Iranian people have just demand, send the shah back to Iran."

Among the important events taking place are forums, debates, and speak-outs. These can play a vital role in explaining to the American public the

role Washington played in supporting the shah and how it is trying to turn back the Iranian revolution.

Campus teach-ins and other events take on special significance in countering the right-wingers' efforts to portray the campuses as anti-Iranian centers.

Below are reports from *Militant* correspondents on meetings and other actions against the U.S. war moves.

## Chicago

By Ike Nahem

CHICAGO—A representative of the Iranian government was the featured speaker at an emergency meeting here to protest U.S. war moves against Iran and the deportation of Iranian students.

Reza Ghoraihi of the Iranian Consulate spoke to nearly 125 people gathered at the Militant Labor Forum November 17.

Responding to an extended ovation, Ghoraihi told the audience, "I am

glad to have been invited to the Militant Labor Forum to tell you what is going on in Iran and give you the facts about the Iranian people's fight with the American government and to reach out to the American people."

Ghoraihi read and distributed a statement addressed to the American people by Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr, who is in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Iran.

Quoting from the statement, Ghoraihi pointed out the real character of the American Embassy: "Documents captured by the students leave no doubt that the embassy had been the actual center of rule over Iran in the days of the ex-shah."

Appealing to the American people, he continued: "Ask your government why, contrary to their pretenses, they have trampled a time-honored tradition by transforming their embassy into a center of rule and espionage in our country and region."

The statement compared the shah to

## Right-wingers attack Iranian students

By Arnold Weissberg

Iranian students around the country continue to be victims of harassment and intimidation officially sponsored by the U.S. government.

Carter has unleashed the Immigration and Naturalization Service on the Iranians, demanding that all 50,000 register with the INS and prove they are full-time students.

"This action may set a dangerous precedent," said Georgia American Civil Liberties Union President Clint Deveaux. Deveaux said the action recalled the racist roundups of Japanese-Americans at the beginning of World War II.

The INS announced it would transfer 300 *la migra* cops from duty on the Mexican border to aid in the roundups.

Meanwhile, the government moved to deport Iranians it claimed were not holding valid papers. More than 150 Iranians in the New York City area alone were ordered out of the country. The *New York Daily News* reported November 17 that the INS had jailed twenty-nine Iranians pending their deportation hearings.

The anti-Iranian hysteria has been the springboard for a broad attack on civil liberties. Authorities at Jersey City State College banned an Iranian students' forum, claiming the campus atmosphere was "emotional and volatile." But the

day before, the administration allowed an anti-Iranian demonstration on campus.

A telephone death threat against the college's 100 Iranian students was received a week before, but campus authorities dismissed it as a fake.

Using Carter's order as an excuse, Atlanta cops obtained names and addresses of Iranian students from the administrations of two area universities—a ready-made "enemies list." The students were not charged with any crime.

The witch-hunt atmosphere has encouraged violence and threats from right-wingers, racists, and others who oppose the Iranian revolution.

"There are a lot of students who are scared for their lives," an Iranian student at UCLA said. "I have friends who have been attacked. And you never know in this atmosphere when it may be you."

The level of violence and racism of the anti-Iranian demonstrations has brought expressions of concern even from students who had initially supported them. "When I first went out and protested last week," said Carol Bandy, a student at the University of Houston, "I was just mad like everybody else. But things got into a Ku Klux-type rally. People were yelling 'Kill the Iranians!'"

Harassment extends beyond the campus. Eight Iranians were arrested at Baltimore-Washington International Airport November 16, charged with illegally transporting arms and held on outrageous bonds as high as \$250,000.

The Iranians said the weapons were to be sold in Iran, but the government and big-business press

have tried to make something sinister of the affair.

The incident is reminiscent of an earlier frame-up in which four Iranians were charged with plotting to kidnap the governor of Minnesota. The charge, a complete fabrication, was quietly dropped after a few days, but not before getting front-page treatment across the country.



Anti-Iranian gangs, whipped up by government, have left Iranian students in fear for their lives.

# 'send back shah, no deportations!'

Nazi war criminals and posed the question: "Why should they [U.S. government] receive, shelter and protect, at all cost, a most brutal criminal?"

"Would it be expecting too much if our people urged your government to extradite the most notorious criminal of the century to Iran in order that he might be tried publicly and fairly?"

Ghoraishi was followed by a representative of the Progressive Black Students for Change at the University of Illinois, who spoke out in defense of Iranian students.

He stated: "The shah must be extradited and sent back to Iran to face retributions for his crimes. We, the American people, especially Blacks, have no interest in protecting pathological criminals like the shah. The Iranian people's fight is our fight. We both want freedom and justice now. We both have a common enemy."

Referring to the roundup of Iranian students, the PBSC spokesperson said, "If they go after Iranians in the U.S. today, you know it will be Black people tomorrow."

Solidarizing with the Iranian people, the speaker ended by saying, "We express our warm-felt thanks to the Iranian people for the example and inspiration they give us in our struggle."

Lee Artz, Socialist Workers candidate for Senate, rounded out the speakers platform.

Artz placed the onus for the embassy situation squarely on the Carter administration.

"The U.S. was warned not to let the shah in. They were warned that there would be repercussions," he declared. "The U.S. government's aim is not to free the sixty-two hostages. Their aim is to intervene."

Artz stressed the need for public protests against Carter's aims: "That is why we need more meetings like this one—meetings, teach-ins, and public protests around this country against the war drive and in defense of the Iranian people."

During the question and answer period, an Iranian student gave examples of harassment and violence against Iranians.

He reported that FBI agents have made numerous searches of Iranian homes. Some Iranians were arrested and forced to undress in cold rooms at police stations, where they were "searched" twice a day.

The storefront headquarters of the Iranian Students Association and the Muslim Students Association were burned and windows broken.

At the end of the meeting, the audience voted to send a telegram of solidarity to Iran.

## Detroit

By Osborne Hart

The first National Black Pastors Conference, meeting in Detroit November 16, passed a unanimous resolution calling on the Carter administration to deport the ex-shah of Iran.

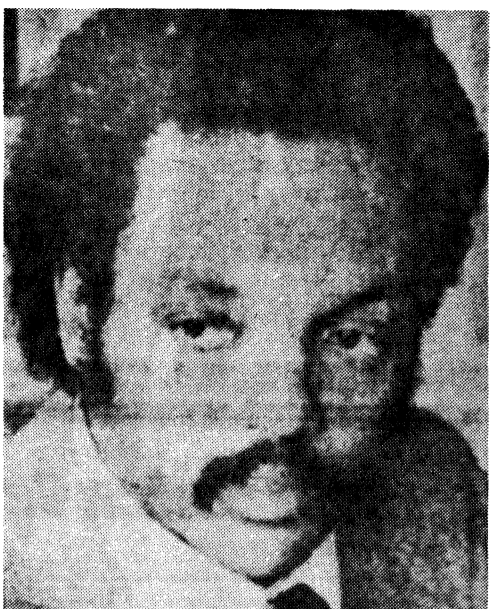
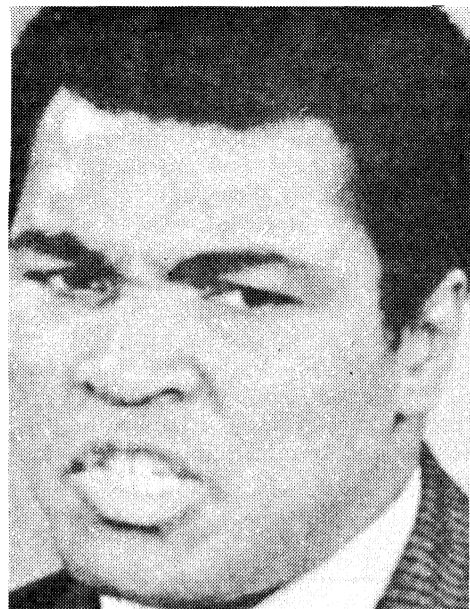
Speaking before more than 1,200 Black ministers, Rev. William Jones, the conference chairperson, declared the shah a "criminal" and "an armed puppet" of the U.S. government. Jones also demanded that the "\$20 billion the shah stole" be returned to the Iranian people.

In his address to the gathering, Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH, said the shah is "the Hitler of our age" and a "war criminal" who should be tried for killing thousands of Iranians.

"The hospitals in New York have no monopoly on cancer," Jackson continued, "so why is this man here?"

"He shouldn't be given political asylum," said Jackson.

Calling for the immediate deportation of the shah, Detroit City Council member Rev. Nicholas Hood explained, "There's no need of innocent Iranians and Americans dying be-



Black leaders are calling on Carter to get rid of shah. The Black Pastors Conference passed a resolution demanding his extradition. Muhammad Ali declared, 'Send the shah back' Above, from left, Muhammad Ali, Rev. Joseph Lowery, Rev. Jesse Jackson.

cause of this one man."

Rev. Orris Walker, Jr. of Detroit hailed the resolution on the shah.

"I think the conference resolution will say to Third World people that minorities in the United States are sensitive to issues they're sensitive to and that we feel the same oppressive hand as they feel," commented Walker.

In a phone interview with the *Militant*, Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who attended part of the Detroit meeting, concurred with the anti-shah resolution.

Muhammad Ali has also called for the deportation of the shah.

Speaking at the New School for Social Research in New York City on November 19, Ali compared the shah to Hitler and Nixon. Ali told an ABC reporter, "This guy is a criminal. Send this guy back."

## Minneapolis

By Susan LaMont

MINNEAPOLIS—"Last year at this time at least 50,000 Iranians were murdered by the American-trained and American-armed army of the shah," Hamid, an Iranian student representing the Iranian Student Association, told an audience of 150 at the University of Minnesota November 16.

"Today," Hamid went on, "Iranian people are saying to themselves, 'How can we ever trust the U.S. government after what they have done?'"

He added that "the American people must understand that there is no way you can trust the U.S. government. Just look at Chile or Cambodia."

"The real abuse of international law," Hamid continued, "is not the takeover of the embassy, but the U.S. government's use of the embassy for espionage against the Iranian revolution."

The panelists at the Iran speakout included Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, who is now on tour for the Socialist Workers 1980 presidential campaign.

Sedwick received an enthusiastic response as she demanded: "Send back the shah. Put him on a plane and do it now! He's a murderer."

Other speakers included: Sue Gjense, student government president; Linda Ojala, staff attorney for the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union; and Joseph Mestenhauer, director of the Office of Foreign Students Advisors at the university.

Ojala, referring to the deportation and harassment of Iranian students, explained that the U.S. Supreme Court has consistently "looked the other way" when First Amendment rights have been suspended.

## Seattle

By Mary Ann Kellogg

SEATTLE—At a news conference November 16, University of Washington students and professors protested

government attacks on Iranian students here.

Participating were representatives of the Iranian Student Association, Young Socialist Alliance, Organization of Arab Students, Commission of International Students, a supporter of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party, and others.

Iranian student Farhad Kamali announced the formation of the Committee to Defend the Legal Rights of Iranian Students.

Sami Aoude of the Organization of Arab Students pointed to "the harassment of Iranian students as well as all people who look like Iranian students, including Arabs and Latinos—anybody with dark skin."

Aoude added his group favored sending the shah back to Iran. He condemned the U.S. military maneuvers being carried out in the Arabian Sea.

"The shah has been treated on a humanitarian basis," said Abdas Ghassemieh, a member of the Iranian Students Association, "but what about the 70,000 innocent people killed by his army? It's ironic to think that the world is constantly hunting Nazis and yet here in the U.S. Iran's Hitler is being hospitalized."

Ghassemieh noted that the ex-dictators of Nicaragua and El Salvador were also made welcome by the U.S. government.

Margo Storsteen of the Young Socialist Alliance condemned Carter's deportation order against Iranian students. "If Carter is allowed to carry out the deportation of Iranian students, this clears the way for harassment of any student who opposes the policy of the U.S. government," she declared.

The news conference was widely reported by local news media.

Emergency meetings on Iran were held in several other cities.

• At the University of Missouri, in Kansas City, eighty people attended an "End U.S. Threats Against Iran" forum November 18.

Linda Spence, chairperson of the Afro-American Student Union; Martha Pettit, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate; and a representative of the Sojourner Truth Organization were the featured speakers.

• In Cincinnati, more than sixty persons gathered at a meeting in defense of Iranian students at the University of Cincinnati November 19.

Margie Robertson, an American Civil Liberties Union executive board member, told the audience: "We are particularly concerned about reports of racial violence against Iranians throughout the country and the extent to which the government's own directives may encourage such hysteria."

Other speakers included Jerry Young, Elias Ayoub Defense Committee; Bill Roberts, International Socialist Organization; and M.J. Rahn, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance who recently ran for city council.

• On November 17, a "U.S. Hands Off Iran" forum was held in New York City. One hundred and fifty people heard *Militant* staff writer Janice Lynn, SWP National Committee member James Harris, and SWP congressional candidate Robert Miller speak out in defense of Iran and Iranians in the U.S.

As we go to press, meetings were also reported in Albuquerque, San Antonio, at the University of Maryland, Wayne State University, and American University in Washington, D.C.

## Iran forums

### CALIFORNIA

#### OAKLAND

STOP U.S. THREATS AGAINST IRANI Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sat., Dec. 1, 4 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Aup: SWP Campaign. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

### SAN FRANCISCO

STOP U.S. THREATS AGAINST IRANI Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Fri., Nov. 30, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Aup: SWP Campaign. For more information call (415) 324-1992.

### SAN JOSE

STOP U.S. THREATS AGAINST IRANI Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sun., Dec. 2, 7 p.m. 201 N. 9th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: SWP Campaign. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

### MINNESOTA

#### IRON RANGE

HANDS OFF IRANI NO U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTION! Speakers: Rich Stuart, member Socialist Workers Party, United Steelworkers Local 1938; Merline Kawanba, representative of Minnesota Civil Liberties Union. Fri., Nov. 30,

7:30 p.m. Carpenter's Hall, 307 First St. N., Virginia, Minn. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### OHIO

#### CLEVELAND

STOP U.S. THREATS AGAINST IRAN. Speakers: Fred Halstead, longtime leader of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Dec. 2, 7 p.m. Room 110, University Center, Cleveland State Univ. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

### WASHINGTON

#### SEATTLE

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN IRAN? Speaker: Gerry Foley, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Thurs., Nov. 29, 7 p.m. Univ. of Washington, HUB Auditorium. Donation: \$3, UW students free. Aup: Committee to Save the Iran 14. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

IRANIAN REVOLUTION VERSUS U.S. GOVERNMENT: STAKES FOR AMERICAN WORKING PEOPLE. Speakers: Gerry Foley, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, Iranian student. Sat., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

# Fourth International: U.S. hands off Iran!

The World Congress of the Fourth International, meeting in Belgium, issued the following statement.

The U.S. government is using its economic power and threatening to use its vast military arsenal to impose imperialist interests in Iran.

In an arrogant response to the demands of the Iranian working masses for the return of the shah and the wealth he plundered, the U.S. rulers have escalated their aggressive moves.

A fleet of US, British, Australian, and New Zealand warships has been activated in the Arabian Sea. American troops have been placed on the

alert in the United States. Carter has ordered a boycott of Iranian oil and has frozen more than \$6 billion in assets held by the Iranian government in the United States.

A chauvinist war hysteria is being whipped up by the imperialist governments and capitalist media around the world to justify these moves. This campaign portrays the Iranian masses as bloodthirsty, reactionary religious fanatics. It blames the Iranian people, especially the heroic oil workers, for the energy crisis contrived by the imperialist oil monopolies.

Right-wing hooligan attacks on Iranian citizens in the United States are being used to create the impression that American workers want to go to

war against their Iranian brothers and sisters.

But neither the American working class nor the workers and oppressed masses around the world want an imperialist military intervention in Iran. They know the Iranian people struck a blow for freedom around the world when they threw out the butcher shah and his imperialist advisers.

Carter calls the Iranian people "terrorists." But the real terrorists in Iran have been the imperialist powers who armed the shah to the hilt, and the CIA and Israeli agents and the SAVAK agents they trained, who were responsible for tens of thousands of deaths and untold numbers of torture victims.

Today the Iranian masses are fighting to extend the revolution that ousted the despotic regime of the shah, to win full social and economic equality, and to end imperialist interference. They deserve the fullest solidarity from the world working class.

The World Congress of the Fourth International calls on all workers organizations around the world to mobilize the broadest possible campaign of action against Washington's military threats in Iran.

Return the murderer shah to be tried for his crimes!

Give back the wealth stolen from the toiling masses of Iran!

US hands off Iran! Withdraw the imperialist fleet from the Arabian Sea!

## 14 socialist prisoners appeal to join fight

The following letter was sent November 15 to Dr. Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr, in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Iran, by the fourteen members of the Hezb-e Kargarane Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) imprisoned in Khuzestan Province, in southern Iran.

\* \* \*

Although it is hard to follow national and world events from prison, nevertheless we have learned of the major events taking place in our country within the past few weeks. For us, hearing this news is heartening and inspiring on one hand, and saddening on the other hand.

Hearing thousands of people with clenched fists in front of the base of the espionage operation of the CIA in Iran shout, "Down with U.S. imperialism, down with the shah" brings to life for us the memory of the historic struggles of our people against the torturous hand of the Pahlavi monarchy.

It enlivens the memory of the successful February insurrection when we hear this, and these memories are rekindled. We are heartened that the revolution is deepening and moving forward.

Our sadness comes from the reality of our situation—that with the experience of our past struggles and combativity against U.S. imperialism and the dictatorial regime of the shah, with our fighting spirit, we are



Militant  
HKS leader Babak Zahraie and chief of Iran's Foreign Ministry, Dr. Bani-Sadr, debated ideas on how best to further Iranian revolution last April. HKS prisoners appeal to Bani-Sadr for their release so they may join in struggle against U.S. imperialism.

surrounded by prison walls. We are not among our co-fighters.

Mr. Bani-Sadr, in front of millions of people you have discussed and debated with socialists. With this action you have shown clearly your respect for freedom of speech. You have explained and propagated your ideas. And now, in support of the

students following the Imam's line, in the post of director of foreign affairs, you have declared mass mobilizations against U.S. imperialism.

We too explain and propagate our ideas. But we are not able to participate in this mass mobilization. After all, we are imprisoned for our ideas. Worse yet, authorities in Ahwaz

demand that we denounce our ideas and the HKS. Because we refuse to do that, they still keep us in prison.

Mr. Bani-Sadr, we want to be alongside our militant brothers and sisters to help strengthen the struggle against reaction and U.S. imperialism.

Through this letter, we, the fourteen imprisoned members of the HKS, declare our support to the occupation of the U.S. espionage center of the CIA and Pentagon by the students following the Imam's line.

We resolutely condemn the moves of the U.S. government, its intimidation and harassment of the militant Iranian students residing in that country, and its support and protection of the butcher of the Iranian people.

Fighting U.S. imperialism requires a broad united front in which all strata of our population, all political parties and groups, can and should participate.

Freeing us fourteen socialists from jail, who are imprisoned only for our ideas, will be a step in strengthening and broadening this fighting front against imperialism.

Signed: Hadi Adib, Hormoz Fallahi, Firooz Farzinpour, Morteza Gorgzadeh, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Ali Hashemi, Mahmoud Kafaie, Kambiz Lajevardi, Kia Mahdevi, Mohammed Poorkahvaz, Mustafa Seifabadi, Hamid Shahrabi, Mahsa Hashemi, and Fatima Fallahi.

## ...Iran workers in lead

Continued from page 3

an end to all treaties with the U.S. and burned the American and Israeli flags.

They also raised their own specific demands: withdrawal of all Pasharan from Kurdistan and for an end to censorship on radio and television, which were giving a distorted picture of their struggle. Similar solidarity demonstrations have occurred in Mahabad, Bukan, and other Kurdish cities.

On November 17 Ayatollah Khomeini acknowledged on Iranian television that the Kurdish people had been wronged, as had other people in Iran, and promised major economic reconstruction in impoverished Kurdistan. After the broadcast, people in Mahabad streamed into the streets in celebration.

Negotiations for an end to the Kurdish war are taking place. In Kermanshah, demonstrators carried pictures of Khomeini along with those of the Kurdish leaders, Ezzedin Hosseini and Abdul Rahman Qasselmou.

A council has been formed in Kurdistan to coordinate negotiations with the

delegation from the central government. It includes the previously outlawed Kurdish Democratic Party and the Revolutionary Party of Toilers of Kurdistan, and is headed by Hosseini.

The mass mobilizations against U.S. war threats and for return of the shah have opened a new stage in the Iranian revolution.

Struggles to solve the problems of unemployment, inflation, and poverty, left by the shah's plunder of the country, are mounting. They are carried out by the same workers who are demonstrating their solidarity with the demands of the students in the U.S. Embassy.

Many factories have been laying off workers because the imperialist blockade has resulted in a scarcity of raw materials. In some cases, however, workers have been able to fight these layoffs through the shoras.

In a Tehran clothing factory, for example, management announced layoffs due to a lack of cloth. The shora, however, called for the workers to share the available work, each working half a day, with no cut in pay.

In Isfahan, a factory owner an-

nounced that since the workers were engaging in the national fast in solidarity with the embassy occupation, they should work straight through their normal lunch break. The shora at the factory objected, and proposed that the lunch break instead be devoted to political discussion.

Members of the HKS in the factory raised the demand that the money the factory is saving by having its cafeteria closed should be given to the shora.

Unemployed construction workers in Tehran and other cities have demonstrated for jobs. They issued a statement appealing for support for their demands: unemployment compensation with no strings attached, and insurance papers so they may receive medical and other benefits.

On November 17, 500 of Tehran's bus drivers demonstrated at the mayor's office. They carried pictures of Khomeini and banners with their demands for more working hours and for the right to receive benefits.

On November 18 more than 4,000 drilling workers in Ahwaz held a sit-in in U.S.-owned companies in southern Khuzestan Province and demanded the creation of a national drilling company.



Workers delegations mass outside U.S. Embassy in Tehran

## Andrew Pulley at Detroit rally:

# U.S. workers have stake in Iranian revolution

By Andrew Pulley

(The following is based on a speech made by the Socialist Workers presidential nominee at a campaign meeting in Detroit November 18.)

Today the U.S. government is at the brink of war with the people of Iran.

Washington's pretext is that it wants to save the lives of those sixty-two Americans now being held hostage in the embassy in Iran. That number will be less in a few days as the Blacks and the women are released.

Carter is not concerned about the lives of sixty Americans. If there's a war, certainly more than sixty Americans will die. And more than sixty Iranians will die.

American working people have no interest—no interest whatever—in a war against the Iranian people.

Only the oil companies and the rest of the billionaires that run this country—and, of course, their loyal servant the shah—have an interest in fighting the Iranian masses.

Every one of the measures taken against Iran by Carter and the rulers of this country is at one and the same time a measure against American working people.

Who will gain from Carter's decision to boycott Iranian oil? Already the oil

companies are telling us we'll be paying even more for gas. It's clear that very soon they'll have the price of gas dangerously close to their goal of two dollars a gallon.

If you think Exxon made a killing in the last quarter, wait till they report their profit for this quarter.

Who gains from these policies against Iran—American working people, or the ruling rich?

### Send back the shah

Why doesn't Carter extradite the Iranian Hitler? He murdered tens of thousands of Iranians who dared march, unarmed, for their freedom. The Iranian workers wanted the right to have unions, and a reduction of the work week. I think Detroit auto workers can relate to that.

They demanded among other things that the sale of oil to South Africa be stopped. I think Black Americans can relate to that.

They demanded the right not to be dominated by a foreign power. We fought for that 200 years ago.

Carter says he can't send a sick man back, especially one who has cancer. Your heart is supposed to bleed.

But if they were really concerned about cancer they would shut down those nuclear power plants.

For a quarter of a century, Carter and previous presidents held five Puerto Rican nationalists in jail. One of them had cancer. They knew about it all along. But they let the brother out only two months before he died!

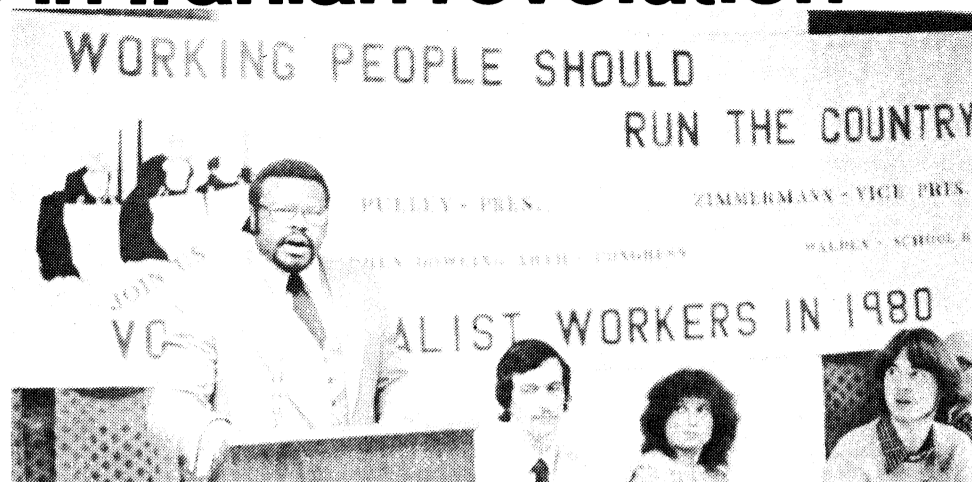
But, they say, they must abide by the principal of political asylum. What about before the revolution, when the Iranian students in this country had to wear masks when they demonstrated against the shah and his policies? They were afraid the CIA would send them back. They didn't have the right of asylum.

And when I hear this argument, I also think about our good comrade, Héctor Marroquín, who they want to deport to Mexico where his life would be in danger. They don't talk of political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

### Statue of Liberty

You know, it's inscribed on the Statue of Liberty, Send me your down-trodden, your exploited, your oppressed.

But the U.S. government does not follow that principle. Just the opposite.



Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, speaks at Detroit campaign rally. Seated (from left): Bill Arth and Martha Dowling, SWP candidates for U.S. Congress; Andrew Walden, SWP candidate for school board.

That inscription should say, "Send me your murders. Send me your shahs. Send me your Somozas. Send me your Thieus and your Kys and your dictators the world over."

And this is where they come when they get deposed by the people of those countries. They know this is where their masters reside.

The reason they won't extradite the shah is because they know that if he is convicted of the grave crimes he committed, they also stand convicted before the world and before the American people. That's because the government of this country represents the Rockefellers and other imperialist rulers who benefited from the policies of the shah. The shah was their puppet!

They see that the Iranian revolution today is deepening. They fear the aspirations of the Iranian masses because they know that those aspirations will be satisfied only with the victory of socialism.

The politicians and the media are trying to make the American workers believe that it's to our interest to go to war with Iran. It's all of us Americans—one big happy family—against "them", they tell us.

But there is no such thing as a common American interest. There are the interests of the Rockefellers and his class, the superrich, on the one side. And there are the interests of us, the masses of the American workers on the other.

A war with Iran would only benefit the Rockefellers, the tycoons. The interests of the American working people

are the same as the interests of the working people of Iran.

Just think about some of the things the Iranian people are fighting for. To nationalize the big industries. To win workers control over these industries, to curb inflation, provide jobs for the unemployed, give land to the peasants. Insure the rights of oppressed national minorities.

Aren't these the kind of things we need too?

### Kicked around?

The rulers of this country want us to believe that "we" are being "kicked around" by the Iranian people.

Well, I'm not being "kicked around" by the Iranians. Nor by the Cubans, nor the Vietnamese.

I own nothing in Iran. I didn't lose any sugar mills in Cuba and I have nothing to lose if the people of Indochina establish their independence and deepen their revolution.

And I'm sure the overwhelming majority of the American people are like me. No, it's not us that are being "kicked around" by the Iranians, the Cubans, the Vietnamese, by the Black African masses, by the Nicaraguans.

It's Rockefeller and the DuPonts. And we should welcome their getting—as they see it—"kicked around" by people who are simply trying to get them off their backs.

We should join with the Iranians, the Cubans, the Nicaraguans, the Vietnamese, the Black Africans and help them "kick around" some more. The world will be a better place for it.

## Our party is your party!

IF YOU AGREE with what you have been reading in the *Militant*, now is the time to join the Socialist Workers party. . . . OUR PARTY is made up of working people like you. The more who join, the better we can fight together against war and racism, and for decent living and working conditions. . . . JOIN US and help us build a better world, a socialist world. Fill out the coupon below and mail it today.

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## Khomeini appeals to Americans: 'We want peace'

Below are excerpts from an interview with Ayatollah Khomeini conducted in Qum, Iran, by Mike Wallace of CBS's 'Sixty Minutes.' It was aired November 18.

**Wallace:** Why do you still say that if the ex-shah is not returned that those American hostages will not be freed?

**Khomeini:** There are two main reasons for the people's insistence for the shah's return. One—that this is a nation with a poor economy. That the wealth of these people has been plundered by the shah and his relatives; taken out of the country; been deposited in various U.S. and European banks. And, these are the monies which indeed belong to the people, these poor people.

**Wallace:** Right.

**Khomeini:** And therefore, he has to come, and he has to return and tell us where are these monies, and why they are there.

The second, which is even more important than the first reason, is that we want him back to show the extent of the crimes committed by this person during thirty-seven years of his rule.

We have to know the extent of his treasons in this country and we have to find the true cause of these doings. Why was it that he was massacring; why was it that he thought he had a mission to accomplish by killing the people, by oppressing them.

**Wallace:** They—the hostages—will remain there, in the American Embassy compound—what?—for life? Forever?

**Khomeini:** They will remain until the shah is returned. It is in the hands of Carter. Carter can free them by returning the shah.

**Wallace:** Imam, President Carter accuses your government of practicing terrorism and says that your regime will be held accountable if those U.S. hostages are harmed.

**Khomeini:** The thirty-five million people of Iran are terrorists? . . . You interpret politics like this? . . . I have heard what Carter says of them, and it doesn't make sense.

He says they are not students; they are bums—mobs—they are terrorists. . . . This is an insult to students

and people across the nation. . . .

Your understanding of politics is that we are a nation of terrorists? We are Moslems. This is an insult.

**Wallace:** Imam, President Sadat of Egypt, a devoutly religious man, a Moslem, says that what you are doing now is "a disgrace to Islam," and he calls you—Imam, forgive me, his words not mine—"a lunatic." I know that you have heard that comment. . . .

**Khomeini:** . . . Sadat has united with our enemies. Sadat knows well what is occurring south of Lebanon, and with the Palestinians. He knows the crimes of Israel, yet he still considers Begin a friend and himself a Moslem. You must try to evaluate what he is doing then through Islam. The Egyptian people do not back Sadat. I demand that the Egyptian people try to overthrow him, just as we did the shah.

**Wallace:** I ask you as an American and a human being, is there no room for compromise? Or is Iran now in effect at war with the United States?

**Khomeini:** . . . We desire peace for

all. Carter should put aside his so-called humanism and return the criminal shah so that we can conclude this matter. The shah is a criminal. We all know this. The spy nest you call the U.S. Embassy then can be returned to a place of humanism and diplomacy. Carter must return the shah. We have nothing against the people of the United States.

**Wallace:** If the Imam was so convinced that the U.S. Embassy was a spy center, why did he not close it down and break off relations with the United States? Why did he wait for this group of young Iranians to take it over?

**Khomeini:** We didn't think an embassy could be a center of spying. I didn't realize this until our students found the necessary evidence. I didn't realize Carter, going against all international law tenets, would allow this spying and conspiracy at the American Embassy.

Now that our students have done this, taken the embassy, with the backing of all the people of Iran, we have now realized that the American Embassy has been a center for spying.

## Big debate in factories

# Workers say NO! to U.S. war moves

By Suzanne Haig

For two weeks American workers have been hit by a daily barrage of frenzied anti-Iranian propaganda in the news media. Government actions seem to be escalating toward the brink of war. Small demonstrations organized by off-duty cops, the Jewish Defense League, and other right-wing forces are portrayed as mass, spontaneous shows of outrage against Iran.

Antiwar and antiracist protests are virtually ignored in the press. Deportations, denials of civil liberties, and physical attacks on Iranians in this country have been used to whip up an atmosphere of hysteria to intimidate and silence anyone with questions.

Has the attempt by the ruling class to whip up majority sentiment for a war against the Iranian revolution succeeded? No. What has been whipped up is a huge debate resulting in growing questioning of U.S. foreign policy.

### Biggest topic of discussion

Iran is the major topic of discussion in plants, mills, mines, and other workplaces around the country. What is clear is that the antiwar sentiment, the distrust in the government since Watergate, the anger at the oil crisis, and the attacks on the standard of living are too deep to be turned around by the media campaign.

The overwhelming majority of American workers oppose a war with Iran and growing numbers are coming to the conclusion that there is justice in the Iranian people's anger over the presence of the shah on U.S. soil.

Socialist workers report that at first many of their co-workers were confused by the anti-Iran frenzy. But whenever someone stood up and responded to reactionary comments by pointing out the facts—particularly on the shah's murderous record and the U.S. war threat—many people were willing to listen and many changed their minds on the spot. This was especially true during the second week after the embassy takeover, when the threat of a U.S. military intervention and war became clearer.

Initially, inspired by the government campaign, right-wingers were often the ones doing the loudest talking. Others were confused, and many of those who disagree with Washington's war moves

were intimidated into silence.

Norton Sandler, who works at the huge Sparrows Point steel mill in Baltimore, Maryland, reports that some of those talking against Iran are the same ones who attack the Equal Rights Amendment and the right of union members to ratify their contract.

In the Jeep plant in Toledo, Ohio, incensed foremen are the ones screaming racist epithets against the Iranians.

Occasionally remarks are heard like the following made by a railroad worker on the Southern Pacific in Los Angeles: "We ought to go in there like the Klan in Greensboro, bomb the hell out of them, and get those hostages."

The danger of war more and more has become the focal point around which Iran is discussed. Some workers make gung-ho statements but then think better of them.

### Discussion in steel plant

Joanna Misnik reported on a typical discussion at a steel fabricating plant in Cleveland:

Some workers asked, "Why are we letting a little country like that pick on us? We ought to go in there and blow them to hell."

But once Vietnam was mentioned, memories were evoked and people changed their mind. A discussion often began. Usually the Vietnam veterans were the most conscious because they know firsthand what it means to go to war against a population that does not want you there.

"Vietnam was wrong," began one such exchange, "but we have to get our hostages back."

Misnik replied, "You'll end up in a war like Vietnam."

"Well, no," was the reply, trying to deny the implications. "We'll just end up getting our hostages back."

"How are you going to go in there and not have a war? The whole population will be against you just like in Vietnam," Misnik explained.

A Black veteran clinched the argument: "If we go over there the twelve- and thirteen-year-old kids are going to have guns and they're going to kill us. That's how much they'll hate us."

Nobody said anything after that. At Southern Martinka Ohio Coal's number one mine in Fairmont, West Virginia, Tom Moriarty, who thinks

the shah should be sent back, had a discussion with the section boss, a thirty-five-year-old Vietnam veteran, who came up to him and asked his opinion on Iran. They discussed back and forth and the section boss and Moriarty began to agree.

That day the press reported on Virginia Sen. Robert Byrd's comments after several Iranian students had been beaten up at a West Virginia college. He said he understood the anger and would like to do the same thing himself.

The next day a twenty-three-year-old roof bolter came into the mine and said, "Boy, did you see how those people got beat up down there at Fairmont State the other day? Wasn't that great?"

The section boss let him have it. "You dumb fuck, that's exactly what they want you to think. Don't you know you're old enough to get drafted? You idiot. You want to get your head blown off for that guy? That's exactly what they want you to think. You have to think things out for yourself."

The young man literally took a step backward. "Well, I don't know," he said. "I still thought it was good."

The section boss was relentless. "Why did you think it was good?"

And the discussion continued.

### Fear of another Vietnam

The experiences, memories, and lessons seared in workers' minds by Vietnam have been brought alive by Iran. Workers are quite aware that if war is waged, they will be the ones to go. This is a major reason for the seriousness and intensity of the discussions across the country.

In the first week of the Iran crisis the following talk could be heard at the Ford assembly plant in Minneapolis: "Those people have no right to demonstrate. Iranians should be rounded up and shot. The shah is our friend."

"Dictator Khomeini and the Iranian mob of religious fanatics can't tell us how to run our affairs." And so on.

But as the week went by and the possibility of war loomed larger, some people began to speak out against sending troops.

In the men's locker room, a half-dozen people discussed Iran and the possibility of war.

"They didn't get me during Vietnam

and they're not going to get me this time," said one.

"They didn't take people from the campuses but jerked people out of here right and left and took them to die," said an older worker.

### 'I'm not going'

Someone told a young worker that he and his nineteen-year-old girl friend would be drafted. "Hell no, we won't go," was his reply.

A relief man said, "I'll be the first target. I'm nineteen. I'm young. I work. I won't get a deferment [from the draft]."

Some people began to think that the shah should be sent back, including a thirty-four-year-old white worker at the Ford plant who told Libby Moser:

"You know what they really want to do? The government wants to start a war. In the spring of '67, after I finished a year in Vietnam, they sent me back to Detroit during the ghetto riots, then the Six Day War came along in the Mideast and I thought that was the next place I was going to go.

"What they really want to do is send troops in there. I'll be damned if I let anyone go over there and meddle in other people's business."

### Shah's billions

Steve Warshell, from International Association of Machinists Local 755, reported a similar example in an all-white department at Rohr Industries in San Diego.

At first everyone talked about sending the marines to Iran. During the middle of the second week, however, a change occurred. Articles had begun to appear in the papers about the shah's billions—which didn't sit well with the workers. Also the state of California began to discuss gas rationing—that didn't sit well either.

Things turned around. Now there were such comments as: "What's the real story here."

One man particularly angered other workers when he started to defend the shah. He became the butt of the retort, "Down with the shah," from workers in the department.

### Vietnam vets remember war

All twenty workers in the department are Vietnam veterans.

At lunch one man told people for the



October 1967 anti-Vietnam War demonstration in Washington, D.C. Carter administration has not been able to reverse deep antiwar sentiment felt by majority of American people. Military intervention in Iran would lead to massive opposition by workers.



first time that he had been part of a squad defending movie actors. His battalion had protected the actors in the prowar film *Green Berets*. He said many soldiers were wounded and toward the end some wanted these actors to "get bullets through their heads."

"It was the most worthless goddamn thing I have ever done in my life," he told his co-workers.

Some workers from the beginning have spoken up against the government lies. Many are suspicious of the government's motives and of the oil companies.

### Role of oil companies

The embargo on Iranian oil, the threat of rationing, gasoline lines, and higher prices for gasoline and heating oil touched a raw nerve for many workers.

At an International Longshoremen's Association hiring hall in New Orleans, workers discussed the oil question. An older Black argued that America deserves oil and "we should just go into Iran and get it."

Some others were suspicious. "The oil companies are ripping us off," was their opinion.

At the Cleveland Steel fabricating plant a white worker—particularly outspoken against the Iranians in the early part of the crisis—was very angry when talk of oil shortages began to appear in the local newspaper. He remembered that when the shah was toppled, in February, the papers said that there would be a critical shortage of oil.

"How come they first tell us there would be a shortage," he said, "and now these oil companies are saying it won't matter if Iran cuts the oil off? What's the deal?"

Later, another article appeared in the local paper, talking about possible lines at the gasoline stations.

"Wait a minute, wait a minute," he said. "They said it wasn't going to matter."

A worker at Rohr Industries in San Diego said, "I'm sick and tired of this [oil] being used as an excuse to do something else. They're using oil again to do something that's against me. Jesus, I'm sick and tired of this—I'm going to start to walk."

A Black worker at the AC/Delco complex in Milwaukee said, "It all started with the CIA. We went in there to get the oil and the oil companies are as greedy as hell."

A woman shop steward at Sparrows Point in Baltimore said, "I'm not sending my only son to war for the oil companies."



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Labor movement's opposition to gasoline price hikes indicates new willingness to fight. Workers have no desire to risk their lives for oil company profits in Iran.

Because Iranians are continually portrayed as religious fanatics by the American media, there is confusion about what is actually occurring in Iran. But workers in the United States react positively when they learn the truth about the revolution that is unfolding.

At the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, Wells Todd showed a co-worker an article in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* on the GM workers in Iran who had pasted up in their plant records on the managers' salaries and the plant's profits, demanding that profits be used for low-cost housing for the workers.

He had not heard about this before. He read it and showed it to another worker on the assembly line. Later in the night he came back and borrowed it again to show to someone else. This article obviously brought the events in Iran much closer to home.

At the Norshipco shipyards in Norfolk, Virginia, a Black former marine explained how the U.S. role around the world had become clear to him while in

Vietnam.

He was extremely interested about what workers were doing in the factories of Iran, particularly the oil workers. He said that having seen Iranians depicted as an "ignorant mass" he was unaware that the country had industrial workers who were organizing to fight for their rights. He drew parallels between Iran and the U.S.

"Here I am working forced overtime, twelve-to-fifteen hours a day, and it makes me angry. I feel like doing something about it but I don't see how the union can do it now.

"I guess if you know you are working hard and making all this money for the oil companies and not getting anything, then I can see how you would want to make a revolution."

### Informal poll at auto plant

In an informal poll on an assembly line at the GM plant in Tarrytown, Betsy Farley noted that of twenty people only four thought the shah should remain in the United States.

Even those who believed the shah should stay qualified it. One said, "I don't think the shah should go back and get killed but this is a country of millionaires and they're trying to get us into a war because it's good for the millionaires."

An indication of what can be expected as workers discuss the release of Black and women hostages occurred November 3 when a worker known to be prejudiced against Blacks entered a breakfast place near the Tarrytown auto plant.

He was teased by a Black worker for being "down in the dumps." The reason for his depression: the *New York Post* headlines on the decision to release the women and Blacks held at the embassy.

The Black worker said, "The reason that Khomeini freed them is because the Iranians know that the U.S. is such a racist society that women and Blacks probably have nothing to do with U.S. government policy.

"This will help win women and Blacks to the Iranian people," he concluded.

# Cuba: twenty years of revolution

## Books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press

### Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro

A new Education for Socialists bulletin featuring Castro on topics such as the road to revolution in Latin America, freedom of expression and thought, the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the role of Cuban troops in Africa. 136 pages, \$4.00.

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### Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution, by Joseph Hansen.

A Marxist

study of the origin and course of the Cuban revolution. 385 pages, \$5.95

**Upsurge in Africa**, by David Frankel. Cuba, American imperialism, and the new rise of the class struggle in Africa. 31 pages, \$7.5.

**The Ethiopian Revolution**, by Ernest Harsch. The Ethiopian revolution, its roots and development, and the role played by Cuba. 38 pages, \$8.5.

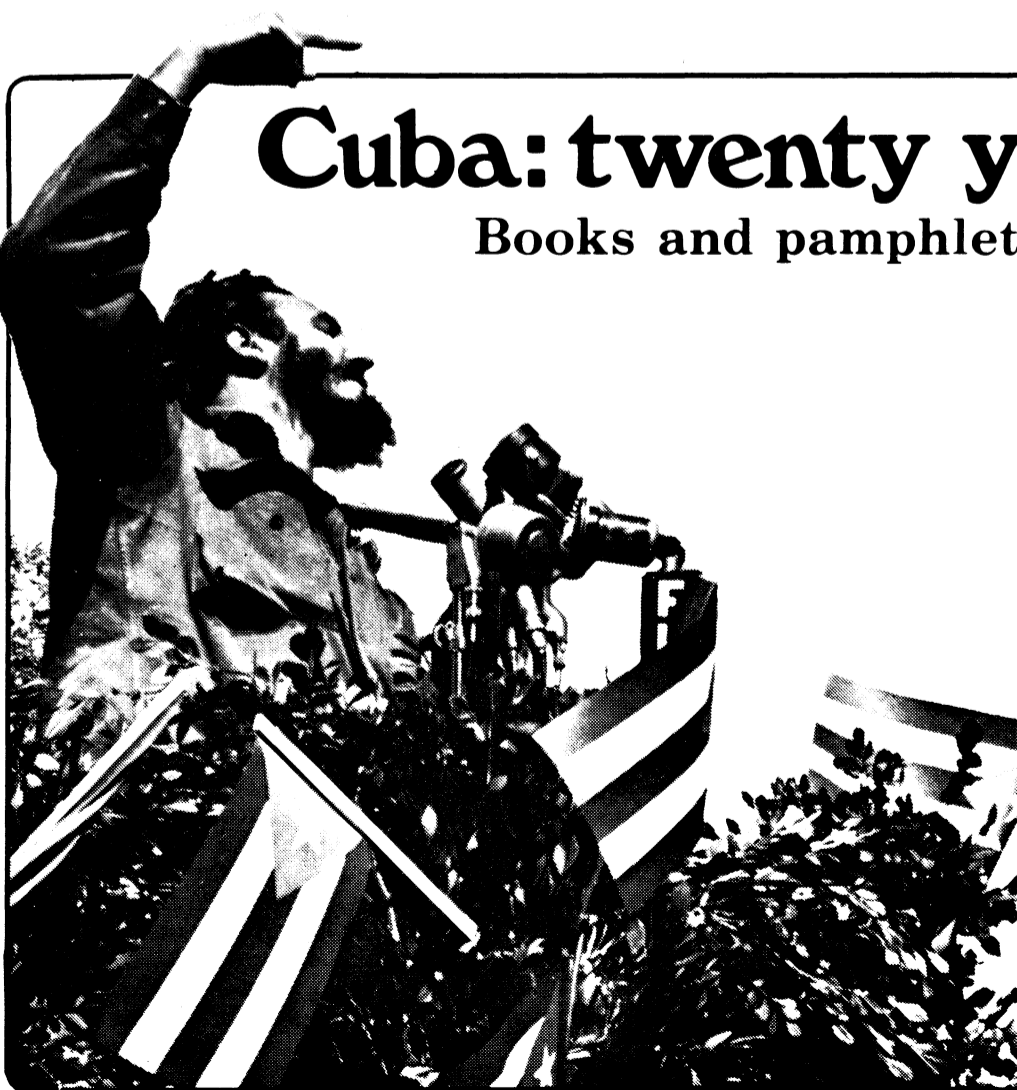
Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add \$.75 for postage.

**Education for Socialists Tapes on Cuba** (Offered at a special discount price)

**Policies of the Cuban Leadership**, by Joseph Hansen, 1967. \$7

**Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution**, by Jack Barnes, 1978. \$7

**The Theory of Permanent Revolution (on Cuba)** by Joseph Hansen, 1961. Two talks, \$12.



# Iran used as cover

# Carter's new oil ripoff plan

By Dick Roberts  
and Andy Rose

Washington's war threats against Iran are also a direct attack on the living standards of American workers.

If there was any doubt about that, it should have been dispelled by Carter's November 15 speech to the AFL-CIO convention in Washington, D.C. There he vehemently repeated demands that working people sacrifice "in the battle for an energy-secure America."

Just as he did last winter and spring, Carter is trying to make the Iranian revolution the scapegoat for the price-gouging plans of Big Oil. The anti-Iranian hysteria his administration has sought to whip up is meant to justify both military aggression abroad and patriotic belt-tightening at home.

Thus Carter warned the AFL-CIO: "The developments in Iran have made it starkly clear to all of us that our excessive dependence on foreign oil is a direct physical threat to our freedom and security as Americans. . . .

"That's why I've ordered phased decontrol of oil prices, to make conservation pay and to stimulate domestic energy sources."

## \$25 billion ripoff

Carter didn't mention, of course, that his own Energy Department estimates decontrol of oil prices will cost consumers \$24.8 billion between now and September 1981.

And that's before the new round of price hikes that is being prepared under cover of the Iranian crisis. As the *Wall Street Journal* cheerfully noted November 19, "some analysts have already raised their 1980 oil earnings [profits] estimates to reflect the cutoff of supplies from Iran."

In his speech, Carter took a meat-axe to those who criticize his energy plan: "We cannot close down all nuclear power plants, burn less coal, refuse to build oil refineries, refuse to explore for new oil sources, oppose the production of synthetic fuels and at the same time encourage the waste of energy by artificially holding down its price . . . this is a ridiculous combination of proposals. . . ."

So it's damn the environment, full speed ahead with nuclear plants and high-pollution refineries, off-shore drilling, and generating plants. While we pay more, drive less, and turn our thermostats down for the coming winter.

The November 16 *Wall Street Journal* listed further "contingency actions" the White House is considering since it ordered a boycott of Iranian oil. These include:

- "Slapping a new tax on gasoline";
- "Decontrolling gasoline prices to spur conservation";
- "Speeding the reopening of nuclear plants currently closed"—such as Three Mile Island?!
- "Extending the current mandatory building temperature controls"; and
- "Raising taxes on petroleum products other than gasoline."

## No shortage

Just like last spring, prices are rising not because of any real physical shortage of oil. On November 16—that is, after the U.S. boycott of Iranian oil was announced by Carter—the *New York Times* reported that "companies' [oil] storage tanks are starting to overflow. . . ."

Nevertheless, "spot" prices have been climbing sharply on the international oil market. Spot prices are the day-to-day market prices of oil, distinct from the long-term contract prices.

Spot prices are soaring because the

biggest world oil dealers—mainly the big U.S. oil companies—are rushing to buy all the available oil on the open market. Again, it's just like last spring. The oil companies will hoard the oil in anticipation of future price leaps—a self-fulfilling prophecy if there ever was one.

If the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries then raises its prices to try to capture a share of the higher profits the oil companies are raking in, you can be sure OPEC will be blamed for the spiraling prices.

Carter's boycott of Iranian oil in no way signifies that Washington plans to shut off the valve of Iranian oil, much less of all OPEC oil. Rather, as part of Washington's political and military offensive against the Iranian revolution, the boycott is a move to regain more control over Mideast oil supplies for the U.S. oil giants.

## U.S. oil strategy

U.S. monopolies such as Exxon, Mobil, and Texaco market this oil internationally. It is a source of vast profits to them. Because of their monopoly on "downstream" operations—shipping, refining, and distributing petroleum products—the oil trusts can easily live with OPEC price increases.

In fact, they favor such price rises.

In essence, the strategy of the oil trusts since 1973 has been threefold:

- to get oil out of the OPEC countries as fast as possible;
- to decontrol oil and gas prices in the United States; and
- to develop new energy sources that can ultimately give the oil companies a further club to use against OPEC itself.

To say that the oil companies can live with OPEC price increases is not to say that they favor any control whatsoever by semicolonial countries over their own natural resources. Yet the tide of colonial revolution has been irreversible in the postwar epoch.

The imperialists consequently favor removing oil from the semicolonial countries now, when it is cheaper and when the governments they are dealing with are more pliable.

It is one thing to do business with regimes like that of the shah—a reliable puppet of world capitalism. It is something else when the workers and peasants threaten to utilize oil resources in the interests of the oppressed—as, for example, when the Iranian oil workers refused to ship oil to Israel and South Africa last spring.

So despite the surface appearance of

the energy trusts screaming for alternative sources and energy self-sufficiency, they are actually lifting more crude from OPEC than ever before.

## Domestic oil

This is a strategic profit consideration. It is not a question of physical energy needs. In addition to natural gas and coal—which exist in abundance in the United States and have barely been tapped—there is good reason to believe that there is plenty of oil right here.

A 1970 White House study showed that U.S. and Canadian oil reserves could supply in 1980, next year, 92 percent of the needs of these two nations without rationing, or 100 percent, if rationing were used.

These resources are not being developed because the oil trusts are waiting for higher prices. *At some point, once world oil prices rise high enough, these untapped domestic oil reserves will provide one of the biggest profit bonanzas in history.*

Until then the companies are keeping this oil in reserve for practically nothing, that is, they are leaving it in the ground.

Despite all of its obvious costs to humanity, this profit-gouging scheme of the oil trusts was making headway as 1979 unfolded.

With the cover that the Iranian revolution had caused a worldwide oil shortage, the companies faked a gasoline shortage in the United States and drove through sharp increases in crude oil, gasoline, and home heating oil prices. Congress approved decontrol of oil and natural gas in stages over the next few years.

Just in the past weeks Congress also passed a \$19 billion synthetic fuel bill that will give government subsidies to private industry to develop alternate energy sources.

In a second move beneficial to the energy companies, the House voted to approve creation of an "Energy Mobilization Board," which could recommend waiving health and environmental laws for specific energy projects.

## Iran

Carter hopes to use the new Iran crisis—deliberately engineered by his administration—to rally popular support for his giveaway to Big Oil.

He boasted at the AFL-CIO convention: "No act has so galvanized the American public toward unity in the last decade as has the holding of our people as hostages in Tehran. We stand today as one people."

This is whistling past the graveyard. A recent *New York Times*-CBS poll found that 23 percent of those questioned favored nationalizing the oil companies. This broke down to 42 percent of the Blacks polled and 19 percent of whites.

The mood of anger against the oil companies is deepening just when the Iranian revolution is also deepening. It is serving to reinforce the antiwar sentiment of the American people and stands as no small obstacle to the Pentagon invading Iran.

More and more people recognize that the purpose of such an intervention would be precisely the reimposition of control over Iranian oil by these same companies!

Very likely Carter's actions around Iran will convince a whole new layer that there is an energy crisis all right—it is the crisis created by private ownership of the energy companies and their global profit drive.

And the next time the pollsters come around there will be even more votes for taking these companies out of private hands.



# 1953: How CIA imposed Shah on Iran ...

By Ernest Harsch

When the American government brought the deposed shah of Iran to the United States in late October, the Iranian masses reacted to this provocation with indignation and anger. They saw Washington's move to protect the hated butcher as a direct threat against their revolution.

The U.S. government had already put the shah back in power once—in the 1953 coup organized by the CIA—and propped up his reign of terror for twenty-six years. His return to U.S. soil is a clear statement that the U.S. government has not given an inch in its determination that it—and not the Iranian peoples—will decide Iran's future.

In the early 1950s, when the U.S. first intervened to crush the aspirations of the Iranian masses for freedom, huge struggles had emerged against foreign domination. These focused around the demand for the nationalization of the oil industry, the country's major economic asset, which at that time was owned and controlled by the British.

As this movement developed, the shah's monarchy became increasingly threatened.

Under popular pressure, the Iranian parliament elected Mohammed Mossadegh, one of the most prominent advocates of oil nationalization, prime minister on April 30, 1951. The next day the oil industry was taken over by the state.

The British quickly moved to threaten military retaliation for this blow to their economic domination of Iran. British troops and naval forces were shifted closer to Iran's borders and seacoast.

In an action similar to President Carter's recent freezing of Iranian assets in the United States, the British government in 1951 ordered all Iranian deposits in British banks to be frozen, crippling Iran's foreign trade.

In another similar step, an embargo on all oil purchases from Iran was imposed by the major British and American oil companies. This imperialist-enforced ban on Iran's oil was maintained for two and a half years. During that whole time Iran was able to export only 103,000 tons of oil—less than it had exported in one day before the embargo was imposed.

The Truman administration in Washington announced that it would not grant any more economic aid until the Iranian government made concessions to Britain.

At the same time, Washington and London encouraged the shah to strike back. In July 1952, he defied parliament by refusing to give up supreme command of the army. Mossadegh resigned in protest.

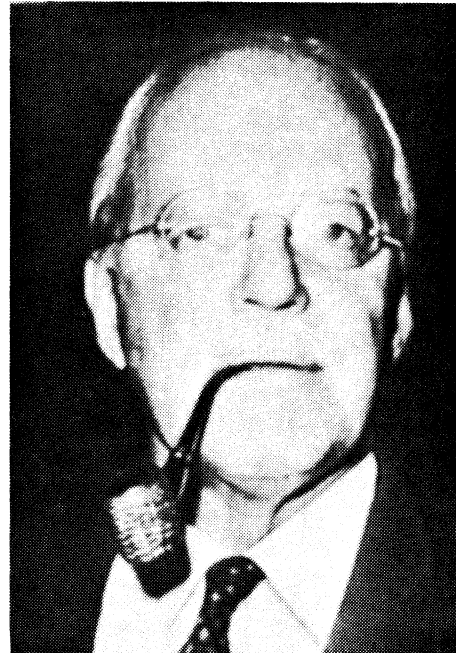
The masses of Iran immediately went out into the streets in big demonstrations to demand Mossadegh's reinstatement. Hundreds of unarmed demonstrators were killed when the army opened fire on them.

But as military discipline began to crack and soldiers started joining the demonstrators, the shah quickly retreated. Mossadegh was back as prime minister less than a week after he had resigned.

The popular mobilizations in support of Mossadegh compelled him to initiate more measures that threatened foreign domination of the country. The shah's powers were restricted to those defined

in the constitution, and he was forced to give up land illegally acquired by his father. A land reform was planned, much to the alarm of the big landowners.

Loy Henderson, the American ambassador to Iran, openly sided with the shah against Mossadegh and the mass movement.



Allen Dulles headed CIA at time of Iran overturn.

By August 1953, London and Washington had decided that it was time to move more actively against the Mossadegh regime, to replace it with one more to their liking. A plot to overthrow Mossadegh was organized by the American and British intelligence agencies, as Kermit Roosevelt, the CIA

official who supervised the operation, later admitted in his memoirs.

In early August, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, an American officer who had previously been involved in building up the shah's police forces, returned to Tehran. He soon established contact with Gen. Fazlollah Zahedi, a close associate of the shah's who had already tried to overthrow Mossadegh several months before.

Around the same time, Ambassador Henderson travelled to Switzerland, where he met with CIA Director Allen Dulles and Princess Ashraf, the shah's twin sister.

With the backing of the CIA, the shah moved on August 15. He ordered the commander of his bodyguard to dismiss Mossadegh. This proved abortive, however, and the shah was forced to flee Iran, taking refuge in Italy.

Henderson rushed back to Iran for a second try. On August 19, General Zahedi attacked Mossadegh's house, destroying it with tank fire. Although Mossadegh managed to escape, he was arrested two days later.

On the night of the coup, a victory party was held at the CIA station house in Tehran. Howard Stone, one of the CIA operatives involved in organizing the coup, later recounted that Zahedi, who was at the party, approached him and said, "We're in. . . . We're in. . . . What do we do now?"

On August 22, the shah returned to Iran with U.S. backing, as absolute dictator. So began the reign of one of the bloodiest and most repressive regimes in history, which was to survive for a quarter of a century thanks to American arms and political support.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

## ... and Rockefeller's sinister role in plot

By Dick Roberts

Evidence continues to grow that the Carter administration knew exactly what it would be provoking when it admitted the shah of Iran to this country—and it deliberately proceeded anyway.

"When the Iranians take our people in Teheran hostage, what will you advise me then?" Carter reportedly said at one White House staff meeting, according to an article by Bernard Gwertzman in the November 18 *New York Times*.

The pretense that the shah's admission was for "humanitarian" reasons—so that his "illness" could be treated—is also taking some knocks. *Time* magazine reported November 19: "In the hospital, some staffers suggested *sotto voce* that the Shah's physicians were exaggerating his ailments." The mass murderer's enlarged spleen is acknowledged to have "been in that condition for years."

Finally, the shah's doctors "ac-

knowledge that he could be treated just as well in Mexico, or in France. . . ."

As *Time* observes, the shah's presence in the United States is "political, not medical."

Gwertzman's article in the *Times* repeats the explanation—now widely publicized—that Carter let the deposed tyrant in because of "intense lobbying from American friends of the Shah, such as David Rockefeller, the Shah's banker, and former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. . . ."

The notion that Carter reluctantly bowed to pressure from the shah's friends is about as believable as the shah's cancer. His admission was a cold-blooded political move by the U.S. government as part of its ongoing war against the Iranian revolution.

But that is not to deny that the Rockefeller interests are right at the center of the anti-Iranian intrigues.

When Rockefeller speaks, Washington moves. Why? Because the Standard Oil trusts comprise the strongest,

most profitable, and most politically powerful sector of monopoly capital in the world today.

Of the six largest oil companies in the United States, four are parts of the Standard Oil Trust, formed by John D. Rockefeller at the turn of the century. The 1911 antitrust law merely broke Standard Oil down into a number of subdivisions. *It left the Rockefeller family with the controlling interest in each of these subdivisions.*

The four companies are: Exxon, formerly Standard Oil Company of New Jersey; Mobil, once Socony-Mobil, Socony standing for the Standard Oil Company of New York; Socal, the Standard Oil Company of California; and Amoco, the Standard Oil Company of Indiana.

Together these four companies own the largest privately-held petroleum reserves in the world. Their total sales in 1978, \$133 billion, is more than the gross national product of most countries. Exxon itself has a foreign intelligence arm whose budget is higher than the State Department's.

In Carter's Democratic administration in Washington today the influence of the Rockefeller family is mainly communicated through the Trilateral Commission. This is a "think tank" set up in New York in 1973 by David Rockefeller.

Such privately funded institutions bring together leading corporate executives, lawyers, diplomats, and politicians to iron out domestic and international policies behind closed doors.

The former head of the Trilateral Commission was Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's present national security adviser. Its present head is Henry Kissinger.

No less than twenty members of the Trilateral Commission became top officials of the Carter administration.

The Standard Oil trusts obviously have a big stake in Middle Eastern oil. But there's more to it than that.

Two key figures in the CIA coup that put the shah back in power in 1953 were the brothers Allen and John Foster Dulles. Allen Dulles was the founder and long-time head of the CIA. John Foster Dulles was Secretary of State in the Eisenhower administration and architect of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

In private business they were the senior partners of Sullivan and Cromwell, the major attorneys for Standard Oil of New Jersey.

What was the price they exacted for installing the shah? Before 1951, Iranian oil was 100 percent controlled by British interests. The Iran Consortium, established when the shah came back into power, gave 40 percent interest to U.S. oil firms—and over half went to Rockefeller firms.

Under the terms of the Iran Consortium, Exxon, Mobil, and Socal each got 7 percent of Iran's oil—21 percent altogether. Twenty-one percent of the oil plundered from Iran, for over two decades of bloody dictatorship . . . that was the price the Standard Oil interests demanded.

The secret books of the oil trusts make it impossible to calculate exactly the profits of these three companies on their Iranian oil holdings.

Suffice it to say that in the single year 1960, according to U.S. Department of Commerce figures, the book value of U.S. investments in the Middle East was \$1.2 billion. The return in that year was \$610 million—a rate of return of about 50 percent!

To guard these profits Washington installed tyrants like the shah of Iran. If Carter has a different perspective today, he has done nothing in the past weeks to show it.

### ROCKEFELLER INTERESTS IN THE BIGGEST U.S. OIL FIRMS

Company	No. of managed shares	Market Value
Exxon		
Chase Manhattan	11,556,000	
Rockefeller family	3,518,400	\$ 853,587,900
Mobil		
Chase Manhattan	2,371,000	
Rockefeller family	434,486	279,145,860
Socal		
Chase Manhattan	3,124,000	171,820,000
Amoco		
Chase Manhattan	1,474,000	
Rockefeller family	1,293,000	216,766,780
		\$1,521,320,500

(Figures based on 1978 study by Sen. Lee Metcalf)

## Why Iran wants him to stand trial

# Firsthand account of torture and murder

In their coverage of the events in Iran, the big-business newspapers, radio, and TV consistently try to cover up the bloody and repressive twenty-five-year regime of the ex-shah of Iran.

The 'Militant' is reprinting below major excerpts from testimony before U.S. Congress given September 8, 1976, by Dr. Reza Baraheni. Baraheni, a noted Iranian poet, was a political prisoner in the shah's jails for 102 days.

Baraheni gives a firsthand account of the atrocities committed under the shah's reign.

The testimony was published in the October 28, 1976, 'New York Review of Books' and in the March 1977 newsletter of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

No historian of the Middle East and Iran will deny that the CIA overthrew the legally elected government of Dr. Mossadeq in August 1953, brought back to the country the Shah, his wife, his brothers and sisters who had run away earlier, and reinstalled the present monarch on the throne.

Imagine a more tyrannical and primitive George III being crowned 6,000 miles away by the very descendants of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin with money raised by the American taxpayer.

The CIA re-created the monarchy, built up the SAVAK and trained all its prominent members, and stood by the Shah and his secret police as their powerful ally. Iran became the police state it is now.

### History of terror

Thousands of men and women have been summarily executed during the last twenty-three years. More than 300,000 people have been in and out of prison during the last nineteen years of the existence of SAVAK; an average of 1,500 people are arrested every month.

In one instance alone, American-trained counterinsurgency troops of the Iranian Army and SAVAK killed more than 6,000 people on June 5, 1963.

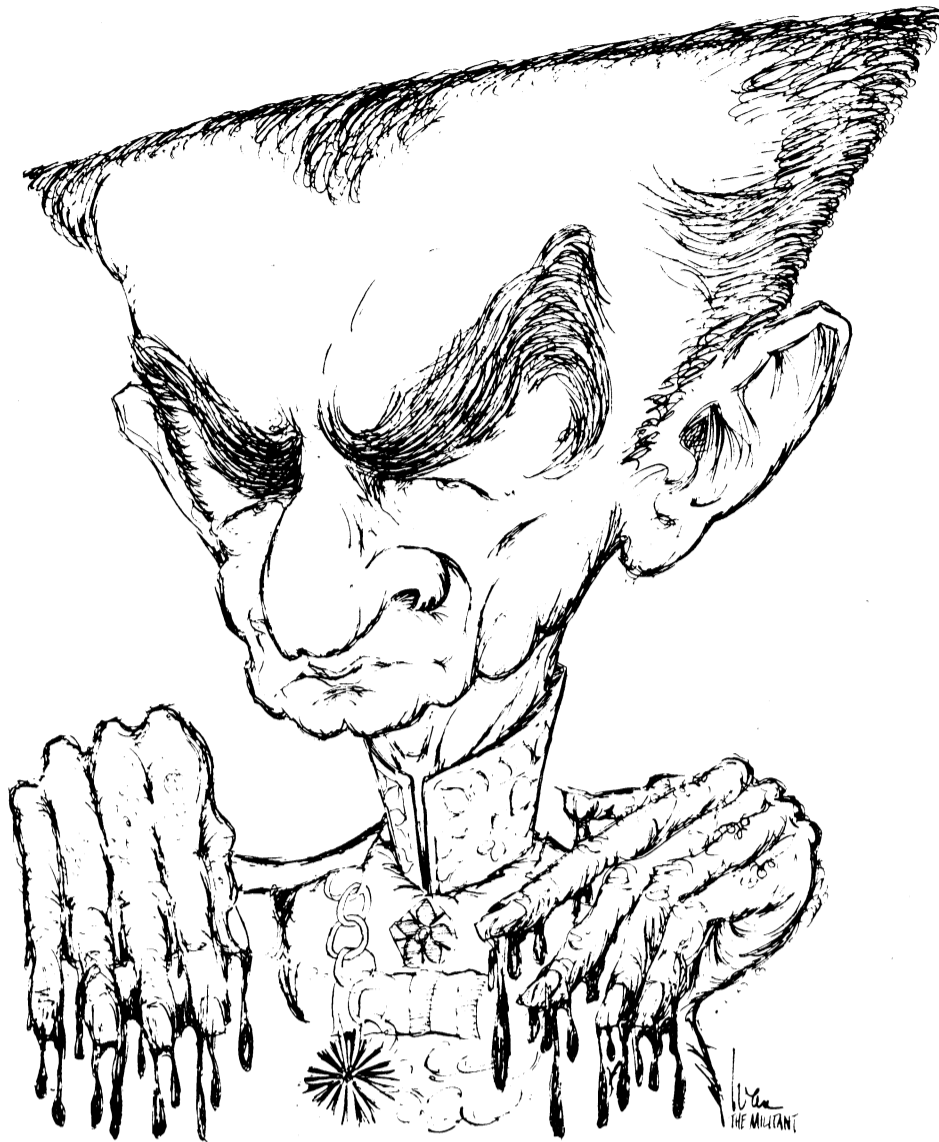
According to Amnesty International's *Annual Report* for 1974-75 "the total number of political prisoners has been reported at times throughout the year [1975] to be anything from 25,000 to 100,000."<sup>1</sup>

Martin Ennals, secretary general of Amnesty International, reports in his introduction to the above book: "The Shah of Iran retains his benevolent image despite the highest rate of death penalties in the world, no valid system of civilian courts and a history of torture which is beyond belief."<sup>2</sup>

Nothing could be further from the truth than to say that an Iranian prison looks like a garden, or that Iranian writers are held in better prisons than the other prisoners. All prisoners have a common destiny. With twenty-six books to my name I was kept in a dark solitary confinement cell of four feet by eight feet. There was nothing on the floor except for a dirty old blanket. There was no bed either.

### Kidnapped by SAVAK

There were days when seven prisoners of diverse backgrounds were pushed into this cell. We got ourselves accustomed to sleeping while standing. Some had dysentery because of bad food and fear. Some could not stand because of sore feet or burned backs or pulled out toenails. We breathed into each other's faces.



All of us had been kidnapped by the SAVAK; none of us had seen any warrants. Nobody outside knew where we were. We didn't know ourselves where we were, because we had all been brought to the prison blindfolded.

The seven of us could have easily run a school, or a supermarket, or a factory. Imagine 100,000 educated men and women in prison while 75 percent of the whole nation is illiterate! Imagine hundreds of doctors in prison when every fifty villages in the country have only one doctor! Imagine roads awaiting construction while engineers are rotting in jails!

The number and the extent of my government's crimes against its people have no end.

At least four agents of SAVAK are used to kidnap each suspect. There have been occasions when 5,000 people have been kidnapped on one day. This puts the number of such kidnapers simply at thousands. Sometimes even tanks are used in order to get a suspect out of his lodgings.

No one knows exactly what the total number of SAVAK officials and its informants is. At a press conference in 1971, a SAVAK authority said that there were, in addition to fulltime employees, informants "in various segments of society—workers, farmers, students, professors, teachers, guild members, parties, and other associations."<sup>3</sup>

The Shah's claim in a recent press conference that the number of SAVAK agents is between 3,000 and 3,300 is entirely wrong.<sup>4</sup> The Shah could not hold his grip on the population if that were so. The given number is fictitious. The actual army of agents and informants numbers from hundreds of thousands to millions.

Of the fourteen people I met in prison cells during my imprisonment in 1973, at least two had been asked to become members of the SAVAK, and upon refusal they had been tortured.

Everything I had said during my stay in the US in the academic year of

1972-73, before my imprisonment, had been reported to SAVAK, which operates on a global scale.

### One-man nation

The Shah's despotic regime has not only rendered the whole legal and constitutional process of the country meaningless, but it has also moved to brainwash a whole nation. Last year he suddenly abolished all existing parties and decreed a new "Resurgence" party whose membership is compulsory to the entire adult population. But even this one-party system is meaningless to the Shah, because, for him, Iran is a one-man nation.

Members of the royal family are at the heads of the news media, the Ministry of Information, and the Ministry of Culture. All information passes through these ministries before reaching the people. The Shah has closed down all the major press in the country and created others which are in the hands of the members of the SAVAK. Ninety-five percent of all the available press in the country is in the hands of two families who take their orders from the Shah and the police.<sup>5</sup>

There isn't a single piece of paper in the hands of those who don't want to write the way the Shah tells them to write. There is only one paper factory in the country and this runs at the whim of the authorities. A bestseller in Iran means a book that sells 3,000 copies. According to the Iranian papers, every Iranian studies books only twenty to thirty seconds a year.<sup>6</sup>

### Exploitation and poverty

A half-skilled laborer in Tabriz, the second or third biggest city in the country, gets even less than twenty-five cents an hour, while a pound of meat costs more than two dollars, onions, if found at all, are priced at fifty cents a pound, and potatoes are not to be had at any price.

In Quri-Chai, the northern slums of Tabriz, there is only one school for 100,000 schoolchildren. In most of the

cities of Baluchestan, there is only one bath for the entire population (in the city of Bampur for instance), but since people are so poor that they cannot afford to pay the nickel required to go to the bath, it has fallen in ruins.<sup>7</sup> People have frozen to death in winter in this great oil-producing country.

Yet the Shah and the Iranian government claim that Iran will have reached the standard of living of the industrially advanced nations in a matter of a few years!

We need schools, jobs, food, health facilities, democracy, freedom of the press, a revolution in our legal system. We are one of the richest countries of the world. We should be able to do wonders with our wealth.

But the Shah has grabbed that wealth, is arming us to the teeth and helping the whole Middle East arm itself to the teeth. Meanwhile the majority of the people of my country stay poor, uneducated, and sick.

Iran is the country of the poorest of the poor and the richest of the rich. The lot of the majority of the people in Iran has not moved forward even an inch during the last fifty years of the Pahlavi dynasty's reign, though the seven-year-old middle-class boy of fifty years ago, namely, the present Shah of Iran, has grown to be one of the richest men on earth.

The reason most of my countrymen would tell you that they carry a grudge against the United States is that the US government has given its unconditional support to a monarch who has terrorized a whole nation, plundered its wealth, and bought billions of dollars worth of military equipment which neither he nor our nation knows how to

7. *Nazari be Baluchestan* by Ahmad Borghiee (Mazyar Publications, Tehran, 1973), p. 15.

## Marxist literature in Persian



The following Persian-language literature can be ordered through Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

**The Communist Manifesto** by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. \$1

**The Transitional Program** by Leon Trotsky. \$2

**The Oppression of Women in Iran** by Azar Asi, Forough Rad, and Evelyn Reed. \$1

**On Socialist Man** by Isaac Deutscher. \$1

**Dynamics of World Revolution.** Two documents of the international Trotskyist movement. \$4

**The Young Lenin** by Leon Trotsky. \$5

Please include \$ .75 for postage

1. Amnesty International *Annual Report 1974/75*, AI Publications (London 1975), p. 129.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

3. *Iran News and Documents*, a publication of the Ministry of Information, Vol. III, No. 8, April 12, 1971, p. 16.

4. *Kayhan*, August 18, 1976.

5. The Mesbahzadeh and Mas'udi families, who, respectively, run *Kayhan* and *Ettela'at* publications.

6. Foreign Edition of *Daily Ettela'at*, February 3, 1975.

# in shah's jails

use. Iran is a dangerous quagmire in which the US is sinking deeper and deeper.

## A new Vietnam?

The future will speak for itself. But if Iran becomes the new Vietnam, we can be sure that it was the inhumane and irresponsible policies of the US government, the excessive greed of American arms corporations, and the extreme stupidity and adventurism on the part of present Iranian authorities that led to the creation of that crisis in the history of humanity.

No book in the country is published without the censorship's authorization. It sometimes takes years to get permission for the publication of some book a publisher has already printed. All copies of a novel of mine have been confiscated by SAVAK. And I could cite hundreds of similar situations.

In Iran one cannot stage *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, or *Macbeth*, because no Iranian should see the death of a prince or a king on the stage. He might jump to conclusions, as if contemporary Iranian history itself is devoid of attempts at regicide.

## Destroying language, culture

The present population of Iran is 34 million. There are only 14 to 16 million Persians in the country. Of the rest, 10 million are Azarbaijanis, 4 million are Kurds, 2 million are Arabs, and 2 million are Baluchis. There are other ethnic minorities too, such as Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians.

But only one language is the official language of the country. The Shah considers all Iranians to be Aryans, thus overlooking the ethnic diversity which exists in the country. Everyone has to learn one language, Persian. This is a great injustice to the other nationalities.

I belong to the Turkish-speaking Azarbaijani nationality. The men and women of my generation were told by the Shah to forget about their language and read and write everything in Persian. We did so under duress and learned Persian.

When I write a poem or a story about my parents, my mother, who is alive and doesn't know how to read and write and speak Persian, cannot understand it. I have to translate it for her so that she can understand.

The Shah's efforts to Persianize the Azarbaijanis and the Kurds and the Arabs and the Baluchis have failed. But his cultural discrimination still prevails.

For instance, the 3,000 American children brought to Iran by their parents working for Grumman can go to an English-speaking school. Yet millions of native Iranian children born to Azarbaijani, Kurdish, and Arab parents do not have even one school in which they can study everything in their native languages. This is only one aspect of the Shah's racism.

The Shah is destroying not only the cultures and languages of the Iranian Azarbaijanis, Kurds, and Arabs, but he is also mangling the linguistic and cultural identity of the Persians themselves. He is destroying the traditions of a whole civilization. Of this whole tradition and civilization he wants to preserve only the worst part, that is, the crown placed upon his head by the CIA and protected through the auspices of former President Richard Nixon and Ambassador Richard Helms.

## Unrestrained torturer

Iranian monarchs have always been unrestrained torturers. But torture acquired new dimensions in 1920 with the emergence of Reza Khan as the strong man of the country backed by the British. He became king in 1925 and abdicated in 1941 because of his Nazi and fascist tendencies. In his time no books of history were written

to show his attitude toward the dissidents.

However, after 1941 documents began to emerge. Children had been beaten in front of their parents; boiling water had been pumped into the rectums of dissidents; the mouth of a poet had been actually sewed up with needle and string.

Several men had been throttled in a peculiar way. The torturers would take them to respectable cells with a bed and several cushions, knock them down on the bed, put the cushions on their mouths, and simply sit on the cushions until the victims underneath breathed their last.

Or they would first torture them with what was called *Dastband-e Qapani*, a handcuff which tied the hands together from over the shoulder and the side. Then they would start to beat the victim with a stick on the chest until he confessed. One would confess to anything under that torture.

Physician Ahmedi, a most hideous name in the torture industry of Iran, was called in to inject an air bubble into the veins of the victim.

## Hitler of Iran

Such abominations were performed a few years before Hitler started the massacre of the Jewish people. I am sure the two regimes would have loved, in the spirit of Aryan brotherhood, to make a few experiments together, but time was not ripe for that.

The torch of torture passed into the hands of the present Shah of Iran, not immediately, because such things require some experience, but after the CIA coup in Iran. Since August 1953 we have been under constant torture.

Let me tell you briefly why I was arrested and tortured.

A book of mine had been published in 1972 when I was in the US as a visiting professor of English and Comparative Literature. The book was called *Masculine History*, and it dealt with the causes of social and historical disintegration in Iran, the oppression of women, the problem of Iranian nationalities, and ways through which some of the crises in our culture could be solved.

Upon returning to Iran, I published three other articles dealing with the same problems. One of them was called "The Culture of the Oppressor and the Culture of the Oppressed," which discussed the problem of alienation and nationalities.

I was arrested on September 11, 1973, tortured the next day, and stayed in the Comit  prison for 102 days. I found out later that I was released because of international pressure, especially pressure from writers and poets in this country.

## Beaten from head to toe

The torture on the second day of my arrest consisted of seventy-five blows with a plaited wire whip at the soles of my feet. I was whipped on my hands as well, and the head torturer took the small finger of my left hand and broke it, saying that he was going to break my fingers one by one, each day.

Then I was told that if I didn't confess my wife and thirteen-year-old daughter would be raped in front of my eyes. All this time I was being beaten from head to toe.

Then a pistol was held at my temple by the head torturer, Dr. Azudi, and he prepared to shoot. In fact, the sound of shooting came, and I fainted.

When I opened my eyes, I was being interrogated by someone who called himself Dr. Rezvan.

The interrogation, combined with psychological torture and sometimes additional beating, went on for 102

days until I was let out.

The account of my arrest, torture, and release has become public record in this country and Europe. Just let me quote from a description I wrote on the torture instruments for a British magazine and for my book, *God's Shadow*.

## Instruments of sadism

"There were also two other iron beds, one on top of the other, in another corner of the room. These last two, I later learned, were used to burn the backs, generally the buttocks, of the prisoners. They tie you to the upper bed on your back and with the heat coming from a torch or a small heater, they burn your back in order to extract information. Sometimes the burning is extended to the spine, as a result of which paralysis is certain.

"There were also all sizes of whips hanging from nails on the walls. Electric prods stood on little stools. The nail-plucking instrument stood on the far side. I could only recognize these devices upon later remembrance and through the descriptions of others, as well as by personal experience. The gallows stood on the other side.

"They hang you upside down and then someone beats you with a club on your legs, or uses the electrical prod on your chest or your genitals, or they lower you down, pull your pants up and one of them tries to rape you while you are still hanging upside down. Evidently great rapists, with very ingenious imaginative powers, have invented this style to satisfy their thirst for sadism.

"There were in the other torture rooms worse instruments which other prisoners would describe: the weight-cuffs that break your shoulders in less than two hours of horrible torture; the electric shock instrument, apparently a recent introduction into the Iranian torture industry; and the pressure device which imposes pressure upon the skull to the extent that you either tell them what they want or let your bones break into pieces. . . ."

## Forced confessions

"Not every prisoner goes through the same process, but generally this is what happens to a prisoner of the first importance. First he is beaten by several torturers at once, with sticks and clubs. If he doesn't confess, he is hanged upside down and beaten; if this doesn't work, he is raped; and if he still shows signs of resistance, he is given electric shock which turns him into a howling dog; and if he is still obstinate, his nails and sometimes all his teeth are pulled out, and in certain exceptional cases, a hot iron is put into one side of the face to force its way to the other side, burning the entire mouth and the tongue. A young man was killed in this way. At other times he is thrown down on his stomach on the iron bed and boiling water is pumped into his rectum by an enema."

"Other types of torture are used which have never been heard of in other despotic systems. A heavy weight is hung from the testicles of the prisoner, maiming him in only a few minutes. Even the strongest prisoners have been crippled in this way.

"In the case of the women, the electric baton is moved over the naked body with the power increased on the breasts and the interstices of the vagina. I have heard women screaming and laughing hysterically, shouting, 'Don't do it, I'll tell you.'

"Rape is also a common practice. Thirteen-year-old girls have been raped in order to betray their parents, brothers or relatives. Once, looking down from Dr. Rezvan's office, I saw a five- or six-year-old girl placed in front of several prisoners in handcuffs to disclose their identities. Any time she would resist, she would be slapped or her ears would be pulled hard until she would cry and scream. She seemed to have no knowledge of what was happening, and she seemed to know none of the men."<sup>8</sup>



A woman prisoner is helped out of Qsar Prison in Tehran February 11. Thousands of political prisoners were freed from the shah's prisons and torture chambers during the February revolution. But the tyrant himself is given asylum by Carter.

8. "Index on Censorship" Vol. 5/No. 1, Spring 1976, pp. 16-17; and *God's Shadow* (Indiana University Press, 1976).

## Racist collusion in Greensboro

# Officials work to block anti-KKK protests

By Steve Craine

GREENSBORO, N.C.—City officials here, assisted by the local media, are continuing to cover up official complicity in the November 3 murder of five anti-Ku Klux Klan demonstrators. They were gunned down in cold blood by a gang of KKKers and Nazis.

Officials and the media are also working to intimidate antiracist forces from organizing.

A broad-ranging campaign has unfolded during the past week to put the blame on the victims rather than the KKK and Nazi gunmen.

Judge Robert Cecil set unusually low bonds for the killers, ranging from \$50,000 down to \$4,000 for the fourteen Klanners and Nazis charged with five counts of first-degree murder and/or conspiracy to commit murder. Six of the fourteen have been released already.

Meanwhile, district attorney Michael Schlosser, in charge of prosecuting the racists, called the nationally televised murders, "the most complex cases Guilford County has ever seen, or will ever see."

Police and prosecutors are clearly helping to lay the basis for a plea of "self-defense" by the killers.

Two alleged witnesses, who claim the first shots were fired by the anti-Klan demonstrators, have yet to be identified. The overwhelming body of evidence—including many eyewitness accounts and television film footage—confirms that it was the racists who opened fire, using shotguns, pistols, rifles, and automatic weapons.

Police and the FBI have announced



Greensboro police chief Swing at press conference. He says he can't guarantee safety of anti-Klan protesters.

that they are not looking for any more suspects, despite the fact that seven of the ten cars in the attackers' caravan were able to escape the murder scene.

Virgil Griffin, Grand Dragon of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Realm of North Carolina, said in an interview with Associated Press that he organized the Klan caravan to Greensboro (it originated in the western part of the state). But he has not been charged with conspiracy.

The Greensboro police department and other city officials succeeded in disrupting plans by opponents of the KKK to protest the racist killings.

Two separate events, an interfaith memorial service and a march and rally, were scheduled for Sunday, November 18.

City officials held several meetings

with Black ministers involved in planning the memorial service. Police sought to convince the ministers that the memorial service would be associated with the rally and that they could not guarantee that the rally would be "peaceful."

They offered to produce files purportedly showing "communist" connections of some of the rally organizers, although at least one group of ministers refused to look at these files.

The next day the ministers announced, however, that the service had been cancelled. Invited speakers for the memorial had included Christopher Scott of Teamsters Local 391, which has been conducting a major organizing drive in the state.

Following cancellation of the memorial service, the Coalition for Human

Dignity announced it would postpone its planned march and rally. A spokesperson for the coalition said they needed "more time to develop an adequate response and consult with Black leaders."

He also said city officials had "created apprehension in the minds of Black leadership," by saying the city could not guarantee peace.

Participants in the march and rally coalition include the War Resisters League, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and the Southern Equal Rights Congress, in which civil rights activist Anne Braden is a leading figure.

The red-baiting intervention by city officials was successful largely because of the atmosphere created by the local media's campaign to equate "extremist groups" of the left and right.

In flagrant contradiction to the firsthand reports of eyewitnesses to the attack, most of the local papers now refer to the methodically executed killings as a "shootout between extremist groups that peddle hatred, ignorance, and violence," as a recent *Greensboro Daily News* editorial put it.

While attempting to smear antiracist groups, local papers carried an AP story November 19 which described the Klan in favorable terms.

The article quotes the police chief of Stanley, North Carolina, as saying, "We have had no unpleasant experiences with the Klan and its members. Generally speaking, people in this community don't regard the Klan as a violent organization."

## Steelworkers reject wage-cut blackmail

By Stu Singer

GARY, Ind.—Production workers at U.S. Steel's American Bridge division here voted 431 to 16 to reject the company-proposed wage freeze. Earlier, production workers at Ambridge, Pennsylvania, rejected the company offer 598 to 284.

Taking a cue from Chrysler, officials at U.S. Steel met with United Steelworker International President Lloyd McBride to get union backing to "reduce labor costs." They proposed removing American Bridge workers from the basic steel contract, which expires August 1, 1980, and establishing a reduced pay scale.

McBride reportedly rejected breaking American Bridge from basic steel but supported the pay-cut proposal.

U.S. Steel has threatened it will close the American Bridge facilities if it cannot reduce labor costs.

The office and technical workers, organized in separate USWA locals, accepted the company proposal by 18 to 9 in Gary and 112 to 79 in Ambridge. These locals consist of white-collar salaried workers who are in much closer contact with company management than the production workers.

American Bridge fabricates girders and beams for buildings and bridge construction. The Gary plant is located just west of the giant U.S. Steel Gary Works, which supplies the steel to American Bridge. There are about 600 workers, mostly Black. Probably over 10 percent are women.

The voting took place November 17 at Philip Murray Hall in downtown Gary. It was apparent that the company proposal would be rejected as soon as people started to arrive. The most frequent comments were "No, vote no" and "Let them close it down."

There's irony in this vote. The international union leadership denies the workers in basic steel the right to ratify their contract. The top officials made an exception here only because they thought they could get a vote accepting a wage freeze.

After the vote, international union officials quickly reassured the company that the union "won't turn a deaf ear because without the company, there is no union," according to the *Gary Post-Tribune*.

There are now supposed to be top-level negotiations concerning the future of American Bridge between U.S. Steel officials and Steelworker officials in Pittsburgh.

Although the pay cut was rejected, workers I spoke with did not dismiss as a bluff the American Bridge threat to close down.

An attitude that seemed typical was expressed by Bernell Sampson, a welder there for twenty-three years. He said, "It took us forty years to get this far. If we take a pay cut they may close down anyway, and we can't afford a pay cut. When I go out to buy pork chops they aren't going to give me a break in the price because I work at American Bridge."

If the plant does close, most workers seem to think they will be able to get another job. That remains to be seen, with over 4,000 workers laid off from Gary Works alone.

For the past twenty years, U.S. Steel has been cutting away at American Bridge. The work force has gone from more than 11,000 to less than 2,000 and the number of plants from fourteen to three. Workers at American Bridge in Gary say this cutback has been done by contracting work out to lower-paying shops.

Although steelworkers at American Bridge are now covered under the same basic steel contract as at Gary Works they are actually paid less. The average incentive pay is lower, and there's less work on Sundays and holidays and less overtime.

Different job descriptions also put some American Bridge workers into lower paying categories than workers doing comparable jobs at Gary Works.

The attack on American Bridge workers is especially ominous going into the basic steel negotiations. If American Bridge workers can be picked off, who will be next?

But the slap in the face the American Bridge production workers gave the company by their vote is inspiring. It is a welcome contrast to the way a take-away contract was just rammed down the throats of Chrysler workers.

The next step for American Bridge workers is a discussion about what to do about the threatened plant closings.

Several workers I talked to take real pride in their work. They told me they had produced all the super-structure for the giant Sears, John Hancock, and Prudential skyscrapers. I heard about one worker who had been involved in fabricating the large Picasso sculpture in downtown Chicago.

Structural steel fabrication is necessary and these workers know it. U.S. Steel cares only about profits—not steel and not jobs. Should U.S. Steel have the right to close these plants?

This district of the Steelworkers, District 31, at its last convention, called for nationalizing the oil industry. What about American Bridge? And what about these workers running their own plant?

A final note about the American Bridge meeting was the response to the *Militant*. Three salespeople very quickly sold out all thirty copies they had brought with them. The paper was bought because of the headline on Iran: "Send back the shah!" All but one worker who commented on this, expressed complete agreement.

## Reading on the Fight Against Racism

**Racism, Revolution, Reaction**  
1861-1877

*The Rise and Fall of Radical Reconstruction*

By Peter Camejo

Many Americans are asking themselves how the killings by the KKK could have happened in North Carolina in 1879. Why does racist violence still exist a century after the Civil War and a decade after the civil rights movement and the abolition of "Jim Crow"?

This book explains why the Civil War put an end to chattel slavery but did not end racism. It describes how the rising capitalist class in the United States seized upon anti-Black racism, reinforced it, and incorporated it into

the very foundations of their economic and social system.  
269 pages, \$4.95.

**Who Killed Jim Crow?**

*The story of the civil rights movement and its lessons for today*

By Peter Camejo

Under "Jim Crow," Blacks in the South had no legal rights. Black people could not vote and were segregated by law into inferior schools and public facilities. This pamphlet describes the events and social forces that ended "Jim Crow" and explains the relevance of that struggle to the fight against racism today.  
30 pages, \$.75.

Order by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.  
(Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.)

## National UMWA conference

# Women miners: Our fight is a union fight

By Nancy Cole

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — For the United Mine Workers, with its rich history of struggle, this was a first: a UMWA-sponsored national conference on "Union Women in the Mines."

Seventy women miners gathered at the University of Charleston November 10 to share experiences and ideas on everything from the fight to win the Equal Rights Amendment to the refusal of coal companies to order steel-toed boots in women's sizes.

They came from Alabama, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Another thirty or so male miners, other supporters, and UMWA staffpeople also attended.

It was the second national gathering of women miners in just six months. In June, the Coal Employment Project, a Tennessee-based group concerned with getting women coal jobs, organized a meeting near here. It attracted about the same number of women miners.

Many of the same people were again at the UMWA conference November 10. From Consolidation Coal Company's Bishop mine in southern West Virginia, two women had come in June. This time there were five.

"We're attending more union meetings now and getting ourselves together," explained Bishop miner Cosby Totten. Women miners should be in there building the union, she told the *Militant*, because "it's a life and death situation in the mines. Without a union, we're in bad shape."

That was the general sentiment of women here. While there were complaints of sexual harassment by some individual union brothers and of inaction by some union officials, women miners see themselves as part of the union. Their fight is a union fight. They intend to win their union brothers to the perspective that women are not only in the mines to stay, but in the UMWA to stay as well.

Jo Ann Howe, from a U.S. Steel mine in Pennsylvania, said she had come to the conference with three other women from her mine "to find out why there are so few women in the mines."

### 2,500 women miners

Last spring, the government reported there were more than 2,500 underground women coal miners, about 1 percent of the total work force.

Legal action by the Coal Employment Project has helped open some doors for women in the coalfields, where federal reports show no women hired until 1973.

Last year, the nation's second-largest coal producer, Consolidation Coal Company, signed a consent decree, agreeing to hire one woman for every four inexperienced male miners. Other class-action lawsuits are pending in federal courts.

With such a relatively small number of women miners, get-togethers such as the conference here are especially appreciated.

Even before the opening plenary session was over, a woman miner from the audience took the floor to request more such conferences. "We can't let it stop with one meeting," she said. "I'd like to see more of these meetings in different areas."

At the closing plenary, Judy Galloway, UMWA Special Projects Coordinator, announced plans for four or five regional women's conferences to be followed by another national gathering.

The meeting here was chaired by Paulette Shine, president of UMWA Local 4172 in northern West Virginia. UMWA President Arnold Miller addressed the opening session and then sat through several of the workshops.

The four workshop topics were: Contractual Rights, Health and Safety, COMPAC/Legislative, and Problems



Women shared experiences and made proposals during workshops (top photos) and questioned Arnold Miller during a break. [Since conference, Miller has resigned as UMWA president, citing his poor health.]

of Working Women.

One of the most thoroughly discussed subjects in the Problems of Working Women workshop was sexual harassment on the job.

There's long been a saying in the mines, no doubt started by the bosses, that a woman underground is bad luck. So it's no surprise that women entering the mining work force have been met with some resentment and suspicion among male miners.

But the real instigators of sexual harassment are the coal operators, as woman after woman here explained.

"When I was first hired," a woman from Pennsylvania said, "the superintendent told us that if anyone touches us, we were to tell him. 'If you don't and I find out, both of you will be fired,' he said. So when one woman later went to the boss to complain of an incident, he said, 'Only whores come in and cause trouble.'"

"It's not going to change until we get the guys on our side," said Kipp Dawson, a Pennsylvania miner. Dawson said that would happen as women get more active in the union and join their union brothers on all kinds of union fronts.

Women in her local are getting active in the union, "and the result is

that our local sent a delegation to this conference," she said.

Miners here were incensed by a description of the conditions women face in an Alabama mine. In general, explained Sara Jean Johnston, the situation is bad with Alabama miners who work for Jim Walter Resources Brookwood #4 mine. A majority of the work force is new, and the company tries to take full advantage, grossly violating safety laws. Women are a special target.

### 'Walking accidents'

"The company is looking for ways to divide the miners," Johnston said. "The foremen would tell us, 'You women are all just walking accidents.'"

When five women were suspended on flimsy grounds, Johnston explained, seventy male miners showed up for a meeting on it. The union won their jobs back.

Because of their outspoken role in protests against safety violations and sexist discrimination, Johnston told conference participants, she and another woman became targets of a company-inspired campaign of red-baiting and physical violence. The two women were forced out of the mine, but

have filed charges against the company with the National Labor Relations Board and the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

Meanwhile, other women are working in Jim Walter mines and facing the company's harassment.

"Women have got to get together and bring their problems to the union and get it to help them fight," said Johnston. "That's why this national conference is so important—we can go back and say the union should stick together."

Getting women active in the union remains a challenge. "When the union fights for women, more women will go to union meetings," said Pennsylvania miner Mary Zins. "This conference is just great. I'm going to the [UMWA] convention as a delegate, and I'm glad it was changed from Miami to Denver because Florida hasn't ratified the Equal Rights Amendment. Support like that for women's rights will help women see that they belong fighting in the union."

### Labor for Equal Rights

Zins and several other women during the day's proceedings spoke of the campaign by the Labor for Equal Rights Now coalition in Virginia.

The LERN coalition, which includes District 28 of the UMWA, has called for a march in Richmond, Virginia, on January 13. The action will demand that the Virginia legislature ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

Two speakers at the conference here, local president Paulette Shine and UMWA Special Projects Coordinator Judy Galloway, will address the January 13 rally.

"I'm going to try to get my local to get together with the district and every other local and send people there," said Zins.

Applause greeted a proposal at the afternoon plenary that the union devote one page a month to women's issues in the *UMW Journal*.

Another woman said she thought it would be better to just use the letters' page to report on women's issues. "We want to be treated the same," she said.

But a hand vote showed a majority in support of a *Journal* page for women miners.

In the contract workshop, women raised the problems of discrimination in training and job bidding. Several miners proposed that the union should do the training, not the company. And one woman suggested the union organize its own orientation session for new miners to counter the lies told by the company.

There were complaints galore about the grievance procedure, which more often than not ends up in arbitration. "You get an arbitrator who never saw a mine," said one miner.

Another added, "You couldn't get that arbitrator five feet underground. All he'd have to do is see that hole."

Cosby Totten noted that her local loses 90 percent of the cases that go to arbitration. She urged union negotiators to get rid of arbitration in the next contract.

"What would we have instead?" asked workshop convenor Bob Benedict, director of the UMWA's contract department.

Totten answered, the right to strike.

### A stronger union

"You can't strike over everything," he countered.

"No," she said, "but you can strike over important things. And it would make the union stronger."

In another session of the contractual rights workshop, a miner explained it from another angle. A while back, she said, Cabin Creek, West Virginia, had

*Continued on next page*

# New backing for strike against sexist firing

By Phil Norris and Chris Remple

SHELTON, Wash.—On Saturday, November 10, nearly 500 members of Local 3-38 of the International Woodworkers of America rejected a Simpson's Timber Company proposal and voted to continue their strike.

The union meeting followed a spirited march through downtown Shelton with the union members singing "Solidarity Forever."

More than 1,400 workers are on strike at Simpson's in protest of the firing of Toni Gilbertson, a woman worker at the mill, in violation of their contract. Gilbertson had filed a sex harassment charge against Simpson's after being asked numerous sexual questions during her hiring interview.

The company fired Gilbertson, claiming she was unable to do the work.

According to Jim Lowery, president of the IWA local, Gilbertson had a right to be transferred back to her previous job, where her foreman admitted that she was a satisfactory worker.

Lowery stated in an interview with the *Militant* that Simpson's offered to pay Gilbertson \$2,000 if the union members would go back to work. This would give the company a dangerous precedent in re-writing the contract and continuing the sexual harassment of women.

Lowery called the "overwhelming" rejection of the company offer a "display of solidarity" and stated that it strengthened the strike a great deal. In his words, "We told them [Simpson's] to stick it in their ear."

Lowery explained that up to now the union has successfully retained full union protection for all members at Simpson's from their first day on the job. The contract has no provision concerning "probationary employees," although workers with fewer than forty days of seniority can have their job bids disregarded.

As Lowery sees it, "We suspect that they are trying to get rid of that [full union protection from the date of hire] right now."

On November 8, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) filed suit in federal court in Seattle to win an injunction to force Simpson's to rehire Toni Gilbertson.

Since the strike began, the full story of the sexual harassment of women at Simpson's has just begun to come out. In addition to Gilbertson, numerous women workers have come forward to the union to give their own accounts of the sexist questions and demands that were put to them during their hiring interviews. Based on the evidence filed by Gilbertson, the EEOC has been

forced to take up the issue.

When questioned about the impact of the EEOC suit on the strike, Lowery replied, "I feel that the membership is encouraged by the fact that a federal agency that normally takes two to three years to accomplish anything" has been forced to enter on the side of the union. The EEOC hearing will come up on November 30 in Tacoma.

At the current time, the entire plywood industry is being hit with layoffs and plant closures.

The striking Simpson's workers, however, are confident that they can win this strike and force the company to rehire Gilbertson, since Simpson's produces some specialty plywoods that are not readily available elsewhere.

The IWA here has a long and militant tradition. It was born as a CIO union in the thirties in an area and industry that had been a stronghold of the Industrial Workers of the World earlier in this century. One worker told the *Militant* that his family had worked in the wood industry for generations, and that his grandfather had been in the IWW. He said that it was time to go back to the IWW tradition of solidarity and not let the company push workers around.

In an effort to strengthen and broaden the strike, the Simpson's workers have set up informational picket lines at other Shelton operations in Washington, Oregon, and California. Because of the militant fighting tradition of this union, no workers at these other mills have crossed the informational lines.

Lowery said that the union plans to repeat this tactic. Such a display of union solidarity will not only strengthen the strike, but also serve notice to Simpson's that the workers have much broader support than just their own numbers.

Local 3-38 has also been reaching out to other labor and community groups. The Puget Sound Coalition of Labor Union Women, the International Association of Machinists Local 751-C at Boeing, Tacoma National Organization for Women, and Thurston County NOW have all passed resolutions in support of the strike.

An article in the Thurston County NOW Newsletter states, "Sexual harassment is humiliating and degrading. It can undermine a woman's job performance and often threaten her economic livelihood. Many women do not speak out or report this kind of abuse. If they do they are either not believed or they may lose their job. The majority of women in our economy are not able to quit their jobs and find new employment."

if the UMWA had already endorsed Sen. Edward Kennedy for president. No, was the answer.

"Why don't we run our own slate of UMWA candidates?" a miner asked.

"We were thinking of running a slate of UMWA candidates," he said. But it would be as Democrats or Republicans.

"Why don't we run as the UMWA?" a woman asked.

"We're not strong enough in West Virginia," he responded.

"Then do it with all labor unions in the state," she shot back.

"We can't get enough behind us," the answer came.

"If the UMWA ran independent candidates, people would get behind us," another woman chimed in.

These kinds of discussions show the fresh ideas and spirit women miners are bringing to the UMWA. When the UMWA convention meets in Denver December 10 to hammer out contract demands and a much needed organizing effort, there will be only about a dozen women delegates. But women here were confident that their impact on the union will be evident.



## Countdown for January 13

### Winpisinger to address ERA rally

Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) has announced that William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, will be among the speakers at the January 13 march and rally for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia, which has been called by LERN. Another newly announced speaker is Novelle Robinson of the Crusade for Voters.

### Detroit steelworkers meet

Bringing as many people as possible to the January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia, was the consensus of a successful meeting of the Women's Council of United Steelworkers District 29, held in Detroit November 19.

"Labor's Case for the ERA" was the title of the District 29 program. It consisted of a film on Susan B. Anthony and the fight for the right to vote, and a talk by USWA member Sheila Ostrow on the importance of ERA for the labor movement.

The council decided to set up committees that would get union support for January 13, publish educational materials on ERA, organize transportation to the march, and build an ERA activity in the first week of January.

### Puget Sound Machinists endorse January 13

On November 3, IAM District 751, representing 30,000 Boeing workers in the Puget Sound area, voted to endorse January 13. The district also sent LERN a letter announcing its support and ordering 3,000 copies of LERN's pamphlet, *Labor's Case for the ERA*.

Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1380—an 800-member local of Burlington Northern workers in Seattle—passed a resolution endorsing the December and January LERN actions. It voted to send fifty dollars to LERN and to distribute *Labor's Case for the ERA* to all local members. The local also decided to send a letter to all other railroad unions in the Puget Sound area informing them of the LERN actions in Virginia and encouraging them to support these actions.

### Union support grows in Pittsburgh

The Allegheny County Labor Council passed a resolution November 1 to endorse January 13, mobilize members in support of the action, build a support rally in December with other ERA supporters, and establish a Committee on the ERA to implement these proposals.

The Pennsylvania National Organization for Women voted at its November 17-18 state conference to endorse the LERN actions. The conference resolved to "support the LERN effort using outreach vehicles such as speakers bureaus to publicize the January 13 March and lobbying among union organizations and other allies;" and to "urge NOW and union members to attend the January 13 march and lobbying days where possible on union sponsored buses."

### Correction

Last week's *Militant* incorrectly reported that the Virginia State AFL-CIO had endorsed January 13. The state federation as such has not endorsed, but Julian Carper, president of the Virginia AFL-CIO, will be speaking at the LERN action.

### December activities set the stage

The LERN conference last summer that called the January 13 ERA march and rally also designated December 2-9 as a week of local educational activities to build toward the Richmond events. Below is a calendar of some of the December activities planned.

#### December 2

**Chicago**—United Steelworkers Local 65 will host a program in support of ERA.

**Cranford, New Jersey**—"Learn what the Equal Rights Amendment can do for labor and what labor can do for the Equal Rights Amendment" is the title of the speak-out at 4 p.m. at the United Auto Workers Region 9 headquarters on Commerce Drive. For more information contact Georgia Harris at (201) 272-4200, extension 52.

#### December 6

**Northern Virginia**—With *Babies and Banners*, a film on the role of women in the 1930s UAW sit-down strikes, will be shown. For information on location call (202) 321-7711.

#### December 8

**Harrisburg, Virginia**—NOW and LERN are sponsoring a march and rally from James Madison University to Court Square. For more information contact LERN area coordinator Gale Cunningham (804) 269-6331.

**Newport News, Virginia**—March and rally featuring: Edward Coppage, president of USWA Local 8888; Jack Hower, sub-district director, USWA District 35; Jerry Gordon, LERN state co-coordinator; and Jim Voliva, president UAW Local 919. March will assemble 1 p.m. at 50th Street and Washington Avenue and go to Victory Arch for rally at 2 p.m.

#### December 9

**Baltimore**—"Labor speaks out for the ERA," a rally at 4 p.m., Local 2610 Steelworkers Hall, 540 Dundalk Avenue. The rally is called by the ERA Committee of the Metropolitan Baltimore AFL-CIO Council.

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

#### December 15

**Virginia, Minnesota**—ERA march and rally sponsored by the Mesabi Iron Range NOW chapter.

—Suzanne Haig

## ...miners

Continued from preceding page

a big problem with potholes. Some of the roads were totally impassible.

Residents tried to meet with the governor and they signed petitions and delivered them to politicians, but nothing happened. Then, miners walked off the job in protest.

"Two days out of that mine and those potholes got fixed," she said.

In the COMPAC/Legislation workshop, women discussed much needed campaigns to win child care legislation, the Equal Rights Amendment, and repeal of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act. (COMPAC is the political arm of the UMWA. It stands for Coal Miners Political Action Committee).

"Most of us support our families," West Virginia miner Barbara Angle told the closing plenary. "The swing shift should either be done away with or child care should be established on a twenty-four-hour basis."

At one COMPAC workshop session, convenor Charles Johnson was asked



# Black sailors' story

# Navy racism & Klan

By Omari Musa  
and Kibwe-Diarra Mossi

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—In early October, Ku Klux Klan Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson was in Tidewater boasting about alleged recruitment successes among sailors in the Norfolk area.

Norfolk is the home of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet Command, the largest naval installation in the continental United States. It was also the jumping off point for the recent U.S. military "exercises" in Guantánamo, Cuba.

Wilkinson had also announced a Klan rally at Virginia Beach. It drew fifty racists while an anti-KKK rally from predominantly Black Norfolk State University drew 500.

Both the Klan rally and the protest against it were put off limits for Navy personnel.

The Klan and all of the "imperial wizard's" mouthings got a lot of free media publicity. But, as might be expected, the media hasn't bothered to report the sentiments of the Klan's intended victims—Black sailors.

Black sailors, however, do have definite opinions about the Klan and about the treatment of Blacks in the Navy, if Bob Green and John Hall are typical.

The *Militant* spoke with Hall and Green following the Klan rally and anti-Klan protests.

Green is twenty-four. He was born and raised in Harlem. "I was like a lot of other sisters and brothers who didn't know what the future held.

"I went to computer school but dropped out because I needed money," he said. "I worked at McDonald's, but that didn't last long. So I decided to join the service. I didn't see any alternative if I was to acquire a skill."

Hall is twenty-two. He grew up in a small Georgia city. After almost identical experiences to Green's in 1977, he too joined the Navy.

## 'Television talk'

What do they think of the Navy's opposition to the Klan?

"As far as we're concerned all the brass talk about being against the Klan is television. It ain't real," they said.

"Sometimes they bring some brass on the ship to carry out discussions with the enlisted men," Hall said.

"But after its all said and done things are back to business as usual. I don't see any change in my everyday experience." Green gave an example of what the Navy does about Klan activity.

"About three months ago there was a lot of racist graffiti written on the walls. Things like 'KKK' and 'Down with the Nigger.'

"So the brass got all the Blacks together to see where we stood. We found out at this meeting that the brass appoints an official minority leader who supposedly represents us. We didn't even know such a person existed until that meeting."

"We told this so-called minority representative, who was a Puerto Rican officer, that the graffiti and harassment had to stop," Green added.

"The result was that one guy got busted and fined for admitting he was an active member of the Klan. He was just a guinea pig, in my opinion. Things cooled down a bit, but in reality the Klan just went under cover."

Green emphasized that the brass allowed the Klan and other racists to carry out provocations until Blacks began to do something about it.

"I was in the brig for four months and the situation got pretty tight. We had taken a lot of stuff from the prejudiced whites there. They would praise the Klan and got pretty bold

with it. So the brothers got together and decided to put an end to it.

"Finally, the brass stepped in and dispersed both Blacks and whites. This avoided the explosion, temporarily."

## Klan is small minority

"I think the only reason the Navy pretends it's trying to do something about the Klan," Hall added, "is to stop Blacks from organizing and taking action against it."

Hall and Green agreed that while Klan activities in the Navy gets big play in the media they are only a small minority. "Most of the whites just try to ignore them," they said.

discrimination on his ship."

"When I came aboard the ship the crew was about 25-30 percent Black," said Hall.

"As soon as we got into the yard [Norfolk shipyard] the brass split up Blacks into different divisions.

"The reason for this was simple," he explained. "The brass knew that when we were together we wouldn't stand for the blatant discrimination. As long as we were together and thinking along the same lines the brass felt it was a threat to the Navy."

Hall offered an example.

"In the deck crew they had us sweeping and swabbing the deck. This went

organize to do something not only about the Klan, but about the discrimination we face in the Navy.

"They set up all kinds of barriers to Blacks organizing. For example they have this one regulation that says you can't organize or participate in any action that in any way could lead to violence.

"That kind of regulation can cover everything including protesting against racist organizations like the Klan," he pointed out.

"The discrimination not only interferes with Blacks advancing and acquiring skills—your human and civil rights—but your religious rights as well," Green said.

"When I was in the brig, me and some other guys tried to organize it so that there could be Muslim religious services on the ship.

"Now of course there are services for Catholics and Protestants. But they didn't want Islam. Because they thought this was a Black thing and the brass didn't want Blacks to even pray together," Green grimaced.

"We went to the Chaplain and told him we wanted to have Islamic services. But all he did was hem and haw so we knew he was a phony. We pushed and finally got Islamic services in spite of the obstacles."

Our discussion then turned to revolutionary upheavals in Asia, Latin America, and Africa and the need of America's rulers to militarily intervene against these struggles.

Hall and Green, as potential cannon fodder for U.S. military adventures, were quite outspoken on this point.

## Go fight in Iran?

"If I went back to the base today and they said that you got to board ship because we're going to Iran to fight, it would definitely not have my vote," Green responded.

"In every war the U.S. had allies. This is not the situation now. The U.S. government has done so much damage to other parts of the world that countries are banning U.S. troops from their soil."

"I don't feel I owe this country a thing," Hall said. "My foreparents weren't asked to come here and I haven't had such a great reception since I've been here either."

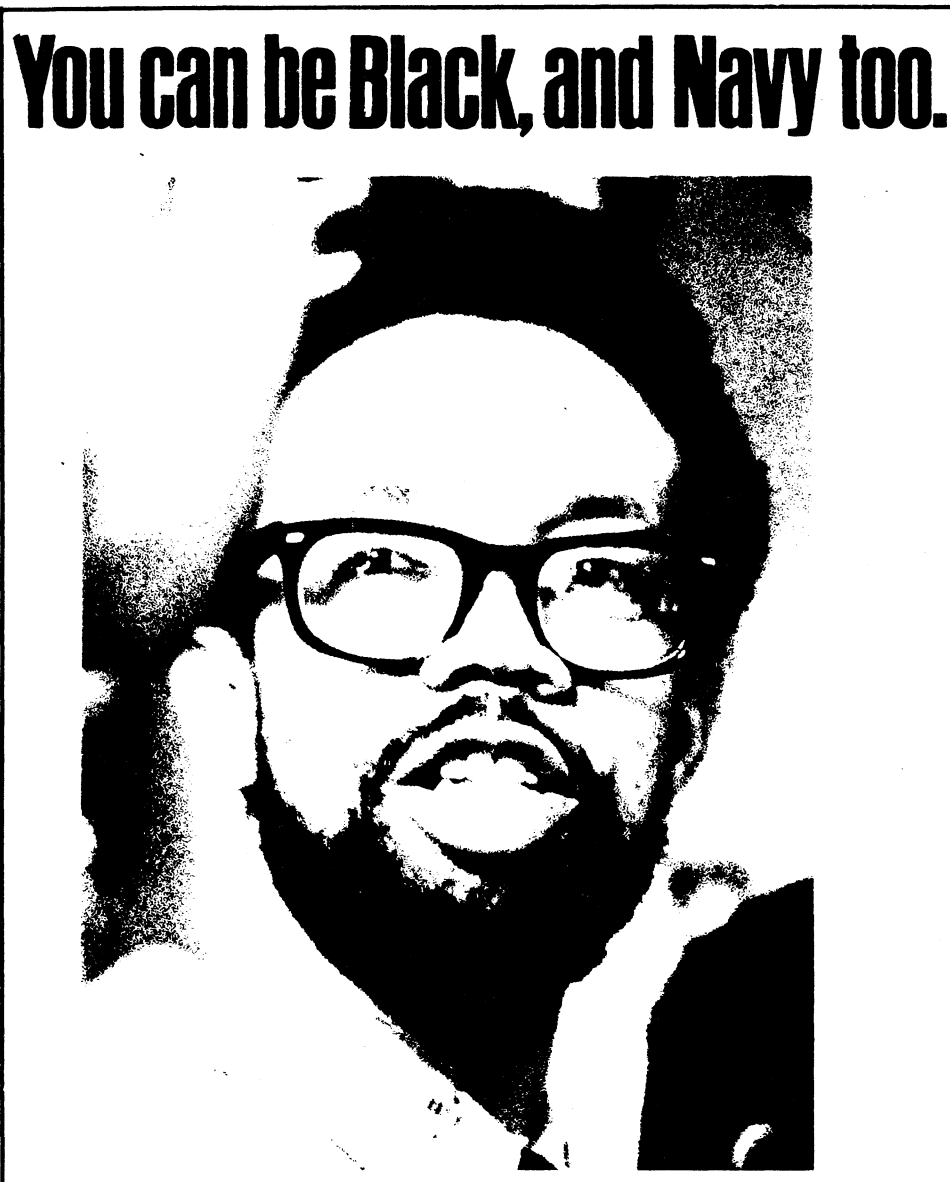
"So what reason do I have to go overseas to defend this country?" he asked.

Are these sentiments common among sailors?

"I think there are many people in the Navy who feel the same way," Hall volunteered.

"The only way to get them overseas is to trick them—like telling them they're going on some training exercise and dropping them in the middle of a war.

"Of course, they could try the thing about the communists are taking over," he said. "But that's beginning to wear pretty thin."



This Navy recruiting poster, pitched to jobless Black youth, said: 'The Navy can give you training in any field from welding to electronics. . . . One Black recruit was assured he could get computer training. Instead, They handed him a mop. He was not alone.'

The two made it clear that while the Klan is a problem it is only part of the general racist treatment Black sailors receive.

Blacks are assigned the dirtiest and most menial jobs and are subject to harsher disciplinary measures than whites.

"My troubles began as soon as I came aboard the ship," Green began. "I had high hopes of continuing my training with computers. Then I was told there was no computer training program on board. The captain told me to look around for something else.

"Another thing hit me immediately," he said. "When I came aboard I noticed that all the Blacks were pulling boxes and the whites were driving trucks.

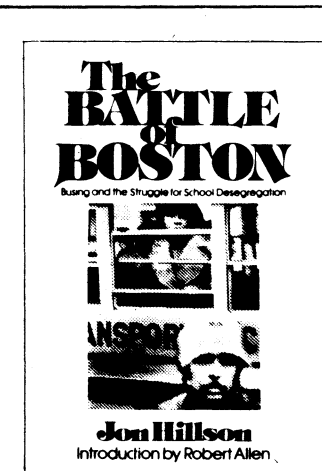
"I spoke with other Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos about the situation on the ship. But many were leery because if you speak up you become a target for blame when things happen the officers don't like. So I got branded a militant," he said smiling.

"Things got so bad I went to the captain to explain to him that racism was rampant onboard. He stood right up in my face and told me there was no

on eight hours a day for weeks. Then we said, Hey wait a minute. There's no reason for doing this. And the brass changed this around—for a while.

"They had figured that if they could keep us doing this meaningless work it would sooner or later demoralize us and get us to accept the more menial jobs on the ship."

"It seems to me," Green observed, "one of the biggest fears in the Navy today is that Blacks will begin to



'The Battle of Boston' is the first book to report the story behind the headlines.

The 'cradle of liberty' became a testing ground. For the antibusing forces, from the KKK to the White House, Boston was the first step in a nationwide assault on the gains of the civil rights movement. And for the supporters of Black rights, who once again took their cause to the streets, it marked a new stage in the struggle against racism.

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# Zimmermann's message on Iran highlighted by Dallas news media

By Chris Horner

DALLAS—The central theme of Matilde Zimmermann's campaign swing through here was defense of the Iranian revolution. The Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential nominee hammered at this with the news media, in discussions with striking workers, with students, and at a successful campaign rally.

An extensive account of her campaign in the *Dallas Times Herald* quoted her as declaring:

"I think the Iranian people have a right to put the shah on trial for his crimes and to present to the world the evidence that has piled up about the torture and murders that were carried out under the shah's regime. . . ."

The *Dallas Morning News* reported that the socialist nominee expressed concern over the "grave danger that the United States will use the present situation to launch some type of military intervention in Iran," which would "plunge the country into another long, drawn-out war, like Vietnam."

Zimmermann's press conference also received prominent coverage on radio and TV.

One TV reporter decided to follow up the story. The Channel 4 crew then accompanied Zimmermann when she went out to a United Auto Workers picket line at the struck International Harvester plant.

Dallas-Fort Worth area residents tuning in to the 5:00 news that afternoon saw Zimmermann talking to several young picketers. As the TV reporter explained: "Though the strikers may have been surprised by the visit of a vice-presidential candidate to their picket line, they seemed genuinely interested in what she had to say."

Viewers then got some of the conversation between candidate and strikers.

One striker pointed to the company



With TV crew filming, Zimmermann spoke with pickets at International Harvester

efforts to scrap a prohibition against forced overtime, saying, "Our union is all we have. Now it seems like they're trying to take away things we've already won."

The filmed segment of the conversation ended with Zimmermann telling the strikers they had her support, and one of the strikers responding, "And you've got ours."

The camera then zoomed in on the candidate passing out the *Militant* and campaign brochures as she explained, "Here's a copy of the *Militant*, our newspaper, which I think you'll like reading."

With prominent coverage on other stations as well, the SWP message was brought to several hundred thousand area residents.

Zimmermann spoke to sixty students at the University of Texas in Arlington. A half-dozen bought copies of the *Militant*, with one person buying a subscription.

The campaign meeting at the SWP hall drew thirty-six people, including twenty who are not yet members of the party.

Their enthusiasm was indicated by financial pledges to the socialist campaign effort totaling \$1,285. Six members of the UAW alone pledged \$700.

Gretchen Jarvis, a Dallas National Organization for Women activist who has been voting SWP since 1972, spoke briefly, emphasizing that Zimmermann would be the only feminist on the presidential ballot.

Kenneth Stephens, a young Black student, recounted to the audience why he had just joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

The audience also included two Costa Ricans who support the Nicaraguan revolution. They were particularly interested to hear about Zimmermann's recent trip to Cuba.

## Auto worker is K.C. candidate

By Sandi Sherman

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—The Missouri Socialist Workers Party kicked off a campaign for Martha Pettit for U.S. Senate at a rally here November 10.

Pettit, a thirty-one-year-old auto worker, is challenging Thomas Eagleton, the Democratic incumbent.

Sharing the platform with Pettit was Héctor Marroquín. Marroquín, who is fighting deportation to Mexico, is on a nationwide tour for the SWP presidential ticket.

Pettit was introduced to the meeting by Ray Bell, a Black co-worker at the General Motors plant where Pettit is employed. He contrasted Marroquín's "trials and tribulations" in seeking political asylum to the welcome given the shah of Iran.

Pettit's speech put the blame for the Iran crisis squarely on the U.S. government. She declared her support for the demand of the Iranian people to extradite the shah: "American workers have no stake in harboring this criminal. And no stake in a war to save his hide!"

Marroquín pointed to the worldwide counterrevolutionary moves of U.S. imperialism. Bipartisan support by the Democrats and Republicans to the war drive, he said, underscores the need for "workers in this country to build their own political party, a labor party based on the trade unions."

Other rally speakers included Linda Thurston, president of the Kansas City National Organization for Women, and representatives of the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, the St. Louis SWP, and the Kansas City Young Socialist Alliance.

The rally heard plans for the SWP's drive to win state ballot status. In 1974 and again in 1976, the party was ruled

off the ballot even though it obtained more than the required number of nominating petitions. The Democrats and Republicans have used election law technicalities to maintain their ballot monopoly.

The socialists plan to collect the required 17,000 signatures and fight any attempt to keep them off the bal-

lot.

The meeting of fifty-five, most of whom were not SWP members, responded generously to a campaign fund appeal by Bruce Lesnick. A total of \$2,059 was pledged to the Pettit for Senate campaign.

Several people signed up to work on Pettit's campaign committee.

## Picket starts N.Y. SWP race



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

By John Rubinstein

NEW YORK—The New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee launched its 1980 election campaign November 16 with a picket line and news conference at the federal courthouse here.

The picket line protested the escalating U.S. war drive against the Iranian revolution and harassment of Iranian students in this country.

Two of the newly-announced SWP candidates joined the protest: Víctor

Nieto, a railroad worker, candidate for U.S. Senate; and Robert Miller, a Ford assembly worker and member of the Young Socialist Alliance, candidate for U.S. Congress in the 17th District.

Also running is Reba Williams, a General Motors production worker, as the candidate for Congress in the 19th district.

The pro-Iranian protest was covered by local radio and by the *Daily News*.



### MORGANTOWN, W. VA.

**Socialist Campaign Rally**  
Speaker:  
Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president  
Wednesday, November 28  
6 p.m. dinner & refreshments  
8 p.m. campaign rally  
957 University Avenue  
Donation: \$2  
For more information call (304) 296-0055.

### SAN FRANCISCO

**U.S. Hands Off Iran!**  
Speaker:  
Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president  
Friday, November 30, 8 p.m.  
3284 23rd St.  
For more information call (415) 324-1992

### Andrew Pulley

candidate for president  
Nov. 26-29 Pittsburgh/Morgantown  
Dec. 1-2, New York/  
Dec. 5-6 New Jersey

### Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president  
Nov. 27-28 Albany  
Nov. 30,  
Dec. 1-3 Bay Area

### Other socialists on tour

#### Cathy Sedwick

Nov. 27-29 Atlanta  
Dec. 1-4 Birmingham

#### Fred Halstead

Nov. 27-29 Cincinnati  
Dec. 1-2, 5 Cleveland  
Dec. 7-9 Denver

#### Héctor Marroquín

Nov. 26-28 San Diego  
Nov. 30,  
Dec. 1-2 Los Angeles

For more information call the Socialist Workers Party branch nearest you. See the directory on page 31 for phone numbers and addresses.

# The pope and Fidel

**SPEAKS FOR HUMANITY:** It was 1:00 a.m. A late night for many people, but just the end of the workday for second-shift workers at Philadelphia's Pullman-Trailmobile West Point plant.

Héctor Marroquín went to the plant to meet with eight workers, all members of United Auto Workers Local 2068. Five of them would be meeting Marroquín for the first time. They'd been following his fight for political asylum in the *Militant*.

One had just decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

One of the workers talked about the pope's recent visit to Philadelphia. "He came to this country to speak in the name of God and humanity," he said, "but he never asked me to let him speak for me. . . . He may have spoken for God, but I don't think he spoke for humanity."

"But what a difference when Fidel came and spoke. What a wonderful speech! He spoke for us, for the world's working class. He really has the right to speak for humanity."

Marroquín described the racist treatment dealt him by U.S. officials because he is Mexican.

A young Black worker nodded in agreement. "I know what your case is all about brother," he said. "This attack is political and racist. Just like they framed you, they framed up the Wilmington Ten, and they murdered Fred Hampton. They oppress Mexican people just like they oppress Black people."

After this discussion the auto workers took up a col-

lection among themselves to help Marroquín's case.

**'WORKERS BELONG IN POLITICS':** "The message of the socialist campaign is this," said Matilde Zimmermann at a Phoenix news conference, "workers belong in politics, and the way to get into politics in our own interests is through an independent labor party."

Under the headline "Socialist's Goal to Boost Labor," an article in the *Phoenix Gazette* quoted Zimmermann saying her party will "be active in the unions to defend and extend affirmative action for blacks, Chicanos and women. . . ."

"In addition, she said she opposes the deportation of undocumented Mexican workers."

The *Arizona Republic* headline read, "U.S. pullout urged from Cuba, Korea."

"The United States should pull its troops out of Cuba and Korea," the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice president said.

"The suggestion is part of a sweeping platform of change proposed by the Socialist Workers, including

nationalization of the energy industry. . . ."

Zimmermann recently returned from a trip to Cuba. Support for the Cuban revolution is one of the main planks in the socialist election campaign.

"She urged the United States to close Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba," wrote the *Arizona Republic*, "and to establish normal trade and diplomatic relations with that island nation."

**VERMONT CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED:** "Asylum for deposed Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza illustrates how the immigration service operates," said Marroquín.

"If King George III were alive now and asked for asylum, it would be granted. And if Lincoln and Washington were alive, they would be deported," he said in an article in the *Burlington Free Press*.

Héctor Marroquín's fall tour recently swung through scenic Vermont. He spoke at a news conference and a meeting at the University of Vermont sponsored by the newly formed Socialist

Workers Party Presidential Campaign Committee there.

The events were also sponsored by the Kristina Berster Defense Committee. Berster is a West German political exile who had been fighting for asylum in this country. Immigration authorities recently deported her to West Germany.

The U.S. government is moving to deport Marroquín because of his socialist political views. Undaunted by the government actions, Marroquín is speaking out for his right to political asylum and building support for the 1980 presidential campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

In an interview in the *Vermont Vanguard Press*, Marroquín explained why working people need to form a labor party.

"If the American working people take politics into their hands and form a political party—independent from the Democrats and Republicans—then they will have the strength to influence policy here and abroad and create a new world."

—L. Paltrineri



Militant/Arnold Weissberg  
**HECTOR MARROQUIN**

# U.S. Steel set back in Ala. mine assault case

By Eric Flint

**BIRMINGHAM**—On November 2 U.S. Steel Corporation suffered a setback in its efforts to suppress the truth about the beating of two socialists at the corporation's Concord coal mine in Hueytown, Alabama.

Federal Judge J. Foy Guin, Jr., refused to grant the corporation's motion to dismiss a lawsuit filed against U.S. Steel by Nelson Blackstock, Eric Flint, and the *Militant*.

The lawsuit arose as a result of an incident last June 7. Three truckloads of goons badly beat Blackstock and Flint as they were selling the *Militant* at the U.S. Steel mine.

Blackstock was hospitalized for several weeks, requiring extensive surgery on his hip. Doctors say he will never regain full use of his leg.

From the beginning it was clear the attack was organized by the company. The assault was well-coordinated and organized in less than ten minutes.

Concord miners told *Militant* investigators that company foremen stopped the "mantrips" carrying the day shift into the mine in order to organize the

assault squad.

As news of the attack spread, protests rolled in from trade unionists and civil rights activists across the country. The *Militant* and the victims filed a \$2 million lawsuit against U.S. Steel in federal court.

U.S. Steel tried to get the lawsuit dismissed. They fear that if the case goes to trial the corporation's responsibility for the attack will be documented.

From the beginning U.S. Steel's defense has been handled directly from corporate headquarters in Pittsburgh. At the hearing itself, U.S. Steel's case was presented by R.M. Gutschall III, a corporation attorney who flew in from Pittsburgh.

Gutschall's argument, boiled down to two major points. Significantly, he did not dispute any of the facts—including the fact that company foremen held up the mantrips.

The corporation lawyer claimed that miners were responsible for the attack. He depicted company foremen standing around in innocent bewilderment while three truckloads of armed miners

left work to go beat up two socialists. The company held up the mantrips, he lamely explained, because the foremen thought a strike might be going on!

Gutschall also argued that according to legal technicalities the lawsuit should be dismissed because a corporation can't conspire with itself.

In response, the *Militant's* attorney, Shelley Davis, pointed out that if U.S. Steel's absurd logic was upheld, all that the Ku Klux Klan would have to do is incorporate to immunize its campaigns of terror from prosecution for conspiracy! She also pointed out that the Third Circuit Court of Appeals had ruled that corporate status cannot be used to defend a corporation from conspiracy charges.

While refusing to rule in favor of U.S. Steel's motion to dismiss, Judge Guin instructed the attorneys for the *Militant* to amend their lawsuit to remedy some of the legal technicalities. A new hearing will be set following the submission of an amended complaint.

After the hearing, Davis characterized the ruling as a "partial victory."

The *Militant's* campaign in defense

of its democratic rights has drawn wide support. The Alabama ACLU's executive board voted to take on the case and assigned one of its Birmingham lawyers, Robert Wiggins, to assist the *Militant* in the lawsuit.

Among the unionists and civil rights activists issuing statements condemning U.S. Steel's actions are: Gerald Cornette, president, United Mine Workers Local 8771; Bill Worthington, president, National Black Lung Association; Linus Wampler, district director, United Steelworkers District 33; Ed Sadlowski, subdistrict director, USWA District 31; Dave Wilson, president, USWA Local 2609; Alice Peurala, president, USWA Local 65; Dr. Abraham Woods, president, Birmingham Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rev. Franklin Tate, vice-president, Birmingham SCLC; Rev. Fred Taylor, national director of chapters and affiliates, SCLC; John J. Johnson, president, Kentucky State NAACP.

A newly published brochure on the case may be obtained by writing to: Free Speech in Alabama, P.O. Box 3382-A, Birmingham, Ala. 35205.

## ...help us

Continued from front page

becoming a trademark of the 1980 SWP campaign—and we like it that way.

But we must have your financial support if we are to continue to audaciously spread the truth with the campaign of Pulley and vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann.

While the anti-Iran—as well as antilabor, antiwoman, and anti-Black—policies of the Democratic and Republican politicians pull in millions of big-business dollars for their campaigns, we must depend on the five-, ten-, and twenty-five-dollar contributions from working people.

We have no Exxons or U.S. Steels to ensure that our printing bills will be paid, that our postage meter will be refilled, or that our phones will not be cut off. We only have you.

The \$80,000 for '80 fund is the financial founda-

tion on which all our campaigning rests. Yet, with \$48,576 collected so far, it is behind schedule at a time when we must step up our campaigning.

Every dollar you can send will help us call one more news conference to air the socialist view. Every dollar will help us to organize one more protest meeting or demonstration to demand the shah be sent back to be tried for his crimes. Every dollar will help us plan one more tour stop so that the 1980 candidates and campaign spokespeople can reach that many more working people with the truth.

As many of our supporters have found during the past few weeks, just one worker standing up and speaking his or her mind on the job or selling the *Militant* to co-workers can cut through the lies in the big-business news media.

In a similar fashion, each supporter can make a difference by reaching into her or his pocket for a contribution to the \$80,000 for '80 campaign.

We need your help to get out the truth!

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
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City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Union/School/Org. \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to:  
Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign  
Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y.  
10014.

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.

## Phony 'rent control' referenda

# New gimmick to push 'lesser evil' politics

By Larry Seigle

Ballot propositions were up for a vote in a number of the elections held earlier this month. In several cases, they generated more interest than was accorded the local roster of turkeys the Democrats and Republicans came up with this year.

For socialists and other workers who are committed to finding ways to advance labor political action independent of big-business politics, these referenda are important. At a time when there is growing consciousness that the choice between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party is no choice at all, the rulers are increasingly using ballot measures in an attempt to mask the capitalist monopoly on politics in this country.

The rulers hope that some who are fed up with the two-party shell game can be suckered back into the framework of lesser-evil politics through the promise of exercising "direct democracy" by voting on questions of public policy.

### Historic gain

The right to place initiatives and referenda on the ballot was a progressive reform, fought for by the labor movement and working farmers. It is a right that we defend today. On occasion, progressive forces can and do make use of campaigns around initiatives and referenda.

For example, referenda on the ballot in a number of cities during the Vietnam War provided an important way of demonstrating opposition to the war. In conjunction with the other activities of the antiwar movement, they were useful educational and organizing tools. Similar measures in favor of establishing public child care have also been used to popularize the idea and register mass support for it.

But the ruling class also makes use of these referenda to accomplish its own aims, and often with success. A good example of this were the measures dealing with housing and rents that were on the November 6 ballot in San Francisco and in Baltimore.

In each case, liberal Democratic politicians campaigned for the measures. They were promoted as providing a solution to skyrocketing rents and severe housing shortages.

However, neither of the measures actually contained any provisions guaranteeing rent control. They were merely slick attempts to head off any real struggle for rent control, while diverting attention from the responsibility of the capitalist politicians, who do the landlords' bidding.

### 'Even-handed' board

The measure in Baltimore, which was passed, doesn't even have "rent control" in its title. Instead, it is a measure to govern "tenant-landlord relations." A Tenant-Landlord Commission will be established. Its members will be appointed by the city council.

To guarantee that the board will treat landlords and tenants "equally," the city council will appoint two "landlords," two "tenants," and one "homeowner."

Get the drift?

Far from a measure to defend working people against rent-gouging landlords, the commission is pledged to be even-handed.

And what about rents? They will go up more or less as before, under the provision of the referendum. Its proponents don't deny this. They argue, however, that at least "generally, this law will limit increases to once a year."

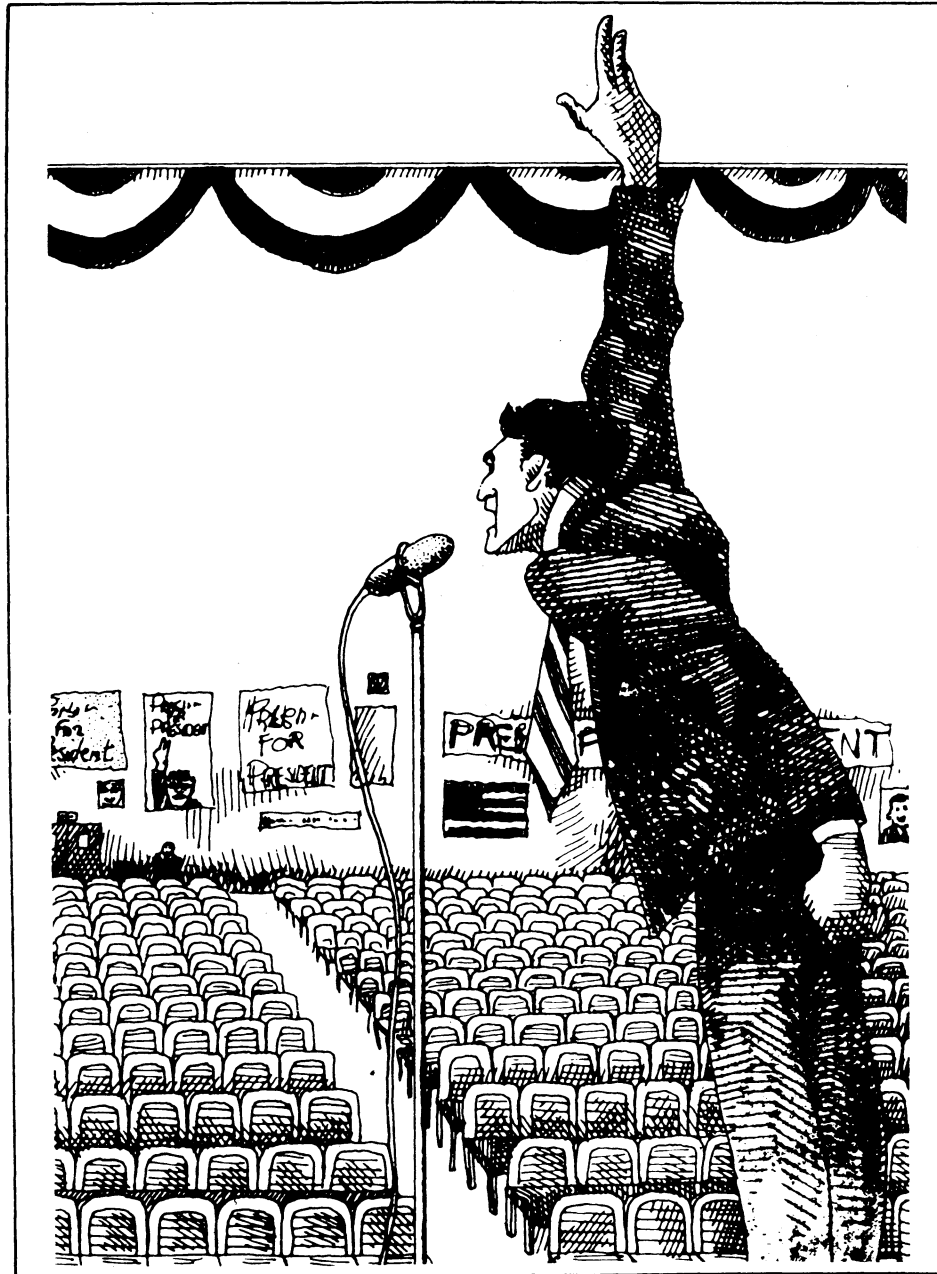
But even that is not a guarantee. Because if your landlord isn't satisfied with annual increases, he can ask the

Tenant-Landlord Relations Commission for an "Extraordinary Rent Increase."

The law specifically provides, again according to its supporters, that "the commission may grant special rent increases to landlords who show that their rents aren't high enough to cover the costs of maintenance or needed

the SWP was just about the only group that didn't go along.

Known as Proposition R, this measure was defeated by a vote of 59 to 41 percent. It would have set up an elected Rental Housing Board. Under the bill, landlords could automatically increase rents to keep pace with inflation. If they wanted to increase rents faster



By drawing people to the polls to vote on some current referenda, such as fake 'rent control' propositions in San Francisco and Baltimore, U.S. rulers hope to stem tide of disinterest and distrust with two-party politics.

improvements"—plus a tidy profit.

Of course, if you object, you too have rights. Namely, you are entitled to "file your comments with the commission within thirty days." Good luck.

The measure won wide support from many working people who mistakenly thought it would hold down rents. But it was also backed by pro-Democratic Party radicals, who saw it as a way to advance their brand of class-collaborationist politics.

Jane Fonda, a leading spokesperson for the Campaign for Economic Democracy, a Democratic Party reform group based in California, was in town to campaign for the measure. The Communist Party's *Daily World* hailed the "victory for rent control in Baltimore housing."

Virtually the only organization to cut through the lies and tell the truth about the measure was the Socialist Workers Party, which urged voters in Baltimore not to be sucked in by this fakery.

### San Francisco vote

In San Francisco a similar, though not identical, measure was on the ballot. This one was backed by a string of Democratic Party clubs and politicians, and by virtually every radical organization in the city—including the Communist Party, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and the New American Movement. Once again,

than that, they would have to apply to the board.

If a landlord could show to the satisfaction of the board that he needed a rent increase to cover maintenance costs, or to make improvements, the board would have to approve the increase.

What's more, if a landlord could show he needed a higher rent to guarantee himself a "fair profit," he could also get a rent increase approved.

But whoever heard of a landlord who raised the rent for any reason other than to "cover costs," "make improvements," or pocket a "fair profit"?

Many of those who worked hard to put Proposition R on the ballot wanted a real rent control bill. But they were told by the Democratic politicians and the lawyers that they had to compromise. Measures that don't explicitly protect the right to earn a fair return on investments, they were told, will be struck down by the courts as being in violation of the constitution of the State of California. So they compromised.

Only trouble is, they compromised rent control right out of the proposition.

The official literature put out by Proposition R proponents proclaimed: "Proposition R allows rent increases only to cover actual increases in landlords' costs, while assuring property owners a fair profit."

Among the most enthusiastic promoters of this measure was the Communist Party. Campaigning for a pro-landlord "compromise" fit right in with the CP's general approach of hustling votes for capitalist politicians.

In a get-out-the-vote article in the *People's World*, the West Coast sheet published by the Stalinists, Rob Baker hailed Proposition R and a couple of similar measures, including a phony tax reform measure, Proposition P, that "were put on the ballot by the democratic initiative process, by city residents who decided to take politics into their own hands and get mass support for a future San Francisco devoted to people instead of rank profiteering."

But what Baker covers up is the fact that the only way for working people—in San Francisco or any other city—to really "take politics into their own hands" is to break out of the two-party trap of capitalist politics. As long as working people are condemned to pick and choose among Democratic and Republican politicians, as long as the labor movement has no party of its own, political power will remain in the hands of the bosses, the bankers, and the landlords.

For the Communist Party and others who fetch votes for the Democrats, measures like Proposition R serve the handy purpose of providing a little fresh makeup on the tired face of their lesser-evil policy. In this sense, these phony ballot measures can be an obstacle to moving toward genuine independent working-class political action, toward the inauguration of a labor party based on the unions. And that is what the rulers intend them to be.

### What Socialist Workers say

In contrast to the stance of the Stalinists on Proposition R, the San Francisco SWP pointed toward an effective solution to the problem of soaring rents and the general assault on working people that is putting an ever-tightening squeeze on the standard of living of every working-class family.

In an election-eve statement, the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee called for a "massive federally funded public-works program to help solve the housing crisis in San Francisco."

"Priority should be given to providing low-cost housing in the working-class neighborhoods where they are most needed—especially in the Black and Latino communities."

The SWP explained that such an effort, combined with genuine rent control, could solve the problem of out-of-control rents. "Unfortunately, Proposition R on tomorrow's ballot, like the current rent ordinance, won't keep rents from going up or solve the housing crunch," the party's statement said.

To finance the emergency construction plan for high-quality, low-cost public housing, the socialists called for "eliminating the mammoth war budget" and instituting a heavily graduated income tax.

What's more, the San Francisco SWP pointed squarely at the Democratic and Republican politicians as the enemy of all working people. "The Socialist Workers Party's message to working people is: We must end our reliance on the twin parties of the rich. The first step forward would be the formation of an independent labor party based on the unions. A labor party could unleash the power of the unions and strengthen the fight of working people and of all the oppressed for their rights."

# U.S. uses 'food weapon' against Kampuchea

By August Nimitz

The United Nations General Assembly voted ninety-one to twenty-one with twenty-nine abstentions November 14 for the withdrawal of all "foreign" troops from Kampuchea (Cambodia).

While not mentioned specifically by name, Vietnam was the clear target of the resolution. It was sponsored by the pro-Washington Association of Southeast Asian Nations—Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

It was the Carter administration's latest effort to support the murderous Pol Pot forces and other right-wing

groups trying to topple the Kampuchean government of Heng Samrin, which has strong backing from Vietnam.

"The main purpose," wrote *Newsweek* November 19, "for having the five Asian nations . . . sponsor the debate is, according to one ambassador, to make sure the Vietnamese and their Phnom-Penh clients 'do not play the food card.' In other words, to see to it that Phnom-Penh will not be allowed to use the selective distribution of food aid as a political weapon against Pol Pot's remaining supporters."

In fact it is the Carter administration that has been using aid as a

political weapon in its criminal refusal to immediately send massive amounts of food to the starving Kampuchean people. But the effort to pin the blame for this on the Vietnamese and the Heng Samrin government in Phnom-Penh is running into more and more difficulty.

Rep. Barbara Mikulski, who recently visited Kampuchea as part of a delegation of U.S. Congresswomen, dismissed the charge that the authorities in Phnom-Penh are hampering the relief effort and will not distribute food if sent by aid agencies.

"I believe they will distribute it. Everybody who had anything to do with saving lives begged us to bring in food," she told a news conference November 14. "I believe they will do it even if they have to do it by hand."

Anthony Hewett, a UNICEF official who spoke at a conference on Kampuchea in New York City November 17, told the *Militant* that Phnom-Penh officials "are cooperating" with the relief effort. UNICEF is a UN-sponsored relief agency.

He said the Soviet Union has been sending aid since the end of August. Also, Hanoi has been sending substantial aid. "In fact, we've been told that people in South Vietnam had their rations reduced to contribute to this supply," Hewett said.

By falsely accusing the Phnom-Penh authorities of hampering the relief effort, the Carter administration hopes to win support for its plan to send what it calls "humanitarian aid" by way of trucks from Thailand. They claim this is the only way to get sufficient food into Kampuchea.

Hewett, however, told the *Militant* that the present port facilities in Kampuchea and the Mekong River can accept 30,000 tons of food a month—which would allow the relief agencies to meet their stated goal of delivering 1,000 tons each day.

Thus far most "international relief" has gone to strengthen Pol Pot's army, the same forces responsible for the starvation to begin with.

The *New York Times* reported November 19 that Thailand was opening its borders to a "huge flow" of Kampuchean now camped along the frontier. The Kampuchean, who had come to the border camps to find food, "fell under the control of political groups with armed elements—self-styled 'liber-

ation movements' opposed to the Vietnamese occupation," *Times* reporter Henry Kamm wrote.

These right-wing forces "enforce a discipline upon [the camp people] that extends to confiscating their valuables. . . . The leaders also profit politically from being the distributing agents for the international relief supplies delivered to them."

Carter's cynical use of the "food card" could hardly be clearer: Starve the Kampuchean, encourage migration toward the Pol Pot and other rightist enclaves along the Thai border, and distribute aid to these reactionary groups so they can maintain a grip on some portion of the Kampuchean population.

Against this cruel fraud, U.S. working people should demand that Carter stop arming and supplying the forces of Pol Pot and his rightist allies. Instead, Carter must be pressured to send the Kampuchean people all the food they need now.

## Pol Pot's torture chamber

Attempts by the Carter administration to brush under the rug the horrors of the ousted Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea are proving difficult. Even Henry Kamm, the *New York Times* correspondent who has specialized in writing anti-Vietnamese dispatches from Pol Pot sanctuaries in Thailand, was forced to give attention to the heinous crimes of that regime in a dispatch dated November 12.

The *Times* editors did not see fit to publish this item until November 18, that is, after the United Nations General Assembly had voted to demand the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. If implemented, that vote could lead to the return to power of the murderous Pol Pot gang.

In his dispatch, Kamm described one of three landmarks the Heng Samrin government has scheduled for visitors to see that testify to the horrors of the Pol Pot years:

The prime landmark of the Heng Samrin campaign is a former school that served as a political prison, torture chamber and place of mass executions. In its echoes and reminiscences of horror, it can be compared only to Nazi concentration camps.

Each of its many classrooms is divided into 16 brick cubicles, so small that to be merely confined in them would amount to torture. Their only furnishings are an ammunition case and a plastic can that the prisoner used as a toilet. The dozen or so interrogation rooms each contain an

iron cot to which the naked prisoners were chained, and a desk and chair for the interrogator.

The instruments of torture are varied and unspeakable. The gallows were designed to hang prisoners by their feet and submerge their heads into jars of water. There are mountains of ragged clothes, stripped from the prisoners when they entered, and piles of rusty bowls from which they ate their sole daily meal.

One room contains mounds of looted silver vessels, to be melted down by the prisoners and fashioned into larger-than-life likenesses of Mr. Pol Pot's head, of which examples remain.

Hundreds of pictures of men, women and children line the walls of many of the rooms. All look frightened. Some have been beaten; others were photographed after their deaths. All were killed, according to the guides, who estimated the total murdered in the school at 20,000. People turned over to the prison had to be photographed dead or alive. The photographs served as proof that they had been delivered there.

"The Cambodian people have to be saved from genocide," said [a] French-educated intellectual. "The Vietnamese saved us from the genocide of Pol Pot. Now they must be saved from the genocide of famine."

Kamm cynically calls the visits to the landmarks a campaign by the Heng Samrin government to promote an "anti-Pol Pot cult." It is doubtful, however, that he would characterize similar efforts in Israel and elsewhere to recall the horrors of Nazism the promotion of an anti-Hitler cult. —A.N.



U.S.-backed right-wing soldier

## Palestinians protest Israeli deportation order

By David Frankel

Twenty-nine Arab mayors in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip resigned en masse November 13-14 to protest the Israeli cabinet's decision to go ahead with the deportation of Nablus Mayor Bassam al-Shaka.

Amid demonstrations and strikes in Nablus, Hebron, Ramallah, Jenin, Bir Zeit, and other towns, the mayors issued a statement saying: "We shall never kneel, we shall never bow, we shall never bargain and we shall never give up a grain of our national soil."

They also announced that they would join Shaka in a hunger strike to protest his treatment.

Shaka was arrested November 11, presented with the expulsion order, and imprisoned pending deportation, because of remarks he made in a private conversation with Gen. Danny Matt, the military governor of the West Bank.

Shaka was accused of supporting terrorist actions because he told Matt that "operations like these, if they occur, are only a reaction to other acts." He added: "As long as there is occupation and killing, you can expect many operations of this type."

The attempt to impose thought-control on the 1.25 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was compounded November 8 when the director of Israeli television refused to put an interview with Shaka on the

air, thus preventing the Israeli people as a whole from hearing what he had to say.

Even some of the staunchest defenders of the Zionist state complained about Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's handling of the affair.

Particularly upsetting to many pro-Zionist forces was the degree to which Begin's heavy-handed behavior exposed the emptiness of the provisions

for Palestinian autonomy in the Camp David accords.

"Truly," the *Jerusalem Post* asked November 12, "if an Arab city mayor . . . cannot freely speak his mind even in private without being considered fit for punishment, then what is this thing called autonomy except a farce and a fraud?"

Similarly, the *New York Times* editorialized November 16, "Israel is turn-

ing the offer of 'autonomy' to Palestinian Arabs into a sham. Under the cover of a developing peace with Egypt, Prime Minister Begin and his Cabinet seem to be doing their utmost to frustrate the other half of the Camp David accords."

But, as the *Times* well knows, Israeli policy even before Begin came to power was to absorb the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. While assuring the Israeli rulers of the economic and military aid they need to continue this course, Washington is seeking to avoid taking the political responsibility for it.

President Carter thought he had achieved such a result with the Camp David agreement. However, it is becoming increasingly clear to the whole world that the real effect of that deal was merely to ratify Israeli domination of the occupied territories outside of the Sinai.

On November 11, the same day as Shaka's arrest, Begin's cabinet announced new plans for the extension of Zionist settlements on the West Bank and Syria's Golan Heights.

But Begin's reckless course is meeting more and more opposition within Israel itself. On October 20, the Peace Now movement held a demonstration in Tel Aviv against the settlement policy that drew 40,000 people, according to a dispatch by William Claiborne in the October 23 *Washington Post*.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Mayor Bassam al-Shaka with supporters in Nablus

By August Nimtz  
(second of a series)

While visiting a Palestinian refugee camp during his recent Middle East trip, Operation PUSH leader Rev. Jesse Jackson said he was reminded of Black ghettos in the U.S. "I understand this camp, I identify heavily with this camp . . . The stench, the open sewers—this is nothing new to me."

Jackson is not the only Black leader to feel a sense of identification with the plight of the Palestinians. For example, Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, a leader of the predominantly Black Progressive National Baptist Convention, recently remarked that "the Palestinians are the niggers of the Middle East."

The "Disaster," as the Palestinians refer to the origin of their plight, began when Israeli forces overran the Arab armies in the 1948 War. Overnight hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs were made homeless and began a dismal existence as refugees. Those who were not forced from their homes were relegated to second-class status by their new overlord—the Zionist state.

As a result of the Middle East wars, beginning with 1948-49, Palestinians were dispersed in three broad groupings.

First are the so-called "Israeli Arabs," those who remained inside the territory that Israel occupied after the 1948 War, that is, about 80 percent of Palestine. Today, these Palestinians number about 500,000. They comprise about 13 percent of Israel's population and about 15 percent of all Palestinians.

As residents of a state that was created to serve its Jewish population, Palestinians in Israel are denied equal rights and subjected to systematic discrimination. They are barred from living in various locations. Their schools are grossly inferior and there are quotas against them in the universities. Police repression is used regularly against Arab activists.

As Shmuel Toledano, the former Advisor on Arab Affairs to the Israeli prime minister, put it in an



## Issues in Mideast Conflict

interview to the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, January 28, 1977, Arabs in Israel are "second-class citizens."

Furthermore, like other Palestinians, "Israeli Arabs" also had much of their land expropriated after the 1948 War.

At one time the Zionists tried to restrict the employment of Arab workers. But as Israeli capitalism developed, they began to treat the Palestinians as a ready supply of cheap wage laborers. Like Blacks and Latinos in the U.S., the "Israeli Arabs" work the dirtiest, lowest-paid jobs.

### Occupied territories

The second and largest group of Palestinians, about 38 percent, are in those parts of Palestine that Israel occupied after the 1967 War—the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, areas that had previously been administered by Egypt and Jordan respectively. This means that more than half of all Palestinians are under direct Israeli administration.

The plight of Palestinians in the occupied territories is compounded by the fact that they are under Israeli military occupation, and suffer the severe repression of democratic rights that this entails.

The geographical closeness of the occupied territories to Israel's economic centers makes the availability of cheap Arab labor exceedingly attractive to Israeli capital. Today, more than 50 percent of all wage workers in the occupied territories are employed in Israel. Construction and manufacturing employ about 70 percent of these workers.

Every morning at 3 a.m. thousands of Palestinians are herded onto buses to make the 3 to 6 hour trip to Israel to sell their labor for an average daily wage of about \$6.50 (in 1977 prices).

These workers receive on the average only half of what Israelis make for the same work. Since the inflation rate in the occupied territories is even higher than it is in Israel (and in Israel it is now about 100 percent), the real wages of these Palestinians are cut down even further.

In addition, the migrant workers have no right to any benefits and social services and are barred from organizing trade unions.

### Parallel to South Africa

The situation affords a striking parallel with that of Blacks who migrate daily from the Bantustans and surrounding countries to work in the white

# Plight of the Palestinians



Palestinian refugees in a school in Jordan following the June 1967 war

areas of South Africa.

Along with the exploitation of Palestinian labor, the Israeli government under Prime Minister Begin encourages Zionist settlement in the occupied territories. The purpose of the settlements is to extend the settler state.

Other Israeli policies in the occupied territories include the monopoly of import and export markets and the development of small-scale industry as a subsidiary of Israeli industry. All of these policies, classic activities of an imperialist state in underdeveloped areas, mean increased exploitation of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Along with economic exploitation, Palestinians are repeated victims of human rights violations by the Israeli regime. As early as 1970 Amnesty International cited "prima facie evidence of the serious mistreatment of Arab prisoners under interrogation in Israel." Even the U.S. State Department's 1979 report on human rights admitted that "instances of mistreatment have occurred." The "Report of the National Lawyer's Guild 1977 Middle East Delegation" makes clear that the torture of Palestinian prisoners is commonplace in Israeli jails.

### 'Massive Israeli terrorism'

The third group of Palestinians comprise those who were forced out of Palestine altogether and went mostly to Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria. The oppression they experience varies from one country to another.

No group of Palestinians anywhere are in a more desperate situation than those in Lebanon. They are the target of constant bombing raids by Israeli planes. Since the signing of the Camp David "peace accords," Israeli bombing has driven more than 500,000 Palestinians from their homes and camps.

David Dellinger, who recently visited the Middle East, described in the September 28 issue of *Seven*

*Days* magazine what he saw: ". . . to my horror, what I observed was not a policy of selective military strikes, but massive Israeli terrorism against the population of Lebanon. I saw an extensive, systematic destruction of civilian targets—houses, schools, medical clinics, churches, and mosques. The kinds of targets, weapons used . . . were painfully reminiscent of Vietnam—and so were the results. . . . In the end, after four months, every village, town, and refugee camp south of Sidon [about 25 miles south of Beirut] (and many places north of it) have been hit many times, with catastrophic results."

### Assimilated?

Along with the violence that Palestinians in the neighboring states are subjected to, as refugees in these countries Palestinians are victims of various forms of economic and social discrimination and political oppression. This applies even in those countries—Syria and Jordan—where Palestinians are in theory equal to the indigenous residents.

The Zionists have always rationalized their expulsion of the Palestinians with the claim that as Arabs they could easily assimilate into the societies of the neighboring Arab states. However, thirty years after the Disaster, Palestinians inside these countries feel no more at home than those under direct Israeli control. As oppressed people, they continually strive for a return to their homeland and for self-determination.

A key element of Zionist propaganda is to portray the Palestinians as terrorists bent on the extermination of Jews. However, most of the world now recognizes that the Palestinians are an oppressed people, and that the Zionist arguments are simply a ruse to turn the victims into criminals.

Israel and its supporters in Washington are indisputably the real criminals in the Mideast.

# World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

## 'Let those who labor hold the reins' Revolution in Grenada

By Ernest Harsch

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—"This government stand with the workers," a thirty-two-year-old dockworker at the harbor says with conviction. "We know these fellows. They with us. Nobody going to tell me nothing changed."

Eight months after the March 13 insurrection that brought the revolutionary New Jewel Movement (NJM) to power in this small eastern Caribbean island, support for the new government is widespread.

If anything, it may even be deepening among the poorest layers of this impoverished country, as the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop drives ahead with a series of progressive measures aimed at improving the social position and living conditions of the vast majority of Grenada's 110,000 people—the workers and small farmers.

While some sectors of Grenadian society—the conservative and wealthy—are reacting with concern, the general verdict among young people, workers, and the unemployed is that the government deserves support and that it appears committed to transforming Grenadian society to their benefit.

"So much done these seven months, we never seen before," a woman at the central market in St. George's explains.

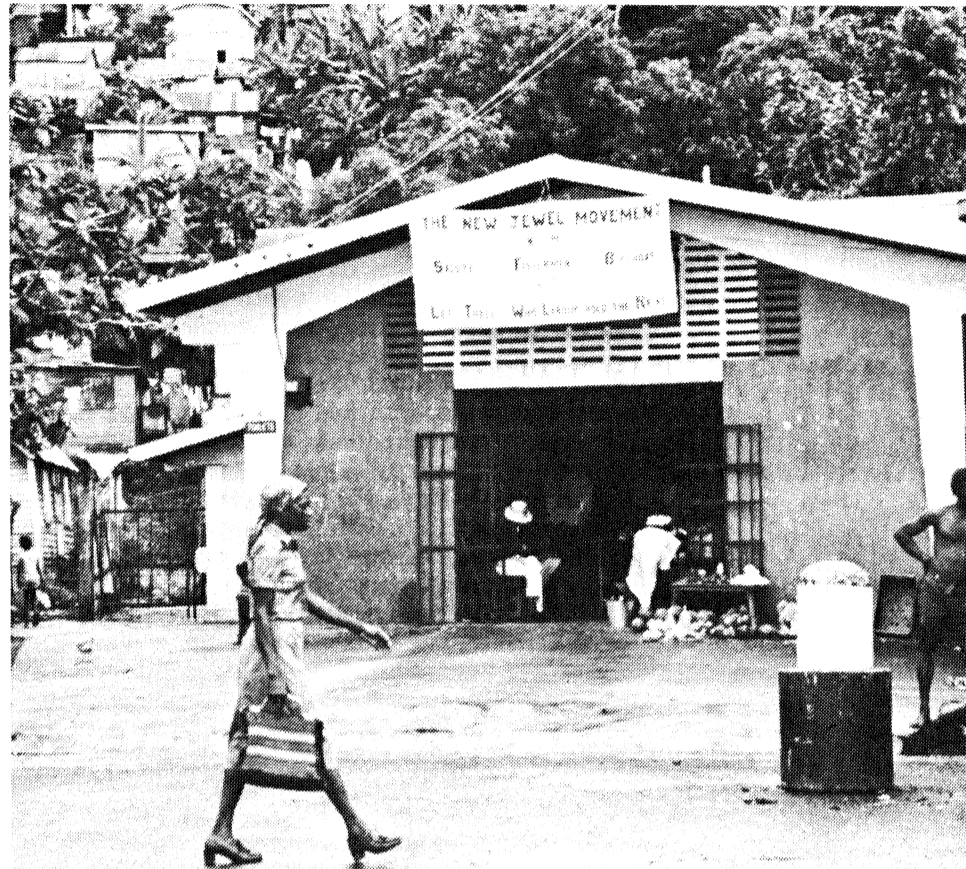
"I'm with Maurice," says a young unemployed musician. "He shakes things up, gets people moving. And the police now, they leave me be."

The depth of the government's popular support has been expressed repeatedly since the insurrection, in a series of mass rallies throughout the country, some of which have drawn crowds of 15,000 or 20,000—truly massive turnouts for a country of this size.

### Rebuilding economy

Despite its short time in power, the PRG has already done much to try to rebuild the devastated economy inherited from the ousted dictator, Eric Gairy, and to improve living standards. With the elimination of the rampant corruption and inefficiency of the Gairy regime, new funds have been released for the expansion of social services.

Free milk is being provided to all children under five years' of age, and



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Ernest Harsch  
Sign on garage carries slogan of New Jewel Movement

cheap hot lunches are being introduced in primary schools.

Secondary school fees have been cut. So far this year, 109 scholarships have been handed out for study abroad, compared to just three in all of 1978.

Roads are being repaired, and new ones built. Hundreds of new jobs have been created, an important step in a country where half the work force is unemployed.

Plans are being laid to increase food production, develop agricultural industries, and diversify crops to lessen the country's near-total dependence on exports of bananas, nutmeg, and cocoa. As a result of government intervention through the creation of the National Importing Board, the prices of rice, sugar, cement, and other imported goods have been reduced.

Health services on the island have been significantly expanded, thanks largely to the work of twelve Cuban doctors and dentists, who have treated 7,000 patients in a period of just three months.

The presence of a Cuban ship in the harbor, laden with 60,000 bags of cement, testifies to the extent of Cuban assistance, which also includes fisheries, agricultural, educational, and military aid.

"The Cubans, I have noticed, give aid to people fighting for freedom," one person commented in a newspaper poll conducted here in May, "and I like that."

### Right to strike

Under the Gairy regime, the right to strike had been abolished in many key sectors of the economy, unionists faced severe harassment and victimization, and the right of assembly, speech, and the press were severely restricted.

The revolution has changed all that. Under the slogan, "Let those who labor hold the reins," the PRG has greatly expanded workers' rights.

The new Trade Union Recognition Act compels employers, under threat of

fine and imprisonment, to recognize any union that can demonstrate support from at least 50 percent of the workers in a given enterprise.

Unions such as the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union (CIWU) and the Bank and General Workers Union (BGWU) have grown considerably in recent months, and new unions, like the Agricultural and General Workers Union, have been formed.

According to the government, the level of unionization has risen from 30 percent of the employed urban work force at the time of the insurrection to more than 80 percent today.

In the rural areas, elected Agricultural Workers Councils have been set up on all of the government-owned estates, and on many of the private ones as well.

The principle of equal pay for equal work for women workers has been proclaimed, and is already being implemented in some sectors, such as agriculture. Employers and other officials found guilty of sexually harassing women workers are now subject to immediate dismissal.

Although a few local business figures hold minor positions in the government, the PRG has repeatedly demonstrated that its basic stance is pro-labor. Vincent Noel, the president of both the CIWU and the BGWU, is a member of the PRG, a factor that has done much to reassure workers that they need not fear reprisals for their union activities.

Prime Minister Bishop has spoken on radio to warn employers to stop victimizing workers or face "the full weight of the revolution." Labour Minister Selwyn Strachan has appeared before the Grenada Chamber of Commerce to inform its members that the government would not allow employers to "exploit" workers, that the rights of labor must be respected.

"Our party is committed to the task of improving the quality of life of the working people of our country," Strachan told me. "We cannot afford to sit by and allow workers to be subjected to

the same kind of exploitation they were subjected to in the past."

An article in the October 6 *New Jewel*, the weekly organ of the NJM, stated that while businessmen still had a role to play in the economy, "Businessmen who harass, abuse or unjustly fire workers must know that the P.R.G. is a workers Government and will stand firm on the side of the workers."

This is not just empty rhetoric, as shown by the PRG's recent takeover of the local Coca-Cola bottling plant following a five-week strike over the dismissal of two employees. After the management refused to rehire the workers or accept the government's proposal to set up an industrial tribunal to arbitrate the dispute, the PRG intervened by taking over the plant's management, rehiring all workers, and resuming production. This served notice to all employers in Grenada that the government meant what it said.

With the scrapping of most repressive legislation, such as restriction on the right of assembly, speech, and the press, democratic rights in general have been considerably expanded.

The atmosphere of fear and insecurity that lay over the island under Gairy's rule has largely dissipated. The "Mongoose Gang"—Gairy's band of hired criminals who plundered and terrorized the country with impunity—no longer exists.

Gairy's entire army has been disbanded, and many corrupt policemen have been dismissed. A number of Gairy's top henchmen are now in detention in Richmond Hill prison.

Guns, however, are a common sight, mostly in the hands of young men and women. Troops of the new People's Revolutionary Army, dressed in green combat fatigues, and members of the new People's Militia, in civilian clothes, can frequently be seen bouncing along in trucks freshly painted in camouflage colors, doing early morning training exercises, or strolling the streets of St. George's with automatic weapons slung over their shoulders.

There is no sign that they are feared by the population; at times they are cheerfully greeted by passers-by.

### Interest in political ideas

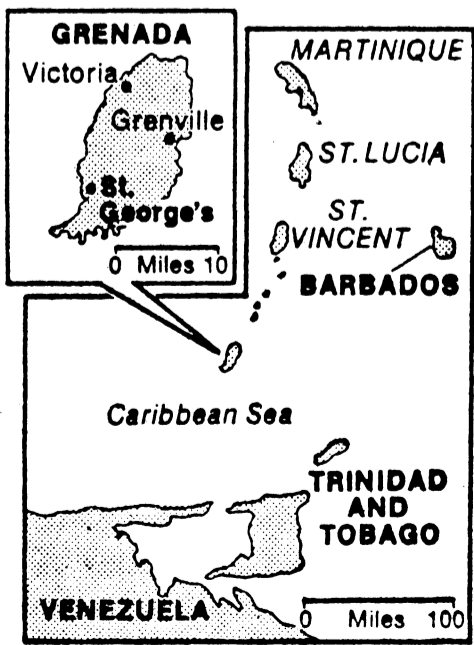
The growing interest in radical political ideas among Grenadians in general is especially evident among army and militia members, who are among the most committed supporters of the revolution.

During one visit to the main government office building, I notice a young soldier, sitting with a machine gun across his knees, listening intently to a program over Radio Free Grenada on women's liberation. He nods as the female commentator stresses the need for men to share domestic chores with women. He nods again as she emphasizes the important role of women workers in the construction of a new Grenada.

On another visit, there is a young security guard, dressed in civilian clothes, reading *By Any Means Necessary*, a collection of speeches by Malcolm X.

I ask a youth near the central market in St. George's if he is worried about the presence of so many troops and militia members, and receive a

*Continued on next page*



New York Times

## Interview with Grenadian leader

# 'We will not submit to American bullying'

The following is an interview with Selwyn Strachan, a founder and central leader of the New Jewel Movement and currently the minister of labor, works, and communications in the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada. The interview was obtained by Ernest Harsch in St. George's, Grenada, on October 29.

**Question.** *The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) calls itself a "workers government." Could you explain that?*

**Answer.** Ever since the inception of our party, we have espoused a particular ideology—we call ourselves socialists.

Our party is committed to the task of improving the quality of life of the working people of our country. We see the workers as the revolutionary class in society, and we are determined to raise their political and ideological consciousness.

We say we are a workers government and we are determined to improve the quality of life of the worker. Whilst we recognize the importance of better wages and working conditions, we feel that it is absolutely necessary—if we want to move the struggle forward, if we want to build a workers state, if we want to build a worker-peasant state—that we devote a lot of time to the building of the political and class consciousness of the workers in our society.

And that is a very long, long task that we have. Because even at this

stage in our country, the workers are not fighting for political rights.

They are still at the trade-union level, for better wages and working conditions. They are not fighting for laws to protect their interests. They are not at that stage yet.

We are trying to ally the other classes in society with the workers. In other words, we see the struggle in a wider context, not just working-class struggle on behalf of workers, but linking that, trying to bring all the oppressed classes into alliance with the working class to fight for all the democratic, progressive measures at this particular stage in the struggle.



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Ernest Harsch  
**SELWYN STRACHAN**

utes before it caught fire on May 6, a cottage in Morne Rouge, in the heart of the tourist section, was also set alight.

There are very strong indications of arson in both fires, which are believed by the government to be aimed at disrupting the vital tourist trade.

On October 14-15, just a week before my arrival in Grenada, the government's security forces arrested twenty persons, including Winston Whyte (a right-wing politician) and former member of Gairy's Defence Force. Caches of arms and ammunition were discovered during the raids, and the twenty were charged with plotting the armed overthrow of the PRG.

The same weekend, the *Torchlight* newspaper, which had been conducting a slander campaign against the PRG for several months, was ordered shut down.

One of its major owners, a wealthy Grenadian businessman, had also been a key financial backer of Winston Whyte's various rightist formations.

The increasing alarm among some business circles here over the radical course of the revolution will very likely lead to more attempts to resist its advance.

These reactionary forces within Grenada have received encouragement from American imperialism, which has made clear its hostility toward the unfolding revolution here.

### Oil cutoff

The Carter administration has explicitly warned the PRG against establishing close ties with Cuba. It has urged the initiation of an international campaign against "human rights violations" in Grenada, that is, the detention of the ousted dictatorship's top officials and torturers.

American oil companies have cut back on fuel shipments to Grenada, resulting in periodic black outs in

**Q.** *Would you like to see a stage where the workers would be sufficiently politicized and class conscious to begin raising their own demands and begin mobilizing themselves, rather than waiting for the government to act?*

**A.** I don't see spontaneous reaction. We feel that everything has to be properly guided. It should be done in an organized way, rather than allowing things to be spontaneous. Sometimes we can have that. But our aim is to organize in a serious way so that the revolution is not hampered.

In other words, we do not think that anything rash should be done now that will hold back the revolution, and in turn hamper the workers and the working people as a whole.

We are against spontaneous reaction, but at the same time we are also against any kind of measure that will hold back the raising of the class consciousness of the workers.

The thing is, there are a number of stages that we have to go through. The society, we see, is predominantly petty-bourgeois. That is very deep in the country. The working class is very weak numerically.

**Q.** *Petty bourgeois in the sense of a strong peasantry?*

**A.** A strong peasantry, right. And a lot of individualist activities, vendors, lots of people who are self-employed.

The peasantry is the single largest category of people in the country. It is twice as strong as the working class,

maybe one-and-a-half-times stronger. And then we have all these other people around, the artisans, the fishermen, the small and medium sized businessmen, and so forth.

We feel that whilst we move rapidly to raise the consciousness of the working people, including the working class, at the same time we have to consolidate our position in certain sectors of the economy, which will again help to strengthen our position, raising the level of the productive forces.

In other words, we see us moving toward socialism, using the mixed-economy approach, the noncapitalist path at this stage. And that, of course, will help us increase the strength of the working class in our country, prepare us for the advancement to socialism, where we can eventually have the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But now it is impossible. We have to keep up the political education work. We have to do work among the workers, work among the farmers, work among the fishermen, work among the women, the youth, and even the small and medium sized business-people, the middle strata, and unite the population and prepare them for the next stage of the struggle.

In other words, we see this as a democratic phase of the struggle, preparing the masses for the transition to socialism.

### 'The aim is socialism'

**Q.** *Do you see this in terms of distinct historical stages?*

sections of the island. According to Strachan, the PRG has received information that the Carter administration is also attempting to get Grenada's main trade partners to put further economic pressure on the country.

The most serious and direct threat against Grenada—and against the entire region, including Cuba and Nicaragua—came when President Carter announced October 1 that a U.S. military task force, based in Key West, Florida, would be set up to enable Washington to rapidly dispatch military forces into the Caribbean.

"All Grenadians, Governments and peoples of the Caribbean should condemn the threat to our security made by President Carter," an article on the front page of the October 6 *New Jewel* declared.

Upon learning that I was a journalist from the United States, one young supporter of the NJM told me, "We like Americans, the people of America, but your government try to oppress us. Tell Carter to take his troops away. We want to live in peace."

Grenada's own struggle against imperialist domination is part of the struggle of all oppressed peoples throughout the world, a fact that the revolutionary leadership in Grenada is fully aware of.

### One People, One Struggle

"Africa, Grenada—One People, One Struggle," proclaims a tee-shirt worn by an NJM member at a rally in Grenville, the country's second largest town.

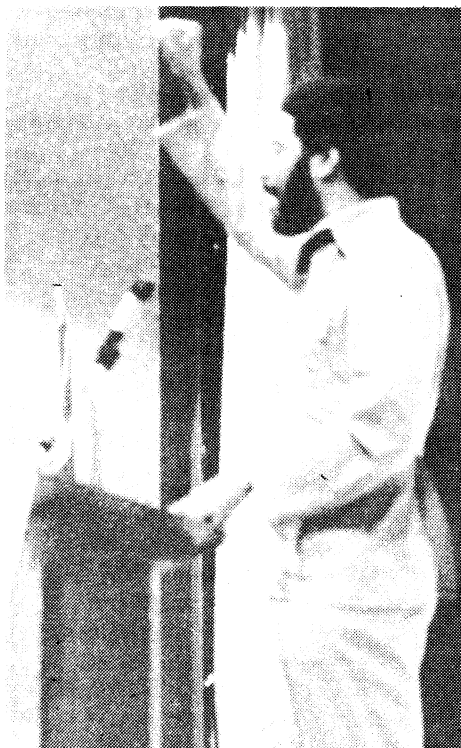
The *New Jewel* and the *Free West Indian*, the two main newspapers here now, frequently carry articles about struggles in other countries. Prime Minister Bishop and other PRG members have forcefully spoken out in support of the Palestinians, and Black

freedom fighters in southern Africa, and the revolutionists in Nicaragua. They realize that any advance of the world revolution helps Grenada's own struggle for national independence and social progress.

By itself, Grenada is very vulnerable. But with the active solidarity of peoples throughout the Caribbean and the rest of the world, it can withstand the pressures, threats, and intimidation of the imperialists.

"We need solidarity very much," one young NJM supporter in Grenville tells me. "Without it, our revolution may be lost. With it, we can move forward."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Militant/Osborne Hart  
**Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop speaking earlier this year to crowd in New York City of 1,200 people from Grenada and other Caribbean Islands.**

## ...Grenada

Continued from preceding page  
prompt reply: "No."

I press the question: "But what are all the guns for?"

He looks at me as if I'm a bit dumb, then answers, "To defend the revolution."

"From whom?"

"From Gairy's mercenaries. From the CIA and all the destabilizers trying to take away our freedom. Like Brother Maurice said, now that we have tasted freedom, we are prepared to die to keep it."

### Imperialist threats

Such determination will be vital to the survival of the Grenadian revolution. The problems of trying to initiate a revolutionary social transformation in a country with such a limited material base are great.

No less serious are the threats and pressures against the revolution coming from imperialism—especially from Washington—and from domestic counter-revolutionary forces.

Gairy, who is now living in the United States, has reportedly been attempting to recruit a mercenary force to try to regain his throne.

There are many people here who are skeptical that Gairy could succeed in retaking the country on his own, given the wide and active support that the PRG enjoys among the Grenadian workers, peasants, and youth. But there is concern that Gairy and his remaining supporters could cause serious harm, especially if they get outside backing.

There have already been a few instances of sabotage. In central St. George's stands the remnants of a three-story building gutted by fire, which formerly housed a leading travel agency and tour operator. A few min-



A. This, as we see it, is a distinct historical stage. It is the democratic process. And in the democratic process, one has to look at all these factors.

The aim, of course, is socialism. But socialism cannot just come, just so. We have to prepare the ground for that social transformation.

We see it now as democratizing the society, making sure that all the rights of the working people are fully entrenched, making sure that the economy is consolidated, having a full grip on the key sectors of the economy, and increasing the overall level of productive forces, which will prepare us for the transition.

In other words, we are moving to socialism, bypassing capitalist development. So we see this as a historical stage in the development of society.

**Q. How would you compare the revolutionary process here in Grenada with the development of the Cuban revolution, particularly in its early days?**

A. First of all, the revolution took place in 1959 in Cuba. Ours takes place in 1979, twenty years after.

Their revolution was led by revolutionaries, just like Grenada.

Cuba, of course, was a neocolonial society, totally dominated by America. Our country was also dominated by imperialism.

The working class there was also weak, just like ours here. In other words, it was a petty-bourgeois society, like ours.

### Cuban process

And Cuba, more or less, went through the same process that we are right now going through. What Cuba had in 1959, after the revolution, was a dictatorship of the masses, just like what we have here. They had to go through a similar process that we are in fact going through right now.

For example, in the first twenty months of the revolution, Cuba did not really get into the commanding heights of the economy, the banks, big factories, and so forth. It was after a period, they began to move into those areas. We have a similar situation here.

Of course, there is a slight difference in that we don't have any indigenous factories and enterprises like Cuba had, because they had sugar cane and mills and so forth. We don't have any factories here producing from nutmegs or cocoa or bananas.

Therefore it was much easier for them to acquire these things. They didn't have to get into the whole question of industrialization from scratch, like we will have to do.

We believe that our course of development will be more or less the same as the Cuban revolution. There may be one or two minor differences, but nothing dramatic.

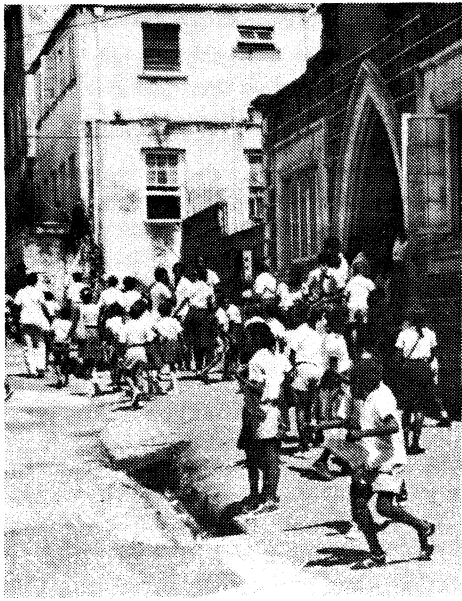
And that, of course, will go for almost every country in the Caribbean, because we have been underdeveloped by the imperialist world. The character of our economies is more or less the same. Jamaica, Guyana, Barbados, Trinidad, you name it, we have been plundered by the imperialist world.

If we have taken a decision to socially transform our society, and we are adopting the correct approach according to the laws of historical development, we would more or less have to go through the same process, with slight differences because of the unevenness, since some countries are more developed than the next.

But basically, the approach will be the same, if we are moving to socialism.

### Cuban aid

**Q. How much of an asset do you see the existence of the Cuban workers state being for the advancement of the Grenadian revolution?**



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Ernest Harsch  
**All Grenadian children under five get free milk, and inexpensive hot lunches are available at school.**

A. That is a very, very important factor, extremely important. It cannot be overemphasized.

Because we need the greatest solidarity now. It is quite clear where we are going and how we are going there. The presence of a socialist state in the region is a definite plus for us.

Could you imagine if we were Cuba in 1959, a small country like ours, what we would have gone through?

Cuba's assistance in the darkest hours of the revolution has been fantastic. Although we have gotten assistance from other countries in the region, Cuba's assistance was definitive in helping to consolidate our revolution. And it will continue to be an important asset in the region.

Given our path, given our revolutionary path, the more progressive governments emerge in the Caribbean, the better for us. The more Cuban-type governments, the better for us. But of course, Cuba is the only one yet.

And I think, since there is always a possibility of destabilization, political and economic, there will always be the need for solidarity from all friends.

For example, the economic blockade that Cuba went through from 1959 to now, we could never survive that. It is quite clear, given the signs that we have been seeing, that imperialism would be prepared to put the squeeze on us.

But we are confident that because of the presence of Cuba we would be able to some extent to beat back some of that, though not all, because of the solidarity of Cuba in conjunction with the rest of the socialist community.

So it is, in our view, a definite plus, an asset, the presence of Cuba in the Caribbean, in terms of helping to push our revolution forward.

### New Jewel Movement

**Q. How would you describe the New Jewel Movement?**

A. As a socialist party, with the objective of bringing socialism to this country. To that end, we are engaging in concrete work amongst the masses, preparing them for that eventual goal. Our program is geared toward that.

**Q. Has it always considered itself that, from its inception, or has there been a process of development?**

A. It started off as what we would call a revolutionary party, a revolutionary democratic party. We never called ourselves socialist at the beginning.

The New Jewel Movement was engaged in revolutionary politics, attacking the system, trying to raise the political consciousness of the people, and—fundamentally—raising demo-

cratic issues amongst the masses and trying to get them to struggle with us for democratic rights and freedoms.

It started off on that basis. As we got more and more mature, we were able to work out a clearer ideological position. It didn't come artificially, it was as a result of struggle, in a concrete way.

Lots of organizations started off as Black Power organizations in the Caribbean, and eventually settled down into a permanent trend. Lots of the leaders you find in the region started off as advocates of Black Power.

In the early and late 1960s, the civil rights struggle in the United States and in England had some influence on the region, through people coming back home and starting off organizations. But as the struggle developed and they became more clear on the situation, they were able to settle into a permanent trend as to how society should go, what form the struggle should take.

We went through that process also.

### Unionization campaign

**Q. Could you explain what's been done so far since the revolution in terms of trade-union rights and the extent of unionization?**

A. Since the revolution we have been able to go on a mass unionization campaign.

Never before in the history of this country was there a law on the books which gave workers a right to join the trade union of their choice and to have protection.

Within two, three weeks of the revolution, we passed a law, called the Trade Union Recognition Act, that gave workers the right to join a trade union of their choice, without being victimized, without being harassed by their employers. That law never existed on the books before.

This has helped a great deal in pushing the unionization question rapidly forward, so much so that today in Grenada almost 90 percent of the urban working class is unionized.

At the same time, we repealed all the anti-worker laws that were passed by Gairy, laws which prevented the workers from striking, taking industrial action, and so forth in the "essential services" area. We repealed those laws completely and brought back the rights of the workers.

We also repealed the Public Order Amendment Act, which prevented organizations from holding meetings and discussing their affairs. This affected the working class and the trade unions; they weren't able to hold mass meetings of the trade-union movement.

That also was lifted off the backs of the working class.

So the democratic rights and freedoms of the working class and working people have been restored—and extended.

**Q. Could you explain what the new Agricultural Workers Councils (AWC) is, what its role is?**

A. This is an alternative to Gairy's Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union. The AWC is designed to organize the agricultural working class, all over the country.

We have had councils set up on almost every estate since the revolution, both government and private estates, with the view to drawing more and more membership into the union and to using that as a vehicle for organizing the entire agricultural working class and to raise their trade-union and class consciousness.

To build socialism, you must organize the working class properly. That has to be done. The working class cannot be loose, out there, directionless, not knowing what they're doing.

That is one reason, apart from destroying the cult of Gairyism completely by reorganizing the agricultural working class and getting them to understand the way forward.

### Women's rights

**Q. Are there any measures that have been taken specifically to try to improve the position of women workers?**

A. Yes. Definitely. We have been talking quite a bit about the discrimination of women in our society. The women have been called upon over the years to do the same thing as the men, but yet men historically have been paid much more than women, because she's a woman.

We have been advocating the concept that there should be equal pay for equal work. And this has not only been words.

We looked at the estate workers, for example, where you find the woman is doing the same amount of work as the man, but the man is paid maybe a dollar or two more. In some cases we have taken steps to correct that already, where the woman is getting the same pay as the man, because they're doing equal work.

What we want to see throughout the society is the involvement of women in the overall political process. It is something that we are very strong about in our party.

To that end, the women's arm of our party has been organizing around the country and trying to raise the political level of the women masses, workers

*Continued on next page*

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## ...interview with Grenadian leader

Continued from preceding page

included. A women's desk has been opened in one of the ministries to deal with the special problems that women face in our country.

**Q. Could you explain the PRG's policy toward the involvement of foreign firms in the Grenada economy?**

**A.** We have not worked out the concrete policy on the question of foreign investment.

We know what we do not want. It is quite clear. We feel that there are certain areas in the economy where we cannot allow foreign investors to come in, like agriculture. These are basic things.

At the same time we feel we are lacking badly in technology. Any kind of foreign investment must be heavy in capital and technology that will help to advance us, not any fly-by-night operators coming just to pick up the dollar and run.

The economy is not up for sale and is not to be pillaged any more by foreign

play in developing this country, whilst we recognize the role of the private sector and their contribution to the development of the economy, at the same time, we cannot afford to sit by and allow workers to be subjected to the same kind of exploitation they were subjected to in the past.

We feel that steps ought to be taken in order to correct these things. Workers have rights, they are human beings, therefore they ought to be treated as human beings. They are making a contribution to the society. They are selling their labor power. And that has to be respected.

At the same time, we are not advocating the whole question of indiscipline. We are not going to encourage the workers to be indisciplined, intolerant, and abusive to management. That could hamper the development of society.

But it has to be understood that the rights of workers must be respected. We pointed out to the employers very, very frankly that in a number of areas workers were being denied their fundamental rights and so forth. We are determined to break the neck of that.

**Q. When a dispute does arise between workers and management, as recently at the Coca-Cola plant, what are the government's primary considerations?**

**A.** We feel first of all that any dispute of that sort that arises should be settled in as quick a time as possible, because we take into consideration the economy. We are in a revolutionary period and any dislocation in the economy could hamper us very badly. Therefore industrial unrest is not good for the revolution at this point in time and therefore a speedy settlement of the dispute is something we are very strong on.

Now our position is that if a dispute of that sort is unnecessarily dragged on, we will have to intervene so as to effect a quick settlement. And that is what was done on the Coke factory issue, because the issue was being dragged on, mainly by management, over five weeks.

In the meantime, the economy was suffering. But not only the economy. As a whole, the public was also denied the right to have a drink.

More than that, the workers and their families—and that is extremely important—were denied a right to their wages and salaries, because of the senseless attitude of the employers.

Revolutionary steps had to be taken in order to effect a settlement temporarily. What has been done in that particular case is that the factory was reopened, the workers were all returned to work, and then we said to the company, let us now set up a tribunal and try to deal with this.

Now, we hope that will be a precedent to some extent. What we would like to see happen to minimize these conflicts is to have worker-management committees set up in the different work places to deal with the question of discipline and production, and the whole question of dismissals.

Dismissals have been an effective weapon of businesspeople. Why? Because they have a large pool of unemployed people out there, who are looking for work, and therefore the workers have no job security. They cannot really function properly because the tension is great. If anything happens they're dismissed, and other workers take their place.

So we had to break the neck of that. In the case of the Coke factory, it was quite clear that the management weren't prepared to do anything to alleviate the situation. As far as they

see it, they could have dragged the thing out another two years.

So we had to step in, as a revolutionary government, as a government that is fighting the struggles of the working class and the working people.

It was not a question of us taking full control of the factory. It was a question of trying to get a settlement and up to now, although the factory has been run by government, the ownership still remains in the hands of W.E. Julien and Company. All we are concerned about now is getting the industrial matter settled. Once that is settled, they can continue running the factory.

We have a number of things to do. We cannot take that on now. That is for another stage in the struggle.

But at the same time, just because we intend to allow the business community to function, we are not going to sit by and allow them to abuse workers, to fire them at their own whim and fancy. The right to work is something that we are very firm on.

### Reactionary opposition

**Q. Are there any sectors of Grenadian society that are reacting with hostility to the revolution, who feel that their interests might be threatened?**

**A.** A very tiny, tiny minority. The big businesspeople and the reactionary types. There is a tiny handful of middle class elements, plus the reactionary-type businessmen who have reacted with hostility to the revolution, who have engaged in all kinds of rumor-mongering, lies, and destabilization tactics. We do have that element. But they are in a tiny minority.

**Q. Do you see the hand of U.S. imperialism in any of this resistance within Grenada to the revolution?**

**A.** Yes, in a very subtle way. They are not openly hostile, except in the early days when Ambassador Ortiz was here, when he actually came and tried to be rude, and said his government would view our relations with Cuba with "displeasure."

Apart from that, they have been very subtle, not openly hostile. But we are convinced and we know that they have a heavy hand in this operation that is taking place in the country. That will increase.

Even the reaction of certain countries in the Caribbean is as a result of imperialist pressure, certain countries that are making statements against the revolution. We know for a fact that the pressure is coming from imperialist sources, and American imperialism in particular.

The American State Department has recently taken a conscious decision to put the economic squeeze on Grenada. They met in a private meeting in London with two other imperialist countries. What we have been told is that the other two countries have not been fully into it, but pressure has been brought on them to put on the economic squeeze.

America itself cannot really hamper us directly by an economic squeeze, because we don't buy much things from them, and they don't buy much things from us. But they can get their imperialist allies to bring the pressure on us, those that we sell our raw materials to and buy our manufactured goods from.

We buy much more from Europe and Canada than from America itself. So they will have to try to get as many of their imperialist friends to bring the squeeze on us.

**Q. How serious of a threat do you think Carter's creation of a military task force for the Caribbean is to the Grenadian revolution and to the Caribbean in general?**

**A.** We view that as a very serious threat. It is precisely because of the advent of the Grenadian revolution that Carter has seen fit at this point in time to talk about the setting up of a military task force in the region.

Talking about Soviet troops in Cuba is an excuse, really, because they know that those troops were there for quite a long time. So using it now clearly is a way of getting an excuse to step up their military activities in the region.

They still feel that the Caribbean is their backyard and that they can dictate the policies of the governments in the Caribbean. So they are not taking too kindly to the new developments that are taking place in the region, the progressive changes taking place.

They feel that the Grenada revolution would be the main force in changing the region. And the only way they can quell that is to step up their military activities with the view to frightening the people and possibly invading our country in order to turn back the revolution, because they see their economic interests being threatened in the long run.

We categorically reject the presence of any American military troops in the region. We reject it.

And we are going to be fighting, we are going to be struggling in the region, internationally, and in all forums to ensure that America withdraws its increased military presence in the region.

It is a threat to the development of the progressive struggle in the region. It is a threat to mankind's progress. We do not think that the Caribbean area should be a militarized area. We want it to be a zone of peace. We want to develop the region along peaceful lines.

And we will not submit or bow to American bullying in whatever form it takes. That is quite clear.

### Support from working people

**Q. What do you think that working people in the United States and other countries can do to best aid the struggles of their brothers and sisters here in Grenada?**

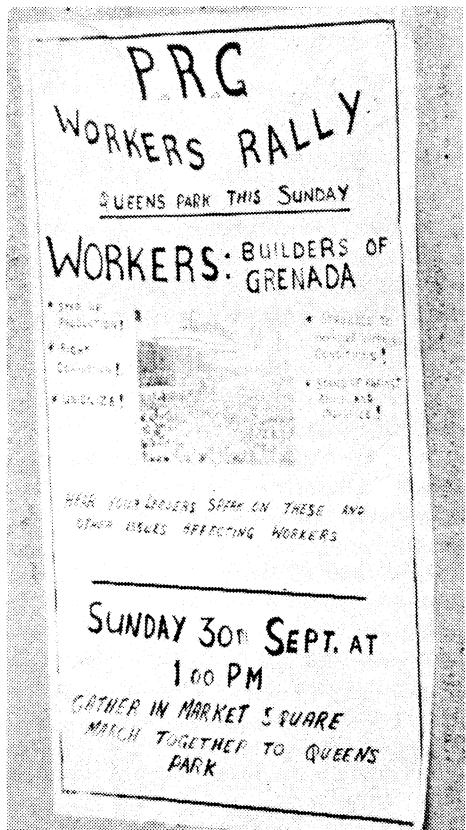
**A.** For one, we see the waging of a very powerful campaign within America itself to try to get America to ease up on the plan that they have for the Caribbean, to keep their hands off the Caribbean territories and the revolutionary processes that are taking place.

We also believe that working people in America should pay periodic visits to the region, visit the country, see what is happening and go back and propagandize the American public on what is really taking place in the region.

We feel that a struggle similar to the anti-Vietnam-war struggle can be waged within America on the question of the Caribbean. And not only the Caribbean, but also the entire Third World countries, where struggles are taking place.

What the working people in America have to understand is that the more revolutionary changes we have in the Third World, the more the break with imperialism intensifies, the better it will be for the working people in America itself. It will help their own struggles.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Ernest Harsch  
Provisional Revolutionary Government poster urges workers to rally.

people. If anyone wants to come here and do something, it has to be in strict guidelines.

Because the economy is underdeveloped, we are not going to sit down and say that we are totally against foreign investment. We have to look at it in a principled way, and how it can best be approached.

The important thing is that once we have the industry established, we are dictating the policy, so that the country will not be exploited. That does not mean that we cannot enter into an agreement with a foreign source on particular terms and conditions to exploit a particular resource of our country, given our limited knowledge and technology.

### 'Workers have rights'

**Q. Recently, you spoke before the local Chamber of Commerce and told the members that businessmen would no longer be allowed to exploit workers. What did you mean by that?**

**A.** This is something we are very, very strong on. What used to happen is that workers were subject to all forms of abuses, victimization, harassment, and, of course, exploitation.

Now what we have been saying to the business community is that whilst we recognize the role that they have to

## Paul Robeson: The new censorship

Paul Robeson was one of the greatest performing artists that America has yet produced. He was also a world-renowned symbol of militant struggle against American racism. Today, however, few young people have even heard of this outstanding Black man.

Robeson was one of the foremost victims of McCarthyism. As a prominent spokesperson for the American Communist Party, he was a prime target of the anticommunist witch-hunters. He was harassed at every turn, blacklisted from performing in the United States, denied a passport to perform elsewhere, and thus hounded into obscurity. The cold war zealots went so far as to have his name removed from the official list of collegiate football All-Americans. They intended to make Paul Robeson a "nonperson," and they succeeded in erasing him from the consciousness of a whole generation.

But times have changed. Anticommunism doesn't have the clout it used to have. A new generation of young people—awakened by the civil rights, antiwar, and feminist movements—isn't swallowing it anymore.

A play celebrating the life of Paul Robeson—with James Earl Jones in the title (and only) role—is now being aired on public television channels. This play opened on Broadway in 1978, but not many

### Television

people got a chance to see it because a protest against it developed and it closed after a short run.

The protest was not motivated by anticommunism or racism, as would have been the case a decade or two earlier. In fact, the Communist Party itself was the prime mover of the protest and the play's most enthusiastic opponent.

Picket lines at the theater were organized under the auspices of a "Paul Robeson People's Commission" to discourage potential audiences from attending. A leaflet passed out by the picketers ended with an exhortation to "Support Paul Robeson by boycotting this distortion of his history!"

#### 'Crime against Robeson'

The Communist Party's *Daily World* and *People's World* devoted a great deal of space to articles blasting the play, with headlines such as "The Crime Against Paul Robeson."

Paul Robeson, Jr. headed up the campaign and succeeded in gathering the signatures of an impressive array of Black cultural and political figures on a manifesto attacking the play. Among the fifty-six signers were James Baldwin, Coretta Scott King, Julian Bond, U.S. representatives John Conyers and Charles Rangel, and the entire Board of Bishops of the AME Zion Church. The statement described the play as "a pernicious perversion of the essence of Paul Robeson."

If you watch this play on public television (and I strongly recommend that you do when you get the chance to see a reshewing of it) you will probably be left scratching your head in bewilderment as to what the protest was all about.

Whatever weaknesses it may have, the play portrays Paul Robeson as a hero and an inspiring model for young Black people to emulate in the struggle against racism. His socialist and pro-Soviet Union views are clearly stated.

Carl Stokes, who had been the first Black mayor of Cleveland, apparently was among those perplexed by the protest. Now a television journalist, Stokes launched an investigation of his own. He concluded that most of the prominent figures who had signed the statement had not seen the play and that many had signed for superficial reasons.

"Alvin Ailey told me he signed because his friend, Ossie Davis, asked him to," Stokes reported. "And Nikki Giovanni openly admitted to me that she hadn't been in a position to say 'no' when a friend asked her to. . . ." Stokes also revealed that Representative Rangel's name had been improperly granted by a member of his staff.

The shallowness of the protest was made evident when Stokes interviewed Paul Robeson, Jr. and asked him whether any play would be able to present an image of his father that he would find acceptable.

"No play could do that," replied Robeson, Jr. To follow that logic, of course, is to leave Paul Robeson in permanent obscurity.



PAUL ROBESON

Stokes summed up his view, with which I concur, by saying, "This is a play Americans need to see . . . because [it] reintroduces Paul Robeson to the American public and causes white and Black Americans to confront the atrocious treatment they accorded this remarkable man."

There is more to this curious protest than meets the eye. Why were the American Stalinists so frenetic in their opposition to widespread, favorable exposure of Paul Robeson for the first time in decades?

I found a possible key to this puzzle in an interview with Robert Earl Jones, who was a personal friend and political associate of Paul Robeson's, and who happens to be the father of the stage "Paul Robeson," James Earl Jones.

Robert Earl Jones is also an actor by profession and, like Robeson, was blacklisted throughout the cold war years and hauled before witch-hunting congressional committees. He is now an activist and executive board member of the Greenwich Village-Chelsea branch of the NAACP in New York City.

I asked Robert Earl Jones if the play represents Paul Robeson as he remembers him.

"Oh, yes. It is very right, very honest, very true."

Could he possibly have been biased in favor of the play because his son is the star?

"Well, as a matter of fact, I went to Philadelphia [where the play showed before opening in New York] thinking I was going to have differences with the play. I'm a member of the Paul Robeson Citation Committee, and I knew that other committee members were against it, so I wasn't expecting to like it, either. But I saw it and thought it was great."

I asked what he thought the protest was all about. "It was empty, if you ask me. The complaints were picayune. I think it shows contempt for the public, telling people they shouldn't see something like this. It's censorship, and I don't like it."

Why, in his opinion, did a lot of prominent figures endorse the protest statement?

"As Jim [James Earl Jones] said, it comes from the pain and guilt of the nation, and especially of the Black people, for allowing Paul Robeson to be cut down in such a blatant way. Those who were in a position to defend him—our newspapers, our educators, our leaders—didn't stand up for him."

"So, you see, everybody feels guilty about this. Now they see a chance to protest something and they don't know what the hell they're protesting. They hadn't seen it. Coretta Scott King saw the play later in Washington and then said she wished she hadn't signed the statement."

#### Invasion of Hungary

I noted that there is a single line in the play where Robeson indicates that he was opposed to the invasion of Hungary by the Soviet Union in 1956. I asked Robert Earl Jones if that was historically accurate.

"Yes. He was *violently* against the invasion of Russia into Hungary." As for his own views of the matter, Robert Earl Jones's voice rose and shook with anger, as if it had all happened only yesterday:

"What the hell right did Russia have going into another country with tanks and taking over another people's nation by force?" he thundered. "It was wrong, it was a crime, it was immoral, just like the Vietnam War!"

In my opinion, this may well be the terrible secret that the Stalinists want to hide: Paul Robeson could not stomach the Stalinist line on Hungary. And to safeguard that secret they are willing to torpedo a play that begins to rescue the historical Robeson from obscurity.

This episode raises a deeper question: Did the Stalinists collaborate, albeit indirectly, with the McCarthyites in silencing Paul Robeson? Do they share at least a small portion of the blame for making him a nonperson? Their attempt to squelch this play indicates that they may have wanted him to be quiet after 1956. This is a subject that deserves further research.

\* \* \*

The play should not be judged by this sideshow, but on its own merits. In my opinion, James Baldwin's criticism of its excessive sentimentality is valid. But this weakness of the script is overcome by James Earl Jones's performance, which is one of the best you're likely to see anywhere.

Robert Earl Jones gave the best reason for seeing the play and encouraging other people to see it: "I want young people to know the truth about what happened to Paul Robeson, so this kind of thing will never—*never*—be allowed to happen again."

—Cliff Conner

# In Brief

## PALESTINIAN WINS RECONSIDERATION ON DEPORTATION

An Immigration Service appeals judge ruled November 14 that a deportation order against Elias Ayoub, a Palestinian student, be reconsidered by local Immigration officials.

Ayoub, an Israeli citizen, had been ordered deported on trumped-up technicalities. The real reason is his anti-Zionist views. In Israel, his safety would be jeopardized by false charges that he is a "terrorist."

Ayoub, here on a student visa, has been an honors student completing a four-year

undergraduate program in three years.

He initially attended a community college in Michigan and later transferred to Ohio State University. He is now doing graduate work at New York's New School for Social Research.

With each transfer, Ayoub fully complied with INS regulations in requesting permission for change.

The INS, however, chose to ignore the forms he filed and then, in a Catch-22 move, ruled him "out of status" for not having authorization.

Copies of INS correspon-

dence with the FBI and U.S. consular officials obtained under the Freedom of Information Act establish they were out to get him for his publicly stated support for Palestinian rights.

The U.S. consul in Tel Aviv, it was established, had been falsely informed by the INS that Ayoub was "a very strong activist" in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Ayoub says he is a member of no organization and that the charge was made to be used against him if deported.

At his appeal hearing, the U.S. attorney did not try to

justify INS inaction on Ayoub's request for college transfers, leaving little basis for upholding the deportation order.

## OK SOUGHT TO 'EASE' ENVIRONMENTAL CURBS ON MX PROJECT

Even before it wins congressional ratification, the Pentagon wants approval to sidestep environmental impact procedures for its giant MX missile project.

And the impact will be staggering.

The fantastic project includes a network of roads covering the Great Basin of Utah and Nevada. Two hundred MX nuclear missile vehicles would shuttle along these roads, with their precise location supposedly never known to the "enemy."

With a decision to go to war, the vehicles would head for bunkers along the road to launch their deadly weapons.

It would be the biggest construction project in U.S. history—bigger than the Panama Canal or the Alaska pipeline.

The service roads alone would equal one-fourth of the nation's interstate highways.

The cost was initially estimated at a modest \$33 billion. Before it's even off the drawing boards, that figure has already gone up to \$60 billion. And the end is not yet in sight.

According to the *New York Times*, 70 percent of the people of Utah favor the project.

"But," the paper adds, "many of them have doubts, and the closer to the site they live, the more doubts they seem

to have."

Area residents have suffered a high cancer rate as a result of 1950s A-bomb tests which the government had repeatedly assured were "harmless."

Recently, the governor of Utah filed suit to prevent the transfer of leaking nerve gas bombs into the state.

"Some of our people," the governor said, "have gone from complete trust in the government . . . to a bitter attitude where they don't believe anything the government says."

## RUTGERS STUDENTS: 'FBI OFF CAMPUS!'

Law students at the Newark campus of Rutgers University held a demonstration demanding an end to FBI recruitment on their campus.

About fifty students participated in the November 14 protest. Although the FBI has sought recruits at the law school for several years, the students said it was particularly important to protest this year because of efforts by the Carter administration to put through an FBI charter which, in the name of curbing the agency's illegal activities, would actually do the opposite.

The proposed charter, the law students declared, "authorizes and legitimizes the continuation of FBI abuses."

A student statement cited concrete examples of FBI abuses, including:

- Illegal collaboration with judges and prosecutors in the Chicago Eight trial.

- "A consistent drive of harassment against the Black Panther Party."

## N.Y. legal service workers face union-busting

By Eric Poulos

NEW YORK—Chanting, "Union-busting is disgusting," the workers who provide legal services in non-criminal cases to New York's 2.5-million poor, have been picketing their employer, Community Action for Legal Services (CALS).

The New York arm of the federally funded Legal Services Corporation (CALS) forced its workers into a strike November 14. There have been recent similar strikes in Philadelphia and Detroit. Boston just went back victorious and Chicago went out a few days after New York.

The legal workers—lawyers and support staff—are in the Legal Services Staff Association, the union most responsible for the spread of legal services unionism to some fifty cities.

With the national legal services agency behind it, CALS is demanding crippling givebacks on numerous noneconomic gains from the last contract. It told the union that unless it accepted, it should prepare for a long, hard strike.

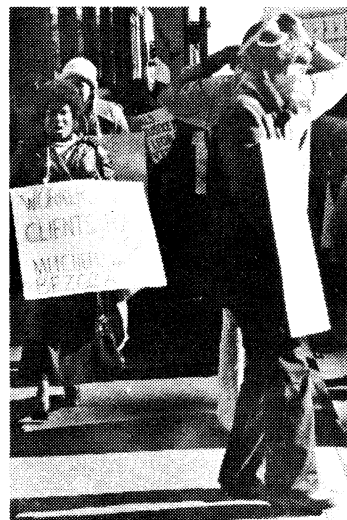
An expensive law outfit, Proskauer and Rose, has been hired to shape agency strategy. The same anti-labor specialists have been hired by Democratic Mayor Ed Koch to negotiate against the city's hard-pressed municipal workers, who haven't had a raise in five years.

Support to the small but fighting union of legal workers has been quick and generous—everything from support telegrams to Thanksgiving turkeys.

Supporters include the Teamsters union, the Na-

tional Lawyers Guild, and the United Auto Workers.

At a support rally of 500, the popular civil rights figure, Judge Bruce Wright, pledged his efforts to help the strikers.



Militant/Mary Pike

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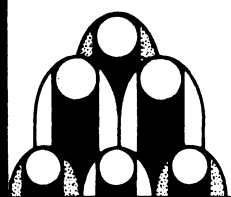
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• "Over four decades of illegal infiltration and surveillance of legitimate political organizations, including the National Lawyers Guild and Socialist Workers Party."

• Mail cover and harassment of individuals, such as Lori Paton, who sued the FBI after being probed for writing to the SWP for information in a high school assignment.

### 'Libel' verdict against Blacks: new threat to affirmative action

An ominous victory for racism was won when a Kansas City, Kansas, jury awarded damages to a white college administrator who sued four Black doctors for libel. As students, they had filed a discrimination complaint against him.

An NAACP attorney in the case saw the November 17 outcome as a blow to the fight for affirmative action, pointing out that it would affect the fight for women and unionists for their rights, as well as Blacks.

The libel suit stemmed from a 1974 complaint filed by the four Black doctors, then medical students, against Dr. Dante Scarpelli, then a department head at the University of Kansas Medical school.

The students had acted in their capacity as executive committee members of the university chapter of the Student Medical Association.

They cited concrete cases of discriminatory action by Scarpelli. These included a letter by him concerning a Black student who failed, asserting this was because of "both educational and cultural deficiencies."

Another cited case was of a Black student being denied the right to take an oral exam in place of a written one, as whites had been permitted to do.

Scarpelli, who was represented at that hearing by a university attorney, filed his libel suit after the university dismissed the charges by the Black students.

Although the defense was not permitted to enter it as evidence in the libel suit, HEW's Office of Civil Rights has notified the university that it had found "probable cause that the Medical Center had violated the Civil Rights Act prohibition against racial discrimination."

Scarpelli is also seeking damages from a former affirmative action officer at the university who had supported the student complaint.

Each of the four defendants was ordered to pay Scarpelli \$11,000 in damages. The four are Drs. Nolan Jones, Ernest Turner, Charles Lee and Charles Floyd.

They were defended by attorneys for the NAACP and National Conference of Black Lawyers.

Dr. Herbert Reid, an NAACP attorney, said, "If affirmative action officials are to be intimidated by the fear of being penalized for honest protest and complaint, then we are looking at a back-door means of eliminating every inch of progress in higher education affirmative action."

Victor Goode, of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, said "Without a question, there will be a chilling effect on students' freedom of speech and on their right to complain."

NAACP attorneys said a new trial would be sought and, if it was denied, the present verdict would be appealed.

**Bum rap**—In 1633, the Catholic Inquisition compelled the scientist Galileo, under threat of torture, to renounce the theory that the earth revolved around the sun, not vice versa. Now, 346 years later, Pope John Paul II has declared that Galileo suffered unjustly. He said he hoped his declaration "removed the mistrust which this case has still left in the minds of many."

**Now hear this**—A *New York Times* article advises that Soviet television has improved, but "What is still missing . . . is that readiness to challenge basic beliefs and established tastes, manners and mores that is the saving spark of American television."

**Pure-brass dep't**—The utility which owns Three Mile Island suggested the

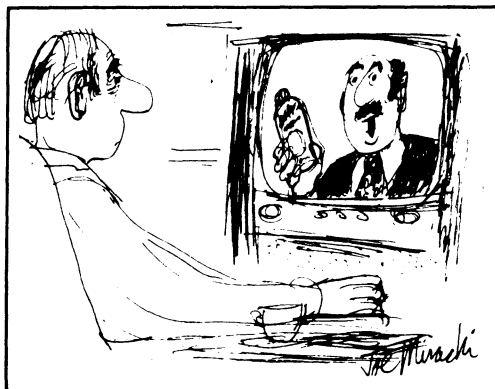
government get in on the cleanup which will cost up to a half billion dollars. It's not the money, they assured. Rather helping to clean up the radioactive plant would "add to the nation's nuclear experience."

**Bombs, not birthdays**—WASHINGTON, Nov. 13 (UPI)—The House, after hearing Republican arguments that it would cost too much, today rejected a bill to establish January 15, the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr., as a national holiday.

**Sounds reasonable**—A Dutch merchant is currently in the U.S. offering solid gold place settings. A setting for thirty six, \$5.78 million. "Obviously," he explained, "this is not for everyone."

**They pull no punches**—A Black candidate for mayor of Memphis had a cross burned on his lawn and a rock thrown through his window. A *New York Times* headline advised that the campaign had "racial overtones."

**Note to taxpayers**—You'll be delighted to know the government is advertising for "first-class air-conditioned office space in midtown Manhattan." Why? What with hizzoner, former President Nixon, moving to the Big Apple, he'll be needing office space. It's one of the perks of former presidents, even those who get caught. The kind of space he says he needs will run between \$100,000 and \$300,000 a year.



'If not completely satisfied, return the unused portion of our product and we'll return the unused portion of your money.'

## Union Talk

### A day at Bunting Brass

This week's column is by Peter Archer, a member of the United Auto Workers.

TOLEDO, Ohio—One day last month, the foreman at Bunting Brass's foundry here ordered two workers down into the basement. A conveyor belt runs through this area carrying sand to the molding machines. As the belt moves, sand falls off it and periodically must be shoveled back onto the belt.

The job is considered to be one of the worst in the foundry—not a place noted for its easy working conditions.

The basement is cramped and has virtually no ventilation. In the summer the heat is intense. Even in the fall, workers must come up for air every half hour or so.

When the workers went down that day, they didn't expect anything out of the ordinary—just a few hard and unpleasant hours of work.

Things turned out differently. Somehow—no one knows exactly how—one worker, a young man who had been in the plant only a week, caught his arm in the conveyor belt. The belt pulled muscle from the bone, literally shredding it.

Though the doctors now say they can save his arm, he'll be unable to use it for a long time to come. Chances are that he'll be crippled for life.

The same week, two other serious accidents occurred.

A young worker who had just started a job on the grinders—machines that grind off the outer diameter of parts—lost part of his index finger when his gloves caught in the machine.

Another worker operating a forklift got stuck in a rut. He put the forklift in

neutral and went around to jam something under the wheels. The forklift moved out of gear and ran over his hand breaking several fingers.

What makes all this especially ironic is that just a few weeks before, National Lead Industries, which owns Bunting, awarded the plant a safety commendation.

What a joke! Every one of the accidents could have been avoided if the company had taken reasonable precautions.

The conveyor belt in the foundry could have been widened and a cover put over it, so workers wouldn't have to shovel sand on to it in the first place.

The worker operating the grinder should have been warned never to wear gloves when operating such a machine—the finger tips can catch and pull one's hand into the grinding wheel.

The forklift was defective. It should have been checked and fixed before anyone operated it.

The company puts dozens of signs around the plant about safety.

But when it comes to really doing something about conditions that cause worker injuries, National Lead has other priorities.

Workers at Bunting are angry about the accidents.

What we need is a way to channel that anger against the company in an effective way. One possibility is an auxiliary to the company/union safety committee. Such an auxiliary committee, open to all workers, could report on unsafe conditions in the plant and organize to make the company correct them.

## What's Going On

### ALABAMA

#### BIRMINGHAM

**THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION: EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, Young Socialist Alliance national chairperson, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Dec. 1, 8 p.m. 1609 5th Ave. N. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (205) 328-9403.

### CALIFORNIA

#### LOS ANGELES

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1980 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, member of SWP seeking political asylum in U.S.; Manuel Valle, Nicaraguan consul in L.A.; music by the Lew Matthews Consortium. Sun., Dec. 2, 4 p.m. buffet and refreshments; 6:30 p.m. program. 2209 N. Broadway. Donation: \$6. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

### SAN DIEGO

**IN SOLIDARITY WITH NICARAGUA.** Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, member of Socialist Workers Party seeking political asylum in U.S.; Manuel Valle, Nicaraguan consul in Los Angeles. Videotape on Nicaragua today. Thurs., Nov. 29, 7 p.m. SDSU Casa Real. Ausp: National Committee for the Reconstruction of Nicaragua and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

### MINNESOTA

#### IRON RANGE

**NICARAGUA: THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES.** A panel discussion with Kirstin Murati on "Women and the Nica-

raguan Revolution"; David Salner on "How Somoza was ousted"; Warren Simons with a report from the Detroit Nicaragua Solidarity Conference: "How American Workers can defend the Nicaraguan revolution." Fri., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. Carpenter's Hall, Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### NEW JERSEY

#### NEWARK

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; others. Sat., Dec. 1, 7 p.m. social hour, 8 p.m. rally, 10 p.m. party. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad). Donation \$3. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 624-3889.

### OHIO

#### CINCINNATI

**THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT.** Speaker: Fred Halstead, longtime leader of Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Nov. 28, 7:30 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### PITTSBURGH

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president. Thurs., Nov. 29, dinner 6 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 1210 E. Carson. Donation: \$3 dinner. Ausp: Western Pennsylvania SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

## The lesson of Guatemala

Twenty-five years ago the elected government of Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown in Guatemala. This right-wing coup was carried out by mercenaries armed and financed by the United States government. It was a victory for imperialism and a brutal defeat for the Guatemalan workers and peasants.

Writing in the July 5, 1954, *Militant*, Joseph Hansen reported that U.S. President Eisenhower boasted after the coup that "it would be deceitful if he tried to hide his pleasure over the ouster of the communists and their supporters in Guatemala."

The powerful American-owned United Fruit Company (now United Brands), a collaborator in the imperialist-engineered coup, also celebrated as their stocks rose two points in one day after the overthrow of Arbenz.

United Fruit had vast investments in Guatemala. It controlled all of Guatemala's banana exports, ran 580 of the land's 732 miles of railroad, held a monopoly on its telephone and telegraph facilities, owned its largest electrical plant, and administered one of the most important ports on the Caribbean coast. It was making vast profits from the land, blood, and sweat of the Guatemalan workers and peasants.

When the Guatemalan masses forced Arbenz to expropriate some of United Fruit's land holdings, the company appealed to Eisenhower to protect its lucrative business. Eisenhower responded with a secret war against Arbenz.

U.S. arms were shipped into neighboring Nicaragua and Honduras. The Honduras-based CIA put together a rag-tag mercenary army under the command of Carlos Armas. It was not a large army. It was not well trained. It was not even courageous. It did not have the backing of Guatemala's well-organized working class and militant peasants, which Arbenz had.

Yet, in June 1954, Armas brought his "army" across the border into Guatemala and seized power.

For the twenty-five years since, the people of Guatemala have suffered under a right-wing dictatorship. How could this tragedy have happened?

In good measure, the responsibility rests on the shoulders of the then influential Guatemalan Communist Party. The CP controlled the principal organizations of the Guatemalan workers and peasants, the *Militant* explained at the time, and therefore was in position to launch the kind of independent struggle that could have stopped the counterrevolutionary Armas gang dead in its tracks. And yet the reformist Communist Party led the Guatemalan masses to their defeat.

The CP, according to its own reports, knew six months in advance that a right-wing threat existed. But instead of arming the masses in their own defense, the CP counseled the workers and peasants to put their trust in the capitalist government of Arbenz.

While U.S. imperialism was preparing the assault, the Guatemalan CP, in cooperation with the Arbenz government, cautioned the workers and peasants to rely on the Guatemalan army to defend them.

But Arbenz and the army officer corps were not ready, willing, or able to combat the imperialist-sponsored invader. The counterrevolutionaries took power without a fight.

The CP's treacherous policy of counseling the masses to put their trust in Arbenz did not happen by accident. They actually offer a theory for their treachery—a theory learned from the bureaucratic Kremlin gang headed by Stalin.

It goes like this: The revolution in colonial and semicolonial countries must occur in "two stages." In the first stage, the masses overthrow the imperialist-



controlled dictatorship and replace it with a government of local capitalists. They then place their trust in this capitalist government to carry the revolution to the next stage, when the workers government takes over.

The fatal flaw of this theory is that the second stage never arrives.

Governments rooted in the weak, native capitalist class of semicolonial countries such as Guatemala have neither the intention nor the capacity to move the revolution forward.

Like all such governments, Arbenz feared the workers and peasants more than imperialism. He feared, not without basis, that mobilizing the Guatemalan masses would bring them into conflict not only with imperialism, but with the Guatemalan ruling class as well.

No matter how reform-minded, Arbenz was committed to capitalism. He would not initiate an anti-imperialist struggle that would also threaten Guatemalan capitalism.

The treacherous "two stage" policy of the Stalinists was not new. The history of Stalinism includes a trail of bloody defeats for the masses of workers and peasants.

The 1973 right-wing coup in Chile, for example, bears many parallels with Guatemala. When the capitalist government of Allende was brought to power, the CP leadership there gave him full support. Clinging to Stalinist policies, the Chilean CP supported bringing army representatives into the government.

The CP vigorously opposed proposals to arm the masses as being "equivalent to showing distrust in the army." This policy of trust in Allende's army paved the way for the defeat of the masses and the victory of Pinochet's murderous pro-imperialist dictatorship.

Compare that kind of Stalinist treachery with the revolutionary leadership of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. After mobilizing the masses in the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship, the Sandinistas have continued to rely on the power of the workers and peasants to move the revolution forward.

The masses in Nicaragua are armed—throughout the country. They are appealing for—and receiving—aid from working people around the world.

Nicaragua, which once served as an outpost for the U.S. imperialist assault on Guatemala, now serves as a shining example for all working people throughout the colonial world.

The Sandinistas recognize that there are only two sides in Nicaragua, as there were in Guatemala.

On one side are the toiling masses. On the other side are the native capitalists in alliance with foreign imperialists. The interests of these two forces cannot be reconciled.

After the bloody lessons of 1954, the Nicaraguan masses are pointing the revolutionary way forward for the workers and peasants of Guatemala.

—Priscilla Schenk

### Iran-I

The floor manager, night doorman in the midtown office building where I work, a Black man, stopped me to ask—since he knew I was a militant feminist—what I thought about this hostage affair.

I said, "The answer's simple: send the shah back to Iran!"

He responded by saying "I knew you'd say that. I agree. It's only Kissinger and David Rockefeller who want that son of a bitch here. Think about how much money they get for protecting him. But you don't read about that part. . . . I feel bad about the hostages, but let's face it. We should send him over to Iran. I feel for those Iranian people. And, while we're at it, why not send Kissinger and Rockefeller too!"

Marilyn Vogt  
New York, New York

### Iran-II

Your November 16 issue's coverage of the Iranian situation is disappointingly one-sided. While it correctly condemns imperialist military threats, it says not a word about Iranian terrorism. The *Militant* has never endorsed terrorism, yet, by its silence, seems to now.

Iranian "popular support" or not, I question the wisdom of the embassy takeover. First, it confuses the nature of U.S.-Iranian relations by effectively allowing the imperialists to portray the Iranians as aggressors, contrary to history. This creates a fine pretext for military intervention; aggression in self-defense.

As you've often pointed out, the main thing tying the Pentagon's hands is the antiwar mood among American workers. Yet, notice how they're responding. While a few progressive unions took a stand against the shah, all will eagerly condemn this action!

Thus, whatever support the Iranian revolution has had among American workers is being eroded, not enhanced. That's because they see the hostages not as imperialists, or even agents of imperialism, but primarily as innocent victims of terrorism.

The evils of terrorism are more easily comprehended than those of imperialism, even though the latter are more important. Thus, when in this situation the paper concentrates exclusively on the latter, it undermines itself.

Does the *Militant* seriously think that American workers will support the demand to extradite the shah? It will be seen as weakness and acquiescence to terrorism. It won't be seen as the justice due the "Crowned Cannibal's" victims.

Also, this action seems bound to weaken the Iranian revolution internationally by inviting diplomatic isolation. Finally, it has placed in jeopardy, if not the lives of the hostages there, then the lives of thousands of Iranian students here.

Paul Dougan  
Iowa City, Iowa

### Protest Kissinger

On November 8 Pierre DuPont, the multimillionaire governor of Delaware, gave a \$500-a-plate fund raiser at the ultra-posh Hotel DuPont. The guest of honor was that well-known war criminal Henry Kissinger.

About forty people were there to protest Kissinger's presence. The pickets chanted "Hey, Hey, Henry K, how many Cambodians starved today?" alternating with "\$500 a plate while people are starving!" as each new carload of politicians drew up.

The slogans carried by the demonstrators included: "Kissinger saved Chile from democracy," "Send the shah and Kissinger to Iran." One protester, Dianne Cripps, a textile worker from Newark, unfurled a banner, "Cambodia's blood is on Henry's hands," inside the banquet room.

During the press conference before the banquet, both Kissinger and DuPont made rather revealing statements. When a reporter asked Kissinger if his conscience bothered him about Cambodia, Kissinger replied "no" and went on to blame the Vietnamese and the antiwar movement for the Cambodian famine. When another reporter suggested that the proceeds of DuPont's banquet could be used for famine relief in Cambodia, the millionaire politician replied "I don't think we'll do that."

The protest was put together on rather short notice by the religious peace group Pacem in Terris and an ad hoc student group called the Coalition to Stop Kissinger.

Roy Inglee  
Wilmington, Delaware

### Harrisburg reporting

The follow-up article on Harrisburg in the November 2 *Militant* was excellent. We need more of this kind of reporting.

The impact is tremendous when we put flesh and blood on the workings of a crazy social system. The drive for profits loses its abstractness when ordinary working people sit down and tell about how their lives have been ruined, *are* being ruined minute by minute, day by day. They talk about the conclusions they have drawn and the hard necessity of fighting—fighting for their lives and the lives of their children.

This may be what socialists have been saying for years, but it is well worth the space to give ordinary "you and me" people some room to talk in detail. The message is concrete, and powerful.

More and more, every week I'm proud of the *Militant*.

Kathleen Denny  
Cincinnati, Ohio

### From a veteran

I read Arnold Weissberg's review of *Apocalypse Now*, and the recent letter by Lin Norris

## Nationalized industry & social needs

in your November 2 issue criticizing Arnold's review. Of the two, Arnold's comments are a correct political interpretation and reflection of the film in my opinion.

Lin states that "the only thing which Coppola has done is succeed in making another bloody, sexist, and racist film to add to his long list of others." He also asserts that only people who have been to Vietnam can really understand what it was like to be over there. On both counts Lin is wrong.

While Lin is correct in pointing out that Coppola's film shows repeated scenes of racist and sexist treatment meted out to the Vietnamese—something that Weissberg does in his review as well—he fails to connect this with the one question which is important for analyzing any film on the Vietnam war; was it for or against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Weissberg, on the other hand, points out that the movie "makes a powerful antiwar statement."

To expect that Coppola's movie—or any movie for that matter—would be able to reproduce all the factors involved in a combat situation is asking too much. I was in Vietnam from 1968-69, and I believe that Coppola's movie in some places gives a sense of what combat was like in Vietnam.

In one particular scene involving an ambush I found myself flashing back to the Nam. This portion of the movie essentially reflected a number of experiences I had over there.

If Weissberg is to be criticized for his review, it is not along the lines that Lin does.

For example, one thing that Coppola brings out in his film—but Arnold fails to do in his review—is indicate the disproportionate numbers of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities fighting in Vietnam.

For those of you who haven't seen the film I would urge you to do so. Coppola's movie, when looked at in the context of the drive by the rulers in this country to get working people to accept the idea of the U.S. intervening somewhere in the world today, provides those of us opposed to this with an additional weapon to use against them.

*Al Duncan  
Detroit, Michigan*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

### A reader asks:

Where I work the topic of nationalization, for example, of Chrysler or the oil companies, is increasingly discussed. An objection to nationalization which is frequently voiced is that it would probably not serve the interest of most Americans, because the workers in a particular nationalized industry would be strongly inclined to try to take advantage of workers in other areas of the economy. According to this objection, instead of the oil bosses ripping us off, we would simply have the oil workers doing it. How would you handle this line?

*Thomas Atwater  
Lawton, Oklahoma*

### Dick Roberts replies:

The demand for nationalizing the energy trusts flows from the fact that the private-profit drive is at the root of the energy crisis. All of the decisions made by the oil companies regarding the sources of their oil, the places they sell it, and the prices they sell it for flow from the single consideration: where are the highest profits?

The profit statistics of the oil companies for the third quarter of 1979, released in late October, offered an example of this: Exxon, up 118 percent; Mobil, up 131 percent; Texaco, up 211 percent.

These profit increases are far higher than the increases in OPEC prices. They show that the oil companies raised final prices even more than the price increases on OPEC crude.

Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, and the other energy trusts are driven by their owner's demand for higher profits. Suppose the managers of one of these firms dropped out of the competition. If they did that, they would rapidly lose their edge in national and international markets, they would lose their profits, and the stockholders would fire them.

Thus it is not simply out of conspiratorial mischief that the managers raise prices whenever they get the chance. Competition between the oil giants—both within this country and with their foreign rivals—forces the managers of these monopolies to constantly scramble for the highest profits.

Moreover this is a ceaseless process. The higher the profits, the more capital accumulated, the greater the demand on that firm to gain even more profits. A 10 percent increase in the profits of a gasoline station on the corner might be a couple of thousand dollars. A 10 percent increase in Exxon's profits is \$400 million.

Exxon's demand for this profit increase rattles service stations across the United States and dozens of foreign nations. It shakes and shapes world politics.

Given the opportunity to raise world prices last spring, in other words, privately-owned monopoly had to do it. A nationalized oil company would not have to do it. By eliminating the profit drive and bringing the energy companies under one centralized management the need for

raising prices has been eliminated.

For example, the nationalized energy company could have tacked on just the costs of transportation over OPEC crude prices and consequently sold oil for much less than it is now selling. Or it could have gone even further, and dropped oil prices despite OPEC's increase. There would be no requirement that a nationalized energy firm make any profits—that is a decision which is up to society.

Moreover there would be immense savings because the nationalized energy firm would have access to all of the data now hidden in the books of the oil companies. It would know where the cheapest domestic and international reserves are; it would know the real production and distribution costs.

Is it really cheaper, for example, to ship oil to Texas refineries from Latin America, the Middle East, and even Alaska, than it would be for Texas to purchase the oil now flowing in abundance from Mexico? The Mexican government wants to sell this oil.

Private profit considerations impose tremendous inefficiency and wastage on production and distribution. Look at the question of hoarding. Immense amounts of oil are stockpiled in order to drive up prices and profits. This massive inventorying itself wastes time and money.

All advertising by the oil companies is socially wasteful. A nationalized energy firm would not be compelled to spend tens of millions of dollars on lies about its products. Thus a nationalized energy industry could save tremendous amounts of money that is now squandered.

The workers in this industry would have no reason whatsoever to "take advantage of workers in other areas of the economy." They want a decent living standard, safe working conditions, more leisure time, a secure retirement, and so on. These aspirations—unlike the limitless drive of capital for more and more profits—in no way require ripping off anybody else.

Oil workers share with the rest of the working class an interest in abundant, low-cost, environmentally safe energy supplies. And a nationalized energy industry could easily provide that as well as higher wages and better conditions for its workers.

In calling for workers to control production in the energy industry, we specifically mean decisions over hiring, discipline, safety, health, hours, speed of production, and so on. We also think the workers in the industry itself are in the best position to keep a close watch on management and help assure that all decisions are made out in the open and not subject to any private-profit interests.

We advocate placing management of the nationalized industry in the hands of a publicly elected board whose meetings, records, and actions are all subject to public scrutiny. Along with workers control of production, this step can put the working class in the strongest position to see that the nationalized industry is run in the best interest of society as a whole.

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# Nicaragua meeting sets U.S. aid drive

## 'Labor's new meaning for Solidarity Forever'

By Nancy Cole

DETROIT—At the request of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, activists in the U.S. solidarity movement have agreed to immediately launch a drive to provide uniforms for workers in Nicaragua's literacy campaign.

One of the legacies of a half century of bloody and greedy rule by the Somoza family is a nation that is 65 percent illiterate. The new government, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), has set out to teach 700,000 of its people to read and write.

Teaching teams are scheduled to be on the roads of Nicaragua beginning in March.

The U.S. effort to aid the literacy drive was decided at a conference here November 17-18, sponsored by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

Specifically, the effort in this country will focus on obtaining 275,000 yards of fabric. Berets and

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For information on the solidarity group in your area, contact the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, 1322 Eighteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 223-2328.

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buttons and arm patches, with an already designed insignia, are also needed to complete the uniforms.

About 330 activists from across the country attended the solidarity conference and were treated to speeches by and dialogues with representatives of the FSLN and of the Government of National Reconstruction.

The FSLN is also urging support for two other long-term, but desperately needed, material aid campaigns—those for tools and medicine.

The conference decided that the Boston solidarity committee will coordinate the effort to send medicine and medical equipment to Nicaragua.

United Auto Workers International Representative Robert López agreed to take responsibility for convening a trade union task force for the National Network, which will operate out of Detroit. The union subcommittee will build support in the labor movement for campaigns decided at the conference, with special emphasis on the drive to collect tools for Nicaragua's reconstruction.

In addition, the conference set the week of February 21, the date when Nicaraguans will be commemorating the assassination of Augusto César Sandino, as a national week of solidarity activity.

### 'Future work important'

The featured guest at the conference was Moisés Hassán, one of the five junta members of the Government of National Reconstruction.

Praising the past work of the National Network, Hassán said, "the work it is doing now and will be doing in the future will be of even greater importance."

Hassán reviewed some of the accomplishments of the new government, which has only been in existence since dictator Anastasio Somoza was ousted in July. These include returning the holdings of the Somoza clan to the people, including 60 percent of the country's arable land, and nationalizing the banks, mining industry, and foreign trade.

He also pointed to the unions being organized by workers, the Sandinista Workers Federation (CTS), and by the peasants, the Association of Field Workers (ATC).

"Perhaps the greatest achievement," he said, "is the fact that we have been able to maintain at every moment the absolute trust and confidence of the Nicaraguan people."



Nicaragua junta member Moisés Hassán addresses national solidarity conference

Militant/Nancy Cole

Yet the revolution faces serious problems, he told the conference, and "this is exactly what makes your solidarity work of such fundamental importance."

Before Somoza fled Nicaragua, he bombed factories and shops, Hassán explained, solely to leave the country in ruins.

In addition, the war that brought liberation to the Nicaraguan people coincided with the planting period for grains, the main food for Nicaraguans, and for cotton, the country's main export product.

"The sinister consequence of all this is hunger, unemployment, and disease," Hassán said.

### News blackout

But little news of this reaches people outside Nicaragua. "On the one hand, they try to hide what is happening" in Nicaragua, Hassán said. On the other, "when they do talk about Nicaragua, they paint a distorted picture" of the political situation there.

The only objective of such false reporting, Hassán said, is to discourage solidarity and aid for Nicaragua in its difficult path to reconstruction.

"I want to say," Hassán declared to cheers and applause, "that the Nicaraguan revolution is not only a revolution of the Nicaraguan people, but a revolution of all the oppressed people of the world."

One of the highlights of the conference here was a solidarity rally Saturday night. Detroit city council member Kenneth Cockrell and council president protem Maryanne Mahaffey both spoke.

Cockrell read a testimonial resolution passed unanimously by the city council the day before. It resolved in part that "the Detroit City Council . . . express its continuing support for the people of Nicaragua as they reconstruct their nation into one of freedom, justice, and peace; and that it make its own the demand of many concerned United States citizens to their federal government for granting generous, unconditional reconstruction aid to the people of Nicaragua."

UAW International Representative Robert López, who just returned from a trip to Nicaragua, told the rally about the newly formed Sandinista Workers Federation. "This union is being organized by the

workers of Nicaragua, the workers themselves, from the bottom up," he said.

"I sat in the *central* [federation] day after day and watched the groups of workers coming in—ten, fifteen, twenty at a time. The very first day that their place of work was again in operation, at the day's end of work they marched to the Sandinista *central* to join their union."

### 'They will join us'

López urged an effort to reach hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file workers in the United States with the truth about what is happening in Nicaragua. "If we reach them, they will join us" in the solidarity campaign, he said.

"We who sing 'Solidarity Forever' have got to put new meaning into the words of that song and join the struggle with our *compañeros* and *compañeras* in Nicaragua to reconstruct their country and to lay the foundation of a new and happy and better Nicaragua that could someday join our struggle for a better America."

In the midst of the rally, National Network coordinator David Funkhouser rushed to the stage to announce that two representatives of the FSLN—Mónica Baltano and Gilda Bolt—had just arrived.

As the two women marched down the aisle, one of them in the uniform of the Sandinista army, the crowd jumped to its feet, in the most excited of the rally's many standing ovations.

"Our people know you are gathered here to help us," Baltano told the audience.

A collection at the rally netted more than \$1,300 for Nicaragua's reconstruction.

At workshops the following day, Baltano suggested that the FSLN consider future tours of the United States by children from Nicaragua and workers from the Sandinista Workers Federation.

At the closing conference session, Baltano said she would take these ideas back to Nicaragua and communicate the needs of the U.S. solidarity movement.

"We recognize there is also a struggle going on here," she said, "and that a victory for the people of Nicaragua will be a victory for the working class here as well."