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## **Stop U.S. War Threat Against Iran!**



**One Million March in Tehran for Extradition of Shah  
Risk of War Sparking Intense Debate Across U.S.**

## Stop U.S. War Drive Against Iran!

By David Frankel

The United States is closer to war today than at any time since the end of its military intervention in Vietnam.

Using as a pretext the U.S.-provoked seizure of the U.S. embassy and sixty-two American hostages in Tehran, President Carter has carried out a steadily escalating series of measures that have already reached the level of economic warfare. And there is no indication that the escalation is over.

Carter's steps so far have included:

- A ban on demonstrations by Iranian students. The blanket refusal to issue federal permits for such demonstrations in Washington, D.C., goes far beyond any of the repressive measures attempted even at the height of the war in Vietnam.

- An order, issued November 10, requiring all Iranian students in the United States to report to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for possible deportation. Hundreds of Iranians have already been ordered to leave the country.

Even U.S. government lawyers questioned the constitutionality of this racist roundup, which singles out Iranians solely on the basis of their nationality. Such a step, reminiscent of the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II, has never before been carried out in peacetime.

- On November 12, Carter ordered a halt to all oil imports from Iran, indicating at the same time that he would welcome similar moves by U.S. allies.

Also on November 12, troops from the Pentagon's Rapid Deployment Force carried out "readiness maneuvers" at Fort Hood, Texas.

- A more direct threat was announced November 13 when a fleet of nineteen U.S. and British warships, led by the U.S. aircraft carrier *Midway*, began maneuvers in the Arabian Sea, just south of Iran.

- And on November 14, Carter announced the biggest step yet in his drive toward war with the freezing of all Iranian government assets in U.S.-owned banks—both within the United States and internationally. Iranian officials put the amount of assets affected at about \$12 billion. U.S. estimates were about half that, but kept being revised upwards.

Despite denials by Washington, the effect of the freeze was to give it a stranglehold on Iran's foreign trade.

Television news programs announcing the freeze on Iranian assets showed film clips of the Japanese attack on Pearl

Harbor to illustrate the precedents for Carter's action. The message to the American people was to be prepared for war.

Accompanying Carter's moves toward war has been a flood of articles and commentary in the capitalist media intended to sucker the American people into going along. Anti-Iranian demonstrations have been given extensive space in the papers and on television, while protests called by American antiwar and antiracist activists have been largely ignored.

The impression conveyed by the mass media, however, does not represent the real mood of the American workers.

Prowar demonstrations have been organized mainly by right-wing groups such as the Jewish Defense League and Young Americans for Freedom. They have generally been tiny.

At Louisiana State University, an anti-Iranian rally drew twenty-four participants. At the University of Utah, in Salt Lake City, twenty-five to thirty demonstrators carried placards and burned an effigy of Khomeini, while about 500 students watched. That protest was sponsored by the school's political science department.

Fifty right-wingers turned out at Brooklyn College in New York November 14, to be met by other students chanting "Down With the Shah."

Two other anti-Iranian demonstrations in downtown New York drew turnouts of six and thirty. United Press International reported a demonstration of 200 in Dallas November 16, noting that "organizers had hoped for as many as 10,000 marchers."

With the exception of one action at Southeastern Oklahoma State University, where UPI claimed 2,000 sang patriotic songs, *there has not been a single right-wing demonstration anywhere in the United States larger than the October 14 action welcoming Fidel Castro to the United Nations.*

Although some trade-union bureaucrats have lined up behind Carter, those who have gone out of their way to express support have been the exception. An indication of the mood was the fact that George Meany, the outgoing head of the 13.6-million-member AFL-CIO and an outspoken supporter of the war in Vietnam up until the very end, barely mentioned Iran in his speech at the labor federation's convention November 15.

American workers are opposed to a new Vietnam-style war. In the midst of the crisis, polls show a clear majority opposed

to armed intervention. As the days go by there is growing sentiment for returning the shah in order to secure the release of the hostages and avoid a war.

Both demonstrators in Tehran and the Iranian government have appealed to the American people, and their appeals are having an effect.

In the most dramatic example yet of this consciousness of the need to reach out to the American people, Khomeini declared that women and Blacks among the hostages would be released. He pointed in particular to the "pressure and tyranny" suffered by Blacks in the United States.

Earlier, in an appeal for the return of the shah, Iran's chief of foreign policy, Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr, charged that "in a country . . . which claims to be a democracy, censorship is preventing the people of the United States from knowing the truth."

Bani-Sadr asked, "does the United States Government not feel guilty for having appealed to the support of an entire people to protect an international criminal by resorting to false propaganda? . . . Do not the honor of the United States and the self-respect of its people lie in defending the rights of oppressed humanity?"

Replying to claims that there is no legal basis for returning the shah to Iran to stand trial, Bani-Sadr said: "Without speaking of the Nuremberg Tribunal, are there not tens of cases of extradition of persons who have committed crimes, particularly those whose return is called for by entire peoples?"

Bani-Sadr also suggested the possibility of a public tribunal to investigate the shah's crimes.

Despite the false impression of unanimity among the American people that the capitalist media is attempting to convey, it felt compelled to respond.

As the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* noted November 14, "within the U.S. voices are already being raised suggesting that the shah is after all some kind of tyrant and thief, not worth the safety of 60 Americans."

With typical hypocrisy, the *Journal* insisted that "this nation lives by the rule of law," even as Carter was illegally banning demonstrations, deporting students, and freezing Iranian assets.

As Dr. Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, a member of the Iranian government, pointed out, Carter's actions showed "that laws are made only for the interests of the United States and it breaks them when it feels that it will be hurt."

Turning to the idea of a tribunal, the *Journal* expressed its real worries:

"And make no mistake, if we negotiate some kind of compromise invoking some international tribunal, we would be giving our assent to a propaganda forum against the United States. It would be tantamount to putting U.S. governments of the last 26 years in the dock with the shah. . . ."

Moreover, the sages of Wall Street continued, "think a bit how the example must look to the Saudi royal family and how the shah's further humiliation would affect its opinion of the U.S. and its willingness to find some accord with anti-American forces."

From the point of view of the *Wall Street Journal* and the Carter administration, the lives of sixty hostages are small change when measured against such considerations.

Although Carter originally tried to give the impression of being willing to negotiate with the Iranians, as soon as Bani-Sadr made some specific proposals, he refused to discuss them. As one White House official said, "We are determined not to let them divert attention from the central issue, which is the release of the hostages."

If that were really Carter's central concern, it could be achieved immediately by the extradition of the shah.

But Washington is determined to keep the pot boiling. The U.S. ruling class fears that the revolution in Iran may go beyond the limits of the capitalist system and spread to other countries in the Mideast. It needs a pretext for military intervention.

Millions of workers, soldiers, students, and urban poor have been demonstrating in Tehran and other Iranian cities against U.S. imperialism and demanding the return of the shah. They are the living example of what the capitalist rulers fear will happen in other Mideastern countries.

Part of the hysterical tone in the mass media is due not just to the deepening of the revolution in Iran, but also to the broader advances registered by the world revolution.

From the downfall of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, to the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, the advances of the Black liberation struggle in southern Africa, and the successful uprising against the Gairy regime in Grenada—the imperialists are beset by the nightmare of a world in rebellion.

American workers are opposed to any more wars like the one in Vietnam. But if Carter and his superiors on Wall Street were to have their way, workers would soon be fighting and dying once again for the protection of U.S. corporate profits.

Whether Carter succeeds will be determined largely by the political struggle within the United States. Socialists there are already countering the war drive through public meetings, picket lines, election campaigns, and discussions with co-workers in the mines, mills, and plants. At the same time, the greater the mobilization of the masses in Iran, the harder will it be for Washington to move against them.

It is in the interests of the workers and peasants of the entire world to unconditionally support the Iranian people in their struggle with U.S. imperialism. That is the task of the day. □

## In This Issue

Closing News Date: November 18, 1979

IRAN	1148	Million March in Tehran, Other Cities, for Extradition of Shah—by Will Reissner
	1149	Threat of War Touches Off Intense Debate Across U.S.—by Suzanne Haig
	1152	Stop War Threat—Send Back Shah!—Statement by Socialist Workers Party
	1152	Marine's Mother: "Why Did They Let the Shah in the Country Anyway?"
	1153	Iranian Foreign Minister Offers Solution to Crisis
	1154	How U.S. Imperialists Put Shah Back on Throne in 1953—by Ernest Harsch
	1155	Moscow Knives Struggle of Iran Masses
	1155	U.S. Big Business Journals Uneasy About \$\$ Freeze
ISRAEL	1156	Palestinians Protest Move to Deport West Bank Mayor—by David Frankel
NICARAGUA	1157	Worldwide Campaign for Aid
AUSTRALIA	1160	The Campaign Against Uranium Mining by Renfrey Clarke
CANADA	1166	Preferential Hiring, Preferential Seniority —by Samantha Anderson
	1167	Campaign to Win Jobs for Women in Steel Mill
	1168	Affirmative Action in Saskatchewan
	1168	Government Backs Down on Plan to Move Embassy to Jerusalem
NEWS ANALYSIS	1146	Stop U.S. War Drive Against Iran! —by David Frankel
SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT	1158	
AROUND THE WORLD	1159	Strikes Oust Bolivia Coup Leader

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# Million March in Tehran, Other Cities, for Return of Shah

By Will Reissner

A powerful new wave of mass mobilizations has swept Iran in the wake of the U.S. refusal to return the shah to stand trial for his crimes. These mobilizations have grown and deepened in reaction to U.S. government moves to cut off oil purchases and freeze Iranian assets in U.S. banks.

On November 16, hundreds of thousands, perhaps as many as a million persons took part in a gigantic solidarity demonstration in front of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, which has been occupied by students demanding the extradition of the shah since November 4. The students are holding Americans and other foreigners who were in the embassy when it was seized.

The embassy occupation came in response to Washington's provocation of allowing the shah onto U.S. soil. It has become a symbol of the Iranian people's determination to free themselves from imperialist domination.

While the U.S. media deliberately downplayed the size of the November 16 demonstration, with ABC News giving the highest figure of 100,000, eyewitness observers in Tehran reported by telephone that the demonstration was actually on the order of a million participants.

Mass demonstrations demanding the return of the shah have also taken place in Tabriz, Shiraz, and Rasht.

Delegations of workers from Tehran and other cities have been appearing daily at the embassy to show their support for the occupation. On November 16, for example, Tehran taxi drivers, all with their headlights lit, came to the embassy in a large motorcade. The following day delegations of oil workers from the south, appeared wearing their hard hats, chanting "Give us the shah! Down with U.S. imperialism!"

In addition, contingents of teachers, air force cadets, university and high school students, soldiers, and women have also participated in the demonstrations in front of the embassy.

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 large demonstration took place in the Kurdish city of Saqqez in support of the embassy occupation and the massive mobilization against U.S. imperialism that is sweeping Iran. Demonstrators in Saqqez burned U.S. and Israeli flags and called for an end to all treaties with the United States. In addition they raised their own specific demands, including the withdrawal of all Pasdaran from Kurdistan, and for an end to censorship on radio and television, which were giving a distorted picture of their struggle. Similar demonstrations have occurred in Mahabad and other Kurdish cities.

The Kurdish demonstrations are likely to deepen the growing opposition within Iran's Persian population to suppression of Kurdish rights. Reactionaries had slandered the Kurdish struggle as inspired by the CIA and the Zionist opponents of the Iranian revolution.

On November 17 Ayatollah Khomeini went on Iranian television and acknowledged that the Kurdish people had been wronged, as had other people in Iran, and promised that major economic construction would be carried out in impoverished Kurdistan. He also reported that negotiations now going on with Kurdish leaders are proceeding well.

The conciliatory tone of Khomeini's statements is in marked contrast to previous attacks against the Kurdish struggle. Right after the television broadcast concluded, people in Mahabad streamed into the streets in celebration.

The mobilization against imperialism has opened a new situation in Iran as a whole. The masses are sweeping over the attempts to contain the revolutionary process that began with the struggle to overthrow the shah. Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and his cabinet were forced to resign on November 6 in the face of the uproar following disclosure that Bazargan and Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi had met with White House National Security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski in Algiers on November 2.

In this new situation of a deepening of the Iranian revolution there has been a growth in independent workers mobilizations, not only around support for the demand that the shah be returned to Iran to stand trial, but also around immediate demands of workers in the factories. *Shoras* (workers councils) have been set up in a number of plants and have begun to organize these struggles.

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 announced 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 Iranian Socialist Workers Party (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*.

There have also been demonstrations of the unemployed in Tehran and Rahst.

In recent weeks many of the leftist newspapers and magazines that had previously been banned have again been given permission to publish. Left-wing political organizations are again able to function above ground.

Among the journals that have been given permission to reappear is *Kargar* (Worker), the newspaper of the HKS. The first issue of *Kargar* after the ban was lifted appeared on November 17.

There is also growing sentiment for the

## Iran Daily Features SWP Support Statement

The front page of the November 17 Tehran daily *Baamdad* published the complete text of a telegram in solidarity with the Iranian struggle issued by Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States.

In the telegram Pulley saluted the struggle of the Iranian people to extradite the shah from the U.S., and vowed to fight any attempt by the U.S. to intervene in Iran.

The complete text of the telegram can be found in the November 19 *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

release of all the anti-imperialist antishah activists who were arrested in the previous period. Among them are fourteen HKS members who have been held in jail since June.

In fact, the HKS prisoners sent a telegram to Khomeini and to Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr, the new foreign minister, expressing their solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle and pledging to defend the Iranian revolution against U.S. imperialist attacks. They requested that they and all the other antishah fighters still in jail be freed so they can join in the struggle.

On November 17 the HKS sent a letter to the Islamic Revolutionary Council pledging their support in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. The letter called attention to the grave danger to the Iranian revolution posed by the imperialist military, economic, and political pressure against Iran.

The HKS pointed to the role the American people had played in opposing U.S.

imperialist intervention in Vietnam and called on the Council to publish all the secret documents showing U.S. complicity with the shah's regime in order to counter imperialist propaganda against the Iranian revolution.

The HKS also cited Khomeini's November 10 message to Pope John Paul II, in which Khomeini asserted the willingness of the Iranian people to struggle against U.S. imperialism.

As a concrete measure to prepare for this struggle, the HKS proposed that the Islamic Revolutionary Council organize the defense of the Iranian revolution by immediately arming the entire population and providing it with military training. This arming and training of the masses, the HKS continued, could be immediately implemented through workers councils, peasants councils, soldiers councils, and students councils.

In an earlier statement, issued after the embassy occupation, the HKS called for

breaking every link in the chain of imperialist bondage as the only way to safeguard the revolution.

"Ending imperialist domination," the HKS argued, "means nationalizing all big industries and banks owned by the imperialists and putting them under workers control. And the same policy should be applied against the indigenous capitalists, who have cooperated with the imperialists.

"Ending imperialist domination necessitates abolishing all military pacts, revoking all military purchase orders, instituting a planned economy that gives priority to agriculture, health, education, housing, and urban development, a planned economy over which the imperialists have no control."

The struggle for extradition of the shah, which is now focused around the occupation of the U.S. embassy, the HKS stated, "reemphasizes our people's historic demand for real political and economic independence from world imperialism." □

## Carter's War Threats Touch Off Intense Debate Across U.S.

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.

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 some 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.

### Right-wingers Take the Offensive

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

In a Detroit steel plant one outspoken older white worker began by saying, "We ought to do something about those hostages. This isn't right."

A socialist co-worker pointed out that the problem could be solved by sending the shah back.

"But he's sick," said another worker.

The socialist responded that the shah was a criminal, a mass murderer responsible for the deaths of thousands of Iran-

ians.

A middle-aged worker backed off: "That's true, the people must really hate him." Others began to express agreement.

### 'I Don't Believe He's Sick'

On the Southern Pacific Railroad in Los Angeles, this exchange took place among several Black crew members. One said, "Send him back. He's a mass murderer."

Another replied, "Well, you're right about the shah, but he has cancer. I hate to do it to him when he's sick."

"Everything that happens to the U.S. they bring on themselves," the first workers said. "The chickens are coming home to roost."

"They take your money, your taxes, and give it to the dictators."

"And now he's in New York laying around. I don't believe the guy is sick. I could lay around in bed all day too. Couldn't you?"

Someone added, "Wouldn't you want Hitler to stand trial for his crimes if he fled the country?"

The second worker was convinced.

### Iron Range: One Volunteer for War

At the Eveleth Taconite mine on the Minnesota Iron Range, one miner said, "We should send the marines in and bomb the hell out of Iran."

Someone asked, "Would you go?" Said the miner—quickly, "Hell no, it would be another Vietnam."

After the graveyard shift at a bar frequented by steelworkers in Phoenix, Arizona, one worker asked out loud, "All those

who think that we should go free those hostages in Iran, raise your hands."

All did except Larry Thomas, a correspondent for the American Trotskyist newspaper the *Militant*.

Then Thomas asked, "All those who want to volunteer to go over there and fight, raise your hands." Only one worker raised his hand.

#### Discussion in Cleveland 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 backed off. 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.

#### 'You Want to Get Your Head Blown Off for the Shah?'

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 argued back and forth and the section boss and Moriarty began to agree.

That day the press reported on Virginia Senator 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."

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 right-winger 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 the Real War

All twenty workers in the department are Vietnam veterans. In the past the war was talked of as "the good old days and what we did at the bars in Vietnam." But now a completely different memory of that war has been awakened.

At lunch one man who had previously defended the war told people for the 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.

A General Electric worker in Lynn, Massachusetts, said, "Some prince getting shot in Europe didn't start World War I. What's going on over there is a lot deeper than meets the eye. I think Carter wants a war."

A Lebanese worker in the Toledo Jeep plant couldn't understand the war hysteria. "They're all CIA," he said of the embassy hostages. "I thought everyone knew that."

A Jamaican woman at the General Motors Tarrytown plant was particularly outspoken. "The shah should be strung up because of the crimes he has committed. Not sending him back gives the U.S. an excuse to go into Iran."

At the River Rouge plant, a young Black worker who reads the *Militant* told Mac Warren: "I've been wondering why it is that Carter won't just send that king back. We send people from one state to another in this country when they commit a crime. Let him stand trial. If he isn't guilty, then he doesn't have anything to worry about."

Then he added: "The thing that bothers me is that Carter would have us go to war over this dictator. Why should we have to die over Carter's friend?"

#### Role of Oil Companies Debated

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 Longshoreman 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 more suspicious. "The oil companies are ripping us off," was their opinion.

Some were confused: "OPEC and the oil companies are both rich and they're both ripping us off."

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

#### Impact of News About Iranian Workers Struggles

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 told Sharon Grant how the U.S. role around the world had become clear to him while in

## 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 hoodlign 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!

Vietnam.

He was extremely interested when Grant told him 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, Betsey 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 the plant racist at Tarrytown entered a nearby breakfast place.

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. □

## Stop War Threat Against Iran—Send Shah Back!

[The following statement was issued November 14 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.]

\* \* \*

The lives of sixty-two Americans in Iran are being held hostage—by the Carter administration, not by Iran.

The world is being pushed to the brink of war—by the Carter administration, not by Iran.

Carter knows there is a simple way to end the crisis and save the hostages. Just return the shah to Iran to stand trial. A majority of the Americans being held at the Tehran embassy, along with many of their relatives, have requested precisely this.

But Carter refuses. He proclaims as a matter of "principle" the safeguarding of this blood-soaked tyrant. The shah is a mass murderer, a torturer, a despot who stole billions of dollars by exploiting and oppressing the Iranian people—a war criminal to rival Hitler.

The American people have no stake in protecting the shah, much less going to war on his behalf. We should join with millions of Iranians in demanding his immediate extradition.

The consequences of any U.S. military move against Iran could be catastrophic. It would be met with mass resistance by the Iranian people and could embroil this country in another Vietnam-style war right on the border of the Soviet Union.

The fact that Carter's real aims have nothing to do with concern for the hostages is shown by his rejection of Iran's November 13 offer to negotiate. The simple proposal from the Iranian government is for an international investigation into the guilt of the shah and for the return to Iran of the property he stole.

Instead of welcoming this initiative toward a possible settlement, Carter dispatched Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to the United Nations to head off a Security Council discussion of the crisis!

Ignoring the opportunity to save lives, Washington has stepped up its provocations and preparations for war:

- On November 13, American and British warships led by the aircraft carrier *Midway* steamed into the Arabian Sea south of Iran to begin maneuvers. The ominous "exercises" include simulated air-to-air combat, air-to-sea attacks, surveillance by patrol aircraft, and carrier landings.

- The day before, the Pentagon suddenly mobilized 2,700 soldiers from its

Rapid Deployment Forces for "readiness maneuvers" at Fort Hood, Texas.

- On November 14, Carter declared a state of emergency and decreed a freeze on all Iranian government assets in this country in effect seizing some \$12 billion of Iranian property. To make sure we got the point, TV stations showed film clips of Pearl Harbor to illustrate the precedents for Carter's action.

- Earlier, on November 10, Carter ordered all Iranian students here to report to the nearest Immigration and Naturalization Service office for possible deportation.

- And on November 12, the White House ordered a halt to all oil imports from Iran and called on the American people to "redouble efforts to curtail the use of petroleum products."

This series of aggressive actions proves beyond a doubt that saving the lives of the hostages in Tehran is the last thing on Carter's mind. They are mere pawns in Washington's calculated drive to whip up the American people for war.

The stakes in this campaign go far beyond Iran. Ever since Vietnam, the U.S. rulers have found their hands tied by the antiwar sentiments of masses of Americans. We still have vivid memories of the flag-draped coffins returning from Viet-

nam, of the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, of the U.S. government's lies to justify its aggression.

*American working people want no more Vietnams.*

But the big-business government in Washington knows that to turn back the revolutionary upheavals that threaten U.S. corporate interests—from Nicaragua to Iran, from Africa to Indochina—it must free its hands for direct U.S. military intervention. The current crisis is its biggest effort since Vietnam to legitimize the use of U.S. military might and to arouse public support for war.

Intimidation, racism, restriction of civil liberties, and manipulation of the news media are all weapons in Washington's arsenal.

Racist hatred against Iranians—and by implication against other dark-skinned people as well—is whipped up by the news media and Democratic and Republican politicians. They virtually invite violent attacks on Iranian students—and on anyone else who opposes Washington's war moves.

Anti-Iranian demonstrations are depicted as spontaneous outpourings by ordinary Americans. In reality these are well-orchestrated actions staged by small

### Marine's Mother: 'Why Did They Let the Shah in the Country Anyway?'

While U.S. government officials and the capitalist press try to use the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran to whip up a war fever, the reaction of Laura Mae Reeder, whose son William Quarles is a marine at the embassy, is different.

In discussing the occupation with a *Washington Post* reporter on November 8, Reeder asked "Why did they let the shah in the country anyway? That's what I want to know. In Mexico they have all kinds of cancer treatments. Why didn't he stay there?"

Her son, like many Black youth, joined the armed forces after finding that other roads to a steady job were closed to him. His mother noted that "this is a politicians' game. But they're playing a game with other people's lives. The shah is one man. Let them have him. There are 65 other lives at stake here. . . ."

"They say we need the oil," said Reeder, who works in the print shop of the Department of Energy in Washing-

ton, "but we have plenty right here." They just don't want to spend the money to drill for it. . . ."

"This is a messed-up, mixed-up world, and my son's right in the middle of it," Reeder continued. "He don't care about no shah, and neither do I."

Mrs. Reeder repeated this sentiment on November 15 when she spoke to a *New York Times* reporter at a prayer service at the National Cathedral attended by President Carter and families of those at the Tehran embassy.

At the service Reeder stated that "it seems to me that if those people want that Shah back so bad, well then let him go."

The *Times* reporter, Frances X. Clines, found that it was impossible to determine the attitude of other families because a State Department official threatened to have a Secret Service agent restrain reporters trying to talk to family members as they left the cathedral. □



groups of right-wingers—the same groups that oppose unions and equal rights for Blacks and women. The aim is to sow confusion and intimidate into silence those who don't want to go to war to save the shah—that is, the majority of people in this country.

By restricting the right of Iranian students to demonstrate, Washington is setting a precedent for cracking down on anyone who disagrees with a government policy. If Carter succeeds in denying Iranian students their rights, the next target could be unionists protesting the energy ripoff, American students opposing the draft, Blacks rallying against police brutality, or women marching for equal rights.

Unfortunately, some union leaders in this country have joined in the war hysteria, such as the longshore officials who ordered a boycott of Iranian ships. Their course is a deadly trap for the unions—setting their members up as cannon fodder for a new Vietnam. For labor to enlist in the bosses' war drive would mean death for untold thousands of workers, isolation and shame for the unions.

The way the energy crisis is being used in the attacks on Iran should trigger an alarm in our minds. Last spring Big Oil and the government tried to turn Ameri-

cans against the Iranian people by blaming their revolution for gas lines and price hikes.

Few working people were fooled. They held the oil companies responsible, and the facts have proven them right. The record-breaking profits of the oil monopolies show exactly who cashed in at our expense.

Now we are again told to blame the Iranians and to drive less and pay more in the name of patriotism.

Carter was lying then—why should we believe him now? This much is certain: If U.S. troops are sent into Iran, it will be to protect the interests of Exxon, Mobil, and Texaco, not the American people.

Working people in the United States have nothing to gain in a war against the Iranian people. Our interests lie with the working people and peasants of Iran. The giant U.S. corporations that dominated the Iranian economy under the shah are the same ones that exploit us here.

The aspirations of the Iranian people deserve our support. In Iran, workers committees are winning control of production in the factories and oilfields. The Kurds, Arabs, and other oppressed nationalities are striving for self-determination. And millions of Iranians are joining in the mobilizations to protect their country's independence against Washington's war

threats.

Young Iranians in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran put up a banner: "Our enemy is the American government not the American people." They appealed to Americans to back their just demand for the return of the shah, just as we had "demonstrated against the war in Vietnam."

While Democrats and Republicans alike join in the pro-war chorus, the Socialist Workers Party candidates are standing up and telling the truth. We will campaign from one end of this country to the other against Carter's attempt to drag the American people into a war.

The first priority of the SWP today is to expose Carter's lies and get out the truth—through stepped up sales of the *Militant*, through discussions on the job and in the unions, through forums and teach-ins on campuses, and through picket lines and demonstrations with all those who will speak out against the war drive.

As more and more working people learn the facts, they will increasingly agree that our interests lie in demanding:

Stop the war threats—extradite the shah!

No deportations—halt the attacks on Iranian students!

U.S. hands off Iran!

## **Iranian Foreign Minister Offers Solution to Crisis**

[In a November 13 letter to the United Nations secretary-general, Dr. Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr explained why Iran is demanding return of the shah and offered proposals for resolving the current crisis. Bani-Sadr is in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Iran. The following are excerpts from his letter.]

\* \* \*

Today, at a time which is crucial for our country, the United States is again striving, and in connection with a crisis which it has itself caused, to create a war psychosis in the United States and the Western countries. What is in fact at issue here? What is the reason why the United States is trying to keep its public opinion uninformed?

In the United States Iranians are being attacked and arrested, and there is talk of expelling them. Our Consulates have become targets for aggression. The United States Government, while taking care not to put an end to such actions, is preparing to take military or economic measures against us.

One may ask why United States leaders turned a deaf ear to our warning when we asked them not to receive the Shah in their territory? And when we ask them to extradite the Shah, why do they try to distort

this legitimate request and make public opinion in their country believe that we are trying to humble the people of the United States? Without speaking of the Nuremberg Tribunal, are there not tens of cases of extradition of persons who have committed crimes, particularly those whose return is called for by entire peoples?

In a country, Sir, which claims to be a democracy, censorship is preventing the people of the United States from knowing the truth. I ask you to say this plainly, so that all the world may hear: if the President of the United States had plundered the wealth of his country and deposited it in Iranian banks, if that same President had given the order, contrary to the laws in force in the United States, to open fire on people and to have more than 15,000 persons killed in a single day, as on 15 Khordad [June 5, 1963] in Iran, and if in reply to the question "Are you the one who had given the order to kill so many people?" he had replied, "Yes, I am, and I am proud of it," if that President had, furthermore, turned the prisons into places of torture and summary executions, and if at the end of his mandate, he had had massacres perpetrated in all the cities of the United States, if he had placed the United States under the domination of Iran by handing over to Iran his country's armed

forces, security services, economy and legislative institutions, and if after committing all these crimes he had taken refuge in Iran, would the people of the United States have found it admissible that the Iranian Government should refuse to deliver such a criminal to the United States on the pretext that his extradition would be an insult to Iranians' self-respect?

Sir, does the United States Government not feel guilty for having appealed for the support of an entire people to protect an international criminal by resorting to false propaganda?

Our proposal is quite simple and feasible:

(1) That the United States Government should at least recognize an examination of the guilt of the former Shah and the consequences it may produce;

(2) That the Iranian Government should have returned to it the property and funds belonging to the Shah, members of his family and leading members of the former regime which are at present in the United States.

Are these two proposals not just, are they not conducive to the interests and the promotion of United States civilization and world civilization? □

## How U.S. Imperialists Put Shah Back on Throne in 1953

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 correctly saw Washington's move to protect the hated butcher—the symbol of counterrevolution—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 American imperialism 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 imperialist 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 imperialists. As this movement developed, the shah's proimperialist 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 imperialists 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 sea-coast.

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 refus-

ing 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

gime, 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.



Demonstrators in a March 1953 rally for Premier Mohammed Mossadegh.

a week after he had resigned.

The popular mobilizations in support of Mossadegh compelled him to initiate more measures that threatened imperialist control 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.

By August 1953, London and Washington had decided that it was time to move more actively against the Mossadegh re-

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 man-

aged 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.

American imperialism's campaign against the workers and peasants of Iran today bears many similarities to the operation of the 1950s. But the political context is now very different.

In the past twenty-six years, the rise of the colonial revolution, the defeats suffered by imperialism in numerous parts of the world and deepgoing antiwar sentiment among American working people have greatly undermined Washington's capacity to embark on foreign military adventures.

The end to direct colonial rule over most of Africa and Asia, the socialist revolutions in Cuba and Vietnam, and most recently the defeats suffered by imperialism in Ethiopia, Angola, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Iran itself have all strengthened the ability of the peoples of the world to resist imperialist aggression.

Within the United States, the massive antiwar sentiment that helped force Wash-

ington out of Vietnam still runs very deep. Despite Carter's attempts to whip up a jingoist, anti-Iranian hysteria over the occupation of the American embassy in Tehran, there are no signs that he has been successful in undercutting this antiwar sentiment in any fundamental way.

Despite these obstacles to American intervention abroad, Carter's repeated

provocations show that Washington is still trying to free its hands for an attack against the Iranian revolution.

However, the depth of the Iranian revolution and the unwillingness of Americans to become embroiled in another Vietnam put the working people of Iran in a much stronger position to defend themselves today than they were in 1953. □

## As U.S. War Threats Mount

## Moscow Knives Struggle of Iranian Masses

In face of Washington's war drive against the Iranian revolution, the Kremlin has knifed the Iranian masses in the back.

Moscow's representatives at the United Nations voted for the U.S.-sponsored resolution demanding release of the hostages, thereby sanctioning continued U.S. protection of the shah.

They also refused to support the demand of the Iranian government for a special meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss the American imperialists' threat of war against Iran, insisting that the hostages be released before any meeting would be held.

These actions by the Soviet government have helped Washington to achieve its central political objective—to divert American and international public opinion away from the crimes of the shah and U.S. imperialism's responsibility for them, and away from the U.S. imperialists' war drive against the Iranian revolution.

They have also deprived the Iranian masses of a powerful weapon in their struggle against the U.S. war drive—the opportunity to put the U.S. government in the dock before world public opinion, exposing its record of three decades of support to the Iranian Hitler.

Moscow's support to Washington against the insurgent Iranian masses was hailed in the U.S. capitalist press. "Ayatollah Khomeini's isolation is all but complete," the editors of the *Washington Post* crowed November 13.

Readers of the Soviet press could get no idea of the acuteness of the American threat to the Iranian revolution or the real danger of war in the Middle East.

In *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, the two main Soviet dailies, the confrontation between U.S. imperialism and the Iranian revolution has been reported in a flat tone, simply citing the facts, with almost no comment. The headlines are always the same: "The Situation in Iran," or "On the Events in Iran."

The tone and content of the reports in the Soviet press are obviously being very carefully measured by the Kremlin to avoid giving offense to the U.S. imperialists. These articles give the basic facts about the anti-imperialist protests in Iran and about Washington's threats against the Iranian people. They take note of the statements and moves by the U.S. government and military that point toward armed intervention in Iran. They give a sympathetic picture of the outcry against imperialism in Iran. And that is all.

The Soviet press and authorities have not even expressed support for the demand of the Iranian people that the shah be returned. Nor have they given the slightest indication of what attitude the Soviet government would take in the event of a U.S. military intervention.

This wait-and-see position contrasts with the stance of the Soviet authorities the last time that military intervention was being openly discussed by U.S. ruling circles, in the period when the shah's government was visibly collapsing. At that time, they warned that they would regard American intervention as a danger to the Soviet Union. □

## Big Business Journals Uneasy About \$\$ Freeze

The decision to strike a blow at the Iranian revolution by freezing billions of dollars in Iranian bank accounts in the United States was warmly applauded by most of the U.S. capitalist press. But the *Wall Street Journal* and *Business Week*, both written for the capitalist class itself, were somewhat nervous about overall effects of the move.

The *Wall Street Journal's* coverage began with the observation that the freeze had "sent shivers through international monetary markets." It noted that those markets "were concerned about possible future attempts by other oil-producing nations to withdraw deposits from the U.S. out of fear their deposits might be similarly frozen."

"Washington analysts," the *Journal* told its readers, are concerned that "the U.S. was acting in a way that could produce 'fear' in the minds of other large oil exporters with billions invested in dollars."

In a similar vein, *Business Week*

expressed the fear that the freezing of Iranian bank accounts could "produce unexpected—and harmful—economic and financial consequences for the U.S." It worried "whether a signal has been sent to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries that the \$100 billion in assets that they have deposited in the U.S. are vulnerable."

*Business Week* thinks that the freeze was "largely a political rather than a financial move," and fears that a shift from dollars "to a more volatile multi-reserve currency system seems that much more inevitable with the Carter Administration's action."

Both big business journals agreed that the freeze was, in the *Wall Street Journal's* words, a "risky maneuver." *Business Week* wrote that the fact "that a flight of petro-dollars from the U.S. could be damaging to the dollar is obvious. Less obvious, though, is the impact that the freeze will have on obtaining the release of hostages. . . ."

## **Palestinians Protest Move to Deport West Bank Mayor**

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. The conflict over Shaka's deportation completely overshadowed the return to Egyptian sovereignty of another piece of the Sinai Peninsula November 15, after twelve years of Israeli occupation.

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 turning the offer of 'autonomy' to Palestinian Arabs into a sham. Under the cover of a develop-

ing 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.

Henry Kissinger explained in an interview in the November 19 *U.S. News & World Report*: "We have to define what the difficulty is. Generally, it is defined as the stalemate in Israeli-Egyptian or Israeli-Arab negotiations, but I think the real cause of the difficulties is the collapse of the Shah of Iran."

"That has led to a change in the regional balance of power both in reality and perception. Moderate countries like Saudi Arabia and Jordan now question the ability of the United States to protect its friends."

In other words, the Arab regimes that Washington expected to support and give cover to Sadat's sell-out of the Palestinian people had second thoughts due to the Iranian revolution.

Meanwhile, Washington's room for maneuver is being narrowed by the changing attitudes of the American people in regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict. A *New York Times*/CBS News poll released November 8 found that 42 percent of those Americans who had heard of the Palestine Liberation Organization favored its inclusion in Middle East negotiations.

In this situation, Begin is continuing to bull ahead as if nothing had changed over the past ten years. 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*.

On October 21 Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan resigned his cabinet position despite his basic agreement with Begin's policies. Dayan clearly felt it was time to leave a sinking ship.

The fragility of Begin's parliamentary majority was underscored November 12 when a government bill to tighten restrictions on the right of women to abortion was defeated by a 54 to 54 vote.

Agudat Israel, one of the orthodox religious parties, agreed to support Begin following the 1977 election—thus giving him a parliamentary majority—in return for his promise to repeal the section of the law permitting abortions for economic or social reasons. Even under this supposedly liberal law, women who want abortions must receive approval from a committee composed of a doctor, a social worker, a psychiatrist, and a nurse.

Zionist politicians, who stress the importance of Jewish immigration to the survival of Israel, frequently refer to the Jewish birth rate as the "internal immigration." Begin has vowed another attempt to repeal the liberalized law, but this represents one more issue that endangers his coalition.

Finally, the inflation rate in Israel has hit 100 percent and is still gathering steam. Begin's new minister of finance, Yigal Hurwitz, is promising new austerity measures directed against the working class.

In short, the basic problems facing Israeli society are being posed with increasing sharpness. Under these circumstances, any prolonged period of political stability within Israel appears unlikely. □

### **Vatican Makes it Official: Earth Revolves Around Sun**

Pope John Paul II has asked Catholic scholars, historians, and theologians to rehabilitate Galileo, the mathematician and astronomer condemned by the Vatican in 1616 for holding that the sun did not revolve around the earth, but rather the earth revolved around the sun.

Galileo was forbidden by the church to "hold, teach, or defend" his astronomical observations. When he continued to do so he was summoned to Rome by the Inquisition and forced to recant under threat of torture. Galileo died in 1642 under house arrest.

# WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR AID TO NICARAGUA



## Solidarity in U.S. Steel Plants

[The following article by Nancy Cole appeared in the November 16 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly, the *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

At Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore, supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution have begun circulating a petition calling upon President Carter and Congress to send immediate material aid to Nicaragua.

Martin Koppel, a member of United Steelworkers Local 2609 at the Point, has already collected about thirty signatures, nearly half of the workers on his unit shift. He hasn't had time to talk to the others. Only about two people he's asked have turned him down.

"Some I've talked to thought Carter was already sending a lot of aid," Koppel says. "People who have been reading the *Mili-*

*tant* know what's going on in Nicaragua. But for others who rely on the daily papers here, which haven't said anything lately about Nicaragua, I have to explain the situation.

"I've been showing people the Nicaraguan Bill of Rights to explain what the government is, what it stands for. It really helps when people see that the Nicaraguan people have rights we don't even have."

Koppel's shop steward signed the petition because of the Nicaraguan government's pro-union stance. Other co-workers have also been impressed by the union and strike guarantees in the Nicaraguan Bill of Rights.

"It's been pretty easy to get people to sign. Some sign for humanitarian reasons, some because of Nicaragua's pro-union stand, some because of the rights guaranteed to women."

At another huge steel mill, Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, there has also been a lot of interest in Nicaragua, according to Dick McBride. The 18,000-member USWA Local 1010 at Inland is up to one-third Latino.

But the news blackout there on Nicaragua is glaring. "A lot of people think that Somoza was a butcher and it was a good thing he got thrown out," says McBride. "They followed it when it was big in the news before he left Nicaragua. But now there is a general attitude that everything is okay there. They really listen when you explain how bad the Nicaraguan people need material aid."

There are a lot of young workers at Inland, and one thing they are impressed with is the youthful Sandinista fighters. "If young people are running it," McBride says, "they think it's got to go right." □

## Humberto Ortega Warns of Counterrevolutionary Threat

[The following is excerpted from a report in the October 21 issue of the weekly English-language *Granma*, the Cuban newspaper.]

\* \* \*

Humberto Ortega, commander in chief of the Sandinista army, declared in Managua that his country has never ruled out the possibility of a large-scale attack originated abroad or acts of sabotage in Nicaragua.

We are preparing ourselves for this, for we know that all true revolutions run those risks, he stressed.

Ortega added that they have information on the concrete ties that some Somoza supporters who remained in Nicaragua have abroad, as well as information on other such elements who fled to the United States.

"We have access to some of the messages they have exchanged with counterrevolutionaries of Cuban origin living in Miami and reactionary elements of other nationalities," he said.

He stated that it was almost certain that such sinister agencies as the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had ties

with the reactionaries and Somozaism, because "the CIA is where those elements are."

Ortega also referred to the activity of Somoza elements in some Central American countries and said that in these cases "the only thing we have been able to do is warn these governments that they have the responsibility of stopping these activities and preventing attacks on our country being prepared from their territories." □

## 'Nicaragua Solidarity Day'

Mayor David Rusk of Albuquerque, New Mexico, has proclaimed November 17 as "Nicaragua Solidarity Day" in that U.S. city.

A benefit organized by the local Nicaragua Solidarity Coalition is scheduled for the same day at the University of New Mexico. Speakers include Roberto Vargas, a representative of the Nicaraguan Ministry of Culture; Rex Brasell, president of the Bernalillo County Central Labor Council; and a representative from the headquarters of the American Federation of Government Employees. □

## 'Barricada' Hails Cuban Aid

[The following article is excerpted from the October 27 issue of *Barricada*, the Sandinista daily. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

Cuban solidarity was displayed last week in Puerto Cabezas by the "Martyrs of Bolivia" Medical Brigade. It will remain there for an indefinite period, carrying out positive work for the good of our Atlantic sector, sunk in desolation and poverty during forty-five years of the Somozaist dictatorship.

The Ministry of Health is implementing medical assistance and vaccination programs in association with the Unified Health System as part of the Government of National Reconstruction's campaign to integrate the Department of Zelaya into the revolutionary process that we are currently living through.

The Cuban "Martyrs of Bolivia" brigade is composed of seven doctors, a general nurse, a gynecological nurse, a gynecological and obstetrical expert, a pediatrician, two specialists in internal medicine, and an anesthetic technician.

# Selections From the Left

## SPARK

Published fortnightly in Detroit, Michigan, by the Spark group.

In the October 22-November 5 issue, the Spark group, which maintains international ties with the Lutte Ouvrière group of France, had the following to say about Fidel Castro's visit to the UN. The headline was: "Why Does the U.S. Government Hate Castro?"

"Fidel Castro came to the United States on October 11, and addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations on the next day. The U.S. government still tries to portray Castro as a crazy madman.

"In his address to the United Nations, Castro spoke about the conditions of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy that hundreds of millions of people in poor countries live in today. He said the United States government and the governments of the nations of western Europe had a responsibility to help the poor countries develop, because they had robbed the poor nations of their wealth in past decades through colonialism and other forms of imperialist exploitation. He declared that unless the resources necessary for development in the poor countries were found, there would be no peace in the world.

"Castro's proposals were immediately branded as 'unrealistic' and crazy by U.N. representatives from the U.S. and western Europe. But in fact, the biggest thing unrealistic about them were that they required the cooperation of the U.S. government in agreeing to return to the poor nations of the world a portion of the wealth that U.S. capitalists have stolen from them.

"In reality, the hatred of the U.S. government for Fidel Castro has nothing to do with his being a madman. Castro is not a madman, and the government knows it. The U.S. government hates Castro because he symbolizes the desire of millions of poor people all over the world to be free of economic exploitation and political oppression by the big capitalists of western Europe and the United States and their armed forces.

"Castro symbolizes these things for millions of poor people all over the world not because people in Cuba are completely free of oppression and live well today. Most people in Cuba do not live well, though this is largely the result of U.S. imperialism's continued control of world trade, technology, and most of the world's wealth.

"Castro symbolizes freedom from the exploitation and oppression of imperialism, because he led a struggle against the United States government and its puppets

in Cuba. It is the fear that Castro's existence and actions may encourage more struggles against imperialism that causes the U.S. government to hate Castro to this day."

## The Weekly People

Newspaper of the Socialist Labor Party. Published in Palo Alto, California.

"Castro's UN Speech Indicts Neocolonialism" was the main front-page headline in the October 27 issue. "Donning his hat as chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries," the article began, "Cuban leader Fidel Castro used the United Nation's rostrum to deliver a sweeping indictment of imperialism. . . .

"Castro's speech was not one to please the capitalist class of the United States," said the *Weekly People*, "but it touched a responsive chord with those members of his audience who represent the 95 countries that comprise the nonaligned movement."

After quoting extensively from the section of the speech in which "Castro clearly depicted the deplorable conditions afflicting the overwhelming majority of the people in the world," the article commented on his proposal for a special \$300-billion ten-year development fund for the poor nations.

"The problem with Castro's proposal," said the *Weekly People*, "is that, given the class-divided nature of each of the countries in the developed world, it has virtually no chance of being implemented."

The article said that "while emphasizing the need for cooperation between nations, Castro mentioned only briefly the possibility that fulfillment of the demands he had presented would entail confrontation and struggle. . . . Castro's emphasis on cooperation between the imperialist nations and the exploited nations reflects the inherent contradiction within the nonaligned movement. The 95 countries of which it consists are all adversely affected by the economic and political power exercised by the developed countries. However, within the countries that comprise the nonaligned movement, class divisions also exist. . . .

"Such aspects of Castro's speech help feed the illusion that the social ills of the world can be resolved without altering the internal social structures within the imperialist camp," the article said.

"Castro's emphasis on 'cooperation' with the developing world is also consistent with emerging Cuban policy toward the U.S. For despite Carter's warmongering, Castro apparently would like the token progress in recent years toward rapprochement between the U.S. and Cuba to continue.

"On balance, Castro's speech reflected the legitimate concerns of the nonaligned movement," the *Weekly People* concluded. "However, it failed to underscore the necessity for workers throughout the world to mobilize their collective strength to create a new economic order in which genuine cooperation between nations would indeed be possible."

## BARRICADA

"Barricade," official organ of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Published daily in Managua, Nicaragua.

The entire back page of the October 21 issue is devoted to eight hotspots in the class struggle worldwide, under the headline "Big Battles for the Liberation of the Peoples."

The survey begins with this assessment of the role of American workers as allies in the struggle against imperialism:

"Often when we refer to the United States, the concept of imperialism gets distorted to include the entire U.S. population. This is understandable—since it's a matter of generalization—but it's incorrect, and even unfair. For right in the heart of the imperialist center millions of people are fighting for their rights, for their dignity, for a more just society, against the power imposed by a few for the benefit of a minority.

"It is necessary to point out that there are many Americans who—with varying degrees of clarity in defining their objectives, posing their demands, or carrying on their struggles—are fighting anti-imperialist battles in their own country.

"First of all we must take into account the broad exploited and dispossessed sectors—those who've been pushed aside by the unequal distribution of wealth resulting from the capitalist conception of society. And we should also remember the Black population (comprising more than 10 percent of the total), the Chicano population (those of Mexican origin), the Puerto Ricans, and the other communities that are victims of racism and exploitation.

"And at the same time, we should not overlook the fact that the poorest workers are the ones who suffer worst from the effects of the U.S. economic crisis. Unemployment affects millions of workers, condemning them to live in appalling conditions.

"Of course there is no movement in the United States that unifies and organizes the dispersed strength of these social groups. But, it is clear, however, that as the contradictions sharpen, these sectors are increasingly expressing their discontent. This reality should be kept in mind, since the potential of these forces is important, and since in their evolution they are objectively allies of our peoples against imperialism."

# AROUND THE WORLD



## Strikes Oust Bolivia Coup Leader

Bolivia's organized working class won a big initial victory on November 16 when Col. Alberto Natusch Busch, who had seized power in a military coup November 1, was forced to step down.

Natusch's coup had been met by a general strike organized by the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) and mass demonstrations in working-class neighborhoods in La Paz and in the country's vital tin mining areas.

Although the general strike was called off after a week in the country's cities, the tin miners, whose output provides more than half the country's export earnings, remained on strike for the entire time Natusch was in power.

The Bolivian armed forces killed at least 208 people, and wounded several hundred others in tank and helicopter gunship attacks on strikers and demonstrators. But the repression was unable to break the resistance to the coup.

The strength of the resistance finally convinced important sections of the armed forces to abandon Natusch before the situation got out of hand. On November 15, for example, some 250 officers signed a proclamation calling on Natusch to resign. They warned that "the country is being pushed to the brink of civil war. . . ."

On November 16 Natusch stepped down and Bolivia's Congress named Lidia Gueiler as interim president until new elections are held in May.

The decisive role that Bolivia's workers played in toppling Natusch is likely to increase their self-confidence and combativity in face of any attempts to solve the country's chronic economic crisis by further attacking their already abysmal standard of living.

Bolivia is supposed to pay foreign bankers \$300 million in interest on its national debt by the end of this year. This amounts to more than two-thirds of the country's anticipated export earnings. And in 1980 Bolivia is scheduled to make another \$450 million in interest payments. The country, however, is virtually out of foreign reserves and simply cannot pay.

The classic capitalist solution to this problem, one that is imposed all over the semicolonial world, is to impose greater austerity on the working-class in order to pay the debt. But any such attempt in the present context in Bolivia is likely to spark a massive response from the workers and peasants and could threaten the already

precarious existence of capitalist rule itself.

## U.S. Steps Up Pressure Against Vietnam in UN

After three days of debate, the United Nations General Assembly voted November 14 to demand the withdrawal of "all foreign forces" from Kampuchea. The vote was 91 to 21, with 29 abstentions.

Although the resolution was officially sponsored by the delegates of Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines, and openly campaigned for by China, it was an American operation from start to finish.

The vote marked the first time the General Assembly had officially condemned the Vietnamese government's role in helping to overthrow the genocidal Pol Pot regime.

At a time when the remnants of Pol Pot's forces along the Thai border are in danger of being wiped out by Vietnamese-backed Kampuchean forces, the UN resolution appeals for "all parties to the conflict to cease all hostilities forthwith," and requests UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to "explore the possibility of holding an international conference on Kampuchea as one of the means for implementing the present resolution."

Although the resolution is couched in the usual pious phrases about respect for sovereignty, renunciation of the use of force, humanitarian aid on a non-discriminatory basis, and human rights, its content is the same as the vote earlier this year when the UN majority was whipped into line to seat the Pol Pot regime.

It shows that the imperialists have not given up on trying to force major concessions from Hanoi at the same time that they maintain the reactionary Pol Pot murder squads.

Speaking of the resolution, Singaporean delegate T.T.B. Koh told an interviewer: "By April, if [Vietnamese forces] are bogged down in a guerrilla war, which is not unlikely, this will be another pressure on them to rethink their policy."

## British Unionists Rebuke Hua

While in London on a three-week Western European tour, Chinese Prime Minister Hua Guofeng visited the grave of Karl Marx on October 31. As Hua was laying a

wreath of red roses at the tomb in Highgate Cemetery, a dozen members of the public employees' union approached and told him they disapproved of his support for Britain's right-wing Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

"We thought that since he has been talking to Mrs. Thatcher and boosting her image it was about time he met a few genuine workers," remarked Michael Thomas, one of the group. "Karl Marx would turn in his grave," Thomas added, "if he saw how Chairman Hua is talking to a woman who is keeping workers' wages down."

Hua's tour also took him to France, Italy, and West Germany. A recurrent theme in each of the capitals Hua visited was his urging that the NATO countries increase their arms spending against the Soviet Union.

## U.S. Real Income Declining

Since 1972 the real income of a typical U.S. family of four has declined 8%, although its dollar income has increased 66%. The dollar rise lagged substantially behind the 75% rise in prices, and 82% jump in federal taxes and a 142% increase in Social Security taxes, according to a report in the November 15 *Wall Street Journal*.

Because the *Journal's* figures do not include the rise in state and local taxes, which have increased even faster than federal taxes, they understate the full decline in real income.

## 2,000 Protest in Central Africa

About 2,000 students and teachers demonstrated against the French-installed regime of David Dacko in the Central African Republic October 29.

They marched on the city center to support a month-old student strike provoked by the house arrest of Ange Patasse, a political opponent of Dacko's and a critic of the French military presence in the country. Troops attacked the demonstrators, injuring several.

Keep your files complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending \$1.00 per copy. Write for information about previous years.

## The Campaign Against Uranium Mining in Australia

By Renfrey Clarke

SYDNEY—Since the 1940s, uranium has been mined in Australia for atomic weapons and nuclear power production. It was Australian uranium which supplied the British nuclear-weapon program during the 1950s, and it was at Australian sites that the test bombs were detonated.

During these decades there was no public furor surrounding the Australian uranium industry, which employed few workers at small mines in remote regions. In the political climate of the times, supplying the British war machine was accepted as necessary by most working people. The dangers of uranium mining were not widely understood, and official assurances of "adequate safeguards" were readily accepted.

Today all that has changed. From being thought to have only minor uranium deposits, Australia by 1976 had been shown to possess as much as 27 percent of the western world's "reasonably assured" reserves of uranium. From being a minor section of primary industry, uranium mining has become the area on which Australian capitalism pins its hopes for a profit bonanza.

And the once-uncontroversial business of extracting and exporting reactor fuel has come to be recognized by masses of Australians for what it is: the export of nuclear disaster.

The exploration that led to the discovery of Australia's huge uranium reserves began in 1967, in anticipation of intense demand for uranium as governments and power corporations around the world sought an answer to their energy problems in the "nuclear option."

The vast bulk of the reserves are located east of Darwin in the Northern Territory, in an area centered on the Alligator Rivers. With an estimated 228,000 tons of uranium oxide, the Jabiluka deposit is the largest in the world. The Ranger deposit, though less than half the size of Jabiluka, is also huge by world standards. With ore grades averaging forty-seven pounds per ton, the smaller Nabarlek deposit is more than twenty times as rich as ore bodies which were mined in the U.S. during the 1950s.

The Alligator Rivers district has deep cultural and religious significance for the tribal Aborigines who still make up almost all of its population. From the time of the first uranium discoveries in the area, it has been plain that the consequences of mining for the Aborigines and for the environment would be catastrophic.

Assurances from the mining companies

that damage to the environment will be kept to a minimum do not square with the experience of the local people. The small uranium deposit at Rum Jungle, south of Darwin, was mined until the early 1960s, with stockpiled ore being processed until 1971. For over a decade, official complaints were made about pollution at Rum Jungle.

According to an official report by the Australian Atomic Energy Commission, the Rum Jungle project discharged some 2,300 tons of manganese, 1,300 tons of copper, 200 tons of zinc and at least 380 grams of radium into the environment. At least a quarter of the discharged radium, an amount sufficient to cause 90 million cases of bone cancer, is estimated to have found its way into the Finnis River.

Public pressure has ensured that the mining companies involved in the new uranium projects will be forced to spend far more than their earlier counterparts on protecting the environment. But the Federal government remains ready to help the mining companies cut corners at the expense of the land and its wildlife.

This was established early on with the fate of the Kakadu National Park, first projected for the Alligator Rivers area in 1965. As uranium finds were announced, the borders recommended for the park by the Northern Territory Reserves Board steadily contracted. By 1971, pressure from mining and pastoral interests had cut the proposed park to less than half its original area. More recently, it has become clear that the government has every intention of allowing mining to go ahead within the park boundaries, even in vulnerable wetland areas.

### Aborigines Join Movement

If mining goes ahead, the Aborigines of the region will not only see their tribal lands violated by bulldozers and ore trucks. Wherever large numbers of whites have settled in Australia, the society of the local Aborigines has been devastated. The proposed mining town of 10,000 people is regarded with great apprehension by the Aborigines.

In August 1976 a statement by the Oenpelli Tribal Council said unequivocally: "If Oenpelli had the power to make the final decision, it would oppose mining."

As they came to understand the implications of uranium mining, and began to speak out against it, Northern Territory Aborigines joined an increasingly vocal movement of opponents of the nuclear industry.

This movement had gained impetus from the many demonstrations held during the early 1970s to oppose French nuclear weapons tests in the Pacific. But its most powerful inspiration, and the source of its basic political methods, was the movement against the Vietnam War, which had penetrated the workers movement to the extent that in 1970 and 1971 it drew hundreds of thousands of people into militant demonstrations.

Another consequence of the radicalization sparked off by the Vietnam War had been the election, in December 1972, of a Labor government headed by Gough Whitlam.

Under the previous Liberal Party government, contracts had been approved for the export of 9,000 tons of uranium oxide, most of it destined for Japanese reactors. However, the new government was reluctant to allow immediate export. In its 1972 election platform, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) had made clear that any uranium mining must be delayed until Aboriginal claims to the land which would be affected had been investigated.

Economic factors were, however, a more powerful influence on the Labor government's policy. Influential forces in the ALP, led by Minerals and Energy Minister Rex Connor, wanted to wait until uranium prices increased. In the meantime, Australia could investigate the building of an enrichment plant. These considerations continued to dominate government policy through 1973 and 1974.

By 1975 a growing number of ALP branch members and parliamentarians, led by Environment Minister Moss Cass, had begun to express outright opposition to uranium mining. In May of that year the Federal cabinet ordered that the mining proposals of Ranger Uranium Mines Pty. Ltd. be the subject of a public environmental enquiry, to be headed by Justice Fox. The enquiry had begun hearing evidence when, on November 11, 1975, the Labor government was turned out of power.

An election in December was won by the Liberal Party under Malcolm Fraser. But company hopes for an early resumption of uranium exports met with a serious obstacle—the trade union movement.

Increasingly aware of the dangers posed by the nuclear industry, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) had voted at its 1975 congress to ban all uranium mining except where the ore was mined for biomedical use. Acting on this decision, the Australian Railways Union



(ARU) placed bans on the transport of uranium ore. The government was forced to agree that no exports would take place until Justice Fox brought down his report.

In May 1976, the resolve of the unions to enforce their bans was tested. A railyard supervisor in the north Queensland port city of Townsville was suspended for refusing to move sulphur bound for the Mary Kathleen mine. On May 24, the ARU called a national twenty-four-hour rail stoppage in protest at the suspension. Soon after, the supervisor was reinstated.

Pressure was mounting on the leaders of the union movement to force an end to all mining operations at Mary Kathleen. But in June, at the urging of the president of the Queensland Trades and Labor Council, who was himself a director of Mary Kathleen Uranium, a meeting of national unions represented at Mary Kathleen adopted a "compromise" proposal which allowed mining to continue. This decision was endorsed by the ACTU executive soon after.

But while the labor leadership was making clear that it had no stomach for confronting the government on the issue, opposition to uranium mining was growing.

A poll taken in July 1976 found that only 22 percent of Australians felt that uranium

should, as a matter of "duty," be exported to other countries. August 6 and 7 of that year saw some of the first mobilizations against uranium mining, with 500 people demonstrating in Adelaide.

During the following September, a tour by U.S. antinuclear campaigners Dale Bridenbaugh and Helen Caldicott drew increased interest to the campaign. Uranium mining had become an important public issue by the time of the release, on October 28, of the first Fox Report.

Uranium shares rose after Commissioner Fox presented his judgment that the dangers involved in mining and milling uranium and in the operation of nuclear power reactors, "properly regulated and controlled," were not enough to justify a veto on the mining and selling of Australian uranium.

In order to obtain this verdict, one company alone, Ranger Uranium Mines Pty. Ltd., had spend \$1 million on submissions to the inquiry.

#### 'An Admirable Document?'

The Fox report recommended that no decision be made to resume exports until a second report dealing with the Northern Territory deposits had appeared, and widespread public debate had taken place. But the mining companies were quick to de-

mand an immediate go-ahead.

Influential figures in the Labor Party found nothing to protest in the report; opposition leader Gough Whitlam called it "an admirable document." But in the Labor ranks the debate on uranium mining continued. The Australian Railways Union reaffirmed its ban, and indicated that if necessary it would defy the ACTU executive on the issue.

At a press conference, spokespeople for the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Movement Against Uranium Mining, and Friends of the Earth joined the ARU in declaring that they intended to mount a struggle similar to the campaign against the Vietnam War. On November 6-7, 1976, a national consultation of antiuranium forces decided to demand a five-year moratorium on the mining and export of uranium.

These statements were timely. Ignoring the Fox report's call for "comprehensive and widespread public debate" before uranium exports were resumed, the Fraser government announced on November 11 that it would allow the immediate export of over 10,000 tons of uranium oxide needed to meet existing contracts.

The government took the bold step of allowing immediate exports, confident that division and confusion within the labor movement would prevent a resolute union response. For a time Fraser's gamble appeared justified.

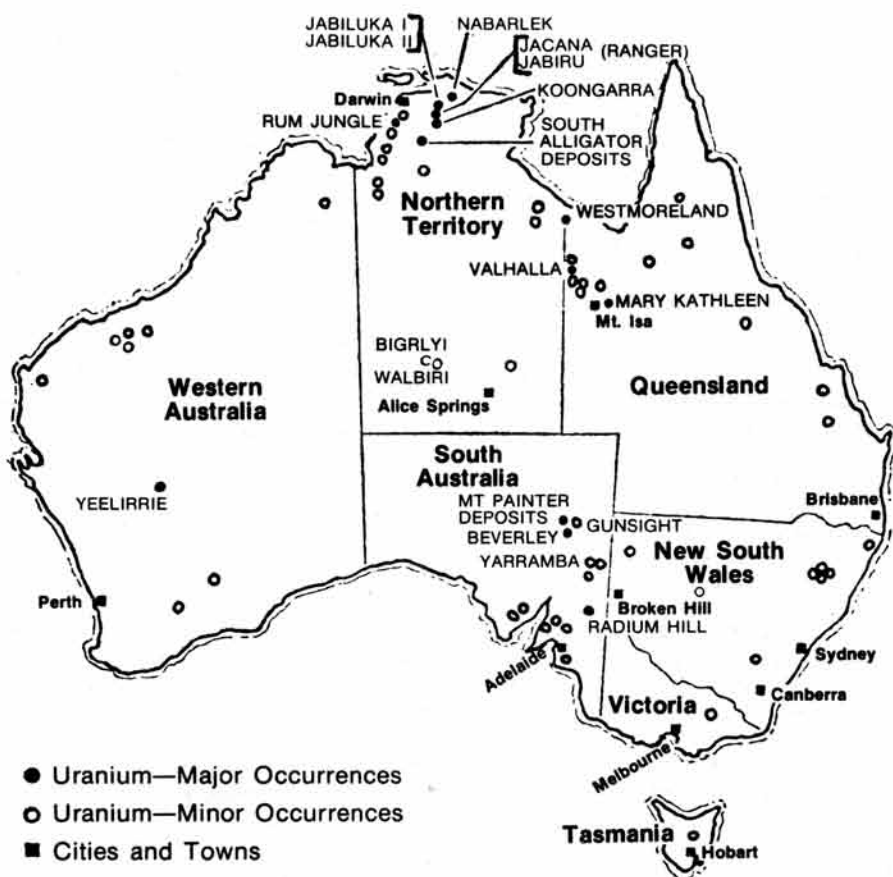
Queensland unions which would be involved in the handling and transport of uranium repeated their defiant statements that they would not allow it to be exported. But instead of receiving support from ALP leaders, the workers whose lives would be at immediate risk met with betrayal.

On November 17 the Federal parliamentary caucus of the Labor Party decided to support the fulfillment of all existing export contracts, taking a position essentially the same as Fraser's. This decision was soon endorsed by the ALP's Federal executive, by the parliamentary caucus of the Queensland ALP, and by the New South Wales ALP State council.

But although the ALP leaders were able for a period to stop the unions from becoming the main centers of opposition to uranium mining, they could not prevent that opposition from growing. On November 19, 1976, 3,000-4,000 antiuranium protesters marched through the streets of Melbourne. At least 20,000 people, mainly under the leadership of environmental groups, took part in nationwide demonstrations on April 1, 1977.

On May 25 the second Fox commission report, dealing with uranium mining in the Northern Territory, was released. Like the first Fox report, the second failed to decisively reject uranium mining, thus effectively clearing the way for it to go ahead. The report's recommendations on environmental safeguards, though strict, were not

### Australian Uranium Deposits



binding on the government or the mining companies.

The second Fox report was bitterly criticized by Aboriginal activists. Its conclusion, according to Neville Perkins, a Black member of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly, was that "Aboriginal needs must come second to mining demands."

Aborigines have the right, under the Federal Land Rights Act, to claim vacant Crown land where they can establish traditional ownership. There was no question that the uranium-rich Alligator Rivers district came into this category, and the Fox commission recommended that it be declared Aboriginal land.

But under the Land Rights Act, the right of Aborigines to veto mining on their land can be overridden if both houses of Parliament consider mining to be in the "national interest."

Despite calls from the uranium lobby for an immediate go-ahead to mining, the government delayed announcing a decision while it made plans to use uranium exports as a weapon in international trade negotiations.

"If Europeans want stability of access to supplies of energy, it is reasonable enough for us to seek to have that principle of stability applied to access to their markets," Prime Minister Fraser said on July 3.

Meanwhile, several State governments indicated that they could be relied on to help implement a decision to step up exports. In Sydney and Melbourne, police violently attacked wharf pickets called to protest the shipping of uranium.

The police attacks provoked a revolt by the Victorian branch of the Waterside Workers Federation, which defied its national leadership and imposed a complete ban on ships carrying uranium. On July 7 came a still more telling blow against the uranium lobby. The national conference of the ALP voted unanimously to place an indefinite moratorium on uranium mining.

This decision represented a considerable toughening of the motion put to the conference by the party leadership. The new policy also stated bluntly that Labor would "repudiate any commitment of a non-Labor government to the mining, processing or export of Australia's uranium."

As usual, the party's ranks proved to be far in advance of the official leadership. Within a month, the Victorian branch of the ALP was to adopt a motion rebuking the party's Federal president, Bob Hawke, for stating that he supported the eventual mining and export of uranium, and that the ALP as well would ultimately approve mining and export.

#### Growth of Opposition to Uranium Mining

The social forces which had inspired these decisions took to the streets in the Hiroshima Day rallies and marches of August 5 and 6, 1977. At least 50,000

people mobilized in cities around Australia.

On August 25, 1977, the Fraser government's expected go-ahead for uranium mining was announced. Against the predictions of most commentators, the government rejected the Fox commission's clear recommendation that the Northern Territory mines be developed one at a time, in order to minimize the impact of mining on the local Black communities.

This decision appears to have been motivated by a desire, common to the government and the mining lobby, to extract and sell as much uranium as possible before the ALP could win office and shut the mines down.

A poll of people in six capital cities in March 1977 had shown 64 percent of respondents supporting uranium mining and 24 percent opposing it. In September, a survey conducted for the *Sydney Morning Herald* found only 53 percent in favor of mining and export, with 42 percent opposed. The *Herald* survey's figures for Melbourne, where the antiuranium movement had been especially active, showed 50 percent opposed and 45 percent in favor.

On October 22, 1977, the swelling opposition manifested itself again. Sixty to seventy thousand people mobilized in all capital cities and many provincial centers. Thousands of workers marched behind trade-union banners, and the rank and file of the Labor Party were heavily represented.

During 1978, much of the attention of antinuclear activists was focused on the battle waged against the Federal government and the uranium companies by Northern Territory Aborigines. Twenty-nine of the largest Aboriginal communities were represented in an independent body, the Northern Land Council (NLC), which was recognized by the government as speaking on the Aborigines' behalf.

When the go-ahead for mining and export had been announced in August 1977, Aboriginal Affairs Minister Ian Viner stated that the government had accepted all the Fox report's recommendations on Aborigines, including those which stated there was to be no mining activity in Kakadu National Park until title to the area had been granted to the Aborigines and the necessary control mechanisms had been set up.

But even before this had been done, and despite angry objections from the NLC, the mining companies carried out widespread minerals exploration. Ranger Uranium was making substantial preparations on its mine site. Protests to Fraser in November 1977 earned the reply that the government thought it important that mining preparations should continue.

During mid-1978, negotiations were going forward between the Federal government and the NLC on the terms which would govern the extraction of uranium. The Aborigines had not relented in their

opposition to mining, but pressure and threats from the government had convinced many of them that mining would be allowed to proceed whether they agreed to it or not.

On August 4, it was reported that the talks had reached a stalemate; no agreement had emerged either on environmental questions or on the royalties to be paid to the Aboriginal communities by the mining companies. Prime Minister Fraser promptly threatened to appoint an arbitrator whose decision would be binding.

Late in August it was announced that agreement had been reached between the government and representatives of the NLC, and that the way would be clear for the Ranger project to go ahead once the agreement was ratified by a full NLC meeting. But on September 21, a judge of the Northern Territory Supreme Court granted an injunction restraining the NLC from signing the agreement.

Representatives of several Aboriginal communities had applied for the injunction out of dissatisfaction with the way the September 15 NLC meeting, which decided to ratify the agreement, had been conducted. Only half of the council's forty-two members were present.

#### 'I Have the Power'

An especially sore point with the Aboriginal communities concerned the crude threats Fraser and his ministers had used against NLC leaders in order to get them to recommend that the agreement be approved. At a meeting on September 8, Fraser had told NLC chairman Galarrwuy Yunupingu:

"I have the power to block any law in the Northern Territory; I'm the number one man in Australia. We're not going to negotiate. Shut up and sit down. We're going to dig that hole anyway. It doesn't matter if you don't want it. We're still going to do it.

"If this agreement is not signed you will lose the Northern Land Council. I will take it off you . . . you won't have anything."

Moved by a ground-swell of opposition in the Aboriginal communities, the NLC told the Supreme Court on September 22 that it would review its September 15 decision to ratify the agreement. With this decision, the NLC effectively blocked the mining companies from beginning to extract ore until mid-1979, because the wet season, in which transport comes to a standstill, was impending. On October 11, the Ranger agreement was rejected by a meeting of forty NLC delegates.

But on November 3, a further Land Council meeting concluded with the agreement being signed. Under ruthless pressure from the Federal government, NLC chairman Yunupingu had caved in, and had begun campaigning for the agreement to be accepted.

The final NLC discussions on this matter were a shameful affair, in which Yunu-



David Spratt/ANS

Melbourne demonstrators take part in August 1978 Hiroshima Day action.

pingu and Aboriginal Affairs Minister Ian Viner exploited the confusion of the delegates to present the agreement as an accomplished fact which the Aboriginal people had no right to continue opposing.

According to NLC member Leo Finlay, the traditional owners of the Ranger mine site were not asked their opinion of the pact; the consultation required by the Land Rights Act never occurred.

During December, an agreement was signed covering mining at Nabarlek, where the rape of Black land was officially begun on June 8, 1979, with a \$25,000 party for 200 guests. Deputy Prime Minister Doug Anthony unveiled a plaque; Galarwuy Yunupingu and two Japanese power-company executives used a silver spade to turn the first sods. Aboriginal children were given party hats, balloons and sweets. The Ranger mine was officially inaugurated three days later.

In attempting to browbeat the NLC leaders, Fraser had gloated to them that they could expect no support from the ALP or the unions. But the prime minister was bluffing; during 1978 opposition to uranium mining had remained firm among the mass organizations of the working class.

Early in 1978 ten major unions were represented at a national consultation of the Movement Against Uranium Mining. At about this time, members of the Waterside Workers Federation affirmed their total opposition to handling uranium shipments, even in order to fulfil existing contracts. In a national ballot of major ports the "wharflies" voted by 3,486 to nil in favor of rejecting the shipments.

Unfortunately, the ranks were not always able to control the positions taken by their leaders.

On February 10, the ACTU at a special union conference on uranium accepted the advice of its president, Bob Hawke. It decided to allow existing uranium contracts to be fulfilled, but recommended that "labor not be made available" for the opening of new mines pending assurances from the government that adequate safeguards existed in relation to nuclear waste

disposal, and that "the legitimate demands of the Aboriginal people" over land rights would be satisfied.

Within a week, the Victorian and South Australian Trades and Labor Councils had voted to reject this sellout. But the confusion and demoralization produced by the backdown showed up when 500 Sydney waterside workers voted by 3 to 1 on February 14 to endorse the ACTU decision.

The ACTU had refused to take on the role of leading the struggle against uranium mining; responsibility for carrying out this task fell once again on the antiuranium groups in each state.

The movement had entered 1978 with its morale high. By late 1977, the Victorian Movement Against Uranium Mining had had more than 100 local groups operating.

Nationwide demonstrations on March 31 and April 1, 1978, attracted a total of about 30,000 people; attendances in several major cities were limited by heavy rain. Soon afterwards, preparations began for the next mobilizations, around Hiroshima Day, August 5.

An early victory was notched up when the Victorian branch of the ALP, at a special conference on May 14, endorsed the Hiroshima Day demonstration and expressed its full support for the antiuranium movement.

#### Struggle Within the Movement

But the movement was far from being politically homogeneous, and a sharp struggle proved necessary in order to keep its focus clearly on the demands for an end to uranium mining and export.

One organization that had always had trouble relating to the antiuranium movement was the hard-line pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). A leaflet issued by SPA members in Brisbane in May 1978 contained the following statement:

"Opposition to the mining and processing of uranium, and through it the production of nuclear power, is unrealistic and flying in the face of the facts."

Concluding from the existence of the Soviet nuclear-energy program that adequate technology existed to make nuclear power plants safe, these apologists for the Moscow bureaucracy argued that antiuranium activists should be campaigning for "public ownership of Australian uranium resources under the control of a democratic people's energy commission."

The influence of the SPA's position has been limited to the few unions in which the party has its industrial base. Far more dangerous for the antiuranium movement has been the attempts by the other main Stalinist party, the "Eurocommunist" Communist Party of Australia (CPA) to sidetrack the campaign.

What the CPA did was to try to counterpose involvement in disarmament conferences and general propaganda around the

need for peace to the actual, existing campaign against the nuclear danger.

This diversion was pushed with some energy during 1978 by the CPA's liberal "front" organization, the Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament (CICD). At a meeting of the Movement Against Uranium Mining (MAUM) in Melbourne on May 20, 1978, people associated with CICD and the CPA were instrumental in having the demand "Land Rights not Uranium" dropped from the platform of the August 6 demonstration.

The propaganda topic which the CICD wished to substitute for land rights had been clear for some time; endorsement had been sought from MAUM for disarmament conferences held in Melbourne and Sydney on April 21-23.

But opponents of uranium mining hold a variety of positions on the political question of how disarmament and peace are to be achieved; to demand adherence to a particular position on this question, which is essentially distinct from that of whether uranium should be mined, can only limit the antiuranium movement's potential support.

On a more fundamental level, the traditional "peace movement," into which the CPA has tried to integrate the antiuranium campaign, employs a fundamentally different political method from that which has been used to build the fight against uranium mining. While the antiuranium campaign has mainly relied on class-struggle methods of work bans, strikes and mass demonstrations, the Stalinist-led "peace movement" has placed its trust all along on appeals to the better nature of capitalist governments, refusing to point out bluntly the inherently aggressive nature of imperialism and the necessity for workers to fight and defeat it.

#### Hiroshima Day Success

With at least 40,000 people taking part around the country, the 1978 Hiroshima Day demonstrations established clearly that the antiuranium movement had lost none of its power to involve masses of Australians in political struggle. Particularly significant was the turnout of 25,000 people in Melbourne, equal to the largest of the 1977 demonstrations. For the first time, the Victorian ALP had been drawn into active mobilizing work in support of the campaign.

Antiuranium demonstrators had again given the bosses cause to fear the radicalizing potential of the movement, and had given powerful backing to worker activists who were fighting in the unions to close down the uranium industry.

But some people remained unimpressed, among them leaders of the antiuranium campaign itself.

Hints that certain activists were tired of marching, and felt the need for "more radical" tactics than mobilizing the masses in political struggle, had appeared

at a national antiuranium activists conference held in Sydney on June 24-25.

One decision made by the conference was to put into effect a planned program of harassment of the mining companies. Another was to conduct a boycott campaign against a selected company connected with uranium mining. These tactics were never seriously implemented; in any case, neither could have had any significant impact on the mining companies.

The question of what basic perspective the campaign should adopt came to be fought out around a proposal for further national demonstrations on October 28. Supporters of a mass action perspective argued that a further mobilization before the end of the year was needed if the momentum from Hiroshima Day was not to be lost. Unless such an action were held, eight months would elapse between Hiroshima Day and the demonstrations projected for the following April.

Without a clear focus for their activity, such as preparations for a mass demonstration would provide, many of the local antiuranium groups would collapse. Also, supporters of mass action argued, it was essential that the Northern Territory Aborigines be given a further visible assurance of the massive support their cause enjoyed, as their negotiations with the government moved into a crucial stage.

Antiuranium activists in Brisbane joined Sydney MAUM in planning a demonstration for October 28. But despite unanimous support for the mobilization from the annual meeting of the NSW Young Labor Council, the opponents of mass action organized feverishly and, with a variety of bureaucratic methods, were able to force the cancellation of the rallies. As a substitute, Sydney opponents of the demonstrations argued in favor of a large fund-raising dance, and a number of small protest pickets.

Among the most vocal opponents of any mass mobilizations in October were members of the Communist Party.

By mid-1978 it had become clear that it was not only uranium mining that the antinuclear campaign would have to combat. In March, Deputy Prime Minister Doug Anthony had announced that Japan had agreed to take part in the building of a uranium-enrichment plant in Australia during the next two years. France would be another partner in the enrichment industry, Anthony announced while in Paris during July.

Western Australian State Premier Sir Charles Court was reported to be supporting moves by the Western Mining Corporation to set up an enrichment plant near its Yeelirrie uranium deposit, north of Kalgoorlie.

In October 1978, large numbers of Australians discovered that they were not to be spared the full perils of the nuclear age. It emerged that the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was planning to have nu-

clear power stations operating in several States by the mid-1990s.

Earlier suggestions from Sir Charles Court that a nuclear power station would eventually be built on the outskirts of Perth suddenly became far more menacing, as AEC officials revealed that the commission was already working on plans for nuclear power with State government authorities in Western Australia and Victoria.

In June 1979, the Court government named two prospective sites for its nuclear power station, which it intends to bring on-stream in the mid-'90s. Like Perth itself, the two sites chosen are in an earthquake-prone area.

#### **A Threat to Unions**

Court revealed his plans for uranium mining and enrichment and nuclear power generation, conscious that any attempt to proceed with these projects would be likely to involve a head-on collision with the labor movement.

Of the unions which cover workers likely to be involved in the uranium industry, most have made at least a verbal commitment to uphold ACTU policy on the issue. At present, the ACTU opposes the opening of new uranium mines unless it is satisfied that proper environmental safeguards have been established and the demands of Aborigines met.

But at a special meeting of twelve unions in Melbourne on March 9, 1979, two right-wing-led unions, the Australian Workers Union and the Federated Ironworkers Association, indicated that they would continue to defy ACTU policy by allowing their members to work on site preparations for the Ranger mine.

Union labor is thus available for the actual extraction of the ore. But it seems certain that if any new mines go ahead, it will be as scab operations.

Early in March John O'Connor, the Western Australian State secretary of the Transport Workers Union, said his union would ban any goods coming to or from the Yeelirrie mine site. On April 29 ACTU Senior Vice-president Cliff Dolan announced that several key unions had resolved to ban all work by their members on the Nabarlek and Ranger projects.

The Amalgamated Metal Workers and Shipwrights Union (AMWSU), the Australian Railways Union and the Electrical Trades Union would refuse to supply labor at the mine sites, and would also try to stop the manufacture and transport of equipment for the mines. Dolan said the Transport Workers Union had promised its support for this stand.

The Ranger consortium has said it will require up to 500 tradespeople at peak construction time, most of them in trades covered by the unions which have imposed the bans.

Both the Federal and Western Australian governments continue to insist that

mining and export will be carried through. This now amounts to a pledge that they will, if necessary, go all out to smash the power of the unions to enforce the closed shop and to ban work which their members consider unsafe.

The sort of struggle mounted by the AMWSU and its allies in the union movement will thus be critical in deciding whether new mines are to be developed, and will have a vital bearing on deciding what the overall balance of class forces in the country will be for years to come.

Most leaders of the Australian labor movement would prefer to capitulate rather than fight stand-up battles with the government. Unless the union officials are kept under strong pressure from the ranks, the bans on new uranium mines will be applied inconsistently, watered down, and eventually dropped altogether.

If a high level of rank-and-file militancy on the issue is to be developed and maintained, the unionists involved must feel part of a vocal, aggressive and visible movement.

For the movement against uranium mining, 1979 has been a year of critical change. In the largest cities the traditional, essentially middle-class leadership, made up of environmentalists and liberal pacifists, has entered into crisis.

Among these people, pessimism about the chances of ending mining has increased, as it has become clear to what lengths the Fraser government is prepared to go to ensure that mining and export continue.

But this has been a crisis of will in the leadership, not a crisis of conviction among the movement's scores of thousands of supporters, who remain prepared to move into struggle if a clear political focus for their activity is provided.

The demoralization of the traditional leadership has been reflected in the decline of the activists' committees, particularly the Movement Against Uranium Mining in Sydney.

Fortunately, the loss of will of a handful of discouraged people has not led to the collapse of the campaign. An alternative leadership has arisen. This emerging leadership is based solidly on the working class.

Early in 1979 the antiuranium movement scored a triumph when at least 60,000 people, spurred on by reports of the near-disaster at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in the United States, mobilized on April 6 and 7 in some twenty cities around Australia. The turnout was as great as for any previous mobilization; the crowd of 20,000 in Sydney was the largest to participate in any demonstration in that city since the Whitlam Labor government was sacked in 1975.

#### **Labor Against Uranium**

Most of the credit for the huge Sydney demonstration can be taken by Labor

Against Uranium (LAU), an undelegated committee of Labor Party antiuranium activists. LAU has been able to use its close links with the trade unions, and the infrastructure provided by Labor Party branches throughout New South Wales, to draw into activity thousands of people who could not have been reached by MAUM.

But the great strengths of Labor Against Uranium are political rather than organizational. LAU is a rank-and-file organization of the workers movement; many of its members understand the tremendous social weight of the working class, and the central, indispensable role this class plays in the economy.

People with this understanding acknowledge with great readiness that the way to force an end to uranium mining is not to hold festivals and displays of alternative technology, or to embark on minority campaigns of harassment against mining companies, but to mobilize the masses of workers in political struggle.

Neither in Sydney nor in Melbourne have the MAUM groups recognized the need to orient their work towards the labor movement; this is the essential reason why MAUM in both cities is now almost moribund.

In Sydney, Labor Against Uranium made good this deficiency. As a rank-and-file initiative, operating in many ways as a vehicle for opposition to the rightwing New South Wales leadership of the Labor Party, LAU has both attracted, and has had to rely upon, the broad participation of ALP branch members.

But in Melbourne, the ALP leadership has had much greater success in preventing such rank-and-file initiatives from going ahead. Victorian Labor leaders have spoken out bluntly against the nuclear industry, and have sanctioned the setting up of an ALP antiuranium committee. But this body remains a small policy committee under leadership control, with little perspective of involving the ranks in its work. As a consequence, the central organization of the Melbourne antiuranium movement continues to be MAUM.

The different compositions of the leaderships of the Sydney and Melbourne antiuranium movements are reflected in the Hiroshima Day actions that were planned in each city for August. In Sydney, Hiroshima Day was planned as a political demonstration, centering on a mass march. The Melbourne action was to have more of the character of a countercultural festival, with the thrust of its demands far less clear, and with much less power to convince opponents of uranium mining of their potential strength when they engage in united action.

However, the very fact that nationally co-ordinated actions took place on Hiroshima Day was itself a victory for the proponents of mass demonstrations. Just how necessary it is that the fight against uranium mining should be centered in the



Henry Manx/Direct Action

Labor has played leading role in anti-uranium campaign. Above, Labor Party banners in march of 10,000 in Sydney on August 4.

working class was demonstrated two weeks after the huge April 6-7 actions, when a "National Uranium Moratorium Consultation" met in Adelaide. By a vote of 8 to 6, the delegates passed a motion:

"That there be no national rally or mobilization on Hiroshima Day but that all states encourage their local groups to plan other activities around Hiroshima."

One of the most active protagonists of this position was a delegate from Sydney MAUM, Geoff Evans. Evans, a well-known Communist Party of Australia member, had argued in a position paper that "marches and rallies do not confront and challenge the government and mining companies as much as many smaller actions have, and to a significant extent are now accommodated and co-opted by the governments and police."

The truth is that governments have little trouble accommodating the "challenges" of small groups of muddleheaded liberals and posturing ultralefts. The only force the capitalist state cannot accommodate or co-opt is the working class when it mobilizes under a class-struggle leadership.

Not only members of the Communist Party, but many leaders of the antiuranium movement are skeptical that they

will ever see the kind of working-class outbursts needed to shut down the nuclear industry. But a *Sydney Morning Herald* poll taken early in 1978 shows how baseless this pessimism is. At the time of the poll, 66 percent of Australians aged between eighteen and twenty-one, and 57 percent of those between twenty-one and twenty-four, opposed uranium mining.

These young workers who are most solid in their opposition to uranium mining are now in the forefront of huge class battles, as strikes in defence of living standards erupt throughout industry. More and more, the dangers of uranium mining are being seen as an important issue in the class struggle, to be fought by workers using the weapons of militant mass action forged in the battle for wage gains.

In the coming months, it will become far more difficult for the labor leadership to maintain the compromising stance which has allowed uranium shipments to pass almost unobstructed. As the fight for wage justice spills over into the battle to "stop the merchants of nuclear death," the struggle against uranium mining in Australia will become not only an inspiration to the world antinuclear movement, but a potent political instruction as well. □

## Preferential Hiring, Preferential Seniority in Canada

By Samantha Anderson

[The following two articles appeared in the October 1 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Montréal.]

\* \* \*

Janice Foster, a young woman from British Columbia, took the B.C. wood industry to court for her right to work the "male" job of hauling logs on the green chain.

She won. But she's one of very few women to break into the better paying industrial jobs worked predominantly by men. Though the number of women working in non-clerical jobs is growing, most of them are ghettoized into lower-grade, menial jobs.

Take the Steel Company of Canada [Stelco] plant in Hamilton, for example. The pay is higher than average. The union local is strong. Any production worker would jump at the chance to work there. Of 12,000 employees, only 50 are women. They all work in the tin mill, inspecting and sorting. The plant hasn't hired a woman in 16 years.

Similar situations exist throughout Canada's basic industries.

### Quotas Needed

Women are the victims of deep-rooted discrimination. Decisive measures will be required to counteract centuries-old prejudices and the sexist training most women receive at school.

A certain number of jobs must be set aside for women at all levels of production, and the necessary training provided. The aim should be to bring the percentage of women in all areas of production into line with their percentage in the workforce.

In the United States, legislation requiring job quotas for Blacks and women in all federal contracts was won by the Black civil rights movement in 1965. Where unions have fought to implement this "affirmative action," Blacks and women have scored real gains.

For example, in 1974 the Steelworkers union at the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical plant in Louisiana forced the company to set up a special training program to increase the number of Black and female workers in craft jobs. Fifty percent of the places in the programs were set aside for them. The quotas were to continue until the proportion of Blacks in craft jobs rose to 39 percent—the percentage of Blacks in the local workforce—and until women in craft jobs rose to 5 percent.

Women in Canada need programs like

that to begin to break through the vicious circle excluding them from industrial jobs.

The NDP [New Democratic Party] and most union federations in Canada support equal job opportunities for women. Support for affirmative action is often included in their platforms. But none put forward concrete proposals, such as quotas.

A draft brief on affirmative action prepared in 1978 by the B.C. [British Columbia] Federation of Labor women's committee analyzes correctly the institutionalized discrimination women workers face. But it dismisses quotas and corresponding adjustments to seniority as "troublesome."

"... they do not have to be and probably shouldn't be part of any equal opportunities program," it says.

In Saskatchewan, affirmative action legislation of the NDP government fails to include quotas. (See box.)

### Unions Must Lead

Labor has every interest in supporting the fight for affirmative action. Low-wage job ghettos for women exert downward pressure on the general wage level. Unemployed women, desperate for a job, can be used by employers to break strikes or replace other workers at lower wage rates.

Employers have their own reasons to avoid hiring women in skilled industrial jobs. They don't want to face demands for costly paid maternity leave, child care, and better working conditions. Above all, bosses value the effect of false stereotypes and divisions between male and female workers that result from segregation in employment.

The exclusion of women from industrial jobs weakens the labor movement.

Obviously, real equality on the job for women will not be won without a fight. It is not enough for the unions to state

support for affirmative action. They must come out clearly in support of quotas to ensure that women are given priority in hiring.

That's just what the B.C. Federation brief does not do. "Long range goals," "intermediate targets," "timetables," and "the most troublesome term of all, 'quotas,'"—"none of these terms have to form part of an affirmative action program," it states.

"What often happens is that a candidate with greater seniority and higher qualifications will be disqualified to promote a basically qualified person."

But isn't that exactly what is required for women to catch up? And if unions come out forcefully behind such a system wouldn't that strengthen—not weaken—them?

At the Kaiser plant mentioned earlier, Brian Weber, a white lab technician, challenged the quota system in the courts, charging it discriminated against him by allowing Blacks with less seniority into the training program ahead of him.

But it is Blacks, not whites, who suffer racial discrimination. The gap between the average income of Blacks and whites in the U.S. continues to *increase*, despite the small gains brought about by affirmative action. There is no basis for Weber's charge of reverse discrimination.

In fact, the quota system at Kaiser was of direct benefit to white workers too. The training program that resulted brought a general increase in skilled jobs—for whites as well as Blacks—from 268 positions to 280.

Similarly, if Stelco in Canada were forced to hire a definite percentage of women as production workers, it would not mean less job security for men. Men may have greater job security today than



Steel local 1005 president Cec Taylor speaks in favor of campaign to force Stelco's Hamilton works to hire women. He is flanked by Debbie Field, Joanne Holowchak, and Jeanette Abbott, who are fighting to get jobs at Stelco.

women, but both have less than they could win by fighting together to get rid of low-paying job ghettos and large unemployment rolls.

The U.S. labor movement mobilized to defend the quota system and defeated Weber's suit. That defeat was a big victory for all workers—Black, white, male, female, young, and old.

### Preferential Seniority

Affirmative action also means protecting gains women have made in the face of layoffs. Where unions are not strong enough to prevent layoffs, they must ensure that preferential treatment for women is extended to the seniority system. Separate seniority lists for those hired under affirmative action programs is one way to do this. Workers on this list should be given *preferential* or *retroactive* seniority to make up for previous employment discrimination. The proportion of women in the plant workforce should not be reduced by layoffs.

Preferential seniority could also ensure that women are given a fair shake in bidding for various job assignments within the plant.

The B.C. Federation of Labor brief takes the opposite view. "There should not be separate seniority lists for males and females," it says, and suggests that unions negotiate plant-wide seniority instead.

Plant-wide seniority would prevent the employers from wiping out the entire female workforce in the plant by cutting back or eliminating individual departments. And, over time, it can help break down the "ghettoization" of women within certain departments. But it would not change the fact that women are a tiny minority in skilled industrial jobs—most of them recently hired, and first in line for firing. For example, women at Inco's Sudbury operation have been reduced from 250 to a handful as a result of layoffs in the last couple of years. A system of preferential seniority would have allowed the union to maintain the proportion of women in the plant.

The B.C. Fed brief worries about the "internal conflict and turmoil" that may develop in unions as a result of changes in the seniority clauses. "It is the reason why unions in this country seem loath to institute equal opportunity programs. It is no wonder since seniority clauses have been won only after great struggles over a period of many years. To many, it is the corner stone of a good union contract."

The seniority system is an important gain for labor. It enables the union to exercise some control over company layoffs, preventing the boss from simply laying off "troublemakers."

But the current system does not meet the needs of female union members. Just as it would hurt the union to allow the boss to pick off militants, so it weakens them to allow women to be swept wholesale out of

the plants. Any adjustment that prevents this would only strengthen the seniority system by enabling it to afford a measure of protection to *all* sections of the union membership.

And what about interference in union business by the courts if such provisions should be required by law?

In the United States, says the B.C. Fed brief, affirmative action plans are enforced by the courts, "often disregarding existing contracts."

Such legislation—enforcing hiring quotas or prohibiting discriminatory layoffs—would be a blow against the company, not against the union. The unions should welcome any such improvement to existing contracts. They should even initiate legislation of this kind as an added pressure against the boss in contract negotiations. Women and the labor movement should use every available means to advance the fight against the boss for real equality on the job.

### Preferential Seniority and Jobs for All

Doesn't preferential seniority accept layoffs and cut across the fight for full employment?

The seniority system was never intended as a guarantee of jobs for all. Its purpose is to allow the union some control over job promotion and firings when layoffs can't

## Campaign to Win Jobs for Women at Steel Mill

The campaign to get women into industrial jobs at the Edmonton finishing plant of the Steel Co. of Canada scored a small but significant victory in mid-September when the company hired two women.

Stelco refuses to comment on why it breached its policy of hiring only males. But the move was clearly in response to a public campaign by unions LYNDIA LITTLE and feminist groups in recent months aimed at forcing Stelco, one of Edmonton's largest industrial employers, to hire women.

The campaign was initiated by Sarah Butson and Lynda Little, who were refused work by Stelco. The Alberta Human Rights commission is investigating Stelco on their behalf for sexist discrimination. Stelco still refuses to hire these two women.

In the following interview with *Socialist Voice*, Lynda Little tells about the issues in the case.

\* \* \*

*Question. Have other women besides yourself and Sarah applied for jobs with*

be avoided.

The fight for full employment is an urgent one for labor. It includes the fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to share the available work around; the nationalization of companies that threaten to close down; and massive government projects to build vital housing, hospitals, and schools to provide more jobs.

Until this fight is won, men will be laid off; but women will be laid off more, and there's no justice to that.

### A Burning Question

Women will be looking to the unions and the New Democratic Party to help them fight for effective measures to meet the economic crisis. The NDP and the unions should fight for legislation requiring quotas and preferential seniority to be part of all federal contracts. The NDP could introduce legislation along the line of the Saskatchewan amendments, extending it to require hiring quotas where discrimination exists. And the unions should mobilize their power behind such legislation, including quotas and preferential seniority in all future contract negotiations. They should give full backing to fights like that of Janice Foster to be hired into "male" jobs.

These measures to fight discrimination and unite working people will strengthen our ability to fight for a better life for all. □

*Stelco?*

*Answer.* Yes. There are always women in the personnel office when I go to check for job openings. A couple of years ago, when I worked as a letter carrier, one of my co-workers told me she applied to Stelco for plant work in 1973. The story was the same then as today: we don't hire women because the work is too heavy and we have no facilities for them.

*Q. Why do women want these jobs?*

*A.* The economic situation is getting tougher. Plants like Stelco are unionized. That means not only better pay and benefits, but greater job security. Breaking into "male" jobs in these plants is one of the few ways women can significantly increase their income. Also, the women's liberation movement has given many of us the confidence that we can do these jobs, that we have a right to them.

*Q. Many companies say women don't have the necessary experience for the jobs.*

*A.* In many cases, this is true. We are faced with a catch-22 situation. We can't get the job because we don't have the experience, and we can't get the experience because they won't give us the jobs. Companies like Stelco should be forced to

## Affirmative Action in Saskatchewan

The NDP government in Saskatchewan has empowered the Human Rights Commission to approve or order affirmative action programs designed to assist women, indigenous (Native) people, the disabled, and other oppressed to gain equality in employment and education.

The amendment to the Human Rights Code recognizes that the individual, case by case, approach to discrimination taken by traditional human rights legislation is woefully inadequate.

"Institutionalized discrimination," says the Commission in a statement on the amended Code, "affects whole groups of people by perpetuating the effects of past discrimination and it continues to create inequality."

The Commission is empowered to

handle complaints filed on behalf of an entire group suffering from a common form of discrimination. This class-action procedure has been used in the United States to fight employers' sexist and racist policies.

The legislation will cover only those employers within the province's jurisdiction and not the chartered banks, and federal transport and communications companies.

Women, Native people, and the disabled will be given priority in affirmative action programs, the Commission says.

Saskatchewan's affirmative action program can become a useful tool to help these oppressed groups become fully integrated in the work force—especially if quotas are adopted for hiring and training. —S.A.

provide training for female applicants to break this vicious circle.

But in many other cases, it's just bold-faced sexist discrimination. I know for a fact that Stelco hires men with little previous experience. A friend of mine just started a job in the plant after eight years of office work and very little plant experience—much less than Sarah or I. He tells us that most of the work in the plant could be done just as easily by women as by men.

*Q. What is the purpose of your campaign?*

A. We want to get the word out on this blatant discrimination. The Alberta Human Rights Commission is investigating Stelco. But it has very little actual power and moves slowly. We need to win the support of unions, feminist organizations, the NDP, and others for our case. We're convinced that once working people know what Stelco is doing, they will support us.

And there are women all across Canada who face the same problem we do. We hope they will get some ideas from our case on how to fight back. The more of us who take these companies on, the more we build up support from the feminist movement and labor, the greater our chances of success.

*Q. What support have you received so far?*

A. Our main support has come from trade unions and feminist groups such as the Edmonton Women's Coalition and the Alberta Status of Women Action Committee. Union support has been a particular encouragement to us. Harry Kostjuk, president of the Alberta Federation of Labor, has made a public statement calling on the Human Rights Commission to carry out a full investigation of Stelco on our behalf. The Alberta Union of Public Employees, the Edmonton local of the Canadian

Union of Postal Workers, and Local 15 of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada have also supported us. Some of these organizations send representatives to our public campaign committee meetings.

But most significantly, we've received strong support from locals of the United Steelworkers of America [USWA] in Hamilton (Local 1005), Grande Cache (Local 7621), and Sudbury (Local 6500). It gives us a lot of confidence to have the support

## Canadian Government Backs Down on Plan to Move Embassy to Jerusalem

On October 29 Canada's Prime Minister Joe Clark announced in Ottawa that he was rescinding his earlier decision to move the Canadian embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The proposal had first been made on May 22, while Clark was campaigning in Canada's general election.

There were immediate protests at that time from Arab states and the Palestinians, who pointed out that under the United Nations partition plan Jerusalem was to have been an international city. Despite these objections, in his first news conference as prime minister, on June 5, Clark reiterated his decision to move the embassy.

But the storm of Arab protests forced Clark to back down. On June 24 he announced that the move would not be made until the completion of a fact-finding mission to the Middle East. This was then followed by the October 29 cancellation of the move.

Israel transferred its capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 1950. Most foreign embassies, however, have remained in Tel Aviv to avoid appearing to sanction the Israeli seizure of Jerusalem. Moving the Canadian embassy would have been a big step in legitimizing the Zionist occupation of Jerusalem.

of the workers in Sudbury who were able to force the International Nickel Company to back down and give them a decent contract.

We hope that USWA Locals 5220 and 5529 at Edmonton's Stelco plants will follow the lead of these other locals. The union local in the plant is in the best position to put direct pressure on the boss to hire women. For example, a few years ago, Local 6500 got Inco to hire 250 women. This is why women work at Inco today.

*Q. How has Stelco responded to the pressure?*

A. Well, for one thing, Stelco has now hired its first two women! This is a victory for all of us, and was clearly a result of our public campaign.

The company probably hopes that tokenist hiring of a few women will take the steam out of our campaign. But hiring these two women is just the thin end of the wedge. It proves the justice of our case. Now we must step up the pressure on Stelco to hire Sarah and me, and all the other women who have applied! We plan to redouble our efforts by organizing public meetings on our case and winning further support.

We hope other women across Canada will be inspired by our case and follow our lead until the doors to companies like Stelco are forced wide open to women. □

In fact, when Israeli Premier Menachem Begin heard of Clark's initial plan, Begin interrupted the convention of his Herut Party to read the announcement to cheer-



Kerry Waghorn  
JOE CLARK

ing delegates.

Clark's decision not to move the embassy after all is a further indication of the growing isolation of the Zionist regime in world politics. □