

THE MILITANT

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

Iran: masses push shah into corner

General strike spreads despite military rule



One of the most powerful revolutionary upsurges in recent history is challenging the dictatorship of the shah of Iran. Millions have taken part in strikes and demonstrations against the regime.

Faced with an entire people in rebellion, the shah appointed a military government November 6. This move received immediate backing from the Carter ad-

ministration but failed to stop the struggle of the Iranian masses. A special five-page section in this issue of the 'Militant' is devoted to news and analysis of the Iranian revolution.

• Carter's shameful support to one of the world's most hated dictators—and what is behind it—is discussed in articles on pages 6 and 8.

• Direct testimony from political prisoners released from the shah's torture chambers, and an eyewitness account of the role of women in the upsurge, appear on pages 7 and 8.

• The latest news from Iran, and the meaning of the events there, is reported and analyzed on page 4.



**Carter
& dollar:
new assault
on labor**

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**Frame-up
trial of
Leo Harris
opens Nov. 17**

Drop the charges against
Miami Black socialist!

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1978 elections

Election day 1978 came and went. A new Congress and new state governments were elected. And when it was over, working people were left with more of the same.

Two things characterized this election.

First was the American electorate's growing conviction that the Democratic and Republican parties offer no solutions to the social and economic problems that bear down on working people more and more as each month passes. This was reflected in the low voter turnout.

Second was the whoop and holler by Democrats and Republicans alike about the so-called tax revolt, which they used to justify their drive to cut government spending for social services.

"You have Democrats out there sounding like Republicans," complained Republican Party head William Brock.

In our minds, and in those of many Americans, the Democrats and Republicans have

HELP US TALLY SOCIALIST VOTES

Future issues of the 'Militant' will carry further news and analysis of the elections, including vote totals for the Socialist Workers Party candidates. Our efforts to tally votes for the socialists, however, can be time consuming and unproductive if we have to rely only on the government to fill us in. We urge readers to help by sending us any news clippings that report the SWP's votes.

always sounded alike—more to the point, they have always acted alike in defending the interests of the wealthy.

But this election season, the capitalist politicians' anti-working-class, antiwoman, anti-Black pronouncements were palmed off by the big-business media as concessions to the American people's move to the right.

The centerpiece of the alleged rightward swing is the "taxpayers' revolt."

This media scenario took a beating. Results on various state tax proposals were mixed, as voters tried to pick their way through the lies and phony promises of the "tax cut" promoters.

Actually, the prime concern of Americans, borne out by poll after poll, is inflation. Soaring taxes are a very real part of working people's declining standard of living. But according to a recent poll conducted for *Time* magazine, most people don't believe that social service cutbacks are necessary in order for government to lighten their tax burden. In

fact, they think more money should be spent for services like health and education.

The shift to the right is not by the American people but by the Democratic and Republican politicians.

And working people can expect only more of what the Ninety-fifth Congress brought them: higher taxes, higher fuel bills, diluted environmental standards, no jobs, and no protection for union rights.

What it boils down to is that on November 7, many working people correctly saw there was no choice in the voting booth. That was proven when voters turned out in numbers fewer than the 37 percent record-low turnout in 1974.

It is no accident that those who don't vote are predominantly blue-collar workers, those with less formal education, Blacks, and young people. They are the ones most victimized by the two big-business parties. And they are the ones most likely to see that it doesn't matter much which one gets elected.

In the few places where there were ballot initiatives that working people clearly had a stake in, the voter participation was markedly higher.

Working people successfully turned back an antiunion attack in Missouri defeating the so-called right-to-work referendum. If approved, this would have outlawed the union shop and immediately nullified all union contracts in the highly industrialized state.

Leading up to the election, the well-financed campaign of the "right to work" movement captured public attention. And in unusually high numbers, the voters responded by voting it down, sixty to forty.

In California, the reactionary Briggs initiative, which aimed to drive gays and gay rights supporters out of public school teaching, was voted down by a 59 percent to 41 percent margin.

Several other serious threats to rights were defeated, including a voucher plan in Michigan that would have jeopardized public education with subsidies to private schools, and a measure in Oregon that would have outlawed state funds for abortion.

* * *

There were working-class alternatives running for office in twenty-five states plus Washington, D.C. These were the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

The socialists' energetic campaigning on a pro-working-class program contrasted sharply with the lackluster personality contests of the Democratic and Republican politicians.

But the socialists' meager financing also contrasted with the \$200 million that went into the congressional and gubernatorial campaigns of the capitalist candidates.

In some states, SWP candidates were kept off the ballot by Democratic- and Republican-enacted election laws. Even where they were able to complete burdensome ballot requirements, they were treated unequally. SWP candidates were locked out of candidates' debates and denied serious coverage by much of the news media.

Despite such obstacles, the socialists managed to take their ideas to thousands of unionists and activists in the women's, African solidarity, and antinuclear movements.

They campaigned to win votes. But more importantly, they campaigned for a program to defend the rights and living standards of the working class.

And they campaigned for the idea that more working people like themselves should run for public office. That the union movement should stop pouring money into the pockets of lying, antilabor Democrats and Republicans and run its own independent labor candidates.

The 1978 election results have only made that message more urgent.

You can help Harris

We urge readers to join the emergency telegram campaign demanding that Miami authorities drop frame-up charges against Leo Harris. The Black socialist activist goes to trial November 17.

Harris's defense committee has appealed for protest messages from around the country—from Black figures, trade unionists, elected officials, and others.

There are but a few days before the slated trial, so immediate action is important. If enough such protests are registered, it can make a difference.

So far Miami authorities have not retreated in their efforts to make the victim of police brutality the criminal.

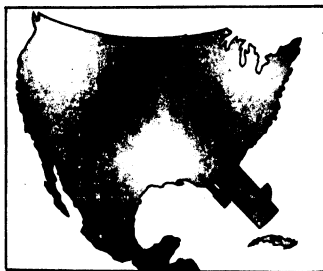
All the facts, including statements from eyewitnesses, establish that a cop deliberately rammed a car into Harris as he sought to participate in a Haitian community protest.

Yet Harris—not the cop—was arrested. If convicted on all charges, he could get a year in jail and a \$1,000 fine. The strongest possible support for Harris must be registered to block this frame-up.

For information on where to lodge protests, see the story on page 9.

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Carter's defense of dollar signals new antilabor assault

By Dick Roberts

President Carter's announcement November 1 of drastic steps to prop up the dollar constituted a sharp escalation of the Democratic administration's antilabor policies.

There is no way in which the Federal Reserve Board can continue to tighten credit—as it is signaling its intention to do—without ultimately throwing this country into recession.

Housing construction and the purchase of automobiles are highly dependent on the availability of credit. If credit is restricted and interest rates go too high, at a certain point people cannot afford mortgages on homes or auto loans.

When these two sectors of industry turn down, and tens of thousands of construction and auto workers are fired, the U.S. economy inevitably sinks into recession.

Carter sharply raised the discount rate (an interest rate set by the Federal Reserve) precisely to underline to world capitalism that the White House will court a recession and massive unemployment in this country if that is what it takes to bolster the dollar.

In addition to raising the discount rate, Washington also took a number of steps to shore up the dollar in foreign money markets. The U.S. government made agreements to borrow up to \$30 billion of foreign currencies in order to purchase greenbacks abroad.

By buying these dollars and selling the foreign currencies that have been borrowed, the Federal Reserve can raise the dollar's exchange rate against the other currencies.

Under the impact of Carter's unprecedented moves, Wall Street's panic of the previous two weeks seemed to subside. And in the first few days of trading abroad, the decline of the dollar was sharply reversed.

But it is much too early to tell whether Washington has succeeded in turning around the decline of the dollar, which has continued relentlessly for almost two years.

There is a real danger that if Carter's plan falls



apart an even worse international money collapse would take place.

The fall of the dollar is tied to the increasing rate of inflation in the United States, and to the massive government spending that causes inflation. (For details on the relationship between government deficit spending and inflation see: "Inflation: Who's at fault?" in the November 10 *Militant*.)

Since President Carter took office, the administration has been turning the screws bit by bit on the American labor movement. The government budget

for social welfare has been slashed. Taxes on workers have been increased while new tax giveaways for corporations and bonuses to investors were passed into law.

In announcing the Phase II wage and price "guidelines," Carter promised further curtailment of budget deficits in the future.

These measures nevertheless failed to persuade investors that U.S. inflation would be brought under control. On the contrary, as the Phase II announcement approached, a panic hit Wall Street. The Dow Jones Industrial Average plummeted 110 points, one of the sharpest drops in history.

Abroad, the dollar plunged, seemingly out of control.

"Pessimism about the dollar and the administration's economic management had become so rampant," the *Wall Street Journal* said November 6, "that the nation was on the brink of, in the words of one New York banker, 'a 19th Century kind of financial panic,' from which a genuine depression could have developed."

Carter's moves are risky.

On the international financial arena even \$30 billion pales before the total dollar "overhang" abroad of over \$500 billion. If the governments and corporations holding these dollars decide to continue exchanging them for stronger currencies and gold, Washington's \$30 billion could be eaten up in a moment.

There is the further risk that a recession in the United States will pull the rest of the capitalist world down with it as in 1974-75. The "mild" recession that Washington's experts are flirting with could turn into another worldwide depression.

Most decisive, however, is the response of American workers. This is the first time since the New Deal era of the 1930s that a Democratic Party administration has openly undertaken recessionary measures.

How much more leeway does the supposed "pro-labor" Democratic Party actually have with American workers? Truly the fate of world finance—not to mention the future well being of millions of working people—hinges on the answer to that question.

FBI raids striking California Teamster local

By Jack Conley

OAKLAND, Calif.—On October 26 the FBI raided Teamster Local 70 headquarters in Oakland and two San Francisco law firms that represent the union local.

Local 70 is one of nine Teamster locals in the Bay Area on strike against Safeway and other major market chains.

FBI agents, armed with federal grand jury subpoenas, carted away boxloads of documents. According to the *San Francisco Examiner*, the agents were led by members of the Justice Department's Organized Crime Task Force.

Federal authorities refused to disclose the nature of the investigation.

But the news media were tipped off well in advance to the "surprise raid." Photographers and TV cameras were on hand. The raids made front-page news in Bay Area papers.

Whatever the "secret" reasons for this well-publicized raid, the government's timing is unmistakable.

Local 70 is entering the fifth month of its bitter strike against the Food Employers Council. Every trick in the bosses' book has been used to try to break this strike—scabs, goons, arrests, assaults, even the murder of a union picket. But to no avail. The strikers have held firm and rallied growing support to their struggle.

The FBI raids are aimed at scaring

off public support for the striking locals, and at pressuring union officers and members into submitting to the markets' give-back demands.

Ken Silbert, a spokesperson for one of the union's law firms, said the range of records subpoenaed is "very broad." Included are local financial records, terms of union benefit plans, and picketing records dating back to 1974.

The FBI raids took place only a few days after President Carter announced his "voluntary" wage guidelines. The Teamsters begin negotiations of their Master Freight Agreement—covering more than 400,000 trucking company employees—in December. It will be the first major test of Carter's plan.

The government has already threa-

tened to intervene in the Teamsters' contract talks to keep wages down. These raids are an even bolder warning to the union to tone down its demands.

The FBI may try to justify its assault with charges of union pension fraud or rigged elections. But the government has no intention of democratizing or strengthening the Teamsters union. On the contrary, these raids and the rest of the government's threats are aimed at making the union serve the employers—not its own ranks.

Teamsters and other union activists should protest this assault on labor's democratic rights and redouble their support to the California strike.

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Shah prepares showdown

Upsurge in Iran forces

By David Frankel

The appointment of a military government in Iran November 6 has set the stage for a showdown between the tyrannical regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and an aroused people.

"We support the shah in his decision," a State Department official declared. The Carter administration had the gall to portray the shah's move as part of his supposed policy of "liberalization."

Meanwhile, at least ten journalists were arrested, all newspapers except for the government's *Rastakhiz* were banned, and demonstrators were threatened with summary execution.

"It was a good day," one U.S. official declared. "A few more like that and we can put things back together."

But it is one thing for the hated dictator to declare martial law and quite another to make it stick. In fact, martial law has been in effect in Iran's major cities since September 8.

Yet, Iran's economy remains paralyzed by a nationwide general strike, and there were demonstrations in Tehran even after the shah's latest crackdown. Much larger demonstrations occurred elsewhere in Iran, including in the major cities of Isfahan and Tabriz.

U.S. encouragement

U.S. policymakers made no secret of their impatience with the shah for not taking stronger repressive measures sooner. "American officials have been increasingly worried by what is viewed as his indecisiveness in dealing with violence, dissent and strikes," *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith reported in a November 5 dispatch from Washington.

The shah had hoped to ride out the massive upsurge without having to gamble everything on a decisive confrontation. But his hand was forced by the spread of the general strike against his regime and by the biggest demonstrations in Iranian history.

Protests on November 5 exceeded even those in early September, when some 4 million people took to the streets to demand an end to the shah's dictatorship. The November 5 outpouring was sparked by the murder of sixty-five students at Tehran University the day before. Soldiers opened fire on the students after they had dragged down a statue of the shah at the school's entrance.

Symbols of imperialist domination and of class privilege were singled out by the angry demonstrators protesting the killings. "Banks were particularly hard hit," NBC news reported.



Demonstrators in Zanjan, northwest of Tehran, October 21

Also set to the torch were many of the plush hotels and shops in Tehran that cater to the shah's foreign advisers and to the Iranian ruling class. The British embassy was burned, and the American embassy was saved from the same fate only because of the intervention of the army.

Worthless promises

In announcing his appointment of a military regime, the shah tried to strike a conciliatory note in hopes of winning time from the masses demanding an end to martial law, the release of all political prisoners, and the elimination of his rotten regime.

"I commit myself to make up for past mistakes, to fight corruption and injustices and to form a national government to carry out free elections," promised the desperate tyrant.

The man responsible for what one Amnesty International report described as "the highest rate of death penalties in the world, no valid system of civilian courts, and a history of torture which is beyond belief," promised

the Iranian people: "I guarantee that after the military government, freedom and the Constitution will be freely reimplemented."

Neither the shah's lies, nor those peddled by the Carter administration in his behalf, are worthy of the slightest credence. Although the shah may put a few prominent scapegoats on trial for the crimes he has ordered, the truth is that he has gone about as far as he can with concessions. He is now banking on a decisive blow to break the back of the mass movement.

A string of concessions offered earlier by the regime included big wage increases for striking workers and the relaxation of press censorship. On October 24, the shah announced he would release 1,126 political prisoners in honor of his birthday. Thirty-four top officers of SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, were dismissed on October 29. And on November 1 the shah promised to release 1,000 more political prisoners and to abolish special military tribunals.

But the shah's concessions were too little and too late. In fact, the accounts

of injustice and torture from those prisoners released October 26 only served to deepen the anger of the masses and spur on the struggle for an end to the monarchy. (See page 7.)

More political prisoners, more censorship, more torture and repression will be used by the shah in attempting to break this mass struggle. And if the shah is successful, there will be no need for him to talk about reforms any longer.

What is worrying Carter is that the shah may well fail in his efforts to crush the Iranian masses.

"The military government is about the last card the shah has to play," one U.S. official told *Washington Post* reporter Jim Hoagland. "He doesn't know what to do next, and neither to we. It will be a miracle if he is still around to hold the elections he has promised."

'Death to the shah'

Such doubts about the shah's future are certainly warranted by the situation in Iran. "Despite official denials," *Washington Post* correspondent Wil-

'Militant' sets drive to get out facts about Iran

By Nelson Blackstock

The *Militant* is determined to get out the truth about what's going on in Iran today—to help our readers penetrate the curtain of silence, distortions, and outright lies that has obscured the facts about the deep-going revolutionary upheaval in that country.

Until recent days, if your only source of information about Iran has been the typical American newspaper or television or radio broadcast, then you were probably only dimly aware that anything at all has been happening there.

With the deepening of the struggle and the shah's imposition of a military government, news reports have increased. Nevertheless, coverage has been so distorted that what's really happening has been covered up.

Big-business newspapers continue to report that around 1,000 Iranians have

been killed in protests since January, although eyewitnesses insist that nearly 4,000 people were gunned down by the shah's troops on September 8 in Tehran alone.

What comes through in the mass media is a bizarre account of masses of Iranians who have fallen under the spell of reactionary religious fanatics. The shah, a benevolent modernizer, is being hampered in his efforts by religious zealots who have stirred up the population.

The *Washington Post*, for example, says that "Iran's troubles began early this year when conservative Moslems started demonstrations against the shah's reforms."

And the *New York Post* commented that "political unrest and crippling strikes by civil servants and oil-field workers plague efforts by the Shah of

Iran to modernize this ancient land."

Those are only two examples of what has become an incessant theme.

The attempt to portray the despotic shah as a beleaguered progressive is consciously promoted by the Carter administration. The motivation is clear. It is a calculated attempt to deceive the American people—to hide the truth about this bloody tyrant.

The shah has oppressed and tortured the Iranian people for years, but he is assured of Carter's total backing. Because he has faithfully obeyed the dictates of the politicians in Washington and the profit-hungry rulers they serve.

This week and in weeks to come, the *Militant* will let its readers know why the people of Iran have waged massive strikes and have taken to the streets by the tens of thousands. Drawing on all

the resources at our disposal, we will seek to dispel the myths created by the shah's backers—the big-business-controlled media—and to present the Iranian workers', peasants', and students' side of the story.

This will include eyewitness accounts, such as the report on Iranian women by a young Iranian student and newly released political prisoners in this issue.

It will also include material prepared by Iranian revolutionists.

Currently the *Militant* is in the midst of a fall circulation campaign to sell 100,000 copies. So far, it has been quite successful.

Now, in these final weeks, we will step up our efforts in response to events in Iran. We will be trying to reach the American people with the truth about Iran.

regime into a corner

William Claiborne reported November 4, "Iranian Finance Ministry officials concede privately that labor unrest permeated the country's entire industrial base."

Describing the atmosphere in the country, Claiborne noted that in the Finance Ministry itself, about half the employees were on strike, and that demonstrators in the ministry headquarters had been "running up and down the corridors, shouting 'Death to the Shah.'"

Referring to the strikes paralyzing the economy, Claiborne explained that "workers go to their jobs and receive pay, but simply do no work, or

their rights has been shown repeatedly in the course of the current upsurge. Demonstrators have defied the tanks and machine guns deployed by the army, and the thugs and gangsters hired by the regime.

In Amol, a city on the Caspian Sea, young people reacted to repeated attacks by government-hired thugs by forming a defense guard 3,000 strong on October 29. Armed with sticks, they began to patrol the city in groups of fifty, searching all incoming cars to keep out the thugs.

In the Kurdish city of Sanandaj, also the scene of goon attacks, the people armed themselves with sticks, brandishing them during mass demonstrations to announce their readiness to defend themselves.

What Carter fears

U.S. officials, along with the capitalist media, have tried to maintain the fiction that this tremendous revolutionary mobilization is primarily a right-wing movement called into being by religious fanaticism and directed from France by Muslim religious leader Ayatollah Khomeyni.

It is true that Khomeyni has gained wide respect. He is the only prominent opposition leader who has not retreated in fear at the development of the mass movement and who has refused any suggestion of compromise with the shah.

"It is the absolute right of people to fight against this regime with whatever means they choose," Khomeyni told reporters November 6.

"Our objective is to start a real modernization based upon the fundamental needs of the vast majority of the people who are poor," Khomeyni declared. He attacked the shah for sponsoring projects that were "useless and dangerous and unhealthy for our country, such as purchasing arms without any benefit for the majority of our poor people."

Although Khomeyni subscribes to a religious ideology, the basis of his appeal is not religious reaction. On the contrary, he has won broad support among the Iranian masses because his firm opposition to the shah and the shah's "modernization" is progressive.

In any case, as *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas Gage had to admit November 5, "the demonstrators are guided not by any leaders, although they have those they admire, but by a goal—to drive the Shah out of Iran."

Carter and his underlings claim that the only alternatives to the shah are a military dictatorship led by some other figure, or a regime based on demagogic appeals to religious fanaticism. They fail to mention their real fear—the prospect of a socialist revolution in Iran.

'The American shah'

During the course of their struggle, the Iranian masses have raised three types of demands. The first has been democratic demands against the shah and his regime. These have included the demands for an end to martial law, an end to censorship, the release of all political prisoners, and the abolition of the monarchy.

Also being raised is the demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The struggle against the shah's dictatorship has also brought the Iranian people into direct conflict with American imperialism, since—as the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* put it November 3, "the shah is our man."

Put into power by a CIA coup, his army dependent on U.S. weapons, his secret police established with Ameri-



U.S. News & World Report

can know-how, Pahlavi is called "the American shah" by protesters.

It is an indication of the general situation in Iran that Gen. Gholam Reza Azhari, the new head of the military government, received his advanced military training at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

The Iranian military and economic establishment is riddled with American "advisers"—some 45,000 in all. Thus, an increasingly popular demand among strikers in Iran is for the firing of foreign employees—that is, for independence from imperialism.

This demand was raised by striking airline employees, who also called for an end to the pegging of Iranian currency to the dollar.

Similarly, the workers at the state-owned telecommunications company issued demands on October 28 that included:

- Termination of all colonial-type agreements between the Iranian company and American concerns;
- Opening the books on economic agreements with American companies to establish what profits had been made by them in Iran;
- Expulsion of the American advisers

(employees of Bell Helicopter) hired by the Iranian company at exorbitant salaries.

Capitalist exploitation hit

Along with democratic demands directed against the monarchy and imperialist domination of their country, the Iranian people have also raised demands aimed at their exploitation and oppression by the Iranian ruling class.

"Some of the demands that have been accepted," William Claiborne reported November 4, "are extraordinary: paid meals, paid transportation to work, rehiring of employees fired during the last 15 years no matter what the cause, pay for travel time to work, and dismissal of some supervisors."

Women have demanded child care, and peasants have demanded land, and an end to the diversion of water by wealthy landlords.

In Tehran, workers at *Ayandegan*, a morning newspaper, found that after the government had temporarily removed its censorship they still had to contend with the censorship imposed by the owners of the newspaper. As a result, they went out on strike October 30.

Thus, the struggle of the Iranian people for their basic democratic rights has also begun to bring them into conflict with the injustices and inequalities built into the capitalist system itself.

This process has been repeated in colonial and semicolonial countries time and time again. When millions of workers and poor peasants are drawn into political struggle, they do not limit their demands to the fight against imperialist domination and for democratic rights.

For the masses, *the fight for democratic rights and against imperialism is bound up totally with the struggle to change their social conditions—with the struggle for a better society.*

Road to modernization

How can Iranian society be modernized and the living standards of the masses raised?

Despite the shah's phony claims, there is no way that this can be accomplished under capitalism. It will take a socialist revolution.

Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution, explained the tendency of struggles for democratic rights in the colonial and semicolonial countries to grow over into socialist revolutions—a process that he called permanent revolution.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the capitalist class was a revolutionary force. It led the peasantry and the plebian masses in the cities against the feudal land-

Continued on page 22

Find out more about Iran

Meetings on Iran, many of them featuring Iranian revolutionaries, are taking place around the country. For a listing of forums, see the "What's Going On" column on page 24.

conduct 'work to rule' actions so exaggerated that production is practically nil.

"Many factories, while technically open, reportedly have become little more than meeting places for disgruntled workers to hold political meetings and discuss new demands."

The strike by oil workers in particular, which has cut off petroleum exports valued at \$21 billion a year—60 percent of the country's gross national product—has the shah's regime by the throat.

The oil workers, like other strikers, are raising political demands, not simply economic ones. Among them are an end to martial law, release of all political prisoners, punishment of the perpetrators of massacres carried out by the regime, and the dissolution of "security offices" maintained by the secret police in workplaces.

Allies of working class

While the working class has moved to the center of the revolutionary offensive against the shah, the workers have been joined by allies from virtually every sector of Iranian society.

Students, for example, have taken over the universities, driving the police off campus and transforming the schools into organizing centers for the mass movement. One of the first actions of the new military government was to order all schools and universities in Tehran closed.

Peasants have also joined the protests against the shah, demanding democratic rights and opposing the abuses of the rich landowners. Although the capitalist media has made much of the shah's land reform, 80 percent of the Iranian peasantry remain landless or near landless.

Also participating in the movement against the shah have been the oppressed nationalities, the most important of which are the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijanis, numbering 10 million, and the 4 million Kurds. Tabriz, scene of some of the biggest protests, is the capital of Azerbaijan Province.

Women too have played a prominent role in the movement (see page 8). One of the demands raised by 400,000 striking teachers is the establishment of child-care centers for teachers who are parents. This same demand has been raised by workers at the Alborg Coal Company in Zinab, who went on strike October 16.

The combativity of the Iranian masses and their determination to win

Help spread the truth

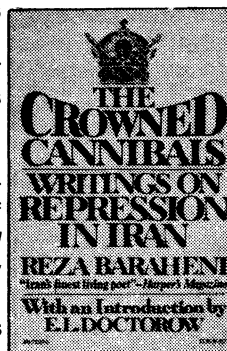
You can help the *Militant* get out the truth about Iran. This fall we have asked our readers to help us meet the rising costs of putting out a paper like this.

Now, with the events in Iran, we want to make a special appeal—to ask our readers to aid our effort to get out the facts about Iran.

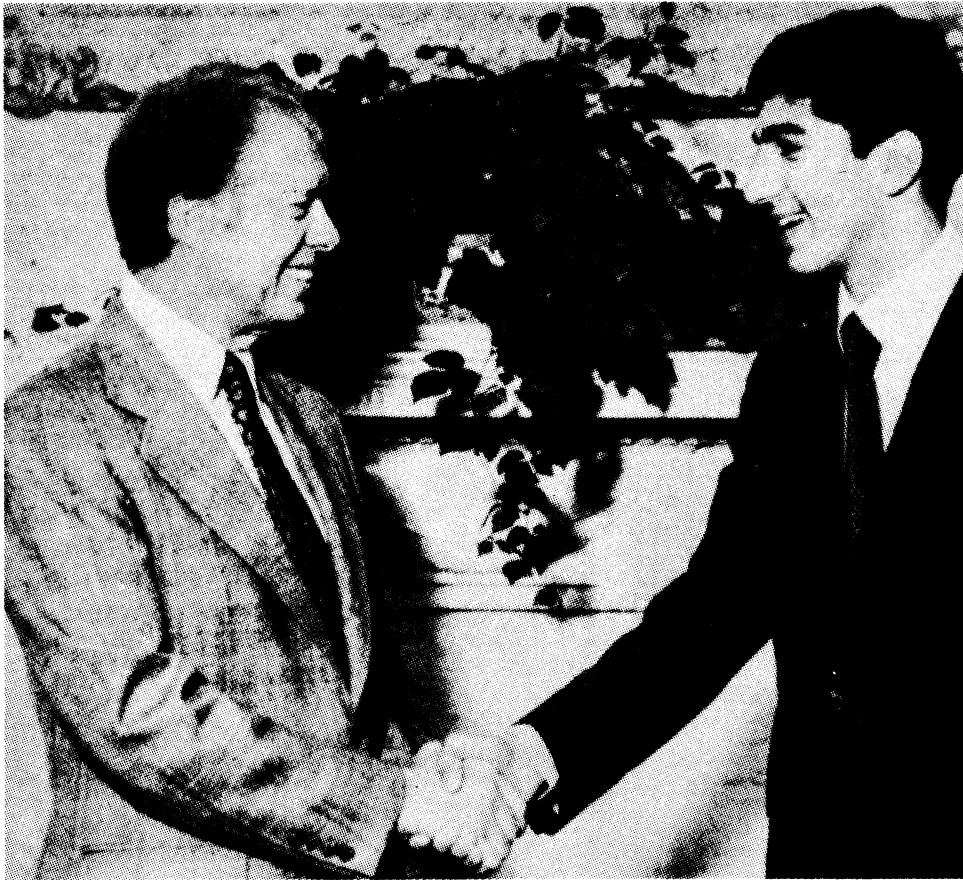
Each reader who contributes \$25 or more with the coupon below will receive a copy of *The Crowned Cannibals* by Reza Baraheni. Called "Iran's greatest living poet" by *Harpers* magazine, Baraheni gives a factual account of life in today's Iran from the viewpoint of a former inmate of the shah's torture chambers.

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Shah 'our man' say Carter & boss press



Carter greets shah's son at White House

By Will Reissner

The headlines reveal near panic: "Iran: 'Situation Is Out of Control'"; "Crisis in Iran"; "His reforms in tatters." The articles under those headlines in the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *New York Post* underline the tenuous nature of the shah's hold on power.

Because of Iran's vast importance as a source of oil and as a junior military partner, the Carter administration has been watching developments in that country with a great deal of anxiety.

Bolstering the shah

On October 31, Carter made two moves designed to bolster the shah. First he issued a strong public statement of support for the shah's regime, praising the shah's "move toward democracy."

The same day, he met with the shah's son, Crown Prince Reza, a student at the U.S. Air Force Academy, on the youth's eighteenth birthday.

Carter told Reza that "our friendship and our alliance with Iran is one of our important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends."

"We wish the Shah our best," the president said, and "we're thankful for his move toward democracy."

The Carter administration has been

echoing a consistent theme of reports in the Western capitalist press—that the present conflict is the result of conservative religious opposition to the shah's modernization of Iran. Accordingly, Carter told the young prince that he realizes that the shah's program "is opposed by some who don't like democratic principles, but his progressive administration is very valuable, I think, to the entire Western world."

Up to now the Carter administration's response to the upheaval has been restricted to strong verbal support for the shah's regime. But Washington is undoubtedly discussing what additional steps to take if the shah's situation continues to deteriorate.

'Foreign policy crisis'

On November 3, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal*, an authoritative and well-informed voice of American finance capital, examined the range of possible actions open to the U.S. rulers. They noted that "doubts are growing that the shah can hold power, though no one knows who or what might replace him."

The "deteriorating situation in Iran," they said, may in fact "present the Carter administration with its first full-fledged foreign policy crisis. The

events there also call into question many of the premises on which recent U.S. policy has been based."

Four lessons are drawn by these Wall Street advisers to the Carter administration. They merit close attention, for they offer an invaluable glimpse into the options being weighed by strategists in the Pentagon and the White House.

The first lesson, say the *Wall Street Journal* editors, is that the vital interests of the U.S. extend beyond Europe and Japan, recent "trendy thinking" notwithstanding.

Second, "our capability to defend such interests has withered." They point out that the last time the shah's regime was in serious trouble, in 1953, covert actions by the CIA were able to depose Premier Mohammed Mossadegh and bring the shah back to power. Therefore, despite the difficulties faced by Carter, they hope he will act in such a way as not to hamper "future Presidents in future crises."

Third, they note, modernization and industrialization do not solve anything by themselves. In fact, "the more reform is carried out the larger the remaining injustices and inequities are seen to loom."

Oppose democracy in Iran

Fourth, "democracy is not an easy form of government," and in present-day Iran it is an impossibility. Lincoln, they point out, suspended habeas corpus in the American Civil War, and Franklin Roosevelt interned Japanese-Americans during World War II. Therefore, they conclude, "while the U.S. should certainly not support torture or assassination or the like, some

perspective is necessary in judging our allies."

In particular they bemoan the fact that Carter's human-rights propaganda offensive fell particularly heavily on the shah's regime "and may have helped erode his legitimacy."

The editors take note of the fact that the administration is now making a "public show of backing the shah" while calling for the release of prisoners and other reforms. This is a mistake, in their view. What the *Wall Street Journal* editors feel is now needed is a tougher attitude by the shah against his opponents, and they call on Washington to back the shah in such a policy. On this they do not mince words:

"What the U.S. ought to do now is let everyone concerned know that the shah is our man, and that we will back his decisions on how to cope with his crisis."

This editorial illustrates both the seriousness with which the crisis in Iran is being viewed in American ruling circles, and the limited options the U.S. has at its disposal to keep the shah in power.

But while the Pentagon's ability to intervene militarily around the world has been weakened by the American people's opposition to foreign military involvement since the Vietnam War, such an intervention cannot be excluded in light of the vital interests U.S. imperialism has in Iran and the entire Middle East.

Therefore, opponents of the shah's regime around the world must be ready to oppose any form of imperialist intervention in Iran.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Threat of U.S. military moves

A steady trickle of hints at possible U.S. military intervention in support of the shah's tottering dictatorship is coming out of the nation's capital these days.

New York Times correspondent Hedrick Smith reported November 5 that the U.S. embassy in Iran has "prepared evacuation plans" for 41,000 U.S. citizens in Iran. A similar pretext was used to justify the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, as well as the recent French-British-U.S. invasion of Zaïre.

Washington Post correspondent George Wilson wrote November 7,

"Before the rioting got so out of hand that the Shah had to resort to martial law, the administration was so concerned about Iran's need for crowd control training that it was prepared to send U.S. Army troops to Iran to train its troops in handling crowds without harming them." The U.S. officials who leaked this plan told Wilson it was not implemented.

A 1959 U.S. treaty with Iran "pledges appropriate [U.S.] action, including the use of armed forces, in order to assist the government of Iran at its request," reported John Cooley from Washington in the November 7 *Christian Science Monitor*.

An appeal to our readers

Help reach Iranian students with Persian-language literature

The revolutionary upsurge in Iran has sparked a new interest in politics among the thousands of Iranian students studying in the United States. We urge bookstores and individual readers to join the effort to reach these students with Persian-language books and magazines published by opponents of the shah.

Payam Daneshjoo, a monthly Iranian oppositionist journal. Single copies, \$1. Subscriptions, \$10 per year.
Order from: P.O. Box 1266, Brooklyn, New York 11201.

Barresi Socialisti, a political journal distributed by Fanus Publications. The first issue consists of three documents of the Iranian Trotskyist movement on the general political situation, women, and nationalities. \$3.

Order from P.O. Box 217 New York, New York 10014.



The following literature from Fanus Publications can be ordered through Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, 10014.

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

The Transitional Program by Leon Trotsky. \$2

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

On Socialist Man by Isaac Deutscher. \$1

Dynamics of World Revolution. Two documents of the Fourth International, world Trotskyist movement. \$4

Please include \$.50 for postage.

Political prisoners indict butcher of Tehran

By Parvin Najafi

"He was a physician. He spent a few nights in a small cell with two other persons. Then they took him for interrogation. In only a few minutes his screams filled the whole section of the prison. There was nothing we could do. All we could do was cover our ears with our hands.

"They brought him back at noon. He was shaking terribly. We wrapped all the clothes and blankets we had around him, so that maybe he would stop shivering. But this was in vain, even after we had wrapped him in the worn-out, bloodsoaked rug under our feet.

"He had been hung from the ceiling and beaten severely. He said he wanted to go to the bathroom. He could not stand on his feet. With the help of another person, I lifted him up. With great difficulty we reached the bathroom. He could not put any weight on his feet. I lifted him from behind so that he could urinate. Believe me, he was urinating blood. Then we knew the reason for those horrible screams. . . .

"Do you think that in the few sentences I have said, I have been able to portray for you the horrible scenes I have witnessed with my own eyes? I say there are no words to describe the bitter, hateful moments of interrogation and imprisonment."

These are the words of one political prisoner to reporters from the Tehran daily *Kayhan* a few moments after he was released on October 26.

Shah's phony 'pardon'

After a month of relentless struggle for the freedom of political prisoners, the shah yielded on October 26—his birthday—and supposedly "pardoned" 1,126 political prisoners.

But it was soon discovered that the list of political prisoners "pardoned" by the shah that was printed in the Iranian press was fraudulent—like everything else the shah does.

Most of the political prisoners supposedly pardoned had been released months earlier, when their terms had ended.

The terms of many others were about to expire, and still others had only a few weeks left to serve.

There were also prisoners on the list of "pardoned" who in fact remain in jail.

Nevertheless, the release of hundreds of political prisoners was an important victory wrested from the butcher's hands. More than anything else, it highlighted the plight of tens of thousands more who are still held captive.

The released political prisoners have given chilling testimony in mass meetings attended by tens of thousands across the country, and in interviews with the Iranian press.

'Charge: reading a book'

The following is a summary of a much longer article in the October 29 issue of *Kayhan*:

Early on the morning of October 28, all the rooms and halls of the Bar Association of Iran's headquarters are jammed with people. Women are in the majority. There are mothers, sisters, daughters, wives, and other relatives of tens of thousands of political prisoners held by the shah.

Everyone is busy filling out forms so that the Bar Association can pursue the effort to free their captive relatives.

A mother is filling out the form. It reads:

First name: Alieh

Last name: Emmamzadeh

Age: 18

Occupation: student

Sentence: 6 years

Charge:

She stops and raises her head, a perplexed look in her eyes. She does



Demonstrators greet released political prisoners in front of Evin Prison in Tehran October 26. Tens of thousands still remain in shah's torture chambers.

not know what to write. They never gave any reason for the arrest and imprisonment of her daughter.

Most people write in this space: "Reading a book," "talking about politics," or "charges not known."

A relative of Mohammad-Ali Jabbari, a thirty-three-year-old political prisoner, writes: "Specific charges are not known, but the security officers said, 'The existence of this person outside prison is not right.'"

An old illiterate mother asks help from a young man next to her. She says: "Please write, my son Lotfollah Masami, both his eyes have been blinded under torture, one of his ears has been deafened. His right arm has been cut off from the elbow down, and he has a constant headache. Write that until a year and a half after his arrest no one was allowed to visit him. He has been sentenced to life imprisonment. And please add that I am for the release of all political prisoners."

'Your son died'

An old man with a cane says: "My son was a senior at the polytechnic institute. One night three men came to our house, and we served them tea, pastries, and fruit. When my son came home they arrested him. We did not hear of him again until last year on May 29, when they told my wife, 'Your son died under interrogation.'"

"Hearing this news, she died instantly of a heart attack. My son's name was Esma'il Akbarianazar." The old man fills out a form and hands it to the person in charge.

Another father, Seyyed Tabib Ghafari, begins filling out the forms. He has three sons in political prisons. Seyyed Habibollah, thirty years of age, is a law-school graduate. Seyyed Azizollah, twenty-seven, is a student. Both were arrested in 1971; both were sentenced to ten years. The oldest son, Seyyed Enayatollah, thirty-two and a teacher, was arrested in Ahwaz in 1973. He has been sentenced to life imprisonment.

By 10:30 a.m. the Bar Association offices are overflowing with people. It is so crowded, as a Persian saying goes, there is no room even for a needle. Housain Hazei, an oppositionist attorney and president of the Bar Association, invites everyone to a big lecture hall in the same building.

Nazeh goes to the microphone and tells the audience that the Bar Association supports freedom for all political prisoners and will do everything within its power to make that a reality.

He says the government has announced that some of the political prisoners will be freed, but not "terrorists" or those who have violated the

constitution (by demanding the monarch's abdication, and so on).

Nazeh says that such charges were brought against persons in military tribunals that according to the Iranian constitution itself have no right to try civilians in the first place.

According to the constitution, he explains, political offenders must be tried by jury in civilian courts. But political prisoners now in jail should not even be tried in such courts, because they have been imprisoned for merely exercising the rights granted to them by the constitution.

After Nazeh finishes, a woman goes to the microphone to read a message from some political prisoners. The message says that the fact that some prisoners have been released is the result of the struggle of the oppressed people of Iran. Now the government is trying to create arbitrary divisions among the political prisoners, and wants to put new obstacles in the way of the fight to free them all. When she is finished a father cries out from the crowd, "None of my three captive children have been released."

Another woman goes to the microphone: "I am the mother of Taqi Solimani Lavasani. They arrested him in Shahreza Street [in Tehran] at 7 a.m. on April 4, 1976. They immediately came to our house, where they could not find anything. I am a worker and I

raised my son with thirty years of hard work.

"Two months after the arrest, the authorities called my son's wife. They told her, 'Your husband was very stubborn. For this reason, he was unconscious for a week until May 11. He was under the oxygen tent for three days. He died on May 14.'"

'At least show me his grave'

Because of the marks of evident torture, the SAVAK did not hand over this person's body to his family. His mother continues: "Now my request is, if they have murdered my son, at least show me his grave. For two and a half years I have searched all the cemeteries for my son's grave. I want the lawyers of the Bar Association to just find my child's grave for me. That's all."

There are many more such stories. Each one of them gives the lie to Carter's cynical, shameless praise for the shah—that "great democrat."

But as these stories are published day in and day out in the Iranian press, they fuel the anger of the Iranian people. They show the people of Iran the truth of what one prisoner said: "As long as the shah stays, everyone in Iran is either a political prisoner or a potential political prisoner."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Carter, Brezhnev, and Hua say 'happy birthday' to shah

On October 28 people throughout Iran were hearing the testimony of the political prisoners released on the shah's birthday. Accounts of gruesome torture, murder of defenseless prisoners, the anguish of relatives, filled the newspapers and were related at mass meetings.

But a different type of testimony appeared in *Rastakhiz*, the government newspaper. Instead of the outrage and opposition to the shah being expressed by millions of Iranians, *Rastakhiz* featured birthday greetings from Jimmy Carter, Leonid Brezhnev, and Hua Kuo-feng.

Nothing was said about the massacre of unarmed demonstrators or the shah's torture chambers and execution pits in these expressions of praise and support for the shah.

Carter assured the butcher of Tehran that despite "the recent unrest . . . your majesty can be proud and very satisfied with all you have done

for the progress of your country during the last thirty-seven years."

The messages from Moscow and Peking didn't even bother to mention the huge upsurge that is threatening to topple one of the few remaining absolute monarchs in the world.

Referring to the shah's massive military program, which is aimed against the Iranian masses, the USSR, and the prospect of social revolution elsewhere in the Middle East, Hua said: "I hope your royal highness will enjoy good health and that Iran will meet further successes in the defense of its independence and national sovereignty. . . ."

Brezhnev called for "good neighborly relations and cooperation" between the shah's dictatorship and the Soviet regime.

His shameless greeting to the shah was an indication of what Brezhnev means by "cooperation."

\$18 billion for tyrant

Why U.S. backs shah's rule

By Fred Feldman

To hear President Carter tell it, the U.S. government is giving all-out support to the shah of Iran because that "enlightened" monarch is advancing "democratic principles."

Carter hopes that kind of talk will gull the American people into accepting further U.S. moves to prop up the shah. "Defense of democracy" was also a prime propaganda justification for the Vietnam War.

A more frank statement—for instance, "I support the shah because torture and murder are the only way to preserve a pro-U.S. regime in Iran"—would hardly serve Carter's public relations goals.

But it would be the simple truth.

U.S. policy in Iran is aimed not at "liberalizing" the regime but at beefing up the shah's repressive forces so they can stamp out any popular challenge.

In 1953 the CIA engineered a bloody military coup to crush a nationalist government that had instituted some popular reforms. Washington restored the shah to his throne.

In 1957 the CIA set up SAVAK, the Iranian secret police whose brutality has horrified the world, and cooperates closely with it today.

The United States has sold \$18 billion worth of military hardware to the shah. About 250 Iranian military officers are trained in the United States each year. And 8,000 current and former U.S. military personnel are now helping the shah's armed forces.

And just in case soldiers begin to get any subversive, democratic ideas, Uncle Sam is watching them: "Within Iran the C.I.A.'s main goal is to monitor the loyalty of the armed forces on whose support the shah's power rests," wrote Nicholas Gage in the July 9 *New York Times*.

Key for imperialism

The reasons why U.S. imperialism is so enamored with the shah are economic, strategic, and political.

His dictatorship has been a bonanza for U.S. corporations. Iran is the world's second-largest oil producer.

Despite the nationalization of Iran's currently operating oil fields in 1973, a U.S.-dominated consortium actually controls the day-to-day operation of the fields and the marketing of much of the product. A subservient regime in Tehran means billions in profits for big oil.

The profits don't end there. The July 9 *New York Times* reported, "The income from [the shah's] arms purchases plus the American technology he buys to help develop his country return to the United States almost \$2 annually for every \$1 the U.S. spends on Iranian oil." Last year U.S. business took in about \$6 billion from Iran and paid out \$3.5 billion.

And the shah has contracted to purchase another \$11.56 billion in arms from U.S. companies.

Borders Soviet Union

Carter has described the U.S. ties to the shah's regime as one of the "most important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends." And if "our" is understood to mean U.S. imperialism, he's right.

Iran's 1,250-mile border with the Soviet Union makes it a key link in the imperialist military encirclement of the USSR and other workers states.

Iran also supplies 90 percent of the oil consumed by South Africa and 60 percent of that used by Israel—both important allies of Washington.

The shah's faithful support to America's ruling class is key to maintaining imperialist domination in the Middle East. "After the Vietnam disaster," a "high U.S. official" told Gage, "the United States would find it difficult to get involved in direct fighting, even to protect oil resources and transportation routes in this area."

The shah sent 3,500 troops to smash a popular rebellion in Oman a few years back, and he has declared his

intention of policing the Strait of Hormuz through which two-thirds of the capitalist world's oil is shipped.

"Iran has carried out American policy objectives in the Red Sea area as well," continued Gage, "supplying arms to Somalia after that country ordered the Russians out . . . and the shah enthusiastically supported Anwar el-Sadat's Middle Eastern peace initiative from the start. . . . The developments in Afghanistan, where a Communist-supported faction has seized power, add even more to the need of the United States to stand solidly with the shah."

Masters in Washington

Carter is convinced—with good reason—that no Iranian regime that reflected the interests of the oppressed Iranian masses could undertake the services the shah performs for his masters in Washington and Wall Street.

Broader considerations also impel Carter to throw U.S. power behind his blood-drenched Iranian puppet. The shah's fall would be followed by a flood of revelations about the scope of his crimes—and Washington's complicity in them. This would make it even more difficult for the U.S. rulers to whip up support at home for intervention in support of neocolonial dictators.

The impact of the shah's overthrow on the other oppressed peoples could be shattering to U.S. imperialism. This is especially true in the wake of the defeat of U.S. efforts to impose puppet regimes in Indochina. A victory for the Iranian masses would inspire millions of oppressed people in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and elsewhere with a confidence in their own power and in the vulnerability of their oppressors.

Above all, the U.S. rulers fear the possibility of a socialist revolution in Iran—the "bad example" of working people taking command of the govern-

Continued on page 16



U.S. government has poured billions into strengthening shah's army, main prop of his regime.

Iranian women battle rulers' oppression

Reports in the big-business press have repeatedly claimed that the protest movement in Iran is composed of right-wing religious fanatics who want to force women to abide by Muslim customs such as the wearing of veils. The real attitude of the protesters in this regard is indicated in the following excerpt from an interview with an exiled Iranian student activist.

The entire interview was published in the November 6 issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. This section of the interview is an eyewitness account of a protest in Tehran that occurred September 4.

A. The march grew in size as time went on. The newspapers reported that about one million people had participated that day. And I believe it.

When we reached Hoseineh Ershad [a religious institution], we shouted to the soldiers, "Brother soldiers, why do you kill your brothers?" And this influenced them. Some of them had tears in their eyes. And everything remained peaceful.

Q. What part of the demonstration were you in?

A. About one kilometer from the front. The length of the entire demonstration after gathering all the people together was about 22 kilometers.

Q. What proportion of the participants were women?



Woman speaks to newspaper workers during current upsurge in Iran

A. There were many women, including women with veils.

Q. Was there any reaction in the crowd against the women who were not wearing veils?

A. No reaction. They were welcomed. Everyone was happy to see these women among the demonstrators.

It is one of the policies of the shah to say that these people are fanatics

and are demonstrating for women to wear veils and so on.

Q. That is what the international press has been saying too.

A. Yes, I know. There were even pregnant women who joined us with no veils. The attitude of the demonstrators was to help these women. Many of them were offered rides in pickup trucks, for example.

Q. What was the ratio of women to men?

A. About two out of ten participants were women.

Q. And what proportion of the women did not wear veils?

A. The majority. A large number of high-school girls participated, for example, and none of them wore veils.

Q. Were the women marching in separate contingents?

A. Some of the women with veils gathered together. I don't know the reason. But most women marched hand in hand with husbands, brothers, sisters, and so on.

Protest telegrams urgently needed

Miami Black socialist goes on trial Nov. 17

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—On November 17 Black socialist Leo Harris goes on trial here. He faces a possible one-year jail sentence and a \$1,000 fine.

The twenty-eight-year-old activist has been framed up on disorderly conduct and criminal mischief charges for his participation in antiracist protests in this city.

In the few remaining days before the trial begins, the Leo Harris Defense Committee is on an emergency campaign to maximize local and national support for Harris.

"We're appealing to *Militant* readers and all other backers of democratic rights around the country," said Jack Lieberman, defense committee secretary. "We need protest telegrams from Black leaders, trade unionists, student leaders, and others demanding that the charges against Leo be dropped."

These messages should be sent to State Attorney Janet Reno, 1351 Northwest Twelfth Avenue, Miami, Florida 33135. Copies should be sent to the Leo Harris Defense Committee, P.O. Box 380013, Miami, Florida 33138.

In addition, Lieberman stressed, "We desperately need funds to cover our increased costs as the case goes to trial."

The trial begins at 9:30 a.m., November 17, at the Dade County Criminal Justice Building, Room 52, 1351 Northwest Twelfth Avenue. "We hope as many defense supporters as possible can attend the trial," said Lieberman, "to show the city authorities we won't let them railroad Leo to jail."

Harris was arrested during a series of boycotts and demonstrations directed against a local Winn-Dixie store. The store's management had made racist slurs against Haitians in the area, saying they were lazy "like all niggers" and should be sprayed with deodorant.

As Harris joined one of the Haitian demonstrations, on August 8, a Miami cop rammed a car into him, hurling



Leo Harris (center) addressing Haitian demonstration. He faces possible year in jail if convicted on frame-up charges.

Militant/Terry Lunn

him onto the hood. The cop braked, flipping Harris back onto the pavement, and then drove away.

Bleeding from a gash in his leg, Harris vainly tried to get the cops present to summon medical help. Finally, when the cops agreed to take him to a hospital, they instead brought Harris into a police station and booked him.

Since then, a persistent campaign of harassment and attempted intimidation has been carried out against Harris and his supporters.

On August 21 his home was burglarized. Valuables were left untouched, while letters and papers were stolen. Cop cars frequently cruise by his home and by the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, to which Harris belongs.

Police have twice visited Jack Lieberman in the middle of the night,

pretending to be checking out burglaries. And the cops have tried—but failed—to convince some defense committee endorsers to withdraw their support.

On October 6, during a meeting at the SWP headquarters, an anonymous caller telephoned and said, "Tell Leo Harris he'd better back off or else he's a dead man."

Meanwhile, city officials and the state attorney have refused to drop the charges or prosecute the cop who assaulted Harris.

"This persecution is aimed not only at Leo but at the right of the Socialist Workers Party to function free of harassment," said Rose Ogden, Miami SWP organizer.

The frame-up has received extensive coverage in the Black media here. Recently the United Black Students at the University of Miami endorsed Har-

ris's fight, as did the Conference of Clergy and Laymen—a coalition of Black church leaders—and the Miami branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Many recognize Harris's case as an important one in the fight against cop brutality in this area. Harris himself was active in demonstrations earlier this year in Broward County against police murders of Blacks.

Last year, Harris was arrested on fabricated charges and beaten by cops in a separate incident. After he filed a civil rights suit, the charges were quietly dropped.

"The cops here believe they can brutalize and shoot down Blacks at will," Harris told the *Militant*. "If we force them to back down in my case, we'll be striking a blow for the hundreds of other victims of cop terror in this city."

Rising costs claim 'Militant' bureau

By Harry Ring

Fund appeals for movement publications are often linked to proposals for expansion.

Unfortunately, the impact of inflation on the *Militant* is so severe that we cannot use our \$75,000 Fiftieth Anniversary Fund to expand. The hard fact is that even with a successful fund drive, spiraling costs are forcing certain financial retrenchments.

For instance, mounting costs have made it necessary for us to close down our Southwest bureau.

In 1971, I went to Los Angeles to establish the bureau and was responsible for it in the period since.

I'm now back in New York functioning as a regular member of the editorial staff. I'll be writing on a variety of subjects, including many that I previously covered from Los Angeles.

The bureau had been established to provide more extensive coverage of the increasingly significant political developments in the Southwest.

We were able to provide extensive coverage of the United Farm Workers struggle, the Pentagon papers trial, and many important defense cases in the Southwest.

Our coverage of political developments in the Chicano movement, particularly the Raza Unida Party, has generally been regarded as the most extensive of any national publication.

Yet the steadily increasing costs—office rental, phone, travel—coupled with the overall financial pressures on the paper, made it necessary to discontinue the operation.

Our coverage of the Chicano movement will continue to be an important focus.

Over the past seven years the Socialist Workers Party has become more deeply involved in the Chicano movement. This makes possible more

coverage in the *Militant*.

In 1971, of the cities with large Chicano populations, there were SWP branches only in Houston, Denver, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Oakland.

Since then party branches have been established in San Antonio, Dallas, Albuquerque, Phoenix, and San Jose.

Already we've been getting news coverage from these areas, and more can be expected.

Meanwhile, we have to deal with the reality that inflation eats increasingly into our income. As working people are forced to do individually, we have to trim our budget to keep afloat.

And, we have to stress even more the importance of financial support from our readers.

It's particularly hard to be confronted by financial problems precisely at a moment when working people are increasingly demonstrating a willingness to consider socialist ideas.

We hope that you will agree with us on the need for increased financial support and will register that agreement by clipping the coupon and sending in the most generous contribution you can—today.

50th

Anniversary Fund

Goal=\$75,000

\$60,000

As of Nov. 7 —\$45,000
\$39,403=52%

\$30,000

\$100

COUNT ME IN

Here's my contribution of ☐ \$5, ☐ \$10, ☐ \$25, ☐ \$50, ☐ \$100, ☐ \$500, ☐ other.

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send check or money order to: Militant 50th Anniversary Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Protest INS 'rush to judgment'

Messages demand justice for Marroquin

Protest letters and telegrams have been pouring in to Leonel Castillo, director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquín. The messages protest Castillo's plans to rule on the asylum request this month, before Marroquín has received vital evidence for his case that is being withheld by the FBI, INS, and other government agencies.

Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He fled Mexico in 1974 to escape frame-up charges of murder and subversion brought against him to silence his political ideas. The U.S. government has been trying to deport him since 1977.

If Marroquín is not granted asylum and is deported to Mexico, he will face certain imprisonment and torture, and possibly death at the hands of the Mexican regime.

Below are excerpts from some of the protest messages. They were provided to the 'Militant' by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. Further messages demanding that Castillo postpone any decision until all the evidence is in should be sent to:

Leonel Castillo, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. Send copies of the protests, and urgently needed financial contributions, to: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Post Office Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

From Teamster members in Oakland, California: We Teamster drivers at Coca Cola company Oakland protest unfair treatment of Héctor Marroquín. We demand fair, open hearing for political asylum.

From Service Employees International Union Local 535, Los Angeles: We continue to believe that you should rule simply and quickly that he has a right to political asylum in the U.S., based on the facts already brought to light. But if you are going to threaten him with deportation to a country where his life is in imminent danger, the least you could do is afford



Militant/Susan Ellis

him the fullest opportunity to present his case.

From a rally of Marroquín supporters in Tucson, Arizona: Rushing the case through, without even examining the accumulating volumes of evidence of a frame-up, makes a sham of U.S. justice. . . .

From Miriam and Walter Schneir, authors of 'Invitation to an Inquest': We strongly urge that you withhold any decision on Marroquín's request for political asylum until he is given the opportunity to present his full case. We wish to convey to you our great concern for his personal safety and to make you aware of the fact that we and many others are following this affair closely.

From Ruth Gage-Colby, peace activist: No answer to my telephone calls to your office. Earnestly implore you to defer ruling on asylum for Héctor Marroquín, in our country as a student activist against repression in

Mexico. Deportation there would seal his fate.

From Joel Geier, national chairman, International Socialists: This blatant attempt to railroad him back to Mexico where he faces torture and death violates his rights to prepare and present a full defense.

From a supporter in Northridge, California: My message is simple. Without the advisory opinion of the State Department, without uncensored FBI files on the case, and without adequate consideration of the overwhelming support for his asylum in the U.S., it is absolutely unfair to rule on the case of Héctor Marroquín.

From a supporter in Hartford, Connecticut: We Americans must do everything we can to support the Mexican people in their struggle. The first act of such support is to defend Héctor Marroquín and grant him asylum.

From a supporter in Sacramento, California: As a member of Amnesty

International, I am more than aware of the flagrant denial of civil liberties for many Mexicans whose stances challenge the status quo.

Héctor Marroquín and José Medina are obvious examples of innocent men sought by a corrupt and brutal police force and to deny them political asylum would be to deny them any sort of a fair trial. . . .

From a supporter in Salt Lake City, Utah: I'm a senior at the University of Utah majoring in Spanish. I heard Mr. Héctor Marroquín speak on campus yesterday. I urge you to examine the evidence in this case and to search your conscience.

From a supporter in Charlotte, North Carolina: Don't advocate freedom and justice or a democratic society and revoke that in practice. The INS is an active component of the U.S. government, which is supposedly democratic. However, the government is not representative of me or anyone I know. Grant political asylum to Héctor Marroquín!

From a supporter in Detroit, Michigan: How our government can still refuse to grant Mr. Marroquín this basic human right in the face of President Carter's stance on "human rights" in other countries must be construed as either (1) a gross misjudgement of policy on your part or (2) a true reading of a hypocritical pretention on the part of our president.

From a supporter in Chicago: The spectre of our country being responsible for returning a man to almost certain torture and death continues to haunt me. The evidence is ample that despite claims to the contrary, the Mexican government has long been guilty of serious repression against its citizens engaging in political activity.

From a supporter in Detroit: This view that all human beings have certain basic (and in the words of our forefathers, inalienable) rights regardless of their political opinions has not been reflected in the action of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service concerning the case of Mexican political refugee Héctor Marroquín.

'Only the latest victim'

Colorado students: 'Welcome Hector!'

By Kevin Porch

DENVER—When Héctor Marroquín arrived at the University of Southern Colorado in Pueblo, he was greeted by signs proclaiming, "Freedom for all political prisoners! Freedom for Héctor Marroquín! Welcome Héctor!"

Students at the university have been following accounts of Marroquín's fight for political asylum in the United States. The Chicano studies department and Chicanos United for Action, a campus organization, sponsored a special class—attended by some eighty students—where Marroquín told his story.

That meeting was just one of the highlights of a successful tour here in Colorado.

Marroquín was the special invited guest at a general assembly meeting of the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) at the University of Colorado in Boulder on October 18.

El Diario de la Gente, an independent Chicano newspaper on campus, ran articles on Marroquín's case in the two issues preceding the meeting. And Marroquín's entire talk was broadcast by Radio KGNU in Boulder.

In Denver the Community College of Denver-Auraria Campus Student Activities Planning Board is sponsoring a two-part series on human rights. Marroquín was the first speaker in the series October 19.

The *Denver Colorado Daily*, the Auraria campus newspaper, ran a front-page story on Marroquín's case. "Marroquín is only the latest in a long series of such victims of an insecure and repressive regime [Mexico]," the editorial stated.

His situation, the campus paper continued, "is also linked to the problems of so many other illegal aliens who flee to the United States. . . .

"But America turns its back on these economic and political refugees. And by so doing, we turn our backs on the very things which justify this nation's existence."

Marroquín was also an invited guest at the Colorado Migrant Center in Denver. More than half the staff stayed after hours on October 20 to hear him. He was invited to speak by Ricardo Lafore, the director, and Abelardo Delgado, the assistant director. Both are endorsers of his appeal.

How you can help

MY STORY
By Héctor Marroquín



**The Struggle for
Political Asylum in the U.S.**

This pamphlet, available in English and Spanish, outlines the facts of Marroquín's case and shows that he is innocent of the charges of terrorism leveled against him by the Mexican government. The price is fifty cents, or thirty-five cents a copy in orders of ten or more.

You can help save Marroquín's life by ordering and selling this pamphlet in your area.

You can also help by:

- Donating money to the defense effort;
- Circulating petitions demanding asylum for Marroquín;
- Endorsing the defense committee;
- Getting your union or other organization to endorse Marroquín's request for political asylum.

Write: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

U.S. out of South Africa!

A strategy for divestment movement

By Omari Musa

"Our policy is that we are remaining in South Africa."

Henry Ford II, chairman of Ford Motor Company, during his trip to South Africa last January.

"We should learn to treat with due disregard the sound and fury of the [anti-apartheid] activists, the way America's businessmen have done."

South Africa broadcasting corporation.

These two statements put the spotlight on the alliance between U.S. corporations and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The Carter administration promotes and defends this alliance through votes against United Nations sanctions on South Africa, covert military cooperation with the apartheid regime, and any other means at its disposal.

It is indeed a powerful alliance.

But especially over the past few years, a new movement has sprung up in this country against U.S. support to South Africa.

Students have played a leading role in this movement by organizing protests demanding that their universities get rid of stocks held in corporations operating there. This has focused attention on the demand for withdrawal of all U.S. corporate investments from South Africa and for an end to Washington's economic, political, and military support to the apartheid regime.

How can this growing movement be organized most effectively? What role can the campus divestment struggle play?

Deepening campus struggle

Many student activists correctly see that the next step is to build a strong campus base for the movement. By stepping up activities around divestiture, student coalitions can gain strength and win new supporters.

The campus divestment movement has already won some victories.

In Wisconsin, the state attorney general ruled that investments in firms operating in South Africa violate state law. The University of Massachusetts system has totally divested, and other universities have gotten rid of parts of their holdings.

These and similar victories have had a significant political impact both on and off the campuses. Through debates, teach-ins, and film-showings, through picket lines, petition campaigns, campus referenda, and demonstrations, the divestment movement has helped educate a broad layer of students and working people on the role of U.S. corporations in South Africa.

The campus divestment fight has helped expose the brutal exploitation of Black South African workers by U.S. companies and the role of U.S. bank loans to the apartheid regime. It has explained the real aim of Washington's support for Pretoria—protecting the profits of imperialist enterprises in South Africa and throughout the continent.

These protests have helped isolate the apartheid regime and placed pressure on the U.S. government and corporations.

Full divestment

Some opponents of apartheid in this country have raised demands that fall short of full divestment.

One common counterstrategy involves resolutions at stockholders meetings. Instead of demanding full divestment, supporters of this strategy advocate that universities and other institutions use their votes as stockholders to convince companies to withdraw from South Africa.



Continued protests pave way for mass movement demanding U.S. out of South Africa.

Such resolutions, of course, have no chance of winning, since the corporations and banks are controlled by a handful of wealthy capitalists, not small stockholders. Meanwhile, the involved institutions still hold stock in these corporations.

The American Friends Service Committee recently broke with this tactic and got rid of all its stock in companies operating in South Africa.

Others in the divestment movement argue that only the largest U.S. companies should be targeted. This approach, however, implies that some firms have a right to stay in South Africa.

No U.S. company should be in South Africa, since they all prop up the apartheid regime.

Part of broader fight

The divestment fight plays an important role in the overall struggle to get the United States out of South Africa, lock, stock, and barrel.

The student movement alone cannot achieve that goal. The power of the Black movement and the trade unions must be mobilized behind this demand.

Trade unionists have already initiated union protests against U.S. support to South Africa—adopting resolutions at conventions and local meetings, divesting union pension funds, sponsoring meetings for exiled South African unionist Drake Koka and other freedom fighters, and joining pickets and demonstrations called by the anti-apartheid movement.

There have also been a growing number of African solidarity activities in the Black community. These are fueled by anger against escalating attacks on Black rights both in the United States and in southern Africa.

The cozy relationship between the U.S. government and the apartheid regime is convincing more and more people that the Carter administration will take no meaningful action against its racist allies.

Millions of Americans know that Carter administration representative Andrew Young refused to vote for United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa.

The bipartisan character of this support to South Africa is also convincing people that they cannot rely on any Democratic and Republican party politicians to take action against the apartheid regime.

As a consequence, more people are willing to take direct action themselves.

Given this growing sentiment, cam-

pus divestment committees can involve not only increasing numbers of students but also sponsor joint activities with unions and the Black movement. That kind of alliance has the power to place weighty political pressure on Washington and giant U.S. corporations.

Lessons of Vietnam War

Rich lessons along these lines can be drawn from the anti-Vietnam War movement in this country.

Students played a major role throughout that fight.

African solidarity notes



Harvard students hit library dedication

More than 500 students protested U.S.-South Africa ties at the dedication of Harvard University's Engelhard Library October 21.

Charles Engelhard, after whom the library is named, has large mining holdings in South Africa and helped form the American-South African Investment Corporation to attract U.S. investments there.

The protest was organized by the South African Support Committee as part of the two weeks of campus actions called by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

A week later, 150 protesters gathered in Lynn, Massachusetts, when Carter came to campaign there for Democratic Party candidates.

Cornell students demand divest now

More than 500 Cornell students protested at the October 20 trustees meeting demanding that the school divest its holdings in companies doing business in South Africa and that it boycott J.P. Stevens products.

The action was sponsored by the Coalition Against Apartheid; Southern African Liberation Committee; and Front Lash, a group supporting the J.P. Stevens boycott.

After the trustees meeting, 400 students marched to the student union for a rally. Speakers included Prexy Nesbitt of the American Committee on Africa and Sy Cohen, director of the New York State AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.

Houston: U.S.-South Africa ties debated

One hundred twenty-five people turned out to hear a debate on U.S.-South Africa ties at the University of Houston October 26.

The debate was part of a "Day Against Apartheid" organized by the U of H Coalition Against University Investments in South Africa.

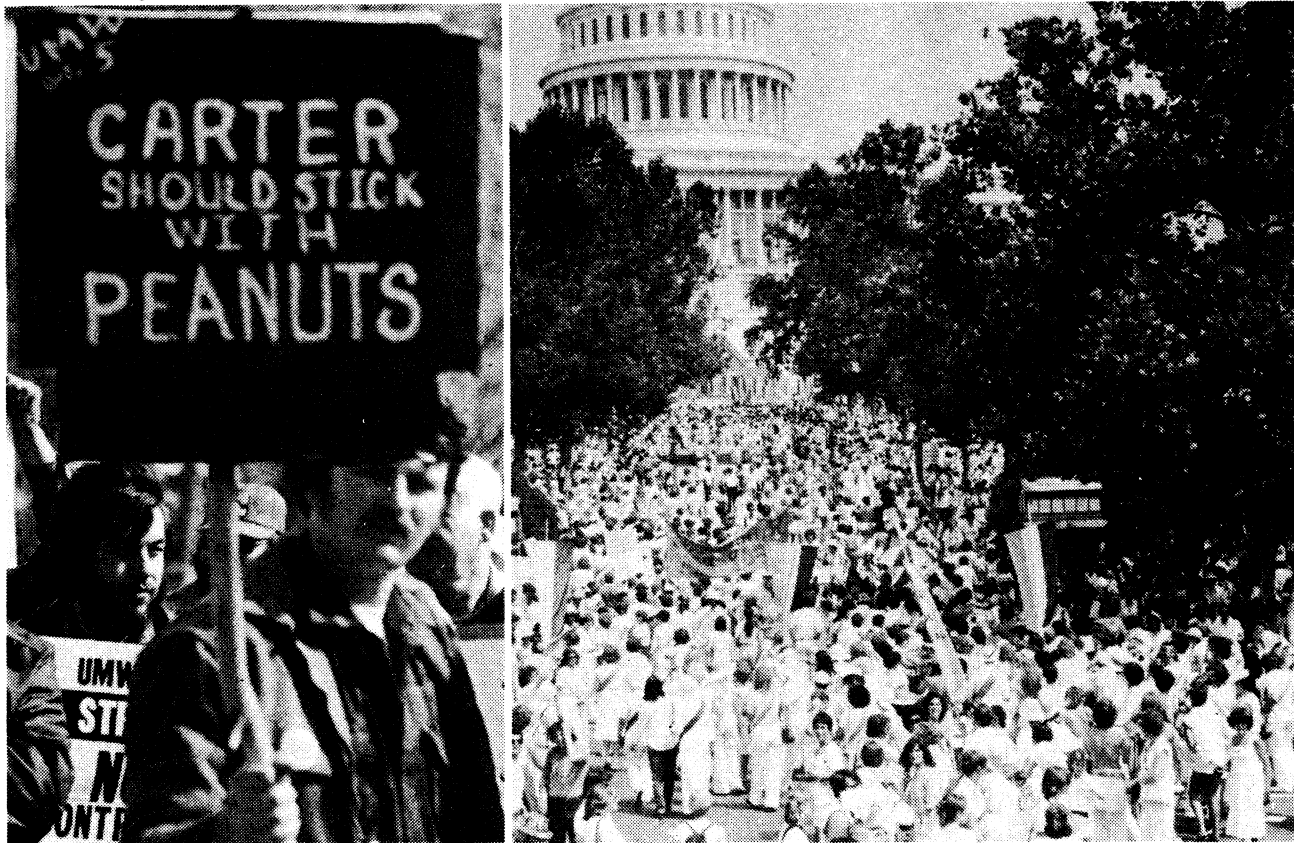
The coalition also distributed stickers and armbands saying, "I Support October 26 Day Against Apartheid—Divest Now!"

U of H has \$6 million invested in U.S. companies operating in South Africa.

—Omari Musa

Women's struggle & new moods in U.S. working class

Why Carter had to extend ERA deadline



Militant photos by Nancy Cole & Mike Hebert

Coal miners' resistance to Carter helped inspire others to fight back, including ERA supporters who engulfed Capitol on July 9.

By Cindy Jaquith and Wendy Lyons

(First of a series)

A new process of political thinking is taking place in the women's liberation movement. The national conference of the National Organization for Women, held one month ago, reflected this change most dramatically.

For the first time at a NOW conference, the discussion focused on the broad political questions facing the fight for women's rights: how to build alliances with labor, and with Blacks and other oppressed nationalities; the importance of mass actions in unifying and mobilizing women's rights supporters; the need for democracy in the feminist movement.

The significance of these discussions goes beyond the women's movement. It coincides with important political shifts in the country as a whole, particularly in the labor movement.

The conference occurred on the heels of the first victory for the women's movement in several years—the extension of the ratification deadline for the Equal Rights Amendment from 1979 to 1982.

This was not only a victory for women. Winning this concession—and the way it was won—was also a victory for the whole working class. It helped show that by mobilizing massive numbers of people, independent of the government, it is possible to beat back the assaults aimed at driving down the standard of living and expectations of working people.

Why extension was won

The events that led up to the extension victory help explain both the changes occurring in NOW and the important signs of resistance that have become more evident in the working class.

Extension of the ERA deadline was not an accident. Nor was it an arbitrary decision by the Carter administration.

In fact, the decision to pass the extension bill represented a sharp about-face for the rulers of this country.

As the ERA battle entered the final year before the March 22, 1979, deadline, the capitalists stepped up their campaign to deny this statement of equality to women.

The Carter administration, which had taken office with the promise of quick ratification, terminated even the lip-service support it had earlier offered the ERA.

Democrats and Republicans in the state legislatures continued to vote down the measure. Some

politicians who had previously stood behind the amendment began switching their votes to opposition.

The mass media featured more articles arguing that the ERA would be defeated—not because of politicians but because the majority of the population did not want it.

This was the line taken in an April 11 editorial in the *New York Times*. “[The ERA’s] complexity has not multiplied,” wrote the editors. “Only the opposition to it has.” The *Times* called for defeat of the extension bill, and, by implication, defeat of the ERA.

Previously the *Times* had editorially backed the ERA. The paper reflected the opinion of one section of the ruling class that passing the amendment would hurt less than defeating it.

The shift expressed in the *Times*’s April 11 editorial was another signal—the bankers and big businessmen and their agents in the Democratic and Republican parties were more and more convinced they could kill the ERA and get away with it.

What emboldened the capitalists was a belief that the muted response from women, labor, and civil rights organizations to their attacks thus far would continue.

They had miscalculated.

Events were already in motion that were to alter their plans.

Role of miners' strike

The decisive factor was the 110-day miners' strike. In an escalation of the drive against labor, the bosses tried to take on a major industrial union. They wanted to break the United Mine Workers. If that proved impossible, they intended to deal it crippling blows.

But the miners, armed with measures of union democracy they had previously won, stood up and fought back.

The dramatic confrontation between the coal bosses and the government on one side and the miners on the other inspired everyone else under attack. The miners finally forced the coal companies to a stalemate—and defeated some of the worst aspects of their proposed contract.

Reverberations

The spirit of combativity shown by the United Mine Workers sent reverberations across the nation. “If the miners can do it, so can we!” was soon heard on picket lines, especially among postal workers, and later among striking railroad workers.

Mid-spring demonstrations to free the Wilmington Ten, demand jobs for youth, and reverse the Bakke decision drew thousands of people—the majority of them young Blacks.

Thousands more poured into the streets and onto nuclear power sites to demand “no nukes” and an end to atomic weapons.

The same mood captivated the ranks of NOW. Alarmed at the imminent defeat of the ERA, the membership was anxious to act. This impelled the NOW leadership—who had resisted the idea of demonstrations—to call a mass march on Washington for the ERA and extension.

In numbers approaching 100,000, NOW members, students, steelworkers, auto workers, and others converged on the Capitol July 9. The myth that the majority in this country opposes equal rights for women was laid to rest, as a sea of purple-white-and-gold banners declared, “ERA YES!”

Just a few days after the march, the House Judiciary Committee passed the extension bill. Committee head Don Edwards conceded that the outpouring July 9 had “tipped the balance.”

Other shakeups

Meanwhile, the shakeups occurring were affecting more than the memberships of the unions, of NOW, and of Black and *latino* organizations. The official leaderships of these groups were also feeling the pressure. In late July, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser declared that big business and the government were waging a “one-sided class war” against labor. In October Fraser, joined by a few other trade-union officials, NOW national President Eleanor Smeal, the NAACP’s Benjamin Hooks, United Farm Workers head César Chávez, and others met in Detroit to discuss their failure to win concessions from the government. Their only answer, however, was to continue trying to reform the antilabor, antiwoman, anti-Black Democratic Party.

Nonetheless, the conference was another example of the political shifts taking place as the ruling-class offensive deepened and more and more working people began to fight back.

All these factors, taken as a whole, created the framework in which the government decided to extend the ERA deadline.

Stakes for rulers

The minority that controls the wealth in this country has a great deal riding on the outcome of the ERA battle. They fear adding an amendment to the Constitution that legitimizes women’s demands for equal pay, job opportunities, and extended rights. This doesn’t fit into the rulers’ campaign to intensify the exploitation of the working class and its most oppressed members.

They also fear the struggle itself for the ERA—and well they should. July 9 demonstrated that the ERA issue is drawing more and more working women—and men—into the equal rights movement.

The capitalists had hoped they could cut the struggle short by letting the ERA die on March 22, 1979. But they had to reevaluate their options after July 9. Passing the extension became a lesser evil for them in the face of increased militancy on the part of women and all working people.

Final congressional debate

The final congressional debate on extension took place on the eve of the NOW conference. A carefully orchestrated White House campaign unfolded to defeat anti-ERA amendments that would have crippled the extension bill.

The *Washington Post* provided some insights into how this was done.

One opponent of extension, anti-abortionist Sen. Thomas Eagleton, was dispatched to Rome to attend the pope’s funeral. Another opponent, Sen. James Pearson, was convinced to “take a walk” when the bill was voted on.

Sen. Floyd Haskell was flown in to Washington on an air force jet to cast his vote in favor of extension.

While extension won, virtually every other action of the Ninety-fifth Congress was an attack on working people—from the gas deregulation bill, to the phoney “tax cut” measure, to the dozens of antilabor laws passed.

The extension victory stood out amidst these defeats as testimony to the power of independent struggle. The battle to win the ERA is far from over, however. What the initial victory on extension has shown is how to drive forward to win ratification.

The lessons of the past six months are now being absorbed by women and by others under attack from the government. The NOW conference was evidence of this rethinking and new political awareness.

In next week’s article, we will take a closer look at the conference and the important changes occurring in NOW.

Election sales take on bosses' twin parties

By Nelson Blackstock

During the week leading up to election day, the American people were subjected to a barrage of ads featuring smiling capitalist politicians promising more of the same. With their campaign coffers well stocked by big business, they flooded the air waves.

Socialist Workers Party candidates have much more meager financial resources. But they have something else: a program that provides solutions to the problems plaguing working people today.

The *Militant* devoted a good section of its special election issue (number 41, November 3) to the SWP campaigns, telling who the socialist candidates were and what they stood for.

The SWP and its supporters in cities around the country centered much of their campaign work in the final week around *Militant* circulation. SWP branches in cities around the country raised their sights from the normal weekly goals in an effort to get the paper into the hands of thousands of new readers during the final election push—a time when the attention of much of the population is turned to political issues.

When it was all over and the returns were in, 11,263 copies of the *Militant* had been sold. It gave the fall drive another big boost forward toward the 100,000 goal.

Socialist campaign supporters made effective use of the paper.

In Missouri, where the union-busting "right-to-work" law went down to defeat on election day, socialists sold sixty-two *Militants* at meetings and rallies called to build opposition to the measure—including one where Martin

Luther King, Sr., spoke. And at another where United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser addressed a UAW local.

Auto workers were also the focus in St. Paul, where socialists demanded and won the same rights as the capitalist candidates to campaign among auto workers on Ford Motors Company property. They sold sixteen papers.

And in Toledo, socialist auto workers sold forty papers to their co-workers.

Perspectiva Mundial sales took a special step forward during the week. They constituted more than 10 percent of total sales, up from 8 percent during the last target week in September. This reflects the growing experience with selling the Spanish-language socialist biweekly, and better knowledge of *latino* communities and their political life.

Miami socialists sold 227 *PMs* over the week, mostly at migrant labor camps in the area.

They also initiated sales in the city's Dominican community.

Interest in Iran

Last week's *Militant* was headlined "Revolutionary strikes sweep Iran." Totals on its sales will appear next week.

However, reports already coming into the circulation office indicate that sales are going well, with cities reporting broad interest in the events in Iran. Pittsburgh, for example, says they had their most successful sales to date in a community where many Black steelworkers reside.

Weekly sales goals

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Albuquerque	115	313	20	57	135	370	274.1
Newark	140	348	10	22	150	370	246.7
Philadelphia	235	606	25	28	260	634	243.8
New York	650	1567	100	252	750	1819	242.5
Iron Range, Mn.	50	116			50	116	232.0
Cincinnati	100	222			100	222	222.0
Toledo	110	241	5	4	115	245	213.0
Tacoma	125	266			125	266	212.8
Gary, Ind	50	106			50	106	212.0
Louisville	100	206		2	100	208	208.0
San Antonio	75	166	25	42	100	208	208.0
Miami	110	184	40	127	150	311	207.3
Dallas	125	216	20	83	145	299	206.2
St. Louis	140	296	10	4	150	300	200.0
Salt Lake City	125	260	10	5	135	265	196.3
Phoenix	110	198	15	47	125	245	196.0
Cleveland	115	211	5	20	120	231	192.5
Morgantown	125	237			125	237	189.6
Atlanta	200	354			200	354	177.0
Pittsburgh	145	261	5	2	150	263	175.3
Kansas City, Mo.	100	180	8	5	108	185	171.3
Milwaukee	120	195	5	10	125	205	164.0
San Diego	105	159	20	46	125	205	164.0
Minneapolis	135	221			135	221	163.7
Baltimore	120	199	5	1	125	200	160.0
San Francisco	250	343	25	79	275	422	153.5
Los Angeles	400	556	100	184	500	740	148.0
Chicago	385	562	65	83	450	645	143.3
Seattle	145	213	5	2	150	215	143.3
St. Paul	95	133	5	3	100	136	136.0
Indianapolis	115	151			115	151	131.3
Oakland	160	195	15	33	175	228	130.3
Berkeley	135	176	15	3	150	179	119.3
New Orleans	115	139	5	4	120	143	119.2
San Jose	110	111	20	41	130	152	116.9
Denver	120	122	20	40	140	162	115.7
Portland	100	113			100	113	113.0
Washington, D.C.	270	260	30	63	300	323	107.7
Boston	225	230	25	27	250	257	102.8
Detroit	250	255			250	255	102.0
Houston	300	263	50	88	350	351	100.3
Tucson	30	25			30	25	83.3
Raleigh	125	88			125	88	70.4
TOTALS	6855	11,263	708	1407	7563	12,670	167.5

Albany not reporting.

These figures report sales for issue No. 41 of the *Militant* and the first week of sales of issue No. 20 of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Chicano wins suit against racist N. Mex. Democrat

By Barry David

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—On October 11 a federal court here awarded Antonio "Ike" De Vargas \$55,000 for violation of his civil liberties by State Senator Emilio Naranjo and four former sheriff's deputies.

It was a victory for De Vargas, for La Raza Unida Party, for the Chicano movement in New Mexico, and for civil liberties.

Since 1975 Democratic Party boss Naranjo has led a campaign of harassment and frame-up against LRUP. De Vargas, as LRUP chairperson in Rio Arriba County, has been a special target.

In April 1976, when Naranjo was county sheriff, his deputies arrested De Vargas on frame-up charges of possession of and intent to distribute heroin and marijuana. Later the charges were changed to possession and intent to distribute methamphetamine.

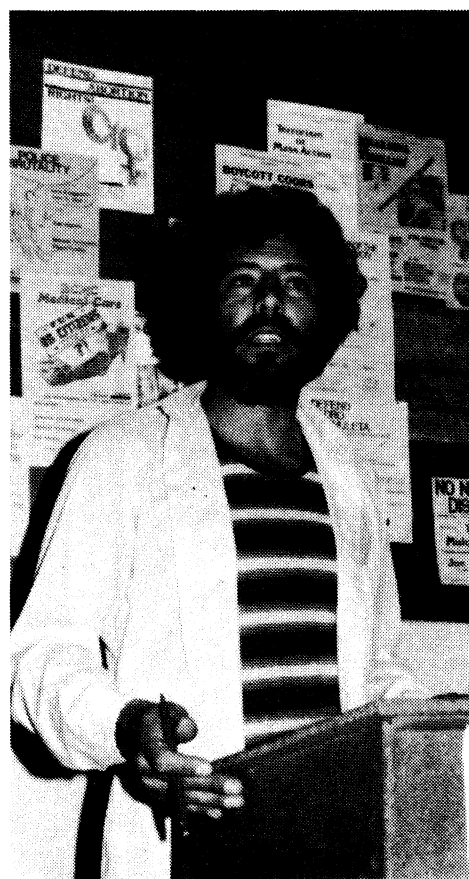
De Vargas answered that the drugs were planted in his house by Naranjo's deputies. He accused the Democratic Party boss with harassment and false arrest. The drug charges were subsequently dismissed.

De Vargas filed suit in federal court charging violation of his civil rights. During the course of the week-long trial, De Vargas took the stand to explain Naranjo's campaign of intimidation and political arrests.

De Vargas described how LRUP had circulated petitions for removal of five

deputies after the party received sworn affidavits from "numerous people who had been beaten."

The basis of the search warrant used to ransack De Vargas's home was a tip from an informer who said the LRUP



ANTONIO DE VARGAS

leader had "subversive" literature. When the sheriff's deputies planted the drugs in De Vargas's home they also seized several books, which were never returned. These included such "subversive" titles as *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*.

In a sworn court deposition before the trial, Naranjo admitted that he had made up an "enemies" list with names of LRUP members, most of whose homes were subsequently searched.

But when Naranjo took the stand he denied making the list. Asked where he got the list, he replied, "I don't recall." In fact, Naranjo either cited the Fifth Amendment or said, "I don't recall," to answer every substantive question asked.

Following the trial De Vargas concluded, "My victory yesterday represents a victory for all the people in Rio Arriba County."

Naranjo has ruled Rio Arriba County since 1952 when he was installed as head of the Democratic Party there. The county, like much of northern New Mexico, is overwhelmingly Chicano, Spanish-speaking, and impoverished.

With unemployment near 40 percent in the county's largest town, Naranjo has maintained power through control of government jobs. And when necessary, he has used bribery, intimidation, false arrest, and violence against political opponents.

LRUP is challenging this tyrant on

the ballot as well as in court. De Vargas is running against Naranjo for state senate this fall.

The number-one issue, De Vargas indicated, is jobs. He also pinpointed the role that the Democratic Party has played in fronting for the Anglo-owned tourist trade. Legal maneuvers, bribery, and economic intimidation are driving Chicano landowners into unemployment or out of the county.

The nuclear power issue has also come to Rio Arriba County. The energy corporations have just begun drilling for uranium deposits in the county, expecting to open full-scale mine operations within three years. Both the Democrats and Republicans support the corporations' expansion.

De Vargas, who has worked as a uranium miner, opposes nuclear development and the new mines. The LRUP, he explains, opposes the idea that the health and well-being of Chicano working people should be traded off for a few jobs.

The Rio Arriba County LRUP is running a full slate of candidates. In addition to De Vargas, the candidates are: Pat Valdez for state representative, District 41; Daniel Maestas for county commissioner, District 1; Elias Archuleta for county commissioner, District 2; Moises Morales for Rio Arriba County sheriff; and Richard Rosenstock (attorney for De Vargas in the recent suit) for magistrate judge, District 2.

Can Bell go to jail? Court hears suit Nov. 15

By Diane Wang

The case of the nation's top law-breaking official goes to the U.S. Court of Appeals in New York on November 15. The court must decide whether Attorney General Griffin Bell can be held in contempt of court in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI.

For the Carter administration, and for the National District Attorneys Association, which has filed a brief on Bell's behalf, the hearing will be a major test of their right to keep secret government crimes against the American people.

Last July federal Judge Thomas Griesa cited Bell for contempt. The attorney general had refused to obey Griesa's order to produce evidence—eighteen FBI informer files—for the SWP and YSA suit.

At stake in this battle over the eighteen files is the government's right to use provocateurs and spies against anyone who disagrees with government policies.

The government has depended on this secret network of snitches to disrupt not only socialists, but the Black and Chicano civil rights movements, women's liberation groups, and trade unions.

If people can examine the record of these provocateurs and disrupters, can call them to account in court, that will hinder and limit at least some of their activities.

Under long-established court rules, a contempt citation cannot be appealed until a case is finally settled. Otherwise cases could be tied up in appeals for so long that they would never go to trial.

But the government claims an exception should be made for Bell because "an order holding the chief law enforcement officer in contempt of court" is an "extraordinary circumstance."

It is extraordinary.

In fact, it is the first time an attorney general has been cited for contempt of court.

But then again, Bell is the first attorney general to defy a federal judge.

'Attempt to obstruct justice'

Griesa had originally ordered the FBI to give the files of eighteen FBI informers to the SWP's and YSA's attorneys in May 1977. Both the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court declined to overturn that order.

Yet the FBI refused to release the files. Since the attorney general assumed responsibility, Griesa cited Bell for contempt. The attorney general was making "a totally unjustified attempt to obstruct and delay justice," the judge charged.

Appeals Judge Murray Gurfein called this "a historic confrontation,"

and stayed the contempt citation until the government appeal could be heard.

The Brooklyn district attorney, Eugene Gold, and the National District Attorneys Association have filed a "friend of the court" brief defending Bell. They claim that forcing the FBI to turn over the files would encourage "frivolous civil suits" and "hamstring law enforcement."

But Judge Griesa, after studying the informer files, already concluded that the socialists' demand for evidence is far from "frivolous." He agreed that the files are "a unique and essential body of evidence" about FBI crimes.

The SWP and YSA need to see the complete, uncensored FBI files because government answers about the informers have proven downright false in the past. Griesa called them "incomplete and misleading."

Moreover, the issues posed in the lawsuit are too important to cover up, Griesa concluded. They "relate to the most fundamental constitutional rights, which lie at the very foundation of our system of government—the right to engage in political organization and to speak freely on political subjects, without interference and harassment from government organs."

What little has already been pried out of FBI records shows why the attorney general has been willing to risk jail to maintain the so-called informers' privilege.

Timothy Redfearn, an FBI spy inside the YSA, for example, burglarized the socialists' offices and members' homes. He was caught in 1976.

Gary Rowe, the FBI's man in the Ku Klux Klan, has confessed to beating civil rights freedom riders and murdering one Black man. He is now under indictment for the murder of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo.

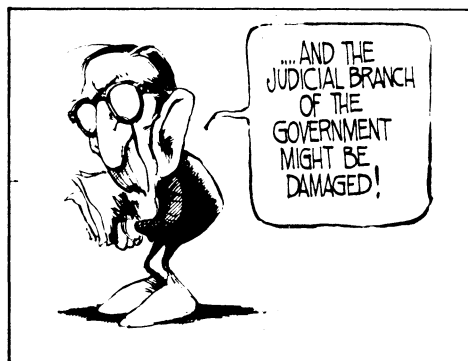
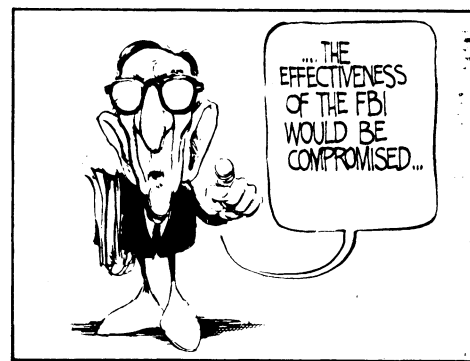
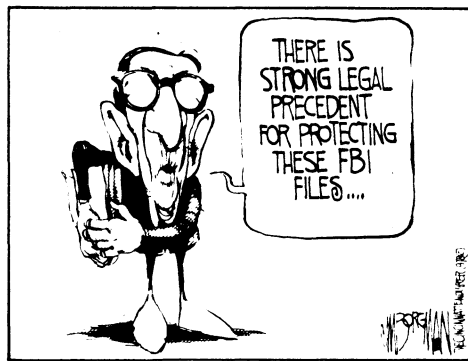
It is precisely to "hamstring" these types of activities that the informer files should be made public.

A sampling of spies

The FBI has admitted to deploying 1,300 informers against the SWP and YSA over a sixteen-year period. Of these, only about 100 were members of the groups during those years. The rest were nonmembers—landlords, bank officials, and employers, for example. The government paid these snitches \$1,683,000.

The socialists demanded the eighteen files as a cross section of evidence about informer activity. The suit has already documented illegal wiretaps, poison-pen letters, Cointelpro disruption plots, and burglaries by FBI agents. But it has only limited records about the spies and provocateurs the FBI used.

The November 15 hearing is open to the public. It will be held at 10:30 a.m. in Room 1705 of the Federal Courthouse in New York's Foley Square.



Borgman

Rally to Stop FBI crimes

Demand Bell turn over informer files

Sat, Dec. 9
7pm Tishman Aud.,
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- Linda Jenness—Socialist Workers Party
- Leonard Boudin—constitutional rights attorney
- Héctor Marroquín—fighting for political asylum in U.S.
- Dave Dellinger—Seven Days magazine
- Imani Kazana—coordinator, National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee
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...Koka tour

Continued from back page

in South Africa. When the labor movement joins hands around the world on this issue, we will show that we fully understand the great lesson of your presence here, Mr. Koka."

Koka then spoke, explaining the importance of building a movement in this country to get the U.S. government and its multi-million-dollar corporations out of his country. "That we [Black Africans] shall be free is a point that is not negotiable," he said. "Equality in a society where every man shall be equal to other men is what we are fighting for."

Koka detailed the political and economic injustices that Black workers are forced to suffer at the hands of the white racist minority. He recounted his arrest and detention in South Africa for his political activities, and his escape to Botswana several months ago.

Koka pointed out that although the degree of injustice may differ, there is a direct link between the struggles of U.S. workers and South African

Blacks: "Politically, both you and I have been oppressed. Economically, we have both been exploited," Koka said.

On October 24, the Detroit City Council presented Koka with a special citation. Later that day he spoke to an audience of 120 at Wayne State University. A representative of the Wayne State Student Government and the editor of the student newspaper at nearby Wayne County Community College welcomed him to the campus.

That evening Koka was the guest of Detroit Mayor Coleman Young at a cocktail party held in his honor at the mayor's mansion. Guests included city council President Erma Henderson Evans; Clayton Nedd, president of USWA Local 2341; and actress Eartha Kitt.

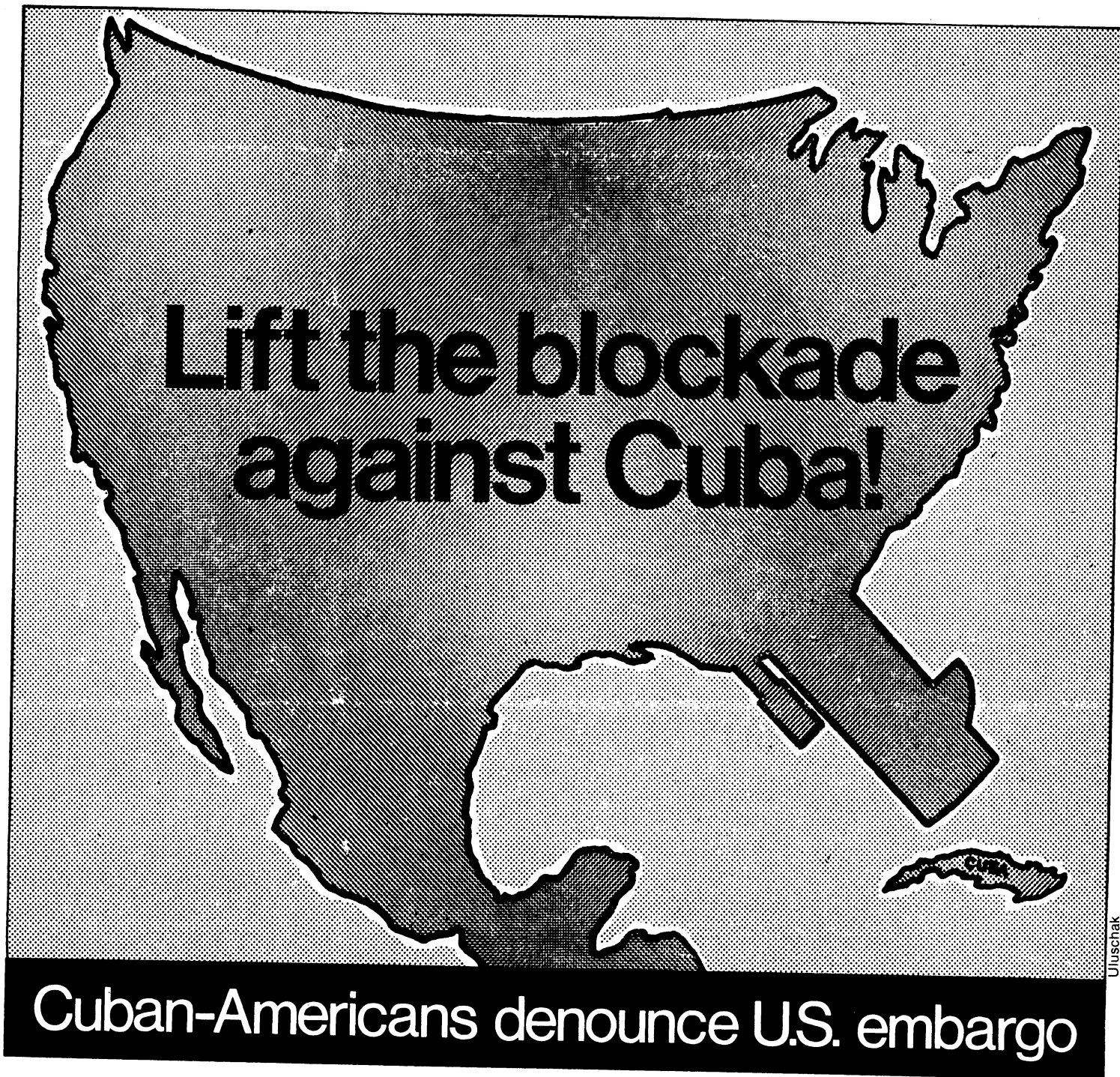
At a meeting at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Koka explained the case of eleven Soweto student leaders now on trial in South Africa because of their role in the fight for Black freedom there. He appealed for support for the eleven, as well as for thousands of other political prisoners being detained in South African jails.

UPSURGE IN AFRICA

Cuba, the U.S., and the New Rise
of the African Liberation Struggle

by David Frankel

Send \$75 to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street,
New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.50 for
postage.



By Rose Ogden
and Pat O'Reilly

MIAMI—Growing support among Cubans here for an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba is exploding the myth that the Cuban community in the United States is a reactionary monolith.

This myth has been fostered by the U.S. rulers through the big-business news media and through deposed Cuban ruling-class figures, who have set themselves up as spokespeople for Cubans living in the U.S.

Organized and financed by the U.S. government—especially the CIA—the ultraright fringe of the Cuban community has frequently used terrorism to silence those who questioned the hysterical, McCarthyite outlook of the Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

In reality, the right-wingers have been losing their grip on the majority of Cuban emigrés for some time. Fidel Castro's September 6 interview with Cuban exiles and American reporters helped to reveal this, and also to deepen the process.

In that interview, Castro offered to establish a dialogue with Cubans living abroad on topics such as the release of prisoners arrested for counterrevolutionary activities; visits to the island by Cubans living abroad; and the reuniting of families.

As a "gesture of goodwill," Castro announced the release of forty-seven prisoners (they arrived in Miami October 21). He said later that he hoped it would be possible to release all the prisoners by the end of the year.

Castro's initiative toward the "dialogue" has strengthened the hand of the growing number of Cubans in the United States who want the U.S. economic blockade lifted. Sentiment for normalization of relations has been growing among many emigrés.

Petition campaign

The Cuban-American Committee for the Normalization of Relations with Cuba, based in New York City, launched a petition campaign in Miami last summer urging President Carter to "move towards a normaliza-

tion of relations with Cuba."

The petition points out, "Despite the pressures and even fear existing in many Cuban-American communities, we feel that a majority of Cuban-Americans are in favor of such a normalization. In fact, recent surveys conducted in the Miami area indicate that this is the majority's position."

A cover letter accompanying the petition explains that there is great ignorance in Washington "with respect to the diversity of opinions within the Cuban exile community. . . . We are known simply as a monolithic rightist force, in many cases operating outside the law."

"As a result, the debate about Cuba is influenced by the pressure of a Cuban community supposedly opposed to normalization with Cuba." The committee's goal is to change this.

Members of the committee include José J. Arrom, Yale University; Román V. de la Campa, State University of New York at Stony Brook; J. Emilio Carrillo, Harvard Medical School; Mariana Gastón, New York University; Manuel Gómez, industrial hygienist, New York City; José A. Moreno, University of Pittsburgh; and Marifeli Pérez-Stable, State University of New York, Old Westbury.

Another indication of the political changes taking place within the Cuban community is the experience of the National Coalition of Cuban Americans. Founded last spring as a social service group, it included prominent Cuban-Americans from all over the country.

In July it underwent a crisis resulting in the resignation of its president, Juan Rodríguez, a high-level official with the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Rodríguez got into trouble when he suggested that the group advocate normalizing relations. Then he was seen at a party talking to an official of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. The FBI jumped into the act, contacting members of the coalition to sow suspicions about Rodríguez's relations with the Cuban Mission. This led to a witch-hunt and purge.

Last December and January, fifty-five members of the Antonio Maceo Brigade visited the island at the invitation of Fidel Castro. Antonio Maceo was a Black leader of Cuba's revolutionary war for independence from Spain. The brigade is made up of young Cuban exiles who were brought out of Cuba before they were old enough to be politically conscious.

Brigade members have varying attitudes toward the Cuban revolution. Some favor normalization despite differences over the goals of the revolution, while others openly support the revolution.

Most brigade members point out that they had been strongly anti-Castro at one time but moderated their positions under the impact of the radicalization in the U.S.

"We were all in the university during the Vietnam War. Many of us took part in the rallies," Dagmaris Cabezas, a thirty-year-old freelance writer from New York, explained to the *Miami Herald*.

One member of the brigade told the *Militant*, "The nuns told us in Cuba that all the children were going to be taken away from their parents and sent to Russia. These were the kinds of lies that convinced many parents to flee to the United States."

One of the best-known Cuban exile advocates of lifting the blockade is the Rev. Manuel Espinosa. In early 1975, Espinosa and several other Cubans set out for Havana in a thirty-two-foot-long boat with the intention of presenting to the Cuban government the concerns of Cubans abroad who were separated from their families.

At around the same time, Espinosa founded the Christian Evangelical Reformed Church in the Miami area. The church says its purpose is to bring about the reunification of the Cuban family. It started with a membership of about 40. Today its meetings, held three times a week, draw up to 2,000 people.

In his sermons, Espinosa usually sticks to one point: a call for lifting the U.S. embargo against Cuba so that exiles and Cubans on the island can

see each other again.

Alvaro Espinosa, brother of Manuel Espinosa and a leader of the church, told the *Militant*: "The Cuban government feels—and I agree with them 150 percent—that Cuba has been mistreated by the United States through the blockade. It's criminal, anti-Christian, it's immoral."

Espinosa continued, "The blockade prevents the Cuban government from buying medicine to save Cuban lives. . . . If it was up to us there would never have been a blockade."

The church's magazine, *Wahini*, printed the entire text of Castro's press conference about dialogue with Cubans abroad. Twenty-thousand copies were distributed in Miami's Cuban community.

Church services become political protests. As Alvaro Espinosa explained, "When you have 2,000 people yelling, 'Down with the blockade!' and calling for relations and for reunification of the family—and sometimes they overflow the place and go into the street—you cannot call that a private affair. It becomes a public demonstration."

Espinosa remarked that although "I am not a Castro lover," he and many other Cubans feel proud of various accomplishments of the Cuban revolution. "A boy doesn't have to be the son of a rich man to go to school in Cuba."

Cuba and Africa

Many Cubans are also proud of Cuba's role in Africa today, according to Espinosa. "Cuba has been helping, answering the call from the governments in Africa . . . and Cubans are proud of that. . . . Cuba has uplifted the spirit of the countries in the third world, the people who never had anything. Cuba showed them that you can stand on your own two feet."

The reaction to Castro's news conference has also demonstrated that the opponents of lifting the blockade are no longer so powerful as they once were. Many ultrarightists have become demoralized. Enrique Ponte García, a counterrevolutionary imprisoned in Cuba, put it in a letter: "It must be said out loud so that no one is misled. The counterrevolution has failed forever! It is dead! It is buried!"

However, a coalition of thirty-seven right-wing organizations branded as "traitors" anyone who wants the blockade lifted or wants to begin talks with Cuba. Many of these rightist organizations are small and not well-known. But the coalition includes groups such as the Brigade 2506, an organization of veterans of the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion.

Ultraright terrorism

Reverend Espinosa has challenged opponents of the dialogue to a debate. He has had his life threatened and has had bomb threats phoned in to his church.

These are not idle threats. Since Castro's news conference, there has been a rash of bombings in New York for which gusano terrorists have taken credit: of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (during a UN debate on a Cuba-supported motion to recognize Puerto Rico's right to independence); at Madison Square Garden (on the eve of a boxing match in which Cuban athletes were to participate); and of *El Diario-La Prensa* (New York's largest Spanish-language daily, which printed the full text of Castro's news conference).

Lee Smith, Socialist Workers congressional candidate in Miami's Thirteenth C.D., in expressing his support for an end to the blockade, pointed out that "the fight to defend the democratic right of people to express their point of view is an important first step in getting the blockade lifted."

"The right-wing terrorists, trained by and working in collaboration with the U.S. government, have created a climate of fear."

Smith appealed to "all those who support democratic rights to demand that the terror be stopped. Together we can demonstrate that more and more people are in favor of ending U.S. government aggression against Cuba."

Union battle in 12th month

Harlan County rally backs striking miners

By Nancy Cole

EVARTS, Ky.—Supporters of striking coal miners at the Jericol mine in Glenbrook gathered here Sunday, October 29, to pledge continued aid to United Mine Workers Local 8771. The strike is now in its twelfth month.

UMWA International Secretary-treasurer Willard Esselstyn headed the list of speakers at a short rally followed by a barbeque and fund-raising raffle.

"If we all stick together," Esselstyn declared, "the walls of Jericol will come tumbling down."

UMWA District 19 President Joe Phipps echoed the theme of unity, adding that Jericol's owners, James and Charles Sigmon, may not need coal now, "but they're going to and the nation's going to."

"I'm here to tell you that this district is behind you as long as it takes."

The strike is of national importance for the union. UMWA miners produce less than half of the nation's coal—a percentage that continues to drop.

Some of this is attributed to the expansion of nonunion strip mining in the western United States. But in Kentucky—the state with the highest coal production—UMWA miners account for less than 50 percent. And here in southeastern Kentucky, it is closer to one-third union-produced coal.

If the UMWA is to expand its strength in this growing industry, it has to organize the nonunion sector. And a first step must certainly be to hold on to mines that are currently UMWA.

Besides the strike at Glenbrook, which began with 130 miners, some 100 miners are on strike against a variety of small operators right across the border in St. Charles, Virginia.

And in western Pennsylvania, about 100 surface miners are striking the North Cambria Jewel Coal Company.

They are all UMWA miners, who walked off the job with 160,000 other miners around the country in December 1977. But they didn't return to work in March 1978 because their bosses are not part of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and refused to sign the BCOA-UMWA agreement.

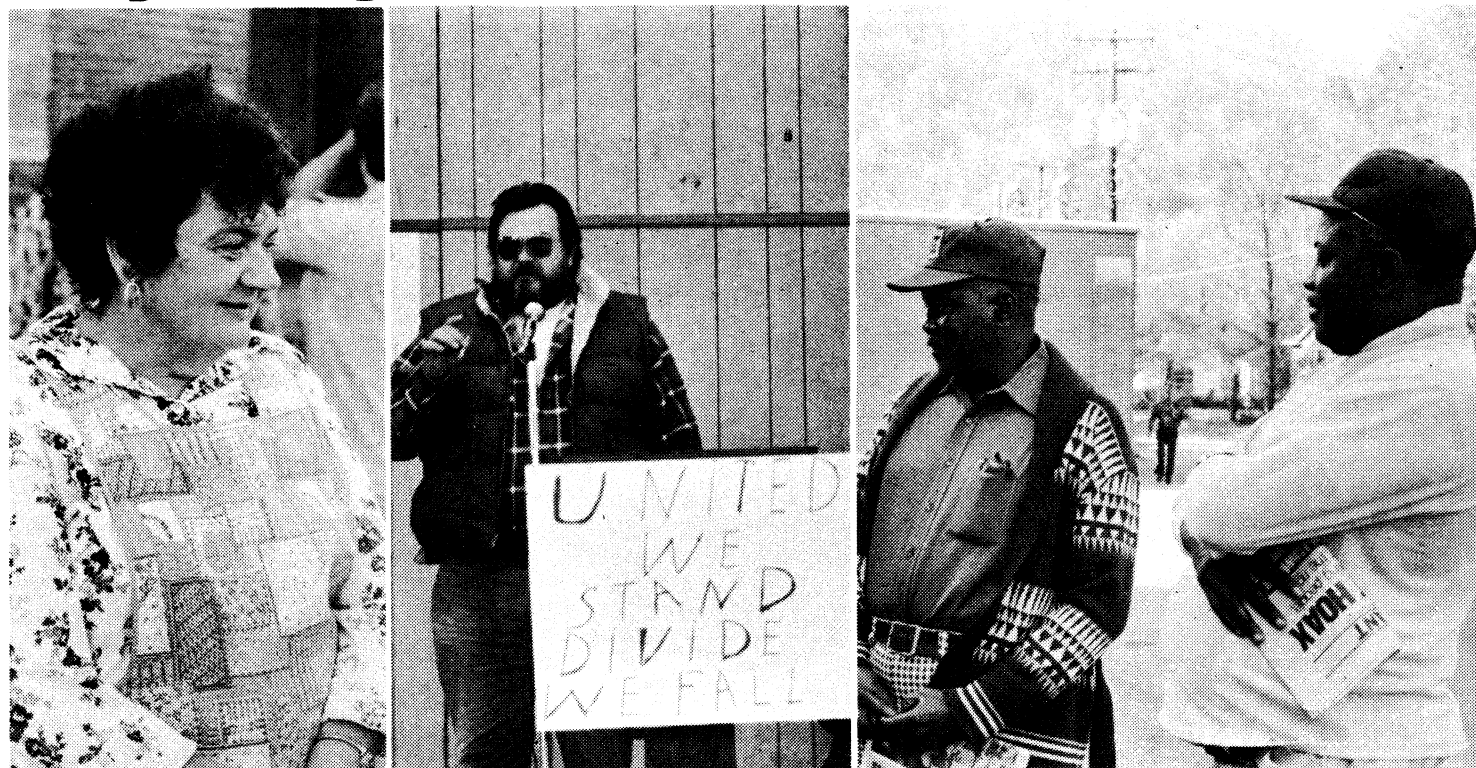
These "independent" coal operators say they want a contract of their own design. What it amounts to is that they want the UMWA out.

In Virginia, UMWA field representative George Ramey told the *Militant*, "We think it's pretty clear these operators got together and decided to get rid of the union."

Perhaps the most dramatic example of company violence has occurred here in Harlan County, where in August armored trucks started carrying scabs into the Jericol mine. When the trucks first appeared, they carried guns stuck out of portholes.

"They were shooting out of the trucks," Dorcas Jones told the *Militant*. "One little boy almost got hit—he had to hit the ditch."

Jones is head of the Closplint Boosters Club, a women's group made up mostly of wives of the striking miners. The club organized a boycott of the area schools, charging the armed scabs with endangering the lives of students.



Supporters at Glenbrook strike rally included (left to right): Dorcas Jones, Closplint Booster Club; Mickey Messer, Brookside United Mine Workers local; and miners from Virginia.

The women finally forced the circuit judge to prohibit the scabs from displaying guns on their way to the mine—before that the judge banned guns only for the pickets.

About 250 attended the rally here October 29, a smaller turnout than many had expected. Local 8771 President Gerald Cornette attributed it to a confusion over the day and time—it had originally been scheduled for the day before. Yet a number of UMWA locals were represented, and they brought donations for the strike relief fund.

Mickey Messer, president of the nearby Brookside UMWA local, reported that his local had pledged \$6,000.

Arnold Hunley, vice-president of Local 2385, asked to speak and then pledged a personal contribution of \$50 a month until the strike is over—or until he goes broke.

Hunley explained that his UMWA construction local was only recently organized. "Everyone said we couldn't do it, that there'd never been a union in Clay County. But we got our contract, and we're proud of it."

He said their success had inspired another group of workers to go on strike for union recognition just a few days before.

After the rally, over coffee, District 19 Safety Director Hugh Jones recalled how in the late 1940s there was only one nonunion operation in Harlan County. Now the estimate goes as high as 75 percent nonunion.

What will it take to make Harlan a solid UMWA county again? I asked.

"We need to set a fire under these people," he answered. "We need more rallies like this. We need massive rallies. We need militant speakers to inspire them. We need to let people know what's going on."

Messages of support and contributions can be sent to the Glenbrook Miners Relief Fund, Box 119, Closplint, Kentucky 40927.

U.S. working people have no interest in preventing the people of Iran from having the government of their choice. On the contrary, we have a stake in barring the way to U.S. military intervention and in putting an end to the misuse of U.S. resources to preserve the shah's tyranny.

The interests of American people are best expressed by the slogan: "No to U.S. intervention in Iran! U.S. out of Iran now!"

Campaigning for socialism

Campaign in the news

"Socialist Proposed Plan to End Unemployment" was the way the October 25-31 Buffalo, New York, *Criterion* headlined a story on the SWP's plan to provide jobs for all.

The Black community weekly was quoting campaign chairperson Willie Mae Reid's response to passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. Calling the bill "a fraud," Reid counterposed the SWP's proposal, which "would cut the workweek to thirty hours and keep the pay the same. That alone would open up millions of new jobs."

"Socialists would also take the \$126 billion wasted on the military and use it for a crash public-jobs program to rebuild America's cities and provide desperately needed services such as better education, medical care, and child care."

"And socialists would enforce and expand affirmative-action programs so that newly created jobs would benefit those hit hardest by unemployment—women and oppressed national minorities."

The paper quoted Reid as saying such a program "will never be enacted by Democrats or Republicans. They won't even look at these proposals because they would cut into profits of the big corporations. But for socialists, human needs come first, and a job is a basic human need."

Weekly news releases from the SWP national campaign committee have been reprinted in Black community newspapers in cities such as St. Louis, Chicago, Birmingham, Atlanta, New York, Oakland, and Philadelphia.

CP's 'working class candidates'

"Growing dissatisfaction with the Carter administration and the two major political parties is leading trade unionists and community leaders to consider building a new independent political movement in the U.S. to run its own candidates."

This is the lead paragraph in an article headlined "Working class candidates challenge major parties" in the "special election issue" of the *Daily World*, voice of the U.S. Communist Party.

More than half the article focuses on the campaign of Clifford Sinclair, member of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 851 and candidate for Congress from Joliet, Illinois.

"Labor," the *Daily World* quotes Sinclair as saying, "has isolated itself and is going to have to change. We should be building coalitions with community groups to elect people who will support our needs." According to the *Daily World*, "he said that too many times labor has supported Democratic candidates who made good-sounding promises to labor in return for its support, only to forget them once in office."

Only later in the article do we discover that Sinclair himself is "running on the Democratic Party line." In fact, so are the other three candidates from Vermont and Connecticut whose campaigns are reported approvingly by the CP.

How running in the Democratic Party is a "challenge" to the "major parties"—which, according to the article, Sinclair "says are largely controlled by big business"—the article doesn't explain.

But it does explain what the Communist Party means by independent working-class political action.

—Bob Schwarz

...U.S. & shah

Continued from page 8

ment and planning the economy for the common good.

In Carter's statements and in the capitalist press, the Iranian people's struggle is presented as a threat to "U.S. interests." That's code for the interests of the small minority of billionaires who rule this country and arrogantly claim to speak in our name.

Communist Party USA: The politics of detente

By Steve Clark

(Last of three articles)

Behind the U.S. Communist Party's support to "progressive" big-business politicians is its complete political subordination to Moscow.

The CP makes political decisions not on the basis of what will advance the interests of American workers, but what will advance the foreign-policy goals of the Kremlin bureaucrats.

That means supporting politicians—usually, but not always, liberal Democrats—whom the CP considers most friendly to détente between Moscow and Washington. (Or at least more friendly than their opponent.)

Right now, for example, Moscow's top priority is to nail down SALT II—the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the U.S. and Soviet governments.

Actually, SALT II will do nothing to save humanity from the threat of nuclear annihilation. Why? Because it will do nothing about the real cause of that threat—the war drive built into U.S. capitalism's profit-lust for expanded markets and investments.

SALT II, for example, will not only allow the Pentagon to hold onto thousands of missile systems and death-dealing nuclear warheads, it will also allow the development of new atomic weapons and more refined delivery systems.

Despite the fakery of this scheme, SALT II was portrayed as this fall's most important election issue in the October 26 *Daily World*, the CP newspaper.

Keeping a 'detente' Senate

Under the front-page banner headline, "The elections—what's at stake," the CP daily warned that the "new right" is aiming for "even tighter control of the U.S. Congress."

The article singled out a number of conservative Republican Senate candidates: Alabama's James Martin; South Carolina's Strom Thurmond; North Carolina's Jesse Helms; Colorado's William Armstrong; and New Jersey's Jeffrey Bell.

"Since ratification of SALT II requires a two-thirds majority in the Senate," the *Daily World* reported, "each one of these races is crucial to the battle to secure a SALT agreement and open the way for further steps in detente."

The point is clear. Nothing should stand in the way of voting for the Democrat in these races. Just to make sure, the *Daily World* explicitly noted in two cases that the Democratic sena-

torial candidate "reportedly would vote for SALT II."

The CP is also helping to perpetuate the SALT II myth in the six state election campaigns it is running this fall. In the brochure for its New York slate, for example, the CP writes:

"Our people want peace, detente, and an end to the arms race. They want to see a SALT II agreement with the Soviet Union."

But does the CP demand that Washington abolish its \$126 billion war budget, as Socialist Workers Party candidates are urging this fall in some twenty-five states and the District of Columbia?

No. The CP calls only for "a sharp reduction in the federal government's military budget."

Which nuclear weapons does the CP believe the Pentagon should keep?

Stalinist bureaucrats

These positions flow from the CP's slavish obedience to the dictates of the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow. The CP defends the suppression of basic civil liberties and trade-union rights in the Soviet Union. It falsely paints up this totalitarian regime as a socialist paradise. Meanwhile, the Soviet working class remains crushed under the heel of a privileged bureaucratic minority that wields all political power there.

The Kremlin bureaucrats do not identify their interests with those of the working class in the United States, or anywhere else.

In fact, these high-living functionaries fear the independent political power of American working people almost as much as they fear any independent stirrings by workers in the USSR.

The entire political outlook of the Soviet rulers is shaped by their desire to protect their abundant material privileges. To do this, they must preserve their political death-grip over Soviet society.

These narrow bureaucratic interests dictate an almost religious dedication to the status quo worldwide. This desire not to shake things up is at the heart of Moscow's theory of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalist governments around the world.

Opposite of Leninism

This theory was first expounded by Joseph Stalin. It is the opposite of the revolutionary internationalist outlook of Lenin, Trotsky, and other leaders of the Bolshevik revolution.

The Bolsheviks understood that the expansionist, aggressive character of imperialist powers such as the United States made "peaceful coexistence" a

dangerously utopian doctrine. Washington's mad escalation of the arms race is a testament to the correctness of that assessment.

Big business will resort to the most ruthless methods to preserve its power and profits, as it has shown in Vietnam, Chile, and South Africa—and Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Concessions to imperialism, or paper agreements such as SALT II, do not increase the chances for peace. They simply whet imperialism's appetite, encouraging it to try further military adventures and make further demands.

What's more, by peddling the false notion that permanent peace can be achieved while the capitalists still hold power, the Stalinists do absolutely nothing to defend the Soviet Union. To the contrary, as the Bolsheviks of Lenin's time explained time and again, the only way to defend the Soviet workers state is to help extend the socialist revolution worldwide.

Nonetheless, as Stalin tightened the bureaucracy's hold over Soviet society following Lenin's death, he threw Marxist principles onto the scrap heap. He argued that socialism could be built in one country—the Soviet Union.

This theory then became an excuse to demand that Communist parties in capitalist countries subordinate everything to Moscow's diplomatic aims. This allegedly aided both the Soviet workers and the cause of world peace.

In reality, it did neither.

The Stalinist bureaucrats do their best to sabotage and block revolutionary developments in order to convince imperialist governments that they are sincere in their desire for "peaceful coexistence."

Moreover, revolutionary upsurges in other countries inspire the Soviet workers to press their own struggles. The birth of a democratic workers government anywhere in the world threatens to fuel aspirations for human rights and working-class political power in the USSR.

Attitude toward Carter

The CP's attitude toward the Carter administration reflects its subservience to the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary dealings with world capitalism. Gus Hall's main report to the June 1978 meeting of the CP's National Council stressed the need to build a pro-détente counterforce against the pressure on Carter from the so-called new right.

"It would be wrong to believe that it is now no longer possible to influence



CP National Secretary Gus Hall

Carter's course," Hall said.

"His very opportunism means that he will respond to pressure from another direction. *But the pressure must be considerable enough to indicate where the people really stand.*"

Hinting that the CP may not be unfriendly to Carter's reelection bid, Hall continued, "the Achilles Heel of Carter's opportunism is that if he moves to the right, and continues to make even greater concessions to the Right, he will lose his own mass base and guarantee his defeat in 1980."

Later in the speech Hall explained, "Generally we must work for more flexibility in tactical matters. Even in dealing with the Carter Administration we must do so in the context of the role of the ultra-Right forces, the divisions within the Cabinet, and the contradictory pressures by different sectors of monopoly capital."

Hall continued, "We must build the pressures on Carter, but tactically it would be wrong to make Carter the single, and always the main target. On some questions, whenever he takes a fairly good position, it is necessary to support him on it."

Revolutionary alternative

The CP's collaboration with capitalist parties and politicians, then, is rooted in the drive by the Kremlin bureaucracy to collaborate with capitalist governments around the world, especially Washington.

Using the need to fend off the "new right" as its latest excuse, the CP will continue to encourage American workers to stay inside the Democratic Party.

This does not mean that the CP will drop its rhetoric about political independence. Such talk, in fact, is designed to package the Democratic Party in wrapping paper more suited to today's growing working-class disgust with both big-business parties.

Nor will the CP stop running in elections. It uses these campaigns to publicize its Stalinist views. Moreover, these election efforts help strengthen the CP organizationally—all the better to carry out its services for Moscow.

The Socialist Workers Party, in contrast, serves no interests other than the liberation of working people and the oppressed in this country and around the world.

That is why—while the CP was out hustling votes for Democrats this fall—SWP candidates were explaining the need for independent labor political action and a clean break from the two-party con game of big business.

...Silkwood

Continued from back page

parent knowledge of the FBI.

The inspection team also photographed some of the evidence Silkwood had collected on safety violations.

Perhaps it isn't surprising, then, that the investigation of Karen Silkwood's contamination and her mysterious death didn't go very far.

The FBI inquiry turned up nothing. A Justice Department investigation did the same.

As the case became more widely known, activists in the women's movement, the environmental movement, and the labor movement began to push for a congressional investigation.

In November 1975, Sen. Lee Metcalf agreed to have his subcommittee look into the case.

Five months passed. On the eve of the Metcalf hearings, Dean McGee paid the senator a visit.

The next day, Metcalf announced he was cancelling the hearings.

In November 1976, Karen's parents, Bill and Merle Silkwood, filed a \$160,000 lawsuit accusing Kerr-McGee of conspiring to violate their daughter's civil rights and accusing the FBI of covering up the truth.

The Silkwoods went to court because the politicians "just looked like they had been paid off or something to say it was an accident," Bill Silkwood told me. "And McGee going up there and talking to Metcalf, and the next day he drops it out of the Senate hearing."

"You could see they were either paid off or did something to knock it out of the Senate."

Once a believer in the FBI, Bill Silkwood now gives his opinion of the agency: "Rotten. That sums it up—rotten."

Revelations

The Silkwood family lawsuit has been the source of important revelations about illegal surveillance of



MERLE AND BILL SILKWOOD

Militant/Jana Pellusch

Karen Silkwood, OCAW activists, and anti-nuclear power activists around the country; about the FBI's eager cooperation with Kerr-McGee; and a frightening number of safety violations at the Cimarron plant, which government officials merely winked at.

The lawsuit has made the Silkwood case the rallying point for trade unionists, feminists, civil libertarians, and environmentalists.

Without that support, says Bill Silkwood, "we probably wouldn't be this far along."

"They've got the money and power behind them," he says of Kerr-McGee. "We're fighting a multi-million-dollar corporation, plus the government."

Silkwood's supporters are showing their strength this month by coordinating memorial activities across the country. Thousands of people will participate, and tens of thousands more will learn about the case.

And there will be still more pressure on the government and on Kerr-McGee to answer the question: *Who killed Karen Silkwood?*

Protest attack on Louisville socialist rally

By Mary Gutekanst

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—A chemical bomb thrown by two white men nearly caused serious harm to Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters at a rally here November 4.

A statement denouncing the attack has already been signed by W.J. Hodge, president of the Louisville Board of Aldermen, and board members David Banks and Sharon Wilbert. They call on the police department to take whatever steps necessary to apprehend those responsible.

The attackers threw a grenade of riot-agent CS into the SWP headquarters. The warning label on the bomb said, "This grenade functions by burning and may cause fires if thrown into buildings." The weapon is legally available only to the police and the military.

Jim Burfeind, SWP candidate for Congress in the November 7 election and an army veteran with some knowledge of chemical bombs, threw the grenade into the street.

The rally, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant*, was able to proceed. Nearly \$800 was raised for the *Militant's* \$75,000 fund drive from the fifty supporters present.

Additional signers of the statement protesting the attack on the socialists include Arthur Walters, executive director of the Louisville Urban League; Lyman Johnson, Jefferson County School Board; and the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union.

Also, Bob Cunningham, Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Beth Thrush, Kentucky Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights; and Ron Long, editor of the *Louisville Defender*.

Opposed to nuclear power?—Join YSA!

By Diane Wang

The Hanford Nuclear Reservation should send shivers up anyone's spine. It has seven reactors in varying stages of decay left over from early bomb-making days, a nuclear waste dump, facilities for refining plutonium for weapons, and three more nuclear plants under construction.

The Hanford site is one of the big topics in the Northwest during the nationwide November antinuke actions to commemorate Karen Silkwood's death.

Young Socialist Alliance chapters around the country are helping organize and publicize the Karen Silkwood teach-ins and demonstrations. The Olympia, Washington, YSA, for example, is sponsoring a forum in Olympia where Dr. Samuel Milham will describe the effects of low-level radiation on workers at the Hanford site.

Caryn Swann, organizer of the Olympia YSA, talked to the *Militant* about why socialists oppose nuclear power. According to her, nuclear power is a clear case of a small handful of wealthy individuals running society for their own benefit at everyone else's expense.

"There isn't anything for working people to gain from nuclear power—either power plants or weapons," Swann said. "It's just plain dangerous."

The YSA is active in groups such as the Crabshell Alliance in Washington State, Swann explained, because socialists think a movement to stop nuclear power is crucial.

"The Democrats and Republicans

are not going to stop nuclear power of their own accord," Swann said. "They respond to the interests of big corporations."

"Yet, I think the overwhelming majority of people in this country are either uninformed about nuclear power or oppose it," Swann continued. "A movement is necessary both to educate those who don't understand the issues and to demonstrate the opposition that already exists."

The antinuclear movement needs to include everyone opposed to nuclear power, Swann said. "Otherwise we can't succeed."

But she also thinks many who oppose nuclear power may conclude that socialism is a necessity.

"In a socialist society, the majority of people would be making the decisions about what kind of energy to develop," Swann said. "It would be something that doesn't threaten our lives and safety on the basis of private profits."

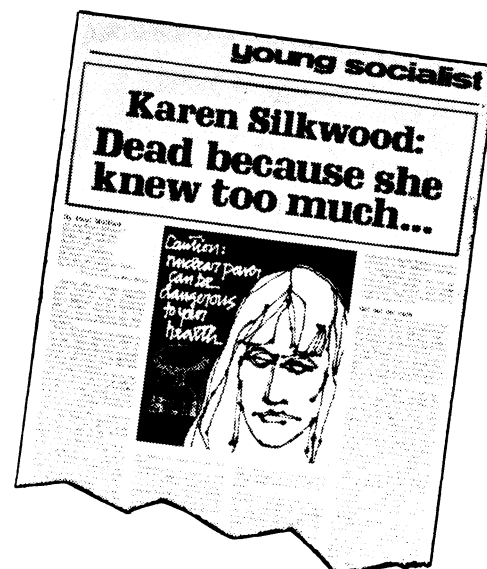
"But making sure the majority decides is going to take a socialist reorganization of society," she concluded.

The antinuclear fight will be a topic at the YSA national convention in Pittsburgh December 28-January 1. In addition to a report and general discussion on the movement, there will be a workshop where antinuke activists from dozens of YSA chapters and campuses can compare their experiences.

For more information about the convention, contact the YSA chapter nearest you, listed on page 27 of the *Militant*. Or return the coupon on this page with your name and address to the YSA national office.

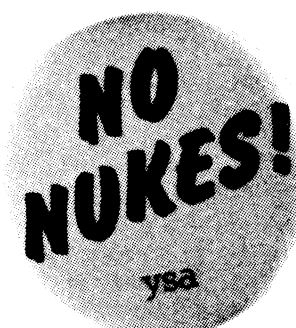
Read the 'Young Socialist'

Karen Silkwood's story and the ongoing campaign against the nuclear power industry are featured in this month's 'Young Socialist.' This issue also carries a speech by a South African freedom fighter, revelations about FBI spying, and the campaign to defend women's rights.



Come to a socialist convention

These and other topics will be discussed at the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 28-January 1. For more information, contact the YSA chapter nearest you listed on page 27, or return this coupon with your name and address to the YSA National Office, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



- ☐ Send me a copy of the 'Young Socialist' (25¢ each, 20¢ for bundles).
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1.00 for a six-month subscription to the 'Young Socialist.'
- ☐ Send me more information about the YSA convention.
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- ☐ I want to join the YSA.

Join the YSA

1954 coup in Guatemala

Why they demand 'Yankee go home' in Central America

By David Frankel

Central America is home to more than 16.3 million people, many of whom harbor understandable anger and hatred against the U.S. government.

The people of Nicaragua, for example, have suffered for four decades under the tyrannical Somoza dictatorship, imposed by the U.S. Marines. Just this September, they saw thousands of their compatriots slaughtered by U.S.-trained troops using American weapons.

Resentment is also strong in Panama, where U.S. troops occupy large areas of the country despite the protests of the Panamanian people. Earlier this year, the Senate arrogantly declared that U.S. forces would retain the option of intervening in Panama even after the year 2000.

And the people of Guatemala owe their twenty-five years of suffering under a right-wing military dictatorship to the government in Washington.

A worthwhile contribution to the sordid history of U.S. intervention in Guatemala has been made by *New York Post* reporter Stephen Schlesinger. Schlesinger is writing a book on the 1954 coup that brought down the elected government in Guatemala. In the October 28 issue of *The Nation* magazine, Schlesinger reports on the contents of 1,000 pages of State Department documents he received under the Freedom of Information Act.

Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz, Schlesinger notes, "made one fatal mistake—in 1953, he expropriated unused land belonging to United Fruit,

then the country's principal landowner.

"The American company controlled all of Guatemala's banana exports, ran 580 of the land's 732 miles of railroad, held a monopoly on its telephone and telegraph facilities, possessed its largest electrical plant, and administered one of the most important ports on the Caribbean coast."

At the urging of United Fruit, the Eisenhower administration initiated a secret war against the mildly reformist Arbenz regime. When Arbenz bought a shipload of arms of Czechoslovakia in May 1954, U.S. warships were sent to the Caribbean with secret orders to search any "suspicious" ships bound for Guatemala.

Meanwhile, using the excuse that Arbenz was threatening the security of the entire region, Washington began flying cargoes of arms to Nicaragua. A right-wing exile army led by Col. Castillo Armas, a former Guatemalan military officer, was funded and organized by CIA operatives in Nicaragua and Honduras.

In June 1954, the U.S.-backed mercenaries invaded Guatemala and overthrew the Arbenz regime. Armas, as Schlesinger points out, "rescinded the Agrarian Reform laws, handed back all of United Fruit's seized land, and generally set up a reliable, ruthless authoritarian regime in which the United States could put its trust."

A particularly repulsive aspect of the U.S. follow-up to the coup was the personal campaign by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to ensure the persecution of refugees from Guatemala—known in State Department terminology as "asylees."

There are certain gaps in Schlesinger's account that should be noted. First of all, although he mentions the fact that Arbenz was unable to rely on the Guatemalan armed forces, which were in sympathy with the right-wing rebellion, Schlesinger completely misses the political significance of what happened.

Arbenz and the Guatemalan Communist Party, which supported him, urged the masses to rely on the armed forces, just as the Allende regime was later to do in Chile. The reformist leaders refused to even consider mobilizing the masses and arming them, although they knew well in advance about the invasion being organized by Armas. The CIA's ragtag army took over Guatemala without a fight as a result of this policy.

Secondly, Schlesinger claims that although the CIA's role in the coup was well known, "no one ever saw



Jean-Jacques Pauvert

either the White House or the State Department as major actors in the Guatemalan drama."

This may well be the case in liberal circles, but it did not take revolutionary socialists twenty-five years to figure out who was behind Armas. As the *Militant* declared in the front-page

headline of its July 5, 1954, issue: "State Dept. Plot in Guatemala Restores Rule of United Fruit."

However, Schlesinger's account is still worth recommending to anyone who wonders why "Yankee go home" is such a popular slogan in Latin America.

100% hike in bus fares sparks wave of protests

A 100 percent increase in urban transportation fares touched off a wave of strikes and street demonstrations in Guatemala in early October.

Immediately after the fare hike was announced on September 30, several hundred trade unionists, students, and public employees met in Guatemala City at the call of the National Trade-Union Unity Committee (CNUS) and the Committee of State Workers Organizations (CETE), which together include the majority of Guatemalan trade unions.

The assembly voted to call for lightning rallies and the construction of barricades in the poor neighborhoods of the capital, and rotating strikes in industrial plants and banks.

The CETE also called for a general strike of public employees in Guatemala City that began October 2. It was extended throughout the country on October 9.

Two thousand students marched in the capital to protest the fare hike on October 2. Police opened fire, killing at least one student and wounding fifty. Thousands more persons came into the streets, building barricades and burning buses.

The protests continued on October 3, and three more demonstrators were killed by the cops. Clashes were also reported in the city of Amatitlán.

On October 5, students, workers, and peasants demonstrated in Jutiapa. The next day the protests spread to Quetzaltenango, Guatemala's second-largest city. Five hundred middle-school students there set up barricades and battled police.

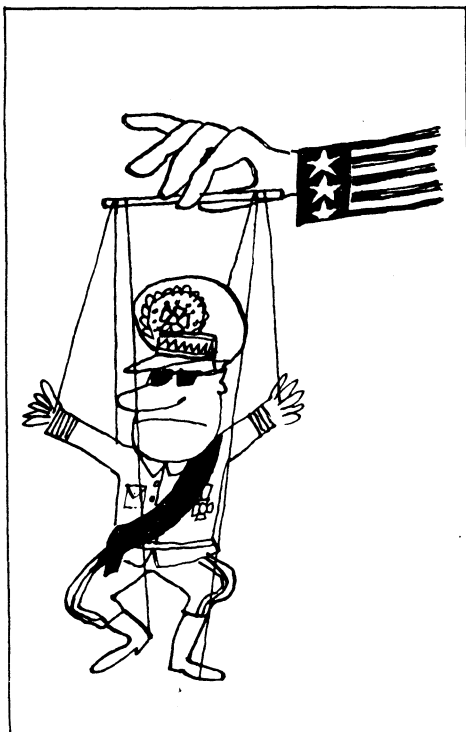
The City Council of Guatemala City ordered the transportation companies to roll back the fare increase on October 7, but the bus owners refused to do so and the strikes and protests continued.

Hundreds of government employees occupied the posts and telegraph building in the capital on October 2. They were finally dislodged by the police on October 10, and 400 were arrested.

On October 11, the police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration of public employees in Guatemala City, wounding at least ten.

Altogether, government troops and police killed 30 persons, wounded 300, and arrested 800, in the course of the protests, according to the October 11 issue of the news bulletin *Noticias de Guatemala*. In addition, right-wing terrorists in plainclothes machine-gunned the offices of the radio station "Nuevo Mundo" and the newspapers *El Independiente*, *El Gráfico*, and *Nuevo Diario*.

The wave of protests and strikes was continuing as of October 11. From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Jean-Jacques Pauvert

Swedish gov't scorched by nuclear power

By Gerry Foley

The bourgeois coalition cabinet in Sweden collapsed October 5 after two years in office.

It was the country's first avowedly procapitalist government in more than a generation. Prior to the September 1976 elections, Sweden had been administered since the 1930s by Social Democrats.

The government of Premier Thorbjörn Fälldin was the first anywhere to fall over the question of nuclear power plants.

In 1976, Fälldin's Center Party had indicated opposition to the development of nuclear power. The other two bourgeois parties, the Liberals and the Moderates, and the Social Democrats defended the building of nuclear power plants.

When a decision had to be made in early September about the opening up of two new plants, the cabinet split and it proved impossible to bridge the gap. Fälldin was forced to resign.

Negotiations are now under way to form a caretaker government presided over by Ola Ullsten, head of the Liberal Party, which has 39 seats in a 349-seat parliament.

The bourgeois coalition won the legislative elections two years ago by a razor-thin margin. The defeat of the Social Democrats was the culmination of a long process of erosion, in which, in particular, they had lost the confidence of young voters and those most concerned with broad social issues.

The most important factor in the defeat of the Social Democrats at that time was apparently their alienation of left and ecologically minded voters by their espousal of nuclear power. Some defenders of the environment were even led to cast their ballots for the



Former Swedish Premier Thorbjörn Fälldin (left) defeated Olof Palme's Social Democratic Party in September 1976 elections mainly because of nuclear power issue. Now Fälldin's government has gone down over the same question.



bourgeois parties by Fälldin's promises to restrict the development of nuclear plants.

How explosive the issue of nuclear power plants has become is indicated by the fact that Fälldin's coalition partners would not agree to let the question be settled by a referendum, even though this was the only way the coalition could have been saved.

Furthermore, although they remain the largest single party in parliament, the Social Democrats seem anxious to avoid having to take political responsibility at this time, either by trying to form a new government or forcing new elections.

The nuclear power question is only the cutting edge of the growing political crisis in Sweden. The deteriorating world economic situation is rapidly undermining the exceptional stability that Sweden capitalism has enjoyed for several decades. That is what underlies the sharpening political conflicts.

The Swedish Trotskyists responded to the fall of the Fälldin cabinet by raising the slogans of "Bourgeois parties out of the government," "New elections," and "Down with nuclear power." They are campaigning for a referendum on the nuclear issue.

In the October 13 issue of its weekly newspaper, *Internationalen*, the Communist Workers League, Swedish section of the Fourth International, issued the following statement:

"The bourgeois government was able to stay in office for two years. For two years it led the capitalists' offensive against the Swedish workers. A week ago, it fell.

"The differences were not over the question of unemployment, or rising prices and rents, or cutbacks on social services. On these questions, the coalition parties worked together rather smoothly in conducting an antilabor policy.

"Nuclear power was the apparent cause of the government's fall. But Fälldin had agreed to a continuation of the program of building nuclear power plants, with certain conditions. It was his fear of losing credibility with the voters and his own supporters that forced Fälldin on a collision course with Ullsten and Bohman [leader of the Moderate Party].

"Since the fall of the government, wheeling and dealing that went on in backrooms before has come out into the open as a public farce. Attempts to cobble together a new government out of the splinters of the old have followed in rapid succession.

"At the same time, the Social Democrats are trying to avoid the question of new elections. The Social Democratic Party has suggested that an all-Liberal Party government with the backing of 10 percent of the parliament would be an acceptable alternative.

"So, the Social Democratic Opposition has shown how much it is worth. Even when the bourgeois parties themselves abdicate, the workers are sup-

posed to wait to 1979 [the next scheduled elections] before they can express their opinion about the policies that have been followed.

"The Communist Workers League demands new elections. In this way, the bourgeois parties can be made to answer for their attacks on the workers. But it is also a way to demand that the Social Democrats make good on the promises they made in the Opposition to offer a way out of the crisis.

"We have no confidence in the policy of the Social Democrats. We will use new elections to campaign on the issues raised in their struggles by workers, women, youth, and immigrants. We will campaign for a struggle against unemployment and cutbacks. We will fight for the right to strike, the right to asylum in Sweden, and other democratic rights, and for a socialist policy."

Internationalen explained that there was no contradiction between the call for new parliamentary elections and the demand for a referendum on nuclear power:

"To the contrary, new elections offer the best opportunity for opponents of nuclear power to force the various parties to commit themselves to holding a referendum, and one that will offer real possibilities for them to present their views and put forward alternatives."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

6,000 march against nukes in Germany

Six thousand antinuclear activists turned out for a demonstration October 1 in Biblis, West Germany, a town located on the Rhine River south of Frankfurt. Biblis is the site of the largest operating nuclear reactor in Western Europe.

The demonstration had rather broad support. In addition to a wide range of community groups and environmental organizations, the action was sponsored by several political organizations, including the Young Socialists, the organization affiliated to the German Social Democratic Party; several Maoist groups; and the International Marxist Group, the West German section of the Fourth International.

Before the march started off, demonstrators, with some abstentions, adopted a resolution calling on the Hessian state premier to take a stand before the October 8 elections that any plans for expanding the Biblis nuclear plant should be dropped once and for all.

The marchers then set off for the reactor site, where a rally was held.

The march and rally went off peacefully, in contrast to police attacks on other big antinuclear actions, such as the Kalkar demonstration in 1977. The authorities, with an eye toward the elections, kept the police presence minimal.

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**dynamics
of the cuban
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the trotskyist view
by joseph hansen



Leon Trotsky's assassin reported dead

By Fred Feldman

Ramón Mercader, the Stalinist assassin of Leon Trotsky, reportedly died of bone cancer October 18 in Havana, Cuba, according to an October 20 Reuters dispatch from Moscow.

"Earlier this month," the dispatch added, "Mercader's younger brother, Luis, who has lived in the Soviet Union since 1939, said Ramón—who was 64—had gone to Havana early in 1977 for treatment for cancer."

Carlos Ferreyra, reporting from Havana, provided a somewhat different version of Mercader's death in the October 19 Mexico City daily *Uno Mas Uno*.

"Mercader lived in this city for five years," wrote Ferreyra, "working in small electronics jobs. . . . The Spaniard died in the hospital of the Ministry of the Interior, known locally as the Minit."

Ferreyra added, "Unofficially it is known that the body was cremated and that the ashes will be sent next Saturday [October 21] to the Soviet Union. There is also word that the funeral services will be 'very discreet.'"

There has as yet been no official confirmation of Mercader's death in either Moscow or Havana.

The assassination of Trotsky was the culmination of Stalin's massacre of almost the entire generation of Bolsheviks who led the 1917 revolution and participated under Lenin's leadership in beginning the job of socialist reconstruction and extension of the revolution worldwide.

Of these, Trotsky was the most serious threat to the bureaucratic tyranny that Stalin established after Lenin's death. Trotsky's role in organ-

izing the October 1917 insurrection and leading the Red Army during the civil war of 1918-20 won him worldwide renown as a revolutionist. His leadership of the Left Opposition's fight against Stalin's suppression of workers' democracy led to Trotsky's forced exile from the Soviet Union in 1929.

From his final place of exile in Coyoacan, Mexico, Trotsky exposed as fakes the "confessions" that were the sole evidence in Stalin's Moscow trial frame-ups. He proved to the world public that the Stalinist charge that Trotsky had allied with Hitler to restore capitalism in the USSR was a fabrication.

And his defense of socialist internationalism against Stalin's betrayals of workers' struggles inspired the founding of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, in September 1938.

Mercader was sent to Mexico by Stalin's secret police with orders to silence this revolutionary voice. Using the name Frank Jacson, he presented himself as a sympathizer of the Fourth International in order to meet Trotsky.

On August 20, 1940, while Trotsky pored over a manuscript "Jacson" claimed to have written, Mercader drove an ice ax into the back of Trotsky's skull. Mercader was captured on the scene by Trotsky's guards. Trotsky died the following day.

For almost four decades after his crime, Trotsky's murderer tried to conceal his real identity. When captured, he carried a "confession" in which he claimed to be a Belgian-born Trotskyist who had become disillusioned upon meeting Trotsky. Later he claimed his name was Jacques Mornard Van Den-

dresch and provided an elaborate autobiography, which was quickly shown to be a tissue of lies. "Mornard-Jacson" was sentenced to twenty years in prison by a Mexican court.

By August 20, 1953, the warden of the federal penitentiary where the killer was imprisoned was able to declare that official records from Spain proved him to be Ramón Mercader.

Mercader had been a member of the Spanish CP during the Spanish civil war of 1936-39. His mother, Caridad, was a leading Spanish Stalinist who had been granted exile in Moscow after Franco's victory. Overwhelming evidence linked both to the Soviet secret police.

Although Mercader used the pseudonym "Mornard" for the remainder of his prison term and even afterwards, his links to the Soviet regime were settled for all objective observers when he was released on May 6, 1960. He was provided with a diplomatic passport by the Czech government and, after a week in Havana, flew to Prague. A recent Reuters dispatch described him as living at a secret address in Moscow.

Luis Mercader's announcement that his brother had been hospitalized was the first admission from Moscow that "Jacques Mornard" was indeed Ramón Mercader. The admission comes at a time when the Brezhnev regime is under increasing fire for its refusal to rehabilitate all of Stalin's victims.

An editorial accompanying the report of Mercader's death in *Uno Mas Uno* called for the "rehabilitation" of Trotsky in the USSR. "The assassination of Trotsky," it stated, "is as condemnable as the liquidation of many other leaders of the Communist Party



Ramon Mercader, Stalinist assassin of Leon Trotsky.

of the Soviet Union. . . . Neither his ideological positions nor his attitude merited—let's not mention death—even expulsion from the party."

It is high time that the Moscow rulers yielded to these just demands. And it is high time also for them to admit that Stalin and the Soviet secret police engineered Trotsky's assassination.

Soviet dissidents and all other supporters of democratic rights in the USSR have a strong incentive to place this demand on the Soviet rulers. The police-state apparatus that today jails critics in "mental hospitals" is the same one that sought to silence dissent with an ice ax in August 1940.

Peruvian revolutionary socialists unite

By David Frankel

Spurred by the crisis of capitalism in Peru and by the deep radicalization of the Peruvian masses, five Trotskyist groups announced October 11 that they have united to form a new organization, the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT).*

This big step toward the unification of the Peruvian Trotskyist movement reflects the overwhelming sentiment among Peruvian workers and peasants for unity in the face of the government's escalating attacks on their democratic rights and standard of living.

In the first issue of *Revolución*, a newspaper set up to promote the fusion

process, Trotskyist leader and Constituent Assembly member Hugo Blanco explained the principles that will be defended by the new Trotskyist party.

"Never before in Peru have so many Trotskyists joined together, united by our conviction that the only salvation of our people lies in the socialist revolution, and that on this road we must struggle against all sectors of the bourgeoisie," Blanco declared.

"We are also united in the conviction that we will not be able to bring about socialism through a revolution in our country alone, but rather that the socialist revolution must be extended throughout the world. . . .

"Moreover, we are united in order to debate our tactical differences, because that is what Trotskyism is—free internal discussion, the existence of tendencies that can bring out the truth through debate, and firm unity in action."

A new newspaper, *Combate Socialista* (Socialist Struggle), will be published by the PRT now that the unifi-

Tribunal to investigate rightist terror

An independent "Anti-Terrorism Tribunal," to be headed by the renowned novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, is being formed in Peru to investigate links between the military government and a wave of bombings and kidnappings aimed at leftists.

Members of the tribunal will include Christian Democratic Constituent Assembly member Héctor Cornejo Chávez, who was president of the National Council of Justice (Peru's supreme court), from 1971-76;

attorney Laura Caller, Peruvian representative of Amnesty International; attorney Genaro Ledesma, leader of the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front delegation in the Constituent Assembly; and Alfonso Barrantes Lingán, president of the Democratic People's Unity, another left-wing front represented in the Constituent Assembly.

Also participating in the tribunal are the editors or publishers of five of Peru's leading independent periodicals.

cation has been successfully accomplished.

In addition to Blanco, who is the best known socialist in Peru, other leaders of the new party include Victoriano Ramírez, Jorge Lucas Vázquez, and Hipólito Enríquez. Enríquez is the organization secretary of the FETIMP, the principal union of Peruvian metal workers.

The successful unification of the Trotskyists is especially significant given the fragmentation of the rest of the Peruvian left. The Stalinist Communist Party has splintered into five pro-Moscow and pro-Peking groups. In addition, there are eight centrist or Maoist groups that arose from the organization known as Vanguardia Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Vanguard), and eight tendencies that trace

their history back to the Castroist MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

In comparison, there are now three Trotskyist groups in Peru. The PRT and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) are both sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International. The Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR—Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) is affiliated internationally to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

The opportunities facing the revolutionary socialist movement in Peru were underscored October 24 when the government was forced to close all universities in Lima in an attempt to stop protests against a 37 percent increase in public transportation fares.



Demonstrators welcome Hugo Blanco back to Peru July 16. Peruvian Trotskyists face big opportunities as class struggle deepens.

Life in Hungary today

'A worker in a worker's state'

A Worker in a Worker's State by Miklós Haraszti (New York: Universe Books, 1978). \$7.95, 175 pp. Trans. by Michael Wright.

By Will Reissner

This short book, by a thirty-three-year-old Budapest sociologist and poet, was more accurately entitled *Piece Rates* in Hungarian. It was commissioned in 1972 by a Budapest publisher who wanted a book on working conditions.

Miklós Haraszti got a job as a machinist in a tractor factory, and this study describes the effects of working in a plant where wages are directly determined on a piecework basis.

Haraszti's publisher rejected the manuscript as being "hostile" to the state, and Haraszti was later arrested

the basis of piecework, in the workers states of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union this form of payment is widely used to spur workers on to increase production, since a worker's pay is directly related to the amount of goods produced.

Although the bureaucrats who run the societies in Eastern Europe often defend piecework wages as a valid form of payment in the transitional period between socialism and communism, Haraszti's study clearly shows that piecework wages have the same dehumanizing effects in a noncapitalist system as they do under capitalism.

Workers at the Red Star Tractor Factory find themselves in a vicious circle. In order to earn a living wage, they must find ways to increase their rate of production beyond the norms posted for the work. They do this by sacrificing quality to quantity, by working two machines at once, and by disregarding the most elemental safety considerations. Every minute "wasted" by concern over safety or by attempts to achieve optimal quality means fewer items produced and thus less money earned.

But as workers increase their production, they find that in time the payment per piece is reduced and they must find new ways to produce even more in order to maintain their wages at the old levels.

The effect, as Haraszti points out, is that "my work-mates have long since given up the idea of their labour producing useful goods of high quality." Piecework wages, he notes, kill "in the worker—who creates everything—the instinct for good work."

In order to try to maintain any quality standards, the factory management must resort to quality inspectors who can reject pieces produced by the workers. But, as one older worker explains to the author, if the workers weren't forced to cheat on norms and on quality in order to produce enough to make a living wage "inspectors would be redundant." The worker, Haraszti points out, "would like to be a man of quality without inspectors."

Because this study was written for a Hungarian audience, many aspects of a worker's life that would be of interest to a non-Hungarian, such as what the wages of these workers will buy, what social benefits they have, and so forth, are not discussed.

But we catch a glimpse of aspects of Hungarian society through some of the asides in the book. The collective agreement between the union and management at the plant, for example, was described by one worker in these terms: "It states everything we have to put up with, except for what it doesn't state." Haraszti notes that he needed his foreman's permission to look at a copy of the agreement.

The union plays little role in the lives of the workers. Noting that "enthusiastic press and TV commentaries burst with solidarity for the union-led wage struggles in the West," Haraszti comments that "our unions do not seem to compare favorably."

Judging by this study, the Communist Party also seems to play little role in the daily life of the workers. There are only occasional references to membership being a ticket up the ladder.

The marginal comments about

women in the factory speak volumes about their status in Hungary. In this plant women are concentrated in clerical and unskilled jobs. Discussing new semiautomatic milling machines, Haraszti comments that they are all operated by women. "Their wages are so low that no man would take the job."

Although piecework wages are designed to give each worker an incentive to maximize individual production, and although they do result in the self-imposed dehumanizing, breakneck pace of work, Haraszti asks, "Does the norm really get the most out of us?"

He points out that those who set the norms do not understand the actual processes of production or the tricks of the trade. And the workers hide these tricks from management to protect themselves from further increases.

As one worker notes, "production would get along much better if we had a say in fixing the norms." And quality control would not have to be imposed from the outside. But under piecework, those who develop the norms in the front office "can't count on any information coming from us, who actually operate the machine."

What is needed, the author points out, is for the whole process of production to be brought under the control of the workers. "The first goal of a technical science under the control of the workers," he states, "would be an increase in production that reduced the amount of work necessary to bring it about."

But rather than solve questions of production and quality through workers' control of production and planning, the Hungarian Stalinist regime resorts to piecework and quality inspectors, for to give workers control over production in any area of life would raise inevitable questions about why direct workers' control shouldn't be extended to all areas of life in a workers state. And such direct control could only end in the abolition of the special privileges the bureaucrats now enjoy.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Books

for circulating copies to other publishers and to friends. In a 1974 trial the author received a suspended eight-month sentence and a heavy fine.

This was not the author's first brush with the authorities. After helping to establish a Vietnam Solidarity Committee at the University of Budapest in 1965, he was expelled from the university a year later. In 1968 he was placed under a form of house arrest for having some contact with a Hungarian Maoist circle.

Although unions in capitalist countries have long opposed payment on

...upsurge in Iran

Continued from page 5

owners, and was able to solve many of the problems of national independence, political democracy, and redistribution of the land through revolutionary action.

But social conditions have changed in the past 200 years. In countries such as Iran, the native capitalist class has been stunted by imperialist domination. Far from being the ideological and political leader of society, the Iranian capitalist class is weak and discredited. Moreover, it faces a modern working class with an alternative program for the organization of society.

The type of mass mobilizations necessary to bring down the shah and throw off the yoke of his imperialist backers would inevitably challenge the position of the Iranian capitalists as well.

Under these conditions, the Iranian ruling class clings to its role as junior partner to imperialism. The bourgeois opposition figures have already retreated in the face of the mass movement.

This process, as noted above, is not limited to Iran. The inability of the capitalist class in the epoch of imperialism to lead the fight for democratic rights, land reform, and national independence was a central factor in the Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cuban revolutions.

Only the working class can lead the struggle for democratic rights in Iran

to a successful conclusion. In order to advance this process, Iranian Trotskyists are campaigning for a constituent assembly—an idea that has also been raised by others.

A freely elected constituent assembly—that is, the election of a representative body by the whole people of Iran, through universal suffrage, and in an atmosphere free of censorship, intimidation, or martial-law restrictions—would accurately reflect the aspirations of the masses.

The convening of a constituent assembly would provide an opportunity for the workers and peasants to establish their own government, based on their own popularly elected organs.

Such a workers and peasants government would not only assure civil liberties and independence from imperialist domination. It would also distribute the land to the working peasants, ensure the right of the oppressed nationalities to self determination, and represent the exploited and oppressed against the Iranian capitalists. It would begin the real modernization of Iran—its socialist reconstruction.

Of course, all this cannot happen automatically. It will require a political struggle, and the leadership of a mass revolutionary socialist party. No such mass party exists today, but the situation in Iran is extremely favorable for building a party of this type.

The social upheaval taking place in Iran today—certainly the biggest revolutionary struggle in the country's

history—is also one of the great revolutionary uprisings of our generation. With his appointment of a military regime, the shah has merely set the stage for the next phase of the confrontation.

If the old tyrant is to survive, he must break the general strike that is strangling his regime. That is why the shah has appointed Gen. Gholam Oveisi, the martial-law administrator who played a key role in suppressing

earlier uprisings, to head the Ministry of Labor.

But even if the shah manages to force the strikers back to work at gunpoint—which remains to be seen—how long can he keep them back under such conditions? And how long will the ranks of the army put up with such a role?

One thing is certain: it will take a lot more than a declaration of martial law to solve the shah's problems.



Construction workers at oil drilling site. Iran's economic backwardness cannot be overcome under capitalism.



'An over-deliverability situation'

"An over-deliverability situation." That's how the president of the American Gas Association described the sudden emergence of a natural-gas glut.

Only weeks after Congress approved the Carter administration's proposal to allow the price of natural gas to rise, the industry and the government are faced with what the *Washington Post* called "an awkward prospect."

In a sane society, the announcement that no one will freeze to death this winter, and that no factories will have to close, would be greeted with universal joy.

But in the Alice-in-Wonderland world of capitalism, it's "awkward."

It's "awkward" because the energy companies, Jimmy Carter, and most of the Democrats and Republicans in Congress have been on a campaign to con us into believing that natural-gas supplies were running low. They told us that the only way to make sure the gas got out of the ground was to give the energy companies more money for it.

And that's just what Carter and Congress did. The ransom for natural gas, in the form of higher

prices for you and me, is between 30 and 50 billion dollars.

This is another lesson that the Democrats and Republicans are in business for the care and feeding of corporate balance sheets, not for the welfare of the rest of us.

Where did all the gas suddenly come from? Actually, it didn't "suddenly" come from anywhere. It's been there for millions of years. And its existence was no secret.

Last year Mexico offered to sell some of its newly discovered natural gas to the United States. The offer was refused.

More important is the effect of higher prices on the willingness of the energy companies to supply gas. A Department of Energy study estimated that if gas prices were increased to four dollars per thousand cubic feet (about \$1.70 higher than the current average price), 700 trillion cubic feet more could be recovered from "conventional" sources.

That conclusion means only one thing: the government knew the gas was there, and the industry knew the gas was there. The fact that they wanted more money for it has nothing to do with whether the gas exists.

The government and the industry have also known all along about "unconventional" sources—that is, places where they haven't bothered to drill before because the price of gas was too low to make a profit.

One study estimated a possible 350 trillion cubic feet of gas from these sources, even at relatively low prices.

Newsweek suggested that "conventional" sources could yield 900 trillion cubic feet, and "unconventional" sources 4,400 trillion cubic feet.

You can bet that if all that natural gas is out there, there's a lot of oil, too, that the energy trust and capitalist politicians are keeping quiet about.

The energy companies and their willing friends in Congress and the White House can only work their dirty business if they can do it in secret. Working people must demand the right to inspect all the records—the drilling records, the secret reports, and the financial books.

Only then will we be able to make for ourselves the energy decisions that are so important to all our lives.

The American Way of Life

Rockefeller's noble sentiments

Some of the world's greatest works of art are tucked away in the mansions of capitalists.

Private collections, they're called. Treasures from past civilizations and historic periods available for viewing only to the very wealthy.

It's not that the rich have a more sensitive appreciation of art than the rest of us mere working people. But it's part of the power that comes with a lot of money—the economic might to corral for your own private pleasure pieces of art that ordinary people can view only in books or in an occasional visit to the museum.

It's a harsh view, some might say, given the great contributions of the philanthropists—the Carnegies, the Mellons, the Kennedys—who have all given so much to bring culture to the masses.

And don't forget the Rockefellers. Case in point: Nelson Rockefeller, possessor of 16,000 pieces of art—European and Chinese porcelain, American weathervanes, antique furniture, and paintings by Cezanne and Degas, to give but a sampling.

Having spent much of his adult life in a quest for the presidency (politics is a hobby not unlike collecting art for a wing of the ruling class), Rockefeller has moved on to a new arena of public service.

"I happen to feel art is a major force in people's lives," he says. "You need to lose yourself, to find tranquility in beauty. Art is a major joy in my life. It's a joy I want to share."

So in the spirit of his profit-hungry class, Rockefeller has launched a new business—selling reproductions of his art collection, mass-produced copies in unlimited editions, costing . . . oh, \$850 for some, \$7,500 for others.

They're on sale at the upstairs gift department of the exclusive Neiman-Marcus store. And 470,000 copies of a catalog advertising Rockefeller's wares have been sent out.

Some insiders explain the venture of the seventy-year-old multimillionaire as an effort to "catch up" with his brothers—they having had all those years to devote full time to direct accumulation of profits,

while brother Nelson went about it indirectly in his role as a capitalist politician.

Rockefeller concedes that a money-making goal is nestled somewhere among those noble sentiments of sharing his art with the public.

He pooh-poohs those who sneer at reproductions and the sale of them.

After all, if it brings in profits, it can't be bad.

Art, he explains in his letter accompanying the catalog of reproductions, "is even being purchased as a hedge against inflation."

Yet some critics are never still. Rockefeller has even had to contend with those who offer the ultimate putdown: that sales of his reproductions lower the dollar value of his original works of art.

Nonsense, responds the capitalist, who has not spent his life exploiting working people to be himself ripped off in the end. "My feeling is that it will enhance the value. If the public gets to know, say, Chinese export porcelain, the demand for the originals is liable to increase." —Nancy Cole

¡La Raza en Acción!

Farm workers' struggle continues

The following column is by Miguel Pendás, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas in the November 7 election.

HOUSTON—The struggles of farm workers that erupted in the early 1960s brought their plight to the public eye across the nation.

Numerous powerful politicians have since paid lip service to the justness of *la causa*. Countless government committees and agencies have "looked into" the problem and spent hundreds of millions of dollars to "alleviate" it.

However the stubborn fact remains that today farm workers are essentially no better off than they were ten years ago. *Campesinos* are still a lower caste of the labor force, trapped in a perpetual cycle of poverty, ill health, and insecurity.

Here in Texas, farm workers are not legally entitled to collective bargaining, worker's compensation, or unemployment insurance.

The average per capita income of the McAllen-Pharr-Edinburg area of the Lower Rio Grande Valley is \$3,338, about half that of Houston.

At the mercy of big growers and labor contractors, farm workers are still forced to work in subhuman conditions and are frequently cheated

out of wages. The average life expectancy is only forty-nine years, cut short by the ill effects of working with poisonous pesticides, backbreaking labor, a high rate of infectious diseases, and—the greatest irony of all—widespread malnutrition.

In Hidalgo County, farm workers suffer a tuberculosis rate two-and-a-half times the national average. Flu and pneumonia occur at a 20 percent higher rate than the national average.

Most of the country's 77,000 farm workers live in *colonias* with no sewage systems or paved streets. Twenty of the sixty-five *colonias* have no water. Fifty-seven percent have no potable water, and 50 percent have no indoor baths.

Sixty-nine percent of migrant workers over twenty-five have received less than four years of schooling. Child labor is still common.

It isn't that agriculture is an impoverished sector of the economy. Agribusiness, big processors and canners, and the big supermarket chains are pulling in enormous profits. Hidalgo County is the third wealthiest agricultural county in the nation.

Yet the big growers today receive welfare in the form of federally funded irrigation canals. Proposed price-support subsidies will mostly benefit the rich.

The racism of the situation is apparent, since nearly all farm workers here are Chicanos and

Mexicans.

A rational society would organize agriculture so that everyone has enough to eat, the burden of farm work is reduced as much as possible, farm workers are provided a decent living, and no one is allowed to grow rich by exploiting others. However, agribusiness and the government are in collusion to maintain the status quo. They are aided by police and the border patrol in breaking strikes.

A strong union is needed that can win control of working conditions to make sure health, wage, and safety provisions are observed. Only a union-controlled hiring hall can do away with the hated labor contractor system.

Right-to-work laws must be repealed so there can be a union shop. Farm workers must be granted unemployment benefits.

Child-care centers, fully paid health care, and quality schools with bilingual-bicultural programs near the fields must be established.

Government giveaways to the rich must be ended. Full rights must be won for *mexicano* farm workers.

Building a strong union in the fields is the first step to winning these demands. The farm workers should not have to fight alone. They need and deserve the full support of the Chicano movement and the labor movement.

Quote unquote

"We consider higher prices part of the solution to the energy problem rather than part of the problem."

—former federal Energy Administrator John Sawhill.

HEDGING THEIR BETS

Anybody who still thinks the Democrats are the party of the people and the Republicans the party of big business will have a tough time explaining why nearly half of corporate campaign contributions go to Democrats.

A good example is the U.S. Senate race in Texas, pitting Republican incumbent John Tower against Democrat Rep. Robert Krueger.

Braniff Airlines: \$3,000 to each. Bracewell and Patterson (a law firm specializing in energy matters): \$1,000 to each. First International Bancshares: \$1,000 to each. Houston Oil and Mineral Corporation: \$1,000 to each.

Some corporations were more discriminating. Coca-Cola gave Tower \$500 and Krueger \$1,000. U.S. Steel gave Tower \$1,000 and Krueger \$500.

NAACP TO DEFEND CARTER AND ARTIS

The NAACP, the country's largest and oldest civil rights organization, has decided to throw its resources into the fight to free Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis, two Black men serving six life terms for murder in New Jersey.

Carter was a top middle-weight boxer and outspoken Black nationalist when he was arrested in 1966. The two men were convicted after a crude frame-up trial. National and international pressure won them a new trial, but they were convicted again.

Writing in his weekly column

appearing in Black newspapers, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks noted that "the American judicial system is too often perverted for political ends, by racial prejudice or vindictiveness." Hooks said the NAACP is convinced that Carter and Artis were convicted through the use of manufactured and withheld evidence.

"Immense public pressure must be brought on New Jersey's legal system," Hooks declared. "Americans can be no less concerned about violations of human rights here at home . . . than they are about intensifying the struggle in behalf of political prisoners abroad."

PROFITABLE STRIKE

The Norfolk and Western Railway received \$58.4 million from other railroad corporations during a two-month strike by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), the N&W reported October 23. The strike benefits allowed the company to post a \$13.2 million profit for the third quarter of 1978.

BRAC President Fred Kroll called for a ban on "mutual aid agreements" among the rail carriers, "so that wealthy railroad corporations will have an incentive to be responsive to public needs."

LEAVE IT IN THE GROUND

Construction of the largest uranium mine in the country has almost been completed. The mine is located in New Mexico, on Mount Taylor, which is sacred to the Navajo Indians.

The Mount Taylor mine will produce 4,500 tons of radioactive leavings each day. Gulf Oil, the mine's owner, promises to do its best to safely dispose of the tailings. But twenty huge piles already exist in the area because no one knows what to do with them.

A further environmental hazard is the potential radioactive contamination of the Rio Grande River, which is a major

1,000 hit Miller whitewash



Organized by Brooklyn's Black United Front, 1,000 people marched from Crown Heights to Wall Street November 6 to protest the grand jury cover-up of the police killing of community leader Arthur Miller.

Miller was strangled to death by a gang of cops last June. But at the urging of Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold, the grand jury refused last month to take any action against the cops. The findings called the

strangling "a tragic and unforeseeable accident."

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a leader of the protest, explained that the march was going to Wall Street because "somebody's making an awful lot of money from the way we live, and some of those who are making the most money are located where we are going now."

He added, "We have not been satisfied that police are going to stop killing our children."

source of water for the entire state.

Indians and other New Mexico residents have fought development of the dangerous uranium mines. But with the price of uranium ore over forty dollars a pound, the energy corporations are out for all they can get.

BILL ATTACKS GI RIGHTS

Both houses of Congress have passed bills that would strip members of the armed forces of all their rights as

citizens. A blatant attack on the civil liberties of all Americans, the bill, numbered S-274, prevents any kind of organized effort to protest or negotiate.

S-274 was originally aimed at outlawing GI unions. As it passed through the Senate, the bill became more and more restrictive.

The law would also enact severe penalties for civilians who "represent" any GI—for example, civilian military or draft counselors.

S-274 has not yet become law because the House and Senate

passed slightly different versions just before they adjourned, according to Jon Landau, a spokesperson for CCCO/An Agency for Military and Draft Counseling.

IVY LEAGUE WOMEN ALSO SHORT-CHANGED

Women are told that hard work will get them ahead. But a survey by two Princeton University alumni groups found that the median income for women graduates of Princeton from 1970 to 1974 is about \$12,000. That is \$6,000 less than the median income of \$18,000 for male grads.

'WAGE-PRICE SPIRAL'?

The government released its September consumer price report just a few days after President Carter's appeal for "a time of national austerity" and a 7 percent limit on wage increases. It showed consumer prices soaring at a 9.6 percent annual rate.

The report also showed that spendable earnings for the average worker, after adjustment for inflation, are down 3.3 percent from a year ago.

ANOTHER VOICE AGAINST 'BRIGGOTRY'

The American Sociological Association has condemned California's Briggs Initiative, a ballot measure that would bar homosexuals and supporters of homosexual rights from teaching in public schools.

The ASA declared the measure "a violation of minority rights, an infringement on the constitutionally protected right of privacy, and a threat to the right to speak freely on matters of public concern."

The organization, which represents professional sociologists, added that the Briggs Initiative "represents a dangerous threat to freedoms that must be defended collectively in order to be exercised individually."

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

THE RIGHT TO AN EQUAL EDUCATION—THE FIGHT FOR DESEGREGATION IN PHOENIX. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 17, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

ANTI-NUCLEAR POWER MARCH AND RALLY. Tues., Nov. 14, 7 p.m. March from Stoddard Park Elementary School at Katella & 9th to Anaheim Convention Center to protest military exhibit. Aup: Alliance for Survival.

RALLY TO SAVE HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speakers: Hector Marroquin, Mexican student activist appealing for political asylum in the United States; John T. Williams, teamster; Dorothy Healey, New American Movement; others. Fri., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 1st Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (213) 413-2147.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

WHAT STRATEGY IN THE FIGHT TO END NUCLEAR POWER? Speakers: Scott Breen, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Nov. 17, reception 7:30 p.m.;

forum 8:00 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

MURDER IN THE WORKPLACE. Speaker: Jim Sarsgard, member of Local 2610 United Steelworkers of America and member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MINNESOTA MESABI IRON RANGE

THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND U.S. POLITICS. Speaker: Andy Rose, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. Carpenters Hall, 307 1st St. N., Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 741-4968.

TWO CLASSES ON THE LABOR PARTY. Speaker: Andy Rose. Sat., Nov. 18. For more information call (219) 741-4968.

MINNEAPOLIS

HOW TO WIN THE SHORTER WORK-WEEK. Speaker: Bill Onasch, president of United Electrical Workers Local 1139 and member of Socialist Workers Party, participated in Minnesota All Unions Conference to Shorten the Work Week. Fri., Nov.

17, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

OHIO TOLEDO

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker to be announced. Sun., Nov. 19, 3 p.m. Refreshments at 1:30. 2507 Collingwood. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

OREGON PORTLAND

CARTER'S ANTILABOR PROGRAM: WAR ON INFLATION OR WAR ON WORKERS? Speaker: Terie Balus-Falsafi, member of International Association of Machinists Local 1005. Sun., Nov. 12, 7 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

HISTORY OF THE BIRTH-CONTROL MOVEMENT. Speaker: Sara Baird, member of Portland National Organization for Women and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 19, 7 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID IN

SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: Drake Koka, founder and secretary-general of Allied Black Workers Union. Tues., Nov. 14, 12:30 p.m. Temple Univ., Room 302, Student Activities Center. There will be a second meeting at 7:30 p.m. United Electrical Workers Hall, 5700 N. Broad St. For more information call (215) 849-3399.

TEXAS DALLAS

WHAT DID KAREN SILKWOOD KNOW? Rally to demand: Justice for Karen Silkwood. Sat., Nov. 18, Dallas City Hall (corner of Young & Ervay), 1 p.m. For more information call (214) 748-1171 or 337-5885 or (817) 460-5558 or 923-5635.

Protest shah's tyranny

As strikes and demonstrations continue across Iran, students and others in this country have been demonstrating their support for the Iranian masses.

On Friday, November 3, 200 Iranian students and their supporters picketed Jimmy Carter in Portland, Oregon, when he appeared at Mt. Hood Community College. On November 7, 200 people demonstrated in Denver against U.S. support to the shah.

Many areas around the country will be holding meetings to get out the truth about the shah's brutal terror against the Iranian people. Some of these meetings are listed below.

CINCINNATI, Ohio. Speakers: Prof. Darvich, political science department, Univ. of Cincinnati; Dean Athans, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 17,

8 p.m. Tangeman Univ. Center, U. of C. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

KANSAS CITY, Missouri. Speaker: Frank Michaels, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK CITY, New York. Speaker: Bahram Atai, writer for 'Payam Daneshjoo,' Iranian opposition monthly. Fri., Nov. 10, 8 p.m. NYU Law School, Room 210. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

SAN FRANCISCO, California. Speaker: Iranian activist. Fri., Dec. 1, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

Prosecution or cover-up?

The Justice Department seems to be throwing its perjury case against International Telephone and Telegraph executive Robert Berrellez in order to keep the wraps on CIA dirty tricks.

Berrellez is accused of lying to a 1973 Senate investigation of ITT and CIA efforts to overthrow the Chilean government of Salvador Allende.

Claiming "national security," government prosecutors have sought to change courtroom evidence rules to prevent public knowledge of the ITT/CIA conspiracy.

Should the government's secrecy efforts fail, federal prosecutor Philip Heyman said October 30, the government is "likely" to drop the case.



Hugh Haynie/Louisville Courier-Journal

AFFIRMATIVE-ACTION PROGRAM IN DANGER

Using the Supreme Court *Bakke* decision as an excuse, the Rutgers University Board of Governors is threatening to gut the Rutgers Law School Minority Student Program (MSP). MSP has set aside 25 percent of 700 places for minority students.

MSP went into effect in 1968. Since then 200 Blacks have graduated from the school. Between 1958 and 1968, a grand total of 12 Blacks graduated.

A coalition of Black, *latino*, and women's organizations has formed to fight the threat.

AID TO MINORITY COLLEGES TO BE CUT

The department of Health, Education and Welfare has proposed new rules for funding 500 small colleges that serve

mostly minority students, HEW Secretary Joseph Califano announced November 1.

The new rules will favor schools that "show promise of improving their management capability." The aid cuts could cause some of the affected schools to go broke.

'CENSORSHIP' IS A DIRTY WORD

Vice Principal Edward Fisco of Dumont High School in Dumont, New Jersey, doesn't think students should see pictures of human sex organs in their health textbook. So he cut them out.

Fisco said he didn't want the pictures falling into the hands of the students' younger brothers and sisters.

"My intent wasn't censorship by a long shot," the educator said.

Libros en español

<i>Alienación y Emancipación del Proletariado</i> por Mandel	\$3.25
<i>Democracia y Revolución</i> por Novack	3.50
<i>El Programa de Transición</i> por Trotsky	2.75
<i>Imperialismo, Fase Superior del Capitalismo</i> por Lenin	1.00
<i>Introducción a la Teoría Económica Marxista</i> por Mandel	1.45
<i>Marxismo y Feminismo</i> por Waters	2.95
<i>Manifiesto del Partido Comunista</i> por Marx y Engels	.75
<i>Sobre el Derecho de las Naciones a la Autodeterminación</i> por Lenin	.50
<i>Trabajo Asalariado y Capital</i> por Marx	.50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Include \$.50 postage for orders under \$5; \$.75 for orders between \$5 and \$10.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



What's to be nervous?—"WASHINGTON (AP) A government study group tentatively recommended developing a medium-sized burial vault for highly radioactive nuclear wastes to gain experience before starting large-scale waste disposal. . . . With temporary storage facilities being filled up, the United States lacks facilities or even plans for permanent, safe disposal of wastes that will remain dangerously radioactive for thousands of years."

Like practical—The Beverly Hills Chamber of Commerce board of directors voted to endorse California's Prop. 6, the antigay initiative. Twenty-four hours later, they switched to "no position." Why? "We received in excess of 200 calls," a representative said. "They said they would have a credit card burning . . . they wouldn't do business here."

Sounds reasonable—"Los Angeles County experienced a significant drop in its death rate during early 1976 when many doctors withheld their services in protest of spiraling malpractice insurance premiums, a UCLA researcher reported. . . . Dr. Milton I. Roemer ascribed

the lower death rate to the sharply reduced amount of elective surgery that occurred during the slowdown."—The *Los Angeles Times*.

Afterthought—The figures on the drop in the death rate during the doctors' strike recall similar statistics showing that when cops stage a slowdown or walkout, the crime rate drops.

Foolproof—Navy jets on a practice mission dropped thirty-two 500-pound bombs within a few miles of a California desert community. They had been aiming for a target area some distance away. A town official said the navy assured that "they'll do the best they can to make sure that it doesn't happen again."

Straight talk—FBI chief William Webster said agency spokespeople are now trained "to give a factual recitation of our position with adequate documentation to be convincing." The same day Webster was reported telling Chicago business execs that their city was "a key target" for Soviet-bloc spies. The dispatch added: "Webster declined to give details, saying it was a classified topic."

Union Talk

Support Inco strikers!

This week's column is by Stu Singer, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 6115 on the Mesabi Iron Range. Singer recently visited Sudbury, Ontario, to talk with striking steelworkers there.

SUDBURY, Ontario—The main center of Inco, the biggest nickel mining company in the world, has been shut down tight by 12,000 angry miners here since September 16.

This battle between labor and capital is one of the most important industrial conflicts in North America today. The 12,000 striking members of United Steelworkers Local 6500 need all the support they can get.

Twenty-nine-year-old Dave Patterson was elected president of Local 6500 in 1976. "If we don't get exposure, we're going to lose," he said.

Strikers share in the meager thirty-dollar-per-week-per-member strike fund doled out by the USWA international leadership. At the USWA convention in Atlantic City last September, Patterson put forward a motion to raise the payments, at least in the winter when living costs are higher. This was turned down at the behest of top international officers.

Ken Paris is a fifty-year-old Black worker, originally from Nova Scotia, who has worked at Inco for twenty-nine years. He is one of the fifteen elected members of the bargaining committee. Ken works five days a week in the strike center helping coordinate picketing at mine and plant entrances spread out for miles all around Sudbury. He explained some of the strike issues.

"The company wants to take away contract language by reducing the number of stewards. They want to weaken grievance procedure. They want to take at least twenty-four cents an hour of COLA [cost-of-living allowance] money away from us.

"We want to raise pensions. They are inadequate now. We want to raise life insurance and sickness and accident coverage. And we want a substantial pay raise. The company is only offering four cents an hour.

"Our contract expired July 10. Since

August 27 the company has refused to negotiate."

Shirley Hawes, twenty-four, has worked at Inco for four years. She was one of the first women hired. There are only thirty-five other women hourly employees at Inco now.

One strike issue is maternity rights. "Now you have to take a leave of absence when pregnant, so your medical insurance does not cover pregnancy. Women were laid off who missed time for pregnancy and slipped down in seniority."

Shirley wears a button: "A woman's place is in her union."

Joe Dworski was fired by Inco before the strike as an "unsatisfactory employee" after eight years of work. He was "unsatisfactory" because he represented the union at an inquest, where he exposed Inco's responsibility for the death of a miner in a sand fill.

"One of the strike issues is more intensified training for miners. Our studies show that the average age of miners killed on the job is twenty-one and a half years old, and an average of only three months with the company. This proves there is inadequate training."

The union is fighting Joe's firing. More than 9,000 miners have signed petitions demanding that Inco rehire him.

Dave Patterson and Joe Dworski drove around to the picket shacks with me. Solidarity from miners in Minnesota met a warm response. So did the *Militant*.

Dave told the pickets that the Falconbridge (another mining town near Sudbury) local of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers voted to double their dues and contribute \$21,000 a month to the Inco strikers. It's the kind of solidarity that makes a difference.

Dave says, "We're not strike happy, but we're not going back for four cents an hour."

Dave Patterson and other representatives of Local 6500 are anxious to spread the word about the strike and raise support. They even have a slide show prepared. Contact Local 6500 USWA at 92 Frood Road, Sudbury, Ontario T3C 4Z4. Or call (705) 675-3381.

Resolutions of support from other locals, especially steel locals, are especially valuable.

Nov. 7—Bolshevik revolution

There is a question—sometimes a challenge—that candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and students in the Young Socialist Alliance hear a lot.

"Is there any place in the world you people have ever made a revolution?" they are asked.

The answer is "Yes. We did it in Russia in 1917."

This fall the American Trotskyist movement is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant* and the fortieth anniversary of the Socialist Workers Party. On November 7 we also look back more than sixty years to the victory of the Russian revolution and see in the party of Lenin and Trotsky the direct predecessor of the SWP.

A line of continuity runs from the revolution of 1917 to the *Militant* anniversary celebrations taking place all over the United States during the next month. It starts with the revolutionaries who were inspired by the Russian events to launch the Communist Party of the United States, and runs through those who were expelled from the CP in 1928 for upholding the ideas of the Russian revolution.

The first issue of the *Militant* in November 1928 celebrated the anniversary of the Russian revolution. The SWP was founded on the idea that American workers need the kind of Leninist party that led Russian workers to power in 1917. The Fourth International was formed in 1940 to carry on the work of the revolutionary international of Lenin and Trotsky, one of the most important accomplishments of the Russian revolution.

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Russian revolution, James P. Cannon, then national secretary of the SWP, gave a speech in which he explained why Trotskyists celebrate November.

"The Russian Revolution proved three things for all time," Cannon said in 1942. "First, it proved that the party and the leadership necessary for victory can be created by the proletariat, as they have been created by the Russian proletariat.

"Second, the Russian Revolution proved . . . that the system of nationalized industry and planned economy, introduced by a Soviet revolution, is superior, more progressive, more productive, than any device of capitalism, whether democratic or fascist.

"And the third thing which we can say is demonstrated by the revolution, and proved now in the test of war, is that only one class is capable of solving the great social problems of our epoch. That class is the proletariat.

"The Fourth International, with its program and its tactics anchored to these three propositions, has been proven correct by the whole test of events. Therefore, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the revolution, we do not change our course. We see not only the Soviet regime's terrible weakness, which derives from bureau-



Trotsky (left) and Lenin

cratic mismanagement and control. We see also the strength and the power which derives from the revolutionary origin of the Soviet Union and its basic conquests."

When Cannon made this speech, the Soviet Union had been invaded by Hitler's armies. Stalin's strategy for defending the country of the Russian revolution was to make deals with American, French, and British imperialism. The rulers of the Soviet Union have exactly the same strategy today—only they call it détente.

Cannon outlined a different approach—the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

"We, for our part, turn to the workers—above all, to the German workers—and to the colonial people, and we say they are the only true allies of the Soviet Union. They are the only true allies because they alone have their fundamental interest bound up with the preservation of the Soviet Union, just as the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union are indissolubly connected with the fate of the uprisings of the colonial masses and the victory of the workers in the world. And let those doubt who will. We believe in the workers. We believe in the colonial slaves awakened to new life by the Russian Revolution.

"We don't doubt that in India tonight millions of the colonial insurgents are thinking, on this anniversary of the Russian Revolution. They are thinking simply but strongly, and saying to themselves: 'The Russians did it; why can't we?' Once the oppressed masses of the world begin to think that way, the realization of that aspiration will be placed on the order of the day. We believe that before this bloody carnage is over, the workers, the people, will say their decisive word. And when they speak to the imperialists, they will speak Russian."

—Matilde Zimmermann

On Phila. charter vote

In seeing your election issue, and even after reading Jon Hillson's whole article about [Philadelphia Mayor] Rizzo and "Rizzoism," I take exception to your stand of abstaining on the question of changing Philadelphia's charter.

It seems to me that Lenin, in *State and Revolution*, wrote that people ought to be forced to rotate state jobs all the time, lest anyone get too much power. Why do you not go along with a movement to keep a term limited to eight years?

Nowhere in your paper did you say it is because you would rather limit terms to one year or less. In fact, you think it is more "democratic" to let people hold public office for as long as they wish, according to Hillson's article.

Or am I reading Lenin wrong?

Amy Lowenstein
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Israel: a democracy?

Contrary to the facts as stated in your November 3 issue (page 2), Israel is not a dictatorship. It is a parliamentary democracy. In fact, it is a model of socialism in action. Yes, it has reactionary factions (in this case the extreme Zionists), but allows all voices to be heard.

Israel has not one, but two Communist parties, representing both the pro-Arab and pro-Zionist factions. Both parties have representatives in the Knesset, where they may advocate the wishes of their respective constituencies.

One still may disagree with Israel's policies on certain matters, as I do. But I feel it is wrong to place Israel on the same level as the shah and Somoza. Protest, yes. But do not condemn Israel without considering the facts.

Don't respond by telling me your "facts." The people of Israel, as well as those of any country that ever existed, or ever will exist, are bound to infringe upon the rights of others. Give the Israelis time. They will begin to remedy their problems, as we have begun to do in this country.

Finally, I would like to compliment the *Militant* on its coverage of labor news and civil rights cases. The *Militant* was my primary source of information on the cases of Héctor Marroquín and Tommy Lee Hines. In this field, and in general, keep up the good work. T.K.

Ithaca, New York

[In reply—It is true that Israel is not a dictatorship such as those that exist in Iran and Nicaragua. The formulation in the editorial referred to by T.K.

Workers' reactions to Carter's inflation plan

If President Carter thought his plan to "fight inflation" was going to be taken seriously by American workers he may have been mistaken, say socialists who work in plants here in Cleveland.

An auto worker told me that one unionist he works with in the "Shorten the Workweek" movement jokingly referred to the speech as Carter's "7 percent solution." One of his co-workers had gone around the department the day after the speech asking people, "Why aren't you working harder? Didn't you see the president on TV last night? He told us we have to work harder!" This got a lot of laughs. The co-worker continued, "Seriously, do you think the monopolies will pay attention to this? There's no reason for the companies not to want to hold down wages, but prices will go up and up just like they did the last time." Another worker joined the conversation saying, "I wish the United Auto Workers contract was coming up before the Teamster's contract. I'm worried about this guy [Teamsters President Frank] Fitzsimmons. He's going to play ball with the government." Carter's plan is of special interest to auto workers since their contract is up in 1979.

A socialist who works in one of the largest auto plants here told me a similar discussion had taken place in her line. During a break,

a group of workers were reading the morning paper's account of Carter's speech and discussing it. One of the workers leafed through the business section and found an article announcing the record profit made by the company they work for. Pointing to the article he said angrily, "This (plan) would be alright if everyone really did do their equal share, but there's one group that won't and that's the companies."

"I'm not too worried," said another worker. "We're really going to get them at contract time next year."

This skeptical reaction isn't limited to auto workers. A steelworker told the *Militant*, "There hasn't been a lot of discussion about it because everyone thinks it's a fraud, everyone thinks the government is trying to shaft us." A team of *Militant* sales people who went to the large U.S. Steel plant in Lorain, Ohio, got the same response. "Of course it's a hoax," said one. "So what else is new?" said his buddy.

Socialists working in the Cleveland plants have followed up their discussions on Carter's plan by trying to triple their sales of the special target issue of the *Militant* to co-workers. A *Militant* Forum has also been scheduled and several area trade unionists have already agreed to speak. An auto worker Cleveland, Ohio

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Learning About Socialism

What causes hunger and poverty?

was imprecise.

[However, Israel is not simply another parliamentary democracy. And it is certainly no "model of socialism in action"—for either the Jews or Arabs.

[Israel was established in 1948 only by denying the democratic right of the Arab majority living in the area to determine their own future. The 600,000 Jews who lived in Palestine in 1948 founded a Jewish state by expelling more than 700,000 Palestinians from their homeland. Was this democracy in action?

[Today, the Israeli regime does not even pretend to grant democratic rights to the million Palestinians living in the territories conquered in 1967. Furthermore, within the pre-1967 borders, the rights of the Palestinian population are severely restricted.

[Although the Zionist regime has not banned the Communist Party, it did ban the Al Ard party, which attempted to rally the Palestinian population through peaceful electoral and organizational activities. Extralegal repression by the police against Arabs attempting to exercise their democratic rights is an everyday occurrence in Israel.

[Revolutionary socialists believe that the Israeli people can overcome this history of injustice and find a place in a peaceful Middle East. But the basis for doing this is not through defense of the Zionist state and its crimes. Rather, it is through a joint struggle by the Arab and Jewish masses for the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland, and for a democratic secular Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews can live together.]

Law vs. Black youth

In New York State a move by the leading shysters is being made against the Black ghetto. The target? Youth. A new law now allows fifteen-year-olds to be placed in jails, prisons, and mental institutions—an act to ensure a steady influx of bodies for the present prison system to grow upon.

The Black community and "the law" interact in a paradoxical manner. What it comes down to is this: We are forced to rely upon the very same bodies that we fear and hate, and that dehumanizes us.

I ask your readers—as I ask all Black and radical left-wingers—that you save the children. I see the governor's law as an attack on the ghetto youth, an attack on the poor, an attack on the future of my race.

A prisoner
New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Get out a pencil and see if all the problems of world hunger and poverty can be solved with a simple mathematical formula.

According to Dr. R. T. Ravenholt, who heads the government Office of Population, "Resources divided by population equals well being."

That means, lower the population and there will be more food, more jobs, and a better life to divide up.

Does this math check out? Here's a quick test:

Q. Which has more "well being" in terms of food and other material benefits—Europe or Africa?

A. Europe.

Something's wrong, apparently. Africa is about three times the size of Europe. It has plenty of fertile land and mineral resources. Africa also has only about half the population of Europe. So—according to the formula—Africa should enjoy more material benefits.

The reason it doesn't is that for centuries Europe has drained Africa of its wealth and resources. It's a social and political question, not a math problem.

Other things don't add up with Ravenholt's well-being formula either. For example, U.S. government programs call on farmers to take 500 million bushels of grain off the market and take 24 million acres of crop land out of production. Yet there is an estimated gross deficit of 36 million tons of grain worldwide. People starve while food "surpluses" are dumped.

What's wrong with Dr. Ravenholt's formula? How—why—does the world operate with such brutal illogic? Karl Marx and Frederick Engels explained it when they polemicized against Rev. Thomas Malthus, the granddaddy of today's "overpopulation" theorists.

Introduction to Marx and Engels on the Population Bomb, edited by Ronald Meek, is a collection of their essays. It is available for \$1.95 from Monthly Review Press. *The "Population Explosion": How Socialists View It*, by Joseph Hansen is an excellent introduction written in popular style, available for sixty-five cents from Pathfinder Press.

You don't have to be interested in Malthus to find these writings useful. They are a basic explanation of Marxist economics.

After all, the way Marx and Engels explain it, the question of why there seem to be too many people is essentially the same as why under capitalism there don't seem to be enough jobs to go around.

And that's a question of interest to every working person.

Marx and Engels explain that there are no simple formulas—no eternal laws of *nature*—governing population. As in the case of unemployment, the root of the problem is how *society* is organized. Or misorganized.

Humanity is not like a herd of grazing cattle fenced into a pasture. We can think. And through labor and science we can make our pastures more fertile, farm the sea—do whatever is necessary to produce enough for our needs.

Certainly a society whose science can give birth to test-tube babies could come up with solutions to the problems of food, waste, and pollution. The question is, why aren't society's resources devoted to solving humanity's basic problems?

The reason, Marx and Engels explain, is that under capitalism production is social. It involves and affects everyone. But the accumulation of wealth and, consequently, the decisions about production, are private—in the hands of a few rich individuals.

Because of that contradiction, Engels explains, "the limits of production are determined not by the number of hungry bellies but by the number of *purses* able to buy and to pay. Bourgeois society does not and cannot wish to produce any more. The moneyless bellies, the labour which cannot be utilised *for profit* and therefore cannot buy, is left to the death-rate."

Where do all the "extra" people come from, the ones who can't find jobs and are left to starve? They aren't born that way, Marx and Engels explain. Capitalists turn people into "surplus."

Engels describes it this way. Picture a boss who employs ten people. If the boss can speed up the line and force nine workers to produce just as much, he can fire the tenth worker and save that much in wages. The tenth worker becomes "surplus"—goes hungry. "This is the process on a small scale," Engels writes, "which goes on in a nation on a large one."

What is needed to finally achieve everyone's "well being" is not population control so that there are fewer people to divide up the existing resources. What we need is a different division of those resources through a socialist reorganization of society.

That is exactly the conclusion that overpopulation theories are designed to prevent.

Dr. Ravenholt has been fairly open about this. Population control is needed to maintain "the normal operation of U.S. commercial interests around the world," he has said. "The self-interest thing is a compelling element."

From Malthus to Ravenholt, the "compelling element" has been to convince everyone that the cause of hunger and our other problems is people, not capitalism.

Still, Engels suggests that Malthus's theory has served one useful purpose: "It has shown us that in the last analysis private property . . . has thereby slaughtered, and is still slaughtering today, millions of people—all this we have seen, and all this impels us to do away with this degradation of humanity by doing away with private property, competition and conflicting interests."

—Diane Wang

Do you have questions about socialism? Send them in to "Learning About Socialism," The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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Karen Silkwood's parents charge four-year cover-up

Bill and Merle Silkwood, Karen Silkwood's parents, live near Houston. After visiting with them earlier this month, Jana Pellusch, a member—as was Karen Silkwood—of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, wrote this article.

Pellusch was the 1978 Socialist Workers Party candidate for Texas Railroad Commissioner.

On November 13, 1974, Karen Silkwood left work at the Kerr-McGee plutonium plant in Cimarron, Oklahoma, with a thick file of documents under her arm. The documents would prove her charges of numerous safety violations at the plant.

Silkwood was supposed to meet that evening with a *New York Times* reporter and an official of her union, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW).

She never made it.

Her car swerved off the road at high speed. She was killed almost instantly.

The Oklahoma Highway Patrol quickly ruled her death accidental. But no one could explain why the documents disappeared after the crash—until four years later, when Kerr-McGee officials admitted under oath that they had conspired with the cops to remove them.

OCAW wasn't satisfied with the official story and hired its own investigator. He made a startling discovery—Karen Silkwood's car had been rammed from behind and pushed off the road.

"The Oklahoma Highway Patrol did absolutely nothing as far as an investigation goes," Karen Silkwood's father, Bill Silkwood, told me in a recent interview. "They never went by and looked at the car. They never tried determining whether she was run off the road."

"Until we got the private investigator here, there was absolutely no investigation whatsoever."

In a state dominated by energy corporations, Kerr-McGee is one of the biggest. Its cofounder, Robert Kerr, was governor and a U.S. senator. Building on his power, Kerr-McGee won contracts to make plutonium fuel rods for a federal nuclear power project.

Plutonium and speedup

The work went on at the Cimarron plant. Karen Silkwood hired on there in 1972 to test the fuel rods.

Kerr-McGee already had a poor safety record and a union-busting reputation. Both would get worse.

Only a few months after Silkwood was hired, OCAW went on strike to demand safer working conditions, longer training periods, and more money.

In a plutonium plant, safety and training are quite literally life-and-death matters. In the words of its discoverer, plutonium is "fiendishly toxic." A millionth of a gram, inhaled, is sufficient to cause lung cancer.

Kerr-McGee hired strikebreakers, and the union lost the strike. Working conditions deteriorated as the company went on a big speedup drive. With the union badly weakened, many workers quit. Others, such as Karen Silkwood, tried to rebuild the union's strength.

In August 1974, Silkwood was elected to the Local 5-283 steering committee. The union had decided to make safety a central issue in the upcoming contract negotiations. So



KAREN SILKWOOD

Win/Bonnie Acker

Silkwood began collecting evidence of unsafe working conditions.

She also came to suspect that Kerr-McGee was falsifying test data for its plutonium fuel rods.

On November 5, the day before the union contract negotiations were to open, Silkwood was contaminated with plutonium for the second time. The deadly substance was detected on her skin when she reported for work.

The next day, there was more plutonium. And the day after that, too. On the third day, checking showed she

had been internally contaminated.

Kerr-McGee dispatched a team of radiation specialists to Silkwood's apartment—and the team found it thoroughly contaminated.

Investigation or cover-up?

The source of the plutonium poisoning remains unknown. But Kerr-McGee and the Oklahoma City cops might know; at the time, they were jointly wiretapping Karen Silkwood's apartment—illegally and with the ap-

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Detroit labor greets So. African unionist

By Nan Bailey

DETROIT—People from the labor, student, and Black communities here turned out to welcome exiled South African trade unionist Drake Koka October 22-24.

The tour was organized by the Detroit Koka tour committee, co-chaired by Tom Turner, president of the Metro Detroit AFL-CIO, and Marc Stepp, vice-president of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Local endorsers of the tour included Horace Sheffield, assistant to UAW President Douglas Fraser and president of the Detroit Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; the Detroit branch of the NAACP; the Detroit chapters of the National Lawyers Guild and the national Conference of Black Lawyers; Booker T. Washington, president of AFSCME Local 312; Pete Camarata, Teamsters for a Democratic Union; Judge George Crockett, Jr.; city council members Kenneth Cockrel, Clyde Cleveland, and Nicholas Hood; and U.S. Rep. John Conyers.

Inside the city's auto and steel plants, tour supporters spread the word as well. UAW locals 140 and 235 endorsed Koka's tour, donated funds, and printed union statements urging members to attend Koka's meeting.

Local officers and union members distributed these statements by the thousands at plant gates and passed them around inside the plants. Workers picked up handfuls to post at surrounding stores and bars.

At the Whitehead and Kales steel plant, Clayton Nedd, president of United Steel Workers Local 2341, organized the mass distribution of tour leaflets. He and seven other workers at the plant came to the Koka meeting.

The tour began with a rally at UAW Local 212's union hall. Two hundred people attended. Tom Turner welcomed Koka to the city. Horace Sheffield, greeted Koka by extending "my hand of comradeship in the great struggle in which you're involved."

City council member Clyde Cleveland read a citation on behalf of the Detroit City Council. The executive assistant to Michigan Gov. William Milliken read a resolution welcoming Koka to the state. Proclamations from Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and the Wayne County Board of Commissioners were also presented.

John Conyers explained in his greetings: "I am ashamed of the role this country plays in using our tax dollars to sustain the illegal, racist government

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DRAKE KOKA

Militant/Lou Howort