

THE MILITANT

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

Save lives of Iranian socialists!

World labor outcry against execution threat

By Cindy Jaquith

SEPTEMBER 5—An avalanche of telegrams, phone calls, and delegations around the world and inside Iran has blocked moves by the Iranian government to execute twelve members of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist—HKS). But the danger is not over. This powerful international solidarity must now be stepped up, to permanently stay the executioner's hand and win the release of these anti-shah revolutionaries.

The thousands of protest messages from labor organizations and others around the world have broken through the press blackout on the case inside Iran, forcing the government to issue public statements on the case.

Every day for the past week, the Tehran daily *Baamdad* has been printing the text of telegrams sent to the government demanding a halt to the executions. Messages from Europe have been featured, as well as protests from trade unionists in the United States.

The protests have placed the Khomeini-Bazargan government under tremendous pressure. They have also alerted the Iranian population—cut off from most news by severe censorship—of the attempt to execute the socialists



Four of imprisoned Socialist Workers Party members in Iran. Left to right: Morteza Gorgzadeh, Hadi Adib, and Hormoz Fallahi, facing death penalty; and Fatima Fallahi, sentenced to life imprisonment.

and the worldwide response in their defense.

The twelve HKS members were condemned to death in a secret tribunal in Ahwaz on August 26. Those facing death are: Hadi Adib, Hormoz Fallahi, Firooz Farzinpour, Morteza Gorgzadeh, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Ali Hashemi, Mahmoud Kafaie, Kambiz

Lajevardi, Kia Mahdevi, Mohammed Poorkahvaz, Mustafa Seifabadi, and Hamid Shahrabi.

News of the death sentences was kept secret by the government. The only information reported in the Iranian press was the trial of two other HKS members, Mahsa Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi. The two women re-

ceived life imprisonment. According to *Baamdad*, the charges against them were based solely on their political ideas, especially their "praise" for the rights of Kurds and Arabs.

But when word leaked out that the other twelve socialists were to be shot, the response was immediate. Within Iran, some government officials made protests against the impending executions, highly aware of the popularity of the case. This blocked the immediate execution order.

A mammoth outpouring of international protests—from France, Italy, Spain, Great Britain, Greece, Germany, the United States, Australia and other countries—followed.

This forced high officials in the central government to issue several different, contradictory statements on the case.

- First, the Foreign Ministry made a statement printed in *Baamdad*. It said the central government had neither leveled charges against the socialists nor sentenced them to death.

- On September 2, the Foreign Ministry broadcast a statement on national Iranian television. It said that inquiries on the HKS prisoners' fate were being received at Iranian embas-

Continued on page 9

Socialists hit Carter's stalling on emergency aid to Nicaragua

The following statement was released September 5 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers candidates for president and vice-president in 1980.

The Carter administration and the Democratic Party-controlled Congress are turning their backs on urgent requests for humanitarian aid to Nicaragua.

In that country of only 2.3 million people, a million are hungry. Industry and agriculture were devastated by the

SPECIAL FEATURE: *Nicaragua's new 'Bill of Rights.'* Page 24.

murderous U.S.-armed and U.S.-financed National Guard of the ousted Somoza dictatorship.

The new government has asked for emergency aid of 300 tons of food and medicine a day—an amount that is

well within the U.S. government's capacity to provide.

But "human rights" Carter, who finds untold billions for military hardware, including arms and torture instruments for tyrants the world over, has stalled and stalled. In effect, while posing as humanitarians, Carter and Congress are refusing Nicaragua the emergency relief that is needed. And they pretend to act in the name of the American people.

A massive solidarity campaign should be mounted by the labor movement, students, Latino and Black groups, and all those who support the right of the Nicaraguan people to determine their own destiny.

We should demand that Washington immediately provide the aid that is needed, with no strings attached. And we should make it clear that the American people will not tolerate U.S. military intervention against Nicaragua in any form.

An elaborate charade is under way in Washington to disguise the Carter administration's callous disregard for the suffering in Nicaragua.

Washington claims to have spent \$7 million for emergency aid so far—a pittance compared to what is required. But much of this amount never even reached Nicaragua. It was wasted in exorbitant administrative and shipping expenses.

U.S. government economists recently reported that Nicaragua will need at least \$800 million in recovery aid through 1980, and \$200-250 million a year for several years thereafter.

These figures understate the problem. Even so, the administration says the most it will consider proposing to Congress is \$100 million over a two-year period. And even this amount is predicted to face tough opposition from powerful figures in the administration and Congress.

Continued on page 7

Protest
new U.S.
threats
against
Cuba

—PAGE 8

Hurricane David: Did it have to kill?

Hurricane David ravaged Dominica and the Dominican Republic in the Caribbean early this month, killing what may turn out to be thousands of people. Puerto Rico was also hit.

By September 4, the death toll in the Dominican Republic alone had reached 800, and 3,000 were hospitalized. Some 150,000 were left homeless. Dominica, an island of 81,000 inhabitants, was almost razed.

The vast majority of crops were destroyed. Disease and hunger on a massive scale face the island's inhabitants.

It is a staggering tragedy—one that seems particularly unjust because it has been visited upon small, poor islands with few resources available to recover from the ruin.

But was it inevitable that so many lives had to be lost to this natural disaster? Did 400 people in the Dominican Republic have to drown because they sought shelter in a school and a church and were then trapped by flood waters? Why were there no better, sturdier, evacuation sites? Hurricanes are a regular occurrence in the Caribbean. Did the governments of these islands prepare for such an eventuality and provide residents with adequate information and guidance?

Salome Franco Guillen watched in horror as his son and brother died when a church in which they had taken refuge in the Dominican Republic collapsed. "The zinc on the rooftop went first," he said, "then the wooden section. That wall on the right collapsed. They were right there. They died right there."

But not all buildings were destroyed so

easily. "Two women rocked slowly on a porch in a well-to-do neighborhood near [Santo Domingo's] tourist area," reported the *New York Times*.

By the time the hurricane moved to Florida and north to the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina, it had lost some of its power. But even if it had not, the hurricane would not have done the same kind of damage to life and property in Palm Beach and Sea Island, Georgia. There it traveled, "careening from one millionaire's paradise to another," said the *Washington Post*.

In Sea Island, playground of such notables as Jimmy Carter, the seaside sound system at the beach club announced, "Due to weather conditions, the sand sculpture contest has been canceled."

Those are the tolls of natural disasters under capitalism: poor people lose their homes, if not their lives, rich people are forced to postpone their games.

It was the poverty and lack of planning that claimed most of those lives during Hurricane David. A poverty inherent under corrupt, capitalist regimes that protect a wealthy few and siphon off their nations' resources into the pockets of U.S. corporations. Their only plans concern how to keep the status quo.

It's the same thing every time a natural disaster hits. When Guatemala was struck by an earthquake in February 1976, killing 15,000 and leaving some 300,000 homeless, the *New York Times* noted, "The high casualties in Guatemala presumably can be attributed as much to vulnerable home construction in poorer areas of the country as to the severity of the quake."

In 1973 an earthquake hit Nicaragua, killing and injuring tens of thousands and devastating Managua. Then-dictator Anastasio Somoza responded immediately by ordering troops to shoot on sight any "looters"—that is, hungry people looking for food.

In the Dominican Republic this month, the inhumanity of capitalism showed through with the gigantic leap in food prices after the disaster. Without electricity, people were rushing to save what perishable food they had and thus the price for blocks of ice went from \$1.50 to \$10 each.

In the long run, or the short run under a

system organized to meet human needs, science will be capable of more accurately predicting—and perhaps controlling—hurricanes, along with earthquakes and other natural calamities. But that takes money for scientific research. The powerful, rich U.S. government instead prioritizes research on monstrous nuclear weapons to terrorize the world.

... 'humanitarian' aid

But what of the "humanitarian aid" delivered to the victims of Hurricane David?

Although U.S. relief offers were quick to make the headlines after the disaster, the amount was hardly what will be needed. For instance, the United States reportedly sent \$500,000 to Dominica and dispatched a disaster-assessment team with doctors, technicians, and equipment.

There is no guarantee, of course, that any relief money and materials will find their way into the hands of the hurricane victims. In the Nicaragua of 1973, most of the \$3 million sent by the United States went to enrich Somoza and his friends. Even food donated by the Red Cross was sold to those who could afford it.

Washington, of course, was well aware of what was happening. But its concern was only to appear in the most favorable light, not to help the victims.

The phoniness of the U.S. government's "humanitarianism" is shown by its lack of aid to Nicaragua today.

In contrast, revolutionary Cuba has committed itself to aiding Nicaragua with doctors, teachers, and whatever else is needed.

This is humanitarian aid. And Cuba provides it not just for Nicaragua, but around the world, giving an example of what can be accomplished by even a small island once the albatross of capitalism is eliminated.

The death and destruction caused by Hurricane David should be a reminder that another revolutionary government in the area like the one in Cuba would be the biggest step toward preventing future tragedies.

In the meantime, the American people should demand:

U.S. hands off Cuba and Nicaragua!
Aid for Nicaragua's reconstruction!

Arthur Burch, founding member of SWP

Arthur Burch, a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, died August 28 at his summer residence in Cape May, New Jersey. An appreciation of his life and contributions to the revolutionary movement will appear in next week's *Militant*.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 9 Opposition to Kurdish war
- 10 Stop executions in Iran!
- 11 Iranian defense tour
- 12 Lawyers report on Iran prison
- 13 Sales campaign & scoreboard
- 14 Fraser's six-minute milestone
- 15 GM denies transfers food, housing
- 16 Va. labor & ERA
- 17 UE backs ERA action
- 18 OCAW hits energy swindle
- 19 James T. Farrell: 1904-79
- 20 Behind 'Black-Jewish' rift
- 24 Nicaragua Bill of Rights
- 26 Sparrows Point deaths hit
- 15 Auto Reports
- 18 National Picket Line
- 26 No Nukes! Notes
- 27 By Any Means Necessary
Women in Revolt
American Way of Life
- 28 In Brief
- 29 The Great Society
Union Talk
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage
Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism
If You Like This Paper . . .
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 21 Israeli Jews question Zionism



Va. labor fights for ERA

Action proposal from union conference points way for ratification campaign. **Page 16.**



New mood in Israel

Israeli Trotskyist describes how Jewish workers are beginning to question Zionist ideology. **Page 21.**



James T. Farrell, 1904-1979

Internationally known author of 'Studs Lonigan' trilogy was close collaborator of Socialist Workers Party in late 1930s and early '40s. **Page 19.**

The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
ANDY ROSE

Business Manager: ANDREA BARON

Editorial Staff: Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, David Frankel, Jim Garrison, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Janice Lynn, August Nimtz, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg.

Published weekly by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$20.00 a year, outside U.S. \$25.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$52.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London and then posted to Britain and Ireland: £3.00 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months (twenty-four issues), £11.00 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4.50 for ten issues, £10.00 for six months (twenty-four issues), £15.00 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money order (payable to Intercontinental Press account) to Intercontinental Press (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Socialist in race for mayor of Birmingham

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM—All the major news media were there—all three television stations, both daily newspapers, and a good portion of radio stations.

They had turned out August 30 for the official announcement of Birmingham's first Socialist Workers Party election campaign.

Mohammad Oliver is running for mayor, and Eric Flint has entered the race for city council.

Also on hand was Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for U.S. vice-president, to make the first official announcement of the national ticket in the South.

The scene of the press conference was Pathfinder Bookstore. Opened earlier this summer, it now serves as the SWP campaign headquarters. It sits near the center of town, only blocks from city hall. Across the street is Kelley Ingram Park, scene of the historic 1960s confrontations between civil rights demonstrators and Birmingham cops, firehoses, and police dogs. In the next block is the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, where racist bombers murdered four little Black girls.

While new to Birmingham, the SWP has already become known to many. Two female socialists are among the coal miners now under attack by Jim Walter Resources. And last June two socialists were severely beaten by company goons while selling the *Militant* in front of a U.S. Steel coal mine. The SWP's response to both situations has put the party in the public eye.

But the campaign announcement gave area residents their first broader

look at this party and what it stands for. As reporters' questions indicated, the socialists are being taken seriously. The coverage on television that night was exceptionally fair and accurate.

Zimmermann led off with a statement touching on major issues she and running mate Andrew Pulley will be talking about.

"There is an urgent need for humanitarian aid for Nicaragua," Zimmermann said—lending her party's full support to the unfolding revolution in that country. Warning of potential U.S. war moves, she called for sending "food and medicine—not Marines—to Nicaragua."

The vice-presidential candidate went on to denounce the big oil companies for holding "supplies hostage against billions of dollars of ransom. Production and distribution of energy resources," she said, "should be taken out of their hands and placed under public ownership."

"Workers belong in politics," Zimmermann said. "We produce the wealth. The way to get into politics is for the union movement to move to launch a labor party."

The labor party theme was echoed by Mohammad Oliver, a twenty-eight-year-old production worker at Pullman Standard, one of this city's largest employers. Oliver is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1466.

"The first thing I'd do as mayor of this city would be to remove police officer George Sands from the city payroll and have him prosecuted, and, I hope, convicted for the murder of Bonita Carter."

The cop killing of the young Black woman this summer led to the largest Black protests since the 1960s and was followed by a wave of police terror in the Black community.

Oliver blasted U.S. Steel, this city's largest employer, for threats to shut down its entire operation here. It recently shut down its plate mill, laying off 400 workers.

"U.S. Steel has claimed that low productivity, falling demand, and foreign competition are responsible for these moves," Oliver said. "But working people shouldn't believe the steel bosses any more than we believe the oil barons' double talk about the gasoline shortage. We should demand that the financial books and records of U.S. Steel be opened to the scrutiny of working people."

Rather than allow U.S. Steel to shut down, throwing thousands out of work because the bosses can't make all the money they want, Oliver said, "it should be taken out of the hands of its private owners by the government."

"I am totally opposed to the use of nuclear energy," Oliver said. "Coal reserves in this country are great enough to supply our energy needs for the next several hundred years. I agree with the United Mine Workers of America in their demand that coal mining be stepped up as an alternative to deadly nuclear power."

City council candidate Eric Flint, thirty-two, is a member of the International Association of Machinists.

In introducing Flint on TV news that night, one reporter said, "Flint, you will recall, is suing U.S. Steel for

\$2 million as a result of a physical assault while selling a socialist paper."

Flint singled out U.S. Steel and the Ku Klux Klan as two forces "hostile to free speech."

"Recently, we've seen the Ku Klux Klan in this state openly brandishing guns and clubs, threatening the lives of those who dare differ with their views," Flint said.

"Socialists join the vast majority of working people, Black and white, in condemning these terror tactics. In contrast to the Klan, we stand for full democratic rights of freedom of speech and expression."

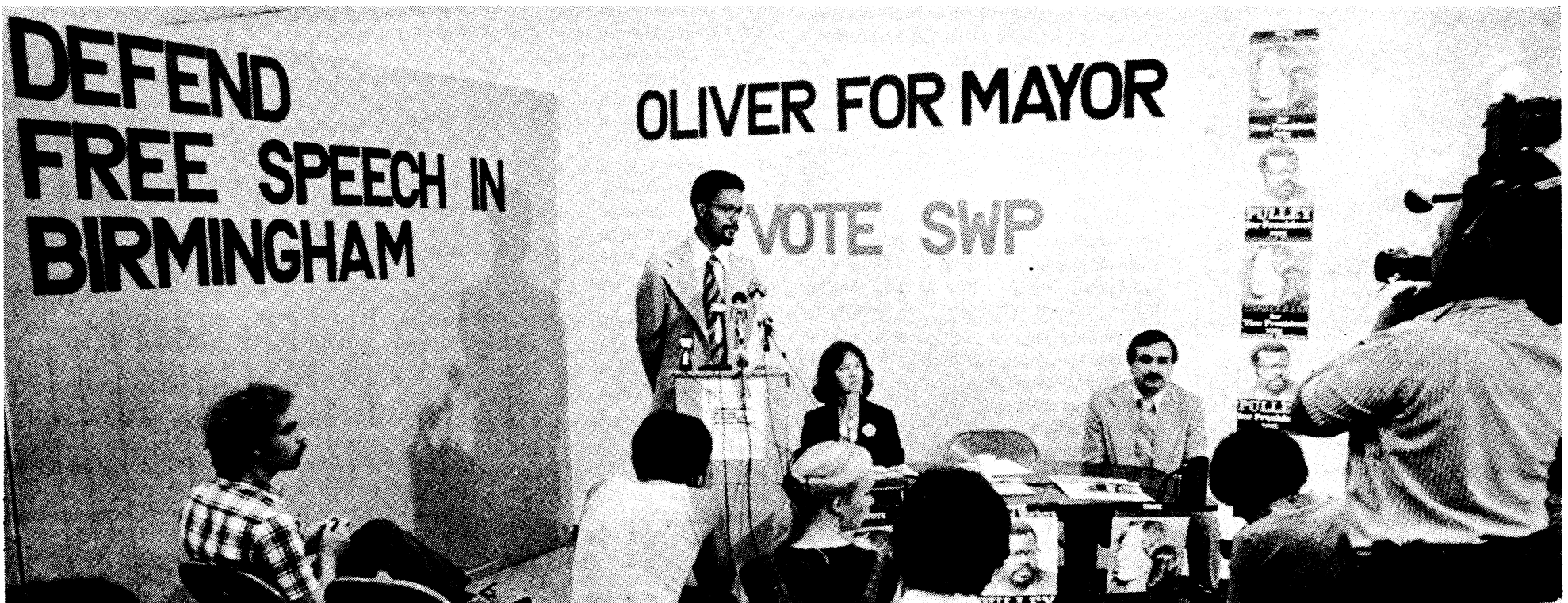
Flint backed striking city workers. "My campaign stands four-square for the right of public employees to form their own unions and for their right to strike."

Flint also hit the state's so-called right-to-work law, which has "severely restricted working people from achieving decent wages, working conditions, and union protection."

The city council candidate also pointed to the need for the state to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment for women.

The Young Socialist Alliance issued a statement backing the socialist candidates. It pledged to campaign "in the factories, among our co-workers, and on the campuses throughout Birmingham to publicize the socialist alternative."

On the following evening, Zimmermann spoke to fifty people at the Birmingham Militant Forum on the revolution in Nicaragua. She was also featured on a popular radio talk show for two hours.



From left: Oliver, Zimmermann, and Flint kicked off socialist campaign at well-attended news conference

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Special offer to new readers

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2.50

Unemployment. Inflation. Nuclear danger. Energy ripoff. War. Racism. Sexism. The Democrats and Republicans won't admit it, but that's their real program for the 1980 presidential race—no matter who the candidates are. But there is an alternative for working people. Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the Socialist Workers Party candidates. Read about their campaign every week in the *Militant*.



Subscribe today

() \$2.50 for ten issues (new readers only)
() \$5 for four months () \$20 for one year
() New () Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

Nicaragua notebook:

Sandinista army prepares to defend revolution

By Mirta Vidal
and Fred Halstead

MANAGUA, September 1—Today we watched a parade here by part of the new Sandinista army that is rapidly being built up to guard against possible attack by counterrevolutionary forces.

The Sandinista military display took place in the large square now called the Plaza of the Revolution on the northern edge of downtown Managua, near the shore of Lake Xolotlan. A description of the physical setting is useful for explaining some of the factors involved in the Sandinista revolution.

In natural features the setting is quite beautiful, but the strongest impression is one of destruction.

Downtown Managua lies between the Plaza de la Revolución and a high, sloping hill—actually an extinct volcano—about a mile and a half to the south. Near the top of this hill, commanding a view of downtown and the lakeshore, sits the “bunker,” the fortified former National Guard headquarters, inside which Somoza’s residence was located.

The most striking physical feature of this capital city is that except for the “bunker,” and the plush Intercontinental Hotel near the top of the hill, the public buildings immediately around the Plaza de la Revolución and a single tall building—the Bank of America—about half way in between, the downtown section virtually doesn’t exist anymore.

It was destroyed by the terrible earthquake of 1972, and due to the policies of the Somoza dictatorship, never rebuilt.

The rubble has mostly been cleared, leaving an area of about two square miles—once the commercial and light-industrial heart of the capital—virtually empty and overgrown by weeds. Here and there a damaged building remains standing, but most of these are unsafe, gutted and abandoned.

Nicaragua recognizes Kampuchea gov’t

MANAGUA—The new Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction announced September 1 its official recognition of the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea.

The announcement was made by Nicaraguan Chancellor Miguel d’Escoto at the plenary session of the Conference of Chancellors of the Non-aligned Nations taking place in Havana this week.

D’Escoto also urged that the new Heng Samrin government of Kampuchea be seated at the conference of non-aligned nations. Washington has been maneuvering to get the butchers of the ousted Pol Pot regime seated as the government of Kampuchea.

“There is no question as far as my government is concerned as to which is the only and legitimate government of Kampuchea,” D’Escoto said. “We believe that the sovereign will of peoples embraced and represented by legitimate liberation movements is worthy of and deserves the broadest demonstration of international solidarity.”



Somoza left in his wake devastation and destruction. New government is organizing people to rebuild country.

Militant/Fred Murphy

The effect is of a vast, unkempt graveyard.

It is impossible to understand the depth of emotion involved in the Sandinista slogan “For national reconstruction” without seeing downtown Managua.

‘Fault in Somoza’s head’

This morning, a few hours before the military parade, we strolled through the area taking photos. A passerby, a middle-aged man, commented: “Somoza said it couldn’t be rebuilt because of the earthquake fault. The only fault was in Somoza’s head.”

He proceeded to tell us the story of how Somoza and his associates appropriated the relief funds and materials sent to Managua from around the world after the earthquake and used them for their own private profit. Roads and other public services to accommodate new commercial areas were promised, but new facilities were built only where Somoza and his cohorts had cornered the real estate.

By such devices the Somocistas took advantage of a great national tragedy to consolidate under their personal ownership much of the wealth of the country, including that of other sectors of the business owners. This greatly deepened the divisions within the national capitalist class.

The “bunker” was the only major construction by the Somoza government in the central area of Managua after the earthquake. That fact itself was a sign of the growing political isolation of the dictatorship after the natural disaster—and of Somoza’s approach to the population.

The National Guard—which was built by the U.S. Marines during the occupation of Nicaragua in the 1920s and 1930s—acted as both the national army and the police force in every area of the country.

Safe streets

Now the two functions have been separated. In fact, there was no police force in Managua for the first month after the Sandinista victory, though a Sandinista police force is now being trained. There has been a certain confusion in traffic during this period, but very little common crime. Managua is safer to stroll around in at present

than most major American cities, day or night.

As we walked along we came across a group of Sandinista soldiers guarding an intersection near one of the damaged buildings that was still in use. They appeared to be in their late teens, wearing an assortment of olive-green uniforms, bits of red and black—the Sandinista colors—on ribbons tied to their arms or on their caps. They noticed us looking at their weapons.

“This is a Belgian FAL,” said one, “and that is a Garand. We call this one a Falzada, and that one a garantizada. That’s Sandinista language.”

They laughed and waved us on, bubbling with good humor.

The building still in use was a printshop, formerly the press of *Diario Novedades*, Somoza’s daily. Now it prints *Barricada*, the FSLN’s official paper, published every afternoon, seven days a week.

The day before we had visited this plant and talked to some of the workers as well as the director, Jorge Detrinidad Martínez. He gave us his business card. It contained a quotation from Marx: “Revolutions are the locomotives of history.”

Three-fourths of the workers were teenaged youth, just hired since *Barricada* took over. They gathered around us, anxious to tell of their experiences with the FSLN. All said they were veterans of the guerrilla warfare in the mountains or of the insurrections in the cities.

Detrinidad explained that for the moment, with the shortage of printing facilities, *Barricada* serves not only as a daily newspaper and organ of the FSLN, but also as the main educational material for the cadres of the revolution: “To raise the level of consciousness,” he said.

The circulation of *Barricada* is about 45,000 and rising. It is distributed throughout the country (Nicaragua, with about 2.3 million inhabitants, is roughly equal in area and population to Mississippi) and sells for a dime.

As we walked up the hill, approaching the “bunker,” now occupied by the Sandinista army, we could see dozens of FSLN soldiers resting or strolling in the street just outside the outer wall. Here were small refreshment stands selling food and drink—fruit like bananas and mangos, the large Nicaraguan

tortillas, rice, beans, vegetables, and occasionally bits of meat roasted or stewed over charcoal and served in banana leaves.

These little portable stands seem to appear throughout Managua wherever groups of people gather for any purpose—except in the wealthier neighborhoods. Even there, now, they appear outside of buildings occupied since the victory by the militia or the Sandinista defense committees or newly established clinics.

Many of the people active in such organizations cannot afford to eat at restaurants—there is a shortage of food in the country, but in Managua, at least, there appears to be little hunger, although there is a high rate of malnutrition in the poorer neighborhoods.

Shortly before he left, Somoza arranged to have many cattle slaughtered and sold in export. He had the National Guard air force bomb facto-

Blanco in Nicaragua

Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian Trotskyist and peasant leader, is here in Nicaragua to witness the revolution in progress.

“I’ve come to Nicaragua to learn,” said Blanco when he arrived August 29 on a ten-day fact-finding mission. Blanco, who was an elected delegate to the Peruvian Constituent Assembly until its termination in July, has been speaking to peasants and workers during his travels to several Nicaraguan cities including Matagalpa, Masaya, and Granada, as well as the capital city of Managua.

In the next few days he plans to visit other cities to study the agrarian reform now in progress and to gather information to help working people and peasants in Peru initiate actions in solidarity with Nicaragua.

Blanco’s arrival in Nicaragua was covered on the Sandinista National Television Network. The morning daily *La Prensa* carried a lengthy interview with the Peruvian leader on September 1.

ries as they pulled out of areas. Along the northern highway to the airport one can see factory after factory gutted by bombs and rockets.

Somoza's sabotage of food production and industry is a major reason for the present high rate of unemployment, estimated at perhaps 40 percent.

In addition, during the hard fighting that took place around the country from June to July 19, certain crops were not planted. The peasants were forced to eat the seed and livestock because of the disruption in food supplies and markets. This is a deadly serious matter for the Sandinistas.

Need for aid

The present government estimates the country will need 300-400 tons of foodstuffs a day between now and December in aid from abroad. So far they are not getting it.

The Sandinista soldiers resting outside the "bunker," and those guarding it and coming and going constantly at the main gate, were all well-armed with semi-automatic rifles, submachine guns, and occasionally pistols. Quite a few were women—not all of these were teenagers either.

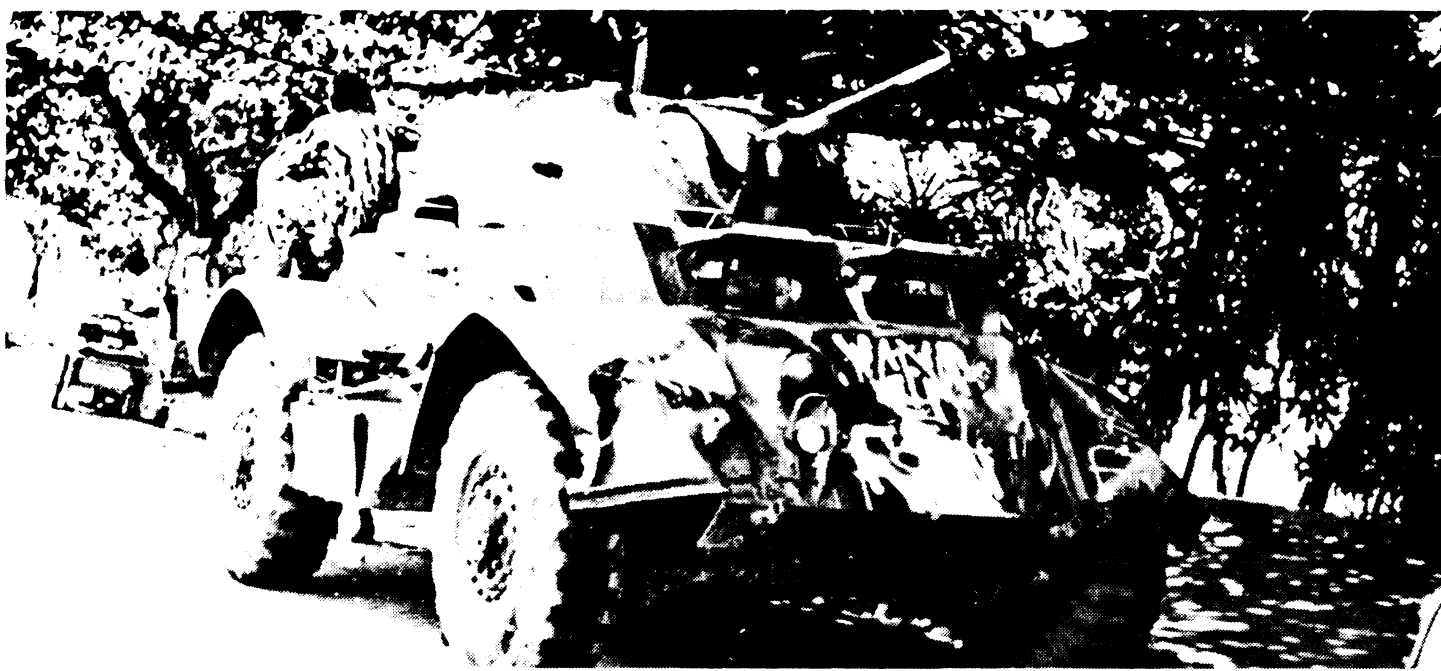
Across the street at the Intercontinental Hotel—which is built like a pyramid and withstood the earthquake—reside many of the foreign newsmen (it's too expensive for us) as well as certain government offices.

Meetings are constantly taking place there. Young soldiers carrying their weapons occasionally stop in for coffee or lounge around the lobby having political discussions with people who have come from around the world to report on the revolution or to work with it in some way or another.

The *Militant*, incidentally, is a brisk seller at the newstand in the lobby, as is *Perspectiva Mundial*.

A little down the hill from the hotel and just across the street from the "bunker" is a building housing a modern printshop and good high-speed presses. It was going full blast churning out training and educational materials for the new army, we were told. This reflected the fact that strengthening the FSLN army is a number-one priority for the revolutionary leadership at this time.

The threat of an invasion, including some sort of backing or direct participation by the U.S. government, is real.



Militant/Fred Murphy

Armored car captured by Sandinistas during revolution. Top priority now is forging strong, professional army out of former guerrilla fighters and armed masses.

It is known, for example, that heavily armed units of the Somoza National Guard escaped across the border to Honduras and El Salvador, countries ruled by reactionary military dictatorships that were friendly to Somoza. The weaker the revolutionists are militarily, the greater the chances of attack by the counterrevolution.

The organization of the working class and peasant masses is proceeding in additional ways as well: unionization, Sandinista defense committees in every neighborhood, women's organizations, peasants' cooperatives, and so on.

But for the past several weeks the top priority has been to develop an efficient army so the revolution can defend itself.

To the older slogan: "The people united will never be defeated," the FSLN has added, "*El pueblo armado jamas será aplastado*" (the people armed will never be crushed). The priority in skilled cadre, political education, and material resources has gone to this task.

The FSLN forces defeated Somoza's National Guard more by sheer heroism and the fact that at key moments the virtually unarmed masses joined the fighting than by professional military power. But the process was costly in the extreme. So this afternoon the

FSLN was going to show some of its new army and the results of the past few weeks of feverish preparation and training.

We left the area of the "bunker" and the Intercontinental Hotel and walked back down the hill to the Plaza de la Revolución. On the north side of the plaza overlooking Lake Xolotlan is the sumptuous Rubén Darío Theater, built by Somoza for the benefit of Nicaragua's elite.

Since the revolution it has been renamed the Rubén Darío People's Theater. The theater is now used to hold political meetings and popular cultural events such as the recent festival of Nicaraguan folklore.

National Guard pogroms

A few yards away from the luxurious building, on the edge of the lake, lies a gruesome sight—the remains of bodies shot and burned by the National Guard under Somoza's orders.

As one enters the area a stone block covered with bullet holes comes into view. Here the Guard, which assumed any young person was a Sandinista, executed neighborhood youths for the crime of being young. The Guard then covered the bodies with tires and set them on fire. They could not be identified by relatives or friends.

At least eighty skeletons are in full

view. But the number of innocent victims of these National Guard pogroms is much higher.

The past six weeks have been emotion-filled as the Nicaraguan people commemorate the death of revolutionary fighters. In every city, in every barrio, day after day, local streets are named after the heroes and martyrs who gave their lives to the revolutionary cause.

The mourning of the dead has an almost ritualistic character that can only be understood if one considers that an estimated 45,000 were killed by the National Guard out of a population of 2.3 million. Proportionally, it would be as if 4.5 million Americans were killed.

A few days ago we were invited to lunch by a working-class family in a shantytown on the edges of Masaya. They, too, were making preparations for a ceremony to commemorate two fallen fighters from that neighborhood.

A young member of the family began the meal by saying grace. "Lord," he said, "we thank you for this meal which we never had under Somoza, and for this victory you helped us win against our oppressors. And we ask you now to help us rebuild our free Nicaragua."

Continued on next page

Health drive launched with polio immunizations

By Lorraine Thiebaud and Joe Lowe

MANAGUA—In one day, on September 2, the first national health campaign organized by the new Nicaraguan government succeeded in immunizing approximately 80,000 children against polio in the three principal cities of the country: Managua, León, and Granada.

The campaign achieved this high rate of participation because the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), which are organized everywhere on a block by block basis, were able to involve the masses.

One of the major problems inherited from the Somoza regime is that children are almost completely unprotected against common preventable diseases such as polio, smallpox, diphtheria, tetanus, typhoid, yellow fever, and measles. The immunization programs prior to the revolution were corrupt and ineffective.

The ministry of public health stated recently that over \$50 million was stolen under the cover of these programs. In the most recent campaign under the Somoza regime children were actually injected with colored water, while the money for vaccine was stolen.

Polio was selected as the first disease to attack under the new national immunization program for three reasons. The vaccine is given orally, does not require highly trained personnel to



Granma

Cuban medical brigade arrives in Nicaragua to offer aid

administer it, and there is a widespread fear of infantile paralysis given the forty detected cases of polio in Managua last year.

Health officials are carrying out the preventive health program in close collaboration with the CDS.

Most CDS committees were organized by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) before and during the final insurrection in order to defend neighborhoods against attacks by the National Guard. They coordi-

nated the construction of barricades, the distribution of food, and the setting up of first aid centers.

With the triumph of the revolution, rather than disbanding the local defense committees, the FSLN has begun to organize them on a broader basis to help carry out the tasks of national reconstruction. Areas of the country where little fighting had taken place and no committees existed were encouraged to form local chapters.

The typical Sandinista Defense Com-

mittee consists of six sub-committees: sanitation, health, housing, food distribution, education, and propaganda.

In each neighborhood the committees decide which local problems should be solved first. Childcare, building recreation areas, and insuring safe drinking water are common projects. The distribution of international aid, particularly food, was directed through the local CDS.

The committees are structured democratically. Local officials are elected at neighborhood meetings and each committee sends a representative to a district council. In Managua a broader city-wide Council of Reconstruction is now being formed to coordinate the work.

For the polio immunization campaign the health commission of each CDS was responsible for organizing its neighborhood. Volunteers were requested at CDS meetings to carry out the campaign block by block.

The volunteers, principally young mothers, first conducted a thorough census. Each home was then visited to explain the purpose of the campaign, and the time and location of the immunization.

Colorful posters with the slogan "Only you and vaccine can conquer polio" were distributed throughout the *barrio*.

The vaccine was donated by Panama; Cuba contributed condensed milk so that each vaccinated child received one can.

Miami pickets: 'Aid to Nicaragua now!'

By Bill Rayson

MIAMI—Despite this city's feverish precautions against Hurricane David, about thirty supporters of the Committee for Non-Intervention in Nicaragua picketed the Federal Building in downtown Miami September 1 demanding:

- Immediate unconditional U.S. aid to Nicaragua.
- Freeze Somoza's financial holdings and return them to the Nicaraguan people. (Millions of dollars that Somoza stole from the Nicaraguan people are invested in Miami banks, real estate, and business enterprises.)
- Extradite Somoza upon his return to the U.S.

The demonstrators, whose ranks included Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Colombians, chanted in English and Spanish: "Aid to rebuild Nicaragua;" "Viva Nicaragua;" "Se siente, se siente, Sandino está presente!" [We feel it, we feel it, Sandino is here with us.]"

In recognition of Miami's importance as a center for U.S. imperialist intervention in Latin America, the demonstrators carried signs reading, "Hands off Nicaragua," "Hands off Cuba," and "Self-Determination for Nicaragua."

Miami was a key recruiting station for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Throughout the 1960s, the CIA worked with counterrevolutionary Cuban organizations here to initiate sabotage attacks against Cuba.

During the Nicaraguan insurrection some right-wing Cubans from Miami went to fight alongside Somoza's National Guard. Close ties between them have existed ever since Somoza lent Nicaragua as a base and launching pad for the Bay of Pigs attack.

After Somoza's defeat, hundreds of members of his National Guard came to Miami. The U.S. government accepted these butchers with open arms.

Cubans supporting the revolution in Cuba participated in today's action in solidarity with Nicaragua. They were members of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans who are fighting for full diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Cuba.

Andrés Gómez, who just returned from Cuba along with 140 *brigadistas*, told the *Militant*: "All the Cuban newspapers and radio talked about for weeks was Nicaragua."

"We attended Fidel's July 26 speech in Holguín, Cuba. All of the speech was devoted to the struggle in Nicaragua. All of this has led to a groundswell of support for Nicaragua among the Cuban people."

Several Nicaraguans were also numbered among the picketers. Miami has a Nicaraguan community of 4,000, many of whom consider themselves Sandinistas.

Adan Navarrate, for example, had spent fifteen months in prison in 1977 and 1978 for being an active Sandinista. After leaving prison, threats to his life forced him to flee. Now, Navarrate, a construction worker, says, "I have to go back to serve the revolution."

Among Haitians at the demonstration were Rulx Jean-Bart of the Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees and Paul Sylvester of the Kombit Libete, an organization of Haitian refugees.

They pointed out that while Somoza's murderers are being given asylum, 100 Haitians are in jail in south Florida for fleeing the Duvalier dictatorship.

Jean-Bart called the U.S. refugee policy "discriminatory and racist."

"They do not want to accept us because we are Black and we come from a country which is a puppet of the

U.S. To give asylum to Haitians is to admit the government is wrong."

Paul Sylvester pointed to the case of the Russian dancer who was "kidnapped for three days to make her accept political asylum; at the same time they put the Haitians in jail to force them to change their minds and go back to be tortured."

"We love Haiti and we want to go back," he said, "but first we must do what the Sandinistas did and get rid of Duvalier."

The Committee for Non-Intervention in Nicaragua is planning future activities, including a film about last year's insurrection, "Nicaragua, September 1978." It is scheduled to be shown at 8:00 p.m. on September 21 at the Center for Dialog, 2175 N.W. 26 St., Miami.

People interested in Nicaragua solidarity work in Miami should contact the committee at (305) 638-4085.

Forums on Nicaragua

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

BUILDING THE NEW NICARAGUA. Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers campaign, returning from a fact-finding tour of Nicaragua. Manuel Valle, Los Angeles consul from Nicaragua. Sat., Sept. 15, 8 p.m. 2936 W. 8th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820. Forum will be translated into Spanish.

NEW YORK ALBANY

THE TRUTH ABOUT NICARAGUA. Speakers: Steve Ridler, member, Chile Solidarity Club; others to be announced. Sat., Sept. 8, 2 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

NEW YORK CITY

THE REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA. Speaker: Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party Na-

tional Committee. Also, a film on Nicaragua. Sun., Sept. 9, 3 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. at 6th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

OHIO CLEVELAND

SOLIDARITY WITH THE VICTORY IN NICARAGUA. Speakers: Thabo Ntweng, SWP candidate for Mayor, UAW Local 217; Norma Ruiz, UAW Local 1747; Charles Welch, Chile Solidarity Committee. Sun., Sept. 9, 7 p.m. University Center Rm. 364, Cleveland State University. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

TEXAS

SAN ANTONIO

NICARAGUA: EYEWITNESS REPORT AND SLIDE SHOW. Speakers: Carlos Spector-Calderon, recently returned from Nicaragua; Agnes Chapa, Young Socialist Alliance National

Committee. Sat., Sept. 8, 7 p.m. 112 Fredericksburg. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 735-3141.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

SOLIDARITY WITH THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: representative of Socialist Workers Party, others. Sun., Sept. 16, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. So. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

TACOMA

PANEL DISCUSSION IN DEFENSE OF THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Teresa Alexander, Nicaraguan who fled Somoza dictatorship, member Mujeres Unidas; Phillip A. Norris, member of Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists Local 751-F. Sun., Sept. 16, 7 p.m. 1306 S. K St. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

...army

Continued from preceding page

Underlying these acts is a profound sense of identity with the liberation struggle. A universal understanding that these martyrs and heroes did not die in vain, and a conviction that more lives will be sacrificed if necessary to defend this revolution.

Pancasan

This was the theme of a week-long schedule of activities in Managua and other major cities that culminated September 1 with the Pancasan commemoration at the Plaza de la Revolución, of which the military parade was a highlight.

Pancasan, in the northern mountains of Matagalpa, was a historic point for the FSLN. It was there in 1967 that the guerrillas launched a new offensive against the dictatorship.

On this occasion the National Guard, with its military superiority, surrounded a small guerrilla unit and offered to let them go in exchange for a promise that their antigovernment actions would cease. They rejected this proposal, choosing to die rather than surrender.

All but one of the guerrilla fighters were killed.

The rally began in a festive spirit, with a folk group performing several protest songs with a distinctly Nicaraguan flavor. A cheerful crowd, displaying handpainted signs and banners from different neighborhoods, many with the names of local fallen fighters, waited expectantly.

One sign read "Popular militias from the rural zone of Managua—present." Another, "No more freedom for the National Guard. The people demand they be condemned."

A large banner facing the National Palace steps that served as a speakers platform contained a phrase by Carlos Fonseca Amador, one of the central leaders of the FSLN, killed in the

guerrilla fighting, which has become a rallying slogan. It said, "Carlos Fonseca: dawn has ceased to be a temptation."

This theme, expressed in different slogans, really means that it is better to die fighting than to see the morning and not be free.

As the rally got under way the Minister of Agriculture, Comandante Jaime Wheelock, read a decree designating the nine central leaders of the FSLN as commanders of the revolution. An additional list of twenty-two were designated guerrilla commanders of the new Sandinista Peoples Army.

The official governmental junta was not seated on the speakers platform for this event.

'Example for Latin America'

To loud applause and the shouting of slogans, Comandante Tomás Borge, Minister of the Interior, then arose to address the crowd.

Borge began by explaining, "Pancasan is a beautiful anecdote of heroism and sacrifice. But above all Pancasan is an example for the youth of today and for our brothers in Latin America. It was a military deed with a political response."

In that period, Borge explained, the Liberal and Conservative parties put forth an electoral strategy, but the Sandinistas rejected this course and went back to fight in the mountains. "While the political parties pointed to the comfortable but narrow road toward change, the revolutionary movement pointed to the broad but difficult avenue of revolutionary armed struggle."

Referring to the example set by the fallen martyrs, he added, "If we could ask them now how we should act, they would answer: 'We want you to be merely Sandinistas.'"

"And what is a Sandinista?" he asked the crowd. "Is a Sandinista someone who abuses the power the people have given us? Is a Sandinista

someone who is flexible with the enemy?"

"No!" the crowd roared in reply.

"A Sandinista is not someone who, because of family or other pressures, gives away the riches we took from the Somocistas," he emphasized. "A Sandinista is someone with a high level of discipline and a personal moral debt. A Sandinista is someone who never thinks of himself but thinks only of the people's interest. And a Sandinista is someone who is just but also someone who is hard with the enemies of our people."

Warning to Somoza

"They say they are coming back to save our country from communism," Borge went on, alluding to Somoza and his followers. "We don't want them to come back to shed any more blood."

"Execute them!" shouted someone from the crowd.

"But if they do come back, we will turn our old slogan—'implacable in combat and generous in victory'—to 'implacable in combat and implacable in victory.'"

"They had better not come back," he warned. "Because if they come here to impose counterrevolutionary violence on us, we will without hesitation use revolutionary violence against them."

Turning to the threat of a military intervention from abroad, Borge stated, "We appreciate the friendly diplomatic attitude of other nations. We can be great friends. But if we are attacked we can also be great enemies."

"This is an irreversible revolution," he added. "Only idiots are unable to see this truth. And let no one be fooled. The unity of the FSLN is totally monolithic. No one should have delusions about frictions within it, as the gang of corrupt Somocistas have claimed."

Then Borge turned to the subject of the trials to be held soon for the National Guardsmen now in prison. The revolutionary tribunals, he explained, will come from the bosom of

the Nicaraguan people.

"We have to combine justice with hardness," he said. "Those who have no respect for justice are not revolutionaries. And those who have no respect for the application of justice are not revolutionaries. But those who abuse the application of justice are also counterrevolutionaries."

"Our hearts are made of stone before the enemies of our people. We can never be soft with them, because we only have soft hearts for our heroes and our martyrs."

Building professional army

The parade led off with several units of infantry, about 100 soldiers each. Significantly, the ranks of each unit had identical weapons, something the FSLN never achieved in the past. While these varied from unit to unit, all were military weapons, automatic or semi-automatic. The uniforms were just that—uniforms. And the troops marched smartly.

There followed other units, including an entire platoon of women, which got a special hand, started by the women among the spectators. Here and there were women soldiers in the other units as well. Also marching were units of the neighborhood militia, indicating the intention of the FSLN to arm and train the broad masses as a popular backup to the professional army.

The parade also included tanks, anti-aircraft batteries, rocket launchers, artillery, and heavy mortars.

The most impressive feature in the entire display was the determination in the faces of the troops. They were dead serious, and they showed it.

The Sandinista army had come into existence. Clearly this is not the ragtag mass of ill-armed irregulars and the thin line of experienced FSLN guerrillas that took over Managua on July 19—though it included the same people. This is now a professional army, growing larger and more efficient day by day.

...SWP candidates hit Carter stalling

Continued from front page

The big-business press pretends the obstacle is a few congressmen who are "influential friends" of Somoza and who are concerned about the social and economic policies that the new Nicaraguan government will follow. They can keep aid requests bottled up in committee, we are told, until they are certain Nicaragua will not become another Cuba.

But such decisions are not made by a few isolated right-wingers on Capitol Hill. They come from the top. The whole scenario is typical of

Washington-style arm twisting.

First, low estimates are made of what is needed.

Then, the U.S. government will consider granting only a small proportion of this estimate.

But even this pared-down amount will have little likelihood of being included in full in the president's budget.

What finally gets put into the budget has little chance of approval in Congress.

And it will all, of course, take time. The message to the Nicaraguan people

and their new government is clear: if you want any aid, the policies you follow must fit in with Washington's guidelines. Above all, capitalist property must be preserved—especially the interests of U.S. corporations.

These pressure tactics are particularly shameful because Washington itself was responsible for installing and propping up the Somoza family dictatorship for more than four decades, with horrible consequences for the people of Nicaragua. It is an outrageous example of capitalist disregard for human needs.

Socialists begin from the opposite standpoint. We favor policies that place human needs above profits. We believe the Nicaraguan masses have the right to run their own country the way they see fit. The immediate shipment of hundreds of millions of dollars in aid is the least they are entitled to as reparations from the United States government.

We believe that working people in this country and around the world will agree—especially when they learn the truth about conditions in Nicaragua and the U.S. role.

It is up to all of us to organize a powerful solidarity campaign with our brothers and sisters, the working people and toiling poor of Nicaragua.

Through our unions and other organizations, we must build the momentum for aid to the hungry and war-devastated people of Nicaragua—all the aid that's needed, without political conditions.



Washington always found plenty of money for dictator Somoza (above), but refuses to provide emergency relief urgently needed by Nicaraguan people.

Socialist campaigners to tour country

Fred Halstead, longtime socialist and trade union activist, is in Nicaragua. Halstead is gathering firsthand information on the revolution there so that American working people can learn the truth about the social advances being made by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

He will also report back to U.S. audiences on the threat of a Pentagon-backed military intervention against Nicaragua and the need for a massive solidarity campaign in this country.

Halstead is one of several socialist campaigners who will tour the country this fall rallying support for the 1980 Socialist Workers ticket of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president.

Also touring are two other socialist leaders: Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Héctor Marroquín, who is fighting the Carter administration's attempts to deport him to Mexico.

Halstead will begin his tour September 22 in Boston, where he will tell how American workers and students can defend the Nicaraguan revolution.

Halstead is author of the book *Out Now: A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*. He is also a spokesperson on

the dangers of nuclear power. In 1968 he was the SWP candidate for president.

Sedwick recently toured revolutionary Cuba along with SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. She is a former coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism and is a member of the National Organization for Women.

Sedwick will talk to young people in the plants, mills, and mines and on the college and high school campuses about why the Socialist Workers campaign is the only campaign for youth. She begins her tour in Toledo on September 22.

Héctor Marroquín, who is seeking support for his right to political asylum

in the United States, will explain the socialist ideas for which the government is trying to deport him.

Marroquín is a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and a well-known speaker on the antideportation struggle. His tour begins with a benefit concert for his defense in Philadelphia on September 22.

If you would like Halstead or Sedwick to speak before your union or community group, on your campus, or in your high school, contact the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. For Marroquín, contact the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



From left: Héctor Marroquín, Fred Halstead, Cathy Sedwick.

How you can help campaign

Please send me:

- copies of *How I Became a Socialist*. (pamphlet by Andrew Pulley) 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more
- copies of *Bill of Rights for Working People*. (English or Spanish) 3¢ each, 2¼¢ each for 1,000 or more
- copies of "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?" (four-page flyer) 3¢ each, 2¼¢ each for 1,000 or more
- Pulley for president or Zimmermann for vice-president buttons (with photos). 50¢

each, 35¢ each for ten or more.

- "Human Needs Before Profits" or "Vote Socialist Workers" buttons. 50¢ each, 25¢ each for ten or more.

- Pulley for president or Zimmermann for vice-president posters. 10¢ each, 8¢ each for ten or more.

- Volunteer cards. Free, 50¢ for 100 or more

Enclosed is \$_____

- Please send more information.

Clip and mail to:

Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Union/School/Organization _____

Paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.



Hear the Socialist Workers candidates



DETROIT

The Auto Crisis:

How to Fight Unemployment

Speakers:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Alyson Kennedy, member of unemployed committee, UAW Local 1250, Ford Brookpark, Cleveland

Jeff Stephenson, co-chairperson of solidarity committee, UAW Local 1058, Toledo

Bill Arth, UAW Local 140, Detroit

Sunday, September 9, 7 p.m.

6404 Woodward Avenue

For more information call

(313) 875-5322

Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

Sept. 20-23 Newport News, Va.
Sept. 25-26 Greensboro, N.C.
Sept. 29-Oct. 2 Ohio.

Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

Sept. 21-23 Iron Range, Minnesota
Sept. 27-28 Albuquerque
Sept. 30-Oct. 1 Kansas City
Oct. 3-4 Salt Lake City

Other socialists on tour

Cathy Sedwick

Sept. 22-24 Toledo
Sept. 28-30 Milwaukee

Fred Halstead

Sept. 22-24 Boston
Sept. 28-30 Philadelphia

Héctor Marroquín

Sept. 22 Benefit concert in Philadelphia for Marroquín defense
Sept. 26-28 Dallas

(Marroquín's tour sponsored by Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee)

For more information, call the SWP branch nearest you. See the directory on page 31 for phone numbers and addresses.

JOIN US

Pretext of 'Soviet troops'

New U.S. threats against Cuba, Nicaragua

By Fred Feldman

The Carter administration and the U.S. Senate are churning out new threats against the Cuban revolution. The latest pretext is the claim by the State Department that 2,000 to 3,000 Soviet combat troops are now stationed in Cuba.

In an August 30 speech in Boise, Idaho, Sen. Frank Church, the liberal Democrat who heads the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, declared that "Russian combat units do not belong in Cuba." He called on Carter to force the immediate withdrawal of the alleged troops, saying, "The president must make it clear, we draw the line on Russian penetration of this hemisphere."

Church later told the news media that the October 1962 "missile crisis" was an example of U.S. options today. At that time Washington imposed a naval blockade on Cuba, using the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba as the pretext. Church added that he did not favor such a move at present.

U.S. State Department officials insisted the next day that "there is no Cuban missile crisis." They added that Washington had "expressed concern" through diplomatic channels about the supposed troop presence.

The big-business press devoted considerable attention to the matter.

The phrasing of the statements by Church and the State Department was calculated to raise the specter of U.S. military action against Cuba. At the same time, the message was couched in the form of a denial, in order to reassure American working people that war moves are not immediately in the offing.

Fraudulent charges

The fraudulence of the new spate of charges was virtually admitted by State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III. He conceded that the presence of the alleged Soviet troops in Cuba "poses no threat to the United States" and violates no Soviet-American agreements or understandings.

As usual, the State Department provided no evidence to back up its assertions. According to a dispatch by Bernard Gwertzman in the September 1 *New York Times*, reporters were informed by U.S. officials as recently as July 27 that "the only Soviet forces in Cuba were the military advisory group of 1,500 to 2,000 men that has been in Cuba for about 15 years."

He added that "the intelligence community reached a new conclusion" after President Carter increased aerial surveillance of Cuba. But administration officials "would not disclose where [the troops] were stationed."

The latest round of threats against Cuba coincided with the conference of "nonaligned" governments in Havana. The Castro government's role as the host and leading force in the conference is highly irritating to Washington. Carter may have hoped that propaganda about Soviet troops in Cuba would provide ammunition to those right-wing governments at the conference that depict Cuba as a "Soviet puppet."

'Intimidate'?

The State Department charges provided the occasion for an exhibition of imperialist arrogance in the U.S. Senate. At the head of the pack was Senator Richard Stone of Florida, a Democrat. He had the nerve to warn that the Soviet military presence would be used to "intimidate" Latin Americans.

This from the imperialist power that organized counterrevolutionary invasions of Guatemala in 1954 and Cuba in 1961; that landed 20,000 marines in the Dominican Republic in 1965; and



Cubans cheer Nicaraguan freedom fighters arriving for July 26 rally in Holguín. Cuban people refuse to let U.S. threats block international solidarity. Granma

that continually threatens the working people of Latin America whenever they seek to throw out dictators and reorganize society in their own interests.

It is not the Latin American masses, but the U.S. imperialists who are "intimidated" by Soviet military assistance to Cuba, since it is an obstacle to their goal of crushing the Cuban revolution. Stone hopes his bellicose speeches will block the Sandinista government in Nicaragua from turning to Cuba and the Soviet bloc as a counterweight to the military and economic pressure being exerted on the Nicaraguan revolution by U.S. imperialism.

Stone charged that the alleged Soviet troop presence in Cuba "is a base, and our nation's policy for more than a century has been to oppose the establishment of bases in this hemisphere by countries who don't belong here."

But the only power with a military base in Cuba that doesn't "belong" there is U.S. imperialism, which still holds the naval base at Guantanamo against the will of the Cuban people.

Series of threats

The attempt to whip up public opinion around the "threat" of Soviet troops in Cuba is the latest in a series of moves by the Carter administration aimed at isolating and militarily threatening the Cuban revolution.

In November 1978 the Carter administration charged—falsely, as it turned out—that MIG-23s received by Cuba from the USSR might be capable of launching nuclear weapons against the United States. Spy flights over Cuba were resumed and a U.S. fleet carried out "maneuvers" near the Cuban coastline.

Carter's action coincided with a visit to Cuba by seventy-five leaders of the Cuban community in the United States as part of the developing dialogue between the revolutionary government and Cubans living abroad.

On April 28, 1979, right-wing terrorists assassinated Carlos Muñoz Varela in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Muñoz was a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, which has been organizing tours of Cuba by groups of young Cubans living in the United States, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere.

Despite appeals from leaders of the

Cuban community, the Carter administration has not lifted a finger to find the murderers.

Visits curbed

On August 28 the U.S. State Department announced that it was removing the operating license of Havanatur, the Panama-based company that has been organizing family reunification visits to Cuba by Cubans resident in the United States. About 50,000 people have visited Cuba under the program, which began six months ago.

These visits, which Washington wants to stop, have helped undermine the lies that Washington spreads about the Cuban revolution. More and more Cubans in the United States are demanding an end to the U.S. economic blockade and normalization of diplomatic relations.

The new charges are also designed to pressure the Kremlin to reduce its

military commitment to defend Cuba against U.S. attacks. That's the meaning of the demands raised in the Senate for postponement of the debate on SALT-II until the Soviet troops are removed.

But above all, Carter's threats are intended as a warning to the Cuban revolutionists of what the imperialists might attempt if Cuba continues to expand its support to the Nicaraguan revolution. The new propaganda offensive against Cuba shows how completely the defense of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions are intertwined.

Partisans of the working people around the world will answer the hue and cry around Soviet troops in Cuba with a countercampaign in support of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions.

U.S. hands off Nicaragua!
U.S. hands off Cuba!

Pulley and Zimmermann: 'Hands off Cuba!'

The Socialist Workers Party 1980 candidates, Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president, issued a statement denouncing the "calculated step-up in Washington's pressure on the Cuban revolution, under the pretext of charging Soviet troops are in Cuba."

Pulley called Sen. Frank Church's warning of possible military action "a transparent move to try to pressure Havana against aiding the Nicaraguan revolution. It is an ominous development, because it shows that Washington itself is seriously preparing for the possibility of military action against Nicaragua—and against Cuba as well, should the Cubans stand by Nicaragua."

Zimmermann, who recently returned from a trip to Cuba, said that "the Cuban people showed a tremendous feeling of solidarity with the struggles of the Nicaraguan people against the Somoza tyranny. There is no doubt that they will do

all they can to assist the Nicaraguan revolution, despite threats by Washington."

"American working people have no stake in Washington's anti-Cuba stand," she added.

Pulley also noted that Washington has been stung by Cuba's leading role in the current summit meeting of "non-aligned" nations. Fidel Castro has exposed and denounced U.S. imperialist maneuvers against the Palestinians and the Indochinese peoples.

"Contrived charges about 'Soviet troops' are a flimsy attempt to discredit Cuba's revolutionary and internationalist role," the socialist said.

The SWP candidates are campaigning for an end to the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba, for abolition of the U.S. military base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, and for normalization of diplomatic relations.

Opposition grows in Iran to Kurdish war

By Janice Lynn

Despite signs of widespread antiwar sentiment among the Iranian people, government troops entered the Kurdish city of Mahabad September 4 in continued fighting between the forces of the Khomeini-Bazargan regime and Kurdish rebels.

Most of the estimated 10,000 Kurdish guerrillas and most of Mahabad's civilian population of 100,000, according to Associated Press reports, left the city and headed for Sardasht, forty miles to the south.

A spokesman for the outlawed Kurdish Democratic Party which also moved most of their material to Sardasht said that in this mountain town the government forces would be unable to use their tanks "so effectively."

The government's aim is to halt the advance of the peasant revolution and the struggle for autonomy in Iranian Kurdistan.

After the February insurrection that toppled the shah, peasant councils had been formed in the Kurdish cities of Saqqez, Mahabad, and Bukan—cities now being attacked. Armed militias arose to defend the rights of the peasants.

The Khomeini-Bazargan government cannot afford to let the Kurdish struggle provide an example for the other oppressed nationalities of Iran—the Azerbaijanis, Arabs, Turkomans, Baluchis, etc.—or to the peasant masses throughout the country. That would be a threat to a stable capitalist regime.

The occupation of Kurdish towns by government troops has been followed by waves of executions. For example, in Saqqez, dozens of Kurds were shot down and their bodies left lying in the streets to terrify other inhabitants. At least seventy-seven Kurds are known to have been executed in the past two weeks and some sources have put the figure at more than one hundred.

Reports from revolutionaries in Iran



War and executions in Kurdistan are becoming increasingly unpopular in Iran

indicate that antiwar sentiment among the Persian population seems to be growing. People are no longer enlisting to fight in Kurdistan.

The charges made by Khomeini that the Kurds were spreading "Communist corruption" and the suggestion by Ayatollah Taleghani that the Kurds were being aided by the Soviet Union failed to whip up the expected mood of support for the war.

There is no evidence whatever to support the charge of Soviet involvement, although in a switch from Moscow's previous position of uncritical support within Iran to the Khomeini-Bazargan government, the August 25 issue of *Pravda* published an article indicating that the Kurds were justified in their resistance.

Khomeini himself has taken over command of the military to try to prevent defections among soldiers who do not want to fight against their

brothers and sisters in Kurdistan.

In Rasht, a city in northern Iran whose population was very active during the revolution, soldiers report that whole units have refused to go to Kurdistan. There are celebrations in the barracks whenever another unit refuses to go. Khomeini has issued warnings that soldiers who disobey orders will be harshly punished, and at least nine have been shot.

The Iranian ruling circles are divided over the advisability of an all-out war against the Kurds. Khomeini denounced the government for its failure to crush the Kurdish struggle, saying that if it was not "revolutionary" enough to do this then he would come to Tehran himself and take over directly. He called for the execution of the Kurdish leaders for being "counter-revolutionaries."

In a televised speech later on August 31, Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan

announced he wished to resign and said: "We are not revolutionaries . . . if killing, beating, or destroying is considered to be a revolutionary act."

The slaughter and executions of the Kurds is not popular among the working masses in Iran. Even some of the censored newspapers still being allowed to publish are raising questions. The government has stopped publicizing the executions and some Kurdish prisoners have been released. The media has covered a trial of Kurdish rebels in an attempt to portray the "democratic" nature of the proceedings.

The Kurdish people have learned some very important lessons from their past struggles in Iran. If they stay isolated, they could be easily defeated. But they have championed the rights of all Iranians.

In an August 25 statement, Abdul Qasselmou, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, said, "We now demand democracy for all of Iran, freedom for all political parties, and guaranteed freedom for the press."

This is an important development. The Kurdish people are appealing to the entire working class of Iran to come to their defense. There are already signs that other oppressed nationalities are beginning to move to support the Kurdish struggle for autonomy.

The Kurdish people are fighting in defense of the gains of the Iranian revolution and in defense of the democratic rights fought for by the masses in their struggle against the shah and his imperialist backers.

Overtures by the United States government to provide military aid to the Iranian regime show where the policy of the Khomeini-Bazargan government—the policy of trying to protect the interests of the landlords and capitalists in Iran—is leading.

But Washington is well aware that

Continued on page 12

...international defense of Iranian socialists

Continued from front page

sies around the world. The ministry declared the socialists' trials were not yet concluded, and that another statement would be made later.

• Meanwhile, the government-controlled radio charged that "outside" groups were spreading the "rumor" that the trials had taken place in an attempt to stir up "counterrevolutionary activity."

• On September 4, *Baamdad* published a statement on the case by Vice-premier Sadeq Tabatabai, answering protests received by the Iranian government from the Swedish foreign ministry and the editor and former editor of the powerful metal workers newspaper in Germany, *Metall*.

Tabatabai asserted that contrary to these protests that the HKS prisoners were being persecuted for their socialist views, there were in fact criminal charges against them. He claimed the HKS members were being charged with explosions at oil pipelines in Abadan, with "armed actions against

the Islamic revolution," and with killing people.

These new changes reflect the desperate attempt of the Iranian authorities to justify their imprisonment of the socialists in the face of intensifying pressures to release them. The charges are shot through with holes, even by the government's own facts.

The explosions at oil pipelines going into the Abadan refinery, as reported by the Iranian government itself, took place the first two weeks of July. All the HKS members were imprisoned at the time in a different city—Ahvaz!

In addition, the published charges against the two women HKS members made no mention of sabotage.

Moreover, the government arrested and executed several Arabs it claimed were responsible for the bombings. In all, seventeen Arabs in Khuzestan Province were shot in July on charges of terrorism.

Some government officials at the time even questioned whether the oil explosions were acts of sabotage or the result of poor maintenance work.

The charges are not just a frame-up from the standpoint of facts. The HKS is well known in Iran as politically opposing individual terrorist acts. The party's position was clearly explained in a statement printed May 5 in the now-banned daily *Ayendegan*, in response to the assassination of Ayatollah Motahari, an associate of Ayatollah Khomeini.

"Terrorist actions give the counter-revolutionary forces an opportunity to mobilize their forces against the toilers and the workers organizations by help-

ing to create an atmosphere of confusion and intimidation," the HKS statement said in part.

"Basing itself on the tradition of revolutionary Marxism, the Socialist Workers Party condemns all forms of individual terror as an obstacle to a conscious struggle by the workers and all the oppressed for socialism. Reaffirming this position, we deplore the assassination of Ayatollah Motahari and express our sorrow."

In response to Vice-premier Tabatabai's statement, the HKS has issued a statement reasserting the innocence of the fourteen prisoners, demanding that all charges against the fourteen be made public, and that they be given an open trial with the right to lawyers and the presence of international press.

The outcome of the case has yet to be decided. The role of international defense efforts are crucial. While some Iranian officials have opposed the execution of the socialists, and others are claiming there never was a death penalty order, the Imam's Committee authorities in Ahvaz are still pressing for execution. The danger was underscored August 31, when Khomeini publicly called for the execution of Kurdish rebel leaders.

To save the lives of the Iranian Fourteen, thousands more telegrams from trade unionists and other supporters of democratic rights are needed from all over the world. Delegations to Iranian embassies and consulates, news conferences, and petitions are also vital to keeping up the pressure.

Already, the international defense campaign has had a big impact in Iran, advancing the struggle of all anti-shah political prisoners and the fight for democratic rights. A victory in the HKS case will be a giant impetus to these battles and to the Iranian revolution as a whole.

How you can help

Telegrams protesting the death sentences given the HKS prisoners in Ahvaz and demanding that their lives be saved should be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; and Hassan Nazih, Director, National Iranian Oil Company, Takht Jamshid Avenue, Tehran, Iran. Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24 Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran, and to the *Militant*.

Forums and public meetings to publicize the case should be organized.

Petitions on behalf of the imprisoned socialists can be circulated in workplaces and sent to the above addresses.

Defense meeting

SEATTLE

STOP THE EXECUTIONS OF THE IRANIAN SOCIALISTS. Speakers: Farhad Nouri, Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) and staff writer for *Kargar*, newspaper of HKS; others. Sun. September 9, 7 p.m. Polish Hall, 1714 18th. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Committee to Save the Iranian 14 and Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Worldwide campaign demands

'Stop execution of Iranian socialists!'

By Janice Lynn

A protest march of 3,000 in Paris August 31 highlighted the emergency international campaign to save the lives of twelve imprisoned members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) condemned to death.

The Paris demonstration demanded: "Save the lives of the HKS members," and "Stop the massacre of the Kurdish people." The march to the Iranian embassy was sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI), Lutte Ouvrière, Union of Students from Kurdistan, and others.

On August 28, a delegation visited the Iranian embassy in Paris to express their opposition to the death sentences. The delegation included representatives of the Socialist Party, League for Human Rights, Alain Krivine of the LCR, and Pierre Lambert of the OCI.

In Canada, trade unionists, union officials, and leaders of the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party, have been in the forefront of the campaign to save the socialists' lives.

Among the labor organizations that have sent protests are: Québec Teachers Federation, Québec Federation of Labor, and the International Center of Workers Solidarity of the Québec Confederation of National Trade Unions.



Canadian labor party leader Ed Broadbent

Ed Broadbent, leader of the federal New Democratic Party, has sent a telegram of protest as have Dave Barrett, leader of the NDP in British Columbia; Jack Monroe, Canadian western regional director of the International Woodworkers of America; Howard Pawley, leader of the NDP in Manitoba; Al Ashton, president of the Amalgamated Transit Workers in Vancouver; R.C. Baskin, international rep-

resentative of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers in Edmonton; F. Kuzenski, Alberta supervisor of the United Steelworkers of America; and Ruth Pear, head of the Status of Women Committee of the NDP in Manitoba.

In Germany, delegations visited the Iranian embassy in Bonn and the consulate in Hamburg to seek information about the case of the HKS members. The visits received wide news coverage.

In Switzerland, protest telegrams against the death sentences have been sent from the secretary of the International Union of Metal Workers in Geneva; Richard Müller, president of the Swiss Union Federation; Helmut Hubacher, president of the Swiss Socialist Party; numerous Socialist Party members of the national parliament; the Popular Workers Party in the canton of Vaud, a local unit of the Communist Party; and by many university professors.

In Denmark, telegrams have been sent by many prominent leaders in the union movement as well as by numerous workers parties.

These workers parties sponsored an August 31 demonstration at the Iranian embassy followed by a public meeting with a speaker from the Iranian HKS. They are launching a committee to continue organizing the defense work.

In Greece, protests have been held in

Athens, and various labor officials have protested to the Iranian embassy there.

In Spain, telegrams and protest messages have been sent by the Communist Party, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Party of the Basque People, the Basque Nationalist Party, the Communist Movement of Spain, the Association for Human Rights, the municipal council of the city of Bilbao, and many more.

The Spanish national trade unions have sent messages. These include the Workers Commissions, the General Workers Union, and others.

Delegations have gone to the Iranian embassy almost every day. They report that the ambassador's desk is covered with telegrams, messages, and letters from local unions and neighborhood associations throughout Spain.

In Madrid, eight people have begun a hunger strike in the headquarters of the Association for Human Rights, protesting the death sentences.

In Italy, messages were sent by the Italian Federation of Metal Workers and the three major union federations—the General Confederation of Labor, the Confederation of Italian Trade Unions, and the Italian Federation of Trade Unions. Also *Lotta Continua* published an appeal for the HKS members signed by prominent intellectuals. Delegations have visited the Iranian consulate in Turin.

Unionists, Kurds, Iranians speak out in U.S.

Support continues to grow in the United States for the fourteen imprisoned members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS).

Inside Iran, the major daily *Baamdad* has featured telegrams from U.S. unionists protesting the death penalty handed down for twelve of the HKS members. This support from union officials and members is a vital aspect of the campaign to save the lives of the HKS members.

In Minneapolis, supporters of the Iranian socialists set up an information table at an August 30 contract meeting of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 6-75 from the large 3M plant there. In a few hours' time, sixty OCAW members signed petitions protesting the persecution of oilworkers, Arabs, Kurds, and others and demanding a halt to the execution of the HKS members.

Signers included OCAW international representative Charles Moore; Nick Kovach, president, OCAW Local 6-75; and several other officers of the union.

Donations were solicited to cover costs of sending the telegram and all sixty names were telegraphed that night to Iran.

In Seattle, *Militant* correspondent Sandy Lee reports that a September 3 meeting drew forty supporters of the Iranian revolution to plan a campaign of action to help save the lives of the fourteen Iranian socialists.

Television station KING-TV was present to film the meeting and to interview Houshang Fallahi, brother of two of the imprisoned socialists, Hormoz and Fatima Fallahi. Both had been students at the University of Washington and active in the anti-shah movement there.

On the evening news, Fallahi explained the "need to get this case publicized and for people to know what is happening in Iran."

A Committee to Save the Iranian Fourteen has been set up in Seattle and has received wide support from Iranian students. At the meeting, \$150

was collected to carry on the defense efforts.

One hundred workers at the Seattle Boeing plant have signed petitions for the HKS members. Five members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), including two executive board members, have signed a protest telegram.

The committee is organizing a September 9 public meeting featuring Farhad Nouri, staff writer for the banned HKS newspaper, *Kargar*.

In San Diego, an August 31 news conference to protest the death sentences was attended by several radio and television stations; the *San Diego Union*, the city's major newspaper; and *Viewpoint*, San Diego's Black community newspaper.

According to *Militant* correspondent Mark Friedman, speakers at the news conference included Elizabeth Reed, southern California vice-president of the Service Employees International Union Local 535; Larry Schwartz, San Diego City College professor; and Raúl González, SWP candidate for mayor of San Diego.

Also present were twenty Kurdish students. One of the students, Taleb Barzangi, read a statement which said in part, "The only fault the Kurds have is their demand for democratic rule for Iran and autonomy for Kurdistan. Humanity laws give that right to all people all over the world, but for the Kurds it is only a dream mixed with misery and suffering."

After the news conference, there was a picket line. A group of Iranians opposed to the Kurdish struggle jumped out of two cars and attacked the demonstrators. Barzangi suffered a broken tooth.

A campaign of joint activities with the Kurdish students is being planned. They took a bundle of fifty *Militants* to distribute in the Kurdish community to help get out the truth about the situation in Iran.

In Boston, a major FM radio station broadcast hourly reports of the execution threat against the socialists and urged people to send telegrams.

Labor telegrams spearhead protest effort



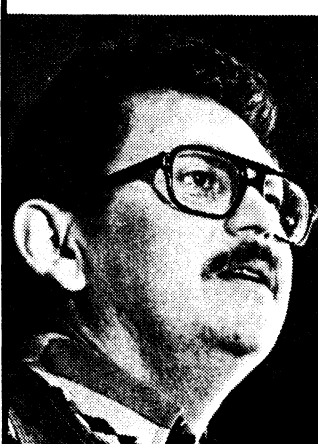
HERMAN



KELLY



CORNETTE



GUTIERREZ



HARRINGTON

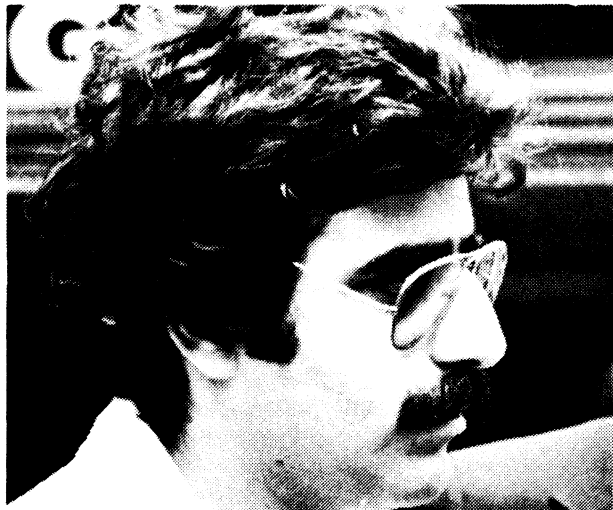


ROBINSON

Among those who have recently sent protest telegrams in defense of the Iranian socialist prisoners are: Jimmy Herman, international president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, United Auto Workers District 65; Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association; Leon B. Schachter, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union; Dick Groulx, executive secretary of the Alameda County Central Labor Council; Gerald Cornette, president of United Mine Workers of America Local 8771; and Ed Mayne, president of Utah state AFL-CIO.

Also, Michael Harrington, chairperson, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; author Noam Chomsky; Nobel Prize laureates George Wald and Salvador Luria; José Angel Gutiérrez of the Raza Unida Party; Lee Lockwood, author of *Castro's Cuba*; Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; and journalist I.F. Stone.

Tour announced for defense of Iranian prisoners



FARHAD NOURI

Militant/Karen Ray

Farhad Nouri, a leader of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS), begins a three-country tour September 9 to speak on the case of the fourteen imprisoned HKS members in Iran. His tour takes him to fifteen U.S. cities, to Canada, and to Mexico.

Nouri lived in exile in the United States during the shah's regime. Here he was active in the movement against the war in Vietnam, the Iranian Students Association, and the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

He returned to Iran prior to the February insurrection and was an eyewitness to the unfolding of the Iranian revolution. He is a staff writer for the HKS newspaper *Kargar* (Worker).

Nouri will be speaking before trade unions; to Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican groups; on campuses; and before international student organizations. He will also be available for press interviews.

Following is his tour schedule:

Seattle	Sept. 9-11
Vancouver, Canada	Sept. 12-13
San Francisco	Sept. 14-15
Mexico City	Sept. 16-18
San Diego	Sept. 19
Los Angeles	Sept. 20-21
Houston	Sept. 23-24
San Antonio/Austin	Sept. 25-26
Detroit	Sept. 27-28
Chicago	Sept. 30-Oct. 1
Iron Range, Minn.	Oct. 2-3
Minneapolis	Oct. 4-5
Philadelphia	Oct. 7-8
Baltimore/Washington, D.C.	Oct. 9-12
Toronto	Oct. 15-16
Montreal	Oct. 17-18
Boston	Oct. 19-20

Emergency protest meeting held in New York

By Linda Slodki

NEW YORK CITY—Two hundred and fifty people turned out August 31 to an emergency protest meeting to stop the executions of Iranian socialists.

Called on two days' notice, the meeting was part of the campaign by the New York-New Jersey District of the Socialist Workers Party to defend the twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) who have been sentenced to death for expressing their political views.

Volunteers have been working in the district office and other offices throughout the city making urgent telephone calls to union officials, civil libertarians, attorneys, writers and others, urging them to send protest telegrams to Iran. A big chart posted in the district headquarters lists the names of some of the most recent people who have sent telegrams. They include attorney William Kunstler; David Livingston, president of District 65, United Auto Workers; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, District 65, UAW; Michael Harrington, national chairperson, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; the Unitarian Universalist United Nations Organization; and many more.

At the forum, a statement was delivered by Muhammad Hamdan of the executive board of the Arab Social Club of Brooklyn.

"Months ago we were cheering and hailing the Iranian people's victory. We looked forward to the Iranian people having what they fought for. Every one of us knows that the revolution against the fascist regime of the shah was for democracy, freedom, a better life, and peace," Hamdan said.

Today, he continued, "we stand against the army destroying and attacking innocent people.

"We support the execution of

SAVAK and the shah supporters. But we condemn the latest acts against the Kurdish people and we will stand against it.

"Spare the lives of the fourteen members of the HKS. Long live the Iranian people. Down with the fascist acts against the Kurdish people."

The featured speaker was Farhad Nouri of the Iranian HKS and a staff writer for *Kargar* (Worker), newspaper of the HKS.

Nouri explained the contradictory situation in Iran. "The Khomeini-Bazargan government, which came to power as a result of the revolution—on the wave of the struggle of millions of people—does not want to change the social fabric of society. They want to preserve the capitalist state in Iran. Therefore, they have to use methods used by all capitalists around the world to suppress the oppressed masses.

"The government began to take over the organizations of the toilers that were formed during the strikes in opposition to the shah—neighborhood committees, peasant councils, factory committees," Nouri explained.

"The oppressed nationalities participated in this revolution to overthrow the monarchy and achieve their democratic rights—autonomy—to home rule, to elect their own leaders and representatives, for land reform," Nouri went on.

"Because the bourgeois government cannot grant autonomy, the Kurds, Arabs, and Turkomans continued their struggle."

Nouri told how the HKS was in the forefront of struggles that took place before and after the insurrection. "We fought against the shah, we were in the forefront of the women's movement, and we gave unconditional support to the oppressed nationalities. We supported the struggles of the Arabs,



More than 200 turned out for August 31 protest meeting

Militant/Karen Ray

the oil workers and steelworkers. When the government started its attacks, the HKS members were arrested along with other workers," he said.

"In Khuzestan Province, we had already been able to recruit workers from the steel factories and had supporters in the oil refineries. In the cultural groups that the Arab community set up, articles from *Kargar* were posted and discussions went on about what we said. And that's why the government felt the threat and imprisoned our members."

Nouri closed by pointing out the urgency of sending telegrams. "This is one of the main reasons the fourteen HKS members are still alive and two others have been released. In spite of the setbacks, the masses in Iran have

not been defeated. This defense campaign to save the lives of the imprisoned revolutionists will also aid in carrying the revolution forward in Iran."

Cindy Jaquith, associate editor of the *Militant*, said, "Our greatest inspiration in our battle to save the Iranian Fourteen is the inspiration of those fourteen prisoners themselves. It is their confidence in their ideas and in the power of the revolutionary masses of Iran and the revolutionary masses around the world that has kept them going.

"We don't just want hundreds of telegrams," she continued, "we want thousands—from your co-workers, your neighbors, and your friends."

In response to a fund appeal by Marilyn Vogt, a leader of the New York defense efforts for the HKS members, \$554 was donated to help publicize the case. The meeting voted to send a protest telegram to the Iranian government.

Eighty people signed up to work in defense of the Iranian socialists—continuing to solicit telegrams, circulating petitions, and helping to sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in order to get out the truth about what is happening in Iran.

Two delegations have been organized to visit the Iranian consulate in New York City. The first, on August 31, included George Novack, noted Marxist philosopher; Laurie Roberts, New York National Lawyers Guild; Eric Poulos, National Association of Legal Service Workers; Farhad Nouri; and Sam Manuel, New York City SWP organizer.

They met with the consul general who agreed to inquire about the HKS members.

A second delegation of auto workers visited the following day (see box).

395 auto workers sign petitions for HKS

By Eleanor Short

NEW YORK CITY—On August 31 I was part of a delegation of auto workers that presented petitions to the Iranian consulate here urging a permanent stay of execution for the twelve members of the Socialist Workers Party (HKS) in Iran.

"These prisoners were condemned to death in secret trials in Ahwaz on the weekend of August 25th," the petition said. "The only crime these longtime anti-shah fighters were charged with was expressing their political ideas."

The petitions were signed by 395 members of United Auto Workers Local 980 at the Ford plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, and Local 664 at

the General Motors Plant in Tarrytown, New York.

Many of these workers had been inspired by the revolution in Iran. They now wished to express their concern for the democratic rights the Iranian people had fought so hard to win, and for the safety of anti-shah fighters. All believed no one should be killed for what they think or say.

Those of us already active in the defense campaign had also been seeking the help of well-known figures to save the lives of the Iranian socialists. But the workers we approached in the plants knew that they, too, had the ability to influence the outcome of this case. They knew that their unions gave them power.

When told that the HKS members had been active in union struggles in Iran, our co-workers spread the word. In two days, almost everyone in our plants had heard about the petitions. Some had taken copies to circulate themselves.

At the consulate we asked the consul general if he thought one's political views warranted the death sentence. He denied the sentence had ever been passed.

When we told him that other union delegations would be coming to present more petitions, he glanced once more at the pile of names and agreed to immediately convey our concern to the government in Iran.

Int'l lawyers' report on Karoun Prison

At the request of the International Federation for the Rights of Man, attorneys Mourad Oussedik and Michel Zavrian visited Iran in early August to make inquiries about the case of the fourteen imprisoned members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS), twelve of whom now face sentences of death.

After numerous delays, the attorneys were able to visit the prisoners, who were then being held in Karoun Prison in Ahwaz. The following report on the international inquiry was filed by Oussedik, who is known in Europe for his legal work in behalf of the National Liberation Front during Algeria's war for independence from France.

We have taken the text of the report from the August 22-29 issue of 'Informations Ouvrières,' a Trotskyist weekly published in Paris. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

We arrived in Tehran August 9, with the aim of learning the reason for the arrest of fourteen worker militants in Ahwaz and the conditions of their detention.

As we began our inquiry, the report of the Association of Iranian Jurists was published. It was sent to the authorities, who denied none of the facts contained in it. We decided to use this document as one of the bases of our inquiry.

The conclusion of this report is clear. There are in Ahwaz, in Khuzestan, political prisoners who have been arbitrarily detained. To this day no judicial authority has been involved in the procedures concerning them.

Prior to their detention, these prisoners suffered brutal mistreatment. The Arab minority in Khuzestan has been subjected to what can only be called attempted genocide by the government. This includes kidnappings, summary executions, and arbitrary arrests.

After learning these facts, we contacted various representatives of the Iranian government. We met one after the other with the minister of justice; with Medani, the governor of Khuzestan; and with Tanassouli, the prosecutor associated with the Islamic courts in Ahwaz.

The following conclusions emerged from these discussions:

- These authorities were unable to state what charges were lodged against the prisoners.

- They were unable to state what stage the judicial process had reached.

All of them deplored the existence of clandestine structures that had taken over their functions and acted outside



June demonstration by Arabs in Khorramshahr. Lawyers' delegation details brutal treatment of Arabs and their supporters in Iran's Khuzestan Province.

their control. They admitted the ineffectiveness of the judicial system but, when push came to shove, avoided disavowing the Imam's Committees and in fact implicitly tended to cover for them. This default by the judicial authorities prevented us from carrying out the primary objective of our mission—to clearly establish the charges against the prisoners.

To continue our inquiry, we left for Ahwaz August 13 to see the prisoners.

We encountered numerous evasions on the part of local authorities, including Prosecutor Tanassouli, who showed signs of fright and had recently resigned. Using as pretext the claim that he no longer had the authority, he refused to honor the letter from the Iranian Ministry of Justice authorizing us to see the prisoners. However we were finally able to visit the prison through the intervention of Governor Medani, who had originally given us the authorization.

After arriving at the prison, we were

able to establish the following facts: The director of the prison, a governmental appointee, exercises a purely formal authority. The prison is entirely under the control of an Islamic Committee. It holds about 1,200 prisoners, of whom 250 are political prisoners.

This prison can only be characterized as a concentration camp, operated outside of any judicial control. Prisoners can be sent there clandestinely without a warrant, detained there without any court procedure, and punished without any court decision. Once inside this prison an individual, even if arrested at random, is in continual danger.

The Islamic Committee permitted us to talk with the prisoners. Paradoxically, it deplored the lack of judicial procedures. It acknowledged terrible conditions in the prison and the lack of hygienic facilities, which were blamed on the lack of material means.

We were able to have direct discussions with the prisoners, with no con-

straints, from which we learned the following:

There are three categories of political prisoners.

- Those who can be called the "indeterminates," arrested without the slightest reason. In many cases detained now for three months, they still do not know what charges are being held against them. They have undergone brutal treatment and fear for their lives.

- The second category is made up of Arab prisoners. They have no illusions about their fate. They report that beginning two and a half months ago a terrible repression has fallen upon Khuzestan, carried out by Medani himself following provocations. Summary executions, torture, and arbitrary arrests have continued to mount since the fall of the old regime. They have been detained after being picked up at random. The only charge against them is being Arabs. They fear for their lives; all have suffered torture.

They explained that the Iranian revolution meant no change as far as they were concerned. For them the exactions of the old regime, based on the local feudal rulers, continue, oppressing them both economically and socially. The same feudal rulers are today allied with the officials of the new regime, creating a continuity in repression. The fundamental aim remains to dissuade the Arabs from seeking to preserve their identity.

- The third category is the militants of the Socialist Workers Party [HKS]. We were able to talk with them. All have suffered brutal treatment. They were arrested for possession of a leaflet or a newspaper. To this day no case has been opened against them. They have never been brought before a magistrate.

The sole proposal that has been made to them is that they would be released if they would sign a written statement recanting their views—an offer they have rejected for obvious reasons. Their political maturity, their refusal to compromise, and the influence they have won over their fellow prisoners through their dignified comportment and their solidarity have won them the hatred of the Islamic Committee, which has done everything in its power to isolate and neutralize them. They set a good example, which constitutes a permanent danger for the committee.

They are the ones who risk the most; their lives are in danger at every moment.

A campaign to defend them must be mounted immediately. Everyone must become aware that there are men there, in this prison at the end of the world, and that they risk the worst.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...Iran news

Continued from page 9

powerful forces are opposed to the Iranian regime's reactionary offensive. In editorials published August 27 and September 5, the *New York Times* advised against betting too heavily on the Khomeini-Bazargan government in the present war in Kurdistan.

They wrote, "The essential interest of the United States is not to preserve the Iranian flag but to keep the Iranian oil tap open. Physical control of that tap lies not in Teheran but with the three million ethnic Arabs in Khuzestan, who have already crippled production by sabotaging pipelines. Like the Kurds in the northern mountains, these Persian Gulf Arabs demand greater autonomy. . . . For Washington to align itself with the Ayatollah would be to align itself against the ethnic Arabs."

Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, a leader of the ten million Azerbaijanis, the largest oppressed nationality in Iran,

has raised the idea of a cease fire and negotiations. Other Azerbaijani figures in the Expert Assembly elected to draft a constitution have also raised this idea.

Shariat-Madari would not allow state radio and television crews to film him, charging there was censorship and that they failed to cover his activities. This also reflects the pressure he is under to speak out against attacks on democratic rights by the government.

Moreover, the working class in Iran appears to be continuing its struggle on the economic level. The regime has been unable to stop the struggle taking place for higher wages, better working conditions, and a decent standard of living.

Bazargan announced September 2 that meat cutters and truckers were raising demands the government could not grant and warned against a strike.

Reports from revolutionaries in Iran indicate that in addition to economic conditions, discussions in the plants revolve around the Kurdish war and

the more than 600 people who have died in the current fighting.

Although there may be some setbacks inflicted on the working class and peasants of Iran, especially in the

fighting in Kurdistan, the workers and peasants have not been defeated. The big battles are still ahead, and their outcome will determine the future of the Iranian revolution.



August 12 demonstration in Tehran against censorship

Militant, PM drive key to defending Iranian 14

By Peter Seidman and Rich Ariza

As soon as word came from Iran that twelve members of the Socialist Workers Party (Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist—HKS) there faced execution (and two others, life in prison), members of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sprang into action to save the lives of these revolutionists.

In forty-five cities from coast to coast, SWP and YSA members are sounding the alarm. The socialists are sparing no effort to organize a growing stream of protests aimed at blocking this threatened move against the revolution in Iran.

The socialists' emergency campaign comes right on the heels of another big, special effort launched at the August SWP convention: a campaign in defense of the revolution in Nicaragua.

Sales of the *Militant* and its biweekly Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* are vital to both these efforts.

These papers are virtually the only source of accurate news and analysis of the developments in Iran and Nicaragua today.

That's why the SWP convention also launched a drive to sell single copies and subscriptions totaling more than 100,000 *Militants* and *PMs* this fall.

As part of their emergency efforts in defense of the imprisoned Iranians, members of the SWP and YSA in New York City and northern New Jersey are stepping up their efforts around this circulation drive.

At a special forum held August 31, the socialists proposed to increase sales of the *Militant* and *PM* by some 50 percent above the usual level for the next week.

Socialist workers at the Ford plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, see high sales as a logical next step after signing up nearly 20 percent of their co-workers on petitions demanding freedom for the imprisoned HKS members. These workers will want to follow the progress of the defense campaign they've joined—and learn more about the revolution in Iran.

New York socialists employed on the railroads have also discussed doubling the number of papers they sell on the job as part of the emergency defense efforts.

In collaboration with the New York YSA, SWP members will also be helping to blitz campus registration lines with the *Militant* and *PM* during the next few weeks. The socialists see the opening of school as a big opportunity for building the defense of the fourteen prisoners in Iran—and selling subscriptions and single copies of their press.

Of course, this big push also ties in with the socialists' ongoing campaign around Nicaragua.

As part of their stepped-up sales, the New York SWP branches ordered 500 additional *PMs* to sell during the week leading up to a September 9 forum on Nicaragua.

Newark socialists voted to build this forum by selling 250 *Militants* and *PMs*.

One New York-New Jersey sales team sold sixteen *PMs* and three *Militants* in an hour in the large Cuban community in Union City, New Jersey. This is a place where the socialists had not sold before.

Other sales teams will go to the garment district in Manhattan. Still others will sell at numerous Latino cultural activities taking place this week.

Albany socialists sold in the predominantly Puerto Rican and Central American community of nearby Amsterdam, New York.

In Cleveland, socialists are selling *PM* door to door for the first time in the near west side, also a predominantly Puerto Rican and Central American community. This week they report selling twenty-eight papers this way.

Altogether, fifteen branches of the SWP ordered nearly 1,000 extra copies of *PM* as part of their efforts to get out the truth about Nicaragua.

As a result of these extra sales—as well as heavy orders from socialists in many Spanish-speaking countries—the record-high original press run of 10,000 for this special Nicaragua *PM* was sold out in only two weeks.

PM had to print an additional 2,000 copies to meet the continuing demand for this special edition.

These results confirm that socialists are taking full advantage of the historic opportunity—and responsibility—they have right now to build the circulation of *PM*.

Many areas were not able to carry out their usual weekend sales because their bundles arrived late. Other areas were hard hit by vacations.

All SWP branches had to pay extra attention to launching the immediate protest campaign on behalf of the imprisoned socialists in Iran.

Nonetheless, the scoreboard records two positive achievements:

- We are continuing to break new ground in circulating *PM*, selling nearly 600 copies for the second week in a row.

- As the "% ind." column on the scoreboard shows, we sold 19 percent of our papers to co-workers on the job and at plant gates. This means we've almost hit our circulation drive goal of 20 percent industrial sales during both weeks of the drive.

Sales scoreboard

City	Number sold		% ind.
	Militant	PM	
Albany	58	6	32.8
Albuquerque	84	55	5.0
Atlanta	73	1	20.3
Baltimore	57		40.4
Birmingham	158		8.9
Chicago	100	20	51.7
Cincinnati	67		16.4
Cleveland	113	19	15.9
Dallas	93	61	4.5
Denver	94	22	10.3
Detroit	150	7	54.1
Gary	75	13	15.9
Houston	58	5	61.9
Indianapolis	70		25.7
Iron Range	76		35.5
Kansas City	115	9	10.5
Los Angeles	111	73	12.5
Louisville	45		53.3
Miami	48	20	1.5
Minneapolis	48		
Morgantown	100		44.0
New York	151	70	
Philadelphia	49	11	41.7
Phoenix	17	29	
Piedmont	75		0.0
Pittsburgh	152		18.4
Portland	74	2	7.9
Salt Lake City	112	5	6.8
San Antonio	33	13	23.9
San Diego	87	41	31.3
San Jose	25	17	16.7
Seattle	105	5	10.0
Tacoma	79	1	28.8
Toledo	37		51.4
Washington, D.C.	80	90	
TOTALS	2869	595	
TOTAL SOLD	3464		19.0

Not reporting: Boston, Milwaukee, Newark, New Orleans, Oakland-Berkeley, St. Louis, St. Paul, San Francisco, Tidewater. Covers sales of issue number 33 of the *Militant* and the second week of sales of issue number 16 of *Perspectiva Mundial*.



Striking Rock Island Line workers check out 'Militant' at Minneapolis yard.

As the scoreboard on this page shows, sales of the *Militant* and *PM* dropped off sharply during the second week of the circulation drive.

Va. Steelworkers win OSHA probe of shipyard

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Steelworkers will accompany investigators from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) into the Newport News shipyard starting September 5, the date when OSHA's sixty-day inspection of the Tenneco-owned

yard begins.

OSHA's visit is the result of pressure brought on the government by Local 8888 and the United Steelworkers international office to probe the shipyard for health and safety violations.

Tenneco originally barred OSHA from entering the yard several weeks

ago. Under the threat of a contempt citation, shipyard brass and OSHA reached a compromise allowing the government agency to begin inspection after a three-week delay.

Steelworkers inside the yard will be able to aid the OSHA investigators, a thought which has sent Tenneco man-

agement into a frenzy of last-minute cleanup operations.

They have transferred Steelworkers out of their departments to stop them from pointing out cover-ups of Tenneco illegalities. These unionists, however, will be able to return to their original job sites to instruct the investigators.

The yard itself is a Pandora's box of safety violations, a fact confirmed by Tenneco's past policy of firing workers who seek to bring OSHA inside the work place.

Local 8888 members view the inspection as proof of the power of their union and a blow against Tenneco. It was the Steelworkers who organized and prepared the effort to bring OSHA in. And individual unionists, whose complaints were instrumental in alerting OSHA, are now protected by court order from company reprisals.

Even with the court's three-week delay of the inspection, one Steelworker told the *Militant*, no amount of eleventh-hour attempts to dress up the yard can save Tenneco.

"They may clean up the bodies," this Steelworker said, "but there is no way they can clean up all the bones."

Local 8888 elects new officers

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—On August 29 and 30, nearly 2,200 members of Steelworkers Local 8888 turned out to elect officers and members of the union's executive board.

Local 8888 did not participate in the USWA elections for local offices held across the country last April, owing to the strike it carried out for union recognition during that period.

Eddie Coppedge, a welder, defeated four candidates for the union's presidency, including incumbent Wayne Crosby. Coppedge was the local's strike coordinator and one of the initial group of Steelworker organizers inside the yard.

Moments after the final vote was

announced, Coppedge addressed Steelworkers awaiting the results. Calling for unity in the continuing struggle against Tenneco, he congratulated Crosby for his work, stating that the union "owes this man our thanks."

Negotiating committee member Wayman Free, who finished third, behind Coppedge and Crosby, greeted Coppedge with a pledge to build the union.

John Townsell was re-elected the local's vice-president.

The turnout nearly doubled that of the previous election—the local's first—held almost one year ago.

This fact contradicts the local pro-Tenneco media claim of "apathy"

within the union regarding the election.

Since Local 8888's strike was suspended in April, hundreds of Steelworkers have been fired, disciplined, and victimized. Despite this, workers turned out to elect their new leaders, expressing their continuing determination to win union rights and a union contract.

Tenneco tried its best to keep their numbers down, instructing gate guards to tell workers heading to the polling place that the main thoroughfare to it was closed.

It wasn't. The Steelworkers got the word out, and the dirty trick failed. —J.H.

Fraser's six-minute milestone

By Frank Lovell

According to all accounts, the six-minute stop-work action by the auto workers across the nation on August 22 was a monumental success. They say there never before was anything like it.

For me it has special meaning because on that day I first heard of auto worker John McQuister who, as I later learned, has a long work record in Detroit and many friends in the United Auto Workers. There must also be those who don't like him, because he is a curious fellow who asks questions.

John used to attend UAW meetings regularly, but stopped when he failed to get answers. In the shop he is known as "Inquisitive John." Not that he ever asks anybody about personal matters. He is still interested in what "the union" does and why, and among his fellow workers he sometimes asks what can "we" do about it. That's how I first learned about Inquisitive John.

The action in question—called for the purpose of sending postcards to Washington—was planned to last exactly six minutes. That's because the auto corporations figure the working day in tenths of an hour. Any worker who clocks in a minute or two late is docked six minutes' pay. So if you think you may get docked, you may as well take the full six minutes.

A union steward was telling me about the success of the stop-work action in his shop, and it happened that John McQuister works there. I learned about John along with the success story.

The six-minute relief from the work grind was the most successful part of the action in this particular shop.

The word that went out from the UAW officialdom was, "Drop tools, pick up pens." Union representatives had brought pens and cards addressed to members of Congress and to President Carter. The workers had only to sign their names.

At this point Inquisitive John becomes part of the story. He was the most enthusiastic signer. An alert UAW rep from Solidarity House cautioned John not to sign too many cards because some eagle eye in Washington might spot eight or ten cards coming in with one signature and throw out the whole lot on that account. But John wanted to know why, if it was good to sign one card, wouldn't it be better to sign several?

Not one single member in John's shop refused to sign at least the required cards, and John kept urging everyone to sign as many as they could. He even suggested that they might make a game of it and see who could sign the most cards in six minutes.

Apparently this was not typical. Most union members signed only four cards—one to their congressional representative, two to their senators, and another to Carter. In most plants union representatives supervised this to make sure that it was done honestly, like everything else in government.

'The time has come'

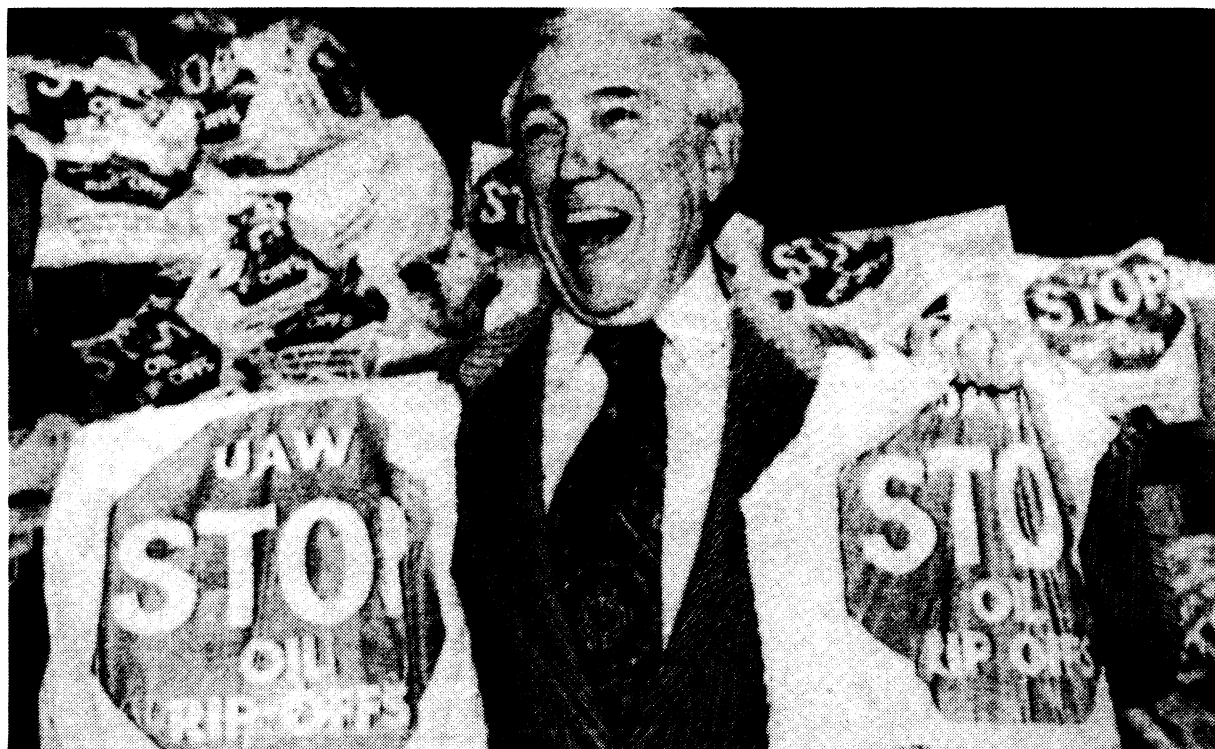
Everyone was glad to sign and to do it properly. As my friend the shop steward said, "everyone wants to bring down gas prices, and signing postcards is little enough to do . . . if it works."

But there is more to it than that.

"The time has come," said UAW President Douglas Fraser, "to put the oil companies and their political allies on notice that the American people have had it."

The postcards were to tell Washington what must be done. In the words of the UAW official publication *Solidarity*, this is it:

• Create a federal corporation to seek, drill,



UAW President Douglas Fraser holding bags of postcards.

and refine oil on public lands—oil that belongs to all the people.

• Tax excessive profits and use the revenues for public needs.

• Develop new energy sources, more public transportation, and strong conservation programs."

This first great salvo of postcards is the beginning of a broad national campaign leading to Big Oil Protest Day on October 17. And that will have to be something big.

What has the petition campaign accomplished to date? An estimated five million postcards were signed. That's a lot of postcards.

The greatest claim is that it demonstrated the power of American workers, as the union had predicted. In announcing the plan last June Fraser said, "The power of American workers is considerable."

Sometimes the most carefully planned actions involving the potential power of the workers go beyond the prescribed limits. This time the workers at a General Motors assembly plant in Framingham, Massachusetts, extended the six-minute work stoppage to an afternoon off. And when the night shift came in, they turned back too. This wasn't in the original plan but developed out of a provocation by plant management. The workers were told that they would be docked for all lost time, so they decided to make good use of the rest of the day.

The employers don't like working-class political actions, however limited. They don't feel comfortable when the workers take any action on their own initiative, or at the call of their union. In their eyes it isn't right that workers should express opinions about what is wrong with government and the economy. They shouldn't even ask questions.

That's why Inquiring John McQuister never could get along with the bosses.

I heard he pretended surprise about how mad General Motors was over the stop-work plan. "Why don't they count their lucky dollars and be glad for all we do for them," he said.

The opinion at General Motors was blunt, as usual. "We believe our workers have ample time off the job during their workday to express such views," said corporate management, "and do not have to stop work and interfere with production in order to sign a preprinted form card."

Both GM and Ford announced their intention

to take back about eighty-five cents from each worker. When these corporations figure up their profits, they say every little bit helps.

Mutually beneficial?

Rarely does the UAW officialdom undertake any plan that it can't explain as mutually beneficial to the corporations and the workers. This one was no exception.

Fraser said of the corporations, "They should be supporting this thing as their smaller suppliers are." He argues that producing more domestic crude and curbing gasoline prices will be good for the auto industry because the market for more and bigger gas guzzlers will be restored. This in turn will provide jobs for the 77,000 laid-off auto workers. The trouble is, the auto corporations don't have much confidence in the Fraser plan.

The campaign to bring down gas prices will continue, and probably will enlist more worker support. In the future there will be rallies and protest demonstrations, according to some organizers. Actions are being coordinated by the Progressive Alliance, the organization launched last year by Fraser, who is its president, and the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, headed up by Machinists' President William Winpisinger.

The executive board of the Progressive Alliance includes top union officials and prominent heads of organizations representing Blacks, women, and retired people. Among them are Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Urban League; Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women; and William Hutton, executive director of the National Council of Senior Citizens. All are committed to the Democratic Party, and each has a different opinion about how the Democratic Party can be reformed to serve the economic needs of the working class and other deprived people.

Latest reports are that little is changing in the Democratic Party. Elected politicians are entirely dependent upon the ruling class, which maintains the two-party system, and Democrats and Republicans continue to sound, look, and act alike.

Back in the auto shop, I'm told, old John McQuister came into work the other day, thinking all the five million post cards must have been delivered in Washington, and casually inquired if anyone had yet heard about the big drop in the price of gasoline.

...auto

Continued from back page

between the companies themselves.

It unnecessarily prolongs the length of strikes, increasing the hardships for auto workers.

And, as ritualized over the years, the one-at-a-time strikes leave few cracks for rank-and-file participation.

In fact, it can hardly be called a "one-at-a-time" strategy these days. UAW leaders have agreed to various strike exceptions that sooth the impact even on the target company.

Plants that supply the other two major employers are allowed to stay open. Plants that produce war material are exempted. UAW maintenance crews are ordered across picket lines to protect and service company property during the strike.

This year Fraser is talking about watering down any strike still further. "If there is a strike," he said August 30, "there is a possibility it won't be a total national strike." Instead the UAW may call selective "quickie" strikes against key parts and assembly plants.

The element of surprise is supposed

to keep GM off guard. But auto workers in Detroit report widespread confusion in the plants over how such a strike would work, who would be selected, how long they would stay out, and so on.

UAW members have proven that they are ready and willing to fight for their needs. In their successful organizing drive in Oklahoma City; in local walkouts at Volkswagen's New Stanton plant and elsewhere; in the heroic Bailey Controls battle outside Cleveland; in protest rallies and in the formation of union committees to stop the layoffs; in demonstrations outside

Big Three headquarters to support the UAW's contract demands.

The membership's response would be that much greater to a nationwide call to action—to preparations for a strike that relies on the militancy and ability of every single member through organized strike committees, open negotiations, solidarity appeals, and mass, public activities.

Auto workers belong to a union—one of the world's strongest—so they don't have to fight "one-at-a-time."

"Solidarity forever" is the UAW's theme—and that should guide its strike strategy.

GM denies UAW transfers food, housing

LINDEN, N.J.—In mid-August General Motors forced about sixty-five members of the United Auto Workers from Detroit to sleep in their cars and on cots in the union hall of Local 595 here. They were fed by the Red Cross and found shower facilities in the local YMCA.

They were among approximately 2,000 members of Cadillac Local 22 in Detroit placed on indefinite layoff this summer.

The layoff resulted from closing down production of the Seville model in Detroit and shifting it to the General Motors assembly plant in Linden.

Workers who were laid off were given the option of moving to Linden with retention of full seniority rights and promised the same job classifications as before. They were also promised \$1,000 relocation pay.

The Cadillac workers had this option as a result of a program negotiated by the UAW to counteract GM's strategy of closing down unionized plants in the North and opening nonunion operations in the South. It was supposed to guarantee continued employment to any GM worker willing to relocate.

But the Detroit Cadillac workers found that GM actually does everything it can to prevent workers from retaining their jobs.

On August 16, those workers who had signed a paper saying they wanted to move were told that they had to report to work in Linden within five days—by August 21—or they would lose their jobs, their seniority and their unemployment benefits. They also found out they would receive no relocation money until they arrived in Linden.

The Detroit workers also say they were told that all arrangements had been made for housing and feeding them in Linden. Most of them were broke as a result of being laid off. All they could do was pile themselves, their families, and their possessions into a car caravan driving straight out to New Jersey.

When they arrived they found that no arrangements had been made for them.

GM refused to give anyone their relocation check until they had a permanent address to which it could be mailed. But almost no one had any money to rent a place until they could get the checks!

For the first several nights many had to sleep in their cars and then go to work the next day. Local 595 had no notice that these members were moving and so was caught by surprise. The local union hall was made available to the workers to sleep on cots, and eventually the Red Cross was brought in to

feed them. Now the Red Cross is paying for all of them who have no money to stay at the Benedict Motel in Linden until they can receive their relocation checks.

The situation of these brothers and sisters was made even worse by a vicious rumor campaign by the company.

The Linden plant just reopened for production after summer changeover on August 20. Immediately, management began spreading rumors that up to 1,500 high seniority workers were coming from Detroit to take all the good jobs in the plant. As a result, many of the workers who transferred say that they received a cool or hostile reception from Linden workers.

In fact the Detroit workers were only filling positions opened by the addition of a new car, the Seville, to the Linden line. GM is planning to hire even more people in the immediate future.

The Detroit transfers did not even receive jobs in their classifications. One man with twelve years seniority said that a woman worker with twenty-four years had been given one of the worst jobs in the body shop. He himself received a less skilled job than the one that he had in Detroit, so that the skills he had developed were being wasted.

The Linden workers did not know about the situation the Detroit people were facing all week. The real story came out on August 26 at the local union meeting.

The response was overwhelming solidarity and outrage at GM. A brother from Detroit explained that no one's job is safe these days and that we all must support each other's rights.

A member from Linden pointed out that we all have to remember that the key to defending our rights is that we are the United Auto Workers.

Another member pointed out that when we're on the picket lines, these brothers and sisters from Detroit will probably teach us a few things on how to fight.

The meeting of nearly 400 local members voted unanimously to condemn GM's outrageous treatment of our union brothers and sisters. This treatment was a clear attempt to intimidate any GM worker from trying to move to save his or her job. A protest was also sent to the international union for allowing such a situation to occur.

Individual members of the local volunteered to give their addresses to Detroit members who needed to get their checks mailed to them. And everyone agreed to go back to work and make sure that every one of our new co-workers is welcomed into the plant with a spirit of solidarity.



Auto reports

Target: GM

When news hit that General Motors would be the strike target, workers at Chevy Gear and Axle in Detroit started talking strike, reports Mark Rogers from Local 235. The big question: how long would a strike last?

The possibility of "selective" strikes—instead of a national shutdown—has increased uncertainty over how long it will take to settle.

Chevy workers there voted to authorize a national strike by 3,500 to 43. Winning cost-of-living protection for pensioners is the top concern of most workers in this plant, as in many others.

But, Rogers adds, workers know a strike will be tough. Rising prices will make mincemeat out of strike benefits and thousands of GM workers are already laid off. Moreover, some workers here are speculating that GM—after months of stockpiling—is ready to ride out a long strike. So the mood is cautious and a bit anxious.

Nevertheless, Rogers says, he and his co-workers are ready to fight as long and hard as necessary to defend their rights.

Toledo unemployed committee

Local 1058 member Jeff Stephenson, laid off from Toledo's Doehler-Jarvis Castings, reports the formation of an unemployed committee at the local's August 19 meeting. While membership meetings usually draw about forty, this one was attended by some 100 workers, said Stephenson.

"This was due to the rank-and-file sentiment to see something done by the union in the face of broad company attacks against the workforce—400 out of 1,300 laid off (with more to come), harassment, speedup, changing job descriptions, worsening job conditions. The same story, as I understand it, nation-wide."

Prior to the meeting, leaflets were distributed at the plant gates featuring the proposal to set up an unemployed committee.

This committee, the resolution reads, will be "empowered and entrusted . . . with organizing our unemployed members so that they may participate in our union, and care for the problems of our unemployed members."

It will "meet to discuss solutions for unemployment, such as the shorter work week (30 for 40), a public works program to create jobs, federally guaranteed unemployment benefits at full union wages, a company guarantee of job security, and report back to the local so that we might better take positions on these issues."

And it resolves that Local 1058 "call on its sister unions, who face similar layoffs, to hold a city-wide public protest meeting to publicize the growing numbers of unemployed and the jobs crises facing working people today."

The proposals were passed unanimously and the local has provided committee organizers with a list of laid-off members to be contacted for their first meeting. Already discussion is underway to turn October 17—slated as a day of nationwide labor protests against the oil ripoff—into a broader protest against layoffs and in support of the UAW's contract demands.

Cleveland: 'We want our jobs back!'

Local 1250, like so many UAW locals across the country, has been hard-hit by layoffs. More than 1,100 members of the local at Ford's Brookpark plant near Cleveland are out of work. What makes Local 1250 special is the role it's playing in organizing a fightback.

The local set up its own unemployed committee in July; its meetings have drawn up to 700 laid-off workers. On August 31 Local 1250 went one step further and invited all locals in UAW Region 2 to "a meeting to discuss what we can do to plan actions against the lay-offs." Unemployed committee member Alyson Kennedy told the *Militant* what happened there.

Four hundred answered the local's call, including representatives from four other UAW locals. The meeting heard from Frank Heintz, chair of the Local 1250 unemployed committee.

"More than anything else our unemployed workers committee wants to help other UAW locals set up committees like ours," he said.

"We need to get on the offensive against the bosses of the oil companies and against the policies of the Big Three who caused our layoffs," Heintz continued. "We're going to be talking about an informational picket line against the oil ripoff so we can take our case to the public. If General Motors is struck I think it would be a great thing if we could have a support rally of unemployed auto workers on the picket line. These are the types of things we can do to win our jobs back."

Frank Storm, another committee activist, proposed a September 25 rally in downtown Cleveland to protest the gas crisis and auto layoffs. On that day ex-president Gerald Ford and Ralph W. Whitehouse Jr., chairman and chief executive of Sohio, will be in town addressing an energy conference.

"I think it will be a real good thing if people will go down there," Storm said, "make up some signs, and put our point across to the oil industry that we are not going to take this thing sitting down."

Several of those attending the meeting signed up to work on organizing the September 25 action.

—compiled by Shelley Kramer

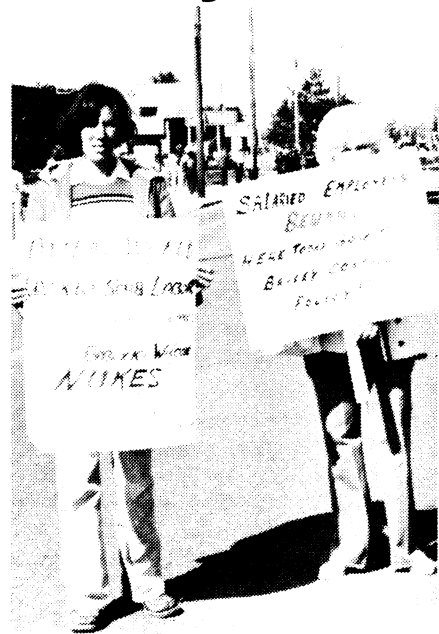
Region 2 backs Bailey strike

United Auto Workers Region 2 has authorized its member unions to conduct plant gate collections for UAW Local 1741, on strike against Bailey Controls in Wickliffe, Ohio, since June 1.

The 850 members of the local were the target of a vicious cop assault on a peaceful demonstration. Forty-two unionists and supporters have been charged in the wake of that attack.

Bailey Controls, a subsidiary of Babcock & Wilcox, makes sophisticated controls for nuclear power plants. Strikers have charged that untrained clerical personnel are being used to make the parts, thus posing a serious risk when the parts are used in nuclear plants.

Strikers have been invited to speak to the labor task force of the Cleveland National Organization for Women September 9 to explain the strike issues.



Militant/Chris Remple
Bailey strikers picket plant

Va. labor points way of



January 1978 ERA march in Richmond. 'There is a new spirit of unity developing in the ranks of the Virginia labor movement.'

On August 12 more than 500 trade unionists, along with members of the National Organization for Women, civil rights groups, and others, attended a Labor Conference for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia.

The conference unanimously passed a resolution entitled 'For an education/action program to mobilize the rank and file—together with labor's allies—for a campaign to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Virginia.' The text of the resolution is reprinted below.

Its analysis of the current status of ERA ratification, and of the forces needed to take the struggle forward, can serve as a guide for all fighters for the ERA—inside and outside Virginia.

There is a new spirit of unity developing in the ranks of the Virginia labor movement. It springs from the recognition that labor cannot achieve its goals or defend the interests of Virginia's workers without joining in united action. It finds expression in the formation of a statewide coalition of the Virginia State AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers Region 8, Virginia Education Association, Teamsters Joint Councils 55 and 83, and United Mine Workers of America District 28 to fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The Virginia labor movement has been the target of sharply intensified attacks by the employers over the past years. In 1977, public employees were stripped of their right to bargain collectively by a reactionary court decision and to date the General Assembly has refused to restore that right. In 1978, miners in Virginia—and elsewhere—had to conduct a 110-day strike to ward off a union busting drive by the operators and the government. The miners saved their union but lost their health cards. In 1979, police savagely beat

and arrested scores of shipyard workers in Newport News as part of a brutal conspiracy to prevent the United Steelworkers Union from obtaining recognition at Tenneco.

These events—combined with the erosion of the real income of Virginia's workers at the rate of 3.5% in one year alone, the specter now of rising massive unemployment, losses in the legislative arena, and increased resistance by employers to organizing and at the bargaining table, point up an obvious conclusion: *the labor movement must unite and fight back!*

The labor movement has a vital stake in the outcome of the fight for women's equality. Women today constitute 42% of the workforce. Yet full-time working women earn only 59 cents for every dollar earned by men. On the average, women workers earn approximately \$100 less a week than men. The gap is even greater for Black and Hispanic women.

The economic disparity between the wages of women and men workers is the source for billions of dollars in extra profits for employers. Discrimi-

nation is big business for Big Business. The employers oppose the ERA because they know it would give women an important weapon in the fight to eradicate those barriers to equality which make women a continuing source of cheap labor. The employers also realize that ratification of the ERA would encourage women to assert more militantly their rights and would create a climate in this nation more favorable to securing those rights.

The entire labor movement will gain as women win equal rights. The employers' attempts to divide workers by sex will be curbed; women will play an increasing role in the labor movement, adding their numbers and power to roll back the employers' anti-union offensive; the greater unity in our ranks will increase the unions' ability to win better wages, benefits and conditions for all members; and the labor movement will be in a stronger position to organize the unorganized.

The coming together of major Virginia unions in support of the ERA also provides the basis for forging united labor action around other issues of critical concern to Virginia workers such as rescinding the state's repressive right-to-work (for less) law, and regaining and expanding bargaining rights for public employees.

Labor's mission historically has been to give active and meaningful support to progressive social movements. For example, during the civil rights movement of the '60s, unionists joined that struggle for equality on many significant occasions. Participation in the civil rights movement grew out of the recognition that labor's enemies and the segregationists were one and the same.

Today the women's movement has targeted the ratification of the ERA as its number one priority. And once again, it is labor's enemies—the big corporations, the right-to-workers, Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society and similar ilk—who are battling to save the system of sexist discrimination. Clearly, it is high time for the labor movement to use its full power, organization and resources—in alliance with the women's movement, the Black community, and all other democratic forces in our state—in an all-out campaign to win the ERA. The 3,000 laws and ordinances which exist on federal, state and municipal levels to make women second class citizens—and which often discriminate against men as well—should be stricken from the

books now and swept into the ashcan of history.

An effective campaign for ratification of the ERA should proceed with the confidence that it can be won. To be sure, opponents of the ERA have predicted the Amendment's death. But the will of the majority—which all major polls show is in favor of the ERA—is not so easily thwarted; the cause of equal rights is not so easily defeated.

ERA can be won if its supporters bring to the struggle all the power that is at hand. The pro-ERA demonstration of 100,000 in Washington, D.C., organized on July 9, 1978, by the National Organization for Women (NOW)—which resulted in Congress extending the deadline for ratification

"Labor says: Pass the Equal Rights Amendment Now!" is the title of a program to be held Sunday, September 23, 1 p.m. at the Labor Education Center, Rutgers University, in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

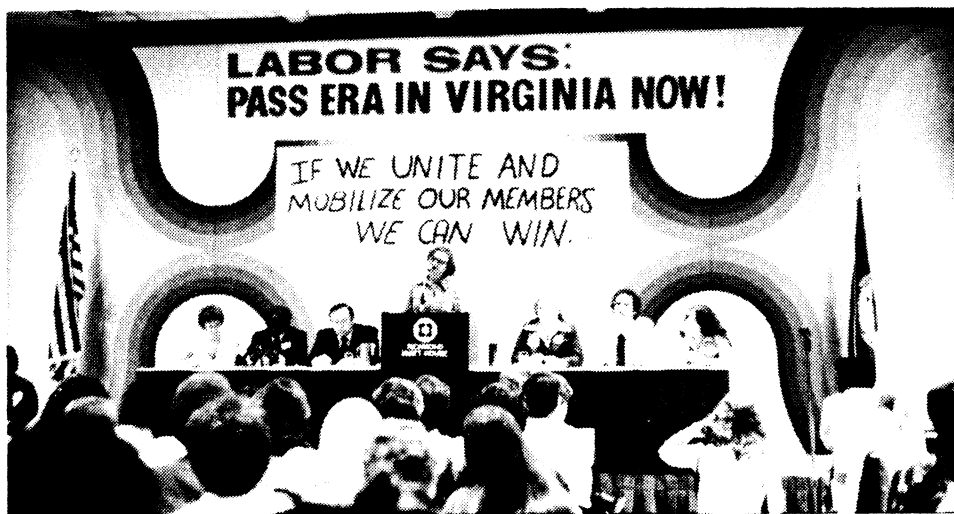
Featured speakers will include Edward Grey, director of Region 9, United Auto Workers; Robbie Cagnina, president, Women's Affirmative Action Committee, N.J. Industrial Union Council, AFL-CIO; Suzanne Kelly, president, Virginia Education Association and a leader of Labor for Equal Rights Now. For more information call (201) 761-4479 or (609) 665-8224.

of the ERA until June 30, 1982—showed the power that the ERA movement can marshal. The challenge now is to build on that success and develop a momentum for ratification in Virginia.

Specific Proposals for an Education/Action Program

1. Education

This conference will immediately launch an education program throughout the ranks of the Virginia labor movement. The pamphlet "Labor's Case for the ERA" should be placed in the hands of as many workers as possible. A variety of other union-issued educational materials, including single page leaflets, should be made available on a mass scale. Literature put out by the women's movement should also be widely disseminated. An educational program geared to the



Spirit of LERN conference, its participants, and its decisions mark beginning of new stage in fight for ERA.

ERA



Militant/Flax Hermes

rank and file could involve visual and multi-media techniques. Union training programs, seminars, and especially membership and executive board meetings are places to discuss what the ERA is—and what it is not. Speakers are available both from the union movement and from women's organizations. As we educate our members, they can carry the ERA message to other segments of the population.

Forums and debates in the community, programs on radio and TV, letters to the papers, articles in union publications—the ways of reaching our membership, unorganized workers, and the public generally are many and varied. We should use whatever is available and effective. Pro-ERA buttons and bumper stickers can give the campaign needed visibility.

2. Coalition

In addition to the labor movement, support for the ERA comes from a wide cross-section of society. Organizations endorsing it include NOW, League of Women Voters, YWCA, NAACP, National Council of Churches, American Jewish Congress, Common Cause, National Council of Negro Women, National Black Feminist Organization, American Bar Association, and hundreds of others. The Virginia Equal Rights Amendment Ratification Council is a state-wide coalition which embraces many organizations active in this state.

The Virginia labor movement is anxious to coalesce with all of its allies in the coming battle. In joining with other pro-ERA groups, labor will help create a force for equal rights that has the potential of winning.

3. Mobilization

The key to victory is mobilizing the rank and file. Through a program of education, explanation, motivation and leadership, workers will see that they have a stake—and the union movement has a stake—in getting the ERA ratified. The recent experience in Missouri demonstrates what can be done. In that state, an attempt was made to add a right-to-work provision to the constitution. But the right-to-workers were plowed under by an avalanche of votes from unionists and their allies after a thorough educational campaign.

Thousands of workers participated in the January 22, 1978, march for the ERA in Richmond and in the July 9, 1978, march on Washington. Many

thousands more can be involved in future demonstrations. The strength of the union movement is in the workers which make it up, and our prospects for winning the ERA in Virginia and elsewhere depend squarely on our ability to move the additional thousands into action.

4. Action

The most effective way to involve the largest number of people in united mass action in support of the ERA campaign in Virginia is through rallies, marches and mass demonstrations. This is in the tradition of the fight waged by the labor movement for the right to organize, the women's movement's campaign for suffrage and the struggle of the civil rights movement for first class citizenship.

This conference calls for:

- Public actions for the ERA on a local or regional scale during the week of December 2-9, 1979. Such actions might involve meetings with well known speakers, rallies, teach-ins, picket lines, vigils, etc.
- A massive statewide march and rally in Richmond on Sunday afternoon, January 20, 1980, to demand that the Virginia General Assembly pass the ERA at the coming session.
- Each national and international union along with concerned groups in Virginia should set aside one day or week following the March on January 20, 1980 for their members throughout the state to meet in Richmond and intensely lobby their respective representatives to pass the ERA at the coming session.

5. Structure

During the 1977-78 campaign for ratification of the ERA in Virginia, the Virginia labor movement established a coalition called Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN). LERN will now be reactivated on a state-wide scale and will work closely with all union organizations.

LERN will set up a representative state committee consisting of one person from each of the labor organizations sponsoring this conference and one union representative from each region of the state elected by participants at the regional workshops of the conference. Two LERN state coordinators will be elected by the Conference as a whole at its final session. These coordinators will be union members and will also serve on the state LERN committee.

LERN's job is to ensure that the program adopted by the Conference is fully and effectively implemented. This will be done in cooperation with other pro-ERA groups in Virginia.

In addition, LERN encourages the establishment of women's rights committees in local unions across the state. A network of such committees will give needed muscle to the ERA campaign and will provide a vehicle for women unionists and rank and file ERA supporters to be actively involved.

6. Non-partisan and independent

LERN seeks to unite all workers and all unions—regardless of candidate preferences—in support of the ERA. Accordingly, like other coalitions such as the Leadership Conference for Civil Rights, LERN will not endorse candidates or engage in partisan politics. Unions which make up LERN will of course develop their own political programs.

The experience of the pro-ERA movement is that it has encountered defeat time after time when it placed too much reliance on the promises of politicians to get the Amendment passed. The most recent example was in Florida where a pro-ERA leader attributed a loss in that state to "two senators she termed 'turncoats' who, she said, had promised voters they would support ERA and then voted against it." (See *Washington Post*, 5/25/79 clip-

Aug. 26 & UAW

By Chris Ihlenfeld

MILWAUKEE—"Unions have a vital stake in the passage of the ERA. As long as there are second-class citizens in the work force, the labor movement as a whole is weakened. Unity is the key—and unity means fighting for the rights of all."

These remarks were made by Helen Johnson, a Trustee and executive board member of United Auto Workers Local 1866 at the General Motors A/C Spark Plug Division. She was speaking at a rally prior to the Milwaukee-area NOW ERA Walkathon held August 26.

Johnson was present to pledge the support of the labor movement and the UAW in the drive to ratify the ERA. Ten plant workers came out for the rally and walked, wearing T-shirts with the Local 1866 logos—ordered especially for the walkathon.

The participation grew out of a decision by several NOW members in the local to approach the union for endorsement of the walkathon. A

member of the local's women's committee suggested that we present her with a letter explaining our idea and a resolution that she could present to the executive board.

The resolution called for Local 1866 to go on record in support of the walkathon for the ERA, publicize and support the event throughout the local, and contribute \$100.

The resolution was passed by the executive board without opposition.

The local proceeded immediately to produce its own leaflet advertising the event and to post and distribute it around the plant. Registration forms were made available through the union office and our co-workers in the plant generously contributed as sponsors of those planning to tackle the eight miles.

Milwaukee's two major newspapers both noted Local 1866's participation. Copies of the more extensive article are being posted around the plant, boosting morale of the 2,200 members as we head into a possible strike against General Motors.

ping in the kit). The lessons here and in the several other states where this has occurred—including Virginia—is that only the creation of a powerful movement, built at the grass roots and involving substantial numbers of people, will pressure the politicians into casting their votes for the ERA. LERN's strategy is to create such a movement.

7. Solidarity

The key to winning the ERA in Virginia is to mobilize Virginia workers and our allies. At the same time, in the best tradition of the labor movement, we welcome all the support we can get from trade unionists and other ERA backers elsewhere.

To our brothers and sisters in the labor movement—wherever you are—we say: *Join our struggle!* The ERA is a national issue and we welcome your participation in our campaign. By mobilizing your ranks and bringing them to Richmond in massive numbers on January 20, you will be demonstrat-

ing the kind of solidarity that is urgently needed in the fight for ratification.

8. Conclusion

The democratic forces in this state and nation must not permit the reactionary defenders of sex discrimination to kill the ERA. We have the numbers and the power to generate a resurgence in the campaign for ratification. We have a program of action and the determination to win.

Make January 20 Labor's Day for Equal Rights in Virginia!

Let workers from across Virginia, joined by contingents from other areas present to demonstrate their solidarity, march together in a massive show of support for the ERA!

Build a coalition with labor's allies and raise high the banner of the Equal Rights Amendment!

Virginia labor demands: Pass the ERA now!

If we unite and mobilize our members, we can win!

UE backs Jan. 20

By Carla Hoag

PITTSBURGH—Fifty members of the United Electrical Workers, representing seven locals, participated in UE District 6's first conference on the problems of working women since 1954. Held here August 18, the theme of the conference was "UE Women: Past, Present and Future."

Enthusiasm for organizing around women's rights both in and out of the shop ran high throughout the day's discussion.

Speakers included Rose Shylock, a union activist in Local 610 at Westinghouse Air Brake for more than forty years; Carla Hoag, Local 610; Barbara Reisman, a member of the international staff; UE organizer Kathy Laskowitz; Pearl Jividen, president of UE District 7 in Ohio; Daniel Margueriet, president of District 6; and Boris Black, UE international secretary-treasurer.

A resolution on women's rights already passed by the District Council for presentation to the UE convention in September met with unanimous support. It called for the UE to fight for "equal job and training opportunities for women," and urged "that UE support the right of all women to choose whether or not they wish to have an abortion, and

not allow Congress to discriminate against poor women by refusing federal money for abortions."

The resolution noted that "discrimination against women holds every worker back."

Also passed unanimously was a special resolution on the ERA. Pointing to the August 12 Labor for Equal Rights Now conference in Richmond, Virginia, attended by 560 people, the resolution urged support for the January 20 march on Richmond called by the LERN conference.

The resolution, which will be put to a vote at the next District 6 Council meeting, also urged that "in organizing this campaign [for the ERA], UE District 6 and the various locals encourage the participation of the rank and file, and especially women members, by establishing Ad Hoc Committees on the ERA Mobilization at the District and local levels."

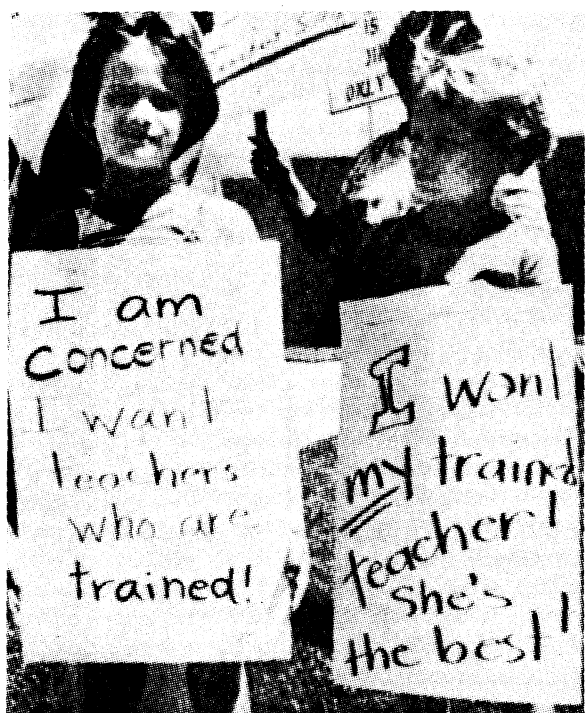
Those in attendance expressed a strong desire to continue holding union-sponsored meetings on women's rights. As one participant put it, "This may be the first women's conference in twenty-five years, but we're sure as hell not going to wait another twenty-five years to meet again."

National picket line

Solidarity strong for Oklahoma teachers

"We've got solidarity and are coming together the like of which we've never seen here," says Tony DeGiusti, strike publicity director for American Federation of Teachers Local 2309 in Oklahoma City. The first teachers strike in Oklahoma's history, which began August 22, is holding firm with about 60 percent of the city's teachers honoring the picket lines.

DeGiusti told the *Militant* in a telephone interview that some forty labor organizations met early in the strike and agreed to back the teachers on the picket lines and in other ways. This includes the newly organized local of the United Auto Workers at General Motors, Teamsters, and all the AFL-CIO unions. "On any given day, there are 100 unionists with us on the picket lines," reports DeGiusti. In addition, parent groups are forming, and sixty ministers got together and held a news conference in support of the teachers.



Oklahoma City students support striking teachers

The students also have demonstrated and picketed in solidarity. "On the first day of the strike, when half the students stayed home, many students organized walkouts from the classrooms. Teachers were accused of organizing them, but we were as surprised as anyone," says DeGiusti. The school board is paying scab substitutes fifty dollars a day instead of the regular twenty-eight.

The AFT held a labor day picnic for the strikers and holds a rally about every two days.

Strike demands include a 12 percent across-the-board pay raise and improved fringe benefits. The school board is offering 5-6 percent. The union plans to appeal a court decision during the strike that the school board cannot by law bargain with the teachers.

DiGiusti says that about nine out of ten drivers who pass the pickets yell encouragement or wave to the strikers.

Transit workers locked out by BART

Management of the San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit system halted all trains until further notice after fifty-three operators called in sick or refused to operate the trains August 31.

Workers represented by Service Employees International Union Local 390 and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555 have been unsuccessfully negotiating with BART officials for months for a new contract.

The major stumbling block is management's desire to drop the cost-of-living allowance in the next agreement. In an effort to whip up public sentiment against the unions, BART officials claim that a COLA clause would necessitate increasing fares by 25 percent. Paul Varacalli, executive secretary of Local 390, said the shutdown was "the first time to my knowledge that the employer has ever called a strike."

Union officials have even offered to submit the dispute to arbitration but BART has so far refused.

Chiseling employers get greedier

The number of bosses who cheat their workers by paying less than the minimum wage and/or not paying overtime has apparently grown so much that the government is actually catching more of them.

The Department of Labor said that more wage chiseling was discovered in the first half of fiscal 1979 than in any comparable period since the Fair Labor Standards Act was passed forty years ago.

In the 1979 period, 353,360 workers were found to have been cheated out of \$79.2 million. Of this amount, the government said, \$48.6 million was recovered from the employers. It didn't say what happened to the rest.

The total amount chiseled represented a 29 percent increase over the same period last year.

And that's just the ones they caught.

Caterpillar workers win grievance victory

A settlement was reached August 29 in the nine-day strike by 1,500 members of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 284 against the Caterpillar Tractor Company in San Leandro, California.

The four shop stewards whose arbitrary suspension sparked the walkout are back at work, and the company agreed to immediate arbitration of their protest against the suspensions.

The cases of thirteen other shop stewards fired by Caterpillar in the past two years will go to arbitration September 28. This is a considerable acceleration of the grievance procedure at Caterpillar, which customarily takes one or two years to reach arbitration.

The company pledged—for the first time—not to fire any workers for participation in the August strike. But union officials agreed to allow the company to suspend two workers for alleged violence on the picket line.

According to *Militant* correspondent Roberta Frick, Caterpillar workers regard the speed-up of the grievance procedure and the company's promise to fire no strikers as significant gains. —August Nimitz

OCAW convention hits energy swindle

By Jana Pellusch

MIAMI—Eight hundred delegates representing 180,000 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union met here in convention August 13-17.

Delegates approved resolutions opposing decontrol of crude oil prices, lambasting Carter's wage guidelines and the anti-union "right to work" laws, and supporting the Equal Rights Amendment. They also passed proposals on the Karen Silkwood case and the energy crisis.

The delegates elected a replacement for retiring union president Al Gropiron. The candidates were vice-presidents Anthony Mazzocchi and Robert Goss.

In addressing the convention, Mazzocchi's theme was that the labor movement is under massive corporate attack, which will result in labor's demise by the mid-1980s unless a counterattack is mounted now.

The overall decline in union membership by 3 million people, the failure of unionists to see themselves as part of a militant social movement, the fact that more workers complain about the union than about the company all signify it is time for a change, Mazzocchi said.

Perhaps the most important statement from Mazzocchi concerned labor's political action. "I could not go to the members of this union and say 'give a dollar to support Joe Blow over Joe Schmoe.' That would be regression," Mazzocchi declared. "It's time to discuss the formation of a new political party. We cannot bargain merely around the bargaining table."

Mazzocchi expanded on this theme as it relates to the union's 60,000 oil workers, whose two-year contract is up for renegotiation on wages next January. OCAW must tell the oil industry we will "mobilize the American public and win them to our side . . . with facts about oil industry profits and workers' wages . . . to expand the strike beyond the picket lines."

On a broader scale, Mazzocchi proposed that OCAW could be "the catalyst for the reawakening of the U.S. labor movement." These were inspiring words to many delegates who have witnessed the attacks Mazzocchi referred to, but had so far seen the union's leadership advocate no more than, as Goss put it, "a basic trade union approach to basic trade union issues."

Mazzocchi, however, did not take his campaign to the ranks of the union. When my local voted in support of the local officers' proposal to endorse Goss, the membership was not even aware Mazzocchi was running.

The outcome of the election was close—delegates representing 83,000

members voted for Goss and 80,000 for Mazzocchi.

The resolution on energy, submitted by outgoing president Gropiron on behalf of all the international officers, said: "While oil companies continue to benefit from the special privileges of foreign tax credits and . . . skyrocketing profits, the workers in this country are being shackled with ever increasing prices and taxes."

The resolution explained that the greatest obstacle to a public interest energy policy is the government's lack of knowledge about "energy exploration, production, processing, transportation" and that "the veil of corporate secrecy must be lifted. The decision-making process must be brought into the light of day where this responsibility can be vested with people who are directly accountable to the public, rather than remaining in the board rooms of the energy corporations."

Addressing the convention, Canadian Labor Congress President Dennis McDermott outlined his organization's campaign to aid the Nicaraguan people. CLC rank and filers have contributed some \$250,000 and the CLC is pressuring the Canadian government to make government aircraft available to ship supplies to Nicaragua.

McDermott also explained how the Canadian labor movement had established its own party, the New Democratic Party.

Members of OCAW Local 3-689 from Portsmouth, Ohio, on strike against the Goodyear atomic-operated nuclear fuel plant, sold T-shirts reading "Fight DOE [Department of Energy] and Goodyear." Goodyear operates the plant under DOE contract.

"Our people are really fighting the federal government," said international representative Steve Wodka.

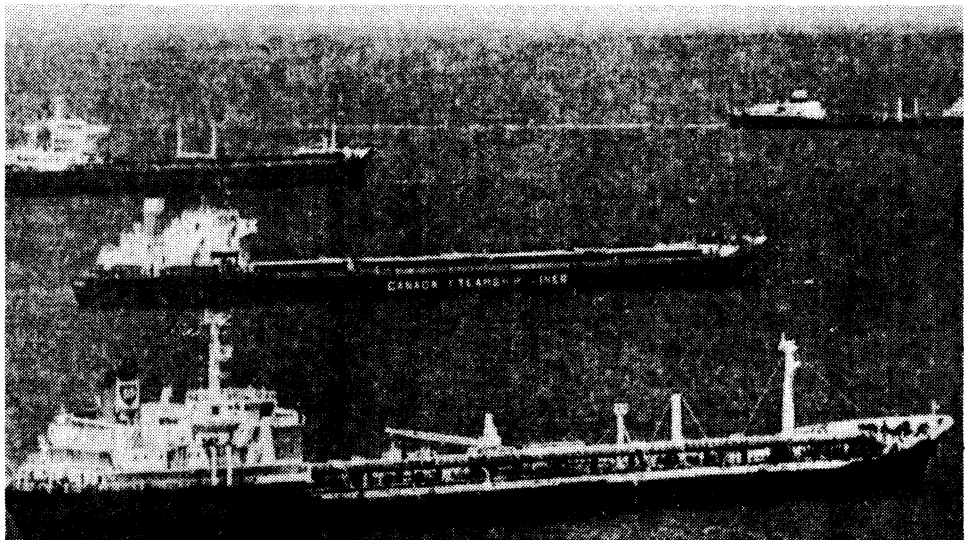
As his last official act as vice-president, Mazzocchi introduced a resolution demanding the release of oil workers imprisoned by the Khomeini-Bazargan government in Iran. President-elect Goss spoke for it, and it was approved.

Also approved was a resolution calling for a special federal prosecutor to investigate the Karen Silkwood case. Silkwood, an OCAW activist at a nuclear fuel plant in Oklahoma, died in a mysterious auto crash in 1974 on her way to meet with a reporter and a union representative. Silkwood had with her documents proving lax safety standards at the plant. The documents disappeared after the accident.

Silkwood's family recently won a \$10.5 million verdict against her former employer, Kerr-McGee.

The union wants the special prosecutor to determine who contaminated Silkwood with plutonium in the days before she died; who removed the documents from her car after the crash; who forced her car off the road; and what individuals were responsible for the cover-up and obstruction of the initial investigation.

Jana Pellusch is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227 in Houston.



Oil workers union has exposed company stockpiling and slowdowns of tankers during contrived energy crisis.

James T. Farrell: 1904-1979

By Alan Wald

James Thomas Farrell, the internationally-known author of the *Studs Lonigan* trilogy who defended Leon Trotsky at the time of the Moscow Purge Trials, died of a heart attack in New York City on August 25. He was seventy-five years old and his survivors include Cleo Paturis, his companion of the past fifteen years, and Dr. Kevin Farrell, a son.

Crowds of people attended an August 25 memorial meeting in Manhattan that was addressed by the novelist Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. The next day a grave-side ceremony was held at Calvary Cemetery near his home-town of Chicago. His death was reported on national television news programs and the *New York Times* featured a three-column obituary.

Such fame was not augured by the circumstances of Farrell's birth and upbringing. He was born on February 27, 1904, into a working-class Irish-American family. His father was a teamster and his mother worked as a domestic servant. The Farrells were so poor that the three-year-old son had to be turned over to the care of middle-class relatives.

He worked his way through the University of Chicago as a gas station attendant and in other assorted jobs but quit before graduating because he decided to become a writer. In 1931 he eloped to Paris with his first wife, Dorothy Butler, and wrote industriously while living in dire poverty.

The next year he settled permanently in New York City, witnessing a change in fortune when his first novel, *Young Lonigan*, was published by Vanguard Press. This was followed by *Gas-House McGinty* in 1933, and *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan* and *Calico Shoes and Other Stories* in 1934. In 1935 the appearance of *Judgment Day* completed the *Studs Lonigan* trilogy and Farrell was established as a major figure in American letters.

During his remarkably productive career, Farrell published fifty-two books. Twenty-four of them are novels, seventeen are collections of short stories, five are anthologies of criticism, and the rest consist of journalism, satire, poetry, and a short play composed with his second wife, the actress Hortense Alden.

Farrell's precise stature in world literature has yet to be determined. At the least, he will be recognized as one of the dozen most influential writers of his time in the realist-naturalist genre.

Revolutionary socialist

His importance to the sub-category of American literary radicalism can be more exactly stated. Along with Max Eastman and John Dos Passos, he was one of the decisive figures in forging a fecund and inspiring tradition in the United States of literary intellectuals who combined left-wing politics with creative writing.



Militant/Anne Teesdale
James T. Farrell speaking at memorial meeting for Socialist Workers Party leader Evelyn Reed last April.

Eastman pioneered the association of radical politics and rebel art through his editorship of the *Masses* magazine after 1912. Dos Passos wrote the most influential work of political fiction in the 1930s, the *U.S.A.* trilogy (1936). Farrell's distinctive contribution was that he defended the principles of genuine Marxism in letters, while advancing the working-class struggle through his collaboration for a period with the revolutionary socialist movement.

A supporter of the Communist Party from 1932 to 1935, Farrell was one of the first intellectuals of the Great Depression era to break with Stalinism through the recognition of its counterrevolutionary political character. He concluded this after studying the Marxist classics and observing the Communist Party's fatally sectarian German policy in 1933 and its Popular Front turn in 1935.

In the spring of 1936 he published *A Note on Literary Criticism*, which is a Marxist polemic against the political manipulation of literature practiced by the Communist Party. The theoretical underpinnings of the book are consistent with Leon Trotsky's views in *Literature and Revolution*. Farrell discussed a draft of his work with George Novack, a Trotskyist he had befriended at Yaddo, an institute for writers and artists in Saratoga Springs, New York.

Later that year Farrell helped organize the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. The purpose of this body was to permit Trotsky to have a hearing in order to answer the charges levelled against him by Stalin's frame-up trials in Moscow.

In 1937 Farrell traveled to Mexico to observe the

John Dewey Commission, which took Trotsky's testimony. On his return to New York, Farrell encouraged the transformation of *Partisan Review* magazine into an organ of the anti-Stalinist literary left and contributed regularly to it for several years. In 1938 he was a sponsor of the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism, inspired by a manifesto written by Trotsky, the French surrealist André Breton, and the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera.

Until 1945 Farrell was a dependable ally of the Socialist Workers Party. Along with Columbia art historian Meyer Schapiro and the journalist Dwight McDonald, he was one of the few prominent intellectuals to oppose United States imperialist aims in the Second World War. From 1941 to 1945 he served as chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, formed to defend the trade union militants in Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party prosecuted as the first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Marxism versus pragmatism

Farrell's primary concern in his revolutionary socialist years was the same as it was during the rest of his life: literature came first and foremost. He was an outstanding example of the artist who recognizes the interdependency of the advancement of culture and the struggle for human liberation. He believed it was necessary to construct a revolutionary party rooted in the working class to lead the fight for socialism, and he sought to assist in the capacities for which he was best suited.

Farrell's fiction differed from that of Dos Passos, who wrote explicitly political novels. Although some of Farrell's work, such as his anti-fascist novelette *Tommy Gallagher's Crusade* (1939), dramatized important political issues, he was primarily a novelist of human character. Acutely sensitive to the psychological costs of living in bourgeois society, his conceptions of individual consciousness and social destiny were infused with a materialist outlook.

However, prior to his study of Marxism, Farrell had nurtured his literary ideas by immersing himself in the pragmatism of John Dewey's instrumental philosophy and George Herbert Mead's social psychology. In the 1930s and 1940s Farrell aspired to reconcile Marxism with these thinkers.

Although he achieved some degree of successful integration in his fiction and aesthetics, he rejected dialectical materialist philosophy. Thus he remained susceptible to the influence of non-Marxist pressures and ideology and eventually reverted totally to liberal pragmatism.

In 1939-1940 Max Schachtman led a faction in the Socialist Workers Party which opposed the view, supported by James P. Cannon and Trotsky, that the Soviet Union should be defended against imperialism. When Schachtman split and founded the Workers Party, Farrell remained sympathetic to the SWP, despite his doubts about the class character of the Soviet Union.

But in 1945-1946, Farrell grew dissatisfied with the Socialist Workers Party. He followed a course paralleling the tendency led by Albert Goldman and Felix Morrow which followed in the footsteps of Schachtman.

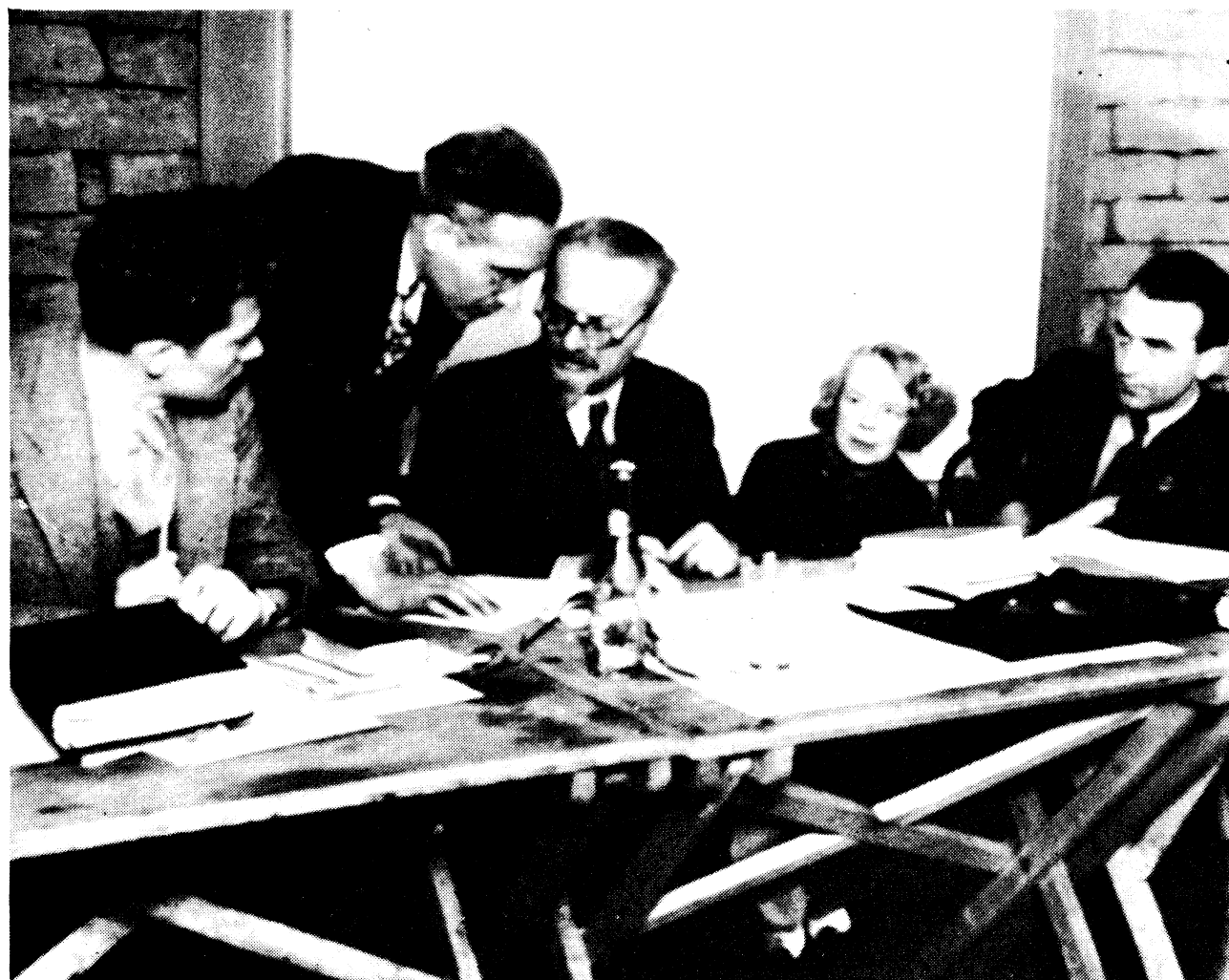
Farrell remained a supporter of the Workers Party until the spring of 1948, when he wrote Goldman that "Trotskyism has failed. It has not organized a sufficient fighting force with which to meet Stalinism." He came to the view that it was necessary to ally with United States capitalism against the menace of Stalinism.

This led Farrell to associate with the anti-communist Cold Warriors of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom during the early 1950s. For his role in this CIA-funded organization, he was called "reactionary" by the cultural historian Christopher Lasch in his book *The Agony of the American Left*. Farrell denied this charge, insisting that he never took money from the CIA and that he resigned from the committee partly because he learned of the existence of such funds.

Nevertheless, Farrell's political life never recovered from the disorientation he suffered in the late 1940s. The man who once admired the Bolsheviks and American working-class militants such as V.R. Dunne now endorsed the capitalist politicians Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey. In 1978 he joined Social Democrats USA, the right wing of the American social democracy.

Farrell was an internationalist in culture and sensitive to the literature of many peoples, with special affection for the Irish. He was also vehemently anti-elitist. But he had little understanding

Continued on next page



Leon Trotsky appearing before the Dewey Commission in Mexico City, 1937. Farrell helped organize the commission, which heard exhaustive testimony and cleared Trotsky of the slanderous charges leveled against him during Stalin's frame-up trials.

Behind talk about a 'Black-Jewish rift'

By David Frankel

What is behind the recent avalanche of news reports about an alleged Black-Jewish rift?

The real interests of Blacks and Jews are not opposed. Blacks, who suffer racist oppression in every aspect of life, and Jews, who have historically been victims of discrimination and genocidal pogroms, have a common stake in fighting racial prejudice and oppression.

But a rift *has* opened up between major Black organizations and the policy of the U.S. ruling class in the Middle East. Pro-Zionist organizations that act as cheerleaders for U.S. imperialism have rushed to the attack.

These Zionist outfits, whose program is opposed to the real interests of Jews, have enabled President Carter to pretend that he stands above the fray. By talking about a Black-Jewish rift, the big-business media are able to obscure the real significance of what is happening.

When the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) met with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and declared its support for the right of the Palestinian people to their own state, it struck a blow against U.S. imperialism.

Support to the Israeli state and to Israeli control of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip remain a cornerstone of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Carter flatly declared August 11: "I am against any creation of a separate Palestinian state."

The imperialists know that even a partial victory for the Palestinians would help to inspire further struggles against U.S. corporate domination in the Middle East, and against the Arab regimes that collaborate in that domination.

The billions of dollars in arms and

money that Washington pours into Israel every year enable the Zionist state to survive and to maintain its grip on the territories it conquered in 1967. That aid is not given because of any concern for the Jewish people.

Before and during World War II, the U.S. government refused to lift a finger to help the Jews of Europe escape extermination. After the war, the survivors of the Nazi death camps were still refused entry into the United States.

But the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine at the expense of the Arab masses created a reliable outpost for imperialism in the heart of the Arab world. That was a project Washington found worthy of aid.

The Israeli role is not limited to counterrevolution in the Middle East. It is politically extremely difficult for Washington to give military aid to the racist regimes in Rhodesia or South Africa, but Tel Aviv has been able to fill the breach.

Similarly, Israeli arms were being channeled to the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua long after Washington had been forced to cut off supplies. Carter was able to strike blows against the liberation fighters in Nicaragua, hoping to weaken their ability to resist U.S. pressure, while disclaiming responsibility for the continuing aid to Somoza.

Just as it uses the Zionist regime as a front for its support to South Africa and other unsavory regimes around the world, the U.S. ruling class is using pro-Zionist organizations within the United States as fronts for its attack on the Black community.

This process was apparent when groups like the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) and the American Jewish Committee took the lead in campaigning against affirmative action. That campaign was not in the interest of Jews or any other white



Israeli troops and Palestinian demonstrator. Blacks recognize Palestinian struggle as similar to liberation fight in southern Africa.

workers. It served the interest of the bosses against the labor movement and against all working people.

Now that Black leaders—reflecting the sentiment in the Black community—have begun to speak out against Israeli policies, they have been the object of racist attacks by leaders who claim to speak for American Jews.

More than 200 Black leaders, representing organizations such as the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the Congressional Black Caucus, issued a statement August 22 condemning Israel's economic ties with South Africa and endorsing the SCLC meeting with the PLO. The statement also expressed dissatisfaction with the opposition to affirmative-action quotas by Jewish organizations.

ADL director Nathan Perlmutter called the complaints of the Black

leaders "poppycock," and an "amalgam of half-truths, untruths, and anti-Semitic nonsense."

American Jewish Congress President Howard Squadron accused the Black leaders of attacking Jews. Earlier, AJC executive director Henry Siegman told Blacks to stay in their place, expressing outrage at "the SCLC interjecting itself in the Mideast talks."

Kenneth Bialkan of the ADL made the charge that "some Black leaders have become persuaded by New Left propaganda and have taken up with the worst of pro-Arab, anti-Israeli elements."

The well-worn argument of these Zionists is that opposition to the Israeli state and its reactionary policies is anti-Semitic. This lying claim plays into the hands of the real anti-Semites.

No Jew-baiter could do more to turn world opinion against the Jewish people than by linking Jews to apartheid in South Africa or to tyrants such as Somoza in Nicaragua or the shah of Iran.

Leaders who tell the Jewish people to oppose the struggles of Blacks, Palestinians, and the oppressed around the world—and instead to rely on the American ruling class—are advocating a road to disaster for Jews.

As the class polarization in this country deepens, rightist movements will resort to anti-Semitism as well as to anti-Black and anti-Latino racism.

Instead of seeking to forge an alliance between Jews and their natural allies in the struggle against reaction, pro-imperialist, middle-class leaders such as Squadron and Perlmutter lend themselves to the very ruling class that will unleash anti-Semitic violence in the future.



U.S. cargo jet delivering supplies to Israel during October 1973 war. Zionist groups in United States are serving interests of imperialism, not of Jews.

... James T. Farrell

Continued from preceding page

of the dynamic of the contemporary struggles of oppressed minorities and women. On issues such as affirmative action and Israel, his views were hardly distinguishable from the group now called the "neo-conservatives," identified with *Commentary* and *The Public Interest* magazines.

Farrell was thoroughly unlike Studs Lonigan and his other tough-guy anti-intellectual characters. He was unusually well-read in Western European history and philosophy. The motivation for the stark and brutal scenes in his literature—for which he was hauled before the courts on charges of "obscenity"—was his irrepressible desire to recreate the Chicago world he had known—and "never made"—with the utmost fidelity.

The artistic qualities of his writing have been misunderstood or ignored. Although he is often compared with Theodore Dreiser and Sherwood Anderson, he conceived of his literary projects under the inspiration of Honoré de Balzac and Marcel Proust.

Farrell was also remarkably generous to young writers and scholars. He willingly offered his friend-

ship, guidance, and personal assistance. Although some of his literary feuds have been widely publicized, he was a loyal friend who was admired for his honesty and personal integrity even by those with whom he had sharp political disagreements.

Moreover, he was animated by an extraordinary empathy with and compassion for the oppressed of capitalist society. This was true even in his later years, when his response to suffering was stoical acceptance rather than revolutionary social action.

Unlike those intellectuals who made political accommodations in the hope of receiving security and financial benefits, Farrell never wrote for money. In the 1950s and 1960s many ex-radicals prospered as they adapted to the fashionable cultural trends. But Farrell persisted in a curmudgeonly sort of rebellion and drifted into near obscurity.

Hounded by censors, sneered at by a hoard of literary detractors, and harassed by publishers who didn't find his books sufficiently marketable, Farrell persisted in using his art to tell the truth as he saw it and refused to take orders from anyone.

At one point he was evicted from his apartment for nonpayment of rent, and on another occasion

financial desperation forced him to sell the movie rights to *Studs Lonigan* for a pittance. But he only became stronger in his belief that artists must resist commercial forces. In 1961 he made the public declaration that "I began writing in my own way and I shall go on doing it. This is my first and last word on the subject."

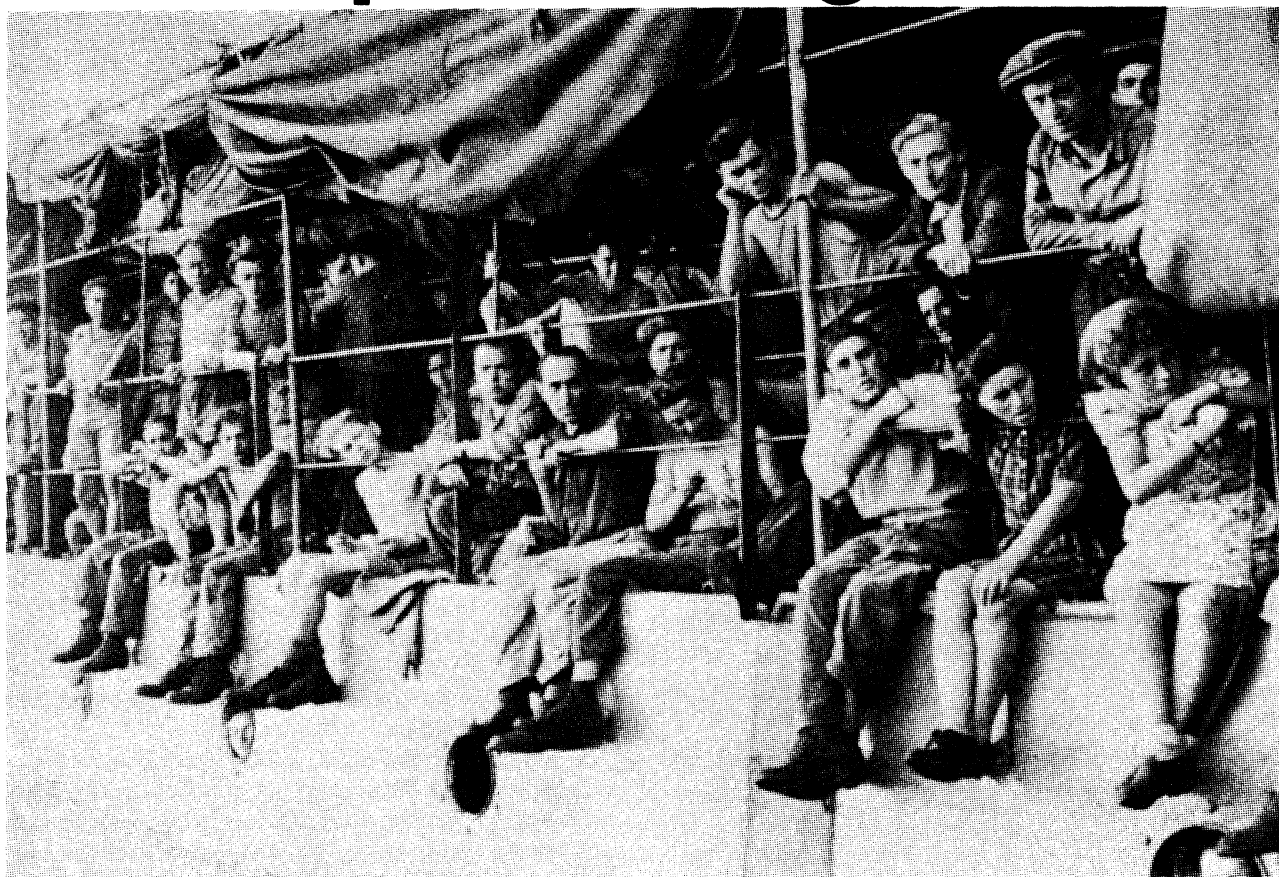
Only in the last two years of his life was his reputation revived and he began to receive some long overdue recognition. *Studs Lonigan* was broadcast on NBC television in March 1979, and shortly afterwards he received the Emerson-Thoreau award from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

However, Farrell's most significant honor may be the respect accorded him by the present generation of radicalizing young workers and by future readers who recognize his artistic truth. They will study his fiction for its vivid depiction of the socio-psychological malaise perpetrated by capitalist institutions.

Marxists can also benefit from the study of Farrell's literary criticism. *A Note on Literary Criticism* (1936), *The League of Frightened Philistines* (1945), and *Literature and Morality* (1947) are exemplary in their understanding of the social matrix of culture.

Interview with Trotskyist leader

Why Jews in Israel are questioning Zionism



Jewish immigrants arriving in Palestine in 1946. Instead of a haven for Jews, Zionism has created a trap.

[In early August *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* spoke at length with one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Communist League, the Israeli section of the Fourth International. What follows are some of his comments.]

Question: How did you get involved in revolutionary political activity?

Answer: I came to Israel from Latin America some ten years ago when I was eighteen. Under the influence of Zionism I went there seeking a solution to anti-Semitism, which was still very strong where I lived.

Israel and Zionism claim to be a solution to that problem. Zionism says that Jews need their own state and their own army to defend themselves, to make sure that what happened in Germany under Hitler will never happen again.

When I was growing up in Latin America most of the youth, including myself, had no idea about the left or about radical politics because of the fierce political repression.

But after I was in Israel for a short time I was struck by the tremendous discrimination against Arabs, the racist attitudes toward the Arab population.

That was the beginning of my break with Zionism. I started to study how Israel had been built, and found that it was not, as the Zionists claimed, a case of "a land without people for a people without land." The Palestinians had already been living there and were expelled by the Jews in 1948.

As I studied deeper, I realized that Israel was not established as a progressive, democratic, socialist movement to help the Middle East overcome its problems. The establishment of a Jewish state went against the historical process in the Middle East, the Arab struggle for national liberation. It plays a counterrevolutionary role in the region. I also realized that this was the root of the struggles between the Jews and the Arabs.

Q. Do many people in Israel still see it as a socialist experiment?

A. Not any longer. Everything changed radically after the 1967 war. Until then most of the economy was in the hands of the state and the egalitarian ideology was still quite strong.

But following the 1967 war, the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza strip brought a huge Arab population under Israeli control and a new orienta-

tion developed in the economy.

Foreign capital investments were encouraged, as was Israeli private enterprise. New capitalists took advantage of the new markets for Israeli goods in the occupied areas, and took advantage of the big, cheap, Arab labor force.

Crisis of Zionist ideology

The old Zionist ideology that was heavily influenced by socialist ideas broke down. Zionists had said that Jews should do every kind of work, from being merchants, to farmers, to bus drivers, to street cleaners. But now all the hard work was being done by Arabs from the occupied territories.

The kibbutzim, for example, had always been held up as models of socialism, although in fact they had always been heavily subsidized by the taxes of the workers. Now they began moving away from emphasis on agriculture to emphasis on industry, and started hiring large amounts of outside wage labor. Kibbutz members became a very prosperous segment of society.

Finally, after Milton Friedman, the University of Chicago economics professor who advises the Chilean junta, became an economic consultant for the Israeli government, it would be hard to find anyone in Israel who still thinks the country is socialist.

The 1967 war brought with it another phenomenon that undermined the strength of Zionist ideology. That was widespread corruption. Israelis did not expect that their leaders, whom they viewed as leading the life or death struggle of the Jewish people to survive, would stuff their pockets with millions in the process.

Q. Has the current economic crisis—the austerity programs, the triple digit inflation—resulted in a radicalization of the Jewish population in Israel?

A. You have to understand that the economic problems, while important, are not the overriding question for the Jewish population. The overriding question is how they can live in the Middle East and how they can have peace with the Arabs.

If the Jewish population is convinced that they have no alternative but to follow the present course of constantly fighting the Arab revolution and trying to destroy the Palestinian movement, they will follow that course even if it means heavy sacrifices, even if it means subsisting on a diet of potatoes.

The reason the economic crisis is having an

impact on people's consciousness is precisely because the ideological arguments for following the present course, the course of war, are weakening. There is a fundamental rethinking of what we have been doing for thirty years.

It is the interconnection of this political crisis and the economic crisis that is forcing the Jewish masses toward a basic rethinking of what we want to do with our lives, with our existence.

Q. Has this developed largely since the 1973 war?

Shock of 1973 war

A. Yes. The 1973 war was a big shock to the Jewish masses. Before that war people in Israel were saying "We never had it so good." No Arab country, they thought, would dare confront Israel. We had decisively defeated the Arab armies in a quick and efficient war in 1967. The Palestinians had been defeated in Jordan in 1970.

The *nouveau riche* were prospering from the occupation of the West Bank. Israeli goods were entering the occupied areas. The 1974-75 world recession had not yet begun.

People felt the Zionist strategy of beating down the Arabs until they finally give up had been proven in practice.

But when the Egyptian army broke through the Bar-Lev line in 1973—which everyone in Israel had thought was impregnable—and there were the heavy Jewish losses in the fighting, it was the beginning of a big crisis of confidence in the Zionist state's traditional approach to the Arabs. People saw we were as far from peace as ever.

Then there was a resurgence of the Palestinian national movement. Arafat spoke at the United Nations and a mass movement of Palestinian youth developed, which reached its height on the Day of the Land protests in Israel in 1976.

A new generation of Israelis, who had not lived through 1948, saw Israeli soldiers beating and shooting Palestinian demonstrators on the West Bank. It was quite a shock.

The source of the political crisis in Israel is the resurgent Palestinian movement. When I came to Israel in 1970, Golda Meier used to say that there was no such thing as Palestinians. But their movement forced the Israelis to recognize that the Palestinians exist.

People had been forced to confront the first "big lie" of Zionism—that there was no such thing as Palestinians, and that eventually the Arabs will give up, will realize they cannot beat us, and will learn to live with us. The Jewish population was forced to acknowledge the existence of the Palestinians and many realized that the Palestinian question was the key to peace.

Q. What was the impact in Israel of Sadat's trip to Jerusalem?

Sadat's visit

A. When Sadat came to Israel he exposed the second "big lie" of Zionist ideology. His visit to Israel, and his acceptance of Israel's existence, was objectively a big setback for the Arab struggle. But leaving aside this primary aspect for a moment, within Israel the visit undercut Zionist ideology.

The Zionists had always maintained that we have to fight the Arabs because they want to drive the Jews into the sea. But Israelis saw that Sadat, an Arab leader who had himself fought Israel, was in the country saying that if Israel makes some moves regarding the Palestinians we can have peace.

This raised big questions about the previous justifications for Israeli policies. But I should also point out that the effect of Sadat's visit was less than it could have been. When Sadat said that 70 percent of the problem between Egypt and Israel was psychologically based, he ignored the heart of the question—the Palestinians. By attributing the fighting to psychological motives, Sadat equated the motives of the Arabs and Jews. He covered up the fundamental responsibility of the Zionists.

So Sadat's visit had contradictory effects. On the one hand it had the negative consequence of legitimizing Israel and was a big setback to the Arab revolution. But within Israel it made it harder for the Zionists to maintain the illusion that the Arabs are a Nazi-like enemy that wants to annihilate all the Jews.

Continued on next page

...interview with Israeli Trotskyist leader

Continued from preceding page

Q. How do you view the Camp David accords?

A. Although the media tried to present them as a big step toward peace in the Middle East, in fact, the Camp David accords and the Sadat visit are not steps toward peace. They are part of the strategy of American imperialism and the Israeli state to solve, in their own way, what they call the "energy crisis" by holding down the Arab masses and the Palestinians in the interests of the oil monopolies and the strategic interests of imperialism.

War drive in Lebanon

Especially since the Iranian revolution Israel has been driving toward war as the only way to definitively defeat the Arab masses and the Palestinians. Of course this is not what the government is telling the Israeli people.

But Begin's strategy is to first neutralize Egypt so that he can take care of the Palestinians and the rejectionist front, destroying the Palestinian movement once and for all and forcing the rest of the Arab states to sign peace treaties along the same lines that Sadat agreed to, meaning treaties that capitulate to Tel Aviv's and Washington's dictates.

The need for another war to achieve this aim is shown by the invasions and the constant bombing of Lebanon.

Although they have been hit very hard in Lebanon, the Palestinians there and on the West Bank and in Israel itself were not so demoralized that they could not continue their struggle. Israel is still unable to achieve what it calls a "radical solution" to the Palestinian "problem."

Today, despite the Zionist state's big success in getting Egypt to sign a treaty with Israel, the Palestinians are holding fast to their struggle and are opposed to any step that would cut across their national rights. Israel has not been able to get a single Palestinian figure to come out in favor of the Sadat-Begin treaty or the phony Palestinian autonomy plan.

Q. What is the significance of Israel's military operations in Lebanon?

A. Today Lebanon is at the center of the Israeli state's present political goals. It is now the main arena of the fight between Israel and the Arab revolution. In Lebanon Israel wants to do two things: destroy the Palestinian resistance movement and force Syria to reach an agreement with Israel.

Israel has been putting tremendous military pressure on the Palestinians through the Litani River invasion, the constant bombings of the Palestinian camps, and the arming of the right-wing militias.

At the same time it wants to pressure Syria to withdraw its troops from Lebanon. If Israel succeeds in this aim, it will be left in effective control of Lebanon. That would be a gigantic defeat for the Palestinians, whose main forces are now restricted to that country.

Q. How did the Peace Now movement arise and what has been its impact in Israel?



SADAT: one result of his trip to Jerusalem was exposure of lie that Arabs want to exterminate Israeli Jews.



Israeli tank leaving devastated village in Lebanon. There is growing opposition inside Israel to Begin's policy in Lebanon.

A. The Peace Now movement arose in response to Begin's intransigence on the question of setting up new Jewish settlements on the West Bank. It was started by 320 reserve army officers who said that unless Begin made some concessions to the Arabs they would have grave doubts about the justice of a future war.

This was one of the most dramatic statements ever made in Israel. No one had ever raised questions on this scale about Israel's right to wage war against the Arabs. It was a symptom of the rethinking that is taking place.

When they saw that no political parties would stand up to Begin, the leaders of the Peace Now movement decided to stage street demonstrations. About 30,000 attended the first, and around 70,000 the second. They were stunned by the response they got. Seventy thousand people is a huge number in Israel.

The government opposed the demonstrations as weakening the Israeli position in the negotiations, and the movement was attacked as a fifth column in the country, playing into the hands of the enemy.

The Peace Now movement has very serious weaknesses and drawbacks, which I will describe in a moment. But on the positive side it is another example of this process of rethinking the old Zionist responses to the Arabs that I mentioned.

These people, primarily youth, are looking for an answer to two questions: how can we as Jews continue to live in the Middle East; and how can we live in such a way that we don't become corrupted by the experience of being an occupying force over the Arabs.

The existence of the movement has greatly increased the margins of "permissible" debate in Israel. We can get a hearing for many anti-Zionist points now that would never have been considered in the past.

But the Peace Now movement's fundamental weakness, which led to its present virtual collapse, is the fact that it was never able to break out of its Zionist framework, and therefore could not put forward a real alternative that could lead to peace.

Begin has been able to exploit this weakness very effectively. He is quite blunt. Zionism is colonialism, he told them. He said that if the Peace Now movement opposed the settlements on the West Bank they would logically have to oppose the existence of Israel too. We have always settled in the middle of Arab lands and taken the land from the Arabs.

If you don't agree with what we are doing on the West Bank, Begin argued, then you must also oppose Hanita, a long-time kibbutz in northern Israel, which was established exactly the same way.

The Peace Now movement tried to respond by saying that they were the "sane Zionists." But Begin is correct in the analogy he makes. And since

the Peace Now movement remains locked into Zionism they cannot present an alternative to Begin.

We are trying to work with the many young people who were attracted to the Peace Now movement, who are looking for a way to achieve peace. We try to show them that the ultimate solution to the problem of war is a unified Palestinian state encompassing Arabs and Jews, while at the same time we work together on the specific demands of dismantling the West Bank settlements and withdrawal from the occupied territories. And we have recruited to our group by intervening in this movement.

Dissent over Lebanon

Although the Peace Now movement has, as I mentioned, virtually collapsed, opposition to Begin's war drive against the Palestinians, especially in Lebanon, remains strong. The lack of enthusiasm for the invasion of southern Lebanon was reflected in the deep demoralization among Israeli troops. It became known in Israel that Israeli troops had engaged in massive looting of Arab property in Lebanon. And it was recently reported that an Israeli soldier who had killed Palestinian prisoners in Lebanon had been amnestied by the chief of staff.

All this was deeply shocking to many people in Israel and has spurred questioning of the government's policies. But the government and media have been trying to counter the revulsion that this caused by again pointing out that the same things took place in 1948.

For instance, the chief military analyst of *Ha'aretz*, a morning paper, responded to criticism of the amnesty by writing that killing Palestinian prisoners was nothing new. He asked his readers how they explained that the Jews did not take a single Palestinian prisoner in the 1948 war. What happened to the Palestinian prisoners? What we are doing now, he said, is exactly what we have done in all our wars, and if you oppose what we are doing now, then you are calling into question everything that Zionism has done for more than thirty years, you're calling into question the whole Zionist state.

And the government television and radio are broadcasting huge propaganda barrages to reinforce the idea that the Palestinians are nothing but terrorists and murderers who must be exterminated.

But people are not convinced and are wavering. That is why the Israeli papers for the past two months have been playing down what the army is doing in Lebanon.

One of our campaigns is to call on the newspapers to tell the Israeli people what the army is doing in Lebanon. If the facts are known—that Israel is creating new refugees, is destroying homes and villages—people would oppose that policy.

The reaction of Israelis to the fighting in Lebanon—their uneasiness—is another sign of the growth of questioning of the political and ideological underpinnings of Zionism, the crisis of Zionist ideology.

This is a big problem for Begin because he needs a war to accomplish his two goals—the destruction of the Palestinian movement and an accord with Syria. But today the Jewish population is not at all convinced that justice would be on Israel's side in a new war.

Q. Could you describe the recent fusion of Trotskyist groups in Israel?

Q. In April two Trotskyist groups fused to form the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL). The RCL puts out a Hebrew monthly called *Matzpen-Marxisti* and an Arabic monthly called *Sharara* (Spark).

The fusion was between the Revolutionary Communist League, which was the section of the Fourth International in Israel, and the Palestine Communist Group (PCG).

The PCG had arisen several years ago from a split in the Workers League, a Trotskyist group that had at one time been affiliated with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI).

The RCL and the PCG began to draw close together in 1977. Discussions and joint activity led to the decision to publish a common paper, and then to the preparation of common resolutions for a fusion congress, which was held April 12-16.

on crisis of Zionism



Workers in Tel Aviv protest rising prices. Discrediting of Zionist Ideology is making Jewish workers readier to take action against attacks on economic level.

Q. On what basis did the two groups draw closer together?

A. The fusion of the two groups came from an understanding by both that there had to be a strategic turn in our conception of who we are in the class struggle in the Israeli state. This change was a reflection of a change in the objective situation. For some years Zionist ideology and the institutions of the Zionist state have been in a crisis, which has led to increased possibilities for doing political work among the Jewish workers.

Basis of fusion

We came to understand that we were part of the Israeli population, that we were not outside it. We were not a chosen few who could understand what no one else could understand. If we had come to reject Zionism, so could other Jewish workers.

We found that we were part of the population, of the thinking and questioning that was going on, and we realized that the population would, as a result of their material needs, come to understand what we understood.

The fusion was possible because we found a basis on which to discuss the political questions, the political differences, and, equally important, we saw a way to go forward.

If the possibility of going forward did not exist, we could have sat and discussed forever. We could have had theoretical discussions on whether there is such a thing as an Israeli nation, on how to relate class questions to national questions, what position to take with regard to the Communist Party, and so on, without developing a common perspective for intervening in *real* struggles. We would have had no way to test the positions against reality.

So the fusion convention took place as a result of a changing conception of what we should be doing in Israel and a change in what it was possible to do. We were able to draw on the lessons of the past eight years of Israeli Trotskyism, the positive as well as negative aspects.

This will enable our forces to strengthen their participation in the class struggle and find the right way to build the party there.

Q. What kind of work do you do among the Arab population?

A. We have considerable influence in the Arab student movement within Israel. This is quite important since that is one of the few organizational forms that the Arab population in Israel has available to it.

Because of our influence in the Arab student movement the Communist Party (Rakah), which has big influence among Arabs, has to deal with us. We have been able to force the CP into some united fronts with us, where we work with them without, of course, yielding an inch to the CP's politics.

Q. What is the strength of the CP?

A. While the Communist Party has almost no influence in the Jewish population, it is a mass party among the Arabs in Israel. This reflects the radicalization that has taken place among Arabs since the 1967 war.

Role of Stalinists

The Arab people look to the Stalinist party to defend them because they are not allowed to have their own nationalist organizations. Al-Ard, an important nationalist group, was banned by the Zionist state.

The CP has done very little to defend the interests of the Arab population from the assault by the Zionist state and it has not organized big protests against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Government circles see the CP as playing an important role in moderating the Arab population.

For us the question of relations with the CP is of primary importance for winning influence and support in the Arab population. We are fighting for the democratic demands of the Arab people and against the CP's class collaboration.

The CP's role is especially bad for two reasons. First, because it accepts the Zionist state and practices class collaborationism, the CP is tying the Arab struggle to the Zionist doves, who won't do a thing for the Arabs.

Second, because the authentic voice of the Arabs is not being heard in Israel, no one in the Jewish population knows what is really being done to the Arabs, which allows the government to continue its oppression and increases the gap between Arabs and Jews. If the Jews do not know what the Arabs are fighting for and why they are fighting, they won't support the Arabs.

This second point is very important because the Jews will continue to be trapped in the confines of Zionism and the Zionist state until they can understand the Palestinian struggle and identify with it.

Q. How does the Revolutionary Communist League intervene in this process?

A. We feel that the main way to intervene is by helping to build a strong movement of the Palestinians on the basis of their national and democratic demands. Such a movement can be built around three points.

Where to start

1. Unconditional support for the Palestinian struggle against Begin's war drive and the invasion of Lebanon.

2. The democratic rights of the Palestinians on the West Bank, which are closely linked to the rights of the Palestinians within the 1948 boundaries of Israel.

3. The struggle of the Palestinians within Israel

against confiscation of Arab land, for housing, jobs, and education, all of which are related to the oppression of the Arabs as Arabs.

We call for the Arabs to organize themselves on the basis of a program of democratic demands, and we call on the CP to participate in and be part of this fight for Arab rights.

We also stress that the Palestinians should not write off the Jewish masses as *potential* allies. It is important to understand that the Jewish masses today are becoming more receptive to ways of breaking from Zionism. The Palestinians have the possibility of providing answers that will further this process.

If the Palestinian movement has a correct attitude to the Jewish masses, that will greatly strengthen the Palestinian and anti-Zionist movements. If the Palestinian movement has the wrong attitude, if it writes off the Jewish masses, there will be another war. Unless the Jewish masses are broken from Zionism, there will inevitably be another war.

Q. What kind of economic struggles are taking place within Israel?

A. The Israeli economy is in terrible shape today. But as yet no big class battles have taken place.

The reason for this is quite simple. If the Jewish masses remain tied to the Zionist state and Zionist ideology they will be willing to make all sorts of sacrifices because they think they have no other choice. The Zionists present it as a life or death question, which supercedes economic sacrifices.

But confidence in the Zionist road and Zionist ideology is breaking down very rapidly, and this process is shaking up the Jewish working class, so we can expect that economic struggles will increase.

The working class is the crucial arena where the division between Jews and Palestinians can begin to break down. The only place in Israel where Jews and Arabs are side by side is on the job. Jews do not visit Arab homes, don't live in Arab villages, and Arabs don't live in Tel Aviv. Only at work are they together.

After the Iranian revolution there was general agreement among all wings of the Zionist movement that there has to be a hard line against the Arab struggle. Therefore the Histadrut, which is supposed to be a labor organization but isn't, has been unwilling to lead any struggles of workers since they are afraid such struggles might weaken the Zionist apparatus. From time to time the Histadrut goes along with a struggle for tactical reasons. But even that is rare.

Workers beginning to radicalize

Workers struggles are developing slowly, and the workers face big political obstacles. In order to fight effectively they have to be organized effectively, which means they have to organize real unions. These can only be reorganized together with Arab workers since Arabs are a big component of the working class in Israel.

The working class is beginning to radicalize. And local struggles are taking place through local, elected factory committees.

Sometimes the workers win their local demands, often they lose. But the current economic crisis is so big, with real wages dropping sharply and the standard of living declining, that a purely local response is largely ineffective.

As yet there have been no solidarity activities between workers in different plants or joint actions of workers in different branches of industry. The workers response has remained atomized.

But I believe that a joint response will come, because of the economic and political crisis the country is going through. The working class will be forced to respond. Although the Histadrut has been able to prevent a joint response thus far, I do not believe it can do this for long.

Q. What does the Revolutionary Communist League propose as the ultimate solution to the struggle of Palestinians and Jews?

A. At our fusion convention we adopted a call for "a united Palestine of Jews and Arabs." This will have to be further concretized and given content when we put forward our programmatic positions.

We also call for the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation troops from the West Bank. The cutting edge of our agitation is the demand to dismantle the Jewish settlements on the West Bank. These settlements are very unpopular and are a good issue around which to raise the whole question in the Jewish population.

Nicaragua's new 'Bill of Rights'

The following is the complete text of the "Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans." This document, which has been described in the international press as Nicaragua's "Bill of Rights," was decreed by the Government of National Reconstruction August 21, and went into effect immediately.

In addition to guaranteeing basic democratic rights such as freedom of speech and assembly, the document outlines a broad range of economic, social, and cultural measures in the interests of the vast majority of the Nicaraguan people.

These include the right to full and productive employment for all, health and safety measures on the job, equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity for advancing in

skills without discrimination for reasons of sex. The right to form trade unions and the right to strike are also protected.

Article 27 of the document provides for restrictions on private property for reasons such as public use, social interest, or in the interests of the agrarian reform.

The document guarantees the right of the aged to social security, and assistance to those in need because of unemployment, illness, maternity, or other reasons.

Measures of preventive medicine, infant nutrition, and protection of children are also outlined, along with a program to end illiteracy and expand education and culture.

Rights such as the above are far in advance of anything included in the

constitution of the United States. The government here refuses to include even a simple statement of equality for women—the Equal Rights Amendment—in the constitution.

Both the extension of democratic liberties and steps toward winning economic, social, and cultural rights have come about historically only through long and tumultuous struggles by working people. The fact that guarantees in these areas have been included in the Nicaraguan bill of rights as a statement of official government policy should encourage and facilitate struggles by the working people of Nicaragua to implement these measures.

The translation of this document was made by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

The Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, considering:

1. That the Somoza dictatorship's systematic disregard for the fundamental rights of the Nicaraguan people, and rights of the person, led to acts of barbarism which outraged the conscience of humanity; and

2. That the basis for freedom, justice, and peace lies in the recognition and affirmation of fundamental human rights both individual and collective, for which it is essential that these rights be protected by the revolutionary government;

Therefore in accordance with its vested authority decrees the following *Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans*.

Title I Rights of the People

1. The Nicaraguan people have the right to free and full choice in determining their political status and providing for their own economic, social, and cultural development.

The state shall guarantee by law the direct participation of the people in the basic affairs of the country, both on a national and a local level.

2. To accomplish their goals, the Nicaraguan people have the right to freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources, without prejudicing those obligations incurred from international cooperation based on the principle of mutual benefit, solidarity, and international justice. In no case may the Nicaraguan people be deprived of their own means of subsistence.

Title II Individual Civil and Political Rights

3. All persons are equal before the law, and have the right to equal protection. There shall be no discrimination on the basis of birth, race, color, sex, language, religion, opinions, origin, economic position, or any other social condition.

It is the duty of the state to use all the means at its disposal to remove any obstacles which impede real equality of citizens and their participation in the political, economic, and social life of the country.

4. The state shall respect and guarantee the right recognized in this Title to all persons who are on its territory and subject to its jurisdiction. Foreigners shall not be able to intervene in the political affairs of the country.

5. The right to life is inviolable, and inherent in the human person. In Nicaragua there is no death penalty.

6. All persons have the right to respect for their physical, psychological, and moral integrity. Penalties shall not be imposed on anyone except the delinquent person.

No one shall be subjected to torture, nor to punishments or treatment which are cruel, inhuman, or degrading. It shall not be permitted to establish a punishment or punishments which, individually or together, last more than thirty years.

7. No one shall be subjected to servitude,

nor constrained to carry out forced or obligatory labor. The law shall regulate obligatory labor and services that may be demanded by virtue of judicial decision. These include conditional freedom, military or civilian service, service imposed in cases of danger or disasters which threaten the lives or well-being of the community, as well as labor or service that is part of normal civic obligation.

8. Every individual has the right to personal freedom and personal security. No one may be subjected to arbitrary arrest or imprisonment, nor deprived of their freedom, except for legally established cause and in conformity with a legal proceeding. Consequently:

(1) Arrests may only be carried out under a written warrant from a competent judge or from the authorities expressly authorized by law, except in cases of *flagrante delicto*.

(2) All persons arrested shall have the right:

(a) To be informed and notified promptly of the reason for their arrest and of the accusation, denunciation, or charges against them;

(b) To be brought before the competent authority within twenty-four hours, or else set free;

(c) To submit a writ of *habeas corpus*;

(d) To be treated with the respect worthy of the inherent dignity of a human being;

(e) To obtain reparations in case of illegal arrest or imprisonment.

9. Persons awaiting trial shall be separated from convicted prisoners, and women from men, each receiving adequate treatment for their circumstances. Children may only be brought before Courts for Minors, and in no case shall be sent to common prisons. There shall be adaptation centers for them, under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Welfare.

10. The essential objective of the prison system shall be the reform and social rehabilitation of the convicts, seeking to incorporate them into the productive process.

11. All accused persons shall have the right, on an equal basis, to the following minimum guarantees:

(a) Not to be presumed guilty unless and until a formal sentence has been handed down against them;

(b) To be tried without delay by a competent tribunal. The judicial process must be public, although in some exceptional cases the press and the general public may be excluded from all or part of a trial for reasons of morality, public order, or national security;

(c) To be guaranteed the right to participate in the trial from the beginning;

(d) To be given the opportunity to really and effectively intervene in the proceedings, and to have adequate time and means to prepare their defense. If the defendant in his or her opening statement does not designate a defense counsel and is not an attorney, an official defense counsel shall be named immediately;

(e) To have a defense counsel named in cases where no counsel could be found after

a public request was made;

(f) To intervene in the presentation and examination of all types of evidence before any verdict is handed down;

(g) Not to be forced to testify against himself or herself, nor to confess guilt;

(h) Not to have a prison sentence handed down against him or her unless all elements of the crime have been fully proven and a grave presumption of guilt exists; and to have the prison sentence handed down within ten days after the warrant for arrest;

(i) All persons found guilty of crimes have the right to appeal the verdict and sentence imposed on them to a higher court, as prescribed by law;

(j) Not to be tried again for a crime for which one has already been convicted or acquitted;

(k) Not to be removed from the judge having jurisdiction.

12. No one shall be convicted for acts or omissions that were not crimes under national or international law at the time they were committed. Nor shall any punishment be imposed which is more serious than the one applicable at the time of commission of the crime. If subsequent revisions of the law provide for the imposition of a lighter punishment than the one in effect at the time the crime was committed, the accused shall benefit from that revision.

None of the provisions of this article shall be construed as opposing the trial or conviction of a person for acts or omissions which at the time of commission were considered crimes according to the general principles of law recognized by the international community.

13. Trial by jury shall be provided for crimes specified by the law.

14. No one shall be imprisoned solely for the fact of being unable to fulfill an economic obligation, no matter how it may have been incurred.

15. All persons who are in Nicaraguan territory legally shall have the right to move about freely, and to freely choose their place of residence. Nicaraguans shall have the right to enter and leave the country freely.

16. The right to asylum in Nicaragua is guaranteed to any person being persecuted for fighting for the cause of peace and justice, or for the recognition or extension of the human, civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights of individuals or groups. If for any reason it is decided to expel an exile, he or she may never be sent to a country where he or she might be persecuted.

Extradition shall be regulated by the law and international treaties, and shall never be carried out in cases of political crimes or common crimes linked to political acts as determined by Nicaraguan standards. For the purposes of extradition, genocide shall not be considered a political crime.

17. Every human being has the right in Nicaragua to recognition of their judicial personality and capacity.

No person shall be obliged to do anything not required by law, nor prevented from

doing anything not prohibited by law. Consequently, only on the basis of the law may personal or familial debts be imposed, except for the duties of conduct and abstention required by human solidarity, the duty to behave in a fraternal manner, respect for the rights and freedoms of others, and the need to satisfy the just demands of morality, public order, and general well-being in a democratic society, even when such duties are not expressly established by law.

18. No person shall be subjected to arbitrary or illegal interference in their private life, their family, their place of residence, their correspondence or communication, nor to attacks on their honor and reputation; all shall have the right to protection by the law in the case of such interference or attacks. In particular:

(1) A person's residence and all other private quarters are inviolable, and may only be searched on the written order of a competent judge, or to prevent the commission or concealment of crimes, or to avoid harm to persons or goods, subject to provisions of the law.

(2) Private documents and communications are inviolable. The law shall establish cases and procedures for the examination or confiscation of private documents, financial books, and related documents when it is indispensable to do so in order to clarify matters brought before courts of justice, or for fiscal purposes.

19. No one may be subjected to coercive measures that might impair their freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, nor their right to have or to adopt the religion or beliefs of their choice, nor their freedom to manifest those beliefs individually or collectively, in public or in private, through worship, celebration of rites, practice, or preaching.

20. Freedom of information is one of the fundamental principles of authentic democracy. Therefore, it cannot be subjugated, directly or indirectly, to the economic power of any group.

21. All persons have the right to freedom of expression; this right encompasses the freedom to seek, receive, and distribute information and ideas, whether orally, in writing, in printed or artistic form, or by any other means chosen. The exercise of these freedoms brings with it duties and responsibilities, and consequently may be subject to certain necessary formalities, conditions, and restrictions specified by law:

(a) In the interest of national security and integrity, public safety, and the national economy;

(b) For the preservation of order and prevention of crime;

(c) For the protection of the health, moral well-being, or the dignity of persons and the reputations or the rights of others;

(d) To prevent the release of confidential information or to guarantee the authority and impartiality of the Judicial Power.

22. Any propaganda against peace, and any apology for national, racial, or religious intolerance, is prohibited.

23. The right of peaceful assembly is recognized. The right to demonstrate publicly shall be regulated by police ordinances.

24. All persons have the right to freely associate with others for legal purposes.

25. All citizens shall enjoy without restriction the following rights:

(a) To organize political parties or groups, or to belong to them;

(b) To participate in the direction of public affairs, directly or through freely elected representatives;

(c) To petition in writing, individually or collectively, to any public functionary, official entity, or public power, and the right to obtain prompt resolution of such matters;

(d) To vote and to be elected, and to have generally equal access to public office.

26. All persons have the right to nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of their nationality, or of the right to change it.

27. Property, whether individual or collective, fulfills a social function. It may therefore be subject to restrictions in regard to ownership, benefit, use, and disposition, for reasons of security, public interest or utility, social interest, the national economy, national emergency or disaster, or for purposes of agrarian reform.

Title III Individual Economic, Social, Cultural Rights

Section 1. Economic Rights

28. The law, taking into account as necessary the rights involved and the national economy, shall determine to what extent the economic rights recognized in this statute shall be guaranteed to persons who are not Nicaraguans.

29. Work is a right and a social responsi-

bility of the individual. It is the duty of the state to obtain full and productive employment for all Nicaraguans under conditions which guarantee the fundamental rights of the human person.

30. All persons have the right to enjoy equitable and satisfactory conditions of work, which should assure them, in particular:

(1) Remuneration which provides the worker with at least:

(a) A salary or wage equal to that paid for equal work under the same conditions of efficiency, and adequate to the social responsibilities of the worker, without discrimination for reasons of sex;

(b) Decent conditions of existence both for the worker and for his or her family.

(2) Health and safety on the job.

(3) Equal opportunity for all to be promoted to the appropriate job classification, with no limitations other than time of service and capability.

(4) Rest, the enjoyment of free time, reasonable limitation of the hours of work, and periodic paid vacations that provide effective rest, as well as pay for holidays.

Nothing in this article shall be construed as authorizing employers to deny workers rights or guarantees they had previously obtained, on the pretext that they are not mentioned or are mentioned less prominently in this article.

Section II. Social Rights

31. With the aim of promoting and protecting the economic and social interests of Nicaraguans, the following are guaranteed:

(1) The right to establish and promote popular, communal, neighborhood, rural, and other organizations; as well as labor or professional associations.

(2) The right to establish trade unions and to join them, subject only to the statutes of the unions themselves.

(3) The right of unions to form national federations or confederations, and the right of these to establish or affiliate to international trade-union organizations.

(4) The right to establish and promote labor and production cooperatives.

32. The right to strike is recognized for all workers; it is to be exercised in conformity with the laws.

33. Every person has the right to social security; to gain satisfaction of the indispensable rights to dignity and to the full development of the personality; to an adequate standard of living for oneself and one's family, which assures health, well-being—in particular food, clothing, shelter, medical assistance, and necessary social services—as well as social services in the event of unemployment, illness, maternity, physical handicap, loss of one's spouse, old age, death, orphanhood, occupational hazards, or other cases of loss of one's means of subsistence.

34. The family is the natural unit of society and has the right to protection by the society and the state.

Marriage is based on the voluntary agreement of the woman and the man. In family relations there exists absolute equality of rights and responsibilities between man and woman.

In the event of dissolution of a marriage the necessary protection of the children shall be assured.

Parents have the duty to be concerned with the education of their children, to prepare them for socially useful work, and to educate them as proper members of the

society. Children are obligated to help and aid their parents.

35. Every child has the right, without any discrimination, to the means of protection that their condition as a minor requires, both on the part of the family as well as the society and the state.

Parents have the same responsibilities toward children born out of wedlock as toward children born within it. All personal characterizations with regard to the nature of one's filial legitimacy are prohibited. The right to investigate paternity is established.

36. The state shall adopt special measures for the protection and assistance of children and adolescents, without any discrimination for reasons of legitimacy or any other condition. Children and adolescents are to be protected against any kind of economic or social exploitation. Employment of children or adolescents in jobs that are damaging to their health or morals, that endanger life, or that can prejudice normal development or the schedule of mandatory schooling, is prohibited.

37. The state shall concede special protection to mothers during an adequate period of time before and after giving birth. During this period, mothers who work must be given time off with pay, and with adequate provision of social security.

The working mother shall have the right to have her minor children cared for by the state while she is at her place of work.

38. The state recognizes the fundamental right of Nicaraguans to be protected against hunger, and shall set forth programs for:

(1) Infant nutrition.

(2) Eradication of chronic malnutrition, assuring adequate availability of food and the equitable distribution thereof.

(3) Nutritional education, aimed at improving the diet through information about the principles of nutrition.

39. Nicaraguans have the right to enjoy the highest levels of physical and mental health. The state has an obligation to adopt measures to achieve:

(1) A reduction in mortality at birth and in infant mortality, as well as the healthy development of children.

(2) Improvement, in all aspects, of occupational health and of the environment.

(3) Prevention, treatment, and eradication of epidemic and endemic diseases, along with occupational and other ailments.

(4) Creation of conditions to assure everyone medical aid and services in the event of illness.

(5) Intensive and systematic development of sports through the creation of all types of facilities.

Section III. Cultural Rights

40. (1) Every person has the right to an education.

(2) Primary and secondary instruction shall be free, obligatory, and accessible to all. Basic education must be promoted for those persons who have not received or finished their primary instruction. Secondary education shall include technical and professional instruction, with the aim of providing the ability to do skilled labor, and knowledge of Nicaraguan reality, to all. There shall be a close relationship between education and labor.

Higher education must also be made equally available to all, based on the capabilities of each person, by the appropriate means and in particular through the contin-

uing establishment of free instruction.

(3) The elimination of illiteracy is declared to be of social interest and is the responsibility of all Nicaraguans.

(4) The freedom of parents to choose for their children schools or colleges different from those established by the state shall be respected, so long as those institutions satisfy the minimum norms prescribed or approved by the state regarding teaching materials, and adhere strictly to the national educational plans.

The right of individuals or entities to establish and direct teaching institutions shall be respected, on the condition they meet the requirements outlined in the preceding paragraph.

The state shall have supervision over all educational centers in the country. This supervision shall be carried out consistently so as to assure compliance with state educational policy and the national plans and programs of studies.

(5) The fees to be charged by private schools shall be approved by the state. In no case shall centers of learning be operated for profit.

(6) The state is obligated to guarantee meals at school, clothing, shoes, school supplies, and school books for all children who need them.

41. Academic freedom and freedom for research are guaranteed as essential principles of education in all spheres.

Educational, administrative, and economic autonomy are guaranteed to the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua (UNAN), in order that it may respond to the needs of the transformation of the country, within the national development plans. The state shall provide UNAN with the necessary economic support to develop a creative curriculum and scientific research adequate to the national reality.

42. In order to coordinate all higher education in the country, there shall be a National Council for Post-Secondary Education, comprising all the institutions on this level, and presided over by the Ministry of Education.

43. The National Autonomous University of Nicaragua shall be the only facility acting in the name of the state to decide on the recognition of diplomas and titles of higher education granted by foreign institutions. The Law shall establish standards for the professional accreditation of Nicaraguan nationals and foreigners who have graduated from foreign institutions, on the basis of reciprocity in accordance with the international agreements regarding such matters.

44. The state shall take exclusive charge of the training of preschool and primary-school teachers. The training of teachers for secondary education shall also be a priority task of the state.

45. All persons have the right to participate in cultural life, and to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications. The state shall respect the indispensable freedom for scientific research and creative activity. It shall guarantee protection of the moral and material interests of persons engaged in the production of scientific, literary, or artistic works.

46. The state shall have an obligation to adopt necessary measures for the preservation, development, and dissemination of science and culture, which should be oriented toward the full development of the human personality and its sense of dignity, the strengthening of respect for human rights, and the transformation of Nicaraguan society.

The historic, cultural, and artistic heritage of the nation shall be protected by the state by means of the necessary laws.

Title IV Final Dispositions

47. No provision of this statute shall be construed as conceding to the state, to a group, or to an individual, any right to undertake and carry on activities or commit illegal acts which tend to suppress any of the rights and freedoms recognized herein, or restrict them more than stipulated herein.

Excepted are legal measures aimed at punishing crimes committed, or at the recovery of goods stolen or acquired illegally, under the dictatorial Somoza regime.

48. The exercise of the rights and freedoms of each person is inseparable from the fulfillment of his or her duties to the community.

49. In exceptional situations or cases of emergency which endanger the life or the stability of the nation, such as international or civil wars or the danger of the outbreak thereof; because of public disasters or wars; and for reasons of public order and security of the state, the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction may adopt provisions which suspend, in part or all of the national territory, the rights and guarantees set forth in this statute. Such suspension may be imposed for a limited period of time, subject to extension in accordance with the prevailing situation in the country.

The provisions of this article do not authorize any suspension of the rights and guarantees set forth in the following articles: Article 6; Article 7 in regard to servitude; Article 12, paragraph 1; Article 14; Article 17, paragraph 1; Article 19; and Article 26.

50. All persons whose rights or liberties, as recognized in this statute or in the Fundamental Statute promulgated July 20, 1979, have been violated, may seek legal redress in conformity with the law.

Title V Temporary Dispositions

51. For persons under investigation for crimes specified in the Penal Code and in international conventions, committed during the Somoza regime, the exercise of the rights and guarantees set forth in this statute is suspended for a period of sixty days beginning today.

This suspension does not affect the rights and guarantees listed in Article 49 of this statute.

52. This statute shall go into effect today, from the time of its publication by any means of collective communication, and shall also be published later in the Official Daily.

* * *

Issued in the city of Managua on the twenty-first day of the month of August, 1979. *Year of National Liberation.*

*Violeta B. de Chamorro
Alfonso Robelo Callejas
Sergio Ramirez Mercado
Moisés Hassan Morales
Daniel Ortega Saavedra*

[Members of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua]



Demonstration in Managua in support of revolution

Militant/Fred Murphy

Socialist hits Bethlehem in Sparrows Point deaths

By Bill Kelly

BALTIMORE—The death toll at Bethlehem Steel's giant Sparrows Point steel mill and shipyard continues to rise.

The most recent tragedy occurred August 10 in the shipyard when an eight-story-high crane making a dangerous lift toppled, killing crane operator Clem Miles and Russell Herbin, a hooker. Both had over twenty years seniority at the shipyard.

The deaths of Herbin and Miles were the second and third in the shipyard since April and brought the Sparrows Point total to twelve in the last seventeen months.

Inspectors from the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) were stalled by Bethlehem from making an investigation of the accident site for several hours. They were only notified of the deaths by what they termed "an anonymous phone call" from a worker.

On August 23 OSHA cited Bethlehem for three "serious" violations: improper training of the crane operators, failing to plan a complicated lift, and overloading of the cranes. OSHA recommended the meager fine of \$1,000 per violation or a total of \$3,000 for the deaths.

Several hundred shipyard workers were laid off after the accident until the four damaged cranes can be repaired.

Norton Sandler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Baltimore and a steelworker at Sparrows Point, told the *Militant*, "No matter where you go at the Point, your life is constantly placed in jeopardy. Deaths have occurred on the company-owned railroads, in the mills, and in the shipyard. We've had deaths from heat exhaustion, falling cranes, carbon monoxide poisoning, train crashes, and electrocutions, to name a few."

"The only reason there aren't more deaths is because workers look out for each other. Bethlehem puts profits first and safety last."

Sandler added, "The insultingly low fines from state and federal agencies haven't stopped any of these deaths. What we need are large union safety committees with the power to examine and shut down unsafe job sites and ensure real enforcement of health and safety laws."

"The government regulatory agencies that hand down these minute fines are controlled by the Democratic and Republican politicians who in turn do the bidding of the large corporations."

"This on-the-job slaughter, winked at by the big-business government, underscores the need for the unions to take the lead in forming a labor party that can challenge the employers' monopoly of politics."

in Chicago and Minneapolis, with one being planned for Milwaukee.

Milwaukee Road workers actively sought and received solidarity from many locals on other roads.

No doubt Rock Island workers would receive a friendly response from other railroad workers as well.

All of us are threatened by these bankruptcies. The Chicago and Northwestern, Milwaukee Road, and Conrail—all bankrupts—were the staging ground for the first reduced crew agreements.

All of us lost three months of back pay in the last national agreement and could lose more next time around if Rock Island management succeeds.

The Belt Railway of Chicago reportedly has been switching Rock Island trains. In addition it's reported that officials from other railroads are switching box cars and running trains on Rock Island property.

By building solidarity between locals on different roads, we can fight management's organized efforts to break the Rock Island strike. One of the picket captains, Nick Woodman, said: "This is the *United Transportation Union*. Let's start acting like it."

...rail

Continued from back page

Some of the picketers told me that the Rock Island is holding up a multimillion-dollar property sale to the Union Pacific in order to maintain their poorhouse appearance.

They also cited a multimillion dollar loan for the purchase of new locomotives that was paid off within a matter of months, as an example of the Rock Island's ability to pay off when it wants to.

When asked about the Rock Island's much publicized offer to open its books to the unions to prove its insolvency, the picketer said "Sure, but which set of books?"

Ominously, on the request of the Federal Railway Administration, the Rock Island has filed a plan for reorganization that would eliminate 3,000 miles or almost 40 percent of its track.

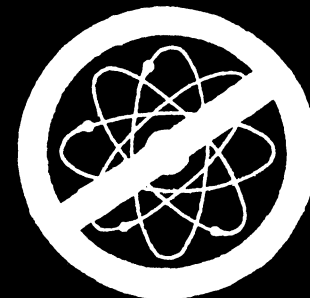
A similar plan is being rushed through the courts and Interstate Commerce Commission for the Milwaukee Road. Milwaukee Road workers have responded with public protest meetings



ST. PAUL, Minn.—UTU picket line at Rock Island's Inver Grove Heights yard. Gayle Swann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, discusses the strike and her campaign with pickets. Swann works on the Burlington Northern Railroad. She was told: 'The Rock Island is bankrupt because of its management. The union isn't responsible and shouldn't be forced to pay for it.'

No nukes!

Notes from the movement against nuclear weapons and nuclear power



No at any price

Three brothers who own a small Pacific island have indicated they would turn down a \$20 million U.S. government offer to buy the island and use it as a nuclear waste dump.

The Fullard-Leo brothers could make quite a bit on the deal, since a family member paid only \$15,000 for the 1,400-acre atoll in 1922.

"We have all agreed that no matter what the price, we will never sell Palmyra to anyone wanting to store nuclear wastes there," said Ainsley Fullard-Leo.

End of a cover-up?

The U.S. government may soon be forced to admit that a dozen or so U.S. soldiers were among the 70,000 victims of the Hiroshima atomic bombing.

Cleo Neal, the mother of Staff Sergeant Ralph Neal, had been told by the army that her son died of wounds received when his plane was shot down over Japan on July 28, 1945. But evidence uncovered by Stanford Professor Barton Bernstein suggests that Neal was among several soldiers held prisoner in Hiroshima and that he died of radiation poisoning as a result of the bombing.

The army documents uncovered by Bernstein confirm stories told by other Americans who had been captured by the Japanese.

The Pentagon's reluctance to discuss Sgt. Neal's death is understandable. The U.S. prisoners of war were innocent and helpless victims of their own government's mass murder—and so were the 70,000 Japanese victims of the Hiroshima bomb. The last thing Washington wants is a discussion of the morality of slaughtering tens of thousands of civilians.

France uses Pacific as nuclear test grounds

France apparently conducted a hydrogen bomb test in the Pacific July 25, according to the Australian Trotskyist weekly *Direct Action* of August 16. The paper said that the French government maintained its customary silence, but a New Zealand station reported an earthquake registering 6.3 on the Richter scale on that date. The tremor was centered in the area where France has conducted other atomic tests since 1975.

Citing the French daily *Le Matin*, *Direct Action* reported that a tidal wave resulting from the blast injured two people.

Le Matin also reported that a July 6 accident at the test site killed two people, injured six, and released a cloud of plutonium vapor.

Not so fast, Harold

An effort by a top Nuclear Regulatory Commission staff member to begin issuing nuclear power plant licenses came to a quick halt.

On August 23, Harold Denton, director of the NRC office of nuclear reactor regulation, told the five commissioners he was prepared to begin consideration of operating licenses and construction permits. None had been considered since the Three Mile Island disaster.

Since Three Mile Island, the NRC has ordered a few minor changes in operating procedures at nuclear plants, and Denton claimed that these had "essentially completed" all the short-term changes made necessary by the accident.

Denton's memorandum to the commissioners made no mention of the unsolved nuclear waste problem, constant emissions of radiation, and the hazards of a catastrophic accident.

Denton also apparently stepped on a few bureaucratic toes. The next day, his decision was denounced by the Carter-appointed panel investigating Three Mile Island. That panel is supposed to recommend what changes, if any, are needed in licensing procedures and safety requirements for nuclear power plants.

Denton just didn't get it. It's the *presidential commission* that will assure the public that nuclear power is really OK if only the companies tinker with it a bit.

Million-dollar hot garbage

The U.S. Department of Energy will drop a cool million dollars to haul a 220-ton radioactive piece of a nuclear power plant from Virginia to the state of Washington.

The piece became corroded and failed to function after seven years in Virginia Electric Power Company's Surry plant.

The giant hot piece of metal will travel by water—through Tidewater Virginia, the Panama Canal, and up the Pacific Coast. The shipment, the government concedes, will emit three times as much radiation as Department of Transportation rules allow.

Slapped wrist in dam burst

On July 16, a dam on the Rio Puerco in New Mexico broke, disgorging 94 million gallons of water contaminated by radioactive uranium tailings from United Nuclear Corporation's Church Rock uranium mill. The river flows through a big Navajo Indian reservation and on into Arizona.

Tests turned up higher than normal quantities of radioactive thorium and radium in the river.

The government acted swiftly and forcefully as usual. On August 21—five weeks later—the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency charged United Nuclear with "discharging uranium mill waste water without a permit." The EPA also gave United Nuclear until September 9 to report on cleanup efforts and efforts to prevent future spills.

According to the August 22 *New York Times*, a spokesperson for United Nuclear said the company would "definitely comply with the order."

—Arnold Weissberg



Mideast—'None of our business'?

Look, it's alright for you people to be upset at Andy's resignation. We sympathize with you—really we do! But getting involved in the government's Mideast policy is going too far. Why don't you all talk about welfare, maybe jobs and . . . you know, stuff like that.

Such is the advice that Blacks are getting in the aftermath of the Andrew Young affair.

The editors of the *New York Times* accuse Blacks of asserting "questionable" Mideast policy positions, which the *New Republic* says "come easily to those unfamiliar with the murky complexities of the Middle East." The editors of *U.S. News & World Report* are even more upfront. "We don't think the black leaders had any business doing all they did. . . ."

Of particular concern to these sages on the Mideast is the increasing support by Blacks to the Palestinians and, god forbid, the PLO.

What's the reason for all this free advice that's being heaped on the Black community?

It reveals once again the blatantly racist view of the U.S. ruling class and its spokespeople that Blacks have no business in making foreign policy. Blacks are only expected to be cannon fodder.

Those who are opposed to Blacks taking positions

on U.S. Mideast policies were also against Blacks even questioning U.S. policies in Vietnam. Martin Luther King came under intense criticism from the capitalist press when he declared his opposition to the Vietnam war and urged others in the civil rights movement to do the same.

From the point of view of the U.S. rulers, it is a dangerous thing when Blacks begin to identify with and act in solidarity with struggles against oppression around the world.

As Malcolm X explained, "as the dark-skinned nations of this earth become independent, as they develop and become stronger, that means that time is on the side of the American Negro."

It doesn't require any deep insight to recognize oppression. If a people, such as the Palestinians, have had their land taken away from them and are then made to live as outcasts and refugees, those people are oppressed.

More and more Blacks are beginning to see that the Palestinians are, as Rev. Wyatt T. Walker recently dubbed them, "the niggers of the Middle East."

However, Bayard Rustin, national chairman of Social Democrats USA and an ever-faithful Black mouthpiece for Zionism, argues that Blacks should

shun the PLO. He makes the claim that Blacks have always ruled out violence as a means for achieving freedom. This is plain hogwash.

Blacks have always understood that the issue is freedom by any means necessary. That's why Blacks can support the armed struggle of Blacks in Southern Africa. That's why, when Blacks were asked in a recent Gallup poll if they considered the PLO to be more like a "terrorist group" or "American civil-rights organization," close to two to one saw the PLO in the latter light.

One important factor in the changing attitude of Blacks is the increasing awareness of Israel's close economic and military ties with South Africa.

Blacks are beginning to recognize that we and the Palestinians along with the Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Iranians have the same enemy—U.S. imperialism and its agents.

This is a big step forward not only for Blacks but for the entire American working class. The intervention of Blacks, the most oppressed layer of the working class, into U.S. foreign policy increasingly makes clearer the class bias of that policy. Because, just as it is not in the interest of Blacks to support Israel, South Africa, or the U.S. oil monopolies, it is not in the interest of any American worker.

Women in Revolt

Margaret Thatcher: a woman but no sister

Writer Susan Sontag, in an article in the July *Ms.* magazine, takes "some pleasure at the prospect of Margaret Thatcher becoming Prime Minister of Great Britain, despite the fact that my politics are hardly hers."

Is this the emotion we should experience? Pleasure?

Thatcher's government is currently trying to roll back abortion rights. It has severely cut back social services. Her government continues the occupation by British troops in Northern Ireland and backs the Muzorewa regime in Zimbabwe, a cover for the genocidal war against the Black majority.

And as part of a direct attack on working people, Thatcher outlined in July a plan to change labor laws to restrict picketing, the union shop, and the right to strike.

This program is hardly what women are fighting for—regardless of who is doling it out.

But Sontag equivocates. "Obviously," she says, "it is in our interest to support candidates whose views are in accord with our own, but it is also in the interest of women to support women *per se*."

The election of more women to public office does reflect the changes taking place in society as women fight for equality. And it further shows the absurdity of sexist propaganda that women aren't fit for responsible or difficult jobs.

But this is hardly the central import of Thatcher's

victory last May over British Labor Party candidate James Callaghan. As the policies of the Thatcher government show, her election was a *defeat* for women.

The reason for sexism in society is not because few women are in high places—that is only one *result* of sexist discrimination.

The oppression of women as a sex exists because it is profitable to the capitalist class. The capitalists use sexism to divide the working class, to justify paying women less, and to maintain women's unpaid labor in the home.

The political parties that represent the capitalists, such as the Conservative Party in Britain and the Democratic and Republican parties in the United States, stand for maintaining the oppression of women. It is against our interests to support any of their candidates, male or female.

Sontag says we should be interested in women candidates. What she means is clear from the fact that her article is excerpted from remarks she made at a National Women's Political Caucus meeting, an organization that corrals women into giving support to Democratic and Republican candidates.

Sontag, moreover, doesn't support *all* women candidates as she implies. She only supports candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties—big business candidates.

For example, Matilde Zimmermann is running for

Suzanne Haig



vice-president of the United States on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. She is running on a program in the interests of women and all working people.

Women need to organize our own power into a massive movement independent of the capitalist parties and fighting against their sexist and antilabor policies. We should instead look to the powerful labor movement as an ally. In opposition to the capitalists, who profit from the oppression of women, labor has a direct stake in fighting *against* all discrimination and for the liberation of women.

In Britain labor has its own party. Forces within it are actively fighting to maintain women's right to abortion and to win other aspects of women's rights. In the United States, a labor party based on the unions would give women a weapon on the political plane.

Sontag says all women who are in high executive positions in politics, such as Conservative Thatcher and Democratic Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne, are "not only getting a part of power individually, but are contributing to a transformation of power itself."

She is dead wrong.

The Thatchers and the Byrnes may be getting some individual power. But they are getting it by maintaining the power of the capitalist class, which means at the direct *expense* of women and all working people.

The American Way of Life

How to win the 'war on crime'

ATLANTA—I and my co-workers at the gas company were recently urged to enlist in Atlanta's supposed "war on crime," which has received national attention since state troopers were sent in to patrol city streets.

We were asked by a city cop at a "safety" meeting to join the crusade by reporting any crimes we see committed as we drive around the city.

This appeal to us, and to other utility workers, is part of a campaign which the local media and politicians have been enthusiastically waging to whip up a hysteria about crime.

But this campaign has nothing to do with actually stopping crime.

There's no big secret about how to stop crime. Give everybody a decent-paying job and the problem disappears.

The cop who addressed us noted that the housebreakers he wanted us to look for would mostly be

self-taught amateurs between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two; in other words, youth who can't find a job.

But the Democratic and Republican politicians have no intention of giving everybody a job.

In fact, one reason these politicians try to whip us into a frenzy about crime is to take our minds off of these social ills and especially off of the big corporations who are reaping profits from our misery.

In addition, this "anti-crime" campaign is intended to divide workers against ourselves. The bankers and businessmen—a tiny minority of the population—are deathly afraid that working people—the vast majority—will unite against our common enemy.

So they try to convince those of us who have jobs that unemployed teenagers are the enemy, or whites that they should fear Blacks.

Gas company workers really can do something to stop crime. We can go to our union, the Teamsters, which has thousands of members in Atlanta, and demand that the union field its own candidates against the Republican and Democratic con men.

Our candidates could call for massive jobs programs at union wages; for more and better schools, health care and housing; and for opening the books of the oil companies so we can learn the truth about energy. We could pay for the improved social programs by taking back the bountiful tax breaks the Democrats have been giving Georgia corporations along with the super-profits the oil companies have been making.

I promise to be the first to sign up for a war against the real criminals—the super-rich who add to their billions by picking the pockets of working people and robbing the poor of any hope for a decent life.

—Bob Green

MASSACHUSETTS LEGALIZES MURDER

Massachusetts Gov. Edward King signed a death penalty bill into law August 14. The bill will go into effect in January.

The new law orders the death penalty for certain crimes, including the killing of police and prison guards.

In declaring the death penalty a "deterrent" to crime, King ignored numerous studies that show otherwise. For example, states with death penalty laws do not, in general, have lower homicide rates. And murder rates do not fall as execution rates go up.

Of the more than 3,850 people executed in this country since 1930, 54 percent were Black.

ALBUQUERQUE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OPEN HOUSE

Grand opening of the new SWP campaign headquarters and Militant Bookstore. Meet the SWP candidates for city council: Eileen Berlow, District 2; Chris Driscoll, District 6. Special sale of 15 percent off all books. Friday, September 14, 7 p.m. 1417 Central N.E. Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

OOPS! SORRY ABOUT THAT

For eight years industries using chlorine—metal processing, dyes, solvents, and paper bleaching, among others—have been allowed to calculate the exposure of workers to chlorine on the basis of the average exposure over a whole workday. This means that at any given time, the actual amount of chlorine in the air may be much higher than the one-part-per-million limit set by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

Now, it turns out that the 80,000 workers involved have been the victims of a typographical error. OSHA intended to set a ceiling of one-part-per-million at all times, not just an average level.

Chlorine, which was used as the active component of many poison gases during World War I, can cause serious respiratory

disorders even at very low concentrations. However, the Chlorine Institute, an industry group, has filed suit to block the corrected standard from becoming effective October 15.

The bosses argue that there is no evidence the poison gas causes "material impairment of health or functional capacity" among the workers exposed to it. Moreover, they note that the new limit will cost too much.

GOV'T SPIES BEAT A RETREAT

San Francisco socialists recently won a victory against government spying and harassment. A picket line at the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service there, called to defend the right of Socialist Workers Party member Héctor Marroquín to asylum in the United States, was photographed by officers of the Federal Protective Service.

In a letter to the government agency, the San Francisco SWP pointed out that "the obvious intent of taking the photographs was to intimidate and harass participants in the picket line."

Although claiming that "the photographs taken by Officer Brown were taken with his personal camera and film for his own use," and that "photography is his hobby," officials of the Federal Protective Service decided to give the undeveloped roll of film to the SWP.

They did not bother to explain why their officers are allowed to indulge in their "hobbies" while working.

INDIANS IN NY FACE CHARGES

A new confrontation between the U.S. government and Indian activists demanding justice is building up in the 27,000-acre St. Regis Mohawk Reservation, which straddles the U.S.-Canadian border.

Mike Myers, a Seneca working with the Mohawk nation, told the *Militant* September 4 that "the whole question is one of the sovereignty of our nation."

Myers explained that the Mohawks are pressing a nine-million-acre land claim and

that "three trustees appointed by New York State are willing to sell the whole thing out for a few thousand dollars."

Members of the Oneida nation are also pressing a six-million-acre land claim.

State authorities have reacted by victimizing militants in the land struggle. A grand jury has handed down sealed indictments against twenty-three Mohawks and three Oneidas, and an Onondaga woman also faces charges.

Although the actual actions that the Indian activists are charged with are minor violations—they include third degree assault, illegal gambling (for running a bingo game on the reservation), and driving without a license—most of the defendants are also charged with conspiracy, which makes the charges extremely serious.

According to Myers, "The immediate issue is to get all the charges dropped."

Another Indian activist, José Barreiro, declared that "we are ready to protect our land by whatever means are necessary."

UNIONS MEAN HIGHER WAGES

A recently published Labor Department study shows that average weekly earnings of unionized workers were nearly 20 percent higher than the earnings of non-union workers. Among industrial workers, the difference was even higher—unionized blue collar workers earn 35 percent more than those who are unorganized.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics said that average weekly earnings for workers represented by union was \$262 in May 1977, compared to \$221 for non-union workers. Among industrial workers, unionists averaged \$266 a week compared to \$194 for the unorganized.

HOOKER CORP. 'SHOCKED'

An official of the Hooker Chemicals and Plastics Corp. said the company was "shocked" that the New York State Department of Environ-

mental Conservation has asked the state to press criminal charges against it.

Hooker has been illegally dumping an estimated 1.6 million pounds a year of lethal industrial wastes at Bethpage, Long Island. Although it pledged to be "forthcoming," it ignored eighteen separate requests for information from investigators.

A number of wells near Hooker's Hicksville, New York, plant have been closed due to contamination.

Hooker was the company whose dumping of chemical waste led to the tragedy of Love Canal. Residents in that section of Niagara Falls, New York, paid for Hooker's profit-drive with cancer, liver diseases, birth defects among their children, and death.

JOBLESS LIVING TOO WELL?

Now that another recession is here and unemployment is shooting up, government officials have it too easy and that already-inadequate benefits should be cut back.

The General Accounting Office has issued a report urging Congress to require workers to pay taxes on any jobless benefits they receive, and recommending that states reduce jobless benefits in cases where workers also receive income from retirement plans.

According to the GAO, unemployment "compensation, either alone or combined with other income, replaced an average of 64 percent of a recipient's net income before unemployment. . . .

"This is one reason why many recipients don't have a financial incentive to seek and accept a job."

This is the same reactionary argument that is used by the bosses and their agents to justify cutting welfare benefits to those who are unable to work. And it comes at a time when there is also a campaign to slash the social security benefits of retired workers.

When the owners of industry and their agents, who never did an honest day's work in their lives, talk about benefits

to the unemployed, the sick, the elderly, and destitute families being too generous, what they really mean is that anybody who can't be used to turn a profit for the capitalists should be thrown on the scrap heap and left to die.

MAYOR KOCH'S 'ENEMIES LIST'

Two Puerto Rican lawyers, Ramón Jiménez and Rafael Andaluz, have been charged with "unethical" and "illegal" conduct in a complaint to the New York City Bar Association by New York Mayor Edward Koch.

Both Jiménez and Andaluz are activists in the Coalition in Defense of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Rights, which has been fighting budget cutbacks that are directed against the poor in New York. Apparently that was enough to get them onto Koch's "enemies list."

The two lawyers, who have received support from numerous Black and Puerto Rican groups, explained in an August 29 news conference that "the only specific allegation of the Mayor is that our names appear on a people's subpoena served personally upon him commanding his presence at a mock community trial in which he was to answer charges against him, i.e., violating the civil rights of minorities. . . .

"We denounce this complaint of Mayor Koch and will respond to it by doubling our efforts to expose the racist policies of Koch—and thus prevent the implementation of cuts in health care, education, and social services."

BROOKLYN COPS BAG NEW VICTIM

Four white cops, in the process of evicting a thirty-five-year-old Black woman in Brooklyn, shot her dead August 29. They claim that the woman, Elizabeth Mangum, had attacked one of the cops with a knife, wounding him in the shoulder.

Police Department officials said that "the shooting falls within the guidelines for the use of firearms."

Mangum's killing came just

KRONSTADT

NEW FROM PATHFINDER

By V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky
Introduction by Pierre Frank

The events around the 1921 Kronstadt uprising have been used by some radicals and anticommunists to attack revolutionary Marxists. In this book the two central leaders of the Russian revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, explain why the Soviet government had no choice but to suppress the sailors' uprising at Kronstadt—why the revolt was a direct challenge to the first successful workers revolution in history. They detail how the composition of the naval base had changed by 1921, how it went from a revolutionary stronghold in the days of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions to a population subject to the pressure of anti-working class and imperialist forces.

Many of these pieces have not appeared before in English. There is supplementary material consisting of an essay by American Marxist John G. Wright and a 1938-39 literary debate involving Victor Serge, Dwight Macdonald, and the editors of the Trotskyist theoretical journal *New International*.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 159 pages, \$2.95 (include \$.75 for postage)

UFW wins lettuce contract

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—California farmworkers won a major victory when the Sun Harvest company, the nation's largest lettuce grower, broke ranks with other growers and renewed its contract with the United Farm Workers on August 31.

The agreement by Sun Harvest comes after a bitter seven month strike waged against major lettuce and other vegetable growers in the Imperial Valley area of California and in the Salinas area.

It is expected that other growers who had been holding out against the union will now sign agreements. A number have reportedly already raised their wages to meet the new level won by the UFW in the contract with Sun Harvest.

The union has called off its recently announced boycott of Chiquita Bananas, which are a product of United Brands, the company that owns Sun Harvest.

The company conceded,

however, that it was not the boycott, which was only in the initial stage, but the strength of the strike itself that finally forced it to sign an agreement with the union.

The minimum wage, which was \$3.70 an hour under the old contract, will go to \$5.00 an hour immediately and up to \$5.70 an hour over the life of the contract. Another fifty cents an hour is available for cost of living increases during this period.

In addition, piece rates will increase by forty-six percent over the three year period and the company will increase its contributions for medical benefits and pensions.

The union also won what were described as partial victories on two other key issues. Sun Harvest agreed to pay the wages of two union representatives who will be available full time to handle grievances for workers. It also agreed to an arbitrator to decide any disputes with the union over

lay-offs due to mechanization of farm operation.

Previous to the signing of the Sun Harvest contract, the union had won similar contracts with two tomato growers in the area.

The victory is a particularly significant one in that it came as a result of a bitter struggle by Chicano and Mexican farmworkers. Many of the Mexican workers come across the border at Calexico to work in the Imperial Valley lettuce fields and have been a backbone of the union.

In the course of the long strike hundreds of workers were jailed by deputies acting in collusion with the growers and one striking worker, Rufino Contreras, was shot dead by two company guards who were later cleared by grower-controlled courts.

The victory is one more testimony to the deepgoing militancy of the farm workers and their capacity to struggle against enormous odds.

one week after the cop murder of Luis Baez, another Brooklyn resident. In that incident, five cops fired twenty-four bullets at Baez, hitting him twenty-one times.

Although the cops claimed Baez had lunged at them with a pair of scissors, witnesses said that Baez, a psychiatric patient, had dropped the scissors before he was shot.

When more than 1,000 community residents protested the murder of Baez August 27, police went on a rampage, beating participants in the peaceful demonstration. Hector Soto, a legal observer, had a gun pointed at him by one cop.

The Justice Department has

announced it is investigating the Baez case, and community groups are also demanding an investigation of the August 27 cop riot.

MEMBERSHIP IN UNIONS UP

U.S. trade unions gained 605,000 members between 1976 and 1978, according to a report released by the Labor Department September 2. Total union membership is now 21.7 million, the highest ever.

Of the 605,000 new members, 455,000—75 percent—were women. Women make up 27.4 percent of all organized workers.

Ohio farm workers fight for contract

By Kurt Landefeld

LEIPSIC, Ohio—Two hundred fifty members and supporters of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) rallied here August 25, ending a four-day march from Toledo. The march, which wound through northwest Ohio's farm country, was held to publicize FLOC's fight for union recognition in the fields.

FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez and organizer Fernando Cuevas were the main speakers at the rally, which was held across from a Libbey-McNiell-Libbey tomato cannery.

Libbey and Campbells are the two largest tomato canners and processors in Ohio. They are most responsible for the low wages, rotten job conditions, and denial of union recognition facing farm workers here.

FLOC is demanding the canneries sign three-way contracts covering processors, farmers, and farmworkers. The workers in the field want forty-five cents for each thirty-three pound hamper of tomatoes, a guaranteed minimum wage and minimum hours, and protection from the unsafe use of pesticides.

FLOC is also asking for transportation costs for the migrants, most of whom live in Texas or Florida; a medi-

cal program; and coverage for crew leaders who supervise their families in the field and haul the tomatoes to canneries in their own trucks.

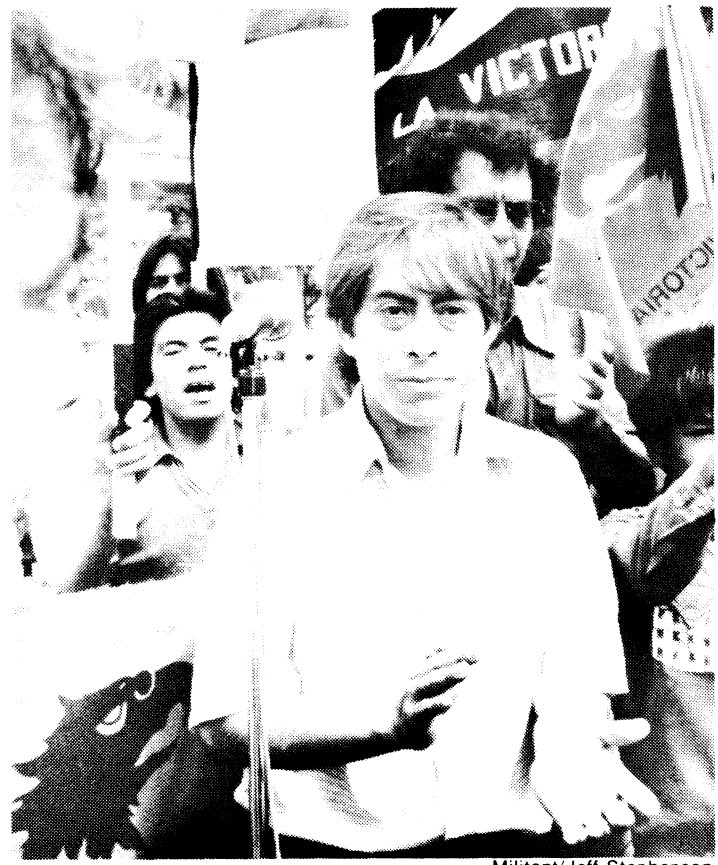
FLOC faces a long, hard battle for union recognition. Campbell and Libby are adamant in their refusal to talk to the union.

The canneries have begun a campaign to mechanize the tomato fields in order to stop FLOC's drive. Tomato harvesters cost the average Ohio farmer a great deal of money, and cannot be used when it rains. About 50 percent of the fields have been mechanized so far this summer.

The strike has been partially effective, but the canneries are still working. The strike will last through the harvest season, from mid-August to mid-September. As yet, FLOC has no contracts.

At its first organizational convention, held near here on August 4, FLOC voted to continue its strike until "a victory is won, and justice is served." FLOC also laid out plans to broaden its nationwide boycott of Campbell and Libby.

United Farm Workers president Cesar Chavez pledged his solidarity with the strike and boycott, calling on others to do so as well.



FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez at August 25 rally.

Militant/Jeff Stephenson

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Soft sell—With the increased frequency of such events as the DC-10 and Three Mile Island, public relations specialists are developing disaster strategies. For instance, reports the *Wall Street Journal*, TWA spokespeople now carry a pocket-size "red book" for use after a crash. It instructs them not to use "hard words such as slammed, careened, plowed, etc." This will help "minimize sensationalism and the prominence with which the story is treated."

They do it all for us—Members of the House and Senate have 18,400 staff aides, with salaries totalling more than a half billion a year.

Why can't they get together?—A fierce ideological struggle is being waged

in the Southern Baptist Convention. One faction demands adherence to "inerrancy," a theological concept that every word in the bible is literally as He dictated it. The more wishy-washy wing agrees the bible is "infallible" but contends it was dictated to human beings who might not have gotten each word exactly right.

Gift tip—For that Bogart buff, a shop on New York's Madison Avenue is offering a bronze and marble replica of the Maltese Falcon. \$12,000.

The hydrochloric lining—All marine life has been destroyed in 170 lakes in New York's Adirondack mountains. This is the result of rain from clouds that have absorbed acid wastes while passing over industrial areas.

Union Talk

IAM ranks score one

This week's column is by Jim Levitt, a member of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 751-C.

SEATTLE—The results of two recent votes on proposed bylaws changes in the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers District 751 are of interest in assessing current trends in the labor movement.

District 751, composed of four locals, represents close to 30,000 workers employed by the Boeing Company. Boeing has been selling airplanes in record numbers over the past two years and is preparing to produce two new models. As a result, hiring has stepped up, with more than 10,000 new hires in the past year.

Although the IAM does not have a union shop at Boeing, 92 percent of the workers covered by the IAM contract now belong to the union. The "Boeing boom" has brought thousands of new members and tens of thousands of new dues dollars into District 751.

It was in this context that the district officialdom proposed a series of changes in the bylaws governing the operations of District 751. These proposals, voted on individually by the district council, were presented as a package to the union ranks for a May vote.

The most important proposals included pay raises of up to \$6,700 for the elected officials and business representatives and a new formula for computing these salaries. Instead of tying them to the wage scale negotiated by the district with Boeing, the salaries of our leadership would be tied to a figure set by the international union convention. These conventions, held every four years, are quite far removed from the control of the union ranks.

Included among the other minor changes was a proposal to send more of the dues income to the four locals.

Two aspects of the situation sparked sharp opposition from union activists on the shop floor and at union meetings. (The second-shift meeting discussed these changes for over two hours, even though the meeting began at 1 a.m.)

First and foremost was the pay raise. Second—arousing as much anger—was the obvious attempt to ram the pay raise through by having us vote on the package

as a whole, rather than on the merits of each item individually.

Although the May local meetings attracted as usual only a small percentage of the union membership, the votes cast revealed the sentiments of a much larger number. The first two locals to meet voted against the package. Since three out of four locals were required to approve the changes, and to avoid further embarrassment, the district president canceled the vote in the two remaining locals. Local C took a straw vote anyway, and rejected the package by a better than six-to-one majority.

Then the district officials rolled out another scheme, including a pay raise and extended vacations for themselves. The district president, for example, would receive the pay of the top grade worker in the plants—*plus 40 percent*.

Also included was yet another proposal that would have the effect of raising the staff above and beyond the control of the ranks. Currently, should a business representative leave office, a special election must be held. The new plan granted the district president the power to appoint the new business representative.

In a concession to the ranks, we were allowed to vote on the proposals individually.

The vote took place in August. The increase in per capita funding for the four locals was approved, correctly seen by the membership as a step toward gaining more control over our union. The pay raise and appointment of business reps was defeated, a victory for the union membership.

This five-month skirmish shows that the IAM ranks want *more* union democracy and *less* "tuxedo unionism." It is this sentiment that holds the key to strengthening our union. We need more democratic control over our union so we can decide how to most effectively fight Boeing's speedup, oppose the government's wage guidelines, deal with the energy crisis, and take a stand on the other problems we face.

Part of this process will be eliminating all the bureaucratic privileges, such as higher pay, that separate the elected officials and staff people from the union ranks. We need a leadership that lives with our problems and uses our power to solve them in the interest of all the members.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

1945-46 GM strike

With their contracts about to expire, auto workers are carefully weighing their options. Should the United Auto Workers call a strike against General Motors, the union's chosen target? What will it take to win a decent contract—adequate wage increases, cost of living for pensioners, shorter workweek, job protection? What about Carter's guidelines and the threat of government intervention?

The time is ripe for UAW members to look back over their own history, at the past battles they've waged and won. One that stands out as particularly relevant is the legendary GM strike of 1945-46.

It is recounted in exciting detail in Art Preis's *Labor's Giant Step* (available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, 538 pages, \$6.95).

The post-World War II scene will look familiar to autoworkers today. The bosses were rolling in high prices and profits while workers suffered the twin blows of inflation and layoffs. With the help of the Truman administration, the employers expected to maintain the war-time anti-labor measures—no-strike pledge, wage freeze, etc.—which they had imposed with the collaboration of union officials.

But workers who had sacrificed to secure these super-profits—on the home front and war front—were in no mood to comply. By September 1945 there were 90 strikes in the auto industry of Detroit alone. All across the country the pent-up anger of working people was finding expression in local actions.

Growing sentiment for a national strike put pressure on UAW leaders. In September 1945, delegates to the union's GM conference voted for a corporation-wide strike to demand a 30 percent wage increase. They urged other unions to join the UAW in a Conference of Labor to plan united actions in defense of working people.

While UAW locals were conducting their strike votes, the CIO's Oil Workers Industrial Union walked out, kicking off the biggest strike wave in U.S. labor history. Miners, lumber workers, glass workers, machinists, and textile workers were close on their heels. Five million unionists eventually hit the bricks in 1945-46.

Thousands drew their inspiration from the heroic fight of 225,000 GM workers, which began November 21, 1945.

The GM strikers were led by Walter Reuther, then UAW vice-president and head of the union's GM division. Reuther's future as a labor leader was at stake with this strike, and he was forced to look to the militant UAW ranks to carry it out.

When GM insisted it could not possibly afford a 30 percent wage increase, Reuther demanded that they open their books—a proposition the profit-soaked corporation recoiled from in horror.

When GM threatened to pass on any

wage increase in higher prices to customers, Reuther replied with the slogan, "Wage increases without price increases."

In Detroit, Flint, and other union strongholds, city-wide strike committees were set up with representatives from all GM locals. They formed speakers bureaus and publicity committees to unify the strikers, boost morale, and answer company propaganda.

Mass picket lines composed of hundreds of singing, shouting workers and their families circled every outpost of the GM empire. The UAW's uniformed "flying squadrons" were posted nearby to provide defense if necessary.

Negotiations were conducted by a nine-person elected committee. Dependent on the power of the strikers themselves, Reuther resisted pressure from other CIO leaders to dissolve this body and move negotiations outside Detroit.

The strikers sent out appeals for labor solidarity. They urged the United Electrical workers, whose leadership was dominated by the Stalinist Communist Party, to call out its 30,000 members employed by GM. The CP was still following its wartime no-strike policies.

Today Carter is ordering the UAW to settle within his wage guidelines. In December 1945, Truman ordered the UAW to submit to the wage decrees of his appointed "fact-finding" board. Delegates to a GM strike conference that month defiantly rejected his demands.

The spirit of the GM strikers was infectious. After two months AFL and CIO officials could no longer hold back the big battalions of labor. Steel, electrical, and packinghouse workers struck in January. Even the Stalinists were forced to let the United Electrical union's ranks loose at last.

But labor officials refused to coordinate these massive strikes and forge a solid front against the bosses and Truman's strike-breaking board. Instead they scurried to make separate deals.

UAW leaders undercut the effectiveness of the GM strike by failing to call out Ford and Chrysler workers. In line with this suicidal one-at-a-time strategy, they settled with these companies January 26 for an eighteen-and-one-half cent wage increase and various givebacks. On February 9 the Stalinist leaders of the UE came to the same wage terms with GM.

The GM strikers were left to face GM alone. The company steadfastly refused to grant them the same wage increase—bucking Truman's fact-finding board without any fear of reprisal.

The strikers held out for a record 113 days, until March when GM finally agreed to eighteen-and-a-half cents plus other concessions. It was a proud victory for the GM workers and the conclusion of a proud chapter in UAW history.

—Shelley Kramer

Letters

A new subscriber

I am very interested in subscribing to an alternative newsweekly—the *Militant*.

I have become very dissatisfied with shoddy, incomplete, one-sided reporting of the "big" newspapers. I'm tired of trying to interpret the world's events—when the only reference source I have is run by big business—for big business!!

I'll be looking forward to receiving some "real" news for once! Thanks a lot.

Dewayne A. Douthett
Twinsburg, Ohio

Against death penalty

I am writing this letter in behalf of a man I do not know. His name is Willie Darden. He was scheduled to be murdered by the State of Florida on May 25, 1979, along with the man who did die, John Spenselink. A federal judge temporarily intervened and stayed Willie's execution, setting a hearing in the matter for September 4.

The ten-year moratorium on executions in America was ended in Utah with the death of Gary Gilmore. Now there are hundreds of hapless victims, male and female alike, awaiting similar fates in death rows across the nation.

Unless those persons opposed to such barbarism step forth to be heard, the self-appointed gods, like Gov. Bob Graham of Florida, will unleash the hand of death in your behalf.

This open letter is to urge you to sit down today, pick up a pen and write to the governor of Florida protesting this insanity. You are also urged to

contact Willie's defense strategists and offer your support and assistance. They will send you a packet of literature and materials for purposes of distribution and reprint. These materials can be handed out at church functions, National Organization for Women meetings, antinuke rallies, or on the streets of your city.

It is one thing to sit back and deplore such extremes of man's inhumanity to man. It is something else to get personally involved. The life you save may be your brother's.

Write today to the Willie Darden Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 2611, West Lawn, Pennsylvania 19609.

A prisoner
Washington

"Fascist" Pope?

Included in the letters section of the August 10 issue of the *Militant* a letter by Karen Moshewitz ends up with the statement that "The pope is a fascist butcher."

I would like to criticize this remark because it is 100 percent incorrect. I would also like to criticize the *Militant* for not criticizing that remark in a Trotskyist way following the letter because, as we know, "fascism" is a special kind of organized oppression as Trotsky made quite clear. This indiscriminate usage of such terminology is common practice of Stalinism but should never be used by Trotskyists and should not be allowed to go unchallenged.

In making this statement I would like to say that I am not

Chris Burns, socialist activist

By Karen Newton

NEW ORLEANS—Chris Burns, a close friend and past member of the New Orleans branch of the Socialist Workers Party, was killed in a car collision in Mexico on August 22.

Chris was a long-time resident of New Orleans. She was a leader of the Louisiana American Civil Liberties Union, and a staunch defender of women's rights. She first came into contact with the party through her work in the ACLU. It was her involvement in the fight for social change that made Chris decide to join the SWP. She became convinced that a socialist revolution was necessary to realize the things she was fighting for. She joined the SWP following the 1977 party convention.

Chris was also a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, helping to build all its activities on the University of New Orleans campus.

She participated in work against the Bakke decision, worked on the SWP's campaign committee, and was an active member of NOW. These were just some of her many activities. She was one of the first members of the branch to get a job in industry.

Last fall she resigned from the party because she felt time was needed to work through some personal problems. She remained a supporter of the SWP, and attended many of its events. Most recently she actively supported the SWP campaign for governor in Louisiana. Her revolutionary perspective did not change.

Chris had many friends and contacts among political activists in New Orleans. Through her years of dedicated work in the fight for a more just society, she earned the respect and admiration of all those she worked with. Her contributions will not be forgotten.

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

☐ I want to join the SWP.
☐ Send me _____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$_____
☐ Please send me more information.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

JOIN THE SWP

Learning About Socialism

Is opposition to Israel anti-Semitic?

a member of the SWP nor the YSA nor any other organization. I am a 100 percent atheist and have no love for the Pope nor the Roman Catholic Church nor for that matter any other church, denomination, religion, or whatever. My interest is in accuracy in terminology. The influence of the Catholic Church or any other religion in the workers states such as Poland among others is the result of Stalinist methodology and would be of no consequence if a true Marxist-Leninist government was in power. The idiocy of Stalinist methodology is a true friend of Roman Catholicism and other religious dogmas because they push the believers even more close to their grasp. Attacking the Pope in such a manner can do nothing but damage Revolutionary Marxism.

Wayne Griggs
Neches, Texas

Stop forced overtime

On Wednesday, August 8, employees at Lockheed Corporation in Burbank received written notice that fabrication and assembly workers and related services would be placed on a mandatory six-day workweek beginning Saturday, August 11. Although only three days notice was given, employees, indicating they had previous plans that Saturday, were told they would be considered absent if they did not report.

When told the International Association of Machinists had agreed to this mandatory overtime program, employees objected, "The union agrees to what we tell it to agree to."

Lockheed employees responded with threats of wildcat strikes, refusal to report, denials that Lockheed could require forced overtime. Union representatives toured the departments answering questions.

The following day, employees were informed that the six-day workweek was now being considered voluntary, not mandatory. The following week a new bulletin was distributed "to clarify the impression some of you received that the six-day workweek announced last week is mandatory."

Lockheed workers placed extraordinary pressure on the executives and won the right to choose.

J.B.
Los Angeles, California

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.

Black leaders who recently met with the Palestine Liberation Organization and declared their support for the rights of the Palestinian people have been slandered as anti-Semites. The real character of the struggle of the Palestinian people was explained by PLO leader Yasir Arafat when he spoke before the United Nations General Assembly in November 1974.

Arafat's speech, excerpted below, was carried live on radio and television stations throughout the Arab world. It gave the lie to the Zionist claim that the Palestinian struggle is based on anti-Semitism.

Mr. President, the roots of the Palestinian question reach back into the closing years of the 19th century, to that period we call the era of colonialism as we know it today. This is precisely the period during which Zionism as a scheme was born; its aim was the conquest of Palestinian land by European immigrants, just as settlers colonized and indeed raided most of Africa.

And just as colonialism heedlessly used the wretched, the poor, the exploited as mere inert matter with which to build and to carry out settler colonialism, so too were destitute, oppressed European Jews employed on behalf of world imperialism and of the Zionist leadership.

By 1947 the number of Jews had reached 600,000; they owned about 6 percent of Palestinian arable land. The figures should be compared with the [Arab] population of Palestine, which at that time was 1.25 million.

As a result of the collusion between the mandatory power [Britain] and the Zionist movement, and with the support of some countries, this General Assembly, early in its history, approved a recommendation to partition our Palestinian homeland. . . . The General Assembly partitioned that which it had no right to divide—an indivisible homeland.

Furthermore, even though the partition resolution granted the colonialist settlers 54 percent of the land of Palestine, their dissatisfaction with the decision prompted them to wage a war of terror against the civilian Arab population. They occupied 81 percent of the total area of Palestine, uprooting a million Arabs.

Thus, they occupied 524 Arab towns and villages of which they destroyed 385, completely obliterating them in the process. Having achieved that end, they built their own settlements and colonies on the ruins of our farms and our groves. . . .

Not satisfied with all this, the racist entity, founded on the imperialist-colonialist concept, turned itself into a base for imperialism and into an arsenal of weapons.

As a result of Zionist aggression in June 1967, the enemy occupied Egyptian Sinai as far as the Suez Canal. The enemy occupied Syria's Golan Heights, in addition to all Palestinian land west of the Jordan. All these developments

have led to the creation in our area of what has come to be known as the Middle East problem.

Mr. President, if the immigration of Jews to Palestine had had as its objective the goal of enabling them to live side by side with us, enjoying the same rights and assuming the same duties, we would have opened our doors to them as far as our homeland's capacity for absorption permitted.

But that the goal of this immigration should be to usurp our homeland, disperse our people, and turn us into second-class citizens—this is what no one can conceivably demand that we acquiesce in or submit to.

Therefore, since its inception, our revolution was not motivated by racial or religious factors. Its target was never the Jew as a person but racist Zionism and undisguised aggression. In this sense ours is also a revolution for the Jew as human being as well.

We urge the people and governments of the world to stand firm against Zionist attempts at encouraging world Jewry to emigrate from their countries and to usurp our land. We urge them as well firmly to oppose any discrimination against any human being, as to religion, race, or color.

Mr. President, those who call us terrorists wish to prevent world public opinion from discovering the truth about us and from seeing the justice on our faces.

. . . those who wage war to occupy, colonize and oppress other people—those are the terrorists. Those are the people whose actions should be condemned, who should be called war criminals, for the justice of the cause determines the right to struggle.

For many years now our people has been exposed to the ravages of war, destruction, and dispersion. It has paid in the blood of its sons that which cannot ever be compensated. . . . And yet all this has made our people neither vindictive nor vengeful. Nor has it caused us to resort to the racism of our enemies. And nor have we lost the true method by which friend and foe are distinguished.

For we deplore all those crimes committed against the Jews. We also deplore all the real discrimination suffered by them because of their faith.

In my formal capacity as chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and as a leader of the Palestinian revolution, I proclaim before you that when we speak of our common hopes for the Palestine of tomorrow we include in our perspective all Jews now living in Palestine who choose to live with us there in peace and without discrimination.

. . . I call upon Jews one by one to turn away from the illusory promises made to them by Zionist ideology and Israeli leadership. Those offer Jews perpetual bloodshed, endless war, and continuous thralldom.

We offer them the most generous solution that we might live together in a framework of just peace in our democratic Palestine.

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1609 5th Ave. N. Zip: 35205. Tel: (205) 328-9403.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. Los Angeles, SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 733 E. Hedding. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-5876.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Joe Carmack, Univ. of Hartford, 11 Sherman St. Zip: 06105. Tel: (203) 233-6465.

DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, YSA, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o M. Casey, 42 McClellan. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 537-6537. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4120, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181st St., 2nd Floor. Address mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York:

City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 733, Greensboro. Zip: 27401.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 782. Zip: 23607.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, c/o Deann Rathbun, Rt. 1, Box 504, Shelton, Wa. 98584. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 929. Zip: 53701. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

'Pay up or fold up' Rock Island strikers say

By Doug Hord

CHICAGO—Two days after members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) opened their strike against the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad, they got welcome reinforcements.

The 1,800 striking BRAC members were joined August 30 by the 2,500 members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) who work for the Rock Island.

The immediate issue of the strike is the clerks' and operating crafts' demand for back pay to January 1, 1978, when the last national contract expired. The Rock Island, operating as a bankrupt railroad since 1975, refused to accept the national wage agreement.

Each BRAC and UTU member is owed between \$2,500 and \$3,000 in back pay.

On September 2 rail officials leaked plans to the press about how they intend to escalate their attacks on the striking workers. They claimed they would run some of the most profitable trains with supervisory personnel in order to "dig in" and starve out BRAC and the UTU.

Rock Island officials detailed plans made months ago for a "war room" at corporate headquarters on Michigan Avenue. The war room, complete with maps locating all trains, locomotives, and other equipment, is the center of the Rock Island scabbing operations.

The company plan is admittedly inspired by the example of the Norfolk & Western Railway during the eighty-two day strike waged against it by

BRAC last year.

Rock Island management would like to forget, no doubt, that railroad workers learned something from the N&W strike too. After many weeks of stonewalling, the N&W was brought to its knees in a four-day national solidarity strike.

The Rock Island refused to accept the national wage agreement on back pay, claiming it could not afford the \$14 million it would cost.

The clerks have been without a pay raise since September 1977. In that period inflation has eroded their standard of living by more than 20 percent.

One picketer added, "It's not just the back pay. It's also the conditions." Many instances of stepped-up company harassment were cited.

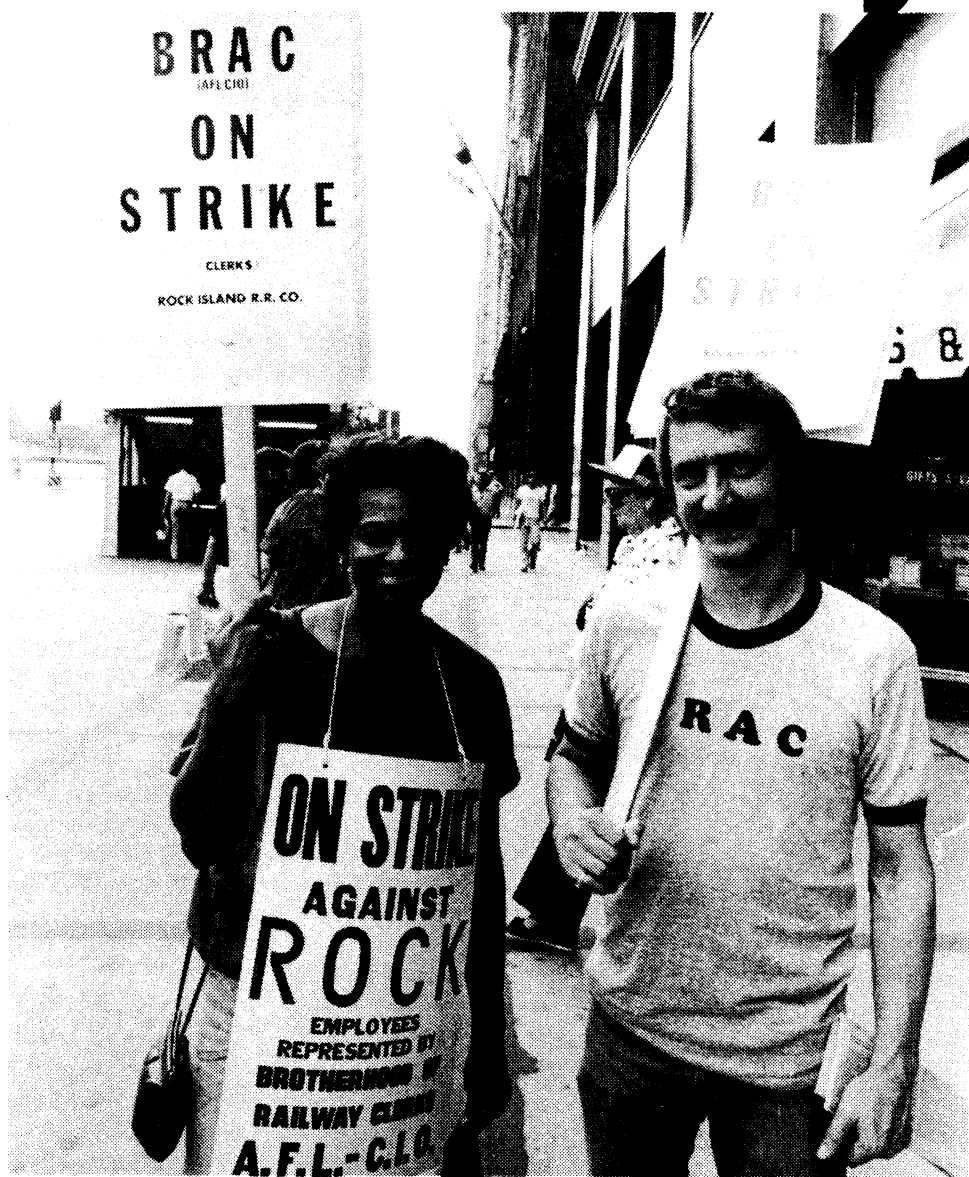
A conductor with thirty-eight years of service told how he was fired last April, along with the local chairperson, for refusing the unsafe practice of riding a train that did not have a caboose.

Another picketer had been fired for giving his crew a lunch break, as provided in an agreement that's been in effect for over two decades.

These and other similar incidents steeled the strikers' determination to see this strike through to the end.

Picketers at the Blue Island yard here in Chicago believe very little of what the company says. In particular they're tired of being beaten over the head with bankruptcy threats. One pencilled picket sign summed it up: "Pay up or fold up."

Continued on page 26



Chicago pickets

Militant/David McDonald

Auto workers discuss strike strategy vs. GM

By Shelley Kramer

As expected, the United Auto Workers has chosen General Motors as this year's strike target. UAW contracts with the Big Three auto companies, covering more than 780,000 workers, expire at midnight September 14. The settlement reached with GM is expected to serve as the pattern agreement with Ford and Chrysler as well.

At an August 30 news conference announcing the union's choice, Vice-president Irving Bluestone, the UAW's chief negotiator with GM, reported that "we should be able to settle this year without the necessity of a strike."

INSIDE: 'Auto reports,' a new Militant column. See page 15.

Earlier that week GM and Ford presented their first contract offers—virtually identical, as usual. They included the standard 3 percent annual wage increase with unchanged cost-of-living escalator (an estimated 28 percent wage package over three years); annual pension raises; seven more Paid Personal Holidays over the three-year contract; freeze on health benefits; and reductions in pay and benefits for new employees.

The companies' proposals fall far short of what UAW members are demanding—substantial wage increases, to catch up with inflation; an improved cost-of-living formula; cost-of-living protection for pensioners; a shorter workweek; and an end to forced overtime.

"I made a point of saying that obviously what they proposed did not go far enough," said Bluestone. Yet UAW President Douglas Fraser called the offer, "a basis, a foundation on which we can build the structure that represents a satisfactory agreement."

UAW leaders have emphasized that they are willing to be "flexible" about the union's demands—especially the key issue of cost-of-living protection for pensioners. "We aren't purists on this," said Fraser, who previously called COLA on pensions the UAW's "number one priority."

Earlier this year leaders of the Teamsters and Rubber Workers expressed similar optimism about reaching national contracts without strikes. But the hard-line stance of employers, the intervention of the Carter administration to hold wages down, and the militancy of their memberships combined to dash these hopes.

The same forces are at work in the current auto talks.

Bluestone warned GM that if a contract is not reached by the deadline, the corporation's 460,000 employees, in eighty-four cities, will hit the bricks.

Many GM workers, especially young workers, believe a strike will be necessary. They and their brothers and sisters at Ford and Chrysler are not cowed by the latest wave of auto layoffs, timed to soften the union up for a poor contract.

Auto workers are worried about their future. But precisely for that reason they are ready to fight if necessary to protect their jobs, stop the layoffs, and secure a decent contract.

That's why many UAW members are turning to their union. Often with questions.

Why strike only GM?, they ask. Why not shut down the whole industry until the UAW's demands are met? That's what the coal miners did.

Such questions challenge the officialdom's sacred "one-at-a-time" strategy, canonized by Walter Reuther in the 1940s. And workers today are getting the same answers auto workers have heard for the past thirty years.

The refrain goes like this. "By striking only one company—and letting the other two carry on production as normal—we increase the pressure of competition on the target. That forces them to settle more quickly on the UAW's terms."

But, UAW members may ask, wouldn't the pressure be far greater if all three had to fold up operations? If steel, rubber, rail, and trucking were forced to slow down in turn? If 780,000 UAW members walked out together—and stayed out until all three companies agreed to the same demands? Wouldn't this force the Big Three to settle more quickly?

Yes on all counts.

Whether to close down an entire industry or strike only one company is a tactical decision. But, in the case of auto, the UAW's invariable "one-at-a-time" approach has already shown its weaknesses.

To begin with, it's never too hard to guess who the target will be. This year Fraser excluded Chrysler from the

outset. Too sickly to afford a strike, he said.

Then he eliminated Ford, the 1976 target. "It isn't fair to ask the same workers to go out again," he explained.

That left only GM—which spent its lead time stockpiling cars, thereby undercutting whatever competitive advantage might accrue to Ford and Chrysler. GM employees were forced to put in up to sixty- or seventy-hour workweeks to strengthen the company's ability to hold out against a strike.

Far from being a model of "free enterprise" and competition, the auto industry is highly monopolized. The Big Three cooperate in a thousand ways, usually secretly, to protect one another from the stresses of competition and from UAW inroads.

They exchange billions of dollars worth of parts and equipment, share trade secrets, collaborate in pricing. And above all, they map out a common anti-union strategy, especially at contract time.

Recently a GM spokesperson was asked what components the company supplies and purchases from Ford and Chrysler. "Well, it's a contract year," he answered. "We don't think it would be a good idea to talk about it."

The upshot is that the one-at-a-time strategy undercuts union power more effectively than it threatens corporate profits.

It plays on divisions within the UAW—between Big Three workers—rather than stoking up competition

Continued on page 14