

THE MILITANT

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

Carter steps up threats against Iran

Defies growing antiwar sentiment

By Fred Feldman

Despite growing opposition at home and abroad to U.S. war moves, the Carter administration is stepping up threats to attack Iran. In his November 28 news conference, Carter repeatedly stressed the "other options"—meaning military blows—he has available in dealing with Iran.

The latest threats completely expose the lie that the White House is trying to assure the safety of the forty-nine Americans still held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

"The president has made it clear, and that is the one thing he emphasized," said Sen. Bennett Johnston (D-La.), "that the honor of the country comes first, before the lives of the hostages" (New York Daily News, November 28). Johnston spoke after a November 27 White House meeting with the president.

Johnston portrayed Carter as ready to sacrifice the hostages rather than "putting the deposed shah on trial in the United States or admitting that the shah is guilty of crimes, 'no matter how guilty or how wrong he is.'"

Again at his news conference, Carter adamantly refused to consider Iran's demand for extradition of the shah—a simple and assured way to secure release of the hostages. Carter denounced as "blackmail" this unanimous demand of millions of Iranians.

What a twisted idea of "honor" that requires Americans to die for the reputation of a proven mass murderer, torturer, and thief!

Carter warned that freeing the hostages might not prevent U.S. military strikes against Iran. Their release would "not wipe the slate clean," he reportedly told Johnston.

The November 22 New York Times described administration officials as holding "that the only realistic military choice for the United States was a military strike after the hostage situation is resolved."

In the November 24 Times, Richard Burt added, "Members of Congress who asked not to be identified said it was their impression that an economic blockade of Iran, backed up by Ameri-



Militant/Mike Alewitz

Boston picket line was one of many protest actions against U.S. war moves. See pages 4-8. Special feature on crimes of the shah, pages 14-15.

can naval forces, was the most likely option open to the administration."

Bipartisan war drums

The war drums are being beaten by both the Democratic and Republican parties—including such supposed "doves" as Sen. George McGovern. He called for "an outright blockade to prevent anything from moving in or out of Iran." Sen. Edward Kennedy backed Carter's threats, saying Americans should "speak with one voice" about Iran.

Carter's statements prove that the hostages are only pawns in the government's efforts to prepare the ground for military moves against the Iranian revolution. Carter's statements and belligerent actions have the additional goal of provoking retaliation against the hostages in Tehran. The White House hopes a few dead bodies will rekindle support for war moves.

The stepped-up war drive was further signalled November 26 when

Washington ordered partial evacuation of its embassies in ten Middle Eastern and South Asian countries where opposition to any U.S. attack on Iran is expected to run high. Meanwhile two U.S. war fleets are heading towards the Iranian coast.

To cover up his readiness to sacrifice the hostages, Carter and the media have tried to revive the claim that they are being "tortured" and "brainwashed" by the students occupying the embassy. In his November 28 news conference, he complained about the "abuse of innocent people"—a charge that never was heard from Carter when the shah was massacring and torturing tens of thousands of innocent people last year.

The charge that the hostages are being abused has been refuted by the Iranian authorities and by all international observers who have visited the embassy.

The lie about brainwashing is espe-

cially aimed at discrediting the opinions of the hostages, such as the thirty-three who have asked that Carter send the shah to Iran for trial. In particular, Carter wants the American public to forget about the Black and women hostages who indicated sympathy for the Iranian revolution and for the demand to return the shah.

Hansen's trip to Iran

The trip to Iran by U.S. Rep. George Hansen (R-Idaho) opened a new breach in Washington's efforts to present a monolithic front. Hansen called on the House Banking Committee to initiate an investigation into the shah's theft of billions from Iran.

Interviewed on CBS television news November 27, Hansen suggested that the White House had provoked the crisis, knowing that bringing the shah to the United States would anger the Iranian people.

Hansen's fellow legislators, the State

Continued on page 4

Auto Worker official calls for solidarity with Nicaragua

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Labor has no stake in another Vietnam!

The endorsement by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland of Carter's drive toward war against Iran is a deadly disservice to American working people.

Interviewed November 25 on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation," Kirkland backed the order by officials of dock and transport unions not to service ships or planes bound for Iran.

Kirkland further told reporters that the AFL-CIO officialdom would support "whatever steps" Carter takes against Iran. Asked if that included military action, Kirkland said, "If necessary, yes."

Such statements do not reflect the sentiments of union members or American workers in general, who are in their overwhelming majority opposed to U.S. military intervention.

Kirkland's backing to Carter's threats and provocations against Iran is grimly reminiscent of the AFL-CIO hierarchy's diehard support to Washington's long war against Vietnam. The working class paid an incalculable price for that war—in the blood of working-class youth, in higher taxes to pay for the bloated military budget, and in loss of purchasing power as war spending drove inflation into double digits.

Labor paid another price as well. The prowar stand of the union officialdom brought shame and isolation to the union movement, alienating young workers and the progressive social forces the unions need as allies. Instead of showing that labor could lead a fight in the interests of the vast majority of the American people—by using union power to oppose and halt the war—the top union officials acted as craven accomplices to the most reactionary forces in society.

Today, the need to ally with and champion the interests of Blacks, Latinos, women, and youth is becoming widely recognized in the union movement. Enlisting in Carter's holy war against the Iranian revolution is incompatible with forging such alliances.

Kirkland's backing to Carter's war moves is especially out of step with the thinking of Black workers. Blacks, who know full well they would die in disproportionate numbers in any new U.S. military adventure, have been in

the forefront of opposition to Washington's war moves. Many Black leaders have backed the Iranian people's just demand for extradition of the criminal shah.

Just as on the question of defending Palestinian rights, Blacks are playing a vanguard role in explaining that the interests of American workers lie with the oppressed and exploited masses of the world, not with Washington's drive to crush their liberation struggles.

Already Carter has made it clear that his first demand on American workers—in the name of patriotism and "defending our country's honor"—is acceptance of his energy policies. Use less and pay more. Turn down the thermostat. Sacrifice. Accept a new tax on gasoline, decontrol of oil prices, and the operation of dangerous nuclear plants.

Who will benefit from these policies? The oil monopolies and other powerful capitalist interests. Certainly not working people. And the same is true of Carter's entire campaign against Iran. It is to defend the global interests of U.S. corporate profiteers—their domination and exploitation of the resources and peoples of the Middle East—that Carter has brought the world to the brink of war.

But today is very different from the early years of the Vietnam War, or from the cold war period that preceded Vietnam. There is not unquestioning support to U.S. imperialism's commander-in-chief. To the contrary, a vast debate has opened up over U.S. policy in Iran—not only on the campuses but in the factories, mines, and mills across the country.

The urgent task today is to organize the largest and broadest possible protests against Carter's war moves.

Emergency antiwar rallies, picket lines, debates, forums, and teach-ins are needed to get out the truth and make visible the majority opposition to war against Iran.

Discussions in the plants, sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party 1980 candidates are invaluable aids in exposing Carter's lies and rallying opposition to war.

A forceful campaign of antiwar protest will reinforce and strengthen the sentiment in the plants and facilitate reversing the reactionary prowar stand voiced by Kirkland. Labor's power should be placed where labor's real interests lie, in demanding: No more Vietnams! U.S. hands off Iran!

A blow to women

On November 16 the House and Senate agreed on a "compromise" appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that allows federally financed abortions only to save the woman's life or in cases of rape and incest.

For the fourth year in a row, the same sham debate over the Hyde amendment was repeated in Congress. It always boils down to how tight to draw the noose.

The "debate" is intended to give the illusion that some politicians—such as presidential candidate Edward Kennedy—really care about women.

The compromise was between the "liberal" Senate version that favored abortions when two doctors certified the woman's physical health would be impaired, and the House "conservative" version that permitted abortions only when the woman's life was endangered.

The end result is that up to 340,000 women next year will be denied safe, legal abortions. Poor women on Medicaid, who are disproportionately Black and Latina, are again condemned to seek out back-alley abortions or to bear unwanted children.

But the issue is far from settled. Polls continue to show that the majority of people, including Catholics, support abortion rights.

On November 26, the U.S. Supreme Court announced it would hear arguments on three appeals of an Illinois court ruling that found the Hyde amendment unconstitutional.

Supporters of abortion rights count among their ranks the nation's biggest women's group, the National Organization for Women, and the only organization of women unionists, the Coalition of Labor Union Women. These groups represent powerful forces.

The Supreme Court justices and the Democratic and Republican politicians in the White House and Congress need to see that supporters of abortion rights for all women are willing to fight to end any restrictions on those rights.

One immediate boost to that fight will be the January 13 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia. The right-wing, antiwoman forces that oppose the ERA also oppose abortion rights and vice versa. A big outpouring for the ERA will also spur the fight to ensure abortion rights for all women.

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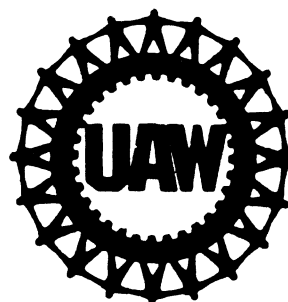
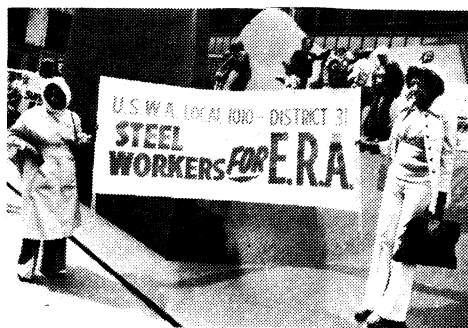


'Unacceptable' ideas

The government has admitted the reason it won't grant Héctor Marroquín political asylum is because it finds the Mexican socialist's political views 'unacceptable.' **Page 16.**

UAW youth meet

Detroit conference urges creation of youth councils throughout United Auto Workers union, discusses problems of unemployment, nuclear power, working conditions. **Page 9.**



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100,000 Nicaraguans rally

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—More than 100,000 people poured into the streets here November 7 in a massive show of support for the gains of their revolution and to honor Carlos Fonseca Amador, founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (see box). The demonstration and rally were the largest since the mobilization July 20 that greeted the FSLN fighters as they marched into Managua.

The outpouring occurred against the background of border violations and harassment of Nicaraguan diplomatic officials by the rightist military dictatorship in Honduras. The Honduran government openly collaborates with officers of Somoza's National Guard who retreated into Honduras with their troops following the July insurrection.

In addition to the border incursions, the Nicaraguan government has reported two overflights of its territory by the Honduran air force. Honduran officials have also arrested Nicaraguan diplomatic officials in the capital city of Tegucigalpa.

At the Managua rally, Minister of Interior and FSLN Comandante Tomás Borge denounced these hostile acts by the Honduran dictatorship. Borge—who presented the main tribute to Fonseca Amador—said that the Nicaraguan government has not fallen for these provocations, responding in a



November 7 demonstration honors FSLN founder

Militant/Fred Murphy

MORE ON NICARAGUA

Speech by United Auto Workers official, page 10. Speech by FSLN representative, page 21.

mature and measured fashion. But he stressed the iron will of the Nicaraguan masses to defend their revolution against all its enemies.

"Is it possible that [Honduran officials] have confused our maturity with a lack of courage?" Borge asked the crowd. He also reported that the Sandinista army had decisively crushed sixty National Guardsmen who had staged a raid across the Honduran border.

Pointing to the ominous character of these actions, Borge, added: "Could it be that this provocation by elements linked to the Honduran police and army is part of a plan whose scope and content we are not yet fully aware?" It is widely known in Nicaragua that the CIA collaborates closely with government officials and Somozaist officers in Honduras.

Borge called for friendship between the Honduran and Nicaraguan people. Referring to the importance of international solidarity with Nicaragua, Borge pointed in particular to the efforts by Cuba. "The people who have aided us most generously, without conditions and beyond all their own possibilities, are the people of Cuba," he said.

The crowd responded with chants of

"Cuba! Cuba! Cuba!" and "Viva Fidel!"

Borge also reviewed the government's plans for major education, literacy, and health campaigns. He hailed the nationalization the previous week of foreign-owned mines, calling this a victory against imperialist exploitation of Nicaraguan miners and for the country's sovereignty over its natural resources. (In an act of rightist sabotage, the Rosita mine was burned less than a week following the nationalization.)

The other speakers were FSLN Comandante Humberto Ortega and Sergio Ramírez, one of the five members of the Junta of National Reconstruction. Ramírez stressed the democratic rights and institutions that have been won by the Nicaraguan masses.

The neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), Ramírez said, "are the basis of our Sandinista people's revolution." The main task in strengthening the revolution, he said, is to strengthen "our democracy, a democracy that is in the streets, in the trade unions, in the peasant communities, the democracy that is living under the ideas of Sandino and Carlos Fonseca Amador."

The November 7 rally was the culmination of three days of tributes to Fonseca Amador throughout Nicaragua. On November 5 his remains were brought to Matagalpa, the northern city where he was born, from the rural village of Waslala, where he had been buried at the time of his murder by the National Guard in 1976.

Between 30,000-50,000 people rallied in Matagalpa that day and heard speeches by Borge and Comandante Bayardo Arce. The birthplace of Fonseca Amador was dedicated as a national museum. At a ceremony that continued throughout the night, messages were heard from representatives of the mass organizations—CDSs, July 19 Sandinista Youth, Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Nicaraguan Women's Association, teachers union (ANDEN), Agricultural Workers Association (ATC), and Sandinista army and police.

A contingent of Cuban doctors participated in the celebration, carrying the Cuban flag. They formed part of the honor guard around the bier of Fonseca Amador in the city square.

The following day, a caravan of FSLN leaders brought the coffin to Managua, stopping for ceremonies in several small villages along the way.

The determination and spirit of commitment to the revolution that permeated these mobilizations was summed up by the quotation from Fonseca Amador repeated over and over again throughout these three days and displayed on the front page of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* November 8:

"It is not simply a question of changing the men in power, but rather of changing the system, of overthrowing the exploiting classes and bringing the exploited classes to victory."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Carlos Fonseca Amador

Carlos Fonseca Amador became active in the struggle against Somozaism as a student in the 1950s. In 1958 he joined the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), a pro-Moscow party, and visited the Soviet Union as a representative of the PSN youth.

Fonseca Amador soon became disillusioned with the PSN's failure to project the need for a revolutionary struggle against the dictatorship. In 1959 he joined efforts by veterans of the anti-imperialist army of Augusto César Sandino to relaunch a struggle

against the Somoza dictatorship. In 1960 he left the PSN.

In 1962, under the impact of the Cuban revolution, Fonseca Amador formed the Sandinista National Liberation Front along with Tomás Borge and Silvio Mayorga. Of these three founding leaders, Borge alone is still alive.

On November 7, 1976, Fonseca Amador was killed by Somoza's National Guard in the mountainous areas of northern Nicaragua known as Zinica.

—F.M.

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Protests hit U.S. war moves against Iran

By Osborne Hart

Protests against U.S. military intervention in Iran are growing on campuses and in cities across the country.

• At the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, 1,500 people attended a forum on Iran. Eight panelists discussed the crisis and how to resolve it.

The forum, titled "Calm Voice: A Nonviolent Look at Iran," was viewed as a response to several anti-Iranian demonstrations on Utah campuses recently.

An Iranian student told the crowd, "The Americans brought back the shah once in 1953. So don't blame us if we don't trust the U.S. government."

Dr. Ricardo Sánchez, a Chicano Studies professor, said, "The takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Iran is a response to American arrogance. A response to actions like the overthrow of Allende in Chile."

Sánchez deplored any talk of U.S. military intervention in Iran. "I don't want Chicanos to experience again 39 percent of the casualties, as they did in Vietnam," he declared.

The audience responded with jeers and boos to comments about bombing Tehran or U.S. military involvement.

Franklin McKean, dean of student affairs, said no Iranian student would be removed from campus.

• A teach-in was held at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor November 26. More than 125 students packed University Hall to hear a historical account of the shah's regime and a description of the current situation.

The discussion revolved around the Carter administration's war threats and why U.S. intervention is not in the interests of the American or Iranian people.

At one point during the meeting, the question was asked, "How many would die for the shah in a war with Iran?" Only one person raised their hand.

• Two hundred students attended a panel at Northwestern University in Chicago November 20. Speakers included representatives from Amnesty International, Operation PUSH, Iranian Students Association, and others.

Ed Voci, an ISA lawyer, denounced Carter's roundup of Iranian students. Voci declared that Carter has "no legal authority" and the order has "contributed to the hysteria" against Iranians.

Commenting on the recent release of Black hostages, Tom McCarroll, a member of the Illinois University Progressive Black Students for Change, said during discussion, "Blacks who I talked to don't see what the Iranians have done as trying to use Blacks, but as an act of solidarity."

• Nearly 200 Indiana University students gathered at a forum November 19, called in response to several anti-Iranian demonstrations the previous week.

Speakers exposed the U.S. government's complicity with the shah and warmongering against Iran. The audience greeted the demands to "Send back the shah" with enthusiastic applause.

• More than 400 students gathered for an open-mike speakout on the San Diego State University campus November 16. Students were protesting attacks on Iranians and countering anti-Iran actions on the California campus.

Houshang Mobarez told the crowd, "The politicians in this country are creating an atmosphere of witch-hunts and racism."

Students cheered when one speaker asked, "How many of you want the shah expelled?"

• The Student-Faculty Council at Wayne State University in Detroit is organizing weekly open-mike forums on Iran.

More than 300 attended the first meeting November 20. Many speakers denounced the harassment of Iranian students and called for the extradition of the shah.

• Forty pro-Iranian demonstrators picketed the federal building in Boston

November 21. The pickets chanted "Hands off Iran" and "Send back the shah."

• An emergency demonstration to "End U.S. intervention in Iran," "Send the shah to Iran," and "Stop racist attacks on Iranian people," was held in San Francisco November 24. Approximately 400 participated in the action, organized by the Emergency Coalition to Support Iranian People.

Picket lines and other protest activities were also reported in Atlanta, Birmingham, and Gainesville, Florida.

N.Y. Blacks: 'Send shah back'

By Sam Manuel

NEW YORK—A crowd of 150 Blacks rallied in a Brooklyn church November 27 to show solidarity with the Nicaraguan and Iranian revolutions.

Organized by the Black United Front, the "Send All the Dictators Back!" meeting featured Salvador Oracheno, Committee for a Free Nicaragua; Sassan Ardlan, Iranian Embassy representative; and Rev. Herbert Daughtry, BUF chairperson.

Ardlan expressed his gratitude for the opportunity to address people in the United States who support the Iranian revolution.

The next day, a delegation of Blacks—led by Daughtry—met with Iranian special envoy Saeed Sanjavi.

A statement read by Daughtry conveyed the delegation's sentiment: "We applaud the position of

the Ayatollah Khomeini in releasing the Black hostages and his recognition of the conditions under which Blacks in the U.S. now exist and have existed for over 400 years. We intend to support efforts to have the former shah returned along with the billions stashed away in the banks of his friend David Rockefeller."

The statement underscored that Blacks and other working people would pay the price in any U.S. war moves against Iran: "Black people have an important role to play in this present controversy because it will be Black soldiers who will have to fight on the front lines again in greater percentage than their numbers in the U.S. reflect."

Meanwhile, in an act of solidarity, twenty-five Blacks marched outside the Iranian United Nations Mission carrying signs that read, "Send the Shah Back!"

...war threats

Continued from front page

Department, and newspaper editorials launched a frenzied campaign to discredit him. But Hansen has so far refused to retreat. "It would be a lot healthier to send American fact-finding teams to Iran than soldiers," he stated.

Another crack in congressional unanimity behind Carter's war drive came when Rep. Robert Duncan (D-Ore.) warned: "There's a lot of tough talk, but once those TV cameras go in there and the first bodies of American soldiers start coming home, I think the American people's desire for strong action will rapidly diminish."

Deep antiwar sentiment

Such statements by capitalist politicians reflect their realization that several weeks of intensive war propaganda have failed to roll back the deep antiwar sentiment of the American people.

The overwhelming majority of Americans are opposed to going to war. Growing numbers are doubtful of the correctness of bringing the shah to the United States and refusing his extradition. And more than a few are suspicious that Carter is not really concerned about the fate of the hostages but is looking for pretexts to take military action.

These feelings are especially strong in the Black community, where many national and community leaders have taken a stand against Carter's course towards war.

Among those who have let slip the real state of affairs is Andrew Young, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. He commented that to Iranians, "our protecting the shah is about like our protecting Adolf Eichmann."

Carter's talk about the American people standing united behind him against Iran is just whistling in the dark. The American people are far from united behind Carter's war policy. And that is a major reason why, despite the escalating threats, Carter

has not yet launched a military attack.

Resistance to Carter's war drive is building up internationally as well. In an effort to firm up the appearance of international support, Carter backed the call of United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim for a Security Council meeting on Iran—a move U.S. officials had previously opposed.

The U.S. rulers would like to get UN sanction for moves against Iran. The Security Council's demand that Iran release the hostages, which made no reference to the crimes of the shah or the threat posed by U.S. war moves, was a step in this direction.

But UN members feel growing pressure to take their distance from the drive to crush the Iranian revolution. The *New York Times* complained editorially on November 28 that "most of those governments cannot bring themselves to cast a vote that might put some pressure on the Iranians—because it would momentarily align them with an unpopular superpower."

Imam Ruhollah Khomeini issued a blistering denunciation of the Security Council for its subservience to Washington.

"Our nation knows," Khomeini declared November 27, "that the verdict of any council or court that sits under the direct influence of the United States has been dictated by the United States from the start, and the condemnation of our oppressed nation is welcomed by the council."

Mideast opposes U.S. war

In the Middle East and South Asia, there is growing fear even among the most pro-imperialist rulers of the consequences of U.S. military attacks on Iran.

"The United States has already set one dangerous precedent by freezing Iranian money in American banks," an official from one Arab oil-producing country told *New York Times* correspondent Youssef Ibrahim. "If they also meddle with Iranian oil, then we all have to worry."

Even more worrisome to the regimes in the region is the likelihood of an explosive popular reaction to any at-

tacks on Iran. This was reflected in a November 24 warning from the Pakistani government of President Zia Ul-haq that, "As a brotherly neighbor of Iran, Pakistan cannot remain indifferent to the prospect of force by the United States against it."

"Foreign and Arab diplomats here agree," wrote Ibrahim from the Persian Gulf state of Bahrain November 27, "that any attacks by the American Navy would set off anti-American riots in the region by many people... who view Ayatollah Khomeini as their religious leader."

"The problem is heightened," Ibrahim noted, by radio broadcasts from Iran calling "for a revolt of the 'disinherited against their oppressors.'"

Above all, the continued deepening of the Iranian revolution haunts Carter. Despite Carter's proclamation November 28 that the takeover of the

embassy was the "action of a few," every person who has seen the news on television knows that millions are mobilizing to support it. Thus far U.S. threats have deepened the upsurge, leading to Khomeini's recent call for arming and militarily training the whole population.

As the U.S.-provoked crisis drags on and Carter refuses to return the shah, the danger of war is great. It is more urgent than ever before to block Washington's plans for military intervention by organizing emergency protests to demand:

Stop the threats—withdraw the war fleet now menacing the shores of Iran!

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

No deportations—halt the attacks on Iranian students!

U.S. hands off Iran!

Hands Off Iran!

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STOP U.S. WAR THREATS AGAINST IRAN. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sat., Dec. 1, 7 p.m. UNITAS House, 2700 Bancroft Way, Berkeley. Donation: \$2. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

**MISSOURI
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STOP U.S. THREATS AGAINST IRAN. Speakers: Martha Pettit, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate and member of United Auto Workers Local 93; Frank Chatman, co-chair, St. Louis Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; others. Sun., Dec. 2, 7 p.m. Washington

University. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

**OREGON
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THE CRISIS IN IRAN. Speaker: Gerry Foley, writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Sun., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**TEXAS
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NO U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTION IN IRAN—STOP THE DEPORTATIONS. Speakers: Gerald Goldstein, American Civil Liberties Union attorney; Elsa Blum, Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Dec. 5, 12 noon. Humanities-Business Bldg., Univ. of Texas at San Antonio. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH
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U.S. THREATS AGAINST IRAN. Speakers: James Consadine, president, Central Utah Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO; Glen Swanson, member of Socialist Workers Party and Molders Local 231. Sun., Dec. 2, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7 E. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Millions prepare to defend revolution

By Janice Lynn

In response to Washington's escalating war threats against Iran—with a U.S. naval task force ominously steaming toward the Persian Gulf—Imam Ruhollah Khomeini declared November 26 that Iran's forces were on alert.

Khomeini called on every young Iranian to take up arms to defend the country against U.S. military attack.

"Equip yourselves and train yourselves and your friends for military purposes," Khomeini said.

Shortly after, a radio broadcast stated that the Islamic Revolutionary Guards had formulated a nationwide program of military training. They distributed weapons-training pamphlets to demonstrators outside the U.S. Embassy gates.

The next day, television time was given to a demonstration of how to use an automatic rifle. So far, an air force unit at the airport and a technical school in Tehran have announced weapons training open to the public.

Reports from Tehran indicate there is widespread sentiment among workers for arming the population to defend Iran against a U.S. military attack. Oil workers had called for organizing "nuclei of resistance."

The Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) has been calling for arming the population and providing military

training through the *shoras* (councils) of workers, peasants, and students. Several newspapers had printed the socialists' proposals.

On November 21, the day after Washington announced that a naval task force was on its way to Iran, an estimated two million people massed in the streets of Tehran in the largest display yet of sentiment against U.S. military moves.

With the deepening of the revolution in Iran, newspapers of several workers parties and leftist political groups have been reappearing.

Kargar (Worker), the newspaper of the HKS, is being sold at the daily demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy and at newsstands. A second issue of the now legal paper is already off the press. The paper of the Fedayeen, while still not legal, is circulating without interference. The Fedayeen is a student-based group that won respect for its armed actions against the shah.

The Fedayeen had initially held back from supporting the mobilizations at the embassy, denouncing them as a maneuver by Khomeini. But the group sponsored a support rally of more than 100,000 on November 25.

Their support was welcomed by the students occupying the embassy, who issued a statement that anyone attacking the Fedayeen-sponsored demon-

stration would be acting in the interests of the CIA. The demonstration proceeded without disruption.

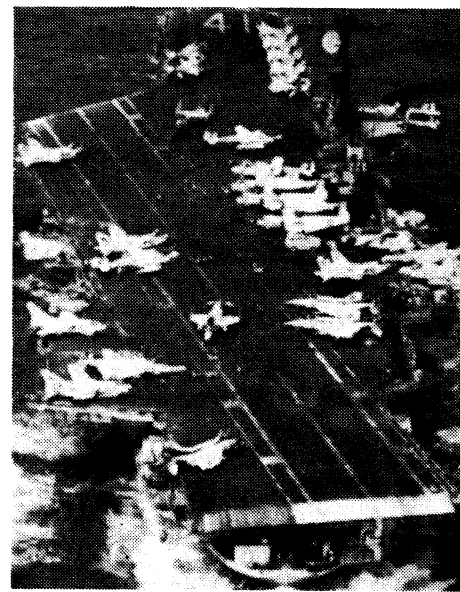
Delegations of workers have continued to show their support for the demands of the students in the U.S. Embassy. On November 23, thousands of oil workers traveled to Tehran, many driving their tank trucks to express their solidarity.

The sentiment against U.S. domination of Iran continues to be manifest in cities throughout Kurdistan, where the struggle of the oppressed Kurdish people for their rights has been gaining ground. Kurdish groups in Tehran have also taken part in demonstrations in front of the embassy.

When Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri publicly attacked Kurdish leaders at a Tehran prayer meeting November 23, protest demonstrations broke out in Mahabad and other Kurdish cities.

Montazeri had called Kurdish leaders "agents of SAVAK, Zionists, and corrupt sources." The Kurdish demonstrators pointed out that the Kurdish struggle was for the rights of an oppressed people and fell fully within the framework of anti-imperialism and anti-Zionism.

The day after Montazeri's speech, an announcement was made on television that Montazeri's statement reflected only his own personal point of view



U.S. aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk on way to Persian Gulf.

and not the views of the Islamic Revolutionary Council.

The Democratic Party of Kurdistan has come out for unity against U.S. imperialism and has pledged to help defend Iran against U.S. military attacks. They have called for a ceasefire with the central government and the withdrawal of all non-Kurdish Pasdaran (revolutionary guards) from Kurdistan in order to facilitate the anti-imperialist struggle.

Iran socialists appeal to American workers

The following is a statement by the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (Socialist Workers Party) of Iran.

In the past few weeks the Carter administration has been making open threats against Iran. The pretext is the takeover of the U.S. embassy by students who demand that the murderous and corrupt ex-shah be extradited to Iran. Carter calls this a violation of U.S. sovereignty.

The Iranian people bear no hostility against American working people. We know that it is the U.S. government that has been trampling on the sovereignty of Iran for decades.

The military coup that returned the shah to power in 1953, opening a twenty-five year reign of terror, was organized out of the embassy. For twenty-five years the U.S. government poured arms and dollars to keep the shah in power.

The Central Intelligence Agency organized and trained SAVAK, the shah's secret police. About 300,000 Iranians passed through the shah's torture chambers because they criticized his regime. The U.S. rulers pro-

vided 40,000 military advisers to help run the shah's army—the army that gunned down tens of thousands of unarmed demonstrators just last year.

Although the U.S. embassy backed him to the very end, the shah was overthrown last February through a heroic struggle by millions of Iranians. The shah—this criminal with the blood of so many on his hands—escaped with billions of dollars stolen from the Iranian people.

Today the U.S. government is providing a refuge for this monster.

Isn't this record a grotesque violation of Iranian sovereignty and proper diplomatic procedure? Isn't it a brutal trampling on basic human rights?

Yet when we demand the return of the criminal for trial in our courts, it is we who are denounced by the U.S. government as "inhuman fanatics."

Carter's threats are aimed at stopping the advances that the Iranian working masses have made since the February insurrection which brought down the shah.

U.S. big business is opposed to the factory committees we have established, which have forced the bosses to

raise wages and end speedup. It is opposed to the fact that the Iranian workers are opening the books of the big corporations to expose the profits of the bosses, especially the profits that are taken out of our country and to the United States. It opposes the efforts of our committees to lower prices of the goods that we working people produce.

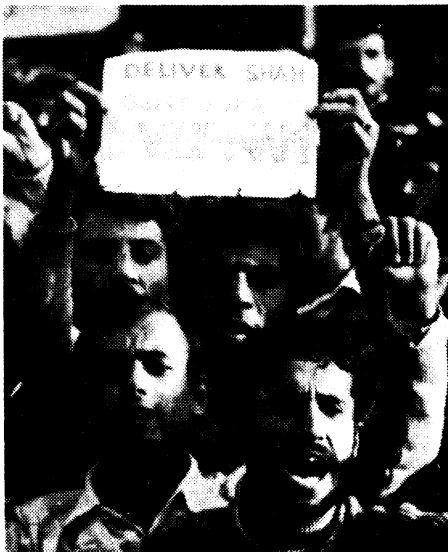
Big business opposes the actions of Iranian farmers to take over the land they till, to demand irrigation rights and cancellation of debts to banks, moneylenders, and big landlords.

No, the American capitalists do not like the example we are setting for workers and farmers the world over.

The U.S. oil companies especially hate our revolution. Today they are threatening new shortages in order to force you to pay even higher prices—while pinning the blame on us in an effort to whip up hatred against the Iranian people.

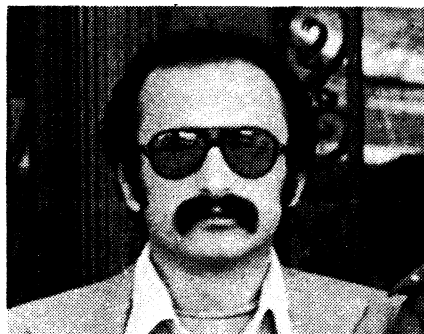
But if the U.S. government invades Iran, it will not be the rich who fight and die, but American workers and farmers. Blacks and Latinos will be especially victimized by any war moves by Washington.

We remember how the opposition of American working people put a stop to the U.S. government's war in Vietnam. We know you have no interest in helping big business and the Carter administration force us back into submission and slavery. We know the American working people will join us in saying, "Hands off Iran!"



Iranians in Tehran appeal to American people.

Two HKS members freed



KIA MAHDAVI Militant/José G. Pérez

A significant victory was won in Iran when two of the fourteen jailed members of the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) were released from prison.

Mohammed Poorkahvaz, in jail since May 30, was freed on November 22. Kia Mahdavi, arrested June 23, was released on November 27.

Mahdavi, like many of the other HKS prisoners, had been active against the shah's tyranny while in exile in the United States. Poorkahvaz was part of the anti-shah movement in Europe.

The fourteen socialists had been arrested for expressing their political ideas. Shortly before the two socialists were released, the HKS fourteen had declared their support "to the occupation of the U.S. espionage center of the CIA and Pentagon" and appealed for their release so they might join their "brothers and sisters to help strengthen the struggle against reaction and U.S. imperialism."

As the first prisoner won his release, the remaining HKS members, who are now all in Karoun prison in Ahwaz, came together to sing the revolutionary strains of the "Internationale."

The release of the two socialists is a sign of how the political situation in Iran is opening up, and raises hopes that the freedom of the remaining twelve socialist prisoners can also soon be won. —J.L.

Readings on Iran

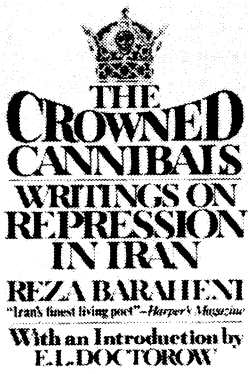
The Crowned Cannibals

Writings on Repression in Iran

By Reza Baraheni

Reza Baraheni, the founder of modern literary criticism in Iran and one of Iran's finest living poets, was kidnapped in 1973 by SAVAK, the Iranian government's secret police. During the 102 days of his imprisonment, he was repeatedly tortured and beaten. Forced into exile for five years, he returned to Iran after the overthrow of the shah.

The Crowned Cannibals is about



the reign of terror under the shah, the problems of oppressed nationalities and women, and the situation of Iranian writers. The book also contains Baraheni's poems illustrating the conditions of life under the shah. 280 pages, \$3.95.

Iran

Dictatorship and Development

By Fred Halliday

This work serves as an introduction to the history of Iran, including the economic and political conditions which led to the overthrow of the shah.

Halliday takes up the development of agriculture and the oil industry, as well as the development of the armed forces, SAVAK, and the shah's government. 348 pages, \$3.95.

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

Anti-Iranian bigotry prepares war

Behind racist lies about 'Islamic fanatics'

By Fred Feldman

Mobs of "religious fanatics" motivated by "Islamic fervor."

That's how the U.S. news media are trying to dismiss the millions of demonstrators in Iran demanding that the deposed shah be returned to stand trial, and the tens of thousands of workers, students, and poor in other countries who have protested at U.S. embassies and consulates.

The same newspaper and TV commentators who gushed reverence during the pope's tour are overcome with horror at the religious beliefs of most Iranians. They portray as madmen the Islamic figures—particularly Imam Ruhollah Khomeini—who presently are at the head of the Iranian people's struggle against U.S. war threats.

This portrayal of Iranians and Arabs as religious fanatics is used by the media to cover up the justice of their demand for return of the shah. It is part of the effort to whip up American working people for a holy war against "Islamic barbarians."

Racist propaganda

This propaganda is crudely racist. An example was the report in the November 19 *Wall Street Journal* by Karne Elliott House. "U.S. concern for the safety of the hostages also is heightened by the approach of Muharran," a major religious holiday for Iranian Muslims. During that period, claimed House, "Young men flagellate [whip] themselves with chains until their blood runs. . . ."

"U.S. officials fear that this religious fervor and the sight of blood could precipitate violent attacks on American hostages."

Clearly, the reader is supposed to conclude, the U.S. military must act quickly to save the Americans from these blood-crazed beasts in human form!

But House's description of Muharran is a fake. Similar propaganda was poured out last year to discredit major anti-shah demonstrations planned for Muharran. The claims were intended to justify the shah's preparations for brutal repression. When the day came, millions poured out to denounce the



Victorious striking oil workers display pictures of Imam Khomeini

butcher shah—but the bloody flagellants predicted throughout the U.S. press were nowhere to be found.

Stirring up racist and religious bigotry to justify oppression of the peoples of the Middle East is nothing new. The European colonizers and their U.S. successors have always portrayed their domination and exploitation of this region as a Christian, civilizing mission among the heathen Muslim hordes.

When masses of people rose up against British, French, and U.S. domination—from the revolt of the Sudanese against British expansion in 1885 to Iran today—such racist propaganda was used to con working people in the imperialist countries into sacrificing their lives to crush the revolts.

Culture repressed

As part of grinding down all resistance to foreign domination and maximizing the exploitation of Arab and other predominantly Muslim peoples, the masses were told that their own culture, ideas, beliefs, and organizations were primitive and reactionary compared to those of the "progressive" and "modern" West.

While the Christian religion of the British, U.S., and French rulers was presented as humane and rational, the Islamic beliefs of the masses were systematically downgraded as backward and cruel. The description of the ex-shah—who tortured thousands and devastated Iran's economy and culture in the interests of foreign corporate interests—as a "modernizer" was cut from this pattern.

As a result of this oppression, belief in Islam and Islamic organizations became for many a means of expressing hatred of imperialist domination, of rejecting the culture of their oppressors, and of defending the value of their own culture and history.

The mosques often provided an opening for organizing and expressing opposition, particularly for the most poor and exploited sections of the population. Religious leaders sometimes came to the fore in movements against foreign domination.

Many liberation fighters in the Middle East came to view religion as a unifying factor for the peoples of different countries and nationalities oppressed by imperialism. Islam is the religion of the majority in a vast region stretching from Pakistan to Morocco.

Khomeini appeals to this sentiment, calling on other peoples of the region to carry out an "Islamic revolution" to "destroy the satanic domination of the United States."

In a recent broadcast over Iran's Voice of the Revolution, Khomeini declared, "We, following this great Islam, support all impoverished masses and will back you and all organizations who rise to liberate their countries."

It happened here, too

This is not the first time in history that a progressive movement took a religious form at the start. The same thing happened at the beginning of the antifederal revolutions in Europe that established democratic capitalist states. From England to Germany, Protestant theology and organizations provided the framework of the struggle.

Much of the early settlement in the United States (particularly in New England and Pennsylvania) was carried out by such groups. These early settlers too were derided as "religious fanatics" by the British ruling classes, who falsely viewed themselves as far more "modern," "progressive," and "rational" than the dissenters.

In Iran, the role of the Islamic religion was reinforced by the shah's brutal repression of dissent, which left the mosques as one of the few places

where oppositional views could sometimes be heard, expressed, or discussed. The shah's ruthless efforts to shut off this outlet gave Islamic institutions added prestige in the eyes of millions of working people.

Then the religious hierarchy, led by Khomeini, went into open opposition to the shah. The masses correctly grasped the opportunity to launch a fight to the finish against the tyranny.

Khomeini's popularity

Khomeini's popularity stems from his resolute anti-shah and anti-imperialist stand. Other religious leaders who sought to compromise with the shah lost standing.

In particular, Khomeini's uncompromising posture placed him far closer to the sentiments of the most oppressed and exploited than secular, "liberal" politicians in Iran, who hated the working masses and feared their anti-shah upsurge. Under the banner of "Islamic revolution," the working masses began to fight for their own interests against the exploiters at home and abroad.

Neither Islamic religious beliefs nor Khomeini's often militant stands turned the masses into uncritical followers of the religious hierarchy, however. When Khomeini took stands that ran against the interests of working people—such as propping up the unpopular Bazargan cabinet, launching attacks on the Kurdish and Arab peoples, and restricting democratic rights—he ran into growing resistance.

His popularity soared again when he broke with Bazargan, who was suspected of conspiring with representatives of the U.S. government against the Iranian revolution, voiced support for the committees workers were forming to defend their interests on the job, and threw his weight behind the students who had occupied the U.S. Embassy.

The people who are being slandered every day in the capitalist media as religious fanatics are just working people like ourselves trying to organize to advance their interests and win a better life.

The campaign to whip up hatred of these people because of their religion is a sinister trap for American workers. The rulers want to use it to turn us into cannon fodder for a war to protect their ill-gotten profits in the Middle East.

Religion and politics

The political meaning of Islamic religious ceremonies and slogans in Iran today was noted in the November 24 *New York Times* by Pranay Gupta. He attended a Friday morning prayer meeting that was attended by tens of thousands and addressed by Foreign Minister Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr.

"This is not only a prayer meeting," one Iranian told him. "It is a time to discuss national problems, to further our understanding of what our nation faces. . . ."

"The good thing about these prayer meetings in Teheran is that one gets lots of political awareness in quite simple language. Sometimes those of us who are uneducated cannot understand the complex terms in which people on radio and television speak. But here everything is put simply. For example, I had heard the word imperialism many times but never understood it."

"Now I know what imperialism means. It means the kind of economic and political domination that the Americans want to impose all over the world. Today is Bani-Sadr's turn to explain this to us. But every speaker I have heard at these prayer meetings has spoken directly into my mind and heart."

Farmers: 'More earthly reasons' to back revolution

Nasiri Nematula is one of the millions of Iranians supposedly in the grip of "Islamic fanaticism." He has a twenty-acre farm right outside the village of Damavand, in the shadow of the Elburz Mountains. From this area wheat, vegetables, pears, and cherries are shipped to Tehran's bazaars, fifty miles away.

The November 28 *Wall Street Journal*, after the usual jibes against Islamic culture, explains there are also "more earthly reasons" why people in Damavand support the revolution.

Before the revolution, for example, Nematula was only a tenant on land owned by a colonel in the shah's army. When the colonel fled, Nematula claimed the farm as his own. "Why not?" he asks. "I am working the land."

Nematula also tells how the 10,000-acre estate of the shah's brother nearby is now being operated as a cooperative by the former tenants. They plow the stony land with their former landlord's International Harvester tractors.

"We will double our income," predicts Fazola Hosseingoli, one of the farmers. That means he might earn \$1,400 this year.

In an attempt to reduce the country's dependence on food imports, the new government has set up a loan program for farmers and raised the price paid to them for wheat by 30 percent.

"Credit used to be difficult for the small farmer, and that as much as anything tied him to his landlord," says Mashood Bahedi. "Now credit is easy."

A program to improve schools is also underway. Workmen are tiling the floor of a new seven-room school at Jabon, another nearby village. Under the shah, the village school was only for the first six grades. The new school will offer twelve grades.

The sixty-year-old proprietor of the Damavand teahouse expressed the sentiments of the villagers. "Remember," he says, "our revolution will never be finished until the shah is returned to Iran to stand trial. That is how we all feel."

Suit seeks halt to deportation of Iranians

By Arnold Weissberg

The government order requiring all Iranian students in the country to report to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for possible deportation has been challenged in a lawsuit filed by attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The suit was filed on behalf of three Iranian students—Gholamreza Narenji, Behzad Vahedi, and Cyrus Vahidnia.

In a statement released to the press, attorneys Shelley Davis of the SWP and Eric Lieberman of the NECLC characterized the November 13 INS order as "an unprecedented attempt to punish over 50,000 people because of their nationality."

The suit, filed as a class action, seeks to prevent the INS from violating the rights of all Iranian students in the country on student visas.

The action was filed in federal district court in Washington, D.C., November 21.

The suit is an important political initiative to counter the government's efforts to justify its war moves and infringement of democratic rights by whipping up a racist hysteria against Iranians.

The government's order requires all Iranian students to prove they have not violated their student visas.

Some Iranians have already been jailed. And the INS November 26 began deportation proceedings against twenty-four Iranian students in San Francisco, with hundreds more set for the next few days.

The anti-Iranian campaign from the highest levels of the Carter administration has given the green light to all types of violence and harassment against Iranians.

A grotesque example of how far the government will go is the case of Mohammed Hemmatipour, a student at the University of the District of Columbia. He was arrested for jaywalking and held on \$1,500 bail. The D.C. cops congratulated each other on having arrested an Iranian. Hemmatipour was ordered to leave the country by December 16.

Homes of Iranians have been pelted with garbage. Moslem mosques and cultural centers have been defaced. And Iranian students say they fear for their lives.

"In World War II the government persecuted Americans of Japanese ancestry, and Japanese citizens," attorney Davis told the *Militant*, "throwing hundreds of thousands of them into concentration camps, claiming they were a threat to 'national security.'"

"The truth was that the government tried to whip up anti-Japanese racism to force people into line, to squelch any dissenting voices speaking against the war."

"That's the same thing they're doing with the Iranians," Davis went on.

Iranian students and other supporters of the Iranian revolution have demonstrated against the threat of deportation and for sending the shah back.

Rather than answer the charges made by these demonstrators—that the U.S. government shares responsibility for the crimes committed by the shah and should not harbor this mass murderer—the government is trying to silence its critics through intimidation.

The suit charges that the government's order is aimed at punishing Iranian students for taking part in anti-shah protests. This is confirmed by the INS cops themselves.

"We'd like to be out at the demonstrations rounding them up," an unnamed INS official told the *Washington Post*.

The suit also charges the government hopes to "chill" further protests.

The twisted logic of the Carter ad-



Iranian students jailed by INS. Government has begun deportation proceedings against hundreds more.

ministration is that further demonstrations by Iranian students could lead to violence—by anti-Iranian right-wingers. This violence, the government asserts, could lead to reprisals against Americans held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

But if the government were genuinely concerned about violence, it could protect the constitutional rights of the Iranian students and arrest the people who threaten them. And the government could secure the release of the Americans in the embassy by sending the shah back.

The government does not claim that the Iranian students were violent or demonstrating illegally.

The administration's order singles out Iranian students solely on the basis of their nationality. The suit explains that this violates the Fifth Amendment guarantee of equal protec-

tion under the law.

This guarantee requires equal treatment for people with similar legal status. In this case, it forbids singling out one group of foreign students for special treatment.

Similarly, the government order violates the Fourth Amendment because it forces Iranian students to submit to interrogation for no good reason.

The ultimate intent of the order is to silence not only Iranians but everyone who disagrees with government policy on Iran.

The suit finds a parallel between the effort to punish Iranian students for expressing their political views and actions by draft boards during the Vietnam war. In the late 1960s, local boards tried to call up antiwar protesters. This effort was struck down by a series of court rulings.

"The government's order is a serious

attack on democratic rights," attorney Davis told the *Militant*. "It tries to penalize people for their political activity—legal political activity that the government doesn't happen to like."

"If they can get away with this, the rights of all of us are weakened. Today it's the Iranian students. Under the COINTELPRO operation, the FBI violated the rights of Blacks, anti-Vietnam War protesters, and socialists. Who will it be tomorrow?"

"As the trade unions become more and more the vehicle for working people to fight government attacks on their standard of living, I think it's certain the government will try to restrict their democratic rights too."

"Undemocratic and unconstitutional moves like the government order, if allowed to stand, make it that much easier for the next attack to succeed."

Protests grow against harassment

At least six New Jersey bus drivers have been fired from their jobs because they are Iranian. James LaFante, president of the Hudson County Bus Owners Association, said "We've spread the word throughout our association to rid themselves of Iranians, and no way hire Iranian drivers."

LaFante, apparently waging a one-man war against the Iranian revolution, told reporters, "When I go into a restaurant now and I find Iranian busboys, I tell the owner to fire them and if he won't, then I walk out of that restaurant and spread the word not to eat there."

The firings are the product of the government's continuing drive to prepare the American people for war by turning Iranians into "the enemy." Iranians continue to be subjected to threats and violence.

"War—if Carter won't start it, we will," read a sign in a Long Island gas station. "We do not serve Iranians or Pakistanis—bodily injury will be inflicted." The gas station owner kept two shotguns at hand to emphasize his point.

But students and teachers across the country are protesting government efforts to round up and deport Iranian students.

American Federation of Teachers Local 1796 at New Jersey's William Paterson College passed a resolution November 14 that "strongly objects to President Carter's action" in or-

dering the deportation of Iranian students who may have violated their student visas. The union also called on the college administration "not to furnish any information to the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service] or to cooperate in any way with this unconstitutional action."

Similarly, the state executive board of Social Services Union Local 535 in California called for "a halt to the deportations and other civil rights violations being committed against Iranians living in the United States."

The union also called for the U.S. to deport the shah and opposed any military intervention in Iran.

The student government at the University of Michigan unanimously called on the administration to protest government harassment of Iranian students November 20. The same day, students opposing deportations and calling for extraditing the shah held a demonstration on campus.

The United Mexican American Student Organization (UMAS) has condemned the "racist hysteria" against Iranians, charging it "parallels the oppression and racism that the Chicano People have faced." UMAS condemned "any and all deportations of Iranian students in this country."

At the University of Southern California, INS agents were ordered

off campus November 16. UCLA followed suit four days later. USC banned the government agents because of possible violations of student privacy. The INS had been photographing Iranian students during interviews.

Five San Francisco Bay Area groups have charged that the government order "reviewing" the status of Iranian students is unconstitutional. The groups include the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California and the Japanese American Citizens League. Karl Nobuyuki, JACL national executive director, noting the attacks on Japanese Americans during World War II, opposed any deportation actions "based on ancestry."

The Chicago chapter of the JACL also condemned the deportation threats.

Meanwhile, the National Lawyers Guild announced it would defend 120 Iranians, mostly students, arrested in Beverly Hills November 9. The students' peaceful demonstration was attacked by right-wingers and cops.

"I was in the midst of the attack in Beverly Hills," said NLG attorney John Michael Lee. "The police separated the Iranians from others and then attacked and arrested them." He called the beatings and arrests "racism, pure and simple."

—A.W.

'A bad year for imperialism'

In Miami: Zimmermann defends Iran

By Carmen Maymi
and Pat O'Reilly

MIAMI—Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann blasted Carter's war moves against Iran at a news conference here November 16.

"If Carter really cared about the hostages he'd send back the shah," she told reporters in a segment shown on WCKT-TV. "The shah is a murderer and torturer and the whole world knows it."

Zimmermann focused on defense of Iran the following evening at a socialist campaign rally, attended by forty people, that capped her two-day tour here.

"Washington is trying to establish a climate where it can get away with sending in United States troops," she said. "The reason has nothing to do with freeing hostages. In fact, the threats only endanger them. I think Washington's motive is exactly what it has been from the beginning and that is to crush the Iranian revolution."

Zimmermann pointed to antiwar sentiment in this country as the main obstacle to this. Pointing to polls that show most Americans oppose U.S. military action, she continued, "This antiwar sentiment runs very deep and it's a historic acquisition of the American working people."

"This is the reason why Carter couldn't intervene in Iran a year ago to keep the shah in power."

"It's the reason why the U.S. government couldn't keep Somoza in power in Nicaragua."

"It's the reason why the U.S. government has been unable to send U.S. troops back to Indochina to fight

against the new government in Cambodia which Carter opposes.

"It is the reason why the U.S. government has been unable to invade or even shut up the government that more than any other speaks up on behalf of anti-imperialist movements around the world and is willing to act on their behalf—the government of Cuba."

"This has been a bad year for imperialism. And Carter figures it will get worse unless the U.S. rulers can send massive numbers of U.S. troops to fight and die for repressive regimes. That's why the U.S. government is trying so desperately to whip up racial and religious hatred against the Iranians to counter this antiwar sentiment."

Among the most receptive to Zimmermann's talk were three Iranian students. "What Zimmermann said about the shah is true. He is a murderer and it's great to hear people who understand what is going on in Iran," one said. Several other people indicated an interest in helping win support for the Pulley-Zimmermann drive.

The rally was chaired by Caryn Swan, a member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. She reported on the good response to the campaign from the workers she spoke with as a member of the team of *Militant* salespeople who toured the South this fall.

Rulx Jean-Bart of the Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees thanked the *Militant* for printing the truth about the fight of Haitian refugees for political asylum and the SWP for organizing meetings where the facts about repression could be pre-



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

ZIMMERMANN: 'The shah is a murderer and torturer and the whole world knows it.'

sented.

Franklin Chávez, former Nicaraguan consul in Miami, explained how before the rally, "I started to think to myself, is she going to win? What is she trying to do? What is the SWP going to do? And then I remembered what we tried to do twenty years ago in my country. How we got started."

Pointing to the banner behind the podium, Chávez said, "This is what it is all about. 'Human needs before profits.'"

At the conclusion of the rally over \$500 was pledged to the socialist campaign.

Zimmermann's tour made an impression on workers at the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad. When Zimmermann showed up to bring her campaign to Seaboard's employees she was met by company officials, special agents, and two squad cars of police.

Company spokesmen told her, "We looked through our records last night and discovered that we own this whole road. So you can't campaign here." Railroad officials barricaded the access road leading to the yard, so Zimmermann campaigned one block from the gate.

Although a few workers were intimidated by the formidable company presence, most cars stopped to take literature and find out about the campaign. Many stopped because they saw the police cars and wondered what was going on. Zimmermann explained, "I'm Matilde Zimmermann and I'm the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. That's why the cops are here."

During her stop in Miami, Zimmermann appeared on a live talk show on WMBM, a radio station aimed at the Black community, and recorded an interview on public radio.

\$80,000 for '80 fund

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, are on the road, getting out the truth about Carter's drive against Iran.

Because all the Democratic and Republican candidates are falling over each other to line up behind Carter's war hysteria, the socialist stand has attracted special attention.

Every time Pulley or Zimmermann's message gets on TV or in the newspaper, hundreds, if not thousands, of people are inclined to stop and think, "Just what is Carter getting us into?"

Every time Zimmermann or Pulley campaigns at a plantgate, scores of workers get a chance to hear where working people's interests lie in U.S. capitalism's dispute

with the Iranian revolution.

But to continue this campaigning, we need money. Our \$80,000 for '80 fund is behind schedule. So far, we've collected \$51,506.

We depend on small donations from working people. Every dollar helps. Please send a contribution today.

Make checks payable to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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

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

Answer Carter's lies, sell the Militant

By Peter Seidman

Last week the *Militant* appealed to all our readers to redouble their efforts to help us get out the truth about the U.S. war drive in Iran.

Carter's threats pose both big opportunities and responsibilities for selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Freezing weather in some parts of the country, as well as the Thanksgiving holiday, resulted in sales of only 3,764 papers the week before (issue forty-five).

Nonetheless, branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance responded enthusiastically to our urgent appeal.

While we won't have the full results until next week, it's clear that wherever we sell the *Militant* and *PM*—at protests, on campuses, at workplaces and on-the-job, as well as in working-

class communities—interest runs high.

Sales in Miami's Black and Haitian communities were so brisk, for example, that socialists there had to order more papers during the week.

Our supporters in Seattle and Tacoma also ordered 175 extra papers.

This is a good initial response. But we need to do even more.

It's clear that the Carter administration has not been able to close off the national debate that's opened up over its policies in Iran.

Nor have Washington's hysterical efforts to unite the country around its war threats succeeded.

That means all branches of the SWP and YSA need to discuss what special efforts they can make to reach out even more widely with the facts and arguments in the *Militant* and *PM*. Answer-

ing Carter's war drive this way is a top priority for all socialists in the United States.

Particular attention needs to be paid to stepping up sales of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

After making considerable progress during the fall circulation drive (average *PM* sales reported were 693 per week), last week's total slipped to 350.

Uncle Sam will be using Latino youths—along with Blacks—as cannon fodder for any military adventures in Iran. Antiwar sentiment already runs high in the Latino community because of U.S. threats against Cuba and Nicaragua.

So this is a good time to boost the circulation of the foremost Spanish-language, antiwar newspaper in the country.



NEWARK

**Working People Need
Their Own Party**

Speaker:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Saturday, December 1

7 p.m. Social Hour

8 p.m. Rally

10 p.m. Party

11-A Central Ave.

Donation: \$3

For more information call
(201) 624-3889

NEW YORK CITY

U.S. Hands Off Iran!

Speakers:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Victor Nieto, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate

Reba Dixon, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 19th District

Robert Miller, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 17th District

Sunday, December 2

2 p.m. Social Hour

3 p.m. Program

Marc Ballroom

Union Sq. W. & 16th St.

Donation: \$5

For more information call
(212) 533-2902

Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

Dec. 8-9 Philadelphia

Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

Dec. 1-3 Bay Area

Dec. 4-7 Portland

Dec. 9-12 Puget Sound

Other socialists on tour

Cathy Sedwick

Dec. 1-4 Birmingham

Dec. 8-10 Louisville

Fred Halstead

Dec. 1-2, 5 Cleveland

Dec. 7-9 Denver

Dec. 10-14 Phoenix

Héctor Marroquín

Dec. 1-2 Los Angeles

Dec. 6-8 Albuquerque

Dec. -12 Miami

For more information call the Socialist Workers Party branch nearest you. See the directory on page 27 for phone numbers and addresses.

UAW conference calls for youth groups

By Sally Rees

DETROIT—Region 1 of the United Auto Workers union has taken an important step to involve its younger members in union activities.

More than 200 UAW members in the region met for a Youth Conference here November 9-10.

The UAW Region 1 Youth Council organized and sponsored the two-day gathering. Region 1 includes 44 union locals with 77,000 members in the Detroit area.

Conference delegates unanimously adopted a resolution on "The New Youth in the UAW." It calls for the creation of a national UAW Youth Department, the establishment of youth councils in each region and youth committees in the locals, and the adoption of the youth resolution by the UAW Constitutional Convention in 1980.

The resolution and the conference were endorsed by Stephen Yokich, Region 1, and Ramona Allison, Region 1 education director.

In addition, UAW President Douglas Fraser and Vice-president Irving Bluestone supported and attended the conference.

Speaking to the general session, Fraser congratulated the participants. "When other regions look at what's going on here, I'm sure we'll see—throughout our union—this type of conference happening," Fraser said.

All views welcome

Yokich explained that building youth committees requires involving people with all views.

"Quite frankly, if somebody is to the left or the right of your stand, you should invite them in and let them speak. Then, if you want to debate it and talk about it, and get a direction—that's how you do it," Yokich remarked to the conference's general session.

"We don't care what your political stands are. You're a member. You work in Region 1. You're entitled to your voice. I've said that at membership meetings and at leadership meetings. And I will continue to say it. Because that's what our union is all about," Yokich added.

Eunice Stokes, a member of UAW Local 235's women's committee as well as the youth committee, commented, "You should ask your local leadership to help you set up the committee. Then think in terms of those issues that really arouse the attention of the youth in the plant. Talk about those issues and then they will come out."

Layoffs and the problems of unemployed youth were the biggest topics of discussion at the conference.

Citing the example of the Chrysler

Sally Rees is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.



Youth Council officers are sworn in. Delegates discussed layoffs, unemployment crisis, and nuclear power.

bail-out scheme, participants expressed concern for their jobs and the jobs of fellow auto workers.

Wendy Thompson, UAW Local 235 educational director, asked Fraser: "It seemed that the concern of the government was Chrysler's profits and not jobs. They were saying things like, there will be more plant closings in Detroit in favor of plants going to other places where they have more tax breaks and newer plants."

Fraser said he agreed there was too much emphasis on saving Chrysler and not on auto workers' jobs. But he also stated: "I'm not saying absolutely that there won't be additional Chrysler plant closings."

Thompson pressed Fraser on whether the union had received any job guarantees from Chrysler.

Fraser could only answer that he planned to meet with Mayor Coleman Young to get some assurances for the Detroit area.

Effect of layoffs

Participants pointed to the devastating effect layoffs are having, particularly among young auto workers.

"I think it's going to be a tough road," explained Jim Thompson of Local 228, "because a third of our plant is laid off. We're talking about some 3,000 people. We're going to have a difficult time because those are the young people under thirty-five."

Region 1 Youth Council members plan to actively reach out and help organize the unemployed auto workers.

A member of UAW Local 961 suggested placing sign-up sheets and flyers in the unemployment centers.

Conference participants discussed the effect automation is having on jobs.

Harley Shaiken, a professor of Labor Studies at Wayne State University, explained how automation is used to

undermine jobs, rather than ease the work load in the auto plants.

Shaiken told the conference that labor needs to fight for the right to decide how automation is used to benefit auto workers and enhance employment.

He proposed a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay as the way to combat unemployment in the auto industry.

The conference also discussed a resolution that called for shutting down

nuclear power plants and replacing them with coal and solar energy alternatives. The resolution had near-unanimous support but was referred back to committee for rewording.

The seventy-eight delegates voted on by-laws, Youth Council officers, and chairpersons for various committees. Several committees were established including Education, Political Action, Consumer Affairs, and others.

Social & political issues

The temporary education committee and the legislative and political action committee also gave reports. Among the proposals made were a newsletter and "special nights where we can meet the candidates and ask them questions."

Delegates also discussed a variety of other social issues, including the high cancer rate among auto workers in the wood and plastic model divisions, low-cost childcare, and international events.

Mark Rogers, a member of UAW Local 235, explained during the floor discussion that the U.S. labor movement, including the UAW, could help aid the reconstruction of Nicaragua. Rogers told the conference that the Nicaraguan economy was ruined by the Somoza dictatorship and that the people, along with their trade unions, are in the process of rebuilding the country.

Continued on page 16



Chrysler workers react to contract

On November 19, UAW President Douglas Fraser announced that the new contract with Chrysler had been ratified. Union officials said the vote was more than two to one. But that doesn't tell the whole story.

Correspondent Bill Arth writes that in Local 140 at Dodge Truck in Detroit, the reported vote was three to one in favor. But only about 700 workers voted out of 6,200 in the local. Arth's report on the membership meeting where the contract was discussed gives an idea why:

At the time of the meeting there were about 4,300 members of Local 140 on layoff and about 1,900 working. About 250 people attended the meeting, compared to the normal attendance of about 100.

The meeting began with reading of the contract summary by local officials. They were followed by Willie Stovall, a UAW international representative. His comments were in part: "Many Chrysler workers are apprehensive about this contract. Unlike at GM and Ford, there was no money to negotiate towards at Chrysler. Chrysler Corporation lost more money than any other corporation in the history of the country and probably the world."

"We negotiated for the preservation of jobs," Stovall continued. "These were the most difficult bargaining conditions in the forty-two-year history of the UAW. We didn't lose anything in this contract—some things were deferred to a later date, but there is no loss."

"Various elements in the union contend that we lost six PPH days [Paid Personal Holidays]—I say we gained eight over what we had in the last contract. We had to make various concessions to Chrysler Corporation for them to survive, so our membership would have a place to work," he concluded.

Following Stovall's comments the floor was opened for discussion. Several workers spoke against the contract and against UAW President Fraser being on the Chrysler Board of Directors.

One worker spoke in favor of the contract. Finally, a member of a left group in the plant got up to speak and was immediately ruled out of order. The chair interrupted the speaker repeatedly and finally a goon from the audience grabbed the mike. General chaos broke out.

Nate Gooden, an international representative, got the mike and said that he was proud of the democratic tradition of the UAW and was tired of hearing all these people complain about the contract, that it was always the same people, and that the meeting should adjourn. The meeting was adjourned.

Only five people had gotten a chance to speak.

One fifty-year-old Black worker said, "There is nothing for the workers in this contract that I saw. The UAW is trying to sell the contract, and the only way they could do it was not to allow any discussion. This display by the officialdom was sickening. I haven't seen anything like it in a long time."

In general people seem to be confused by the Chrysler situation. There is general demoralization because of the layoffs. There is a lot of anger, but no direction.

When asked if he was going to vote for the contract, one worker responded, "What contract?"

Compiled by Osborne Hart

Come to Louisville 19th National YSA Convention

December 29-January 1

DISCUSS HOW TO:

- SUPPORT THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION
- BUILD SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1980 CAMPAIGN
- NATIONALIZE THE ENERGY INDUSTRY
- SHUT DOWN NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS
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'Labor belongs in forefront of Nicaraguan

The following are major excerpts from a speech by Robert López to a Nicaragua solidarity rally in Detroit November 17.

The rally was part of the second national conference on Nicaragua sponsored by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

López is an international representative of the United Auto Workers. He recently returned from a trip to Nicaragua. At the solidarity conference, López agreed to head up a trade union task force of the National Network, which will operate out of Detroit.

In his speech, López refers to Moisés Hassán, one of the five junta members of the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction. Hassán addressed the conference as well as the November 17 rally.

I arrived in Nicaragua 100 days after the liberation of the country by the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

I found the people working to reconstruct their country. And while progress has been made, I also found everywhere evidence of the systematic and deliberate bombing of poor neighborhoods, of the schools, hospitals, places of business in the war of genocide unleashed by the beast Somoza. That physical destruction was only matched by the human destruction.

A great part of my time was spent with the workers of Nicaragua. I spent time in the factories. I spent time in their homes. I stood on line with them and with their children to be vaccinated at the Sandinista block committees. I sat at their community dining room in the *central* [union federation]. I visited with representatives of their unions on union business, grievances, arbitration, and so forth.

The union, the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores [Sandinista Workers Federation] was my home for ten days. And it was also my classroom. The *central* has hardly 100 days of existence.

I ask those of you who are union



LOPEZ: 'No one there is asking for anything but the most necessary essentials to teach workers, to service workers, to organize a union.'

members, just imagine in order to understand, that during the Somoza period for almost fifty years—a half a century—the only unions permitted to function in Nicaragua were the unions they called the *blancos*. Here we might call them company unions. The unions whose sole purpose was to control the workers, to guarantee the extraction of the maximum profits from the workers, and to guarantee the extraction of the wealth of the country.

To talk union in Nicaragua for fifty years was suicide.

Imagine for a moment if we in our country for the past fifty years did not have unions—the right to the process of collective bargaining, the right to strike, the right to determine our wages, our working conditions, security on the job.

This is what Nicaragua was for fifty years to the working men and women. This is the kind of life that they were subjected to for fifty years, and yet they never broke the spirit and courage and the class consciousness of the workers of Nicaragua.

After coming out of that type of Dark

Agony for working people, the working people of Nicaragua in 100 days have organized and are building a powerful union.

And how are they organizing this union? Is this union being organized by professional organizers? Is this union being organized by the stooges that they had under the Somozas?

This union is being organized by the workers of Nicaragua, the workers themselves, from the bottom up.

I sat in the *central* day after day and watched the groups of workers coming in—ten, fifteen, twenty at a time. The very first day that their place of work was again in operation, at the day's end of work they marched to the Sandinista *central* to join their union. This is how they're organizing their union.

More than 300 units belong to the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores. [There are] over 500 activists in that union without getting paid. The only thing they get is a midday dinner. They don't collect a penny. They don't have funds.

Five hundred activists are carrying on the leadership responsibilities of this new, young, powerful union. They carry out the day-to-day responsibilities, the services to the union, and at the same time [they are] meeting and planning and projecting into the future to continue to build this union.

I spent the day with a young representative from the national office, Carlos. My work in the UAW is to service plants, collective bargaining, take up grievances, and so I latched onto Carlos—he does the same work.

At eight o'clock in the morning, we met and we had the first problem—how in the world to get to Granada, a city outside of Managua. No car, no vehicle, no transportation.

We finally got the one and only automobile owned by this union. And then we had a second problem. Carlos and the driver were running around the union headquarters. I caught up with them and asked what the trouble was now. "We don't have money for gas."

Well, I get paid by the UAW, so I guess that was the very first contribution made by the UAW to the *central*.

Fourteen schools

But let me just tell you of the kind of projects that they have in mind and what they must accomplish. One project is education. They intend to build fourteen schools of the union in fourteen different regions, each with a library.

Well, the *central* hasn't got the first chair or the first desk or a piece of chalk, or a blackboard to open the first school.

And they must carry on and they have to have the schools. And they've got to develop the leadership. And they've got to develop the work of that

union if they are to succeed in contributing to the reconstruction of that country and in taking part in the literacy campaign.

I have a letter here in my pocket from the *central*. And by the way, I received it yesterday, and *compañero* Hassán said this morning that they have all their services back and some have been improved. Well, let me tell you, their postal service is better than ours. I received this in four days. It takes longer to get a letter from California.

I want to point out just the last two pages. These are two pages itemizing the equipment that our brothers and sisters in the Nicaragua unions need. These are the most essential, the most basic. Let me read just a couple of them.

They need a printing press in order to put out a newspaper. They need tape recorders. They need mimeograph machines. They need offset equipment.

I even have here a list from the department of culture. They have a band and the band needs the following: five flutes, ten guitars, six accordions.

They need reams of paper, stencils, typewriter ribbons, folders, erasers, chalks, paper clips.

To organize a union

No one there is asking for a Cadillac. No one there is asking for a new union building. No one there is asking for anything else but the most necessary essentials to teach workers, to service workers, to organize a union and to build a union. That's all they're asking.

Compañero Hassán said this morning that part of our drive is to tell the truth and the reality of what is going on in Nicaragua. Well, in order to accomplish that, we also have to tell the truth and the reality of some of the things that are going on in our country.

I know that there is some help, some aid, that has been sent to Nicaragua. The unions that operated under Somoza and had the blessings of Somoza, they have received some aid. But let me tell you that such unions are going to end up just with the equipment because they no longer have the membership. That membership is leaving and is marching into the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores.

Those of us in the labor movement must expose those so-called misleaders of our workers who have also misled the workers in Nicaragua. One of them is retiring this week. Another one is taking his place.

Let me tell you, they are willing to help, they would send to the Central Sandinista and to the farm workers in Nicaragua every single typewriter and then some more that they need if they would only have the right to dictate what to type with those typewriters. They would provide every single mimeograph machine if they had the right, as they had in the past, to dictate what is being reproduced.

That kind of aid the Sandinistas will never accept. As soldiers for their country they fought under the slogan of Sandino: they would never surrender and they would never be vanquished.

And as union men, they will not be vanquished. They will not surrender, and they will not sell out. That kind of aid they don't want.

The only aid they want is the aid that workers give workers in a struggle—a true solidarity, aid without any strings. That's the kind of aid they need. That's the only kind of aid they will accept.

Thousands will join us

Now there are leaders in our country of unions—national, state, regional—who, if we bring the message to them, if we give them the truth, they will

Help make dreams a reality

'It's a revolution that bears on its shoulders the responsibility of making a reality the dreams of the more than 40,000 people who gave their lives.'

—Moisés Hassán,
Government of National
Reconstruction

Dictator Anastasio Somoza left a nation in ruins when he fled Nicaragua in July of this year.

- 40-60,000 of those wounded in the fighting require continuous medical care. More than 40,000 children were orphaned. The few medical centers that existed were totally destroyed.

- School buildings and education equipment were severely damaged in an already grossly inadequate educational system. Sixty-five percent of the nation is illiterate.

- Factories were destroyed. Only 20 percent of the normal cotton crop—Nicaragua's main export item—was planted. At least 100,000 heifers and 300 bulls were lost.

- Somoza left Nicaragua financially insolvent with a foreign debt of more than \$1.5 billion.

These are substantial obstacles to the revolution realizing the dreams of the Nicaraguan people. But with a massive campaign of international solidarity, they can be overcome.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front has proposed the U.S.

solidarity movement concentrate on three priorities:

LITERACY. The first is an immediate campaign to provide uniforms for workers in the literacy campaign. The aim is to teach 700,000 Nicaraguans to read and write, and the drive is scheduled to begin in March. The first task in the United States is to raise money to purchase 275,000 yards of fabric for the uniforms.

TOOLS. A tools campaign is underway to collect hand tools and money for large machinery to aid in Nicaragua's reconstruction.

MEDICAL. An ongoing campaign is needed to collect desperately needed medicine and medical equipment and instruments—all of which are totally unavailable in Nicaragua.

To join the solidarity campaign and for information on the Nicaragua support group in your area, contact the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, 1322 Eighteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; telephone (202) 223-2328.

solidarity campaign'

come forward.

There are thousands of leaders in the factories at local union levels who, if told the truth, if we reach them, will join us.

And I know that there are hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file workers who, if we reach them, they will join us.

We who call ourselves brothers and sisters in the trade unions, we who recognize instinctively no boundaries and no frontiers between working men and women, we belong in the very

forefront—not of aid, we don't call it aid in the trade union movement.

We don't call it aid among workers in the struggle. Not aid, we join the struggle.

And we who sing "Solidarity Forever," we've got to put new meaning into the words of that song and join the struggle with our *compañeros* and *compañeras* in Nicaragua to reconstruct their country and to lay the foundation of a new and happy and better Nicaragua that could someday join our struggle for a better America.



Solidarity with Nicaragua!

Albuquerque rallies for Nicaragua's future

"From destruction to reconstruction, Aid to Nicaragua" and "Food and Education—for a new future in Nicaragua," proclaimed banners at a November 17 benefit in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

A collection and sales of records and T-shirts made especially for the event raised \$1,000 for Nicaragua. More than 250 people—unionists, students, and antinuclear activists—attended, reports *Militant* correspondent Patty Nixon.

The featured speaker was Myriam Zamora, who recently returned from Nicaragua, where she is helping develop a preschool education program. Zamora represented the Bay Area group Casa Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan Ministry of Education.

Other speakers included state representatives Judy Pratt and Don Thompson. Greetings came from Luis Montenegro, national representative of the American Federation of Government Employees. The event was also endorsed by Rex Brasell, president of the Bernalillo County Central Labor Council; Diane Stout, vice-president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1564; and Father Griegos of PADRES.

Mayor David Rusk declared November 17 Nicaragua Solidarity Day. The proclamation, read to the rally, urged citizens of Albuquerque to aid in the collection of food and medicine for the people of Nicaragua.

Labor/community rally set in Bay Area

A "Labor/Community Rally for Emergency Aid to Nicaragua" is planned in San Francisco on Saturday, December 8. The event, sponsored by Casa Nicaragua, will feature Aura Beteta, Nicaraguan consul general in San Francisco. Other speakers include Walter Johnson, president of Department Store Employees Local 1100, and Philip Vera Cruz, former vice-president of the United Farm Workers.

The rally will be held at the Mission United Church, 3261 Twenty-third Street in San Francisco. Donation is \$2.50. For more information, call (415) 824-9728.

Casa Nicaragua has issued a brochure directed to trade unionists. It lists the needs of the Nicaraguan people and concludes, "As trade unionists we must now help our brothers and sisters in war-torn Nicaragua because they sacrificed so much to win the basic democratic rights we take for granted here."

For a copy of the brochure, write to Casa Nicaragua, 3015 Twenty-fourth Street, San Francisco, California 94110.

\$1,300 raised at New Orleans festival

More than 300 people, the majority of them Nicaraguans, turned out for a fund-raising festival in New Orleans November 18. The day's events included live music, dancing, and Nicaraguan food.

Many tools for Nicaragua's reconstruction were donated and \$1,300 was raised.

The festival was sponsored by the Committee for Emergency Relief Aid for Nicaragua and the New Orleans Nicaraguan Solidarity Organization.

Evening of solidarity planned in Boston

"Building a New Nicaragua: An Evening of Solidarity" is scheduled for Boston on Friday, December 7. Alejandro Bandana, a member of the three-person Nicaraguan delegation to the United Nations, will speak. The meeting will be conducted in Spanish and English and will feature the musical group Nancahuazú and Latin American food.

Sponsored by the Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee and the Latin American Studies Department at the University of Massachusetts in Boston, the event will take place at 7:30 p.m. at the Blackstone Community School, 50 West Brookline Street. Donation is two dollars. For more information, call (617) 547-3810 or 522-2818.

—Nancy Cole

U.S. Steel opens contract fight: axes 13,000

By Stu Singer

On November 27 the board of directors of U.S. Steel Corporation fired the second round in the battle for the 1980 basic steel contract. The giant of the American steel industry announced the closing of fifteen plants, eliminating the jobs of 13,000 workers. And it threatened more closings to come.

The first round had been fired by enraged steelworkers ten days before when they voted down a U.S. Steel blackmail offer: accept a wage freeze or lose your jobs. The workers at the three American Bridge plants (a division of U.S. Steel) rejected it by a margin of two to one.

The new closings include two of the American Bridge plants, in Ambridge and Shiffler, Pennsylvania, both near Pittsburgh. The third plant, in Gary, Indiana, was not closed but may be later.

The basic steel contract between the United Steelworkers and ten major companies covers some 450,000 workers in iron ore mining, steel production, and some steel fabrication. The current pact expires next August 1. By axing 13,000 jobs, U.S. Steel clearly hopes to intimidate workers into accepting an inferior contract.

In addition to the plant closings, U.S. Steel has laid off workers and eliminated jobs elsewhere. Five to six thousand are laid off at the giant Gary Works in Gary, Indiana, and South Works in Chicago.

At their modern and very profitable Minntac taconite (iron ore) mine on the Mesabi Range in Minnesota, a number of miners were laid off and all probationary workers (first 520 hours) were fired.

U.S. Steel Board Chairman David Roderick, who is paid over \$300,000 a year (not counting tips), has a long list of scapegoats for the latest round of plant closings.

The November 28 *Wall Street Journal* quotes Roderick as saying the facilities to be closed "have become noncompetitive for a variety of reasons including operating costs, unfairly priced imports or excessive environmental spending requirements."

It is not new for American steel companies to blame their problems on imports. But imports have fallen sharply since the steel companies pushed through a "trigger price" system in early 1978 that bars low-cost steel imports. The main result has been to jack up steel prices, adding to inflation throughout the economy.

The company complains about requirements to reduce air and water pollution from the mills. This is just a case of putting profits before human life and health.

The company blames "high operating costs" as the other reason for the plant closings. When this is raised with workers at these plants, they invariably point to inefficient and often incompetent management. But what the company means by operating costs is they want to cut jobs and cut wages.

U.S. Steel claims many of the plants that are being shut are old and inefficient. How did they get that way? If they have not been modernized it is not the fault of imports or environmental protection, and it is certainly not the fault of the workers. But it is the workers who are being made to pay.

The company's excuses are all lies. The real reason 13,000 workers lost their jobs is because U.S. Steel is in business only to make profits—not to make the steel, cement, containers, wire, and railroad equipment that the world needs and that these workers had produced.

U.S. companies have launched a long-term drive to increase productivity. They intend to increase their profits and improve their competitive standing against European and Asian steelmakers.

That means getting more production out of each worker. It means trampling on health, safety, and pollution standards. It means ruthlessly shutting down older mills. And it means squeezing down the wages of those steelworkers still on the job.

But with the American Bridge workers' vote rejecting company blackmail, steelworkers have shown they won't be pushovers.

On December 6-7 the presidents of all basic steel locals will meet in Pittsburgh for the Basic Steel Industry Conference. These local presidents know the companies are not playing games.

The union can stand up to the steel industry only by bringing out the combat troops, the rank and file.

The main challenge facing the conference is to establish the right of the members to ratify their contract. Without the backing and involvement of the rank-and-file steelworkers, there is no way even the best union leadership can stand up to what the companies are throwing at the union.

When top union officials signed the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement in 1973 it was touted as guaranteeing steady employment. Obviously ENA has failed. To keep it means entering negotiations with the union's hands tied.

The union also has to be prepared for an attack by three other weapons in the companies' arsenal: the war hysteria around Iran, the 1980 presidential election, and the wage guidelines. All will be used to force the union to its knees.

Steelworkers will hear calls for sacrifice in the name of patriotism. They will be asked to keep "labor peace" to help get more phony Democratic "friends of labor" elected. And, with USWA President Lloyd McBride sitting on Carter's wage board, the union will be pressured to heed the criminal 7 percent wage guidelines in the face of 14 percent inflation.

Nearly half a million steelworkers, strategically placed in the heart of this country's basic industry, have the clout to beat back these attacks—if they are organized and mobilized to do so.



American Bridge plant, Ambridge, Pennsylvania. U.S. Steel boasted this was largest steel fabricating plant in the world. Now it will be closed.

Marilyn McCusker: a dream cut short

By Nancy Cole

It was a lively gathering when women coal miners met in Charleston, West Virginia, November 10. But there was a sobering note to this first national United Mine Workers women's conference: just the month before, the first woman lost her life in an underground mine.

Marilyn McCusker had fought for two years to get her job and loved the work once she started. Two years later she died in a roof fall, the most common cause of death in an industry that has killed more than 100,000 miners so far this century.

Alan McCusker, Marilyn's husband of less than four years, came to the women's conference in Charleston, partly as a favor to the three women who worked with Marilyn. They had intended to come, but for one reason or another couldn't. He came instead.

Introduced from the audience to the opening conference session, McCusker stood and in a soft voice told the women, "I'm glad to see a lot of people showed up here. You should all stick together."

Alan McCusker's only bitterness is reserved for the Rushton Mining Company—which didn't want to hire Marilyn to begin with and then killed her with its unsafe working conditions.

\$85 a week

Marilyn Williams moved to Coalport, Pennsylvania, from Utica, New York, in 1974. She was divorced, thirty years old, with a twelve-year-old son to support. She got a job at a nursing home making \$85 a week, "if she worked," Alan McCusker recalls.

She and a friend, who had a sister working as a miner, decided to put in applications at the nearby Rushton mine in Osceola Mills. Rushton is owned by the Pennsylvania Coal Company, which is in turn owned by the Pennsylvania Power and Light Company.

"We're not hiring any goddamn women," the mine superintendent told the women, refusing to accept their applications.

They didn't give up. They complained to various government agencies, "but they kept getting the run-around," McCusker says. So they hired their own lawyer, a woman, and returned to the mine.

The superintendent thought they had come again with yet another unwanted woman applicant, so he met them at the door with the same refrain: "I told you before we ain't hiring any damn women."

"The lawyer understood then that they had a good case," says McCusker, so they filed a lawsuit.

That was in 1974. In 1975 Marilyn Williams met Alan McCusker. They were married that December. By late 1976, Rushton was forced to settle out of court, granting Marilyn a job and \$30,000 in back pay.

"There was no talking her out of it," he says. "I thought she'd work thirty or sixty days and quit, but she liked

her job a hell of a lot."

After the back pay came through a year later, he quit his job so that he could start building them a house. "I was going to finish the house by this March, and on the Fourth of July we were going to have a housewarming party."

His idea was that she would then quit the mines. "She sort of agreed, but said if she didn't have everything she wanted, furniture and whatnot, she was going to continue working until she had it or until she got pregnant."

Their dream included opening a carpentry shop after she quit her job in the mines.

Women in the mines

"At first I thought women couldn't do the job in the mines," he says. "Most women when they're growing up aren't associated with things like working with their hands a lot, getting dirty. Marilyn was a nurses aid. She was always clean. She kept the house spotless."

The way Marilyn took to her new job changed his mind about women working in the mines.

"Later on, I would meet guys who didn't know who I was. They would say how Marilyn was doing a damn good job in the mines, how they liked working with her and weren't afraid of working with her. That changed my attitude."

McCusker gets mad when he hears insinuations and outright charges that Marilyn was killed because she was a woman. "She was real safety conscious," he says.

Beginning last spring, an incentive plan was instituted at the Rushton mine—a speed-up scheme providing "bonuses" for miners when total mine production exceeds a certain figure. In the mines especially, such plans are undisguisedly designed to cut down on "time-consuming" safety precautions.

The accident that killed Marilyn McCusker was caused by the company's violations of safety laws, Alan McCusker explains. The crew working in that area of the mine had been pulled out on Friday because the roof was unsafe. On Monday, miners were sent in again, but after a while pulled out.

On Tuesday, the boss insisted that the roof be bolted so that work could proceed. Forty-five minutes before the end of her shift, a huge piece of shale fell on Marilyn McCusker.

It was a deliberate violation of the law, McCusker believes, and as soon as the federal reports are complete, he plans to sue the Rushton Mining Company.

He's also looking into other legal action. Much to his surprise he found that under Pennsylvania law, he is not entitled to survivor's benefits because his spouse was a woman.

'World by the tail'

"We thought we had the world by the tail," McCusker says of his and Mari-

lyn's life together. "We only had about \$375 in debts to pay off compared to thousands of dollars of debts before. We had the house just about framed in. We were financially secure for the first time in both our lives. We leaned on each other. . . . Then I got the phone call."

McCusker would like to do something to see that fewer of those phone calls are made. He plans to fight in whatever way he can to strengthen mine safety laws.

When the news media showed such

great interest in him after Marilyn's death, his first impulse was to shun the attention. But then he changed his mind.

"An oldtimer in the mine always used to tell Marilyn, 'You get mad at one of them guys, just grab a board and smack him alongside one of his ears. Then when you got his attention, tell him what you want.'"

"That's the basic principle I'm using," he says. "I got all these people asking me. I got their ear so I'm going to say things."



Countdown for January 13

Los Angeles unions back January 13

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers District 727 in Burbank, California—representing over 15,000 workers at Lockheed Aircraft and three smaller companies—passed a resolution endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment and the Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) activities, including the January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia. A delegate was elected to represent the district at the march.

United Steelworkers of America Local 6700 at Martin Marietta Aluminum in Torrance, California, has established an ERA committee and plans to build for the march.

Resolutions endorsing the LERN actions have also been passed by IAM locals B and D, representing workers at Lockheed; the Los Angeles local of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; and the Legislative/Political Committee and Women's Equity and Minority Committee of Communications Workers of America Local 11574.

Baltimore unions build ERA rally

Thousands of leaflets publicizing the December 9 "Labor speakout for the ERA" were distributed at the November 15 meeting of the Metropolitan Baltimore Council of the AFL-CIO. Octavia Roberts, co-chair of the council's ERA committee, reported on the extensive follow-up work that has been done. Members of the United Postal Workers are planning to hold a tea. The Women's Advisory Committees of USWA locals 2610 and 2609 are planning clockhouse leaflet distributions and printing a hardhat sticker to publicize the LERN activities.

Speakers for the December 9 program in Baltimore include Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association and LERN coordinator; Paula Axum, chair of the ERA committee of USWA Local 8888; Tom Bradley, president of the Metropolitan Baltimore Council; and others.

The Baltimore chapter of the National Organization for Women has also endorsed the labor speakout on December 9.

'St. Louis Labor Tribune' backs ERA

Militant correspondent Bruce Kimball from St. Louis writes the following: One of the strongest voices in support of the ERA is the *St. Louis Labor Tribune*, the weekly newspaper of thousands of unionists in the St. Louis area and in southern Illinois. For the past month, the paper has been running articles written by female and male union leaders explaining why ERA is so important to all working people.

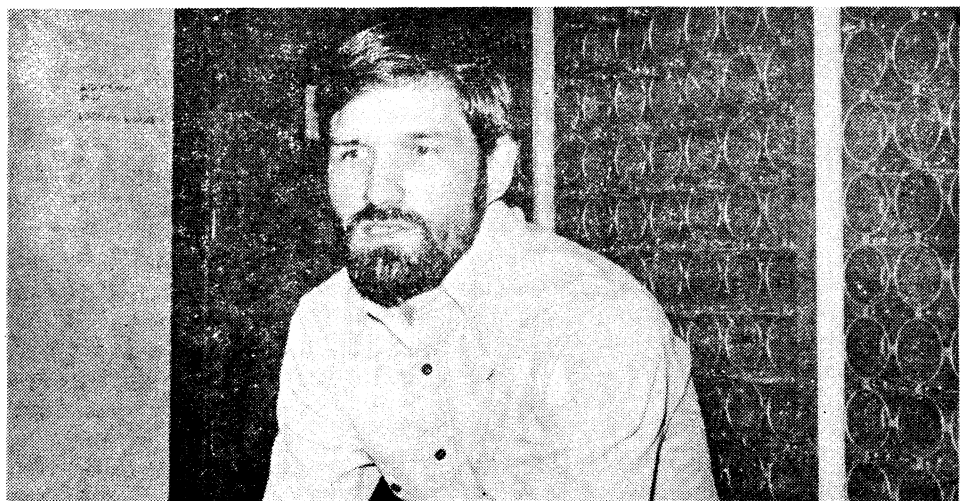
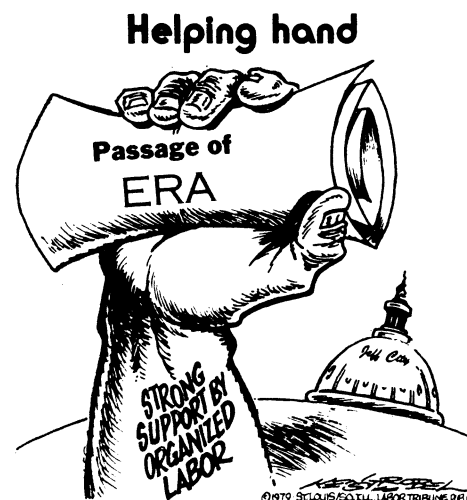
The paper has used its editorial column to urge its readers to work for ERA passage. In its November 22 issue, it published an editorial cartoon on the power labor brings to the fight for ERA.

Its editorial column pointed out that in a recent poll, commissioned by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 1,012 men and women throughout Missouri were asked if they wanted the state legislature to pass the ERA. Some 54 percent said yes, compared to 36 percent who said no. Men favored passage by 57 percent, women by 52 percent.

The *Labor Tribune* concluded that legislators should vote with their constituents on the issue since the people "seem to know more about what is good for the nation than you do."

Missouri trade unionists also know that with a strong organized effort, they will ratify ERA in 1980 as they so overwhelmingly in 1978 beat back the "right to work" for less referendum.

—Suzanne Haig



Alan McCusker plans to fight for stiffer safety laws so that other tragedies can be avoided.

Why labor is fighting for ERA

By Suzanne Haig

"Women are a positive and active force in the unions. Their issues are all our issues and should be put to the forefront of the union where they belong."

That's how a member of United Transportation Union Local 100 in Oakland, California, voiced his support to forming a union committee to deal with women's issues.

Big changes are taking place in the labor movement as that attitude becomes widespread.

The January 13 march and rally for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia, has won broad sponsorship from both the labor and women's movements. Called by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), January 13 has more union support than any previous action for women's rights—ever.

It has the backing of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and scores of local, regional, and national union bodies. AFL-CIO Councils in Baltimore and Pittsburgh have formed ERA committees. Union locals across the country have set up ERA and women's committees.

Along with chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the National Organization for Women, unions are organizing pro-ERA rallies, marches, and news conferences for the week of December 2-9 to build toward the January 13 actions.

And there are other signs that more and more working people see the fight for women's rights as a fight for the entire labor movement.

Strike against sexist firing

Fourteen hundred members of International Woodworkers of America Local 3-38 in Shelton, Washington, are striking against the sexist firing of a woman worker.

Unions are holding special women's conferences more and more frequently. The latest were the United Mine Workers conference of women miners in Charleston, West Virginia, November 10 and the October 13 conference in Detroit co-sponsored by the United Steelworkers District 19 Women's Council.

What are the reasons for this upsurge of labor support for women's rights?

First is the growing role of women in the labor force. Their own determination to fight for equal rights on the job, in the union, and throughout society has won the respect and support of millions of male co-workers.

Women today make up 42 percent of the work force. More than 42 million women are now working.

Yet on the average women make only fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by men. For Black and Hispanic women the gap is even greater.



Coalition of labor, women's, and civil rights organizations can make the difference in the fight for ERA.

Militant

Sex and race prejudice are used to justify and reinforce unequal opportunities and pay for a major section of the work force.

This means that billions of dollars in profits are made by employers through discrimination against women.

As the LERN resolution calling for the January 13 march stated, "Discrimination is big business for Big Business."

The resolution listed another reason why women workers stand to gain—and employers lose—from ERA's victory: "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."

What ERA would mean

A powerful movement for ERA will directly strengthen the fight for the right to child care, abortion rights, affirmative action, and other goals of the women's movement, in addition to the fight for equal pay and opportunities on the job.

Such gains for women will come at the expense of the employers—not male workers. Male workers, in fact, have everything to gain from women's equality. And more and more men are recognizing that.

Male workers are hurt by women's lower wages. As trade unionists well know, lower wages for one group of workers tend to drag down the wages of all.

Corporations profit from these pay differentials. They do not pass these billions on to other workers.

Nor does hiring women into better paying jobs come at the expense of men's jobs. This is an illusion created by the employer to put the blame for unemployment on the victims of discrimination.

Unemployment comes from the profit drive whereby employers strive to reduce labor costs by producing more with fewer workers.

The way to fight this destruction of jobs is for the unions to demand a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay. The fight against discrimination and for equality helps to unify the labor movement and strengthen its ability to fight for jobs for all.

Less pay, fewer opportunities, and increased unemployment for women also mean greater hardship on families. One of the reasons more women are working is because they head up households or because it takes two full-time workers to keep up with the high cost of living.

Seeing their wives and daughters discriminated against in the workplace has brought many men to support ERA.

Labor unity today is a life and death issue for working people. We are under a ruthless attack by big business and its government. We face soaring costs of energy and other necessities, spreading unemployment, speedup, and the war drive against Iran that could lead to another Vietnam.

Sexism, like racism, is used by employers to turn workers against each other rather than against our real enemy. Such divisions in the labor movement lower its resistance, crippling the ability to fight back against

these attacks.

The growing labor support for ERA goes directly against this divide and conquer drive. The fight for ERA thus aides in the struggle against unemployment, inflation, and union busting.

More unionists are recognizing that attacks on women's rights, like racist attacks, are part of the attack against the unions themselves.

It is no coincidence that of the fifteen unratified states, twelve are "right to work" states. Right-wing antilabor outfits, along with big business, are actively opposed to ERA.

In the United States, although almost 50 percent of the work force is female, only one woman in ten is in a union. It is again no coincidence that sex segregation puts most women in low-paid, nonunion jobs.

By championing women's rights, unions will increasingly win unorganized women to the union banner.

By coming forward in the unions to fight for their rights and the rights of all workers, women are pointing the way forward for the kind of progressive social role the unions can play.

As more unionists are recognizing, what happens to ERA will help determine whether a fighting labor movement is built that can take on the ruling class offensive against all working people.

ERA is one of the biggest battles in the class struggle in this country, pitting women and labor against big business and its government.

"ERA is labor's fight" is becoming the watchword in the weeks leading up to the January 13 march.

N.J. Ford workers campaign for ERA

By Heidi Rose

METUCHEN, N.J.—To get to the assembly lines at the Ford plant here, workers have to walk down a long hallway. Sometimes people set up tables and sell peanuts or other items. It's a plant tradition.

But on Monday, November 26, a different kind of display greeted the two shifts that make up the 2,200 workers at the plant.

The women's committee of United Auto Workers Local 980 had set up an Equal Rights Amendment table with UAW leaflets on the ERA, flyers on the January 13 ERA march, and sign-up sheets for the women's committee and for January 13 buses.

Also on sale were ERA-January 13 buttons and T-shirts put out by UAW Region 9.

The table was publicizing a New Jersey ERA rally set for December 2 and sponsored by the Coalition of Labor Union Women, National Organization for Women, UAW Region 9, and the Women's Affirmative Action Committee of the state's Industrial Union Council.

Seven people—three men and four women—joined in staffing the table at Metuchen. This included the chair of the women's committee and a Black woman who had heard about the committee's ERA plans only days before and came to help.

People leaving work from the day shift rush through the hallway. Those coming into the night shift move more slowly—until the time for work approaches. But a lot of action occurred around the table for the hour it was up.

People talked, shouted, argued, and agreed. The workers staffing the table called out to friends and co-workers to "come support the union, support ERA" or "come on, you should buy one of these union buttons—you're for equal rights, aren't you?"

People flew by, promising to buy a button later. "I know you, you're on the chassis line. I'll get one later." And they did.

A few older men crumpled the flyer up and threw it at the unionists who were staffing the table. Some were surprised that the union was backing it. "Are you allowed to do that?" one older man sternly asked.

"Hey, man, this is your union," came the reply from the table.

A lot of people had questions. "I don't really know about ERA," was a frequent comment. Or, "Let me read

this first before I buy a button."

Some men said, "Oh, women's lib," or "That's women's stuff," and began to walk away. But when we explained to them how the ERA is in their interest and why labor needs the ERA, they usually decided we might have a point. And they picked up more information sheets from the table before hurrying on.

We sold 100 buttons during one shift change. They were bought by men, women, Blacks, whites, young and old.

During that night's shift, people who did not know each other would stop and say "hi" because they were both wearing the big green ERA buttons.

The women's committee plans more such tables. They look like a good way to educate co-workers about ERA and get them to come to Richmond on January 13.

Why die for the shah?



American hostages in Tehran could go free at any time. All President Carter has to do is extradite the ex-shah to Iran so he can be put on trial for his crimes. Instead, Carter has brought the world to the brink of war. He has mobilized American troops, sent U.S. warships off the coast of Iran, and threatened and provoked the Iranian people.

U.S. military action against Iran could lead to another Vietnam—or worse. But

geles Times, November 14, 1979)

Documents in Tehran said that in February 1979, shortly before he fled the country, the shah held interests in "17 banks and insurance companies, 25 metal enterprises, eight mining companies, 10 building mate-

unemployed out of an employable population of 11 million. And there were no unemployment benefits. The destruction of agriculture made it necessary for Iran to begin importing a majority of food items, which were then placed on the market at exorbi-

tator—the Hitler of Iran. The record of his crimes is clear:

Massacres

During the last months of the shah's tyranny, he repeatedly ordered his troops to fire on unarmed demonstrators. It is estimated that some 60,000 men, women, and children were murdered in the struggle for their freedom.

September 8, 1978, has become known as "Bloody Friday" because of the slaughter of thousands, mowed down by machine-gun fire as they peacefully protested in the streets. By the next day alone, 3,897 death certificates had been issued by the Behesht-e-Zahra cemetery.

Executions

During the twenty-five years of the shah's reign, thousands of people were summarily executed by firing squads. Martin Ennals, secretary-general of Amnesty International, reported in the introduction to the prestigious human rights group's *Annual Report* for 1974-75 that Iran had the "highest rate of death penalties in the world."

Torture

"There is abundant evidence showing the systematic use of impermissible methods of psychological and physical torture of political suspects during interrogation." (International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 1976)

"Perhaps the most terrifying feature of torture in Iran is its institutionalization, the fact that it has become the almost private domain of huge, semi-autonomous police agencies. . . . The country's repertory of tortures includes not only electric shock and beatings, but also the insertion of bottles in the rectum, hanging weights from testicles, rape, and such apparatus as a helmet that, worn over the head of the victim, magnifies his own screams." (*Time* magazine, August 16, 1976)

Political Prisoners

"According to the sources at our disposal, the number of political prisoners approaches 100,000. The [shah's] regime has accomplished the extraordinary feat of establishing a higher rate of construction for prisons than for schools. . . ." (*Le Monde*, August 3-4, 1975, quoting Nuri Albala, a French lawyer active in the defense of Iranian political prisoners)

SAVAK

"The most dreaded instrument of the Shah's repression was Savak, a force of perhaps 30,000 secret policemen [the International Commission of Jurists 1976 report put the SAVAK secret police at 200,000 strong] who ferreted out suspected dissidents and subjected many to the most brutal torture. Kermit Roosevelt, the grandson of Theodore and the C.I.A. official who engineered the successful coup in 1953 [to put the shah in power], says that his agency helped 'organize and give guidance' to the new Iranian security force, with the help of Israeli 'friends.'" (*New York Times*, November 26, 1979)

In a January 7, 1979, interview published in the *New York Times*, former CIA officer Jesse J. Leaf disclosed how the CIA conducted "torture seminars" to instruct SAVAK in the use of Nazi torture techniques.

Theft

The true amount stolen from the Iranian people by the shah and his family has not yet been revealed, but the figure is said to approach \$20 billion.

"Just one measure of how much power the shah had was that in 1976 the Iranian budget contained a \$1 billion discretionary fund solely for the shah's use." (*Los An-*

43 food companies and 26 other enterprises; including pieces of every major hotel built in and around Tehran." (*New York Daily News*, November 14, 1979)

Economic Devastation

The shah's "land reform" was designed to distribute land unequally to the richer farmers. " . . . the regime's whole agricultural policy has proven to be an economic failure. . . . Land was not distributed equally to all peasants: the estimated 47.5 per cent of the rural population who were most deprived before the reform have not benefited from the distribution." (*Iran: Dictatorship and Development*, Fred Halliday, 1979)

Millions of poor peasants were driven from their land, resulting in 3.5 million

lived below the poverty level.

Arms expenditures

The shah traded oil for billions of dollars worth of arms to repress the people, enriching himself in the process.

"Iran is in the mid-1970s the largest single purchaser of US arms in the world, and total sales in the years 1972-6 came to \$10.4 billions." (*Iran: Dictatorship and Development*, Fred Halliday, 1979)

Oppression of minorities

Sixty percent of Iran's population is composed of various non-Persian nationalities. They were subjected to systematic economic discrimination and were forbidden publications, radio programs, and education in their own languages.

This is the record of the twenty-five year reign of murder and plunder by the deposed shah. Yet Carter, spending New Years 1978 with the crowned butcher in Tehran, hailed his dictatorship as "an island of stability." "The cause of human rights is one that also is shared deeply . . . by the leaders of our two countries," Carter said.

Carter is shielding this mass murderer because he knows that if the shah goes on trial, the entire U.S. government would stand exposed before the world for its role in backing one of history's bloodiest dictators. The role of the giant U.S. oil companies would also come to light—it is to guard their profits that tyrants like the shah are installed and kept in power. When Carter calls on American workers to sacrifice in the name of patriotism—to drive less and pay more for energy—it is again the oil companies that will reap the gains.

Our interests do not lie with Big Oil, with Carter, or with the shah. Our interests lie with the Iranian workers and farmers, who are seeking an end to foreign domination of their country and a decent life for their people.

A majority of the hostages have appealed to Carter to send back the shah. As Sgt. William Quarles, one of the Black marines released from the embassy November 18, warned, "a lot of people are suffering for a few people at the top." Muhammad Ali, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Rev. Joseph Lowery, and 1,200 Black ministers at the National Black Pastors Conference have called for extraditing the shah. We should join with them and millions of Iranians in demanding:

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

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

No deportations—halt the attacks on Iranian students!

U.S. hands off Iran!

Stop war threats—send back shah!

Socialist's ideas not 'acceptable'

Gov't declares it a duty to 'exclude' Marroquin

By Jane Roland

The U.S. government has stripped away any window dressing remaining in its case against Héctor Marroquín.

In a legal brief calling for his immediate deportation, it says loud and clear that Marroquín's socialist ideas are the reason he does not deserve asylum in this country.

Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and a spokesperson for the 1980 SWP presidential campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

In its brief the government proclaims that his views are not "acceptable" to *la migra* and that it has the duty to "exclude an avowed Marxist" like Marroquín.

The government brief jumps on Marroquín's open support for the revolutionary government of Cuba. "It is most puzzling . . .," says the brief, "why Mr. Marroquín would be applying for withholding of deportation in the United States when the only country he approves of or where he would be most happy, would be Cuba."

"This is an attack on the right to hold political beliefs that differ from the government's," responded Marroquín after seeing the brief. "It is an attack on the civil liberties of everyone in this country."

Although he is an outspoken defender of the Cuban revolution, Marroquín pointed out that he has applied for asylum here, not in Cuba. "And the laws of this country are clear—that political refugees are supposed to be welcome in the United States."

Request for asylum

The brief, written by Immigration and Naturalization Service prosecutor Daniel Kahn, was filed with the Board of Immigration Appeals on November 2, in response to an appeal submitted by Marroquín in July. Marroquín has asked the appeals board to overturn the decision of INS Judge James Smith, who ordered him deported following a hearing in Houston last April.

Marroquín has requested political asylum. If deported to Mexico, he



Mexico 1968. Despite evidence of systematic persecution of Mexican dissidents, U.S. government refuses to grant Marroquín political asylum.

would face kidnapping, torture, and possibly assassination, because he has been framed up on phony charges of terrorism and subversion by the Mexican government.

Marroquín should be sent back to Mexico, the government brief argues, because he "is inadmissible to the United States . . . as an alien who advocates the overthrow of the United States government by force."

"They say that I can't stay because I support overthrowing the government by 'force'—which is a lie," said Marroquín. "And then they bring the shah of Iran here, who maintained a government by force—a hated and repressive government—and that is okay."

But "force" is simply the government's code word for Marroquín's membership in the SWP and YSA. His real political beliefs were stated clearly at his hearing.

'Force and violence'?

Prosecutor Kahn repeatedly asked Marroquín whether he believed in the overthrow of the government by "force

and violence." And Marroquín responded patiently each time that the U.S. social and political system can be transformed only by the massive power of the majority of the American people, the working people of this country.

The INS has tried before to deport people simply on the basis of their membership in the SWP, claiming the party "advocates violence." This argument has been overruled by the courts.

In the case of George Scythes, after a five-year legal battle, a federal appeals court said in 1962 that "we find no substantial evidence that the SWP advocates or teaches . . . the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States."

Recently released FBI documents prove that the INS conspired with the FBI to try to deport members of the SWP who weren't citizens. The documents show the disruption program was launched in the early 1960s. But Marroquín's case proves that the government has not stopped trying to deport SWP members to this very day.

Repression in Mexico

The government tries to back up its case for deporting Marroquín by questioning the existence of repression in Mexico.

"Counsel has completely failed to make a case in support of a claim that her client is a bona fide or genuine refugee, or that he would be personally subjected to persecution based upon his political beliefs in the event of his return to Mexico," reads the government's brief.

This is quite an assertion, since much of the deportation hearing was devoted to testimony by well-known authorities, describing the serious violations of human rights in Mexico and explaining the immediate danger that Marroquín would face were he returned.

During the hearing Marroquín was questioned about the recent amnesty laws passed in Mexico. He explained that he agreed with the human rights movement in Mexico that the amnesty was a sham designed to portray the government of López Portillo in a better light and to respond to massive demonstrations of Mexicans demanding democratic rights.

"There may be an amnesty," Marroquín said, but "as long as there is torture, as long as there are kidnappings and jailings without charges, as long as there are disappearances of hundreds of political activists, how can I feel safe? Until the government has decided to stop assassinating, how can I feel safe?"

At the hearing Kahn had challenged Marroquín to name one person who had been executed after the amnesty. And, says Kahn self-righteously in the brief, "he was unable to do so."

Piedra's testimony

But Kahn ignores the testimony of Rosario Piedra, the internationally known leader of the Mexican human rights movement. At the hearing, she described the situation in Mexico since the amnesty, naming specific individuals who had been kidnapped in the weeks before the hearing.

She related the facts, disputed by no one at the hearing, that brutal torture continues unabated, that more than 450 people who had been kidnapped over the past few years remain "disappeared," that hundreds of political prisoners languish in jail without real trials.

Since the hearing and since the order to deport Marroquín, violations of human rights continue. A young woman who was kidnapped and tortured spoke publicly to say that "in Mexico there are clandestine jails and in them can be found hundreds of disappeared political activists . . . and that torture is practiced systematically with total impunity."

That was in August, just a few months ago. In July a member of the sister party of the SWP in Mexico was murdered by the authorities.

For the government to claim that the situation has changed in Mexico, that Marroquín can now feel free to return in safety, is simply a lie.

Marroquín's attorneys are preparing the response to the government's brief. The case will then be heard by the Board of Immigration Appeals.

In the meantime, as Marroquín continues his national speaking tour, he finds that more and more people back him in his struggle for asylum. They are not intimidated by the fact that he is a socialist.

"Most people I meet," says Marroquín, "understand very well that the government wants to keep me out because of my political views, and they disagree with that. They know that an infringement on my right to free speech will open the door to cut back the freedoms of all Americans."



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/T. J. Grillo



ROSARIO PIEDRA

Militant/Miguel Pendás

... UAW

Continued from page 9

"I think we have to view this in terms of union solidarity and human solidarity with the people over there, and help them get through this initial period," Rogers said. He suggested that the Region 1 Youth Council executive board send a representative to the Nicaraguan solidarity meeting held in Detroit.

Youth conferences like the one in Region 1 can be a significant step in strengthening the UAW. Auto workers today are under sharp attack—from

layoffs, inflation, and the hard line of the auto companies.

During the recent contract negotiations, the companies pitted workers against each other. The needs of retirees were counterposed to the needs of active workers. The needs of new hires were pitted against those of higher-seniority workers. This is how the auto companies are chipping away at gains won by the UAW in the past.

Young workers are among the first to feel the brunt of this takeback campaign. They face unemployment lines alternating with murderous speedup and forced overtime. As new

hires they work for less pay and fewer medical benefits. And they get no supplemental benefits when laid off.

The discussions and proposals at the Region 1 conference reflect the desire among young workers to fight for their needs. From stopping layoffs and unemployment to ending nuclear power and preventing job-related cancer.

These young auto workers represent the attitudes of thousands more, who were molded by the social struggles of the 1960s and '70s. Their opinions were shaped by the Vietnam war, the civil rights and women's movements, and Watergate. They are open to new ideas.

And in growing numbers they are turning to their unions to defend them against the employers' attacks.

It will be these young workers who will renew the fighting traditions and determination of the union movement. Only in this way will the unions be able to confront the big battles ahead.

Region 1 has set an example for the rest of the UAW and for other industrial unions as well. For more information on Region 1's Youth Council contact Romona Allison, Region 1 Education Director, 12000 East Twelve Mile Road, Warren, Michigan 48093; telephone (313) 572-0808.

INS sweeps evoke strong protest

Gov't backs off on neighborhood raids

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—Mass pressure and protest action have forced the Immigration and Naturalization Service—the hated *la migra*—to back off on its latest offensive against the Chicano and *mexicano* communities here.

Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti instructed the INS November 26 that, effective immediately, "immigration officers will not seek out undocumented aliens in places of residence."

While this represents a significant concession to the public outcry against the gestapo-like raids, Civiletti included two ominous provisions.

An exception, he said, will be made in such cases as the present crackdown on Iranian residents.

In addition, Civiletti said, undocumented immigrants would now be sought out in the workplace. It remains to be seen how extensively such raids will be renewed. They have been limited for the past year as the result of a pending legal challenge by unionists.

Why the sudden retreat by *la migra* on the neighborhood raids? These

neighborhood sweeps had been recently resumed after a break of several years, which had been forced on the INS by an earlier storm of protest.

The quick community reaction against resumption of the raids was "startling," according to officials. The raids, said one Immigration official, were a "public relations disaster."

When the raids were renewed, *la migra* already faced a legal challenge by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The ILGWU is seeking a court ban on raids conducted with warrants that do not name the specific individuals being sought.

A backing-off on such raids indicated INS recognition of the strength of the union challenge.

Now, One Stop Immigration Law Center, a community agency aiding the undocumented, is making a legal challenge to *la migra's* use of local police in door-to-door raids. The law suit is being pursued in cooperation with local groups in the various Los Angeles area towns where the cops are being used this way.

People who come here without documents are subject only to deportation. They are not criminals subject to police arrest. Legally, they can be taken into custody only by Immigration agents.

A focus of the protest against the massive raids, in which as many as 600 people a week were being scooped up, was a rally held at East Los Angeles Community College stadium last month. The featured speaker was United Farm Workers President César Chávez. The rally demanded an immediate end to the raids.

It was also agreed to establish a hot line for those in danger of deportation. Such a phone service is now being operated by One Stop Immigration.

Protests by community groups led to public officials adding their voices.

Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, for instance, called on President Carter to end the "unpopular and unproductive" neighborhood raids.

A congressional hearing on the raids was demanded by Rubén Bonilla, national president of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Latin Americans have suffered heavily from a 1965 clause in the Immigration law limiting Western Hemisphere immigration to 120,000 people a year. Of this number, Mexico was given a quota beginning in 1968 of about



Militant/Frank Lord

50,000 a year. In 1976, when Carter opened a new drive against undocumented immigrants, this pitifully small quota was slashed to 20,000.

This has meant that people legally entitled to come here as relatives of residents or citizens have to wait for years for one of the handful of visas issued annually.

Still, the *mexicanos* manage, in varying numbers, to come here in search of desperately needed work or reunification with their families.

But in this country without legal status, they are at the mercy of sweatshop employers and profit-hungry farm interests. The constant, sinister presence of *migra* agents adds to their insecurity and makes them even more vulnerable to superexploitation.

The systematic victimization of undocumented *mexicanos* and other Latinos serves at the same time as a weapon of intimidation against legally resident Chicanos.

One such resident, a U.S. Senate aide, told a reporter, "You have no idea, unless you have brown skin, of how unsettling these raids can be. It isn't the matter of the number of

officers involved. It's the whole idea. You need to have only one man in a green INS uniform walk into the *mercado* [market] and a shiver of fear runs through all of East Los Angeles."

These raids are used to scapegoat the undocumented in periods of rising unemployment. But study after study, including one done for the U.S. Labor Department in 1976, showed the undocumented are confined almost exclusively to the lowest paying jobs. The average hourly wage of undocumented workers at the time of the study was found to be a miserable \$2.71 an hour.

That figure alone is enough to demonstrate why organized labor must stand in solidarity with the undocumented and bring them into the union movement in massive numbers. That way, the employers and their *migra* collaborators cannot use undocumented workers to drive down the wages of all workers.

The fact that a big outcry forced the government to back down on the current raids shows that gains can be made. It's up to labor to press the fight forward.

Local cops aid 'migra' assault

LOS ANGELES—INS agents descended like storm troopers on the *mexicano* community in Ontario, California, November 11. Breaking into homes, they seized 159 people they branded "illegal aliens."

In violation of legal statutes, they were aided by local cops in the brutal sweep.

One resident, Juan Cervantes, told reporters he saw police breaking into people's homes without permission. This was verified by a priest and a 12-year-old who also witnessed what happened.

Cervantes said he saw one *migra* agent slapping a man who tried to protest that he was not "illegal." Others who tried to show their papers, Cervantes said, had them torn up in their faces.

The cops and *migra* agents, it was charged, simply grabbed anyone who spoke Spanish.

A problem: Is there a real world?

The November issue of *Scientific American* features an article entitled "The Quantum Theory and Reality" that purports to cast doubt on the existence of the world of material reality. The large-print "teaser" under the title reads: "The doctrine that the world is made up of objects whose existence is independent of human consciousness turns out to be in conflict with quantum mechanics and with facts established by experiment."

An astounding claim! That an external world

As I see it

of material reality exists independently of human thought is the essential proposition that defines philosophical materialism. Is there now experimental evidence that refutes the materialist outlook?

Even at first glance something seems fishy. After all, if there is no world of material reality, what good is any experiment? What is the object of experimentation?

In fact, the teaser is inaccurate and mislead-

ing. The experimental evidence it refers to does not challenge the existence of the material world, nor does the article itself support such a claim. *Scientific American* has generally stood opposed to manifestations of pseudoscience. But in this case its editors (who are responsible for the misleading teaser) are giving encouragement to the new "mystical physics" cultists whose ideas are represented by such books as *The Tao of Physics* and *The Dancing Wu Li Masters*.

Briefly, what the article *does* say is this: It lists three premises, one of which is the existence of the real world. Then it cites experimental evidence that tends to indicate that at least one of the three premises may have to be "abandoned or modified or in some way constrained." There is clearly no justification for singling out one of the three—the priority of the material world over thought—as the one to be dumped.

The author of the article, Bernard d'Espagnat, admits that to abandon the materialist premise is to "trivialize the entire scientific enterprise." If there is no independent, external material world, then "nature is a phantom," and science becomes meaningless.

Another of the three premises is called "Einstein locality," which holds that nothing can exceed the speed of light. This is one of the two

fundamental propositions underlying Einstein's relativity theory. The real problem that the article points out is that a contradiction exists between the two major physical theories of our time—relativity and quantum theory.

An experiment was devised to test this contradiction, and the predictions based on quantum theory came out ahead of those based on relativity theory. Since an immense amount of experimental evidence (all derived from the external material world, of course) exists confirming both relativity and quantum theory, physics has reached a crisis point.

But this is no cause for panic, nor for a lapse into mysticism. Crisis is the norm in modern science, and especially in physics. Its progress has been built upon the resolution of a succession of crises. Both relativity and quantum theory were born out of clashes of "irreconcilable" facts and "insoluble" contradictions. The present impasse is but another challenge for physicists to meet.

The search for a solution will undoubtedly lead in directions that are, in author d'Espagnat's words, "remote from everyday experience." But the result will be to deepen—not destroy—our cognition of the independently existing, external, material world.

—Cliff Conner

Labor task force established

Organizing for 1980 nuclear protest steps up

By Arnold Weissberg

WASHINGTON—With the date of the action drawing nearer, the pace of organizing activities for the April 26, 1980, antinuclear march on Washington is stepping up.

Activists from around the country gathered here November 17-18 for an open coordinating committee meeting of the Coalition for a Nonnuclear World, the name taken by the broad grouping that is organizing the action.

Activists came from antinuclear groups, unions, the National Organization for Women, college campuses, and political groups from at least fourteen states. Two people came from Three Mile Island Alert in Harrisburg.

Earlier coalition meetings had established task forces to deal with various aspects of organizing, and most of the task forces gave reports at the weekend gathering.

The outreach task force reported it had decided to establish separate bodies for reaching labor, students, and religious organizations.

It was agreed that the labor task force would be headed by Jerry Gordon, executive assistant to the director of Region 2 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW). Region 2, which represents 100,000 workers, endorsed the April 26 action in a strongly-worded resolution earlier this year.

Several activists took the opportunity, in discussing the outreach task force's report, to talk about their antinuclear efforts.

Manuel Barrera of Chicago, a member of Citizens Against Nuclear Power and the United Transportation Union, described efforts to reach students and labor. Two student coalitions have been set up in the Chicago area, Barrera said, and CANP was holding several meetings a month on campus.

Barrera said CANP was drawing up, along with labor officials, a letter to be sent out to area unions. He said the letter had already been signed by Alice Peurala, president of United Steelworkers Local 65; Ed Sadlowski, a subdistrict director in USWA District 31; the vice-president of the Illinois AFL-CIO; and others.

Maggie McCraw of USWA Local 65



Militant/Lou Howort

Continuing big turnouts for antinuclear protests and growing labor opposition to nuclear power indicate potential for building April 26, 1980, antinuclear march on Washington. Above, 200,000 rally against nuclear power in New York City September 23.

described a leaflet aimed at unionists put out by CANP and the Bailly Alliance of northern Indiana.

Members of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201 from Lynn, Massachusetts, described efforts by their union's energy committee to fight the oil ripoff. The committee and the union took part in last October's "Stop the Oil Ripoff" protests.

Union member Nelson González urged the coalition to reach out to unionists involved in actions like these. "It's a layer of people the antinuke movement couldn't have reached before," he said.

Mike Ferner of Ohioans for Utility Reform in Toledo reported that the antinuclear groups in his region had decided to focus most of their outreach activities on labor, since the Ohio-Indiana-Michigan area is so heavily unionized. Ferner said a labor-antinuclear conference was under discussion in that area.

A member of the National Organization for Women from New Jersey, Kimi Nakata, told the gathering about an

antinuclear resolution passed by the state NOW unit. She suggested trying to get NOW chapters involved in antinuclear activities.

The international task force reported it had already sent out 1,000 letters to antinuclear groups around the world urging them to plan actions for April 26.

Many proposals raised at the meeting will be referred to regional gatherings to be held over the next few months.

The meeting took place in the context of heightened concern about the nuclear danger. The report by the White House commission on Three Mile Island—which concluded there is "no guarantee" against more nuclear disasters—is part of the growing evidence that nuclear power is inherently unsafe and that all nuclear plants should be immediately shut down.

Of special significance is the deepening opposition to nuclear power within the labor movement. Signs of this include:

- the strong antinuclear stand taken by the United Mine Workers union, which has provided speakers for a number of antinuclear actions;

- involvement of the UMWA; Machinists; Steelworkers; Laborers; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; and other unions in local antinuclear actions November 10-11 commemorating the death of Karen Silkwood;

- support by Ed Gray, director of United Auto Workers Region 9, for the giant New York City rally of 200,000 against nuclear power in September; and

- the unanimous endorsement of the April 26 action by UFCW Region 2.

The ranks of labor are deeply concerned about nuclear power, and April 26 offers an important opportunity to translate that concern into action.

For more information about the march, contact: **Coalition for a Non-nuclear World, 236 Massachusetts Avenue N.E., Suite 506, Washington, D.C. 20002; telephone (202) 544-5228.**

'Zimmergate': Ohio nuclear cover-up unravels

By Joe Lombardo

CINCINNATI—A rare glimpse into the often shoddy construction practices at nuclear power plants has been offered to Cincinnati-area residents over the past several months.

As a result of charges made by construction workers at the Zimmer nuclear power plant site, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has held a series of hearings that brought to light evidence of serious defects and a cover-up of these defects. The local press has dubbed this mess "Zimmergate."

"As much as 80% of the cable trays throughout the plant are overloaded beyond National Electrical Code specifications of volume per tray," charged Donald Blanch, a twenty-year union electrician, in an affidavit submitted to the NRC. Blanch was a supervisor at the Zimmer site.

"These trays are filled to as much as 150% of capacity in some cases, this requiring the addition of side plates to accommodate the excess cables."

Blanch's affidavit went on to explain that the cable trays in the spreader room, directly below the control room, were also overloaded. "Original fire-proofing specifications cannot be met," he said.

In 1974, a fire in the Browns Ferry, Alabama, nuclear power plant's spreader room knocked out all the

plant's control and safety systems. A meltdown, which could have killed thousands of people, was narrowly averted. Zimmer's design is similar to that of Browns Ferry.

The NRC was forced to open hearings after reports like this began to make their way into the Cincinnati press through the efforts of Citizens Against a Radioactive Environment (CARE).

The first such charges were made in February 1976 by Vic Griffin, a quality control engineer for one of the construction contractors. Griffin told the NRC about poor quality control which he charged "violates all recognized standards which are applied nationwide to components affecting public safety."

With twenty-eight years of experience in quality control work, Griffin resigned in protest.

Powerful charges against Cincinnati Gas and Electric, Zimmer's owner, also came from Ed Hofstadter, Hofstadter had been a manufacturing engineer for forty years.

He was manager of industrial engineering for Husky Products, which supplied the cable trays. "At Husky, all of their quality control effort was merely window dressing on paper so

that we could convince our customers," Hofstadter wrote in an NRC affidavit. "In practice, Husky only complied if it did not cost anything, either money or effort."

He added, "Our only objective was to build the product at the lowest possible cost."

None of Husky's welders had any experience with the quality welds required for the cable trays at Zimmer.

Husky responded to this problem, Hofstadter said, by ignoring it. "The end result," he said, was that "all Zimmer welds were made by uncertified welders." The welds were "of marginal quality, principally in that they lack fusion, which is the key to strength."

Moreover, Hofstadter said, "the trays are stacked one on top of the other, 3 high. One tray carries the main control cables, the other 2 carry the cables for the backup systems."

"This is obviously a poor design because if the welds in one of the upper trays broke, causing the tray to fall, the trays below it would be damaged; and because a fire in one tray could easily spread to the other two. . . ."

"The NRC never tested the welds on the Vertical Fittings which are the critical welds. Instead, they tested

welds which are not critical. They even found that some of these noncritical welds were bad, but they said they were not 'too' bad."

"At the Browns Ferry fire, where a similar 3 tier system was in use, a relatively small fire destroyed all control of the plant."

For his efforts, Hofstadter lost his job and was subjected to a smear campaign by CG & E, which claimed he made the charges only because he had been fired. He has also received anonymous threats.

But internal Husky Products memos, written in 1975, confirmed his charges about the poor quality of the welds.

Other workers also came forward with evidence. Tom Martin, a millwright involved with installing the nuclear reactor, revealed that 75 percent of the control rods had failed quality control tests but were installed anyway.

If a control rod should fail, the reactor could overheat, and a meltdown could result.

The NRC has minimized these important charges. "It just doesn't hit me as a big deal. There's no industry in the world that has zero risk," declared NRC midwest regional director James Kappler.

By August Nimtz

(third of a series)

On November 11, 1975, the United Nations General Assembly voted 72 to 35 to condemn Zionism as a form of racism. The enthusiastic reception that greeted Fidel Castro's stinging indictment of Zionism in his recent UN speech suggests that there is even more support today for the 1975 decision.

Zionists and their supporters vehemently protested against the UN vote. "How can Zionism be racist?" they asked. "Just because I support Zionism doesn't make me a racist!"

Of course, an ideology can be racist regardless of whether all its individual supporters are conscious racists.

The very essence of the Zionist program is the call for the establishment of a state in Palestine—not a state of the inhabitants of Palestine, Palestinian Arabs, but rather *an exclusively Jewish state*.

Former Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion stated this idea quite clearly: "... Israel is the country of the Jews and only of the Jews. Every Arab who lives here has the same rights as any minority citizen in any country in the world, but he must admit the fact that he lives in a Jewish country."

In a debate in the Israeli Parliament in 1969, Prime Minister Golda Meir was more blunt: "I want a Jewish state with a decisive Jewish majority which cannot change overnight. . . . I always believed [this] was plain Zionism."

When a reporter asked former Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan in 1967 about Israel's ability to absorb the Arab population in the occupied territories, he said: "Economically we can, but . . . that is not in accord with our aims in the future; it would turn Israel into either a binational or polynational Arab-Jewish state instead of a Jewish state. . . . We want a Jewish state like the French have a French state."

The kind of state the Zionists call for is unique. Contrary to what Dayan says, the "French state," like most states, is composed of numerous nationalities—that is, inhabitants who live within

Is Zionism a form of racism?



Israeli cops attacking Arabs: a common feature of Zionist oppression



Issues in Mideast Conflict

its borders—including Bretons, Normands, Basques, Arabs, Africans, and Jews. Under the Zionist formula none of these people would qualify for being "French."

A settler state

Another fundamental element in the Zionist program is the settlement of Jews on the land of the Palestinians. Regardless of the original aims of Zionism, this makes Israel a settler state that is strikingly similar to the white settler regimes in southern Africa.

Like other settler movements, the Zionists formed an alliance with the strongest imperialist powers to accomplish their goals. This is why Zionism, contrary to the claims of some of its defenders, is not like the national liberation movements of the oppressed in the colonial world. Rather than waging war against imperialism, the history of Zionism has been primarily one of struggle against an oppressed people—the Arab masses.

From the very beginning, in the first years of this century, the Zionists set out to replace the original Arab population in Palestine with Jewish settlers. After buying land from Arab landowners, the Jewish National Fund (the Zionist land purchasing agency) would evict the Arab peasants and turn the land over to Jewish settlers. The new settlers were forbidden to lease or sell the land to Arabs.

In the United States such a restriction is called a restrictive covenant and was outlawed by the Supreme Court in 1917 as a form of racial discrimination. American Jews, who were always among the victims of restrictive covenants, fought against them here.

To make sure that evicted Arab peasants did not remain in the area, the Zionist policy was to boycott Arab labor. Histadrut, Israel's so-called trade union federation—actually a social welfare and insurance outfit—was formed in the 1920s to fight against the employment of Arab labor. To make it even more difficult for Arabs to make a living—and thereby force them to migrate—Arab products were also boycotted.

These racist practices were rationalized on the grounds that the only way to bring about a Jewish state was to have a Jewish economy with a Jewish work force.

After the Israeli state came into existence in 1948, the early land policies became part of Israeli law. For example, Arabs cannot buy or lease land belonging to the Jewish National Fund, a substantial amount of land in Israel. Arabs are barred from living in certain locations. The Emergency Land Regulation Law, enacted in 1949, permits the government to seize Arab lands in urban areas.

Law of Return

After having forced most Palestinians off their land and into neighboring Arab countries during the 1948 War, the Zionists enacted the Law of Return. Under this law any Jew anywhere in the world could become a citizen of Israel. But Palestinian Arabs who had lived there and whose ancestors had lived there for centuries were denied this right.

The land, housing, and citizenship laws in Israel are similar to those in South Africa, probably the only other country in the world where racial discrimination is upheld so openly by law.

Every aspect of life in Israel is marked by discrimination against the Palestinians. For example, various laws and policies confer special benefits—such as jobs and government family allowances—on veterans. Since Arabs are virtually barred from serving in the military, this means that only Jews get these benefits.

Government funds for schools, health, and social services are allocated to favor Jewish areas. An official inquiry into government grants to local government in 1972 revealed that the Arab sector received 4 to 10 Israeli pounds per person compared to 70 to 125 pounds in the Jewish sector.

There are separate school systems for Arabs and Jews at the preuniversity level. Because government funding for Arab schools is much lower than for the Jewish ones, Arab education is inferior. Although Arabs constitute 15 percent of the population, at the subuniversity level they make up only 2 percent of the students.

At the university level, where Arabs constitute only 1.8 percent of all students, quotas are used to bar them from certain fields.

Educational discrimination is reflected in job and income inequalities. Dave Dellinger, who recently visited the Middle East on a fact-finding tour, reported in *Seven Days* magazine, September 28, that the Israeli government now has "a policy of forcing Arab intellectuals, professionals, and skilled labor out of Israel by denying them jobs suitable to their skills and training."

As for income, the per capita income of a Jew in Israel is estimated to be about two and a half times that of an Arab.

In the field of politics, Arabs are categorically denied the right to form nationalist parties or

associations. Furthermore, police repression in the form of threats, beatings, nighttime searches, and other formally illegal procedures, is regularly used against Palestinian activists.

Racist attitudes

The early Zionist settlers were Europeans and carried with them to Palestine the dominant racist ideas about non-Western peoples and their cultures. While European civilization, in their opinion, was the crowning glory of human development, other cultures did not exist or were backward.

Over the years, as racist *practices* became more entrenched in Israel, so did the *attitudes* used to rationalize them.

A typical example is to deny the existence of the Zionists' victims. As late as 1969, Golda Meir could make her much-publicized statement, "There is no such thing as a Palestinian."

Time magazine published a Harris poll in its April 12, 1971, issue that showed the depth of racism among Israeli Jews. Seventy-four percent of those polled said they thought "Arabs are less intelligent than Israelis." Two-thirds believed "Arabs are more dishonest than Israelis," and the same proportion felt "Arabs are inferior to Israelis."

Along with anti-Arab prejudices go prejudices that have caused some embarrassment to Zionists and their supporters. These include the racist attitudes of European or Ashkenazi Jews toward Jews of Oriental background, who now comprise more than half of Israel's Jewish population. Oriental or Sephardic Jews are discriminated against by the Ashkenazi, though not to the same extent as the Palestinians.

Former Israeli foreign minister Abba Eban, originally from South Africa, warned that the Oriental Jews might "force Israel to equalize its cultural level with that of the neighboring world. . . . [We] should infuse them with an Occidental spirit, rather than allow them to draw us into an unnatural orientalism" (Eban, *Voice of Israel*).

Other victims of racism in Israel are the so-called Black Jews, from the United States and elsewhere. After having fought to enter Israel, this community of about 1,400 has been denied citizenship—the government says they are not Jews—and according to the *New York Times*, October 18, lives in "extremely poor and crowded conditions."

On the international level, Zionism's true colors are shown in the strong economic, political, and military ties that Israel has with racist South Africa.

Apologists defend the Zionist state's links with South Africa on the grounds that it is simply being expedient in the face of Israel's growing world isolation. But the racist character of the Zionist state suggests the connection with South Africa is more than simple expediency.

...Calif. discussion on labor party issue

Continued from back page

ship versus what's good for the public. What's good for the public is going to have to become more important than what's good for the oil companies."

Another speaker was Gloria Busman, a long-time leader of the Los Angeles-Orange county AFL-CIO Organizing Committee. She now is at the UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations. She said, "It's fantastic we're beginning to have this kind of dialogue. We wouldn't have had it a few years ago."

ERA action

Busman is active in the Coalition of Labor Union Women. She pointed to the January 13 Labor for Equal Rights Now march in Virginia as "an extremely positive example of the kinds of coalitions that can be formed and the kinds of issues we can take on. It can help build the sort of general consensus that can spread to some of the bigger and more global issues that some of the other speakers have advocated."

Bernie Sapiro, president of the Southern California Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, was a strong advocate of a labor party.

"Society has degenerated at a faster rate than it has in the past, but that doesn't change the basic structure of the two major political parties in this country. The Democrats are basically a coalition of AFL-CIO labor, big city machines, and minorities. But the key is, it is owned, led, and controlled by big business."

"The Republican coalition is a little different: there's the Midwest farmers, there's the small business man, the technocrats, and off and on, the Teamsters. But still, it is owned, run, and controlled by big business."

Sapiro then described three situations where politicians turned against their organized labor supporters:

First, California Gov. Jerry Brown's tearing up union contracts for public employees after passage of Proposition 13.

Second, President Carter's wage-price guidelines, which "make the workers pay for inflation."

And third, the National Labor Relations Board, which almost always sides with employers against workers.



Participants in labor party panel included (left to right): Raoul Tellhet, president of California Federation of Teachers; Bernie Sapiro, president of Southern California Printing Specialties Union; Pete Beltran, president of United Auto Workers Local 645; Jon Lepie of Social Services Union Local 535; and Gloria Busman.

Sapiro concluded: "Maybe it isn't a panacea and the answer to everything, but we have needed a labor party for many, many years. I don't think the alternative is some other political party coming out as a party of reform. We've seen populist movements. What you need is a solid base of the only group of people in this country who have a vested long-term interest in changing society for the good of all, and that group is the American working class." This was greeted with a big round of applause.

Members of the audience contributed different perspectives on how to solve the political problems of working people.

Ed Heisler, from USWA Local 6700 at Martin Marietta Aluminum, said: "I think that labor's political organizations and committees like COPE, CAP, the UTU's Transportation Political Education League need to seriously consider and discuss the idea of organizing our own political party. I think it's become clear that the employers are going after the labor movement like they haven't since the 1930s, both economically and in the political arena."

Genora Johnson Dollinger, a participant in the Flint UAW strikes of 1937, said: "We have been left out in the cold time after time by labor leaders, the best and the worst of them. We shouldn't hold onto that phrase 'labor party.'" Dollinger advocated support

for the Citizens Party.

Robbie Scherr, a railroad worker, said: "I think that the leadership for a new political party will come from this young generation of workers who, out of necessity, are beginning to look to the unions for answers. Because it's just not possible for workers our age to buy a home and get ahead the way it was in the 1950s and 1960s."

UE stand

Mike Eisenscher, an organizer for the United Electrical workers, pointed out that his union "is officially on record in favor of a labor party. But we haven't done a lot to bring one into being."

Eisenscher explained: "I happen to agree with the precept that there is a class struggle in this country and that there are separate classes that have different interests. The Democrats and Republicans are two political parties that may indeed include a lot of working people in them, but they represent the interests of different classes. And until workers line up their politics with their class interests there's no future for politics for the American working people. We will always be prisoners of pragmatism."

Jerry O'Connell of USWA Local 6700 said: "I think there is a movement and it's beginning here, as one or two of the panelists have pointed out. A beginning of a labor party has to begin with a discussion of it, beginning on the shop floor."

Ken Davey of the UTU suggested: "We have to begin changing the bad public relations image unions sometimes have into something good. Make them a social force that people can relate to and say, 'Hey, that's something that I should be a member of because they're fighting for the things I need.'"

Susan Chacin of SEIU Local 660 said: "The solution isn't at the individual level any more, and I believe one of the principal reasons why a labor party is necessary is it's the only forum in which to pose national solutions that really can solve the labor movement's problems."

'Got to start somewhere'

In summing up the discussion, Bernie Sapiro stated, "I see a hopeful sign in tonight's meeting. I don't know if it could have happened five years ago, but it didn't. I see hopeful signs in statements made by the leadership of the California state AFL-CIO and the meeting that they're planning. As a I say again, we need it, you've got to start somewhere, and I think the start has been made."

The California Labor Federation's executive council is meeting December 5-6 at the Disneyland Hotel in Anaheim. At the end of the meeting, a conference will be held "to assess labor's political activity and to give consideration to the feasibility of establishing a labor party," according to federation head Henning.

... right-wing Cuban exiles assassinate Negrin

Officials tied in with exiles

The brazen effort of Union City officials to shield those responsible for the murder of Eulalio Negrin is the product of direct political ties with counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles.

Prominent in the administration of Mayor William Musto is Julia Valdivia whose city hall office dispenses favors and patronage.

Valdivia is a friend and supporter of Guillermo Novo, one of those convicted in the Letelier murder. She was quoted in the September 10, 1979, *New York* magazine as saying of Guillermo, "He believed in what he was doing and I respected what he did."

In an eighteen-month period, Union City spent \$28,000 on advertising. Of that amount, says *New York*, \$20,000 went to *Avance*, a counterrevolutionary exile sheet published by another reported political ally of the mayor.

Little wonder the chief of police is so quick to assure that there is "no concrete evidence" linking Omega 7 to the Negrin murder.

Continued from back page

the March 25 bombing of Negrin's office. They have yet to be apprehended.

Union City authorities said the two are not considered suspect in Negrin's murder. They didn't say why not.

One indication that cover-up activities may not be limited to Union City was a November 27 *New York Post* article which said that, "the FBI also was reported looking into a theory the assassination might be a plot by Castro's agents to falsely throw blame on Omega 7 and force a crackdown on anti-Castro extremists in the U.S."

One motivation for this preposterous "theory" was offered by Dr. Lourdes Casal. A member of the Committee of 75, she said, "You'll have to forgive us if we sound, perhaps, a little bit paranoid. Our lives have been threatened. A number of people related to us and our concerns have been killed, and we still do not see any pattern of police action. We see a pattern of bombings and killing with very few arrests and almost no convictions."

"A possible explanation," she added, "is that some of these individuals, although known to authorities, in the past served agencies of the government—the CIA and so forth—I don't know which skeletons are in which closets."

And, it can be added, official inac-

tion on terrorism by right-wing Cuban exiles fits right in with Washington's stepped-up anti-Cuba campaign. Carter's warlike threats against Cuba give the exile terrorists every reason to believe that as far as the authorities are concerned, they have a free hand.

Despite the ominous threat this represents, members of the Committee of 75 are determined to continue their efforts to promote the dialogue.

They are persuaded that the terrorists are, in fact, an isolated handful, and that there is growing sentiment among Cubans in the U.S. for a policy of friendship with Cuba.

Committee member Rafael Betancourt declared: "We want to reaffirm our decision to continue what we see as a humanitarian task. For the benefit of the entire Cuban population, we are going to continue, despite the killings and terrorism a small minority is trying to impose on the Cuban community."

The committee is seeking broad support for its demand for federal action in the Negrin murder.

Some has already been forthcoming. Participating in the committee's press conference was Rev. Dudley Sarfaty of the New Jersey Council of Churches. He read the text of a telegram to Washington which stated, "Even if the United States has trained and encour-

aged terrorism by emigre Cuban elements in the past, the New Jersey Council of Churches urges you to use all facilities to find and prosecute the criminals."

And Matthew Feldman, president of the New Jersey Senate, issued a statement branding the assassination of Negrin "a dastardly crime."

"We must," Senator Feldman declared, "seek those responsible for this crime and bring them to the bar of justice."

MY STORY By Héctor Marroquín

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World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Sandinista tells Paris audience:

'Our victory will be your victory'

More than 2,500 people filled the Mutualité hall in Paris October 18 for a Nicaragua solidarity rally organized by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, the French section of the Fourth International.

The meeting heard from speakers representing solidarity committees with El Salvador and Nicaragua, a group in solidarity with Nicaraguan women, and François Ollivier, a leader of the LCR.

Juan Diego García, the FSLN's European representative, addressed the meeting, explaining the FSLN's orientation in the present period. The full text of his speech, which was delivered in French and translated by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor,' follows.

Following the meeting, some \$2,300 was collected and presented to García for the reconstruction effort in Nicaragua.

Comrades, in the name of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional [FSLN] I would like to begin by greeting the comrades who have come here tonight to show their solidarity with us. [Applause]

We would like to thank the comrades of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, who organized this first meeting of solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

And we especially want to salute our brothers in El Salvador and tell them that yesterday, today, and tomorrow the FSLN is at their side. Although today historic circumstances make the conditions a bit more difficult, we are convinced that in the course of a prolonged war victory will be theirs as well. [Applause]

I also want to take this opportunity to thank the people of Paris for the solidarity they have shown us. I had prepared quite a long speech. But since the comrade from the LCR has already referred to a number of events currently taking place in Nicaragua, he has dealt with some of the things I had planned to explain.

Although we base ourselves on the thinking of Sandino and Carlos Fonseca Amador, we can say that we are in agreement on many things. [Applause] There are other questions on which we disagree, but that is also normal among comrades.

A weak bourgeoisie

I would like to begin by outlining a series of factors that make it possible to understand why and how the revolution triumphed in Nicaragua. The first point is that the crisis of Somozaism, which broke out in 1972, is absolutely linked to the world crisis of capitalism, even though it took special forms in the case of Nicaragua.

Somozaism was a wild form of capitalism. Somozaism expressed to an extreme degree the pillaging and exploitation of the workers that are characteristic of capitalism as a whole.

On the political level Somozaism meant the denial of all of the population's rights and civil liberties. Through Somoza imperialism had created a stabilizing element for all of Central America, stabilization that benefited the reactionaries.

But imperialism was the victim of its own invention. And the crisis of imperialism left it with no alternative solution. Neither the political solutions proposed by the Pentagon nor the self-coup attempted by Somoza could succeed.

As the LCR comrade pointed out, this is an important factor to keep in mind in understanding what is taking place, to see how capitalism—which was identical to Somozaism—allowed only marginal development for the other capitalist forces. Under these conditions, what we call the opposition bourgeoisie, the democratic bourgeoisie, is more of a caricature than a real bourgeoisie.

This is true at least up to now, and the proof is that imperialism has not been able to use this bourgeoisie to impose an alternative political situation.

The third important factor is the economic and political crisis of American imperialism. The imperialists were

looking for a solution that they could control, but they were unsuccessful. These imperialists, who had crushed us in the past, who had intervened in our country, this time were not able to renew their exploits. Imperialism has suffered its greatest defeat precisely in the one country in Latin America where it has committed the most aggressions.

Once it lost all hope of saving Somoza himself, imperialism tried to save Somozaism by saving the National Guard. But there, too, imperialism was caught in its own trap. The National Guard and Urcuyo [Somoza's hand-picked interim successor] did not honor the agreement that had been made. This led to the total dissolution of the National Guard, which facilitates our work.

Initiative of the masses

The fourth factor in our victory is that following a rather arduous process of debates between divergent opinions and tendencies, the FSLN developed in revolutionary practice the unity that it needed.

The insurrectional tactic was an apprenticeship that we went through together with the people. And the FSLN's minimum program is a program forged in the course of years of struggle through dialogue with the Nicaraguan people.

But of all the factors that led to the victory, the most heroic and the most decisive was the determined action of the Nicaraguan people. [Applause]

When, in February 1978, the Indians of Monimbó rose up in insurrection, they showed the Sandinista Front the road to follow. Just as some years ago Carlos Fonseca Amador, in the mountains, had already showed the path of insurrection, today the people showed us which road to follow. [Applause]

Several months after the Monimbó insurrection, it was this same people who rose up in the September 1978 insurrection, this time throughout the country.

The vacuum left by a bourgeoisie that was weak and unable to embody the interests of the nation was filled by

the workers, the peasants, the students, the women, the inhabitants of the shanty-towns. And although the founding of the United People's Movement was an initiative of the FSLN, it was the people who made this movement into a real political alternative.

These are the factors that made our victory possible. And these are the factors that also guide the tasks we are undertaking today.

And in this report, which is presented by one revolutionary to other revolutionary activists, I would like to point out some of the things achieved by the revolution in three months.

The gains of the revolution

The most important transformation that has been achieved so far is the agrarian reform. We had promised to nationalize Somoza's lands and we have nationalized Somoza's lands. Through last week 51 percent of the land in the country has been nationalized. The reason we have not nationalized more is that we don't have the administrative capability to do it.

Secondly, we have nationalized banking, credit, transport, foreign trade, natural resources, the Somozaist companies that represent more than 50 percent of the Gross National Product, and I just read in *Le Monde* that the insurance companies have been nationalized.

We don't want to give lessons to anyone, but this is our answer to those who think that we have not taken the revolution far enough. [Applause]

We made a promise to finish off the political system of Somozaism, and we have finished off the Somozaist political system. In Nicaragua there is freedom of movement, of association, of press, freedom of religion, in a word all the freedoms that one could call bourgeois democratic freedoms.

These are not things that we have imposed. It is what the people of Nicaragua want. To comrades who live in Europe, a number of these demands may seem minor. But for a people who have lived through a half century of

Continued on next page



Mass rally in Managua: 'We are organizing, reorganizing, and mobilizing the masses'

Militant/Fred Murphy



FSLN troops. 'The people who have struggled with arms in hand must keep their arms'

Militant/Fred Murphy

Continued from preceding page

oppression, these are fundamental demands. [Applause]

Freedom of press

The fact that in Nicaragua there is the most total freedom of the press shows what we mean by democracy. The conservative daily *La Prensa*, the organ of the anti-Somoza bourgeois opposition, appears regularly and gives critical support to the government. The newspaper *El Pueblo*, linked to an ultraleft group, also appears regularly. And the problems that have arisen with these comrades or with other organizations are resolved in a democratic manner.

There are, of course, times when one must take measures, but in all revolutions one must take measures. When you are in Europe you look at things in another way, a different way than you do when you are on the field of battle. [Applause]

We are not going to force anyone to keep quiet. We are not going to prohibit any opinion. But neither will we allow the revolutionary process to be sabotaged. [Applause]

We have drafted a provisional constitution and laws that guarantee these rights. They may not be the best or the most revolutionary, but they are the best for Nicaragua today.

These are the tasks of the state, the tasks of the government that the FSLN is participating in.

But it is clear to us that the question of power is not a formal and parliamentary question. It is clear to us that today's Nicaragua is not yet a socialist Nicaragua. What has opened up in Nicaragua is simply a democratic process where the working-class and the poor layers of the population win advantages.

Three fundamental tasks

This is why today there are three basic tasks for the FSLN, which are not tasks of the state but rather tasks of the Front. And these three tasks constitute, as I have stated in private conversations with the comrades, the fundamental guarantees that we can give you:

First: We are organizing, reorganizing, and mobilizing the masses. The vehicles that we are using for this are the following: First there are the Sandinista Defense Committees. The Sandinista Defense Committees are not simply committees of military defense. They are the embryo of people's power. [Applause]

The men and women, the workers and peasants who were able to make the revolution through these neighborhood committees are equally capable of governing through these committees. The Sandinista Defense Committees are a school for governing, for the people to take the revolution into their hands.

The second vehicle for organizing the masses, and this is especially important for us, is AMPRONAC. AMPRONAC, the women's association, is set up as a national organization that participates not only in the tasks of rebuilding the country, but also mobilizes women to fight for their specific demands. [Applause]

If the emancipation of the working class will be the job of the workers themselves, so too the emancipation of women will be the job of women themselves. [Applause]

Third, and here the initiative came from rank-and-file activists, the Sandinista Workers Federation has been organized. The federation was a demand of the workers themselves, it was not imposed by the FSLN. It is the union federation of a relatively young working class, but it is laying the groundwork for the workers to become the revolution's firmest base of support.

In the same way, the workers in the countryside, the agricultural laborers and the poor peasants, are being organized into the Agricultural Workers Association. And the consolidation of the alliance between the workers and peasants is one of the most important guarantees of the revolutionary process [Applause], especially in a country where half the population is agricultural, in a country where for decades the peasantry has borne the weight of the repression and the war.

Role of peasantry

While in the last phase of the struggle the theatre of war was in the city, and while we know the heroism of the urban population, we must not forget that during the black years, when Nicaragua's struggle was not well known, the humble peasants of Nicaragua were the first to support the groups of the Sandinista Front and they were the ones who began to make up the Sandinista Army.

And the last task is the literacy campaign and the Sandinization of the people. You are familiar with the literacy program since the comrades of the JCR have voted to carry out a specific campaign to aid this program [the

Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), the French Trotskyist youth organization, has undertaken a campaign to raise more than \$11,000 for the literacy campaign].

Let me simply add that this will not just be a program to teach people to read and write. It will also be a program of political work, in which the best sons and daughters of the Nicaraguan people will go out among the mass of peasants and workers to explain the problems of the revolution to them.

We are going to teach them to read and write the slogans of the revolution. We are going to teach them how to compute the percentage of land that still remains to be nationalized. [Applause]

This, then, is the first guarantee we provide you. The second is the revolutionary army. [Applause]

Army and people in arms

We have created a revolutionary army of workers and peasants and we are especially proud of it. It is the historic continuation of the Army of Sandino, and it is the best guarantee of the revolutionary process.

All those who would try to sabotage the revolution through invasion will achieve only death when they come up against the Sandinista Army. But not just the army. The people who have struggled with arms in hand must keep their arms in hand. [Applause]

No, the militias in Nicaragua have not been disarmed and they will not be disarmed! [Applause] If I understand the announcement made by the comrade from the LCR, we are not simply going to have some people in the militias, as now, but we are going to have 300,000 men and women in arms.*

And the third guarantee is the FSLN itself. Today the process of political unification of the FSLN is stronger than ever. The Sandinista Front is an organization where there are democratic discussions of the different positions comrades hold. The Sandinista Front is not shooting anyone. The Sandinista Front is discussing with all friendly organizations, however small they might be, because a few months ago we were also very small.

But the Sandinista Front is quite

*François Ollivier reported on an October 9 news conference where Interior Minister Tomás Borge stated that "we calculate that in several months we are going to have 300,000 milicianos in Nicaragua."

clear on one point: we cannot tolerate sabotage of the revolution in the name of the revolution. We may not be great Marxist theoreticians, but we have tried to learn from Sandino and from Carlos Fonseca Amador, and of course from the great theoreticians of Marxism as well, but above all we are Nicaraguans.

And the moral guarantee that we can give is that today as yesterday our decision to free our country or die trying is unshakable. [Applause]

Need for solidarity

In ending, comrades, I would like to call upon you to redouble your solidarity toward Nicaragua. I don't think I have to describe the situation of devastation again. I would simply like to point out that the material solidarity collected by the committees or by friendly organizations has deep political significance for us.

It is not simply a question of humanitarian aid. It has the same political significance as the refusal of the rich countries to send us aid. The aid we receive from the rich countries is insignificant, superficial. The impression we have is that they want to see us with our backs to the wall so they can then impose their conditions.

But we clearly state that we will not sell the gains of the revolution for a plate of beans.

It is not only political aid that we are asking you for, because the struggle that is being carried out today in Nicaragua is a profoundly anticapitalist struggle.

It is the same struggle you are waging!

We have the same enemies and the same friends!

Our victory will be your victory just as our defeat would also be your defeat! [Applause]

In the face of the potential and real dangers confronting the Nicaraguan revolution we need international solidarity!

Comrades, if you gave us generous aid yesterday to help us seize the enemy's barracks, today help us to hold out in the front line of the struggle we share.

Because in the last analysis we are struggling for the same thing:

We all want more beautiful tomorrows for the world.

The future belongs to us and the future is socialist!

[Applause, the audience begins singing the *Internationale*]

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Racists talk peace, make war

Rhodesia rains destruction on Zambia

By August Nimtz

"A full-scale war situation" is what Zambia's president, Kenneth Kaunda, calls the ordeal his country is being subjected to. Zambia is the victim of escalated attacks by the white-controlled regime of Bishop Abel Muzorewa in neighboring Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

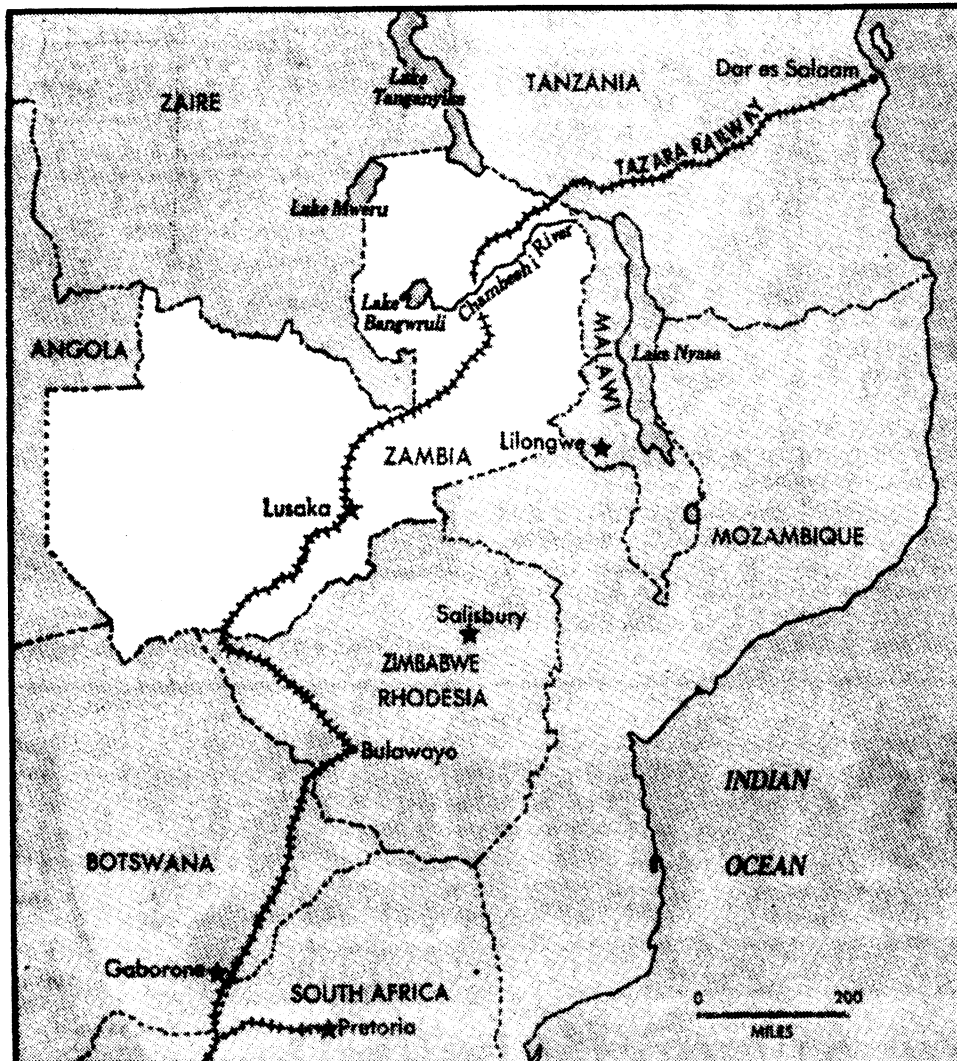
Tom Wicker reported in the November 27 *New York Times* that "Zambia's transportation network and its economy—hence its ability to function as a nation—is being systematically destroyed" by Rhodesia's military forces.

Rhodesian commando and air units, in four days of attacks, destroyed every road and rail bridge around Lusaka, Zambia's capital, according to the November 21 *Washington Post*. It reported that only one major highway from the capital remains intact.

Over the past few months, Rhodesia has been deliberately cutting off Zambia's outlets to the sea. The biggest blow came in October when Rhodesian forces knocked out the northern rail route, the Tazara railway to Tanzania. As a result, Zambia is totally dependent on one railway, the southern route through Rhodesia.

As a land-locked country, Zambia must have access to sea ports in surrounding countries in order to survive. Ninety percent of its foreign exchange is earned from copper exports.

Because of a drought, Zambia has had to import corn, its basic food staple. In one of the most heinous attacks so far, the Rhodesian regime on November 4 cut off all shipments of corn to Zambia by way of the southern rail route.



Washington Post

It is clear that the regime in Rhodesia is attempting to strangle Zambia. The *Washington Post*, November 24, quotes one western diplomat on the effects of Rhodesia's aggression: "The

Zambian economy is on its knees."

The escalation of the war against Zambia is tied directly to the London "peace" talks on the fourteen-year guerrilla struggle in Zimbabwe. Be-

cause Zambia is a base for the Patriotic Front—the forces fighting for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe—it is now being subjected to merciless pressure to help force the Patriotic Front to make political concessions in London.

Other Black states that back the Patriotic Front, such as Mozambique and Angola, have also been subjected to Rhodesian attacks.

The Rhodesian regime has threatened to intensify these attacks. Because it enjoys the backing of London and Washington it is able to make such threats.

This imperialist-inspired aggression constitutes one more chapter of London's and Washington's long-standing battle to thwart real majority rule in the area—by any means necessary.

The present war against Zambia gives the lie to the claim that what is presently under way in London is peace talks.

Despite the blows, the Zambian masses are determined to resist and are beginning to direct their anger at the real culprit.

On November 23, thousands of Zambian youths attacked the British Embassy in Lusaka after the ambassador hypocritically denied any British responsibility for the raids.

Recognizing the depth of the student anger, President Kaunda, not noted for his militancy, deemed it necessary to voice support for the students.

Commenting on the situation, the November 26 *New York Times* quoted a diplomatic source in Lusaka as saying that "the students are way to the left of him [Kaunda]. They want all-out socialism, everything nationalized."

U.S. firms fire Black South African workers

The Ford Motor Company—one of the largest American investors in South Africa—claims that it is an "equal opportunity" employer. But on November 21 it showed its true face, firing all 700 Black workers at one of its plants in Port Elizabeth, the center of the country's auto industry. The workers had been on strike to protest Ford's racist policies.

Within a day, the General Tire and Rubber Company, another American firm with operations in Port Elizabeth, fired 625 Black workers who were fighting for trade-union recognition.

The response of these two American companies to the demands of Black workers is little different from that of any other foreign or domestic firm operating in South Africa.

The Ford Motor Company, however, has tried to maintain that its economic involvement in South Africa plays a "progressive role" by supposedly helping to undermine apartheid.

When company Chairman Henry Ford II visited South Africa in January 1978, he rejected demands by numerous Black liberation groups that Ford withdraw from South Africa, claiming that "we do more for the people of South Africa by staying here and providing equal opportunities."

Under pressure from Black workers in South Africa, who make up more than three-quarters of the industrial work force, and from antiapartheid organizations in the United States, Ford did institute some minor reforms, such as integrating the factory cafeteria. But the limits of how far it was willing to go soon became clear.

On October 30, Ford fired Thozamile Botha, a Black foreman at its Struandale plant, for his political activities as a leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation. The next day 700 other Black workers at the plant walked out in protest, forcing the company to rehire Botha.

Encouraged by this victory, the workers then demanded the dismissal of a racist white foreman and protested against racist treatment by white managers and supervisors. They boycotted the cafeteria and organized several more brief strikes to back up their demands.

Then on November 21, after the fourth work stoppage, the company called in riot police, who took up positions at the plant gates. All the Black workers were fired. The managing director of the plant said that the company headquarters in the United

States knew of the decision to fire the workers.

Emboldened by this move, the General Tire and Rubber Company also took a hard stance against its own Black workers, who had been striking and rallying for several days to demand recognition of their union.

Some officials in South Africa have expressed fears that protests at the two plants could spread. And with good reason. On November 25, more than 200 Black workers at a Port Elizabeth paper plant went on strike. One of their demands is union recognition.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



Volkswagen workers in Port Elizabeth. Rulers fear struggle may spread.

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Iran Masses Stand Up to U.S. War Threats

Cuba in the Twentieth Year of the Revolution Trotsky Centennial Conference Held in Mexico City

Quote unquote

"It is unlikely that we shall ever deport all of the war criminals in this country."

—U.S. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti in a November speech before the B'nai B'rith.

CANCER VICTIM WINS VETERANS BENEFITS

Orville Kelly, who developed cancer after witnessing twenty-two atomic explosions, has become the first U.S. veteran to win federal benefits in a case where the cancer was diagnosed after leaving the military.

The November 26 ruling by the Board of Veterans Appeals

overturning rejections by Iowa officials admitted nothing. But it is the first acknowledgement that Kelly's cancer and his exposure to radiation while in the U.S. Army may be related.

During the atomic explosions at the Enewetak Atoll test site in 1957 and 1958, Kelly said his unit wore no protective clothing other than tinted aviators' goggles. The detonations ranged up to 450 times the size of the Hiroshima bomb.

He first applied for benefits in 1973. Last year Kelly founded the National Association of Atomic Veterans. Several hundred veterans have filed claims similar to his.

Kelly now qualifies for medical disability and survivors benefits. His doctors have given him less than one year to live.

WOMEN SUE PEABODY COAL

Four Kentucky women filed a sex discrimination lawsuit against Peabody Coal Company, the nation's largest coal producer, last month.

The women—Jeanette Steffey, Barbara Cotton, Shelby White, and Carolyn Smith—charge they applied for underground mining jobs with Peabody between 1975-77 but were never offered a job or tested for any kind of work. Many men, they said, had been hired at Peabody since they applied.

The women have requested that U.S. District Judge James Gordon rule the suit a class action. If that is granted, said the women's attorney, Thomas Hogan, the case "could involve thousands of women and millions of dollars."

The suit charges that Pea-

body has a nationwide policy of not hiring women for underground mining jobs. Carolyn Smith said she had been told at one mine that it did not have bathroom facilities for women and at another that the job was "too dangerous" for women.

The women are seeking a permanent injunction against Peabody's discriminatory hiring practices, as well as jobs for them and back pay. The suit also asks that Peabody be forced to establish an affirmative-action program for hiring and upgrading of jobs already held by women.

ARIZ. GROWER GETS THROWN OUT OF COURT

An Arizona state court threw out the case of a grower who wanted a criminal contempt conviction against three organizers who publicized the conditions of undocumented workers on a company ranch.

Early this year, undocumented workers from Mexico tried to unionize at Blue Goose, a big citrus grower.

The company got a "no trespass" injunction against the Maricopa County Organizing Project, which was helping the workers organize.

MCOP staffers did some research and found Blue Goose was a subsidiary of Pacific Lighting, which also happens to own the Southern California Gas Company.

That big utility was negotiating at the time for a contract to buy gas from Mexico.

MCOP set up informational picket lines and broke the story in the major media on how the gas company's brother outfit was exploiting Mexican workers.

Pacific Lighting put Blue Goose up for sale.

So Blue Goose went to court, charging MCOP had violated the "no trespass" injunction by exposing its brutal work conditions.

Even an Arizona court had to say, "bunk."

PLO LEADERS TO SPEAK IN NEW YORK

Leading representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization will address a November 30 New York City meeting on "The U.S. & the Palestinians."

Speakers will include Yasser Abd Rabbo, member of the PLO Executive Committee; Zuhdi Terzi, PLO Observer at the United Nations; and Dave Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days*.

The meeting, sponsored by the Palestine Solidarity Committee, will be held at 7:30 p.m. at the Joan of Arc Junior High School Auditorium, 154 West Ninety-third Street in New York.

RALLY HITS NUCLEAR DUMPING

Four hundred people rallied at Baltimore harbor November 18 to oppose dumping of radioactive waste from the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant into the Susquehanna River. The Susquehanna is a major source of drinking water for Baltimore.

Three Mile Island holds hundreds of thousands of gallons of contaminated water. The plant's operator, Metropolitan Edison, claims it can clean up the water before it is dumped in the river. But the

L.A. Black Panther charges FBI framed him

Former Los Angeles Black Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, who has spent nine years of a life sentence in prison, is petitioning for a new trial based on information that he was framed as part of the FBI's COINTEL-PRO program.

Pratt was convicted in 1972 for a 1968 robbery and murder. The trial petition filed November 20 charges that at the time of his first trial neither the defense nor jury were told that Pratt had been targeted for "neutralizing" in the FBI's effort to destroy the Black Panther Party.

The FBI, Los Angeles po-

lice, and the state attorney general's office have secret surveillance records that prove he was in Oakland at a Panther meeting, as witnesses testified, on the day of the murder, the petition contends.

Pratt also says that one of the key prosecution witnesses was an informant for the FBI.

If Pratt wins his bid for a new trial, the proceedings could lead to new disclosures about how the FBI, L.A. cops, and state attorney general all worked together to disrupt and destroy the Black liberation movement.

So far in the case, a dep-

uty state attorney general has been found in criminal contempt of court twice for lying about the existence of surveillance files on Pratt.

And 2,000 pages of admittedly "unauthorized" files on Pratt were destroyed about a year ago by San Quentin Prison officials after Pratt's attorneys asked for copies.

U.S. Representatives Ronald Dellums and Paul McCloskey are backing Pratt's request for a new trial. McCloskey says he will press for a congressional investigation. "I've never seen a case as bad as this Pratt case," he said.

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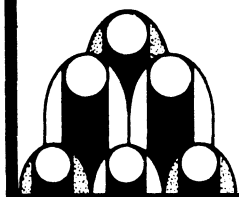
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company admits radioactive tritium will remain in the water.

Currently, a federal court injunction forbids dumping the water.

Mobil lends Kennedy a hand

Mobil Oil is springing two of its high-level executives to work on the 1980 presidential campaign of—not “friend of big business” Ronald Reagan—but “friend of the people” Edward Kennedy.

Kennedy, who plans to spend \$4 million on TV and radio time during the primaries alone, has signed on Herbert Schmertz, a Mobil vice-president, and Tim Hanan, Schmertz's associate, to coordinate his media effort.

The appointment of Schmertz has turned a few heads because he is one of the oil industry's most recognizable spokespeople—known best for Mobil's at-

tacks against government controls on energy. Kennedy, you see, supposedly opposes decontrol of oil prices.

One spokesperson for a major oil company says that “whenever Mobil was attacked, Schmertz wrote knee-jerk ads that sounded a little to the right of Attila.”

Schmertz is taking a six-week leave from Mobil to work for Kennedy on a “volunteer basis” (which apparently means that Mobil will pick up the tab).

Mobil, whose third quarter profits rose 131 percent compared with last year's, knows a good investment when it sees one.

Teamsters rip energy crisis

More than 10,000 Teamsters repoded to an energy survey in the *August International Teamster*. Not only did they fill in yes or no to the twenty questions, but many included individual comments, reported the November *Teamster*. Among the findings were:

- 55 percent are not convinced there is an energy shortage.

- Of the 45 percent who do believe there is a shortage, 27 percent believe it was artificially created by the oil companies solely to drive up prices.

- Only 27 percent support speeding nuclear energy along. 22 percent said no and 51 percent said “only after safety is insured.”

- 81 percent of those polled listened to President Carter's July energy speech, but only 23 percent rated his proposals as excellent or good.

- 91 percent believe alternative sources of energy should *not* be developed by oil companies.

“The energy crisis exists because the oil companies own the government,” one Teamster wrote.

“How can we consider giving the oil companies *more* power to wield over government and public alike, without accounting for their gigantic ‘deals’ of the past?” added another.

A third got to the heart of the reason why 62 percent opposed a plan subsidizing the poor to help pay energy costs. “I would like nothing better than to have the poor and people on fixed incomes subsidized, because I can't honestly see how they can make it any other way. But the burden cannot be placed on the people in the middle—those with moderate incomes. The wealthy upper class gets by easily.”

What's Going On

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE FOR 1980. Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance, co-chairperson, Socialist Workers presidential campaign committee. Sun., Dec. 9, 7 p.m. 131 W. Main St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

EYEWITNESS REPORT ON THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance. Mon., Dec. 10, 12 noon, Univ. of Louisville. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

KAMPUCHEA: THE POLITICS OF HUNGER. Speaker: Jim Gotesky, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 2, 7 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

NICARAGUA: THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES. Speakers: Kirstin Murati on “Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution,” David Salner on “How Somoza was ousted,” Warren Simons on “How American Workers can defend the Nicaraguan revolution,” a report on the Detroit Nicaragua Solidarity Conference. Fri., Dec. 7,

7:30 p.m. Carpenters Hall, Virginia. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

TWIN CITIES

LESSONS OF THE LITTON STRIKE: A NEW STAGE IN UNION BREAKING IN MINNESOTA. Speaker: Bill Onasch, president, United Electrical Workers Local 1139. Sun., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling (between University & Sherburne). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK LOWER MANHATTAN

EL SALVADOR: A PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE. Speakers: Anibal Yáñez, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*, recently returned from Central America; others. Sat., Dec. 8, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd fl. (east of Union Square). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OREGON PORTLAND

MEET THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES. Campaign dinner and rally. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; announcement of candidate for mayor of Portland. Sat., Dec. 8, 6 p.m. reception, 6:30 p.m. buffet dinner, 8 p.m. rally, Northwest Service Center, 1819 Northwest Everett. Dinner & rally: \$4; rally only: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Probably so—The presidential commission on the Three Mile Island accident found the company did not have “sufficient knowledge, expertise and personnel” to operate the plant properly. A company spokesperson responded that the commission also said that TMI's nuclear expertise was equal to and perhaps slightly better than that of the rest of the industry.

A steal—Tiffany's is offering a new electronic quartz watch, advising “Affordably priced at \$890.”

Simple—Upset by talk of “obscene” profits, Chase Manhattan Bank took a full-page ad in the *New York Times* to explain that, “Simply put, profits are the business equivalent of personal savings.” Sure. The difference being that savings generally represent the sweat of people's labor, while profits represent the sweat of other people's labor.

Income and overhead—Gerald Ford took time out from his Palm Springs golf course to speak at the University of Michigan, for which he pocketed a \$13,000 fee. Meanwhile, taxpayers footed a \$16,000

bill for the travel expenses of the staff and Secret Service people who accompanied the ex-pres.

A careful paper—A headline in the *Los Angeles Times* advises, “Alleged athletic bias against girls will be studied.”

Too late—A while back we advised that Nelson Rockefeller's summer home at Seal Harbor, Maine, was for sale, with an asking price of \$1 million. Well, it was snapped up by a member of the Ford family for around \$650,000. The twenty-one room house featured a double-level living room, a banquet-size dining room, a salt-water pool, and two observation towers overlooking the Atlantic.

Taxpayers' delight—The Carter administration was going to cut costs and reduce swollen bureaucracy, right? Like, for instance, Rosalynn Carter's staff. Twenty-one people, including two staff directors, four press secretaries, three social secretaries, and two “project directors.” Her chief of staff draws \$56,000. Total staff budget—\$650,000.

Union Talk

BRAC local stands up to BN

This week's column is by Jim Kendrick, a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1310 on the Burlington Northern Railroad.

MINNEAPOLIS—Lodge 1310 of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks on the Burlington Northern has decided to put up a fight against company sex discrimination.

In a report to its September business meeting, local chairperson Dick Arndt cited a pattern of harassment aimed at women yard clerks who use maternity leaves guaranteed them by the union contract.

The company has been phoning the women clerks, trying to coerce them into returning to work early despite doctors' instructions to stay off the job. In some cases the company has resorted to getting the second opinion of a pro-company doctor to force the women to give up their benefits.

Several women clerks took the floor at the meeting here to describe the harassment, to explain why they need full paid maternity leave, and to appeal for support from the predominantly male membership of the local. Local chairperson Arndt made an eloquent and forceful speech to the membership on the importance of backing the women clerks against company discrimination.

During the discussion, male clerks described various doctor-ordered leaves they had taken over the years—without company harassment. Several volunteered to take time off without pay to testify at sex discrimination hearings the union is seeking with the BN labor relations department. The local voted to take the issue to the state Human Rights Commission if necessary.

It did not take much to persuade the membership to back the women clerks. The BN has abused and attacked its Twin Cities Terminal clerks so often over the past six years that the membership can readily understand how sex discrimination is just another form of boosting company profits—at the expense of the workers.

At the same union meeting, the clerks learned of another attack by the company—this one in the name of technological progress.

SCOPE, a new computer system for tracking BN freight car and train movement, is scheduled to be introduced in a few months. It threatens major job cuts. But the company has refused to meet with the union to discuss who will do SCOPE work, what jobs will be cut, or how the existing work can be spread around and new jobs created.

Under capitalist ownership of Burlington Northern, such industrial progress only means more layoffs for workers and higher profits for the company. If the railroads were run rationally, however, the introduction of new machines would mean that the existing work could be spread around equally among the workers. Each work shift would be reduced, let's say, to six hours per day for eight hours pay.

Local 1310 has not been caught entirely by surprise. The local was victimized once before when the company introduced its now outdated COMPASS system. It led to a six-year battle to curtail the company's move to abolish jobs and to consolidate many of the BN's Twin Cities terminal yards into one giant classification yard in Minneapolis. This yard cost 300 jobs in various crafts.

The introduction of SCOPE by the Burlington Northern is undoubtedly tied to the rail industry's master plan, called the Quinn Plan. This calls for consolidating the most profitable trackage of all the western railroads into four companies.

This new system would eliminate thousands of jobs. Passenger service would be eliminated. Freight shipment would center on major commodities such as coal, ore, grain, autos, salt, lumber, and rock. Trains would be long haul with reduced crews—without cabooses.

The job cuts that now face BN clerks, along with a proposed crew consist agreement (crew reductions) on the BN, show that BN workers are not safe from massive layoffs similar to those posed for Milwaukee Road workers.

In fact, it is the hope of rail management that the Milwaukee bankruptcy will soften up the BN workers for more contract takebacks, job abolishments, and deteriorating working conditions.

All rail labor has a stake in the fight against the carriers' offensive—whether it's discrimination against women workers or job cuts.

Darwin & Marx

The following article in the 'Militant' of December 7, 1959, marked the centennial of the publication of Darwin's revolutionary scientific work, 'The Origin of Species.'

On Nov. 24, the entire world commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of an epoch-making work of science—Charles Darwin's "Origin of Species."

In this book, Darwin proved that the plants and animals on earth today were not created; they evolved. Human kind, too, evolved from a lower species. These discoveries founded the science of biology.

It was the social application of Darwin's laws of evolution, however, that formed the principal subject of discussion at the centenary observances at the University of Chicago. The main speaker was Sir Julian Huxley, grandson of Thomas Huxley, the eminent biologist who defended Darwin's theories against the attacks inspired by organized religion.

Man needs a new pattern of thinking, said Julian Huxley, if he is to cope successfully with the threat of nuclear destruction in a third world war.

Man's thinking has evolved from tribal beliefs in magic to the rise during the last 300 years of a "science-centered pattern organized round the concept of human progress, but progress somehow under the control of supernatural authority." Huxley predicted the evolution of a new pattern of ideas in which the concept of evolution would be the "central germ."

"In the evolutionary pattern of thought there is no longer need or room for the supernatural," said Huxley. "Evolutionary man can no longer . . . absolve himself from the hard task of . . . planning his future by relying on the will of . . . providence."

Actually, a science of society based on evolution has already been developed. Tens of millions of people in our epoch have become convinced of the correctness of this science and of the validity of the program of action derived from its laws.

The science was developed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels at about the same time that Darwin developed his theories of natural evolution. In fact, the laws of Marx and Engels' science received accurate and succinct formulation in 1859—the same year that Darwin published his "Origin of Species"—in Karl Marx's book "Critique of Political Economy."

Where Huxley looks to the evolution of ideas as providing the clue to history, Marx showed that the economic structure of society is "the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite



CHARLES DARWIN

forms of social consciousness." Underlying the development of economic structures is the continuous development of man's productive forces.

But the evolution is not smooth. At a certain stage, the given economic system—and the laws, government structures, religions, connected with the system—prevent the further growth of the productive forces. Society reaches a crisis that is resolved only through social revolution.

Marx lived in the heyday of capitalism. But he foresaw that the profit system would become a fetter on progress, just as did the feudal and slave systems before they were overthrown. A social revolution by the working class will be required to establish a higher form of society—the planned economy of socialism.

Marx predicted that capitalism will be the "closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society." With the advent of socialism, man will be able at last to direct his own history.

Mankind is thus at what is probably the most crucial turning point in all history. On the one hand an unbounded future in a rational and harmonious society beckons. On the other hand, the still unresolved social crisis poses a gigantic threat to humanity.

Darwin's proof that man is a product of evolution has ripped to shreds the supernaturalism through which the ruling classes still seek to keep the majority of mankind in a state of helplessness. Marx's laws of social evolution show how mankind will overcome this obstacle and go on to consciously shape its own destiny.

The ideas of these two giants, set forth in the two books they published 100 years ago, will prove invaluable in helping humanity to resolve the contemporary social crisis.

Send shah back!

Sales of the most recent [November 23] *Militant* "Send the shah back" were the most inspiring sales I've done in a long time. Our entire bundle was sold out the first day and we've had to send for more papers just to do our regular plant-gate sales.

One woman I sold to took the paper home, read it, and thought so much of it that she came all the way back to tell me what a great paper it is and how someone is finally telling the truth about the shah. The overwhelming response was, "That's right, send him back!"

This issue was also particularly good because of Janice Lynn's articles on Iran and Nicaragua. Lynn's style is unusually straightforward, easy to read, and informative. This adds so much to our press and makes it more a paper that people will want to read cover to cover. I think it is a difficult task to accomplish, and Lynn does an excellent job.

Randi Lawrence
Birmingham, Alabama

Iran discussions

At McDonnell-Douglas in Long Beach the events in Iran have become the major topic of discussion at the lunch tables.

An older Black worker was condemning Iranian students for demonstrating in the streets. I asked him "What will you do when the Black majority of South Africa rises up to overthrow the apartheid regime there, and perhaps takes hostages to demand the return of the racist rulers who may flee to the United States?"

"Will you raise your voice against your own people in this country who will demonstrate in the streets?"

He immediately changed his mind, and then confided to me that he had given one of his sons the middle name of "Fidel Castro!"

The Black and Chicano workers are siding more and more with the Iranians and have not been taken in by the Iranian "hate" campaign being whipped up in the media. They see through the government's attempt to use Iranians to cover up for U.S. foreign policy and financial backing to brutal dictatorships all over the world.

I've been explaining it this way:

Just a couple of weeks ago it was "get the Cubans," over the phony Soviet troops issue. Before that it was the Vietnamese refugees "taking away our jobs." And prior to that it was "get the Arabs"—the cause of the phony oil crisis.

And don't forget the "illegal aliens"—the hate campaign aimed at exploited Chicano workers.

This is all part of the U.S. rulers' attempts to divide working people from each other—to hide the real causes of unemployment, energy crises, and their real interests abroad.

How many different nationalities can you hate in six months?

Many of the white workers

are not taken in by this manipulated campaign either. One of my co-workers, after reading an unsigned leaflet posted at the plant that advertised an anti-Iranian demonstration, tore it off the wall. He said he was more interested in attending a meeting in Los Angeles discussing the feasibility of American working people forming a labor party than in burning Iranian flags.

Dennis Miller
United Auto Workers Local 148
Long Beach, California

Life at U.S. Steel

Though I am not a member of the Socialist Workers Party, I am certainly sympathetic to, and in agreement with, your tenets. I am a college graduate and I am presently a blue-collar worker employed by the Union Railroad Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of the U.S. Steel Corporation.

I would like to emphasize the complete lack of safety and general oppression of the workers in our shop. For example, we have had three major lost-time injuries in our shop in 1979.

One worker lost most of his foot (he is fifty-seven years old) and a twenty-year-old man lost two toes after a supposedly safe major car repair project backfired. Worse yet, it took twenty-five minutes for an ambulance to arrive, and when it finally did, it was not equipped with any first-aid equipment, nor did it have qualified attendants.

In order to contact a hospital, a worker had to run to the office and ask permission to use the phone. When I suggested that a private line radio be utilized to contact local hospitals, I was ignored.

As for the oppression of our workers, the brevity required for your paper does not allow me to convey all of the facts. Overtime is always forced upon younger workers, even when substitutes are available.

Management forces workers to undertake unsafe jobs, with the only option being to go home if you refuse. In addition, workers are forced to tolerate unreliable and completely unsafe cranes, well aware that they are defective and lethal.

I could go on and describe the discriminatory hiring practices in our shop in detail, but it will suffice to say that there are not any women, there is one Black blue-collar man, and there is a complete paucity of minorities in management.

William Michael Gorham
East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

From a subscriber

For the first six months that I have subscribed to and read your paper I have been quite impressed with your information on current political events. I admire your paper for its honesty and its support for the working class, like myself.

Keep up the good work!

My motto is: Stop the imperialist manipulations of the minds of the working class!

K. Platz
Clinton, Connecticut

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Irrelevant?

I would like to let you know that this is the first time in ten years that I have hesitated to renew my subscription to the *Militant*.

In recent months you have concentrated coverage on matters which in the end are largely irrelevant to me and others (as, for example, Castro's speech at the Havana Conference), while ignoring political events that are of real concern. There has been almost no coverage of the growing antidraft movement among students, and you took notice of Abortion Rights Action Week only after the fact, and then only "In Brief."

Please remember that much of what is happening politically is centered on the campuses, your new factory orientation notwithstanding, and that in the end the Socialist Workers Party should speak to the typical American and forget about trying to win Fidel Castro to Trotskyism.
Warren Dean
Madison, Wisconsin

The real ripoff

One of the big street hustles in New York is the sidewalk vendors who bet tourists twenty dollars that after a fast shuffle the tourist wouldn't be able to pick the red poker card out of the three cards shuffled.

New York capitalist politicians and the cops are on a campaign to clean up this "cheap street fraud."

Michael Grosso, representing the Fifth Avenue Merchants Association, added his condemnation of this "cancer" on the streets in a statement in the November 2 *New York Times*.

Grosso said his members had seen young office workers "probably making 65 or a hundred bucks a week" pouring out of office buildings and being "suckered" by the game.

The cancer of young office workers, many Black and Puerto Rican, working forty or more hours a week and taking home \$65 or \$100 was not mentioned in Grosso's blast.
Michael Maggi
New York, New York

Correction

Last week's story, "Nicaragua meeting sets U.S. aid drive," misspelled the name of a representative of the Sandinista Liberation Front. The correct spelling is Mónica Balcodano.

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.

Learning About Socialism

New pamphlets on farmers, Fourth Int'l

Two new Education for Socialists pamphlets are now available. One is a discussion on American agriculture, "Marxism and the Working Farmer," and the other is on the early history of the international Trotskyist movement, "The Rocky Road to the Fourth International, 1933-38" by Socialist Workers Party leader George Breitman.

"Marxism and the Working Farmer" contains a collection of articles on the farm question by revolutionaries past and present. It is being published to help facilitate a discussion on working farmers within the Socialist Workers Party, but it will have a broad appeal among all those interested in this question.

While its focus is towards American agriculture today and the working farmer, the collection contains a rich discussion of experience and struggle in this area by revolutionaries of earlier generations.

An important part of this history is the experience of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolsheviks in 1917. Their ability to weld together an alliance of workers and peasants made possible the establishment of the world's first workers state.

Another outstanding example of a policy leading to a successful—and in this case firmer—alliance between workers and peasants was that followed by the revolutionary government in Cuba headed by Fidel Castro.

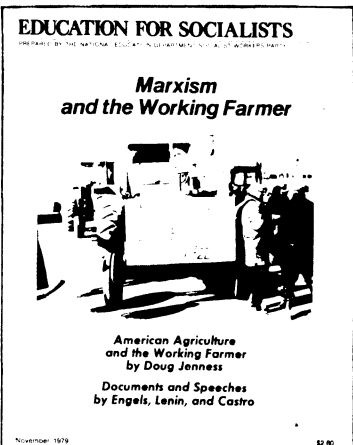
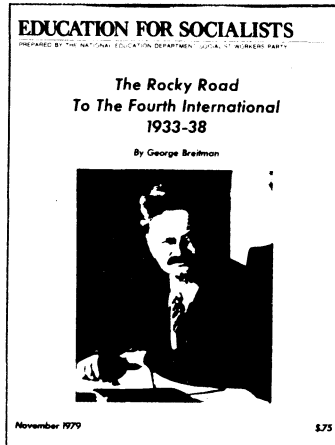
The experiences of these two revolutions are taken up along with a discussion of the history of farm struggles in this country such as the emergence of the American Agriculture Movement and the wave of tractorcades involving thousands of farmers demanding "parity."

The first item in the publication is a report by Doug Jenness on "American Agriculture and the Working Farmer" that was discussed and approved at a meeting of the SWP National Committee in May 1979.

In presenting the report, Jenness stated, "It should be understood that this report is only the beginning of our discussion of the farm question. Its purpose is to begin the process of getting the party to think and learn more about this question. Hopefully this can lead to a written resolution at some point."

The second item is a contribution by one of the founders of scientific socialism, Frederick Engels, written in 1894, entitled, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany." Engels discusses farmers in two imperialist countries at that time. His opposition to a policy of forced collectivization is especially interesting in light of the reactionary policy Stalin followed in the Soviet Union in the 1930s.

The next two items, contributions by Lenin, reflect the considerable study Lenin made of agriculture and the plight of the Russian peasant. Two talks by Fidel Castro on agriculture in Cuba offer an insight into the history of Cuban agricultural policy. These talks draw lessons which are in some aspects relevant to American agriculture and



provide background to Fidel's recent speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the growing world crisis in agriculture.

The second new pamphlet, "The Rocky Road to the Fourth International, 1933-38," was originally given as a talk on August 5, 1978, to SWP members and supporters at the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference in Oberlin, Ohio.

George Breitman is a co-editor of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series published by Pathfinder Press.

Using original source material by Trotsky and others, Breitman draws together a history of the life of the international Trotskyist movement during the period referred to by Trotsky as that of the "prehistory" of the Fourth International, the five-year period that ended in the founding of the FI in September 1938. Breitman describes how the Trotskyist groups, small and weak compared to the Stalinist parties of the time, struggled to maintain the continuity of Marxism and to build a new international movement.

He points out that "to appreciate the magnitude, the audacity, and the difficulties of this undertaking requires an effort of historical imagination and some knowledge of the state of the Left Opposition [Trotskyist] at that time." The "Rocky Road to the Fourth International," which includes much description of the internal life of the world Trotskyist movement, is an excellent introduction to a study of the problems and challenges of our movement in those early years.

The Education for Socialists series is prepared by the National Education Department of the SWP and can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. "Marxism and the Working Farmer" is \$2.60; "The Rocky Road to the Fourth International, 1933-38" is \$.75. Please include \$.75 for postage.

—Paul Montauk

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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. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

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 Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send 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 2486, Winston-Salem. Zip: 27102.

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. **Oberlin:** YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box 679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-5382. **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: 16444. **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, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

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: 78207. 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, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, c/o Lynne Walton, 1304 Madrona Beach Rd. Zip: 98502. Tel: (206) 866-7332. **Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., S. 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: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Right-wing Cuban exiles murder political opponent Official cover-up under way

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—A police cover-up is under way in the November 25 murder of Eulalio José Negrín, a member of the Committee of 75, a group of Cuban leaders in the United States who favor a rapprochement between Cuban emigres and Cuba.

Negrín was gunned down as he was stepping into his car in Union City, New Jersey. His son, twelve, escaped injury in the hail of bullets fired by two men in another car.

The Cuban exile terrorist gang "Omega 7" took credit for the murder.

A caller to the Associated Press declared, "We will continue with these executions until we have eliminated all the traitors living in this country."

Last April, Carlos Muñoz, also a supporter of the Committee of 75, was assassinated in Puerto Rico. Counter-revolutionary exiles took credit for that killing too.

At a press conference here the day after Negrín's murder, members of the Committee of 75 demanded a federal investigation, charging that local authorities would not bring the killers to justice.

Their concern is well founded. Within twenty-four hours after Negrín's murder, Union City police chief Herman Bolte announced that he discounted Omega 7 involvement. He added that the police were looking into "personal reasons" as a cause. He offered no hint as to what they might be.

Months before his death, it was well established that Negrín was a prime target of the Cuban exile killers.

A political moderate who was active in the Republican Party, Negrín was director of the New Jersey Cuban Program, which provided social services for the large number of Cuban immigrants in the Union City area.

Negrín was an initial member of the Committee of 75. He participated in the Havana "dialogue" with the Cuban government last year that resulted in the release of 3,600 Cuban prisoners and led to a travel arrangement under which some 100,000 Cubans abroad have visited their homeland in the past year.



Members of Committee of 75, working for friendly relations with Cuba, demand federal action in assassination of committee member Eulalio Negrín.

Militant/Harry Ring

Pulley extends full solidarity

In a telegram to the Committee of 75, Socialist Workers presidential nominee Andrew Pulley said, "I join with you in expressing outrage at the brutal murder of Eulalio José Negrín. I wholeheartedly support your demand for a full federal investigation of this murder to expose Omega 7 and any police or FBI complicity."

Declaring that the counterrevolutionary killers must be brought to justice, Pulley added that many American working people "are beginning to demand an end to the U.S. blockade and normalization of relations" with Cuba.

Counterrevolutionary exiles bitterly oppose the dialogue.

Last March, a storefront community agency operated by Negrín was destroyed by bombing. The same day a pharmacy sending medicines to Cuba was also bombed. Omega 7 took credit for both attacks.

Negrín had notified Union City police of ten threats against his life.

They refused his requests for protection. According to the Committee of 75, an aide to Mayor William Musto told Negrín, Union City could not "afford

the luxury" of protecting individual citizens.

Omega 7 is believed to be one of the operating names of a gang of several dozen ultraright thugs also known as the "Cuban Nationalist Movement." Three members of the group were convicted in the 1976 Washington murder of Orlando Letelier, who had been an official of the Allende government in Chile.

Two other Omega 7 killers are still wanted in that murder. They were also named by the FBI as prime suspects in

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Calif. union panel discusses labor party

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—Not a single good word was said for continued support to the Democratic and Republican parties as more than 120 trade unionists and political activists met to hear a panel discussion on "Labor and Political Action in the 1980s."

The meeting was held in Los Angeles November 16. It was one of the first public discussions of the feasibility of forming a labor party since the immediate post-World War II period.

The panel was sponsored by the Social Services Union, Local 535 of the Service Employees International Union. The meeting was inspired by statements of top California AFL-CIO officials on the need to discuss prospects for independent labor political action.

Among those present were rank-and-file activists, officers, and staff representatives from locals of United Auto Workers, United Transportation Union, United Steelworkers, Service Employees, International Association of Machinists, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the American Federation of Teachers, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, United Electrical Workers,

and others.

Local 535 field representative Jon Lepie opened the discussion by pointing out that:

"The question of a third party, a party of working people and poor people, is on the agenda. This is true no matter whether we have tactical differences about how to make such a party.

"It is also time for a historic pact to be made between the labor movement and those progressive forces which are outside of it." As examples Lepie cited the Progressive Alliance and the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition.

Evolution of discussion

Raoul Tielhet spoke next. He is president of the California Federation of Teachers and a vice-president of the California state AFL-CIO. He participated last summer in the initial state AFL-CIO discussions on the labor party. Tielhet traced the evolution of the state federation's actions.

Federation head John F. Henning first raised the third party idea at the American Federation of Teachers national convention in July. Tielhet characterized Henning's speech as "the one bright moment in five days of drudgery."

Soon after the AFT convention, Henning issued his Labor Day message proposing a serious discussion of the labor party idea.

Tielhet explained organized labor's declining influence with elected officials: "The problem is that the people we give money to and that we support and pass out literature and slate cards for are not as responsive as they used to be. They were never totally responsive, but now they're not responsive at all."

Tielhet said the labor party discussion at the state federation meeting brought about the first "real excitement in the room" since he began attending meetings. "They became labor leaders again."

According to Tielhet, the discussion revolved around two alternatives: building up labor's standing as a caucus within the Democratic Party, or establishing a "third party/labor party now."

Tielhet concluded that "there's a great deal of enthusiasm, a great deal of interest, and I think we should press the idea as hard as we can within our own unions, our locals, and our councils to create a dialogue to reconstitute

the labor movement as a political component whether it's in or outside the Democratic Party."

Reservations voiced

Pete Beltran, president of UAW Local 645 at the General Motors assembly plant at Van Nuys, expressed grave reservations about the labor party idea. He cited the difficulty in changing individual unions, and the lack of unity in the labor movement.

Beltran saw hope in the newly-formed Citizens Party launched by ecologist Barry Commoner and others.

Beltran said, "I know the idea of a labor party does stir a lot of interest in many workers and leadership in unions, but I don't think it's going to work. I think people are going to expect a labor party in this country to be similar to that in Britain. They're going to wonder if we will become so socialized that the whole thing will collapse."

Beltran continued, "At some point you're going to have to give up on the Republicans and Democrats and start a new party. I think the basis for that party has to be one of private owner-

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