

THE MILITANT

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

Ban on deportations: blow to US war drive

Socialist Workers win round in court

By Arnold Weissberg

In a victory for civil liberties and a blow to Washington's war drive against Iran, a federal court has struck down President Carter's order singling out Iranian students for possible deportation.

The December 11 ruling by Federal District Judge Joyce Green came in response to a lawsuit on behalf of the 50,000 Iranian students in this country, filed by attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The American Civil Liberties Union had also filed a suit, which was merged with the SWP and NECLC suit.

Agreeing with the SWP attorneys' arguments that Carter's order illegally discriminates against Iranians, Judge Green wrote: "May the President or the Attorney General abridge those rights guaranteed by the Constitution in order to further this country's foreign policy objectives? This Court thinks not."

She ordered an immediate halt to the deportations and to Immigration and Naturalization Service grilling of Iranian students. She added that information already gathered in questioning the students could not be used as the basis for deportations.

The government announced its intention to appeal the ruling.

Carter had ordered all Iranian students in this country to report to the INS by December 14 to have their status checked. Failure to report would have been grounds for deportation.

The order was an open effort to block pro-Iran demonstrations and to intimidate Iranian students from speaking out in support of their country's demand for extradition of the shah. Students who reported to the INS as ordered were questioned about their



Militant/Rita Lee

Seattle antiwar protest. Public opposition to Carter's racist deportation order set stage for court decision.

political beliefs: did they support the shah or Khomeini?

Carter's deportation order also aimed to encourage the racist notion that all Iranians are "the enemy" and are rightful objects of attack by red-blooded Americans. Whipping up such anti-Iranian racism is a key part of Washington's efforts to win public support for war.

SWP attorneys Shelley Davis and Margaret Winter, along with Eric Lieberman of the NECLC, argued that infringement of the rights of Iranian students was a big step toward curbing the rights of *anyone* who dissents from government policies.

Judge Green agreed, noting that Car-

ter's order "would not only reject the most cherished constitutional precepts applicable to all of us, citizen and alien alike," but would also set a precedent for "future extreme assertions of executive power."

The government's moves against democratic rights had already gone far beyond Iranian students, as city and state officials tried to ban pro-Iran demonstrations in some areas.

The deportation order had met with widespread protest by civil libertarians, student organizations, Black and Chicano groups, and some unionists. This public opposition set the stage for the court's favorable ruling.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers

Party candidate for president, hailed the decision.

"The Carter administration is having a hard time convincing Americans that we must sacrifice our civil liberties, our standard of living, or our lives for its crusade against Iran," he said. "The crude racism of the deportation order has especially produced opposition."

"The solution to the crisis is simple," the socialist candidate declared. "Send back the shah. Stop the war moves against Iran. That's what I am campaigning for. And that's a message that American working people are agreeing with more and more each day."

To get out the truth—your help is needed

An emergency appeal

By Janice Lynn

With only two weeks left, the Socialist Workers 1980 presidential campaign fund needs a big boost in order to meet the extraordinary costs of getting out the truth on Iran to the American people.

The \$80,000 drive now stands at \$58,530. To meet our goal, an additional \$21,470 must be received by December 31.

The SWP candidates have been campaigning from one end of the country to the other in defense of the Iranian revolution. They have appeared on radio and television and been interviewed by the daily papers—speaking out against the bipartisan efforts of the Democrats and Republicans to drag us

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On-the-scene in Iran

Beginning with this issue the 'Militant' is carrying on-the-scene coverage from associate editor Cindy Jaquith in Iran. Jaquith also provided eyewitness reports during the February revolution that overthrew the shah's dictatorship. She will bring to American readers the story the big-business press will not tell: interviews with workers and students; the facts about the shah's prisons and torture chambers; documents on the U.S. government's role; reports on the activities of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party; and much more. Don't miss a single issue—subscribe today.

Carter escalates nuclear arms race

As we go to press a NATO conference in Brussels, Belgium, is voting on a Carter administration proposal to station a new fleet of medium-range nuclear missiles throughout Western Europe. The plan calls for deployment of 572 new cruise-missiles and Pershing II missiles capable of striking Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

There is nothing "defensive" about these sophisticated, mobile missiles. *They are designed for first-strike capability.*

The new U.S. war proposals have touched off a wave of protests abroad, including one of the largest antinuclear demonstrations in recent history in Brussels itself.

Under this mass pressure, the Dutch parliament voted against accepting any of the new weapons in the Netherlands, and the governments of Denmark and Norway are said to be considering asking for a postponement of the decision.

The concern of working people in Europe is fully justified, and is shared by American working people as well.

The nuclear plans for Europe are especially ominous in light of Washington's drive toward war against Iran. Any U.S. military action there—on the borders of the Soviet Union—could escalate into a worldwide holocaust.

Not widely publicized in the American press is the fact that the new NATO plans include stepped-up agreements for the deployment of conventional forces. According to the British *Economist*, "Good progress has been made in stepping up the readiness of the forces in Europe. The plans to get reinforcements to the central front from Britain and the United States have been improved."

The guns of NATO are aimed not only at Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. They are also aimed at the workers of Europe and the toiling masses of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In fact, NATO was set up in the period immediately after World War II not because of any military threat from the USSR, which lay devastated in ashes. The threat to capitalist rule came from the mass upsurges of

the European workers themselves, especially in France and Italy, and the national liberation movements in the colonies and semicolonies.

Today, in the face of a whole series of setbacks, beginning with its debacle in Vietnam, Washington is striving to reassert its ability to use military might to police the world. And it is demanding that its imperialist partners share more of the burden for intervening against the toiling masses wherever they rise up.

Meanwhile the Carter administration hopes to use the Iran crisis to push through new escalations of the U.S. military budget. "President Carter has approved a five-year acceleration in U.S. defense spending," the *Wall Street Journal* reported December 12.

According to this article, "The budget plan places particular emphasis on increasing U.S. capability to move combat troops to distant trouble spots."

War against Iran . . . war against anti-imperialist "trouble spots" elsewhere in the world . . . continental war in Europe . . . nuclear war against the Soviet Union. All remain part of the Pentagon's global contingency plans and military capabilities.

And for what?

Freedom? National honor? Human rights?

No—for the global profit interests of U.S. corporations. For markets. For control over natural resources. For the right to wring billions out of the superexploited labor of peoples around the world.

U.S. workers have no interest in sustaining this war apparatus, much less expanding it. Our interests lie in demanding total disarmament of the Washington warmakers. End the war budget and put those funds to work for the urgent social needs of humankind!

National ID card?

With unemployment on the rise, the Carter administration is again trying to scapegoat undocumented workers. And it is renewing its efforts to fasten an internal passport system on all U.S. workers.

The ball is being carried by Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall. In a special interview with the December 2 *Los Angeles Times*, Marshall does some fast figuring to "prove" that if it weren't for the undocumented, unemployment would be under 4 percent.

Never mind the profit drive of the auto and steel companies that have closed plants and put tens of thousands of workers on the street. Never mind the deliberate efforts of the Carter administration to deepen the recession under the guise of "fighting inflation." Just keep your eye on the Mexican border.

If border controls were tightened, Marshall says, and employers made liable for fines for hiring the undocumented, then Americans would be eligible for those jobs. Particularly, he says, "minority teen-agers, women who head families and older workers."

Marshall concedes the jobs held by the undocumented are not prize-winners.

"They earn less money than just about everyone else," he says. "They endure poor and unsafe working conditions . . . and little chance for advancement."

Marshall calls for a crackdown on the undocumented because "I am convinced we are sowing the seeds of a serious future civil rights struggle, and we would be better off if we were to confront it now."

Marshall's target is not just the undocumented.

"We need," he declared, "an identification system which would apply to all workers."

Assuring of his "concern" for civil liberties, Marshall adds, "But the fears of such a system are exaggerated, because all workers would be covered, not just Hispanics. . . ."

It's a danger to civil liberties, you see, when internal passports are fastened on one section of the working class. But not if it's all the workers.

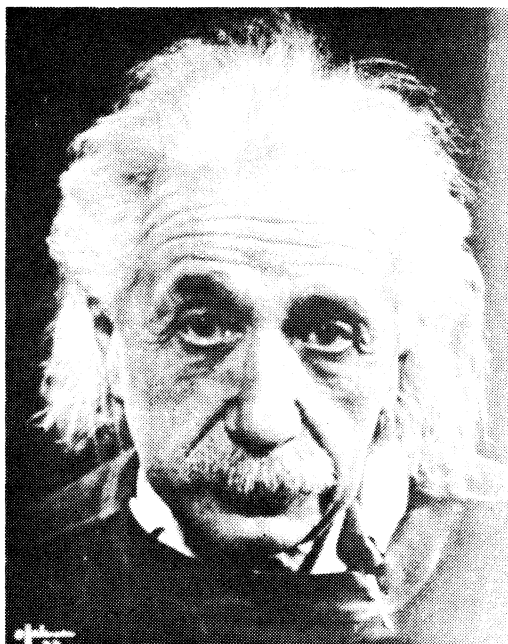
Think about it. From the day you start looking for your first job, you must carry a government-issued "counterfeit-proof" ID card, registered in a central Washington computer.

Nobody has access to it—except employers, the FBI, CIA, INS and maybe a few other racist, labor-hating outfits.

Shades of South Africa.

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Albert Einstein

This month's 'International Socialist Review' features Albert Einstein's revolutionary contributions to modern science. Einstein's theories of relativity and quantum theory, developed in the early part of this century, transformed our concept of matter. They demonstrated the value of a materialist approach to science. Einstein's greatest contribution to human culture was to increase our ability to understand the world around us.

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Hostage refutes Carter's lies

By Janice Lynn

Carter would apparently prefer to see the hostages gagged.

Administration officials reacted with outrage when Marine Corporal William Gallegos, one of the fifty Americans detained at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, told television viewers how "nobody's been mistreated" and "the students here have been really good to us."

Since going to war on behalf of the ousted shah of Iran is not especially popular among Americans, Carter has increasingly tried to use claims of "brutal abuse" of the hostages to win support for military action against Iran.

In fact, on December 10, the same day as the Gallegos interview, State Department legal advisor Robert Owen was regaling the International Court of Justice with tales of the "barbaric captivity" of the hostages. They have been "bound hand and foot, subjected to threats of trial, been denied visitors and mail, held incommunicado, and even threatened with death," he claimed.

But Gallegos explained that the hostages were getting enough food to eat; were given clean clothes, toothbrushes, and combs; took daily showers; exercised any time they wanted; slept on mattresses with clean linen and blankets; given lots of books to read; and were not interrogated.

All in all, it sounded like far better treatment than most prisoners in U.S. jails can expect.

Gallegos said that although the hostages' hands are tied with cloth, they are not uncomfortably bound. They can read and exercise without restraint.

Gallegos told how "everyone is getting mail—quite a bit of mail," and how he telephoned his parents in Colorado.

The White House immediately tried to discredit Gallegos, suggesting he was pressured to lie in the interview. But millions saw Gallegos freely state



William Gallegos during NBC-TV interview.

his own opinions, including his desire to be home and even his faith in Carter. He openly disagreed with his captors on some points, denying, for example, that he was involved in spying.

Moreover, Gallegos's account of conditions inside the embassy is confirmed by everyone who has visited the hostages there—and by the public statements of the thirteen hostages released last month.

Their expressions of sympathy for the Iranian people's demand to return the shah were also a big embarrassment to Washington, which quickly steered them away from the press.

The White House used dark hints of "brainwashing" to explain why the hostages don't back up its war moves. Obviously there must be something wrong with the hostages to think their lives are more important than Carter's "principle" of giving asylum to the criminal shah.

In the wake of the interview, the *Wall Street Journal* complained bitterly that too much of the Iran crisis has been shown on television, whose

mass audience is "not always fully attentive" and has "only a superficial knowledge of the history of Iran."

Their real gripe is that the American people are *too* attentive to the facts and are learning *too much* of the history of Iran. The U.S. rulers are afraid the American people are starting to find out the truth:

- the truth about the conditions inside the U.S. Embassy;
- the truth about the murderous twenty-five-year reign of the shah;
- the truth about the U.S. government's wholehearted backing for the shah's brutal regime and its plotting to overthrow the new government in Iran;
- the truth about the concerns and demands of the millions of Iranian workers, farmers, and students who demonstrate day after day against U.S. domination of their country and for return of the shah to face trial.

The more the American people learn the truth, the more they will resist going to war—a war whose real purpose would be to crush the gains of the Iranian working people and subject them once again to exploitation by U.S. corporations.

Carter has threatened to go to war if any of the hostages are put on trial (despite a pledge by Iran that none would be executed even if they were found guilty of spying) because he fears that the truth might come out.

This is also why Carter so vehemently opposes the international commission proposed by Iran to "study the dossier of U.S. crimes in Iran from the 1953 coup [when the CIA put the shah back in power after a popular upsurge threw him out] to the present day, and expose those crimes to the world."

If Carter had the slightest concern for the well-being of the hostages he would extradite the mass-murderer shah to Iran. Then the hostages would go free.

Instead, it becomes clearer each day that Carter would much prefer to provoke injury or death to the hostages,

the better to assure public support for war against Iran.

Meanwhile, to drum up support from the ruling circles of U.S. imperialism's allies, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance met with government officials throughout Europe. Washington is openly pushing for a trade blockade against Iran and a worldwide boycott of Iranian oil, backed up by the American warships now lurking near the Persian Gulf.

Just as the U.S. rulers tried to destroy the economies of Cuba and Vietnam with such a blockade, they now aim to inflict hunger and suffering upon the Iranian people in an attempt to bring down the government and reverse the gains of the revolution.

Administration officials said they were warning other countries "that unless they cooperate in resolving this crisis, we may be forced to resort to arms. . . ." (December 10 *Wall Street Journal*).

The response to Vance's proposals was reported to be less than enthusiastic. West German newspapers told of the Bonn government's "serious reservations about trade embargos." And the White House lambasted Japan for continuing to buy Iranian oil.

In Japan, as in Europe, there is real concern about what a boycott of Iranian oil would mean. The working people of Japan and Europe are no more eager than the American people to sacrifice so Carter can harbor the criminal shah.

The increasing opposition to Carter's war drive at home and abroad is an encouraging sign for working people the world over. But so far Carter has responded only with renewed threats and provocations. The danger of war remains great.

There is an urgent and continuing need for educational and protest activities to demonstrate in action the majority antiwar sentiment.

Extradite the shah!

Hands off Iran! No economic blockade! No war!

...appeal

Continued from front page

into a new Vietnam-style war. At rallies, picket lines, news conferences, plant gates, and teach-ins they have been saying: "Stop the war threats—send back the shah!"

The Socialist Workers campaign committee printed 25,000 "Stop Carter's War Threats" posters and then another 25,000 posters documenting the atrocities of the shah's regime.

Our heavy artillery in the war to get out the truth is the *Militant*. Campaign supporters from Boston to Seattle, from Miami to San Diego, are launching a special effort to get out the *Militant* both on the campuses and in the factories. The *Militant* cuts through Carter's lies and explains why it is in the interest of American workers to stand in solidarity with our Iranian brothers and sisters.

With firsthand coverage from Iran beginning this week, the *Militant* can play an even bigger role.

Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, the socialist candidates get no subsidy from the Rockefellers, the DuPonts, or others of their class. We depend on contributions from working people and students—people like you.

The opportunities today to get a hearing for the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign—which is the antiwar campaign, the antiracist campaign, the campaign that stands for independent labor political action—are far greater than we can meet with our limited resources. We need your help.

If you've already made a pledge to the 1980 campaign fund, please send it in right away. If you've already sent in your donation, try to dig even deeper for an extra contribution. And if you haven't yet made a pledge, now is the time to do so.

Please rush your special contribution today—it's an investment in the socialist future of humankind.

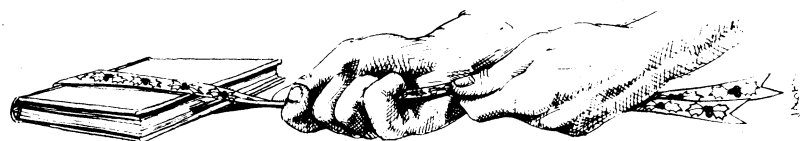
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SPECIAL HOLIDAY OFFER



For every four-month (or longer) gift subscription you order, we'll send you (or your friend) a free gift from Pathfinder Press. Your choice: *Fidel Castro at the UN*, the complete text of the Cuban leader's October 12 speech to the General Assembly, or *The Nicaraguan Revolution*, featuring an interview with Sandinista leader Jaime Wheelock, speeches by Daniel Ortega and Fidel Castro, the Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans, and much more.

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- ☐ *Castro at the UN*
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(Good through December 25, 1979)

'The truth about Iran is held hostage'



Militant/Rita Lee

SOCIALISTS LAUNCH SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

By Peter Seidman

"This is one of the biggest opportunities to get out the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* that we've ever had."

That's how one participant in a December 8 meeting of socialist steelworkers reacted to the debate now raging over Iran in workplaces all across the country.

Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party's work in the steel industry—who came to the meeting from Chicago, Gary, Pittsburgh, Newport News, Baltimore, and the Minnesota Iron Range—all enthusiastically agreed.

They urged the party to launch a special subscription drive as a central part of the SWP's answer to Carter's war moves.

On the basis of their reports and recommendations, the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance have decided to launch such a special campaign.

The drive will begin with sales of this issue of the *Militant* and continue until January 31.

Future issues of the *Militant* will carry scoreboards reporting the subscription goals branches of the SWP and YSA set for the seven-week drive.

The *Militant's* on-the-scene reports from Cindy Jaquith in Iran will be an attractive feature during the subscription effort.

"We need to launch this drive now even though we've just finished a fourteen week circulation effort," explained Geoff Mirelowitz, who works at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore.

"The opportunity to win new readers doesn't always coincide with our regular schedules."

"People in the plants are talking politics, particularly international politics, like they haven't been in a long time," Rich Stuart agreed. Stuart is a member of USWA Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac Mine on Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range.

The Iran discussion has already

prompted increased industrial sales of the *Militant* and *PM* in some cities.

"When I'm selling this many single copies," a member of Steelworkers Local 1010 said, "I'm almost automatically following up by asking new readers to subscribe."

Why the need for special emphasis on subscription sales? Sparrows Point worker Norton Sandler, one of the top sellers nationally during last fall's drive, put it this way: "There's a giant political tug-of-war going on in the plants."

"Workers are open to what we have to say. And they sure don't want to get involved in another Vietnam in Iran."

"But there is tremendous confusion. Some people who take good stands on other issues, or who are union militants, say we should bomb Iran. Or they think the hostages are just innocent victims."

"Another thing we've noticed is that nothing is settled by one discussion or argument," Sandler said. "You may convince somebody one day, but then after the government makes another propaganda move or some right-winger spouts off they may change their mind."

"Our subscription drive will appeal to the people who are talking the most about Iran, who watch the news reports two or three times a day on TV," said Stu Singer. Singer recently joined the *Militant* staff in New York after a year and a half as a miner on the Mesabi Iron Range.

"The truth about Iran is being held hostage," he added. "The TV and newspaper reports are so one-sided and distorted it's hard to even read between the lines, like many people are used to doing."

"The role of the *Militant* and *PM* in providing the facts becomes all the more important. And people need that news regularly, which a subscription can provide."

Barbara Bowman, another top sales-

person who also works at Sparrows Point, explained that "given rotating shifts and the difficulty of seeing people in other departments every week, subscription sales are the best way to guarantee that people will be able to read our paper."

The socialist steelworkers all agreed that when Washington started to whip up anti-Iranian hysteria, "we were really swimming against the stream," as Stuart put it.

"But this is breaking down. Now it's getting to be inspiring to go to work and talk politics."

"We're becoming a pole of attraction. A lot of people have come to me to ask what I think about Iran."

The subscription drive can help us push this discussion more into the union meetings. Workers who do not like the war moves and think the shah

should be sent back need the facts and arguments in the *Militant* to feel confident about standing up in union meetings and arguing for a position.

There need to be discussions, teach-ins, and debates under union auspices. This process will make it possible to get the unions actively involved in opposing the war drive.

Already hundreds of people are attending forums and teach-ins about Iran on campuses, in churches, and at Militant Forums. Many of them will be eager to subscribe to the *Militant*.

If you would like to join the subscription drive, get in touch with the branch of the SWP nearest you, listed on page 31, or contact: Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

Stop Carter's war threats!

BUTTON, POSTER ON IRAN

The Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign now has available a new poster and button to protest Carter's war threats against Iran.



The poster, a reprint of the centerspread from the December 7 *Militant*, documents the atrocities of the shah's regime. Single copies free. \$2 for 100.

The button, shown above, is 50 cents, 35 cents for 10 or more.

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

PULLEY SPEAKS OUT ON IRAN

WASHINGTON, D.C.

U.S. Hands Off Iran!

Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers candidate for president
Friday, Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m.
All Soul's Church
16th St. & Columbia Rd.
For more information call
(202) 797-7699

BALTIMORE

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally
Speaker: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president
Sunday, Dec. 16
Reception 6:30 p.m. Rally 7:30 p.m.
Steelworker Hall, 550 Dundalk Ave.
Donation: \$2.50
For more information call
(301) 235-0013

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Iran and the 'Harrisburg Syndrome'

By Arnold Weissberg

Using the Iranian revolution as an excuse, President Carter December 7 announced the administration's intention to forge ahead with nuclear power.

The U.S. "cannot shut the door on nuclear energy," Carter declared. Bidding for support to his entire energy program, he asserted that "recent events in Iran have shown us the clear, stark dangers that excessive dependence on imported oil holds for our nation."

But the real danger to the people of this country comes from the continued use of nuclear power. Every day, every single operating nuclear plant causes cancer and birth defects. And every day, more undisposible deadly nuclear waste piles up.

But Carter's first concern is not the health and safety of American working people. His first concern is the health and safety of corporate profits.

Under cover of the crisis in Iran—a

crisis deliberately provoked by Washington's welcome to the criminal shah—Carter is pushing through higher energy prices that will add hundreds of billions of dollars to the profits of U.S. oil companies.

Carter is pressing the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to quickly end its freeze on licensing of new nuclear plants. The NRC had announced last month it would grant no new licenses for at least six months, and perhaps as long as two years, until it had time to digest the lessons of Three Mile Island.

Even this delay is more than Carter and the nuclear industry will tolerate.

An even weaker measure in Congress that would have delayed construction permits for four nuclear power plants for six months was defeated November 29 by a 254-135 vote.

The measure, known as the Markey amendment, would not have affected the seventy-two nuclear plants already

licensed to operate or the ninety-four already under construction.

Iran was the excuse for voting for more nuclear power. "The Ayatollah Khomeini will certainly be delighted if you support the Markey amendment," one representative declared.

In trying to carry out its war plans around the world, the administration faces the problem of the "Vietnam syndrome"—the unwillingness of American working people to sacrifice, fight, and die in a war in defense of a brutal dictator. To overcome this problem, the government hopes to whip workers into a patriotic frenzy.

Similarly, the government would like to erase the "Harrisburg syndrome"—the intelligent, well-founded fear of nuclear power held by tens of millions of people.

Despite Carter's patriotic urgings, however, antinuclear activists have shown no sign of abandoning plans for protests.

At its national conference December 7-9, the Mobilization for Survival, a group that opposes both nuclear weapons and nuclear power, endorsed the planned April 26, 1980, antinuclear march on Washington.

MFS also called for demonstrations at Immigration and Naturalization Service offices December 13 to "oppose the racist deportations" of Iranian students, MFS spokesperson Finnegan Marsh told the *Militant*.

Carter's recent statements make it clear that antinuclear groups and activists have a big stake in joining protests against Washington's war drive against Iran.

In addition, by continuing to build for the largest possible turnout in Washington April 26, the antinuclear forces can play an important role in exposing the reactionary aims of Carter's anti-Iran hysteria.

Behind upsurge in Tabriz

By Amineh Sahand

TEHRAN, Dec. 11—The past week's demonstrations in Tabriz, capital of the Azerbaijani people in Iran, have been presented in a deliberately distorted manner by the U.S. news media.

The coverage is designed to show that the Iranian working masses, and the Azerbaijani nationality in particular, are not united in the fight against the Carter administration's war threats.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

The Azerbaijanis—who speak Turkish—are the largest nationality in Iran after the Persians. Under the shah's dictatorship, they were denied the right to use their own language, victimized for observing their own culture, and discriminated against in employment.

Unlike other oppressed nationalities such as the Kurds or Baluchis, the Azerbaijanis are a big part of the Iranian working class. Tabriz, a city of one million, is heavily industrialized. Tehran, also an industrial city, is almost half people of Azerbaijani origin.

Tabriz has historically been a center of the movement against monarchy and imperialism. In the revolutionary wave that began in late 1977, Tabriz was once again in the forefront. The first massive demonstration calling for the ouster of the shah took place there. Hundreds if not thousands of Azerbaijanis sacrificed their lives in the ensuing year's struggle against the shah.

Nationalist flowering

After the revolution in February 1979 there was a flowering of nationalist expression in Azerbaijan. Discussions opened up on the need for the people of the province to have autonomy within Iran in order to control their own destiny.

Over the late spring and summer there were sizable demonstrations in Tabriz demanding that the government provide jobs and halt capitalist sabotage of industry. High school students as well as workers led these actions.

As inflation shot up, there were major protests against food prices.

Workers councils called *shoras* have developed in the oil refineries, machine plants, and other factories.

This fall, the demand for autonomy for Azerbaijan began to be voiced more loudly in Tabriz, especially as the Kurdish people made gains in their fight for national rights.

Against this backdrop of their efforts to extend the revolution in every sphere, the Azerbaijanis responded when students took over the U.S. Embassy in Tehran last month. As many as one million demonstrated in a single day in Tabriz in solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle. But the national TV station did not show their demonstration, as it had the big marches in Tehran.

This angered Azerbaijanis, who had long felt that the central government officials controlling television were censoring their contributions to the revolution.

The central political question on the minds of workers today is the attacks of U.S. imperialism and the need to unite to defend the revolution. Within that context, and as part of the anti-imperialist drive, workers are organizing to control their factories.

At the same time, more and more peasants are taking over land, including in Azerbaijan.

Constitution referendum

In the midst of this upsurge, the central government held a referendum December 1-2 on the constitution drafted by the Assembly of Experts. It was approved by a huge majority.

But the referendum was boycotted by most of the oppressed nationalities because the constitution does not grant



Members of Muslim People's Islamic Republican Party at their headquarters in Tabriz.

them sovereignty in their provinces.

In Azerbaijan, most people look to Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, not Khomeini, as their leader. Shariat-Madari is Turkish-speaking.

On December 1 a national TV broadcast falsely reported that Shariat-Madari urged a yes vote on the constitution. Some Azerbaijanis then went out and voted to approve the constitution.

Shariat-Madari later made a statement criticizing the constitution. He said there was a "contradiction" between articles in the constitution granting the Iranian people sovereignty and a separate article that puts all power in the hands of the highest national leader.

On December 3, tens of thousands of Azerbaijanis, including peasants, demonstrated in Tabriz against the constitution. Some demanded that their "yes" vote be cancelled.

Azerbaijanis also demonstrated in Qom, seat of the Islamic Revolutionary Council. They demanded cancellation of the votes cast on false information, an end to censorship on radio and TV, the same national rights as Kurds, and freedom for Azerbaijanis who had been jailed in the demonstration on December 3.

On December 5, a small armed group attacked Shariat-Madari's house in Qom. Reports indicate that one or more people were killed.

Azerbaijanis in Tabriz reacted with outrage at this attack. Large numbers poured into the streets December 6. They took over the radio and TV stations, government offices, and the airport.

'Brother Kurds'

The TV began broadcasting in Turkish solidarity messages from more than 100 Azerbaijani villages and from Kurds. When some Kurds joined the demonstration, they were lifted onto the shoulders of Azerbaijanis, who chanted "Brother Kurds."

Ousted prime minister Mehdi Bazar-gan went on national TV that night to denounce the protesters as "communist outsiders." This only angered the Azerbaijanis further.

When two plane-loads of Pasdaran, the Iranian national army, were flown into Tabriz, crowds refused to let them land at the airport, declaring that only Turkish-speaking Pasdaran would be allowed in the city.

It is difficult from Tehran to determine the scope and composition of the mobilizations. News photos show large numbers of workers and some soldiers participating. To the extent that there

is leadership, it comes from the Muslim People's Islamic Republican Party, which is connected with Shariat-Madari.

The Islamic Republican Party, which supports Khomeini, also has forces in Tabriz, but is smaller.

On December 9 a crowd chanting slogans supporting Khomeini and calling for unity against imperialism marched on the radio and TV stations in Tabriz, recapturing them. Reportedly, Pasdaran were brought in from the outside to help fight for the TV stations.

Sharp clashes have continued since, with at least six people killed in the fighting.

Avoid violence

Although the city is deeply divided, with a majority supporting the MPIRP, both sides are trying to avoid violence, an eyewitness in Tabriz reports. Heated discussions are taking place all through the city and its surrounding villages over the constitution, national rights, and censorship.

In the working-class neighborhood of Shahabad, which led the revolutionary movement in February 1978, residents support the MPIRP. They believe the argument that they are dividing the anti-imperialist movement is a cover for denying them their rights.

Khomeini has charged that the protests are led by "counterrevolutionaries" and "American spies." Some forces in the central government have demanded the dissolution of the MPIRP and the banning of its paper.

The Tudeh Party, the pro-Moscow Stalinist party here, said in its newspaper *Mardom* that the protests were "stabbing the anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people in the back." After this statement appeared, demonstrators in Tabriz burned down the Tudeh Party headquarters.

The tone of some other groups has been different. The People's Mujahadeen issued a statement calling on all Iranians "to avoid any type of clashes." It said, "The sensitivity of the current situation . . . requires unity more than ever among the people."

The Fedayeen issued a statement in Tehran attacking the MPIRP. But reportedly in Tabriz they have changed their line and are supporting the movement for national rights.

The events in Tabriz have opened up a big political discussion in the working class nationwide.

Persian and non-Persian workers alike are opposed to more bloodshed between revolutionaries. The expe-

rience of the Kurdish war, which became very unpopular among Persians, has had a deep impact. In the air force barracks in Tehran, for example, no one would volunteer to go into Tabriz to quell the Azerbaijani struggle.

Even Khomeini has said he opposes crushing the upsurge militarily. Stating December 10 that "Tabriz fought for Islam ahead of anyone else," the ayatollah said: "We want there to be peace. We want the country to be calm . . . we are at the moment facing a big enemy [the United States], an enemy which intends to destroy the essence of Islam and wants to dominate our country as it did before. . . ."

Unity against imperialism

How to bring peace among the nationalities and unite them in the fight against imperialism is the big question.

The Azerbaijani masses, who have a proven record of anti-imperialist struggle, want to take an equal place in the revolution with their Persian brothers and sisters. But this is possible only if they have a right to govern their own affairs, choose their own leaders, and observe their own culture.

Their effort to appeal to other Iranian workers has been hindered by the failure of Shariat-Madari to lend his support to the anti-imperialist struggle here. To this date the Azerbaijani leader has not made a single statement supporting the fight to bring back the shah.

This helps explain why many workers are more inclined to look to Khomeini for leadership, given his stand of backing the U.S. Embassy takeover, and to accept some of his charges against the Azerbaijani protesters.

The latest issue of *Kargar*, newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (HKS), carries a front-page headline calling for "unity in the trenches against imperialism."

A strong front against Carter's threats can be built only on the basis of full rights for every sector of the revolution, the HKS explains. It is imperialism that is historically responsible for national oppression in Iran and for the division of the working class. The fight for full national rights is thus an anti-imperialist fight.

Realization of the just demands of the Azerbaijanis and other oppressed nationalities will reinforce the revolution and unite the working class, the HKS says. It is the best way to unite all those who fought against the shah in the current battle against the imperialist danger.

Wages doubled, councils formed

Carter's real target: gains of Iran workers

By Janice Lynn

The revolution in Iran has brought about many improvements in the lives of Iranian workers and farmers. These gains are rarely reported in the U.S. big business media, which are too busy trying to whip up the American people for war against "Islamic fanatics."

As the truth begins to slip out about the real struggles and gains of the Iranian masses, American workers can more easily see that these are our brothers and sisters and that we have no interest in a war against the Iranian people.

Some of this information came out in the December 6 *Wall Street Journal*. "I am making more money than I ever did in my life," Jafar Roshani told reporter Ray Vicker. Roshani runs a machine that stamps out corrugated cartons at Tehran's Container Corporation of Iran.

The *Journal* reports that many workers have had their pay doubled since the February revolution that overthrew the shah. Their rents have been cut in half.

At the big General Motors plant outside Tehran, production has been running eighty to ninety cars a day. (They used to consider fifty cars a day as good.)

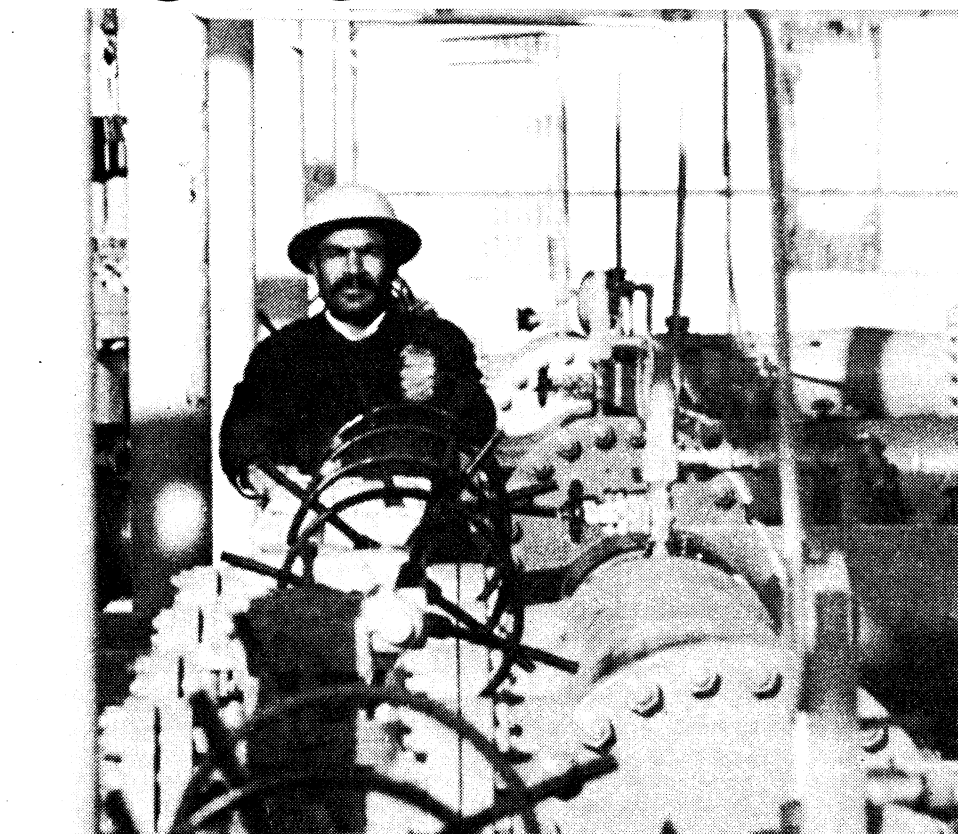
The GM plant is one where workers councils (*shoras*) have taken increased control of production.

Also at GM, as in many other factories throughout Iran, the salaries of managers have been cut in half.

Corporate offices are rolling up their homemade carpets and chauffeured limousines are no longer used.

One such grandiose office has been converted into a child care center for children of women employees.

The government has nationalized



Abadan oil refinery. Oil workers have resisted efforts to impose longer workweek and are organizing defense against U.S. military threats.

banks, insurance companies, and at least fifty major industrial companies formerly owned by families that fled from Iran when the shah was deposed.

The stated goal is "to redistribute the ownership of industry to workers, customers and residents near the factories," the *Wall Street Journal* glumly reports.

More and more workers are participating in management decisions. A former teller, for example, now runs the whole bank.

At the Suliran structural steel operation and other plants, no layoffs can be proposed without approval by the workers council.

In Abadan, near the Persian Gulf, the Iranian oil workers are also exerting more control over their conditions of work.

The December 6 *New York Times* describes the government's attempt last August to institute a six-day workweek. "...the electricians, machinists, and welders in the shops of the Aba-

dan oil refinery, the world's largest, refused to have any part of it," the *Times* reports.

Under the new schedule, they were supposed to report at 7 a.m. as usual, but go home at 2 p.m. instead of 3 p.m. Then on Thursday they were to come in for a five-hour day. (Thursday and Friday are the usual days off in Iran.)

An assistant general manager reported what happened, "On the first day, they started at 7 and at 2:00 nobody left."

The workers went home at 3:00 as usual, and on Thursday only supervisors went to work.

After two weeks, the workers council decided to stop blowing the whistle at 2:00 because some workers quit working then but stood around until 3:00. Now the whistle blows at 3 pm and nothing more is said about the six-day week.

In the oil fields, the entry-level wages have been doubled since the revolution. In addition, workers get housing allowances or quarters, a food allowance, and other benefits.

The oil workers are also preparing themselves in case of U.S. military attack on the oil refineries, receiving special training in how to repel an assault.

Because of the devastating economic policies of the shah's U.S.-backed regime, Iran still faces high unemployment, inflation, and food shortages.

But as these accounts show, the Iranian workers are organizing to defend their gains, deepen the revolution, and begin to solve the economic and social problems that remain. That's what has earned them the undying hatred of the Carter administration and the big-business interests it represents.

Secret files prove U.S. plotted to admit shah

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—"The den of spies." This is the name Iranian students have given to the U.S. Embassy they have occupied here. And to prove their charge, they have begun releasing secret U.S. government files discovered in the embassy.

Although these files have been made readily available to the public, and especially to reporters, the American big-business news media have thus far refused to print more than a few words.

Why? Because they do not want American working people to know the truth about the embassy's past and present role in Iran.

The students have put one set of documents in an attractive pamphlet with Persian translations. The front cover, in red, white, and blue, shows the Iranian masses pulling down an American flag and discovering a CIA agent hidden behind it.

The *Militant* will be printing excerpts from these documents in installments beginning this week. The first series of documents reproduced proves that the U.S. government was plan-

ning for months to bring the shah to the United States and that his admission on October 22 had nothing to do with medical reasons.

The documents also show that Carter knew full well the serious repercussions that would follow if the shah set foot in the U.S. and yet went ahead.

These documents thus give credence to the idea that Washington may have deliberately provoked the hostage situation in order to win public support for its war plans.

The first document was sent in July from U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to the U.S. Chargé d'Affaires Bruce Laingen at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran:

Literally Eyes Only for Chargé Laingen—July 1979

Subject: Shah's desire to reside in the U.S.

1. We are again considering how to respond to the shah's continuing queries to us through various channels regarding establishing residence for himself, the Shahbano, and his family in the U.S. (He can remain in Mexico, at least through October.) I would like to have your personal and private evaluation of the effect of such a move on the safety of Americans in Iran (especially the official Americans in the compound) as well as on our relations with the government of Iran.

2. Would your answer to the question posed in para 1 be different if a) the shah renounced his claim and that of his heirs to the throne, or b) he agreed to forswear political activity of any sort and that this be confirmed publicly?

3. We clearly understand that the key to minimizing the impact of the shah's admission would be in Bazargan and the government's willingness and ability in such a situation to control and command the security forces guarding our people and to minimize any hostile public reaction against our people or our relations. Hence, this question is being very closely held in Washington, I would appreciate your not sharing this message with anyone else on your staff. Please send your reply NODIS/CHE-

ROKKEE, for the secretary.

With best regards.

Vance

Henry Precht, director of the Office of Iranian Affairs in the U.S. State Department, on August 2, 1979. It is addressed to Bruce Laingen, U.S. chargé d'affaires in Tehran.

The first part talks about "new circumstances" in Iran. It predicts the Assembly of Experts, charged with drafting a new constitution, would be elected on August 3; the referendum on the constitution would take place in September; and the election of the parliament and president would take place in October.

Secret—Eyes Only
Secret/Sensitive. Planning for the shah to come to the United States.

Once it is completed, we should inform the new government that we wish to clear our desks of old issues on the agenda. One of those old issues will be the status of the shah. We could inform the government that we have resisted intense pressure to allow him to come to the U.S. because we did not wish to complicate the PGOI's [Provisional Government of Iran] problems or our efforts to construct a new relationship. Now with the new government firmly established and accepted, it seems appropriate to admit the shah to the U.S. The new government may not like it, but it is best to get the issue out of the way. The discussion with the new GOI should take place after it is in place, two to three weeks, and some few days before the shah will come here. In the meantime we should begin to prepare the Iranians by telling them of the intense pressures for the shah to come here—pressures which we are resisting despite our traditional open door policy.

If the constitutional process does not proceed and Iranian instability seriously increases, and if there is no prospect for Iran to settle down, there may be an argument for going ahead and admitting the shah anyway to get that inevitable step behind us, but it will be necessary first to

review how dangerous the situation is.

In either of these scenarios, we should aim for a positive change in our position on the shah by January, 1980. If this plan is adopted it probably would not be advisable to disseminate it beyond a close circle in the executive branch; perhaps a few key individuals outside might be informed so as to reduce pressures for a change.

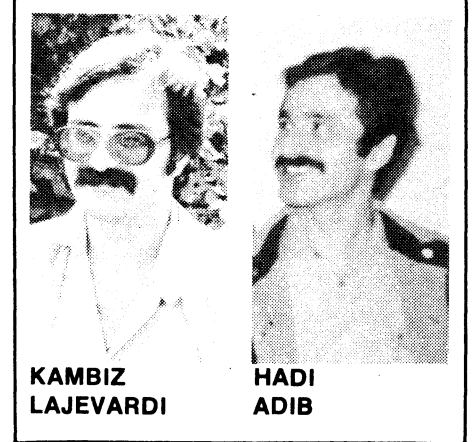
Seven HKS members freed

TEHRAN, Dec. 10—Seven of the fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party who were imprisoned in Ahwaz for more than six months have now been released.

The seven are: Hadi Adib, Firooz Farzinpour, Kambiz Lajevardi, Mahmoud Kafaie, Ali Hashemi, Mohammed Poorkavaz, and Kia Mahdevi.

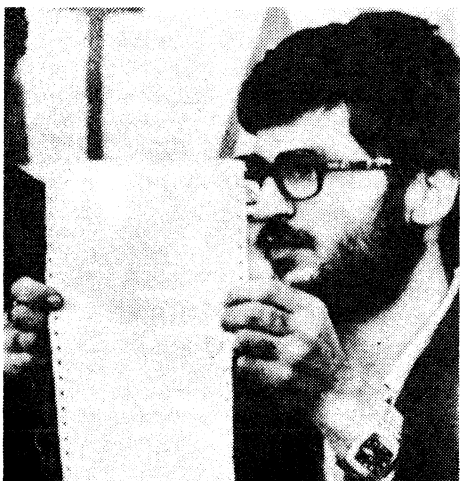
They were freed on bond pending a dropping of their cases or possible further investigation.

This victory for the seven anti-shah fighters has encouraged supporters with the hope that all fourteen will soon be free.



KAMBIZ LAJEVARDI

HADI ADIB



One of many documents discovered in U.S. Embassy.

Activists fight banning orders

Protests spread against U.S. war threats

San Antonio

By Steve Marshall

SAN ANTONIO—When the shah arrived at Lackland Air Force Base here, local television stations reported that he dined on caviar and champagne.

If the "ailing" monarch watched television with his dinner December 6, his caviar was spoiled by live coverage of a picket line in front of the city council meeting.

Twenty-five protesters chanted: "Fue-ra con el sha!" (Out with the shah), "No war for the shah—stop the deportations!", and "Hitler, shah, Somoza—son la misma cosa" (they're the same thing).

The "Get the shah out of San Antonio" picket was organized by the Socialist Workers Party and *El Pueblo* newspaper, with the endorsement of several labor and civil rights activists. The action broke through government and media efforts to silence free speech in Texas.

City manager Tom Heubner refused to grant permits for any demonstrations on the Iranian issue, and the city council agreed. Authorities looked the other way, though, when fundamentalist preachers bused a load of flag-waving parochial school children to Alamo Plaza for a "citizens' declaration of war" rally.

Gov. Bill Clements, a longtime business partner of the shah, virtually ordered Texans to welcome the mass murderer. To get his message across, Clements banned all anti-shah demonstrations throughout the state and put the national guard on alert.

Air Force troops set up camp in the west side of San Antonio, surrounding Kelly Air Force Base with barbed wire and patrolling both Lackland and Kelly with machine guns.

Meanwhile, military authorities warned that hundreds of Iranians were "massing in Oklahoma and Louisiana" for a possible "armed attack" on the bases. Border Patrol units set up check points to search incoming traffic from Mexico.

The big-business press went on the warpath too. The San Antonio *Express News* aimed its fire at Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate Anthony González, attacking him for daring to call for the extradition of the shah.

The siege atmosphere included an attempt by local college administrations to ban anti-shah literature distribution, sales of the *Militant*, and notices of public forums on Iran.

While San Antonians watched the city hall picket, Texas District Judge Peter Curry was upholding the city council's refusal to grant a parade permit to Iranian students. Local Ku Klux Klan leaders, who were also denied a permit, expressed satisfaction with the ruling.

After picketing for thirty minutes, protesters sent representatives to address the council meeting.



Militant/Susan Garry

Demonstrations were held in San Antonio (left) and Albany despite efforts of local officials and right-wingers to block pro-Iranian activities. In photo at right, a few signs and flags of counter-demonstrators are visible in rear.



Militant/Sam Chetta

Ron Allen, a shop steward in International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1013, read from a fact sheet his union had published on the shah's record on human and union rights.

Laura Garza, a member of IUE Local 1019 and chairperson of the San Antonio Young Socialist Alliance, drew applause as she called on the council to "send a message to the world that this murderer is not welcome in San Antonio."

Councilperson Dan Archer, an outspoken war hawk, couldn't contain himself. He interrupted Garza to praise the shah and offered a 1960 *Time* magazine article as proof of the monarch's enlightened rule.

Councilperson Bernardo Euseste suggested council members read a more recent *Time* article describing the shah's torture chambers.

When SWP candidate González tried to read that 1976 *Time* account of the shah's rule, Mayor Lila Cockrell cut him off. González later said, "I just tried to read it, and the mayor stopped me. But the shah *did* it, and she welcomed him to town."

Socialist workers report that the shah's visit has gotten a mixed reception in their factories. Garza and González say that co-workers display widely varying attitudes, from prowar to support for sending the shah back. But the majority opposes a war, they say, and as more workers learn the truth about the shah, growing numbers feel he should be extradited.

A shift was noted at the Friedrich plant, where socialists find workers are increasingly open to explanations of why the shah should be returned.

And union members at Tambo Manufacturing Company (IUE Local 1013) are distributing their union fact sheet on the shah's crimes.

Albany

By Mark Chalkley

ALBANY, N.Y.—Chase Manhattan Bank was the site of a "Hands Off Iran" picket here December 8.

Eighty demonstrators chanted "No more Vietnams" and "Bring home the fleet—Send back the shah!"

The Hands Off Iran Committee, organizers of the picket, targeted Chase Manhattan because its chairman of the board, David Rockefeller, played a big role in bringing the shah to this country.

Picket participation was significant considering recent attempts by city officials and right-wing groups to intimidate opponents of Carter's war drive against Iran.

The action—originally planned for December 1—had been postponed when police and city officials refused protection against threatened right-wing disruption.

Organizers of the picket responded by denouncing the undemocratic decision and taking their case to the media. The local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union helped put pressure on Mayor Erastus Corning. The campaign successfully forced the city to provide police protection.

Fewer than forty counter-demonstrators turned out and tried to intimidate the pro-Iranian pickets by waving American flags and carrying signs that read "Bomb the Bastards."

The Albany *Times Union* and three television stations reported the event.

St. Louis

By Renita Alexander

ST. LOUIS—A Washington University forum on "The Crisis in Iran" drew 150 people here December 9.

A week earlier, the university chancellor banned a similar forum sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party. Citing "current international and community tensions arising from the crisis in U.S.-Iranian relations," the chancellor stated that such a meeting "could threaten safety and might result in injuries to members of the campus community."

The WU Student Union, Students for Social Change, and the WU Mobilization for Survival responded to this assault on free speech by rescheduling the forum under their sponsorship. Prof. Barry Commoner and others endorsed the meeting. The campus newspaper, *Student Life*, editorialized against any further banning attempts.

The university administration backed down and approved a request for meeting space.

Speakers included David Crast, Amnesty International; Kem Hall, Association of Black Students; Prof. Robert Cranfield; Marty Anderson, Socialist Workers Party; and Wale Anufa, executive secretary of the St. Louis Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

"This is exactly what we needed here a long time ago," one student commented. "I know I learned a lot. The more you find out, the more you wonder if the government's not just trying to trick us again."

A week earlier, on November 29, opponents of U.S. military intervention in Iran held a news conference. Speaking were Martha Pettit, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and representatives from the American Friends Service Committee, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Peace Council, and Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

While expressing varied opinions about Carter's handling of the situation, all groups opposed military intervention "under any circumstances."

Other activities protesting U.S. war moves against Iran were reported last week in Chicago, Atlanta, New York, Boston, Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Indianapolis.

Iran meetings

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

IRAN: ANOTHER VIETNAM? A teach-in. Speakers: representative from Embassy of Iran; Dr. Richard Falk, prof. of international law, Princeton Univ.; Rev. Edward Rodman, minister to minority communities, Episcopal Diocese of Mass.; Harvey Kaplan, immigration law attorney, National Lawyers Guild; William Worthy, columnist and correspondent, *Baltimore Afro-American*; representatives from labor and community organizations. Fri., Dec. 14, 7 p.m. Arlington St. Church. Donation requested. Ausp: Boston Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Iran and Iranian Student Deportation. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

U.S. HANDS OFF IRAN! EXTRADITE THE SHAH! NO DEPORTATIONS OF IRANIAN STUDENTS! Demonstrate. Sat., Dec. 15, 12 noon. Assemble: JFK Building, Government Center. Ausp: Boston Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Iran and Iranian Student Deportation. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

STOP VICTIMIZATION OF IRANIANS. Speakers: Shelley Davis, attorney for victorious suit challenging deportation of Iranian students; Sima Amazad, anti-shah fighter. Sat., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Iranian students attacked

By Steve Marshall

SAN ANTONIO, Dec. 12—Two local radio announcers led a small group of Ku Klux Klansmen, motorcycle gang members, and other right wingers in an assault on five Iranian students at City Hall yesterday.

The five members of the Iranian Muslim Organization had begun a hunger strike December 10 to protest the shah's presence in San Antonio and the city's suppression of their right to free speech. Their protest was declared legal by the city manager.

Ricci Ware and Jud Ashmore of KBUC radio, notorious for their anti-Black and anti-Chicano ti-

rades on the airwaves, attacked the Iranians and destroyed their signs as the city police stood by. Twenty cops then ringed the Iranians to prevent further attacks by the racists. No arrests were made.

After the attack, the city council voted to continue its ban on anti-shah demonstrations as flag-waving right wingers packed the public hearing in council chambers.

Louis Linden, attorney for the Iranians, argued against the ban, as did Anthony González of the Socialist Workers Party.

This morning the Iranians are continuing their hunger strike at city hall.

As companies escalate attacks

Steel unionists discuss contract demands

By Stu Singer

PITTSBURGH—The countdown to the 1980 steel contract continued with a meeting of local union presidents in the basic steel industry here December 6-7. The conference opened in the face of the fiercest attack in decades by the steel companies against the United Steelworkers union.

The statement adopted by the conference noted that since the last contract some 20,000 USWA members have been hit by permanent shutdowns of plants or departments, and that U.S. Steel just announced the elimination of 13,000 more jobs.

"Workers in general, and Steelworkers in particular, face an uncertain economic future," the statement said.

That uncertainty increased while the conference was taking place. Inland Steel announced one- and two-week "furloughs" for 1,860 workers at its giant Indiana Harbor mill in East Chicago, Indiana.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel called a special meeting for employees of its Allentown mill outside Pittsburgh to complain that the workers are being paid too much.

And U.S. Steel's Minntac ore mine

organized a demonstration outside the opening of the conference. The turnout of 100 people was smaller than expected.

A majority came from Local 6787 at Bethlehem Steel in Burns Harbor, Indiana, and Local 1397 at U.S. Steel Homestead Works outside Pittsburgh, with a sprinkling from other locals.

Speakers included Ron Weisen, president of the Homestead local; Alice Peurala, president of Local 65 in Chicago; Bill Andrews, president of Local 1010 at Inland Steel, the largest local in basic steel; and Roger Klander, president of Local 6115 at Inland Steel's Minorca Mine on the Mesabi Iron Range.

The narrowness of the demonstration could not attract other presidents. When the conference opened, the discussion on right to ratify was second, following a report on the economic state of the steel industry by union researcher Ed Ayoub.

Participants I spoke with reported there was an open discussion of the ratification procedure with speakers recognized from both sides. After several hours a secret ballot vote was taken.

Union President McBride appointed some of the right-to-ratify supporters as tellers. The result was 313 to 70 to maintain the present system.

McBride announced that a small change would be made. The local presidents will have at least twenty-four hours, instead of the previous two hours, to read the new contract before voting. Some of the presidents I spoke with said they would use the added time to consult with members of their locals.

Roll-call vote

Right-to-ratify supporters had urged a roll-call vote so local members would know how their presidents had voted. Others pointed to the pressure on presidents of small locals by staff representatives.

These were both factors in the outcome. But some local presidents seemed convinced by McBride's arguments that in the face of the serious company attacks, the union should not change the procedure. The lack of organization by right-to-ratify supporters did not back up their point of view with the necessary strength.

The fact is that the union will be strengthened, not weakened, by membership ratification. The right to vote puts the power of the union ranks more directly into the negotiations. In spite of the outcome of this conference, this point should continue to be made.

After the ratification debate, the conference took up the proposals of the November 8-9 Wage Policy Committee meeting. These were adopted with no organized opposition.

Contract issues

At the closing news conference McBride said the union would emphasize adjustments in pensions so retired steelworkers could better keep pace with inflation.

He also said the union would push on the issue of "contracting out," the hiring of outside contractors for many maintenance jobs that should be done by steelworkers.

On the government's 7 percent wage guidelines, McBride said the figure would be higher at the time of contract talks, and the union would have to look at it then. He also said that while he is still serving as a labor representative in Carter's pay board, he would not participate in board discussions concerning the steelworkers settlement.

Unfortunately McBride's participation on the board has already helped legitimize government and company efforts to hold wages at 7 percent in the face of 14 percent inflation. The



USWA President Lloyd McBride

Militant/Stu Singer

setbacks suffered by other unions weaken the steelworker contract drive to start with.

There was discussion at the conference concerning the layoffs and plant closings, but no proposals were stressed that could stop them.

The conference statement does include: "A shorter work week without loss of pay and without extending the normal day is a necessary objective in collective bargaining. It is essential that we create job opportunities in the Basic Steel Industry. . . ."

But the emphasis was on improved government and company funding of temporary benefits for workers who have lost their jobs. There was no indication union officials intend to seriously press for the shorter work week in negotiations.

The union program for negotiations calls for improving the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) formula to a one cent an hour wage increase for every 0.2 percent rise in the federal Consumer Price Index, instead of the current one cent for every 0.3 percent.

Unified bargaining

Another point dealt with company proposals to remove some plants from coverage by the basic steel contract, forcing local unions to bargain on a plant-by-plant basis. .

"The Basic Steel Industry Conference fully supports the policy of the

presidents of the affected local unions to oppose such proposals," the statement said.

However, the strength of unified bargaining has already been undercut by the willingness of top union officials to accept lower wages for some within the Basic Steel Conference. McBride urged workers at U.S. Steel's American Bridge division to vote for a wage freeze a few weeks ago in the face of company threats to close down.

The conference statement includes support for the affirmative-action provisions of the court-ordered "consent decree" in steel and the union victory in the *Weber* case. It calls for more active fighting on civil rights issues through the union grievance procedure.

There is also a demand that child care centers be established by the companies for their employees.

The statement calls for a shorter probationary period and for a "neutrality clause" to get the companies to stop their anti-union activities at unorganized plants.

'Wishing Book'?

The *Hammond Times* in Hammond, Indiana, in the middle of the giant Chicago-Gary steel complex, attacked this program as the steelworkers "wishing book." But these proposals include demands for economic and social justice that would improve the lives and working conditions of steelworkers and all working people. The real question is how to win them.

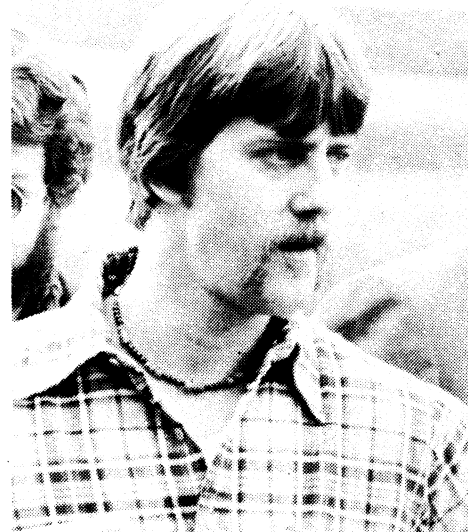
What the companies have in mind is not only to halt steelworkers from making gains in this contract, but to take away rights, wages, and benefits that were won in the past. It will take a determined fight just to maintain what steelworkers have now.

This contract program can help to inspire the membership. One step the union leadership could take toward strengthening the contract fight would be to print hundreds of thousands of copies and distribute them to all steelworkers and to other workers too.

This "wishing book," which the wealthy owners of the *Hammond Times* and their steel industry backers laugh at, would not be laughed at by union members.

It would inspire steelworkers and their families and other working people.

And when it comes right down to it, the only way the union can win any of these demands is with the power of an inspired and mobilized membership.



Militant/Kay Lewis

Local 6115 President Roger Klander at rally for right to vote on contracts. Membership ratification was voted down by conference.

on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota announced it would go on a four-day week.

The local presidents represent about 450,000 steelworkers in steel production, iron ore mining, and some aspects of transportation and fabricating steel. There are even a few locals of company guards.

The union has established common bargaining and a single basic contract with the nine major companies.

Right to ratify

The most controversial issue at the conference was contract ratification. Proposed contracts are now submitted to a meeting of local union presidents to be accepted or rejected.

Under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed in 1973, the contract goes to binding arbitration if no agreement is reached. ENA forbids a strike over contract issues.

Some local union officials who had been associated with the campaign of Ed Sadowski, who ran against Lloyd McBride for president of the union in 1977, initiated an effort to win the right of the membership to vote on the contract. At the September 1978 union convention the right to ratify was referred to this Basic Steel Industry Conference for consideration.

In the fifteen months between the convention and the industry conference very little was done to win support for the right to ratify. Proposals for sending out a national mailing, holding a conference, and organizing a debate were dropped.

Supporters of the right to ratify

Blackmail at Wheeling-Pgh.



Militant/Kay Lewis

At two specially called meetings December 8, Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Vice-president Joseph Scalise complained that 'excessive' wage and incentive rates are like a 'cancer' that has made the company 'uncompetitive.' The workers will be told January 3 what sacrifices the company wants. Stockholders are not being asked for sacrifices. They were just given a \$1 share dividend after the company got a \$150 million federal loan guarantee. A local resident told the 'Militant': 'The company has two sets of books—the ones they show the government and the real ones. I want to see the real books.' Tim Oliver, an electrician at the mill, said after the meeting: 'It looks like they want to freeze or cut our wages. Are they going to freeze my gas bill or my food bill where they are now?'

Newport News ERA rally: 'Va. labor leads way'

By Betsy Whittaker

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—“Virginia labor leads the way, ratify the ERA!” was the chant that led off the first labor march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Newport News.

The December 8 march and rally of 135 people, of whom one-quarter were Black, was organized by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN). It was one of a series of actions around the country building support for the January 13 ERA demonstration in Richmond, Virginia, organized by LERN.

The march began at the Fiftieth Street gate of the Newport News shipyard, where United Steelworkers Local 8888 recently won recognition.

As the march moved out, some shipyard workers returning from their noon lunch break chanted “ERA, ERA” in solidarity with the marchers.

The impact of Local 8888's fight and the continued effort to win a contract for the 15,000 production workers at the yard was felt throughout the demonstration. Trade unionists, women, and civil rights activists marched behind a banner that read “Local 8888 supports LERN.”

Tidewater LERN co-coordinator Claire Moriarty, who chaired the rally, termed it a “gathering of the labor leadership of the Tidewater area who

are the organizers for the mass march and rally in Richmond.”

Newport News Education Association President Margaret Keator urged participants to “double, triple, quadruple our size and fill buses to Richmond.” Her local has contributed office space to LERN.

Jimmy Voliva, president of United Auto Workers Local 919 at Ford Truck in Norfolk, Virginia, announced that his union is sending two buses to the Richmond demonstration. At the last union meeting the UAW Local 919 women's committee showed the film *With Babies and Banners*.

Local 8888 President Ed Coppedge linked the fight for the passage of ERA to the steelworkers' battle for union recognition. Coppedge noted that women make up nearly a third of the shipyard workforce.

“What we need to say to the women is that you have a right—your right guaranteed by law—that you can come into the yard and enjoy the fruits of your labor as men have throughout the years,” he said.

Coppedge told the rally that steelworkers won recognition by fighting “not only in the yard, but in the streets, the living rooms, and the courts.”

Winning the ERA will take a similar effort, he said, likening it to the civil rights battles of the 1950s and 1960s. A contingent of Local 8888 members will lead the January 13 march.

Antoinette D'Oronzio, co-coordinator of Peninsula NOW, offered her organization's solidarity to the Newport News march. “We applaud labor's effort for the ERA and we join you in working for ratification of the ERA,” she said.

Virginia state LERN coordinator Jerry Gordon told the crowd: “The struggle for the Equal Rights Amendment cannot be won by the labor movement alone, by the women's movement alone, or by the civil rights

movement. But when these three movements join together—when we turn out masses of workers and our allies—we can create a movement no power on earth can stop. That's the challenge, that's what we've got to do in Richmond on January 13.”

Other speakers included USWA international staff representative Arnol Manning; Newport News city councilwoman Mary Sherwood Holt; Joni Ivey, president of Newport News NAACP; Rev. Michael Battle, president of the Hampton NAACP; Harietta Eley, president of the Education Association of Norfolk; and Jack Taylor, president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 233.



Shipyard workers lead ERA march in Newport News, Virginia. They will also head up the January 13 march in Richmond.

Ky. NOW builds Jan. 13

By Amy Belvin

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Local union leaders spoke or sent statements of support to a spirited Equal Rights Amendment rally held here at the University of Louisville.

Sponsored by the Louisville Chapter of the National Organization for Women, the rally of some sixty people was held December 2 to build support for the January 13 march in Richmond, Virginia.

Highlights of labor support at the rally included:

- The Kentucky State AFL-CIO endorsed January 13, and several members of their staff plan to travel to Richmond.
- Pat Goodin, president and business representative for United Food and Commercial Workers Local 445, and Mona Sima of the Kentucky Education Association brought union backing to the rally.
- Nelle Horlander of the Kentucky Coalition of Labor Union Women spoke, and her union, Communications Workers of America 10310, sent its endorsement.
- United Rubber Workers Local 423 spokesperson Mary Parker sent a statement.

Emily Cravens, president of United Auto Workers Local 1346, told of her personal frustrations as a working woman and why she believes strongly in equal rights for women.

Cravens works in the fiber glass

division of American Air Filter. She applied for the job in 1959. “It was my first experience at factory work. I worked previously as a bank teller and bookkeeper, but because my husband was laid off I had to find a better-paying job.”

The company warned her about the “pitfalls” of factory work. “The manager even tried to discourage me from filling out the application. But I told him I desperately needed a job and I was hired.”

“I thought to myself,” Cravens continued, “if I can only work for six months until my husband gets back on his feet. That was twenty years ago.”

She described how Blacks were excluded and women were segregated into particular jobs. “I was laid off six months out of every year for the first three years I worked there because all the women's jobs are seasonal.”

Because of these layoffs, she must work three years longer to draw the same pension as men who were hired at the same time.

Labor support at the rally was so overwhelming that representatives from civil liberties and religious groups spoke with pride about relatives and friends active in unions.

In addition, Lt. Governor Thelma Stovall sent an endorsement of January 13.

The rally raised over \$300 to send Louisville buses to Virginia.



Countdown for January 13

Mormon ERA fighter to speak January 13

One of the speakers at the January 13 ERA rally in Richmond will be Sonia Johnson, the fifth-generation Mormon from Sterling, Virginia, who was excommunicated December 5 for her pro-ERA activities. Johnson is head of Mormons for the ERA.

She was tried by a three-man Bishops Court, reserved for hearing church cases involving women and young boys.

Chief court prosecutor Bishop Jeffrey Willis, a CIA personnel officer, wrote in his decision on Johnson that “your testimony and public speeches evidence in spirit that you are not in harmony with church doctrine concerning the nature of God and the manner in which he directs his church on earth.”

The Mormon religion opposes abortion and birth control and expects women to cook food from scratch, can fruits and vegetables, and make the family clothes.

In 1978 the church wrote that ERA “could challenge almost every legally acceptable social custom as well as every morally accepted behavior pattern in America.”

Johnson has been campaigning against the Mormon hierarchy's opposition to ERA. “Almost the whole strength of the church is turned against the ERA,” she said. She has also exposed their attempts to give the illusion of mass anti-ERA support when in fact “it's just this little bitty group.”

Johnson is not giving up. She's appealing her excommunication and continuing her active support for ERA. “I just can't wait to get into Missouri and Illinois. As soon as you all leave,” she told the press on December 6, “I'm going to get on a plane and do everything I can.”

Right on Sonia! We'll see you in Richmond on January 13.

Rail local endorses ERA march

Rail labor support is growing for the Equal Rights Amendment and January 13.

According to *Militant* correspondent Richard Haggstrom, the November 28 meeting of United Transportation Union Local 50 burst into applause following a stirring appeal for support to January 13.

Harlan Stabler, speaking on behalf of a delegation from UTU Local 800's newly formed ERA subcommittee, stressed the importance of reaching out to the ranks of labor to put the ERA over the top.

In short order Local 50, representing over 100 rail workers, voted to endorse January 13, to set up an ERA subcommittee of its own to help mobilize support, and to send a mailing to its entire membership about the January 13 march.

ERA press conference in Denver

Labor and women's rights leaders in Denver spoke out forcefully for the Equal Rights Amendment at a December 4 press conference to build support for January 13. Alan Gummerson covered the conference for the *Militant*.

“We are not satisfied to live in an ERA ratified state,” said Thanna Christian of the Central Denver Chapter of the National Organization for Women. “We want an ERA ratified nation. The fight in Virginia is our fight too. And this march has particular significance because it is widely supported by organized labor.”

Norm Pledger, president of the Colorado AFL-CIO, pointed to labor's role in Colorado's early ratification of the ERA and said, “I appear here today to reaffirm our continued support for this very badly needed amendment.”

Also speaking were Cheryl Porch of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 270 and Scott Foreman of Local 8412 of the Communications Workers of America. Pat Silverthorn of Retail Clerks Local 7 read a statement from her union which concluded: “Local 7 calls for all unions in this region to lend their support in bringing about the ratification of the ERA. If ‘an injury to one is an injury to all’ is to ring true, then all union brothers and sisters must close ranks in a unified effort to bring about passage of the ERA.”

Compiled by Suzanne Haig

Solidarity needed

Striking auto workers prepare for long fight

By John Studer

CHICAGO—"This strike is our longest in twenty years." This is the beginning of a taped message played to all callers over the weekend by United Auto Workers Local 6 in Melrose Park.

It describes the situation facing 75,000 agricultural implement and heavy equipment workers as they enter their fortieth day on the picket lines.

At International Harvester, no further negotiations are planned until 1980.

The 40,000 Caterpillar and 35,000 International Harvester workers are facing a bleak Christmas holiday. Strikers receive forty dollars a week if they are single, forty-five dollars if they are married, and fifty dollars if they have children.

All over the Midwest, layoffs are spreading in companies related to the agricultural implements industry. Caterpillar is the largest customer for U.S. Steel in Illinois. Harvester gets its steel from Bethlehem, Inland, and U.S. Steel. All of these companies are laying off.

Many cities throughout the Midwest are dependent on this industry. In Fort Wayne, the third largest city in Indiana, Harvester employs 13 percent of the area's work force.

Peoria, Illinois, a city of 125,000, has been hit hard by the idling of more than 23,000 Caterpillar workers there.

Takeaways

Caterpillar's profits were up 12.2 percent for the first nine months of 1979 over the record \$566.3 million profit last year. International Harvester profits have soared 95.4 percent this year to \$222 million.

These companies are going for big takeaways from the workers. The main issue in the strike is the companies' desire to force mandatory overtime onto the workers. The workers at Harvester are the only ones in the industry who have won an end to mandatory overtime in previous contract battles.

In addition to forced overtime, the companies want to cut back eligibility for holiday pay, limit workers to two bids a year for transfers to better jobs; cut back on vacations; double the probation period; and reduce wages and benefits for new hires.

Caterpillar claims if it doesn't get these takeaways, it may go bankrupt.

Harvester claims that it can't compete with Caterpillar and John Deere, the other major companies in the industry, unless it gets the right to institute forced overtime.

Long strike foreseen

One reason the strike may be especially long is that the contract expiration date of October 1 comes when demand for farm implements usually declines. Farmers are wrapping up



More than 75,000 agricultural implement workers have shut down eleven International Harvester and Caterpillar plants. Key issue is forced overtime.

their harvests, slowing down activity and equipment purchases until the next spring.

The October 1 contract deadline was extended by the UAW international officers until November 1 without consultation with the negotiating committees at Caterpillar or Harvester.

Workers had been promised that all three companies would be struck at the same time. The one month extension put John Deere workers on strike by themselves.

When the 23,000 workers at Caterpillar in Peoria decided they should strike October 1 anyway, they were denied benefits by the international for more than a month. This has caused some hard feelings toward the international, especially as workers see UAW President Douglas Fraser offering union funds to Chrysler.

The companies are getting nasty. In Melrose Park, right outside Chicago, Harvester is trying to keep up minimal production with supervisory personnel. They're making 30 engines a week on an assembly line that normally turns out 300 a day.

On November 19, an Indiana Harbor Belt train approached the plant to bring parts in. Strikers convinced the railroad workers not to cross their picket line.

Later the train returned, operated by supervisors. A hundred picketers tried to convince them to honor the line. The strikers were attacked by the Melrose

Park police and a number were injured. The train went into the plant.

The next day a judge issued a temporary injunction limiting pickets to three at all gates except the main gate, where eight could walk the line. Since then, supervisors have been bringing trains in regularly.

Also, a scab trucking firm, Randy Trucking, is running convoys in and out of the plant.

In the face of these provocations, workers are hanging tough. The Harvester bargaining council voted unanimously last week to retain "no forced overtime" as their central demand.

Local 6 is organizing weekly educational sessions for all the strikers.

As we go to press, Harvester workers are planning their second demonstration at the company's international headquarters December 12. On November 6, strikers from Local 6 and six other locals picketed Harvester's corporate offices.

John Truffa, president of Local 1307, said they may need more like it in the future.

The central slogan of the demonstration is "Forced overtime—hell no."

Solidarity needed

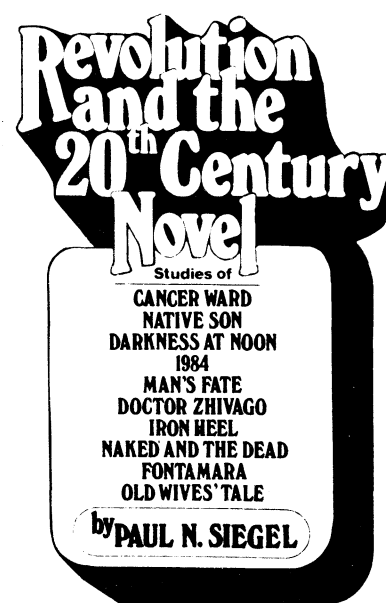
Because of the minimal benefits that are available, UAW Region 4 has issued an urgent appeal for aid to the strikers.

Robert Johnston, Region 4 director, sent a letter to all local union presidents and executive board members on November 28. He wrote, "In addition to sending checks to the strike assistance fund, I would appreciate it if you would take up plant gate collections of canned food and nonperishable food."

As Robert Tinker, president of UAW Local 6, explained, "We don't expect any negotiations until January, and this solidarity can help."

Local 6's tape says: "International Harvester workers do have the best contract in the UAW, and we aim to keep it. Go forward, not backward."

Contributions can be sent to: Region 4 Strike Assistance Fund, 5132 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60644.



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St. Louis gas strikers facing company, gov't

By Chuck Petrin

ST. LOUIS—Sixteen hundred members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union are on strike here against Laclede Gas.

The company deliberately provoked the strike, refusing to discuss a cost-of-living adjustment clause sought by OCAW locals 5-6 and 5-194, expecting that it could wear the union down in a long strike.

The company made a "first and final" contract offer that would limit annual wage-benefit increases to 7 percent. It suggested that the only way the union could get more was through "productivity" improvements.

"Obviously the union would not consider selling back any of its hard-won gains," explained Robert Tibbs, chairperson of OCAW's joint negotiating committee, in a letter to union

members, "and could not, in the face of an annual inflation rate of 13 percent, accept a 7 percent wage-benefit increase. The negotiations were deadlocked from the start."

The strike began September 12.

As service and repair workers, OCAW members went into the strike knowing they lacked the power to bring Laclede Gas to terms by means of a work stoppage alone. Instead, the union's strategy was to expose the company's anti-union drive as a ripoff that hurt not only gas workers but all workers.

"We thought that if we took our case to the people—if we told the truth about what Laclede is up to—we could get the kind of support we needed to win this strike," Tibbs told an audience at the Militant Forum last month.

Tibbs put the gas workers' strike in

the context of labor's overall fight against big business. More and more, he said, it is becoming a fight against the government as well as the corporations. Tibbs cited Carter's strikebreaking in the 1977-78 coal miners strike, the federal wage "guidelines," and the energy swindle as examples.

During the strike, Tibbs said, the state government has done its best to allow Laclede to operate without union workers, regardless of the effect on public safety or convenience. Missouri's so-called Public Service Commission, with the backing of Gov. Joseph P. Teasdale, has effectively suspended many of its service and repair regulations.

The strike has been bolstered by outspoken support from locals of the United Auto Workers, the International Association of Machinists, and other unions. The St. Louis Coalition of Labor Union Women has also

adopted a resolution backing the strike.

Some 5,000 people have signed "I'm Not Paying" pledge cards, refusing to pay gas bills until the strike is over.

On November 14 Laclede Gas President Lee Liberman issued an ominous public letter charging union leaders with encouraging "acts of sabotage" against the company and "threats of violence" against the strikebreakers. A company lawsuit filed the next day demanded \$250,000 in damages from the union. The union has filed a countersuit for libel.

On November 16 a local judge handed down an injunction against "crimes" which the union has never committed.

By mounting this slander campaign, Laclede Gas hopes to isolate and divide the union, thereby weakening the strike.

international socialist review

Albert Einstein and the Revolution in Modern Science

By Cliff Conner



How to Defeat the Ku Klux Klan

By Harry Ring

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Is the Struggle in Iran a 'Diversion'?

The propaganda drive against Iran is a concerted attempt to shape the thinking of American working people and prepare us to accept war. The employing class is making full use of its monopoly control over the press and airwaves to spread lies and distortions on a scale hardly seen since the early years of the Vietnam War.

There is strong resistance among workers to the use of U.S. troops in a new Vietnam. Many are responsive to demands that the shah be returned home to face trial for his crimes.

But the propaganda campaign has sowed confusion about what is happening in Iran.

The media portrayals of the Iranian revolution as a bizarre outbreak of reactionary Islamic fanaticism has had an impact. Many working people, denied access to the truth, can only fall back on the well-founded suspicion that "there has to be more to this than meets the eye."

Radical currents with access to more of the facts have no excuse for conceding anything to the bourgeois propaganda. But their response to the offensive against Iran has tended to range from half-hearted resistance to outright capitulation.

An example of the latter was the article by Diana Johnstone in the November 21 *In These Times*. Echoing Carter's attempts to read the Iranians out of civilized humanity, she charged that the occupation of the U.S. Embassy "took Iran 'out of the world,' out of an internationally shared rationality."

Johnstone even blasted the "outrageous demand to yank the Shah from his deathbed."

In view of the shah's Lazarus-like rise from his "deathbed" and flight to San Antonio, it would be interesting to know the source of Johnstone's inside dope on the royal butcher's medical condition.

The weekly *Guardian* did not go as far as *In These Times* in toeing Washington's line. It recognized the simple justice of the Iranian people's demand that the shah be sent back.

But the *Guardian's* reportage is dominated by the theme that the struggle against U.S. imperialism in Iran today is a "diversion," a trick by Khomeini to prop up his regime. "Khomeini is taking advantage of this popular and anti-U.S. trend to consolidate his own political position and divert the masses from Iran's other difficulties," wrote a November 21 editorial.

This dovetails with claims in the procapitalist media that Khomeini is using "the United States" (they studiously avoid mentioning imperialism) as a "scapegoat" for Iran's ills.

As the U.S. fleet maneuvered in the Arabian Sea, the December 5 *Guardian* proclaimed in

a front-page banner headline: "Khomeini seeks advantage from crisis." The article by Simon Ahmadi attempts to pass off this insipid truism as an example of Marxist analysis.

The Iranian masses know, however, that the struggle against imperialism is not a diversion. Imperialist domination of Iran is the main cause of unemployment, poverty, and shortages, and the key prop of national and sexual oppression.

They also know that U.S. imperialism hates their revolution and is seeking to roll it back. It took no appeals from demagogues for them to see the shah's sudden appearance in the United States as a signal that imperialism was preparing new counterrevolutionary moves.

These are facts of life from which the *Guardian* editors have been "diverted" by their sectarian attitude to the Iranian revolution.

Because Iran is still struggling against imperialist domination, mass anti-imperialist upheavals and clashes with Washington, such as the one set off by the embassy occupation, are inevitable. They would take place even if Khomeini disdained to "seek advantage."

Judging events from the narrow yardstick of whether Khomeini's popularity goes up (bad) or down (good), the *Guardian* misses entirely what has taken place in the class struggle in Iran in recent weeks.

Through mobilizations encompassing millions of people, the workers and peasants have gained ground while the bourgeois forces, the landlords, and the imperialists have been pushed back. This puts Iran's working people in a *better position*, not a worse one, to fight for solutions to such problems as unemployment and national rights.

This changed relationship of forces is reflected in the spread of workers committees in the plants and in the new surge of struggles in Azerbaijan.

The *Guardian* views the support Khomeini won among the Persian working people, and on occasion also from working people of the oppressed nationalities, as an unmitigated disaster. Repelled by Khomeini, the *Guardian* begins to look to deadly enemies of the working people as an alternative.

Ahmadi, for instance, puts the Iranian capitalists in a favorable light. "The bourgeoisie, represented by Bazargan and Ayatollah Madari, was becoming extremely disturbed by Iran's political direction. . . . This class, which had fought against the shah and monopoly capital, could see no political stability in the country."

For Ahmadi, the fall of Bazargan becomes an occasion for mourning. "Independent left forces view the embassy crisis as a political diversion—first to slap down Bazargan then . . . to completely neutralize opposition to Khomeini's fundamentalist religious rule."

When Ahmadi tries to explain the reason for support to Khomeini among Persian workers and farmers, he slips into crude expressions of class prejudice. Writing of the vote on the constitution, which had not yet occurred, he writes, "Khomeini's forces are counting on the 65% of the population which

is illiterate and cannot understand what it says to favor the document. Most Iranians who do understand it are now opposed."

This "Marxist" analysis reeks with contempt for and fear of the oppressed and exploited. The source is the imperialists in Washington and Wall Street, and the procapitalist forces in Iran whom Ahmadi has come to view as a democratic alternative to Khomeini.

The refusal of working people to heed the "democratic," "secular" appeals of Bazargan, Bakhtiar, and similar capitalist politicians is not due to ignorance. The masses remember how "antimonopoly" capitalists led by Mossadegh capitulated to the military coup of 1953 that returned the shah to power. They remember how the capitalists fattened off the corruption and exploitation of the shah's reign. And they remember how Bakhtiar, Bazargan, and others sought to put an end to the mass movement and save the shah's state machine when it looked like the masses would soon bring it down.

They remember that the repressive moves taken by the Provisional Government against the press, against socialists and other radicals, and against the Kurdish people were not the work of Khomeini alone. Bazargan was the head of government and stood behind every one of them. These moves served the interests of Iran's capitalists, and of their imperialist backers.

That's why Bazargan's popularity—never high—plummeted as the fight against these repressive moves gained ground.

And the masses remember Bazargan's efforts to reforge military and economic ties with Washington that had been strained by the revolutionary upsurge.

Iran's working people are determined to protect their newly won rights from the capitalists and imperialists. These gains include the *shoras* (committees) which have been formed in many factories. The *shoras* have raised workers' wages, lowered the bloated salaries of management, limited layoffs, and opened the books to reveal the bosses' profit-grabbing gimmicks. In addition, peasants in many areas have begun dividing land among those who till it.

Ahmadi makes no mention of the spread of the *shoras* or of the debates and struggles that have sprung up around them—an astounding omission for a Marxist.

The working masses are far from uncritical of Khomeini's policies and program. Contrary to the *Guardian's* assumptions, anti-imperialist struggle has increased their will and capacity to resist reactionary moves from any quarter.

But no amount of "democratic" rhetoric will convince Iranian workers that the imperialists and the native capitalists are anything but deadly foes of the revolution. These forces have only one aim: to get the masses off the streets and out of politics, so that exploitation and imperialist domination can go forward without interference.

Millions of working people view Khomeini and the Islamic apparatus as closer to their aspirations than the Bazargans. In contrast to the capitalists, Khomeini relied on the power

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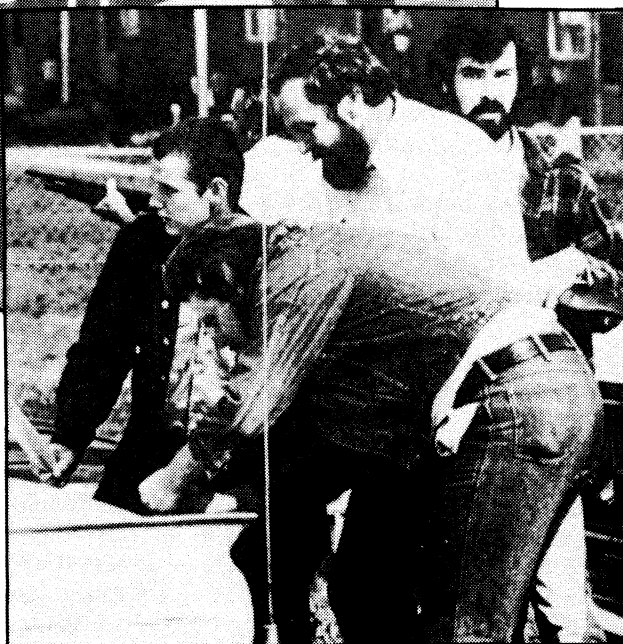
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How to Defeat the Ku Klux Klan



Militant/Eric Simpson

As struggles of Black and white workers in the South increase, employers are increasing support to racist groups. Above, Newport News, Virginia, shipyard workers on strike. Right, Klansmen get arms before murdering five in Greensboro, North Carolina.



By Harry Ring

The murder of five anti-Klan activists in Greensboro, North Carolina, has focused public attention on the Ku Klux Klan and its increased violent activity.

The November 3 Greensboro murders are also posing again the issue of official complicity with the KKK. Backed by the local news media, Greensboro officials are laying the groundwork for a whitewash of the Klan killers.

The game plan is to pin responsibility for the killings on the victims. The racist officials and media are asserting that members of the Communist Workers Party, which initiated the anti-Klan action, provoked the attack.

The official aim is not simply to whitewash the Klan but also to utilize the situation to curb public protest activity by opponents of the Klan.

All of this underlines the need for an accurate estimate of what the KKK is and represents, and what is the most effective way of fighting it.

According to the business-controlled media, the KKK is again a growing force in this country which is making particular gains among southern white workers.

That's simply not true.

From the days of its birth in the period after the civil war, the Klan has been an instrument of the ruling class in its game of divide and conquer.

Its traditional aim has been to pit white workers against Black and thereby weaken the capacity of workers to fight together against the real source of their exploitation and oppression, the employers. Black or white workers who say no to this reactionary game are targeted for Klan terror.

Today, unionism is making encouraging gains in the South. Black workers are taking the lead, and white southern workers are increasingly realizing they cannot successfully organize to improve their wages and conditions except in unity with their Black co-workers.

This change in consciousness among southern white workers is a big blow to the Klan, undercutting its potential for popular support.

It also drives the Klanners and their employer-sponsors up the wall.

We see an intensification of Klan violence today precisely because the battle between employers and workers is sharpening, and the bosses are out to win by any means necessary.

The employers want to foster a new resurgence of racism, encouraging white workers in the South—and nationwide—to blame their economic problems on affirmative action, school desegre-

gation, and other modest steps Blacks have taken toward equality. And of course there are backward and confused whites who accept this.

But the predominant trend right now is the opposite—toward increased *working-class unity* of Black and white in the struggle for unions, higher wages, and so on. Central to this trend is the increased readiness of the union movement to defend Black rights. Union defense of affirmative action in the *Weber* case earlier this year is a prominent example.

This is not said to minimize the danger of Klan violence. Greensboro makes clear that the KKK and those who stand behind them constitute a deadly threat. The rights of working people will not be assured until such murderous gangs are eliminated.

The point is that the potential has never been greater for rallying labor's forces—and the big majority of working people in the South and across the country—in opposition to the Klan, its violence, and everything it stands for. This should be the starting point in discussing a strategy to fight against racist violence.

One way *not* to fight racism, for sure, is to give aid and comfort to those who would whitewash the kind of bloodletting that occurred in Greensboro.

This, unfortunately, is precisely what is done by one publication which claims to be socialist.

The account of the Greensboro Klan attack in the paper *In These Times* echoes the police charge that the Communist Workers Party brought the murderous attack on itself.

In its issue of November 14-20, *In These Times* focuses on the confrontationist approach of the CWP. It emphasizes that the CWP demonstrators chanted "Death to the Klan." It claims that earlier, CWP members had appeared with guns at a Klan rally and burned a Confederate flag.

The paper also features an item headed "What are they doing here?" This is devoted to the reported statement by the president of a community group where the Klan shooting occurred. She is quoted as saying, "I just don't know why they [the anti-Klan demonstrators] would come into our neighborhood."

Giving prominence to this statement—without comment—can only lend credence to the cop charge that the CWPers were "outside agitators," a timeworn right-wing justification for suppressing freedom of speech and assembly.

But perhaps, it might be argued, *In These Times* was simply indicating its disagreement with CWP tactics in fighting the Klan.

Such an argument might have weight if *In These Times* had also written some small statement of solidarity with the slain antiracists and declared the need to bring the killers to justice.

But there was no such statement in *In These Times*. All that appears is the two news items, both slanted against the victims.

At issue is not whether the CWP followed a correct strategy in its efforts to fight the Klan. It did not.

You can totally disagree with CWP strategy and politics—as we do—but the fact remains they are victims of the Klan who must be defended. This is surely a case of "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Within the framework of such elementary solidarity, opponents of the Klan can have a fruitful discussion of what is the best strategy for stamping out this racist, antilabor vermin.

Clearly, the strategy employed by the CWP will not accomplish this.

The CWP proceeded from the dangerous illusion that a relative handful of determined people could smash the Klan. This strategy assumes that the Klan is also a relative handful.

Which is true. But it overlooks one vitally important fact.

In any confrontation between the Klan and its opponents, *the whole weight of the employers and their government will be on the side of the Klan*. The events in Greensboro make that clear.

Does this mean, then, that the Klan is invincible?

Absolutely not.

But it does mean that it will take the organized might of the working people of the South—Black and white together—to smash the Klan.

Any group that tries to substitute itself for the power of the working class is laying itself open to terrible victimization. It is also getting in the way of accomplishing the necessary job of mobilizing the workers against the Klan.

And the costly defeats of such adventurist confrontations add seeming plausibility to an equally mistaken approach.

This is the strategy of relying on the government to curb the Klan.

This also avoids the inescapable need of mobilizing masses of workers to deal with the Klan. And it fosters the dangerous illusion that the racist, antilabor guardians of "law and order" can be looked to to defeat an abomination which they created.

One group that favors the strategy of the government "outlawing" the Klan is the Communist Party. This is part of its general policy of supporting "progressive" candidates of the two major parties—parties that are totally bound to big business and its reactionary policies.

Because it supports capitalist politicians, the Communist Party finds it natural to look to them to curb the Klan. And, according to CP reasoning, if particular capitalist politicians aren't ready to do so, then it simply means "better" ones have to be supported.

The demand for a law against the Klan is echoed by the unaffiliated radical weekly, the *Guardian*. In a November 14 editorial, it declared: "All progressives should demand that the Klan, Nazis and other groups dedicated to racist violence be outlawed."

While arguing for this position, the *Guardian* is compelled to concede: "Relying on the government certainly won't accomplish much in eliminating racism, of course. The entire capitalist edifice of exploitation is based upon keeping the working class divided by promoting racism."

"But," the editorial asserts, "agitation to 'ban the Klan' would strike a responsive chord among the people."

This is pretty poor reasoning.

Striking a responsive chord is essential. But it's not sufficient. The demands also have to be ones that correspond to the real interests of the workers, increase their consciousness and confidence, and move the struggle forward.

The *Guardian* to the contrary, it isn't even true that relying on the government to fight the Klan "won't accomplish much."

It won't accomplish *anything*.

To fight the Klan effectively it is necessary to educate working people as to why the Klan is so dangerous. And that reason is not because of any great strength that the Klan has. What makes the KKK a menace is that the government, locally and nationally, gives it a free hand to do its deadly work.

Can anyone seriously argue that a relative handful like the Klan could operate all these years if the government of the United States was

seriously concerned with stopping it?

Explaining this to working people in no way means the government should be let off the hook on this issue. Quite the contrary. There is a Constitution, with a Bill of Rights, which is supposed to prevail in this country.

That Bill of Rights guarantees the people freedom of speech, press, and assembly without interference from anyone—including murderous bedsheet brigades. It is the sworn responsibility of government—local and national—to enforce those guaranteed rights and to act against those who violate them.

The entire labor and civil rights movement, and all other progressive forces, should be mobilized in demanding that there be no whitewash of the Greensboro Klan assassins and that they be dealt with for their monstrous crime.

But, it will be asked, what is the difference between demanding that the Bill of Rights be enforced against the Klan and demanding that the government simply outlaw the Klan?

A great deal.

It's one thing to demand enforcement of those laws that protect the rights of working people. It's quite another thing to demand new laws that could and would be used against them.

The demand that the government "outlaw" the Klan is not as simple as it sounds. A law that simply said the Ku Klux Klan is illegal would be no problem for the hooded gang. It would reorganize under a different name.

The *Guardian* editorial implicitly recognizes this problem when it argues that "all progressives should demand that the Klan, Nazis and other groups dedicated to racist violence be outlawed" (emphasis added).

There's the rub.

If such a law were in fact passed, it would be used by the government to suppress opponents of racist violence in the name of combatting such violence.

Didn't the government and media work overtime to smear Malcolm X as a proponent of "racist violence"?

Wasn't a nationwide police drive conducted to destroy the Black Panthers with precisely the justification that the Panthers were "dedicated to racist violence"?

Isn't that what the Greensboro officials and media are now trying to convict the slain CWPers of?

The worst thing about the "ban the Klan" approach is that it introduces confusion into the struggle to unite and mobilize working people in defense of their rights. It allows the government and the right-wingers to portray themselves as opponents of political restrictions, while the anti-racists are left with the onus of advocating them.

This clouds the reality—the assault on the democratic rights of working people by the employers, the government, and the racists. It allows the employers and the government to obscure who is attacking and who is defending civil liberties, who is the criminal and who is the victim.

It can be stated as a matter of elementary political logic that any law restricting democratic rights, even if passed in the name of "outlawing" the Klan, will be one more weapon in the government's arsenal against opponents of the Klan.

And the government would continue to look the other way while the Klan does its bloody work.

Does this mean it is impossible to demand any government action against the Klan? Not at all.

The government faces a contradiction. While it does not want to act against the racists, it is publicly committed to upholding the constitution. If the spotlight is on it, it cannot simply brush aside that responsibility.

The Socialist Workers Party, which argues against any reliance on the government in fighting racism, has demonstrated in action how the government's contradiction can be effectively utilized in protecting democratic rights.

In the early 1970s, the SWP was establishing its branch in Houston. The Klan opened a terrorist campaign to try to prevent it from getting started. Bullets were fired into the SWP's headquarters and the place was bombed.

Seeking to rally public support, the SWP learned that a number of groups had been victimized the same way. The local Pacifica radio station, which had spoken out against racism, had been bombed. So had the offices of a small local paper.

Not too much of an issue had been made of these attacks. People assumed, rightly, that the cops were on the side of the Klan. They also assumed, wrongly, that this meant little could be done.

The SWP urged all of these groups to stand together, to speak out publicly, demanding that the city enforce the law against the Klanners.

Many groups and prominent individuals came forward. The media focused on the issue. As the anti-Klan demands gained strength, the national media began to cover the case.

The Houston city administration was put on the spot. Despite its sympathetic disposition toward what the Klan was doing, it had other concerns.

It wanted an image of stability. Revelations of Klansmen on the police force and the Klan carrying on bombings with impunity hardly contributed to the city's "image."

The issue became a liability for the city administration and it was forced to act. Several Klansmen were indicted and convicted for the bombing of the Pacifica station.

The bombings and shooting stopped. The SWP and other groups have been able to function by and large without that particular menace.

Despite gains made in this way, however, the SWP does not see such skirmishes as the end-all in fighting the Klan and everything it represents. As the social crisis continues to deepen in this country, it will take more than putting officials on the spot to stop the racist killers.

Racist gangs such as the Klan and would-be American fuhrers such as the Nazis are the precursors of a substantial fascist movement that the rulers of this country will try to develop as their economic and political difficulties grow.

The target of such a fascist movement will be the unions, the Black movement, and all other progressive and radical forces.

It will take a big movement of united, well-organized self-defense to smash that kind of menace.

Working people have to become prepared for that. They are going to have to be educated to the

need to defend themselves against such a fascist threat.

But they will not be ready, in substantial numbers, to undertake such measures of self-defense until they become politically convinced that it is a fatal mistake to place any reliance on the government to do the job for them.

That means the fight against such outfits as the KKK must be conducted in a way that helps to limit their ability to lash out and, at the same time, deepens the understanding of their intended targets, the workers.

In carrying on this kind of a fight there is every reason for confidence about the outcome.

Contrary to media suggestion, the KKK does not have a mass following among southern white workers. It is, in fact, more isolated than at any point in its history. In the 1920s and '30s, it was far stronger.

There is good reason for the decline of the Klan. The massive southern civil rights movement of the 1960s broke the back of official Jim Crow. The KKK suffered a heavy setback with that historic victory of Black people.

And, equally important, there is in the South today the new rise of organized labor.

The assassination of the five CWPers was not in response to alleged "insults" to the Klan. It was an employer-inspired response to the gains of the Teamsters union, the Textile Workers union, and other labor bodies in North Carolina.

The encouraging results of the Teamster organizing drive in that state are only the beginning of a process of labor organizing that will ultimately have an even more profound impact in the South than the victories of the 1960s.

This is what offers such great hope for the days ahead. Southern working people—Black and white together—are joining in a struggle for common economic goals and for common aspirations of human dignity.

That kind of united struggle will immunize an ever growing number of white workers against the poison of racism.

Will this really happen? It already is.

Last spring, when cops and their dogs unleashed a savage attack on striking Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, that was, in a sense, not really news. Cops have been attacking pickets ever since there were cops and pickets.

But what was new in that situation was the sight of southern white and Black workers standing shoulder to shoulder against these club-happy cops.

White workers fighting to build a union in solidarity with their Black co-workers are not going to be recruitment fodder for labor-hating outfits such as the Klan. To the contrary, such union workers can become the best allies of Black people in a united fight to crush the Klan.

And it's not a matter of waiting until unionism triumphs throughout the South. The fight is under way now. Greensboro must be the immediate focus. A massive campaign is needed to prevent a whitewash of the Klan assassins.

Big, broadly organized and widely supported demonstrations are needed demanding full prosecution of the KKK murderers. It's an elementary act of solidarity and it will be an important step in building the kind of movement that will smash racism in this country.

Dealing a Blow to the Klan

Can working people be successfully mobilized to respond to the KKK?

The same day as the Greensboro murder, working people in Dallas provided a graphic example of what can be done with the right approach.

The following is from a report on the action by Alan Epstein in the 'Militant' of November 16.

DALLAS—"The days of being stepped on are through. No Klan is pushing me around!" said a young Black demonstrator.

The youth was part of a November 3 demonstration of 2,000 here, called to counter a Ku Klux Klan march in the city for the same day.

While police in Greensboro, North Carolina, allowed the Klan to murder five antiracist demonstrators the very same day, here the cops turned out in force to protect the KKK scum.

Thirty-seven Klan members started their

march, dwarfed by 600 counterdemonstrators. Hundreds of cops whisked the KKKers away to an underground parking facility.

Meanwhile, the counterdemonstration, organized by the Coalition for Human Dignity, swelled to 2,000.

The city council had tried from the beginning to derail the mobilization against the racists.

But antiracist organizers held firm on their right to march, rejecting editorials in both daily newspapers to ignore the Klan.

The demonstration exceeded all expectations. The mood was one of strength against the racist minority in this city.

Blacks and Chicanos initiated the protest to answer the Klan.

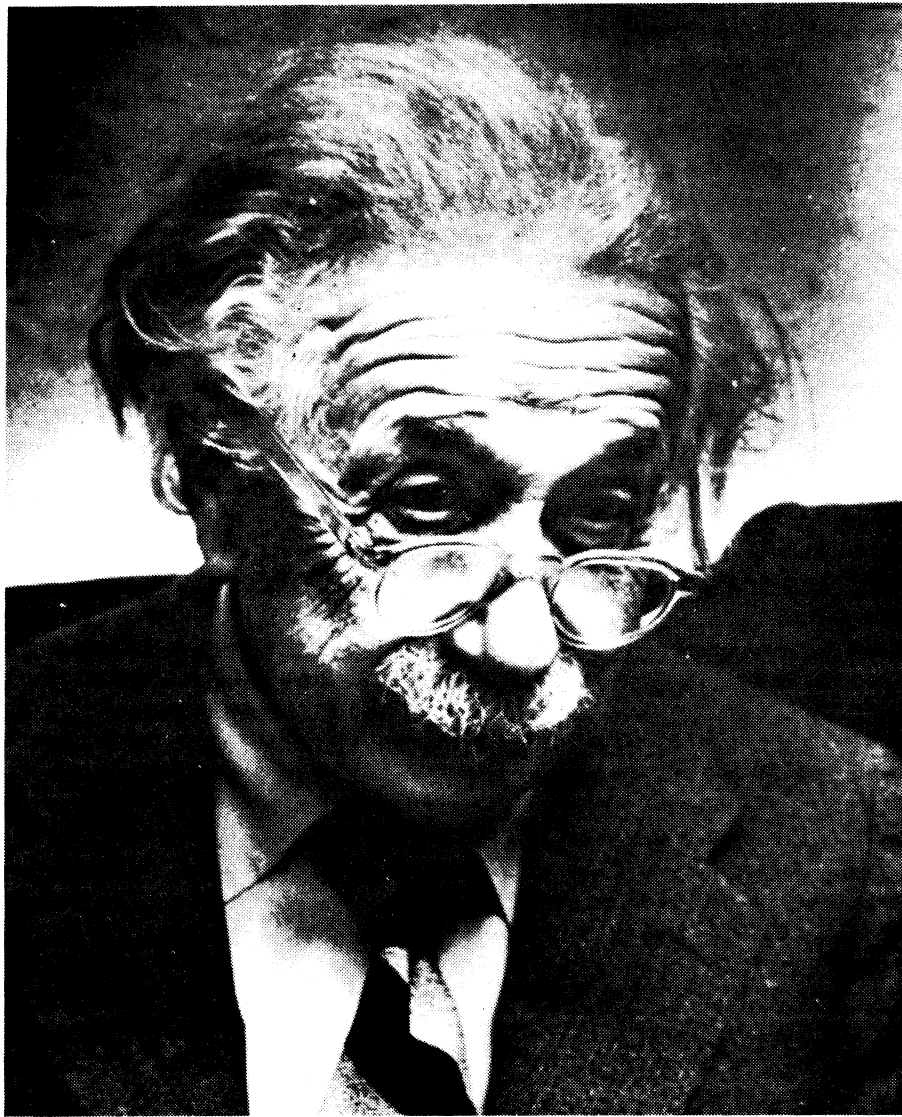
Participants came from the NAACP, Brown Berets, University of Texas at Austin, North Texas State University, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, women's and gay organizations, antinuclear groups, and



Militant/Alan Epstein

Catholic and Jewish organizations.

The march dealt the racists a heavy blow. And it gave all victims of right-wing attacks here a renewed conviction that working people in Dallas are on their side.



Einstein's theories of relativity and quantum theory transformed our concept of matter and demonstrated the value of a materialist approach to science. They also showed the limitations of formal logic and 'common sense,' showing the need for more advanced forms of thought.

Albert Einstein and the Revolution in Modern Science

By Cliff Conner

[1979 marks the hundredth anniversary of Albert Einstein's birth.]

There is a revolution in scientific understanding going on, and it is unfolding at an accelerated pace. It began in the first years of this century and has been storming forward ever since, breaking down long-standing barriers to human knowledge. One of the initiators of the revolution, and certainly its greatest individual figure, was Albert Einstein.

Einstein was a physicist. Physics is concerned with the frontiers of human knowledge at its most fundamental level—the investigation into the very nature of matter itself. "What is the world made of?" is obviously a question of primary philosophical interest and importance.

Physics, moreover, is "where the action is" in the modern scientific revolution. That was not the case in the nineteenth century when physics was largely frozen into its Newtonian mold and the major breakthrough came in biology, with Darwin's theory of evolution.

Einstein's contribution to human culture was that he increased our ability to understand the world around us. He was a thinker, but his thought was of a certain kind. It was not metaphysical speculation; it was not based on introspection or abstractions culled from common sense and dressed up as "first principles."

Einstein's Materialism

Einstein was a materialist. His theoretical thought was solidly founded in the world of material reality—on scientific observation and experimentation. And he always insisted that the results he produced—above all his two theories of relativity—were of value only insofar as they stood the test of further observation and experimentation. Einstein's theories *have* met that test well.

Those who know Einstein only through his mass-media image may be unaware of the centrality of materialism to his scientific outlook. In his *Autobiographical Notes*, he summed up his point of view in these words:

"Out yonder there was this huge world, which exists independently of us human beings and

which stands before us like a great, eternal riddle, at least partially accessible to our inspection and thinking."¹ Elsewhere, he wrote: "... the belief in an external world independent of the percipient subject is the foundation of all science."²

The central proposition of materialism, of course, is that the world "exists independently of us human beings." This is anathema to idealist thinkers, who believe that the "real" world is in some sense a product of human consciousness. As one popularizer of Einstein's ideas commented: "Is there not something enormously narcissistic about the notion that we humans, with our crude little brains so recently evolved from the brains of beasts, are somehow partial creators of the universe? ... nothing could be more distant from Einstein's own humility. ..."³

A knowledgeable critic might be moved to protest: "But didn't Einstein believe in God? How can a religious person be considered a materialist?"

While Einstein did occasionally speak of God, the content of his religious views was never made very clear. In an essay entitled "Science and Religion" he explained what God was *not* by rejecting "the idea of God in the religions taught at present" and especially "the doctrine of a personal God interfering with natural events."⁴

As for his positive views on the subject: "... when asking myself what religion is I cannot think of the answer so easily." He said that his scientific work had left him in profound awe of the regularity and order of nature and that this attitude "appears to me to be religious, in the highest sense of the word." This is a redefinition of religion that hardly resembles its traditional content.

It can be concluded that Einstein's scientific endeavors, which produced the enduring contributions to human knowledge for which he is honored, were generally guided by a consistent materialist outlook. But when he went beyond science to the realm of purely philosophical speculation, his materialism was less than consistent and not fully worked out.

Science & Philosophical Inconsistency
Einstein's philosophical inconsistencies were

small in comparison with those of his predecessors. Many advances of material knowledge have been produced by scientists who were fervent idealists. Isaac Newton, Einstein's titanic predecessor, spent as much time on biblical commentary as on his researches in physics.

Lenin pointed to this phenomenon in his contribution to the philosophy of science, *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*. The book was written to refute the philosophical ideas of theorists such as the physicist Ernst Mach, to whom Einstein gave credit for inspiring his own outlook. Citing Mach, Wilhelm Ostwald, and Henri Poincaré, Lenin wrote: "Not a single one of these professors, who are capable of making very valuable contributions in the special fields of chemistry, history, or physics *can be trusted one iota* when it comes to philosophy."⁵ Einstein could be added to the list without belittling in the least his scientific achievements. It was just such achievements that led Lenin to conclude, in spite of the fact that physicists like Mach and Einstein were not conscious adherents of the philosophical tenets of Marxism, that "modern physics is in travail; it is giving birth to dialectical materialism."⁶

Although Einstein published the first of his two relativity theories in 1905 (the "special" theory, as opposed to the "general" theory, which came in 1915), very little attention was paid to it even by theoretical physicists for a number of years. It is understandable, then, that Lenin was apparently unaware of Einstein and his theory in 1908 when he wrote *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*.

Lenin's insight into the revolution in modern physics was especially remarkable in that he was viewing it right at its outset. Only one "subatomic particle" had been discovered—the electron—and relativity and quantum theory were in their infancy. Since the greatest advances were yet to come, it is important to pursue the inquiry that Lenin began; to find out if the continuing acquisition of scientific knowledge tended to further confirm or to undermine the outlook of dialectical materialism. In either case, the central character in the story will be Albert Einstein.

To appreciate Einstein's contribution to our knowledge of the material world, it is necessary

to have some understanding of what it was that he discovered. He is best known, and rightly so, for his two theories of relativity. Relativity, however, is only one of the twin pillars at the base of the new way of looking at the universe. The other pillar is quantum theory. It is not so well known that Einstein was also a pioneer of the quantum theory and made one of the key contributions to its development in 1905, the same year he published his special theory of relativity.

Quantum theory is even more radical, and more central to the revolution in modern physics, than is relativity, and raises more fundamental philosophical questions. But any examination of Einstein's contributions must begin with relativity.

Another preliminary point is necessary. There is a general prejudice to the effect that relativity and quantum theory are "too hard" for ordinary people (non-physicists) to understand. That is not so. Einstein held that a reasonably bright person with a high school education and the motivation to learn could grasp the concepts of relativity theory: "Most of the fundamental ideas of science are essentially simple, and may, as a rule, be expressed in a language comprehensible to everyone."⁷ Another great modern physicist, Erwin Schrödinger, addressing his fellow scientists, put it even more bluntly: "If you cannot—in the long run—tell everyone what you have been doing, your doing has been worthless."⁸

The Downfall of Common Sense

If the concepts of relativity theory seem abstract, it is not because they are unrelated to the material world. It is because they relate to the material world in ways that are far removed from our everyday experience, namely over distances unimaginably great and small, and at speeds approaching that of light. Because the province of relativity theory is well beyond the range of distances and speeds that we are familiar with, its propositions often seem to violate "common sense."

That is one of the most noticeable features of the revolution in modern physics. Common sense has taken a terrible beating. Anyone who learns even a little about relativity or quantum theory becomes better equipped to break out of the mental prison bounded by the walls of common sense. That, of course, accords very well with the dialectical outlook and is an important element in any sort of revolutionary thinking, be it in theoretical physics or in the process of changing society.

Einstein's *special* theory of relativity tackled a paradox that had led physics into a blind alley. The problem was this: According to well established previous assumptions, the laws of nature would be different for two different observers if the two were moving rapidly with respect to each other. Two or more sets of nature's laws—implying the existence of two or more "real worlds"—was an intolerable situation for science, which is founded on the materialist principle of the underlying unity of reality.

Einstein's 1905 special theory of relativity managed to resolve part of the puzzle. He was able to show that the laws of nature were the same for all observers who were moving at a uniform rate of speed relative to each other. This was a triumph for the materialist outlook, but it was a partial victory, for it clearly left a situation where more than one version of nature's laws could still exist for observers who were *accelerating* relative to each other.

Einstein pressed forward and ten years later, in 1915, announced that he had solved the paradox of accelerated motion as well. This was the *general* theory of relativity. It could now be shown (although the clinching experimental evidence would only come years later) that all of the laws of nature are invariant with respect to the state of motion of any observer.

Einstein's two theories demanded a heavy price in terms of common sense. The special theory did away with the notions of absolute time and absolute space, and the general theory introduced the very peculiar notion of curved space. As might be expected, both met with a great deal of resistance among physicists until the experimental evidence piled so high that their acceptance was unavoidable.

One particularly important consequence of the 1905 special theory was Einstein's discovery of the equivalence of mass and energy, expressed by the well-known formula $E=mc^2$. Hardly any theoretical proposition in the history of science has received more experimental and practical

verification than this one. At the time he conceived it, however, there was no way of verifying it—it was proven accurate twenty-five years later.*

All these elements of relativity theory carry philosophical implications that are worth examining. First, the demise of absolute space and absolute time.

The common sense outlook, which is also the basis of classical (Newtonian) physics, sees time and space as separate entities. Time, in this view, is absolute. Any given instant is a uniform, identical instant occurring simultaneously throughout the universe. So events in any part of the universe can be compared on the same time scale. For any two events, then, either one can be said to have happened "first" and the other "second," or they can be said to have happened simultaneously.

This is all very natural to our way of thinking. Everything in our everyday experience reinforces it. But it turns out to be meaningless when applied to the cosmic scale—that is, to distances between stars and galaxies.

Space and Time

When an earthbound astronomer detects a star explosion in a distant galaxy, he is seeing a flash of light that originated many millions of years

*"In 1932 at the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge. . . individual nuclear transformations yielded the first clear-cut verification of Einstein's formula $E=mc^2$ —a quarter of a century after Einstein had propounded it in 1907. In 1933 an even sharper verification was found, with mass in this case being not partially but totally converted into energy."⁹

The deeper we probe into the microworld, and the farther we look into the cosmos, the less possible it becomes to conceive of matter without motion.



earlier. Was the astronomer born "before" or "after" the star exploded? The ordering of such events on a universal time-scale doesn't have much meaning.

Einstein's theory also requires giving up the common sense notion that things can conceivably go faster and faster, without limit. One of the two basic propositions of relativity theory is that nothing can travel faster than the speed of light. If that is so, the idea of "instantaneous" communication over cosmic distances is false and the concept of simultaneity falls apart. (See box page ISR/8.)

A subjective element thus seems to enter into the determination of time. An "observer" riding on the light waves from the exploding star would have an entirely different interpretation of the timing of events from that of the astronomer. Einstein showed that this subjective element was inescapable. There is no "universal clock" by which all events can be objectively ordered in time.

Likewise, Einstein demolished the notion of absolute space. On the cosmic scale, even the concept of *distance* (or *length*) turns out to include a subjective element. Again, distances can vary according to the circumstances of the observer (in particular, the velocity of the observer relative to the distance being measured).

These two conclusions would seem to be devastating to the materialist point of view. But that wasn't all. Einstein showed that even *mass*—which some materialists mistakenly consider to be the essential quality of matter—can vary from

observer to observer.* Space—distances—time—even mass—all *subjective*? All dependent upon the conditions of various observers?

Some idealist philosophers took the bait and rushed to claim a triumph, but all they succeeded in proving was that they had missed the whole point. For Einstein had shown that while time and space taken separately are not objective, they could be combined into a single entity—space-time—that is fully objective, and in which mass and other physical properties are also objective. In the framework of space-time Einstein was able to demonstrate that the laws of nature are independent of any observer's motion.

The English astronomer James Jeans was one of those who only understood the first part of the theory. "As the subject [relativity] developed," he wrote, "it became clear that the phenomena of nature were determined by us and our experience rather than by a mechanical universe outside us and independent of us."¹⁰

But as one author recently explained, Jeans's interpretation "receives not the slightest support from relativity," and this point "has been forcibly made by almost every modern philosopher of science."¹¹

*Electrons have been accelerated to more than 0.999999999 times the speed of light, whereupon they become 40,000 times as massive as they are at more ordinary velocities. Of course, that is from your point of view if you are watching the electron go by. From the electron's point of view, its own mass has not changed, but *your* mass has increased 40,000 times.

Bertrand Russell pointed to one possible source of idealist confusion: "Some people think that [relativity] supports Kant's view that space and time are 'subjective' and are 'forms of intuition.' I think such people have been misled by the way in which writers on relativity speak of 'the observer.' It is natural to suppose that the observer is a human being, or at least a mind; but he is just as likely to be a photographic plate or a clock. . . ."¹²

'Matter without motion is just as unthinkable as motion without matter.'

—Friedrich Engels

As Russell indicates, Einstein's revelations about the unity of space and time have particular relevance to the ideas of Immanuel Kant. At the heart of Kant's philosophy was the notion that space and time had no objective reality, but were *a priori* categories—inherent human intuition.

By this view, space and time are nothing more than mental constructs that the brain uses to order the data it receives from the senses. By *a priori* he meant that they simply had to be accepted *as they were*; it would be useless to question the nature of space and time because they don't have any real existence outside of human consciousness. In essence, Kant accepted the common sense view that space and time were simply self-evident and nothing more could be said about them.

Special relativity completely disproved Kant's ideas about time and space. First of all, it showed that space and time were not at all like the common sense notions that Kant took as *a priori*. Secondly, it showed that space-time had a *structure*; that is, objective reality independent of human consciousness. And third, it showed that the structure of space-time could be determined through observation and experiment.

As if that were not enough, Einstein's later general theory of relativity went even further, revealing that the structure of space-time is not homogeneous—that space "curves." Part of Kant's conventional view of *a priori* space was that it was perfectly described by the geometry of Euclid. That is, that just as in our everyday experience, parallel lines in space never converge or diverge. The general theory showed that Euclid's geometry does not provide a true picture of the structure of space-time. Experimental evidence has confirmed that electromagnetic waves (light, for example), travel a curved path through "empty" space.

'Empty' Space

The quotation marks around "empty" are used to indicate that the very notion of empty space reflects a common sense prejudice (i.e., an *a priori* view). That is, that space is *nothing*; that space is the absence of matter; it is the nothingness that separates the "real" stuff of existence.

By demonstrating that space actually has *properties*, Einstein showed that space is not the absence of anything real, but has a real existence of its own. In materialist terms, space is not the absence of matter, but is itself a *form* of the existence of matter. This, of course, refutes not only Kant, but also the narrow brand of materialism that equates matter with "substance."

Einstein tried to take this investigation even further, but was not successful. General relativity showed that space is not homogeneous in a gravity field; that is, that the *properties* of space-time are determined by the mass in its vicinity. What he also wanted to show, in his quest for a unified field theory, was that matter (in its mass-energy form) determines not only the properties of space but determines its very *existence*. That is to say, after unifying space and time and unifying mass and energy, Einstein hoped to achieve the grand unification of space-time and mass-energy—to show that both are interdependent aspects of existence.

Einstein was not able to accomplish this task, nor has anybody else, although he and many others were convinced that it is possible. One speculative theory, for example, suggests that sub-atomic particles might actually be tiny "holes" in space-time produced at points where the curvature of space-time approaches an infinite value.

Such speculation cannot be regarded as validated scientific knowledge, but neither can it be dismissed as science fiction. However "strange,"

it is an hypothesis to spur and direct further exploration. Serious scientists are continuously probing the microworld of particle physics, attempting to answer just such questions.

The idea that space-time has no existence apart from mass-energy is, of course, a profoundly dialectical conception—that matter and "empty" space are two poles of a single reality, as inseparable as the two poles of a magnet.

The refutation of a *priori* space and time

undermines Immanuel Kant's whole theory of knowledge. Kant did not deny that the material world exists, and exists independently of human consciousness. But he denied that it was possible to really *know* anything about the material world. In his view, there is an impassable barrier between human perception and external reality.

Idealists raised an obvious question: "If you can't know anything about this material world that you claim exists, how do you know it exists?" The materialist answer, which Kant could not give, was that the world not only exists, but is also *knowable*. Einstein's demonstration that it is possible to gain knowledge about space and time through observation and experimentation provides fresh confirmation of the knowability of the material world.

The Dialectical Outlook

Einstein's contributions to modern physics not only establish materialism on a higher basis; they also reinforce the dialectical outlook. The basic tenet that distinguishes dialectical materialism from mechanical materialism is that reality consists not merely of matter, but of matter in motion. As Friedrich Engels put it, "matter without motion is just as unthinkable as motion without matter."¹³

Yet physical science before Einstein held that there was an absolute, stationary, all-pervading framework in the universe—the *ether* that served as a medium for the propagation of light waves—against which all motion could be measured. Relativity theory showed that no such stationary framework exists—that all motion is relative to other moving things.

Friedrich Engels anticipated this aspect of relativity theory in 1877, when he wrote in his *Anti-Dühring*: "All rest, all equilibrium, is only relative, and only has meaning in relation to one or other definite form of motion."¹⁴

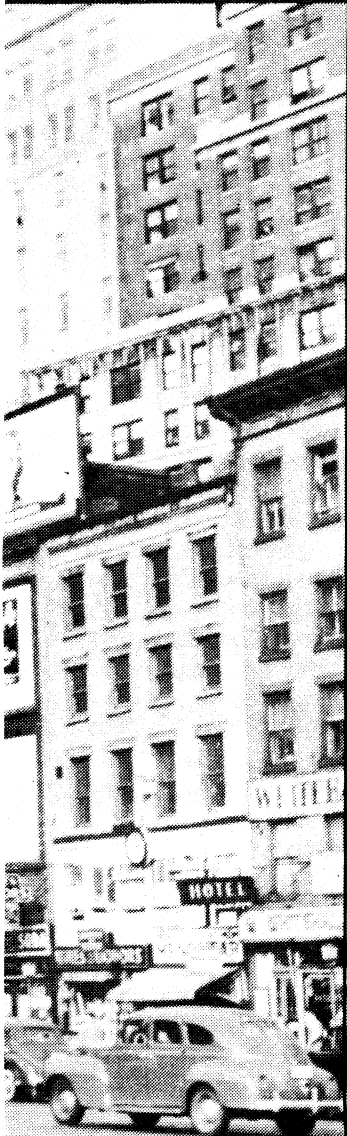
It is important to understand that while this anticipation shows the compatibility of dialectical materialism and relativity theory, it does not mean that Engels "discovered relativity" before Einstein. Engels's statement reveals a correct judgement based on a sound philosophical viewpoint; Einstein *proved* or "discovered" the reality expressed in the statement on the basis of experimental evidence that did not exist in 1877.

Einstein showed that space-time is *objective* (independent of an observer's motion); he did not show that it was *absolute* in the idealist sense of being featureless and changeless. To the contrary, Einstein's conception of space-time is highly dynamic, rippling with gravity waves and changing along with the motion of stars, galaxies, galaxy clusters, and the explosively expanding universe (or "metagalaxy") as a whole.

The forward march of knowledge in astronomy and particle physics, made possible by Einsteinian relativity, has extended the range of distances over which we can observe the material world. The deeper we probe into the microworld, and the farther we look into the cosmos, the less possible it becomes to conceive of "matter without motion."

In the microworld, for example, "all the fundamental particles of matter—the proton, the neutron and the electron—seem to be spinning perpetually. The spinning is much like that of a top. . . . Rotation is one of their intrinsic properties. Each particle has a fixed spin angular momentum in the same way that it has a definite mass and electric charge." Penetrating to an even deeper level, experimental evidence "suggests that there are objects in the proton that spin very rapidly."¹⁵

This is but one form of the motion that is intrinsic to subatomic particles. In addition to spinning like tops, they continually whirl in



At bottom left is an example of macro-world (New York City, 1939), the scale of things with which we are familiar. Above are examples of the microworld (left, the tracks left by elementary particles in a bubble chamber) and cosmic scale (a detail of the Virgo cluster of galaxies taken by a telescope at the Cerro Tololo Inter-American Observatory in Chile.) The laws of 'common sense' do not work in the micro and cosmic scales.

orbits around each other. Further analysis of the motion of these particles becomes so complex that it becomes impossible to describe in pictorial fashion with words like "top" and "orbit."

The most modern view of the microworld is one of particles in a continuous process of appearance and disappearance, of absorption and transformation. The existence of matter at the most fundamental level that has been penetrated so far does not fit a static concept of "being" nearly as well as it fits the dynamic concept of "becoming."

Turning from the scale of the microworld to the cosmic scale, we find a similar picture. Far from the classical view of the universe as composed of eternal bodies moving like clockwork in orderly, geometric patterns, Einsteinian cosmology has revealed a cosmos in constant turmoil. Supernova explosions that could vaporize a billion earths, giant stars collapsing into black holes, the continual creation of new stars and new galaxies in a process violent beyond imagination—this is how matter moves on the cosmic scale.

Why does this seem so offensive to common sense? Bertrand Russell provides a cogent explanation:

"If you were as large as the sun and lived as long, with a corresponding slowness of perception, you would . . . find a higgledy-piggledy universe without permanence—stars and planets would come and go like morning mists, and

nothing would remain in a fixed position relatively to anything else. The notion of comparative stability which forms part of our ordinary outlook is thus due to the fact that we are about the size we are, and live on a planet of which the surface is not very hot."¹⁶

The revolution in modern science is based, above all, on a growing acceptance of the universal flux.

Unlike earlier periods in the history of science when revolution calmed down and great advances solidified into dogma for a prolonged period, upheavals in modern physics have followed on each other's heels. Indeed, the most important aspect of the Einstein era has not been this or that "discovery," but a whole new scientific attitude: the continuous search not merely for new data and facts, but for radically new ways of interpreting reality that challenge the most deeply held assumptions. It is in this aspect that modern science converges with the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism.

Theories of knowledge attempt to answer the questions: "What is truth?" and "How do we attain it?" To understand how dialectical materialism approaches these questions, let us first consider the most important opposing viewpoints:

- One line of thought denies the independent existence of the external world. This is the heart of pure idealist philosophies, including religions. If the world that we experience through our

senses is, in the final analysis, nothing but an illusion, it follows that nothing said about it can lay claim to being "truth."

- A second line of thought—developed by Kant—accepts the existence of the external world, but denies its knowability. Again, no real "truth" about material existence is possible.

- A third line of thought—the mechanical materialism based on the outlook of classical science—holds that the material world is *perfectly* knowable. According to this view, the universe and everything in it, including the human brain, are nothing more than more or less complicated machines, and it is just a matter of time until all of the laws of matter in motion are completely known. When science will have achieved total knowledge, its mission will be complete. This idea is frequently referred to as Laplacean determinism, since its most straightforward formulation was given by the French mathematician Pierre Simon de Laplace.*

On the surface it would seem that the third

*Laplace wrote: "An intellect which at any given moment knew all the forces that animate nature and the mutual positions of the beings that compose it, if this intellect were vast enough to submit its data to analysis, could condense into a single formula the movement of the greatest bodies of the universe and that of the lightest atom: for such an intellect nothing could be uncertain; and the future just like the past would be present before its eyes."¹⁷

Do Things Happen Simultaneously?

The following "thought experiment" is designed to provide some insight into the contradictions that Einstein sought to resolve. Get a pad and pencil and draw yourself a diagram as an aid to following the argument.

Imagine that two people—call them Linda and Jerry—are traveling far out in space in two different space vehicles. They pass each other, and each can measure the speed at which they see the other go by. To Linda it appears that she is sitting still and Jerry is whizzing by at 100,000 miles per second. But to Jerry it seems that *he* is sitting motionless and Linda is passing at 100,000 miles a second.

Just as Linda sees Jerry go by, she sees two flashes of light at the same time. One is straight ahead of her, in the direction she is facing, and the other is directly behind her

measured it at 186,000 minus 100,000, or 86,000 miles a second? This all seems perfectly logical, because if two airplanes are each traveling 600 miles an hour and they pass each other, they each see the other going by at a rate of 1,200 miles an hour.

Later, back on Earth, Linda and Jerry meet and have this discussion:

LINDA: Remember when we passed each other out yonder the other day?

JERRY: Sure.

LINDA: Did you see those two stars explode both at once?

JERRY: Well, I saw them explode, but not both at once. One blew up directly ahead of me and then, quite awhile later, another one flared up directly behind me.

LINDA: Oh, of course. It *seemed* that way to

worked satisfactorily for two passing spaceships didn't fit speeds such as that of light.

In the first place, they were *both* right about the timing of the star explosions. Linda *did* see them simultaneously, and Jerry did not. This contradiction is neither optical illusion nor mental delusion—the observations could have been confirmed by cameras or other recording instruments.

Furthermore, both were correct in their measurements of the speed of light from the explosions—but both drew a *false* conclusion when they took that as proof that they were standing still. Experiments as long ago as the late nineteenth century had indicated that *no matter how fast you are going*, light will *always* be passing you at the same speed: 186,000 miles per second.

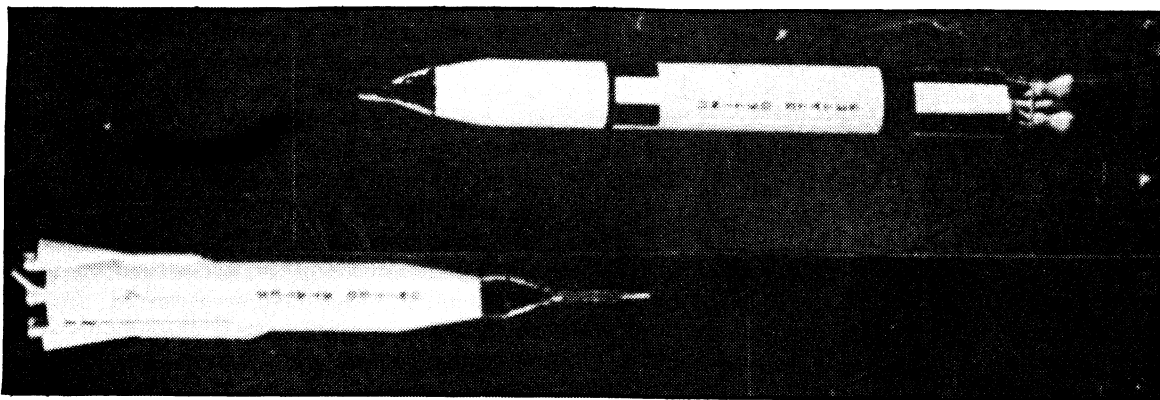
Is there any way to reconcile these paradoxical findings? Einstein began by recognizing that since you can't use measurement of the speed of light to determine whether or not you're "sitting still," then there is *no way* any object can be shown to be absolutely motionless. Any object's motion is only relative to the positions of other objects. Therefore, neither Jerry nor Linda can lay claim to having been still while the other was moving.

This means that neither can claim to have had an absolute vantage point from which to judge the timing of the exploding stars. Neither point of view was more valid than the other because *there is no privileged frame of reference* in the universe. Another way of saying this is that space is not absolute: all motion through space is relative.

Then how can we decide whether the star explosions were simultaneous or not? Einstein showed that we will have to abandon the whole concept of space-separated events happening simultaneously. The measurement of time, he discovered, varies with the motion of the measuring instrument. This means that for any two events A and B that are simultaneous to one observer, A may happen before B for another observer and B may happen before A for yet another, all depending upon their state of motion. Therefore there is no absolute time permeating the universe against which all events can be ordered.

The demise of simultaneity leads to a number of other apparent paradoxes that are startling from the standpoint of common sense. Many excellent popularizations of relativity theory and its consequences are available; two that are cited in this article are Bertrand Russell's *The ABC of Relativity* and *The Relativity Explosion* by Martin Gardner.

—C.C.



(she sees it in her rear-view mirror). Two distant stars have apparently exploded simultaneously.

Linda happens to have some very sensitive meters aboard and she can measure the speed of the light coming from both explosions. Her measurements tell her that from both directions the light was traveling at 186,000 miles per second, which is the speed at which light always travels through space.

From these facts, she concludes that when she and Jerry passed, she *really* was standing still and Jerry was moving 100,000 miles a second. She deduces this from the fact that the light flashes from both directions were going the same speed. If she had been moving in either direction, wouldn't the two speeds have been different?

If she had been moving 100,000 miles a second toward one of the stars, and the light from that star was coming at her at 186,000 miles a second, wouldn't she have measured it passing her at 186,000 plus 100,000, or 286,000 miles a second? Likewise, the light flash coming up from behind her: wouldn't she have

you because you were going so fast. It took the light behind you a while to catch up with your ship, and you were heading *into* the light from the other one, so that light got to you quicker.

JERRY: No, I think you're mistaken. I wasn't going fast at all. In fact, I was sitting still and I clocked *you* going by *me* at 100,000 miles a second. You see, I know I wasn't moving, because I measured the speed of the light from the two stars and both were moving at the same rate: 186,000 miles a second. So I was sitting still, and that means that the way *I* saw the two explosions—one after the other—was the way they *really* happened.

LINDA: But . . . how can that be? I measured the light, too, and got the same results!

What's the problem here? Was one set of instruments out of whack? No. Was one of the space travelers lying? No. The problem was that they had come up against the very paradox that Einstein confronted with his special theory of relativity. The rules that

view is the direct opposite of the first two—that “everything is knowable” is incompatible with “nothing is knowable.” But strange as it may seem, the two ideas are often combined. According to this viewpoint, learning the laws of matter in motion is merely describing the *behavior* of the material world. You can describe and even predict how galaxies or electrons or human beings will *behave* in any given situation, they would agree, but you cannot know what these things *are*. “What is the *essence* of a galaxy, electron, or human?” they ask. And since no amount of information ever finally and completely answers the question, they conclude: “Then you know nothing at all.”

Lenin was arguing against the phenomenological theory of knowledge in *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*. It exists in a number of variants and is part of many schools of thought: skepticism, agnosticism, empiricism, positivism, pragmatism, and so forth. One of the best-known popularizers of this viewpoint—and also a popularizer of relativity theory—was Bertrand Russell. He concludes his *ABC of Relativity* with a chapter entitled “Philosophical Consequences,” in which he discusses “what we know about the physical world.” He writes: “Between bodies there are occurrences, such as light-waves; of the *laws* of these occurrences we know something. . . but of their *nature* we know nothing.”¹⁸ He called this outlook “agnosticism,” from a Greek word meaning “to know nothing.”*

Dialectical materialism rejects this notion. The materialist aspect recognizes the external world not as illusion but as reality, about which humans can gain genuine knowledge of the nature of things through their senses, thought and practice. The dialectical approach recognizes that human knowledge itself is not static but in a continual state of *development*. According to this point of view, as science advances, human knowledge increases. As knowledge grows, it progresses closer and closer to what might be called “absolute truth.” But this “absolute truth” is like the horizon: the faster you approach it, the farther it recedes into the distance.

As opposed to Laplacian determinism, dialectical materialism holds that it is not possible to know “everything.” There will be no end to science; no matter how much is learned, more will remain to be learned.

But while the *unknown* is limitless, human knowledge likewise has no boundaries. There is no line that can be drawn beyond which human investigation into the nature of reality cannot pass.

Put as bluntly as possible: *We cannot know everything, but there is nothing that we cannot know.*† Paradoxical? Of course. But it expresses the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, and is fully confirmed by the development of modern science, and physics in particular.

Classical physics, guided by the spirit of Laplacian determinism, settled down into a centuries-long dogmatic period that retarded the search for new knowledge. After Einstein broke through the framework of Newtonian mechanics, science not only viewed the world differently, but began to view *itself* in a new light. The overthrow of Newton’s “ultimate” picture of reality led to the understanding that no such ultimate picture is attainable; only infinite progress toward it. This new attitude is the key feature that distinguishes modern physics from classical physics.

The agnostics focus on what has not yet been learned and raise it to an absolute. Einstein proved Newton wrong, did he not? Therefore Newton “knew nothing.” And might not some future theory prove Einstein’s wrong? Then Einstein “knew nothing.” By extension, any present or future theory can be surpassed, so we all will forever “know nothing.”

The fallacy in this line of reasoning is not hard to see. Newton knew plenty. And whatever remains valid in his laws is incorporated in

*One of the classical statements of this viewpoint was DuBois-Raymond’s 1872 treatise *On the Limits of the Knowledge of Nature*. Using the Latin equivalent of “agnostic,” DuBois-Raymond declared, “Ignoramus!”—we do not know (the nature of things). Furthermore, “Ignorabimus!”—we will *never* know. As the accidents of language have worked out, many people who would proudly declare themselves “agnostic” would deeply resent being called an “ignoramus.”¹⁹

†Lenin expresses this with more precision: “. . . the objective reality of the external world and of the laws of external nature. . . are fully knowable to man but can never be known to him *with finality*.”²⁰

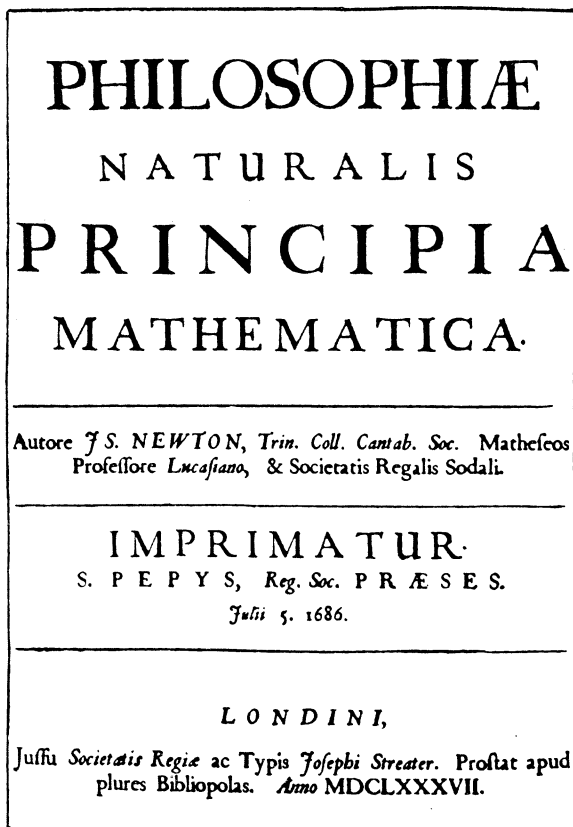
Einstein’s physics. Einstein’s relativistic mechanics reduce to Newtonian mechanics, except when speeds approaching that of light are involved. Einstein did not erase Newton’s knowledge, but he showed its limitations and extended it.

The mutual interpenetration of the two theories is testimony to the underlying unity of the different levels of material reality to which they apply. The microworld, the macroworld, and the cosmos are all one unified whole.

Inexhaustibility of the Electron

Perhaps the most dramatic confirmation of the limitlessness of scientific investigation has come in the field of particle physics. As a holdover from Laplacian determinism, the idea of subatomic particles as “the fundamental building blocks of matter” persists.* But as the search continues, it becomes clearer and clearer that no such building blocks exist.

First of all, the “elementary” particles are anything but elementary. (Nor, as we shall see,



The title page of Isaac Newton's 'Principia'

are they even “particles.”) Every advance in knowledge about them leads to a greater appreciation of their complexity, not of their elementariness. As one philosopher-physicist explained, the subatomic particle is an “infinitely complex reflection of the infinitely complex world.”²¹ Lenin, arguing against the idea that the electron was the ultimate level of matter, expressed this idea with a prophetic sentence that has since become the watchword of Soviet particle physics: “The electron is inexhaustible.”²²

First it was thought that *atoms* were the fundamental building blocks of matter. Then it was discovered that atoms consist of smaller particles—neutrons, protons, and electrons. So perhaps these are the building blocks? No, there is evidence that they, too, have internal structures and properties that cannot be considered fundamental.

It is now generally believed, for instance, that neutrons and protons and similar particles have within them other, more exotic particles called quarks.† Are these, then, the building blocks we have been searching for?

First of all, it would be false to say that the proton and neutron “consist of” *smaller* entities called quarks. The quarks that make up a single neutron or proton are each larger—more massive—than a neutron or proton. But how can a part be greater than the whole? Doesn’t it violate the principle of the conservation of mass?

*God in the beginning formed matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, moveable Particles. . . .—Isaac Newton, *Opticks*.

†A “free” quark has never been detected. There is disagreement over whether they can or cannot exist in the free state. Nonetheless, there is a great deal of experimental evidence that (1) there are subparticles “inside” protons and neutrons; and (2) these subparticles have the properties that have been predicted for quarks.

Yes, but it does not violate the higher principle discovered by Einstein: that of the conservation of mass and energy combined. To knock quarks out of neutrons or protons (if it is possible at all) would take an enormous amount of energy—more than the present generation of particle accelerators can produce. That energy would be converted to mass in the process of “splitting” a neutron or proton and would show up in the form of massive quarks.

In any event, if it requires adding energy to produce the quarks, can the quarks really be said to be parts of the neutron or proton? The whole concept of one entity “consisting of” other entities falls apart in the microworld. The common sense notions that we derive from experience with larger objects don’t help much.

The indisputable evidence that protons and neutrons have an inner structure provides an impressive confirmation of Lenin’s insight into modern physics. Compare, for example, the idea expressed in his aphorism, “The electron is inexhaustible” with this statement made fifty years later (but still five years before the quark idea was first suggested) by Werner Heisenberg, one of the greatest of the quantum theorists: “These elementary particles [neutrons, protons, etc.] are therefore in actual fact the last in the chain of units of matter. . . .”

Lenin, the dialectical materialist who had a lot of other things on his mind besides physics, saw far more clearly into the future of modern science than did Heisenberg, a giant of theoretical physics.*

The Wave-Particle Contradiction

As modern physics has penetrated deeper and deeper into the structure of matter, it has discovered greater complexity at every level. For every question answered, a dozen more are posed.†

The properties of subatomic particles themselves are so bizarre, by ordinary standards of thought, that they are completely beyond the realm of human imagination. They are not, strictly speaking, particles at all: they have the properties of continuous waves. Nor are they waves, for they have the properties of discrete particles.

How can a single entity—a neutron, for example—be both continuous and discrete at the same time? If this idea doesn’t startle you, you don’t understand it. It violates common sense. Try as you may, you cannot picture the wave-particle duality in your mind. Yet it exists. It represents an inherent contradiction in the structure of matter at a very fundamental level. One of the central principles of dialectical logic, of course, is that contradiction is inherent in everything that exists.

Matter, Substance, and Reality

The ephemeral nature of matter that this seems to suggest may bring forth the objection that this is not a materialist view at all. It is necessary to understand that materialism doesn’t require matter to exist in any *a priori* or single form—and least of all a form based on human prejudices and mental limitations. Materialism merely insists that matter, regardless of its form, exists independently of the mind.

That matter is multiform and has been found to exist in forms that are virtually impossible for the human mind to picture actually argues against idealist notions that give thought priority over the external world.

This was one of the main themes of Lenin’s *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*. When it was first learned that the electron, supposedly one of the “fundamental building blocks of matter,” was not a hard little sphere, but instead had the properties of an electric field, idealist thinkers rejoiced: “Matter has disappeared!”

Lenin pointed out that the new physics had

*On the inexhaustibility of the electron *per se* (although Lenin used the word as a metaphor for matter in general), it is interesting to see where particle theory has led. D.I. Blokhintsev explains that “the electron is ‘made up’ of electron-positron pairs. . . . we are used to considering a part less than the whole, but how can a positron-electron pair entering into the composition of an electron be less than the electron?”²⁴ Clearly, understanding the electron is no “elementary” task.

†Mysteries are proliferating faster than answers. A longstanding joke among physicists has it that nuclear particles are like onions—you strip off one layer and there’s always another one underneath.

“Who knows, there may really be no end to it,” Dr. Leon Lederman, director of Fermilab, remarked recently.—*New York Times*, September 2, 1979.



Left to right: Max Planck (1858-1947). Albert Einstein in patent office in Bern, Switzerland. Isaac Newton (1642-1727).

indeed dealt a blow to the rigid, mechanical school of materialism. But it was in perfect harmony with the dialectical materialist outlook, as developed with regard to natural science by Friedrich Engels and others.

Lenin showed that the idealists and mechanical materialists had given a shallow definition of matter, one which could easily be shown to have been disproved. It was false to identify matter with substance, or "hard stuff," or mass. "The concept matter," he explained, "implies *nothing* but objective reality existing independently of the human mind and reflected by it."²⁵ The fact that matter takes forms on the subatomic level that were not predicted by classical physics makes it no less material.

"Matter disappears," Lenin concluded, "means that the limit within which we have hitherto known matter disappears and that our knowledge is penetrating deeper."

The Categories

Beginning with Aristotle, philosophers have tried to come to grips with reality through the device of categories. Aristotle thought all of existence could be understood in terms of ten such categories: substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, posture, state, action, and passion.

Subsequent philosophers devised new systems with differing lists of basic categories. But they held in common that the categories were fixed and eternal, and the boundaries between categories could not be crossed. For Kant as well as Aristotle, for example, space and time were absolute, immutable categories.

Hegel's dialectical logic, however, treated categories in a different way—not as fixed, rigid divisions, but as flexible and connected with each other.* Lenin agreed: "... if *everything* develops, then doesn't this refer to the most general *concepts* and categories of thought as well? If it doesn't, that means thinking is not connected with being. If it does, then it means that there is a dialectic of concepts and a dialectic of knowledge having an objective significance."²⁶

The history of scientific progress illustrates this principle well. There were five basic categories of investigation, for example, in classical physics: mechanics, electricity, magnetism, optics, and thermodynamics.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, thermodynamics and mechanics were found to have a common basis. Then James Clerk Maxwell showed that light was an electromagnetic wave, thus uniting optics, electricity, and magnetism into one unified theory.

Engels, in *Dialectics of Nature*, wrote that "mechanical energy, heat, light, electricity, magnetism, indeed even so-called chemical energy, become transformed into one another under definite conditions."²⁷

But it still remained for Einstein to overcome a major contradiction separating classical Newtonian mechanics and Maxwell's electromagnetic theory. Relativity theory accomplished just that. In order to do so, barriers separating even more fundamental categories had to fall.

First was Einstein's combination of space and time. Where two "immutable" categories had stood for millenia, only one remained.

The two Aristotelian categories "substance" and "action"—in modern terms, "mass" and "energy"—were likewise amalgamated by Einstein into the single unified concept of "mass-energy."

It is not correct to interpret this kind of unification as meaning there is "no difference" between mass and energy. What it means is that Einstein was able to attribute all properties of both mass and energy to a single underlying reality. By way of analogy, ice and water are certainly different, but both have a common molecular basis and can be transformed into each other. Likewise, mass is not energy and energy is not mass, but we know that they are equivalent—two different aspects of the "same thing," like the two sides of a coin.

Einstein's lifelong passion was a continuous pursuit of a single theory that could account for all fundamental physical phenomena. As noted earlier, having joined space with time and mass with energy, he sought to further combine space-time with mass-energy. His quest was for a unified field theory that would give a single explanation for the two basic forces of nature: gravity and electromagnetism.*

He never succeeded, in spite of several decades of effort. In the meantime, the other side of the dialectical nature of categories asserted itself; that is, the creation of new categories. Research into subatomic particles revealed two new basic forces of nature deep inside the atomic nucleus. So physicists who are continuing Einstein's quest for a unified field theory must now contend

with four distinct forces rather than two.* The material world will never run out of surprises for those who probe its secrets.

'Only Equations Remain'

The idealist interpretation of the electron took one particular form that Lenin summed up as "Matter disappears; only equations remain." According to this idea (which was held by Plato and before him by the Pythagoreans) the ultimate reality is not material at all, but is mathematical relationships, or "symmetries." In recent years this notion has been most articulately argued by quantum theorist Werner Heisenberg:

"One may say that the most recent development of physics has turned from the philosophy of Democritus back to the philosophy of Plato. In fact it was Plato's conviction that when we divide matter over and over again we finally end up not at smallest particles but at mathematical objects defined by their symmetry, the Platonic bodies and the underlying triangles. The particles in present-day physics are mathematical representatives of the fundamental symmetries."²⁸

Lenin revealed the source of this argument (as it applies to modern physics) fifty years earlier. He pointed out that the deeper we probe into the microworld, the "stranger" seem the results. Finally we reach a point where the language and mental pictures of our everyday experience are no longer useful. But microphenomena can still be described in the language of mathematics, which becomes progressively more abstract. Unable to imagine what the microworld "looks like,"† the theoreticians fall into the lazy mental habit of imagining that the things they are studying are nothing more than the mathematical formulas that represent them.

But where did mathematics come from in the first place? Is it a pure product of human thought? Not at all—beginning with the act of

*The two newly discovered forces have been named the "strong force" and the "weak force." The *strong force* is that which binds protons and neutrons together to form atomic nuclei. It also holds quarks together to form the protons and neutrons. The *weak force* is that which brings about all particle transformations known in modern physics; for example, the decay of a free neutron into a proton, an electron, and an antineutrino. Theorists also now suspect the existence of a fifth force.

†It doesn't have an "appearance" at all in the optical sense, since the scale of distances involved is far smaller than the wavelength of visible light and therefore provides no basis for the reflection of light waves.

*Hegel, for example, incorporated two of Aristotle's categories into one of the basic elements of his logic: the law of transformation of quantity into quality.

*Space-time and mass-energy would then presumably be shown to be aspects of the unified field.

counting, the basis of all mathematics is *abstracted from the material world*, however far it develops on its own account.

Geometry provides a good example. The principles of geometry formulated by Euclid more than two thousand years ago were abstracted from the shapes and dimensions of familiar things in the human environment.* The word "geometry" itself meant "earth measurement." But over time the Euclidean system seemed to take on an independent reality of its own. Its material base was forgotten. It was assumed to be valid throughout the reaches of outer space, although nobody had ever been able to check measurements between galaxies. The universal truth of Euclidean geometry was taken to be self-evident—a *priori*.

Einstein brought it back to earth. Relativity theory revealed that other, non-Euclidean geometries would be necessary in order to "measure space."

No clearer demonstration could be given that matter has priority over mathematics. The micro-world, "bizarre" though it may appear to us, is material. That its motion can be described in mathematical formulas is proof of its lawfulness, its regularity, and its essential unity with the material world as a whole.

Einstein and Quantum Theory

As previously mentioned, Einstein was one of the key contributors to the development of quantum theory in 1905. The initial step had been taken in 1900 by Max Planck, who first proposed that electromagnetic energy, which was known to be transmitted as continuous waves, could only be emitted or absorbed in certain specific amounts, which he called "quanta." He still believed that energy could *exist* in an infinite, continuous range of amounts. Einstein's contribution was to show that the latter assumption wasn't true—that electromagnetic "waves" (light, for example) actually came in little quantum packages (photons) and could exist no other way. This was a mind-boggling conception—the birth of the "wave-particle duality" that has since been found to characterize all microentities.

But quantum theory still had (and still has today) a long path of development ahead, bringing even greater surprises. Perhaps the most unexpected of all was the discovery of the indeterminacy principle by Werner Heisenberg, who

much sense to say that an electron has a trajectory.

"But how does it get from here to there if it doesn't have a trajectory?" common sense demands. If, however, you have already accepted that the electron is not a tiny little cannonball, but possesses the qualities of "wave-particle duality," then it should not be surprising to learn that it doesn't travel like a cannonball. A wave-particle duality simply does not have a position and momentum in the same well-defined sense that a cannonball does.

This is not to say that the motion of electrons does not follow any rules. It does, and the rules can be stated mathematically. But unlike the motion of classical physics, the equations are not the kind that produce a single, unique solution. The mathematical laws of electron motion are statistical. That is to say, the future motion of a large number of electrons can be predicted with great accuracy, but the motion of an individual electron includes an element of probability and can only be predicted to fall within certain limits. This discovery was something truly new to science.*

Limits of Indeterminacy

Idealist philosophers (and Heisenberg was one of them) had a field day. They interpreted indeterminacy as meaning that an electron *does not exist* until it is actually detected by a measuring device. Just like the sound of the old "tree falling in the forest," unless its presence makes itself known to human subjects, it cannot be said to exist.

Furthermore, they announced the end of causality. If the motion of the "fundamental building blocks of matter" is indeterminate, then the motion of all matter must be more or less random and unpredictable. ("You think you can predict an economic depression? Why, you can't even predict where an electron will be two seconds from now!")

Trying to extend indeterminacy upward into the macroworld, of course, is as false as the previous error of trying to extend Newtonian mechanics downward into the microworld. The effect of quantum indeterminacy on cannonballs is completely negligible.

The idealist interpretation of quantum theory was defended by a group of prominent physicists centered in Copenhagen. A graphic example of

atom's nucleus decays. The mechanism will then break the vial and kill the cat.

Now, suppose the atom is of a kind that has a half-life of one hour. That means that the odds are 50-50 that it will have decayed by the end of the first hour. The question is: At the end of that hour is the cat dead or alive?

The cat, of course, must be either dead or alive. But the Copenhagen school would disagree. If you don't look to see, they would argue, then the cat is neither dead nor alive, but is in an *indeterminate* state of 50 percent probability of being dead. If you peek in and see a dead cat, the probability that the cat is dead suddenly jumps from 50 percent to 100 percent. The cat's status was made *determinate*, not by the cyanide, but by the experimenter's act of looking to see.

The idea that a real cat's life could be "indeterminate" just because human intelligence is unable to determine whether it is alive or dead is, from a materialist viewpoint, arrant nonsense. Again, there has been a false attempt to extend the laws of one level of physical nature (the microworld) to another (the macroworld). This error is so commonplace that it has its own name: reductionism.

But it is important not to make the same reductionist error in the opposite direction. "Schrödinger's cat" reveals a false view of causality in the macroworld, but that should not be allowed to prejudice our view of the microworld. There the basic question still remains: Is subatomic motion really indeterminate *in principle*? Are statistical laws the best we can ever hope to achieve in answering questions such as when a particular U-238 nucleus will decay, or where a particular electron is going?

Einstein said no. He recognized and accepted the great scientific value of quantum theory, including indeterminacy. But he refused to accept it as final. He believed physical reality to be such that a subatomic particle must have a precise position and a precise momentum at the same time. If quantum theory could not account for it, he thought, it must be an incomplete theory. He defended this position in a decades-long debate with another quantum theory pioneer, Niels Bohr.

The Nature of Motion

As the evidence mounted, general opinion among physicists sided with Bohr. The statistical nature of motion in the microworld seemed to be real in and of itself, and not just a function of our lack of knowledge about it. Einstein came to be regarded among physicists as somewhat behind the times for clinging to his old-fashioned idea of determinism.

This question is still moot at the frontiers of human knowledge, and it would be presumptuous, to put it mildly, for non-physicists to prejudge the answer. But it is certainly legitimate to consider the opinions of specialists in the field.

P.A.M. Dirac, the quantum theorist who discovered antimatter, said in 1975:

"I think it might turn out that ultimately Einstein will prove to be right, because the present form of quantum mechanics should not be considered as the final form. . . . I think that it is quite likely that at some future time we may get an improved quantum mechanics in which there will be a return to determinism and which will, therefore, justify Einstein's point of view. But," he predicted, "such a return to determinism could only be made at the expense of giving up some other basic idea which we now assume without question."³⁰

On the other hand, it should be noted that many Soviet physicists, including conscious, sophisticated dialectical materialists,* do not consider indeterminacy to be inconsistent with materialism.

Indeterminacy clearly rules out Laplacian determinism. But dialectical materialists had rejected that long before most physicists had. The key question is: Why must causation be limited to the direct, dynamical cause-effect form we are familiar with? Why can't causation also take a statistical, probabilistic form, as it does in the microworld?

As one author has pointed out: ". . . in discussing causation, the matter of predictability is the central issue." The quantum theory "allows us to make definitive predictions not about individual

*Contrary to popular opinion, dialectical materialism in the Soviet Union has not been snuffed out by Stalinist hacks. It is alive and well, especially in the physical sciences.³¹



'Modern physics is in travail; it is giving birth to dialectical materialism.'

—V.I. Lenin

we have met twice before in this article.

The indeterminacy principle states that you can determine either the *position* (location) of a microparticle or you can determine its *momentum* (state of motion), but you *cannot* determine *both* at the same time. In classical physics, you can predict the future trajectory of a cannonball if you know its position and momentum at any given instant. But the indeterminacy principle shows that you cannot predict the trajectory of, say, an electron. In fact, it doesn't even make

the Copenhagen school's outlook has become known as "Schrödinger's cat."

Erwin Schrödinger noted that one consequence of indeterminacy is that it is impossible to predict the exact instant at which a radioactive nucleus will decay. The statistical average for any specific kind of atom (say, uranium 238) is well known, but it is *unknown* whether any individual U-238 nucleus will decay within the next second or ten million years from now.

So Schrödinger made this proposal: Suppose we put a cat in a closed room with a vial of cyanide. Then we put a radioactive atom in a detector that will trigger a mechanism when the

*"The historical origin of geometry, which goes back to the Egyptians, supplies one of the many instances in which intellectual discoveries have grown from material needs. The annual floods of the Nile which fertilized the soil of Egypt brought trouble to landowners: the borderlines of their estates were destroyed every year and had to be reestablished by means of geometrical measurements. The geographical and social conditions of their country, therefore, compelled the Egyptians to invent the art of surveying. Geometry thus arose as an empirical science, whose laws were the results of observations."²⁹

*The formulation of scientific laws in terms of probability and statistics was not new. The kinetic theory of gases, for example, described statistical regularities of a gas that are virtually independent of the irregular motions of its individual molecules. What was new was that the probability of electron motion was considered to be an inherent property of individual electrons and not an "averaging out" of the motions of large numbers of electrons.

Carter, Thai army step up threats

Kampuchea gains ground against famine

By Fred Feldman

Despite intense pressure from imperialist-backed forces along the Thai border, and despite the denial of aid by the U.S. and its allies, Kampuchea (Cambodia) is beginning to make some headway in its battle against famine.

Pnompénh now has markets where locally produced rice and vegetables can be obtained, according to Dr. Kirk G. Alliman, an official in the Church World Services office of the U.S. National Council of Churches. Alliman saw rice being widely cultivated in the countryside.

"The people are far from adequately nourished, but there is a more plentiful supply of food than in the past," he said in the November 28 *New York Times*.

The growth of agricultural production reflects the ability of the Heng Samrin government to protect the countryside from raids by Pol Pot forces and other rightist groups. The scorched-earth policy adopted by retreating Pol Pot forces was a major cause of the famine.

The rebirth of Pnompénh symbolizes Kampuchea's tortured recovery from a decade of imperialist bombing, civil war, and tyranny. About 70,000 people now live in the core of the city, with many more camped on the outskirts.

"Public services are beginning," wrote Henry Kamm in the November 14 *New York Times*, "there is electricity most of the time and water two hours each morning and evening. Factories are preparing for resumption of work, although it is acknowledged that no raw material is available for them."

Hunger remains the overriding danger, Dr. Nouth Savoeun, who describes himself as Kampuchea's only surviving pediatrician, told Kamm. He said "that the state of health of the Cambodian people was 'precarious.' His hospital, the largest in the country, has about 600 patients and only 577 beds. . . . The maladies of malnutrition are the principal illnesses, the doctor said."

Kamm described "constant hunger for civilians," and near starvation for thousands of unemployed peasants camped in and around the city. And Dr. Nouth Savoeun estimated that the food situation was much worse in parts of the countryside.

Aid from Vietnam

Given the grave difficulties of life today in Kampuchea, the unanimity with which its citizens express a preference for the present regime over that of Pol Pot is striking. The same preference is reflected even by the thousands forced to seek refuge in Thailand by war and famine.

"We need the Vietnamese because we have nothing else with which to counter Pol Pot," a French educated intellectual told Kamm in Pnompénh. "We have no army. Without them. . . ." He completed the sentence with a gesture of cutting his throat.

Massive aid from Vietnam has been a major factor in making possible Kampuchea's bare survival. Although Vietnam is itself afflicted with food shortages, massive malnutrition, and scarcity of almost all goods, the government has provided 120,000 tons of food, 10,000 tons of seeds, and quantities of medicine and agricultural implements to Kampuchea.

Vietnamese provinces have adopted sister provinces in Kampuchea, donating rice, pots, and paper and pencils to help reestablish education.

Laos, only beginning to emerge from a brutal civil war with CIA-organized rightist armies in the northwest, has sent \$2 million in aid to Kampuchea, including 500 tons of rice.

The pressure of world public opinion demanding help for Kampuchea has had an impact on the Soviet rulers as



For nearly a decade U.S. bombers rained death on Indochina. Now U.S. military personnel in Thailand are again preparing Thai air bases for B-52 bombers.

well. According to the November 27 *Daily World*, the U.S. Communist Party daily, the USSR has provided 159,000 tons of food to Kampuchea, barely more than famine-threatened Vietnam.

Imperialist obstructions

Kampuchea needs much more help than this to establish a viable society. But the response of the imperialist powers has been to continue to obstruct aid.

"Humanitarian aid" is being used as a cover for stepping up assistance to Pol Pot and his rightist allies. (The U.S. alone has 400,000 tons of surplus rice in storage—more than enough to wipe out the danger of starvation in Kampuchea overnight.)

The Carter administration is keeping up a drumfire of propaganda against Pnompénh. Carter charged December 6 that "the flow of aid is deliberately blocked and obstructed by the Vietnamese and Heng Samrin authorities."

Carter demanded the "opening of all routes for supplies to enter Cambodia." This was a repetition of Carter's insistence that Kampuchea open its western border to a truck convoy from Thailand—a transparent cover for stepped-up Thai-U.S. military support and aid to Pol Pot's forces.

Carter struck an ominous note, suggesting that rejection of this demand by Pnompénh would "feed the flames of war."

Much-publicized visits by Rosalynn Carter, Joan Baez, and others to refugee camps near the Thai border have aimed at centering public attention and international aid on "saving the refugees"—in reality saving the badly battered military units opposed to Heng Samrin, which control many camps.

The aid program is also intended to draw hungry Kampucheans into the border area, where they are virtually held prisoner, terrorized, and starved by rightist gangs.

Rightist-controlled camps

Two such camps are run by In Sakhan and "Prince Norodom Soryavong"—who is given to making the Nazi salute and issuing open calls for CIA assistance. Aid funnelled to these camps goes to keep their armed units in trim. In the November 27 *New York*

Times, Kamm noted that most refugees in these camps "expressed a longing to go to a place where their food supply would be sure and medical attention relatively easy to obtain. . . ."

"Armed men are in sufficient evidence to intimidate the refugees, who are undernourished, often ill and visibly terrorized."

The situation is no better for the tens of thousands of civilian captives in camps controlled by Pol Pot. Yamada, a correspondent for the Tokyo daily *Yomiuri Shimbun*, reported in the November 17 issue on a "supply/transshipment base of the Pol Pot forces in Kampuchean territory" near the Thai border.

The first thing I observed was on the Thai side of the border: a newly built rice storage shed with a galvanized steel roof. It was piled high with sacks of rice marked "World Food Project." There appeared to be more than seventy tons in all. But the people guarding the shed looked like Pol Pot soldiers. . . .

For a Pol Pot contingent of at most about 1,000 soldiers, the 70 tons of rice in the storage shed would constitute at least a five-month supply of food.

There has already been criticism that much of the international relief supplies sent here are going to soldiers rather than to the masses of civilians. Such criticisms are corroborated by what I witnessed.

Aid diverted

Frederic A. Moritz reported in the November 28 *Christian Science Monitor* that medical aid supposedly intended for refugees is similarly diverted:

"A medical team comes to the Thai border to treat what it thinks will be sick Khmer children. Instead it ends up as a field dressing station for Khmer Rouge soldiers with bullet wounds. The healed go back to fight."

The United Nations and the International Red Cross are directly complicit in this aid to imperialist-backed forces, and the denial of aid to thousands of refugees—not to mention the great bulk of Kampucheans living under the Heng Samrin government.

This is the primary purpose of their continued recognition of the Pol Pot regime and refusal to recognize Heng Samrin—a refusal that goes to the point of excluding representatives of the Pnompénh regime from international gatherings on the food crisis in Kampuchea.

The Thai regime is now threatening to dismantle the camps of "Prince Norodom Soryavong," the rightist Khmer Serei, and pro-Sihanouk rightists, and move the refugees to new camps further from the border and under Thai control. This reflects their judgment that these forces are incapable of effective resistance to a sustained attack by Pnompénh forces.

Collaboration with Pol Pot

By contrast, collaboration between the Thai regime and the Pol Pot forces has become closer. In an Associated Press dispatch from Marker 53, Thailand, Seth Mydans reported:

Officially neutral Thailand is allowing anti-Vietnamese Cambodian troops to run a supply base on its territory and Thai troops are coordinating with them in activities along the Thai-Cambodian border.

An Associated Press reporter and photographer were taken last week on a 15-man Thai marine border patrol. . . .

The Pol Pot soldiers served as guides for the Thai patrol, communicating with the Thai captain by whistling when they plunged ahead into the jungle.

The supply camp was guarded by armed Pol Pot soldiers, and armed Pol Pot forces were in a Thai marine camp a few hundred yards away, reported Mydans.

U.S. troops

As the Thai army steps up military actions with Pol Pot's troops, U.S. military advisers are pouring into Thailand.

Writing from Bangkok in the December 2 *Manchester Guardian*, Robert Whyment reported that "Analysts in one Asian embassy here talk of Americans arriving steadily ever since Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia. . . . These sources say the influx includes U.S. Army, Air Force, and Navy personnel (in civilian attire) and a large contingent of CIA specialists."

He described the appearance of about 100 Americans at the U Tapao and Sattahip bases in southern Thailand. "These adjacent bases have received U.S. Air Force logistics and support personnel preparing ground systems in readiness for a squadron of B-52s."

B-52 bombers laid waste much of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia during the last Indochina war.

Nicaragua: a revolution of the young

By Janice Lynn

To anyone who has seen newspaper photos or television films of Nicaragua this year, one thing stands out. This is a revolution of the young.

Nicaraguan teenagers were among the most heroic fighters in the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship last July. Even nine- and ten-year-olds took up arms to win their country's freedom.

Thousands of them were killed by Somoza's National Guard and by the indiscriminate bombing the dictator used to devastate the country when he saw his rule crumbling.

And today, the young fighters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) are the heart of the revolutionary government that is seeking to build a new Nicaragua.

The courage of the Nicaraguan youth is an inspiration to young people around the world. But even more inspiring is the example Nicaragua is setting of the future that can be opened up for youth in a society that puts human needs first, not capitalist profits.

In the United States—the richest country in the world—young people face grim prospects. Education is slashed in both quality and quantity while the government squanders billions of dollars on the military. There is no hope of steady employment for millions of youth, especially Blacks and Latinos. And the threat of being drafted to fight and die for the oil companies' interests in the Middle East is closer than ever.

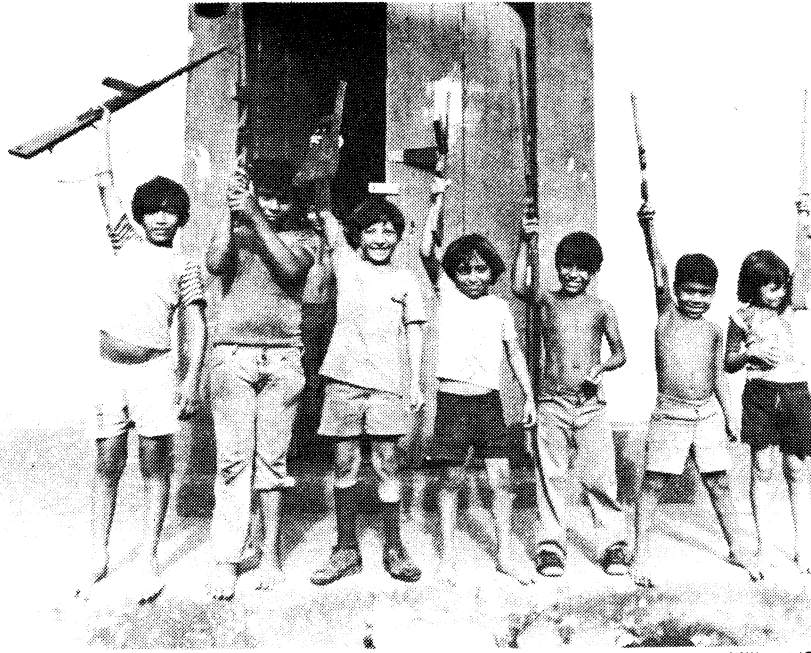
In Nicaragua—a small, poor country devastated by war—education and other social needs are put in first place. Nicaraguan youth are mobilizing to teach and to learn in the country's ambitious literacy campaign.

The Sandinista Defense Committees in the neighborhoods and Sandinista-led unions in the workplaces are organizing working people to run society in their own interests.

Unemployment remains high because of Somoza's vindictive destruction of industry and because the U.S. government refuses to make available the aid that is needed. But as Nicaragua struggles to reconstruct, its Bill of Rights has put the right of everyone to a job as a top priority.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance throughout this country have dedicated themselves to getting out the truth and building support for the Nicaraguan revolution.

YSA National Chairperson Cathy



Militant/Gary Bridges

Proud to be Sandinistas. Nicaraguan youth, who took up arms to win their country's freedom, are now involved in campaigns for literacy and reconstruction.

Sedwick visited Nicaragua in September to see first-hand the advances made by the revolutionary youth. Since then, she has criss-crossed the country speaking out on the need for massive aid to Nicaragua and showing slides of Nicaragua's efforts to rebuild.

"For youth in the United States," Sedwick says, "there is no more important task at this time than organizing the broadest possible campaign for emergency material aid to the Nicaraguan people."

"If we can force Carter to send aid," Sedwick explains, it will be that much more difficult for him to turn around the next morning and send in the marines. And you know who would be the first to go—young people, especially Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican youth.

"But our interests lie with the youth of Nicaragua, with their struggle for social and economic justice and freedom from U.S. domination."

YSA members from around the coun-

try attended the November conference of the National Network in Solidarity with Nicaragua and have been participating in local committees.

The Ann Arbor, Michigan, Committee for Human Rights in Latin America is one of those that has embarked on an ambitious campaign to send money, food, and medicine to Nicaragua. Film showings, forums, and literature tables on campus have raised several hundred dollars. An additional \$230 was raised at a benefit concert and poetry reading.

Such funds are sent to Humanitarian Aid for Nicaraguan Democracy (HAND), which forwards all contributions to Nicaragua.

Solidarity with Nicaragua will be a major focus of the upcoming YSA national convention, to be held in Louisville, Kentucky, December 29-January 1.

There will be a major report on Nicaragua the first day, with discussion and workshops. In addition, a new slide show with commentary by recent visitors to Nicaragua, including Socialist Workers Party leader Pedro Camejo, will be a special feature of the convention.

Young socialists will also be discussing how best to build a movement against U.S. military intervention in Iran and in defense of Iranian students against racist harassment and deportation.

If you are interested in participating in the YSA convention, just clip the coupon below.

Socialist youth pledge Nicaragua aid

An appeal to all youth groups around the world was issued in November by the following socialist youth organizations:

Young Socialist Alliance—United States; Socialistische Jonge Wacht—Belgium; Young Socialist Group—Hong Kong; Socialist Youth Alliance—Australia; Communist Youth League—Japan; Young Socialists—New Zealand; Jeunes Communistes Revolutionnaires—France; and Juventud Comunista Revolucionaria—Spain.

Below are excerpts.

The revolutionary youth orga-

nized in political solidarity with the Fourth International around the world hail the tremendous victory of the Nicaraguan people led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) over the bloody Somoza dictatorship.

The victory of the Nicaraguan people and the youth is our victory, too.

In the Sandinista Defense Committees, in the workers' unions and peasant associations, in the massive literacy and health campaigns, in the popular militias and the new revolutionary army, it is the young generation who are shouldering the greatest responsibility for rebuilding Nicaragua in

the interests of the workers and peasants.

We pledge to work within the labor, student, and women's movements to obtain political and material aid for Nicaragua, and we call on all the organizations who speak on behalf of the workers, the youth, and the peasants to build a united front to defend the Nicaraguan revolution in every country.

The youth of Nicaragua are showing the way to liberate the oppressed from the heel of tyranny and social injustice. In return, youth everywhere who want to fight for the future of humanity must come to the aid and defense of this revolution.

19th National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance

Come to Louisville December 29-January 1
Galt House

Hands Off Iran!

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally

Hear:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president
Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president
Héctor Marroquín, YSA leader fighting for political asylum

Sunday, December 30

8:30 p.m.

Galt House, Archibald Room
(Fourth St. at River)
Louisville, Kentucky

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
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☐ I want to join the YSA
☐ Send me more information on the YSA convention
☐ I want to subscribe to the 'Young Socialist' (\$2 for one year)

Clip and mail to YSA National Office, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Saturday, December 29

8:00 a.m. Registration
12:30 p.m. Welcoming Session
1:00 p.m. Defense of Nicaraguan Revolution Report
5:00 p.m. Greetings from Iran
7:30 p.m. Expansion of the Socialist Movement (slides from Iran and Nicaragua)
9:30 p.m. Disco/Movie

Sunday, December 30

9:00 a.m. Trade Union Workshops
11:00 a.m. Radicalization of the American Working Class and Tasks of the YSA Report
8:30 p.m. Socialist Campaign Rally
10:30 p.m. Disco/Movie

Monday, December 31

9:00 a.m. YSA Support for 1980 SWP Election Campaign Report
5:00 p.m. Workshops
9:30 p.m. New Year's Eve Party

Clash looming ahead

Nicaraguan capitalists attack FSLN policies

By Pedro Camejo

MANAGUA—As 1979 draws to a close, the Nicaraguan revolution faces a period of important decisions for the coming year.

The entire cabinet has resigned to free the hand of the five-member government junta led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to make new appointments "according to the conveniences and necessities of the Sandinista revolutionary process."

A major debate in government circles over an economic plan for 1980 has begun breaking into the public.

Much of that discussion is centering on economic prospects for the first five months of 1980. Orlando Núñez, a member of the Coordinating Commission of National Planning, explained in the December 7 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* that January to May is the dry season, when it is impossible to plant crops. Normally there is a sharp increase in unemployment during this period.

By January the coffee crop will be entirely picked, and agricultural workers would traditionally turn to picking cotton. But this year there will be virtually no cotton crop—because planting time came during the civil war, very little cotton was sown.

As a result the already extremely high level of unemployment is expected to climb.

Public works

Public works programs are now under way to alleviate some of this unemployment. One of the most visible, involving hundreds of workers, is in the center of Managua, where the 1972 earthquake totally leveled a large area.

A huge recreation area is now being built there for the children of Managua. Rebuilding the center of Managua and the creation of new jobs is having a quite profound and positive impact on popular morale here.

The 1980 economic plan must be an emergency plan to help the Nicaraguan people make it through a very difficult period for the revolution. Nicaragua is still suffering under the destruction left by Somoza's bombing of factories and other workplaces.

Capitalists stall on production

The Sandinista-led Government of National Reconstruction has offered concessions to sectors of the bourgeoisie, seeking their aid in reviving needed production.

However, since the new government is based on the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, and has already instituted sweeping measures in their interests, the bourgeoisie is dragging its feet. Reactivating production inevitably requires new investment, and the capitalists are not eager to lay out large sums unless they are confident of a profit.

As Núñez expresses it, "... a great part of Nicaragua's businessmen have left the country, and those who stayed still vacillate before reactivating their activities. All this results in less production."

Although an important part of the economy—both in agriculture and industry—has been nationalized, it is impossible to initiate production simply by decree. A forced march of total nationalization at this point would result in a further drop of production.

While recognizing the resulting need to grant concessions to sectors of the capitalist class, the FSLN-led government has made clear that the national economic plan must focus on the needs of the majority, and that control of the broad direction of the economy must remain with the government.

Capitalist demands

The capitalists are not satisfied with the current arrangement. They insist



Workers of FSLN trade union federation march in enormous nationwide rally on November 7. Nicaraguan capitalists fear growing organization of Sandinista-led masses.

that before they can really be confident in the future, there must be a basic change in policy and governmental structure.

Essentially, the capitalists want to function as full partners in the government. They demand a long-range commitment to protect private property and profits.

They want to break the hold of the FSLN over governmental decision-making power and reverse the growing political role of the neighborhood committees, unions, and other mass organizations that arose during the fight against Somoza.

These demands by the capitalist class were made explicit in a formal document presented to the Nicaraguan government November 14 and made public by the Managua bourgeois daily *La Prensa* December 8.

It is presented in the name of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), which includes the Nicaraguan Development Institute, the Confederation of Chambers of Commerce of Nicaragua, the Association of Agricultural Producers, Chamber of Industry of Nicaragua, and the Confederation of Professional Associations of Nicaragua.

Although much of the document is written in somewhat coded language, it is the most important and clearest presentation of the position of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie to date.

The document begins by complaining about the two decision-making organs of the present revolutionary power in Nicaragua—the five-person junta, three of whom are Sandinistas, and the FSLN's nine-member National Directorate. Its message is that the FSLN has not lived up to the agreement codified in the July 9, 1979, Program of Government, issued prior to the fall of Somoza. It says that the FSLN and junta have "unilaterally altered" the original accord.

The July 9 program

The July 9 plan was to have established three governmental bodies: the junta of five members, a thirty-three member Council of State, and a Supreme Court.

The Council of State was to have been largely composed of representa-

tives of bourgeois institutions and parties. It could have overruled junta decisions by a two-thirds vote and issued decrees over the head of the junta by the same margin, and it was supposed to draw up what the capitalists hoped would be a bourgeois-democratic constitution.

The Supreme Court, whose function would have been to enforce this constitution, was to have served as another check on any "unconstitutional" measures undertaken by the FSLN, the junta, or the Nicaraguan masses.

If implemented, the July 9 plan would have put in place a government heavily influenced by a small minority—the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. The FSLN agreed to this arrangement, believing that the relationship of class forces after Somoza's departure would dictate such a course.

But the massive intervention of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants in the June and July 1979 battles that toppled the dictatorship, culminating in the tumultuous July 19 urban insurrection in Managua, radically altered the class relationship of forces. And the insurgent toilers got a chance to contrast the courage and tenacity of the FSLN to the vacillation and hesitations of the bourgeois opposition, and draw the appropriate conclusions.

Mandate of masses

As a result, the FSLN became the decisive political force after July 19. It took the mandate of the masses to begin constructing a government in the interests of the majority, not the moneyed minority.

The convocation of the Council of State has now been postponed by the junta until May 1980, and the Supreme Court's jurisdiction has been limited to routine matters such as divorce cases.

While according to the July 9 program the new army was to have included sections of the ousted National Guard, it is in fact based entirely on those who fought to overthrow Somoza.

Neighborhood committees, called the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), gained in strength and confidence, along with other mass organizations—the Sandinista trade unions, peasant organizations, and organizations of

women and youth.

In postponing the Council of State, the FSLN has also stated that it will be "restructured" to properly represent the majority—the workers and peasants. The Sandinistas have called for it to be based on the mass organizations. In this, the FSLN has the overwhelming support of the masses.

Council of State

This is exactly the point that the COSEP document attacks. While they concede that it is all right to allow representation to "those sectors that were traditionally without voice and influence," they consider it "wrong to excessively concentrate the power in one political group or party."

By this they mean that it is wrong to place power in the hands of the workers and peasants organizations, which they correctly associate with the FSLN. The document calls this "State-Party" confusion.

"The private sector feels it is absent from the decisions of the government," COSEP continues. "That situation is prejudicial for everyone. . . ."

In contrast to this opinion of the bourgeoisie, the main governmental slogan popular among the Nicaraguan masses is "Workers and Peasants to Power." There has been no groundswell of support for bourgeois representation; this demand is voiced only by a small circle of capitalist politicians and institutions.

In a section titled "Judicial Vacuum," the COSEP document complains that the Supreme Court has not been functional. It also expresses concern over possible "excesses" in the upcoming trials of some 7,000 Somozaist criminals—even though the defendants have been guaranteed full legal rights, including the right to appeal.

COSEP also complains that the rights of private property have not been accorded the treatment assured in the July 9 document.

Anti-'Sandinista'

COSEP's document reflects an acute class instinct when it objects to calling institutions of the state and government, especially the army and police, "Sandinista."

Continued on next page

FSLN insists on workers & peasants rights

By Fred Murphy

The Sandinista-led mass organizations and trade unions in Nicaragua have backed up the revolutionary government's October 22 decision to "restructure" the Council of State and postpone its convocation until May 1980.

In a series of statements issued in early November, the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Field Workers Association (ATC), and July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS19J) all issued strong calls for the Council of State to be fully representative of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants and their interests.

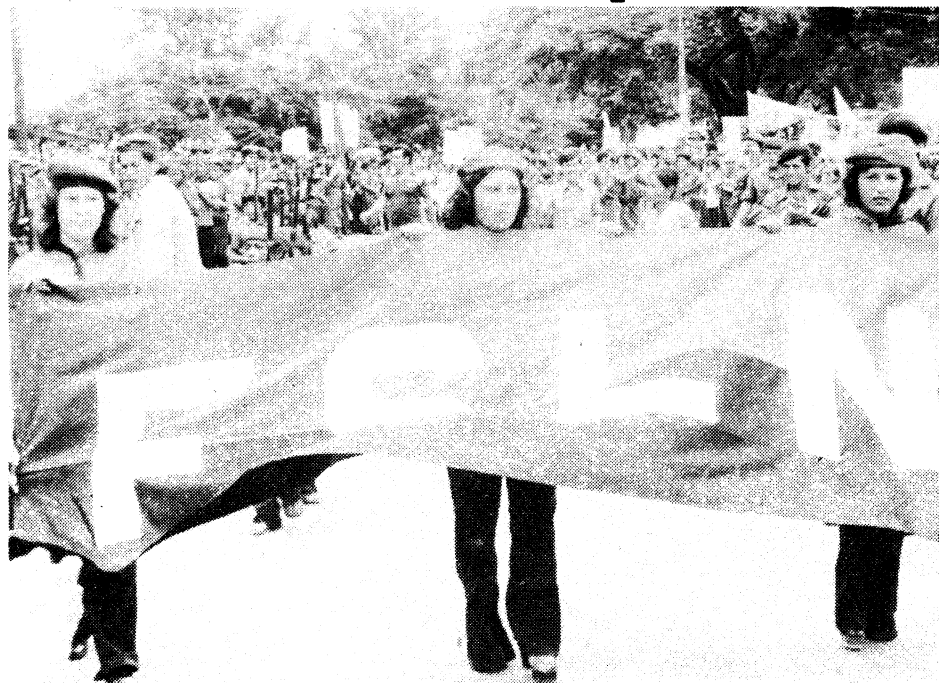
According to the provisional constitution promulgated by the Junta of National Reconstruction on July 20, the Council of State is to "share legislative powers" with the junta and draw up a new electoral law and constitution. It is empowered to veto junta decisions with a two-thirds vote.

Originally, as a result of agreements reached between the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and other opposition forces prior to the fall of the dictatorship, the Council of State was to have been composed of thirty-three representatives. The bulk of these were to have come from bourgeois parties and capitalist class organs such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Industry.

As the revolutionary course charted by the FSLN after the July 19 victory became apparent, the bourgeois forces agitated for immediate convocation of the Council of State, hoping to use it to put a brake on the revolution. These efforts were dealt a sharp setback by the junta's October 22 decision.

The subsequent statements by the mass organizations reaffirm the FSLN's intention to make the Council of State into an institution radically different from what the bourgeois forces were hoping it would become.

On November 2 the CST and four other union federations issued a joint



Sandinista-led organizations have called for Council of State to be fully representative of workers and peasants.

statement supporting the council's postponement. They noted that "the political conditions are very different from those that existed when the form of the Council of State was first considered."

"Now, more than ever," the trade unions declared, "the workers understand that this instrument [the council] is a valid one for raising our class demands. . . ."

The National Commission of the CDSs explained in a November 7 statement that postponement of the Council of State "will permit us to consolidate all our popular organizations—the CST, ATC, AMN [Nicaraguan Women's Association], and JS19J—which along with the CDSs are today opening the way in the national life as the legitimate representatives of the interests of the Working People and its tactical and strategic allies."

The CDS statement continued:

The heroic people of Nicaragua have been

forging a new historic reality for themselves, one in which mass organizations of a genuinely democratic character are arising. A new political panorama is appearing before our eyes, one that is eliminating the old relationship of forces that existed before the triumph of the Sandinista people's insurrection.

This new framework obliges us to revise the role, nature, and composition of the Council of State.

The statement went on to call for giving "majority participation" in the Council of State to "all the mass organizations, since these represent the true interests of the heroic working people and their allies." In this way, the Council "must take on, concretely, a true class character."

A similar statement by the ATC, the union of peasants and agricultural laborers, was printed in the November 14 *Barricada*. The ATC addressed itself directly to the question of the bourgeois parties' presence in the Council of State:

repression are not clearly bourgeois.

Deprived of the above conditions, the capitalists seek other shores where profit is placed before human needs, rather than vice versa.

COSEP's essential message to the FSLN is simple: to really win the bourgeoisie's cooperation in reconstructing Nicaragua, the FSLN must abandon its policy of defense of the workers and peasants, and instead seek an alliance with the bourgeoisie in defending capitalism.

The bourgeoisie is not satisfied with concessions. They want governmental power.

The FSLN correctly has sought to transform Nicaragua in a way least disruptive to Nicaragua's economy and thus least painful for the impoverished masses. The Sandinistas have sought to win time to revive production and build up a professional army and volunteer militia to defend the country from the inevitable U.S. imperialist-backed attacks as the revolution deepens.

But no revolutionary process can be completely controlled. Class conflicts develop—both at the initiative of the exploited and the exploiters—without regard for what may be the planned tempo of change.

The coming year will be a decisive one for the Nicaraguan revolution. The FSLN is continuing to mobilize the masses to advance their interests. It is also continuing to offer the bourgeoisie concessions if they help maintain production.

The choice rests with the bourgeoisie: They can accept the new workers and peasants power in Nicaragua and, in effect, begin serving as well-paid technicians and administrators, which the revolution needs; or they can pass over actively to the counterrevolution

There are organizations without any following among the masses, which express interests foreign to the masses and which even allow themselves the luxury of putting obstacles in the way of our revolution. These groups—such as the Social Christian Party, the Democratic Conservative Party, the Social Democratic Party, and so on—are trying to demand a place in the formation of the future Council of State. In demanding this place, these groups argue that they were present in the struggle against the dictatorship, a struggle that they certainly embarked upon to safeguard their own particular interests but that in the critical moments they betrayed by allying themselves to the imperialists and to Somozaism.

Thus the ATC called for the Council of State to be composed "only of those organizations that really represent the interests of the people and that are involved in carrying out—whatever the cost—the tasks of the revolution and the construction of a new Nicaragua."

The same positions were expressed at a November 6 news conference held by leaders of the July 19 Sandinista Youth.

The FSLN's overall approach to the Council of State was summed up in the final paragraphs of a November 13 *Barricada* editorial that hailed the growth of the ATC:

It is on the basis of a solid nationwide organization [the ATC] that the farm workers and the peasantry are demanding for the first time in the history of Nicaragua their participation in power, to defend their own interests and not those of the dominant classes, in the Council of State. And the workers in the cities that today find themselves fraternally linked [to the peasants] in that demand must strengthen their political and organizational ties to the peasantry to make the worker-peasant alliance a reality in the Council of State.

"With the forces of the ATC, the CST, and the mass organizations," *Barricada* concluded, "the Council of State will not be a parliamentary organ but rather the expression of the power of the organized people."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...Nicaragua

Continued from preceding page

It proposes that some more abstract term be considered, such as "national"—or better yet—"revolutionary."

This objection reflects a class reality: that the Sandinista government, army, and police are not bourgeois institutions, even though the continued existence of private ownership of substantial agricultural and industrial property means that there is still a weakened bourgeois state in Nicaragua.

The growing involvement of the CDSs in governmental functions is extremely irritating to COSEP. It protests that "the CDSs have no legal existence, nor were they contemplated in the Program of Government."

Worse yet, the document adds, every day "they [the FSLN] grant them [the CDSs] more prerogatives than before."

But what these "revolutionary" bourgeois fail to note is that the CDSs represent the majority of Nicaraguans. They are the most democratic of all existing institutions.

The COSEP document also expresses concern over freedom of the press, although there has been no censorship whatever. Here they have only a certain kind of freedom in mind: the freedom of wealthy families, such as the Chamorros, who own *La Prensa*, to operate a daily newspaper, while the toiling majority is in practice denied access to the press by their lack of finances.

Likewise, the Sandinista Television System comes in for some criticism by COSEP. "Why only the Sandinista TV?" the bourgeoisie complains. Why not let the capitalists control the airwaves?

The document also speaks of freedom for the trade unions—a matter over which the employers showed little concern before July 19. They protest most emphatically what they perceive as government aid to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) in its efforts to organize Nicaraguan workers into a single, strong trade-union federation.

What really bothers the capitalists is the rapidly declining support among the Nicaraguan workers for the docile, procapitalist trade-union leaderships that held sway under Somoza.

Formations such as the Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS), set up in 1968 with the help of the Meany bureaucracy in the U.S. AFL-CIO, and the Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN), whose officialdom is tied to the bourgeois Social Christian Party, are losing large sections of their ranks to the Sandinista-led CST.

The fact is that the workers of Nicaragua are free to choose their own unions through democratic elections. The government does not interfere, unless "interference" means promoting the same revolutionary program and goals with which the Sandinista unions seek to win new members.

The COSEP document also demands "adequate labor relations, so that production will not continue to suffer the amount of time lost in the Ministry of Labor, in meetings, conflicts, etc."

In code words, this means "discipline the workers." And that can only be accomplished by repressive steps against the labor movement.

In essence, the COSEP document comes down to a basic fact of modern society: capitalism cannot flourish where the government is not in the hands of the capitalist class and where the institutions of communication and

and seek to crush the revolutionary process.

A large section of the bourgeoisie in Nicaragua today is secretly preparing for the latter option, while trying to use their remaining points of support in the economy to slow down and ultimately reverse the anticapitalist course set by the Sandinistas.

In the COSEP document, the bourgeoisie mentions their most dreaded fear: the establishment of a workers state through the eventual expropriation of all large estates and domestic and imperialist industry. Here again they use code words in an attempt to deny the tremendous expansion of democracy that would result from a planned, socialized economy administered through democratic mass institutions to benefit the worker and peasant majority.

"In a nutshell," COSEP writes, "it is all these manifestations of State-Party confusion and inconsistencies with pluralism, that give grounds for many to ask themselves if the intention of some leaders is to gradually lead Nicaragua toward a dictatorship of a totalitarian nature."

COSEP has it exactly backwards. It was capitalism that flourished under the totalitarian Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua. Private property was guaranteed. No time was wasted at the Ministry of Labor. No Sandinista mass organizations had any voice or power. There was no overrepresentation of the disenfranchised—in fact, the workers and peasants had no representation at all.

The new Nicaragua the FSLN is fighting for is the opposite of a totalitarian dictatorship—a true democracy in which the worker and peasant majority will be the decisive rulers. And that isn't possible under capitalism.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Boston meeting sets aid for Nicaragua

By Mike Pearlman

BOSTON—Over 250 people attended an "Evening in Solidarity with Nicaragua" here December 7.

The audience was treated to Andean protest music by Nanchuazu; a slide show, "Nicaragua: A People in Struggle;" and a major speech by Alejandro Bendana, a member of the Nicaraguan delegation to the United Nations.

Bendana focused on the difficult economic situation facing the revolutionary government and urged those in attendance to aid the fundraising effort being made by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

Also present was Hugo Miranda, a former Chilean senator in the Popular Unity government. Miranda spoke of the tremendous inspiration that the Sandinista victory has been throughout Latin America.

Larry Simon, associate director of Oxfam/America, a hunger relief and development agency, told the crowd that people-to-people aid would be important in overcoming both the immediate and longer term agricultural problems facing the Nicaraguan people.

Oxfam has already pledged \$500,000 for various agricultural projects in Nicaragua.

The meeting, sponsored by the University of Massachusetts Latin American Studies Department and the Boston Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, was both a celebration of the victory in Nicaragua and the kickoff of a major education and fundraising campaign in the Boston area. More than \$700 was collected for the literacy drive and 100 people expressed interest in helping the work of the solidarity committee.

On December 10, three representatives of the FSLN toured Boston. Although their major purpose was to meet banking and business representatives, Jaime Wheelock, Victor Tirado, and Rene Núñez also took the opportunity to speak before an enthusiastic crowd of 125 people at the University of Massachusetts.

At a press conference later that afternoon Victor Tirado expressed the hope that the economic and social results of the Nicaraguan revolution would be seen as an example by American working people, minorities, and women.



Militant/Diane Jacobs

FSLN's National Literacy Commission is taking education campaign into the countryside. Volunteer teachers work alongside farmers, hold classes after working hours.

Help Nicaragua literacy drive!

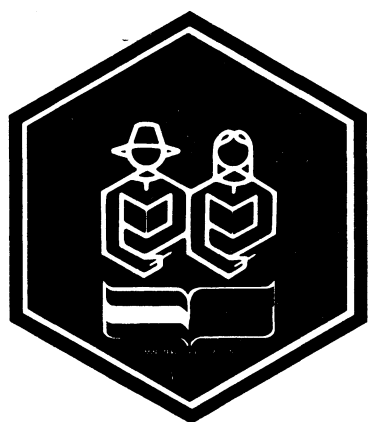
U.S. supporters of the Nicaraguan people have launched a drive to help Nicaragua's literacy campaign. Teaching squads are scheduled to fan out through the country beginning next March, with the aim of teaching 700,000 people to read and write.

Funds are being raised here to provide 275,000 yards of denim cloth for uniforms for the literacy workers, as well as paper, notebooks, pencils, boots, lanterns, and other needed supplies.

The U.S. effort to aid the literacy campaign was launched at a conference in Detroit November 17-18, attended by representatives of the Nicaraguan government.

The National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, organizer of the aid drive, has just published an attractive brochure, shown here.

For copies of the brochure and information on how to participate 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.



NICARAGUA'S
LITERACY
CRUSADE:
THE "SECOND
LIBERATION WAR"

Only weeks after the conclusion of one war—the revolution that put an end to the Somoza dictatorship—the Nicaraguan people started preparing for yet another. This "second liberation war," as the Nicaraguans themselves are calling it, is the National Literacy Crusade... and we have been asked to help...

...Wheelock

Continued from back page

There, he explained, the policies of an indecisive government caused the middle classes to turn away from the revolutionary process, opening a breach which imperialism was able to exploit, laying the basis for the counterrevolutionary coup by Pinochet.

The FSLN objective of forging the greatest possible unity in Nicaragua in no way implies a retreat away from fundamentally revolutionary measures, he said, pointing to the wide-ranging nationalizations that crushed the economic power of the financial oligarchy tied to Somoza.

The most significant measure, the one that enabled all others to move forward, was the organization of the masses. Wheelock enumerated the key mass organizations as follows:

- The Central Sandinista de los Trabajadores (CST—Sandinista Workers Federation), the burgeoning trade union organization.
- The Asociación de Trabajadores del Campo (ATC—Rural Workers Association), the peasants and agricultural workers association.
- The Juventud Sandinista de 19 Julio (JS 19—July 19 Sandinista Youth).
- The Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenses (AMN—Nicaraguan Women's Association). Women, he said, comprised almost half the revolutionary fighters against Somoza.
- The Comités de Defensa Sandi-

nista (CDS—Sandinista Defense Committees), which he described as the broadest and most extensive mass organization in the country. These arose as neighborhood defense and administrative committees during the struggle against Somoza. Now their functions range from taking precautions against counterrevolutionaries to voluntary work on construction projects over the weekends.

• Most importantly, he said, is the revolutionary army, "the people in arms, whose weapons are now used to defend the interests of the workers of city and countryside."

And in the center of all this, he said, has been the FSLN, a firmly established vanguard organization, with deep roots in the masses.

A leadership that can unite the masses against the common enemy, a leadership that is united and resolute, that is able to master the specific dynamics of the revolutionary process in its own country—this was one of the keys to the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, he explained.

Wheelock received a standing ovation as he concluded by calling for international solidarity based on the principle of nonintervention and by urging support from the American people for the literacy and public health campaigns being undertaken today in Nicaragua.

Support for such efforts is being coordinated by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, whose New York affiliates sponsored the New York City meeting for Wheelock.

Sectarians released from jail

Members of several sectarian leftist groups in Nicaragua were detained in mid-October as part of a campaign against "ultraleftism" mounted by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).¹ All these persons have since been released.

Most of the jailed leftists came from a group of Maoist origins known as the Movimiento de Acción Popular (MAP—People's Action Movement). The MAP func-

tions in the trade unions as the Frente Obrero (FO—Workers Front) and expresses its views through the Managua daily *El Pueblo*.

On November 9 forty FO members and three journalists from *El Pueblo* were released from jail at the Central Police Headquarters in Managua. Two weeks earlier the FSLN had responded positively to the MAP's call for a "dialogue" and talks had begun between the two groups.

FSLN Comandantes Jaime Wheelock and Tomás Borge went to the Police Headquarters when the FO members were released; "They are being put in liberty in the name of the revolution," Borge said.

In subsequent days other FO

members who had been arrested in other cities were also released.

Several members of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR—Revolutionary Marxist League)—a tiny sect that claims to be Trotskyist but has no connection to the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization—were also detained in mid-October.

As of November 22, according to reports appearing in *El Pueblo*, all of the LMR prisoners had been released. They included Mario Miranda and Rodrigo Ibarra, who had been held for more than a month at the La Pólvara Command in the city of Granada.

Carlos Petroni, an Argentine supporter of the Colombia-based Bolshevik faction (which also claims to be Trotskyist),² was deported

from Nicaragua on November 9. He had been arrested several weeks earlier in Managua.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

1. For a full discussion of the issues involved in this campaign, see the article "FSLN discusses workers democracy: How to answer ultraleft sectarians in Nicaragua," by Pedro Camejo and Fred Murphy, November 16 *Militant*.

2. The world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, rejects the sectarian views of the LMR and the Bolshevik Faction (BF) and defends the Nicaraguan revolution. For example, see the statement of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International published in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, October 22, 1979, p. 1023. The Fourth International also condemned the sectarian adventure mounted by the Bolshevik Faction in Nicaragua in the guise of the "Simón Bolívar Brigade"; see *IP/I*, October 22, p. 1033. In line with the logic of its course against the Nicaraguan revolution, the BF split from the Fourth International in November.

In Brief

Quote unquote

"Radiation may be one of the most over-rated carcinogens in this century."

—Nuclear Regulatory Commission senior radiobiologist Dr. Reginold Gotchy

FINES CUT IN UMWA STRIKES

The United Mine Workers international union does not have to pay a \$200,000 fine levied against it because three locals went on strikes, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled December 10. A \$240,000 fine against UMWA District 17 was also dropped.

From 1969-73 the Carbon Fuel Company provoked forty-eight strikes by the three UMWA locals in southern West Virginia. Such provocations were and are standard procedure for the coal operators, who prefer to violate the contract and then seek court action against the union rather than settling grievances at the mine site.

Company-minded courts hit the locals with fines of three-quarters of a million dollars, along with the half-million levied against the international and district.

The Supreme Court ruled that neither the international nor the district could be held liable because they had in no way encouraged the strikes. The fines against the locals stand.

The court left the door open to damage suits against other international unions if they

Carter administration seeks to deport Palestinian

The Carter administration is seeking to extradite a Palestinian youth wanted in Israel on frame-up charges. Ziad Abu Ein, nineteen, has been locked away in a Chicago jail since his arrest in August.

U.S. authorities seized Ziad at the request of the Israeli government. The Zionist government claims that he participated in a May 14 bombing in Tiberias, Israel.

At the time of the incident, Ziad was actually working at his family's store in Ramallah—about seventy miles away.

Ziad was granted a U.S. visa in June to visit his sister and has since been approved for permanent U.S. residency status.

The Zionists' charges against Ziad are based on a "confession"—prepared in Hebrew and obtained under torture—from another Palestinian political prisoner, Jamal Yassim. Yassim, who does not understand He-

brew, has since repudiated the "confession."

Lawyers for Ziad presented their final arguments in the case before U.S. Magistrate Olga Jurco on November 23. James Fennerty, one of the lawyers, said a ruling from Jurco is expected within a week.

"Legally," Fennerty told the *Militant*, "she has to rule in his favor." On the other hand, Fennerty said

he is "not optimistic" given all the pressure on Jurco from Washington to rule otherwise.

Meanwhile hundreds of Ziad's supporters around the country have mobilized to stop the extradition.

For more information contact the Ziad Abu Ein Defense Committee in Chicago at (312) 772-9383 or the Palestine Human Rights Campaign at (202) 296-8330.



Israeli gov't uses torture to extract 'confessions' from Palestinian prisoners.

don't break "unauthorized" strikes by their locals. It all depends, the justices said, on whether the higher union bodies accept responsibility in their contracts.

RAIL WORKERS WALK OUT

A strike by 1,400 members of the United Transportation Union against the Long Island Rail Road, which has shut the line down, has been greeted by a united front of Democrats

and Republicans trying to smash it.

The UTU was forced to strike after LIRR management offered only a 7 percent pay raise retroactive for 1979 and 6.5 percent for 1980, about half the rate of inflation.

Sixteen other LIRR unions are honoring UTU picket lines, and three unions have themselves struck the railroad.

New York senators Daniel Moynihan, a Democrat, and Jacob Javits, a Republican,

joined with Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey and the Long Island congressional delegation in asking President Carter to break the strike by setting up a "mediation" board.

Carter has the legal power to stop the strike for sixty days setting up such a board.

Long Island authorities have joined the strikebreaking effort by waiving parking regulations and providing hundreds of buses to carry commuters into New York.

ALBANY STEEL STRIKE

Workers at Albany Steel in Menands, New York, went on strike after their contract expired November 30, reports correspondent Bob Hill.

The company's contract offer was overwhelmingly rejected. Albany Steel wanted to break the closed shop, reduce vacation time, extend probation to 120 days, and fine workers injured on the job not using "proper safety equipment" twenty-five dollars.

The company also offered an insultingly low 9 percent wage boost for the first year, 8 percent for the second, and 7 percent for the third. The last cost-of-living raise was a year ago and brought the average machine operator's wage to only \$5.35 an hour.

Union activists are looking for support from other unions. The strikers, represented by International Association of Ironworkers Local 534, receive no strike benefits because the local has fewer than 500 members.

Teamster drivers honored the first picket line and refused to deliver steel. A good show of support has come from passing drivers, many of whom honk horns and raise fists in solidarity with the pickets.

SIT-IN BACKS CLEVELAND TEACHERS

About twenty-five people, including members of the NAACP, have been conducting a vigil at the offices of the Cleveland School Board since December 5 in support of striking teachers.

The school board claims the city's financial crisis makes it impossible to grant teachers the 27 percent salary increase

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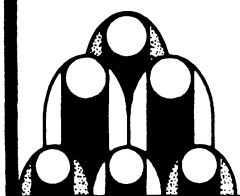
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over two years they request. A Cleveland teacher earns a starting salary of \$9,828 a year—and that's before taxes.

The protesters have condemned the school board's stalling on negotiations, and say that the board's delaying is aimed at slowing down court-ordered busing to desegregate the schools. They have also demanded to see the board's financial records, declaring they don't believe the board's assertions of poverty.

The 5,000 members of the Cleveland Teachers Union have been on strike since October 18.

VETS ASK AGENT ORANGE DAMAGES

A group of ninety-seven Vietnam veterans who were exposed to the deadly herbicide Agent Orange have sued five chemical companies for \$40 billion. A total of 1,500 vets are expected to join the suits.

Soldiers who were exposed to Agent Orange have developed a wide range of incurable diseases, including cancer. Some of their children have been born deformed. The federal government and the chemical companies have refused to admit any responsibility.

Whales and oil

Despite an admission that offshore oil drilling would threaten the livelihood of native people and the existence of an endangered species of whale, federal judge Aubrey Robinson refused December 7 to halt government-conducted bidding on oil lease sites in the Beaufort Sea off Alaska.

Environmentalists and Inuit (Eskimos) had asked Robinson to block the sale. The Inuit depend on the bowhead whale for subsistence.

Oil spills, inevitable in the normal course of off-shore drilling, will wreak havoc with the delicate Arctic environment.

In defending the leases, the government argued that the "national interest" required rapid exploitation of oil and gas.

No decision has yet been made on whether winning bidders on the leases will be permitted to drill. A hearing on that question is set for January 3.



Herblock
'Can we supply fuel? Leave everything to us and we'll have you swimming in it.'

What's Going On

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

END RACIST DEPORTATIONS!

Speakers: Hector Marroquin, member of Socialist Workers Party seeking political asylum in U.S.; Shelley Davis, SWP attorney for victorious suit challenging deportation of Iranian students; Peggy McKee, national coordinator of Elias Ayoub Defense Committee. Wed., Dec. 19, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St. (half block east of Union Square). Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS: WHAT CAUSES IT AND HOW TO STOP IT.
Speakers: Stu Singer, staff writer for the

Militant, former member United Steelworkers Local 6115; Frank Heintz, member United Auto Workers Local 1250, former chair, Ford Workers Committee. Sun., Dec. 16, 7 p.m. 13002 Kinsman Rd. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

KAMPUCHEA: CARTER'S CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY. Speaker: David Hurst, member, Socialist Workers Party, United Steelworkers Local 4208. Sun., Dec. 16, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

On the fighting front—Ready to give their all in the anti-Iran crusade, a number of New York area dealers in Iranian caviar declared they're going to stop handling the stuff. A spokesman for the major wholesale distributor was skeptical. "Food in most cases goes beyond politics," he said. "We eat food from China and Russia and nobody seems to mind. I don't notice any rug dealers taking Persian carpets off the market."

Royal deadbeat—A Los Angeles furniture company is suing the shah's sister for \$70,000. It's the unpaid balance on a quarter of a million dollars worth of furniture and appliances shipped to her Caspian Sea villa prior to the royal family's hasty departure from Iran.

Incredible—Federal investigators insist that they have evidence that the control of various medical plans by doctors results in higher doctors' fees. However, this was challenged by other researchers. The president of Blue Cross said he was "really puzzled" since a study they did showed control by doctors led to lower fees.

Gift tip—No more suggestions for those

high-priced impractical gifts. Here's a useful one. The 007 Bionic Briefcase. Features: Lightweight bullet-proof exterior. A device that "sniffs out" dangerous vapors. A signal light that warns of a bugging device in your immediate area. An electronic transmitter, which, if you're kidnapped, will make it possible to track you down. And, a screaming siren that will sound off if the briefcase is ripped off.

Dining tips—Dinner at Maxim's, the famed Paris restaurant, may run nearly \$140. But the house champagne is only \$11 a glass. Back in New York, at the Coach House, you can get a good dinner for only \$60. But an accompanying bottle of champagne is \$75.

Turning toward workers?—The governor of Virginia threw a charity party in the maintenance garage of a Grundy, Virginia, coal company. \$2,500 a couple.

Watch the birdie—The cost of pet birds has spiraled with their popularity, with a pair of cockatoos selling for as much as \$12,000. One Los Angeles bird emporium features a beauty salon and charm school. Its pet store charges a \$2 fee just to look.

Union Talk

Phone workers call strike

This week's column is by Lee Oleson, a member of Communications Workers of America Local 2336.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—More than 32,000 communications workers in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and Washington may be forced to go on strike this Christmas.

In mid-November, members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) voted overwhelmingly to authorize a strike against the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company (C&P).

A December 17 strike date has been set by CWA leaders. Because of C&P policies, the strike is likely to occur and promises to be a long one.

At the heart of the disagreement between the company and the union is the parent company's—American Telephone and Telegraph—national policy of protecting its huge profits by reducing the number of workers, lowering our real wages, and getting us to work harder.

In 1978, C&P reported profits of \$240 million produced by its 40,000 employees, or an average of \$6,000 per employee. It wants even more.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, AT&T cut its workforce by 20 percent while keeping dividends at a fat \$9 a share. If AT&T had reduced its dividends by just \$1 a share, the jobs of 18,000 employees could have been saved, according to *Telephone*, John Brooks's pro-company history of AT&T published in 1975.

Today as then, AT&T and its subsidiaries are determined to put the full brunt of the economic crisis on phone company workers.

Across the country, AT&T is using automation to eliminate jobs. If human needs and jobs were AT&T's priority, rather than profits, a shorter workweek with no cut in take-home pay would be a simple solution to save jobs.

Union leaders have called a strike not directly because of automation, but rather because of C&P's use of changing "job categories" to slash wages.

In September C&P officially notified the union that the company planned to re-

place service representatives at phone stores with customer clerks.

Customer clerks would receive about \$60 less a week than service representatives, and would be expected to do the same work.

Likewise, the company has announced that it plans to pay repair service clerks about \$100 less a week than central office technicians for doing work formerly done by the technicians.

C&P of Virginia plans to bypass unionized workers entirely by using 7-11 convenience stores for dropping off and initial processing of defective phones. The company would have this part of its work done by 7-11 workers, many of whom make little more than the minimum wage.

The CWA leadership has seen these company proposals—and the company's refusal to negotiate them—as an attack on the right of the union to have anything to say about wages and job duties of its members.

Although wages of CWA-organized workers have increased over the past ten years, they remain below the level of other key industries, such as transportation, auto, steel, and mining.

The best defense against the company's attacks is solidarity. If phone workers allow one category of employees to get their wages cut, it will only be a matter of time before the company will find new job categories—and lower rates of pay—for every type of phone work.

As CWA Local 2336 Executive Vice President Mike Agnew put it in a statement to union members last month, "an injury to one job category is an injury to all."

Local CWA leaders say that if C&P brings in supervisors from other parts of the country to break the strike, they have solidarity commitments from sister locals across the country up to and including strike action.

In the 1930s telephone workers had only company unions.

Now CWA members have the organized power of a real union to defend us against the telephone company's efforts to make us, not them, pay for the latest economic crisis.

Rail workers under attack

A favorite propaganda theme against the railroad unions is the charge of 'featherbedding.' The railroads are in their present shape, the antilabor propagandists charge, because the unions have imposed outrageously high wages and have compelled employers to keep workers on the job who serve no useful function. The charge of railroad 'featherbedding' is not new, as indicated by the following 'Militant' article by Harry Ring from November 30, 1959.

Were you aware that "passenger engine crews and road freight enginemen get more pay per hour than railroad executives"? That "a Pennsylvania engineer makes a 452-mile round trip between New York and Washington, D.C., in a single day and collects 4½ days pay . . . around \$100"? That diesel engines carry firemen "who tend no fires"?

A few isolated cases? No, sir. According to the public-minded capitalists who run our railroads, you and the rest of the American people are paying a half a billion dollars annually for union "featherbedding." (That's a technical term, thought up by the advertising agencies, for "work paid for but not performed.")

Such distorted or completely fabricated claims are part of a nationwide campaign designed to roll back the railroad unions whose contracts came up for renewal Nov. 1. It's part of the overall drive that big business is waging against unionism in a series of key industries.

The established incentive pay system on the railroads sets 100 miles as the basic unit of work for passenger and freight-train engine crews and 160 miles for conductors and brakemen on passenger trains. (If an engineer covers 150 miles in one work shift he draws a day and a half pay, etc.)

The companies now propose that the 100-mile incentive unit be boosted to 150 miles and the 160-mile to 240 miles.

They are also demanding an end to the monthly mileage limit system which helps spread the work. In addition they propose elimination of rules barring them from sending crews past established crew change points. This would force railmen onto runs with longer overnight periods away from home.

To cap their demands, the operators are insisting on the abolition of all rules which fix the size of train crews.

A brief look at the real facts of the union work rules makes quite clear that revisions are needed—revisions that will give the men some of the benefits long established in other industries.

The federal wage and hour law doesn't apply to the railroad industry. Many road service employees and others, receive no premium pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays; no pay differential for night work; no pay for layover time between runs; no pay for standby time when they

must remain subject to call; no pay for expenses incurred for food and lodging while held away from home terminals.

Train and engine crews in road freight service often work well beyond an eight-hour day or forty-hour week before drawing time and a half. Road operating employees in freight service can be worked up to ninety-six hours at straight time.

But what about some of those "featherbedding" charges? Let's take a look at that "juicy" New York-Washington run. To begin with, a 100-mile day's pay for the highly skilled engineer who handles that crack train is \$19.65, making the pay for that run \$90.30, not \$100. Moreover, the engine crew reports for duty one hour and 45 minutes before departure time in New York and one hour and 15 minutes before departure time in Washington. After each run, it takes an average of one hour at each end to dispose of the train and deliver the locomotive to the engine house.

The very best time in which an engineer can make the entire round trip is 16 hours and more often it takes up to 20 hours. Quite a day's work!

Despite the long hours this is considered the "cream" run and it is reserved for men with top seniority.

In sharp contrast to this example, *Labor*, weekly newspaper of the railroad brotherhoods, cites numerous cases where engine crews work ten and eleven hours at straight time. A spot check on the Southern Railway showed an engine crew working a total of eighty-nine hours and ten minutes at straight time and four hours and fifteen minutes overtime.

They were away from home three nights, with all food and lodging at their own expense.

About that fireman who "tends no fires" on the diesel. That doesn't mean he just sits on a pillow as depicted in current railroad advertisements. The fireman is the "co-pilot" of the engineer, undergoing extensive training and charged with essential duties.

He must know locomotive operations, air brakes, train speeds, switching techniques, signals, grade and safety requirements and have a thorough knowledge of the diesel engine. If anything happens to the engineer he must be prepared to take over the throttle.

We almost forgot—these company figures which prove that engine crews get a higher hourly rate than executives. The figures were very easily arrived at. In computing the workers' hourly rate, all time "paid for but not worked" was excluded. That covers paid vacations, holidays, sick leave, time paid when men are on call or waiting to pick up an engine at the out-of-town terminal, etc.

The true average hourly wage of railroad workers, as established by the Interstate Commerce Commission, is but \$2.47 an hour, substantially lower than in most basic industries.



An anti-Iran rally flops

While I was on my speaking tour here, California State Sen. Paul Carpenter, a right-winger, organized an anti-Iran rally. One day before the show he said, "We are expecting 92,624 people to show up." That's the capacity of the Los Angeles Coliseum, where it was held.

One hour before the gates opened, he declared, "We are expecting some 50,000 people to show up."

One hour after the rally, he said, "This is the best investment I ever made."

None of these things came close to the reality.

Carpenter put up \$65,000 of somebody's money to rent the Coliseum—plus \$40,000 or so for propaganda to build the rally including a full-page ad in the *Los Angeles Times*.

And, according to press reports, 5,000 people showed up. Including some wearing clothes like Batman and Superman.

How much did they lose? Long ago, they lost the future.

Héctor Marroquín
Los Angeles, California

Defends rent initiative

The recently successful rent control initiative in Baltimore was not "an obstacle to moving toward genuine independent working-class political action," as stated in the November 30 *Militant*. To the contrary, the rent control campaign was a significant repudiation by our city's working people of Democratic Party capitalist politics.

In Baltimore, rent control was a people's campaign that allowed workers a rare opportunity to vote their class interest rather than choosing among identical establishment candidates. Rent control was opposed by the entire political establishment including the Democratic Party liberals.

These liberals were forced by the initiative to reveal their allegiance to the city's landlords, who bankrolled the anti-rent-control campaign, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on slick media advertising and Nixon-style dirty tricks. It was an unfortunate if honest mistake for the Socialist Workers Party to side with the liberals and landlords on the rent control issue.

We should not overstate the importance of the rent control initiative, but the campaign in Baltimore was clearly a truly independent attack on the self-styled "progressive" business and political establishments of this city. That is why the power structure is in the process of having this people's-initiated rent control declared unconstitutional by the capitalist-controlled courts.
Gerry Gaeng
Laila Atallah
Baltimore, Maryland

Iran: from a prisoner

Brothers and sisters all over the world, I call out to you from my prison cell.

We must come together and make Carter send the shah back to Iran. If the Carter administration believes in justice and is for human rights he will send the shah to Iran.

Just think about the women, men, and babies he has murdered.

If a Black or poor person killed someone, the United States would be more than glad to put them to death.

But the shah has killed many and still and walks the streets. The CIA has helped the shah to kill people.

The time has come for the people to take over. I say, "Death to the shah."

A prisoner
North Carolina

Terrorism in Iran

I'm in complete agreement with the letter from Paul Dougan in the November 30 issue of the *Militant* in which he suggests the need for the paper to deal with the issue of terrorism.

The *Militant* is vital for me in terms of getting information suppressed in the "regular" press. However, when I become aware of information or, in this case, an important aspect of a situation which the *Militant* pointedly neglects, it makes me think less highly of the paper as a dependable source of information.

I believe there is a difference between presenting, clearly, a strong point of view and propaganda. By neglecting facts or an issue as important as that of terrorism in the Iranian situation, the *Militant* seems more like propaganda than the reliable socialist news source I've come to depend on.
Margo Tassi

Labor's own party

Last month the New Jersey Industrial Union Council met in convention. A good number of resolutions were passed concerning social issues.

Among them was a unanimous resolution calling upon member unions to organize support for the January 13 pro-ERA march in Richmond, Virginia.

Because the presidential elections will soon be upon us, the question of who labor should support played a role in the discussion.

Although the policy of the IUC was laid out in United

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Malcolm X & Iranian revolution

"Religious fanatic," "hate monger," "revengeful," "mad mullah." These are typical descriptions of Imam Ruhollah Khomeini appearing in the big-business press.

These racist characterizations are remarkably similar in content and form to what many of the same news media said about Malcolm X—also a Muslim and a nationalist opponent of U.S. imperialism. As the introduction to *Two Speeches by Malcolm X* (Pioneer Publishers, 1965) points out, "Malcolm X was one of the most slandered public figures of our time. In life and in death, the propaganda machine of the American power structure smeared him as a 'racist,' a 'hate-monger' and a 'terrorist.'"

Why did the bourgeois press subject Malcolm X—just as it does the Iranians now—to such slanders? Malcolm himself provides one of the best answers in a speech on November 24, 1964: "... the press has a grave responsibility, and it also has the responsibility sometimes as an accessory. Because if it allows itself to be used to make criminals look like victims and victims look like criminals, then the press is an accessory to the same crime. . . . Anytime Black people in this country are not able to be controlled by the man, the press immediately begins to label those Black people as irresponsible or as extremists. They put all these old negative labels up there. . . ."

As Malcolm explains, the slanders serve the purpose of covering up the real issues—the just demands of the victims of oppression. In Malcolm's case, the American ruling class ruthlessly sought to discredit him because of his indictment of racist America. When slanders proved insufficient, it was necessary to employ an assassin's gun.

The same ruling class resorts to slander to deflect attention from the just demands of the Iranians for the return of the shah and an end to U.S. domination of their country.

Anti-Islamic racism is prominent in the attacks on both Malcolm and Iran. The Muslim religion of these dark-skinned "fanatics," white Americans are expected to believe, is backward, violent, irrational, and uncivilized. Quite the opposite of the enlightened Christian faith.

Malcolm clearly explained why he and many other Blacks have turned to Islam:

"The religion that many of our forefathers practiced before we were kidnapped and brought into this country by the American white man was the religion of Islam. This has been destroyed in textbooks of the American educational system to try to make it appear that we were nothing but animals or savages before we were brought here. . . . We believe that this is the religion that will do more to reform us of our weaknesses than we've become addicted to here in Western society than any other religion. . . . We can see where Christianity has failed us 100 percent. They teach us to turn the other cheek, but they don't turn it."

On another occasion Malcolm said, "I believe in a religion that believes in freedom. Any time I have to accept a religion that won't let me fight a battle for my people, I say to hell with that religion. That's why I am a Muslim,

because it's a religion that teaches you an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

For many Blacks like Malcolm, the adoption of Islam became a means for expressing cultural pride, rejecting the religion of the white bigots—Christianity—and fighting the oppressor.

In the last year of his life, when he became an orthodox Muslim, Malcolm also came to see Islam as a means of expressing solidarity with the anticolonial struggles of Muslims throughout the world. It fit right in with his explanation that Afro-Americans should see themselves as part of the *majority* of the world's people—the colored masses of Africa and Asia striving for liberation.

This is strikingly similar to the way the Iranian masses view the slogan of "Islamic revolution" today. It expresses *not* a backward embracing of "feudal ideology" but a progressive, anti-imperialist rejection of foreign domination and a drive to unite with other peoples of the region in struggle against Washington.

In a shameful capitulation to imperialism's racist propaganda, some who call themselves socialists have joined in the anti-Islamic witch-hunt. The sectarian Spartacist League, for example, echoes Washington in calling Khomeini a "mad mullah." This derisive term was first coined by the British ruling class to slander Muhammad Abdallah Hassan, who led a major struggle in Somalia against the Italians and British in the early 1900s.

Marxists are atheists. We view all religious ideologies as roadblocks to the ability of the workers to develop a scientific understanding of class society and a program to win their liberation. But when the struggle of an oppressed people against imperialism is partially expressed in religious form, or has religious figures at its head, *the first obligation of revolutionaries is to support and defend that struggle.*

This has always been the approach of the Socialist Workers Party. In a 1963 resolution on the Black struggle, the SWP explained its attitude toward the Black Muslims, of which Malcolm was a leader until 1964 and which then espoused a separatist position for Black liberation:

"Our attitude toward separatists, including the Muslims, is a friendly one. We recognize that the mere existence of the Muslims has had healthy effects, pushing rival Negro tendencies to the left and thereby imparting an impetus to even purely integrationist battles. We note with interest that, far from being a hardened sect, the Muslims have shown capacity during the last year to change in a direction that better serves the interests of all Negroes. . . . Where we differ with them, we differ in a friendly way, and we seek collaboration with them on mutually acceptable projects."

In a similar spirit, it is incumbent on revolutionary socialists to support the struggle of the Iranian masses against U.S. imperialism irrespective of the limitations of its present leadership.

—August Nimtz

Auto Workers Region 9 director Ed Gray's keynote speech—continued support for one of the Democratic Party candidates—nevertheless the discussion was not limited to supporting the lesser of the evils in the Democratic Party.

In a keynote address by Sol Stetin of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers the idea of another alternative was raised. After taking note of the severe crisis facing working people, he told the convention of an experience he became acquainted with in Canada.

He told the delegates that our union brothers and sisters had their own party, a labor party. And furthermore, this labor party, the New Democratic Party, was a socialist party and even called itself socialist.

He remarked upon the social gains for all working people—medical care, for example—which this party fought for. He wound up his remarks saying we ought to consider this experience here.

Well, there was no debate between the two views expressed. But Stetin's remarks elicited some further comment from a delegate who remarked we didn't need to put these corrupt politicians into government. He indicated the people in the room, in his view, were the people—the leaders—who needed to do the political job for labor.

Heidi Rose
Jersey City, New Jersey

Christians & slaves

Billy Graham had a question and answer column in the *Detroit Free Press* in which he expressed the kind of thinking that employers would really love to see develop among the workers.

A reader asked:
"I'm having a real struggle on the job. My boss is a demanding man who is never satisfied. The whole relationship strains my Christian principles. If I continue this employment, I'll need a new attitude in order to survive. What shall I do?"

The Rev. Graham replied:
"The Bible does suggest the attitude toward an employer that a Christian should have. It's Paul's statement in Colossians 3: 'Slaves, obey your masters in everything, and do it, not only when their eye is upon you and to win their favor, but with sincerity of heart and reverence for the Lord. Whatever you do, work at it with all your heart, as working for the Lord, not men.'

"The secret here is the last eight words.

"In many places of the Greek and Roman world, slaves were much more numerous than the free population."

Michael Hills
UAW Local 600
Detroit, Michigan

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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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 Welton, 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.

FSLN leaders visit U.S., ask aid for Nicaragua

By Gus Horowitz

NEW YORK—Jaime Wheelock, the Nicaraguan Minister of Agrarian Reform and one of the main leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), told a cheering crowd of 700 people here December 7 that the most important accomplishment of the revolution so far has been the organization of the masses.

It is this mass involvement and organization, he said, that has enabled the revolution to move forward on a firm basis, dealing blows to the economic power of the financial oligarchy and taking steps to consolidate the revolution, to reactivate production, and to build a new Nicaragua that will be a hope for people all over the Americas.

Wheelock was in the United States as part of a top-level delegation of FSLN leaders who had come on the invitation of the Council of the Americas to discuss the Nicaraguan government's plans for economic reconstruction with U.S. business and government officials.

Accompanying him were Víctor Tirado, who, like Wheelock, is one of the nine Comandantes of the Revolution, and René Núñez, who is Secretary of the National Directorate of the FSLN.

In addition to the discussions that the three FSLN leaders are holding in Washington, New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, and New Orleans, they also plan to speak directly to the American people at public meetings similar to the one here.

At stake in the official discussions is a \$75 million aid package to Nicaragua that is now under consideration in the U.S. Congress.

Aid is vitally needed, Tirado told reporters at a New York press conference December 8, in order to meet the maximum goals for economic recovery in 1980, that is, to bring the country back up to 1978 levels of production. Health, education, and social welfare are the top priorities in the revolutionary government's economic plans.

The FSLN leaders pointed to positive results from their discussions in Mex-



Militant/Lou Howort

Jaime Wheelock, Nicaraguan Minister of Agrarian Reform, receives enthusiastic greeting from New York audience. He explained gains made by workers and peasants in course of revolution.

ico, just before coming to the United States. Mexican President López Portillo agreed to cancel a \$17 million debt and to donate a fertilizer plant worth \$4 million. But much more is needed.

The FSLN leaders told reporters that the key problems facing the Nicaraguan people are unemployment, food shortages, inflation, and a burdensome foreign debt.

Unemployment, which reaches 50 percent, results in large part from Somoza's destructive bombing of industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises.

Food shortages are expected to remain critical all through the first half of 1980, because the planting and cultivation of crops was disrupted during the revolutionary battles.

Another major problem is the inherited foreign debt, which the FSLN leaders put at \$1.6 billion. Furthermore, the country has lost \$2 billion in capi-

tal flight and outright looting by Somoza and his cohorts.

These are enormous economic problems for such a small country. The United States has a major responsibility to help Nicaragua rebuild, Tirado and Núñez said, because successive U.S. administrations propped up the Somoza dictatorship for more than forty years.

While pointing to the need for aid, and emphasizing their desire for friendly relations, the Nicaraguan revolutionists declared that they would not abandon the goals of the revolution for the sake of financial aid.

Relations between the two countries must be based on respect for Nicaragua's sovereignty and independence.

Wheelock stressed the same theme in his public meeting the evening before, where he explained the record, goals, and policies of the FSLN leadership to an enthusiastic audience.

In response to one questioner's sectarian criticism of the FSLN's discussions with U.S. government and business officials, Wheelock said that the FSLN firmly defends Nicaragua's national independence and sovereignty—which were won in struggle led by the FSLN.

On that basis, he said, the FSLN has chosen a realistic road to advance the Nicaraguan revolution—not an illusory dream or theory, but a road forward that takes into account the poverty and underdevelopment of a small country that has had past experiences of imperialist military intervention, and that needs outside help and normal diplomatic relations to survive.

This strategy also requires the greatest unity of the Nicaraguan people, he said.

Nicaragua will not be another Chile, Wheelock declared to a standing ovation.

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Cuban UN mission target of new bomb attack

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—A new bomb attack on the Cuban Mission to the United Nations underlines the need for a massive campaign to force a halt to terrorist violence by right-wing Cuban exiles.

The December 7 explosion at the mission—the second in six weeks—ripped out a side entrance door and tore down a ventilation duct.

Omega 7, a Cuban exile gang, took responsibility for the bombing, as it did for the earlier one.

The same terrorists took credit for the November 25 assassination of Eulalio Negrín in Union City, New Jersey. Negrín was a member of the Committee of 75, a group of Cuban leaders abroad working for friendly relations with the government of their homeland.

Last spring, Carlos Muñoz, who was also a supporter of the Committee of 75, was gunned down in Puerto Rico.

The FBI says it is looking for the terrorists but can't find them. Which must be pretty hard for them to say with a straight face since "Omega 7" is a front name for the Cuban Nationalist Movement. This ultraright gang has a public headquarters in Union City.

The record of the New York cops, who have immediate responsibility for protecting the mission, is just as sorry.

Two cops have been stationed at the front of the mission, but none at the side entrance around the corner.

The bomber was able to walk down the side street, plant the bomb, and warn pedestrians to get away.

A member of the Cuban Mission did see the bomb being planted, apparently with a TV scanner.

He rushed out to warn the cops. Since he spoke Spanish, they grabbed him and proceeded to search him.

Police officials said they did not

intend to consider assigning Spanish-speaking cops. They said they don't have many.

The exile killers have good reason to believe they can operate with impunity. The official attitude toward their latest bombing was one of near-sympathetic, fatherly lecturing.

New York's Mayor Koch advised Omega 7 that they "are doing their own cause a great disservice."

Police Chief Robert McGuire added that bombing activity was bad, "regardless of its underlying political motivation."

"Indiscriminate violence," he admonished, "is not the way to achieve political ends."

Official inaction on the anti-Cuban terrorism was assailed by Victor Nieto, Socialist Workers nominee for U.S. senator from New York.

Nieto, who was brought here from Cuba in his youth, joined with other

members of the Socialist Workers ticket in dispatching a telegram to President Carter. It declared, "The U.S. government trained, armed, financed and continues, to this day, to protect the right-wing terrorist gangs responsible for murder, bombings and attacks on Cubans in the United States who oppose U.S. policy towards Cuba."

"The New York Socialist Workers Party demands you take immediate action to jail those responsible for the December 7 bombing of the Cuban Mission to the UN and the November 25 murder of Eulalio Negrín."

The socialist candidates also sent a message of solidarity to the Cuban Mission. They pledged they would make the demand for a halt to the terrorism a central issue in their campaign and that they would also press for an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba.