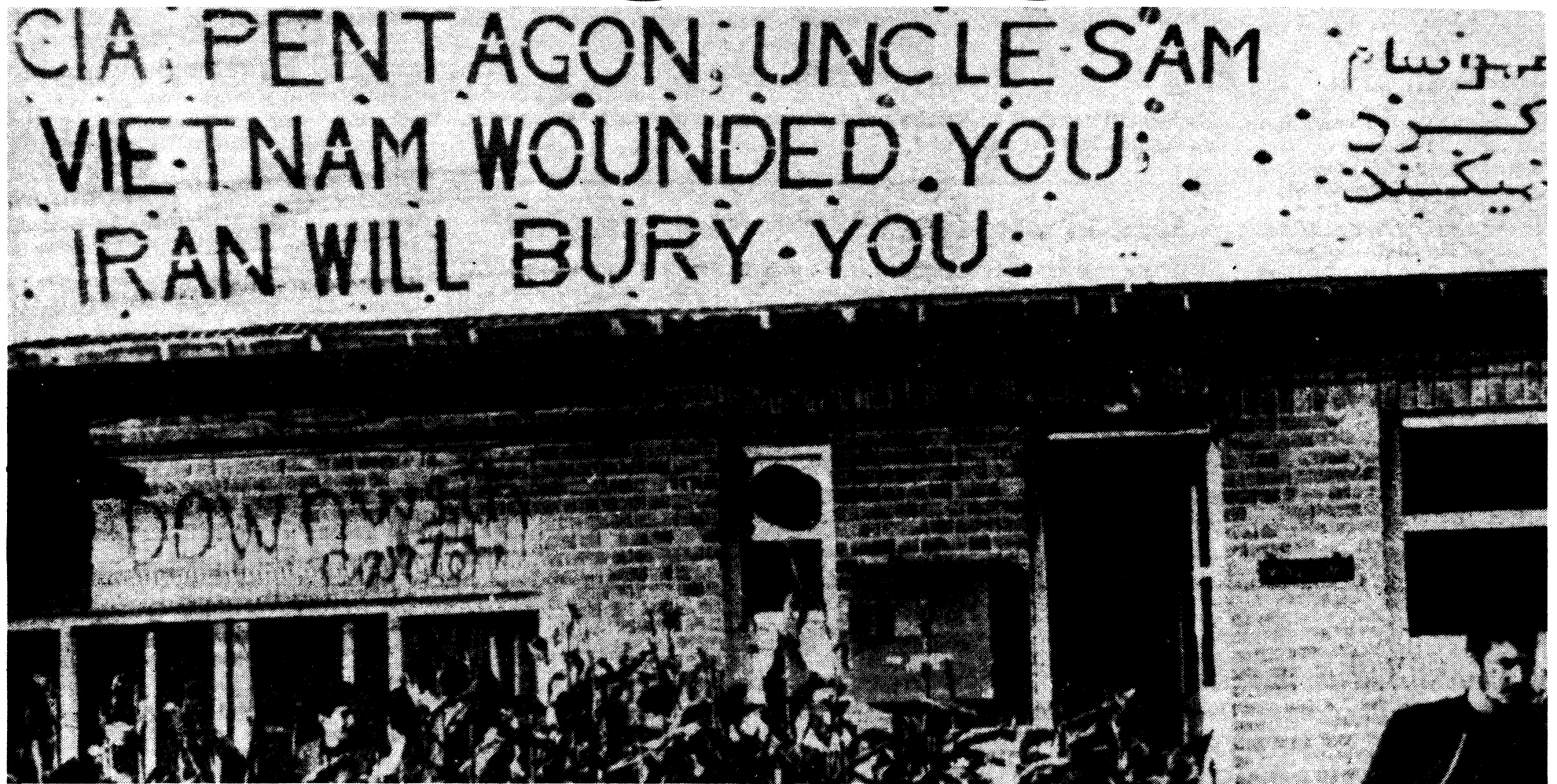


THE MILITANT

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

What Iranian people are fighting for



Banner on occupied U.S. Embassy. Millions of Iranians identify deeply with struggles of Vietnamese, Cubans, and Nicaraguans against exploitation and domination by Washington. For firsthand reports from 'Militant' editor Cindy Jaquith in Tehran, see pages 5-9.

Exclusive reports from Tehran:

- Workers committees spread throughout country
- Iranian soldier appeals to American G.I.s
- SAVAK killer admits CIA complicity

Steel union leaders urge: 'All out Jan. 13!'

Va. march for Equal Rights Amendment

Carter shifts shah to Panama, escalates war threats against Iran

The following statement was issued December 19 by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley.

Carter is again trying to escalate the conflict with Iran.

He has threatened a naval blockade or other war measures if Iran puts any of the diplomatic personnel still in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran on trial as spies. He has warned that military action may be taken if Iran tries to hold a public tribunal on the crimes committed against it by the U.S. government.

These threats show that Carter doesn't give a damn about what happens to the hostages in the embassy. His first concern is to find some way to strike at the Iranian revolution.

The way to get the hostages home is to grant the just demand of millions of Iranians that the shah be sent back to Iran for trial. The

This is the Militant's last issue of the year. After the holiday break, our next issue will be dated January 18.

shah is a butcher and torturer who was responsible for tens of thousands of deaths.

The transfer of the shah from San Antonio to Panama settled nothing. It merely shifted the royal butcher from one haven to another within Washington's empire.

The students occupying the embassy called this shift a transparent effort to fool the American people into thinking that the issue of the shah had been defused. That hit the nail on the head.

Carter retreated momentarily from the plan to give the tyrant asylum in the United States. Documents the students found in the U.S. Embassy proved that this plan was set in motion long beforehand, and show that the shah's illness was used as the pretext to bring him here.

More and more American working people realize that Carter is threatening war and endangering the hostages in order to defend a

bloody criminal. The demand for the extradition of the shah to Iran is gaining support.

Carter hopes moving the shah will make the American people stop thinking about and discussing the mass murderer and his record.

This maneuver is also an insult to the Panamanian people. They have no more desire than us to have the shah's presence imposed on them. This was a blatant exercise of Washington's political, economic, and military domination of Panama, a domination against which Panamanians have protested for decades.

I was inspired by television news reports of the protests that are taking place in Panama against giving the shah asylum. I think working people throughout the Americas have good reason to demand that Carter and Panamanian President Rojo return the shah to Iran.

The media present the demand for the return of the shah as though it were motivated solely by the Iranians' desire for revenge. Well, they have good reason to want justice. But the issue goes deeper than the simple justice of returning a murderer to be tried for his crimes.

Washington's continued patronage of the shah convinced many Iranians that Carter is plotting to return him to the throne. There is a basis for such suspicions.

Iranians remember how the CIA engineered a coup to return the shah to power in 1953, the last time he was driven out of the country by popular opposition. They know that Carter stood by the shah last year as thousands of peaceful protesters were being gunned down in the streets.

They know that the shah has not abdicated his throne and still claims to be Iran's legitimate ruler. They know that the Carter administration and the U.S. media spread the lie that the shah was a "modernizer" who was overthrown by backward religious fanatics. And they know that Washington is still trying to break the back of their revolution.

The Iranian people are determined to prevent this.

That is why students in the embassy and millions of other Iranians insist on a trial or international tribunal in which some of the embassy personnel might figure as defendants or witnesses. (At the same time, they stress that the hostages will be released when the shah is returned, regardless of the outcome of the hearings).

They want to expose the crimes of the shah, and the U.S. government's role in imposing his tyranny on Iran—organizing and supplying his murderers and torturers, and seeking to crush the revolt against his rule.

They want to expose the covert operations that the Carter administration has been carrying out against Iran since the shah fell.

They especially want American working people to know the facts. The Iranians believe that if we know the truth about what the U.S. government has been up to in Iran, we won't stand for any more of it—and they are right.

That is why Carter is so desperate to prevent any such exposure. He even goes to the point of threatening a naval blockade if the Iranians follow through with a tribunal, which the administration claims would be an affront to U.S. honor.

The only ones who need fear a tribunal are those who have bloody hands from their complicity with the shah's crimes.

American working people have no reason to help Carter suppress the truth. The students did us a service by releasing documents from the embassy showing some of Washington's lying and plotting, including the sending of agents into Iran under faked passports.

It is in our interest to find out everything the Iranians can uncover about U.S. operations in Iran—whether that comes out in trials, international tribunals, or any other form.

But much more about the complicity of successive administrations in the crimes of the shah is hidden in the United States—in the Iran files of the CIA, FBI, Pentagon, State Department, and National Security Council.

Instead of threatening Iran, Carter should make these files public.

Open the files—let us know the truth!
Hands off Iran!
Send back the shah!

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Campaigning for socialism in '80

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers candidate for president, discusses results of first months of campaign and sees good prospects for next year. **Pages 14-15.**



Sectarians split from Fourth International

Failing to appreciate depth of revolution in Nicaragua and turning backs on FSLN leadership, two sectarian groups walked out of Trotskyist organization on eve of World Congress. **Pages 19-23.**

The Militant

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Published weekly by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.
Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$20.00 a year, outside U.S. \$25.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$50.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

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

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

S.F. unionists urge Nicaragua support

SAN FRANCISCO—Trade union leaders from the Bay Area, speaking to more than 200 people here December 8, called for labor solidarity with the people of Nicaragua.

The meeting, sponsored by the labor brigade of Casa Nicaragua, was part of the group's efforts to organize reconstruction aid for Nicaragua.

Jack Weintraub, president of Teamsters Local 85, told the audience, which included unionists from various industries, "the enemies that the Nicaraguan workers face are the same ones that Teamsters and other workers face here: the multinationals, holding corporations, and the banks. Our common interest is that we're fighting a common enemy."

"The development of a government in Nicaragua favorable to the trade unions," he said, "can only help us in our struggle of all the working class against the employers."

Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100, called the organization of the Sandinista trade unions after the fall of Somoza "a refreshing change in the trade union movement," towards which U.S. labor "should take a protective attitude."

The organization of the Nicaraguan union movement after the fall of Somoza was explained in a message addressed to the meeting by Robert López, an international representative of the United Auto Workers, who recently returned from Nicaragua.

"Workers in Nicaragua," López said, "are building a strong and democratic labor movement: the CST [Sandinista

Workers Federation] and the ATC [Rural Workers Association]. After almost fifty years under the Somoza dynasty of suppression and exploitation, a time when to talk union was to risk one's life, the workers emerged from this dark age as soldiers in the front ranks in the struggle to liberate their country, and now, with the same courage and class solidarity, they are once more in the front ranks in the struggle for reconstruction."

López called for a massive aid program "without conditions that infringe on their sovereignty." Aid, he said, will benefit "those who suffered the most—the poor workers and peasants of Nicaragua."

Aura Lila Beteta, consul-general for Nicaragua in San Francisco, explained

the needs of her people after the years of exploitation under Somoza and the death and economic destruction he left behind.

Frank Arnold, of Machinists Local 1101 and a delegate to the Santa Clara Central Labor Council, called on unions to donate funds and materials to aid in the reconstruction of Nicaragua, and urged that union delegations visit that country to see for themselves why help is so badly needed.

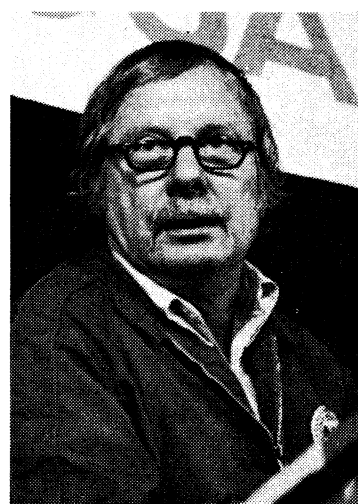
He also called on the AFL-CIO to disassociate from the American Institute for Free Labor Development, an organization closely connected with the CIA, and which is currently interfering in Nicaragua.

Jeff Mackler, of the Hayward Unified Teachers Association, called the

meeting "a good start in solidarity by labor with Nicaragua." Mackler read messages of support from unionists who could not attend the rally, including officials of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Others on the program were Father Cuchulain Moriarty, who read a pastoral letter by Nicaraguan bishops in support of the policies of the revolutionary government; Catarino Garza and Miriam Zamora of Casa Nicaragua; and Venceremos, a group of Chilean musician-refugees, who provided entertainment.

The meeting closed by singing the FSLN anthem and *Solidarity Forever*.



San Francisco union leaders calling for aid to Nicaragua are, left to right, Walter Johnson, Retail Clerks Local 1100; Jack Weintraub, Teamsters Local 85; Jeff Mackler, Hayward Unified Teachers Association; and Frank Arnold, Machinists Local 1101.

FSLN youth ask aid: 'no strings attached'

The following is an open letter from the July 19 Sandinista Youth of Nicaragua, dated November 8, 1979—'Year of the Liberation of Nicaragua.'

After long years of struggle, Nicaraguan youth have won the right to speak out and to be carefully listened to by the peoples of the world. On this occasion we direct our voices to the President, the Congress, and the youth of the United States.

The Nicaraguan people have a long history of oppression and of struggle against it. We have never submitted to any tyrant.

When the U.S. rulers in the mid-1930s installed what came to be the most infamous dictatorship in the Americas, and the rulers in years to come gave their total support and material backing to the Somoza regime, they were thinking neither of the well-being nor the freedom of the Nicaraguan people. Rather, they sought to assure their political and economic domination and control over this small nation in the center of the Americas. The price Nicaraguans had to pay

never interested those who directed U.S. politics.

When our people began to step up our struggle and the dictatorship began to demonstrate its harshness and brutality, there was no lack of voices in Congress to defend the intensified genocide as necessary to protect liberty and democracy.

The United States says that it defends democracy, but considers the best defenders of liberty and democracy to be the Somozas and Pinochets of the world.

How else can it be explained that, directly or indirectly, democracy has been wiped out or military regimes have been installed in the majority of the countries of Latin America?

If the United States says it defends liberty and self-determination for all peoples, how can it be explained that almost all the countries of Latin America have been invaded by U.S. troops?

U.S. troops invaded Nicaragua three different times, and the end result of the last of these invasions was the founding of the Somoza dictatorship and the National Guard.

We don't blame the people of the

United States for this. We blame those who direct the policies and control the media, telling the people of the United States to look for communism wherever there is a struggle for liberty and to see democracy where the cruelest, most brutal, and genocidal repression exists.

We are glad to see that the United States is concerned about Human Rights. But we are disappointed that they lose sight of the fact that those genocidal armies and those criminal officials have been trained and organized by the United States; they do not even mention the fact that refined torture methods like electric shock were introduced into our countries by CIA instructors from the United States.

More than 7,200 officers of Latin American armies have been trained by the United States. In just four years the United States gave Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay—four of the most brutal and repressive regimes in the Americas—more than \$1.1 billion in arms and war equipment, and in one single year these four countries received \$500 million in aid for mil-

itary training.

We Nicaraguan youth, who have shed our blood over the length and breadth of our free homeland, demand that the government of the United States fully respect the right of the Nicaraguan people to choose the path that we will follow. We demand an end to the campaign of lies and distortions about our revolution, which has been the most generous in the history of humanity.

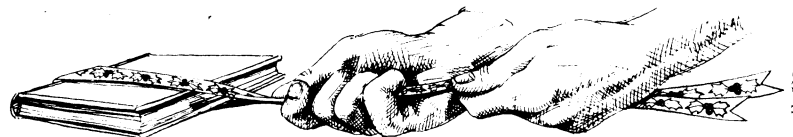
Our country is small in territory and population, but it is gigantic in dignity and in determination to be free.

We don't have schools, or hospitals, or even homes. The energy of all the youth and of the entire Nicaraguan people is concentrated today on reconstructing our homeland in peace and liberty. We demand of the United States the support that we need.

But that support must be impartial, with no strings attached, because, as our Commander Tomás Borge has said, "We would prefer dying of hunger to accepting even the smallest condition."

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JULY 19. SANDINISTA YOUTH

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(Good through December 25, 1979)

Carter uses aid plan to blackmail Nicaragua

By Gus Horowitz

On December 11 the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved a \$75 million aid package for Nicaragua. Before it is adopted, the bill has to be approved by the House of Representatives as a whole (where a vote is expected sometime next year) and by the Senate.

On December 14 a delegation from the government of Nicaragua opened talks in Mexico City with representatives of ninety private foreign banks to discuss refinancing of \$490 million in outstanding debts inherited from the deposed Somoza dictatorship.

Nicaraguan government and FSLN leaders have, of course, welcomed any aid extended to them, and any renegotiation of debts that would ease the immediate burden they face. Sandinista Front leaders Jaime Wheelock and Victor Tirado, who were in the United States recently to discuss the economic problems of their country, insisted only on respect for the sovereignty and independence of Nicaragua. The goals of the revolution would be pursued, they declared, no matter what.

But while the Nicaraguan revolutionists must speak the language of diplomacy in these negotiations—and no one can fault them for it—American working people are under no such constraints. We should describe these "aid" measures for what they are: grossly inadequate, accompanied by numerous political strings, and designed for economic arm-twisting.

The Nicaraguan leaders have fully explained the scope of their country's problems.

Material damage caused by Somoza in his desperate attempt to hold onto power was at least \$500 million.

Foreign debts amounted to \$1.5 billion, mostly to private banks, contracted on hard terms. One-third of the debt was due by the end of 1979.

In addition, Nicaragua lost an estimated \$2 billion in capital flight and outright looting by Somoza and his cohorts. The dictator left behind a mere \$3.5 million in the national treasury—not much more than one dollar per capita!

Some 35,000 people were killed and 100,000 wounded in the civil war. Inflation is running at an annual rate of almost 40 percent, unemployment is 50 percent, and 700,000 people—one quarter of the population—require regular food assistance.

Staggering need

This panorama of staggering need and crushing debts has not been contested by U.S. capitalists.

In fact, most members of a delegation to Nicaragua from the Council of the Americas (a high-level U.S. business group) "came away stunned by the level of destruction" that they saw, reported the *New York Times* October 9. "They're not on their knees here," said one business executive, "they're flat out on their bellies."

In comparison with the need, the \$75 million proposed in Congress is pitifully meager. The U.S. offer is particularly stingy in view of the fact that the billions of dollars in debts, losses and devastation that tiny Nicaragua suffered were at the hands of a tyranny

that owed its existence to Washington.

Of the \$75 million, only \$5 million consists of grants. Fully \$70 million are loans that must be paid back. And the money Nicaragua receives has to be used to buy products from U.S. companies (who won't neglect the opportunity to make a tidy profit on their sales, of course).

Some 60 percent of the aid, moreover, is to be funneled to the "private sector," that is, to insure help for Nicaraguan capitalists.

Finally, two additions were tacked onto the bill. One is a proviso—an outrageous infringement of Nicaraguan sovereignty—that requires President Carter to cut off all aid "if he determines that Soviet, Cuba or other foreign combat troops" are in Nicaragua.

The other is a \$5 million aid package to Honduras, currently ruled by a brutal military dictatorship that is harboring thousands of soldiers of Somoza's National Guard. They fled across the border when the Nicaraguan dictator was overthrown, and are being held in reserve for possible military action against Nicaragua.

Economic blackmail

The message is clear enough. The Nicaraguan people are being pressured to toe the line, and threatened if they do not.

The international banks are drawing up a similar scenario.

"The last thing we want—and Nicaragua should want," said the vice-president of a major U.S. bank, "is for banks to write off small debts, because

we expect Nicaragua to be borrowing again soon."

And the Nicaraguans, knowing that they do have to borrow, have had to promise that they will honor all the big debts—all except arms debts—that Somoza ran up before he ran off. "This is a good sign," was the comment of a leading U.S. banker at the Mexico City talks.

The only concession the profiteering banks are willing to discuss is to refinance Nicaragua's huge debts—that is, to change the payment schedule so that Nicaragua can meet the payments on time.

The huge international debts will also be used to pressure the Nicaraguan people against taking too many measures detrimental to capitalist interests.

The name for all this is economic blackmail.

The *Wall Street Journal*, which usually speaks frankly for its class interests, described Carter's aid package as "not a large sum," and worth supporting because "the downside risk is low and the package makes a reasonable anti-Communist gamble" (October 10).

That kind of cynicism and callous disregard for the needs of the people of Nicaragua is typical of capitalists.

To counter them, American working people need to build a powerful movement to demand that Washington grant the Nicaraguan people all the humanitarian aid they need to rebuild their country—no strings attached! And to force a cancellation of the crushing debts and burdensome interest rates!

Literacy drive described in Albany

Dr. Alejandro Bendaña, political adviser to Nicaragua's U.N. mission, spoke to more than 125 people in Albany, New York, November 30 on the topic, "Nicaragua: A Nation Rebuilds."

Bendaña said that the most important basis for democracy is education, and that the Sandinistas are giving top priority to a campaign to wipe out illiteracy. Volunteer teachers will go throughout the country, living with those they instruct. Thus, teachers and students will be able to learn from each other.

Mark Chalkley and Scott Sommers, who covered the meeting for the *Militant*, report that the enthusiastic audience, which included many Latinos, contributed more than \$350 for Nicaragua reconstruction. The meeting was organized by the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee at the State University of New York at Albany.

FSLN leader Wheelock speaks in Madison

Nicaragua's Minister of Agrarian Reform, Jaime Wheelock (right), addressed an enthusiastic meeting of 150 people in Madison, Wisconsin, on December 12. He said that the governing institutions being set up in Nicaragua will guarantee the participation of the mass organizations that arose in the course of the revolution and have had a mushrooming growth since then.

The organized masses, he said, "have given the impulse and strength to all the measures taken by the government." The aim in Nicaragua is to build "an active democracy, a democracy in which the people participate on a daily basis, a democracy that puts the government within reach of the people and makes it respond to their needs."



Militant/David McDonald

Carter aid package 'far too little'

Manuel Valle, Nicaraguan Consul in Los Angeles, told 100 people at a Nicaragua solidarity meeting in San Diego November 29 that the Carter administration's proposal to ask Congress for \$75 million "is far too little."

"When you consider all of the millions the United States provided Anastasio Somoza after the 1972 earthquake—money used to prop up that dictatorship—and when you consider that the country is now destroyed, then you can see that the aid is far from adequate," he explained.

Valle also said, according to *Militant* correspondent Mic Vernier, that the Nicaraguan people would not give up their sovereignty in exchange for aid.

Speaking along with Valle at the San Diego State University meeting



Solidarity with Nicaragua!

was Héctor Marroquín, the Young Socialist Alliance leader who is fighting for political asylum. Marroquín called for unconditional aid to the Nicaraguan people.

FSLN farm labor policies hailed

Ray Santiago, secretary-treasurer of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, told a Nicaragua solidarity meeting at the University of Toledo on December 10 that he welcomed the attention that the FSLN-led government in Nicaragua is paying to the needs of farmworkers. They form a big proportion of the population of that country. Tom Nowell, assistant regional director of AFSCME Ohio Council 8, also sponsored the meeting and slideshow, along with the Black Student Union, MEChA, and the YSA at the university. Twenty-five people attended, reports our correspondent Lynn Edmiston.

'We need the same kind of revolution'

"We need the same kind of revolution in my country," said a Guatemalan student, who was so interested in a slide show on Nicaragua that he came to two of the four showings that were held in Denver, December 7-9.

The slide shows were presented by Fred Halstead, who was in Nicaragua last September and is now on tour for the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. Halstead stressed the SWP's strong stand in favor of reconstruction aid for Nicaragua.

A young Nicaraguan who supported the overthrow of Somoza came forward after one slide show to help field questions on the revolution. He was familiar with the places shown on the screen, and had looked for friends among the militia and demonstrators.

Silvia Zapata reports that as a result of the interest generated in the slide shows, about fifty people signed up to work on Nicaragua solidarity activities.

Solidarity activity gains in Switzerland

La Brèche, the Swiss Trotskyist fortnightly, reports in its November 24 issue that Nicaragua solidarity committees now exist in twelve cities in Switzerland, encompass hundreds of activists, and carry out a variety of activities.

Posters, T-shirts, records, and tapes are being sold to raise funds for reconstruction. Medicine and medical equipment is also being collected. In Basel, more than \$5,000 has already been raised.

National coordination is being established, with the goal of raising \$25,000 to help set up a textile cooperative for women workers in Estelí.

Compiled by Gus Horowitz

Iran workers organize in battle to free country from exploitation

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—Less than a year after the February insurrection that ended the shah's dictatorship, a new wave of revolutionary struggle—at a qualitatively higher level of anticapitalist consciousness and working-class organization—is sweeping Iran.

At the center of this upsurge is the struggle against Washington's political and economic sabotage of the revolution, symbolized by the Carter administration's alliance with the shah.

In order to defend the revolution and advance it, the workers are taking bolder and bolder measures to free their country from imperialist exploitation, to end capitalist profiteering, and to reconstruct the nation on the basis of working people's needs.

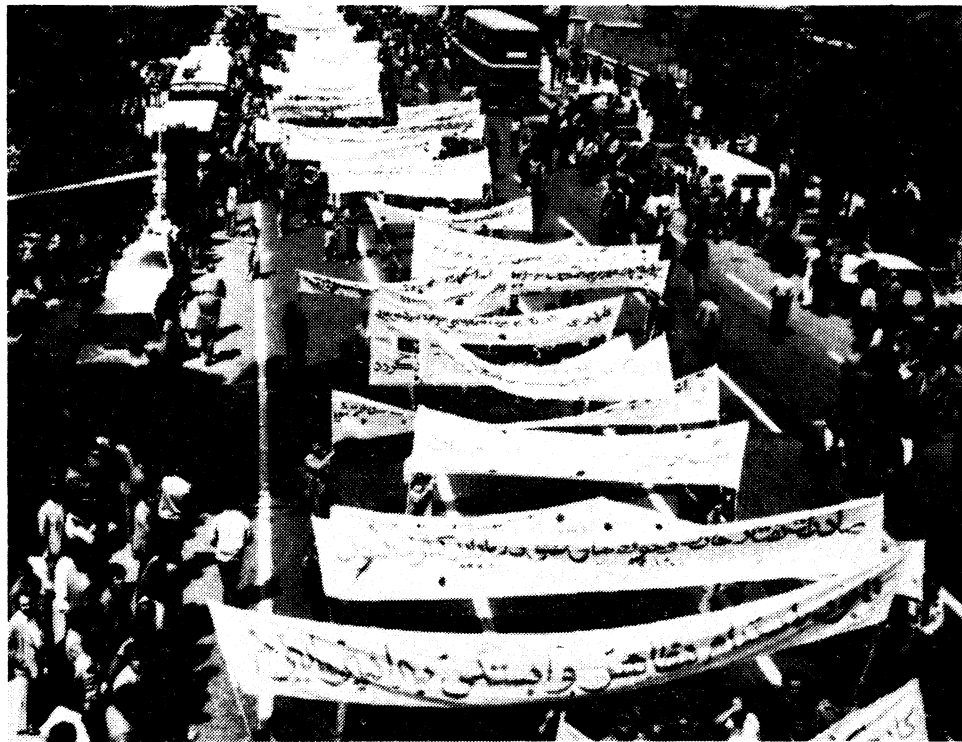
This process in turn is inspiring oppressed nationalities—like the Azerbaijanis—the urban poor, farmers, women, and others to voice their demands with increased confidence.

The hundreds of banners decorating the occupied U.S. Embassy here—inscribed with solidarity messages from factories, villages, army bases, and other places—give only a hint of the mood among the masses. To get a better look at what is happening here and why Carter chose this time to attack the revolution, we can take the example of Shisheh Va Gaz factory in Tehran.

Shisheh Va Gaz manufactures glass bottles and other glass objects. The workers there were solidly behind the struggle to overthrow the shah, recognizing that only by ousting this U.S.-backed tyrant could they begin to overcome the legacy of poverty and misery that grips Iran.

Immediately after the revolution, the workers arrested the known SAVAK collaborators in the plant as well as some of the corrupt bosses. They turned them over to the new government.

They elected a factory committee, or *shora*, to organize the plant and meet the most pressing needs of the workers.



May Day 1979 march. Fall of shah's hated dictatorship unleashed new wave of working-class mobilizations.

The *shora* presently has thirteen members, twelve of whom are production workers. One is an office worker. The *shora* holds general assemblies of the 1,250 employees at Shisheh Va Gaz once a month. It also publishes a factory newspaper.

Most of the capitalists who held shares in the company have fled the country. Five businessmen sit on the board of directors, but they are not allowed to make policy without a *shora* delegate present. In reality the *shora* and the workers it represents control the factory.

Some of the measures the *shora* has taken are the following:

- An across-the-board raise, more than doubling workers' take-home pay. The lowest-paid workers now get about \$600 a month, including benefits.
- A drastic lowering of executive salaries and the firing of nonessential

or corrupt managers and technicians.

- The hiring of 300 additional workers.
- Increased housing allowances, free work clothes, and a bus service to and from the plant.
- Abolition of the old cafeteria system, with separate menus for the bosses, office staff, and production workers. Now there's one menu for all—a full-course meal costs ten cents.
- Regular health examinations.
- A library for the workers.

These steps reflect only one side of the changes at Shisheh Va Gaz. They were accomplished by the workers' use of the *shora* to take over control of production and distribution at the plant, including financial management. This has proven increasingly crucial as the capitalists have made successive efforts to sabotage what the workers are doing.

A financial affairs committee has been set up—including *shora* members and other workers. It controls the books, and oversees contracts and sales. The committee has stopped paying dividends to the shareholders.

The *shora* is also organizing the workers to combat contrived shortages of raw materials and parts. The most pressing shortage is sodium carbonate to make the glass. It is available in Iran, but the businesses producing it are withholding it from this factory and selling it at higher prices on the black market.

The *shora* has visited foreign embassies, including those of the Soviet Union and Romania, to try to buy more sodium carbonate.

Lack of molds for making the bottles is another problem. The workers have built their own molds in the machine shop. They have also begun building a new furnace themselves, since the German technicians who used to do this are gone. The Iranian government refused to give the factory a loan for a furnace.

The *shora* has also organized sales of the bottles at the plant gate, eliminating distributors.

The workers have proven they can run the plant much better without the old bosses. Production has doubled. About 700,000 bottles are turned out each day now. This is especially important because Shisheh Va Gaz is the only bottle factory in Iran that hasn't closed down.

Increased production is important to the workers in light of Carter's attempt to organize an international economic blockade of Iran.

The workers at Shisheh Va Gaz have participated in the big demonstrations here for the return of the shah. The *shora* has organized arms training. The workers have built themselves a mosque for religious services and political meetings.

Leaders of the *shora* are frustrated, however, by their inability to solve

Continued on next page

At U.S. Embassy: solidarity with Vietnam & Cuba

TEHRAN—You can tell we are approaching the U.S. Embassy as we drive along Ayatollah Taleghani Avenue as the walls are increasingly covered with banners, posters, and spray-painted slogans.

As we get to the corner of the embassy compound, a giant banner hangs from a pole, depicting U.S. imperialism as an octopus with its tentacles reaching out all over the world.

We hear chants of "death to the shah" and tapes playing Persian and Turkish music.

It is almost impossible to drive further. The street is half filled with bookstalls, food stands, and demonstrators.

Every square inch of the buildings and walls is covered now with banners supporting the students who are occupying the embassy.

We get out and walk around. The gate to the embassy is barricaded off and guarded by about ten young armed men. After I show my press card, they invite me to go through the barricade to take pictures.

Looking through the gate, you can see several huge signs in English that the students have hung from embassy buildings so the American people can understand why they demand return of the shah. The signs read:

"60,000 killed, 100,000 injured only in the last year of shah's rule and

American support."

"Carter's human rights, asylum for the shah—people's human rights, trial for the shah."

"CIA, Pentagon, Uncle Sam—Vietnam wounded you, Iran will bury you."

"The only way to cut off all the imperialistic dependence is by revolutionary action."

The students are anxious to let the American people know they are fighting the U.S. war machine, not U.S. citizens. Thus another big sign reads: "Our enemy is the Americans' government, not their nation."

The students' *shora*, or council, operates a table at the gate where you can pick up the latest statements they have made, speeches by Ayatollah Khomeini, and copies of the secret U.S. Embassy files they have discovered. They sell a book of the files translated into Persian for about twenty cents. During the five minutes I was standing at the table five copies of the book were sold.

Through a translator I introduce myself to a woman who is running the table and show her a *Militant*. She looks at the front-page story on growing U.S. opposition to Carter's war threats.

"I am very pleased to meet you," she says, shaking my hand. "As the Imam has said we are not against the American people."

The woman goes behind the table into a tent and returns with a new set of embassy files the students have just released. She gives me these and copies of all the students' statements to the media.

We walk further down the street to look at the banners that workers, soldiers, peasants, and students have hung from the walls and trees to show solidarity with the fight against U.S. imperialism.

The banner from the workers at the Mazda auto plant declares: "Occupation of the spy den is one of the workers' demands."

There is also an oil workers' banner, and one from the peasants of the village of Roudak.

Soldiers have draped a banner on a wall. It says "We, soldiers of Mehrabad air base, declare our total support for the revolutionary action of the students following the Imam's line, and are ready to sacrifice our last drop of blood for the cause."

We return to the embassy gate because there is a demonstration going on. On the left about 100 men are chanting, "The U.S. is empty." Fifty high school women on the right return with "Vietnam is proof."

This is a popular chant in all the demonstrations here. The Iranian people believe the victory of the Vietnamese revolution was a historic defeat for U.S. imperialism and

that it has had a big impact on the American people.

Identification with the Vietnamese is strong here—Iranians hope to set the same kind of example.

Such demonstrations take place constantly. Often they number in the thousands, especially when a whole factory empties out to march down to the embassy.

The demonstrators are almost entirely working class, urban poor, or peasants. Virtually all the women—and there are many of them—wear the chador (veil) or a scarf covering their heads.

Before leaving, we take a look at the literature tables and displays. Among the groups selling books are radical and conservative Islamic organizations, Hezb-e Kargarane Sosialist (Socialist Workers Party), Tudeh (Communist) Party, Majahedeen, and Fedayeen. There are posters up showing pictures of the martyrs who died in the revolution.

Many people are also crowded around a display of photographs of national liberation struggles around the world. The last section of this display is labeled "victories." It shows scenes from the civil war in Nicaragua, the victorious Sandinistas taking power, and then the Cuban revolution, with a big picture of a smiling Fidel Castro surrounded by Rebel Army soldiers.

—C.J.

...Iran workers

Continued from preceding page

some of the general social problems the workers face.

Inflation is rampant. While the *shora* has set up a food cooperative inside the factory, selling products at cheaper prices, this doesn't answer all the workers' needs.

Housing is in a major crisis in Tehran because the landlords are holding back empty apartments, fearing takeovers of their buildings by homeless people.

Health care is another crisis. The meager social security system here offers little protection for a worker who gets seriously ill or has an accident.

Shisheh Va Gaz's ability to stay open is itself in jeopardy, because of the hoarding of raw materials and the refusal of the Ministry of Labor to aid the factory, which has not been nationalized.

Shora leaders believe the only solution to this is to nationalize all of Iranian industry and place it under control of the *shoras*, as well as establishing a government monopoly of foreign trade. An Islamic government, they say, means abolition of the capitalist profit system.

Development of shoras

While the Shisheh Va Gaz workers have driven further ahead than workers in many other factories, the *shora* system exists in the majority of plants in the country. The *shoras* are uneven in their development but they are all coming under similar pressure from the workers to push the revolution forward.

Shoras have been legalized in the recently adopted constitution. They also exist on many campuses, high schools, and army bases.

Military and economic threats from the U.S. government, combined with capitalist resistance to the initiatives of the workers, has led the *shoras* to begin discussions of uniting in common activities.

In the industrial city of Isfahan, for example, the *shora* at the Nakh Tab textile plant is planning a joint meeting with workers at the plant next door. The two factories will also join forces for a demonstration demanding the return of the shah. As one young Nakh Tab worker explained, "In our fight with the shah, we had no idea what was going on in the next factory. But now we can unite our forces."

The anti-imperialist mobilization in Isfahan has gone far beyond the factories. Defense committees in the

working-class neighborhoods, which were taken over by conservative religious authorities after the February insurrection, are experiencing a revival. Revolutionary-minded workers and youth are joining these committees, especially for military training.

Meetings at mosques

The neighborhood organizing centers in Isfahan, as in every other city, are the mosques. At the Chardah Masoon Mosque, the workers go to meetings every night after work. Generally there is a political talk by a mullah about U.S. imperialism, discussion, and prayers.

In Isfahan there is also a city-wide body called the Coordinating Committee of the Cities and Villages, headed by an Islamic judge, Ayatollah Omid. The committee is supporting peasants who have seized land and workers fighting for control of their factories. The committee has had run-ins with landlords, factory owners, and conservative Islamic officials in the city.

The developments in cities like Tehran and Isfahan were accelerated by the Carter administration's move to bring the shah to the United States in October.

But the working-class upsurge had been unleashed nine months before, when the dictatorship was overthrown and the system of SAVAK terror in the labor movement was destroyed. It was clearly the growing anticapitalist

thrust of these struggles that impelled U.S. imperialism this fall to take in the shah and intensify its campaign against the Iranian revolution.

The U.S. big-business media report virtually nothing about what the workers here are doing or saying. They are consciously trying to hide the fact that the initiatives for the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist measures are coming from the workers, farmers, students, and oppressed nationalities—not from the capitalist government.

Faced with these initiatives, Khomeini responded by taking some anti-imperialist steps that have increased the confidence of the masses to struggle.

Role of Khomeini

Thus Khomeini forced out Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi, and others from office, although they remain in the Islamic Revolutionary Council.

The working masses had lost all confidence in these officials because they had failed to take the economic and social measures expected of them. The workers grew to identify these figures as representatives of the bosses and the imperialists.

The religious hierarchy in Iran is viewed differently. Because he has supported the struggle to bring back the shah for trial, Khomeini today has the greatest authority in the country as an anti-imperialist leader.

Students occupying the U.S. Em-

bassy, revolutionary workers, and others involved in the upsurge often call themselves "followers of the Imam's line." They believe their actions are consistent with the concept of the Islamic Republic.

As the class struggle intensifies and the workers go through further experiences in their attempts to reconstruct Iran, the leadership will be tested again and again—and the workers will create new layers of leaders from their own ranks.

Lacking a mass party of their own that could unite the struggles against imperialism, against capitalist sabotage, and for the rights of oppressed nationalities, the workers today are aggressively seeking new political ideas and leadership.

Socialists in Iran

Many workers are attracted to the program of struggle offered by the Iranian revolutionaries in the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party).

Socialist workers in the factories here are explaining to co-workers that they must be the best soldiers in the anti-imperialist struggles today. They point to how the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions have dealt with similar problems.

Workers supporting the HKS argue that to defeat the imperialist threat, the government should carry out its announced plan to "build an army of 20 million" by arming the masses. Military training of civilians should be continued and expanded, under the control of the factory *shoras*, army *shoras*, and neighborhood defense committees.

This mobilization of the masses is the best guarantee of a revolutionary foreign policy, the socialist workers say.

The workers and farmers should be supported in their efforts to end the destruction of the economy by the capitalists and big landlords.

Businesses hoarding needed goods, and those that have shut down, must be expropriated and placed under the control of the *shoras*. Factories owned by the imperialists should be nationalized, as a self-defense measure against Carter's blockade. The government should establish a monopoly of foreign trade.

To mobilize the country behind these steps, the workers need full access to the facts of the impact of the U.S. blockade and internal capitalist sabotage of the economy.

To unite all of Iran's nationalities behind this anti-imperialist program, the demands of oppressed nationalities—the Kurds, Azerbaijanis, and others—for full national rights must be met. Ending the shah's legacy of discrimination against these nationalities in local decision-making power, language, and culture is the best way to solidify the working class and peasantry in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Massive land reform is needed to organize agriculture to meet the needs of Iran's 34 million people. Steps already taken by small farmers to take over the land of the big capitalists should be supported and extended.

The severe lack of housing in cities like Tehran can be resolved by first opening up the thousands of houses and apartments left vacant by counter-revolutionaries who have fled the country. A crash program to build new housing would help solve the pressing problem of unemployment in the cities.

Women, who are entering the anti-imperialist battles by the millions, must have full equality. Deepen the mobilizations of these fighters, the HKS urges.

The workers are now developing instruments of their own—*shoras*—that can take the lead in carrying out these measures, the socialists explain. Uniting the factory *shoras* in their common struggles, and seeking to ally them with *shoras* in the army, in the rural areas, and in the working-class neighborhoods, is the next step to forging the revolutionary leadership that can carry this new upsurge forward.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

January 1979 demonstration in Tehran. Iranian workers, who played decisive role in toppling shah, have forced the ouster of government figures seen as conciliatory toward capitalism and imperialism.

Iran soldier appeals to U.S. GIs

TEHRAN—"We ask our brother soldiers in the United States, before you board the planes and boats to fight us in Iran, think about the people you will be shooting at. We are human beings, just like you."

A young Iranian army sergeant made this appeal in an interview here December 14.

"We have no intention of aggression against the United States," he told me. "The fight we are waging against the U.S. government is because it leads the capitalist and imperialist governments of the world. We have nothing against the American people."

The sergeant said he believes the root of war is profits. "For the capitalists, human lives mean nothing. The only thing they know about is dollars."

"We know American soldiers are the sons of workers and farmers, not of businessmen. We value the lives of these soldiers a great deal because we consider them to be just like us."

"If they are sent here, who will benefit? Which class? Not the workers—the U.S. capitalists."

The sergeant said that on his

base, the rank and file soldiers discuss the fight against U.S. imperialism constantly.

"Iranian soldiers think that even if the American people live better than us, they know what happened in Vietnam. After Vietnam, we know that American people changed their thinking because they had 50,000 killed in that war."

"The American people are not the same as Carter or Kennedy. We don't think there is any difference between Kennedy and Carter. They are both capitalists."

The sergeant explained that the top officers on the base do not like these discussions. They argue that it is dangerous to challenge imperialism. "They say what will happen is that Iran will be invaded and our country will be divided up between the United States and Russia."

"But the sergeants and soldiers think we should go out and teach the workers and farmers how to use arms. For example, I want to teach my wife, father, and brother how to shoot, but I don't have a gun. I think the government should organize classes in the mosques,

schools, factories, and villages."

The need to mobilize against Carter's war threats has pushed the question of democratic rights to the fore once again in the army.

The sergeant said that on his base there is an elected council, or *shora*. But many soldiers feel the *shora* does not give enough representation to the rank and file. For example, the infantrymen have no delegate. "They also want the *shora* to hold meetings more often, and to allow them to express their ideas of what should be done," he explained.

Another issue is the right to elect officers. "We have not been allowed to do that," the sergeant said, "so many of our officers are from the shah's regime. We do not believe they can be revolutionary commanders."

Returning to the subject of American GIs, he added, "We know that American soldiers do not have democratic rights in their army."

The sergeant concluded the interview with another appeal: "We think the soldiers in the U.S. should unite with us and help wipe out war around the world."—C.J.

SAVAK killer admits CIA's complicity

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—Facing dozens of international journalists, as well as some of his victims, one of the highest-ranking SAVAK agents under the shah said December 12: "The CIA was completely aware of what was going on [in SAVAK] because they set up the system and provided the training."

Hassan Sanna, who served in the shah's hated secret police for twenty-three years, was speaking here at Evin prison where he is incarcerated. Captured in hiding only two months ago, Sanna served directly under Parviz Saabeti, the SAVAK chief of "subversive" control.

Saabati—who personally participated in torturing anti-shah activists—is one of the most hated criminals in Iran today. He is believed to have fled the country.

International journalists were invited by Iran's Ministry of National Guidance to question Sanna and other prisoners at Evin on their role under the shah. Our visit to Evin was part of a series of tours organized by the government to explain why the Iranian people demand the return of the shah.

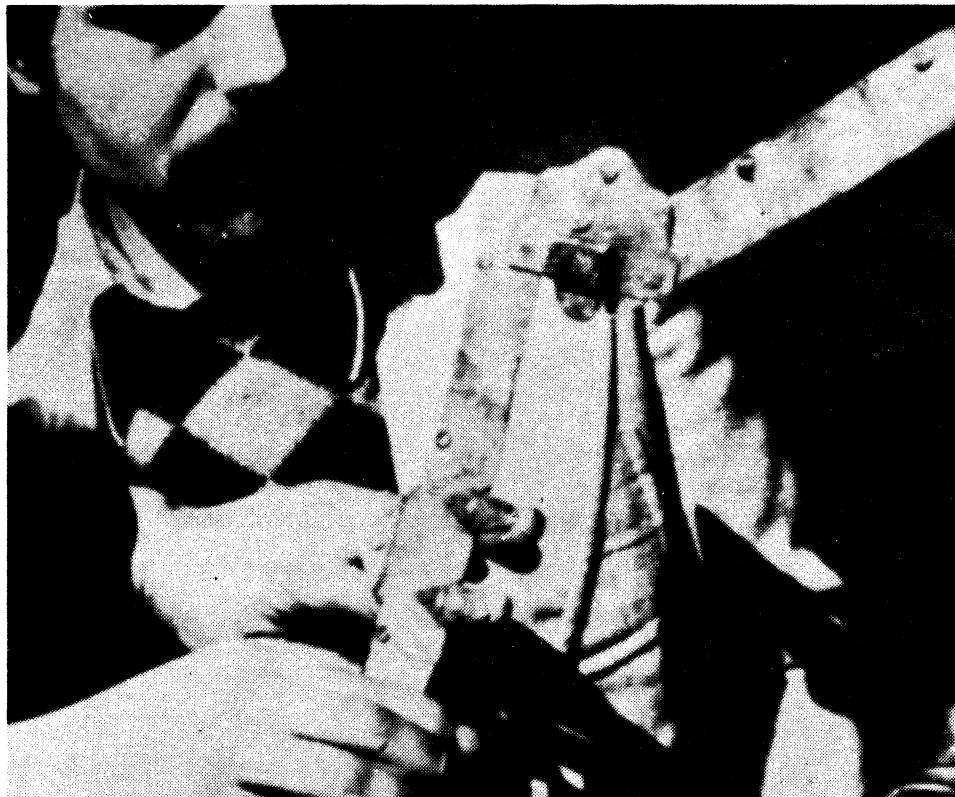
In addition to Sanna, other imprisoned SAVAK agents, the deputy director of the notorious Qasr prison, and Dr. Sheikholeslomezadeh, minister of health under the shah, were brought before us. Relatives of those slain by SAVAK, some torture victims, and dozens of young soldiers joined us to hear what the criminals had to say.

SAVAK's Sanna told us that agents of the shah's secret police were regularly flown to the United States for training in torture by the CIA. He said he participated in one of these sessions which took place "at an apparent CIA installation four hours' flying time from Washington, D.C." He did not disclose the city.

Some of SAVAK's most hated torture instruments were also developed in the U.S., Sanna stated.

The hideous Apollo chair, in which the torture victim sits with a special helmet on her or his head, was built by one of the shah's technicians trained in the United States. The person is whipped with wire cable and their screams are magnified in volume through the helmet to their ears.

The CIA also functioned inside Iran, Sanna said. "It spied on anti-shah activists, it determined where they were living, and turned the addresses over to SAVAK for arrest."



SAVAK torture device was used to pull out victim's fingernails

The head of CIA operations for Iran at the time of the shah's downfall was a man who called himself William Booth. His office was right in the U.S. Embassy. Sanna said he went to the embassy to meet with Booth.

The SAVAK chief also provided details of the agency's relations with other foreign intelligence networks:

- **Israel.** The Israeli secret police, Mossad, collaborated with SAVAK in a disruption program aimed at discrediting Islamic groups opposed to the shah. To present these groups as fanatics, SAVAK agents did such things as burn down liquor stores.

- **Britain.** "We gave British intelligence information on the Arab countries. . . in return they gave us information on Iranian students in Britain." Students identified as anti-shah had their passports revoked or stolen. Those returning to Iran were arrested on the spot.

- **Iraq.** SAVAK obtained an agreement with Iraqi intelligence to spy on visitors to Ayatollah Khomeini when he lived in exile there. Eventually SAVAK got the Iraqi government to expel Khomeini. A joint Iran-Iraq agreement was also made on crushing the Kurdish liberation struggle.

- **Egypt.** SAVAK gave Egypt intelligence reports on the activities on

Palestinian groups in Lebanon.

Sanna presented the facts of what he and other SAVAK agents did in a cold, matter-of-fact tone of voice. But his

victims described to us the living hell they had experienced.

Iran's Foreign Press Director Abolghassem Sadegh introduced us to his brother Ahmad and his sister-in-law Homa. They told how their son Nasser was tortured and executed in 1971 by SAVAK. His crime was to have refused to kiss the shah's hand when he was awarded an athletic medal at Tehran University.

Not satisfied with murdering one son, SAVAK decided to make an example of the Sadegh family to other oppositionists. Two of their other sons were jailed, one released only when masses stormed the prison during the February 1979 revolution here. Another son went into hiding for four years in fear for his life. Their daughter was arrested when she was only fourteen and imprisoned for two years.

Ahmad Sadegh made a moving appeal to us as the session ended. Pointing to the SAVAK agent's confession, he said, "This is why Imam [Khomeini] says today that the United States was involved in everything here. . . ."

"As a human being, I ask the reporters here who have heard these agents . . . take back to your people what the U.S. and Israel have done to this nation. Tell them the truth so the world will know."

Militant reporter is news

The following is a translation of an article that appeared in the December 13 issue of 'Ettela'at,' one of the most widely circulated dailies in Tehran. It was written by a reporter for the Iranian government's Pars news agency. The article appeared on the back page under the headline 'The Movement to Block U.S. Military Intervention in Iran.'

An American journalist is trying to bring together U.S. groups that support the Iranian revolution to build a movement that can block U.S. military intervention in Iran.

Miss Cindy Jaquith, a reporter for the American paper, the *Militant*, was among journalists who were touring the Komiteh, the former Savak jail; and Evin prison.

In a conversation with a Pars

reporter during the tour, Miss Jaquith said, "Our paper supports the revolution."

She said that she came to Iran for the first time during the upsurge of the [February] revolution. Miss Jaquith added: "The American mass media reflects the events in Iran in a very unreal way. They try to present the Iranian people as illogical, irrational, and as religious fanatics."

In the United States many people are religious. A lot is written in the U.S. press about religion, but only about the types of religions that exist in the United States. There are not many Muslims in the United States and the American people do not have correct information on Islam.

The headquarters of the *Militant* is in New York City and its circulation is 20,000 across the country.

Secret documents show U.S. goals in Iran

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—Students occupying the U.S. Embassy here have been releasing secret documents from the files.

Printed up in book format by the students, the documents have been available to the world press for some weeks. But the U.S. big-business press has printed only a few words from them. They want to keep the truth about the embassy's role in Iran secret from American working people.

Last week the *Militant* printed documents showing that the U.S. government had long planned to admit the shah to this country, for reasons that had nothing to do with health.

The following document shows that U.S. policy aimed at close collaboration with the shah.

One goal was to keep up a warm working relationship with the shah's murderous secret police, the SAVAK. The document reveals that the U.S. government allowed SAVAK to operate in the United States, where it spied on anti-shah Iranian students and disrupted anti-shah activities.

The document also reveals U.S. determination to maintain strong links between the shah and Israel. Increasingly isolated in the world, the racist

regime in Israel is forced more and more to depend on tyrannies such as the shah's and apartheid South Africa for support.

Iran was also projected as a "regional policeman," maintaining "stability" in the face of increasing unrest by the workers and farmers of the Mideast.

Finally, the document gets around to human rights. The document notes the "image" problem the shah's dungeons may create, and urges an oh-so-gentle campaign to get him to clean up his act.

A big part of the daily grind at the embassy was devoted to hunting up opportunities for U.S. corporations to make profits off Iran. This included trying to penetrate the nuclear market in Iran. And it also meant trying to keep down the price U.S. oil companies had to pay for Iranian petroleum. This meant that the oil giants could make a lot more as they gouged American consumers.

The document, called "Goals and Objectives in Iran," was written in January 1977 by U.S. Ambassador William Sullivan. Here are the goals:

I. A sustained political/economic relationship built upon trust, confidence, and mutual respect—maintain and reinforce the

relationship of trust and confidence established with the shah. . . .

II. An enhanced U.S.-Iranian relationship in non-military fields.

—Encourage the continuation of a reliable petroleum supply for the United States and its closest allies and the adoption of a moderate pricing policy. Explain U.S. energy policies and programs, and the need of the world economy for oil at bearable prices.

—Facilitate an increase of the United States' share of the market in Iran and be prepared to use the weight of the ambassador's office in support at a minimum, of nondiscriminatory access by American firms to business opportunities in Iran. . . .

—Pursue with Dr. Etemad and his Atomic Energy Organization associates formulation of final text of U.S.-Iranian nuclear cooperation agreement which meets President's nonproliferation objectives.

—Maintain U.S. intelligence-gathering privileges in Iran, and continue to provide quid pro quo liaison support in response to these privileges. Carefully weigh any proposals for additional privileges to insure they do not endanger existing assets. . . .

—Work with GOI [Government of Iran] Ministry of Education to improve procedures in the evaluation and processing of Iranians seeking an education in the U.S. . . .

III. Carefully coordinated military relationship including military supplies and programs.

IV. Maintenance of Iran's balanced posture in regional affairs.

—Encourage the continuation of Iran's balanced approach to Arab-Israeli affairs and its support for our Middle East peace negotiations.

—Encourage maintenance of a positive Iranian relationship with Israel, including an oil supply link.

—Maintain Iran's opposition to Pakistan's reprocessing.

—Supporting Iran's cooperation with Saudi Arabia, Oman, and other Arab peninsula states on Persian Gulf security, keeping informed on relevant security developments in Iraq and Iran's other regional neighbors.

—Encourage a continuation of responsible Iranian cooperation with Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India in both political and economic spheres.

—Encourage Iranian support of our principal policies in Africa.

V. Improvement in Iran's human rights performance.

—Review with the shah and other responsible officials, on appropriate occasions, U.S. human rights policies, focusing on improvement in human rights (which is attainable) as opposed to pushing for changes in the political system (which may smack of foreign interference and be counterproductive), noting the impact an unfavorable Iranian public image on this issue might have on Iran's international posture in the U.S. and elsewhere.

Sparks discussion among Persians

1.2 million march in Tabriz for minority rights

By Amineh Sahand

TEHRAN, December 7—Perhaps the largest demonstration ever held in Tabriz took place December 13. Organizers estimated that 1.2 million people turned out for the action, which expressed the demands of the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijani people, Iran's largest national minority.

Tabriz itself has a population of about 1 million, but massive contingents turned out from surrounding areas.

In addition to workers and peasants, many soldiers were visible in the march.

The main chant of the participants was: "We are your soldiers, Shariat-Madari."

Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, a native of Azerbaijan, has become a symbol for the national aspirations of the Azerbaijani people and for their desire to choose their own Turkish-speaking leaders.

Although the government's first response to the outbreak of the struggle in Azerbaijan was to say that it was dividing Iran in the face of U.S. imperialist threats, there has been a marked change in the tone of official statements over the past few days.

Such statements are now likely to begin by paying tribute to the Azerbaijani people and to their role in the struggle against the monarchy. Attacks focus on Shariat-Madari for his conciliatory attitude during the struggle against the shah and for his silence in regard to the current confrontation with imperialism.

By broadcasting the December 13 demonstration on national television—including segments in Turkish—the

government was clearly trying to allay criticism from the Azerbaijanis in regard to previous censorship.

Demands raised at the Tabriz protest were:

1. Cancellation of the vote for the constitution. The Azerbaijanis object to the fact that there are no provisions recognizing the rights of Iran's various nationalities, and to the designation of an individual leader with supreme power.

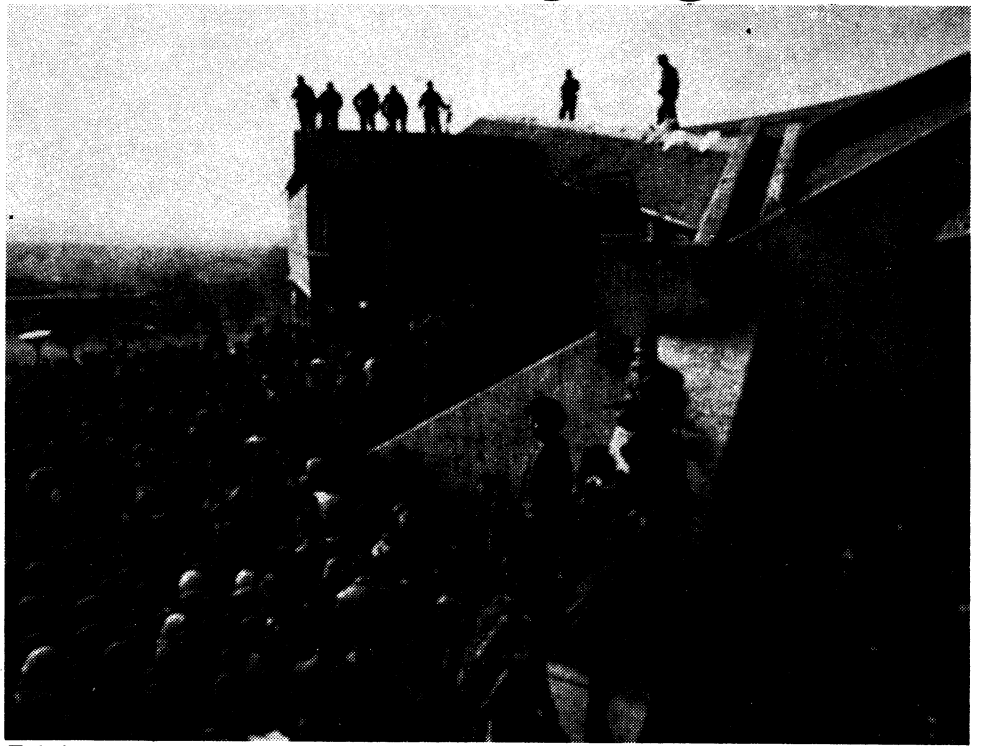
2. Recognize Shariat-Madari as the leader of the Shi'ites around the world. At the end of the rally, a speaker led people in the chant, "Khomeini is our leader, Shariat-Madari is our religious leader," explicitly indicating their support for Khomeini's anti-imperialist course.

3. Release the prisoners arrested during earlier protests. In this regard, the governor-general of Azerbaijan, who had earlier taken a hard line against the protests, announced December 15 that sixty people would be freed. He said ten were awaiting trial, and it has subsequently been reported that charges are going to be brought against them.

4. Pasdaran (the Iranian national army) sent into Azerbaijan to intervene against the demonstrations should be removed.

5. Government officials appointed in Azerbaijan must be approved by Shariat-Madari.

6. The final demand took the form of a slogan—"We reject all the slanders against our struggle." The main charge that has been made is that the Azerbaijanis who took to the streets did not support the struggle against U.S. domination of Iran and for the



Tabriz demonstrators: 'We reject all slanders against our struggle.'

extradition of the shah.

The real sentiment of the Azerbaijani people was indicated again December 17 when 10,000 people demonstrated in Tabriz against the decision of the Panamanian regime to grant the shah asylum. The demonstration was called by students in Tabriz who have taken over the U.S. consulate there and renamed it Palestine Consulate.

In another move to meet the demands raised by the Azerbaijani masses, Pasdaran in Qum have arrested a person they said was responsible for killing a guard at Shariat-

Madari's house. They said that Shariat-Madari would be invited to have an observer present at the investigation.

Developments in Azerbaijan have helped spark a widespread discussion among Iranian workers. Persian workers want unity in the face of continuing U.S. threats. Although there is much confusion about what is happening, many are beginning to think about the demands of the Azerbaijanis and to discuss them.

This process is especially evident in Isfahan, where Azerbaijanis make up a sizable proportion of the workers in the construction, steel, and oil industries. When the protests in Tabriz began, Azerbaijani workers fanned out in the factories to explain to their fellow workers what the struggle was about.

Many Pasdaran from Isfahan had earlier been sent to fight against the Kurdish people demanding autonomy. Pasdaran units in Kurdistan suffered heavy casualties. They were told that the Kurds were counterrevolutionaries, but after seeing the reality of the mass struggle there, many Pasdaran changed their minds.

Right now, Iranian television is showing material on the negotiations between the government and Kurdish leaders. Darius Faruher, the government's chief negotiator, was shown addressing a meeting of Kurds and admitting that all their demands are just. Faruher asked for patience, saying that there were many demands on the government and it could not meet them all at once.

Sheik Ezzeddin Hosseini, a central leader of the Kurdish struggle, explained the desire of the Kurds for autonomy within Iran, saying that "Kurds are Iranians and Muslims, and separation is not in their best interests."

He said that he hoped for a peaceful solution of the dispute through negotiations, but warned that "we are ready to fight for our rights."

Finally, Hosseini expressed his hope that the negotiations would proceed quickly so that "we can fight the real enemy, America."

Persian workers know that even more than in the case of the Kurds, any attempt to try to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the Azerbaijani workers by force of arms would really divide Iran, and would be doomed. As many as 15 million of Iran's 38 million people are Azerbaijani, and Azerbaijanis compose 40 percent of the Iranian army.

On the other hand, respect for the national rights of the Azerbaijani people and support for their autonomy within Iran would establish a solid basis for unity in the fight against imperialism.

Word of socialist paper spreads fast

TEHRAN—The first issue had a press run of 8,000 copies. The second issue, 15,000. The third, 25,000.

That's how fast the demand has grown here for *Kargar* (Worker), the newspaper reflecting the views of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS).

After three months of not publishing, *Kargar* received a temporary legalization permit from the government in mid-November. The first issue of 8,000 quickly appeared on the stands.

It was a special 100-page paper, printed as a pamphlet. On the front cover was a picture of the Sandinista army in Nicaragua. Inside, in addition to articles on Iran, were page after page of news and analysis of advances being made by workers and farmers in Nicaragua.

Although it cost one dollar, it became very popular. It led one oil worker in Abadan, for example, to write to the *Kargar* office asking how he could join the HKS.

The second issue, 16 pages, sold thousands of copies at the U.S. Embassy here alone. The front cover featured both the Iranians' fight against U.S. imperialism and the Nicaraguan revolution. *Kargar* salespeople set up a table at the embassy and sold up to 200 copies of the paper in an hour.

What made this issue especially attractive was that it reprinted in full the Nicaraguan Bill of Rights. Sales were taking place just at the time that the referendum was held here on the Iranian constitution.

Word spread quickly that the *Kargar* table had copies of the Nicaraguan constitution. Many people with copies of the Iranian constitution in their hands came up



Socialists selling 'Kargar' earlier this year. Now that it is again legal, circulation is rapidly growing.

to buy *Kargar* and then sat down to compare the two.

A separate article in *Kargar* explained the need in Iran for a constitution that utilizes and organizes the power of the working masses to combat imperialism and capitalism, as the Nicaraguan constitution does. The article said that the draft proposed by the Iranian government fails to do this. Workers should register their opposition to this draft.

Sales were good not only at the embassy. There were brisk sales in south Tehran neighborhoods, where the working class and urban poor are concentrated. And at the one-million strong demonstration November 30 here, celebrating the religious holiday of Ashura and protesting U.S. imperialism, 500 *Kargars* were sold.

The issue was also snapped up in Tabriz, scene of big mobilizations for Azerbaijani national rights. Tabriz newsstands doubled their orders for the next issue.

The *Kargar* office received a letter from Tabriz that is typical of the response the paper has gotten. "I myself am a worker," the letter began. "After our revolution I joined a party, but after a while I discovered that it was not concerned with my demands. . . . I would like to find out more about your party. Please write me. I will pay for the postage."

The third issue of *Kargar* now on the stands has a picture of the giant demonstration in Tehran November 30 and an article on Azerbaijan on the front cover.

—C.J.

Lives changed by revolution

Women garment workers press demands

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—When word came over the radio November 4 that students had occupied the U.S. Embassy, the women at the garment factory where Amineh Arab works turned on the red lights on their sewing machines. The foreman didn't like this but the women didn't care.

After that they put a sign out in front of the factory declaring: "we support the students following the Imam's line."

Defense of the Iranian revolution from U.S. attack is vital to these garment workers. They have won important gains at their factory since the shah's brutal regime was overthrown last February.

Their plant produces government uniforms. It employs fewer than 250 workers, mostly women.

In the last six months, the workers have won a doubling of their wages. They now make about \$180 a month. It's still not much, but it makes a big difference.

They've also gotten management to provide free milk in the morning (lunch was already provided). And they now have a nursery in the plant for infants up to two years old. The women had demanded day care for all children, but management would only agree to the nursery.

Amineh explained to the *Militant* how workers in her plant have made these gains and what struggles remain to be won.

Shortly after the insurrection, a factory committee, or *shora*, was set up in the plant. But because it was ap-



Defense of revolution from U.S. attack is vital to Iranian women

pointed by the government, and included government officials, the women did not feel part of the *shora* and didn't try to work through it.

Soon a struggle developed in the plant for a forty hour week and no work on Thursdays. (Friday is the religious holiday in Iran, and Thursday is like Saturday in the U.S.).

The women also wanted their pay slips to indicate how many hours they had worked and what the deductions were, "so we would know how much

the boss was taking from us," Amineh explained.

At one point the workers struck for the forty hour week. They still haven't won it. But they have forced management to give them a record of hours worked with their pay slips.

In the course of these fights, Amineh went on, "the women learned who were our friends and who were our enemies on the *shora*."

In September, Ayatollah Taleghani, a religious leader in Tehran, died. In

one of his last prayer messages he supported the right of workers to form *shoras*, at a time when many of the capitalists were complaining bitterly about these committees.

Taleghani's message gave fresh impetus to the workers' desire for *shoras* that would defend their rights. At Amineh's plant, the women demanded the right to elect a new *shora*. The boss finally gave in. In the elections, the production workers won a majority of the representatives. Some of those elected were women.

But right after that, a government official came and addressed the workers on the question of *shoras*. A new election was held. This time, white collar workers and management got the majority of seats.

The *shora* has nine members. Its meetings are closed, but every fifteen days it reports to the workers.

Amineh says some of the *shora* representatives work hard to meet the women's demands. For example, after the embassy takeover, these representatives got the *shora* to put out a statement supporting the anti-imperialist struggle.

Most of the workers in the plant are young women. Amineh is twenty-one. Some of the women are divorced and are working because they need the money to support their families. Some are teenagers who are working to help support their families and to save money for when they get married.

The part they played in making the revolution and now in defending it has given them confidence they have never had before. Their lives have changed in a way that cannot be reversed.

Kirkland's petitioners: they're in for a surprise

By Stu Singer

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland has announced a petition drive in support of the U.S. government's anti-Iran hysteria.

"We want to flood the Iranian Embassy with these petitions, demonstrating the united support of American workers and their families for the U.S. government's position that this gross violation of international law be ended immediately," Kirkland wrote to all AFL-CIO affiliates.

Last month three unions initiated their own war moves against Iran. The East and West Coast dock workers and the Transport Workers Union at Kennedy Airport in New York announced their refusal to load cargoes for Iran.

At the AFL-CIO convention in November, George Meany spoke about Iran while anointing Kirkland his successor. Addressing Carter, his commander-in-chief, who spoke at the convention, Meany said: "Every step you've taken in this matter deserves the full support of the American people and has the full approval of the union movement as represented in this hotel this afternoon."

Meany was wise to limit his statement of approval to those union officials present, although it is unlikely even they all give Carter their "full approval."

Austerity

The fact is that not a single union is offering Carter what he really wants from them in this war drive: austerity.

The AFL-CIO convention talked about the need to do something about rising unemployment and inflation. No one advocated the higher gas prices Carter will establish, blaming Iran. There were no statements calling for the "patriotic sacrifices" that Carter needs for the war drive.

If and when Kirkland sends out his petitioners to workplaces around the country, they will run into the intense debates, discussions, and shifting opin-

ions that are the reality of the thinking of American working people concerning Iran.

For example, if Kirkland sends one of his petitioners to the plant in Pittsburgh organized by United Steelworkers Local 1531, they will run up against union vice-president Ellis Jefferson.

Jefferson addressed a "Speak out on Iran—Why die for the shah?" meeting sponsored by the Pittsburgh Militant Labor Forum on December 7.

"The reason they moved the shah from the New York hospital to the San Antonio air base is the shah was afraid he couldn't get the army, tanks, and planes he needed to defend himself into the hospital. So they put the shah where the weapons are," he told the meeting of sixty people.

"The shah was the only person in the Mideast who would sell oil to Israel and South Africa. He helped America dominate the Third World. Even Mexico denied him a visa. But Carter saw bringing the shah here as a rallying point."

'Oil and opium interests'

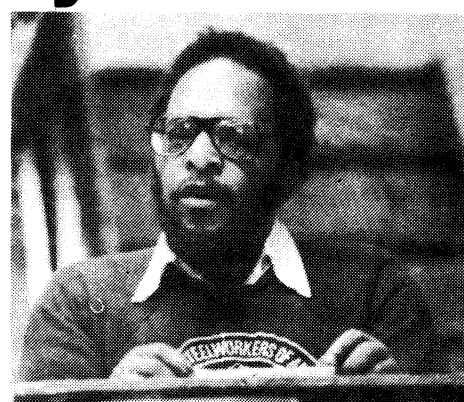
Since opinions on Iran are widely differing among workers, I asked Jefferson for examples of what he says to people in discussing it.

"Kissinger and Rockefeller have oil and opium interests in Iran—they're not concerned with the people. One thing they are going to do is raise gas prices," he responded.

"Maybe Carter feels like his popularity is slipping. He thinks it will be like a John Wayne movie. But he is going to find out war is not so practical.

"All Black people who are politically inclined say to send the shah back to Iran," according to Jefferson. "Iran is not a pure white country. They're people of color. Discrimination against any race of people is wrong. And what Carter is doing is discriminating against Iran."

Charles Kindle is a postal worker in Pittsburgh and a local leader of the



Militant/Stu Singer
ELLIS JEFFERSON: 'Shah was only one in Mideast to sell oil to Israel and South Africa.'

NAACP. He has very strong feelings about Iran and international questions in general:

"Most Blacks feel the Iranian people are our friends. Carter is heading for another Vietnam there.

"I don't think the average American is for holding the shah here. The shah is not worth going to war for.

"Every time they get in trouble, their plan is 'get sick.' Nixon got phlebitis, the shah gets cancer.

"I'd like to see the shah in South Africa. That's where he belongs."

Kindle is the leader of work around South Africa for the Pittsburgh NAACP. He talked about a situation several years ago where his bosses at the post office called him in to tell him not to get involved in protests concerning apartheid and colonialism in Africa.

"They don't ask us about politics. They tell us Blacks not to dabble in foreign affairs. That's why they fired Andrew Young. But we pay for the foreign policy they carry out.

"Ask every kid between seventeen and twenty-four, the ones who are going to fight the war. Ask them what our foreign policy should be.

"The government doesn't want the unions getting involved in foreign

affairs either. Our union, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, took a position against apartheid in South Africa. And the government was not happy."

Few things make the government less happy than the unions getting involved in political questions on their own. Organized opposition by the unions can quickly affect the ability of the government to carry out its war policy.

Even the right-wing moves of some unions have a built-in danger. It can give workers the idea that it is proper for them to take positions and act on their views of big political issues. Petitions circulated by union leaders in support of the war moves against Iran can stimulate discussions that are likely to turn in the opposite direction.

Just before the speak-out on Iran, I was in Ambridge, Pennsylvania, northwest of Pittsburgh on the Ohio River. Ambridge is the site of the large American Bridge plant which U.S. Steel is threatening to close after the workers voted to reject a wage freeze.

It was Friday afternoon and a good part of day shift seemed to be crowded into a bar on the edge of town. We talked mostly about the threatened plant closings, but then the discussion turned to Iran.

Steve Finney, who works in the warehouse, said: "Send the shah back. He robbed the people. Before he came here he played on U.S. sympathy. They should hang him. He robbed the people."

His buddy, Brown, was drinking right next to him: "No. Let him stay here. In fact, I want to put him up at my place. Him and his \$16 billion."

This turned the discussion around.

If Lane Kirkland's petitioners ever get to Ambridge, they will meet a number of union members who are all willing to put the shah up at their homes. As long as he brings his money. It may be a new way to help communities threatened with plant closings.

USWA leaders urge: All out for ERA march

By Kathy Rettig

PITTSBURGH—"Our union is an instrument of social change. It's our rightful place to be involved in the ERA fight in Virginia," Frank Mont, United Steelworkers Civil Rights Department director, told more than 100 unionists and women's rights activists who rallied here December 11.

The meeting was one of a number of actions held around the country to mobilize support for the January 13 march on Richmond, Virginia, for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, sponsored by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN).

Bringing greetings from USWA President Lloyd McBride and all the USWA international officers, Mont told the rally, "Anywhere there is a struggle for justice to eradicate the wrongs, to remove the imbalances put in the face of anyone, it is the rightful place of everyone in the labor movement to join in."

The rally was sponsored by the Allegheny County Labor Council and the United Steelworkers of America and endorsed by a broad range of unions and the Southwestern Pennsylvania Council of the National Organization for Women. It called for a united effort of labor, women's, and civil rights groups to win ratification of the ERA and to defeat their common enemies, the corporations and "right to work for less" forces.

The Pittsburgh rally and an earlier news conference received wide coverage on local TV and radio and in both major newspapers.

At the news conference, Leon Lynch, USWA vice-president of human affairs, linked ERA ratification to the union's fight for recognition at the Newport News shipyard. The United Steelworkers, he said, "is thoroughly committed to bringing change to Virginia."

Lynch noted that "the forces that are out to destroy unionism as a force for good in America are the very ones which want to prevent women from taking their rightful place as a no-



Leon Lynch, USWA vice-president of human affairs, at Pittsburgh news conference for January 13 ERA march: 'The United Steelworkers is thoroughly committed to bringing change to Virginia.'

longer-discriminated-against group in American society."

He declared that "on Sunday, January 13, 1980, the Virginia labor movement—assisted by sister and brother unionists from here in the Pittsburgh area and elsewhere—is going to demonstrate in the city of Richmond in support of ERA ratification. And we want it ratified now!"

Jerry Gordon, co-coordinator of LERN and assistant director of Region 4 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, told the rally audience that the fight for the ERA is an economic one.

"It is a fight of the needy against the greedy," Gordon said. "What's at stake is profits and a lot of them." Gordon estimated that the superprofits the corporations get by paying women only fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by men is over \$60 billion a year.

"That is why we say that discrimination is big business for Big Business," Gordon said.

Flo Gaskill, Pennsylvania NOW Labor Task Force chair and a member of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union, gave greetings from National NOW Labor Task Force chair Sarah Nelson. "Forces of labor," she said, "have championed every major breakthrough for working people in this country. Only when we are united can we fight for better wages, benefits, and working conditions."

Gordon, listing plant shutdowns, unemployment, runaway inflation, speedups, and takeaways at the bargaining table as but a few examples, said the labor movement has been taking "a hell of a beating over the last few years."

"Isn't it about time," Gordon said, "that we stand up and be counted, put a halt to these attacks upon us, go on

the offensive, and show that the labor movement has power and clout in this country! We can prove that by being in Richmond on January 13!"

John Richards, Pittsburgh Metro Area Postal Workers president, told the enthusiastic audience, "We'll be there in force. We will have our buses. We will have our caravans. We will have our placards and signs. We will have our people, and we will let the Virginia legislature know that we will not settle for one vote short of ratification like last time. We are going to get the next ERA vote in the state of Virginia!"

In Pittsburgh, the postal workers have been instrumental in building excitement and activity around the January 13 march. They have donated an office to use to coordinate publicity and transportation for January 13, printed 5,000 leaflets, and sent out press releases for the Pittsburgh rally.

The USWA printed an additional 2,000 leaflets, which were widely distributed at plant gates and mine portals.

Other speakers at the rally included Rosemary Trump, president of Service Employees International Union Local 585, and Marion Washington, staff representative for United Electrical Workers District 6. Greetings were read from Addie Wyatt, executive vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; USWA Local 1397; and USWA Local 8888.

The rally cheered when greetings sent by Local 8888 President Ed Coppedge were read: "Tonight, on behalf of all 16,000 members of Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers of America, let me say that we will do everything in our power to get the ERA passed, and on January 13 we are pleased that we will lead that march in Richmond."

Jerry Gordon ended his remarks to the rally declaring, "All across the country there is a growing fervor, a rising energy level, an increasing enthusiasm and spirit that is developing in the camp of the fighters for ratification. And there is also a growing determination that this fight is going to be won!"

Md. rally builds caravan

By Joey Rothenberg

BALTIMORE—One hundred people gathered here December 9 for a "Labor speak-out for the ERA" sponsored by the Metropolitan Baltimore AFL-CIO Council at Steelworkers Hall.

Thomas Bradley, council president, in his welcoming remarks told the enthusiastic crowd, "I hope that we have a caravan leaving Patapsco Avenue [January 13] that is twice as big as the caravan that left in support of the mine workers a few years ago."

"That caravan was six and one-half miles long, so we've got a lot of work ahead of us. But I think that it can be done. I think that it has to be done."

The caravan Bradley referred to is being organized by the labor council to bring ERA supporters to Richmond, Virginia, on January 13. There will also be a mini-rally that morning to send off the caravan.

Bradley continued, "I don't think that we can find any real pride in our country until every single citizen in this country who wants a job can have one; until every single person in this country who wants a decent education can have one; until every single citizen in this country who has a medical problem can be treated without fear of losing their homes; and until every single American is treated equally."

Keynote speaker Paula Axson, ERA chairperson of United Steelworkers Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia, said, "Local 8888 broke a barrier when they won their union recognition battle in a right-to-work state. And that will be an inspiration to break down another barrier—because Virginia is an unratified state."

"We in Virginia are asking for your support in our march and rally January 13 in Richmond."

She also explained how Local 8888 began its campaign for ERA following the August conference sponsored by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN). Unionists went to labor leaders, social and professional groups, and candidates' meetings to receive support. They sought and received extensive media coverage and they distributed thousands of leaflets at shipyard gates, shopping centers, and campuses.

The meeting also heard from Jerry Gordon, LERN co-coordinator.

The spirit at Steelworkers Hall was kept high by three young people leading the crowd in singing labor songs. They ended with *Solidarity Forever*, during which the crowd spontaneously rose to its feet.

Large quantities of leaflets publicizing the labor march were available for the speak-out participants to take back to their local unions, organizations, and campuses. Also distributed were hundreds of raffle tickets to be sold to raise money for ERA activities.

Members of Local 8888 sold a good number of ERA sweatshirts.

Members of the Women's Advisory Committees of USWA locals 2609 and 2610 distributed hard-hat stickers which read: "USWA for ERA—Labor March, Richmond, Va., Jan. 13." The two committees had printed 5,000 stickers as part of a campaign to publicize the ERA in the mills.

Word of January 13 got out beyond Steelworkers Hall, as the program was covered by both local TV and the *Morning Sun*.



Countdown for January 13

Dallas walk-a-thon raises \$900

A walk-a-thon sponsored by Dallas NOW on December 16 to raise funds for transportation to Richmond for the January 13 march raised \$900. On December 7 a press conference to publicize the Virginia march was attended by representatives from NOW, International Union of Electrical Workers, Communication Workers of America, and others.

Bay Area labor salutes ERA on January 11

Militant correspondent Ruth Cheney writes from Oakland that momentum for the January 11 rally is growing. The rally is sponsored by the San Francisco and East Bay chapters of the National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women. It will be held at the Building Service Employees Local 87 Hall—Auditorium, 240 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, at 7:30 p.m.

Three Central Labor Councils in the area—San Francisco, Alameda, and Santa Clara—have endorsed. John F. Crowley, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council, will be one of the speakers.

The event has been called in solidarity with the January 13 Richmond ERA march. Petitions printed up by the Bay Area Coalition are being circulated in work places and on tables in communities by NOW activists. Over 1,000 signatures for the ERA have been collected in only one week.

The petitions will be sent along with a delegation to the Virginia march to show California support for the ERA drive there.

For more information call (415) 398-6312.

San Diego solidarity rally on January 13

A labor rally for the ERA will be held in San Diego January 13 at the International Association of Machinists Hall, 5150 Kearny Mesa Road at 1 p.m. Representatives from Social Service Employees International Union Local 535, Communications Workers of America Local 11509, IAM Local 1125, NOW and Poway Federation of Teachers will be among the speakers.

Compiled by Suzanne Haig

Militant counters Carter's lies on Iran

By Peter Seidman
and Stu Singer

Washington's war drive against Iran is fueling a deep-going discussion among working people.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are right in the middle of this debate.

Last week, the socialists launched a special campaign to sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

This campaign is a central part of the SWP and YSA's efforts to organize opposition to the government's flood of racist, pro-war propaganda.

Socialists want as many of the people they work with as possible to become regular readers of the *Militant* and *PM*.

We especially want workers to read the on-the-scene dispatches from Iran by *Militant* Associate Editor Cindy Jaquith. She is reporting the news about Iran that is almost totally blacked out of the big-business media: how workers are organizing to defend their country, to take control of their factories, and build a new society responsive to their needs.

She is reporting the exposures of CIA complicity with the shah's torture and murder squads—another story not "fit to print" in major newspapers.

The facts about the revolutionary upsurge in Iran offer the clearest proof that Carter's threats have *nothing* to do with the hostages that he sheds so many crocodile tears over. Washington's real aim—on behalf of the giant corporations it serves—is to crush the gains of the Iranian workers and farmers and reimpose the shah or some other dictator who will cooperate with imperialist exploitation.

These are the kinds of facts that our subscription drive can bring into the debate that is raging back and forth in the plants.

Our seven-week campaign will end January 31. So far, twenty-seven SWP branches have taken goals totaling 625 subscriptions.

Right now activity is slowing and many workers are off the job for a few



Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for U.S. vice-president, finds that selling 'Perspectiva Mundial,' the Spanish-language socialist biweekly, is easier than ever.

days around the Christmas holidays. But as soon as socialists return to work, they will make subscription sales a top priority.

All indications are that the *Militant* and *PM* will find a receptive audience among workers beginning to question Carter's stand on Iran.

"The biggest response is when we compare Iran to Vietnam," Dave Zilly reports. Since the Iranian crisis began, Zilly and a few other SWP members have been selling an average of thirty-five *Militants* a week at the shipyard where they work in Norfolk, Virginia.

Zilly gave the example of one sailor assigned to fire watch on a Navy ship he was working on. The sailor said he wanted to picket Navy headquarters in Norfolk to demand U.S. military action to free the hostages.

This provoked a big discussion. Zilly talked about Vietnam, what it was

like. The sailor who wanted to go to war against Iran was against the war in Vietnam.

He began to see the connection. Later he said he wanted to picket the headquarters with signs saying "No More Vietnams."

Other sailors told Dave that the commander at the Norfolk Naval Operations Base has issued a direct order that sailors were forbidden to discuss their views of the Iranian situation.

Doug Cooper, the SWP candidate for governor of North Carolina, is a

member of the International Association of Machinists.

Cooper reports that there seems to have been a shift in people's thinking in the past week. "I had a big argument about Iran with one worker two weeks ago," Cooper said.

"But last week he came back and told me he'd changed his mind, especially about the shah. 'What do we want to defend him for?' he asked. 'We are the ones who will have to go to war.'"

Cooper explains that there's still a lot of confusion around the hostages. "After the media carried a proposal for people to wear white armbands last week to show support for Carter, a majority of people in my department wore the armbands. But it only lasted two days. They dropped it because they distrust Carter too much."

The stakes are very high in this political tug of war. Washington is fighting for a free hand to launch military attacks on a deepening revolution in a strategic country. The government keeps up a constant barrage of lies aimed at cutting off the educational discussion now underway.

But subscription sales are a good answer. That's what Michael Collins, a hostler on the Burlington Northern Railroad in Denver, has discovered. Some half-dozen people at his workplace have had subscriptions to the *Militant* for awhile.

When discussions take place at Collins' job-site, these workers join in to defend his positions against U.S. war threats.

Our special Iran subscription campaign will swell the ranks of these antiwar forces in the American labor movement. Why not join us?

Fall sales drive results

By Harvey McArthur

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of this fall's fourteen-week circulation drive for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in more than forty-four cities participated in the drive. In addition, a team of socialists spent eight weeks traveling through the Piedmont area of North Carolina and the coal fields of West Virginia selling papers and subscriptions.

Overall, we sold single copies and subscriptions totaling 116,268 points.

Subscription points were credited on the basis of ten points for each ten-week subscription; fifteen points for each four-month subscription; twenty points for each six-month subscription; and thirty points for each one-year subscription.

Despite the fact that the drive was extended two weeks, the total was only 78 percent of our national goal of 150,000. We continued to make significant progress, however, with industrial sales and in boosting the circulation of *PM*.

Sales at plant gates and on-the-job in industry averaged 902 a week. This was an increase of 28 percent over last spring's drive.

On-the-job sales alone increased by 32 percent.

Altogether, industrial sales were 15.5 percent of the total. Given that several major industrial sales cities didn't report their weekly results in this cate-

gory, we came quite close to making our goal of doubling industrial sales over last spring's 9.2 percent.

Spurred on by interest and actions around defense of the revolution in Nicaragua, single-copy sales of *PM* doubled from last spring. They averaged 707 copies each week during the fall drive.

Twenty-eight cities took weekly *PM* sales goals. *PM* accounted for more than 25 percent of weekly average sales in Washington D.C., San Francisco, New York City, San Jose, Dallas, and Houston.

Single-copy sales on campus averaged 589 a week.

Subscription sales were the weakest part of the fall drive. We sold some 2,688 subscriptions totalling 35,685 points. This was only 59.5 percent of our goal.

Again, however, these subscription sales were strong among industrial workers. Of our new subscribers, 579, or 21 percent, identified themselves as members of trade unions. This came very near our goal of 25 percent.

Of these readers, 163 said they were steelworkers; 122, auto workers; 58, rail workers; 49, electrical workers; and 37, machinists. Sixty-six others identified themselves as members of various other unions.

We sold 300 *PM* subscriptions. Of these new readers, thirty-seven, or 12.3 percent, identified themselves as trade unionists.

Of our new subscribers this fall, 440 identified themselves as students.

Cumulative scoreboard

City	Single Copy Sales			Sub. Pts.	Total Sales			
	Mil	PM	Total		Goal	Sold	%	Ind.
Dallas	1618	566	2184	1635	2700	3819	141.4	12.2
Salt Lake City	1583	103	1686	650	1800	2336	129.7	5.6
Kansas City	1982	111	2093	980	2400	3073	128.0	9.0
Atlanta	1764	24	1788	450	1750	2238	127.8	9.1
Portland	1328	13	1341	1010	2000	2351	117.5	6.6
New Orleans	1098	62	1160	685	1600	1845	115.3	24.4
Iron Range	1130	0	1130	940	1900	2070	108.9	25.2
Birmingham	2105	0	2105	470	2400	2575	107.2	14.4
Seattle	2253	79	2332	810	3000	3142	104.7	13.8
Detroit	2965	55	3020	1655	4500	4675	103.8	32.8
San Diego	1596	361	1957	710	2600	2667	102.5	22.7
Washington, D.C.	1707	746	2453	620	3000	3073	102.4	5.1
Gary	1365	94	1459	550	2000	2009	100.4	18.7
Boston	1967	138	2105	1160	3300	3265	98.9	7.3
Pittsburgh	2580	6	2586	1405	4200	3991	95.0	24.2
Morgantown	1541	0	1541	350	2000	1891	94.5	14.6
Twin Cities	2086	23	2109	1590	4000	3699	92.4	10.2
Denver	1293	224	1517	735	2500	2252	90.0	10.1
St. Louis	1339	6	1345	535	2100	1880	89.5	18.5
Cincinnati	1084	2	1086	300	1600	1386	86.6	15.6
Oakland/Berkeley	1661	321	1982	1240	3750	3222	85.9	6.7
Indianapolis	1066	0	1066	380	1700	1446	85.0	11.9
Louisville	1501	3	1504	775	2700	2279	84.4	23.6
Los Angeles	3004	1006	4010	1260	6250	5270	84.3	18.5
Newark	1977	341	2318	1560	4700	3878	82.5	10.4
Chicago	2980	477	3457	875	5400	4332	80.2	28.8
Tacoma	1615	20	1635	370	2500	2005	80.2	17.1
Piedmont	1083	0	1083	110	1500	1193	79.5	17.3
Albany	1010	59	1069	620	2200	1689	76.7	19.7
Albuquerque	1614	381	1995	360	3100	2355	75.9	7.9
Phoenix	1264	479	1743	670	3200	2413	75.4	20.1
San Antonio	711	132	843	435	1700	1278	75.1	36.8
Milwaukee	1205	107	1312	640	2600	1952	75.0	10.3
Cleveland	837	159	996	75	1500	1071	71.4	22.3
San Francisco	1795	699	2494	345	4000	2839	70.9	7.6
New York City	4885	1891	6776	3060	14000	9836	70.2	8.4
Philadelphia	1879	349	2228	755	4600	2983	64.8	16.1
Tidewater	1139	0	1139	640	3000	1779	59.3	30.9
Baltimore	1139	2	1141	475	2800	1616	57.7	25.8
Miami	993	287	1280	320	2800	1600	57.1	5.3
San Jose	928	325	1253	45	2500	1298	51.9	9.7
Toledo	828	27	855	115	2400	970	40.4	31.9
Houston	585	203	788	415	3300	1203	36.4	21.3
Ann Arbor	158	18	176	10		186		.0
Miscellaneous	443	0	443	2895		3338		29.1
TOTALS	70,684	9,899	80,583	35,685	150,000	116,268	77.5	15.6

% ind. indicates percentage reported of total sold at plant gates and to coworkers on the job.

Socialists spur antiwar actions

Seattle events aim fire at Iran hysteria

By Mary Kellogg

SEATTLE—"It was clearly one of the highlights of my fall campaign tour."

That's how Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, described a December 12 news conference here on the University of Washington campus. It was called to hail the December 11 court victory against President Carter's order to deport and investigate Iranian students.

The SWP, along with the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, had filed the lawsuit on behalf of Iranian students.

[On December 14, the Washington D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals lifted the injunction against Carter until the government's appeal is heard by a three-judge panel. That hearing is scheduled for December 20.]

In addition to Zimmermann, speakers included Said Nik-Kah, an Iranian student and supporter of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party; Abbas Alami, representative of the Committee to Defend the Legal Rights of Iranian Students; Baba Tunde Aina, Nigerian student and chair of the Commission of International Students; Dan Smith of the National Lawyers Guild; Alphonso Simiano, a Chicano student; Sami Aoude, Organization of Arab Students; and Professor Sheikholeslami, an Iranian professor of political science.

Four local television stations, six radio stations, and all of the major print media in the area attended.



November 28 march at University of Washington

Militant/Rita Lee

What was particularly significant was the large number of students who were present—approximately 100, several dozen of whom were Iranians.

In his opening remarks, Said Nik-Kah, who chaired the conference, said, "This decision proves that a big majority of the people don't want a war, another Vietnam."

Zimmermann spoke next saying, "When President Carter threw the Bill

of Rights out the window with his deportation order, the immediate victims were Iranian students themselves. But this order also sought to intimidate others in this country who would speak out against the shah or protest any U.S. moves against Iran. So when this ruling was overturned, anyone who ever demonstrated against the war in Vietnam, or against racist discrimination, or discrimination against women, or any striker who ever walked a picket line, also won an important victory."

Hailing the injunction, other speakers stressed how Carter's order was an attack on everyone's constitutional rights.

The news conference followed a series of activities here protesting Carter's war moves. On November 28, a march of 300 demanding "No more Vietnams" and "Deport the shah, not the students" followed a broadly sponsored news conference at the University of Washington.

On November 29, 250 people attended a speakout on "What is happening in Iran?" A featured speaker was Gerry Foley, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* and an observer of events in Iran earlier this year.

The next day Foley spoke to an audience of ninety-five in Tacoma, Washington.

Also on November 30, 100 picketed a Seattle hotel where Vice-president Walter Mondale was speaking. They protested American aggression against Iran, as well as nuclear power.

At a news conference November 29,

350 students at h.s. debate

By Mike Maloney

SEATTLE—If you were wondering whether or not those who would have to fight in a war against Iran—that is, young people—are opposed to it, no more convincing evidence could be offered than the reaction by 350 of them to a panel discussion held at Timberline High School in Lacey, Washington.

The December 13 panel consisted of Jim Levitt, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, Republican Secretary of State Bruce Chapman, and Democratic state legislator Del Bausche.

The students' answer was loud and clear—unanimous sentiment against a war in Iran and the draft. Even the Democrat and the Republican, under pressure from the audience, had to say they were against a war and the draft "at this time."

Jim Levitt got the most enthusiastic response for stating unequivocal opposition to a war with Iran and the draft.

At the end of the meeting six students said they were interested in joining the Young Socialist Alliance.

Jim Levitt launched his campaign for U.S. Senate from Washington on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. He said he was running "to explain why the U.S. government created the crisis in Iran."

Levitt, a tool and die worker at the Boeing Company here and a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 751, has been active in organizing the protests against Carter's war drive.

Eighty people attended a socialist campaign rally to hear both Levitt and Zimmermann on December 9. Supporters contributed more than \$4,000.

Along with Levitt's campaign, the Seattle and Tacoma branches of the SWP have stepped up sales of the *Militant* to get out the truth about the Iranian crisis.

During Zimmermann's visit, campaign supporters carried out plantgate sales at Boeing and Tacoma Boat and reported a good response from workers.

Second-shift supporters at Boeing organized a get-together for Zimmermann and five of their co-workers attended.

Student Deportation sponsored a forum on "Iran: Another Vietnam?" December 14. Two hundred and fifty people attended.

The Minneapolis Armed Forces Recruitment Center was the December 15 target for 175 people opposing U.S. military intervention in Iran and the deportation of Iranian students.

Organizers of the demonstration, the Iranian Defense Coalition, issued a press statement that read in part: "President Carter would have us believe that the Vietnam era is over and that there is now a national consensus on the propriety of U.S. military intervention overseas. We say no."

One bystander, interviewed by a local television station, said, "I support what these people are doing. I just turned eighteen and I don't want to go to war for the shah."

Other activities protesting U.S. military moves against Iran were reported in Dallas, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Kansas City, Missouri.

Denver Iranian to stand trial

By Sue Adley

DENVER—Afshin Shariati has been ordered to stand trial for second degree murder because he defended his home against anti-Iranian attackers.

The charge stems from a tragedy in which a Denver youth lost his life—one of the results of the hysteria campaign led by the government and the news media against Iran and Iranians.

On November 10 a former high school baseball coach invited about a dozen high school students to his home. He then launched into a venomous, inflammatory, and racist diatribe against Iranians, according to testimony reported in the *Denver Post*. The students were drinking.

The students set out from the ex-coach's home armed with baseball bats looking for Iranians. They

began at a local campus where there are a number of students from the Middle East. They found no one, says the defense, but "warmed up" by smashing some lights.

They then went to a nearby apartment complex, where they spotted Shariati's name on a mailbox. Counting in cadence, three of the youths smashed windows of his apartment. The two broken windows and a damaged screen door were submitted as evidence.

Shariati thought a bomb was exploding according to his attorney, and fired in an attempt to prevent the bomber from escaping. One youth was killed and two were injured.

Shariati was released on a \$25,000 bail bond. His trial is expected to be held some time in January.

By Osborne Hart

While preparations were being made to whisk the shah to an island off the Panama coast, demonstrations continued against the deposed monarch and against U.S. military intervention in Iran.

More than 1,000 students attended an open-air speakout on "The Truth About Iran" at Arizona State University in Tempe December 6.

Sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, the forum speakers included: Behzad Vahedi, Iranian Student Organization; Louis Rhodes, director, Arizona American Civil Liberties Union; Derrique Powell, president, Black Student Union; and Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party.

ACLU Director Rhodes denounced the deportation of Iranian students, saying, "We should not let the crisis with Iran become a pretext for taking away democratic rights."

Cobey McCarthy, a Vietnam war veteran, declared, "We do not want another Vietnam."

For several weeks, *Militant* correspondent Seth Galinsky reports, heated discussions on Iran had broken out on the main campus thoroughfare involving hundreds, if not thousands, of students.

At the December 6 speakout, there were a variety of viewpoints. A small group started a chant of "Free the hostages," which was countered with a louder chant of "Send back the shah."

After the forum, hundreds of students stayed around to discuss Iran.

In Los Angeles, more than 800 people—including many Iranians—gathered for the "Human Rights Tribunal: A Teach-in on U.S. Involvement in Iran" December 8.

The event was sponsored by a host of organizations including the National Lawyers Guild, Iranian Students Association—National Union, Social Services Union Local 535, Communist Party, and Venceremos Brigade.

The Boston Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Iran and Iranian

**Iran
teach-ins,
protests
occur
across
nation**

Sedwick on TV, radio

YSA plans fight against Carter war threats

By Margaret Kelley

LOUISVILLE—The nineteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance will meet here December 29-January 1.

In town to build support for the gathering and to talk to young people about attending was YSA National Chairperson Cathy Sedwick.

At a December 10 news conference, Sedwick told reporters that one of the most urgent discussions at the YSA convention will be around building a campaign to counter Carter's war moves against Iran.

Sedwick's remarks were aired by two TV and two radio stations, and picked up in the *Louisville Times*. She also gave an extensive interview to Louisville's Black community newspaper, the *Louisville Defender*.

"Enough young people died in Vietnam defending the profits of American corporations," Sedwick said. "We cannot allow this government to drag us into another war. The shah must be sent back! No U.S. military intervention into Iran!"

The YSA has been in the forefront of demonstrations, picket lines, teach-ins, and rallies across the country demanding "U.S. hands off Iran."

While in Louisville, Sedwick was one of the participants in a University of Louisville speak-out, "Say No to War Against Iran."

YSA leader Tom Swetland, a production worker at General Electric Appliance Park here, was one of those who has been circulating an antiwar petition among his co-workers (see box).

Swetland says that among young workers, especially Blacks, antiwar

sentiment is strong. "They do not want to participate in another Vietnam horror story," he reports. A common response is, "Sure, a lot of those people want us to go to war, but they'll be the ones sitting at home watching it on TV."

Sedwick's visit to Louisville was the last stop on her national tour in support of the 1980 Socialist Workers presidential campaign. She has been talking to young people at plant gates, in high schools, and on college campuses about the inspiring revolutionary developments around the world.

Last summer Sedwick toured Cuba with the Socialist Workers Party's 1980 vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann to report back to young people here on the gains of the Cuban revolution.

In September, she visited Nicaragua, where she met with and interviewed young revolutionaries of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

"You see Nicaragua and the overthrow of Somoza. You see Iran and the overthrow of the shah. And you know that big changes are taking place," Sedwick tells the young people she meets. "People are understanding that there is nothing more powerful than the organized power of working people around the world."

The YSA convention will discuss and vote on a major solidarity campaign of aid for Nicaragua. This war-torn country is in desperate need of material aid to build a new Nicaragua where education, health care, and other social needs are put first.

An exciting feature of the YSA convention will be a report and slide show by SWP leader Pedro Camejo, who has spent several months in Nicaragua reporting for *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

Another highlight will be the December 30 presidential campaign rally for the Socialist Workers candidates: Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president.

Both candidates will attend the entire convention and are looking forward to talking informally with their supporters.

Socialist youth leaders from around the world will also be present for the convention.

This will be the YSA's first national convention since it decided earlier this year to center its activities among the radicalizing young workers in indus-



Militant/Lou Howort

YSA has been in forefront of demonstrations protesting U.S. threats against Iranian revolution.

try. Forty-seven percent of YSA members are now working industrial jobs. The greatest number are in the United Steelworkers, followed by the United Auto Workers union.

On the morning of December 30 a series of workshops will be held where members of various unions can exchange information about their experiences in political activity on the job and in their unions.

Other workshops the next day will

discuss the emergency campaign to stop Carter's war moves against Iran; the Nicaragua solidarity drive; the 1980 socialist election campaign; women's liberation and the struggle for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; high school work; the antinuclear movement; and more.

To be a part of this exciting convention, clip the coupon below or telephone us in Louisville at (502) 587-8418 or at the YSA National Office at (212) 989-7570.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

CATHY SEDWICK

Workers sign anti-shah petition

Members of the Louisville Young Socialist Alliance helped to circulate the following petition among their co-workers at Louisville's General Electric plant. Signed by fifty-three young workers in the plant, it has been submitted to several Louisville newspapers. The text follows:

Dear Editor,

As workers we realize we are the first to fight and die in any war.

Presently there is a very real threat of war between the U.S. and Iran. Any military action against

Iran in defense of the deposed shah is unjustified.

Should we fight a war over an internationally known tyrant?

It was wrong for the CIA to impose the shah on the Iranian people in the first place. It was wrong for the U.S. government to cover up and condone the shah's repressive regime.

The shah should never have been allowed into this country.

It would be wrong to go to war over a dictator who has earned the hatred of millions throughout the world.

The way to solve this crisis is to send back the shah.

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 _____
State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

☐ 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

'We need a person wh

By Suzanne Haig

BALTIMORE—There are "two Americas," Andrew Pulley told a socialist campaign rally at Steelworkers Hall here December 16.

One is the America of Rockefeller and the other billionaires, who own and rule the country. The other, of working people struggling to survive, caught between unemployment and inflation.

The Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate hit on two major themes: the class divisions in America, and the war drive against Iran, in which workers will be called on to sacrifice so the Rockefellers can continue to exploit the peoples and resources of the Middle East.

These themes hit home in this working-class city.

Already nearly half of the 6,000 workers at the big General Motors plant have been laid off.

Steelworkers have been hit with layoffs since September. At the Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point plant of 18,000 workers, rumor is that many more will be laid off soon.

This is big business's Christmas present to American workers and Baltimore workers are feeling it.

That's why Pulley's call to "get the millionaires out of the White House" struck a responsive chord.

And that's why steelworkers came from both Sparrows Point and Armco, a specialty steel plant of 1,200 workers, to hear the socialist candidate.

Media coverage

Some 4,000 leaflets had been passed out to workers at the two plants.

Media coverage had also been extensive. The local CBS-TV affiliate showed a film clip of Pulley campaigning on a Baltimore street corner. "Steelworker from Gary running for U.S. president to speak at Steelworker

Hall," the report began.

Along with Pulley on the platform Sunday were Glova Scott, a young worker from Sparrows Point and member of the Young Socialist Alliance; Professor Jesse McDade from Morgan State University, who answered the government lies on Iran; and Octavia Roberts. Roberts is chair of the Equal Rights Committee of the Metropolitan Labor Council and a founder of United Steelworkers Local 2610's Women's Advisory Committee. She spoke on the January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia, and abortion rights.

After the rally, she discussed these issues further with the *Militant*.

"The unions today," she said, "are becoming involved with social issues. Women are helping in this process by taking the lead in fighting for their rights and the rights of all the members."

She said that building for the Virginia march has helped build the union by getting new people involved and so excited that they have started to come to union meetings for the first time.

Roberts's most forceful opinion was reserved for the issue of abortion.

"This is a personal issue with me," she said. "I had several illegal abortions and two of my friends died from them."

"When abortion was illegal, an individual used to go around the neighborhood and everyone knew she was giving abortions with knitting needles on kitchen tables."

"Women must have the right to safe, legal abortions. No one else should decide what we do with our bodies."

Discussion period

After the rally of seventy-five, which was made even more lively by a question and answer period, people discussed Pulley's talk.

Joseph DeCerbe from Armco agreed with Pulley that the "Democrats and Republicans say they're for working people but they really are not."

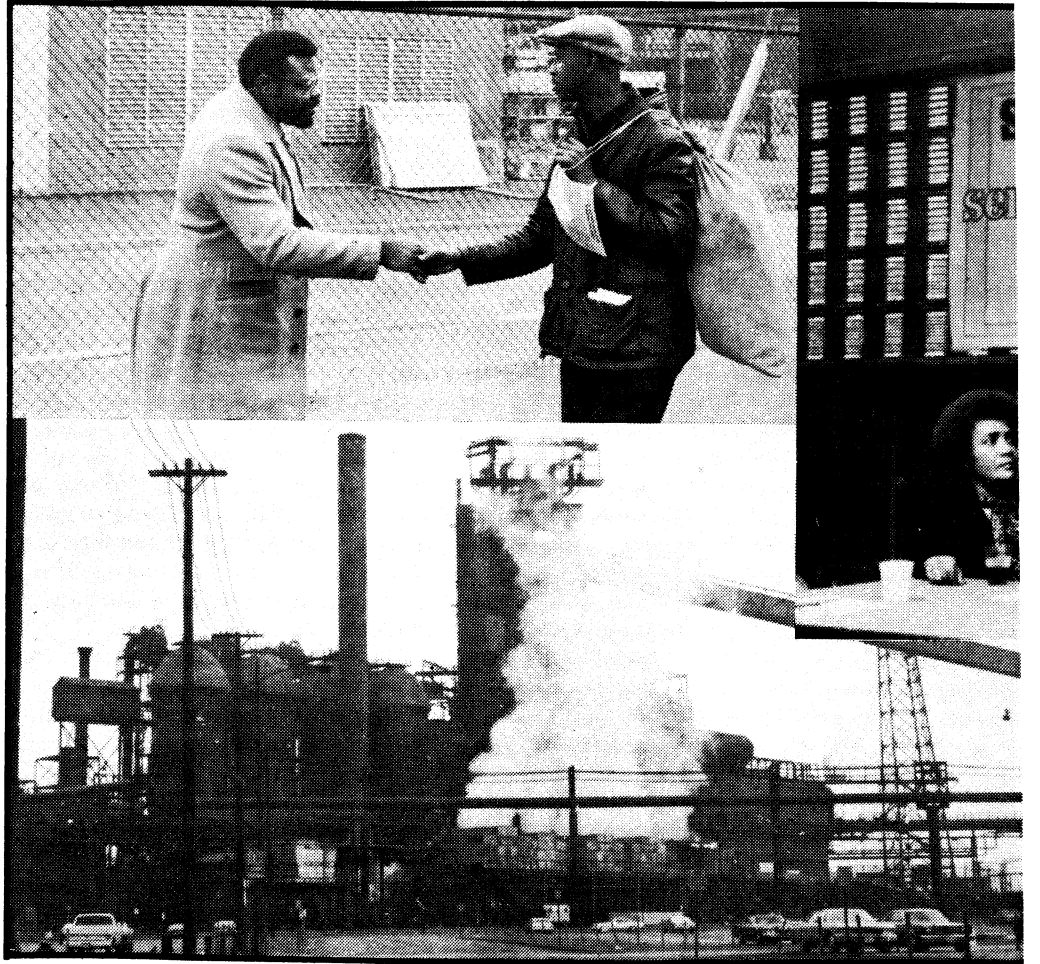
Dave Busch, a young worker on the labor gang in the primary mill at Sparrows Point, said: "Andrew Pulley had more to say about the issues than any other candidate. I don't like the others and I don't believe in voting for the best of the worst."

Joe Lee, a young Black worker in the

pipe mill at the point, came to the rally because "I am fed up and want changes."

"The line of presidents is getting worse," he said.

"We need a person who speaks for workers, a voice from the people, not just one person speaking on how things should be—not a capitalist-imperialist who makes money off workers."



Andrew Pulley campaigns at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant and addresses rally Sandler, and Jessie McDade.

Andrew Pulley: 'a good time

By Suzanne Haig

Faced with layoffs, inflation, the energy crisis, and the threat of war, working people today are angry, suspicious of the government and big business, and looking for solutions.

This makes campaigning for socialism quite a bit different from a few years ago.

That's the assessment of Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States. Pulley was the party's nominee for vice-president in 1972.

During a brief New York stopover in the course of his campaign tour, Pulley talked with the *Militant* about his impressions from the first four months of campaigning.

"The type of campaign we're doing today we couldn't do when I ran in 1972," he said. "For one thing, the meetings we had then were almost all on the campuses."

Today the receptivity to a socialist candidate is broader, and Pulley spends much of his time at plant gates, mine entrances, and railroad yards talking with workers.

A small but growing number of workers see Pulley's campaign as their campaign and socialism as their politics.

'We sound realistic'

"Talking about socialism is much easier now," Pulley explains. "The whole system is a mess from oil and unemployment to the danger of war. Working people want answers to fundamental questions because it's clear that the problems facing us now are fundamental."

"The solutions presented by the two

parties of big business always mean more hardship for working people. Workers know it and they don't like it."

"Socialists don't sound out of touch or utopian when we present radical solutions. We sound realistic."

"Take Iran and the oil crisis. When you explain that the same greedy, thieving bunch of oil companies are behind the ex-shah of Iran, want to send you and me over there to be killed, and in the meantime force us to pay two dollars a gallon for gas, workers understand. That's why so many agree with us about sending the shah back and nationalizing the oil companies."

It's the same with nuclear power, Pulley explains. "Just a few years ago people thought nuclear power was a good idea—cheap energy, jobs, etc."

"Three Mile Island threw that right out the window. Now no one wants a plant built next to them."

Another political change Pulley notices is the greater understanding of the need for solidarity between Black and white workers. Pulley tells of a discussion he had with several white workers in Greensboro, North Carolina.

"We discussed the role of racism in keeping wages down and the lie that white workers will gain if Black workers are paid less or are kept out of certain industries."

"The fact that discrimination doesn't benefit whites, I pointed out, is shown by the fact that wages in North Carolina are the lowest in the country—lower than Mississippi. Racism is a huge block to organizing unions there, which are needed to win better wages and working conditions."

This was even easier to explain,

Pulley says, because a big Teamster organizing drive has been under way there.

Pulley explained that the Greensboro massacre of anti-Klan protesters last month was an attempt to crush the deepening labor struggles there and the loosening of the bonds of racism. "The employers, the Klan and the government are working together to try to intimidate Black and white workers."

North Carolina ballot drive

Pulley said that the Socialist Workers Party is going to launch a petition drive in North Carolina next year to get the SWP candidates on the ballot there for the first time ever. "This is one way we can show that working people will not back down," he said.

Plant-gate rallies are an important part of Pulley's campaigning. They are a way of talking to a very large number of workers.

"The time is short, of course, as people rush to get to work or to get home. Sometimes workers just take literature, wish you luck, buy a *Militant*. But that's very important," Pulley stresses. "They won't forget. They will read the material and discuss it, especially if there are socialist workers in the plant to talk with about it."

Socialists can bring their co-workers to the campaign tables and introduce them to the candidates, Pulley suggests.

Pulley notes that in addition to passing out free campaign material, it's good to sell the *Militant* and especially introductory subscriptions.

Plant-gate meetings, according to Pulley, are most successful when news

conferences and other media appearances are organized ahead of time.

"Workers are most excited by the campaign and take it more seriously if they heard about it on the news the night before."

Pulley believes that the press coverage of the socialist campaign this year is more extensive than in 1972—especially for so early in the campaign.

He suggests that areas contact radio and TV talk shows far in advance of his tour to insure coverage.

Involving workers

Along with plant-gate rallies, Pulley has attended a number of successful dinners and cocktail meetings held at campaign supporters' homes. When people are working long hours—sometimes six days a week—a relaxed atmosphere for political discussion is very attractive to them.

Some areas are experimenting with new ways to involve campaign supporters. In Tarrytown, New York, for example, socialists working at the General Motors plant are organizing a campaign committee with several of their co-workers. They have sold forty copies of Pulley's pamphlet, *How I Became a Socialist*, and have involved co-workers in selling the *Militant*.

They organized a brunch to hear Cathy Sedwick, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, report on her trip to Cuba. They are now planning a meeting for Pulley in January.

Pulley thinks this is possible in other areas. The main thing is to let people help in whatever way they can. "Workers who decide to support our campaign want to help publicize it. They see it as their own. They have a

Pulley speaks for workers'

"We'll never become millionaires and only swindlers get into politics. What goes on up there is beyond our imagination because we've been conditioned to think a certain way about politicians."

Asked when he began to have these opinions, Lee said, "I've been feeling this way for a long time. You socialists are saying what I've been feeling. A movement such as this with guidance will go a long way."

Lee would like to see Pulley on TV more. "I know there is a lot of people out there who think like me and want change, but they've got to hear Pulley like I did."

This was the first socialist rally for Esther Yaker, who heard about it at a meeting of the National Organization for Women. "I felt instinctively that this is where I should be."

She liked what Pulley had to say



Steelworkers Hall. Other speakers (seated, from left) are Octavia Roberts, Norton

Militant photos by Suzanne Haig

about the Democrats and Republicans. "There's no difference in the two parties and there's no point in being a liberal. They are operated by big business."

Several people came from the Maryland Art Institute. One was Ako Yamro. Yamro had joined the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s in Baltimore when he was "fresh out of the Marine Corps and Vietnam," he told the *Militant*. "I was frustrated with what I saw and began to learn about revolution."

"Tonight is a continuation of this for me. I see Pulley as an alternative for president. I don't think my vote for him is a vote wasted. Voting, like participating in this rally, is a step toward my freedom, change throughout the world, and change right here in Baltimore."

John Robertson came to the rally directly from work at the point, so he missed the speeches. But Robertson, who was involved in the civil rights struggles at the plant in the late 1950s and early 1960s, had some strong opinions on politics today. "We need change and I believe the young people can change things."

"We workers need a better distribution of money—on the job and in society. At work some, like Blacks, make less than others. In society, one guy is shifting \$200,000 to \$2 million a day around to make more money while we are working at a deficit—working forty hours but unable to make ends meet."

'We're the ones who produce'

How will change occur? "By doing nothing," Robertson says. "Workers should shut it down. We are the ones who produce, not the owners. They do nothing. Their hands are soft."

The new openness of working people to socialist ideas, which was much in

evidence at the Baltimore rally, was also shown when Pulley campaigned a couple of days before at Fruit Growers Express. At this northern Virginia plant, 600-700 workers build and repair refrigerated rail cars.

During the lunch break on pay day, workers are in a rush to cash their checks and grab a sandwich in the one-half hour allotted. Nevertheless, six young workers spent their break time talking politics with Pulley. The issues ranged from the ex-shah of Iran to the need for workers in this country to form a labor party, from railway safety to nationalizing the oil companies.

One of the workers said afterwards, "I would like a couple of hours to talk with Pulley because I really like what he had to say."

That's what the 1980 Socialist Workers presidential campaign is all about: talking serious politics with workers who are beginning to see themselves as part of the "other America" and want to fight back and do something about it.

And Pulley has an answer for that: "Join the Socialist Workers Party."

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Seventy people attended a Socialist Workers campaign rally here December 14. They included rail workers, communication workers, and an Iranian family.

Greetings were presented by Lisa Garcia of the Bloc of Salvadorans in D.C. in Solidarity with the Popular Revolutionary Bloc, and Vince Benson, president of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1906 and vice-president of the D.C. Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Benson praised the efforts of the Socialist Workers Party "in championing the cause of building a labor party."

to campaign for socialism'

make in getting the word out to others even if only in a small way."

Socialist campaign rallies and forums are larger now than in past years, according to Pulley. In many cases the new supporters attending outnumber the SWP members.

"Sometimes we expect certain workers to come but they don't. Then other people we never thought would be interested show up—or people in the plant we don't know. They saw a flyer and decided to check us out. That's why it's important to do a lot of leafleting at the plant."

attracts leading activists

Pulley notes another difference: the campaign attracts more leading activists from unions, women's, and civil rights groups. At his Pittsburgh rally, the head of the civil rights committee from a United Steelworkers local came, as did a leader of the NAACP. At the Newark rally, the president of the Newark Teachers Association brought greetings. So did a NOW leader. In Chicago an activist in the women's committee of USWA Local 65 attended. Pulley has found that a question and answer format for forums and even rallies is often best. "Workers who come to these meetings have some big questions they would like to have answered. Answering these questions whatever format necessary should be our number-one priority. You can't answer everyone's questions in informal discussions after a meeting. And people learn from the questions of others—makes for an exciting evening."

Perhaps the biggest success of the 1980 Socialist Workers campaign so far is bringing to campaign events a number of industrial workers inter-

ested in socialism.

"These individuals may not decide yet to join the SWP," Pulley explains, "but they will be active alongside us on the job and in the union around the big issues of the day. They'll learn more about us. Joining a revolutionary party is new to workers. It takes time."

Confidence

"One of the main problems in winning workers to socialist ideas and to joining our party is not that they don't agree with us on many of the big issues. The problem is that working people don't see how positive change—whether in the unions or in society—is going to happen. They don't yet see themselves as the force that's going to make it happen. They think someone else is going to do it."

"They don't yet have the confidence that they are the leaders, that they are going to have to fight to run the unions themselves. That they are going to have to build a labor party. That they are going to lead the working class in building a society based on human needs and human rights."

"We can help convince working people of their power through our campaign and through our activity on the job, in the union, in the battles for social change. In the process many workers will decide to join the party that is leading this fight against big business and its government. This is beginning to happen already."

Example of Cuba

Pulley believes it is important to point to the example of a country where the workers have kicked out the capitalists and are running society in their own interests. That example is

Cuba.

That's why Pulley plans to go to Cuba in January along with other U.S. socialists—"to find out firsthand how they've been able to solve many of the problems they had, and we still have."

But before he visits revolutionary Cuba, Pulley has a couple of other priorities. After four long months on the campaign trail he's anxious to spend the holidays with his wife Jeanne and their baby daughter, Aislinn.

Then both Pulley and his vice-presidential running-mate, Matilde Zimmermann, will be in Louisville, Kentucky, for the Young Socialist Alliance convention, December 29-January 1. "This will be one of the best

places for young workers to find out more about socialism and how to fight for it," Pulley said.

And on January 13 Pulley and Zimmermann will join thousands of unionists and other women's rights supporters in Richmond, Virginia, for the labor-sponsored march for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The fact that this demonstration—which hadn't even been called when the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign was launched in August—has mushroomed into the biggest labor action for women's rights in U.S. history is, in Pulley's view, a sign of the changing times.

Good times to be campaigning for socialism.

Help fund socialist campaign

The year 1980 promises to be one where big business and its government will continue to tighten the noose around our necks: higher prices, more unemployment, the threat of war.

But as 1979 showed, working people are less and less willing to sit back and take it. They are angry and looking for ways to fight back.

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Refugee suit exposes brutality in Haiti

By Andrea Baron

MIAMI—While Carter proclaims it a "principle" to give asylum to the mass-murderer ex-shah of Iran, Washington extends no such compassion to the thousands of Haitian refugees who arrive here every year seeking political asylum.

The Haitians are fleeing the bloody dictatorship of "President-for-life" Jean Claude Duvalier. Many are so desperate they take to the sea in small, dangerously overcrowded boats.

The U.S. government, arguing that the Haitians are fleeing economic hardship "only," tries to deport them.

The brutal treatment they face has been brought to light by testimony in a class-action lawsuit seeking to block the deportation of 4,000 Haitians. Hearings began here November 23.

The court heard testimony from a Haitian who had served five years in Duvalier's secret police. He reported that standing orders from the dictator

require the immediate arrest and imprisonment of any Haitian who is returned after unsuccessfully seeking political asylum.

A second witness who had worked in Haitian defense headquarters testified that he had seen an order for a group of returnees from the U.S. to be sent to Fort-Dimanche prison. The prisoners were later executed without a trial.

Dade County officials estimate that between 10,000 and 19,000 Haitian refugees live in the Miami area. Since the first big group of refugees arrived seven years ago, the U.S. has granted asylum to only 58 of the 5,795 who requested it.

A lawyer for the refugees said the conditions under which deportation proceedings are conducted are "horrendous."

Often as many as fifty hearings a day are scheduled, seven days a week. There were also no stenographic records of the hearings, and statements made in Creole were not carefully translated.

Meanwhile, 300 Haitians came to a December 4 hearing held by the President's Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, chaired by

Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti. Many of the Haitians spoke movingly of the torture and imprisonment awaiting refugees forced to return to Haiti.

Picket: 'asylum for Haitians'

MIAMI—More than 100 people demanding political asylum for Haitian refugees and an end to U.S. support to Duvalier picketed the November 28 opening session of a Conference on the Caribbean.

The picket was organized by the Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees and Konbit Libete, a Haitian group. It protested the visit of officials of the bloody regime of "Baby Doc" Duvalier to this State Department-sponsored conference.

The picket continued for more than an hour, with lively chants of "Hey, hey USA, stop supporting Duvalier," "Political asylum now," and "Somoza's gone, Duvalier's next." —A.B.



Journal & Guide

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USPS 277-560

Vol. LXXX No. 49

Norfolk, Virginia Friday December 7, 1979

2 Sections 20 Pages Price 25 Cents

Socialist Worker Seeks To Unseat Paul Tribble

By Kiri Campbell

NORFOLK—Sharon Grant, a member of the Socialist Workers Party announced recently her intentions of challenging Paul Tribble for his First Congressional District seat, in the 1980 elections.

A staunch liberal, the 26-year old female stated in a recent interview that her bid for Tribble's seat is a serious one and that she and other members of her party represent the working people of this country. Grant noted that Tribble represents big business and falls in line with the remainder of those "bourgeoisie politicians."

A native of Brooklyn, New York, Grant earned a bachelor of science degree in criminal justice from John J. College in Manhattan, and has been an active member of the Socialist

Workers Party for two-and-a-half years. This is her first attempt at running for a public office.

Grant noted that her party mainly represents the interests of working people in this country, the people, as she calls it, "work their butts off for a living and still can't save enough money to send their child to college."

"We don't raise the issues that the majority of working people aren't already disturbed about; issues such as unemployment, the strengthening of unions, anti-war, and inflation."

Grant's two biggest issues are the Equal Rights Amendment and the closing of all nuclear plants. She will march along with other union members January 13 in Richmond for a demonstration called by the Labor for Equal Rights Now.

"The ERA does for women what the civil rights movement did for

blacks," Grant stated. "I will also campaign for the total shutdown of the deadly nuclear power industry, which bleeds taxpayers with rising costs and threatens catastrophe with unsafe plants and waste methods," she added.

Along with those issues, Grant said she is very strong minded about sending the shah back to Iran.

"Millions of Americans know the solution to the Iran situation crisis;



Sharon Grant

return the shah immediately and all the hostages will be freed," she said.

"President Carter could care less about their safety. He received the hated dictator fully knowing in advance that the shah's criminal presence would provoke a massive Iranian response."

"Carter now states that so-called national honor is more important than the security of the hostages. But what honor exists while

the government harbors the greatest criminal since Hitler? Any American blood spilled in Iran will be on Carter's hands, and those of his colleagues who seek to drag America into another Vietnam."

"I salute Rev. Jesse Jackson, Rev. Joseph Lowery, Muhammad Ali and the American wives in Iran who have said what must be done to thwart the government's war preparations. Send the shah back."

If that's not enough Grant stated that the recent law calling for all Iranian students to report to their nearest immigration office to prove whether or not they are in this country legally is a "witch-hunt."

"I oppose the racist witch-hunt against Iranian students in the United States, and I condemn the lynch-mob type atmosphere that politicians like State Senator Harry Byrd are trying

to whip up against Iranian students. "The real issue in the Iran crisis is war or peace. Only the organized, massive opposition of the American people can stop the war drive being hatched in Washington. We must be prepared to march in our millions again, as we did to stop the war in Viet Nam."

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The announcement of Sharon Grant's campaign for U.S. Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket drew wide news media attention here. Her statements denouncing Carter's war drive against Iran were featured by local radio stations and the 'Daily Press' and 'Times Herald.' The most prominent coverage came in the 'Journal & Guide,' a Black weekly with a circulation of nearly 50,000 in the Tidewater area. Grant, twenty-six, is a pipefitter at Norfolk Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company.

Newport News Steelworker leader dies

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Lee Johnson, the president of United Steelworkers Local 8417, which represents marine designers at Newport News Shipyard, died on November 29 after a nearly decade-long battle with Hodgkins Disease. He was 38 years old.

Johnson was elected president of the Designers Association of Newport News in April 1976. He was subsequently elected president of the newly chartered Local 8417 after the design department voted overwhelmingly to affiliate with the USWA in February 1977.

Tenneco, the oil-rich owner of the shipyard, immediately began a union-busting drive, provoking a walkout in April 1977.

For the next two and a half years, Johnson led the designers in a bitter strike against the shipyard.

Johnson's fight against Hodgkins Disease was complicated by a serious hip injury. Scabs scattered marbles on his doorstep, causing a damaging fall. He was forced to use a cane to walk.

But the pain did not keep Johnson from walking the picket lines or fulfilling his union obligations. His steadfast example was an inspiration

to the designers and to the members of Local 8888, the big USWA local of shipyard production and maintenance workers.

Johnson never entertained the notion of giving in to Tenneco. He believed the union's fight was based on principle, a battle for dignity and justice.

I met Lee Johnson early this year, on the first day I came to cover the union recognition strike by Local 8888.

The first impression I got of Lee never changed. He was an honest, decent, self-sacrificing man. He did not see his position as a way to grab headlines or to promote himself. He was completely dedicated to the cause of union organization and the benefits it brings to working people.

Lee readily cooperated with the *Militant*. He viewed it as an ally of the Steelworkers. "You tell the truth," was a compliment he often paid the paper. He protested the company-organized attack on *Militant* salespeople at a U.S. Steel coal mine in Birmingham and the later victimization of Alabama women miners, including socialist workers.

He believed in and acted on the motto of labor solidarity, "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Lee was not a radical. Soft spoken, gentlemanly in demeanor, he was a traditional union president in some ways. His character, however, was exceptional. He was open-minded and willing to discuss new ideas.

The last time I saw Lee was in mid-September at a union meeting. He had just come from negotiations with the shipyard. His entire body trembled with pain. Yet he was optimistic and he told me he thought progress was finally being made.

Those negotiations are now shelved. Tenneco forced the designers back to work and is now aiding scabs in an effort to decertify the union. Local 8417 will face an uphill battle if such an election is ordered.

Tenneco did not kill Lee Johnson. But the labor-haters on Washington Avenue make his untimely death even more bitter. They deprive the men and women he led of their basic rights, and the most deserving tribute to Lee: the union contract he spent his last ounce of strength fighting for.

Winning that contract is the memorial that every Steelworker here wants for Lee Johnson, a union leader who never surrendered.

Auto workers victims of Chrysler bailout plan

By Osborne Hart

Last month, United Auto Workers officials agreed to a contract with Chrysler Corporation that offered substantial wage and benefit concessions from the union.

It was blackmail. And once you start giving in to blackmail, the extortionist's demands have no end.

That's the painful lesson Chrysler workers are learning as even more sacrifices are demanded of them to "save" the company.

The auto workers are being whipsawed by Congress. The Senate Banking Committee approved a \$1.25 billion government loan guarantee for Chrysler November 29. A few weeks earlier, the House Banking Committee passed a Carter administration plan with a \$1.5 billion loan.

The Senate bill demands reopening the UAW contract and imposing a three-year wage freeze. A recent amendment to the House proposal requires the union to double its concessions to Chrysler.

Already, the new contract had handed over \$403 million to Chrysler in the form of deferred pension payments, curtailed benefits, less time off, and postponement of cost-of-living payments and wage increases.

To top it off, UAW President Douglas Fraser offered an \$850 million loan from the union's pension fund.

Marc Stepp, UAW vice-president and the union's Chrysler department head, said of the contract, "If the government and the bankers come through the way we did, it will give Chrysler a clear opportunity to survive."

No guarantees for workers

Whether the contract concessions and government loan guarantees will assure Chrysler's survival remains to be seen. This much is certain: the bailout plans don't guarantee anything for the UAW members.

Layoffs will continue. To date some 116,000 are laid off throughout the auto industry, including 50,000 at Chrysler. Plant shutdowns will continue. Speedup and forced overtime will increase in the plants left open.

The notion that sacrifices by the workers would save jobs was further exposed when Chrysler announced that it will close the Hamtramck (Dodge Main) assembly plant January 4, throwing more than 2,500 workers into the street. At contract time, workers had been told that the plant would remain open until next July.

Chrysler officials now say that they will need an "emergency loan" in early January to avoid bankruptcy. Previously, a February date was the deadline. Chrysler is looking to the UAW as one of the sources for the loan.

Concessions the union made guarantee only the profits for the company, loan repayments to the banks . . . and more demands on workers. That's the law of corporate blackmail.

Carter's charade

The official stance of the Carter administration is to oppose the Senate demand for reopening the Chrysler



Chrysler workers demonstrate against closing of Hamtramck plant. After unionists accepted wage and benefit cuts, company rewarded them by shutting plant six months early.

contract. But it was Alfred Kahn, known as Carter's chief "inflation fighter," who acted as point man in attacking the meager terms of the pact.

Soon after it was signed he called the contract "outrageous" and in violation of the 7 percent wage guideline. He threatened cancellation of plans for federal loans to Chrysler.

Kahn later reneged and stated the loan would not require the UAW to renegotiate its contract with Chrysler.

But the Senate quickly picked up the ball from him. With this hard cop/soft cop charade, the Carter administration can give workers the impression it is backing the UAW, while it shifts the subject of debate to *how much more* auto workers will have to sacrifice.

That's exactly what has happened.

Fraser gives in

After first denying that the wage agreement in the new contract would be renegotiated, Fraser now says its a possibility.

"In negotiations, I learned long ago never to say 'never,'" Fraser said.

Stepp stated the UAW has "no plans" to reopen the contract, but at the same time says the union will do "whatever is forced on us."

The talk of reopening the contract to give even more concessions to Chrysler not only weakens Chrysler workers' position. It also makes auto workers at Ford and General Motors more vulnerable. What's to stop the government and those corporations from demanding that the UAW renegotiate their contracts?

If the blackmail against Chrysler workers succeeds, the entire labor movement will be opened to more takeback demands from big business.

On the board

There's an added negative feature to the Chrysler scheme: Fraser will be seated on the board of directors.

The UAW president declares he will represent workers and "fight like hell to see that the decisions that Chrysler Corporation makes wind up helping, rather than hurting, the workers."

That's an empty promise.

The purpose of corporate boards is to represent the owners' interests. And the owners' interests lie in profits, not workers' well being.

Putting Fraser on the board is a trap. The idea is twofold: have the union take responsibility for Chrysler's predicament; and convince workers that somehow they have a stake in management decisions.

What about Fraser's vote? What about his say in decisions?

Fraser's vote will be one out of eighteen. As for affecting decisions? Any moves that the board doesn't want Fraser in on they will simply exclude him from.

Even Fraser says that in matters involving collective bargaining he will exclude himself.

Regardless of how Fraser votes on any decision, ensuring profits is what he will participate in.

Fraser's role on the board can only make it easier for Chrysler to squeeze more concessions from the UAW.

The UAW *should* have a say, and a

big one, in how the auto industry is run. It will win that say not on the corporate board but based solely on the degree that its members are mobilized in defense of their rights.

Nationalization

The so-called equality of sacrifice at Chrysler means further attacks on all workers' living standards and a weaker union movement.

As the economic crisis deepens other such schemes are being employed.

Steelworkers are being forced into contract give-backs, while the industry shuts down plants across the country and eliminates thousands of jobs.

The bankruptcies of the Milwaukee Road, Rock Island, and other rail lines have been used to attack the wages, jobs, and safety of rail workers.

Municipal bailout schemes in cities like Cleveland and New York City have wiped out thousands of jobs among public employees.

It's not the fault of steelworkers nor rail workers, nor auto workers that companies in their industries are collapsing.

It's not the fault of the workers that Chrysler can't make it. The Chrysler crisis is due to the workings of the capitalist system and the economic crisis that arises from the drive for profits.

So why should Chrysler workers pay for capitalist mistakes and mismanagement?

Auto workers have no interest in saving Chrysler Corporation as such.

A job, decent income, health and retirement security, and the production of a safe and efficient transportation system are the concerns of auto workers.

There is only one solution to the Chrysler crisis that will benefit the workers and the majority of the American people:

Nationalization.

The government should take Chrysler's plant and other operations away from the private owners and place them under public ownership. Chrysler should be managed through a publicly elected board, with all records and decisions completely open to the public.

Workers' control

Workers should control the work place through democratically elected union committees.

Within the plant, workers would run the production process and eliminate the need for foremen and bosses. To combat unemployment and eliminate layoffs, the union could institute a shorter work week with no reduction in pay. Workers should control every aspect of the auto industry including jobs, production, and design.

The general economic crisis that Chrysler is a victim of is not getting better. On the contrary, it is getting worse.

Government subsidies to prop up the crumbling Chrysler corporate structure will only further victimize the workers. Nationalization can protect their interests.

L.I. rail workers hit by Carter strikebreaking

By Linda Slodki

NEW YORK—President Carter's efforts to break the Long Island Rail Road strike by issuing a sixty-day back-to-work order were condemned by Victor Nieto, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York.

Nieto, a member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 173, said he supports the strikers' demands, including a no-layoff clause, no reduction in train crew sizes, improved safety measures, and improved pension benefits.

LIRR management has made a completely inadequate wage offer—7 per-

cent retroactive for 1979 and 6.5 percent for 1980.

Both Republican Sen. Jacob Javits and Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey were quick to call for federal intervention to break the strike, which had solid support from rail workers.

Carter did his part by ordering the 1,400 striking United Transportation Union members and other striking unions back to work for sixty days. Carter's order sets up a phony "impartial" board to recommend a settlement.

The big-business press and the LIRR have gone on a campaign to turn commuters against the strikers. The

public has been "warned" that the strikers' "unreasonable" demands would cause either a fare hike or a tax increase.

Nieto answered this charge by noting that management's wage offer was only about half the rate of inflation. "If the fares are hiked," Nieto said, "it won't be because of the rail workers. It will be because the Metropolitan Transportation Authority puts the interests of its bondholders ahead of the interests of the people who use the Long Island."

"The MTA has its eye on upcoming negotiations with New York City subway and bus workers and wants to

'hold the line' on wages.

"Instead of trying to break the strike, the federal government should provide free public transportation. It could easily be financed out of the \$140 billion war budget.

"All working people have a stake in the struggle of LIRR workers.

"The unanimous strikebreaking response of the Democrats and Republicans shows that when the chips are down there are no 'friends of labor' in the two bosses' parties. Labor needs its own party, a party that could help organize support for strikes like this one and represent the interests of working people every day."

Conference marks Trotsky centenary

By George Saunders

MEXICO CITY—A three-day conference was held here November 5-7 to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky.

Organized by a committee headed by Vsevolod Volkof, grandson of Trotsky, the conference featured speakers from Europe, the United States, and Mexico, including individuals who had worked with Trotsky, authorities on his life and writings, and present-day Trotskyist activists.

It was fitting that such a centennial was held in Mexico, the only country that would grant refuge to the exiled Bolshevik leader and the country where he lived from January 1937 until his death in August 1940.

The conference consisted of a series of talks at the Autonomous National University of Mexico (UNAM), one of the largest universities in the world and a central cultural influence in the country. A concluding rally was held in a theatre in the city.

Extensive media coverage

Media coverage was extensive. The leading liberal daily, *Uno más uno*, carried articles and interviews daily, and several television channels also covered the events. A crew from the British Broadcasting Company was present and interviewed leading participants. (BBC is preparing a documentary on Trotsky to be shown later this year.)

Many young radicals attended the talks to find out more about Trotsky, whom they had heard of as a significant figure in Mexico's political history of the 1930s. I was told that a number of student members of the Mexican Communist Party were present and found the talks highly informative on subjects their leaders do not discuss.

The Stalinist attacks on Trotsky in the 1930s and the struggles against those attacks were detailed by George Novack, a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and former secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. Novack reviewed the obstacles and difficulties encountered in the effort to form the Dewey Commission—the commission of inquiry into the charges against Trotsky in the Moscow Trials—and the ultimate success of that commission's efforts.

The conference also heard talks by Pierre Broué, research director of the Leon Trotsky Institute in France, reviewing Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism and his views on the revolutionary party and international; and by this reporter discussing Trotsky and revolutionary internationalism and the interest shown in Trotskyism in the



Five hundred came to rally closing conference. Banner of Mexican Trotskyists reads 'Trotsky continues to be with us in the battles of the world revolution.'

Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in recent years.*

Among the other speakers and commentators were Tamara Deutscher, collaborator with her late husband Isaac Deutscher on the three-volume biography of Trotsky; Michel Pablo, a former secretary of the Fourth International; Raymond Molinier, a leader of the French Trotskyists in the 1930s; Jean Van Heijenoort, a former secretary to Trotsky; and Luis Villoro, Antonio Delhumeau, and Adolfo Gilly.

A leading "Eurocommunist" intellectual of the French CP, Jean Elieinstein, who had been scheduled to participate, did not in fact arrive.

Trotsky and literature

A roundtable on Trotsky and literature November 6 treated a special aspect of Trotsky's contribution to Marxism—his rich understanding of cultural questions.

Mexican literary scholar Luis Mario Schneider spoke on Trotsky's relations with the surrealist André Breton. The poet Eduardo Lizalde explained that, as a young supporter of the Communist Party, he himself had believed the slanders against Trotsky and felt it was vital now to set the record straight.

Veronica Volkof, a young poet and critic whose work has won acclaim, and the artist and muralist Vlady gave tributes to Trotsky.

Marguerite Bonnet, president of the Leon Trotsky Institute, summarized Trotsky's views on the role of the artist. And José Luis Gonzalez, a Puerto Rican novelist, discussed the writer's place in the coming socialist revolution in Latin America, in light of the negative experience in the USSR.

The conference concluded with a spirited rally November 7 attended by about 500 persons, including many old militants and sympathizers of the Trotskyist movement from a number of countries.

In part the rally embodied a dialogue between the generation that had experienced decades of political and ideological struggle against capitalism and Stalinism, and the generation of

younger revolutionaries who constitute the indispensable force for carrying that struggle forward. A large banner on one wall expressed the spirit of the occasion: "Trotsky Continues to Be With Us in the Battles of the World Revolution."

The gathering was made colorful and lively by the red banners carried by many young members of the audience. They were held aloft and waved before and after each of the speakers.

Songs of the Russian revolution and civil war were played at the opening of the commemoration and at intervals during the evening.

Red Army chief

Mexican journalist Francisco Zendejas, one of the sponsors of the conference chaired the meeting. He noted that by an accident of history Trotsky's birth falls on the same date as the Bolshevik revolution—November 7. Part of the purpose of the centennial, he pointed out, was to recall the truth, still denied by Stalinist falsification, of Trotsky's role as organizer of the insurrection that established Soviet power and as head of the Red Army from 1918 to 1925.

The meeting was opened by the reading of messages from two of Trotsky's collaborators in the 1930s—Pierre Naville, now a noted French sociologist, and Pierre Frank, now a leader of the Fourth International.

Pierre Broué was the first speaker. All over the world, he pointed out, meetings large and small would be commemorating Trotsky's centenary, but there would be few meetings for Stalin (also born in 1879). That in itself constitutes a judgment of history.

Pelai Pages-Blanch of the University of Barcelona spoke about the relations between Trotsky and Andrés Nin, leader of the Spanish centrist organization POUM (Workers Party of Marxist-Unification) in the 1930s. He noted that both men had fallen victim to Moscow's murder machine, the one in Spain, the other in Mexico.

Also speaking were Michel Pablo and Raymond Molinier. Pablo described Trotsky's disdain for any hint of making a cult around himself. Molinier recounted from his own experience Trotsky's attitude toward revolutionary youth.

Fourth International

Cristina Rivas of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT, the Mexican section of the Fourth International) stressed that no commemoration of Trotsky should go by without reference to what Trotsky considered the most

important task—the building of mass revolutionary workers parties and their unification in the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution. Trotsky devoted the final years of his life to promoting this objective.

From Iran to Nicaragua, from South Korea to Bolivia, the upsurge of the revolutionary masses shows the urgent need for such parties to provide the necessary leadership, Rivas said. This mass upsurge also justifies Trotsky's optimism about the prospects for abolishing capitalism everywhere in the world.

At this point, and at several others, young members of the audience broke into chants expressing revolutionary sentiments.

Carlos Martínez de la Torre, speaking for the Political Committee of the PRT, explained that when Trotsky began his fight against Stalinism many thought it was hopeless, but the correctness of that struggle has been confirmed by history.

He stressed that it is the duty of all revolutionaries to support the Nicaraguan revolution. The best homage we can pay to Trotsky, he reminded his listeners, is to fight actively within the world revolutionary process while explaining Trotsky's ideas, which are more vital and pertinent than ever.

Mexican asylum

The final speaker was Vsevolod Volkof, president of the organizing committee for the centenary. He as well as other speakers paid tribute to Mexico for having given asylum to Trotsky when no other country in the world would do so. President Lázaro Cárdenas, in 1936, had saved the life of the great revolutionary at a time when all the Old Bolsheviks were being exterminated and Stalin was doing everything in his power to lay hands on Trotsky as well.

Describing Trotsky, Volkof made clear that while on political matters he had to be sharp and firm, within the family he was very warm, and he treated all the comrades and guards living at his house as members of the family.

The role of Trotsky's companion, Natalia Sedova, should not be overlooked, Volkof emphasized. She was a person of unparalleled honor and loyalty, Trotsky's firmest supporter in the darkest days.

The meeting ended with the whole audience rising to its feet and, with raised fists, singing the battlesong of the world working class, the *Internationale*.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Leon Trotsky in Mexico shortly before his assassination.

*Despite the Kremlin bureaucracy's use of the resources of the Soviet state to maintain Stalin's lies about Trotsky, Soviet citizens are inquiring more and more into the facts about the Bolshevik leader. Evidence of such interest, especially in this centennial year, is that a group of Soviet tourists recently visited the Leon Trotsky Museum in Mexico City, something that has not happened before. The leaders of the tourist group remained in their vehicles, while the rank and file trooped into the museum.

Fail test of Nicaraguan revolution

Sectarians split from Fourth International

By Barry Sheppard

The Fifth World Congress since reunification of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, was held in Belgium the week of November 17-25. Delegates representing sections and sympathizing organizations in forty-eight countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania, the Caribbean, and North and South America were present.

A sizable leadership delegation from the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) participated in the congress discussions and registered a consultative vote.

The SWP is barred from membership in the Fourth International by reactionary legislation in the U.S. Nevertheless, the SWP remains in political solidarity with the Fourth International and does what it can to help politically advance the development of the world Trotskyist movement.

The congress was held in the midst of the deepening crisis of imperialism and of the intensification of the international class struggle exemplified by the unfolding revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua.

Of special note was the presence of delegates from the Iranian Socialist Workers Party. It was an expression of the geographical extension of the forces of the Fourth International since its last World Congress in 1974, as well as its deepening roots among the toilers who are more and more prone to revolutionary action.

Solidarity campaign

The congress hailed the overthrow of the imperialist-backed regime of the butcher Somoza by the Nicaraguan people led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). The Fourth International pledged to make its central international campaign helping to build the worldwide solidarity movement for aid to Nicaragua and for defense of the revolution against imperialist aggression.

In order to prepare for the major class battles to come, the congress voted to make a radical turn—to place in industrial jobs a large majority of the members of the sections of the international in every country.

It adopted resolutions on the world political situation, on the specific tasks in carrying out this turn and building the Fourth International in Europe and in Latin America, on Nicaragua, and on the struggle for women's liberation.

It discussed the situation in Indochina and decided on an international campaign to defend Hanoi and Phnompenh against the intensified attacks by imperialism. It discussed the relationship of workers democracy and socialist revolution.

An International Executive Committee was elected to lead the work of the Fourth International until the next World Congress.

The delegates who participated in the congress were elected from each national section after extensive democratic debate and discussion, including an international written discussion. They represented the various points of view in the international on the matters under consideration.

Despite the months of discussion and debate, on the very eve of the world gathering two minority factions that had been part of the Fourth International for some time decided to split from the international rather than participate in the congress and try to win a majority of delegates to their views. Together they led approximately 25 to 30 percent of the international.

The two groupings—known as the Bolshevik Faction (BF) and the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency (LTT)—

formed an alliance with another group outside the international called the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI).



Nicaraguan electrical workers show their support for Sandinista trade union, one of the many being organized after forty-five years of Somoza's tyranny. Sectarians falsely portray the FSLN as opposed to the organization and mobilization of the workers.

On October 29 the three groups announced the formation of a "parity committee" to organize the fight against the Fourth International, which they claim has embarked on a liquidationist course, abandoned the "terrain of Trotskyism," and gone over to "revisionism."

The test of Nicaragua

The major political issue that provoked the split is the revolution in Nicaragua.

Revolutions not only mark abrupt breaks with the past, they are acid tests for revolutionists everywhere. The Nicaraguan revolution rapidly divided forces throughout the world claiming to be Trotskyist and revolutionary Marxist into two irreconcilable camps: those who have embraced the Nicaraguan revolution as their own and recognize the revolutionary qualities and achievements of the Sandinistas, versus those who, in sectarian fashion, see the Sandinistas (and the Castroist current in general) as a counterrevolutionary obstacle barring the advance of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

The first public act of the "parity committee" definitively established what was driving them. Those who split from the Fourth International did so in order to free their hands to pursue a criminal course of giving aid and comfort to the international campaign of imperialism and capitalist reaction against the Nicaraguan revolution.

On November 13, the three organizations of the "parity committee" held a public meeting in Paris. The theme of this meeting was to denounce the Sandinista National Liberation Front for allegedly carrying out systematic repression of the workers and peasants in Nicaragua, and to attack the Fourth International and the American Socialist Workers Party as being complicit with the repressive acts supposedly organized by the FSLN.

At this meeting, OCRFI representative Stéphane Just, who is emerging as the major spokesperson for the "parity committee," said:

It is clear that supporting the Government of National Reconstruction (in Nicaragua), approving of the repression of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, demanding that everyone in the workers movement subordi-

nate themselves to the Sandinist leadership, is revisionism. It leads to supporting the repression of Trotskyism. It leads to the leadership of the SWP to approve the policies of Castro, who preaches peaceful coexistence... which is synonymous with the Holy Counterrevolutionary Alliance... This leads to measures whose goal is the liquidation of those tendencies and factions inside the United Secretariat [of the Fourth International] that do not accept this policy. [Informations Ouvrières, November 17-24. Ellipses in original.]

Sectarian blindness

The picture of Nicaragua as a country ruled through repression of the toiling masses and brutal victimization, even torture, of revolutionary fighters, is a complete and utter falsification.

To claim to launch a "solidarity" campaign with the Nicaraguan revolution on this theme only reveals the sectarian and factional blindness, with deadly right-wing consequences, that motivates the "parity committee."

This is made even clearer by the refusal of the groups supporting the "parity committee" to join the international solidarity campaign with Nicaragua. Their spurious contention is that giving aid to the Nicaraguan government is only aiding a "bourgeois" government, and that the imperialist countries will use any aid they give to attempt to block the progress of the revolution.

By this twisted logic, they come out against demanding that aid be sent to Nicaragua!

While a sectarian reaction to the forward march of the Nicaraguan revolution brought together the forces now calling themselves the "parity committee," that was not their only mutual attraction. They share a common aversion for the decision of the World Congress to continue and deepen the proletarian orientation of the Fourth International by radically reorienting the membership of the international and transforming its composition through sending the overwhelming majority of its members into basic industry.

In addition, both the Bolshevik Faction and the OCRFI have long histories of organizational practices diametrically opposed to the norms of democratic centralism—nationally and internationally.

In practice they reject the fight to simultaneously build proletarian parties firmly rooted in the living class struggle of their own countries and a mass revolutionary international

based on a Marxist program and Leninist organizational norms.

To understand the issues involved in the split more clearly, it is necessary to briefly review the history of the Bolshevik Faction and the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency, as well as the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

The Bolshevik Faction

The Bolshevik Faction is an international grouping whose main strength is in Latin America. Its central leader is Nahuel Moreno of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party (PST).

The Argentine party has for many years been the strongest Trotskyist organization in Latin America, with a continuity that goes back to the late 1940s. Its recent evolution can only be understood in light of the deepgoing political differences in the Fourth International during the last decade.

At the 1969 World Congress of the Fourth International, a majority voted for a line projecting rural guerrilla warfare on a continental scale as a strategy in Latin America for an extended period. A minority, supported by the American SWP, strongly opposed this line.

The Argentine section had already been split by this political difference, with the two groups known by the names of their newspapers—*Combatiente* (Fighter) and *Verdad* (Truth).

The *Verdad* group, led by Moreno, supported the minority position at the 1969 congress. The *Combatiente* group supported the majority position, and went on to organize the Argentine Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP), led by Roberto Santucho, which became famous for its spectacular actions by small armed groups in the cities.

The *Combatiente* group left the Fourth International in 1973. In spite of the courage of its leaders and members, its guerrilla strategy led it to increased isolation from the Argentine masses.

The military relentlessly hunted down and brutally murdered the ERP cadres, including Santucho himself in 1976.

The *Verdad* group took the opposite road of working to build a party, along the lines of the Leninist strategy.

In the early 1970s, massive struggles against the dictatorship erupted in Argentina, including semi-insurrectionary struggles in Córdoba and other

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...sectarians

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cities. As a result, the military decided to allow the return of bourgeois populist figure Juan Perón, and to hold elections.

The *Verdad* group was able to intervene effectively in this new situation. Through taking advantage of the openings created by the elections and the combativity of the working class, they built the PST and gained an important hearing and new members from among the workers.

Debate in international

The debate in the international begun in 1969 proved to be long and deep. The majority and minority currents crystallized into two factions by 1973, called the International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the Leninist Trotskyist Faction (LTF) respectively.

As the strongest organization in Latin America that refused to go along with the guerrilla line, the PST was the main target of the majority faction.

Despite the fact that the *Combatiente* group had broken with Trotskyism, at the 1974 World Congress the majority refused to recognize the PST as the Argentine section. Nor did it reverse the 1969 line on guerrilla warfare, despite the growing doubts of many IMT supporters. As a result, the faction struggle within the international deepened.

Following the 1974 World Congress, Moreno decided that the course charted by the LTF of fighting within the international to reverse and rescind the guerrilla line was insufficient.

But the majority of the LTF, including most of its Latin American supporters, rejected his proposal to form a "public faction" which would have been a separate international organization, in reality, with its own structuring, finances and discipline, contrary to all the norms of democratic centralism and the program of the Fourth International.

Break from LTF

In 1975 Moreno decided to break with the LTF and implement his own preferred course.

The first step in this process was a drive to take over the Mexican Socialist League (LS), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. In order to accomplish this, he had to get rid of a majority of the leaders of the LS, who supported the LTF and rejected Moreno's line.

Through a campaign of personal vilification, he tried to isolate, demoralize, and destroy a whole group of cadres, and purge the membership of the LS.

This campaign was organized by leaders of the Argentine PST, whom Moreno had sent to Mexico to "aid" the LS. The result was a split, with Moreno "capturing" a section of the organization.

As a result of this operation, the LTF expelled from its ranks the PST leaders responsible for such gross violations of the organizational principles of Trotskyism.

Within a few months, a similar operation was carried out in Portugal. In the unfolding revolution there, Argentine comrades were sent to help the Portuguese Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT).

But when some of the original leaders of the PRT disagreed with Moreno's views and organizational methods, Moreno again organized a violent campaign of personal charges against those involved, and had them expelled.

Two aspects of the Portuguese operation were to more and more mark Moreno's subsequent course.

The Portuguese PRT was a relatively small group, largely composed of high-school-age youth inspired by the revolution. Moreno played on their spirit of self-sacrifice and enthusiasm, demanding not only unquestioning agreement with every twist and turn, but also a level of hyperactivity, including a frantic search for funds, that finally demoralized many of them.

The rationale for this was Moreno's conception that if only the PRT could find enough money, sell enough papers, etc., it could grow to "10,000 members" within a year. No attempt was made to build stable party units among the industrial workers.

Tactics dictated from afar

Second, Moreno himself, from afar or during short visits to Portugal, laid down the tactics for building the PRT, even to the smallest details.

Members of the PRT who resisted such methods were told that while in general it was wrong for leaders of one section to try to run another section, Moreno was the "Lenin of our time," and was qualified to decide tactics for all countries, above all, in revolutions.

During the four years between his break with the LTF and his split from the international, the same kind of destructive splitting operation was carried out in several other countries, including Colombia, Peru and Panama.

The Bolshevik Faction became more and more openly contemptuous of the Fourth International and its demo-

The United Secretariat repeatedly urged the leaders of the Bolshevik Faction to participate in the work of the bureau and the international center. But they neither participated in this process nor did they prepare their own resolutions on the political points to be decided on by the congress.

Simón Bolívar Brigade

Then, in the summer of 1979, Moreno launched another "spectacular" get-rich-quick campaign. The Simón Bolívar Brigade was formed in Colombia, ostensibly to go to Nicaragua and fight with the Sandinista National Liberation Front against Somoza. But the entire operation was simply a cynical attempt to exploit the Nicaraguan revolution.

In their own internal bulletins, the ranks of the Bolshevik Faction were told that the formation of the Simón Bolívar Brigade would be "a big political success for the leadership of the BF, legitimizing it as a real leadership alternative for the FI."

From the beginning, Moreno organized the Simón Bolívar Brigade to advance his factional interests vis-à-

taken against the leadership of the Bolshevik Faction by the World Congress unless they agreed to change their course.

Moreno's latest scheme of coming to the World Congress with the prestige of the Nicaraguan revolution and the FSLN behind him was in shambles.

In order to explain what had happened, Moreno abruptly reversed his political line 180 degrees.

From opportunistically pretending to be the FSLN, he switched to charging that the FSLN had deported the leaders of the Simón Bolívar Brigade as part of its counterrevolutionary drive to consolidate a bourgeois government and rebuild capitalism in Nicaragua. This set the stage politically for the bloc between the Bolshevik Faction, the LTT, and OCRFI.

The Leninist Trotskyist Tendency

The Leninist Trotskyist Tendency had its main forces in the French section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), where it had some 350 to 400 supporters.

The central leaders of the LTT had joined the LTF in 1976.

When the leadership of the International Majority Tendency reversed their former line on Latin America, and both factions voted to dissolve, there was resistance to this within both formations.

In the LTF, a group of comrades opposed the dissolution outright. This group included the leaders of what would become the LTT. The LTT viewed the dissolution of the factions as a political capitulation by the majority of the LTF, especially the leaders of the American SWP, to the former IMT.

They wanted to cling to the factions even though the political basis on which they had been formed no longer existed. This sectarian stance towards the former IMT prefigured the subsequent evolution of the LTT.

The dissolution of the factions had important positive results in reknitting the international after the long faction struggle. Not the least of these results was the preparation by the majority of the United Secretariat of the four main resolutions adopted by the World Congress.

These resolutions reflected important areas of agreement. Not all differences were overcome. Some new differences emerged, cutting across previous faction lines. Some subjects remain open for further discussion. But the major achievement represented by these documents is undeniable. (The documents of the 1979 World Congress will be available shortly in a special supplement to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.)

The leaders of the LTT, however, maintained their stance, charging that these resolutions covered up what they considered to be the key "differences."

Cuban revolution

Their sterile sectarianism began to be reflected more and more in their overall political positions, especially in their assessment of the Cuban revolution and the role of the Castro leadership.

Since the American SWP recently conducted a lengthy internal discussion on Cuba and rejected any concept that the Castro leadership is Stalinist or a political revolution is necessary in Cuba, thus reaffirming what has been the long-standing Trotskyist position on Cuba, the LTT began to center more of its fire on the SWP.

This chronic sectarianism on the part of the LTT leaders broke out into a virulent disease with the Sandinista triumph in Nicaragua. They *knew* the Sandinistas would *have* to betray the revolution, because they were strongly influenced by the Castro leadership.

When the majority in the Fourth International took a different course, hailed the revolution, greeted the Sandinistas as fellow revolutionists, sought to reach out to them, and joined the international solidarity effort with the revolution, the LTT went into a



Cuba shortly after Castro-led movement toppled Batista. Workers and peasants demonstrate support for measures of new government. Predecessors of OCRFI, who turned away from Cuban revolution, are repeating same error over Nicaragua.

cratic norms. The "Lenin of our time" became more and more the object of a cult.

Get-rich-quick scheme

According to Bolshevik Faction documents, some get-rich-quick scheme was always on the verge of success, in Spain or elsewhere. The Bolshevik Faction was going to achieve some spectacular breakthrough somewhere, which would then "prove" to the rest of the international the superiority of Moreno's methods and the necessity of him becoming the central leader of the Fourth International.

As the Bolshevik Faction degenerated into such a personal cult, Moreno was compelled to launch increasingly violent public attacks on other leaders of the international. Ernest Mandel was singled out, as was the leadership of the French LCR.

Another special target became the leaders of the American Socialist Workers Party, especially since Moreno had previously claimed to stand in the tradition of James P. Cannon and other pioneer leaders of the SWP.

At the end of 1976 the majority faction reassessed its line on guerrilla warfare in Latin America and adopted a self-critical balance sheet. Among other points, the IMT stated it had been wrong to refuse to recognize the PST as the Argentine section in 1974, and indicated that this should be corrected at the coming World Congress.

The Leninist Trotskyist Faction and the International Majority Tendency were dissolved and the leadership of the international worked together to prepare major political resolutions for the 1979 World Congress.

vis the Fourth International, and not to aid the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. The object was to enhance Moreno's prestige. It represented a qualitative new stage in the degeneration of the Bolshevik Faction.

The Simón Bolívar Brigade covered itself with the flag of the FSLN even though it was not organized in collaboration with the FSLN. It raised money in the name of the FSLN, which the FSLN never saw. As a unit, it entered Nicaragua from Costa Rica only after the fall of Somoza.

Once in Nicaragua, the brigade, still fraudulently claiming the authority of the FSLN, tried to set up unions under its control, and even tried to take over the town of Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast.

In spite of the fact that the brigade presented itself as a military unit of the FSLN, and remained armed, it refused to place itself under FSLN military command.

After attempting, unsuccessfully, to negotiate with the leaders of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, who were almost all non-Nicaraguans, in August 1979, only a few weeks after the fall of Somoza, the FSLN command decided to deport them from the country.

Criminal adventure

The criminal, sectarian adventure of the Simón Bolívar Brigade disgraced Trotskyism in Nicaragua and internationally, although it was done behind the backs and against the policy of the Fourth International.

In September the United Secretariat of the Fourth International publicly called the Bolshevik Faction to order for this flagrant and damaging violation of its discipline, and recommended that further disciplinary action be

paroxysm of factional fever. They charged the majority in general and the SWP in particular with having betrayed Trotskyism.

Another major rallying point for the LTT was opposition to the central organizational conclusion flowing from the facts and analysis explained in the world political resolution.

This projected the necessity for our movement on a world scale to immediately send the cadres recruited in the previous period into basic industry, as a precondition for our movement to survive as a politically viable force in the workers movement during the period ahead.

It is the only way to take advantage of the new openings that are now before us to overcome the historically imposed isolation of Trotskyism from the mainstream of our class.

The LTT rejected the necessity of making this kind of wrenching turn, a forced march to change the composition of our forces in order to be able to lead the working class in the battles that are on the agenda.

Comfortable isolation

The LTT reflected a tendency in our ranks which became comfortable with the isolation of revolutionary Marxism after the triumph of Stalinism in the 1930s and during the long years following World War II.

Far from viewing our isolation as an evil we had to endure—but one we were always seeking to break out of—this tendency attracted people who prefer to comment from the sidelines rather than immerse themselves in the class struggle itself. This is one of the roots of their pious sectarianism, as they are content to sit above the fray, “criticizing” all.

The Bolshevik Faction, too, opposed the projected turn to send the majority of our leaders and members into the factories, but for different reasons.

The Argentine PST has always had an important base in the workers movement. For many years it was the most proletarian section of the international, in terms of composition, and regularly sent cadres recruited from the student movement into the factories and mills to take advantage of political openings. This was always one of its strengths.

But supporting the turn in the international would have run counter to the factional interests of the BF, as one of its claims has been that it alone represents the proletarian current in the international.

Moreover, in recent years, in organizations dominated by the Bolshevik Faction, it has become increasingly common to send members into industry as a form of punishment for disagreeing with Moreno's line—not as a party-building activity.

Moreno's concept of “bolshevizing” or “proletarianizing” those guilty of petty-bourgeois origins is the opposite

of the political turn decided on by the majority of the delegates at the 1979 World Congress.

The OCRFI

In 1963, a ten-year split in the world Trotskyist movement was healed. Certain sections of the movement rejected the reunification, however, including the current led by Juan Posadas in Latin America; Michel Pablo and his followers internationally; a grouping in Britain around Gerry Healy; and the French organization whose principal spokesman was Pierre Lambert.

One of the factors which brought the two sides together in the reunification was a common political attitude towards the Cuban revolution.

Healy and Lambert, however, denied that a socialist revolution had occurred in Cuba at all. They charged that the majority of world Trotskyism had abandoned its principles by supporting the revolutionary anti-imperialist actions of the Castro leadership team.

They refused to chart a course of trying to link up with this revolutionary current that was bypassing Stalinism to the left. But that was part and parcel of our defense of the first successful socialist revolution in the Americas. It was the only possible road to building a mass revolutionary international.

For the remainder of the 1960s, Healy's “International Committee,” supported by the French Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI), headed by Lambert, attempted to build a counter organization to the Fourth International.

In the early 1970s, as Healy's course in Britain became more and more sectarian and opportunist, Lambert's organization broke with Healy.

The Lambert group, following the split with Healy, formed the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, with affiliates in a number of countries. The most important group in the OCRFI is the French OCI. They began to take a less sectarian stance toward the Fourth International.

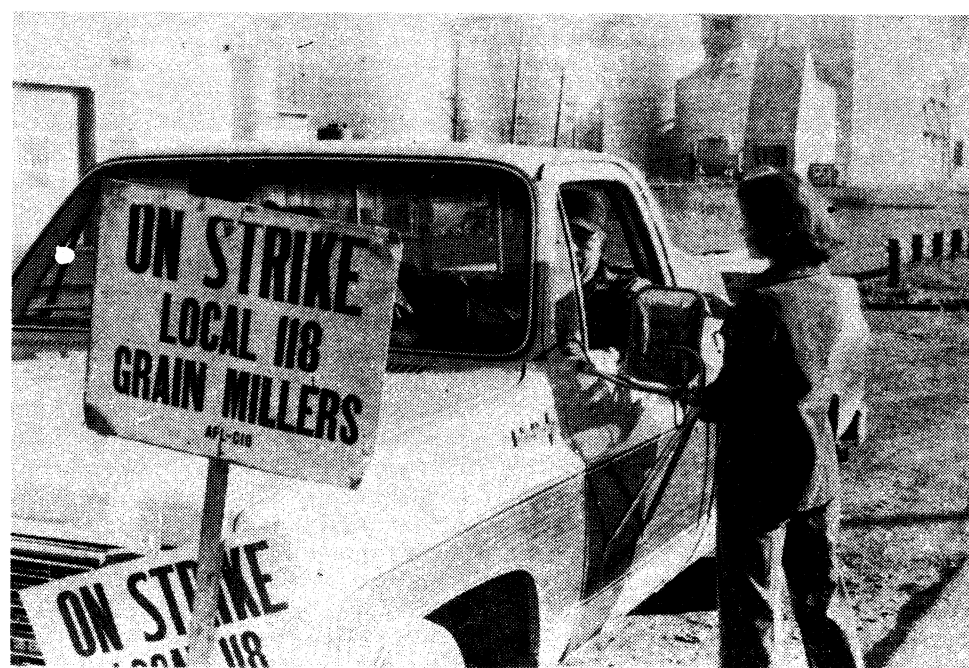
Discussion with OCRFI

In 1973, the OCRFI approached the Fourth International for discussions, stating that the debate inside the Fourth International involved the questions they felt were not clarified in the 1963 reunification.

Unfortunately, the factional situation in the Fourth International at the time blocked a positive response to this initiative and valuable time was lost.

By 1976, however, this began to be turned around. There were more contacts and exchanges between the Fourth International and the OCRFI.

Then in 1978, at a public meeting in Paris celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International, spokespeople for both sides stated that the goal of discus-



Militant/Rich Stuart

SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann talks socialism with striking workers in Duluth, Minnesota. Sectarrians reject turn to industrial working class by SWP and Fourth International.

sions between them should be a fusion (which the OCRFI said it would consider a “reconstruction” of the Fourth International).

Both sides agreed to hold a series of informal leadership discussions based on the documents prepared for the upcoming World Congress. These discussions proceeded to the point where on many of the major questions of world politics, there were broad areas of agreement.

An important exception remained Cuba. Stéphane Just, one of the leaders of the OCI, had written an article that at least belatedly recognized capitalism had been overthrown in Cuba and a workers state established.

But at the same time he equated Castroism with Stalinism and called for a “political revolution” to overthrow the Castro leadership. This position is diametrically opposed to that of the Fourth International.

When the mass upsurge in Nicaragua toppled Somoza, the OCI's reaction was an unfortunate repetition of their response twenty years ago to the Cuban revolution.

Turned fire on FSLN

Instead of recognizing the achievement of the Sandinistas in leading the masses in the insurrection that overthrew Somoza, and correctly assessing the steps they have taken since to advance the interests of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, the OCI leaders have turned their fire against the FSLN, charging it with being the main counterrevolutionary force in the country.

The sectarian position taken by the main forces in the OCRFI towards the Castro leadership and the Nicaraguan revolution prepared the way for their political bloc with the Bolshevik Faction and the LTT.

Leaders of the OCRFI, including Just, had also expressed opposition to the proposed turn to industry projected by the Fourth International majority.

Their party-building activity up to now has generally included work to build union fractions, but not mainly industrial union fractions, and not through orienting party members and leaders themselves to become part of the industrial working class.

Their concentration in non-industrial jobs and unions such as teachers, is another variant of trying to build proletarian parties from outside the major sections of the working class.

Under the impact of Nicaragua and the increasingly weighty role of the Castro leadership in anti-imperialist struggles around the world, the OCRFI abruptly reversed its course toward fusion. While there were signs of some internal resistance to the new course in the OCRFI, a majority opted to work toward splitting the Fourth International instead of fusing with it.

On the basis of the charge that the Fourth International had abandoned the “terrain of Trotskyism” in responding to the Nicaraguan revolution and charting a course toward influencing

and winning its leadership to revolutionary Marxism, the OCRFI formed the “parity committee” with the BF and LTT, and helped organize the split of the latter two groups from the international.

They have now called for an open conference of the world Trotskyist movement to discuss Nicaragua. They have coyly announced that they hold open the door for participation by the Fourth International—from which they have just split in order to avoid taking part in a world congress that would discuss Nicaragua!

Some undemocratic practices

The abrupt turn away from a fusion perspective with the Fourth International will mean cutting short another process that had begun in the OCI, that of beginning to correct undemocratic aspects of their own internal functioning. An element of this came to light, earlier this year when the OCI expelled one of its central leaders, Charles Berg.

Berg was in charge of liaison with OCI units outside of Paris (“the provinces,” as they say in Paris). The OCI has the undemocratic practice of appointing local leaderships from Paris, not allowing each unit to elect its own leadership.

Berg headed the commission that made the appointments. He was charged with falsifying the membership figures of these “provincial” units in order to enhance his own prestige and influence at an OCI congress, and with having diverted rather large sums of party funds for his own use and to further the work of his commission.

The Berg affair initiated a discussion in the OCI concerning democratic norms. Obviously, something was wrong if an individual like Berg could have gotten away with such corrupt measures for any considerable time.

Wasn't the absence of rank-and-file control the source of the problem?

The leaders of the OCI knew that a fusion with the Fourth International would necessarily entail a modification of their organizational practices to ensure party democracy.

Unfortunately, the turn away from the Fourth International will probably mean a hardening up of these practices by the OCI, which will be encouraged by their renewed sectarianism.

Split or expulsion?

Following their exit from the Fourth International, the LTT and BF have charged that they were in fact expelled by decisions taken by the United Secretariat.

The decisions referred to were motions by the United Secretariat at a meeting in early October. They concerned the functioning of supporters of the Fourth International in Nicaragua.

A small grouping in Nicaragua called the Revolutionary Marxist League (LMR) generally supports the views of the Bolshevik Faction. Another tiny group in Nicaragua was organized by the Socialist Workers

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Militant/Arnold Weissberg

SWP convention, August 1979, discussed and voted on major international questions. Sectarrians claimed falsely that their views were not heard, then walked out of International on eve of World Congress.

Fourth Int'l World Congress condemns split

On the eve of the Fifth World Congress Since Reunification of the Fourth International (Eleventh World Congress), two groupings, the 'Bolshevik Faction' (BF) and the 'Leninist Trotskyist Tendency' (LTT), split from the Fourth International. The World Congress adopted the following statement on the split on November 17, 1979.

The Fourth International has suffered a split which represents a serious blow to our movement. Given the general rise of the revolutionary struggle on a world scale in the framework of the combined crises of imperialism and the ruling bureaucratic castes in the degenerated or deformed workers states, and the decision of this World Congress to implement a radical turn to the industrial working class to deepen our proletarian orientation, we are convinced of the capacity of our movement to rapidly overcome the quantitative and political effects of the split. All the necessary steps will be taken by the International and its sections to accomplish this.

The leaderships of the "Bolshevik Faction" and the "Leninist Trotskyist Tendency" have publicly attempted to justify their split by charging that the majority of the forces of the Fourth International have "abandoned Trotskyism" by their defense of the Nicaraguan revolution and that this World Congress has not been democratically prepared. The facts speak otherwise.

The charge that the majority of the Fourth International is "liquidating" Trotskyism by its revolutionary response to the Nicaraguan revolution, by its analysis of the present stage of the Nicaraguan revolution, and by its fraternal attitude to the fighters of the FSLN who led the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist-backed Somoza dictatorship, is absurd. Any other stance would amount to sectarian abstentionism in face of the living revolution.

Democratic World Congress

The World Congress has been prepared in a fully democratic way. The BF and the LTT have enjoyed full rights to present their views in the written discussion and in the sections, along guidelines agreed to by the BF and LTT themselves. The lie to their argument is given by the fact that the BF and LTT split right on the eve of the World Congress, refusing even to

present their case before the delegates assembled here from more than forty countries in the highest body of the Fourth International, revealing their contempt for the majority of the cadres of our movement and their rejection of its democratic discussions and decisions.

The BF and the LTT had full rights to present their views on Nicaragua and every other point on the agenda of this World Congress. A section of the LTT which rejected the split course has in fact done so. The leaderships of the BF and LTT both make the same excuse that there hasn't been enough time since the overthrow of Somoza four months ago to begin the discussion on Nicaragua at this World Congress. On the contrary, a revolutionary organization such as the Fourth International has the duty to react rapidly to events of such importance as the Nicaraguan revolution. This discussion, which the BF and LTT have now unilaterally cut themselves off from, will continue in the Fourth International as the revolution unfolds, in the framework of a massive international campaign of solidarity in the face of imperialist hatred for the Nicaraguan revolution.

The right of the LTT and BF to present their views inside the International was not and is not challenged. Their split was not politically justified and was therefore unprincipled.

The origins of the split go back before the Nicaraguan revolution. For some years the Bolshevik Faction has been functioning as a more open public faction, without regard to the decisions or norms of the Fourth International. Increasingly, it set itself up as a parallel formation to the Fourth International, organizing splits of our forces in country after country, setting up their own international apparatus and financial system in competition with those of the International, and moving their comrades from country to country without regard to the interests of the sections involved and not under the control of or even in consultation with the regular bodies of the International. Before the Nicaraguan events, they were warned that this World Congress would take the necessary measures to put a halt to this public factional operation. This method of functioning reached a criminal culmination in the operations of the "Simón Bolívar Brigade" in Nicaragua (see statement by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on the Simón Bolívar Brigade in the October 22, 1979, issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, p. 1033).

Simón Bolívar Brigade

Right from the beginning, the BF conceived of the brigade in this factional manner, and not from the point of view of the needs of the Nicaraguan

revolution. The Simón Bolívar Brigade was set up behind the backs of the elected leadership of the Fourth International by the Bolshevik Faction with the express purpose of changing the relationship of forces in the Fourth International so that the BF would take over its leadership. The brigade masqueraded as a military unit of the FSLN, fraudulently raised money using the name of the FSLN, and deliberately confused trade-union organizations and groups of workers in Nicaragua who thought they did represent the FSLN. This completely unprincipled behavior in the course of a living revolution represented a carrying over of their factional and sectarian methods within the Fourth International to the Latin American labor movement and Nicaraguan revolution as a whole. The operations of the Simón Bolívar Brigade were a real crime against the Nicaraguan revolution and against the Fourth International.

At its first meeting following the overthrow of Somoza, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International called the Bolshevik Faction to order for the Simón Bolívar Brigade. The United Secretariat warned the Bolshevik Faction to cease its activities as a public faction in Central America. Since they knew that this World Congress would demand that the Bolshevik Faction put an end to all viola-



Militant/Fred Murphy

More than 100,000 Nicaraguans turned out November 7 to show support for the revolution and the FSLN leadership. The Bolshevik Faction-led Simón Bolívar Brigade masqueraded as a military unit of the FSLN, raised money fraudulently, and promoted policies contrary to FSLN. After the brigade was discredited, Bolshevik Faction began attacking FSLN.

...sectarians

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Organization (OST) of Costa Rica, whose leaders support the LTT.

Neither of these two groups had ever been recognized by the Fourth International, which has no section in Nicaragua. However, they each projected the line of the BF and LTT respectively, and falsely used the name of the Fourth International.

The United Secretariat decided that the Bolshevik Faction had to withdraw its Simón Bolívar Brigade and cease and desist from all other undisciplined operations in Nicaragua.

In view of the need for the real views of the Fourth International to be made known in Nicaragua, the United Secretariat also decided that all supporters of the Fourth International in Nicaragua should function in collaboration with the United Secretariat on the basis of its line.

These decisions in no way amounted to expulsions. The LTT and BF—with the advice of the OCRFI—decided to seize upon these decisions as a justification for their split.

They turned their backs on the Fourth International and walked away. They did not even come to the World Congress to challenge the United Secretariat decisions they opposed, let alone to present their own political

positions.

Both the LTT and the BF had full rights to present their views on all questions, in the long discussion within the international that preceded the World Congress and at the World Congress itself.

Contempt for membership

Their split right on the eve of the congress indicated their contempt for the membership of the sections of the international and for their democratic decisions. In practice they abandoned one of the most basic elements of Trotskyism, the need to build a revolutionary Marxist international.

The charge that they were "expelled" does not square with the facts or with their refusal to attend the World Congress.

It is also contradicted by their own explanation for the split—the need for a "parity committee" to organize to combat the political positions of the Fourth International.

They can't have it both ways—either they left the Fourth International in order to fight against it, or they were unjustly driven out and really want to remain part of the international.

Turn to industry & Nicaragua

Responding to the unfolding revolution in Nicaragua and sending the majority of the leaders and members of

the Fourth International into industry are not unrelated questions. Both have to do with how to build proletarian parties and a mass revolutionary international in the concrete situation before us.

The turn is a necessary tactical step which the Fourth International can now take—and therefore must take. Once it is done, our organization will be rooted in the decisive sectors of the working class, which is the "normal" place for us to be to build Leninist parties.

It will not in and of itself solve any political problems, but will correct an abnormal situation.

It is one thing to be forced into isolation by circumstances beyond our control. It is another to choose isolation when these circumstances no longer exist. That is a surefire formula for a sectarian and petty-bourgeois existence that will mean the death of any revolutionary organization.

In the past decade, Trotskyist forces on a world scale broke out of their political isolation to a certain extent through their leadership role in the youth radicalization. This also brought them valuable cadres. Now the opportunity and task is to build on those gains to physically place our organizations in the industrial working class where we belong.

For years, the forces of the Fourth International defended the program of

Lenin against the Stalinist degeneration. With the victory of the Cuban revolution, a leadership emerged that could best be described as revolutionists of action. In spite of their theoretical and programmatic weakness, they bypassed Stalinism and Social Democracy in struggle.

There is a chance that the Sandinistas are going to successfully follow the same road as the Cubans. Their actions so far are all to their credit.

We will see other such forces emerge, including some who will not measure up to the historic tasks of the proletariat, like the left wing of the Algerian fighters who overthrew French rule in the early 1960s.

But if the Fourth International is not to be a sect, and if a mass revolutionary international is ever to be rebuilt, we must constantly strive to find our way to such revolutionists of action in the advanced capitalist countries as well as the semicolonial world.

Driven by frenzied opposition to the course taken by the majority of the International, unable to come up with cogent alternatives, the LTT and BF left the Fourth International. In doing so, they have begun to move away from the living forces of proletarian revolution and to abandon the construction of parties capable of leading the struggle of the toiling masses against the exploiters on a world scale to victory.

tions of the statutes and norms of the Fourth International and cease its functioning as a public faction, the leaders of the BF decided to split.

The criminal adventure of the Simón Bolívar Brigade was bound to end in disaster, and it did. At that point, the Bolshevik Faction leadership switched its public line from attempting to cover themselves with the prestige of the FSLN to public attack on the FSLN as the instrument of consolidation of a bourgeois state in Nicaragua. This set the stage for their bloc with the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI).

Both the LTT and the OCRFI reacted in a sectarian fashion to the Nicaraguan revolution. There is a parallel here with the Algerian and Cuban revolutions. In both of those cases, the majority of the Trotskyist forces on a world scale demonstrated their ability to correctly relate to the living revolution and to the revolutionary fighters who came to the fore in the revolutionary process itself, while at the same time defending and applying the Trotskyist program in these revolutions. But both times, there appeared sectarian tendencies within the Trotskyist movement who turned their backs on the living revolution. Leaders of the OCRFI, only recently, twenty years after the event, have come to the realization that a workers state had been established in Cuba! From the fact that these revolutions were led by revolutionists who did not have the full Leninist program, these sectarians deduced that the correct stance was to denounce them at all times as betrayers, irrespective of what they were concretely doing in the context of the mobilization and organization of the masses, the scope of the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist measures taken, etc.

Disastrous consequences

Such a sectarian stance can lead to disastrous consequences, deeply discrediting Trotskyism in the eyes of the masses engaged in the revolutionary process. To a certain extent, this has happened in Nicaragua. In addition to the positions taken by the BF, the positions of the Costa Rican Socialist Workers Organization (OST), whose leaders are members of the LTT, and of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR) in Nicaragua, are a case in point. The newspaper of the OST, for example, presents the monetary measures taken by the Nicaraguan government as an anti-working-class measure. The LMR has tried to paint the false picture that Nicaragua today is a hotbed of repression against the working class. This same theme was at the center of a meeting jointly organized by the OCRFI, the BF, and the LTT in Paris on November 13. These forces rejected organizing an international solidarity and aid campaign with Nicaragua against imperialism on the false grounds that this will only aid a "bourgeois" government in Nicaragua.

Organizing meetings like that of November 13 can only give aid and comfort to the international campaign of imperialism and capitalist reaction against the Nicaraguan revolution, presenting as tyrants those who have overthrown the bloody tyranny supported by imperialism for forty-five years. Any criticisms revolutionists make, including on any violation of workers democracy, must be in a different framework—that of unconditional solidarity with the revolution, defense of the revolution against imperialism, which will attempt to drown it in blood as it advances, and with a fraternal attitude toward the Nicaraguan revolutionaries.

Reversal by OCRFI

Under the impact of the Nicaraguan revolution, the OCRFI reversed its line toward reunification with the Fourth International. Some years ago, the OCRFI, which represents forces which had refused to join the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963, approached the Fourth International for

discussions. Recently, the OCRFI recognized the Fourth International and its sections as revolutionary organizations and agreed to discuss with us on the basis of the documents prepared for the World Congress, with the goal of sounding out the possibilities of fusion with the Fourth International. When the differences within the Fourth International appeared on Nicaragua, with a temporary convergence between the positions of the Bolshevik Faction and those of the LTT and OCRFI, a majority of the OCRFI reacted with their old sectarian reflexes. They de facto excluded a delegation from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International from the discussions at their international conference, to which they had originally invited the United Secretariat. In addition, they decided to invite to that conference the LTT and BF, that is, to support the open break with the Fourth International by the LTT and BF. The OCRFI once again began to attack the Fourth International and its sections and sympathizing organizations in its publications, including an especially slanderous attack on the American Socialist Workers Party as "revisionist" and as having betrayed the cause

The OCRFI, the LTT, and the BF have issued an appeal to set up a "parity commission for the reorganization (reconstruction) of the Fourth International." This is an operation designed to further split and attack the Fourth International. Its content is liquidationism of the Fourth International and world Trotskyism as an organization. They have called for an "open conference" of those seeking the destruction of the Fourth International. This "open conference" itself will be nothing more than a talking shop with its only common denominator being opposition to building the

Fourth International as a world party. It is clear that the OCRFI, the BF, and the LTT do not agree on the major issues of the class struggle today, and that they are opposed to majority rule, that is, democratic centralism. Their plan will come to nothing, just as the OCRFI itself failed to build an alternative to the Fourth International along these lines. It will result only in the demoralization and destruction of hundreds of valuable cadres.

By these actions, the OCRFI, the BF, and the LTT have turned their back on building the Fourth International as

integrity of the Fourth International as a world party, as an organization based on democratic centralism as it is applied on an international level, the Fifth World Congress Since Reunification (Eleventh World Congress) reaffirms and defends the programmatic and organizational integrity of revolutionary Marxism, of Trotskyism.

The Fourth International calls on the OCRFI, the Bolshevik Faction, and the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency to reverse their course. The World Congress affirms that the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, the largest grouping supporting the Bolshevik Faction, should become the Argentine section of the Fourth International. We maintain our general orientation on the question of principled fusions and regroupments. We reiterate the basic concept that the building of mass revolutionary workers parties and a mass revolutionary workers International cannot succeed solely by individual recruitment to the existing nuclei alone, which are the Fourth International and its sections, but will of necessity include fusions with other organizations either already existing or which will appear in the course of the revolutionary struggle itself. It reaffirms its conviction that the way in which the Fourth International and its sections respond to openings for fusions is and will be an important test of their revolutionary capacities.

Under the impact of the present split, we will not reverse our course of seeking the reunification of Trotskyist forces, begun in 1963. We are ready to discuss with the current represented by Lutte Ouvrière along the lines pursued by the United Secretariat in the last few years. In the case of the OCRFI, this would have to be preceded by a reversal of their present course and an affirmation that the Fourth International and all its sections are revolutionary organizations, and that the purpose of such discussions is to unify with them in their totality; and by action in accordance with this stance.

Independently of any preconditions, we will take whatever initiatives might help bring us closer to our goal while defending the integrity of our organization and its strict organizational boundaries. We will advise our national sections to do the same.

The Fourth International will not budge one inch from its principled position that any such discussion can have only the goal of the strengthening of the Fourth International as a world party based on democratic centralism.

'By reaffirming and defending the integrity of the Fourth International as a world party, we also reaffirm and defend the programmatic and organizational integrity of revolutionary Marxism, of Trotskyism.'

of revolutionary Marxism.

What this reversal by the OCRFI amounts to is a shortsighted policy of seeking supposed temporary factional advantage. To do this, they turned their backs on the objective need of pursuing a course of exploring the possibilities of a principled unification with the Fourth International, which would represent a major contribution toward solving the crisis of revolutionary leadership in the coming class battles in a number of key countries. The unprincipled and irresponsible character of that decision is underscored by the OCRFI's own analysis of the world situation and the necessity of overcoming the crisis of proletarian leadership.

an organization, today. The need to *simultaneously* build national working-class revolutionary parties and the World Party of Socialist Revolution is a fundamental programmatic tenet of Marxism. This is the epoch of imperialism, an epoch of growing internationalization of the productive forces and of the class struggle, an epoch of world revolution and counter-revolution. Any attempt on whatever basis to build national revolutionary parties without at the same time working to build a revolutionary International will lead its practitioners to grave errors in the class struggle, not only on an international level but in their own countries.

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In Brief

WHY 11 PEOPLE DIED AT THE WHO CONCERT

Weeks later, people in Cincinnati were still asking why. When eleven people were killed in the crush trying to enter the Who concert there December 3, the media tried to put the blame on the victims.

They claimed the deaths were caused by excessive drinking and drugs in the waiting crowd. A Xavier University psychology professor—who wasn't there—described the

crowd as "barbaric" and "animal-like."

But that vicious theme had to be dropped, correspondent John Olmsted reports, as the facts began to come out.

First of all, the concert was heavily oversold. The Riverfront Coliseum has a legal capacity of about 18,300. But when the arena is set up for a rock concert, 4,000 of the seats are behind the stage, where you can't see.

So they sell "open seating." That means 4,000 or more who

don't get seats in front of the stage simply jam up the aisles.

But for the promoters those 4,000 extra tickets mean an extra \$40,000 profit. Fire and police officials go along.

But \$40,000 extra profits didn't satisfy the promoters. The coliseum has 106 doors. But the promoters hired only enough ticket-takers to cover four doors. Even with thousands of people jammed outside, they refused to open more.

The huge surge into the few open doors resulted in the

eleven deaths.

"In general," a police report conceded, "the crowd was orderly and not a problem."

"The problem," it added, "lies in such a large crowd attempting to gain entrance through too few doors."

It will be a difficult crime to cover up. The following night, friends of those killed marched on the coliseum. They placed the blame squarely on the concert promoters and coliseum owners.

City officials had a different

response. They set up a panel to "investigate" the matter. Who is included on the panel? The promoters and coliseum owners!

In 1976, a panel was also set up to probe the coliseum problem. Proposals to end open seating and overselling were squelched. The *same people* were on that panel.

Would that Xavier professor consider it "barbaric" and "animal-like" to let eleven people be killed for profit?

Gov't assassination plot charged in Peltier case

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES—Leonard Peltier, a leading American Indian Movement activist, is on trial here for escaping from federal prison.

Peltier's defense is that he tried to escape because the government was plotting to have him murdered in prison.

The judge has joined with the prosecutor to block evidence on this from getting to the jury.

Peltier was initially sentenced to prison for "aiding and abetting" in the death of two FBI agents who started a shootout at the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975. Peltier, it is agreed, killed no one.

After conviction, he was sent to a top-security prison at Marion, Illinois.

There he met inmate Robert Standing Deer (Robert Wilson).

Standing Deer states that he was approached by prison officials to observe Peltier.

He apparently did not agree. Even though he had a severe medical problem he was put in the hole.

Two months later, he says, he was offered his release if he would help set up Peltier with a rigged escape plan in which Peltier would be killed.

Standing Deer agreed, was released from the hole, and told Peltier what was in store for him.

Peltier soon after was reassigned to another prison and from there to Lompoc, a minimum-security prison, in California.

Soon after, another prisoner was transferred in—a man who Standing Deer had earlier warned might be Peltier's assassin.

Peltier conveyed his fears to the Lompoc warden, but nothing was done.

On July 20, convinced his life was in immediate danger, Peltier tried to escape. Two others, Bobby Garcia and Dallas Thundershield, went with him. Thundershield died with guards' bullets in his back.

Peltier and Garcia made it out, but were recaptured.

Peltier and Garcia are now being tried along with Roque Duenas, who allegedly helped them plan the escape.

Presiding Judge Lawrence Lydick agreed to permit testimony by Standing Deer, but denied the defense the right to bring in other inmate witnesses who would confirm the story of the planned assassination.

Standing Deer began his testimony by explaining that he first met the defendant, "after the government hired me to kill Leonard Peltier."

The judge gavelled him down.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND

The *Militant's* arguments in favor of shipping back the shah are getting around.

Our stand was featured in the December 6 issue of the *Louisville Courier*, a major Black weekly.

Across the top of the front page it printed, with credit, Dick Roberts's article on the decision of the U.S. government and the oil interests to bring the shah to this country, plus the article by Ernest Harsch on how the CIA installed the shah in power in 1953.

An entire inside page of the *Courier* is devoted to the *Militant's* reproduction of the congressional testimony of Iranian poet Reza Baraheni on torture under the shah.

And the *Reader*, a campus paper at Southwest State University in Minnesota, argued editorially in its November 30 issue that the United States should deport the shah, not Iranian students.

In support of its stand, it offers facts which it credits to the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.



American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks (left) joins prayer vigil for Leonard Peltier

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Rally backs Ohio farm unionists



Toledo farm union rally

TOLEDO—Chanting "Huelga! Huelga!" (strike!) and "Boycott Libby's, Boycott Campbell's!" 200 members and supporters of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee marched through downtown Toledo December 8.

The protesters, who came from Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, rallied at the federal courthouse to protest violations of FLOC's right to organize.

Migrant workers struck the tomato fields in north-west Ohio last fall in a battle for union contracts.

The strikers were the target of Ku Klux Klan terror as well as the violence of the authorities. There is evidence of collaboration between the cops and Klan.

FLOC is now conducting a boycott of Libby's and Campbell's products. The big canneries, not the individual farmers, control the industry and set prices.

A good number of unionists participated in the FLOC support action, including members of several United Auto Workers locals, and some Teamsters.

UFW WINS SECOND LETTUCE CONTRACT

The United Farm Workers won a contract with Admiral Packing, a major lettuce grower. The contract, tentatively agreed to in mid-December, was the first break in the ranks of California Imperial Valley growers in an eleven-month, bitterly fought strike.

Since the strike began last January, contracts have been won from twenty-two of thirty-

four vegetable growers. The only previous lettuce contract was won several months ago from Sun Harvest, the nation's top lettuce producer.

The Admiral agreement, a union spokesperson said, includes the same money provisions as the one at Sun Harvest. It stipulates that the starting wage will go from the present \$3.50 to \$5.71 an hour over the three-year life of the contract, plus cost-of-living, medical, and pension increases.

Burbank strikers stand solid

By Janis Ball

LOS ANGELES—In December, 465 workers at the Menasco Company, a Colt Industry subsidiary, were into their seventh month on strike. They have stood fast against company strike-breaking and brutality by Burbank city cops.

The workers rejected a contract offer that would have given them less than a 7 percent wage increase and a cut in their cost-of-living payments.

They are members of Local 758 of the International Association of Machinists. Many of the strikers are women. The women are playing a leading role on the picket line.

Menasco manufactures the landing gear for Boeing 727s. Since the strike, some gear has been made by scabs but had to be rejected by Boeing as defective. A union representative com-

mented that if Boeing delivers all their scheduled 727s this year, they will be delivering them without landing gear.

The pickets at the plant have been surveilled, harassed, beaten, and arrested. Company rent-a-cops follow them with TV cameras and city cops are always on hand. At least two strikers have been hospitalized after being run down by scabs speeding across the picket line.

The Menasco workers are part of the same IAM district as the 13,500 workers at Lockheed Aircraft, where I work.

Lockheed workers and other Los Angeles-area unionists have responded to calls for support by Menasco workers. Recently nearly 500 workers turned out for a Menasco plant-gate march and rally in support of these determined strikers.



Los Angeles union solidarity rally with Menasco strikers

To whom?—"The model that Cuba offers others is, in my judgement, unattractive."—A State Department official addressing a meeting of Caribbean nations.

A modern religion—"Western culture" could never abide "medieval" Moslem religion, right? Meanwhile, Rev. Edward Schillebeeck, a Catholic theologian, is being grilled by a Vatican panel for possible heresy on such issues as the immaculate conception, the resurrection of Christ and—biggest heresy of all—the infallibility of the pope.

Pure brass dep't—Texaco, who the government says has racked up millions in illegal overcharges, is suing three offshore drilling companies, claiming price rigging and antitrust violations.

Gives it body—If you're into Perrier water, not to worry. True, French authorities did order destruction of all water bottled at Perrier's spring near Fontainebleau because of dangerous levels of microbes and chemicals in the water. But, a Perrier official assures, this is but one of their four springs, and it only supplied French supermarkets and hospitals.

Watch that red-nosed reindeer—British merchants are complaining that the Soviet Union has flooded the market with cut-rate xmas cards and may take as much as ten percent of the gross.

Final solution—Regarding the rharb between smokers and non-smokers that led the captain of that D.C.-New York flight to declare an insurrection and land in Maryland. We're surprised that the Tobacco Institute, with its customary PR logic, didn't suggest that if everyone smoked, we wouldn't have such problems.

Progress report—After seven years deliberation, the California court system upheld a state regulation which barred beating and other physical abuse of autistic and schizophrenic children. The ruling came in the case of a children's home which held such beatings to be "aversive therapy."

Shopping tip—Torneau of New York, Bal Harbor, and Geneva, is offering a 14-karat, self-winding calendar watch for \$3,200. Which is quite modest, considering that the accompanying watchband is \$6,500.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up Radiation in the backyard

This week's column was written by Pat Mayberry.

ALBANY, N.Y.—During her recent campaign tour stop here, Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, talked to Albany residents who live near National Lead Industries.

NL Industries uses uranium tailings in the manufacture of ballas for airplanes. Centered in a working-class residential neighborhood, NL has been the center of a month-long raging controversy.

Residents had noticed smoke billowing from NL's stacks. State health officials checked and found radiation levels on the street behind the plant 100 times higher than in the rest of the city.

Officials discovered several defects in NL's filtration system, as well as unsafe working conditions in the plant. Five workers had to be transferred to other departments when their lungs were found to be contaminated with radioactive material.

But New York State has decided it will not recommend closing the plant while it's being fixed up, perhaps because NL Industries claims it will cost \$1 million. The company's owners have stalled on making the necessary repairs despite a year of record-breaking profits.

Area residents have held two meetings to get at the truth about radioactive contamination. Fifty people came to the

first one, and a hundred to the second, at which health officials answered questions.

Health Department officials "told me not to let my kids out to play in the grass and not to eat the vegetation," one resident told Zimmermann. "I'm a hunter. I hunt up in the back there [by the plant]. I've seen rabbits with cancer and everything else. When I shoot them, I just throw them away. They have tumors on the sides of their heads and elsewhere."

Most local residents don't believe they're getting the truth about contamination from the NL plant. One told Zimmermann, "We feel we're being deceived. I don't trust the health officials."

"Do you think NL should pay for medical tests and treatment?" Zimmermann asked.

"Yes, I do," he said. "It's not our fault." Zimmermann asked what he thought should be done.

"I think there should be an investigation. We have reports that guys work a whole week without protective material—they haven't been washed or screened. They [the company] don't care. I'm not in favor of big business. I just don't want them to hurt people. They just care about making the money and that's it."

George Smith, a thirty-two-year-old construction worker, talked about trying to explain the hazards of the plant to the NL workers. Admitting that they were afraid for their jobs, Smith said, "It's easier for them to get another job than it is for my kids to find a new father!" Smith has three young children and his wife has cancer.

One woman told us that she had lived in the neighborhood for fifty years. "I can't just pick up and move. I'm the owner, not the tenant. The people downstairs are moving because of this but I can't do that." Her husband died of cancer last year.

The people in the neighborhoods surrounding NL Industries are scared and confused. They want facts and answers. Many of them are sick. They don't know whether their illnesses are related to the contamination from the plant. They are afraid of their spiralling medical costs.

As one resident told us, "What's more important—our lives, our families, or their profits?"



George Smith speaking with Zimmermann

Miners & union democracy

The United Mine Workers convention this month in Denver falls on the sixth anniversary of a landmark event in the union's history. Coal miner delegates met in Pittsburgh December 3-14, 1973, for the first convention since Arnold Miller and the Miners for Democracy slate ousted the corrupt dictatorship of W.A. 'Tony' Boyle. The delegates took big steps toward putting the union under the control of the ranks. Below are excerpts from Cindy Jaquith's report from the December 28, 1973, 'Militant.'

UMWA delegates approved new contract demands that include a cost-of-living escalator clause, a 30-hour week with no reduction in wages, and sick pay, which the miners never received before. They are also demanding a tripling of the royalties paid by coal operators into the Welfare and Retirement Fund, so that retired miners can get \$500 monthly pensions.

The final contract will be ratified by the membership, a new right won at the convention. The old contract runs out Nov. 12, 1974. If necessary, the miners are prepared to strike to get what they want.

In his opening address to the convention, UMWA President Arnold Miller warned that the coal companies will now try to exploit the energy crisis "as an excuse to take additional short-cuts with our safety."

In their new contract, the miners will be fighting for the union's right to withdraw men from mines that are unsafe and to make the company pay workers for time lost. In addition, the delegates approved having safety committeemen in every mine, to be elected by the union.

A drive to organize unorganized miners, beginning in Brookside, Ky., also won the convention's support.

Conventions under the Boyle regime were notorious for intimidation of dissident delegates and lack of debate. As one delegate here told the *Militant*, "We were generally just called out of order and had to sit down before we had a chance to present our views. I've never been to one where we had access to the floor like we have at this one."

The discussion at this convention proceeded in a democratic manner, with opposing views expressed from the floor. Delegates frequently overruled the chair and they rejected reports that did not meet their approval.

The majority of delegates were working miners, and a large number had never been to a UMWA convention before, including Miller himself. A significant number of the men were in their twenties and thirties.

Many steps were taken at the convention to increase the voice of the rank and file in the UMWA. One proposal that received particular enthusiasm was a motion to move the UMWA headquarters

out of Washington, D.C., and into the coalfields. When it passed overwhelmingly, delegates jumped up and down and cheered.

Delegates also voted that only working miners may run and vote for local president, vice-president, and mine and safety committeeman. A maximum age limit of 64 was set for candidates in local and district elections.

One 28-year-old delegate told *The Militant*, "The older miner is not going to be with us forever, so it's going to be left up to the younger miner. How important he views his role is going to decide what kind of union we have 20 years from now."

The delegates looked at all the proposals with a critical eye and were not afraid to raise objections. On the final day of the convention, ignoring the appeals of Miller, the delegates rejected a new grievance procedure that had been negotiated with the coal operators. "The restrictions I read here are on the mine worker, not on management," complained one speaker.

In his closing remarks to the convention, Miller asked delegates to express their sentiment about striking to win their new contract. He was met with resounding applause. Richard Cicci, a delegate from Local 1190 in Pennsylvania, reflected the militant mood of many miners:

"If we go on strike, Nixon might try and label coal miners as damaging and hurting the security of the nation. We feel this is wrong because our demands have been so long waited for. I don't think we'll accept any legislation ordering us back to work."

As an editorial in the conservative *Pittsburgh Press* warned Dec. 11, "... there should be no misreading the mood of the tough-sounding miners and their new leaders, who now are turning to issues other than cleaning up their ranks." The most serious of those "other issues" is the threat of a six-month strike if the coal operators refuse to yield on the UMWA demands.

The miners are in an excellent bargaining position. The oil monopolies that own many coal companies want to increase production of coal, but the can't do it without the miners. In the estimate of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "... there is every sign that the nation's miners are ready to strike the industry unless they get large contract gains."

The *Monitor* also noted another aspect of the UMWA convention that surely alarms the coal bosses and Nixon too: "... the mine union's top officers ... appear less a threat to coal peace in 1974 than its members, who have been given heady new powers in Mr. Miller's 'democratization' of the union."

The capitalists have plenty of reason to fear the logic of the democratic rights the delegates consolidated at this convention. The miners are now determined to carry that fight into the arena of contract negotiations.

Balto. rent bill debate

In a letter in the December 21 *Militant*, Gerry Gaeng and Laila Atallah accuse the Socialist Workers Party of siding with the landlords by refusing to urge a vote for the recent Baltimore "rent control" initiative. They assert that the initiative was a "significant repudiation by our city's working people of Democratic party capitalist politics."

Significantly, they don't dispute the *Militant's* conclusion that the measure itself, even if upheld by the courts, won't control rents. Rather, they focus on the claim by many of the measure's "radical" proponents that it was a "truly independent attack on the self-styled 'progressive' business and political establishments of this city."

But that is exactly what it wasn't. The campaign around the measure was not in any sense a step in the direction of working-class political action independent of the capitalist parties and capitalist politics.

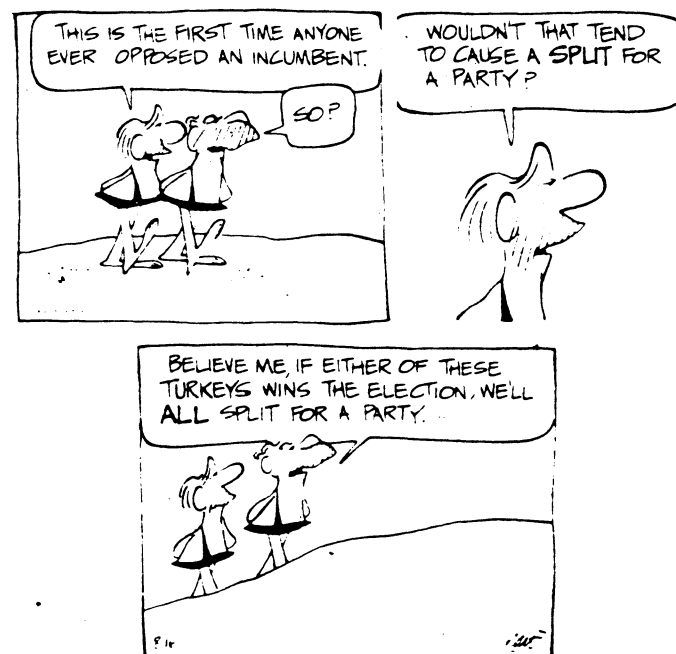
Just the opposite. It was aimed at convincing working people that progress in the electoral arena can be made within the framework of capitalist party politics. The measure itself con-

tained no provisions for rent roll-back or real rent control. It merely covered up the responsibility of the Democratic party—which controls Baltimore politics—for the current crisis in housing and rents. How can this be called "a rare opportunity" for workers "to vote their class interests"?

It simply isn't true, as Gaeng and Atallah assert, that "the entire political establishment including the Democratic party liberals" opposed the measure. Parren Mitchell, the nationally prominent Democratic Congressman from Baltimore and a leader of the Congressional Black Caucus, supported the bill. So did other Democratic elected officials.

As class-conscious political activists, we ought to explain the responsibility of the capitalist parties for the crisis working people face. We ought to find ways to popularize the idea that the way forward is through political action by the labor movement and its allies independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. The Baltimore "rent control" initiative did nothing to advance that perspective.

Yvonne Hayes
Baltimore Socialist Workers Party



Coal for Xmas

I work for Consolidation Coal Company, subsidiary of Continental Oil. Consol is either number one or number two in the coal industry depending on whether you go by miners employed or tons mined.

For Christmas this year the company distributed a printed box with their slogans and logos all over it to each employee. In the boxes were three little rolls of ribbon and three bows for packages.

Several employees remarked that it is typical of Consol, which doesn't even like to hand out shovels at the supply house, to give us the wrappings and leave out the present.

N.M.
Morgantown, West Virginia

Shah & Idi Amin

On the subway the other morning I was sitting next to two young Black men who were talking about Iran and the shah.

One said, "I bet they'd never

let Idi Amin in this country."

The other added, "Yeah. And if they did, they'd send him back."

A.L.
New York, New York

Workers oppose war

While campaigning at the Granite City Steel plant near St. Louis recently, I was able to talk to thirty or so workers about the crisis in Iran.

I introduced myself, saying I'm Martha Pettit, an auto worker, and I'm Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. I said that it was my opinion that we should not go to war over the shah and that instead we should send the shah back to Iran.

I asked each worker what he thought. Two didn't know. Three said the shah should not be sent back. And the rest—they all agreed with me.

Some acted a bit sheepish, as if they thought they might be alone in thinking the shah should be sent back. But one

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Learning About Socialism

Why Marxists back Iran's workers

younger worker, after I made my proposal, said, "That sounds like a winner!"

Another said, "Yeah, I'd be the first one they'd probably send off to fight. No way!"

An older worker remarked to me, "I don't think they should have allowed him in in the first place."

Martha Pettit

Kansas City, Missouri

Students oppose war

The *Militant* deserves credit for providing a welcome and much-needed voice throughout the "Iran crisis"—not only in news analysis and background on the shah and U.S.

imperialism in Iran, but also in reporting the growing opposition to U.S. foreign policy among Americans.

In Rhode Island we had a teach-in scheduled for November 18 at Brown University. It was cancelled by University President Howard Swearer because the subject was considered "too volatile."

This violation of freedom of speech did not go unchallenged by Brown students and pro-Iranian activists, however. Not just one, but *two* events on Iran have been held successfully since then.

The first one was an informal discussion on November 29 attended by seventy-five overwhelmingly pro-Iranian Brown students. A forum on Iran sponsored by the Third World Coalition at Brown December 4 was attended by about 400 people.

Despite media attempts to portray the audience as "divided evenly," the crowd was again overwhelmingly pro-Iranian, applauding repeatedly at statements by the speakers that the shah should be tried and that harassment of Iranians must stop.

It's important that those of us in the U.S. who support the Iranian revolution know about each others' existence, our size and our strength. We certainly can't depend on CBS or the *New York Times* to tell us.

The *Militant* has been unsurpassed in getting out the truth that, contrary to Carter administration claims, the American people do *not* "speak with one voice" on Iran. There is another voice and it's getting louder.

Annette Gagne

Central Falls, Rhode Island

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.

In Iran today two big social forces are clashing. On one side are the Iranian capitalists, big landholders, and their allies in Washington. From President Carter to the shah to former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, these people tell us that they are devoted to capitalist "democracy," "secular government," and "modernization."

Ranged in the other camp are the workers and peasants of Iran. Most of them say today that they are fighting for an "Islamic Revolution" and establishing an "Islamic Republic." Their central leaders come from the Islamic religious hierarchy.

Which side should working people in this country support?

One approach might be to compare the proclaimed ideologies of the two sides and decide which is most "progressive." Since capitalist democracy and secular government historically represented advances over theocratic regimes, one might then support Carter and the shah!

Obviously, something is wrong with this method.

It is not enough to look at the ideology proclaimed by a movement in order to gauge its significance. The progressive or reactionary character of a struggle is determined by what classes are in combat, and by what class interests are being fought for under the ideological covering.

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific by Frederick Engels (Pathfinder, \$95) is a pamphlet that explains this approach. Written in the 1870s as part of a longer work, it is one of the most popular Marxist writings.

Engels explained that socialism evolved out of the growth of industry and the deepening conflict between employers and workers.

At the beginning of the 1800s, when the working class was small and industry was in its infancy, the first socialist thinkers emerged. Robert Owen in Great Britain and Charles Fourier and Henri Saint-Simon in France brilliantly dissected the evils of capitalism—above all the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few while the majority lived in misery.

But they viewed capitalism as a needless tragedy. They thought that if everyone could be made to see reason and accept proposals for humanely reorganizing society, all would be well. Fourier and Owen advocated forming experimental colonies which would prove to the world that their proposals worked.

But the rulers showed no interest in voluntarily giving up their wealth. Nor did working people flock into these "perfect" communities. Unable to pose a realistic alternative to capitalism, the colonies were ground down by the capitalist society around them.

The growth of industrial production and the working class, and the expansion of scientific knowledge in all fields, laid the basis for a leap forward in socialist thinking. This was accomplished by Karl Marx, with the help of Engels.

Unlike early socialists, Marx did not view capitalism as an avoidable evil. He recognized that it was an inevitable

product of a certain level of development of the productive forces and capacities of human beings. In fact, he showed that capitalism was an advance for humanity.

But Marx also showed that capitalism was becoming outmoded because of the rapidly growing productive capacity of big industry. The contradiction between the social and cooperative nature of modern production and private ownership would cause deepening crises.

The growth of capitalism created a new progressive class, the working class. The workers were obliged by their class interests to move toward eliminating private ownership of industry, establishing a democratically planned economy, and building a socialist society.

The utopians saw the struggle between the workers and the capitalists as a diversion from their schemes for setting things right. But Marx responded that all recorded history had been a history of class struggles, and that capitalism could only be abolished through the struggle of the workers for their interests.

Marx and Engels called this view the materialist conception of history. It is useful in penetrating beneath the ideology proclaimed by different forces in combat, which is often misleading, to the class issues at stake.

In the introduction to *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels explained how capitalists used religious ideology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to mobilize support for a progressive struggle against feudalism. It was not Protestant mysticism that was progressive, of course, but the political and economic demands that were put forward in its name.

The working class—even though it is the most progressive social force in the world—often comes into battle under outmoded beliefs like religion. This is true even though its historic interests lead it toward rejecting all such ideologies in favor of materialism.

In Iran, under banners proclaiming faith in Islam, workers fight for independence from imperialism, land to the tiller, workers' control of production, the end of capitalist exploitation, the rights of oppressed nationalities, and a wide range of progressive goals. Their struggle is making possible a socialist revolution in Iran.

The capitalists in Washington and Iran, on the other hand, use slogans about "secular government" and "modernization" to conceal their reactionary goals. They want to crush the working people, restrict their democratic rights, and stabilize imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation. Despite talk about democracy, they really seek to return to a regime like that of the shah.

Revolutionary Marxists, who know that the class struggle of the workers and their allies against the exploiters is the only road to liberation, have no trouble choosing sides. Regardless of the ideological wrapping of the struggle, we stand with our class against the employing class in the battle for progress and a better life for all.

—Fred Feldman

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Anti-Klan march set for Greensboro, N.C.

'We refuse to be silenced by KKK terror'

By Nelson Blackstock

ATLANTA—A call for a February 2 march against Ku Klux Klan violence was announced by Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr., executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, at a December 15 news conference here.

The call for the march, to be held in Greensboro, North Carolina, was unanimously adopted amidst a standing ovation at the close of a two-day National Conference on New Strategies to Counter the Ku Klux Klan, sponsored by SCLC and IFCO.

"We call on labor unions, churches, civil rights organizations, political groups, and others to come to Greensboro," Lowery told the media.

Attending the meeting were some 255 people from a variety of churches, civil rights organizations, and radical political groups. There were also trade unionists and students present.

All were looking for a way to respond to the Greensboro Massacre—the brutal murder of five members of the Communist Workers Party by Ku Kluxers and Nazis in Greensboro on November 3.

The urgent need for a public response to the killings prompted an unusual degree of cooperation among conference participants, many of whom hold sharply differing political views.

"This nation has not yet shown outrage equal to the acts of murder, intimidation, and attempts to deny our basic humanity perpetrated by the Klan," said the call for the February 2 march. "We refuse to be silenced by KKK terror, government repression, and those who would tell us to close our eyes hoping that the terror will go away."

Underscoring the need for action is the fact that charges against some of those responsible for the massacre have been sharply reduced. Some are now out on bail, and all may soon be back on the streets. Several of those taking part in the killings have never been arrested.



Leaders of anti-Klan conference in Atlanta that issued call for February 2 march. From left, Anne Braden, Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Racial Justice; Lucius Walker, Jr.; Rev. Joseph Lowery.

If this situation is not altered by a show of mass public outrage, it will be interpreted as the green light for other would-be murderers.

In opening remarks, Rev. Lucius Walker pointed out that some have downplayed the significance of the killings because the victims were communists.

Answering this, he cited the famous statement of Pastor Martin Niemöller: "In Germany they came for the communists and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a communist. Then they came for the Jews and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists. Then they came for the Catholics and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, but by that time no one was left to speak up."

The February 2 date was picked to coincide with the twentieth anniversary of the birth of the civil rights sit-in movement, which began in Greensboro on February 1, 1960.

Plans for the conference were under way before the Greensboro killings. The idea for the gathering came out of an August SCLC Anti-Klan Conference in Norfolk, Virginia.

That meeting was a follow-up to an SCLC march of 3,000 in Decatur, Ala-

bama, last June to protest an armed KKK assault on a peaceful demonstration in support of Tommy Lee Hines a few days earlier. Hines, a retarded Black man, faces a life in prison on trumped-up rape charges.

Broadly sponsored

Cosponsoring the Atlanta conference were a broad spectrum of religious and civil rights groups. They included the National Council of Churches/Division of Church and Society, Presbyterian Church, and the Southern Regional Council, National Baptist Convention of America-Social Justice Commission, National Conference of Black Lawyers, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, among others.

In addition to calling the march, the conference also set up a "network" to coordinate and exchange information on anti-Klan activities.

Workshops discussed unions and the Klan, legal strategies for combating the KKK, anti-Klan research, and building anti-Klan coalitions.

The gathering heard reports from anti-Klan organizers in Dallas, Greensboro, and Decatur.

Kwesi Williams of the Dallas Coalition for Human Dignity described how a broad coalition of groups came together to protest a Klan march in the city this November. They were able to out-mobilize the Klan, making the racist march impossible.

"Dallas is now known as the place where they had the shortest Klan march in history," Williams said.

Robert Smith of Greensboro told how plans for a November 18 march in answer to the killings had been aborted by a government-organized red-baiting campaign. Government officials showed secret-police dossiers on march organizers to several local ministers, causing them to back out of the march.

Meanwhile, representatives of the Justice Department's community mediation division visited high schools, warning students to stay away from the march because of potential danger.

Rev. Lucius Walker reported that underhanded attacks on anti-Klan activists in Greensboro had continued right up to the eve of the conference. Ministers were forced to cancel plans to attend the Atlanta meeting after

their churches were broken into and vandalized.

During the course of the gathering different estimates arose on the relative strength of the Klan among white workers, and the potential threat of a rising fascist movement.

In one workshop, for example, a participant objected to a slogan "The shah of Iran is in the Ku Klux Klan," on the grounds that it would make white workers like the shah.

Socialist Workers Party members from several southern states put forward a different evaluation in the union workshop.

Attitudes of white workers

SWP southeastern field organizer Tom Leonard reported that socialists in industries across the South had found only a handful of workers who were attracted to Klan-type ideas. "While most are not politically active," he said, "they do not favor the right wing."

Evidence of this attitude can be seen in the warm reception by North Carolina workers—Black and white—to the current Teamster organizing drive.

Most of those in the workshop had apparently not heard this view, and they seemed to give it careful consideration.

The Klan is a thoroughly antilabor outfit, the workshop agreed, and the unions can be won to struggle against it.

The coalition-building workshop discussed how to answer red-baiting objections to participation of open socialists or communists. The workshop agreed with SWP leader Maceo Dixon's explanation that the movement should follow a policy of nonexclusion—welcoming all who oppose the Klan, while rejecting red-baiting as a tactic inspired by the government to divert the movement from its goals.

After the conference, in response to questions from the news media, Reverend Lowery firmly defended the participation of communists and socialists.

A socialist literature display did a brisk business. More than fifty bought the *Militant*, which featured an article on the fight against the Klan.

Many were also attracted to a table publicizing a Labor for Equal Rights Now march in Richmond, Virginia, on January 13.

Ben Chavis freed!

A victory for civil rights was registered with the release of Rev. Benjamin Chavis from prison.

The last of the famed Wilmington Ten to gain freedom, Chavis served nearly four years of a thirty-four-year term on trumped-up arson charges.

His December 14 release was the fruit of international protest. The ten had been railroaded to prison for their antiracist activity in North Carolina.

Chavis accepted parole but throughout insisted that all ten should be officially exonerated.

On release, Chavis declared, "We're going to march again and we're going to keep on struggling until freedom is realized."

