

THE MILITANT

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



IRAN
Interview
with students
at U.S. Embassy
—PAGES 13-16

Carter's cover-up on Afghanistan

Unionists have no stake
in U.S. aid to Afghan rightists

The leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association ordered its members to boycott all Soviet cargo and Soviet ships on January 9.

This action, which union officials are enforcing in the East and Gulf Coast ports, where the ILA is organized, goes beyond Carter's order to cut off grain shipments to Russia.

ILA President Thomas Gleason and Anthony Scotto, a vice-president, claimed the action was taken at the urging of rank-and-file members of the union.

Neither Gleason nor Scotto reported on the urging they received from shipping companies

come to know the truth about the struggles by workers and farmers in Afghanistan they will be even less inclined to sacrifice jobs or income—or lives—for Washington's aims.

Instead of calling the Soviet Union an international bully boy, the unions should be exposing Washington for secretly arming and financing the landlords, opium dealers, and rightist military officers who are trying to turn back the gains that workers and farmers of Afghanistan have made over the past year and a half. The Soviet troops sent in to Afghanistan are there to help crush the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries. (See pages 5-7.)

American workers are affected by and concerned about world events. We do have an interest in taking a stand on foreign policy issues—on the side of working people in other countries, not against them.

Knee-jerk patriots like Gleason do not represent what American workers think on foreign policy issues.

Gleason never had anything to say while the international bully boys in Washington pummeled Indochina for years. He never called a boycott of South African shipping. Bully boy dictators, backed by Washington, trample on human rights all over Latin America, and Gleason keeps mum about it.

The patriotism that union bureaucrats like Gleason try to impose has always been costly for American working people. And it will be more so in the future.

Today the U.S. economy is in a sharp decline. The increased military spending is going to shoot inflation up even faster. Money to pay for the weapons will come from bigger cuts in social spending.

Labor officials are going to be asked to prove their patriotism by helping get bigger sacrifices from union members.

As the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers
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workers
welcome
socialist
ballot drive**
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An editorial

and the government. Elimination of the large Soviet merchant fleet as a competitor was met with joy by U.S. shipowners, according to the January 21 *Business Week*.

And the Carter administration was only too glad to use the union officials' action to offset opposition to the grain embargo from farmers.

Gleason made this point explicitly, saying the ILA boycott would show "the farmers they are not the only ones making sacrifices."

Gleason claimed: "Our people are upset, and they refuse to carry on business as usual as long as the Russians insist on being international bully boys."

That's false.

No discussion or vote was taken among the union members.

The sacrifice the longshore workers will make in having reduced work is no more voluntary than the sacrifice Carter has forced on farmers.

And as American dock workers and farmers

ON STRIKE
LOCAL 4-222
ATLANTA
RICHEL



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strikes
for wages,
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local president quoted on page 9 of this issue says: "Last January we took Carter at his word that settling for a five percent wage increase would help fight inflation . . . we felt we were doing the patriotic thing. But inflation is running higher than ever now, and without a decent wage increase we'll just fall further and further behind."

Inflation is pricing patriotism out of reach.

Sixty thousand OCAW workers are on strike now to try to catch up on inflation. The OCAW strike concerns the first of the major union contracts covering more than 1.2 million workers that will be negotiated this year. It will set an example, one way or the other, for steel, telephone, aerospace, and ILA contracts.

The efforts by the oil workers and others to fight inflation are undercut by the misleaders of the union movement.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, and Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride sit on Carter's pay advisory committee. The wage guidelines they are suggesting are between 7.5 and 9.5 percent. This is 3.5 percent lower than the lowest estimate of the current inflation rate, 13 percent.

While the pay committee claims inflation will go down next year, Carter's sharply increased military spending guarantees that it will go up. So, American workers are really being told to take a substantial pay cut!

Workers cannot afford patriotic support to Carter's war against the standard of living of workers. It's against our interests.

Nor can we afford patriotic support to Washington's moves against revolutionary struggles by people in Afghanistan, Iran, or elsewhere. That's against our interests too.

The same price is charged—in our standard of living, our lives, and our well being.

The clearer the issues and the costs become, the fewer workers will want to pay the price.

George Meany

George Meany, longtime head of the AFL-CIO, died on January 10, aged 85.

Meany, who boasted that he had never walked a picket line, was eulogized by the capitalist press as a man who rose from the "lowly status" of plumber to become a labor statesman—"Mr. Organized Labor," they called him.

George Meany certainly did earn the veneration of big business.

Under his stewardship the AFL-CIO officialdom was ridden by internecine raids; failed to organize the South; tied the workers to no-strike contracts; and permitted the percentage of organized workers to decline.

Meany put up no serious fight against unemployment and inflation. He opposed labor taking the lead on social issues.

But he was adept at claiming credit—and a high salary—for gains that the workers themselves had won in struggle.

Meany purged union militants and radicals and tightened the labor movement's ties to the Democratic Party. He gave full support to every war that Washington waged, advocating an even more bellicose policy.

To his everlasting shame he turned the AFL-CIO staff and treasury into a conduit for CIA interference in the labor movements of other countries on behalf of rightists and dictators.

No wonder the ruling class admired him so!

What labor needs is a leadership not of "statesmen" like Meany, but of men and women who are and represent the interests of the plumbers and laborers, the steel and auto

workers, the miners and machinists, and all the other workers in this country.

We need a leadership not of "statesmen," but of fighters.

Even if the ruling class doesn't like them.

[Future issues of the *Militant* will carry an assessment of Meany's life by staff writer Frank Lovell.]

Abortion victory

A significant victory was won for women's rights January 15 when a federal judge declared unconstitutional the Hyde Amendment, which bars federal funds from being used to pay for abortions.

Judge John Dooling, Jr., ruled that "all factors, physical, emotional, psychological, familial, and the woman's age" should be taken into account by physicians in determining "medically necessary" abortions.

The current version of the Hyde Amendment allowed Medicaid funds to pay for abortion only if the woman's life were in danger or in cases of promptly reported incidents of rape or incest.

Dooling's order will not go into effect for thirty days. During this time the Justice Department plans to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court.

In his decision Dooling stated, "To deny necessary medical assistance for the lawful and medically necessary procedure of abortion is to violate the pregnant woman's First and Fifth Amendment rights."

This important ruling presents increased opportunities to deepen the struggle for a woman's right to choose abortion.

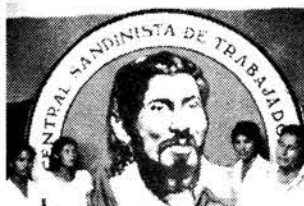
The successful January 13 labor march for the Equal Rights Amendment shows that the unions are moving into the forefront of championing the fight for the ERA. That same power can and should be mobilized behind the majority sentiment among working people for full abortion rights, free of all restrictions.

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A day with Nicaraguan workers

This discussion with Sandinista union organizers gives supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution an inside view of conditions in the plants and factories since the overthrow of the hated Somoza regime. **Page 19.**

Workers pay for Chicago crisis

Mayor Jane Byrne is teaming up with other Democratic and Republican politicians under the direction of Chicago's bankers in a financial bailout plan aimed at workers' paychecks, jobs, and vital services. **Page 12.**



A big step in fight for ERA

Thousands of steelworkers, auto workers, electrical workers, teachers, and other labor unionists joined a march for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Virginia. A feature photo display appears on **page 4.**



The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

ANDY ROSE

Business Manager: PETER SEIDMAN

Editorial Staff: Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, Jim Garrison, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Gus Horowitz, Diane Jacobs, Janice Lynn, August Nimtz, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Priscilla Schenk, Stu Singer.

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Victims of anti-Afghanistan policy

Farmers protest Carter's grain embargo

By Osborne Hart

The Carter administration's decision to place an embargo on grain shipments to the Soviet Union has drawn sharp reactions from U.S. farmers.

The American Agriculture Movement, which in recent years has organized farmers to protest government farm policy, issued a statement in Washington D.C., January 9, saying: "We all know that previous actions of this type disrupted not only the immediate sale prices and supplies seriously, but they had even a more serious effect on long term sales not only for the farm sector but the entire nation."

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Tom Benson, a Minnesota farmer and AAM national treasurer, said, "The embargo quite seriously and naturally affects farmers. That's evidenced by the price decline."

With thirty-three percent of farm acreage used for the export market, farmers' dependence on sales to the Soviet Union—which would have been the third largest consumer of U.S. grain this year—is very high.

It is anticipated that the Carter embargo will cost U.S. farmers \$7 billion in lost revenues. Carter halted the sale of 17 million metric tons of grain and 1 million metric tons of soybeans, a sale that farmers had especially counted on because the corn and soybean crops are a record yield, and the wheat harvest is the second largest ever.

As for the winter harvest, "the 1980 winter wheat crop has been planted with the idea of substantial demand from the Soviets in mind," commented Winston Wilson, a Texas wheat



farmer, to the *Christian Science Monitor*. "The financial commitment has already been made."

To appease farmers, Carter announced government plans to purchase the 17 million tons of embargoed grain. But many farmers don't believe him.

"The president says the government will move right in and support the farmers," remarked C. William Swank of the Ohio Farm Bureau. "It's never happened before and I doubt that it will happen this time."

In fact, the decision to buy 17 million tons of grain was made only after the Department of Agriculture met with representatives, not of the farmers, but the major grain companies—such as Cargill, Continental, and others—that

own most of the 17 million tons.

The AAM denounced Carter's complicity with the grain companies: "The administration's policy has protected the grain merchants for 100 percent of their entire sales, yet the farmers are put in the position of selling their entire inventory and also future production at low or disastrous prices."

Farmers have been protesting the rising cost of producing agricultural commodities due to inflation, rising fuel costs, and expensive machinery. Even before the embargo was imposed, predictions were that there would be a 10-20 percent drop in farm income during 1980 because of increased costs to farmers.

The AAM has called a farmer protest

for February 16 in Washington D.C., and a two-day conference February 18 and 19 to focus on the plight of farmers.

Farmers won't be the only victims of the embargo. Many workers will be forced onto the unemployment lines through elimination of jobs.

The hardship to U.S. farmers and workers resulting from Carter's moves shows that our interests do not lie with Washington's aggressive drive against the Afghan revolution.

On the contrary, our interests are with the masses in Afghanistan who are struggling to extend the gains of their revolution.

Several of the major social reforms instituted by the new Afghan government were aimed at improving the lives of small farmers. In a country where five percent of the population once controlled 50 percent of the farmable land, the government has begun redistributing land and water rights and cancelling the peasant debts to the landlords.

The Afghan government has legalized trade unions; launched a literacy campaign; and built schools and medical facilities.

The Afghans, with the aid of Soviet troops, are not fighting U.S. farmers or workers. They are fighting against reactionary forces in their country who are trying to turn back the gains that have been made.

It is in the interests of U.S. farmers and workers to support the progressive measures taken in Afghanistan and to oppose Washington's moves, which are directed against us as well as against the Afghan people.

Opposition deepens to U.S. attacks on Iran

By Janice Lynn

Six American clergymen who returned from a fact-finding trip to Iran told reporters at a January 4 news conference they concluded that the United States had supported a terrorist regime under the shah.

The Rev. William Kirby, Methodist-Presbyterian chaplain at Princeton University, said, "I believe the American government should ask forgiveness for its past sins and repent, which means to turn around and follow a new path which does not interfere with the Iranian people."

Kirby added, "The Iranian people are angry at the American government, not at the American people. We must tell the American people the truth."

The six clergymen and one American professor visited Iran from December 23 to January 3 as part of a delegation headed by the Rev. Jimmy Allen, of the Southern Baptist Convention. Allen is also a personal friend of Carter's.

The seven met with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, whom Allen described as "a man of great principle." Allen warned against following a caricature of Khomeini as an "inept religious fanatic." He also said the current political decision-making in Iran goes "from the people up" rather than from the leaders down. This "inverts the decision-making process we're used to," Allen stated.

Dr. Thomas Ricks, a specialist in Iranian and Middle Eastern affairs at Georgetown University, said, "My hope is that the shah indeed be returned to face the jury of the maimed and the tortured."

Rev. John Walsh, Baptist chaplain at Princeton, added that they had learned during their twelve-day trip that "sufficient information exists that calls for an international tribunal" to try the shah.

Rev. Charles Cesaretti of the Episcopal Church in New York City agreed.

"Let him stand in the public arena and explain his actions," he told the news conference.

The sentiments expressed by these clergymen reflect the thinking of more and more Americans as they learn the truth about the shah's crimes against the Iranian people.

A new Harris poll showed that by a two-to-one ratio (58 percent to 26 percent) Americans agreed with Sen. Edward Kennedy that the shah ran one of the most repressive regimes in modern times.

Other polls continue to show that the American people oppose the use of military force against Iran.

A nationwide poll reported in the December 18 *Los Angeles Times* reported that 88 percent of those polled opposed the use of military force as a form of punishment after the hostages are released.

Seventy-one percent of those polled opposed the use of military force as a matter of policy to keep others from taking hostages in the future. And a majority (53 percent) opposed using military force even if the hostages are harmed or killed.

The majority of those polled (55 percent) considered the shah guilty of crimes against the people of Iran and by an overwhelming margin (65 percent to 24 percent) agreed that the shah should not be given permanent asylum in the U.S.

In the latest Gallup poll reported in the January 11 *New York Times*, only 7 percent favored using military force to punish Iran in the event of the safe release of the hostages, 60 percent favored diplomatic and economic sanctions and 25 percent favored doing nothing.

Protests against U.S. threats to Iran continue. *Militant* correspondent Doug Parker reports that more than 100 people heard Hosea Williams of the

A threat to civil liberties

The U.S. State Department has revoked the passport of Philip Agee, the ex-CIA agent who has been spilling the beans on illegal CIA activity around the world.

What especially angered the Justice Department's lawyers was Agee's suggestion that the U.S. turn over CIA files on its activities against Iran in exchange for the hostages in the embassy.

Agee now lives in West Germany, where authorities have also begun efforts to revoke his residency permit.



PHILLIP AGEE

This move by the State Department is aimed at intimidating anyone who dares to speak out against U.S. foreign policy. Agee is accused of no illegal actions. His only "crimes" are for the statements he has made.

A court affidavit submitted by Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, David Newsom, charged that Agee's statements about CIA activities abroad intensified anti-American feelings and increased the likelihood of attacks on American embassies.

This same restriction on the right to travel and the right to free speech could very well be applied to Blacks protesting U.S. policy in the Middle East, trade unionists expressing their opposition to U.S. war moves, or any American citizen speaking out in opposition to U.S. policy in any part of the world.

It is a dangerous precedent that all supporters of civil liberties must join together to oppose. —J.L.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference and others at a December 8 Iran Teach-In in Atlanta. Williams called for the return of the shah to Iran for trial.

In Los Angeles 250 people turned out December 29 to hear reports from two Americans who visited Iran, Carol Downer and Rebecca Chalker. On January 4, sixty people picketed the Panamanian consulate calling for the return of the shah to Iran.

In Boston, *Militant* correspondent Rich Cahalane reports that 250 people attended a December 14 teach-in on "Iran—another Vietnam?"

Speakers included Prof. Richard Falk; Kaukaub Saddique of the Iran-

ian Embassy in Washington, D.C.; Tony VandeMeer of the National Black Student Association; and others.

One of the best received speakers was William Worthy, columnist for the Baltimore *Afro American* and one of the earliest supporters of the Cuban revolution. Worthy drew sustained applause when he said, "The longer the hostages are held the better educated the American public will become. The Iranians have forced the U.S. media to expose some of the shah's crimes and our culpability. The hostage issue, the embassy occupation, is not a moral issue, it is a political issue."

Worthy concluded, "History will absolve the students who seized the embassy."

LABOR MARCH FOR ERA

Five thousand marched in Richmond, Virginia, on January 13 to demand ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment.

Sponsored by the Labor for Equal Rights Now coalition, the demonstration included auto workers, steelworkers, Teamsters, teachers, postal workers, electrical workers, rail workers, food and commercial workers, telephone workers, hospital workers, and other unionists. Chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and of the National Organization for Women along with antinuclear activists and students also marched.

While a sizeable part of the march was from the ranks

of Virginia labor, protesters came from neighboring states as well as from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Georgia, Illinois, and California.

A broad list of speakers included Addie Wyatt, United Food and Commercial Workers vice-president and CLUW executive vice-president; Frank Mont, United Steelworkers civil rights director; John Kennedy, United Mine Workers District 28 president; NOW President Eleanor Smeal; and Dr. Joseph Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference president.

Next week's 'Militant' will carry a full report of the demonstration.



Militant photos by Susan Ellis, Suzanne Haig, and Lou Howort

Afghan rightists dealt setback

By Ernest Harsch

Soviet troops continue to fan out throughout Afghanistan to bolster the Afghan government's military drive against U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary forces.

The Soviet government had first begun sending in large numbers of troops in late December, to stave off the threat that the regime in Kabul would be overthrown and replaced by a proimperialist regime on the Soviet Union's southern border. The move came in response to an escalation of imperialist-sponsored attacks against the Afghan revolution, including guerrilla actions by rightist groups opposed to the land reform, literacy drive, legalization of trade unions, and other measures introduced following the seizure of power in April 1978 by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

Contrary to claims in the imperialist press that Soviet troops were supplanting or disarming the Afghan Army, Afghan government forces are in fact spearheading the offensive against the counterrevolution. According to a report in the January 9 *New York Times*, U.S. Defense Department analysts admitted that it was the "Afghan Army that was doing the fighting. They said the Russians had relegated themselves so far to a supporting mission." A dispatch from Kabul in the January 11 *New York Times* confirmed this.

Washington has gone on a major propaganda drive to try to portray the Soviet assistance to the Kabul regime as an "invasion" aimed at the subjugation—in Carter's words—of "an independent Islamic people." This transparent attempt to isolate the Afghan revolution from other anti-imperialist struggles, particularly in the Middle East, has not been particularly successful.

Speaking in Beirut January 8, Yasir Abd Rabbou, the head of the Information Bureau of the Palestine Liberation Organization, declared the PLO's support for the Soviet aid to Afghanistan. The Soviet intervention, he said, "is a big contribution to the struggle of all revolutionary forces opposing United States military expansionism in the Middle East." He accused those Arab governments that denounced the Soviet move of having adopted a "reactionary" position. (*Tokyo Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 9.)

The Indian government, following the electoral victory of Indira Gandhi, dropped its earlier condemnations of the Soviet move. Speaking before the United Nations January 11, Indian representative Brajesh Chandra Mishra said that the Indian regime now accepted Moscow's explanations and in an implicit attack on Washington condemned "the attempts of some outside powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan by training, arming and encouraging subversive elements to create disturbances inside Afghanistan."

As has been true in most of the big clashes in world politics from the Korean war to Iran, Washington succeeded in lining up the support of the United Nations. On January 14, the General Assembly voted 104-18 to deplore the Soviet action and demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Soviet Union vetoed a similar motion in the Security Council.

Among those voting to reject the imperialist stand were Cuba, Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, and Grenada. India's abstention was greeted with particular chagrin by the imperialists.

Camps in Pakistan

Much of the current fighting in Afghanistan is being carried out in the eastern mountain regions, near the country's long border with Pakistan. Many of the rightist guerrilla groups that are active there operate from bases in Pakistan's North-West Fron-

tier Province (NWFP), with the approval and support of the proimperialist military dictatorship of Gen. Zia ul-Haq.

Officially, the Afghan bases in Pakistan are designated as "refugee camps." But unlike most refugee populations, a large proportion of those in the camps are adult males. They receive military training, arms, and supplies in the camps, periodically recrossing the border to engage in guerrilla attacks against supporters of the Afghan revolution.

The Pakistani regime denies that it is directly aiding the guerrilla forces. Instead, it maintains the fiction that it is only helping "refugees." This assistance averages, according to official Pakistani figures, about \$5 million a month.

In a January 10 dispatch from the NWFP capital of Peshawar, *New York Times* correspondent William Borders reported that the Afghan guerrillas "operate with relative impunity on Pakistani territory, holding news conferences to denounce the Soviet Union and its Afghan sympathizers, and flying from Pakistan to other parts of the world in their campaign for international support."



Afghan rightists released picture showing their execution of 'Communist' woman schoolteacher. Rightists oppose government efforts to build schools, end illiteracy.

"Although the rebels will not concede it publicly, it is also widely believed that they get some of their arms here, either from Pakistani sources or from Middle Eastern contacts who ship them through Pakistan into Afghanistan across a mountainous border that is untamed, unpatrolled and largely unrecognized by the people who live along it."

Behind this extensive support apparatus for the Afghan counterrevolution stands American imperialism. From the very beginning, Washington has opposed the revolutionary changes under way in Afghanistan. It fears that the example of the Afghan revolution will further strengthen anti-imperialist struggles throughout the region.

While backing up Zia's support to the counterrevolutionary forces, the Carter administration has also been directly involved.

New details about Washington's activities have been revealed in "U.S. Intervention in Afghanistan" by Konrad Ege, published in the most recent issue (Vol. 4, No. 1) of *CounterSpy*, a Washington-based journal that specializes in exposing American intelligence activities around the world. Its information has generally proved to be accurate.

One of the U.S. institutions currently based in Kabul is the Asia Foundation, which in the past has had close ties to the Central Intelligence Agency and which still receives most of its funds

from the U.S. government. In a June 1979 letter to Ege, Joel W. Scarborough, the foundation's representative in Afghanistan, admitted that the foundation collaborated closely with such U.S. government bodies as the International Communication Agency and the Agency for International Development.

At least one of the leaders of the Afghan counterrevolution is, in fact, an American citizen.

Zia Nassery, a representative of the Afghanistan Islamic and Nationalist Revolutionary Council, lived in the United States for years before moving to Pakistan to help direct the insurgency. He had discussions with American State Department officials in early March 1979, including Ronald Lorton, the department's Afghanistan desk officer. According to Ege, Lorton refused to say whether arms shipments were discussed, since Nassery "is an American citizen." Senators Frank Church and Jacob Javits, who also had discussions with Nassery, likewise refused to comment.

A class war

The groups that Washington is backing represent the most reactionary

fighting for "Islam." But they are in reality fighting a class war—with the full and active backing of American imperialism.

It was against the growing threat that these proimperialist forces would come to power in a neighboring country that Moscow felt compelled to act. Its dispatch of tens of thousands of troops to Afghanistan represented a sharp blow to the counterrevolutionary drive.

In one of his first public statements, President Babrak Karmal—who came to power in a Soviet-backed coup December 27—pledged to defend the social gains registered since the April 1978 revolution. He also promised that a "new democratic constitution" would soon be enacted, said that there would be freedom to form "patriotic, progressive and people's political parties," and decreed a "general amnesty."

On January 6, more than 2,000 political prisoners—of an estimated 10,000 covered by the amnesty—were released from Kabul's Pul-i Charkhi prison. Although Western reporters in Kabul claimed that opponents of the government were still being arrested, an Associated Press dispatch in the January 9 *New York Daily News* reported that "even anti-government Afghans in Kabul said the measures taken so far have been on a smaller scale than those under [Hafizullah] Amin," Karmal's predecessor, who was killed in the December 27 coup.

Counterrevolution

The setback to the counterrevolution in Afghanistan comes at a time of rising anti-imperialist ferment throughout the region, especially in Iran, but also in countries like Pakistan and even Saudi Arabia. The stakes for imperialism are enormous.

Under the cover of an extensive propaganda campaign against the Soviet "invasion," Carter has acted to strengthen the remaining U.S. allies in the region and to provide more open support to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

Propping up the Pakistani regime is a key element in this effort. On January 13, the White House announced that it would offer Zia about \$400 million worth of economic and military aid. The military aid, about half of the total, would include infantry equipment, antitank weapons, and anti-aircraft systems, all of which could prove invaluable to the Afghan counterrevolutionary forces if it is passed along to them.

Zia, however, has been cautious about accepting the U.S. aid offers too eagerly, fearing that if he is too closely identified with the White House the deep anti-imperialist sentiments among many Pakistanis could be turned against the regime itself. As a report in the January 3 *Wall Street Journal* noted, "President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq's regime is so weak, most U.S. officials say, that a sharp switch toward the U.S. could topple him."

Given Zia's political difficulties in accepting direct and open American military assistance, Carter announced January 7 that the White House would help form an international "consortium" to provide aid to Islamabad, which would be partly financed by the Saudi regime.

This "consortium" will undoubtedly seek to funnel arms, money, and supplies to the Afghan guerrillas as well. The same day as Carter's announcement, the *Washington Post* reported that the Pentagon was mapping various plans to support the counterrevolution.

"One plan," correspondent George C. Wilson wrote, "is an effort to ally the United States, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and China in supplying anti-Soviet forces in Afghanistan with modern weapons."

Continued on page 7

Attack Soviet aid

Spain, Italy CPs knife Afghan revolution



Left, Enrico Berlinguer, head of Italian CP. Right, Soviet soldier guarding Afghan highway from rightist terrorists. Berlinguer and Soviet troops are on opposite sides in the struggle against counterrevolution in Afghanistan.

By Steve Clark

By adding their voices to the capitalist propaganda campaign against Soviet military aid to Afghanistan, the Italian and Spanish Communist parties have not only stabbed the Afghan workers and peasants in the back, but have once again betrayed the class interests of Spanish and Italian workers.

"... we say 'No!' to the intervention of the Soviet military forces in Afghanistan," said an editorial in the Spanish CP's daily *Mundo Obrero*. A January 5 statement by the Italian CP stated its "sharp disagreement" with the action by the Soviet government.

Furthest from the minds of the Italian and Spanish Stalinist leaders is how they can aid the defense of the Afghan workers and peasants against U.S.-backed counterrevolution. The Afghan masses are fighting to preserve the social gains of the April 1978 revolution, which includes a major land redistribution to benefit the poor peasants, legalization of trade unions, expanded language rights to oppressed nationalities, upgrading of the social position of women, and a campaign against illiteracy among some 90 percent of the country's 18 million people.

Stalinists' goals

The Italian and Spanish Stalinists are unmoved by such considerations. Instead, they are motivated by a desire to stay on the good side of the Italian and Spanish capitalists. The Italian CP doesn't want additional barriers to its efforts to gain cabinet posts in the Christian Democratic government. Likewise, the Spanish Stalinists are eager to demonstrate their moderation and reliability to the Spanish rulers.

Of course, the CP leaders cannot explain their real motivations to Spanish and Italian workers. One of the main attractions of the CPs to these workers, especially young workers, is the claim to stand on the side of the oppressed and exploited around the world.

So the Stalinists cloak their capitulation to the class enemy behind protestations of concern over "peace" and "national independence." Not only are these arguments patently insincere, they are also just plain false. Let's take a look at a few.

- Both the Italian and Spanish CPs

say that the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is a violation of the principles of national independence and sovereignty.

The real threat to Afghanistan's national sovereignty, however, comes from Washington and the capitalist military dictatorship in Pakistan, which ever since the April 1978 revolution have been funding and arming the landlords and other reactionaries. The Afghan government has repeatedly requested Soviet military aid to counter these efforts by Washington, and Moscow has finally committed major forces to prevent the establishment of an openly pro-imperialist regime on its southern border.

- The Italian CP statement comments on the "unexportability of revolutions," while the Spanish Stalinists strike a similar note, saying that "the liberation of peoples from imperialism is the work of the peoples who suffer from it."

These are particularly cynical attempts to paper over a counterrevolutionary stance by claiming to speak—as the Spanish CP puts it—"from a class and revolutionary posture."

Such statements are an insult to the Afghan workers and peasants. Their revolution against imperialist-perpetuated economic and social backwardness is "the work of the peoples who suffer from it." The April 1978 rebellion brought tens of thousands into the streets of Kabul to bring down the old government and replace it with one more responsive to the needs of the oppressed.

That revolution was not "exported" from anywhere. In fact, the U.S. government has admitted that Moscow was taken by surprise when the insurrection occurred.

Real threat to peace

- The Italian CP statement says, "The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is the most recent of grave episodes in the multiplication of political and military tensions, of acts of force that place world peace in danger."

But the joint Afghan-Soviet offensive to crush an imperialist-instigated counterrevolution does not "place world peace in danger." To the contrary, it is another blow against the reactionary foreign policy aims of the government of U.S. banks and big bus-

iness—the real source of "the multiplication of political and military tensions" and "acts of force."

Such defeats for Washington increase the chances for world peace. The Vietnamese people proved that. The Angolan people, with the help of Cuba, proved that. And events in Afghanistan are offering still more proof.

To cite just one example: Has Washington's setback in Afghanistan made it more or less likely that Washington could get away with the use of military power against the anti-imperialist revolution in neighboring Iran? One clear indication of the answer came in an editorial in the January 21 issue of *Business Week*. Because of events in Afghanistan, this leading big business weekly counseled, "For the present, the U.S. also must continue its policy of patience in dealing with Iran."

- The Spanish CP attempts to adopt

a stance of evenhandedness in the face of the imperialist's condemnations of the new offensive by Soviet and Afghan troops. "... neither the United States nor the other main NATO powers have the moral authority to reproach the Soviet Union," it says. The Italian Stalinists include a similar disclaimer in their statement.

But there is no "evenhanded" position in the battle between revolution and counterrevolution in Afghanistan. Those who condemn the Soviet Union for aiding the Afghan government parrot the political line of the imperialists and willy nilly end up on their side of the battle lines.

Evidently fearing too adverse a reaction from their working-class memberships to an open endorsement of the capitalists' diplomatic stance, neither the Italian nor Spanish CP leaders call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Continuation of betrayals

Ironically, the counterrevolutionary pronouncements by the Italian and Spanish Stalinists are an outcome of the class collaborationist policies that Moscow urges CPs around the world to follow toward capitalist governments.

This betrayal of the Afghan masses is simply the extension to world politics of constant betrayals at home of the Spanish and Italian workers, whose class interests require a victory over counterrevolution by their brothers and sisters in Afghanistan. The CP leaders in Spain and Italy work with the employers to impose austerity campaigns, preserve "labor peace," and strengthen repressive legislation to "fight terrorism."

But just as the constant struggle between the employers and the workers periodically forces the Stalinist CP leaderships to carry out strikes or demonstrations, so too does the international class struggle sometimes force the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin to carry out actions that benefit the workers and oppressed.

And when that happens, as it has in Afghanistan, those such as the Italian and Spanish Stalinists who condemn the action of the Soviet government merit the same epithet that any class-conscious Spanish or Italian workers would apply to those who shrink from supporting a strike or progressive demonstration because it is CP-led.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Pulley protests Aeroflot bombing

The following statement was issued January 15 by SWP Presidential candidate Andrew Pulley.

The January 13 explosion of a bomb at the New York office of Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, must be condemned by every defender of democratic rights.

The terrorists who committed this crime were clearly emboldened by President Carter's efforts to isolate the Soviet Union, as punishment for its role in pushing back U.S.-organized rightists in Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union isn't the only target. The bombing is designed to intimidate anyone who might consider visiting the Soviet Union, as well as anyone who speaks out against U.S. support to Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

As occurred in two bombings last year at the Cuban mission to the United Nations, the New York police let the bomb thrower get away.

Phone calls to the police credited the bombing to two different right-wing gangs—the Jewish Defense League and Omega Seven. Leaders of the JDL later denied playing a part in the bombing.

Omega Seven has boasted of its responsibility for bombings at the Cuban mission, and for the murder of Eulalio José Negrín, a member of the Committee of 75, which favors a dialogue between Cubans in this country and Cuba. He was gunned down November 25 in Union City, New Jersey.

The immunity of Omega Seven from arrest and punishment is a flagrant sign of its close relationship with the FBI, the CIA, and local police departments.

I call on President Carter and New York Mayor Edward Koch to stop covering up for these bombers and murderers. Arrest and convict all those responsible for the bombings at Aeroflot and the Cuban mission, and the murder of Negrín!

Rightist victories invented

How U.S. press lies about Afghanistan

By David Frankel

Afghanistan has replaced Iran as the number-one story in the mass media. And as in the case of the Iranian revolution, the capitalist newspaper and television industries are attempting to shape public opinion in accord with the needs of the ruling rich.

Just compare the reaction of the big-business media and the U.S. government to the use of Soviet troops to help put down the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Afghanistan to their response to the invasion of Vietnam by Chinese forces in February 1979. In that case, the Carter administration (which later admitted having discussed the move in advance with Chinese Vice-premier Deng Xiaoping) responded by sending a delegation to Peking to arrange expanded trade ties.

One of the most powerful levers of capitalist rule is the bourgeoisie's control of the mass media. The capitalist class uses the means of communication as a weapon in the class war. That is what we are seeing now in regard to the revolution in Afghanistan.

Lies become 'news'

Lie after lie is presented as "news"—not only in the scandal-mongering tabloids but also in those periodicals that claim to offer truthful and objective reporting.

At first, in order to promote the lie that there was no popular support for the fight against the reactionary uprising, the big-business media tried to portray the struggle in Afghanistan as a war between an invading Soviet army and the Afghan people as a whole. Fierce battles, later admitted to have never happened, were reported by both the U.S. State Department and the capitalist news media.

Newsweek reported January 14: "The invaders were soon locked in bitter combat with Islamic rebels."

Filling in what it admitted were "sketchy reports from the countryside," *Newsweek* told of "a Soviet column advancing on the provincial capital of Bamian" being ambushed and mauled. Meanwhile, "the Soviets were reported to be attacking pockets of guerrilla resistance with paratroops and devastating Mi-24 helicopter gunships."

Time magazine carried a similar report, although it deleted the fantasy about Soviet paratroops.

The *Washington Post* carried an

NEW YORK POST METRO 400 RUSSIANS DIE AS REBELS SEIZE KEY CITY

Headline in January 10 'New York Post.' January 14 'Christian Science Monitor' admitted that both the 'rebel' victory and the Soviet casualties were inventions of Afghan rightists. But 'New York Post' hasn't passed the information on to its readers.

Associated Press dispatch by Robert H. Reid on its front page January 3. Reid, reporting from Kabul, said: "Soviet troops were reported today to have thrown tanks and sophisticated attack helicopters against Moslem rebels in fierce fighting about 100 miles northwest of Kabul, the capital city."

Reid, apparently impressed that he was able to get the same story in so many places, said that "information about the battles came from four different Western embassies."

New York Times correspondent William Borders didn't bother to give his sources when he claimed in a January 7 dispatch that "battles between Soviet troops and the rebels are believed to have occurred in several widely scattered areas in the last few days."

Afghan Army

Borders also repeated the frequently made claim that "a major part of the [Afghan] army is reported to have been disarmed." The implication, of course, is that the only Afghans opposing the counterrevolutionaries and backing the Soviet intervention are a handful of traitors.

But on January 8 the Pentagon flatly contradicted all these reports. "Taking issue with reports that Soviet troops have been battling Afghan in-

surgents, Defense Department analysts said today that it was the depleted Afghan Army that was doing the fighting," *Times* correspondent Richard Halloran reported.

Halloran said that the Pentagon had found "no evidence of pitched battles between Soviet troops and Afghan insurgents."

He weakly noted that the Pentagon's information "appeared to differ from [that] of the State Department and some press reports from the Afghanistan region. . . ."

State Department officials quietly dropped their stories about big battles between the Soviet Army and Afghan rebels. "Briefing reporters on the latest intelligence information," *Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman said in a January 11 article, "Hodding Carter 3d, the State Department spokesman, said that Soviet troops . . . had not so far engaged in any significant military action with the insurgents."

Little opposition to troops

In fact, despite the capitalist media's claims of massive support for the rightist rebels, there has been little direct opposition to the Soviet troops.

One disappointed "senior military analyst" complained to *Christian*

Science Monitor correspondent James Dorsey: "There is hardly any resistance."

Washington will do its best, of course, to keep the counterrevolutionary bands going and to strengthen them. And in the overheated imaginations of some in the foreign press corps, the intention continues to be identified with the fact.

Thus, the *New York Post* ran a dispatch from Kabul by United Press International reporter William J. Holstein on its front page January 10. According to Holstein, "Rebel forces—in a stunning military victory—routed Russian troops and recaptured a key provincial capital today."

"Some 400 Soviet soldiers died in the fierce fighting as the rebels took control of the town of Faizabad in northeast Afghanistan, according to reports reaching Pakistan."

"At least two Russian helicopters were shot down over the city's airport."

"With Faizabad in their hands, the whole northeastern corner of the country belongs to the rebels," one Western diplomat said."

In this report Holstein—in Kabul—quoted "reports reaching Pakistan"—meaning an article in the newspaper *Jang*, published in Rawalpindi. *Jang* gets its "reports" by printing the claims of the rightist gangs. On this basis the *Post* ran a headline in inch-and-a-half-high type claiming "400 Russians Die as Rebels Seize Key City."

Calculated media campaign

It would be a big mistake to think that such fabrications are a result of sloppiness. On the contrary, they are part of a calculated campaign to mold public opinion and to create support for greater military spending, for unleashing the CIA, for bearing the burden of new military bases in the Middle East, and ultimately, for new counterrevolutionary wars such as the one in Vietnam.

For the capitalist media, the lie is an essential tool. How else but by lies can the workers be mobilized against their brothers and sisters around the world? How else but by lies can they be convinced to support imperialist wars?

The journalistic attack on the Soviet workers state for helping to roll back the counterrevolution in Afghanistan is only the latest example of the big lie at work.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

...Afghan

Continued from page 5

"Saudi Arabia has expressed interest in supplying such weapons, either directly or by paying for those supplied by another country, according to administration sources. But the Saudi connection is not expected to be made public by the Carter administration officially."

Defense Secretary Harold Brown raised this proposal during his visit to Peking. According to a report by Wilson in the January 4 *Washington Post*, "... defense officials said that Brown will explore ways to build up the military capability of Pakistan on Afghanistan's border and extend help to guerrilla forces expected to combat the Soviet troops in Afghanistan." On January 5 Brown declared in Peking that the two governments would respond to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan with "parallel action."

According to some reports, Peking has been backing the Shula-i Jawed (Eternal Flame), a guerrilla force active in Afghanistan's northeastern

province of Badakhshan. (The group was originally formed in the 1960s and was once an influential Maoist current within the Afghan student movement.)

On January 6, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat announced that his regime was also willing to offer arms to the Afghan guerrilla forces.

Carter has likewise been seeking to get Washington's imperialist allies to take more direct responsibility for countering the Soviet aid to Afghanistan. The Canadian and Australian governments agreed to join Washington's embargo on grain sales to Moscow, and British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington began a tour on January 9 of Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Oman, and Pakistan on behalf of NATO to discuss ways to respond to the Afghan events.

These steps against Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are closely connected to Washington's efforts to strengthen its military position in the region as a whole, especially its plans to establish a Rapid Deployment Force for quick military intervention in the area and to acquire new military bases and facilities.

Washington's moves have been accompanied by a massive propaganda campaign and a drive within the United Nations to generate opposition to the Soviet actions and to politically isolate the Afghan revolution from potential allies.

One particularly cynical maneuver has been Carter's attempt to sow divisions between the Afghan and Iranian revolutions, which so far has not met with any real success.

Karmal, in a January 1 speech, hailed the "national, Islamic, anti-imperialist" revolution in Iran and pledged to promote closer ties with its western neighbor. This was a significant shift in the PDPA regime's policy, since both of Karmal's predecessors, Noor Mohammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin, had maintained a sectarian stance toward the Iranian revolution.

Immediately after Soviet troops began moving into Afghanistan in large numbers, the Iranian Foreign Ministry issued a statement denouncing the move, but Khomeini himself did not speak out against it and Iranian revolutionary guards helped protect the Soviet embassy in Tehran from rightist Afghan demonstrators.

Journalists travelling with Afghan guerrilla forces operating in western Afghanistan noted bitter complaints over the lack of Iranian backing. "What kind of Islam is this Islam of Khomeini's, who has never personally condemned the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, while other countries near the Soviet Union, such as Romania, have condemned it?" one rebel leader asked. They pointed out that border surveillance by the Iranians has actually increased since the shah was overthrown.

Anti-imperialist fighters in Iran will also take note that it was Washington that initiated the UN Security Council motion for economic sanctions against Iran and the Soviet government that vetoed the sanctions January 13.

Far from being a threat to Iran—as Carter has tried to portray it—the Soviet intervention against the Afghan counterrevolution aids the Iranian workers and peasants. By weakening imperialism's position in the region and countering Washington's threats of military aggression, it strengthens Iran's own struggle against American imperialism.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

'Money for jobs not war'

Socialists win support in N.C. ballot drive

By Rebecca Finch

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—"There seem to be more and more socialists around these days," said one Black man as his friend signed a petition.

The man signing had an explanation for that. Times are harder for working people, he said, "because the rich don't care about anything except getting rich."

The two men were among hundreds here who signed petitions January 14 to help get Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in North Carolina.

Twenty-five socialist campaigners hit the streets that day, kicking off a national drive to put socialists on the 1980 ballot in thirty states. This is the biggest ballot drive ever undertaken by the SWP. In 1976, its presidential ticket was on the ballot in twenty-six states.

Hundreds of thousands of signatures will be collected across the country. In North Carolina, petitioners will seek well over 10,000 names of registered voters.

Socialist workers have come here from all over the country to help launch the North Carolina drive. One campaigner has come all the way from the Iron Range in Minnesota.

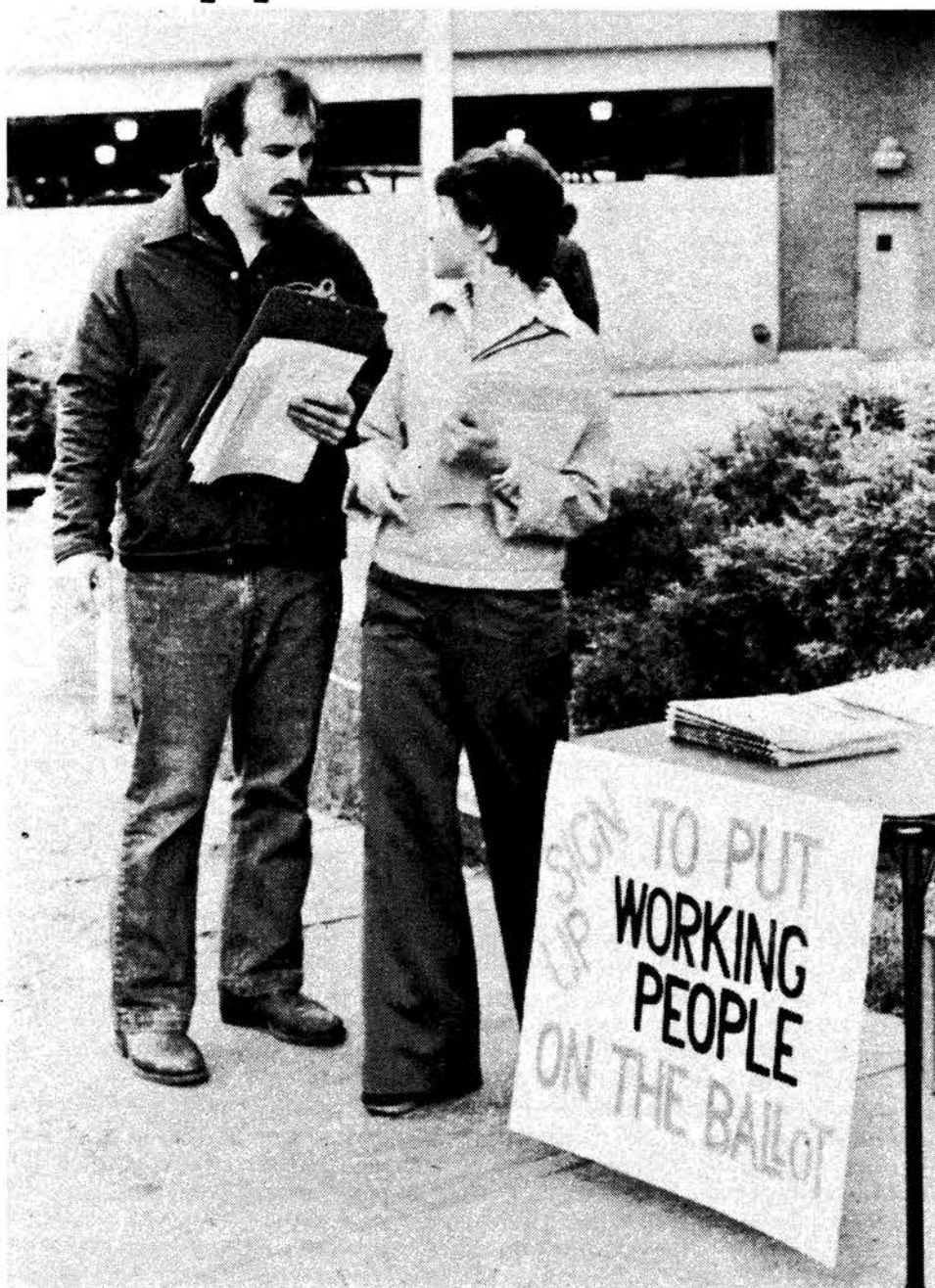
Joining them is SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. She spent part of the day January 14 collecting signatures at Forsyth Technical Institute, a vocational school.

One young Black woman she approached was impressed that socialists were going to be on the ballot.

"You've got a battle ahead of you in North Carolina," she said as she signed the petition.

One of her friends especially liked the idea of nationalizing the energy industry. She signed too.

A young white woman came up



Socialist petitioners last fall. 1980 ballot drive is most ambitious ever for SWP.

while a friend was signing. "I signed over there," she said "I take the newspaper, the *Young Socialist*. It's a terrific paper."

As she went to call her car she said she hoped to see Zimmermann at the socialist rally on Saturday night, January 19.

One student was disappointed that he couldn't sign because he wasn't registered to vote. But he took Zimmermann's petition to get it signed by his classmates.

At a shopping center later on in the day, Zimmermann approached a white man in his sixties. He wanted to read her campaign leaflet before he signed.

"Money for jobs, not war. That's good," he said, noting that Carter had promised to cut military spending but was raising it instead.

He also liked the idea of nationalizing the energy industry.

Then he pointed to one line and said, "That's the smartest thing on this sheet—send back the shah." He signed the petition.

The socialist effort to get on the ballot has attracted a lot of attention in North Carolina (see box). On the first day of the drive one young man who heard about it on television turned up to sign the petition at the SWP's election campaign headquarters. After a short conversation, he contributed \$18 to the election campaign and asked to join the Socialist Workers Party.

The socialist petitioners will be carrying out special activities throughout the ballot drive. Among these are classes in southern labor history.

Leafleting blitzes by the campaigners will publicize the February 2 demonstration in Greensboro to protest the Ku Klux Klan murders of five members of the Communist Workers Party.

"The February 2 march will be a chance for working people to stand up and show that the majority opposes Klan violence," said Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor. Cooper is a production worker at the Bahnson Company in Winston-Salem, where the SWP has recently established a branch.

"The march can be a powerful answer to continued attacks on democratic rights by state and local officials.

"Since the murders in Greensboro," Cooper noted, "Gov. James Hunt has called for stepped-up investigations of

How you can help

Getting the Socialist Workers candidates on the ballot is going to be a big job. And you can help.

Volunteer campaigners are needed. If you can come to North Carolina beginning January 14, contact the Socialist Workers campaign committee at (212) 675-3820.

Funds are urgently needed. Transportation expenses to North Carolina and around the state are going to be especially high. Money is needed for supplies, printing, and mailings.

The low wages workers earn in the South mean that contributions from other, more highly paid Pulley-Zimmermann supporters are necessary.

To help cover the costs of the North Carolina ballot drive, we are launching a special North Carolina fund drive which will run through January 30. The goal for the drive is \$3,000.

Checks can be made payable to the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Campaign Rally

Saturday, January 19, 8 p.m.

216 E. 6th St., Second Floor
Winston-Salem

Hear

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor of North Carolina

Jeffrey Miller, SWP candidate for Congress, 5th Congressional District

'extremist' groups. And he doesn't mean right-wing thugs like the Klan. His target is civil rights activists, workers fighting for unions, antinuclear activists, socialists, and others."

"Our campaign to get on the ballot," he added, "is another important effort in the fight for democratic rights in North Carolina. The response we've received to our petitioning convinces us there are thousands of workers in this state who want to hear about the socialist alternative and see us on the ballot."

SWP campaign in N.C. press

When the Socialist Workers Party launched its ballot drive, it got quite a bit of attention.

The Winston-Salem *Sentinel* wrote, "The party is running on a platform that includes repeal of the state's right-to-work law (which prohibits compulsory union membership in plants and offices where a union has been organized), passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, implementation of a 30-hour workweek with no reduction in pay and prohibition of forced overtime."

"Contrary to what one might think from reading the newspapers or listening to some state officials," the *Sentinel* quoted SWP congressional candidate Jeffrey Miller, "North Carolina workers are not moving to the right."

"Black and white working people are looking for new, effective ways to fight back against the government's drive to lower their living standard. They'll be interested in our ideas, and they'll be willing to sign petitions in support of our democratic right to be heard."

The Winston-Salem *Journal* reported that Miller explained how "successful completion of this ballot drive" would be a challenge to the "government's failure to bring to justice all those involved in the recent Klan massacre of the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro."

New anti-Cuba bombings in Miami, Montreal

Counterrevolutionary Cubans claimed responsibility for bombs set off in Miami on January 13 and Montreal on January 14.

The explosion in Miami caused "significant damage" to the Padron Cigars factory, according to Miami police, but no injuries were reported. A caller to the Associated Press said that the bomb had been set by the group named "Omega Seven."

The Cuban Consulate was the terrorists' target in Montreal, where city authorities claimed little damage resulted. Responsibility for the bomb was claimed by the "Anti-Castroist Organization of Montreal," which said that the explosion had been set off in retaliation for Cuban and Soviet moves in Afghanistan, and which threatened further bombings.

The name used by the Montreal

terrorists is not well known, but Omega Seven is the same name used by anti-Castro terrorists who claimed responsibility for bombing the Cuban mission to the United Nations in October and December and the New York offices of the Soviet airline, Aeroflot, on January 13, as well as numerous other bombings in the past.

The recent bombings indicate a pattern of stepped up terrorism by Cuban counterrevolutionaries. In all cases the police authorities claim to be unable to find the culprits, even though they surely have detailed information about Omega Seven and similar groups. It has even been disclosed by the *New York Times* that Omega Seven is a pseudonym for the Cuban Nationalist Movement, which maintains public offices known to the authorities

Oil workers strike over health and wages

By Stu Singer

The strike by 60,000 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) against oil refining companies entered its second week January 16.

The strike affects workers operating 70 percent of U.S. oil refining capacity. The other 30 percent are in plants that are either non-union or organized by unions other than OCAW, such as the Teamsters.

The two main issues in the strike are wages and health benefits. The nationwide strike was called by recently elected union president Robert Goss after Gulf Oil, which is supposed to set the pattern for the other companies, offered only a 9 percent wage hike and an extra \$10-a-month company contribution to the workers' medical care plan.

Contract terms on wages, vacations, and health care were reopened this year, the second of a two-year contract. The contract was OCAW's first negotiated under President Carter's 7 percent guideline.

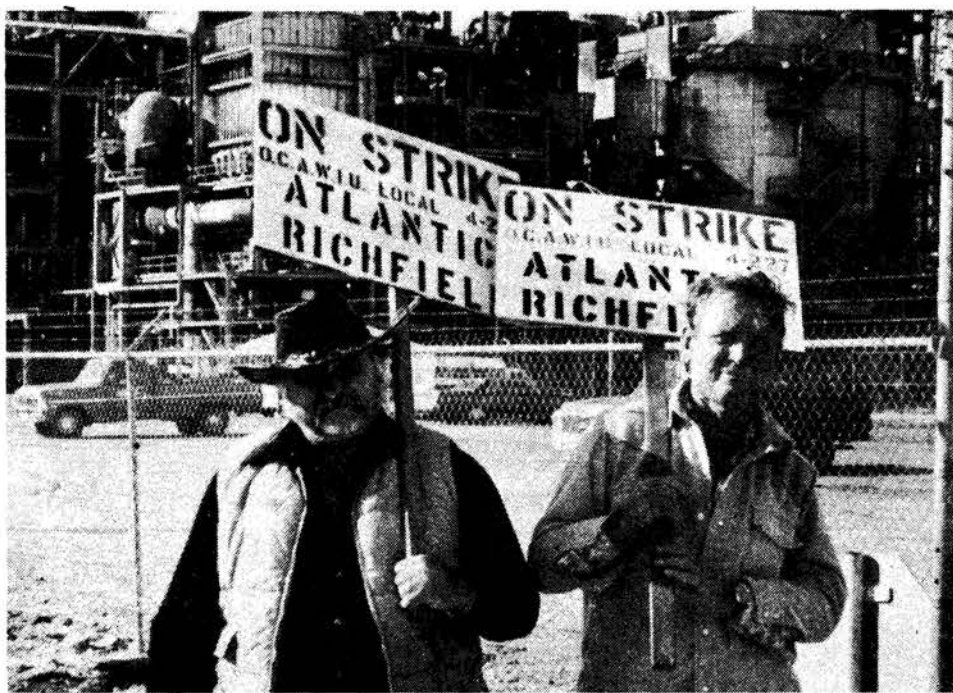
The union originally accepted an 8 percent raise the first year and only 5 percent for the second. With inflation running at an official rate of 13 percent a year, refinery workers ended the first year of this contract with a substantial pay cut from previous years.

This is in contrast to the incredible profits raked in by the oil companies in the same period.

As the accompanying chart, taken from the January 14 *Business Week*, shows, the thirty biggest oil companies in the United States increased their profits 73.51 percent in the first nine months of 1979.

An OCAW ad printed in a number of newspapers points out, "Refinery wage costs are less than one cent of the dollar you pay for gas and oil. . . whatever gains we make will have very little, if any, perceptible effect on the price you pay for gasoline, oil and heating fuel."

The union has not announced the exact amount of the wage hike it is demanding, but it has called for a dollar amount, instead of a percentage, to avoid increasing the wage gap be-



OCAW pickets at ARCO refinery near Houston

Militant/Jana Pellusch

tween higher and lower paid job classifications.

The most sharply contested issue seems to be health care. Refinery workers have one of the worst health care programs of any union members in basic industry. According to the January 9 *Wall Street Journal*, the average worker has to pay \$35 a month for health care, with the company paying an average of \$84 a month. And even then the health care plan does not include prescriptions or dental care. The union wants full company-paid coverage.

An article in the *Los Angeles Times* by Harry Bernstein points out, "The industry, which has been reporting record-high profits, does not argue that it cannot afford to pay the extra health care costs."

Bernstein quotes an unnamed industry official as saying: "If they [the workers] pay part of the costs, they won't be running to the doctors and other health care providers too casually."

While a few refineries around the country have been closed, the industry is continuing to operate most of them using salaried and management people. *Wall Street Journal* reporter Roger Thurow went through the picket line at the AMOCO refinery in Texas City, Texas. He quotes the plant manager, Lawrence Durland, as claiming the refinery can be run better without the workers because the supervisors trained the union workers in the first place.

But the same article reports work is being done by Ann Stevens, an office secretary, John Brown, a packaging engineer, and Warren Brown, "an employee relations assistant with a degree in psychology."

In Martinez, California, *Militant* correspondent Gary Balsam interviewed Fran Koch, chairperson of the Publicity Committee of OCAW Local 1-5 at the Shell Refinery there:

"Management operating the plant is real dangerous for these communities around the refineries. Management is not trained. There is danger of explosions, fires, fumes."

Balsam describes the towns in that area as "hugging" the refineries.

The following reports from Jana Pellusch in Houston and Diane Groth and Chuck Petrin in St. Louis, explain how the strike is being conducted in those two areas.

Pellusch, a member of Local 4-225, has worked in the ARCO refinery for a number of years. She gives a picture of the real danger the union workers can see from the scab operation of the refineries.

Business and government try to break strikes constantly, claiming "public safety" is threatened. But news of this real danger to the public has been blacked out.

It seems to be okay to endanger public safety in the interests of strike breaking.

Houston strike diary

By Jana Pellusch

HOUSTON—Local 4-227, which represents workers at the ARCO refinery here, is one of the largest OCAW locals in the country. Its hall is packed on the night of January 10, the local's first meeting since the strike was called. Two thousand of the 4,000 members went on strike the day before. The others work at companies with different contract expirations.

The first order of business is to approve ninety-eight applications for membership in the union. Some of these are from striking employees still on probation (which is four months long in most cases).

Clerical workers from the Crown refinery are introduced and applauded. These women, and one man, have walked out for the first time with the refinery workers. They do not intend to return to work until they too are covered by an OCAW contract.

Other agenda items are taken up and efficiently dealt with. The membership has a sense of what needs to be done. A committee is appointed to work with the county welfare office in aiding strikers.

A motion is approved to allocate funds for printing handbills with information on the labor costs involved in producing a gallon of gasoline (less than one cent a gallon). A publicity committee is appointed to help coordinate distribution of the leaflet in Houston.

A revised schedule of meeting times is being worked out so that each striking plant can meet weekly for the duration of the strike.

During the day, strikers gather at the union hall to help out with the organization of pickets, run errands, or just relax over a game of dominoes. Special early-morning contingents of strikers volunteering to beef up regular pickets are sent out to gates where nonunion contract labor enters the ARCO refinery.

Day three

Over at OCAW Local 4-367, a few miles away in Pasadena, striking workers from the Shell refinery meet and exchange information on possible job openings. A blackboard announcement informs members that the mayor of Pasadena has mandated that all new part-time city jobs will be filled by striking OCAW members. Some unionists alternated between checking the help-wanted section of the newspaper and reading literature on the Karen Silkwood case.

By the third day of the strike many 4-367 members have already sought temporary work. With 25,000 oil workers on strike along the Texas/Louisiana gulf coast, no one expects that finding work will be a snap. But

all appear to be solidly behind the strike.

I hear no criticism of President Goss's decision to call a nationwide strike against the oil industry on January 8. This strike makes a lot more sense to oil workers than the "spot strike" approach which had been followed since the last nationwide strike in 1969.

Day four

Pickers on the afternoon shift at the ARCO refinery are enjoying clear skies and seventy-degree weather. It is obvious that inside the refinery it is not so pleasant. A flare ("as big as I've ever seen it, and I've been here six years," says one picketer) is visible behind the four tall derricks of the coker unit. It's burning off excess gas. The giant compressor on that unit can be heard rumbling. Things are not going so well at the coker unit.

I stop at the main entrance to the plant. An electrician has heard an alarm from inside the plant indicating trouble at a certain electrical substation. He points to another substation, visible from the road, surrounded by vehicles. "I've been watching that substation. It's driving those supervisors crazy. It'll be the next to go down."

Further down the road two striking maintenance workers are walking the picket line near the "fluid" unit—the volatile catalytic cracking unit where a serious fire on New Year's day led management to force maintenance workers to work overtime to repair damaged equipment prior to the strike.

A mixture of oil and catalyst from the fluid unit had just sprayed high into the air, covering a passing motorcyclist and the picketers' cars. A kerosene-like smell is still in the air. "I just hope those supervisors shut the fluid down before there's another fire. We're too close for comfort."

OCAW strikers are not too pleased about management's attempt to keep the refineries running. The hazards to the community are obvious. And the danger signals are already being picked up by refinery workers—even from outside the gates.

Patriotism v. inflation

By Diane Groth and Chuck Petrin

WOOD RIVER, Ill.—Five hundred striking members of OCAW Local 7-776, with the aid of Teamster drivers, made the first full day of the nationwide refinery workers' strike a union success here.

Management at the AMOCO refinery here vowed to "keep things at near-normal production," using supervisors as scabs. But delivery of gasoline from refineries to retail outlets in St. Louis, out-state Missouri, and central Illinois was virtually halted. Out of roughly 100 trucks that normally service AMOCO each day, only five or six ventured across OCAW's picket lines—none of them with union drivers.

Local 7-776 President Horace Farnell told the *Militant* that OCAW's demand for a "substantial wage increase" in 1980 is only fair considering what inflation has done to workers' paychecks.

"Last January," Farnell explained, "we took Carter at his word that settling for a 5 percent wage increase would help fight inflation. We were the first national union to negotiate a contract under the new 'wage guidelines,' and we felt we were doing the 'patriotic' thing."

"But inflation is running higher than ever now, and without a decent wage increase we'll just fall further and further behind."

Oil profits

	1st 9 mos. 1979	chg. from 1978 %
	\$ mil	
Amerada Hess	350.25	259.80
American Petrofina	65.48	447.49
Ashland Oil	475.52	132.16
Atlantic Richfield	822.94	41.46
Charter	218.72	1552.45
Cities Service	241.33	62.74
Clark Oil & Refining	29.56	412.93
Coastal States Gas	84.70	99.60
Conoco	624.69	110.98
Exxon	2930.00	53.40
Getty Oil	421.84	84.58
Gulf Oil	956.00	74.45
Kerr-McGee	119.62	53.02
Marathon Oil	241.00	70.85
Mobil	1435.54	81.18
Murphy Oil	65.56	124.47
Occidental Petroleum	374.80	NM
Pennzoil	165.36	94.39
Phillips Petroleum	584.63	33.30
Reserve Oil & Gas	28.62	101.71
Shell Oil	794.37	27.85
Standard Oil (Indiana)	1184.13	37.73
Standard Oil (Ohio)	735.10	157.30
Standard Oil Co. of Calif.	1335.30	72.67
Sun	453.14	55.82
Superior Oil	152.61	116.93
Tenneco	411.00	24.24
Texaco	1149.56	119.30
Texas Oil & Gas	78.26	25.92
Union Oil Co. of Calif.	348.30	34.72
Oil composite	16,877.88	73.51

NM = not meaningful
Data: Standard & Poor's Compustat Services Inc.

Business Week

Sanctions against Iran vetoed in UN

By Janice Lynn

The Iranian people won a victory January 13 when the Soviet Union vetoed a United Nations Security Council resolution that would have imposed economic sanctions on Iran.

East Germany also voted no, while Bangladesh and Mexico abstained on the resolution. The Chinese delegate did not participate in the voting.

The "no" vote by the Soviet government, one of five permanent members of the Security Council with veto power, was decisive in blocking the Carter administration from obtaining UN backing for its plan to cut off all shipments to Iran.

This marked a shift from the December 31 vote, when the Soviet delegate abstained on a resolution calling on all countries to adopt "effective measures" if the American hostages were not released. The Soviet abstention allowed that resolution to pass.

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Louis Winitzer explained January 15 that the U.S. government would not submit its proposal to a General Assembly vote "because it is well aware that it would not receive the necessary two-thirds support. . . . Iran is considered by many here to be a victim—a victim which made a mistake, but still a victim—rather than a culprit."

Instead the State Department announced immediately after the January 13 vote that the U.S. government would proceed anyway to impose sanctions on the export of goods to Iran, and would try to pressure other governments to do the same.

In the latest administration trial balloon about the possible use of military force against Iran, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said he would not rule out a naval blockade to ensure that no goods reach Iran.

Tehran had proposed to the UN that a commission of inquiry be quickly convened to hold hearings in Iran on the crimes of the shah. The Carter administration refused to consider this offer, insisting that the hostages be released before any investigation could begin.

What Carter really fears is the worldwide exposure of the crimes the U.S. government committed against the Iranian people during the shah's regime.

The targets of the proposed sanctions are the working people of Iran. They are threatening to take control of production in the factories into their own hands and out of the hands of the U.S. corporations which have dominated the economy. This frightens Washington, which wants to use hunger and shortages to break the workers' fighting spirit.



Tehran demonstrator holds up puppet effigy of Carter

On January 14, the Islamic Revolutionary Council announced that all American journalists would have to leave Iran. The Council protested the "biased reporting and insults to our Islamic revolution. . . ."

The January 16 *New York Times* quotes council Secretary Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti as saying that "if a correspondent can prove in the future that he intends consistently to reflect the facts, his case will be looked into and a new discussion will be held on his fate."

There is justified resentment among the Iranian people at the biased reporting by the big-business media in the United States.

However, the council's decision to ban U.S. journalists will not stop the lies about the Iranian revolution or

help get out the truth. The big-business media will simply add to their slanders of Iran the charge that the Iranian people have something to hide.

The fact is that news about the Iranian revolution is not well known to American working people. They are trying to find out what is happening, and the biased reporting of the capitalist media is not accepted without question.

Americans who read newspapers or see TV coverage of hundreds of thousands of Iranians demonstrating—expressing their hatred of the U.S.-backed shah and telling about the murders and tortures committed under his regime—have increasingly come to realize that the Iranian people have cause for complaint.

The U.S. capitalist media carried

completely biased coverage of the Vietnamese fight for national liberation. Nevertheless, the American people came to see through the lies. Over time, the same awareness can develop in relation to the Iranian revolution.

For example, the anti-imperialist students in the U.S. Embassy have made a serious effort to bring their views to the attention of the U.S. media. And although the students have been vilified and their statements butchered, they have also succeeded on several occasions in making their points.

The continuing debate and discussion over the direction of the revolution is now focused on the January 25 elections for president. More than 100 candidates have entered the race. They include Economics Minister Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr; Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh; Admiral Ahmad Madani, head of the Iranian navy; Massoud Rajavi of the Mujahedeen; and Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE).

Sayrafiezadeh is running on a socialist program to unite all the struggles of the Iranian workers and farmers against U.S. imperialism (see facing page).

Campaign supporters, who have been distributing copies of the HKE election platform at factory gates, report that it has met with a good response.

At one oil refinery, copies of Sayrafiezadeh's program were taken to the factory *shora* (committee) which then pasted them up throughout the refinery.

News on HKE prisoners

In another victory for democratic rights, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, one of the members of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) who had been imprisoned in Ahwaz, has been released. This brings to eight the number of HKE prisoners who have been freed on bond.

One of the remaining six HKE prisoners, Fatima Fallahi, has been gravely ill, suffering comas and severe loss of weight. On January 14 she was transferred to a hospital in Ahwaz after supporters of the Iranian revolution urged that this anti-shah fighter receive emergency medical attention.

Mahsa Hashemi, the other woman prisoner, has been transferred to Behbahan prison in southern Iran.

Unemployment: how can labor fight back?

By Stu Singer

According to the U.S. Department of Labor new unemployment claims jumped 13 percent the week of December 16-22. That comes to 447,000 people who filed new claims to receive unemployment benefits.

On January 2 the Carter administration responded—it cut back unemployment benefits.

This blow to American workers has received little publicity. Carter's action will cut off federal funds used to extend state unemployment benefits after twenty-six weeks. It goes into effect February 3.

If Carter's action sounds bad, wait until you hear the explanation. It had to be done because "more money was needed for housing in Mr. Carter's budget for the fiscal year 1981," according to the January 6 *New York Times*.

Douglas Fraser is president of the 1.4 million-member United Auto Workers union, which has at least 140,000

members laid off now.

Fraser said Carter's action was "callous, cold, and cruel." Conclusion: Kennedy. Fraser announced his support for Edward Kennedy for president.

Kennedy's response to the cut in unemployment benefits: nothing.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland estimated that 990,000 workers will be hurt by this cut in the next two years. His solution: postpone its start from February until July, when the National Commission on Unemployment Compensation makes its report.

He has no other proposal. Carter's line about using the money for housing is a complete lie.

The government is not proposing to increase money for housing. The only increases in the 1981 budget are for weapons. And these increases are enormous.

A \$10 billion a year increase in the military budget is projected.

The military budget has increased

every year since Carter became president; that is, before he could find Iran or Afghanistan on a map.

Carter's Democrat and Republican opponents for president, who are all silent on unemployment, have a lot to say about war spending. They want more.

What kind of program can be put forward in response to unemployment?

The Socialist Workers Party proposes "an emergency bill to guarantee the right to a job for everyone who wants to work." The proposal says:

- "All jobless workers, including youth and others just entering the labor force, shall receive unemployment compensation at full union-scale wages for the entire time they are out of work."

- "Spending for war shall be eliminated and those funds used to launch a \$151 billion [the size of the war budget] emergency public works program to provide millions of useful jobs, expand social services, and rebuild the country."

- "The legal workweek shall be reduced from forty hours to thirty hours with no reduction in pay."

It will not be easy to win proposals like these to protect workers against unemployment. But these are much more realistic than the alternatives: vote for Kennedy and/or wait for another government commission report.

Jimmy Carter looks more and more like Herbert Hoover, the hated president who presided over the beginning of the depression of the 1930s.

Hoover did not believe in unemployment pay either.

After suffering under the blows of the depression for five years under Hoover and his successor Franklin Roosevelt, American workers finally fought back. That explosion in the mid-1930s created the powerful unions that won big gains for working people.

Whether or not Hoover the second and his successors learn the lesson, the blows they land today will be returned tomorrow.

Socialist platform in Iranian elections

The Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (Hezb-e Kargarane-Engelab-HKE) is running Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh for president in the upcoming national elections.

In the January 1 issue of Tehran's daily *Baamdad*, beginning on the front page, the election platform of the HKE was featured.

The HKE explains that the elections are being held during a period of U.S. military, economic, and political attacks against the Iranian revolution.

The United States has mobilized its imperialist allies and capitalist forces inside Iran to try to defeat the struggles of the workers and peasants; to beat down the oppressed nationalities; and block the road to independence and freedom.

Thus, the unity of all toilers against this threat by U.S. imperialism is the key task and a question of life or death.

The HKE also denounces those who have criticized the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line for releasing new spy files discovered in the U.S. Embassy. The party supports the demand raised by the Iranian people, "Students, continue the exposures!"

The struggles of the Iranian workers for factory *shoras* (committees) which can defend their rights; of peasants for land; of oppressed nationalities for their rights; of women for freedom and equality; and of youth are all part of the anti-imperialist struggle. The outcome of all these struggles is intertwined, the HKE says.

It is in this context that Sayrafie-

zadeh enters the elections presenting a program to unite all these movements against imperialism.

The HKE's platform calls to:

- Stop the attacks on the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line, who have been releasing spy documents. Continue the exposures!

- Build the army of 20 million. Arm and mobilize the population through the workers and neighborhood shoras;

- Support the efforts of the workers and peasants to stop sabotage by the capitalists and landlords;

- Grant demands of the peasants for land reform. The shoras in the rural areas should control the big landholdings;

- Expropriate the property of capitalists who are hoarding goods and closing plants. Place their property under the control of the workers shoras;

- Nationalize and place under shora control all imperialist-owned companies, to defend the country against U.S. economic blockade;

- Implement a government monopoly of foreign trade;

- Release to the public all facts about the imperialist blockade and the sabotage of production by the capitalists. Open all the capitalists' books and place them under the supervision of the shoras;

- For a sliding scale of wages and a cost-of-living allowance for all workers to combat inflation;

- For a thirty-five hour workweek with no reduction in pay to provide jobs;

- To unite all of Iran's nationalities against the imperialist threats, grant full national rights now to the Kurds, Azerbaijanis, and other oppressed nationalities. Withdraw Pasdaron and army units from Azerbaijan and Kurdistan;

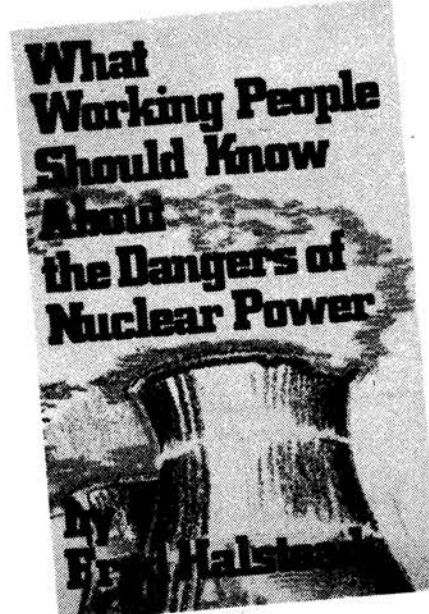
- Establish equal rights for women.

To put the above program into practice, defeat the imperialist threat, and solve the daily problems of the workers

and peasants, the HKE calls on the factory shoras to unite in their common struggles and ally with the shoras in the rural areas and in the army. Through this, united shoras in the cities and nationally can be created.

These steps point toward the need for a workers and peasants government in Iran, based on delegates elected by the shoras of the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

New from Pathfinder: a weapon in the anti-nuclear fight



What are the dangers of nuclear radiation? What caused the Three Mile Island nuclear accident? What are the alternatives to nuclear power? This pamphlet answers these and other questions about the problems and dangers of nuclear power.

Also included is a statement "What We Can Do To End Nuclear Power" by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

40 pp., \$.95
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.
Enclose \$.75 for postage.

UAW letter: what a labor party could do

The following are major excerpts from a letter to the editor printed in the November 1979 'Labor Temple News,' the official newspaper of United Auto Workers Local 1364 in Fremont, California.

Last September, the California Federation of Labor voted to 'give serious consideration' to the idea of a labor party. The letter below by retired UAW member Bill Kiezel is a valuable contribution to that discussion.

We are facing a new decade in a few weeks. But there is no sign of a let-up to the long recession that began in the 70s. In fact, as time goes on, the economy looks bleaker than ever.

The President and congress are proving daily that, as representatives of this system, they are incapable of solving the nation's ills.

I'll swear on a stack of Bibles that the Democratic and Republican hacks are nothing but leeches living off the backs of the working and poor people.

In case you think I'm the only one who does not have faith in our present form of government, listen to what President Douglas A. Fraser of the UAW said in the International's magazine, "Solidarity," on Sept. 15, 1978. "The Republican Party," says Fraser, "remains controlled by and the Democratic Party heavily influenced by business interests. The reality is that both are weak and ineffective as parties, with no visible, clear-cut ideological differences between them, because of business domination."

Brother Fraser's knowledge of the two political parties is clear. He knows how this government works from the inside. He resigned from President Carter's Labor-Management group.

He should now take the lead in organizing a labor party.

"Wimpy" [William Winpisinger],



A labor party would use money from war budget to eliminate slums and provide good housing and decent education.

president of the International Association of Machinists, also knows the score. On the CBS show "60 Minutes" in October, he stated that, "Business controls the Senate."

Well, if this is so, why does the American labor movement have to live with it?

In his State of the Union address, Carter shows he is full of peanut oil. "Government cannot solve our problems. It can't set our goals. It cannot define our vision. Government cannot eliminate poverty, or provide a bountiful economy, or reduce inflation, or save our cities, or cure illiteracy, or provide energy. And government cannot mandate goodness."

Well, for goodness sake, if those fakers in Washington can't solve any of our problems—we can!

You don't have to belong to the Billionaire's Club to have a government represent you. We can form our own party—a Labor Party—which will represent us.

What can a Labor Party do?

I would like to see a Labor Party that will be directed to the interests of the American workers. Our Labor Party would have to answer to American Labor.

First, we must end the recession. For starters we would take the \$120 billion, now used for war expenditures and put them to productive use.

This would halt the armament race.

Second, we would appeal to the Soviet Union to do the same. At present, both countries have enough

atomic weapons to blow up the world 25 times over; and, in my opinion, that's 25 times too many.

Third, our Labor Party would put these billions of dollars to work clearing slums; constructing well-built, low-cost housing; getting rid of the outdated, dilapidated and dangerous Rapid-Transit systems along with the inefficient, incompetent and corrupt management that runs them.

We would end rent gouging; the high cost of food and transportation; and most important of all—create jobs.

With what it would cost to build one battleship we could construct one beautiful school. We'd begin with the worst schools, double the size of classrooms and recreation facilities.

All of these changes would cause a work boom. In fact, we might experience a temporary shortage of labor.

We in the workforce, employed or unemployed, must search for those with good morals and principles to create and give leadership to our Labor Party.

It does no good to scream about the ruling elite making too much profit, too fast and that the tax burden should fall on these profiteers.

Those cows in Washington are of no use. The capitalists know where the milk is coming from: This, from R. Heath Larry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, "You have to feed the cow instead of kick it if you want to get milk out of it. The problem is not that profits are rising too fast but too slowly."

You see, Larry isn't hungry.

So I'm asking the readers not to write their congressperson or senator. Instead, write your International Executive Board and demand that they start planning to build a Labor Party NOW for the interest, health and well-being of American Labor.

AND MARK IT URGENT!

Bankers plunge Chicago into fiscal crisis

By Rich Robohm

CHICAGO—"Politicians hand city to brokers, bankers." The front-page headline in the January 7 *Chicago Defender*, the city's Black daily, told the story.

As if two payless paydays in the middle of the holiday season were not enough, almost 50,000 Chicago Board of Education employees and the community they serve now face drastic cutbacks in the school system. Mass firings, school closings, and the scrapping of special programs are just a sample of what the Democratic and Republican politicians and their big-business sponsors have ordered up.

The same antilabor alliance is gang-ing up on Chicago's transit workers and fire fighters who are fighting for their first union contracts ever.

The bankers' and billionaires' campaign to slash vital social services and to force workers to assume a much greater share of the cost is taking a particularly brazen form in Chicago.

The signal of a banking squeeze came last November 13, when Moody's Investors Service lowered its rating of Chicago Board of Education bonds. The next day the school board offered a total of \$124.6 million in bonds for sale. There were no takers.

Within weeks, the nation's third-largest school system was nearly bankrupt. For the first time since the Great Depression of the 1930s, Chicago's school board failed to meet a payroll.

For an entire month, until January 7, when they received a partial payment, 25,000 teachers and 23,600 other school board employees went home empty-handed. This payment, with the rest promised later in the week, averted a walkout scheduled for that day by the Chicago Teachers Union. The politicians, bankers, and business executives closeted themselves to hammer out a "solution" to the school board's financial crisis.

The "solution" is racist and antilabor to the core.

In exchange for the bankers' \$850 million bailout plan, Chicago's LaSalle Street loan sharks are demanding a ransom that would make Al Capone blush.

Hits students

Hardest hit will be the 480,000 students in the Chicago public schools, along with their parents and teachers.

Eighty percent of these schoolchildren are Black or Latino. The school board and city administration have



High school library on Chicago's South Side. Banker's 'solution' threatens many educational programs.

Militant/Rich Robohm

blocked one desegregation plan after another, foregoing literally hundreds of millions of dollars in federal aid, in order to maintain one of the most segregated school systems in the country.

Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne is seizing on the financial crisis as a new excuse for preserving segregation. Calling an imminent Justice Department lawsuit to enforce desegregation "oppressive and stupid," Byrne described such efforts as trying "to pick the flesh off the skeleton of the Chicago schools."

Severe cuts in the school budget will make an already inferior educational system that much worse. Up to \$100 million—7 percent of this year's \$1.4 billion budget—will be slashed between now and August 31. One teaching post in twelve will be eliminated, primarily by firing up to 2,000 teachers. Six percent of the city's schools will be closed, with a resulting increase in class sizes and overcrowding of facilities. Art, music, sports, and language programs, education for the handicapped, and other such "frills" will be sharply curtailed. And officials are trying to force school unions to renegotiate their contracts.

The centerpiece of the bailout plan is the creation of a five-member "financial oversight committee" to be headed by business executive Jerome Van

Gorkom. Modeled after New York City's Emergency Financial Control Board, this unelected body will be given sweeping powers to slash the school budget and to pass judgment on all major expenditures.

Pay interest

The oversight committee will soon seize control of at least one-fifth of school board property-tax revenues in order to ensure that interest and principal payments will continue to the owners of education bonds. These payments will take precedence over all other claims, from teacher payrolls to school lunch programs, on the school board's revenues.

Property tax increases within the next year of as much as 50 percent are being discussed.

Small homeowners already shoulder a grossly disproportionate share of the property tax burden—and they will be the ones to suffer from the new tax hike.

Adding insult to injury, the bankers suckered local union leaders into lending money from their pension and other funds to the board of education. For starters, the United Auto Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and Chicago Teachers Union put up \$1.8 million of an anticipated \$10 million union contribution.

December 21 was the first day that the board of education defaulted on its employee payroll. The same day, a court order forced 11,000 bus drivers and rapid transit workers to end a four-day strike against the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA).

The workers, members of two locals of the Amalgamated Transit Union, walked off the job on December 17, in the city's first major public transportation strike in almost fifty years.

The CTA and Mayor Byrne provoked this strike when they refused to allow payment of a twenty-four-cent-per-hour cost-of-living increase due the workers according to their previous contract.

Union negotiators had already agreed to modify the twenty-eight-year-old cost-of-living allowance (COLA) clause in the union contract. Under the new contract, wages would be adjusted twice a year instead of every three months, and COLA increases would not exceed 14 percent annually.

But Byrne and the CTA insisted that the twenty-four-cent raise be deferred until 1981, that the CTA be allowed to hire part-time employees, endangering job security, and that all disputed issues go to binding arbitration.

Attack strike

As soon as the first picket line went up, the city's news media joined Mayor Byrne in an orgy of antiunion rhetoric. Hundreds of cops were mobilized to escort a handful of buses and the few rapid transit trains that operated toward the end of the strike. Transit

workers were pilloried for daring to protect their standard of living against inflation.

But other Chicago unionists rallied to their defense. "These tactics," the Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionists warned, "if permitted to go unchallenged, will certainly become the pattern to be used against other unions who will have to deal with the city of Chicago and could even spread over into the private sector."

In ordering the strikers back to work, Circuit Court Judge Donald J. O'Brien granted the twenty-four-cent increase retroactive to December 1, a victory for the transit workers. At the same time, however, he ordered that all other disputed issues be decided by binding arbitration, not later than March 1, 1980.

Fire Fighters union

The next union to do battle with the Byrne administration may well be the Chicago Fire Fighters Union, a newly organized affiliate of the International Association of Fire Fighters, AFL-CIO.

The Chicago fire fighters are seeking to become the first union to sign a contract with city officials.

Under the old Democratic Party patronage system of former mayor Richard Daley, most city employees had no union representation at all. Those who did were protected not by union contracts, but by "handshake agreements" worked out by their union leaders and Democratic Party bosses.

As this system breaks down, city hall is being forced to negotiate collective bargaining agreements with city workers. A number of unions are campaigning to represent some 12,000 workers who now have no union and no contract. Another 15-16,000 workers currently represented by various unions will be trying to win their first union contracts this year.

The fire fighters, numbering over 4,000, are ready to strike if necessary. They formed a thirty-three-member strike committee last December when 78 percent voted to authorize a strike. The union is also renting out storefronts to serve as neighborhood strike headquarters.

Meanwhile, Republican Gov. James Thompson has promised Byrne as many as 1,500 state National Guard troops to be used as strikebreakers against the threatened fire fighter strike. In its most recent provocation, Byrne fired the newly appointed head of the union's strike committee.

The mayor's office is working on a draft of a collective-bargaining bill that would ban strikes by fire fighters and possibly by all city workers.

But Chicago Fire Fighters Union President Frank Muscare said the fire fighters need a contract "more than ever after what happened at the CTA," and added, "I'll go to jail if I have to," to win a contract.

Socialists on fightback



Militant/Rich Robohm

Lee Artz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, speaks at forum on Chicago crisis.

CHICAGO—Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley spoke here January 12 at a Militant Forum on the city's deepening financial crisis.

The meeting was to help launch a discussion of how working people can best fight back.

"Workers need their own political platform and party to meet this crisis," Pulley said. "We intend to bring this idea into Black organizations, unions, and plants and mills," Pulley explained.

Others speakers at the meeting,

attended by more than eighty people, were Lee Artz, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois; and Dan Caine, a member of the House of Representatives of the Chicago Teachers Union.

Caine explained the background of the school crisis, comparing it to New York, where the banks carried out the same kind of profit-gouging operation in 1975.

Pulley, a steelworker, was the SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago in 1978.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Interview with students at U.S. Embassy

Why Iranians want the shah back

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—On January 2, I was invited to the U.S. Embassy here, renamed the spy den, to conduct an interview with the students inside.

Although it was 9:30 in the morning, there were already several hundred Iranians outside the main gate. They had come there to demonstrate their support for the return of the criminal shah.

A Mexican television reporter and a radio announcer from Nippon Cultural Broadcasting in Japan had also been invited to do interviews. We were taken through the main gate to a small room in one of the embassy buildings.

Spanning one wall of the room was a huge banner that read: "We differentiate between the United States corrupt government and fair, honest Americans."

Posters decorated other walls. There was one that said "No negotiation—just delivering the shah," another with a picture of

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, two posters put out by the Muslim Students Association of the United States and Canada, and one advertising a conference of national liberation movements held in Tehran January 3-9.

Students in the room urged us to take as many posters as we wanted, and also gave us copies of U.S. Embassy files showing the record of CIA spying in Iran. [Several of these documents are reproduced on page 16.]

The *Militant* interviewed two spokesmen for the Muslim Students Following Imam's Line, the name the students occupying the spy den have chosen. A woman student provided the translation.

In the interview the students explain that they believe the American people, and people around the world, have a common enemy—U.S. imperialism.

The spokesmen detail the horrors of life in Iran under the shah—torture, poverty, absence of

democratic rights. They explain how the U.S. government was behind the shah's regime every minute of the way.

They express their view of the Iranian revolution and where it is going.

We have also reprinted here excerpts from the interviews with the students conducted by the Mexican and Japanese reporters [see page 15].

The students stressed the importance of getting out the truth about the shah and the U.S. role in Iran. They told the *Militant* how the mass media in the United States has consistently distorted their statements and interviews. For example, they said, ABC, CBS, and NBC all censored the film of the hostages' Christmas celebration. The three networks cut out the most important part of the film, which was an appeal by one of the hostages to the American people.

In the interview, the students call on the American people to help them get out the truth, to help "in exposing the crimes of the [shah's] regime and of imperialism so that the peoples will not be abused anymore by their oppressors."

The full text of the *Militant* interview begins below.

Question: You have appealed to the American people to support your struggle against the U.S. government. Based on the deep opposition in the United States to the Vietnam war, are you optimistic about winning solidarity with the people of Iran?

Answer: We believe that the imperialism of the United States, by its evil and oppression, has dominated all the people of the world. It has used and exploited the nations.

Guns, poverty, lies

The United States has dominated the peoples of the Third World with guns and poverty; the people of the

industrialized world by the philosophy of consuming, by unawareness, and by broadcasting systems and devices which do not give the people the truth but seek to deceive them.

The oppressors try to destroy these freedom-seeking peoples when they rise up to gain freedom and independence.

The different sectors of the United States administration and the different parties—who we believe are all of the same nature—use everything for their own benefit and in order to become president.

The crimes of the Republican Party in our country are evident to us. The coup d'etat [that returned the shah to power in 1953] was made at the time of a Republican president.

But now the Republican Party says that Carter has to explain the crimes of the shah in the last two years. This is not acceptable to us.

The people of America have seen the crimes. They have seen the bodies of 100,000 martyrs of our revolution. But now some people try to say that those crimes were only taking place in the last two years.

The Imam [Khomeini] said that a court must be set up so that it will be clear who has given orders to the shah for twenty-five years. And the shah has also said that if he is tried the presidents of the United States of his time should be tried, all of them, as well. This shows how the life of the United States government has depended on crime, on oppression, on bloodshed. And we expect that the American people will understand this and protest it.

Blacks and Indians

The Blacks in America and the Indians are oppressed like us. In the meeting of their ministers, in their demonstrations, and in the support messages that they have sent to us we see that they understand much of our cause.

We are sure that this wave of awakening will spread throughout America and the whole world. The people will revolt against the oppressors and this

Continued on next page

Appeal to American women

While the shah was still being sheltered in the United States, the students occupying the U.S. Embassy issued an appeal to American women, noting their prominent role as fighters against the Vietnam war. Following are excerpts:

To the open-minded women of the United States. We speak to you under conditions where the great murderer of our country is staying in your country. Your government has given refuge to a criminal, one of the biggest murderers in human history.

For a long time, the plunderer shah killed the heroic women of our country in the streets. He massacred our dearest daughters. This criminal—who had to be enthroned

with the help of the U.S. government through a coup—denied us any freedom or rights.

Just imagine if you were an eyewitness to the tragic scenes of death, of children and youths being crushed under tanks. . . . How would you feel? Can you place yourselves in the shoes of Iranian mothers, holding their breast-fed babies in their arms, and being gunned down by American-made bullets?

We have not forgotten the tears you shed for the children you lost in Vietnam. We remember your glorious demonstrations against the Vietnam war in New York and Washington, D.C. Our mothers and sisters respect your motherly and sisterly feelings that ended that war. . . .

Continued from preceding page
corrupt system will be destroyed forever.

All oppressed peoples, intellectuals, and revolutionaries who desire to struggle against evil must rise up and struggle to expose the crimes of the shah and the United States to the American people.

We believe that if the American people understand all of what happened and all of what is coming to other nations, they will support these other peoples.

The evidence is the time of Vietnam. When the American people understood what was coming to the courageous and militant Vietnamese people, they rose up and supported them. The evidence of the crimes that have taken place in Iran is the 100,000 injured, the U.S. Embassy documents, and the poverty. But unfortunately the United States government is distorting the reality. It is putting pressure on the Iranian Muslim students in America who are helping to expose the crimes of the United States. The government is not allowing them to use their limited resources to express the truth to the American people.

Help get out truth

We ask the intellectuals and the revolutionaries to support the Muslim students in America. Help them in exposing the crimes of the regime and of imperialism so that the peoples will not be abused anymore by their oppressors. This will be achieved by reaching the society of justice and unity and freedom for all nations.

Q: Thousands of people, most of them very poor, have come to the U.S. Embassy to support the demand that the shah be returned for trial. What has the Iranian revolution meant for their lives?

A: In the name of God, the beneficent, the merciful. The Islamic revolution of Iran was a movement; we are behind it. All classes of the people were united.

For years the Pahlavi regime and its dominance had made the Iranian people suffer very much. This regime, to secure its dominance and increase its power, made the Iranian society vulnerable for every U.S. influence possible.

'Shah massacred our people'

The regime came to power by a military coup d'etat staged by the United States. It massacred our common people in the streets many times. And in one year it killed 15,000 of our people. The terrible prisons of the shah are famous everywhere. There they tortured the fighters and the youth of Iran.

This regime destroyed our agriculture. Instead of planting useful crops they planted crops which have no use for us. They destroyed our economy and our culture.

This regime claimed to be Muslim, but in reality it betrayed all of the nation. Thus when the masses understood all of these realities, they revolted against their main enemy.



In the interviews below, the students at the U.S. Embassy (shown at right) describe what life was like under the shah and his U.S. masters. These photos, clockwise from the left, show a boy whose arms were cut off to make his father talk; a SAVAK torture chamber with bloody footprints remaining; Black marine



hostage William Quarles just be Kennedy and Carter; a farmer takeover of the U.S. Embassy; bassy discussing a photo display tion.

This revolution was in the direction of building a society based on Islam. A society where justice prevails, where there is no evil, no oppression.

Man has two dimensions, and the spiritual dimension must be considered as well as the economic one. The masses want an Islamic society. On this basis and based on the method that Islam gave, they revolted. We students see ourselves as part of the people. We believe that revolutions in the world before the Islamic revolution had come to a dead end and to a stop. But this Islamic revolution has introduced a new method and a new dimension for the oppressed nations of the world to obtain freedom.

Q: You are hosting a Gathering of International Liberation Movements in Tehran January 3-9. What are the goals of this conference, and how do you see the Iranian revolution in relation to national liberation movements around the world?

A: The goals of the gathering of the liberation movements in Tehran is for these movements to come here and see our revolution, see our people, see the

crimes the shah has committed so as to understand them.

In this country we have 100,000 handicapped people who are clear evidence of the crimes of the shah. We have villages and cities which are made of mud houses. We have great graveyards which are full of our martyrs—youth, children who have struggled and stood up against the oppressors. We want to expose this evidence and the crimes of the shah to the people of the world. And we want to introduce them to the methods of our struggle.

'Best judges are the people'

The international courts have no value. The courts must be in the hands of the oppressed nations. We believe that the best of the judges are the people of the nations. They can judge better than anyone else. We believe that the realities must be known to all peoples of the world.

If possible we would bring all the oppressed peoples to Iran. But since that wasn't possible, we brought their representatives.

The oppressed peoples of Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East

have a similar situation as us. They have a common enemy: imperialism. They must explain to each other their problems so as to recognize their enemy and find a common solution.

Carter's human rights

The United States has committed crimes here. This must be shown to the American people—that beneath the claims of Carter that he is for human rights something else was happening. These were only lies to deceive the people. They must understand the evil nature of their government and rise themselves in struggle to overthrow their oppressors.

One of the other goals of the conference is to introduce our revolution to all peoples of the world. The Iranian revolution disrupted the normal values and criteria for a revolution. It was something unique. When people with no weapons and empty hands, with only faith and unity overthrow the largest power of the world, this brings hope for all people.

Iran is a class where revolutionary methods stemming from the masses and based on the Islamic revolutionary ideology is taught. This is an ideology

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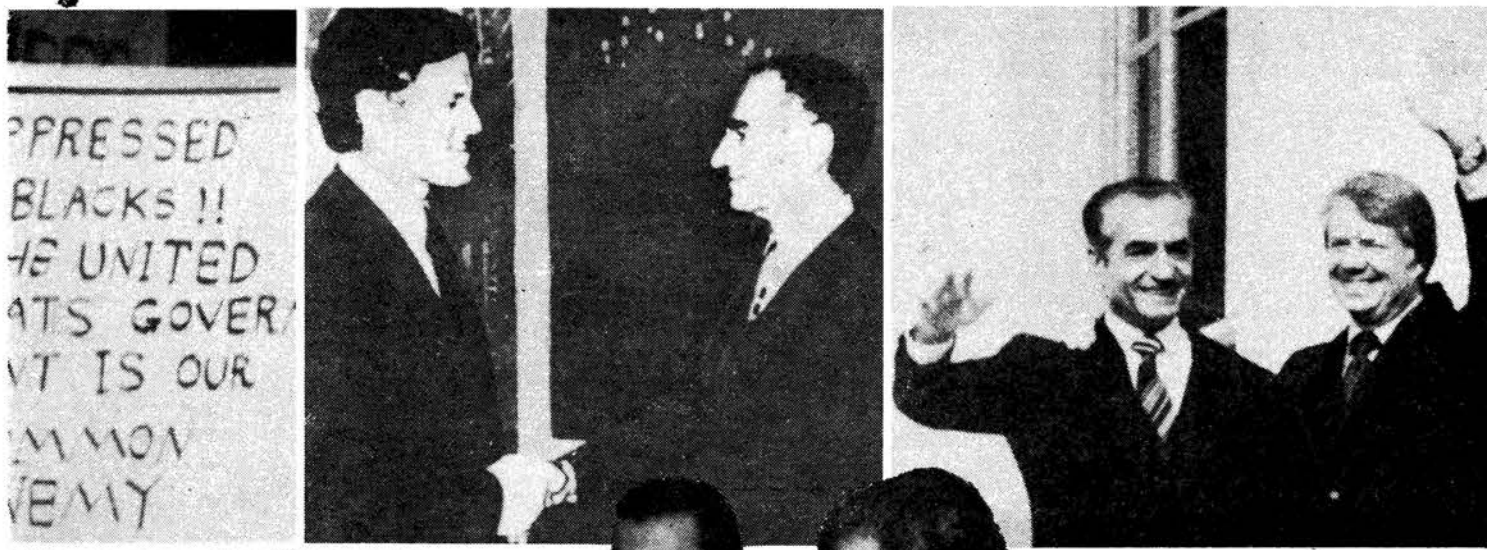
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his release; the shah with tractorcade to support the d Iranians outside the em- about the Nicaraguan revolu-



used on a complete understanding of the needs of man. And this understanding brought this great freedom. Another one of the conference's goals is to introduce the invited liberation movements to the peoples of the world including our people. We hope to increase the support of our people for these movements, and also obtain the support of the administrative sector of our government for the struggles of the oppressed peoples in different parts of the world.

Q. You have released secret files found at the embassy to show how the U.S. government is still trying to penetrate Iran economically and politically. Recently, you called on the Iranian people to express their views on these revelations—to say if they wanted more documents exposed. Based on their response, what will you do now?

A. We have released the documents to clarify the methods by which the United States was increasing its influence and penetrating the Iranian nation. These files show the covers under which the U.S. government was working to gain more dominance and to secure its interests and benefits in Iran. It was gaining dominance to exploit our people. Our nation wants to understand these methods so as to be able to stop any such influence.

Our people, just as they have persistently struggled against the shah's regime, will now persistently and firmly struggle to cut off the influence of the United States in Iran.

For a short time no documents were released. This was to clarify whether the Iranian people desired more exposures. During this period it was made clear to everyone that the Iranian people do want to know the methods by which the United States carried out its dominance in Iran. The people's support shows that the students are not terrorists, but are backed by the population. They are supported by the leader and the people.

We believed before that the exposures should continue. They will go on from now on.

'Files belong to world'

These documents belong to our people but not only our people. They belong to the peoples all over the world, since the United States has committed many crimes in other nations and other American embassies have the same nature as the embassy here.

Our message to other people is that they should open up these dens of espionage to clarify the nature of what the U.S. was doing. If the American people would go to the CIA center or to the Defense Department they would see documents there against the American people, documents of plotting against the interests of the nations.

We will continue our exposures and the people will continue to follow.

Interview with Mexican & Japanese reporters

Nippon Cultural Broadcasting: What is the health situation of the hostages?

Answer: The hostages are all in good condition and they have all the possible facilities. As they have said themselves many times, they are satisfied with the relations that we have with them.

But the criminal Carter wants to deceive the general opinion of the world by saying that the hostages are threatened, that they have no baths, that they do not have good food.

He wants to divert the public opinion of the world from the real problem, the problem of the shah, and the crimes that the United States has committed. He wants the people only to think of the hostages so that they forget the crimes of the United States.

But our relations are human with the

hostages. They understand our ideology. . . .

Nippon Cultural Broadcasting: How do we know the hostages are OK?

A. Many films have been taken of the hostages. At different times various people have come to see them, such as the ambassadors or the Red Cross, or Rep. George Hansen and the priests who came for Christmas. And in all the cases they and the hostages have said that their situation was good, that they were healthy.

This can be understood when you consider our ideology. Because of our ideology we believe in Christianity, and we think that Jesus was a great prophet who came to save mankind.

Kennedy: no friend of Iran

In early December, when it was rumored that Democrat Edward Kennedy would come to Iran to resolve the hostage crisis, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini announced he would not meet with him. The students at the embassy also refused to meet with Kennedy, and issued a statement denouncing his racist, imperialist record. Following are excerpts:

Edward Kennedy, you claim you are a supporter of the oppressed, the workers.

Don't you hear the cries of the Indians and Blacks in America?

You say you also support the Imam Khomeini and the Iranian revolutionary nation. . . .

U.S. imperialism, in order to find a way out of the deadlock that the Iranian revolution has created, is looking for any trick or conspiracy that might work. One thing it has done is to put a new mask on one of

Christmas is the birth of Christ, thus we honor it very much.

But Christianity is not the religion of Carter. Carter is a criminal and not a Christian.

At Christmas we had a celebration for the hostages. But unfortunately the American media did not broadcast all of this ceremony. They censored it and distorted it and they used it to their own benefit.

We wanted to show the truth to the American people and to show them that their hostages are healthy and that they are being taken care of. But the imperialist and Zionist media did not express the truth. They do not care for the American people. They are the enemies of the American people.

Mexican Television: Now that the shah has gone to Panama, does this change your plans? Will you take action against Panama?

A. Although the United States government tries to claim it is the defender of human rights, all of its actions are against human rights.

The shah has done nothing for the Iranian people. He has betrayed the Iranian people. He has tortured our youths. He has destroyed our agriculture. He has given our lands to foreigners. He has destroyed our economy. He has destroyed our culture.

Our people lived in mud huts and then last year, the people revolted, the shah escaped, and afterwards, the United States, our main enemy, gave asylum to this criminal under the pretext of sickness.

This was a great insult to our people.

Such criminals must be tried, for their trial is the trial of all oppressors. The demand of the Iranian nation is unchangeable. This is a demand of the people who have arisen and will continue to struggle until they have achieved their demands. . . .

The United States is the great python. And similar pythons are around us. This is an Islamic idea. All around the world imperialism puts up puppet regimes dominant over the people.

Panama is in the same situation. It is controlled by a dictatorship, a puppet of the United States. It is taking orders, like the regime we had before here, from the United States. And it is easy, just like the regime in Iran was, to be overthrown.

Since all peoples of the world are united, the Panamanian people began protests against the shah being there. We only gave them a message of thanks. But we know that the Panamanian people will ask their government to give the shah back to Iran—or else the Panamanian people will do with their government what we did with ours.

its dirtiest tools of imperialism—you.

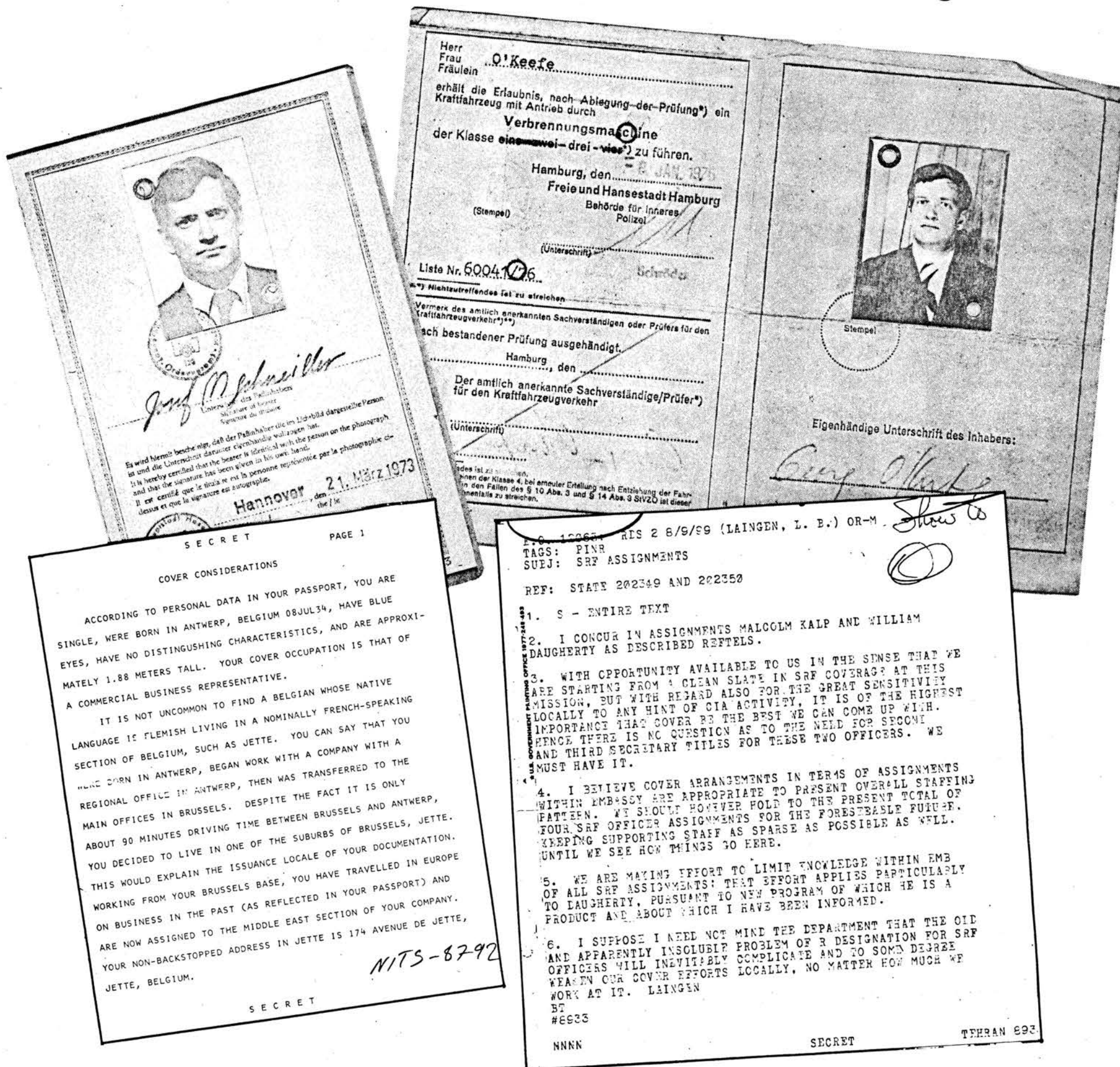
In this way imperialism hopes to start negotiations with the leader of the Iranian Islamic revolution, Imam Khomeini, to divert this Islamic revolution from its real goals.

We never stood against the American people and we never will. Our insurrection and revolution is against bloodsuckers like you, not against the American people. It's you who want to turn the American people against our people, because you have only one aim—to exploit and oppress the nations of the world.

The Kennedys and Carters can do nothing else but exploit and oppress the nations of the world. . . .

Do you think we have forgotten the deceitful statements of your brother [John F. Kennedy] before he was elected? How he lied to the heroic people of Cuba? Do you think we have forgotten his despicable crimes after occupying the post of president? How he ordered the attack on the Cuban nation? . . .

Secret files from U.S. Embassy



The Iranian masses believe that the U.S. Embassy was a spy center within their country, whose purpose was to overturn the gains of their revolution.

The U.S. State Department and the capitalist media have tried to discredit the charge that embassy personnel were agents. But the students have produced solid evidence.

Above are passports and documents from the embassy's files

that raise some interesting questions.

Why were two German-issued passports, bearing two different names but belonging to the same individual, included in the files of an American embassy?

And why was it necessary for the man referred to in the lower left document, "COVER CONSIDERATIONS," to pass himself off as a "commercial business representative" from Antwerp, Belgium?

The lower right document, written by U.S. Chargé d'Affaires Bruce Laingen, helps answer some of these questions. Discussing the problem of covert CIA operations in Iran, he observes:

"With opportunity available to us in the sense that we are starting from a clean slate in SRF coverage at this mission, but with regard also for the great sensitivity locally to any hint of CIA activity, it is of the highest importance that

cover be the best we can come up with."

The Iranian students have released other embassy documents including comprehensive instructions on how to falsify passports with entry and exit stamps.

When the students first began releasing the secret files, U.S. officials bemoaned the carelessness of embassy personnel in leaving such material around.

Now we know why.

Books from Pathfinder in English and Persian

The Crowned Cannibals Writings on Repression in Iran By Reza Baraheni

Reza Baraheni, the founder of modern literary criticism in Iran and one of Iran's finest living poets, was kidnapped in 1973 by SAVAK, the secret police. During his imprisonment, he was tortured and beaten.

The Crowned Cannibals is about the reign of terror under the shah, the problems of oppressed national-

ties and women. The book also contains Baraheni's poems illustrating the conditions of life under the shah. 280 pages, \$3.95.

Iran Dictatorship and Development By Fred Halliday

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

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

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

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

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Dynamics of World Revolution. Two documents of the international Trotskyist movement. \$4

The Young Lenin by Leon Trotsky. \$5

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

Call for Feb. 2 mobilization against KKK

In the wake of heightened Ku Klux Klan violence—particularly the brutal murder of five anti-KKK demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, November 3—more than 250 people from a variety of churches, civil rights organizations, and political groups gathered at a two-day conference on New Strategies to Counter the Ku Klux Klan, held December 13-14 in Atlanta.

Out of that conference, which was sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, came a call for a February 2 march and demonstration against the Klan to be held in Greensboro.

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.

The call for the demonstration, announced by SCLC President Dr.

Joseph Lowery, is reprinted below.

The shots that killed five anti-KKK demonstrators in Greensboro November 3rd were aimed at all Blacks, working people regardless of class and color, and all who desire justice in America. The police who stood one-half block away, with full knowledge of the KKK's activity, must be held responsible along with those who actually pulled the triggers.

These cold-blooded murders were encouraged by the Bakke and Weber cases, the anti-alien hysteria, proposition 13 type legislation, new attempts at union-busting, and the general rise of Klan and Nazi terror.

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. 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. We must respond with moral outrage commensurate with the magnitude of these

atrocities.

The economic crisis has deepened with high inflation, unemployment and hard times. The powerful and wealthy have tried to create the various scapegoats to turn our frustrations toward everything but the real source of our problems. Contrary to what the KKK and others say, unemployment is not caused by affirmative action, and Black people are not the cause of white suffering and systematic economic problems.

The violence in Greensboro is part of a pattern and it must be turned around.

Twenty years ago on February 1, 1960, four Greensboro A&T students sat down at the lily-white lunch counter of Woolworth's. Their courage sparked an entire generation of struggle against Jim Crow segregation, the electoral disenfranchisement of Black people and discrimination. The nation responded and the people won some meaningful steps towards freedom and justice.

Entering the 1980's we find ourselves in a situation where even the limited

gains achieved during the 60's are under increasing attack. The Klan is a part of that pattern. We will not return to the back of the bus nor should decent people desire it. Their support, shame and outrage can create for us a better nation.

Twenty years after the Greensboro sit-ins and the passage of much legislation, the deep yearning for freedom, justice and liberation of Black people has yet to be satisfied. Increasing poverty, a growing income gap between Black and White and the lack of real political power necessitates a new era of struggle for the 1980's be ignited.

Conditions in the United States today demand that we call on labor unions, churches, civil rights, human rights, political and social organizations who wish to express their concern for the crisis issues which set the conditions for the Greensboro Massacre to come to Greensboro, North Carolina on February 2, 1980, to commemorate the last twenty years of struggle and take part in launching this offensive.

... Feb. 2

Continued from back page

nathy was Tyrone Brooks of the Martin Luther King Movement in Atlanta.

More than fifty organizations and individuals have endorsed the February 2 Mobilization.

Walker said, "We find that more and more people in Greensboro are seeing the necessity of this march and plan to take part in it. We take this occasion to commend the great courage of the local branch of the NAACP in breaking the silence on this issue, despite tremendous pressure and attempts at intimidation."

Ever since the shootings in Greensboro, the city officials have attempted to discourage any response to the brutal murders.

In November, for example, the Greensboro police department met with local Black ministers and pressured them into cancelling a memorial service to be held for the five victims.

This campaign of threats and harassment on the part of local and federal officials continues.

Walker said that "we have also been informed that the community relations services of the U.S. Department of Justice has been visiting our supporters here and in other cities discouraging them from taking part in the march."

"But we will not be stopped."

"We also want to issue the strongest possible protest against the attempts that have been made and are being made by the city, state, and federal governments to stop this march."

"Some Greensboro Human Relations commissioners conducted a campaign of innuendo and smear attacks against all of us who are organizing the march. There is police surveillance and harassment. Our permit application is denied. Reports are spread to the press that the march is not supported, is disorganized, has been called off."

Putting those reports to rest, Dr. Burke of the National Council of Churches said, "we've come here to support this demonstration... to once again beat down that snake of racism."

The call for the march was initially made at the two-day National Conference on New Strategies to Counter the KKK, sponsored by the SCLC and IFCO in Atlanta. Some 255 people representing a variety of organizations attended that meeting.

According to the mobilization planners, organizing for February 2 is taking place in eight communities in North Carolina and at least twenty-two communities in nineteen other states.

Summing up the enthusiasm for the mobilization and expressing the determined support of the endorsing organizations, Dr. Walker said, "this march is not the property of any one group, one idea, one theology. It is bringing together people holding many and varied points of view. Those taking part include churches, community organizations, and many other groups."

"These groups are united, despite any other differences, in a determination to turn back the racist tide in America and move forward in the 1980's. We invite all people of good will to join us."

Cincinnati anti-Klan rally

CINCINNATI—Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, member of the national board of directors of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and pastor of the Greater New Light Baptist Church, will address a rally against Ku Klux Klan and racist violence here on January 20.

Entitled, "Stop Racist Violence from Ohio to North Carolina," the rally will build support for the anti-Klan February 2 mobilization in Greensboro, North Carolina.

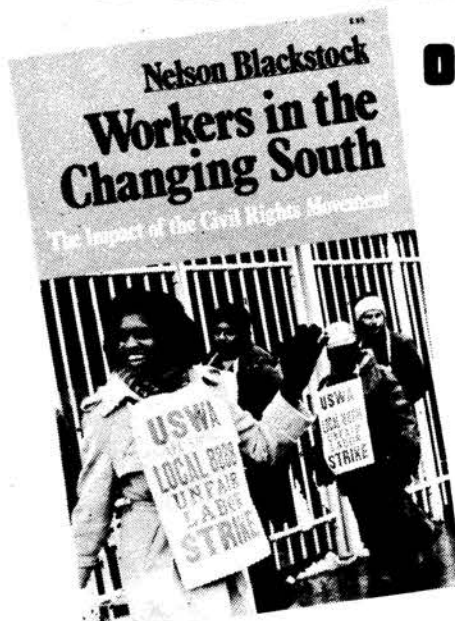
Other speakers at the rally will be Anne Braden, of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Racial Justice in Louisville; Mac Warren, a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 in Detroit and a former leader of the Boston desegregation struggle; Marcus Hammonds, president of the Middletown NAACP; and Rev. Iberius Hacker, of

SCLC and the National Network Against the Klan.

The rally is sponsored by the Cincinnati Anti-Klan Network. Among the many endorsers are the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers; Cincinnati Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Marjorie Robertson, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union; Ron Hooks, organizer, J.P. Stevens Boycott, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; John McDonald, Human Rights Committee, United Steelworkers Local 7697; and Mark Rahn, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in the recent elections.

The rally will be held at the Greater New Light Baptist Church, 710 N. Crescent Avenue, at 7:30 p.m. For more information call (513) 221-2863 or 281-2470.

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Torture in Mexican jails

USLA Reporter, November 1979 (Volume 9, Nos. 3 and 4). \$1.00. Available from U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 200 Park Avenue South, Suite 812, New York, New York 10003.

Despite threats to her life, to her family, and to her still-imprisoned husband, a courageous Mexican woman has offered public testimony of her abduction, secret imprisonment, and torture at the hands of the White Brigade. The brigade is an officially sanctioned right-wing paramilitary group in Mexico.

Bertha Alicia López de Zazueta was kidnapped on April 9, 1979. Her ordeal lasted for four months. She is one of a few of hundreds of "disappeared" leftist dissidents to be released, and the first ever to defy the White Brigade's threats and expose the barbarous treatment that the victims have undergone.

Zazueta describes beatings, electrical shock tortures, sexual abuse, and incessant psychological tortures that she observed and suffered herself. Worst of all, she says, was being forced to view the electrical shock torture of her fourteen-month-old baby daughter.

She also makes clear that the Mexican government was responsible for it all—the police and interior ministry functionaries who carried out the abduction and torture making no real effort to conceal their involvement.

Zazueta's testimony, which was made public at a meeting in Mexico City last August, is now availa-

ble in English in the current issue of the *USLA Reporter*, published by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

The *New York Times*, which reported Zazueta's story on December 31, commented that her testimony "not only provides powerful evidence of secret jails, but also reveals the determination with which the White Brigade pursues leftist activists long after they have abandoned their guerrilla actions."

These admissions are a further blow to the López Portillo government, which has always officially denied responsibility for or even knowledge of the White Brigade. They confirm the argument of Héctor Marroquín, the revolutionary socialist activist who is fighting deportation to Mexico on the grounds that his life would be endangered there because he has been targeted for victimization by groups such as the White Brigade.

—Gus Horowitz

By August Nimtz
(fifth of a series)

One of the main arguments that Zionist defenders of Israel offer in self-justification is that only a Jewish state can provide a haven to guarantee the security of all Jews. Along with this claim, supporters of Zionism argue that Israel provides a beacon of democracy, an example to be followed.

Upon examination, both claims fall flat.

The most striking fact about Israel's history is that it has *not* proven to be a haven for Jews. The history of Israel since its founding is a story of war. The Zionists have had four major wars with their Arab neighbors, and while they have always emerged as the victors, they have not won peace.

The Arab peoples, of course, have been the main victims in these wars. But the human costs to the Israeli people have also been enormous. In proportion to its population, Israel has suffered 68 percent more casualties than the United States has had in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam combined.

In addition, the threat of a world-wide nuclear war is increasingly posed by the Zionists' goal of preserving Israel's existence at the expense of the Arab peoples. In a special issue of the Middle East last September 28, *Seven Days* magazine quotes a leading ex-leftist Jew who gives a sense of the desperation to which the Zionists are driven. "There is no solution possible, these people [Palestinians] want our homes. Our backs are to the wall, and if our throats are going to be cut, we'll take everything with us."

Another article in the same issue quotes an Israeli military officer who was even more explicit: "We are not going to yield an inch to the Arabs, even if it means atomic flames in New York."

The fact is that in the long run, Israel is the most dangerous place in the world for Jews to be. That will always be the case as long as Palestinians are



Issues in Mideast Conflict

dispossessed. Like any oppressed people, the Palestinians will continue to fight back; and, as long as the Zionists try to preserve their privileged position, the danger of a major new war will be ever present.

Austerity

The Israeli working people have paid dearly for these wars not only in lives and personal safety, but also in their standard of living. Writing in the winter 1979/80 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, former Under Secretary of State George Ball says "Israel's economy is deteriorating at a shocking pace. With inflation running at a rate approaching 100 percent, Israel's economic statistics are unique in the world . . . its external debt is now the highest in the world, while its balance of payments deficit for the year will amount to \$4.5 billion.

"Ever since the 1973 War, its economy has been nearly stagnant, while the Israeli people are the most highly taxed in the world . . . the nation has become a ward—a kind of welfare dependent—of America. The United States is providing annual subsidies out of the public sector that amount to the equivalent of \$7,500 a year for every Jewish family. . . ."

Seven Days editor David Dellinger tells about the social and economic costs of the crisis. "With about 35 percent of the budget going to the military and 30 percent to debt payment (much of it also military), that leaves a bare 35 percent for constructive purposes. [Prime Minister] Begin's approach to this crisis has been to cut government spending, in the spirit of California's Proposition 13. As in the United States, the reductions come out of social services . . . rather than the military. . . . Only 3,000 new [housing] units were built in 1977; about 5,000 in 1978. These are out of range for all but the top 10-15 percent of the population. (A two-room apartment in Jerusalem sells for \$65,000-\$75,000)." A haven for Jews, indeed!

Repression of democratic rights

Alongside the economic malaise, Israeli Jews are beginning to experience what Arabs, especially those in the occupied areas, have long had to face—the denial of democratic rights.

Censorship is increasing. One of the most recent and well publicized examples was the government decision last October to suppress publication of parts of former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's memoirs. The eliminated sections provide a first-

Israel: a haven for Jews?



Israeli workers protesting higher prices. Inflation rate now exceeds 100 percent.

person account on how Palestinians were forcefully expelled from their land in 1948.

Reactionary religious forces have often been in the forefront of this anti-democratic trend. A few weeks ago they were instrumental in having the parliament pass a law that severely restricts the right of women to abortions.

In a state that professes to uphold the interests of all Jews, Israel has a notorious record of denying religious freedom. The Israeli state recognizes the Orthodox wing of Judaism as the only official religion and prohibits non-Orthodox rabbis from performing ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, and conversions.

The most serious example of the anti-democratic trend in Israel is the growth of the Gush Emunim—the extreme right-wing organization that is leading the settlement movement in the occupied territories.

Expansionism is inherent in the nature of the Zionist state. Prime Minister Begin, retorting to Israelis critical of his government's settlement schemes on Arab land in the occupied areas of the West Bank, said bluntly that to oppose such settlements is to oppose the basis upon which Israel was founded. That is why Begin's government has not tried to oppose the Gush Emunim. The growing influence of Gush Emunim is not the only symptom of a marked rightward shift. Leading voices within Israel also reflect this trend.

For example the chief editor of one of the two most popular dailies in Israel recently wrote: "If we do not obtain economic independence under a democratic regime, we are obligated to opt for a less democratic government . . . because our existence is more important than the individual liberty of each one of us." (Yediot Aharonot, September 14)

It is no accident that Menahem Begin—the former terrorist and the leader of a Zionist current long ostracized by other Zionists because it was considered to be too far to the right—is now governing Israel. This rightward drift has begun to alarm even ardent supporters of Zionism. Yehuda Goltz, former chief editor of the daily *Davar*, wrote last October 26, "The germs of neofascism exist among us also, regardless of the name that one gives to it."

Given the crisis within Israel, it is not surprising that one of the biggest headaches for the Zionist

rulers is attracting Jews from elsewhere to settle there. The vast majority of world Jewry currently lives in the United States and the Soviet Union.

Not attractive to Jews

There is virtually no migration from the U.S. to Israel. In fact, there is more migration in the opposite direction, posing an embarrassing problem for Israeli rulers. It is estimated, for instance, that a quarter of a million Israelis now live in New York City alone.

Dellinger quotes an Israeli professor on the emigration to the U.S. "People line up for as long as two nights and three days outside the American Embassy in Tel Aviv to get tourist visas, with the intention of staying once they get to the United States."

As for the Soviet Union, Israel's Zionist leaders have always pinned their hopes on the three million Jews there—the largest group of disadvantaged Jews in the world. However, of those Jews who can leave the Soviet Union and reach transit centers in Austria, the proportion that then goes directly to the U.S., Canada, Australia, or West Europe—instead of Israel—has risen from a fifth in 1974 to over two-thirds in 1979. This is in spite of the great pressure exerted on the Soviet emigrants to go to Israel.

Nor has Israel been able to protect from racist oppression Jews who live elsewhere in the world. Witness the government-sponsored upsurge of anti-Semitism in Argentina—a regime that Israel has friendly ties with. This close relationship has not benefited the vast majority of Argentina's Jews, who are the victims of anti-Semitism.

Is there an alternative to what growing numbers of Israelis see as the dilemmas of Zionism?

The socialist view of the future is one based on human solidarity and cooperation between Jews and Arabs, not mutual annihilation. This view begins by recognizing that real peace in the Mideast can only come in alliance with the Arab revolution, not against it. This means dismantling the Israeli state and replacing it with a democratic secular Palestine where Jews and Arabs can live as equals. As the bankruptcy of the Israeli state becomes clearer, the chances that such a view will be considered and agreed to will become greater than ever before.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Nicaraguan workers speak out

'We are the ones who hold the power!'

By R. Sylvain

MANAGUA—Carlos arrives at 7 a.m., as we had arranged, in a pick-up truck. We had met the day before, at a meeting of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) commemorating the FSLN's audacious action December 27, 1974, that led to the release of several Sandinista leaders.

He works in an auto repair shop. General assemblies are held there every morning from 7 to 8 o'clock, with discussions on a broad range of topics. That would probably interest us, right? Right.

So we set off together—two Mexican socialists he knows already and myself.

The repair shop is not far—a few kilometers out on the road to Masaya. The "Mercedes-Benz" sign is still in place.

"Somoza was the actual owner of the place," Carlos explains, so the shop was nationalized. The old manager is still on the job, and there is no shortage of frictions.

The thirty-five workers are paid a monthly wage of 2,500 córdobas (about US\$250).

"It's quite a bit better than average," Carlos says. "We work forty-two hours a week, spread over six days—from 8 to noon and from 1 to 4 p.m." Some time ago, however, they began working until 4:30—"half an hour for the revolution."

Nearly everyone is there, sitting on odds and ends of furniture in the parts department. The meeting begins. I am introduced by Carlos as a French compañero who wants to learn about the revolution.

Then he turns the meeting over to the head of the parts department, who has many, many things to say. To begin with, he suggests that the other compañeros don't speak up enough.

Free to criticize

Why? he asks. We have nothing to fear today. Each one of us should speak up, so that individual problems can be discussed collectively. We want to organize ourselves, all of us, into a single working-class federation—the CST.

There is no need to hesitate about criticizing anything, even the government. That's the meaning of the slogan "Workers and peasants to power." We are the ones who hold the power.

Increasing production is fine with us, but we also have to see what use our work is being put to.

The meeting continues. The CST delegate takes the floor. He is going to read an important document that the compañeros may not be familiar with. It is the CST Organization Council's reply to the demands made by the bosses.

He pulls out the issue of *La Prensa* in which the statement was published, as had been earlier the statement by COSEP (the employers organization). He reads. The audience is attentive, even though the statement takes some time to read. (See accompanying text.)

The time is about up. But perhaps the French compañero would like to say a few words about what he thinks of our revolution, about the situation in France. Gladly. And we discuss for a few minutes May 1968, millions of



Militant/Fred Halstead

Sandinista fighters in Managua, several weeks after Somoza's ouster. These two are guards at the Ministry of Culture, formerly a Somoza estate.

workers occupying the plants, the lack of a revolutionary leadership to carry through the seizure of power, the defeat.

As he gets ready to start work, Carlos insists that we come back another morning, some time the following week. We promise.

One last word—his pride that here

the workers and peasants have taken power. Much remains to be done. The revolution must continue to its ultimate consequences.

Conflicts at Texcosa

We return to the CST offices, where Frank is expecting us. We take off for

Continued on next page

Sandinista unionists answer employers' claims

The following declaration was issued in Managua on December 19, 1979, by the Organization Council of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). It is a response to the Nicaraguan capitalists' November 14 statement listing complaints against the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the Sandinista-led Government of National Reconstruction. For details of the latter document, see the article, "Nicaraguan Capitalists Attack FSLN Policies," by Pedro Camejo, which appeared in the 'Militant,' December 21, 1979.

The CST's statement was published in the December 22 edition of the Managua daily 'La Prensa.' The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

* * *

Brothers and Sisters—Workers:

We have seen the declaration in which the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP)—a body made up of the country's most reactionary and exploitative class—insolently declares itself without a shred of morality to be against our revolutionary process and its vanguard, the FSLN, and against our Government Junta, the genuine expression of the consensus of the majority.

These gentlemen (let's use this term, since it is the common title among the minority class and quite different from compañero, the form of address taken up by the majority) arose in the period of the dictatorship and became monop-

olistic and exploitative with the support of the Somozaist policies that were their public expression. When Somoza later parted company with them, they tried to take part in the insurrection. But before doing so they withdrew all their money and deposited it in U.S. banks.

Now these gentlemen are claiming a place in this revolution and talking of unity and consolidation. But they do not talk of unconditional support to the

revolution, and they do not talk of creating jobs with the money they hold abroad. Nor do they take an honest attitude toward economic development, which is the only way they might have a place in the process.

They speak of effort and sacrifice. In the very midst of the bombardments they ordered workers to cross the lines of fire and rescue a truck or some piece of equipment, threatening them with dismissal. Even then such orders came

from abroad, where these gentlemen were offering their unconditional support to the revolution. Construction companies made intense efforts to remove their equipment from the country. Many enterprises made great sacrifices when they called [Somoza's] Security Office to investigate their employees.

They talk of facing a crisis, about doubt, insecurity, and even lack of confidence, about disregard for human resources. These can only be the concern of those who are now deprived of Somozaist backing and who have been accustomed to reaping fabulous profits from the surplus value of the workers. They long for their business partners who have gone abroad with guilty consciences after usurping the immense wealth of the state—wealth once in the hands of the peasants—and unscrupulously dividing this wealth to fill the bottomless pit of their personal ambitions of exploitation.

They speak of the "rules of the game": this corrupt phrase was typical of Somoza, whose only rule was distributing to Miami, New York, and elsewhere the sweat of the people converted into dollars. But the only game now is the will—sealed by 40,000 dead and 80,000 orphans—to demand that this process go forward until it culminates in the victory of the working class.

The COSEP purports to be the leader in the political field and seeks to confuse the masses. But the masses are conscious about this process and real-

Continued on next page



Militant/Fred Murphy

Sandinista union federation draws inspiration from example of José Benito Escobar Pérez, a construction worker who became an FSLN leader and was killed in struggle against Somoza. Capitalists, who balked at fighting Somoza, now urge support for rivals of FSLN.

...workers speak out

Continued from preceding page

the duty-free zone*. There have been several conflicts there in recent weeks, particularly at a company called Texcosa, which is where we are going.

"My name is Francisco," he says, "but everyone calls me Frank. I've been a member of the FSLN for three years. I belonged to the Prolonged People's War tendency. I was on the southern front, near the Costa Rican border."

Frank, who is barely twenty-five years old, wears a Che Guevara-type beret atop his long hair. Shortly after the victory, the Sandinista Front asked him to go to work full time organizing the CST. It was something new for him; he has no trade-union experience. Before joining the FSLN he worked in a small shoe plant.

We take one bus to the market in the eastern section of Managua. We change to another to get to the duty-free zone, past the Augusto Sandino international airport.

The duty-free zone consists of several groups of modern buildings. Many of them are textile factories that were built at the end of 1972, just after the earthquake.

Texcosa is not the largest plant, but when running at full production it employs 140 workers. Ninety-five percent of them are women, often very young women. The men either work in the office or are technicians.

Texcosa is a U.S.-owned plant that makes jeans. The denim comes from the U.S. in large rolls. Once cut and stitched together, the jeans are sent back to the United States.

Dependence & plunder

"This is the situation Somozaism left us in," Frank tells me. "This is the

*An area of factories for which foreign capitalists can import raw materials and export finished products without paying Nicaraguan taxes.

heritage of fifty years of capitalist dependence and imperialist plunder. We produce and export cotton, but we don't have the machinery to make cloth out of it.

"The operation of this plant is totally dependent on the parent corporation in the U.S.—both for shipment of fabric and the continuation of production. One hundred-forty jobs are at stake."

The threat of a shutdown is played up to the hilt by the local manager. Frank, who is supposed to see him to take up several problems, insists that we go along. So we make our way into the office of Don Arturo.

Even seated in his chair, he has difficulty concealing an insolent paunch—very much in the style of the old regime. Today, however, he seeks to present himself as very accommodating.

Frank comes to the point: Seven

young women workers still haven't received their pay for June and July. This despite agreement that all workers would receive their pay.

The Sandinista Front had ordered the National Development Bank to open up a line of credit of 109,000 córdobas to Texcosa so that it could pay these wages. All of them.

The bank had turned the money over to Texcosa. What happened to it? A series of evasive explanations, followed by a promise to pay the seven women the next day.

Then the factory delegate, one of the women workers, spoke up. First she took up the question of the weekly paycheck. It is to be issued on Friday, even when, like today, there is work on Saturday.

Unacceptable tone

Then she made clear that the tone in which Don Arturo had spoken to a worker the other day was unacceptable. Don Arturo said he didn't think he

had been overbearing, but that in the future he would first see the trade-union delegate before speaking to an employee about poor work.

She wasn't finished. "The girls do not appreciate at all the rumors that have been circulated in the whole industrial zone that they stole several hundred pairs of jeans. You know very well that it couldn't possibly have been us. We are searched every night when we leave the factory. The guards know exactly who stole the jeans. They are there day and night."

"What's more, we aren't the ones who leave the plant by car. From now on everyone is going to be searched. Not just the workers in the factory but those in the office as well. Everybody."

Yes, everyone, Don Arturo agrees. Even his car . . .

Frank then explains how the factory is going to continue production. "The plant is now part of the economic plan. Wages will be paid at the end of the week, regularly, if the machines are operating. The plan does not call for a wage increase for 1980, but the employees' buying power will be protected and major initial efforts to improve education, health care, and housing will provide new benefits to the workers. The union must be strengthened so that it can intervene in all questions that come up in the plant. Production will be stepped up."

Here, as in many other plants, the CST is barely beginning to be organized. Six months ago there was no union.

The young women work very hard for 200 córdobas a week, 800 córdobas a month. That is the minimum wage, a wage of poverty. But it is a poverty less severe than that of the 32 percent of the population that is permanently unemployed and the 17 percent that is seasonally unemployed.

Long live the day when these women workers will no longer need the "services" of Don Arturo!

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Women textile workers in the duty-free zone march in support of FSLN.

Militant/Fred Murphy

...Sandinista unionists

Continued from preceding page

ize that this group's sole aim is to divide the masses so as to conquer economic territory.

Pluralism—Synonym for Special Interests

When the FSLN appeared as a political movement, these very same gentlemen did not call for pluralism but instead condemned and excluded the FSLN and considered it their enemy. But the FSLN remains the vanguard of the majority that they are now trying to divide.

The businessmen also demand pluralism in television. They lament not being able to see the luxuriant imperialist propaganda, the advertising that emptied the pockets of the exploited class just as the Spaniards traded mirrors and trinkets for our gold at the time of the conquest.

As for the CDSs [Sandinista Defense Committees], these gentlemen don't care to recognize the reality of a revolutionary process. Do they have blinders on, or are they still dreaming of Ali Baba and his forty thieves? Let them take care to note that the people are the majority. We are guided by the FSLN in our fight, and we recognize it alone as our vanguard in the defense of our interests. The CDSs have been organized by the people themselves, and they are led politically by the FSLN, the guarantor of the revolution.

Trade Unions

Not once under the dictatorship did these gentlemen offer any support to

the spread of trade unions. What few unions that existed legally were manipulated by the CIA and defended the interests of the bosses. Political struggle was prohibited inside these unions, and the only thing an honest trade unionist could expect was jail, exile, or death. These gentlemen did not ask for trade-union pluralism then, because they were protected by the National Guard and by maneuvers with Labor Ministry functionaries.

But now they call for the proliferation of trade-union federations. They seek to use their imperialist maneuvers to divide our working class. But the working class is well aware of the exploiters' tricks. We are coming together in the united workers federation—the Sandinista Federation—to strike sharply at the COSEP's pretensions and to guide the destiny of the country under the leadership of our vanguard, the FSLN.

Economic Policy

If any doubt exists concerning economic policies, it can only be that of businessmen like the ones who besides having transferred all their money to other countries keep trying to sell to multinational corporations factories such as Corlisa and others that still retain markets offering acceptable and honest profit margins. Such moves can only lead to unemployment and hunger for many heads of families; nonetheless, these businessmen are the same ones who are demanding urgent financing.

As for the charge that much time is

being wasted at the Labor Ministry in meetings and disputes, this should be understandable at the present stage of the revolution. Such disputes have to do with justice and not legal technicalities; they flow from injustices committed against the working class through trickery and legal maneuvering in collaboration with the Somozaist officials of the old Labor Ministry.

If the businessmen could get it through their heads that they are living under a new system of justice that they must respect, they would not make themselves ridiculous with such statements.

This revolution is irreversible. It is not abstract or passive—it is concrete. We must all participate actively toward the same goal—the benefit of the great majority—and not for the benefit of a minority. Somozaist ways of doing things and access [to government ministries] based on friendships are not called for here. Those who refuse to take the initiative and work within the process will be left out, alone like a tree in the desert. It is such types who are now promoting themselves and changing their old masks for new ones.

We are in complete agreement that this revolution is unique in the Americas, both for its generosity and for the great scope of its goals.

We believe our revolution has made great achievements to benefit the people as a whole. It has passed from quantity into quality in such important fields as the following:

- Expropriation of the goods of the Somozas and the Somozaists.
- Nationalization of the banks and insurance companies.
- Expropriations of housing and vacant lots.

d. Nationalization of the mines.

e. Creation of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, which has already begun to bear fruit with no guidelines other than those that arise from the majority.

Besides the damage done to honest dealings within the revolutionary economic process, the COSEP document is an open and insolent aggression against the people, who have conquered their freedom with dignity and valor and broken the chains that tied them to the exploiting class.

The COSEP represents the *burguesia vendepatria* [traitorous bourgeoisie]. It is playing the game of the most reactionary agents of the imperialist enemies of this process, in order to undermine the rightful economic plans of the revolution.

We condemn their claim that they are indispensable. We don't want them to tie us—from behind their benevolent and paternalistic mask of exploitation—to the imperialist banks, or to sell our country to the multinational corporations and later allow an international blockade. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the sentiments of the majority.

The COSEP declaration is a counter-revolutionary tactic aimed against the working class, which is the only source that generates our wealth and which is confident of its definitive liberation.

We reaffirm our stance, taking up the words of the legacy of our General of Free Men, A.C. Sandino:

"Only the workers and peasants will go all the way; only their organized forces will bring about the victory."

Free homeland or death!

People, army, unity—guarantee of the victory!

'Cold war geopolitics' on aid

Columnist refutes Carter on Kampuchea

The Carter administration has been trying to frame up the government of Kampuchea, using a CIA report to justify charges that the Heng Samrin government is blocking distribution of food to the Kampuchean people.

Carter is trying to organize an international boycott of aid to Kampuchea in order to force the Kampucheans to accept a pro-imperialist government—whether headed by Pol Pot, Prince Sihanouk, or some other reactionary dictator—in place of the government of Heng Samrin.

Carter's actions fly in the face of the humanitarian feelings of millions of Americans who want to help the Kampuchean people rebuild their country.

As statements by representatives of UNICEF, Oxfam, Church World Services, and other relief organizations working in Kampuchea have exposed Carter's charges, more opponents of U.S. policy are making their voices heard.

The following article by syndicated columnist Mary McGrory appeared in the December 17, 1979, 'Washington Star.'

If the Carter administration put as much effort into feeding the Cambodian people as it does into trying to discredit the Cambodian government, the famine would be over in a month.

The latest attack on the people in charge of the stricken country has baffled and angered the private relief agencies who are trying against tremendous odds to feed the hungry.

On Dec. 6, President Carter accused the Vietnamese, who put the Heng Samrin regime in place, of deliberately starving the Cambodians for political purposes.

These charges come from "secret intelligence" reports gathered from Cambodian refugees on the border of Thailand, where Carter has chosen to make the major U.S. effort—to avoid contaminating himself by dealing with the Vietnamese.

On one point, the agencies and the Carter administration agree: Cambodians are starving while thousands of tons of food are stockpiled in warehouses.

Where the difference comes in is the reason. The relief agencies say that it is the inexperience of the green and



Unloading relief aid in Phnompenh, September 1979

jumpy young managers of Cambodia and the total absence of any technology, beginning with telephones, trucks and railway lines.

The Carter administration insists that it is the malevolence of the authorities who divert the food to Vietnamese invaders and use it [as] a weapon to control the population, which, having suffered 10 years of U.S. bombing and the murderous regime of Pol Pot, is now in the throes of civil war.

The private and international relief agencies in the field admit they can't "categorically deny" the Carter charges, but protest that there is no "evidence" to support them.

They claim that the situation is, with painful slowness, improving.

Malcom Harper of Oxfam, leader of the dozen relief workers allowed into Phnom Penh, cabled home that he could find no evidence for the reports and questioned the credentials of the sources.

Henry Labouisse, United Nations Cambodian relief director, also disputed the Carter accusations. He reported the recent delivery of 300 Soviet trucks which would aid in the distribution of supplies.

The administration scoffs at field reports of Soviet help.

Kirk Alliman of the Church World Services, recently returned from a second trip to Cambodia, says he saw Soviet supplies being delivered in carefully rationed amounts in the countryside. Alliman says there was a "dramatic improvement" from an earlier

trip in October. Hundreds of trucks are now rolling through the countryside. Barges on the Mekong River are in full operation.

"The president's statement surprised and disappointed us," Alliman said. "This is a policy of keeping the pot boiling. For the State Department, the Vietnam War is still not over."

Like many relief workers, Alliman favors recognition of Vietnam as a means of ensuring greater cooperation for the massive operation required to prevent the famine deaths of 2 million people.

A delegation of New England Quakers bearing a petition with over 2,000 names of contributors to Cambodian relief, who urged a new approach to Indochina, visited the White House last week. They hoped to see the president, but since their pro-recognition stance is well known, they had to settle

for two members of the National Security Council staff.

One member of the delegation, Jerry Elmer of the Rhode Island Friends, came away convinced that the Carter administration is collecting points.

"Attacking Vietnam is politically popular—it's a Communist country and it defeated us."

Edward Snyder of the Friends' Washington office, who visited Cambodia in September and found its leaders "people of good will," thinks it regrettable that Carter decided to exacerbate the politics of the situation and to create new difficulties for the relief workers on the ground.

"Of course, the food isn't getting out as fast as we would like," says Snyder, "but it is not a matter of policy."

Part of the problem is the Cambodian perception that we are plotting to restore the infamous Pol Pot to power. The administration denies it, but our vote for him at the United Nations was taken for proof, and it's as hard to disabuse the Cambodians of the notion as it is to persuade the Iranians that we are not working on a new scheme to put the shah back on his throne.

It is much more likely, anyway, that we would support a comeback by the popular Prince Sihanouk, who is now in exile in China. He would be acceptable to the Chinese and also to us since he would give us a foothold in the peninsula.

The relief agencies mourn that Carter, despite a show of concern, is playing cold war geopolitics as usual.

Says Bob Hohley of Oxfam's Boston office, "He has eroded public confidence in the relief effort. He has already dampened the response of people who want to help and now think it's useless because the food isn't getting to the starving."

Aid official nails distortion

The capitalist newspapers fell right in line with the anti-Kampuchean campaign. The 'New York Times' even suggested late last year that a cutoff of aid to Kampuchea might be a 'humanitarian' gesture.

An example of the distortions used to justify such claims was exposed in this letter by an official of Church World Services, one of the relief organizations working in Kampuchea. It appeared in the December 28 'Christian Science Monitor.'

It has come to my attention that a remark attributed to me in a story on Soviet assistance to Cambodia gives the impression that I believe that most Soviet food assistance is intended for Vietnamese troops, while "some of the aid . . .

could be spilling over to starving civilians." In fact, I would put the emphasis just the other way around.

Based on conversations with Soviet officials and the eye-witness accounts of colleagues who have recently visited Cambodia, I have every confidence that Soviet food assistance is intended primarily for civilians, while some of it may also be used in support of Vietnamese and Khmer troops—certainly a normal procedure between allies. I regret the misunderstanding, which may have resulted from a lack of precision in my conversation with your reporter.

William D. Herod
Consultant
Office on Indochina Relations
Church World Service
Washington

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Rents slashed in Nicaragua

By Gus Horowitz

The Nicaraguan government has announced a major rent reduction, now being put into effect, under which working people will benefit by rent decreases of 50 percent or more.

The exact stipulations are that rents that had been less than \$50 per month will be cut by 50 percent; rents that had ranged from \$50-100 per month will be cut by 60 percent; and rents that had been over \$100 per month will be cut to a yearly rate of 5 percent of the dwelling's declared value.

The rent reduction is extraordinary in view of the country's terrible economic situation: capital flight of \$2 billion; foreign debts of \$1.5 billion; material damage of \$500 million; unemployment at 50 percent; and inflation at almost 40 percent.

The rent reduction measure is intended to strike at the landlords who had been accustomed to obtaining exorbitant rents. It is designed, according to Nicaraguan govern-

ment officials, to increase the real income of the people—"a key objective of the Sandinista popular revolution."

Although material scarcities prevent major improvements in many areas for the time being, rent reduction is feasible immediately, and clearly shows the government's long-term intentions.

This contrasts sharply with the norm in capitalist countries. A few months ago in New York City, for example, landlords of "rent stabilized apartments" (a category that includes many apartments of low-income working people) were permitted to raise rents up to 20 percent.

In another contrast with U.S. urban norms, the new law in Nicaragua allows the Ministry of Housing to take over unsanitary slum housing and make the dwellings livable. Slumlords can also be forced to lower their rents by more than 50 percent.

...El Salvador

Continued from back page

In face of mounting pressure by rural workers organizations, the government had decreed seasonal wage increases for those who harvest El Salvador's main export crops of cotton, coffee, and sugar cane. The increases did not cover the immense majority of rural workers who for nine months a year wander from place to place in search of jobs, however, so the hacienda and mill occupations took place simply to demand better wages.

On December 18 the government responded to the occupations by killing twenty-five campesinos and LP-28 militants in the "El Congo" hacienda, some fifty kilometers from San Salvador.

The military used airplanes, helicopters, antiriot tanks, machine guns and tear gas to dislodge the campesinos. Furthermore, according to the Independent News Agency (API) of El Salvador, "combined army and security forces set up a military cordon five kilometers wide around the Entre Rios plant and approached the place as if it were an enemy camp that they were going to take by assault."

The night of December 19, the BPR organized a demonstration of 5,000 people in San Salvador. The demonstrators called on the government to halt the repression and to meet the demands of workers who had earlier agreed to end their occupation of two ministries and release the minister of labor and the minister of the economy. (The ministries were seized peacefully at the end of October by the BPR and the "José Guillermo Rivas" Trade Union Coordinating Committee; those occupations ended on November 6 when the government promised to meet the workers' demands.)

The BPR's December 19 demonstration stepped off from San Salvador's Central Market, which at that time was occupied by the LP-28. Four National Guard trucks and police units opened fire against the peaceful demonstrators. The marchers dispersed, setting fire to nine vehicles.

Between December 27 and 29, FPL commandos touched off bombs in the San Salvador offices of the giant U.S. corporation, International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT)—infamous for its complicity in the CIA-organized coup in Chile) and at the U.S.-owned First National City Bank.

On December 28, the U.S. State Department announced that it was cutting the size of its diplomatic contingent in El Salvador.

The new year brought a deepening of the political crisis. Nearly all the cabinet ministers appointed after the October 15 coup resigned in protest, along with two of the three civilian

members of the ruling junta. They declared that the "political-military oligarchy" was putting a brake on all the reforms promised after Romero's overthrow. They deplored the fact that the right wing in the country was "making the armed forces continue to stain their hands with the blood of the people."

At a public meeting in San Salvador on January 9 attended by some 1,000 persons, one of those who resigned, ex-Education Minister Salvador Samayoa, announced that he was joining the "Farabundo Martí" People's Liberation Forces. Guarded by twelve FPL fighters, Samayoa declared that "the peaceful road has failed because the oppressive system never really disappeared." He continued:

Those who in good faith try to avoid a civil war must understand that the country is at war and that the people are already combating their aggressors militarily. Considerations of the number of dead or wounded that could result from a civil war are not appropriate, since even more would die from malnutrition, lack of medical attention, and the army's repression.

The junta began in early December recalling all military pilots and personnel who were in the United States for training. All Christmas and New Year's leaves were cancelled by the armed forces.

Attempting to create the impression abroad that the junta enjoys popular support, the bourgeoisie and upper middle class have staged their own demonstrations, using organizations like the National Association of Private Enterprise (ANEP) and members of the Democratic Nationalist Organization (ORDEN), a fascist-like paramilitary network.

The Salvadoran rulers have also circulated slanders in the international capitalist press against the revolutionary organizations, such as the charge that they attacked a demonstration of bourgeois and middle-class women.

Neither the high death toll nor the hollow promises of democratic reform have been able to demobilize the workers and peasants, however. On the contrary, the creation of the united coordinating committee marks a major step forward for their struggles.

Mass demonstrations and occupations are continuing, and both the government and the revolutionary organizations are preparing for a showdown that could come at any time.

The courageous struggle of the Salvadoran masses and their revolutionary organizations deserves the support of working people throughout the world. We must tell Washington, other imperialist powers, and capitalist regimes elsewhere in Latin America that we will tolerate no intervention against the Salvadoran people.

—From *Perspectiva Mundial*



Solidarity with Nicaragua!

Literacy Crusade representative to tour

The National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People has announced that Sonia de Chamorro, fund-raising director for the National Literacy Crusade, will be touring this country from February 3-15. She will be representing the Nicaraguan government and its National Literacy Commission.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has declared 1980 the "Year of Literacy." Beginning in March, 200,000 students and workers will fan out across the country to teach nearly 800,000 people how to read and write. Overcoming this legacy of the U.S.-imposed Somoza dictatorship is the top priority of the FSLN-led government of Nicaragua. But the people of Nicaragua need the active solidarity of working people around the world. They are in desperate need of funds to buy uniforms for the literacy workers and school supplies of every sort.

The National Network has set a goal of raising \$50,000 to aid the Literacy Crusade. Thus far \$6,000 has come in, reports Network coordinator David Funkhouser. Sonia de Chamorro's tour and the national week of solidarity activities set for February 17-23 is expected to give a big boost to the fund-raising effort in this country.

For information on the tour schedule, as well as to obtain brochures on the Literacy Crusade, contact the National Network at 1322 Eighteenth Street N.W., Washington D.C. 20036 (202) 223-2328.



Nicaraguan poster reads: 'Fifty percent of us don't know how to read.'

Dallas group gets out truth

The Dallas, Texas, Metroplex Citizens for Aid to Nicaragua (MCAN) has been busy recently trying to counter the anti-Nicaraguan news media there. Example of the daily paper's headline on fleeing Somozaists: "Nicaraguan Boat People Seek Asylum."

So on December 26, Pancho Medrano, an international representative for the United Auto Workers, appeared on a local TV show to explain the truth about Nicaragua. He also gave an interview to a Spanish-language station.

On January 7, Gene Lantz, from MCAN, and Elbio Fernández, whose Sandinista daughter was killed by Somozaists in León last April, appeared on public TV.

MCAN sponsored a meeting January 12 at which Dallas school board member Robert Medrano spoke, along with Elbio Fernández and his daughter Norma. Gene Lantz, who visited Nicaragua last month, showed slides he had taken of the devastation there and the progress being made to reconstruct the country.

While in Nicaragua, Lantz was interviewed by the FSLN daily *Barriada*, which ran a story December 29 on the Dallas solidarity group. Describing him as a member of the UAW, *Barriada* quoted Lantz, "We want to help with material aid as well as to be a source of information."

MCAN is moving ahead with plans for a fund-raising festival on February 23.

Ann Arbor plans solidarity week

The Ann Arbor Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee has scheduled several activities as part of the national week of solidarity February 17-23. On February 21, the committee is holding a benefit concert, on February 23 a benefit dance, and it plans to show several films on Nicaragua during the week. The committee is also holding a book sale on the University of Michigan campus.

The committee plans to show the slide show available from the National Network around campus, particularly in the dormitories. It has also sent a fundraising appeal for the literacy drive to all English professors at the university.

75 attend Detroit planning meeting

A planning meeting of the Detroit-area Nicaragua Solidarity Committee attracted seventy-five people January 10. Held at Wayne State University, those at the meeting first saw a slide show on Nicaragua and then broke down into three workshops: campus, churches, and labor. A collection netted \$300, reports *Militant* correspondent Mark Rogers, including "a \$100 bill dropped into the hat by an enthusiastic supporter."

In the campus workshop, Spanish Club Vice-president Bill Martin reported that his group had raised \$300 at a bake sale.

The religious editor from Detroit's Black newspaper, the *Michigan Chronicle*, volunteered in the churches workshop to try to reach the religious community with the truth about Nicaragua.

—Compiled by Nancy Cole

In Review

'Things Fall Apart'

Things Fall Apart. By Chinua Achebe. Greenwich Connecticut, Fawcett, 1978. 192 pp. \$1.50 paper.

In the concluding chapter of *Woman's Evolution*, Marxist writer Evelyn Reed uses classical tragedies by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to explore the transition from matriarchal clan to patriarchal family as expressed through Greek mythology. Anthropologists and social historians of future generations are likely to employ Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, along with similar works of fiction, in a parallel kind of inquiry. Achebe's novel, first published in England in 1958, takes as its subject the social transformations wrought by British colonialism and the Christian religion on African society during the last century.

The analogy with Greek drama is not far-fetched, for *Things Fall Apart* is already renowned throughout Black Africa as a work of superior aesthetic merit as well as acute psycho-sociological insight. It

Books

has become the model for a whole school of African novels.

Things Fall Apart takes its title from a line in W.B. Yeats' poem "The Second Coming." The actual reference is to the destruction of the Ibo people's clan form of social organization, ideologically cemented by a religion based on animism and ancestor worship. The setting of this novel is the village of Umuofia in eastern Nigeria around the turn of the century. The dramatic focus is on the struggle of Okonkwo, a middle-aged Ibo man, to establish himself as a leader of his people.

In the first part of the book Okonkwo's life is shaped by a pattern of unlucky events within a social order he understands. In the second part, the appearance of white missionaries, backed up by military force, undermines the system of values which gave meaning to his existence and drives him to suicide to avoid humiliation. According to the code of the Ibo, taking one's own life is a

shameful act. So Okonkwo, a man who sought honor all his life, dies in disgrace.

Achebe is astute in showing the insidious role played by the Christian religion in wedding the Ibos to the social system of their oppressors. But he also acknowledges the ultimately decisive role of state power, when the whites consolidate their victory by instituting their own courts and police system. The novel as a whole provides evidence of the rich and complex culture of the Ibo people.

Achebe's book is not a romantic tale of "jungle" innocence corrupted by technological materialism. Even though the village of Umuofia has no police and capitalists before the advent of the whites, the inhabitants are victimized by famine, superstition, and disease. Twins are cast out to die at birth, and people who fall ill with the mysterious "swelling sickness" are tied to a tree to be devoured by birds of prey.

The Ibo's reluctance to oppose the British as decisively as they might is partly caused by the recognition that there are some attractive elements within the new system: "The white man had indeed brought a lunatic religion but he also had built a trading store and for the first time palm-oil and kernal became things of great price, and much money flowed into Umuofia."

Okonkwo is a far cry from the stereotype of the "Noble Savage." Among the Ibo, political power is not inherited and males must strive for titles or else they are derided as "feminine." The urge to win such titles and to compensate for what he believes have been failures of his ancestors is very strong in Okonkwo and drives him to acts of needless cruelty against his wives and his son Nwoye.

Ironically, it is because Okonkwo has invested so much in achieving success in conformity with the traditions of his clan that he is the most intransigent rebel against the encroachments of the British.

Achebe has been criticized for didacticism because in the last chapter of the novel he switches his point of view, heretofore reflecting the outlook of the Black Africans, to that of the British district commissioner. After discovering Okonkwo's body hanging from a tree, the commissioner decides that this incident will make an interesting paragraph in the book he is writing called *Primitive Tribes of the Lower Niger*. Thus we are shown how the victors of the moment control the recording of history, and we



Ibo water spirits

are also overwhelmed by the casual way in which the colonialists dehumanize their victims.

The criticism of the conclusion may be motivated more by political bias than concern for artistic unity. The ending is a startling and effective way of reminding us that Achebe is writing a "counter-history" of sorts. Sudden switches in perspective, an accepted device in modern literature, have also occurred earlier.

Objections to the powerful closing scene may also be related to the viewpoint that authentic art must somehow be impartial. Achebe incisively defended himself against this type of argument in the *New Statesman* (January 29, 1965), when he wrote that "the writer cannot be expected to be excused from the task of re-education and regeneration that must be done. In fact he should march right in front."

—Alan Wald

'Broca's Brain'

Broca's Brain. By Carl Sagan. New York, Random House, 1979. 347 pp. \$12.95.

Carl Sagan is a professor of astronomy who has taken a leading part in the planning of planetary expeditions and in seeking to communicate with possible intelligent life on other planets. He is also that rarity, a distinguished scientist who can write lucidly on science for the general reader.

His present book derives its title from his medita-

advance knowledge. . . . This may be why governments and churches and school systems do not exhibit unseemly zeal in encouraging critical thought. They know they themselves are vulnerable."

The inequities of the social system also militate against the nurturing of scientific talent. Sagan cites a numbers runner described by Malcolm X "who never wrote down a bet but carried a lifetime of transactions perfectly in his head. What contributions to society, Malcolm asked, would such a person have made with adequate education and encouragement?"

Some of the consequences of technology have led to a distrust of science. But science is a tool, not a panacea. Whatever problems are produced by science cannot be solved without the aid of science.

Yet there is the matter of priorities. "Space cities" in orbit around the earth, "used in converting sunlight into microwave energy and beaming power down to Earth," "would greatly enhance the survival potential of the human species. But the project is extremely expensive, costing at minimum about the same as one Vietnam war (in resources, not in lives)."

A confused awareness of the revelations furnished by modern science combined with a distrust of it, a lack of knowledge of scientific method, and a desire to find certainties in the midst of new uncertainties has resulted in a flourishing of pseu-

doscience. Some of Sagan's most interesting essays are devoted to the study of this pseudoscience.

He analyzes in detail the theory that ancient astronauts from other planets influenced ancient civilizations on earth and discusses the belief in flying objects from outer space and astrology, showing the lack of evidence for each. He points out, moreover, that beneath the pseudoscientific overlay there are often hoary religious myths. Astrology, he points out, by regarding people as character types dependant on the months of their birth, engages in a typing similar to that of sexism and racism.

While condemning these doctrines as false and pernicious, Sagan also condemns the scientific establishment for its disdainful refusal to study them scientifically.

While science offers immense possibilities, it is threatened on all sides. Sagan makes us vividly aware that the progress of science cannot be separated from the evolution of society.

"Never before," he writes, "has there been a moment so simultaneously perilous and promising. . . . For the first time we possess the means for intentional or inadvertant self-destruction. We also have, I believe, the means for passing through this stage of technological adolescence into a long-lived, rich and fulfilling maturity for all members of our species."

—Paul Siegel

Books

tions on the scientific enterprise as he held the jar containing the brain of Paul Broca, the neurologist who pioneered in the study of the human brain.

At present, says Sagan, although science may be on the verge of discoveries that will transform humanity's whole way of life and thinking, it is frustrated in many ways. In the mass media and the schools it is presented in a fashion that is "often dreary, inaccurate, ponderous, grossly caricatured." Instead of making people excited about science, teaching stifles their interest.

The opposition to the true spirit of science, observes Sagan, would seem to be not fortuitous.

"An openness to new possibilities and a willingness to ask hard questions are both required to

In Brief

'SPY' TRIAL VICTIMS APPEAL CONVICTION

David Truong and Ronald Humphrey are victims of the 1978 Vietnam "spy" trial. They were convicted and sentenced to fifteen years on trumped-up charges of "conspiracy to in-

jure the national defense of the United States." On December 6 they appealed that conviction before a three-judge panel in Baltimore.

Humphrey and Truong were convicted in May 1978 of passing "secret documents" to rep-

resentatives of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The evidence presented by the U.S. government was gathered by illegally wiretapping Truong's telephone and close circuit TV surveillance of Humphrey. Warrantless wiretapping vio-

lates Fourth Amendment rights.

Lawyers for Humphrey and Truong say the U.S. government has pressed this case because of a drive by the FBI and CIA to use it as a vehicle to claim the right, without court approval, to wiretap, open private correspondence, and break into private homes under the guise of "national security."

The Vietnam Trial Support Committee, which is building the defense of Truong and Humphrey, points out that if this prosecution is upheld, it "can be seen as a warning to all foreign nationals in the U.S. to stop political activity aimed at changing U.S. policy toward their country."

A decision on the appeal is expected in about four months.

and larceny. His claimed affiliation with the "Eastern Orthodox" church does not exist.

"Bishop James Burns" claimed affiliation with a church that doesn't know him and from a district that doesn't exist.

The "Rev. Samuel Farrell" insisted to a caller he was a minister of the Presbyterian Church, but he is not listed in that church directory.

"Bishop Demetrius, Ph. D." was indeed a priest, in Minersville, Pennsylvania. While there he ordered a variety of merchandise—washer, dryer, recliner chair, grandfather clock—and charged them to the church. He then departed, leaving behind a blizzard of unpaid bills.

Typical company for the criminal shah.

Portland activist fights frame-up

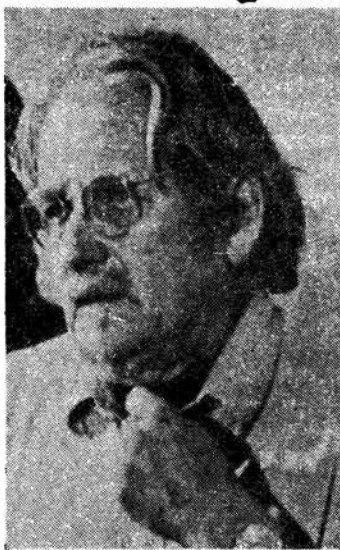
By Joel Shapiro

PORTLAND—On December 3, 1979, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of Frank Giese on a conviction of conspiracy to commit offenses against the federal government.

Giese, sixty-three, is a former French professor at Portland State University. He was charged with the January 1973 bombing of two Portland military recruitment centers. Prior to his arrest he was an antiwar activist at Portland State University. He was also the founder of the United Front Bookstore, a radical bookstore in Portland.

The government's case against Giese was flimsy from the start. There were two major witnesses against him, both arrested several months before Giese on the same charge. One witness, Bob McSherry, was being held for \$100,000 bond. One week after turning state's evidence against Giese, he was released on \$100 bond. The other key witness, Lynn Meyer, later admitted that he had lied in his testimony.

The main evidence in the conspiracy trial was books



FRANK GIESE

found at the homes of those convicted. One book, *From Movement to Revolution*, an anthology of antiwar and Black movement writings used as a college text, had Giese's fingerprints on four pages, along with the fingerprints of 190 other unspecified people.

During the trial the prosecutor made Giese read passages from the book to the jury, even though he said he did not agree with these passages. The government

based its case on the presumption that if his fingerprints were on the book he had read it, if he had read the book it could be presumed that he agreed with it and if he agreed with the book he could have entered into a conspiracy.

Giese was given the maximum sentence, five years in prison, and a \$10,000 fine.

With the refusal of the Supreme Court to hear his case, Giese has now filed a motion with U.S. District Court Judge James Burns for a new trial based on the fact that witness Lynn Meyer admitted lying in court. He has also filed a motion to have his sentence reduced to time served.

Giese is asking all supporters to send a letter or telegram to Judge Burns demanding a new trial and reduction of the sentence to time already served. The address is Judge James Burns, United States District Court, U.S. Court House, Portland, Oregon 97205.

Copies of letters and telegrams should also be sent to Frank Giese Defense Committee, 2701 S.E. Belmont, Portland Oregon 97214.

FRIENDS OF SHAH SHOW THEIR COLORS

On Sunday, December 23, five members of a group calling itself the "Committee of Concerned Clergy" took out a full-page ad in four of the country's largest newspapers. The ad was favorable to the regime of the deposed shah of Iran, denounced the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and solicited support from readers.

In a special report, the *Denver Post* explained how the trail of lies and crimes of these so-called concerned clergy began to be exposed as callers sought information about the ad. "Two of the five clergymen," in fact, "have been under investigation by police departments around the country."

The "Rev. John Busse" was indicted for third-degree burglary, third-degree robbery,

LABOR & ERA FORUM HELD IN PORTLAND

A forum on "Labor and the Equal Rights Amendment" was held at the Portland Militant Bookstore on January 13, the same day that 5,000 women, labor, and civil rights supporters of ERA marched in Richmond, Virginia.

Speakers at the forum included Judy Knowls from the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Peggy Norran from Portland National Organization for Women; and Sara Baird, International Association of Machinists and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

ANTINUKE WORKER DEFENDS RIGHTS

Richard Ostrowski, a welder at Consolidated Edison's nuclear plant at Indian Point in New York, has sued his union

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

WHY AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY. Speaker: Frank Lovell, member of Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway (off Golden State Fwy.) Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: ITS MEANING FOR LATIN AMERICA. Speaker: Harry Ring, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. Mission United Church, 3261 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

FIFTY YEARS SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION: CAN IT HAPPEN AGAIN? Speaker: Jon Britton, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. Donation: \$2. Mission United Church, 3261 23rd St. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

IRAN & AFGHANISTAN: U.S. IMPERIALISM LOSES GROUND IN MIDDLE EAST. Speaker: Don Davis, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

INDIANA GARY

THE TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN. Speaker: Malik Miah, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

FLORIDA MIAMI

SEND OFF RALLY. For Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential can-

didate, on eve of his trip to Cuba. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

THE TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN. Speaker: Steven Fuchs, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

HOW CAN WE RATIFY THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT? A panel discussion by labor and feminist participants in the January 13 Labor for Equal Rights Now march in Virginia. Sun., Jan. 20, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor in Kenmore Square. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NICARAGUA AFTER SOMOZA. A slide presentation and report by Gerald Cohen, who just returned from a fact-finding tour of Central America; a representative of the Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee; others. Sun., Jan. 27, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

ABORTION: A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. Speakers: Denise Mayer, Essex County National Organization for Women; Maureen McDougall, previously active in British abortion rights movement. Fri., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad St.) Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

U.S. HANDS OFF AFGHANISTAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Ernest Harsch, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Sat., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. 11-A

Central Ave. (near Broad St.) Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK LOWER MANHATTAN

EXPLOSION IN EL SALVADOR. Speakers: Anibal Yáñez, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*; others. Sat., Jan. 26, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor (east of Union Square). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OHIO CINCINNATI

THE TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Jan. 27, 7 p.m. 920 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON PORTLAND

BENEFIT FOR NICARAGUA'S LITERACY CAMPAIGN. Entertainment by Aryeh Hirschfeld; slide show, 'Nicaragua, a People in Struggle'; refreshments. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. Campus Christian Ministries, 633 SW Montgomery. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Portland Nicaragua Support Committee.

EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM CUBA: TALKS ON THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEES AND THE COMMITTEES FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION. Slide show presentation. Sun., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. Donation: \$1. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

AFGHANISTAN: WHAT LIES BEHIND THE PRESENT CRISIS. Speaker: Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Mine Workers union. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

THE TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN: U.S. IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS. Speaker:

Ed Berger, chairperson, Utah Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 27, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

The truth about Afghanistan



What does
it mean for
U.S. working people?

Speaker

DOUG JENNESS

member, Political Committee, Socialist Workers Party

La charla será traducida simultaneamente a español.

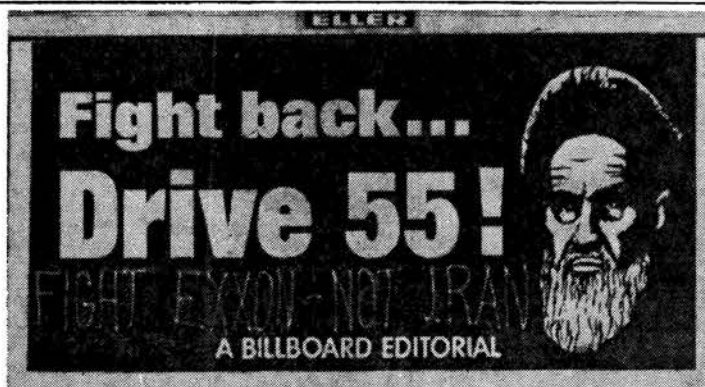
Friday, January 18, 8 pm

MILITANT FORUM

108 East 16th Street, 2nd floor, Manhattan (1/2 block east of Union Square)

For more information, call (212) 533-2902
Donation: \$2.00
Labor donated.

Special offer: \$3.50 admission
includes 10-week subscription
to *The Militant*.



Michael Williamson

Militant reader Tim Swank sent us this photo from the *Sacramento Bee*. This anti-Iran billboard, paid for by the Gannett Outdoor Group, was put up throughout the Sacramento, California, area. But it took

less than twenty-four hours for someone to spray-paint a slogan that points to the real enemy: "Fight Exxon—not Iran."

"Now that's tellin' it like it is," comments Swank.

for suspending him as a shop steward. The suspension occurred after he organized a meeting on the danger to workers of low-level radiation at the plant.

Ostrowski was accused by union officials of the Utility Workers of America, Local 1-2, of "collaborating with a group called the SHAD Alliance, whose purpose it is to close the Indian Point Plant." SHAD, the Sound/Hudson Against Atomic Development, is an antinuclear group that has organized protests at the plant.

In 1978, Ostrowski along with other workers helped form a group called Concerned Employees Against Radiation Exposure. Con Ed, he charged, had been "extremely casual" about protecting workers from radiation at the plant. The employees group asked the union leadership for help, but it was not given.

Patrick Gallagher, president of the local, told the *New York Times* that he was "not aware" of any workers who were concerned about safety problems at the plant.

The existence of the group, however, testifies to the contrary. It also testifies to the

need for union democracy, "... by doing what they did to me they intimidated anyone who might want to bring up a safety issue," said Ostrowski.

JUDGE RULES AGAINST STRIP MINING LAW

A federal judge has joined the assault against the 1977 strip-mine reclamation law.

On January 3, Judge Glen Williams ruled that key provisions of the law were unconstitutional because they constituted "taking of private property without just compensation in contravention of the Fifth Amendment." The law, already considerably watered down from the original proposal, requires coal companies to restore land to its original contours after they gut it.

The judge also overturned two other provisions of the law which aimed at giving federal inspectors and community residents some authority to halt harmful strip mining.

The industry views the ruling as a major victory. "We did great," said B.V. Cooper, executive director of the Virginia Surface Mining and Reclamation Association, the group that filed the lawsuit in 1978.

Boston officials fuel anti-Black violence

By Don Gurewitz

BOSTON—Racist opposition to school desegregation and violence against Black students here continues.

The lack of support and enforcement of the federal desegregation order by city officials fueled a wave of racist assaults beginning with the opening of Boston schools last fall. White youths shot Darryl Williams, a Black high school football player, during a game September 17.

On January 7 a new incident occurred, with the stabbing death of a white youth during a fight between white and Black students at Cambridge Rindge and Latin high schools.

The incident began after school when Anthon Colisimo confronted a Black student. A fight erupted and two white and two Black students joined in. Colisimo was fatally stabbed.

White students in East Cambridge gathered later that day threatening "revenge." School officials immediately suspended school indefinitely. Several days later, white youths stoned the house of a Black resident in that area.

White racists in other sections of the city reacted by provoking Black students at Hyde Park High School.

Cambridge residents, white as well as Black, want to see an end to the racist assaults. One gathering called a "peacekeeping meeting" was attended by 1,600 Black, white, and Hispanic residents.

However, city officials are trying to hide the truth. Claiming the fight where Colisimo was killed was "non-racial," city authorities are placing all blame on the Black student arrested for the stabbing.

In the meantime, Boston cops have taken almost no action in the many acts of white racist violence since last September. It was recently revealed that one of the white youths charged in the Darryl Williams shooting has been arrested four times and released on minimal bail since the incident. Even Boston Mayor Kevin White was forced to speak out against this double standard of justice. The youth, Joseph Nardone, has been rearrested with a much higher bail imposed.

Batting .500—Nine months after the Three Mile island accident half the country's nuclear power plants have as yet to make the "short term" safety improvements ordered by the government. A Nuclear Regulatory Commission spokesman said he was pleased with the industry's "overall" response.

But not his gall—The ex-shah's wife confided to *Paris Match* that because of an enlargement, his highness may have to lose his spleen.

The loony bin—Barry Goldwater and some friends are against Washington signing a "moon treaty" which says, "the moon and its resources are the common heritage of mankind." They say this is socialist, that it would end free enterprise in outer space and give third-world countries a piece of the lunar pie. The State Department says the treaty is a gain over a previous version under which "private enterprise would have no protection whatever."

Expensive logic—The way to lower oil

Union Talk

Southern Pacific's rule book

This week's column is by a switcher in the Oakland, California, yard of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Anyone who works for Southern Pacific Railroad, one of the largest and most profitable railroads in the country, knows that "SAFETY is of the first importance in the discharge of duty."

That's rule number one in Southern Pacific's 400-page Book of Rules. Those of us in the operating crafts must study it diligently for forty-five days and then pass an exam before we're allowed to work for the company.

As many railroad workers are well aware, this Book of Rules was written in blood. It is carefully worded to protect the company from any lawsuits that might result from accidents.

If we worked according to the rules, it would be difficult to get the work done and get over the road. So—when it's in their interest—management encourages us to break the rules. Just as long as we don't get hurt... or damage any of their equipment. The onus is on us.

Many rail workers, under the pressure of getting over the road so that they can get into town and back out again to make a decent living, fall prey to this rush for SP's profits. They forget who really benefits by the risks we take with our health, limbs, and lives.

Others are forced by company-imposed conditions to "break the rules."

This is what happened to one of my co-workers, Tom Kiernan, a breaker for Southern Pacific. His crew was "setting out" a cut of cars on a set of tracks on a curve. The train was mistakenly "lined into" the wrong track, which was supposed to be clear but instead had some tank cars on it.

We never know whether the contents of some of these tank cars are dangerous or not. But it's easy to be suspicious in light of the rash of derailments, including the recent explosions and evacuations in Canada and Florida. You might even take a risk to avoid a possible explosion that could kill not only yourself and your crew, but a whole town.

This was Tom's "crime." He ran in between the cars to "pull the plug" on the train so it would immediately stop. He stopped the train, but not soon enough to prevent getting his legs cut off.

Yet the tragedy doesn't stop there. Immediately following the accident, the com-

pany held an investigation into the accident. Now, all rail workers know that these "investigations" are held to protect SP's equipment and profits, to prevent more careful scrutiny from federal inspectors, and to save the company from the embarrassment and financial risks of lawsuits.

They must be doing real good—The San Diego Union scoffs at charges of oil profiteering, pointing out that even the peak 1979 profits were below those of such industries as aerospace, drugs, food, and publishing.

Making do—The government said it simply couldn't afford renting office space for Dick at the Chrysler building at \$34 a foot. They say the ex-prez will have to settle for 4,800 feet of space in a Manhattan government building valued at only \$13 a square foot. Which is but \$62,400 of your tax money per annum.

Bigger than Brink's—In a two-week period, a dozen gasoline tank trucks were hijacked in the New York area.



Militant/Howard Petrick

pany held an investigation into the accident. Now, all rail workers know that these "investigations" are held to protect SP's equipment and profits, to prevent more careful scrutiny from federal inspectors, and to save the company from the embarrassment and financial risks of lawsuits.

One braker/conductor explained it to me: The company wants to lay the blame entirely on Tom so that when he sues for the loss of his legs, his job, not to mention the irreparable damage to his personal life, the company won't have to pay as much. Tom was guilty, you see, of violating rule number one: Work Safely.

So much for SP's Court of Profits Before Human Needs. If the railroad industry were nationalized and run according to human needs there is no doubt there would be far fewer accidents on the job, better working conditions, cleaner trains, better service for commuters—just to name a few.

Then we could throw the damn Book of Rules out the window and write our own based on our own needs for safe working conditions, a decent standard of living, better medical benefits, bigger crews, and shorter hours with no cut in pay so we could have some time off to enjoy the money we earn.

Cuba: 'I liked what I saw'

In the fall of 1960, the U.S. government imposed a ban on travel to Cuba. It took more than a decade to win an end to that ban.

At the same time, Washington ordered a trade embargo against Cuba, which was in the process of nationalizing major U.S. and native capitalist holdings.

These hostile actions coincided with a virulent campaign of slander against Cuba by the media and the politicians of both capitalist parties.

The travel ban made clear, however, that the ruling circles of this country did not want the people to be able to see for themselves what was actually happening in Cuba.

One thing they were particularly concerned about was that the masses of Black people not see what revolutionary Cuba was doing to eradicate racism.

The following article by Lillian Kiezel from the 'Militant' of February 8, 1960, offers an example of the Cuban impact on Black consciousness in this country.

"There is no racial discrimination in Cuba. That is a resounding and important declaration," said John H. Sengstacke, publisher-editor of the Chicago Defender, on returning from a visit to the island together with 75 other prominent American Negroes. They went as guests of the Cuban government during the New Year's celebration of the first anniversary of the revolution that ousted the hated Batista dictatorship.

Most of the visitors represented Negro newspapers throughout the U.S., underscoring the purpose of the Cuban government's invitation. Baudillo Castellanos, chief of the Cuban Tourist Commission, greeted them with the words: "We want colored people to know they will be well received here."

Premier Fidel Castro officially extended the hospitality of the country. He told them "to see, do and go wherever you wish . . . we have nothing to hide . . . You are our guests not for political or financial reasons. We wanted you to come so that you could see for yourselves what is being done in our country."

The Cuban government asked only that the reporters tell the truth.

Joe Louis had this to say about the welcome offered to Negro tourists: "This is really good for Cuba to invite American Negroes to the country. Colored people in the U.S. do not have any place to go in the winter except Cuba. And I think they are going to take advantage of that fact."

The trip proved an eye opener for Tho-

mas J. Davis, editor of the Cleveland Call-Post. He said, "The Cuban people are shaping their democracy."

He scored the slander campaign which the U.S. press has been waging against Cuba: "Negroes in America are quite used to the battle cry of the big press calling any movement that demands fairness for all people regardless of race, creed, color or financial position, Communists. To us this is a false bit of propaganda designed to defeat democratic processes."

Why is it that "everybody is against Castro . . . but the people?" asked William G. Nunn, Sr., of the Pittsburgh Courier.

As his answer he pointed to measures such as the Agrarian Reform Law and the law reducing rents by 50%, plus the policy of integration.

The Cuban people, he observed, have responded by contributing an "all out effort." Tractors are working 22 hours out of 24.

The "tensions" reported daily in the U.S. press were "not observed" by Nunn. "I've experienced the thing which Negro Americans have dreamed about happening in their own country."

He said that Cuban hospitality is warm, stemming from the "hearts of a people who practice the democracy Americans give lip service to."

As for the Castro regime, Nunn believes that "American investors don't like what he's doing . . . but they have huge investments which must be protected . . . But, for Negro Americans, Cuba is a real democracy, as we conceive the word."

One of the chief criticisms of the Castro regime has been that it has not held elections. E. Washington Rhodes, publisher of the Philadelphia Tribune, reports that perhaps this is important, "but I wondered why all the furor about elections in Cuba when there has not been an honest election in many of the southern states in the U.S.A. for almost a hundred years."

"But that is a matter which America must settle for herself without any outside interference. And it would seem to me that the questions of elections should be left to the Cuban people."

Most of the visitors expressed a sincere desire to return to Cuba and enjoy its beauty and warm hospitality again.

John H. Sengstacke put it: "I liked what I saw."

The Chicago Defender has chosen Castro to head the "Defender 1959 Honor Roll" for his magnificent and inspiring contribution to the world struggle for freedom and equality by abolishing segregation and discrimination throughout Cuba.



'Hey, I can't stand seeing the poor and the elderly stand there and freeze through the winter—have the boys go out and rough them up a little!'

Anti-shah poster

I am writing to express my appreciation of your "Why die for the shah" poster published in the *Militant*. One of the readers of the *Militant* at the Freightliner Truck Assembly plant here put it up on a bulletin board. From seventy-five to a hundred workers read the entire poster.

Though all those reading the poster didn't agree with its point of view, it became the focus for discussion on the Iran issue. At the peak of the war hysteria, when the poster was put up, it was treated with respect and interest.

Keep up the good work.
Dennis Drake
Indianapolis, Indiana

Rent control & class politics

Gerry Gaeng and Laila Atallah, in a letter in the December 21 *Militant*, defend the campaign for a "rent control" initiative recently passed here (and later overturned) as a "people's campaign that allowed workers a rare opportunity to vote their class interests."

As evidence they claim that Question K was "opposed by the entire political establishment, including the Democratic Party liberals."

To begin with, not only did prominent Democratic liberals like Rep. Parren Mitchell (who is supported by landlord interests in the city and is a fairly big landlord himself) endorse the initiative, but so did Sam Culotta, the Republican candidate for mayor. Whose class interests did they vote for?

Far from being independent of capitalist politics, Question K was initiated by a section of the Democratic Party. They were afraid that the city administration's obvious indifference to the plight of tenants would deepen the widespread cynicism toward the two-party setup and spark some genuinely independent political action.

Question K proponents appealed to landlords by explaining that this measure would be "moderate," guarantee them a "fair return," and affect only "irresponsible" landlords. In other words, don't worry about it.

Actually, landlords could simply raise their rents as they pleased; the burden would be on the tenants to notify the rent commission of any violation. With thousands of apartments in the city, it might be months before your appeal

was heard. And the rent limits consisted of 99 percent loopholes.

Who would administer the measure? A commission appointed by a group whose members are outspoken opponents of rent control and even of Question K—the city council. It couldn't be less independent.

The fact that many landlords spent thousands trying to defeat the initiative and then found a judge to overturn it only shows that they're not interested in the lesser evil—they prefer the greater evil.

Baltimore tenants voted decisively for Question K because they were told it was rent control. We need to mobilize the power of the labor movement to break with the Democratic and Republican parties and their Question K tricks. This is the only way to fight for decent housing and real rent control.

Martin Koppel
Baltimore, Maryland

With a contribution

Thanks to the efforts of the *Militant* and other progressive newspapers, the people of America are learning the truth about Iran—and about the demonstrations and rallies against sacrificing untold American lives to save the skin of the butcher shah!

The enclosed is not as generous as I might wish in view of your most effective and wonderful work, but it is all I can afford at this time.

Keep up your wonderful work; may 1980 see fewer crises for the American people and all peoples throughout the world.
Nellie DeShae
Chicago, Illinois

Blacks & Palestinians

I really enjoyed your recent series of articles on the plight of the Palestinians and the recent fact-finding trip to the Middle East by Rev. Jesse Jackson and other Afro-American leaders.

However, I have my reservations about such an "even-handed" policy on the Middle East employed by such leaders—an attempt to balance the human rights of the oppressed Palestinians with the "rights" of the Israeli Zionist settlers.

No, I want to work to build a lobby to mobilize the Black community to wholeheartedly support the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and the Arab revolution. We need to expose the Zionists,

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their Black "running dogs" (e.g. Vernon Jordan), and their close political and economic ties with the apartheid South Africa regime.

A lobby would also work to pressure the U.S. imperialists to adopt a "neutral" (handcuffed) or pro-Arab policy in the Middle East.

I also think the Black Community and its leaders need to join with Palestinians and other Arabs to build an "Afro-American/Palestinian Friendship Association," a mass movement to change Middle East policy and for other joint political activities. We need a formal alliance of some sort; we have so much in common.

Please give me the address of the Palestinian Human Rights Campaign.
*A prisoner
Kansas*

[The Palestine Human Rights Campaign can be contacted at 1322 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036]

For Iranian revolution

While I am against the capture and holding of the U.S. Embassy personnel, I am fraternally supporting the just Islamic reforms of the Iranian people's revolution.

Personally, I don't believe Imam Khomeini has left the spirit of Islamic reforms for the blinding spirit of retribution. The ex-shah's day in court will never be an issue more important than a successful Islamic revolution to return Iran back to the working people.

"Support the Iranian revolution. Bring the ex-shah to justice." The Iranian fight is the fight of the American people.

*A prisoner
Colorado*

Identifies with struggle

I was introduced to the *Militant* through a friend. It is a very interesting paper. Since I have been incarcerated I have been unable to find the type of material that I like to read. I can identify with the struggle very closely, because I face some of the same situations that are covered in the *Militant*.

I don't have the funds for a subscription but I would like to start receiving the paper. I will also read it and pass it on to others who are interested so that they will know what's happening in and out of the prisons of the U.S.

*A prisoner
Kentucky*

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.

Afghanistan: a new Czechoslovakia?

The capitalist media—and many on the left as well—portray the move by Soviet troops into Afghanistan as a brutal act by a great power aiming to subjugate another people—an act comparable to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 (or the similar invasion of Hungary in 1956).

This comparison bears no validity at all.

Moscow invaded Czechoslovakia because it could not stand a challenge by the workers to the Stalinist system of dictatorial and bureaucratic rule.

In Czechoslovakia, the workers had begun to revitalize and democratize their trade unions, and had made many inroads into the power of the bureaucrats. Moscow feared that if this trend were allowed to continue, the Soviet workers would begin to do the same.

In Czechoslovakia, the workers had begun to fight for greater freedom of expression, for the right to hear all sorts of views within the framework of socialism, for internal party democracy. And they had won many gains along those lines.

Moscow hated the Dubcek government of Czechoslovakia for making concessions to the workers, worrying that Soviet workers would insist on the same.

To the workers of Czechoslovakia, the Stalinist system in the Soviet Union represented the very opposite of their aspirations. Their goal was not a return to capitalism—as the Kremlin charged—but what they called "socialism with a human face"—a system of workers democracy that could appeal to the Soviet workers.

It was in face of these threats to its own internal system of bureaucratic rule that Moscow decided to move in.

In Czechoslovakia, where its invasion earned Moscow the scorn and hatred of the working people of that country, Moscow sought to isolate its occupying army from the general population, and sent in troops from far away parts of the Soviet Union who were least likely to be familiar with what had been happening in Czechoslovakia.

But the troops that Moscow has sent into Afghanistan include many from nearby parts of Soviet Central Asia, troops who are of the same nationality as many people living in Afghanistan, who speak the same languages—a clear sign that the situation in Afghanistan, as even Moscow perceives it, is not comparable to that in Czechoslovakia.

To the workers and peasants of Afghanistan, the gains made by the Russian Revolution still have a powerful appeal.

In the areas of the Soviet Union bordering on Afghanistan living conditions were just as backward prior to 1917. The illiteracy rate was 95% or more. Life expectancy was 40. The poverty was just as wretched.

But illiteracy no longer exists in the Soviet republics bordering on Afghanistan. Life expectancy is 70. The people live in an advanced, industrialized society.

The people of monarchist-landlord-and-imperialist-dominated Afghanistan, however, had made no progress whatsoever since 1917—not until the reforms that were recently introduced.

These reforms included measures such as the legalization of the trade unions, the distribution of lands of the wealthy to the poorest peasants, and the lifting of many restrictions that had previously been imposed on women and oppressed nationalities.

These changes that took place were not the work of Moscow.

In fact, Moscow had for many years maintained close relations with conservative monarchical or dictatorial regimes that had ruled Afghanistan.

Moscow's main goal has been to preserve a non-hostile Afghanistan on its borders, and as long as that was not endangered the Kremlin was quite content with the status quo.

But once the workers and peasants of Afghanistan began taking action in their own interests, once they came out in mass mobilizations in 1978, a social revolution was begun that changed everything. The Mohammed Daoud dictatorship was toppled and the Peoples Democratic Party (PPD) that came to power promised extensive reforms.

The PPD governments, however, soon faced a rebellion, led by pro-landlord, pro-imperialist forces hostile to the progressive social reforms. The rightists looked for aid from the imperialists, and they received open aid from the staunchly pro-imperialist regime in Pakistan, as well as covert help from Washington.

The rightists made headway, taking advantage of internal factionalism and errors of the PPD. To counter them, the successive PPD governments looked to the Soviet Union for aid.

Moscow finally sent in major forces when it became clear that the rightist rebels threatened to install a pro-imperialist regime on its border.

The situation is completely different from that of Czechoslovakia, where Moscow feared a threat on its left, when it feared that the example of the Czechoslovak workers would be taken up by the Soviet workers.

In Czechoslovakia, Soviet troops were sent in to crush socialist-minded workers who were fighting for greater democratic rights.

But in Afghanistan the Soviet troops have been sent in on the side of the workers and peasants. The Soviet troops have been called in to crush the landlords and monarchists, the opium growers and heroin dealers, the money lenders and rightist military officers—all those, in short, who have rebelled against the progressive social changes that were begun in 1978.

Moscow did not initiate the social revolution in Afghanistan; nor can it be relied on to propel it forward. But Moscow's decisive move against the rightist counterrevolution cannot help but strengthen and give a major impetus to the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants of Afghanistan.

That is the essential difference with Czechoslovakia.

—Gus Horowitz

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THE MILITANT

Support grows for Feb. 2 anti-KKK march Organizers vow: 'We will not be stopped'

By Kate Daher

GREENSBORO, N.C.—“We will launch here a new movement for justice in the 1980s. We believe that from here the spirit initiated on February 2 will spread across the country,” said Dr. Lucius Walker, executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), at a January 11 press conference held here.

Walker said the news conference was called “to describe the growing support, both locally and nationally, for the peaceful nonviolent mobilization” against Klan terror to be held in Greensboro February 2.

The February 2 Mobilization was called to protest the Greensboro massacre, the brutal murder of five members of the Communist Workers Party by Ku Klux Klanners and Nazis here on November 3.

Also present at the news conference were Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Dr. Kenyan Burke, National Council of Churches; Rev. Iberus Hacker, Urban Appalachian Council; Anne Braden, Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Racial Justice; and Donna Sutherland, War Resisters League. Representing Dr. Ralph Aber-

Continued on page 17



Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, veteran civil rights leader, addressing news conference.

Militant/Kate Daher

Revolutionary forces unite in El Salvador

SAN SALVADOR—A public meeting of several thousand at the university here January 11 marked the creation of a national coordinating committee for unity of El Salvador's revolutionary and democratic organizations.

The main organizations that make up this national coordinating committee are the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the United Front for People's Action (FAPU), the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28), and the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN—backed by the Salvadoran Communist Party).

On January 10, a political document was released here, signed by three of the organizations in the coordinating committee: the CP, the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN—linked to the FAPU), and the “Farabundo Martí” Peoples Liberation Forces (FPL—armed wing of the BPR). This document affirmed that there is no peaceful way out of the crisis in El Salvador and that the only alternative is armed struggle and a popular insurrection.

The CP's endorsement of these positions marks an important reversal of its political stance toward the military junta that came to power last October 15 in a bloodless coup against another military dictator, Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero. The CP initially welcomed this new government, and even accepted posts in it. It did so despite the widespread knowledge that Washington had helped engineer this cosmetic change in personnel in hopes of staving off revolutionary developments such as those in nearby Nicaragua.

United action and a common approach of intransigent opposition to the government will be an important boost to the struggles of the Salvadoran workers and peasants. Recognition of this fact had been growing among all the revolutionary organizations here as the crisis of the regime deepened over the past month and a half.

This was the theme, for example, of a speech by Ana Guadalupe Martínez, a commander of the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), at a mid-December rally of 4,000 workers, farm laborers, students, market vendors, and domestic workers, organized by the LP-28 in Santa Ana, El Salvador's second-largest city.

“The unity of the people and of their organizations is indispensable,” Martínez declared, “and we can already see and feel that this deeply desired unity of the people's forces is close at hand. This alliance and unity . . . will be the key to the definitive victory.”

The capitalist forces in El Salvador are using every available means to avoid “the definitive victory” of the oppressed and exploited.

Repression against working people and their organizations has not ceased for a single day since the new military junta took power. During its three months of rule, the junta has massacred close to 600 people; Romero had killed 1,000 during the previous ten months.

The ongoing repression has been a desperate attempt by the ruling class to stop the mounting antigovernment mobilizations and increasingly bold actions of armed revolutionary groups.

On November 28 the FPL kidnapped the South African ambassador to El

Call Jan. 22 general strike

SAN SALVADOR—The organizations which have established the national coordinating committee for unity in El Salvador have issued a call for a nation-wide general strike against repression and in support of workers' demands for January 22. The strike is supported by all the main trade union federations and revolutionary groups. It is expected that on that day hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants will come out into the streets in defense of their rights.

January 22 is the anniversary of the 1932 insurrection in El Salvador. That year Salvadoran peasants,

under the leadership of Agustín Farabundo Martí and the Communist Party, rose up in arms in a massive revolt against the military dictatorship of Maximiliano Hernández Martínez. The uprising was defeated, drowned in blood. More than 30,000 peasants were massacred, and the leaders of the insurrection, Farabundo Martí among them, were executed.

Forty-eight years later, the workers and peasants of El Salvador are taking up the heroic legacy of the 1932 insurrection, this time with the firm determination to carry their revolutionary struggle through to victory.

Salvador. The FPL demanded that in exchange for his release two proclamations be printed in newspapers in 102 countries, with the apartheid regime footing the bill. According to press dispatches, one of the proclamations describes the wretched conditions in El Salvador and calls for a popular insurrection, and the other calls for solidarity “against imperialism and South African racism.” The FPL has also demanded that El Salvador recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization and that the government break all diplomatic relations with Pinochet's Chile.

To date neither the Salvadoran junta nor the South African government has

responded to the FPL's demands.

On December 14, thirty television workers, supported by the LP-28, occupied the Communications Center in San Salvador to demand wage increases. That same day, 2,000 workers marched in the capital against unemployment, a protest called by the Construction Workers Union and others.

Important mass mobilizations also took place in the countryside in December. Rural workers organized by the BPR and the LP-28 occupied fourteen sugar haciendas throughout the country. Other workers took over a cotton gin in Entre Ríos and six other mills east of San Salvador.

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