

MAY 2, 1980

50 CENTS

VOLUME 44/NUMBER 16

THE MILITANT

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

JOBS CRISIS

Labor needs its own party to fight layoffs and inflation

The following statement was released April 23 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president. Pulley is a laid-off Chicago steelworker and member of United Steel-



Pulley



Zimmermann

workers Local 1066; Zimmermann is a former staff writer for the 'Militant.'

The crisis of unemployment and inflation is worsening day by day for American workers. Auto and steel plants shut down. Construction industry collapsing. Unemployment officially at 6.4 million and rising, with another million "discouraged workers" not counted. Prices soaring at 18 percent a year.

Mass unemployment is denying Black and Latino youth hope for the future. Employers are using "last hired/first fired" layoffs to drive women out of the decent jobs they have fought so long to win.

Yet not a single Democratic or Republican candidate offers any prospect of providing jobs

for all, or of allowing wages to keep abreast of prices.

To win these fundamental union goals, to protect workers' right to a job and a decent living standard, the unions urgently need to break from the Democratic and Republican parties and launch an independent labor party.

The Democratic and Republican politicians all agree on the need for sacrifices from workers and farmers, while they plan more subsidies and tax breaks for the corporations and the rich. Both parties—over and above the bribes and payoffs that tie them so intimately to big business—are dedicated to the sanctity of the profit system. Their record speaks for

Continued on next page

**Special
offer to
antinuclear
protesters**

**3 weeks of
the Militant
for \$1**

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

Enclosed is \$1 for 3 weeks.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

School/Union/
Organization _____

Send to: Militant, 14 Charles Lane,
New York, N.Y. Offer good only
through May 2, 1980.

No nuclear power!

Unions add muscle to antinuclear fight

—PAGES 8-9



EVERY POWER
PLANT
IS A "NUCLEAR ACCIDENT"



...jobs crisis

Continued from front page itself.

We ask for jobs. They vote for the draft. We ask for gasoline and heating fuel. They decontrol the prices so the oil giants can reap billions in profits.

We ask for equal opportunity. They unleash discriminatory layoffs and sabotage the Equal Rights Amendment.

We ask for decent public services. They slash funds for schools, public transit, mail delivery, and health care—while spending more than \$150 billion a year on armaments.

And when we protest, they tell us it's all the fault of foreign auto workers or Russians or Iranians or Arabs—anybody and everybody except the big U.S. corporations that profit at the expense of our jobs and wages.

Working people are looking for ways to fight back. Strikes are at their highest point in ten years (with the sole exception of the 1977-78 coal strike), as union members battle to hold on to important gains won in the past.

Some victories have been scored in this effort, like the success of fire fighters in Kansas City and United Auto Workers members at International Harvester in holding their ground.

Mobilization of the union ranks, solidarity from other unions, and an alliance between labor and the Black communities have proven key to strengthening the unions in these battles.

The most active union support ever to the ERA—through the April 26 labor conference and May 10 march in Chicago for ERA ratification in Illinois—shows the growing awareness that solidarity with all victims of discrimination must be at the heart of labor's strategy.

The surge of unemployment is also spurring resistance. Chicago's Operation PUSH, headed by Rev. Jesse Jackson, has called a national march for jobs and peace, against the draft, cutbacks, and nuclear power, for May 17 in Washington, D.C.

That's the kind of initiative that the whole labor movement should encourage and support.

The Democratic and Republican parties

stand as obstacles to the fight back. They present a solid front of strikebreakers—from the courts, to the offices of mayors and governors, up to the White House Rose Garden and the halls of Congress.

Carter cuts jobs and unemployment benefits while the layoffs mount. Kennedy, pretending to be prolabor as he campaigned for the Pennsylvania primary, directed his fire at steel imports. That is, he pushed the company line of blaming layoffs on workers in other countries and absolving the corporate profiteers at home. Reagan calls for more anti-union legislation. Anderson wants to zap us with a fifty-cent tax on gasoline.

Millions of workers, farmers, unemployed, Blacks, women, and youth are looking for an alternative. A labor party, based on the power of the unions and reaching out to all the victims of inflation and unemployment, can provide that alternative.

It's no wonder that from coast to coast there

is discussion and growing support for the labor party idea. Most recently, Anthony Mazzocchi, leader of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, told a cheering crowd of New Jersey unionists that "there must be a starting point" for the labor party, and "it might as well start in this union hall." [See story on page 5.]

The capitalist parties pretend that "nobody has the answers" to the economic crisis. Not true. The unions have had their own answers for a long time, but these have been locked out of the political arena by the two-party system.

Answers such as a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, to spread the work to all who need jobs. Wage escalator clauses to protect against inflation. Public works. Nationalization of the oil monopolies.

Political action to win these goals is needed now. It is high time for the unions to bring these demands forward with labor candidates and a labor party. No one else is going to do it for us.

Socialist program for jobs

The Socialist Workers Party candidates propose the following emergency steps to provide jobs for all and to protect working people against inflation:

1. **Emergency relief.** The government should pay all jobless workers, including youth and others just entering the labor force, unemployment compensation at full union-scale wages for the entire time they are out of work.

2. **Funds for jobs, not for war.** Dump the inflationary \$150 billion military budget and use the money to expand social services and launch a public works program to meet the needs of working people for schools, housing, hospitals, clinics, child-care centers, libraries, parks, and public transit systems.

3. **Shorter workweek.** Ban forced overtime and reduce the legal workweek to thirty hours, with no reduction in currently weekly take-home pay (including normal overtime premiums).

4. **Open the books of the monopolies.** Make public all the secret documents and transactions, financial and other records of

the oil, steel, auto, coal, and other corporations that jack up prices or lay off workers. Let us see the truth about their profits, tax swindles, payoffs, and bribes, as well as their resources, production statistics, and technological possibilities.

5. **Public ownership of industry.** Nationalize the energy industry, whose hoarding and price-gouging are the biggest inflationary problem facing society. Nationalize the steel, auto, rubber, and other companies that are closing plants, dumping workers into the street, and devastating communities. Control over production—work speed, automation, hiring and firing, health and safety—should be in the hands of the workers themselves through their unions or committees. The nationalized industries should be managed by elected public boards whose meetings and records are open to all.

6. **Cost-of-living escalators** to automatically raise wages to fully compensate for all increases in the cost of living. Also COLA for Social Security, pensions, and veterans' and disability benefits. No wage controls. Repeal Taft-Hartley and all other laws restricting workers' right to organize and strike.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 3 Auto layoffs: victims blamed
- 4 Do imports cause layoffs?
- 5 New Jersey unionists cheer labor party call
- 6 OCAW: many still on strike in Texas
- 7 Questions and answers on the ERA
- 8 Human life vs. nuclear investment
- 9 Nuclear danger on the railroads
- 11 Draft foes join antinuke march
- 12 Miami Blacks march for Haitian rights
- 14 Mich. socialists launch ballot fight
- 15 Mass. petition drive completed
- 16 Pulley urges labor party in Kentucky
- 19 Ga. racists shoot nine-year-old girl
- 20 El Salvador: human rights leaders ask aid
- 24 Reviews
- 25 *The Great Society*
Reading from Left to Right
What's Going On
- 26 *Our Revolutionary Heritage*
Letters
- 27 *Learning About Socialism*
If You Like This Paper . . .

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 21 Guatemala: strike by 50,000
- 22 Kampuchea
- 23 Trials of Soviet Workers



New breed of politician?

Presidential contender John Anderson talks 'independent,' but his record plays the same big-business tune as all the other Democratic and Republican officials. **Page 17.**

Cubans mobilize to support Castro gov't

One million marched in Havana April 20, rebutting the big lie that Cuba is an island prison. **Page 13.**



Carter's drive against Iran

Opposition to Washington's war moves included Barbara Timm's defiance of the travel ban when she visited her hostage son in U.S. Embassy. **Page 10.**

The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
ANDY ROSE

Business Manager: PETER SEIDMAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

Auto shutdowns: companies blame victims

By Stu Singer

MAHWAH, N.J.—On April 15 Ford Motor Company announced it will close three plants in the U.S. and Canada and cut back others, throwing 15,000 people out of work.

The biggest closing is the large assembly plant here, about twenty-five miles northwest of New York City. Five thousand jobs will be eliminated permanently.

Another blow came the next day when General Motors announced cutbacks at seven plants, putting 12,000 hourly auto workers on indefinite layoffs. Nine hundred of them worked at the Linden, New Jersey, plant fifty miles south of here.

Seven days after the Ford announcement, Chrysler cut 6,900 salaried and nonproduction blue-collar jobs, including janitors, mechanics, and engineers. Many of these workers are members of the United Auto Workers union.

The Mahwah plant shutdown is scheduled for June 20. It will have a devastating effect on the economy of northern New Jersey and nearby areas of New York. In addition to auto workers and their families immediately hit, an estimated 8,000 to 40,000 other jobs will be lost. This is called the "ripple effect."

Ford management planned these drastic shutdowns and layoffs at a meeting the weekend of April 12 in Detroit. They also launched a cam-



Ford Mahwah auto workers leaving plant two days after shutdown announcement. Ford, not Japanese, ordered shutdown.

- The workers file too many grievances.
- There are not as many women or minorities as at the Chicago Ford plant, where production from Mahwah will be transferred, and "we're under the gun of the national EEOC" (Equal Employment Opportunities Commission).
- The plant has higher unit costs than others making the same cars.
- There is lower quality work requiring more warranty repairs.
- The cars are gas guzzlers and cannot compete with imports.
- Mahwah is a bad location, not close enough to sales markets.
- The plant is too old.
- Labor costs are too high.
- Federal safety, mileage, and environmental requirements are unfair.

What is the truth? A Ford official admitted that the number of grievances filed by Mahwah workers for the first quarter of 1980 was comparable to other plants.

Concerning affirmative action, Ford said there are now 1 percent women and 42 percent minorities at Mahwah. But everyone who has worked there less than five years, a disproportionate number of women and minorities, is laid off already.

Ford is no champion of affirmative action. It only raises this point to make it appear that the demands of women and Blacks for equality helped cause the closing.

Are cars made at Mahwah of worse quality than at other Ford plants? This charge particularly angers Mahwah workers I spoke with.

One worker said he went to a Ford dealer in the area to ask what was the reputation of cars from Mahwah. The dealer said Mahwah actually had the best reputation for quality.

The company says this plant makes gas guzzlers that do not sell. Ford Fairmonts and Mercury Zephyrs from

Mahwah are small cars with above-average gasoline mileage.

Fairmont sales in the first quarter of 1980 were 7 percent ahead of a year ago. While Zephyr sales were down 1 percent, vehicles from this plant are way above average for Ford as a whole. Ford sales for the quarter were down 27.6 percent.

Then Ford claims the plant location is too far from markets. The Ford officials who say this ought to work on the problem of who is buried in Grant's tomb. Mahwah is next to the most densely populated part of the United States. Which, of course, is why the plant was built there in the first place.

Mahwah is also not outdated; it was built in the mid-1950s.

Are labor costs higher? All Ford workers are covered under the same UAW contract. The line speed is more than one car a minute, about the same as other Ford plants.

The *New York Times* April 17 editorial blames the Mahwah closing on federal safety, mileage, and environmental requirements. But all cars sold in the U.S., including imports, have to meet the same standards. The *Times* even tries to blame the Iranian revolution.

Anti-import line

The company line about the plant closing has an impact on the workers. Most I talked to think Japanese imports are to blame. Many hold the federal government responsible for not stopping imports and protecting their jobs.

A Black worker in his thirties said, "Carter doesn't give a damn about us.

He should just stop these Japanese cars from coming in. We have to get him out. I'll vote for Kennedy and if he doesn't run I'm voting for Reagan. Anyone but Carter."

In an April 15 news release responding to the Mahwah closing, UAW Vice-president Ken Bannon asserted: "The Carter Administration cannot in good conscience sit placidly by as foreign manufacturers reap enormous sales and profits from the U.S. market while American workers stand in unemployment lines."

Weaken union

Ford's propaganda campaign is intended to weaken and divide the auto workers.

Ford's Metuchen, New Jersey, plant is about fifty miles south of here. A worker there said some people believe Mahwah was marked for closing because the workers file too many grievances.

A worker on her line won a number of grievances complaining of foremen working at production jobs, a violation of the union contract. This worker was just called in by management. They told him to stop filing grievances. "You people can't run the plant. If you keep filing these grievances, we'll do it like Mahwah," he was told.

Some other Metuchen workers think their own jobs are threatened, not by Ford, but by high seniority workers from Mahwah. They are afraid they will get bumped.

UAW District 9 Director Ed Gray played right into company hands in setting Metuchen workers against those from Mahwah. According to the April 20 *Newark Star-Ledger*, Gray suggested it would have been better for Ford to close Metuchen, rather than Mahwah, because there is more industry nearby where those laid off could find other jobs.

The propaganda barrage around Mahwah is not limited to Ford. There is a General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York, across the Hudson River, about fifteen miles east.

A worker there said, "Management put fliers on some of the cars going down the line. They read: 'The Time Has Come' and had a drawing of a hand. The fingers were each marked with benefits we have, like medical care, retirement, vacation, and paid personal holiday."

"In the palm of the hand the company wrote: 'Your job is in your hand—quality decides.' The comparison with Mahwah was not lost on anybody."

Auto Layoffs in New Jersey

A public forum.

Speakers: Jon Britton, UAW Local 980 at Ford Metuchen. Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 11th District in New Jersey.

Reba Williams-Dixon, UAW Local 664 at GM Tarrytown. Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 19th District in New York.

Helen Schiff, UAW Local 595 at GM Linden.

Saturday, May 3, 7:30 p.m.

Militant Labor Forum, 11A Central Ave., near Broad, Newark. For more information call (201) 643-3341. Donation: \$1.50; 50¢ for high school or unemployed.

paign to blame everyone but themselves for the cuts. Statements by Ford management were filled with lies and distortions.

It started with the number of workers affected. The figure given out by Ford was 3,732 hourly and salaried. But this does not include more than 1,000 who were already on layoff when the shutdown was announced. They are now permanently unemployed.

Why did Ford decide to close Mahwah?

They gave many reasons:

How long will benefits last?

Don't worry about those Mahwah workers. With all the benefits they're entitled to, they'll be taking home 95 percent of their regular pay. Right?

Check this out:

Unemployment compensation in New Jersey pays up to \$123 a week for 39 weeks. Carter recently cut out extended payments. New Jersey is already \$600 million in debt to Washington on unemployment benefits. Will Carter keep the money coming?

Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) are administered by Ford. The fund is down to 34 percent. It is being depleted rapidly.

As it runs out workers with less than ten and then less than twenty years of seniority will be cut from full benefits.

Federal Trade Readjustment Al-

lowance (TRA) goes to workers certified as unemployed because of foreign competition. Mahwah workers are supposed to be eligible, but TRA funds run out May 23. In the midst of all the budget cutting congress will have to approve another \$1 billion to keep TRA for the rest of 1980.

But if the future looks uncertain for a quarter of a million unemployed auto workers, they can be assured the wealth created by their hard work was not wasted.

Thomas Murphy, chairman and chief executive officer of General Motors, made \$963,667 last year.

Ford chairman Philip Caldwell got by on \$904,902.

And Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca, who says he took a salary cut to \$1 a year to help the company, was paid \$1,386,175.

'Issue is jobs, not imports'

Robert Miller is a 24 year old production worker at the Ford Metuchen plant. He is the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress from the 17th district in New York.

He said about Mahwah, "The issue is jobs, not imports. When our union leaders blame imports, they are taking the heat off the company. Ford management decided to close that plant; not the Japanese."

"When I started at Metuchen the foreman would stand right over me and say, 'If you can't do that job, there are a thousand people out there waiting to try it.' That's how they use unemployment to hurt you, whether or not you have a job."

I asked Miller if most auto workers blame imports for the layoffs.

"Well, most people probably do. That is about the only thing you hear from the company, the media, and the union. Now it's starting to go from blaming Japan to worrying about Mahwah workers taking our jobs. Some people actually talk about working faster so they won't shut us down too."

"But you can't think like that for

long and work on that line. The company treats you too bad, the work is too hard, the line is too fast. Eventually, the conditions of work bring you back to reality."

Do you think there's any chance of the union putting up a fight against these shutdowns and layoffs?

"Sure. The union will start to fight as the members see through what's happening. Actually the union is on record for a lot of things that would make a big difference in protecting jobs. What has to be done is get the union to really fight for those things. I mean the shorter work week with no cut in pay; for the government to pay us full compensation during layoffs and shutdowns; nationalize the oil industry."

"The union is for a lot of these demands. And I think if we have a serious effort to win them, the union will also have to help start a labor party. Because the Democrats certainly are not going to help us win any of this."

"We have a Constitutional Convention coming up in June. I hope these issues are raised and discussed. And acted on." —S.S.

Are imports the cause of auto layoffs?

By Andy Rose

Are imports the cause of the jobs crisis facing auto workers?

Yes, say the companies. They hope to deflect anger from themselves and convince auto workers the threat to their livelihoods comes from Japan—not from General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, or American Motors.

The Fraser leadership of the United Auto Workers agrees. The more layoffs and plant closings come down, the more the UAW officialdom points the finger of blame across the sea, not at Detroit. And the more it stakes everything on a strategy of helping "our" companies stay healthy—that is, profitable.

To show his independence, Fraser occasionally tsk-tsks the U.S. companies for not starting earlier to produce small cars. But that doesn't change the procompany policy.

The anti-import crusade is a gigantic hoax. It will not save one job or stop one plant closing. To the contrary, it weakens the UAW's ability to fight for jobs.

Once the union sets its task as defense of company competitiveness and profitability, there is a built-in logic. It means shelving demands for higher wages, better conditions, shorter hours. It means pitting workers against each other instead of uniting workers in opposition to the employers. This logic is already being played out by the UAW officialdom.

To portray import curbs as the answer to layoffs, it is necessary to ignore the facts.

Recession

The first fact is that the U.S. economy is in a deepening recession, a regular occurrence in the boom-and-bust capitalist business cycle.

The Carter administration has deliberately fostered astronomical interest rates and skyrocketing energy prices, while it has driven down the purchasing power of wages through White

House "guidelines." Growing numbers of workers can't afford to buy a car or home, can't get a loan, and couldn't pay for gasoline or heating oil anyway. As a result, the whole economy threatens to go into a tailspin.

Total auto sales—including imports—were down 16 percent in March. U.S. auto companies would still be laying off workers if not a single imported car entered this country.

The labor movement can fight against the effects of the recession. For example, with demands for a shorter workweek with no pay cut, for public works jobs, and for converting idle plants to manufacture mass transportation equipment or other socially needed goods.

The anti-import hysteria takes the heat off the government for its recessionary, antilabor policies. And it sidetracks the fight for measures that could actually provide jobs.

Trade war

The second fact ignored by the anti-import argument is what the actual result would be of clamping down import curbs.

Why do American consumers—that is, mainly working people—buy foreign-made cars? Because they are often cheaper and of better quality. Just imagine what the price, gas mileage, and durability of American-made cars would be like if the U.S. companies didn't face competition from Honda, Toyota, or Volkswagen!

Higher prices would be guaranteed. But neither the government nor the auto companies offers any guarantee that a single worker would be rehired or a single plant reopened.

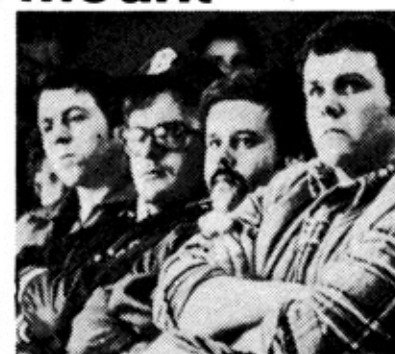
Major restrictions on car imports from Japan or Europe would invite retaliation by those countries—that is, rising protectionism, even trade war. The United States exports billions of dollars worth of manufactured goods, including such UAW-made products as farm implements and aircraft. Protec-

Casualties mount

Auto layoffs as of April 14:

Company	Indefinite Layoff	Temporary Layoff	Total by Company
Ford	43,950	19,105	63,055
GM	80,750	16,950	97,700
Chrysler	42,804	5,800	48,604
AMC	2,900	0	2,900
Total	170,404	41,855	212,259

From New York Times 4/20/80 (estimates from UAW)
(Since April 14, GM has laid off 12,000 more hourly workers and Chrysler announced a cut of 6,900 white-collar workers, many of whom are members of the UAW.)



tionism could lead to millions more unemployed. Trade war would mean a world depression like the 1930s.

That's not what the auto companies have in mind. They are deeply involved in world trade. Ford, for example, sold a record 2.1 million vehicles outside North America in 1979. It sold more outside its "home market" than any other auto company in the world.

U.S. auto companies do not want a trade war. What they want, above all, is to use the import scare as cover while they carry out their plans at home—plans for speedup, closing of less profitable plants, and shrinking and disciplining the auto work force.

Profit plans

And that's the third fact the anti-import line glosses over: what the U.S. auto companies really have in store for UAW members.

It is widely known that the reason the U.S. companies are losing sales to imports is that they have failed to switch to producing quality smaller cars. It's not that they don't know how to.

Business Week magazine estimated March 22 that GM, for example, makes as much as \$1,000 profit on a large car and only \$200-\$300 on a small car. And pursuit of the highest profit, regardless of the long-term consequences, is capitalism's cardinal rule.

But the strongest U.S. auto monopolies—that is, GM and Ford—have every intention of making the switch to smaller cars and competing successfully in world markets. Redesigning cars and retooling plants for this will require an investment of billions—\$150 billion for plant and equipment over the next fifteen years, says *Business Week*.

Before making this investment, the U.S. companies demand assurances of a profit return they consider adequate. And they have a plan for wringing those profits out of American workers.

Their plan includes:

- Tax breaks and government handouts. This will mean higher taxes or fewer social services for working people, probably both.

- Relaxation of air pollution standards. This will mean more poisonous air to breathe.

- Drastic productivity increases, with assembly lines speeded up and jobs combined. *Business Week* reports that GM "plans to build two brand-new assembly plants that together will be able to produce 150 cars per hour with no more manpower than it took to build 115 per hour at the 60-year-old plants they will replace at St. Louis and Pontiac, Mich." That means jobs wiped out—not by imports but by GM's profit drive.

- Lower wages. The auto companies got a foot in the door by imposing a substandard union contract at Chrysler.

- Restrictions on grievances, disregard of safety, and a housebroken union.

- Closing older or less profitable plants and concentrating operations at the most productive ones, where some workers will toil long hours of forced overtime while other unionists are out on the street.

These profit plans of the U.S. auto companies are the real threat to auto workers' livelihoods. Union support to

any part of this scheme is a deadly trap.

UAW members have right before them tragic evidence of where the Fraser officialdom's procompany line is leading. That is the Chrysler "bail-out" debacle.

It happened at Chrysler . . .

Under threat of plant closings and massive layoffs, and with no small amount of prodding from Fraser, Chrysler workers agreed last fall to a take-away contract. First they gave up \$403 million in deferred pension payments, curtailed benefits, less time off, and postponement of cost-of-living payments and wage increases. Then, to get Congress to pass loan guarantees for Chrysler's bankers, the UAW leaders reopened the contract in January and gave up another \$243 million.

All this to "save the company." And to seal the agreement, UAW President Fraser was assigned a seat on the Chrysler board.

The results? Chrysler closed the Dodge Main Assembly plant in Hamtramck, Michigan, in January, several months ahead of schedule. Then on April 18, unable to meet the conditions of the federal bailout program, the company submitted a new operating plan. It calls for closing up to three of Chrysler's remaining nine assembly plants and up to six parts plants. Inside those Chrysler plants still open, workers report slave-labor conditions.

. . . and at VW

In order not to sound like a mere echo of company propaganda, the UAW officialdom has added its own note: the demand that Japanese and European car manufacturers open plants here or else face import curbs. These companies will do so . . . when they deem it profitable.

But given the time necessary to build and start up a plant, this obviously offers no hope for auto workers being laid off now. Import restrictions, not building new plants, is the operative part of Fraser's plan.

To be sure, one foreign auto maker has opened a U.S. assembly plant. Volkswagen employees in New Stanton, Pennsylvania, are putting in overtime hours producing the popular Rabbits.

When VW opened the plant in 1978, top UAW officials—behind the backs of the workers involved—agreed to a contract with substandard wages, benefits, and vacations. To give VW an "incentive" to locate here.

So both at money-losing Chrysler and at VW, probably the most profitable plant in the country, UAW members are working at cut rates to help out the employer.

On the record, this is not a winning strategy.

The United Auto Workers was founded to protect the interests of the men and women working in the plants. It established its strength in battle against the companies. It has the power today to defend jobs and wages.

That will happen when the ranks of the union take control of their organization and use it to fight for their own interests and against their real enemy—not European or Japanese auto workers, but the U.S. corporate profiteers and their government.

Shutdowns since July '79

U.S. auto plant shutdowns of four weeks or more since July-August 1979

Company	Plant	Product	Weeks Idled and Plans
GM	Detroit	Cadillac	6
	Fremont, Calif.	Buick, Chevy	4
	Janesville, Wis.	Chevy trucks	8
	Lansing, Mich.	Oldsmobile	4
	Leeds, Mo.	Buick, Chevy	4
	Lordstown, Ohio	GMC trucks	6
	Pontiac, Mich.	Pontiac	6
	Pontiac, Mich.	Vans	Production suspended 1/2/80
	St. Louis	Corvette	Production suspended 1/2/80
	South Gate, Calif.	Chevy, Cadillac	Production suspended 3/21/79
Ford	Atlanta	LTD	14
	Chicago	Thunderbird	10
	Kansas City, Mo.	Trucks	9
	Lorain, Ohio	Thunderbird, Cougar	11
	Lorain, Ohio	Vans	16
	Los Angeles	LTD, Thunderbird	Production suspended 1/1/80
	Louisville	LTD, trucks	17
	Louisville	Medium, heavy trucks	7
	Mahwah, N.J.	Fairmont, Zephyr	Production to halt 6/20/80
	Metuchen, N.J.	Pinto, Bobcat	10
	Mpls./St. Paul	Trucks	7
	Norfolk, Va.	Trucks	7
	St. Louis	Mercury	16
	San Jose, Calif.	Mustang, Capri	5
	San Jose, Calif.	Trucks	8
	Wayne, Mich.	Grenada, Monarch	17
	Wayne, Mich.	Trucks	8
	Wixom, Mich.	Lincoln	11
Chrysler	Detroit	Newport, Fury	7
	Detroit	Trucks	4
	Fenton, Mo.	Vans	7
	Hamtramck, Mich.	Volare, Aspen	Production halted 1/1/80
	Newark, Del.	Volare, Diplomat	5
	St. Louis	Volare, Diplomat	7
	Warren, Mich.	Trucks	4
AMC	Toledo, Ohio	Jeep	6

From 4/20/80 New York Times

N.J. unionists cheer call for labor party

By Helen Schiff

CRANFORD, N.J.—More than 200 New Jersey union activists responded with cheers and a standing ovation when Anthony Mazzocchi, a leader of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, called for the unions to break with the Democratic Party and begin now to organize an independent labor party.

"I am not interested in electing an individual from either party because it doesn't make a damn bit of difference," Mazzocchi told the April 13 gathering at the United Auto Workers Region 9 hall here.

"However, if we run candidates who are the products of the labor movement, speaking for the labor movement, we can dispel the nonsense of every single Republican and Democrat who says, 'I represent the entire community.'"

"I don't want an individual who represents the entire community. I want someone who represents us, period."

Mazzocchi is director of health and safety for OCAW. He was narrowly defeated in the election for union president at last year's OCAW convention.

Mazzocchi was one of the keynote speakers at a conference here on "Big Business on the Rampage," organized by the Institute for Labor Education and Research. He shared the platform with Archer Cole, secretary-treasurer of International Union of Electrical Workers District 3 and vice-president of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, and Tom Natchuras, assistant director of UAW Region 9.

'Business on the march'

All three agreed with Natchuras that the "business community was on the march" and that labor had been "stopped dead in our tracks."

The expected announcement of the closing of the Fort plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, and the indefinite layoff of more than 1,000 General Motors workers at the Linden assembly plant weighed heavily on everyone's mind, especially the many auto workers from six locals who were present.

Natchuras talked about the need to bring democracy into the economy, pointing out that the decision to lay off 5,000 workers at Mahwah was made by corporate executives in Detroit. The workers had no say.

Archer Cole told of the strikes that had been forced on IUE locals in New Jersey trying to keep up with inflation and to block layoffs, speedup, and forced overtime. They went out "not because they were greedy but because they were needy," Cole said.

What can be done? "For 1980 the first thing we have to do—and many people in our ranks are demanding it—



ANTHONY MAZZOCCHI

we ought to nationalize big oil!" The audience responded enthusiastically.

Cole ended by calling for New Jersey labor to "get behind the Kennedy campaign for a protest vote . . . so that Carter can't go any further to the right."

Then he added, "I think it's long overdue that labor unite and coalesce and think in terms of a third party for the future. Because right now we seem to be in the hip pocket of the two big parties who are in the hip pocket of big business, and that's an intolerable situation."

'Ranks are ready'

Mazzocchi began his speech by saying the smartest workers were those who have stayed home and slept on election day.

"Archie Cole says a third party is absolutely essential. I only depart from him in the intervening time. I don't think we can implore our people to vote for any of the existing candidates for office," Mazzocchi said.

"There will be no relief" from the antilabor offensive other speakers had spelled out, he said, "within the context of the current political situation. In fact it can only get worse."

Mazzocchi continued: "A common thread of agreement running through our entire union is the need for independent political expression. Nowhere—deep South to far West to the far corners of the nation—did I get one person up in a hall to challenge me on the call for a labor party."

"The leadership of the trade-union movement—and I include myself in that—hasn't been prepared to accept what the rank and file was prepared to accept some time ago."

Labor finds itself unable to make legislative gains, Mazzocchi said, "because we have agreed to play by the rules of the game that have been created by big business. The Democratic Party is the party of oil. We have to be naive not to understand that."

"I know that many of us, and I'm one of them, played a key role in the Democratic Party for many years. In looking back, it is no longer productive."

No prolabor legislation

"Let's suppose we elect everyone the labor movement is endorsing. Our lives will be precisely the same the day after the election. We will not have advanced our interests one iota."

As proof Mazzocchi noted that although labor elected Carter and a "veto-proof" Congress, not one piece of prolabor legislation has been passed. The unions count it as a legislative victory when the worst antilabor bills are blocked or toned down.

In the past ten years, he noted, the only prolabor legislation was the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act—and that was under the Nixon administration.

Mazzocchi also stressed the need to organize the unorganized and told of the "crusading spirit" that can be unleashed. When OCAW sent organizers out to plant gates in a blitz effort last year, he said, the workers responded, "Where the hell have you been?"

That spirit "speaks more eloquently than all the letters you can write to your congressman," because as far as Congress is concerned, "one letter from Exxon is worth 10,000 from the rank and file."

Mazzocchi stressed the need to begin now: "We absolutely need a new political mechanism, that's a labor party. I think those of us at the grassroots, and those of us who carry positions such as those of us on the platform, have to start now in every local union hall and on every level to institute a discussion of how this mechanism is to be created."

"It can't be treated as some abstract nonsense or question that we must wait for in the distant future. There is very little time left. Big business and government won't let us wait."

"We certainly aren't organizing the way we should and if we can't do what must be done we won't hold what we have. . . ."

"My plea here today is that there must be a starting point," Mazzocchi concluded. "It might as well start in this union hall: that the necessity for a new political expression, the necessity to organize, and discussion of organization and innovative approaches start now, because it is extremely late."

"And hopefully some future labor historian, looking back at this era to determine what turned the American labor movement around, would say it started some very warm spring Sunday in a UAW hall in New Jersey."

His appeal was met with prolonged applause and a standing ovation. Many went away from the meeting eager to carry the discussion into their locals.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
New Jersey auto workers demonstrate against oil ripoff. Nationalization of energy industry will not be won by Democrats or Republicans; independent labor political action will be required.

Harvester strikers defeat take-back demands

By John Studer

CHICAGO—The strike of United Auto Workers members at International Harvester, which began last November 1, ended April 21. Over the previous weekend, the strikers voted by more than four to one to ratify a new contract. It was the longest national strike in UAW history.

The pact marks an across-the-board defeat for the company in its attempt to force takebacks on union members.

Each one of the 35,000 Harvester workers has lost more than \$9,000 in wages since the strike began. UAW Local 6 ran a tape each weekend to keep its members informed about strike progress. On April 20 it hailed "the end of the longest punishment period in UAW history."

The central issue was the company's campaign to impose mandatory overtime. The solid front of the strikers beat back the company. The only time

Harvester workers will work more than forty hours a week over the next three years will be when they voluntarily agree to.

This is an inspiration for hundreds of thousands of UAW members who are forced to work fifty, sixty, or more hours a week.

The way for the settlement was cleared when Harvester withdrew its last takeaway demand on April 17. It had wanted to force piece-rate workers to perform other jobs when their regular tasks were completed. In the new contract these workers maintain their traditional right to go home.

Harvester wanted to severely limit the workers' right to transfer within the plant. The company conceded to negotiate this issue on the local level. At the Farmall plant in Rock Island, Illinois, UAW Local 1309 voted to reject the agreement because of dissatisfaction with the local transfer agree-

ment. Their decision to continue the strike has the sanction of the national UAW.

The company was also forced to agree that whenever they open a new plant they will post all the jobs throughout their entire chain. This gives union members a month to consider transferring before new hiring is done.

This issue is especially important to truck assembly workers in Fort Wayne, Indiana. They feared the June 1 opening of Harvester's new truck plant in Wagner, Oklahoma, could cost them their jobs. Now they have the right to bid on jobs in this new facility.

The company was also forced to give in on its attempts to fire union members during the strike.

The economic package was in line with that previously negotiated at John Deere and Caterpillar. It included a 3 percent a year raise and quarterly

cost-of-living increases. The cost-of-living formula improves in the third year of the contract to one cent an hour for every 0.26 increase in the Consumer Price Index. Pensions for retired workers were improved.

Harvester lost almost \$500 million during the strike. This month is the height of the buying season for farm machinery—35 percent of Harvester's production.

"We fought for six months to keep what we already had," commented Paul Sonneman, vice-president of UAW Local 1357 in Canton, Illinois. But by successfully defending past gains, Harvester workers set an example for the entire union movement.

Local 6's tape announcement of the strike settlement ends, "When you return to work do so with your head held high. You have been magnificent."

Many Texas oil workers still on strike

By David Marsh

HOUSTON—"Oil firm execs record 'exceptional' year in pocketbook" was the headline on the *Houston Chronicle's* financial page April 10.

The article reported that "the chief executive officers at the nation's five largest oil companies—Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, Standard of California, and Gulf, in that order—got increases averaging about 16 percent last year, which brought their pay bonuses, on average, to almost \$740,000."

This was bitter news to members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) still out on strike.

While most oil companies have settled with OCAW, thousands of Texas oil workers remain on the picket line. The longest national oil strike in the country began last January 8.

Throughout the strike, the oil barons have used every means to intimidate and weaken the union, including court suits and injunctions, police harassment, and threats of disciplinary action. Now their fire is concentrated on the group of locals holding out.

At the giant Gulf refinery in Port Arthur, OCAW's biggest local, 4-23, is hanging tough against the company's attempt to take severe disciplinary action against some union members.

The membership refused to consider Gulf's contract offer until the company agreed to take everyone back. The

company has not met with the union since mid-March.

Texaco also has a huge refinery in Port Arthur, where it is aiming to discipline strikers. The workers still on strike there then set up picket lines at two smaller Texaco operations in the area that had settled. The workers at these plants came back out; so 600 workers are out on strike there.

A similar situation exists at the Amoco and Marathon refineries in Texas City and at Charter Oil and Crown Central Petroleum in the Houston area.

The Crown Central group of Local 4-227 is typical of those still on strike. Crown hopes that economic pressures will force OCAW to accept further concessions, including reprisals against union members.

Crown waited until the beginning of April to make its first offer, and still refuses to discuss a settlement with the Crown clerical group or to discuss the cases of two OCAW members fired during the strike.

The Crown clerical workers, members of OCAW, have been fighting to win their first contract. They walked out with the refinery workers and have helped staff the picket lines.

The union has made it clear that the refinery workers have no intention of crossing the clerical group's picket line "regardless of how long we have to

stay out on strike."

On the picket lines and at the weekly group meetings, veterans of past oil strikes explain the company's strategy.

"The company is playing games with us," said one worker. "The reason we haven't reached a settlement yet is because the company doesn't want us back in yet. They're hoping we'll weaken. They want to fire some people

and they've also got a whole set of new work rules they want to put into effect when we go back."

Another old-timer predicts: "Crown will probably send you a letter saying if you don't come back to work they will replace you. Ignore it, it doesn't mean anything. The only hope we have of keeping our jobs is to stick together."

Toledo oil workers: 'They're trying to take away our rights'

By Sue Skinner

TOLEDO—"They hollered 'shortage,' and here we're down, but Gulf never missed a delivery! So they got enough gas to keep 'em for years."

That's how one striking oil worker explained the "energy crisis" to SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. While campaigning in Toledo April 11, Zimmermann went to picket lines in front of a Gulf oil refinery to give her support to striking members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

Toledo Gulf workers had been on strike since January. Though other OCAW locals have returned to work, Local 346 was still on strike over disciplinary action imposed by the company against some OCAW strikers.

"They're trying to take away our rights—even strikers' rights!" protested one picket.

"The government and bosses are doing the same thing to striking transit workers in New York. That's why I'm campaigning for the unions to form a labor party that could unite OCAW and all the unions to fight against their strike-breaking laws," explained Zimmermann.

A striker responded: "Oh yeah, they do that here too. See that window up there, over here and across the street? Those are cameras on us. Got us on videotape. Even took down our shed so we've got to stand in the rain! Politicians are all the same—

we're supposed to let them come to our union hall to talk and give them money, and as soon as they're elected, you've got to stand in line!"

A picket sign hung nearby: "If you think the oil companies are ripping you off, HONK!"

"You get a lot of honks?" asked Zimmermann.

"You bet we do! I think the government should take over the oil companies."

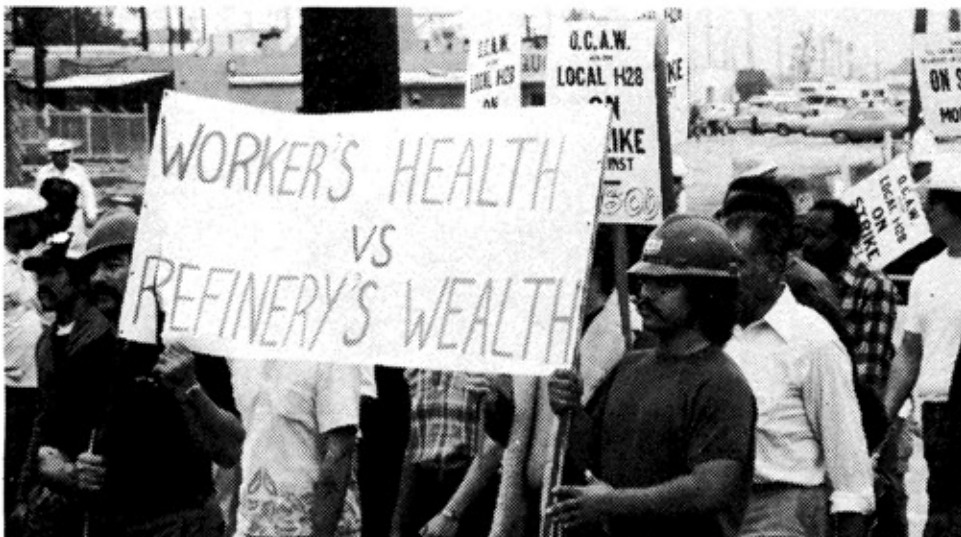
"So do I," said Zimmermann. "SWP candidates are campaigning to nationalize the energy industry."

"Great idea," the striker said. "I wrote a letter telling them the same thing. And they wrote back—you'll get a good yuk out of this—they figured up how much it would cost the government to buy the oil companies! Said it was too expensive an idea!"

"I'm not talking about buying them," said Zimmermann. "I'm talking about taking them away from Gulf and Exxon and running them ourselves!"

"Oh yeah, me too! Good luck on your campaign."

On April 13, Local 346 voted to return to work. Though workers will be returning to work, production is not expected to resume for weeks as machinery neglected during the strike must be repaired. Disciplinary cases are being fought through the grievance procedure.



Los Angeles march during national oil workers' strike

Militant/Walter Lippmann

Maoist RCP provokes fights with auto workers

By Alice Conner

NEWARK—Across the country the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), a sectarian Maoist group, has been forcefully publicizing its plans for a so-called "Revolutionary May Day." The provocative manner in which the RCP has conducted this campaign has led to arrests of some of its members in several cities, and to physical confrontations with workers.

With auto workers in New Jersey facing plant shutdowns and thousands of layoffs, the RCP's actions have had an especially divisive and dangerous effect. The clashes provoked by these sectarians hamper the ability of auto workers to discuss freely and act together against our real enemy—the auto companies.

A couple of days after Ford announced the closing of its Mahwah assembly plant, a group of RCPers tried to march into the plant with red flags, according to Mahwah union members. A fight ensued that led to cops being called in.

One of the most serious incidents took place earlier this year at the General Motors assembly plant in Linden. There a group of RCPers provoked a confrontation on February 20 in which one worker was seriously beaten by the Linden police.

A scuffle between RCPers and workers who oppose their views had taken place at the end of the day shift the day before. Fortunately, no one was seriously injured. Then at 2:30 a.m. on February 20, forty members of the RCP returned to the plant, ostensibly to distribute their May Day material to the second shift. The RCP members carried large

flashlights underneath the literature. These were later used as weapons.

The RCP's own account in the February 22 issue of their paper, *Revolutionary Worker*, states: "All hell broke loose. Squad cars and red lights were flashing. The [RCP] Brigade escaped from the police. Meanwhile 500 to 1000 workers had gathered around and the police were not well received by the crowd. The cops busted one worker, cracking him on the head and arresting him for 'disorderly conduct.'"

The RCP seems to view it as a big success that their members escaped while the workers were left to face the police.

In another confrontation, four RCPers ganged up to bloody a skilled-trades worker who wouldn't buy their paper.

The methods of the RCP have nothing to do with May Day, or with socialism or communism. Revolutionary socialists condemn the RCP's attempts to impose their views on workers by force; we reject the use of violence against our sisters and brothers in the union.

The RCP's actions have contributed to an atmosphere of violence in which right-wingers can more easily attack the union. Shortly after the February 20 incident a union committeeman found his car vandalized. Swastikas bearing the name of the Nazi Party, a racist, anti-union outfit, were placed on the car.

Another committeeman, who had been involved with the fight with the RCP, was suspended for three weeks on trumped-up charges of assaulting a foreman. The company's only other witness was another foreman.

The actions of the RCP mark their growing isolation from the labor movement. They counterpose their organization to the union. The RCP members at Linden never attend union meetings or

get involved in union-building activities. When the union women's committee organized to send members to the labor-sponsored march for the Equal Rights Amendment last January 13 in Richmond, Virginia, for example, the RCP abstained.

The RCP shows only contempt for the workers and our union. The literature typically demands that workers "take a stand" on the RCP's May Day plans. Those who don't agree to follow RCP Chairman Bob Avakian are described in their leaflets as "company-sucking numbskulls" and as "jerks [who] have got their heads so far up GM's ass that they can't even see what's really going on here in this country."

When GM recently announced 1,000 layoffs at Linden, the RCP put out a leaflet that seemed to gloat over the workers' plight. Headed "Goodbye Yellow Brick Road," it began: "The word came down yesterday and the best racket job in Jersey don't look so good anymore."

The commemoration of May Day in the labor movement originated in the 1880s with the struggle by millions of American workers for an eight-hour day. A century later we face inflation, unemployment, speedup, and other attacks from the employers. Massive and united actions will be required if labor is to fight back. Those actions aren't happening yet.

Impatience with the working class and its organizations is the political root of the RCP's increasingly frenzied behavior. Their attacks on workers are a dead end, if not worse. They are used by the companies and right-wingers to discredit and silence anyone with proposals to strengthen and defend our unions.

Union members need to be able to discuss our problems and debate what course to follow in an atmosphere free from violence, intimidation, and provocation.

Alice Conner is a member of United Auto Workers Local 595 at the General Motors Linden assembly plant.

By Suzanne Haig

The Equal Rights Amendment states: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

For the ERA to become law, thirty-eight states must approve it. So far, thirty-five states have voted to ratify. The ratification deadline is June 30, 1982.

Why do women need the ERA?

Women currently make up 42 percent of the work force. Employers view them as a source of cheap labor. A woman makes fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by men. Eighty percent of women who work are trapped in low-paying clerical and service jobs, or doing "women's work" in factories.

Often women are given different titles for the same work and thus come under different and lower pay scales. It is often virtually impossible for a woman to get into the better-paying apprenticeship programs for skilled trades jobs.

- laws that permit state colleges to discriminate against women by setting higher admissions standards.

- laws that discriminate in hiring for state and local government;
- laws that establish dual pay schedules;

- laws that determine child custody on the basis of the parent's sex;
- laws that impose heavier criminal penalties for female lawbreakers than for male; and

- laws such as Louisiana's "head master law" that restricts a woman's right to control her own property.

Workers compensation laws discriminate against female workers. When a woman is injured or killed on the job, the family members often have to go through a long and degrading process to prove they were dependent on her income.

In one stroke the ERA would knock out all laws that discriminate on the basis of sex, whether on a federal, state, or local level.

How will labor benefit from the ERA?

Working people in this country are under attack by the government's austerity drive which can only be fought by a labor movement that is united.

Women are vitally needed in this fight to defend the interests of all workers.

By fighting for the ERA, the labor movement helps to cement its unity, by guaranteeing that there are no second-class citizens in the work force. When any group of workers is deprived of its rights, the labor movement as a whole suffers the consequences.

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

In the U.S. only one working woman

equality which make women a basic source of cheap labor. The disparity between the wages of women and men workers is the source for billions of dollars in extra profits for employers.

They also realize that ratification of the ERA would encourage women to assert their rights more confidently and would create a climate more favorable to securing those rights.

Those who oppose ERA are anti-labor and anti-Black. They include the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan, Young Americans for Freedom, and other right-wing, antilabor organizations. The ERA campaign is closely linked to the fight against "right to work" laws. Twelve of the fifteen states that have not ratified the ERA are "right to work" states.

Does ERA mean unisex public toilets, gym showers, and so forth?

This is an hysterical last-ditch argument of ERA opponents.

The ERA will not affect an individual's right to privacy, which has been upheld by the United States Supreme Court. Rest rooms will not be sexually integrated.

As a matter of fact, winning the ERA will help women fight against one aspect of the discrimination they suffer in many plants, which is precisely the denial of adequate separate toilets, washrooms, bathhouses, and locker rooms.

How does the ERA help housewives? Does it threaten the family or prevent divorced women from collecting alimony or child support?

Current Social Security laws discriminate against women who work as homemakers. When a homemaker becomes disabled, her dependents have no right to Social Security. ERA will change this.

The ERA will only reinforce what is already the law in most places regarding alimony and child support, namely that these be made on the basis of ability to pay rather than sex.

The ERA presents no threat to families. But the fact that many women work low-paying, insecure jobs harms their ability to meet the needs of their families. Today when both husband and wife have to work to make ends meet, every family is discriminated against through a female member.

Will the ERA do away with protective legislation for women workers?

Some so-called protective laws are a fraud, used only to deny women equal job opportunities.

Protective laws that represent genuine health and safety measures and would result in more humane working conditions ought to be extended to all workers, male and female. The ERA will help accomplish this. The fight for equal rights for women will help the unions' efforts to protect the health and safety of all members.

Will women be drafted under ERA?

Carter's call to register women along with men should lay to rest this argument against ERA. Congress already has the power to do so.

Moreover, ERA means equality of rights, not equal violation of rights.

Just as women and men are organizing today to oppose draft registration for both sexes, they should do so if women are threatened with the draft after ERA is ratified.

Material for the answers to these and other questions can be found in the following:

"The Need for the Equal Rights Amendment," Illinois Labor Conference for the ERA brochure.

Resolution passed at the August '82 Labor Conference for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia, organized by Labor for Equal Rights Now.

How to Win the ERA, by Ginny Hildebrand and others. Published by Pathfinder Press.

UAW Statement on the ERA.

Questions and answers on the Equal Rights Amendment



More women are employed today than in early part of century, but they are still concentrated in low-paying, menial jobs; above, turn-of-century sweat shop, right, modern garment factory.



The ERA will be an important weapon to deal with sex-based discrimination in hiring and on the job. With the ERA as part of the Constitution, the pressure will grow for more effective enforcement of anti-discrimination laws. The ERA will make it easier for women to assert their rights on all fronts.

No one today will say that a woman works for pin money. Nine million women are sole heads of their families through divorce, death, or desertion; and of all persons subsisting on incomes below the poverty line, 60 percent are women.

About 89 percent of those on welfare are women and children. Because of discrimination, these women have little hope for practical job placement or training. Because of the absence of federally funded child care, women who are sole heads of households often cannot afford to hold a job and pay for child care. They are forced onto welfare.

The ERA is needed to eliminate legal discrimination. There are an estimated 3,000 laws on the books which discriminate on the basis of sex. These include:

- laws that prohibit women from working at certain kinds of occupations;

Aren't women guaranteed all the rights they need by specific legislation such as Title IX of the Education Amendments Act, Title VII of the 1963 Equal Pay Act, and the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission?

No. These laws have loopholes and exemptions that leave many aspects of job discrimination untouched. The weakness of such legislation is shown by the fact that the income gap between men and women has widened. In 1980 women make fifty-nine cents to every dollar earned by men. In 1956 women made sixty-three cents to every dollar made by men.

Corporations force women workers to go to court with discrimination suits, because it takes so long for a settlement to be decided. The average time for litigation is seven years with a national backlog of more than 200,000 cases. Thousands of dollars in court costs and millions in back pay are at stake.

Rather than having to challenge every law and monitor every existing or proposed piece of legislation to ensure it is not discriminatory, ERA will strike down most of these laws. In the remainder, litigation will be greatly simplified.

in ten belongs to a trade union. When unions take the lead in fighting for equal rights, this helps win working women to the union banner. It also undermines the employers' attempt to use vulnerable underpaid female workers against organized labor.

Do women of oppressed minorities have a special interest in ERA?

Yes. Such women suffer the double jeopardy of racism and sexism and are primarily confined to the lowest-paid occupations.

More than 27 percent of all women heading households are Black, and 58.6 percent of Black females who head households live in poverty.

Many Black organizations have endorsed the ERA, including the NAACP, National Council of Negro Women, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, National Association of Negro Businesswomen and Professional Women's Clubs, National Alliance of Black Feminists, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Delta Sigma Theta, and Operation PUSH.

Who are the enemies of ERA?

The employers and their government oppose the ERA because they know it would give women an important weapon in the fight to eradicate barriers to

'Time to put lives before nuclear investments'

By Nancy Cole

At the Bethlehem coal mine in Marianna, Pennsylvania, a display on the bulletin board declares that "Three Mile Island is not over." Pictures of antinuclear protesters accompany a sign-up sheet for the April 26 march on Washington against nuclear power.

At another Bethlehem mine in nearby Ellsworth, about thirty miners have signed up to go on the bus organized by United Mine Workers District 5, an endorser of the national demonstration.

In Denver, railworker Silvia Zapata, who joined the 18,000-strong protest against the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant April 18, reports that at work the next day another worker told her he had been at the demonstration too. A little more than a year ago he had argued vehemently in favor of nuclear power, but the disaster at Three Mile Island changed his mind, he said.

In Louisville, Kentucky, Local Lodge 830 of the International Association of Machinists, representing employees at the U.S. Naval Ordnance Station, recently went on record in support of the April 26 march on Washington.

Across the country, the truth about the perils of nuclear power is leaking out right along with the radioactive releases, and it's spurring working people to take action. The immediacy of the issue is reinforced by the realization that government and industry continue to lie about the nuclear danger and the Carter administration fully intends on moving nuclear power forward no matter what the public wants.

In Harrisburg, where the impact of

18,000 protest Rocky Flats weapons plant



Militant/Tom Vernier

Eighteen thousand demonstrators converged on the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant April 18 to demand the plant be closed and converted to nonnuclear production. The plant, which is run for the Department of Energy by Rockwell International, manufactures plutonium triggers for nuclear weapons. It is located sixteen miles upwind of downtown Denver. Rally speakers included Citizens Party presidential candidate Barry Commoner, U.S. Representatives Patricia Schroeder and Ron Dellums, Daniel Ellsberg, and Miriam Karkanian, widow of a Rocky Flats worker who died of cancer.



the last year's events have understandably been the most intense, industry and government have ganged up to label antinuclear activism as the product of mass hysteria.

The Pennsylvania State Health Department released a report April 17 that found 13 percent of 37,000 residents in the five-mile radius of the TMI plant are now antinuclear activists. This the agency disparagingly dismisses as "emotional involvement."

To further bolster its "case," the report, which was partially funded by the electric utility industry, says that 60 percent do not want the plant reopened and 54 percent would evacuate immediately in another nuclear crisis. This, it contends, is a result of the widespread and prolonged "stress" of the last year.

"The only real health damage detected so far has been psychological," chimed in an April 18 *New York Times* editorial.

Figures on higher infant mortalities in the Harrisburg area released by Dr. Gordon Macleod, Pennsylvania Secretary of Health at the time of the accident, have now been juggled to "prove" the rate is no higher than before the accident.

Similarly, figures on increased numbers of babies born with thyroid defects have now been declared by the "experts" to be unrelated to the nuclear disaster.

The *New York Times* even dismisses testimony of area farmers and veterinarians of animals born with no eyes or legs, of spontaneous abortions and stillbirths, of defective bone structures and sudden livestock deaths as the result of "viral infections" or "feed and poor nutrition."

Back in the 1950s, when the Atomic Energy Commission was conducting atomic weapons tests in the deserts of Nevada, it told local residents over and over again, "There is no danger."

It has been revealed only recently, that government officials knew all along of the dangers of the tests. The suffering inflicted on the people who sat in their cars and watched the "harmless" mushroom cloud explosions is incalculable.

After nearly a thousand claims for damages were filed, only this year did a government report grudgingly admit that the tests resulted in disease and death.

It's more than ample cause for working people to question the proclamations that the only ill effects from the Three Mile Island accident were psychological.

It's why coal miners in central Pennsylvania are glad to see their union spending money on getting unionists to the Washington march instead of throwing it away on some Democratic or Republican politician who will only join in the nuclear cover-up if elected.

"There is no earthly reason, it seems, to continue using nuclear power as an energy source in this nation, except, of course, the \$150 billion the energy tycoons have invested in it," Joe Jurczak from the Pennsylvania Coal Miners Political Action Committee told a Pittsburgh news conference April 16.

"Now is the time to put human lives and jobs before the investments of these corporations."

What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power

On the nuclear peril

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.

Balto. program at steelworkers hall

By Baxter Smith

BALTIMORE—Drawing on personal stories and a barrel of facts, Harrisburg resident Louise Bradford told some sixty unionists and others that "it is people like you in the unions who have the power to stop this criminal act."

Bradford was speaking April 20 at an educational program on the "Dangers of Nuclear Power" hosted by the Baltimore Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World.

The program was held at the headquarters of United Steelworkers Local 2609, a 6500-member local at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant. It was chaired by Local 2609 President David Wilson.

Jerry Gordon, assistant director of Region 4, United Food and Commercial Workers, also spoke.

Ada Sanchez, from the national staff of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, rounded out the program with a slide show on nuclear power.

Metropolitan Edison, operators of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant

near Harrisburg, are hoping to dump hundreds of thousands of gallons of radioactive waste water from the damaged plant into the Susquehanna River. The Susquehanna flows into Chesapeake Bay, Baltimore's backyard.

If this is permitted to happen, Wilson pointed out, it could affect the jobs of workers at Bethlehem Steel and other plants that line the bay.

Gordon, who is also the National Labor Task Force director of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, explained that "every facet of the nuclear cycle involves workers."

Gordon called for the substitution of coal for nuclear power. This would put the 20,000 jobless coal miners back to work, he said.

Responding to critics questioning the health factors in burning coal, Gordon explained that coal can be burned cleanly and be a valuable interim energy source. The miners union, he said, favors the clean burning of coal. It is chiefly the coal company operators who oppose environmental safeguards.

Bradford described how Met Ed is planning to hire 2,000 "throwaway" workers for the cleanup of Three Mile Island. These will be people who will work long enough to get the maximum amount of radiation dosage and then be fired. In some instances this will be only a few minutes.

In a typically racist manner, Met Ed, according to Bradford, is recruiting "throwaway" workers in the Black communities of the Harrisburg area.

Bradford wondered about how many "cancers will show up among these workers ten to fifteen years from now."

Other sponsors of the meeting, besides the Baltimore coalition and Wilson, included Joseph Kottelchuck, president of Local 2610 at Sparrows Point, and Robert Ingram, vice-president of Local 976 of International Chemical Workers. Also, Daniel Beck, president of the Baltimore County Watermen's Association; Baltimore City Council member Norman Reeves; National Public Radio commentator Barbara Koepfel; and George Tomlin of the Chesapeake Energy Alliance.

World socialist group hails spring actions

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement, issued a statement April 11 in solidarity with antinuclear protests around the world planned from April through June.

The impact of the Three Mile Island accident in Harrisburg one year ago, the statement says, "served to give new urgency and impetus to the antinuclear struggle in every country as shown by the huge protests in the past year—from Australia to Germany, Switzerland to Spain, and France to the United States."

"It was also shown by the large votes against nuclear power in referenda recently held in Sweden and Austria. The international antinuclear movement is now genuinely massive, and until the nuclear menace is stopped, has become a permanent part of the struggle for socialism."

Mare Island's 'Radioactive Special'

Calif. rail workers look into danger of transporting nuclear waste

By Rainy Creighton
and Harry Quinn

SAN FRANCISCO—Every time that a "Radioactive Special" pulls out of the Mare Island Naval Shipyard the members of the train crew breathe in apprehensively.

Will there be a derailment or a collision?

Will some other accident spill the high-level nuclear waste that the train is hauling?

Even if an accident does not occur, will they have health problems in the future because of the additional radiation their bodies have absorbed?

Railroad workers around here have been giving a lot more thought to questions like these ever since the nuclear disaster at Three Mile Island last year. We already knew of the dangers involved in hauling toxic chemicals, but those seem almost benign in comparison with the threat posed by the "Radioactive Special" out of Mare Island. The stuff that it carries comes from the bellies of nuclear submarines.

The Mare Island Naval Shipyard, located at the northern tip of San Francisco Bay, handles a large share of the refueling duties for the U.S. Navy's 113 nuclear submarines. It also decommissions the subs that are being taken out of service. Nuclear vessels carrying nuclear weapons dock regularly at Mare Island to unload their radioactive wastes and to replace spent nuclear fuel with fresh.

"The Nautilus submarine's nuclear reactor was recently taken apart there," reports the fall edition of *No-Glo News*, the newspaper of People Against Nuclear Power. "In addition,



Militant/Karl Bermann

the ships sometimes unload their weapons for maintenance and upgrading."

High-level waste

Nuclear subs run on a highly concentrated fuel, a mixture that is 94 percent uranium-235, similar to the concentration used in nuclear weapons. Commercial reactors, by comparison, run on a fuel that is 3 percent uranium-235. So dangerous is the sub's fuel that a cooling down process of up to three months is necessary before new fuel can be loaded.

It is the high-level radioactive waste from this fuel that the train crews must carry.

What's more, the area itself is dangerous. Earthquake faults surround the shipyard. People here recall with alarm that the recent leak at the Lawrence Livermore reactor occurred after earthquake tremors. What would have happened here?

"According to the California Department of Health, an accident during refueling, triggered by an earthquake or plain old clumsiness, would release massive amounts of radiation into the atmosphere. The Navy responds that all such accident analysis is 'classified.'" (*It's About Times*, newsletter of the Abalone Alliance, November-Mid-December, 1979.)

Worried about the dangers, rail workers of United Transportation Union (UTU) Local 100 decided to complain to the Federal Railroad Administration, and to have the union's safety committee look into the matter. What they found out tells a lot about govern-

ment secrecy and lack of concern for the safety of the workers on the Southern Pacific line.

The nuclear fuel rods used in refueling submarines are brought in on rail cars from Roseville (near Sacramento) and set out at Flosden on the Vallejo branch line. There the Navy picks up the cars and takes them into the base. Southern Pacific (SP) crews do not enter the base.

The reverse process occurs with the spent fuel rods and the contaminated parts of the decommissioned subs. The Navy sets the rail cars out at Flosden, where SP crews pick them up. They are then transported through Roseville, across the Sierra Nevada, and delivered to the Union Pacific at Ogden, Utah. From there, the UP delivers the waste materials to a Westinghouse Electric plant in Scoville, Idaho.

Classified information

Very large amounts of nuclear wastes are involved. But the Navy won't say how much, on the grounds that the information is classified.

The nuclear wastes from Mare Island are highly radioactive and generate considerable heat. They are shipped in large steel casks lined with lead, steel, or uranium. These waste casks are too heavy for the highways. That is why they are transported by rail, in special cars and also on conventional heavy duty flat cars.

The great weight is in itself cause for misgiving. The UTU safety committee cited a report by a Chicago rail worker about an incident there in which a car carrying a secret shipment of radioactive waste derailed while being switched.

"The reason for [the derailment] was that the steel casement and lead lining of the car—presumably packed with dense radioactive material—was so incredibly heavy that even the full air brake application was insufficient to hold it still, even on the nearly indiscernible grade it sat on."

Given the condition of tracks, roadbeds, and cars, there is good reason to fear the derailment of a "Radioactive Special" in motion. In the past two years, derailments of other trains have caused the deaths of crew members and people living near the tracks. Land has been poisoned by spilled chemicals. A spill of radioactive material could be disastrous because of the long-lasting contamination.

The problem is exacerbated because not every car carrying radioactive material in or out of Mare Island is labeled "radioactive."

The UTU safety committee found out that the U.S. Department of Transportation exempts Department of Defense cars from the requirement to carry such identifying placards. The cars, labeled as "machinery" perhaps, need only be escorted by Defense Department security personnel. They ride in their own caboose ahead of the SP crew's cab.

Mike Flanigan, a member of the safety committee of Local 100, issued a

report to the local on February 4 about the status of our complaint to the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA).

Our need to know

In order to handle railroad cars properly and safely, we must know about the material being carried. The mechanical condition of the cars, brakes, journals, etc. needs to be checked.

But according to Flanigan's report to the UTU local, "The FRA was not allowed to make any on-site inspections because of Navy security."

"It should be noted," Flanigan adds, "that the Navy objects to notifying the FRA of any future shipments of radioactive cargo, and in fact does not always notify the SP if the shipment is classified."

Nevertheless, the FRA's Hazardous Materials Inspector, Clarence Bowles, told Flanigan that his investigation into the specific complaints brought by the union local was completed.

This is a "fox guarding the henhouse" situation, says Mike Litwin, legislative representative of the union local.

What about precautions against the leakage of radioactive material? Queried about the procedures, an inspector for the FRA assured a member of the local that the cars carrying radioactive waste are "perfectly safe," but went on to add that he had his doubts about the cars used by the Southern Pacific as spacers between the Defense Department cars.

Most of the spacers are considered by the SP to be unfit for other use.

Bob Farringer, Chairman of UTU Local 100, says that "the minimum requirement to insure the safety of train crews was that the crew should know what cargo it was carrying and that each crew member should be provided with a badge to measure the level of radiation absorbed."

At present, badges are provided only to Defense Department security personnel. Also, unlike the workers who handle nuclear materials for industry or government, rail workers are not provided with special protective clothing. Nor are they taught what to do in case of an accident.

Locals discuss problem

Rail workers of UTU Local 100, concerned by the dangers and aroused by the disclosures, have put this issue on the agenda of ten local meetings.

Opinion runs strong to fight for the safe transportation and handling of nuclear materials. Many are also becoming more skeptical about the use of nuclear energy at all.

Clearly rail workers have good reason to consider the arguments of the antinuclear movement. The call to shut down all nuclear facilities now and switch to coal would not only be a safety precaution, but would save and create jobs on the railroads, the main transporter of coal.

Find out about the antinuclear candidates

Hear:

Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president

Tom Moriarty, SWP candidate for governor of West Virginia

After the March on Washington:
Sat., April 26, 7:30 p.m.
3106 Mt. Pleasant NW, Washington,
D.C.

\$2 donation, social to follow
(202) 797-7699

For more information on the Socialist Workers presidential campaign—Andrew Pulley for president, Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president—send the coupon to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

- ☐ Send me Tom Moriarty's brochure, "A Socialist Coal Miner Speaks Out Against Nuclear Power."
- ☐ Send me Andrew Pulley's brochure, "How to Stop the Draft."
- ☐ Add my name to the list of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.
- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ phone _____
Union/School/org. _____

Why Carter bars visits to hostages

Moves against Iran meet growing opposition

By Fred Feldman

On April 17, ten days after he broke off diplomatic relations with Iran, Carter escalated his threats.

He imposed a ban on travel by Americans to Iran. While formally excepting reporters, he put new restrictions on their travel as well.

In a particularly arrogant move, Carter proposed that \$8 billion in Iranian assets seized by the U.S. government be used to pay the Pentagon for keeping a twenty-seven ship task force off the coast of Iran.

He concluded with a trial balloon about future moves: "The only next step available that I can see would be some sort of military action."

Carter knows this is not true. Military action will do nothing to release the hostages, and could seal their doom. Carter knows also that the hostages would be released overnight if the shah, who tortured and murdered tens of thousands of Iranians, were returned to Iran to face justice.

Reluctant allies

But Carter's moves are not aimed at the Iranian people alone. He is also trying to get his European allies to join a trade embargo aimed at strangling Iran's economy.

The Western European governments are balking at Carter's sanctions, because of fears of economic and political consequences at home. Several are highly dependent on Iranian oil.

The nine governments of the European Common Market met April 21-22 in Luxembourg with Iran on the agenda. R. W. Apple, Jr. reported in the April 22 *New York Times* that the "nine nations would tell Washington, probably privately, that they were not prepared in the foreseeable future to close their embassies in Teheran or to support the United States in any military intervention should sanctions fail to work."

In the end, they put off economic sanctions until May 17, and made no move to end oil imports from Iran.

Carter also wants to encourage the Iraqi government's military pressure against Iran, about which Washington scarcely conceals its pleasure. But unrest among the Iraqi masses, support for the Iranian revolution throughout the Middle East, and Khomeini's warnings that an "army of 20 million" is being trained are giving the Iraqi rulers pause.

But the most important target of Carter's new measures is American working people. We, along with the Iranian people and the hostages in the U.S. Embassy, would pay the highest

price for any military steps Carter might take.

It is the opposition of working people to new Vietnams that poses the biggest single obstacle to military moves against Iran—or other countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that assert their independence from Washington.

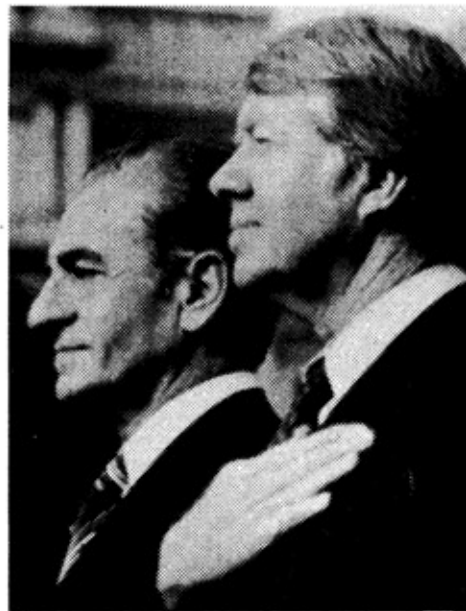
From this crucial standpoint, Carter is in a weaker position to attack Iran militarily than anytime since he provoked the hostage crisis last November.

Now Carter is making a renewed bid to whip up anti-Iranian chauvinism in hopes of wearing down our opposition to war and blinding us to the real issues in Iran.

With the help of the Republican and Democratic politicians in Congress, he is using his own escalation of the embassy crisis to flout popular opposition to draft registration. Under cover of Carter's warnings about military action, the House Appropriations Committee voted narrowly to approve funding registration, after having rejected it in a previous vote. And bipartisan support breezed it through the House April 22.

Carter also wants to use Iran to push ahead with plans to increase arms spending, while slashing public services and social programs.

The American people are the real victims of the travel bans and restrictions on news coverage. Carter wants to keep us from getting the facts about the Iranian revolution, the role of Washington, the views and feelings of the Iranian people, the treatment the hostages are receiving, and other issues.



Shah and friend before revolution

Afraid to hear the truth

KANSAS CITY—John Kiely was the host of a talk show on WHB radio here.

As a journalist, he accompanied a delegation to Iran led by Prof. Norman Forer of the University of Kansas. Forer chairs the Committee for American-Iranian Crisis Resolution.

Kiely went because he had become dissatisfied with news coverage of events in Iran. "It seemed like the only thing we were hearing about was the hostages and it was obvious that wasn't the whole story."

Kiely described the continuing mass mobilizations of the Iranian people.

"There were demonstrations. The revolution was accomplished in that way and it is still a way of expressing opinion." He was present when three million gathered to celebrate the first anniversary of the fall of the shah's regime.

"There were Marxist rallies and other kinds of political rallies."

He described city-wide prayer meetings held on Fridays. Hundreds of thousands gather each week to hold services and hear political speeches. "Under the old regime there was no such thing as a city-wide prayer service. We can assume Pahlavi [the ex-shah] didn't want hundreds of thousands of Moslems gathered in one place."

"The prayer service represents a freedom of religion and a political freedom to the Iranian people. Following the prayer service it's not unusual for people to go down to the embassy compound to show their support."

The purpose of Carter's travel ban is to keep reports like Kiely's from coming out.

What happened when he returned showed how the big-business media are trying to help Carter out.

Kiely was fired by WHB.



Barbara Timm visits her son at the U.S. Embassy. Carter fears visits with hostages will undermine his efforts to win support for military action against Iran.

Such attacks on democratic rights are a basic part of the administration's war preparations. They follow threats to bar U.S. athletes from traveling to Moscow for the summer Olympics; a virtual ban on the coverage of the games by the U.S. media; and harassment and deportations of Iranians living in this country.

But so far Carter is not getting the response he sought. The latest *New York Times*/CBS poll showed that only 22 percent of those polled favored military action against Iran.

And the governing conference of the United Methodist Church, the second-largest Protestant denomination in the United States, wasn't impressed, either.

They voted April 21 to send a message to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. It asked release of the hostages, but declared: "We hear the agonies of your people; we hear their cries for freedom from foreign domination, from cultural imperialism, from economic exploitation."

Carter plotted coup

As more truth seeps out, Carter's claim that Washington has done nothing for which it should apologize to Iran is becoming more exposed.

The *New York Times* revealed April 20 that Carter sent General Robert Huyser to Tehran in January 1979 in a last-ditch effort to block the victory of the anti-shah revolution.

"... the White House ordered General Huyser to develop contingency plans for a coup in the event that revolutionary forces appeared to be toppling the Bakhtiar Government." [Shahpur Bakhtiar was the shah's last prime minister.]

The plot to impose a military dictatorship on Iran fell apart when the ranks of the army and air force went over to the side of the revolution.

Carter may think this is nothing to apologize for, but millions of American working people are starting to think different.

The families of the hostages are increasingly unwilling to be pawns in a policy that places Washington's decades-long alliance with the shah far above the lives of their relatives.

Like many other Americans, some members of hostage families have come to see the justice of the charges that the Iranian people have laid against Washington.

In open defiance of Carter's travel ban, the mother and stepfather of twenty-year-old Kevin Hermening (the youngest of the hostages) arrived in Tehran April 19.

Relatives speak out

"Why does my government feel threatened by me?" challenged Barbara Timm, Kevin's mother, in re-

sponse to Carter administration protests against her trip. She said government efforts to prevent her from getting information about her son from the Tehran embassy had made her "wonder if maybe I was used by American propaganda, not Iranian." Earlier, Timm stated her opposition to any military move against Iran.

On April 21 Mrs. Timm was admitted to the U.S. Embassy to visit her son. She found him in good physical and emotional health. "The government has said these people are brainwashed but I can't agree," she added.

Like the recent visits by the International Red Cross and three American ministers, experience contradicted the lurid tales circulated by the State Department about torture and mistreatment of hostages.

Mrs. Timm's talks with Iranians and her visit to a Tehran cemetery where thousands upon thousands of the shah's victims are buried had an impact on her.

"These are people to care about, not hate," she said of the Iranians at an April 21 news conference. She said she planned to continue "trying to get people to have Congressional hearings and investigations and to convince people that sanctions are not the way to a peaceful settlement."

Her attorney suggested that Congress should investigate "the financial involvement of banks, individuals, and the Government of the shah." He also suggested that legislators "could conceivably inquire into why the Administration chose to let the Shah into the United States in the first place."

Barbara Rosen, wife of hostage Barry Rosen (formerly the embassy's press attache), also criticized Carter's threats of military action.

"I want them home," she told *New York Daily News* correspondent Thomas Hanrahan, "I don't want to see a military action that will get them killed, will get a lot of Americans killed, that will see a lot of Iranians killed."

She also had some pointed words for Carter's frequent hints that "national honor" takes precedence over the lives of the hostages. "National honor. One week this is honorable, the next week something else is honorable, as we saw in Vietnam."

The media pretend that Carter is pressing ahead with his attacks on Iran in response to public pressure for harsher action. But in fact, Carter is acting in defiance of growing public awareness that his policy is dangerous and morally wrong.

With each day that goes by, more working people become convinced of the only just way to end the embassy crisis:

Hands off Iran!
Send back the shah!

Draft opponents to join D.C. antinuclear march

By August Nimtz

As the U.S. House of Representatives moved toward its April 22 vote to authorize funding for draft registration, the Washington Area Committee Against Registration and the Draft (WACARD) began organizing an antidraft contingent for the April 26 antinuclear march in Washington, D.C. (See box for WACARD statement on House vote.)

The contingent will meet at 10 a.m. on Fourth and Madison, N.W.

Spokespeople for WACARD stressed the links between the antidraft movement and the struggle to shut down nuclear power plants and abolish nuclear weapons.

WACARD is leafleting the Washington, D.C., area in order to mobilize support for the contingent. WACARD is also calling other CARD chapters in the region to urge participation. For more information on the contingent, contact WACARD at (202) 265-0458.

Actions to oppose the draft continue to take place in other areas.

In Gary, Indiana, Mayor Richard Hatcher was a speaker at a rally of 125 people at Indiana University Northwest on April 14.

Hatcher talked about the importance of involving Blacks and Latinos in the antidraft marches and rallies. He denounced Carter's planned budget cuts. "The MX missile system," he declared,

"costs more than social programs such as food stamps, the Department of Education, the Environmental Protection Agency, and many others, put together."

Urging participants in the antidraft movement to get into the fight for jobs for the unemployed, Hatcher appealed

for support for the May 17 march on Washington for peace and jobs called by Rev. Jesse Jackson.

The people who attended the rally, mainly young workers and students, also heard IUN Student Government Association President Neil Nomensen. "No one should go through another

Vietnam. Students do not want the draft."

Fred Stern, member of the Midwest Committee for Military Counseling, said that the situation in Afghanistan is not a threat to peace as Carter claims. Stern got big applause from the audience when he said there should be no war for the profits of Standard and Exxon and that the oil industry should be nationalized.

Annie Larsen, a Black woman organizer for the Hospital Workers Union Local 1199, and Lynn Merlone of the Midwest Coalition Against the Draft, also spoke. "ERA and the draft are not a package deal," said Merlone, asking support for the May 10 demonstration for the ERA in Chicago.

In San Diego, seventy-five student representatives from antidraft groups and student governments met in a second statewide conference April 12 to establish a structure that will coordinate campus antidraft activities throughout California. The California Campus Antidraft Coalition called for a week of antidraft activities April 27 through May 4, with April 30 designated as a focus for statewide actions.

At Columbia University, about 150 students protested on April 16 the giving of a university award to Defense Secretary Harold Brown. The protest was organized by the Barnard/Columbia Ad Hoc Committee Against the Draft.

Protest House vote!

The following statement was released by the Washington Area Committee Against Registration and the Draft on the vote of the U.S. House of Representatives to reactivate the selective service system:

Today's House vote is a moral and political error of the greatest magnitude. Congress is in the process of selling out the lives of this nation's youth and it continues to ignore the genuine interests and needs of the vast majority of Americans.

This development is a setback, not yet a defeat. We will continue to press our case in the next legislative arena, the Senate. But at this juncture we realize we must begin to shape the debate more on our own terms.

As our anger swells to outrage we shall step up our efforts to force the public debate which Carter has sought to suppress. We will act to expose today's House vote for registration as a foreign policy extension of a morally bankrupt visionless domestic policy.

Our young people will not be sacrificed for political expedience nor to cover up for the foreign policy incompetence of the current administration. This will be our message in Congress and on America's streets.

It will be heard at the March for a Non-Nuclear World on April 26. It will be heard when we gather on May 4 to mark the tenth year anniversary of the Kent and Jackson State murders. A generation of young people has broken its silence.

How Soviet Muslims see Afghanistan revolution

By Jim Garrison

The media often speculate that the right wing forces in Afghanistan, claiming to fight under the banner of Islam, inspire sympathy among the Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia.

A report by correspondent Craig Whitney from these areas of the Soviet Union appeared in the April 11 *New York Times*. He tells a very different story.

Whitney notes the common cultural heritage among peoples on both sides of the Afghan-Soviet border. A 1967 census showed there were 3.5 million Tadzhiks, 1.5 million Uzbeks, and 300,000 Turkomen in Afghanistan. In the Soviet Union there are some 13 million Uzbeks, 3 million Tadzhiks, and 2 million Turkomen.

The events in Afghanistan have had an impact, but not the one usually predicted by the media. "All over the

Moslem southern crescent of the Soviet Union," writes Whitney, "the echoes of military intervention in Afghanistan still resound but with few audible overtones of discontent and protest."

On the contrary, he found wide support for the military help being given the Afghan government:

"Moslems, when they are asked to express their feelings about Afghanistan in private, say their duty is to help their fellow Afghan Moslems reach the same levels of economic progress and social emancipation that they have in the Soviet Union."

Underlying this sentiment are the big advances made in this region since the Russian revolution of 1917, despite the discrimination against the Central Asian peoples that is practiced by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Previously these were impoverished feudal principalities within the Czarist empire.

Today, Whitney admits, "Soviet Central Asia [is] a different world from the mountain backwardness of Afghanistan. Women on the Soviet side of the border do not wear the veil and they are not chattel of their husbands. There is little unemployment. And if there is no great wealth, there is also no abject poverty or hunger."

Support for the Soviet intervention extends to Muslim religious figures. The Deputy Chairman of the Moslem Religious Board in Tashkent declared, "We believe that this revolution in Afghanistan had begun to solve the serious social and economic problems of that country. . . . We as Moslems support the revolution—the medieval feudalism we had here until the 19th century slowed up our social and cultural development, too."

A student told him that the soldiers who went to Afghanistan felt the

same way. "The reservists are all back home now. And most of them were glad to go to help—it's a very backward country and we are neighbors, after all."

"We remember the Basmachi rebellion here," a university professor told him, referring to a counterrevolutionary uprising backed by Western powers after the revolution. "They were also a bunch of mercenaries and gunmen. . . . We know the barbarism and the suffering of that kind of war, and any Tadzhik would be able to sympathize instinctively with the supporters of the revolution in Afghanistan."

An irrigation engineer interviewed in the Uzbek town of Khiva "remembers that there was a slave market there until the Soviet authorities deposed the last Khan of Khiva. He added: 'The Afghans are our neighbors. Where there is poverty and backwardness it is our duty to help.'"

Turkey: another Washington ally in crisis

By August Nimtz

"Turkey, an important Western defense ally in an unstable area," writes Eric Morgenthau in the *Wall Street Journal*, April 16, "appears on the brink of chaos."

The chaos that the *Journal* refers to is the struggle of workers and farmers in Turkey. In February, workers in the city of Izmir, Turkey's main port and third-largest city, engaged in strikes, demonstrations, and battles with police in protest against stringent austerity moves by the right-wing government of Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel. They took over sections of the city, standing up to thousands of cops, tanks, armored cars, and reconnaissance planes.

In response to rising unrest, right-wing terrorists linked to the army have stepped up their violence. More than 200 people are being killed each month. In January 1979 one million workers took part in a five-minute silent work stoppage to protest rightist terror.

Under the pretext of ending the chaos, the military has threatened to step in and take over if Demirel is unable to put down the workers. De-



Christian Science Monitor

demirel has declared martial law in about a third of the provinces with the result that half of the population is under direct military administration.

The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor*, in their March 6 issue, explained Washington's concern:

"The stakes are high. With Iran still in the throes of revolution, with the Russians in Afghanistan, with the whole of Southwest Asia in a state of change and uncertainty, Turkey takes on enhanced and critical importance as a democratic bulwark of the North

Atlantic alliance in the eastern Mediterranean."

Because of its geographical location and its membership in NATO since 1952, Turkey has long been a politically important asset for imperialism. The overthrow of the shah in 1979 made Turkey even more vital; Washington hopes it may become a new policeman to check revolutionary upsurges in the region.

As happened in Iran under the shah, however, the Turkish masses have not benefited from their government's close political and military ties to the West. Turkey has always been one of NATO's poorest members, a country in which 9 percent of the population controls 40 percent of the wealth.

The worldwide crisis of capitalism since 1974 has only worsened the situation. The inflation rate is about 100 percent. Unemployment is about 25 percent with almost 1 million of its 44 million citizens working in other European countries.

The misery of working people has been deepened by Demirel's subservience to international big business, especially the International Monetary

Fund, as the price for receiving more loans. Since coming to power in November, his austerity policies have included a 48 percent currency devaluation.

The *Christian Science Monitor* defended these measures, but conceded, "In the short term it will mean austerity, layoffs, and a lower standard of living for the Turkish people."

On March 28 Demirel agreed to allow Washington the use of twelve military installations.

Demirel has been rewarded for his subservience with \$3 billion in aid so far this year from the major capitalist countries. When the treaty assuring the U.S. of bases in Turkey was signed, the Carter administration agreed to turn over another \$2.5 billion in aid over the next five years.

Much of this will return to the coffers of the big banks in debt service. And the conditions of the Turkish masses will continue to deteriorate.

No wonder some officials in Washington are worried that instead of a new cop for capitalism in the Middle East, Turkey may become another Iran.

Demand political asylum

Miami Blacks march for Haitian rights

By Andrea Baron

MIAMI—The fight for political refugee status for Haitians got a major boost when a coalition of Black community and church groups here, including the NAACP, joined the battle. Demonstrations of a thousand each were held April 19 and 20.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH, was invited to lead the April 19 march. He did so and urged people to turn out for another demonstration the following day, which Haitians and U.S. Blacks enthusiastically did.

The demonstrations began with a funeral service for four refugees from the Duvalier dictatorship.

One was a young man who was gravely ill when he arrived here in a boat. He died several hours after being denied medical care by immigration officials.

The three others were Haitians whose bodies were found washed ashore.

Though unidentified, the likelihood is they had come by boat and were forced into the water by panicky smugglers. This is not an uncommon fate for Haitians.

At a rally at Mt. Zion Baptist Church following the funeral, William Perry, president of the Miami NAACP, urged the Black community to support the demand for political asylum for the

Haitians as a part of the fight against racism here.

Jesse Jackson told the crowd that the fight for asylum must remain in the street, "and if it can't be won in Dade County, we'll take it to Washington."

He said that if Carter does not grant asylum to the refugees, it would become a demand of the youth jobs march to be held at the Capitol in D.C. May 17.

The demand that Carter act immediately stems from the fact that a statute which takes effect May 25 will mean Congress must approve blanket grants of asylum.

At the April 19 rally, Rose Ogden of the Socialist Workers Party drew cheers when she scored Carter's hypocrisy in granting asylum to Cubans while denying it to Haitians.

The following day, a thousand people marched to Sabal Palm in the heart of the Haitian community.

At the rally there, Jesse Jackson invited one of the demonstrators to the platform. He was a young member of the Cuban community and he held up for the crowd his sign: "Cubans for human rights for our Haitian brothers."

This was the first time the U.S. Black community has mobilized in support of the Haitians.

The Haitians, fleeing bitter repression and terrible poverty, risk an 800 mile sea journey in small boats to get here.

Washington has insisted on classifying them as "economic refugees" rather than political ones because it doesn't want to grant them asylum and because it doesn't want to admit the repressive character of the Duvalier regime it sponsors.

Haitians here have taken their fight for asylum into the courts. Last July

Union, CBC back Haitians

UNITED NATIONS—Demands for asylum for Haitian refugees were pressed here April 22 at a news conference held by Father Antoine Adrien of the Haitian Fathers of the Holy Ghost; Ira Gollobin, an attorney for the National Council of Churches; and Michael Hooper of the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights.

They announced that the Congressional Black Caucus, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the National Council of Churches are backing the asylum demand.

In a letter to President Carter, Sol Chaikin, president of the ILGWU, said, "We strongly urge that you exercise your power . . . and grant asylum to all Haitians who have applied for it."

In its demand to Carter that he grant asylum, the Congressional Black Caucus said, "Recent news stories concerning the plight of the Cuban Refugees at the Peruvian Embassy in Havana and our government's reported willingness to overcome any legal barriers to accommodate these refugees stands in sharp contrast to what we believe to be the systematic violation of due process, equal protection and inhumanity accorded the Haitian Refugees in Miami, Florida."

they won a stay of deportations while seeking a court ruling that they are in fact political refugees.



Antinuclear protesters welcome Militant

By Peter Seidman

Supporters of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president went all out to bring the Socialist Workers Party 1980 campaign to the thousands of antinuclear demonstrators at Rocky Flats, Colorado, April 19.

Members and friends of the Denver Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sold:

- 242 *Militants* (including fifty-five special \$1-for-four-weeks subscriptions),
- 58 copies of the April *Young Socialist*, and
- \$78 worth of Pathfinder literature

(Best sellers were *The Truth About Afghanistan* by Doug Jenness, closely followed by Fred Halstead's *What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power*).

In addition, socialists at the action gathered 750 signatures on petitions to put Pulley and Zimmermann on the ballot in Colorado. They also distributed 800 copies of the new campaign brochure: "A socialist coal miner speaks out—Stop Nuclear Power!"

Sue Adley sold forty-six *Militants* and nine subscriptions. The Denver organizer of the SWP, she was the top salesperson at the action.

Adley's successful sales pitch says a lot about the political state of mind of people at the demonstration:

"Read how organized labor is starting to get behind the antinuclear action," Adley urged. Then, turning to a feature in the April 25 issue, she'd point out how "the labor movement helped force a halt to uranium mining in British Columbia."

"If only we'd had twice as many

people we could have done twice as much of everything," was Adley's sole complaint about the day.

But, she added, Denver's sales achievements are winning new supporters for Pulley and Zimmermann, and new members to the YSA and SWP.

Denver's totals helped set the pace as our national drive to boost the circulation of the *Militant* and *Perspective Mundial* entered its sixth week. As the scoreboard shows, heavy petitioning efforts by the SWP requires campaigners to cut back on the number of papers they can sell.

This puts a premium on getting out as many *Militants* and *PMs* as possible at big political events like Rocky Flats.

Another example of this approach is how several areas sold issue fourteen, headlined "Support N.Y. transit strikers! They're fighting for all of us." Twin Cities socialists sold forty-six copies to transit workers at four bus barns. New Orleans sold fifteen to transit workers; Miami, twelve; Philadelphia, five. In Seattle, striking ferry workers bought five copies also.

Actions in solidarity with struggles in Latin America offer similar big opportunities to sell *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Last week socialists in Washington, D.C. and Newark, New Jersey, sold thirty-six *PMs* at protests against the U.S. bombing range on the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico. Los Angeles and D.C. socialists sold eighty-nine copies at El Salvador protests.

The upcoming celebrations of El Cinco de Mayo, a traditional Mexican nationalist holiday, will be another big opportunity for sales of *PM*.

Sales scoreboard

Branch	MILITANT		PM		TOTALS			YS		Ttl. % Ind.	Subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold		Goal	Sold
Washington, D.C.	100	75	25	82	125	157	125.6	150	27	8.2	25	7
Atlanta	100	117	0	2	100	119	119.0	60	43	**	25	7
Tidewater	80	92	0	0	80	92	115.0	100	74	19.2	25	7
Miami	70	89	10	2	80	91	113.7	60	5	14.2	15	14
Philadelphia	135	150	25	29	160	179	111.8	100	54	2.7	60	14
Houston	80	77	10	21	90	98	108.8	40	16	**	25	3
Birmingham	115	124	0	0	115	124	107.8	80	75	5.8	30	4
Los Angeles	240	235	35	54	275	289	105.0	100	33	22.7	70	15
San Jose	70	71	20	23	90	94	104.4	70	31	2.1	25	11
San Diego	120	126	20	20	140	146	104.2	150	90	26.1	40	12
Salt Lake City	110	114	7	7	117	121	103.4	25	24	1.5	20	4
Iron Range	70	72	0	0	70	72	102.8	75	45	9.7	35	14
Milwaukee	90	92	10	10	100	102	102.0	145	47	14.7	35	4
Toledo	60	61	0	0	60	61	101.6	50	0	**	15	5
Indianapolis	75	75	0	0	75	75	100.0	100	68	18.2	15	15
Morgantown	80	80	0	0	80	80	100.0	75	44	4.2	30	1
New Orleans	75	68	5	6	80	74	92.5	75	18	52.4	40	6
Baltimore	90	77	0	1	90	78	86.6	60	70	9.7	35	13
Louisville	80	69	0	0	80	69	86.2	75	32	12.2	25	1
Seattle	140	121	5	3	145	124	85.5	130	109	14.9	30	9
Oakland/East Bay	90	75	10	10	100	85	85.0	100	15	**	0	5
Denver	86	80	14	3	100	83	83.0	75	13	4.7	20	6
Twin Cities	175	142	0	3	175	145	82.8	100	30	29.6	80	21
Gary	65	52	5	5	70	57	81.4	30	20	30.6	25	3
Portland	85	68	0	0	85	68	80.0	30	22	1.2	20	6
Piedmont	90	70	0	0	90	70	77.7	85	48	20.0	20	10
Cleveland	80	63	10	5	90	68	75.5	30	21	4.2	15	6
N.Y. Brooklyn*	80	54	10	8	90	62	68.8	140	0	11.2	25	10
N.Y. Upper Manh.*	95	66	30	18	125	84	67.2	140	0	22.6	40	18
Dallas	50	27	30	21	80	48	60.0	115	34	1.9	25	4
Pittsburgh	185	107	0	0	185	107	57.8	100	137	22.7	50	8
Cincinnati	80	34	0	0	80	34	42.5	40	0	11.7	15	5
Tacoma	80	33	0	0	80	33	41.2	65	17	**	20	0
N.Y. Lower Manh.*	60	34	40	6	100	40	40.0	145	51	**	30	3
San Antonio	60	24	25	7	85	31	36.4	50	57	**	25	0
Newark*	140	49	20	4	160	53	33.1	75	10	17.4	30	10
Chicago	215	74	35	0	250	74	29.6	125	3	20.7	50	9
Albuquerque	105	25	25	8	130	33	25.3	80	0	6.0	30	6
Misc.									105			106
TOTALS	4631	3062	510	358	5141	3420	66.5	4100	1488	13.1	1385	406

NOT REPORTING: Albany*, Boston*, Detroit*, Kansas City*, Phoenix*, San Francisco, St. Louis*.

*Petitioning to put SWP on the ballot.

**Information not available.

*Ttl. % Ind. indicates week's percentage of Militant, PM, and Young Socialist sales reported at plant gates and to co-workers on the job.

Covers sales of issue fourteen of the Militant, the first week of sales of issue seven of PM, and the third week of sales for the April YS.

One million march in Havana

Cubans mobilize to back gov't, hit U.S. threats

By Harry Ring

The big lie that Cuba is an island prison with masses straining to leave was given a thunderous rebuttal by the Cuban people April 20 when more than a million marched in support of their revolution and their government.

For thirteen hours they marched down Fifth Avenue, in the Mirimar district, the once-swank area where the Peruvian Embassy is located.

Reached by telephone, a Havana resident said it was probably the biggest single demonstration since the revolution came to power.

The giant outpouring was marked, he said, by a powerful display of revolutionary enthusiasm. People chanted slogans, sang songs, and danced down the avenue. The chants reached a peak as they passed the Peruvian Embassy, where some of those who want to leave Cuba remain.

Many of the banners and placards carried by the immense throng made clear what they thought of the small minority who want to leave.

"We are not a rich country, but we are a country with dignity."

"The Peruvian Embassy is a garbage dump."

"Cuba is for the workers. Cuba is for those who produce!"

"Let those who want to go leave!"

The demonstration also marked the anniversary of the U.S. organized invasion of Cuba at Playa Giron in 1961—the infamous Bay of Pigs adventure that was totally smashed by the Cuban people (see "Our Revolutionary Heritage," page 26).

As they marched past the Peruvian embassy, large numbers carried signs declaring "Remember Giron."

In anticipation of projected U.S. military maneuvers near Cuba, one



HAVANA, April 20: Cuba speaks

banner declared: "There was a Giron in April and there could be one any month of the year."

No government leaders participated in the demonstration.

The vast march, which began promptly at nine in the morning and continued until after ten at night, was organized by the block Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. City buses were mobilized to shuttle more than half of Havana's entire population to the parade route.

At the Peruvian Embassy there was a solid phalanx of militia members, led by Cubans who had fought imperialism in Angola and Ethiopia. They were there to ensure there would be no provocation at the embassy; there was none.

The march climaxed a week of actions by huge numbers of Cubans. In all areas, students and workers demonstrated their agreement with Fidel Castro that the building of socialism is a voluntary endeavor, and those who don't want to participate are welcome to get out.

The week's outpouring showed that U.S. imperialism's attempt to use the events at the Peruvian Embassy to demoralize the Cuban people has backfired. Unity behind the revolution is greater than ever.

The embassy incident was provoked when Peruvian officials granted "political asylum" to a group of Cubans who crashed into the embassy April 1 in a stolen bus. A Cuban guard was killed.

Anyone wishing to leave Cuba had always been free to walk into the embassy of Peru or any other country and seek a visa. Or they could ask for asylum if they believed they were being persecuted for their political ideas.

Peru's decision to grant visas to those who entered their embassy by force, while refusing visas to those who peacefully requested them, was clearly intended to create violent incidents that could be used to smear Cuba. The Cuban government responded by withdrawing its guards from the embassy and advising anyone desiring to leave the country to go there.

The million-person march in Havana April 20 confirmed that the Cuban people understand who was behind the provocation and the reasons for it. In interviews on Cuban television, demonstrators explained that both the U.S. and Peruvian governments feared the rising revolution in Central America. Above all, imperialism and its stooges hate and fear Cuba's solidarity with these struggles.

Last year, the Carter administration escalated its efforts to fan anti-Cuba hysteria with its phony alarms about "Soviet combat troops" in Cuba. This was followed by creation of a new military command post for the Caribbean at Key West and a "show-the-flag" landing of Marines at the U.S. base at Guantánamo, Cuba.

Washington has refused desperately needed economic aid to the new revolutionary government of Nicaragua. But it has worked overtime to preserve the murderous dictatorship in El Salvador against massive popular opposition.

The capitalist governments of Peru, Venezuela, and other Andean Pact nations also feel the hot breath of the Central American revolution.

Commenting on an anti-Cuba statement issued by Andean Pact officials, the Havana daily, *Granma*, commented April 14:

"Why doesn't the Andean Pact protest the blockade of Cuba. . . ?"

"Why doesn't the Andean Pact protest the forcible occupation of a part of our national territory by the Guantánamo Naval Base?"

"Why doesn't the Andean Pact protest the threatening Yankee maneuvers around Cuba?"

"Why doesn't the Andean Pact protest the genocidal repression against the people of El Salvador. . . ?"

Arrivals upset U.S. officials

MIAMI—Recent events have further exposed Washington's foot-dragging on admitting Cuban "refugees" to this country while it exploits them for anti-Cuba propaganda.

On April 21, a boat operated by Cubans living in Florida returned from Havana with fifty of the Peru Embassy emigres.

Crew members told reporters at Key West that the Cuban coast guard had been helpful in guiding them in and out of the harbor.

Cuban port officials who came aboard, they said, were, "friendly, very friendly, just like Cubans."

Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency, said the boat operators were invited to return. It reported that people in Florida are talking of organizing a sea lift of 100 to 150 boats.

An editorial in the April 20 *Granma* said, "We will not receive them with cannon fire because they are coming in peace. We don't mind if they take the refugees away."

But Washington apparently does. When the boatload arrived in Key West it was greeted with a threatening official response.

The U.S. State Department asserted that any more people doing the same would be committing a felony.

And those in the Peruvian Embassy suddenly lost their status as "freedom-loving refugees."

State Department spokesman Myles Frechette declared:

"Bringing in illegal aliens is punishable by law."

"Why don't they protest the massacre of campesinos, workers and students in Guatemala?"

"Why don't they protest the shameful colonial swindles imposed on the fraternal people of Puerto Rico?"

Unwavering in its resistance to the U.S. threats, Cuba is preparing two more major mobilizations. The traditional May Day celebration will assume special importance. And on May 8 there will be another mass march in Havana.

Called to coincide with the bullying U.S. military maneuvers in the area, the May 8 action will culminate with a rally in front of the U.S. Special Interest Section, Washington's quasi-embassy in Havana.

Miami forum backs Cuba

MIAMI—A defense of the Cuban revolution was presented at the Militant Forum here April 19 by Miguel Pendás. A Cuban American, Pendás is a national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Right-wing terrorist exiles here are talking about an imminent uprising in Cuba, he said, but events prove that the overwhelming mass of the Cuban people are rising up in support of their revolution and government.

Pendás scored the right-wing exile thugs and the U.S. officials who are complicit with them. He noted that Miami's mayor, Maurice Ferré, spoke on the same platform with a convicted exile terrorist bomber.

They both talked about "freedom," Pendás observed. Yet authorities have looked the other way while Omega 7 and other right-wing Cuban outfits have committed violence and murder against members of the Cuban community who favor a dialogue with the Cuban government.

Even in organizing their demonstrations, Pendás added, these goons feel free to terrorize small shopkeepers into closing, as well as shaking them down for money.

Pendás noted that it is Washington, not Havana, that puts obstacles in the way of Cubans who want to come to the United States. Condemning the Carter administration's hypocrisy, Pendás demanded that the U.S. government open the door both to the Cubans and to Haitians fleeing poverty and oppression under the Duvalier dictatorship.

'Times': try swallowing this

The *New York Times*: "All the news that's fit to print."

That must be a pretty flexible motto.

For instance, the April 17 *Times* featured a dispatch from Costa Rica describing the arrival of Cubans from the Peruvian embassy in Havana. *Times* correspondent Jo Thomas reported:

"We ate a cat," says Mario Leyva, 32 years old, trying to explain how he and many others of the 10,800 Cubans who sought refuge in the Peruvian embassy managed to spend eight days without food. "Someone found two dogs. We ate the black one but the white one hid. A papaya tree was eaten from the leaves to the trunk and then we pulled the roots out of the ground."

An intriguing story.

Papaya is a delicious fruit. But

the leaves, the trunk, the roots?

Did they uproot the tree with their bare hands? Or did someone have the foresight to bring ax and spade?

Dogs and cats? Did they eat them raw, or did they barbecue them at an embassy picnic area?

Well, how could the *Times* correspondent in Costa Rica know? She was simply reporting the facts as provided by someone who was there.

Except, *Times* reporter Jo Thomas had been there too.

In an April 8 Havana dispatch, she reported: "Water and food were trucked today to the Peruvian Embassy compound. . . . Four large hotels are sending three meals a day."

Dogs, cats, papaya trees. For the *Times* anything is "fit to print," as long as it's against Cuba.

Mich. socialists launch



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers
SWP's MARGARET WINTER: Exclusionary ballot law is threat to labor movement.

By Nan Bailey

The Socialist Workers Party has launched a fight in Michigan to overturn the state's undemocratic election law. On April 22, the SWP filed suit in state court challenging the constitutionality of the Michigan law, which effectively bars all but the Democrats and Republicans from the November ballot.

The first phase of the fight, a major

petitioning effort to collect well over the 18,000 signatures required for a place on the August primary ballot—is already under way and even ahead of schedule. In the past week more than 8,600 people signed up, bringing the total signatures collected to more than 12,000.

The battle for ballot rights was the central theme of the Socialist Workers Party rally held April 20 in Detroit.

Michael Moore, a leader of the Michigan antinuclear movement and a co-plaintiff in the suit, gave greetings:

"I'd like to welcome [SWP vice-presidential candidate] Matilde Zimmermann to Michigan," said Moore. "This is a state where third parties aren't recognized in the general election ballot. This is unfortunate because candidates like Pulley and Zimmermann offer a real choice to the no choice of Carter and Reagan. I hope



Michigan unemployment office. Workers should have right to vote for party that stands for jobs.

Massachusetts petition

By Syd Stapleton

BOSTON—"Carter disappointed me," said one young man after signing a petition to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Massachusetts. "The economy is going through the roof," he added, "and Carter's long-term plan is to solve it by taking more out of us."

"This country's in bad shape," said a woman in her sixties after adding her name to a petition, "and we need a change."

"What about the fact that these candidates are socialists?" I asked her. She thought for a moment and said, "Well, maybe it would be a good thing; it sure would be better than what we've got."

Variations on these comments were heard by scores of Pulley-Zimmermann supporters as they fanned out across the state.

The petition drive aimed at collecting well over the 40,000 signatures needed to put the socialist candidates on the ballot. The drive ran from March 29 to April 21.

"We decided to put absolutely everything else aside," said Anne Chase, one of the ballot effort coordinators, "so that we could finish the drive with

the shortest possible disruption of our other political activities. For one thing, a lot of us are planning to go to the April 26 antinuclear march on Washington."

Goals surpassed

The drive concluded right on schedule, but with 5,700 more signatures than the organizers expected to collect.

"Things went so well during the first two weeks of the drive," said Chase, "that we decided we could take on the additional goal of getting Nelson Gonzalez on the ballot as our congressional candidate in Massachusetts's Sixth District and still finish on time."

By the end of the drive, 5,772 signatures had been collected for Gonzalez and some 58,029 for the SWP presidential ticket. These totals were piled up in spite of the fact that three other parties—Communist, Citizens, and Libertarian—were also conducting ballot drives. And during the last weekend of the drive, supporters of Republican John Anderson hit the streets in a last-minute effort to put him on the presidential ballot as an "independent" candidate. State law declares that a person's signature is

only valid for the nomination of one candidate.

"In our early planning for the petitioning drive," said Don Gurewitz, another of the drive's coordinators, "we underestimated the extent of frustration with the Democrats and Republicans. Veterans of this kind of campaigning came back after a day of petitioning to report that they had never had so easy a time collecting signatures."

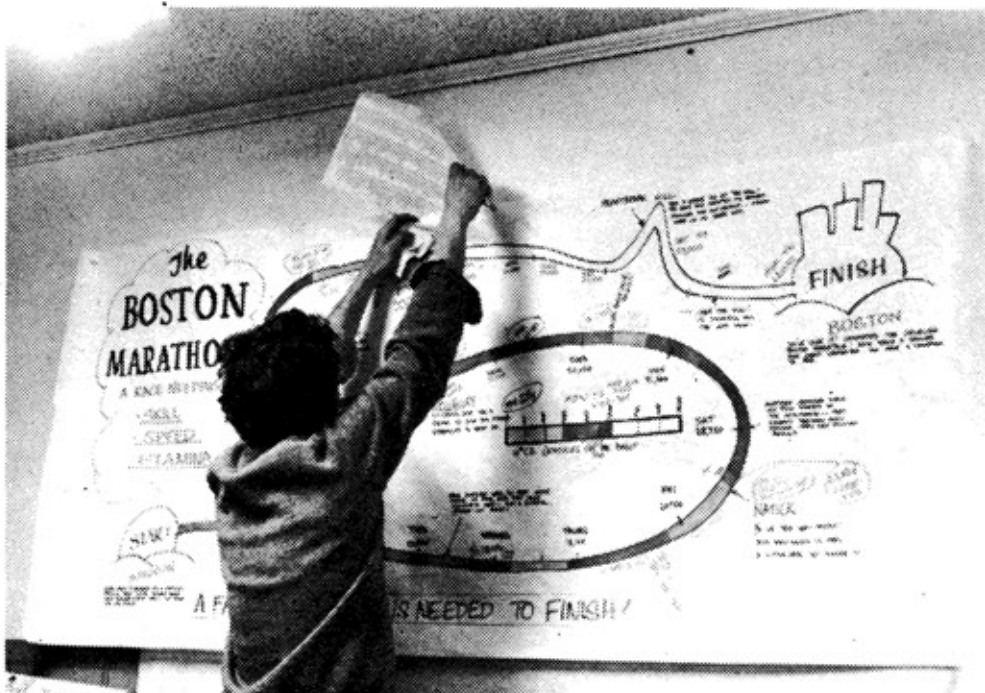
The Boston SWP branch and the local chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance turned out 100 percent of their membership to petition for four Satur-

days in a row, and sent out many others on weekdays.

Campaign supporters who are second-shift workers at the big General Electric plant here made themselves available for day-time petitioning. Laid-off rail workers petitioned full time, and many other campaign supporters took days off to petition full time during the course of the drive.

Broad participation

A big part of the drive's success was the help provided by campaign supporters who came in from other areas to help. Laid-off auto workers from De-



Militant/Susie Berman
Campaign worker tallies petition totals on chart comparing drive to Boston marathon.

The Socialist Workers Party is in the middle of an ambitious drive to place its candidates on the ballot in thirty states. This effort will require collecting over half-a-million signatures.

The petition drive so far has met with a friendly response. Thousands of people have signed to put the socialist candidates on the ballot. Many are glad to see a socialist alternative to the twin parties of big business. Through this drive hundreds of thousands of people will be introduced for the first time to the Socialist Workers campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

Collecting the necessary signatures will require a tremendous effort. But with the receptivity to the campaign and the help of campaign supporters throughout the country, we are confident we can meet this challenge.

Full-time, Saturday, and daytime petitioning teams are being organized for the drives in April, May, and June, listed in the schedule. If you can participate in any of these drives, contact the national campaign office at (212) 675-3820 or call one of the local campaign offices listed on page 27.

In addition, funds are urgently needed to meet the ballot drive expenses. You can help by sending your contribution today.

Your help to put th on the



A fight for ballot rights

Your lawsuit is successful because Public Act 94 flies in the face of democratic principles."

SWP attorney Margaret Winter explained why the ballot fight is being launched.

"Four year ago," said Winter, "the Michigan legislature was faced with a grave crisis. The crisis was that so many Michigan workers were sick of the Democratic and Republican parties that it looked like seven smaller parties might qualify for the ballot."

"So the Democrats and Republicans in the Michigan legislature passed a new law, Michigan Public Act 94, to make sure there would never again be any upstarts on the ballot to challenge the interests of the bosses."

"The Democrats and Republicans explained that if you allow smaller parties on the ballot, the ballot will seem confusing and unmanageable to the voters."

"The truth is that the American people are staying away from the polls not because there are too many choices, but because the two-party choices are so lousy."

"If the state of Michigan continues to get away with this new ballot restriction, other states will try to do the same. That's why this fight in Michigan has such high stakes nationally," said Winter.

The Michigan law requires parties other than the Democrats and Republicans to collect more than 18,000 signatures. But the successful collection of signatures entitles the so-called minor parties only to ballot status in the primary election, held in August.

Only if a party receives roughly 5,000 votes at the primary can it qualify for the ballot in the general election.

No smaller party has received that many votes in the primaries since Public Act 94 became law. None has even come close. "To do so is virtually out of the question, considering that primaries are geared towards the selection of Republican and Democratic candidates," said Winter.

"The law is not only an attack on the ballot rights of the Socialist Workers Party. It's an attack on the rights of the entire labor movement. At a time when there's growing discussion in the unions of initiating a labor party, election laws like Public Act 94 are designed to block all attempts by American workers to win representation on the ballot."

Matilde Zimmermann told the rally that the Michigan ballot fight would be a national priority for the SWP's 1980 presidential campaign. Support

for the fight will be sought all over the country, she said.

She pointed out that nearly a quarter of a million auto workers are laid off. The Democratic and Republican politicians have nothing to offer jobless workers or the millions more threatened by layoffs and plant shutdowns.

Workers should have the right, Zimmermann said, to vote for a party that stands for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, for nationalizing the oil companies and industries that throw workers out of their jobs, and for using federal funds for jobs and social services instead of the Pentagon. The Michigan election law denies them that right.

Socialist candidates are getting an enthusiastic response to these proposals to create jobs. As one young worker said as he signed a petition to put the SWP candidates on the Michigan ballot, "the way things are going with five or ten thousand laid off in this state, the economy is going to be like the 1930s."

"Anytime a country spends more money on defense than education, it's got to be going down the tubes. We need some more answers," said another signer.

"Socialists?" said another, "That's exactly what we need on the ballot!"

Committee for a Fair Ballot

A Michigan Committee for a Fair Ballot has been established to organize support and collect funds for the fight against Michigan's undemocratic ban on minor parties seeking ballot status. A victory in the challenge to Public Act 94 will be a victory for the democratic rights of all working people. It will be a step toward breaking the Democratic and Republican parties' political monopoly and getting workers' interests represented on the ballot.

Your support is urgently needed. To endorse the suit, help organize support, receive more information, or make a financial contribution to aid the ballot fight, contact the committee at 6404 Woodward, Detroit, Michigan, or phone (313) 875-5322.

Drive completed on time!

roit, Cleveland, and New Jersey pitched in, as did others from as far away as Atlanta and the Iron Range in Minnesota.

More than forty campaign supporters who are not members of the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance participated in the drive. Many petitioned, others did part of the paper work required for filing the petitions, and others helped in the child-care center set up for petitioners on Saturdays.

Signatures were collected from across the state, with a petitioning center operating out of Springfield as

well as the one in Boston.

"Campaigners used a lot of different approaches while out on the street collecting signatures," one petitioner told me. "But I got a good response asking people to sign up to put socialist candidates on the ballot."

"Of course, a lot of people signed because they simply thought we should have a right to be on the ballot to run our campaign. Many were surprised, even angered, that it wasn't automatic. But I also found a lot of people who were interested in the socialist candidates and who wanted literature."

"Everyone had a packet of leaflets

attached to their petitioning boards. I found myself dipping into it more and more often."

"Collecting these tens of thousands of signatures is an undemocratic requirement the government imposes on us. But in complying with it, we are out on the streets campaigning for socialism and talking to a lot of people—at least a half a million—in the bargain."

Gonzalez campaign

The decision to get Nelson Gonzalez on the ballot was based on the interest and enthusiasm aroused by the SWP campaign, as shown in part by the relative ease of petitioning this year.

Gonzalez told the *Militant*, "When we announced my campaign several weeks ago, we told reporters that I would not be on the ballot. But we were very pleased by the response to my campaign by the local press and among my co-workers at GE."

Gonzalez, who is a machine operator in GE's Lynn plant, was recently one of the targets of a red-baiting attack launched by part of his local union's leadership. "Even though the red-baiting was repudiated at a membership meeting of the local last month, I still found some workers confused by the slanders. But I got a lot of respect from many of the same people when I

announced my campaign and explained to them that I thought more workers should run for office, and that the labor movement should run candidates against the two capitalist parties."

The word is getting around about the Gonzalez campaign. This weekend one petitioner stopped a woman and told her he was trying to get a GE worker on the ballot as socialist candidate for Congress.

"Oh, yes," said the woman, "my husband works at GE and he's been talking to some socialists in the plant." She signed the petition and then stopped two of her friends and got them to sign.

Although petitioning has been completed, it will still be several weeks before the Socialist Workers candidates will be certified for the ballot. Signatures have to be delivered to the town clerks of almost 200 towns, then picked up after the town clerks have disqualified all those they consider "invalid." Finally the signatures have to be presented to the secretary of state.

"We have gotten well over the 39,200 signature requirement," Gurewitz told the *Militant*. "So we have every reason to expect that the SWP will be on the ballot in Massachusetts this November."

is needed the SWP ballot

Petitioning schedule

April 12-May 4	Missouri
April 12-May 4	Michigan
April 21-May 3	Colorado
May 4-25	Texas
May 17-June 8	Pennsylvania
May 17-June 7	Indiana
May (dates to be set)	Mississippi
	South Dakota
	Rhode Island
June 9-July 4	California
June 21-July 19	Illinois
June 7-June 14	Wisconsin

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

- ☐ I can help petition.
☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____
☐ Please send me more information on the Socialist Workers campaign.

Send to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



At Boston demonstration against big business, construction workers sign to put SWP on ballot.



Pulley urges labor party in Ky.

By Chris Rayson

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Kentucky workers—hit by inflation, layoffs, and cutbacks in workers' compensation benefits—learned of the socialist solution to the economic crisis during Andrew Pulley's April 17-19 tour of Louisville and central Kentucky.

Three major television stations covered a news conference where the Socialist Workers presidential candidate talked of the plight of Kentucky workers.

"Carter is forcing a recession on American workers while he's threatening war against our exploited brothers and sisters in Iran, Nicaragua and elsewhere. The way to fight back," Pulley said, "is through solidarity with workers' struggles everywhere—at home and abroad—and by building our own political party: a labor party based on the unions."

"Kentucky workers set an example

of how to fight when you marched on the state capitol 12,000 strong on March 19 to protest cutbacks in disability benefits. This action demonstrated that working people are ready to fight to defend their interests. It is a harbinger of things to come."

Pulley pointed out that many Kentucky union officials supported Governor John Brown, a Democrat, in the last election. Brown then led the fight to cut workers' compensation benefits.

"Once again we see the futility of supporting Democrats and Republicans," said Pulley. "For working people, that strategy is tantamount to political suicide. This is proof that workers need to build our own party."

On April 19 Pulley also made a campaign stop at a rally sponsored by United Auto Workers Local 862. A few hundred people were gathered there to oppose foreign imports. The rally's theme was "Be American, buy American, and make America strong."

"The Buy American march was tiny compared to the massive march against workers' compensation cutbacks," Pulley pointed out. "A fight against our brothers and sisters in other countries does not inspire enthusiasm among masses of workers," said Pulley. "Unlike the protest against imports, the March 19 demonstration pointed in a positive direction by challenging the bosses and their parties. The campaign against imports is an attempt to divert our attention by blaming workers in other countries for the problems that the American corporate bosses are responsible for."

Socialist campaigners found some workers at the "Buy American" march were open to discussing a different perspective. One construction worker there bought a copy of the *Militant* and decided to come to the Socialist Workers campaign rally held later that evening.

The rally was the highlight of Pulley's campaign tour in Kentucky. More than fifty people attended, many saying it was the first time they had come to such an event. Those present included activists in the antinuclear and women's liberation movements, and construction, chemical and electrical workers from the Louisville area.

Civil rights activist Anne Braden, a Kentucky elector for the Communist Party presidential slate, sent greetings giving her support to SWP candidate Tom Swetland in the race for U.S. Senate from Kentucky.

Pat Van Houten, a leader of Louisville NOW, gave her endorsement to the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket.

Contributions of more than \$900 were pledged to the Socialist Workers 1980 campaign.



Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley campaigns in downtown Louisville. Militant

Zimmermann hits Cleveland auto layoffs

By Fred Feldman

CLEVELAND—The issue that was uppermost on the minds of working people when SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann began her tour here April 13 was layoffs. Officials at Ford Motor Company were dropping hints that as many as 9,000 workers here would be laid off.

On April 22, Ford officials announced that 2,065 workers at the Brook Park plant would be laid off beginning April 28—bringing the workforce there down from 13,000 in June to 7,000. And 1,500 workers at the General Motors plant in Cleveland got layoff notices. But auto workers here fear the worst is yet to come.

Zimmermann got a chance to present the socialist response to layoff threats when she appeared April 14 on the *Morning Exchange*, a talk show with 250,000 listeners broadcast by WEWS-TV.

Zimmermann came on the air just

after the host reported the threatened layoff of workers at Ford's Brook Park plant. She pointed to this as a basic area of difference between the socialist campaign and the Republican and Democratic contenders.

"The fact is that not one Republican or Democratic politician has come forward to defend the auto workers here. Not one says that it's more important for these workers to have jobs and for these goods to be produced than for somebody's profit margins to be maintained. That's my position," she declared.

"If the employers can't keep these plants open and assure a decent living standard for the workers, they should be nationalized."

"I'm convinced that the workers at Ford and working people as a whole have a better idea of what is really needed than people who make decisions solely on the basis of what is more profitable for them at the moment."

Zimmermann told the viewers, "There's a reason why the Republican and Democratic politicians won't adopt this program. The fact is that Ford Motor Company and the other big corporations have two big parties and working people in this country have none. That's why the Socialist Workers Party ticket is campaigning for the unions to get together and run working men and women as labor party candidates."

Other campaign activities included a rally April 13 at which more than \$1,000 was raised for the SWP campaign. In addition to hearing Zimmermann and senatorial candidate John Powers, the rally was greeted by Dave Hoover, a leading antidraft activist, and Barbara Lombardo, a former president of the Cleveland chapter of NOW.

And on April 15 Zimmermann addressed sixty-five students at Oberlin College. The meeting was organized by the Young Socialist Alliance.

Socialists hail Newport News victory

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party here issued a statement hailing the recent victory of United Steelworkers Local 8888 in securing a union contract at Tenneco's shipyard. The contract was signed after a long struggle, including a bitterly fought strike last year.

David Zilly, Socialist Workers candidate for Newport News city council, appraised the union victory as "the labor movement's biggest success in the South in decades."

Zilly, a welder at Norfolk Shipbuilding and Dry Dock (Norshipco), said it was "an inspiration to working people in Newport News and throughout the South."

Zilly, a member of Boilermakers Local 684, told the *Militant* that Local 8888 fought against a "gang-up of

Tenneco, the courts, and the Democratic and Republican parties."

When Steelworkers went to the Newport News city council to protest the police attack against their picket lines and headquarters last April, Zilly said, "the Democrats and Republicans united to keep them from exercising their right to speak."

Such antilabor arrogance wouldn't be tolerated, Zilly said, "if working people had our own party, a union-based labor party, to fight for our interests against the two 'right-to-work' parties that rule Newport News."

SWP first congressional district candidate Sharon Grant, a pipefitter at Norshipco and a member of the National Organization for Women, joined Zilly in saluting the Steelworkers.

"I agree with United Steelworkers international president Lloyd McBride

that the Newport News victory proves that Southern workers are ready to fight for union recognition and contracts," the Boilermakers union member said.

"Local 8888's battle will spark unorganized workers to turn to union organization as the way to defend themselves against the corporate robbery that goes by the name of the 'open shop' and 'right to work,'" Grant said.

"Real union power in politics means independent politics," she said. "Why should the labor movement throw its money away on candidates for the same parties that enforce 'right to work' and strangle the Equal Rights Amendment for women?" Grant asked.

"The Steelworkers showed that working people can beat a huge, rich corporation and win a union. Isn't it time unionists showed we can beat the parties owned by the corporations?"



SAN ANTONIO

Campaign Rally

Speakers:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Laura Garza, SWP candidate for Congress, 23rd C.D.

Fri., May 2, 8 p.m.

1406 N. Flores Rd.

For more information call (512) 222-8398

PHILADELPHIA

Campaign Rally

Speakers:

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

Linda Mohrbacher, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate

Tory Dunn, SWP candidate for state treasurer

José Acevedo, antiwar activist

Sat., May 3, 7 p.m.

2125 Chestnut Street

First Unitarian Church, Basement

Donation: \$2.50

For more information call (215) 927-4748

Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

April 24-27	Phoenix
April 29-May 1	San Antonio
May 3-5	Houston
May 8-9	Dallas

Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

April 26	Washington, D.C.
April 8-29	Winston-Salem, N.C.
May 2-3	Philadelphia
May 4-5	Pittsburgh

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

Pulley & Zimmermann in 1980!

Why there is no 'Anderson difference'

By Nan Bailey

Republican presidential aspirant John Anderson pegs his hopes on the impression that he is a different breed from the run of the mill, deceitful variety of Democrat or Republican that most Americans have come to despise.

Is Anderson preferable to Carter, Kennedy, Reagan, or the other Democratic and Republican contenders? Would his election bring a friend of working people into the White House?

A review of Anderson's record and program answers these questions.

'Sacrifice'

"The greatest danger that we face today . . . is our unwillingness to make the sacrifices that are necessary for the defense of our vital interests," Anderson says. "America has grown soft and complacent." We must "return to the basic American values of thrift and decency."

What Anderson has in mind is for *working people* to do the sacrificing.

Anderson's program for big business calls not for sacrifice, but for tax incentives. He has cosponsored legislation strengthening tax depreciation allowances for big business.

Anderson is pledged to help the oil monopolies make top dollar. He supports decontrol of oil prices.

Anderson's economic program for the rest of us is not so generous. His message is, tighten your belts—learn to live with lower wages, higher prices, fewer jobs.

His pet solution to the energy crisis is a massive inflationary jolt, fifty-cents-per-gallon tax on gasoline! Think of what that would mean for every worker who has to drive to and from the job.

Anderson's gas tax is the most severe economic attack on American workers that any presidential candidate has publicly proposed in this election.

There's no hint from Anderson as to the real root of the energy crisis: the price-fixing and hoarding of the big oil companies.

We're the problem, he says, and cutting back our consumption is the answer. Drive less, heat less, eat less.

Anderson has a consistent antilabor record. Here is a sampling:

- He fought to bar food stamps to families whose major wage earner is on strike.
- He opposed unemployment benefits for migrant workers.
- He voted "no" on benefits for coal miners suffering from black lung.
- He labels national health care a "wasteful" spending program that he will oppose if elected president.
- He wants to change the indexing of federal pension programs so that people on Social Security, civil service, or veterans' pensions get smaller cost-of-living increases.
- He suggested that Carter trim the 1980 budget by subtracting \$1.4 billion of federal money designated to aid low-income families to help them buy heating oil.
- He sponsored a bill last year that would have allowed employers to pay, for six months, only 85 percent of the minimum wage to youths sixteen to eighteen years old. And he opposed extending minimum wage coverage to 950,000 retail and service workers.
- He voted against "common situs" legislation that would have allowed all craft unions at a building site to strike in support of any one of them.



ANDERSON: Campaigning for fifty-cents-a-gallon gas tax hike.

- He opposed changing the Hatch Act to allow political activity by federal workers.

For nuclear power

John Anderson is for more nuclear power plants. "I have outlined a ten point nuclear energy plan," he tells us, "which allows the continued development of nuclear energy contingent upon proof from government and the nuclear industry that operational and storage policies are safe and effective."

In other words, nuclear energy should be used and developed while the government and the nuclear industry try to prove that it is safe! While we're waiting, the real dangers of nuclear power will be ignored.

On July 17, 1978, Anderson voted to block a Carter administration move to cut \$159 million from funding for the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, a plutonium-creating experimental plant in Tennessee. Carter was trying to give credibility to his promises to phase out plutonium-breeder projects, which are considered to be even more dangerous than conventional nuclear power plants.

Did Anderson change his mind about nuclear power after Three Mile Island? Hardly. Four months after the near-meltdown, Anderson again voted to continue the plutonium breeder program.

Friend of women?

Some women's rights supporters are attracted to the Anderson campaign because of his public stand in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and a woman's right to choose safe, legal abortion.

But Anderson plays no part in the real struggle for these goals. True, Anderson may not be able to show up at every women's rights march.

But when an action like the May 10 national march for the ERA is taking place in his home state of Illinois, organized by the National Organization for Women, with the support of every major union in the country, you'd think a politician who's really for the ERA would support it.

Despite attempts by march organizers to get his support, Anderson has yet to give even verbal endorsement. If Anderson won't act to make good his promises to women today, there is no reason to assume that he will do so as president.

The Anderson doctrine

Anderson calls his 1964 vote for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which provided a "legal" justification for the escalation of the Vietnam War, the "biggest mistake" he ever made. Anderson continued to vote for war appropriations right up until the end of the Vietnam War.

Admitting a "mistake" didn't lead him to change his ways.

His proposed foreign policy is the same one carried out by the U.S. government for decades, the one that led to the Vietnam War. Like his domestic policy, Anderson's foreign policy is aimed at protecting big business at the expense of working people.

"The Persian Gulf is a vital interest to the Western powers," says Anderson, echoing the "Carter Doctrine."

He has nothing but hatred for the Iranian revolution and the gains it has meant for millions of Iranians. Says Anderson, "They have behaved as an outlaw nation and I think they ought to be treated as such." Anderson supports Carter's cutoff of trade and diplomatic ties with Iran.

Anderson is determined to block new Iranians. He urges that the U.S. bolster reactionary regimes in Turkey and Pakistan in order to help them to "defend themselves."

Anderson, like Carter, backs the ultrareactionary forces that have been trying to topple the government of Afghanistan. We must send a "signal to the Russians that we will not tolerate the kind of conduct that they have just engaged in in Afghanistan," he says.

He thinks the Carter administration's call to boycott the Moscow Olympics is one appropriate "signal."

Anderson's stand places him in opposition to land reform, literacy drive, women's rights measures, legalization of trade unions, and other gains of the Afghan revolution.

"While we should not shrink from military competition with the Soviet Union," says Anderson, "our primary instruments to achieve our goals should be diplomatic, economic, political, and technological."

His pet "technological" instrument is the neutron bomb, whose development he defended and voted to fund. This is the weapon designed to kill maximum numbers of human beings while leaving property intact.

One "economic" instrument Anderson favors using is hunger.

"While I would prefer not to use food as a punitive tool of foreign policy, we just don't have much of an alternative," Anderson maintains. He loudly applauded Carter's grain embargo on the Soviet Union to punish that country for its "invasion" of Afghanistan.

He told Iowa farmers that "national defense, like charity, begins here at home," and called on them to sacrifice their livelihood to help carry out Washington's foreign policy.

The draft

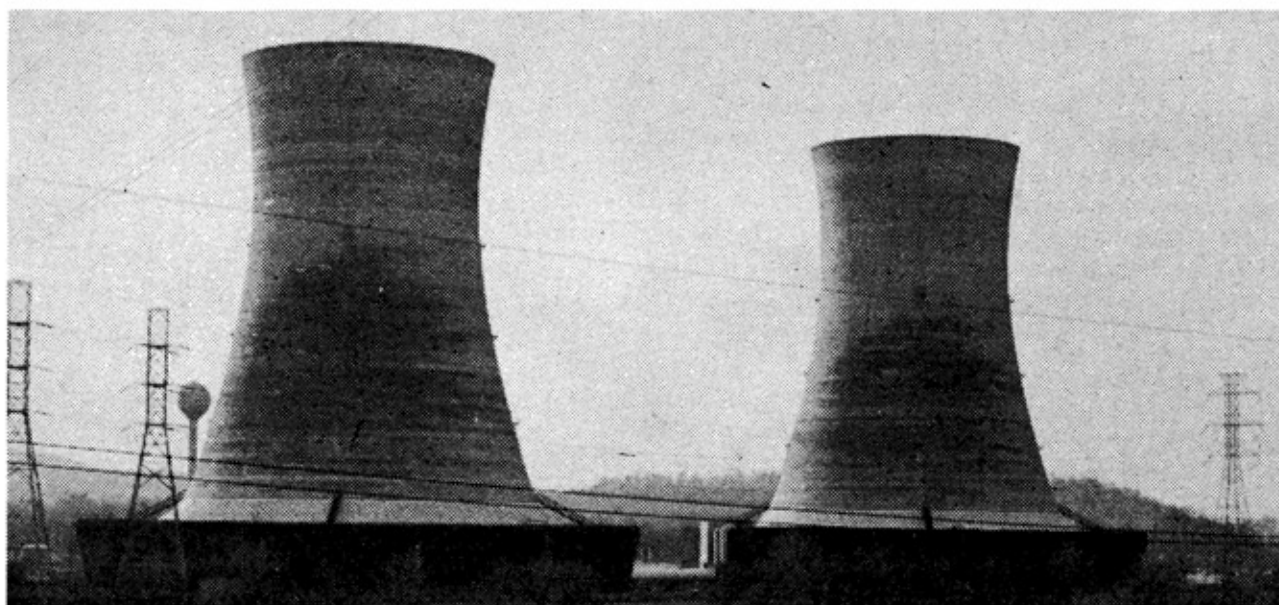
As these foreign policy stands might lead one to expect, there is less to Anderson's speeches against a "peacetime" draft registration and a "peacetime" draft than meets the eye. Anderson makes it clear that if Washington's policies lead to a war in Iran, Afghanistan, Central America, or anywhere else, all rules will change.

"If necessary, we should demonstrate our will to use force to defend critical American interests abroad," he says. How? "We can and must design a leaner, tougher, better fighting force than we have today."

It can be safely predicted that President Anderson's opposition to the draft wouldn't long survive his oath of office.

John Anderson belongs lock, stock, and barrel to American big business. He is no choice for those who want to vote against war, cutbacks in public services, unemployment, racism, and the oppression of women.

Some have the impression that Anderson is campaigning against the Democratic and Republican parties. But his policies are identical to theirs. And Anderson explains that the purpose of his campaign is to restore faith in the two-party system, not to challenge it. More on this in a future article.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Near-meltdown at Three Mile Island didn't keep Anderson from voting for deadly nuclear power projects.

A coal miner vs. Rockefeller

Socialists campaign for labor party in W. Va.

By Nancy Cole

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann and gubernatorial candidate Tom Moriarty teamed up to take their ideas on an independent labor party to northern West Virginians April 18-19.

From the Alcan aluminum plant in Fairmont to a shopping center in Clarksburg, people listened and more often than not agreed that the labor movement ought to dump its support for the Democrats and Republicans. Instead, the socialists urged the unions to run their own candidates, who would be accountable to working people, not the corporations.

Moriarty, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1949, is running against incumbent West Virginia Gov. John D. Rockefeller IV. The idea of a coal miner opposing an oil-rich Rockefeller often takes people by surprise. But it sparks interest and serious attention by working people to what this socialist miner has to say.

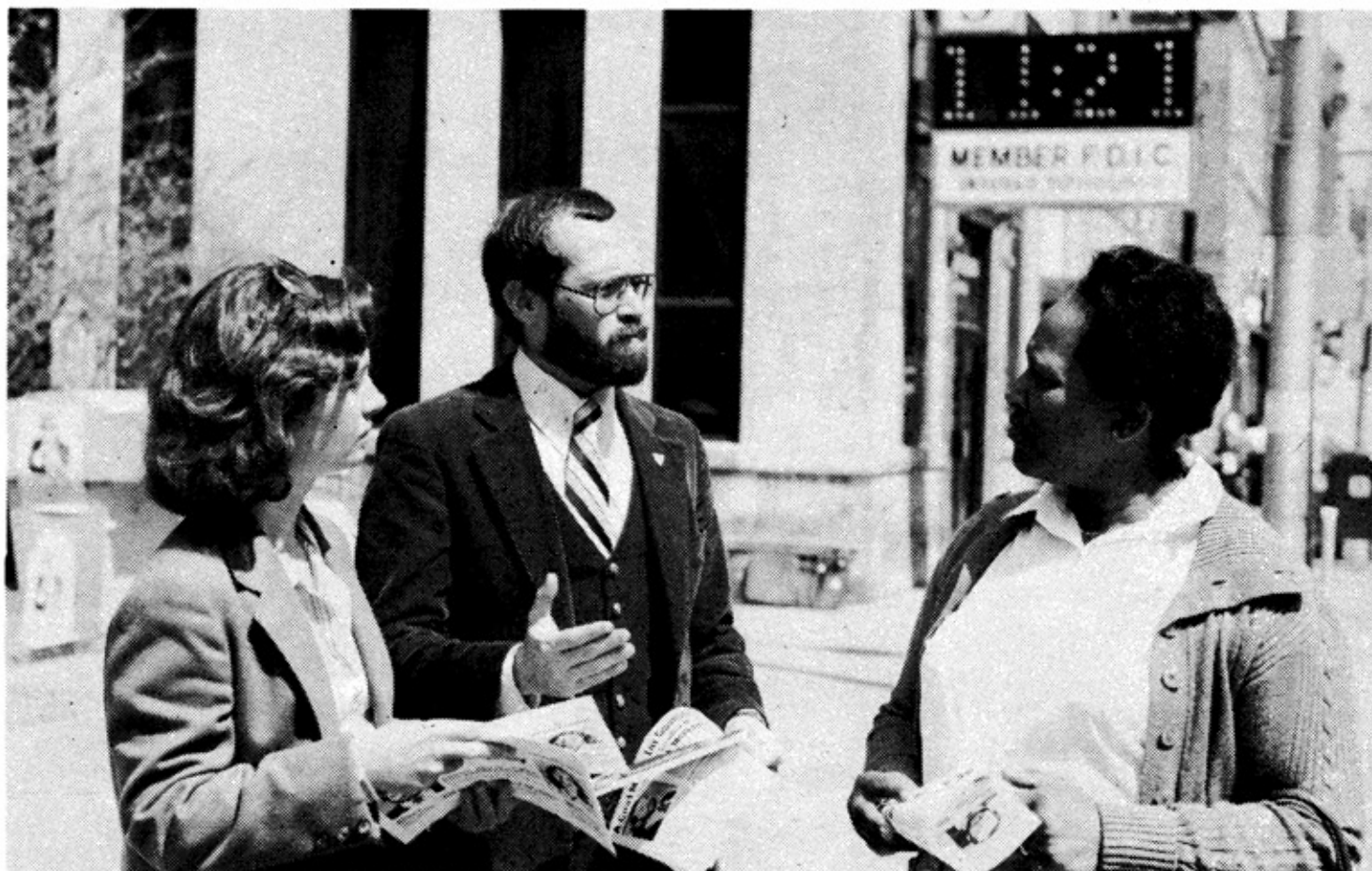
During two days of campaigning, including at Moriarty's own Martinka No. 1 mine outside Fairmont, neither candidate ran into a single Rockefeller supporter.

"We need more ordinary working people running for office instead of these high-falutin' people like Rockefeller," said a young worker leaving Alcan, which is organized by the United Steelworkers. "He's got all that money—what's he care about us?"

"I'm so disgusted with politics," he added, "I don't even bother with voting."

That was not an uncommon response, and it was also why the proposal for a labor party had such appeal.

"We're the party that's against the draft, against nuclear power, and for nationalizing the energy industry," Zimmermann frequently began. "We think the problem is that rich people



Socialist Workers Party candidates Matilde Zimmermann (left) and Tom Moriarty campaign in downtown Morgantown, West Virginia.

are making all the decisions. Since working people produce the wealth, we believe we should be running this country."

Coal strike

Moriarty explained that a labor party would do more than ask for workers' votes once every four years. He gave the example of the recently ended strike against Consolidation Coal Company in northern West Virginia. Consol had provoked the month-long walkout by firing eleven miners at its

Four States mine, including the local UMWA president.

"Despite the fact that justice was clearly on the side of the Four States miners," Moriarty said, "the politicians, the courts, the cops, and the news media all ganged up with Consol against the miners."

With a labor party, the miners would have had a political voice and organization to fight for them, he explained.

When Zimmermann told one man in Morgantown that she was for nationalizing the energy industry, he explained that he is a native West Virginian but now works for an oil company in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

"I know of 300 wells that are capped 'for our future,' they say. They mean until the price is right." He said that he knew all the time there was no oil shortage.

Carter's draft

Three young men in downtown Morgantown, two of them Black and one white, were interested in the SWP campaign but explained they couldn't come to the socialist rally that night because they were from the Kennedy Youth Center and were only out of prison that day for a city clean-up project.

They all said they were against Carter's proposed draft. One said, "We shouldn't fight." Another indicated he was for "peace." And the third put it this way, "I don't have very much, and nothing I have is worth fighting a war over."

At the Clarksburg mall, a couple leaving the grocery store stopped to talk with Moriarty. They listened attentively to his proposal that all nuclear plants be shut down now and that coal be used as the immediate alternative. They agreed about the danger of nuclear power, but asked what he thought about the environment, in particular, the damage done by strip mining coal.

"It's another case where all the decisions are now made on the basis of profit," the socialist responded. "They don't care about the air we breathe or the environment as long as they're making money."

This led to a discussion of the energy industry and the oil giants whose interests Carter is so eager to protect with his war moves in Iran and elsewhere. The man, who works for the department of highways, noted that Carter already had a "pretty good start

on the next war," adding that people didn't want to be drafted because "everyone remembers what happened last time."

The woman said she had seen on TV news the night before that Barbara Timm, mother of one of the hostages in the U.S. Embassy, was going to Iran despite Carter's disapproval. "I'm with her all the way," she said.

Victim of layoffs

The last conversation Moriarty and Zimmermann had while campaigning in Clarksburg on Saturday was with a young worker who stayed to talk more than a half hour. Twice a victim of layoffs—first from Ingersoll Rand and most recently from a foundry that is closing down—he has been job-hunting for a while now. "I've been all over and can't find anything but minimum-wage. I can't live on that. If I can't get a job, I know all these high school graduates can't get decent jobs."

He was interested in what socialists have to say about factory shutdowns.

"Why do five members of a board somewhere in New York have a right to tell 500 people here that they can't work anymore?" asked Moriarty. "Their financial books should be opened to the public to see what the problem is. If the company 'can't afford' to run it, then the plant should be nationalized."

The man nodded, adding that, "the average guy pays for the biggest part of unemployment and welfare payments when we do get laid off."

"The biggest part of our tax dollars, of course," Moriarty said, "goes for the war budget—to protect Rockefeller's oil interests abroad."

"Yet you and I have a lot more in common with an Iranian oil worker than with a John D. Rockefeller IV," Moriarty said.

"That's true," the laid-off worker agreed.

"I was thinking about those politicians in Washington when they were setting the minimum wage last year," the man went on. "I'd like to see them work for four years on \$3.10 an hour."

He went on to explain that he had decided to register independent last year instead of Democrat or Republican, but he had yet to find a candidate to support.

He promised to carefully read the socialist campaign literature. "I've been looking for someone with the right ideas," he said.

Moriarty hits arbitration

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—The month-long strike by 3,500 miners in United Mine Workers District 31 that ended April 14 protested the firing of eleven miners at Consolidation Coal Company's Four States mine.

"The UMWA, and chiefly Local 4060, faced the company, the courts, the cops, a hostile news media, opposition in both the Democratic and Republican parties, and an unsympathetic international union leadership," Tom Moriarty, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of West Virginia, told a campaign rally in Fairmont April 19.

"The strike was broken, the workers went back, the fired miners remained fired. We lost," said Moriarty, who is a miner at Southern Ohio Coal Company's Martinka No. 1 mine near Fairmont.

"The miners also faced an arbitration procedure that is stacked against the union from the beginning," he said, and this gave Consol the excuse to provoke the strike to begin with.

UMWA Local 4060 President Mike Zemonick was first fired when the company charged, contrary to miners' testimony, that he led a one-day walkout over job assignments. The other ten miners were later fired allegedly for picketing during the strike sparked by Zemonick's dismissal.

The companies' right to fire miners was established with an October 1977 decision by the Arbitration Review Board, the final step of the grievance appeal process in the UMWA contract.

ARB ruling 108 said that a miner could be fired for instigating a work stoppage, and that "instigating" could be broadly interpreted as "the passing out of information relating to a dispute even in public places. . . ."

What's more, to be charged with picketing, a miner doesn't have to carry a sign or say anything. He or she just has to be a sole "known union member standing at the entrance to a mine."

"Consol wants absolute, unchallenged control over working conditions, job security, and bidding rights," Moriarty said. "In order to realize these objectives, the militancy, strength, and traditions of the United Mine Workers must be broken. That's where the firings at Four States and ARB 108 come in."

Moriarty described how the courts immediately came to Consol's aid by declaring the strike illegal and levying outrageous fines against the union, its local officers, and even the individual members of the local. The news media told only Consol's side of the story. And the Democratic and Republican politicians urged a return to work, while maneuvering behind the scenes to break the strike.

"My campaign stands 100 percent against these strikebreaking laws and court actions and for the miners' right to defend their contract, which is being rewritten constantly by procompany lawyers posing as 'impartial arbitrators,'" declared Moriarty.

"Wherever I campaign across West Virginia, I'll tell the miners' side of the story."

Nine-year-old Black girl shot by Ga. racists

ATLANTA—Two white men have been charged in the April 19 shooting of a nine-year-old Black child in Wrightsville, Georgia, scene of confrontations between civil rights protesters on the one side, and the Ku Klux Klan and a racist sheriff on the other.

Constance Folsom suffered shotgun wounds on her face, neck, and forehead from a blast that shattered the living room window and penetrated the aluminum wall of the mobile home in which the Folsoms live. Eleven pellets were found on the living room floor.

That same night, John Martin, leader of the Johnson County Justice League, an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said a group of whites had gathered in front of his house shouting, "We want John Martin!"

And, at an intersection near the Black community, a cross was burned.

The shotgun blast that wounded Constance Folsom was fired from a passing pickup truck. Someone spotted the license plate number and Herschel Hall and Danny Foskey were arrested. Police said a shotgun was found concealed in Foskey's bedroom. They said he initially admitted firing the shots, but later refused to answer questions.

On April 21 the two were charged with aggravated assault and are each being held on \$25,000 bond.

The campaign of racist terror has been encouraged by local authorities. On April 18, Black demonstrators were attacked by a mob of racists led by Sheriff Roland Attaway and deputies. Wielding clubs and chains, they injured fifteen Blacks. Even a Justice Department observer was beaten.

Four days later, 400 people, includ-



Despite threat from racist thugs (right), civil rights partisans marched in Wrightsville April 12 after earlier protest suffered bloody attack. In center (with raincoat) is SCLC President Joseph Lowery. Left of Lowery, Wrightsville community spokesperson John Martin.

ing supporters from around Georgia, staged a second demonstration. Participants included Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

John Martin said the community wants Blacks hired in city departments and private office jobs. They are also demanding Blacks be placed on the city council and board of educa-

tion.

And they insist on the removal of Sheriff Attaway, who has kept the town in a racist grip for nineteen years.

A statement issued here by Janice Prescott, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. senator from Georgia, put responsibility for the shooting of the child on "the campaign of racist vio-

lence led and condoned by Sheriff Attaway."

She said those who perpetrated the crime should be prosecuted for attempted murder, not assault, and that Attaway should be removed immediately.

She urged campaign supporters in Georgia to join the continuing civil rights demonstrations slated in Wrightsville.

Labor solidarity wins Seattle ferry strike

By Clay Dennison

SEATTLE—An impressive display of labor solidarity beat back a union-busting attack here.

Strike action by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Teamsters forced the state of Washington to retreat on its attempt to break the Inland Boatmen's Union, which had struck the ferries here. The ILWU and Teamsters shut down every port on Puget Sound for twenty-four hours and the state gave in.

The 800-member Boatmen's union operates the ferries that carry tens of thousands of commuters across Puget Sound daily.

They were forced out on strike April 5 after the state demanded take-away contract terms and backed it up with a no-negotiations stance.

A fierce attack was mounted against the strike. Both the union president and secretary-treasurer were jailed for

refusing to order the workers back. Heavy fines were imposed on them and on the union.

This was intended as a lesson to all unionists. Like the 35,000 Boeing workers in the Puget Sound area, whose contract comes up in October. Or the Seattle transit workers, whose contract time is November.

The ferry strike did prove a lesson for working people. It was a lesson taught not by union-busting state officials and judges but by the IBU, the Teamsters, Longshoremen, and many other unions that rallied behind the strike. It was a lesson in the power of labor solidarity.

When the two union leaders were imprisoned, members of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, the Retail Clerks, and others demonstrated outside the jail, chanting, "Jail the judge" and "Free the hostages."

A rally of unionists was held at the

Seattle Ferry Terminal. Some 250 people turned out in early morning rain to hear declarations of solidarity from union officials.

Solidarity and financial support was voted at a membership meeting of Local C of the International Association of Machinists District 751, representing 10,000 Boeing workers. This was then backed by a meeting of the District council.

The decision of the ILWU and Teamsters to shut down the eight Puget Sound ports came on the eleventh day of the strike. On the twelfth day, the state settled.

The new contract does not include everything the union sought. It pared down its wage demands and there was some compromise on crew sizes. The attempt to impose an inferior health plan remains to be settled in court.

A \$30,000 damage award against the union has been dropped. Still to be

settled is the issue of \$108,000 in contempt fines.

Because the union did not make substantial gains in the contract and, in fact, lost ground on some issues, the daily papers have presented the outcome as a loss for the union. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The Boatmen survived an all-out union-busting attack. They were strengthened by the power of the Teamsters and Longshoremen. And their fight inspired other unionists.

The strike was carefully followed, for example, by many machinists at Boeing. They discussed what happened in terms of what their huge union could do if it's on strike this fall.

Niel Sutphin, vice-president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1001, said, "We're next up. We have our contract coming up in November. We would like to have the same support when we're in jail as the ferry workers."

Miami-area Blacks fight mounting cop violence

Rose Ogden

MIAMI—Police brutality against South Florida's Black community continues to escalate.

On April 3, in Deerfield Beach, Florida, just north of Dade County, cops busted up a crap game involving about a dozen Black youth. Twenty-year-old Willie James McDonald was nabbed by two cops and pinned to the ground.

As he yelled, "Don't shoot me," one cop shot him in the head from a distance of about two feet.

Youth in the area took to the streets overnight and into the next day in angry protest. A relative of the slain youth urged them to go home and spread the word that a community meeting would be held that night.

People of all ages, 250 of them, showed up for the meeting. A Broward County NAACP leader told the press afterward that the community insisted that the cops be charged with murder, nothing less. "Hunting season is over for white police shooting down unarmed Black youth," he declared.

Meanwhile, Dade County's grand jury decided not to indict killer-cop Larry Shockley. Shockley's victim, Randy Heath, a twenty-two-year-old Black man, stopped to urinate against a warehouse. Shockley came along and ordered Heath to stand with his hands against the wall. Heath's sister, who witnessed the killing, testified that Heath obeyed the order, at which point Shockley shot him in the neck.

"How can one person kill an innocent person and a group of supposedly law-abiding upstanding citizens find that nothing wrong has been done?" editorialized the *Miami Times*, the local Black newsweekly.

Eyes are now focused on the McDuffie trial.

Arthur McDuffie, a thirty-three-year-old Black insurance salesman, was beaten to death last December by cops who later faked a police report to say his injuries were a result of a collision.

Twelve cops were on the scene during the beating; six were indicted—one for second-degree murder, the others on lesser counts. Already one of the cops indicted has been freed.

The cops pounded McDuffie with

fists, flashlights, and night sticks. One cop, who was granted immunity, testified he had yanked McDuffie off his motorcycle and his fellow officers then joined in "gang tackling."

The trial was moved to Tampa from Miami to ensure a better hearing for the cops.

Tampa has its own history of police brutality. Just this past February a white cop was exonerated in the killing of a Black man.

The cops' attorneys are complaining that "brokers" and "bankers" are too easily excused from jury duty. The "lower income, blue-collar workers are the people who are prone not to like the police. . . ." complained one of the lawyers for the cops.

El Salvador human rights leaders ask aid

By Fred Murphy
and Lars Palmgren

MANAGUA—Leaders of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador are appealing for a worldwide campaign of solidarity "to counter the lies spread by the ultraright and fascist sectors . . . and by the junta's own official reports."

We spoke to two leaders of the human rights group here April 6: Mari-nella García Villas, president of the commission, and José Antonio Hernández.

The Human Rights Commission was formed two years ago. It is made up of students, professionals, trade unionists, and representatives of the Catholic Church and other organizations.

The commission provides legal aid to those few political prisoners actually turned over to the courts—García and Hernández estimate that 90 percent of the detainees are simply murdered. The commission also takes testimony from victims of human rights violations and tries to gain national and international publicity for these cases.

"Recently we have found it necessary to open up a third area of work," García told us. That task is photographing the many corpses that are found in the streets and roadsides and arranging for their burial.

Then, she said, "families of the 'disappeared' come to our office to look through the photographs. In this way, we have managed to identify about 50 percent of the dead we have photographed and buried."

Recently there have been so many corpses that a part of the cemetery in San Salvador has become known as the "Cemetery of the Human Rights Commission."

As a result of its activities, the commission itself has become a target of terrorist attacks. On March 13 a bomb destroyed nearly a third of its office and half its equipment. Since then, the office has received fifteen to twenty death threats each day.

García was in the Cathedral Plaza March 30 for the funeral of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, an outspoken critic of the Salvadoran regime who had been murdered by rightist terrorists March 24. Disputing claims by the U.S. and Salvadoran governments that leftists were responsible for the violence that left 50 to 100 people dead there, García confirmed that rightists had opened fire on the crowd of half a million at the funeral.

García also said that on the day of Romero's funeral, North Americans were spotted in the atrium of the cathedral and others outside were speaking in English over walkie-talkies. They disappeared before the massacre began.

García explained that while she personally has never seen U.S. advisers in joint actions with government forces, "many peasants, especially in the Aguilares area, have reported seeing English-speaking people directing the squads that come to carry out repression."

She also cited testimony from union militants in San Salvador who say they were interrogated by North Americans speaking in very poor Spanish, as well as from people who live near Ilopango Airport and have seen planes landing and unloading guns there at night.

According to García, the CRM re-

ported at a recent news conference "that ships have been observed unloading munitions at the port of Acajutla. Four truckloads of rifles and munitions have left Acajutla on the way to San Salvador. Workers in the area have seen the ships unload."

The junta's state of siege declaration prohibits all press communiqués. Hoping to break through this media blockade, the Human Rights Commission decided to conduct a tour of North America and Europe. But when García and Hernández requested visas, they were denied.

"What we do consider quite serious,"

Hernández said, "and what we must denounce above all and make known to world public opinion is the military intervention the United States is carrying out in our country to uphold the current government and the repression."

This information should be widely known inside the United States, Hernández said. "The idea of getting visas was precisely for this purpose—to provide information to the American people that would be different from what they are getting from the U.S. Embassy and the junta."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Romero mourners killed when troops opened fire on funeral

Quebec teachers to help Nicaragua literacy drive

By Paul Kouri

MONTREAL—The 90,000-member Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) is spearheading a massive drive by unions and other organizations in Quebec to aid the literacy campaign in Nicaragua.

The CEQ "will be sending hundreds of scribbles, pencils, and erasers to Nicaragua," says a quarter-page advertisement placed in Quebec newspapers by the union. "In all the schools and colleges of Quebec, students, parents, and staff will be approached for financial contributions."

The CEQ initiative is supported by a wide range of other groups, including the other major Quebec union centrals, the 200,000-member Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the 340,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ). The FTQ is affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC).

A special 24-page issue of the CEQ's monthly journal *Ligne Directe* (Direct Line) is devoted to the campaign, which is focused on activities in the schools during the last two weeks in March.

Articles describe how the Sandinista-led government in Nicaragua is moving to solve the country's pressing economic and social needs, and how

the literacy campaign is being organized.

Ligne Directe recommends students be assigned classroom projects on such topics as the history of the Nicaraguans' struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Somoza dictatorship.

The magazine also provides detailed instructions on how to collect and account for funds. The CEQ will purchase the materials in Quebec and ship them directly to Nicaragua.

This sentiment for solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution is not confined to Quebec. The March issue of *Canadian Transport*, the paper of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, reports the decision of Vancouver CBRT Local 326 to send \$1 per member to help the literacy campaign. It quotes CBRT national president Don Nicholson: "I hope the example set by Local 326 will be followed by other Locals."

Nicholson's advice should be taken up by union locals throughout English Canada and Quebec. The CLC's "Operation Solidarity" should be carried forward, on a bigger scale around the literacy campaign—with no political strings attached.

From Socialist Voice



Solidarity with Nicaragua!

Solidarity Day in Madison

The Madison, Wisconsin, City Council has declared May 3 to be Nicaragua Solidarity Day. Teams of volunteers will form a "bucket brigade," dispersing through the city to collect funds to help rebuild the civil-war-torn nation. A major target in the reconstruction effort is a literacy campaign to teach 700,000 people to read and write.

Film Institute seeks aid

Nicaragua Communicates is a newly formed organization set up in the United States to help the development of film, graphic arts, and public communications media in Nicaragua. Its first project is aiding the Nicaraguan Film Institute, INCINE. INCINE, which is a branch of the Nicaraguan Ministry of Culture, grew out of the Sandinistas' volunteer press corps that covered the 1979 overthrow of dictator Somoza. Now INCINE produces newsreels and documentaries about the country's reconstruction efforts.

INCINE is looking for films to distribute throughout Nicaragua, for the INCINE library, and to train filmmakers. Donations (which are tax-deductible) are sought from filmmakers, distributors, and collectors. They need fiction and documentaries, old and new. Films can be 16 mm. and 35 mm. Write: Nicaragua Communicates; P.O. Box 612, Cathedral Station; New York, New York 10025.

Ann Arbor dinner

More than sixty-five people in Ann Arbor, Michigan, turned out March 29 to partake in a Mexican dinner, to view the film *Sandino Vive* (*Sandino Lives*) and to hear speakers on Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Mexico.

The speaker on Nicaragua, a Nicaraguan student, denounced the U.S. for holding up needed aid and for trying to attach strings to any aid given. A student from El Salvador described the upsurge in revolutionary struggle that has developed in his country after the overthrow of Somoza in neighboring Nicaragua. And a Mexican socialist described the repression that is used there to stifle protest.

The audience raised \$120 to aid the Nicaraguan literacy campaign.

—Compiled by Gus Horowitz

New York City

Conference in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People



Saturday, May 3, 1980
9 AM—7 PM, plus...

Benefit Concert, 8 PM, featuring
PALACAGUINA
The first cultural group to tour
the U.S. from the new Nicaragua

at Washington Irving H.S., East 17th St., 1 block east of
Union Square, Manhattan

Rep. of the Nicaraguan Government
Rep. of the Coordinating Comm. in
Solidarity with El Salvador
Prof. Richard Falk, Princeton University
David Funkhouser, Chairman, National Network in
Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People
Robert Lopez, Int'l. Rep., United Auto Workers

Sponsored by the New School Latin American Students
Association. Co-sponsored by the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua
and the New York Committee on Nicaragua. For more
information, call 260-6677, 928-0280, or write c/o Economics
Society, Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research, 65
5th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

SUGGESTED CONTRIBUTIONS
CONFERENCE \$4.00 in advance, \$5.00 at the door
CONCERT \$4.00 in advance, \$5.00 at the door
CONFERENCE AND CONCERT \$7.00 in advance

ALL PROCEEDS TO THE NICARAGUAN LITERACY CAMPAIGN

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Strike by 50,000 agricultural workers rocks Guatemala

By Aníbal Yáñez

A total work stoppage by 50,000 laborers in the cane and cotton plantations of Guatemala's Pacific Coast in late February and early March dealt a heavy blow to the landowners and the government of Gen. Romeo Lucas García.

Rural workers in Guatemala live in conditions of abject poverty. More than 2.5 million live on tiny plots that do not produce enough to sustain a family. Every year thousands of families are forced to seek seasonal work on the large farms of the rich.

"The very fact of their extreme poverty," notes the March 8 bulletin *Noticias de Guatemala*, "forces them to accept inhuman conditions of work; to travel on trucks like virtual human cattle; to live in crowded and unhealthy shacks; to do without adequate clothing and tools; to be exposed to the danger of slow and continuous poisoning by the insecticides they apply; to have no vacations . . . ; to be denied any social security benefits . . . ; and to accept wages as low as one quetzal [U.S.\$1.00] per day."

Another 875,000 people have no land whatsoever, and constitute a reserve of cheap labor for the agribusinesses. Sometimes they make as little as 25 cents per day.

"These two large sectors of the peasant population are the ones that generate and sustain the agricultural wealth of the country," *Noticias de Guatemala* points out.

Wealthy exploiters

On the other end of the spectrum, the agricultural capitalists engaged in export production, who make up only 2.6 percent of the country's population, own more than two-thirds of the land. On Guatemala's Pacific Coast, this exploiting minority controls two of the most important areas of the economy—cotton and sugar—which represent more than 20 percent of the country's exports.

In face of this situation, the Committee for Campesino Unity (CUC), an organization made up of poor Indians and mestizos, began organizing to fight for the interests of the rural poor. In a January statement, the CUC declared:

"Being conscious of our needs and of our rights, the CUC demands that during the 1979-80 harvest we be paid five quetzals per quintal [about 100 lbs.] of cotton and five quetzals per ton of sugar cane. Our right and our obligation to demand this price [for our

labor] flows from the needs of our families."

On February 18, the CUC began an agricultural workers strike with work stoppages on the Tehuantepec, Guanipa, Florencia, and Cristóbal plantations in Santa Lucía Cotzumalguapa. On February 22 about 1,000 peasants took over a sugar mill in the same area.

On February 26, 500 agricultural workers in Santa Lucía Cotzumalguapa set up barricades at the entrances of the Los Tarros and El Baúl sugar mills. The same day, the cane workers received the support of other agricultural workers—particularly those working in cotton, coffee, and wood.

Several Guatemalan dailies complained on February 27 that the problem in the cane fields was getting worse and that it could lead to a strike shutting down all production in Guatemala, since workers from new sections of the economy were joining the strike daily.

But the movement continued building strength. Production was halted on 60 cane plantations, and the strike united the workers, day laborers, and migratory workers from the highlands.

Lies and repression

The response of the landowners and their military government was twofold: deployment of every type of repressive force and an intense propaganda campaign aimed at portraying the workers as ignorant tools of communist devils.

The employers placed paid advertisements in all the newspapers in Guatemala, calling the strike an "instrument of subversion to change the



Guatemalan rural workers live in extreme poverty, forced to accept inhuman work conditions, crowded and unhealthy housing, and make as little as twenty-five cents per day for their labor.

system of liberty in which we presently live."

At the same time, the government threw all its "security" forces against the peasants, sealing off the entire area. They wrote down the license numbers of every vehicle that entered or left the area, and searched everyone for weapons and "subversive" propaganda. Helicopters constantly flew over the area.

Peasants were brutally dislodged from the occupied mills. Several peasants and CUC leaders were murdered by "unknown" assailants.

Mass self-defense

The farm workers occupying the plantations and mills took measures to protect themselves. They organized committees to defend their meetings from provocations by the government forces and the owners' bodyguards.

Despite the military occupations of the Pacific Coast, groups of peasants went from farm to farm speaking about the strike and asking the workers to join it.

This powerful peasant mobilization on the Pacific Coast did not arise spontaneously, nor was it instigated by "outside agitators." It gave evidence of the level of development that the organization of agricultural workers has attained.

A journalist wrote in the Guatemalan daily *La Nación*: "The scenario and the actors have changed. We are no longer seeing an Indian who takes off his hat and, holding it over his breast, meekly asks the boss for a few cents more for the grace of God."

Solidarity

The workers on the Pacific Coast won broad support for their struggle. The Indian peasants of El Quiché province in northern Guatemala, who have been involved in struggles against army repression in their area, declared their support for the strikers. The Guatemalan Workers Federation blasted the repression and called for

militant solidarity with the workers of the Pacific Coast.

The Robin García Revolutionary Student Front (FERG) also supported the strike.

Employer intransigence

Throughout the strike the owners of the mills and plantations maintained an intransigent attitude, refusing to negotiate with representatives of the workers.

Finally on March 3, the government of General Lucas was forced to intervene, despite the objections of the employers. The Ministry of Labor issued a decree establishing an official minimum wage of \$3.20 per day, instead of the \$1.12 that workers on the cane and cotton plantations and cattle ranches had been receiving.

Not surprisingly, the big landlords have opposed paying the new minimum wage, saying that it would bankrupt them.

This is highly dubious. Some months ago, the Guatemalan Chamber of Industry itself stated that its economic expectations for 1980 were excellent due, above all, "to the rise in the prices of our export products in the international market, especially coffee, cotton, and sugar."

Furthermore, the CUC has stated that if the owners say they can no longer profitably work the land, they should give it to the peasants, who are interested in the well-being of the people, rather than scandalous profits for a few exploiters.

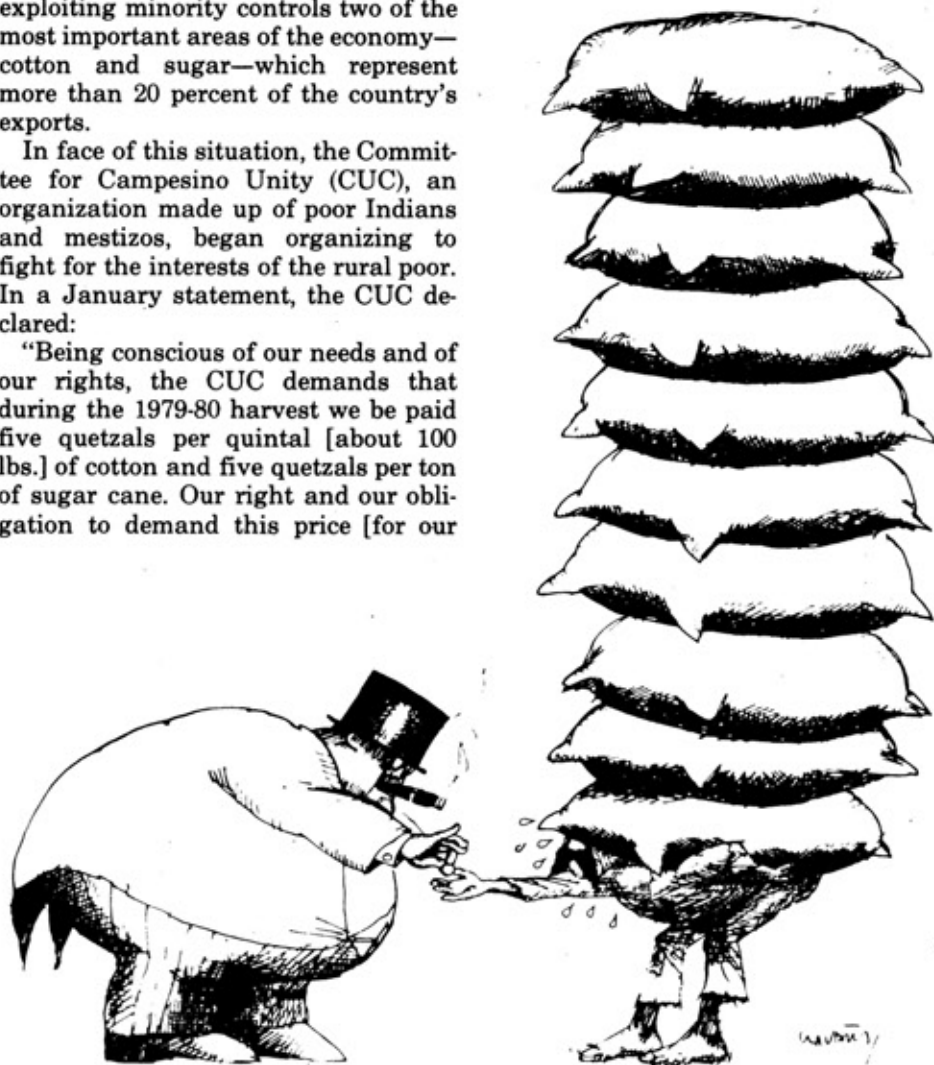
'We will continue organizing'

The CUC's response to the wage hikes decreed by the government was:

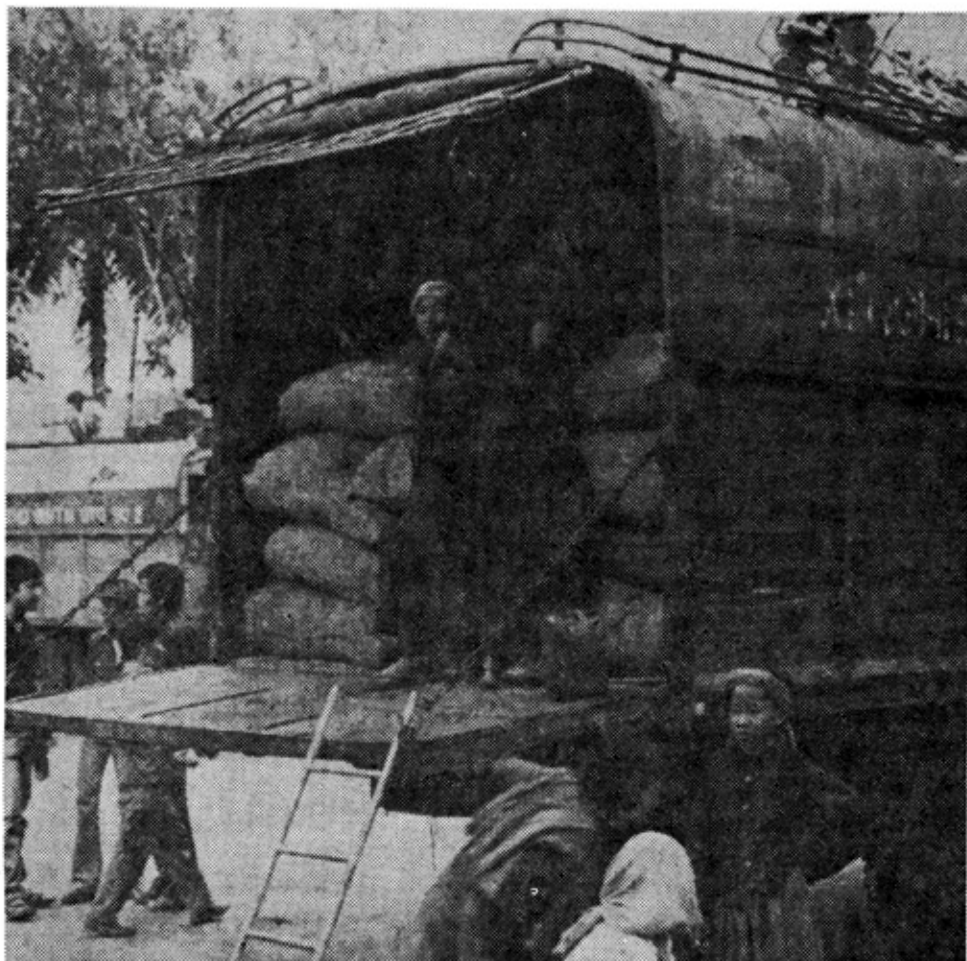
"The government and the super-rich have been forced to recognize the first step of our struggle. . . . But the 3.20 quetzals does not solve our needs."

Therefore, the CUC called "on all the rural workers to continue organizing . . . and to continue to struggle for a better wage."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Kampuchea makes big gains but worldwide aid still needed



Vietnamese deliver grain to Battambang Province in American-made truck captured in Vietnam War.

By Fred Feldman

The shadow of hunger still hangs over Kampuchea [Cambodia]. This includes the danger of a new famine unless massive shipments of grain and rice seed are received in the coming weeks.

But important advances have nonetheless been made toward restoring a viable economy in the fifteen months since Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents put an end to the brutal Pol Pot regime.

Progress was symbolized by the reinstitution of a Kampuchean paper currency, the *riel*, on March 20.

The Pol Pot regime banned the use of currency when it came to power in April 1975. This was presented by apologists for Pol Pot as an attempt to create complete communism and equality.

The opposite was the case.

The move actually reflected the fact that U.S. bombing had driven production below subsistence levels, leading to a breakdown in trade and communication between different parts of the country.

The measures carried out by Pol Pot—such as massacres, forced evacuation of the cities and transfers of a majority of the population, and abolition of most public health services and education—multiplied the catastrophe.

The abolition of paper currency fit in with Pol Pot's policy of using police measures to keep consumption by the workers and peasants at starvation levels, in order to maximize the goods available for export and for Khmer Rouge leaders.

The main goal of the Heng Samrin government in reinstituting the *riel*

was to spur agricultural production. Correspondent Martin Wollacott reported from Phnompenh in the March 30 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*:

... the new monetary system is intended to encourage private farmers. Farmers will be able to borrow capital on reasonable terms to buy livestock, fertilizer, and agricultural equipment. Carpenters, blacksmiths, and other rural craftsmen will also be able to borrow. There will be no pressure for the loans to be taken on a collective basis, Government sources insist.

Phnompenh now has an officially acknowledged population of 300,000. Initially, authorities had tried to control the pace of resettlement in the cities. Anthony Barnett reported in the April 12 issue of the liberal U.S. weekly, the *Nation*:

Resentment in the camps outside the city increased as people saw Vietnamese officers living in town while they had to camp on the outskirts. The planned resettlement was abandoned, but a free economy was allowed to flourish in Phnom Penh to a surprising extent. Controls of entry into the city were virtually lifted. When I was there in February, I saw jeans and Sony radios openly on sale in the markets. They had been brought in from Thailand, while smaller durables such as hats and spoons had come in from southern Vietnam. Rice was cheaper than in Hanoi and a chicken cost 10 to 15 dong, less than half the price that prevailed in northern Vietnam.

Revival of trade

On Highway Six leading towards Thailand, an extensive market has appeared with dozens of stalls. This market, based on cross-border trade, is technically illegal but tolerated by the Heng Samrin regime. *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent Nayan Chanda reported in the April 14 issue:

The illegal border trade, however it may be disliked by the authorities, does respond to the desperate need for consumer goods in the country. If brightly coloured sarongs have returned to Kampuchea to replace tattered black clothing... and if surviving monks are wearing saffron coloured robes again, it is thanks to the trade with Thailand. Any serious attempt to stop the traffic without providing alternative sources of goods would be against the government's effort to get people's lives back to normal.

Protection from attack

These first steps in Kampuchea's long and difficult recovery from near-extinction have been possible thanks to the ability of Vietnamese and Kampuchean government troops to protect the population from attacks by Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei forces. These are maintained across the border with the direct support of the Thai army, and with aid both from Washington and Peking.

Chanda reports that almost all the major Kampuchean highways are now safe by daylight: "This correspondent and an Italian journalist travelled through eight provinces without armed escorts, though when international agency officials travel they are often provided with an armed guard."

Role of Vietnamese troops

Contrary to reports in the big-business media that Vietnam is turning Kampuchea into a colony, Vietnamese forces have been careful to avoid offending the deep-rooted nationalist sentiments of the masses. The result has been that broad popular support still exists for the Vietnamese presence, as it did during the war with Washington when Vietnamese forces aided the Kampuchians.

Reports that food relief shipments were being diverted to Vietnamese use invariably prove to be false. On the contrary, Vietnam—despite its own food shortages—provided Kampuchea with more than 120,000 tons of rice last year. Kampuchea might not have survived without this aid.

Chanda notes, "This correspondent did not see any evidence nor hear complaints, often alleged abroad, of Vietnamese settlers coming into Kampuchea."

And Barnett noted the "speed with which the Vietnamese handed over civilian power to the Khmer authorities. Vietnamese of high rank who ordered the Cambodians around were summarily shipped home—for being insensitive," Barnett continued:

What the Vietnamese want is a fraternal Cambodia that is a credible state, which would in turn help the Cambodians to survive. The Vietnamese are paying for their invasion, both politically and economically, and they justify the cost quite straightforwardly in terms of improving their own national security. This means accelerating efforts to legitimize the Government and give its personnel greater self-confidence—hence high rations for officials (often higher than what those of equivalent rank in Hanoi receive); building up the Khmer Army and militia, and encouraging President Heng Samrin's officials to make decisions. . . .

Chanda reported that Khmer Serei units carry out some propaganda activity among the merchants, former Lon Nol officials, and other anti-communist elements. But there was "no such political activity by the Khmer Rouge, whose credibility with the vast majority of the population is nil."

The conclusion seems inescapable—despite war and near-famine conditions, the Vietnamese have aroused little hostility among the Kampuchean population. "The presence of any other foreign army of this size would have created tremendous social problems," one Kampuchean told Chanda.

Chanda noted that "even Kampuchians severely critical of the conduct

of the Vietnamese and apprehensive of Vietnamese designs on their country quickly add: 'We have to give the devil his due—had not the Vietnamese come we would be all dead by now.'"

Barnett summarized the gains of the Kampuchean people since ousting Pol Pot:

Forced labor, which the majority of the population underwent, was ended. Fear still exists, but there is no longer state terrorism. Buddhism, which Pol Pot abolished (in his own remarkable phrase, "the problem of Buddhism has solved itself"), is now freely practiced again. Markets exist and money has been reintroduced, the towns are resettled to a degree.

Need for international aid

But the future of Kampuchea continues to depend on massive international assistance. Aid from Western sources has begun to dry up as Washington tests the possibility of once again using famine as a weapon against the Kampuchean government and people.

Chanda saw "vast areas . . . completely parched by a relentless sun, with very little sign of agricultural activity," as well as other areas where lack of seed or draught animals is blocking rice planting.

Another problem is training a skilled labor force in good enough health to perform needed tasks. Barnett noted "fifteen ships, many of them Russian, lined up outside the port of Kompong Som waiting to unload. The Khmer dockers can unload only 500 tons a day." Soviet and Vietnamese dockers have had to help out.

The difficulties in Kompong Som are deliberately being exaggerated in the Western press, however, as a pretext for withholding aid.

Grain desperately needed

Kampuchea must have 300,000 tons of grain and 40,000 tons of rice seed in order to continue its upward climb. The Soviet Union has promised 135,000 tons of grain.

The Vietnamese people will also continue to provide grain. Hanoi has promised to deliver between 10,000 and 20,000 tons of seed—despite the malnutrition that haunts much of Vietnam.

The rest must come from international relief agencies and other sources.

Once again, Washington's propagandists are grinding out claims that Vietnam is blocking the needed aid. Barnett pinpoints some of the real obstacles.

An order from a United Nations agency for perhaps 10,000 tons [of seed] has met with extended bureaucratic delays—not in Phnom Penh or Hanoi, but in Bangkok, where despite the emergency, the Government refuses to expedite an export license for the tonnage acquired.

Demand U.S. provide aid

Relief agencies such as the United Nations and the Red Cross, which cooperate readily with Pol Pot and the Thai army, are reluctant to work as closely with Vietnam. Barnett continues:

... the Vietnamese find themselves in a difficult situation. Last year they distributed their own rice, using their army to do so. But if they carry Western aid in their military trucks this year, the international relief agencies will object. If they do not, the peasants will object even more.

The United States alone has enough grain and seed to meet most of Kampuchea's needs. The Carter administration must provide it now.

And Washington and its allies must stop sending arms and supplies to Pol Pot's gangs and other rightist forces along the Thai border.

The Phnompenh government should be recognized, and the resources being poured into the effort to destroy that government should be used to help it in rebuilding Kampuchea.

'To think by decree is impermissible'

Trials of Soviet workers spotlight discontent

By Marilyn Vogt

The emergence in early 1978 of the Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers was an important development in the struggle against Stalinist bureaucratic rule in the USSR. Led by Ukrainian coal miner Vladimir Klebanov, the AFTU drew together workers who had been victimized for exposing official corruption or hazardous job conditions.

The Kremlin police succeeded in crushing the AFTU but not the widespread discontent that resulted in its being formed in the first place.

Seven months later, in October 1978, a second attempt was made to form an independent organization to defend workers' rights—the Free Inter-Trade Association of Workers (SMOT). SMOT initially had 100 members; within two months it doubled in size.

Dissidence among workers

A recent issue of the Russian-language samizdat journal *Chronicle of Current Events*¹ contains accounts of three trials in August 1978 of Soviet worker dissidents.

These cases are important because they show the ideas these workers have developed and the support they have among some of their co-workers, as shown in the trial testimony. They are an indication of the discontent that has pushed organizations like the AFTU and SMOT to the surface.

On August 1, 1978, in the Gomel region of the Byelorussian republic, Ye. Buzinnikov, a pipefitter, was sentenced to three years in a strict regime labor camp. He was charged with "spreading fabrications discrediting the Soviet system." Evidence against him included his own copy of *Economic Monologues*, a critique of Marxist economic theory by Ukrainian dissident Mykola Rudenko. Buzinnikov was also charged with trying "to revise Marxist-Leninist teachings and smear the historical experiences of the Soviet people."

At the trial, Buzinnikov explained that he had loved books since his childhood. When he had a chance to get a copy of Rudenko's *Economic Monologues*, he naturally accepted it.

1. No. 51. December 1, 1978. Available from Khronika Press. 505 8th Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018. \$5.00.



Vladimir Borisov (left) and Lev Volokhonsky, organizers of the Free Inter-Trade Association of Workers. Borisov was picked up on the street in March and thrown into psychiatric hospital in Leningrad. Volokhonsky was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in June 1979.

But Buzinnikov explained that "he did not want to and doesn't want to criticize or negate Marxism." His only goal, he said "was to understand this theory as deeply as possible and, for this purpose, to study it from all sides, including from a critical point of view."

His so-called criminal actions, he said, boiled down to having received and read a book.

The evidence against him also included some letters he had written containing eyewitness accounts of strikes and demonstrations in Novochoerkassk in Ukraine in 1962.² Buzinnikov explained that he had only described what he saw, not engaging in fabrications.

2. On June 2, 1962, large-scale strikes and demonstrations occurred in Novochoerkassk in Southern Russia protesting price increases for basic food products and simultaneous pay cuts. Troops opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators and at least seventy persons were killed. The city was

sealed off and the official Soviet press never reported the event. But various accounts by eyewitnesses over the years have helped to fill in the details. See *Workers Against the Gulag* (London: Pluto Press, 1979), for three such accounts, as well as for documents from the AFTU grouping.

Twenty witnesses were questioned at his trial, including Buzinnikov's co-workers. Most, according to the *Chronicle*, believed he had done nothing wrong. But the prosecutor was bent on fabricating crimes.

Fabricated crimes

Prosecutor. How can you say you know nothing bad about him? Didn't you say during the investigation that he listened to foreign radio?

Witness. Yes, he did.
P. And didn't he tell you that there was going to be a revolution in our country?

W. Yes, Buzinnikov somehow said that sooner or later in our country there will be some kind of changes.

P. So! He predicted revolution!

In his summary speech, Buzinnikov, acting as his own counsel, said:

If someone's thoughts or someone's books are incorrect, life itself discards them and they will find no soil for growth. To force people to think by decree is impermissible, because such people will live not by their own thinking but by repeating someone else's thoughts. And in such a case, the society will experience no development at all.

In the Stavropol Regional court in Southern Russia, N.P. Shatalov was sentenced August 10 to eighteen months in a labor camp on a charge of "false fabrications discrediting the Soviet system."

Shatalov, a worker with thirty-three years on the job, had written a letter to the Supreme Soviet in March 1976 renouncing his Soviet citizenship and asking for permission for him and his family to leave the USSR. In the letter,

he stated that he could no longer be reconciled with the "lies and hypocrisy" of official policy and "the robbery of the basic working mass of the people."

he stated that he could no longer be reconciled with the "lies and hypocrisy" of official policy and "the robbery of the basic working mass of the people."

Condemns rights violations

In August 1977, Shatalov was arrested.

At his trial, he was accused of stating in conversations with co-workers and in letters to officials that "workers in the USSR are in every way oppressed; they have no rights or freedoms; the authorities in every way try to diminish workers' rights."

In a letter to Brezhnev, Shatalov had written about "the economic poverty facing the workers." He had condemned the fact that those workers who expose the "scoundrels" who oppress them are labelled unfit by the authorities.

Shatalov admitted that he had made such statements, but he denied that they were "false fabrications."

Vadim Konovalikhin, a thirty-six-year-old television-radio repair worker in Kaliningrad, was sentenced August 30 to four years internal exile for his "slandorous fabrications."

Evidence against Konovalikhin was a statement he had written declaring his resignation from the official Soviet trade unions and his desire to join either the U.S. AFL-CIO or the AFTU established by Klebanov.

Fighting bureaucrats

One prosecution witness, a worker from Konovalikhin's plant, said Konovalikhin felt it was his "duty to fight for human rights and wage increases and against the bureaucrats."

Another co-worker stated that Konovalikhin was constantly harassed on the job by the administration because of his views. "On some points, I agreed with Konovalikhin in his criticisms," the worker said.

A third worker said that when Konovalikhin was fired, it was because of his views and not because of "absenteeism," as the authorities claimed. "He and I were absent together, but it was only Konovalikhin that they fired."

A fourth co-worker called to testify said, according to the *Chronicle*, that "in the USSR there is no free press and officials from the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] are appointed to posts of head of the City Executive Committees. In his opinion, there was no basis for putting Konovalikhin on trial."

After Konovalikhin was sentenced, his typewriter was ordered confiscated "as an instrument of crime."

AFTU exposes harassment

When the AFTU was formed, it issued documentation showing dozens of cases of ordinary workers who had been demoted, fired, imprisoned, or sent to psychiatric hospitals for speaking out for their rights.

The SMOT grouping, which has been victimized but not yet crushed, aims to defend its members whenever their rights are violated by the bureaucratic rulers. SMOT's declaration stated it would not turn to governments for support, but to "workers both inside and outside the country."

Whether or not the Kremlin rulers succeed in crushing SMOT, it is clear that more and more workers in the USSR are beginning to see that Stalinist bureaucratic rule is incompatible with the Soviet working class.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

For the very best coverage of world politics

Frankly, 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' carries far more articles, documents, and special features about world politics than the 'Militant' has room for.

'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' is published to help people struggling for a better world learn from each other's successes and setbacks. You can't afford to be without it. Fill in the coupon below and subscribe today.



Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

☐ Send me six months of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' Enclosed is \$15.

☐ Send me a sample copy. Enclosed is \$.85.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Nationalize the railroads!

American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization. By Dick Roberts. New York, Pathfinder Press, 1980. 96 pp. \$8, paper \$2.45.

From the Milwaukee Road to Conrail, from the Burlington Northern to the Southern Pacific, railroad workers are under attack. The U.S. railroad industry is on the rampage trying to drastically reduce the size of train crews and intensify the work of railroad workers. They're threatening more bankruptcies, and that means loss of thousands of jobs.

Workers who are lucky enough not to be laid off are required to work under increasingly dangerous conditions.

What is behind these attacks? Are railroads really bankrupt? How have railroad workers been able to fight against the companies in the past? What

Books

lessons do these struggles have for rail and other workers today? How can railroads provide a real public service?

These are some of the questions answered by Dick Roberts in his book, *American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization*.

Roberts's book is divided into two parts. The first section takes up the systematic looting of the public till that accompanied the building of the railroads. Roberts shows that from the beginning, railroads have not been in the business of providing a public service, but only of making profit, even if this means the ruin of the railroad.

Roberts also tells of the militant early struggles of rail workers against their bosses, the rail tycoons, from the nationwide rail rebellion of 1877 and the 1894 Pullman strike up through the 1922 shopcrafts strike.

In the 1920s the Railway Labor Act was passed, drastically restricting the rights of rail workers. Around the same time a conservative bureaucracy based on a craft-divided union structure consolidated its hold on the rail unions. This history goes a long way toward explaining why the rail industry was bypassed by the industrial union movement that built the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the 1930s and why to this day rail unionism is weakened by a divisive and outmoded craft-union setup.

The second section of this book begins with the question, "Who owns the railroads?" Rail workers will find this particularly revealing. Here we find that Morgan Guaranty and Trust and a secretive account at the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York hold significant blocks of stock in the country's largest railroads, including the Burlington Northern, Norfolk and Western, Santa Fe, and Southern.



In the national drive to "rationalize" the railroads, these bankers sit down and plan how they are going to scrap vast sections of the rail system and eliminate tens of thousands of jobs.

The most notorious example is the Florida East Coast Railroad, which is owned by one of the most powerful ruling-class families in America—the du Ponts of Delaware and Florida.

The FEC has weathered strikes, busted unions, drastically reduced the work force, eliminated all passenger service—which is far less profitable than freight operations—and decimated work rules that rail workers fought for.

The railroad owners would like to duplicate the FEC system on every railroad in the country.

One noteworthy accomplishment of *American Railroads* is its exposure of Conrail for what it is: a privately owned corporation that is massively subsidized by government tax revenues. After surveying the bureaucratic maze that maintains intact Conrail's private ownership, Roberts remarks, "If private property ever demanded a monument of its irrationality, this is surely it. The simple step that would eradicate all of these encumbrances—cancellation of the debt and genuine public ownership—seems not to have been considered."

With the breakdown of the railroads and the increasing attack on rail workers, nationalization is an idea whose time has come. Railroads are a vital national resource that should rightfully belong to

all the people, not a few billionaire families. Decisions regarding the railroads should be made by society as a whole through free and open discussion, not by secretive trusts whose only aim is to keep the dividends flowing.

The best way to ensure that nationalized railroads will be run in the public interest is "to entrust control over their day-to-day operations to the rail workers themselves," Roberts explains.

If big business screams that nationalization would be too costly, working people can point to the military budget, which can be used to rehabilitate and expand the railroads, rather than prop up military dictatorships.

Can this work? Yes, according to Roberts. And it is a timely solution to the problems facing all working people who see their wages burned up in gasoline tanks.

Recently the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen called for the nationalization of Conrail. Last year dozens of locals on the Milwaukee Road and Rock Island circulated petitions calling for their nationalization.

Rail workers in the yards across the country can speed up the discussion on how to really save the railroads by ordering copies of *American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization*, selling them to their co-workers, and getting the book reviewed in local union newsletters. The book will make for great debate and discussion on the job or after work.

—Doug Hord

Myth of equality in American education

Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States. By David Nasaw. Oxford University Press, 1979. \$13.95.

The traditional myth fostered by liberal apologists for capitalism is that education is the passport to social equality in the United States. According to this myth, the unique system of mass education in the United States has democratized and equalized access to opportunity for the children of the work-

each period was shaped not by the workers' concern for education, democratization, or equality, but by the procapitalist reformers' desire to train children to fit into the outlook and norms appropriate to the capitalist mode of production at each stage of its development.

The three periods examined by Nasaw are 1833-1855, when the foundation was laid for the elementary school system; 1895-1915, when the American high school was transformed; and 1945-1970, when the colleges supposedly opened their doors to "those traditionally excluded from higher education by sex, race, and class."

The chapters in Nasaw's book dealing with the invention of "adolescence" (as an especially crime, violence, and immorality-prone period of human maturation) and the development of "differentiated education" (tracking) are among the most valuable for understanding present attitudes toward youth.

Differentiated education is tracking of students into schools and courses according to their "probable destiny" in capitalist society. As Nasaw shows, it is really tracking of students according to their class, race, national origin, and sex.

The period from 1945 to 1970 was marked by permanent changes in the structure of the capitalist

economy. This required an expansion of higher education facilities for research and training of specialists. Fearing a "tidal wave" of working-class youth with a traditional college education and too few good jobs for them, the ruling-class reformers designed a "selective admissions" plan for higher education.

Nasaw's book is not without shortcomings. It has few references to the working-class battles for expanded educational opportunity. Moreover, Nasaw thinks that the schools are not really controlled by the owners of the big corporations and their government. He considers them to be "contested" institutions and finds the issue of "local" vs. "state" control to be the focus of that contest. This is a serious mistake.

The schools are an arena of social struggle, as Nasaw argues. But the struggle is between ruling and ruled classes, not between local and state authorities.

Although Nasaw fails to relate the school system to the class struggle, his book is valuable for its explanation of how the liberal view of education is used by apologists for capitalism to blame the victims for what the system has done to them.

—Morris Starsky

Books

ing class. For several years studies have appeared that expose the reality hidden by the liberal myth.

We now have David Nasaw's *Schooled to Order*. In it he examines three periods of significant educational "reform" in the United States.

For centuries American working people fought for the right to go to school, to be literate, and to expand their general knowledge and skills.

Nasaw finds, however, that educational reform in



Not to worry—Three Mile Island was only a mishap, things are under control, the company and government know exactly what they're doing, right? Like, for instance, entry into the plant, scheduled for April 11, was postponed when they discovered there's not enough oxygen in the building to sustain human life.

Handwriting on the wall?—Because of turbulent conditions, the Diners' Club has cancelled cardholders in Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

Bears watching—"TRENTON—

The Joint Legislative Ethics Committee voted yesterday to invite Richard J. Coffee, the state Democratic chairman, to testify about reports that he turned down a \$50,000 bribe by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation posing as wealthy Arabs."—News item.

Things are tough all over—What with high interest rates on loans, etc., President Carter's net worth dipped below \$1 million this year. To be exact, \$893,304.35, according to his tax return.

Royal boot—Merchants who supply the British royal family can display a

coat of arms, indicating endorsement of their product. But some feel this can scare off customers who might think they can't afford the same products as bluebloods. Nonsense. For instance, J. Hunter Lobb, royal bootmaker, is opening a shoe store here. \$625 a pair.

Can't believe it—"Study finds consumers pay for food advertising"—Headline in *New York Times*.

What more can you say?—"This is the only campaign, Republican or Democratic, in which you will find this kind of intellectual ferment."—A member of Reagan's campaign staff.

Think you've got problems?—Syndicated "manners" columnist Judy Martin responds to a reader who needs to know under what conditions she can properly wear a mink stole. It is, Miss Manners explains, "the most difficult of all fur clothing to wear." It is OK however over dressy garb, or evening dress in chilly weather.

It will help pay the doctor—In a move to counteract opposition to nuclear power, the French government said it would reduce electricity rates by about 15 percent for people living near nuclear stations.

Reading From Left to Right

Gus Horowitz



'A book held hostage'

In the book review section of the April 12 *Nation* magazine, Thomas Powers, author of *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA*, tells the story of "a book held hostage." The book, titled *Counterpunch: The Struggle for the Control of Iran*, is by Kermit Roosevelt, the man who planned the CIA-sponsored coup that put the shah in power in 1953. Roosevelt is proud of his foul deed (for which he received the National Security Medal), and he gives a detailed account.

The book was printed way back in September. The reason you haven't seen it at your local bookstore is that the publisher, McGraw-Hill, pulped the entire edition when British Petroleum threatened a libel suit. It seems that Roosevelt named the oil giant, then known as the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, as having a big part in the coup.

Actually, the culprit that Roosevelt had originally planned to name was the Secret Intelligence Service, British counterpart of the CIA. He later backed off for fear of Britain's Official Secrets Act, and substituted the name of the oil company for SIS. What could be more natural? After the threat of a libel suit, however, Roosevelt was able to work out an agreement with the CIA and SIS to go back to the original plan naming the SIS outright.

So McGraw-Hill printed a new edition and scheduled the official publication date for January. But

after the U.S. Embassy was occupied, Roosevelt asked to have the book kept out of the stores. Some 15,000 copies are still sitting in the warehouse.

Powers, who obtained a first edition, one of the few hundred review copies that had not been pulped, says that the account itself is pretty shallow. Not much political discernment, more like an adventure tale: "incomplete, offhand and unreflective, the sort of story an old man might set down for the pleasure of his grandchildren."

Nevertheless, what it does reveal—"it is a book about clandestine technique, a kind of guide for covert political manipulation"—should be made public. Especially now. So too should the portrait of the high officials to whom Roosevelt reported directly: British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Eisenhower, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and CIA director Allen Dulles.

Upon hearing Roosevelt's first-hand account of the CIA coup, "John Foster Dulles was leaning back in his chair. Despite his posture, he was anything but sleepy. His eyes were gleaming; he seemed to be purring like a giant cat."

Sound intriguing? Those wanting to learn more of Roosevelt's story will have to wait until he stops holding his own book hostage. But the wait is more bearable knowing that Carter and Vance are pur-

ring less these days than their predecessors.

At first I couldn't believe it. The work of a well-known Trotskyist appearing in the Communist Party's *Daily World*! But when the same item was reprinted the next day, April 12, in bigger and bolder size—as the most prominent piece on the editorial page, in fact—it was as sure as proof could be that something was up.

Don't get too excited, though. All that happened was that the *Daily World* printed one of our cartoons. It is a piece by Laura Gray, whose work appeared regularly in the *Militant* in the 1940s and 1950s. It's done in fine, old-time style, with a fat boss sitting on a pile of moneybags and screaming, "The unions are RUINING us!"

Now, I don't mind it if the *Daily World* wants to use one of our cartoons. And I suppose I can understand why they wouldn't want to give us credit. But it was going just too far when they scratched off Laura Gray's tell-tale signature at the bottom. Did they think we wouldn't notice?

There is an old rule that in politics you pay for all your mistakes. For penance in this case, I suggest that the *Daily World* run another of Laura Gray's cartoons, one of her illustrations of the Stalinist school of falsification. For that one, they need not bother with credit.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES

BEHIND THE NEW FRAME-UP OF CUBA. Reports from recent visitors to Cuba; Robbie Scherr, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 25th C.D.; others. Sat., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-2136.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO

SOCIALISM AND THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S EQUALITY. Sat., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, #700. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MINNESOTA

IRON RANGE

NUCLEAR POWER: MIRACLE OR MENACE? A slide show. Fri., May 2, 7:30 p.m. Carpenters Hall, 307 First St. N. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

TWIN CITIES

EL SALVADOR: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: Ron Young, American Friends Service Committee. Sun., May 4, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

CAMDEN

BENEFIT CONCERT FOR NICARAGUA. Featur-

ing Palacaguina, Nicaraguan folk group; Otto de La Rocha, and El Guadalupeño. Sun., May 4, 4 p.m. Rutgers Univ., Fine Arts Theater, 4th & Penn St., Camden. Donation: \$5. Ausp: La Asociación del Istmo C.A. Nicaraguense; Cultural Committee of Camden; Office of Hispanic Affairs, Rutgers University; Coalition for a Free Nicaragua. For more information call (215) 844-0142 (Philadelphia) or (609) 963-0453 (Camden).

NEWARK

FORD, MAHWAH . . . G.M., LINDEN: AUTO LAYOFFS IN NEW JERSEY. Speakers: Jon Britton, United Auto Workers Local 980, Ford Metuchen, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 11 C.D.; Helen Schiff, UAW Local 595, GM Linden; Reba Williams-Dixon, UAW Local 664, GM Tarrytown, SWP candidate for Congress, 19th C.D. New York. Sat., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave (near Broad). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

LOWER MANHATTAN

BEHIND THE SLANDER CAMPAIGN AGAINST CUBA. Speaker: Victor Nieto, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. Wed., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor (near Union Square East). Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

BEHIND RECENT EVENTS IN CUBA. A slide show with Jon Olmstead, member of Socialist Workers Party recently returned from Cuba. Sun., May 4, 7:30 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1.50.

Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON

PORTLAND

FROM MINING TO WASTE: NUCLEAR POWER'S DEADLY CYCLE. Speakers: Julie Levak, Trojan Decommissioning Alliance; Priscilla Lane, Hanford Conversion Project. Sun., May 4, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA

MEETING FOR FOUR PUERTO RICAN NATIONALISTS. Featuring the recently released Puerto Rican nationalists. Also a musical tribute by Andrés Jimenez. Fri., May 2, 7 p.m. Temple University, Humanities Building, 12th and Berks St. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Committee to Honor the Nationalist Heroes. For more information call (215) 893-5325 or 978-4793.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; Linda Mohrbacher, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Tory Dunn, SWP candidate for state treasurer; and José Acevedo, antiwar activist. Sat., May 3, 7 p.m. 2125 Chestnut St., First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: E. Pennsylvania SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (215) 927-4748.

PITTSBURGH

PITTSBURGH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: TWELVE YEARS AND STILL NO BUSING PLAN.

Speaker: Carla Hoag, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., May 2, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN DINNER AND RALLY.

Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president; Linda Mohrbacher, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Tom Moriarty, SWP candidate for governor of W. Va. Tues., May 6, dinner 6 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Dinner: 3.50. Ausp: Western Pa. SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

TEXAS

HOUSTON

1980 TEXAS SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; Lea Sherman, SWP candidate for Congress, 5th C.D., Dallas; Laura Garza, SWP candidate for Congress, 23rd C.D., San Antonio; John Sarge, SWP candidate for railroad commission. Sat., May 3, reception 6:30 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. LaFitte Room, Univ. of Houston, University Center. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (713) 524-8761.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF KENT STATE: LESSONS OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT FOR TODAY. Sun., May 4, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

They threw the medals away

The "Vietnam syndrome." It's proving to be a big obstacle to the ruling rich as they try to ram through a new draft and whip up American sentiment for new military adventures.

Working people in this country are determined not to experience another nightmare like Vietnam. Particularly those who experienced it directly.

Across the country, socialist workers report that in every shop some of the strongest opponents of the draft and war moves are the Vietnam veterans. They have not forgotten.

In that war they came to recognize that they were fighting and dying for no worthwhile purpose.

They played a key role in bringing that unjust war of aggression to an end.

In his book about the movement against the Vietnam War, *Out Now*, Fred Halstead quotes a marine corps officer writing in the June 7, 1971, *Armed Forces Journal*:

"The morale, discipline and battle-worthiness of the U.S. Armed Forces are . . . lower and worse than at any time in this century and possibly in the history of the United States.

"By every conceivable indicator, our Army that now remains in Vietnam is in a state approaching collapse, with individual units avoiding or having refused combat, murdering their officers and non-commissioned officers, drug-ridden, and dispirited where not near mutinous."

As many of these GIs were mustered out of the service they gave an enormous impetus to what had by then become a massive civilian antiwar movement.

On April 24, 1971, a million people massed in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco demanding an immediate end to the war.

The mammoth demonstration in Washington was preceded by a widely publicized action by Vietnam veterans.

This is how Caroline Lund reported it in the May 7, 1971, *Militant*:

* * *

The determined and serious tone of the demonstration was set during the five days previous to April 24, when 1,200 Vietnam veterans descended on the capital to testify to the horrors and injustice of the war.

One hundred and fifty of them attended Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on "how to end the war." With their jeers and interjections against the prowar speakers, they brought an entirely new note into the discussions among these congressional hypocrites.

The veterans' protest climaxed on April 23 with two events. In the afternoon, about 1,000 veterans assembled to throw their military medals and ribbons over a



Wounded Vietnam veteran on Capitol steps in Washington addresses veterans' demonstration just before April 24, 1971, giant march and rally.

fence surrounding a statue on the side of the capitol, describing them as "symbols of shame and dishonor."

"Here's my merit badge for murder," yelled one vet as he flung over his medals.

Two mothers with gold stars also threw away their dead sons' medals.

A total of 600 vets returned their medals, including a 20-year-old former infantryman, William Wyman, who lost both legs in Vietnam.

That same evening, about 400 active-duty GIs in uniform, along with 2,000 others, packed into the Washington National Cathedral for a memorial service for the war dead, sponsored by the Concerned Officers Movement.

The GIs attended in defiance of a Pentagon prohibition—on the grounds that the service was a "political demonstration"—of GI participation.

Spec/5 Charles Balent told the service, "We are the ones who have listened to our brothers rolling bleeding on the ground and cursing those who sent them there to die."

Story of a boss

Recently a local news show in Detroit aired "John DeLorean: Life in the Fast Lane" about a former General Motors executive whose ultimate dream is to mass produce and market a new "American" sports car which will sell between \$15,000 or \$20,000.

DeLorean, who was released from GM several years ago for his "progressiveness and flamboyance," is now head of the DeLorean Motor Company located in Northern Ireland.

The plant is in Belfast, right next door to an all-Catholic housing project reputed to be a "stronghold of the IRA [Irish Republican Army]." In an effort to fend off terrorists, the security at the plant (mostly financed by British money) is as tight as that of an arsenal. One scene even showed a young boy with a toy gun who followed the cameras into a front room where workers are searched. An angry British soldier spat at the child, "Do you want to get shot?"

Despite the security problem, DeLorean chose Ireland over the U.S., Japan, and Mexico—all of which he received offers from—because it was so attractive. No doubt, even more appealing after he discovered he could get away with paying his 200 employees an average of \$137 a week each.

I was recently laid off from a sweatshop here of twenty-five people, where the lowest take-home was \$102, a mere \$35 difference. Both plants are non-union.

Jobs are scarce in Belfast and in Detroit. As a result many working people are forced into impossible situations—either accepting low-paying jobs or unemployment (with or without benefits). Yet, John DeLorean was projected as sort of boy-genius in this show, a success in all of his affairs, romantic as well as business.

The show's producers attempted the ultimate in arrogance by trying to pass him off as a Detroit who made good!

As a native Detroit and longtime resident, I resent this. The real geniuses are workers in Detroit and Belfast and other places who somehow manage to survive making slave wages. Jimmy Carter, Henry Ford, DeLorean, and others who would force all workers into the same sub-standard conditions are the true terrorists.

Jo Carol Stallworth
Detroit, Michigan

A vital voice

I'm enjoying your coverage more than ever, especially on the New York City transit strike, the literacy campaign in Nicaragua, mental health care in Cuba, and the regular weekly columns. Thanks for your fresh and vital voice.

K.C.
New York, New York

Enough!

A rail worker here saw a sign at work that I thought might be worth reporting.

At the Denver Roundhouse of the Burlington Northern railroad there is a sign

Letters

advertising a time and place to give blood donations. Someone wrote on it, "Isn't 8 hours enough?"

Bernie Senter
Denver, Colorado

Rail crew size

Some recent developments in the railroad industry may be of interest to your readers. The March 31 issue of *Railway Age* carried some more information on the Missouri Pacific crew consist agreement.

According to the *Railway Age* the MOPAC agreement gives the carrier "flexibility in such things as coming out of away from home terminals" and "limits on the use of extra board brakemen and yardmen." It is such "flexibility" that allows the carrier to claim that the work force will be reduced under these agreements only by "pure attrition," when in fact workers are forced out.

In a related article *Railway Age* reports that as of last October on the Milwaukee Road 39 percent of all road and yard crews worked [with] reduced [crew size]. Unless four out of ten Milwaukee Road workers have retired since that agreement was signed, we have to conclude that all talk of "pure attrition" is pure distortion.

Further, *Railway Age* reveals that the MOPAC agreement provides for a moratorium on any Section 6 notices that would fundamentally alter the agreement. This speaks volumes.

In the sixties the Kennedy administration imposed compulsory arbitration in a crew size dispute between the carriers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. In the two following years thousands of operating craft jobs were lost. When the compulsory arbitration award expired, the BRT filed Section 6 notices for returning to full crews.

Through a series of strikes virtually all the lost jobs were regained by the end of the decade. This allowed a whole new generation of workers to take their place in the industry. On MOPAC the UTU has freely forfeited this option.

Your readers would also be interested to know that the Conrail reduced crew and other work rule agreements have been thrown out in court for violations of the ratification procedures stipulated in the UTU's constitution. I'd like to see a more detailed report on this in the pages of the *Militant*. It is heartening.

Doug Hord
Chicago, Illinois

More European news

The *Militant* deserves tremendous credit for the job it has done in recent months of defending the Iranian and Afghan revolutions and standing up to the imperialist war drive.

But that said, I feel an important criticism should be made of the *Militant's* international coverage. That is, the near-absence of serious coverage of working-class and other social struggles in the advanced capitalist countries other than the United States. The Canadian elections got

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
 - ☐ Send me _____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$_____
 - ☐ Please send me more information.
- Name _____
- Address _____
- City _____
- State _____ Zip _____
- Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

JOIN THE SWP

Learning About Socialism

'The Long View of History'



Dunagin
'In case of fire, break fire fighters out of jail next door.'

their fair share of attention, true; but then such nearby developments in a largely English-speaking nation would have been hard to ignore.

The same cannot be said for the crisis that is building toward an explosive point in Italy, or the struggle for self-determination of the Basque and Catalan peoples of Spain. For the last year, I have searched the *Militant* in vain for a single substantial article on Portugal, where all signs point to a new showdown between classes in the near future.

To carry such articles would be of great value to all *Militant* readers, many of whom, like myself, often lack the time, money, and energy to follow these events in other Trotskyist publications like *Intercontinental Press*.
Mark Chalkley
Albany, New York

Eyes opened

This letter is to show your paper my appreciation for the subscription I have been receiving for the last three years.

Because of your fine stories, information, etc., I will be returning to the outside world with my eyes open to the real political and social situation the third world people must struggle through—today, as well as in the future. In turn, I now understand the fight before me. For this, I would like to thank you. My only regret is that I was unable to make a donation to help out.

A prisoner
New York

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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.

The April 21 issue of *Time* magazine features a 12-page cover story asking "Is Capitalism Working?" It says, "Capitalism is today being challenged as at no time since the Great Depression. On all sides the haunting questions arise: . . . Can the system suffer and survive these problems? Can it be repaired or is it fatally flawed?"

Time, Carter and the rich minority they speak for are uneasy about the future of their system. Their uneasiness is well-founded.

But opposition to their austerity drive is developing slowly. Working people are paying the cost of the capitalist crisis.

Layoffs, plant closings, inflation, cut backs, war preparations, are all being stepped up. A presidential election is coming in a few months in which few people see a satisfactory choice among the candidates presented by the two capitalist parties. But the mass alternative for working people—a labor party—doesn't exist.

The unions are winning a few and losing a few hard-fought battles to hold on to what had been won in previous years.

Civil rights, women's rights, and civil liberties are under attack, although far from defeated. And the rulers are trying hard to roll back the "Vietnam syndrome"—mass opposition to war.

For class-conscious workers who want to fight back, it can be frustrating to experience these attacks, the slow response of the union movement, and the impact that the capitalist propaganda still has on workers.

Workers often accept the scapegoats selected by the employers and the media for all their problems: Arab oil, Japanese cars, imported steel, women, or immigrants.

But through all the confusion, working people see the world changing and they are trying to figure out how and why.

This requires a long view, a historical perspective. A new Pathfinder pamphlet, *The Long View of History*, reprints two talks by Marxist scholar George Novack from 1955 that do just that.

In forty-six pages Novack goes from revolutions in the development of life on earth over hundreds of millions of years to revolutions in politics and social life during the last two centuries.

The reactionary social and political conclusions taught by capitalist ideology are built on their own long view—including the superstitions of religion. To convince someone of revolutionary social and political views means challenging all superstition.

Discussions about issues like these, the "big questions", are not academic. They come up at work just like discussions ranging from sports and sex to unions and politics.

Mention socialism and someone frequently responds that it goes against human nature. You hear "humans are basically greedy so we need a system like capitalism which is based on greed." (Common as this argument is, it is not very complimentary to capitalism.)

Novack shows that "human nature" not only can change, but has changed repeatedly.

He describes the communism of the Native Americans before their conquest and near-extinction. This society had no concept of private property. Was this a violation of human nature?

Novack explains the increases in productivity, marked off by revolutionary changes, as humanity went from primitive to class societies. "Civilization was ushered in and raised on direct slavery," he states. "Once slavery became the predominant form of production . . . it no longer furthered the development of agricultural techniques, craftsmanship, trade or navigation. The slave empires of antiquity stagnated and disintegrated . . ."

Slave society was replaced by feudalism, where "laborers got more of their produce than slaves had received."

"Human nature" did not remain trapped in feudalism, either. "Feudalized Europe became the nursery for the next great stage of class society, capitalism."

Novack says: "Up to the twentieth century, [the capitalist] mechanism for pumping surplus labor out of the working masses and transferring the surpluses of wealth they create to the personal credit of the capitalist was the mightiest accelerator of the productive forces and the expansion of civilization."

Capitalism, in spite of the best wishes of *Time* magazine, no longer works very well. Another big change is needed, to socialism. But in order to win people to socialism, it is necessary to have an honest history of capitalism.

How has capitalism fared here in the United States? It was established through revolution against Britain. It was consolidated by a second revolution, the Civil War, defeating the slave economy of the South. It survives today as the bastion of counterrevolution throughout the world.

What does a look at American history show about the pace of revolutionary change?

"During the interval between revolutions, relatively small changes gradually occurred in people's lives. They consequently took the given framework of their lives for granted, viewed it as fixed and final, and found it hard to imagine a different way. . . . Yet it was during those very periods of evolutionary progress that often unnoticed accumulations of changes prepared more drastic change."

We are in a period now when the lessons of the growing decay of capitalism are registering on the workers.

"Nothing whatsoever including imperialist war, McCarthyism, the Taft-Hartley Act, has been able to stop the momentum of the U.S. labor movement," writes Novack.

"The supreme merit of scientific socialism is that it enables us to participate in this process by understanding it, by striving to influence it through all its stages, by giving it proper direction and speeding it up so that its great aims can be achieved most economically and efficiently."

Workers see plants shut down, inflation going up, living standards down, and the drive toward war. What can be done?

One step is to get prepared. The armament of this long view of history will be of great value to the fighters in the giant class battles to come.

Many people will want to follow up *The Long View of History* with more reading. A few suggestions: from Novack's book *Polemics in Marxist Philosophy*, the article "Is Nature Dialectical;" "The Role of Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man" by Frederick Engels; *Women's Evolution* by Evelyn Reed. Also *America's Revolutionary Heritage*, by Novack. All are available from Pathfinder or the offices listed below.

—Stu Singer

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: East Bay: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rick Drozd, 203 E. Cashin, U. of Mass. Zip: 01003. Tel: (413)

546-5942. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, 4120 Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Oberlin: YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box

679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0084. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Tom Dynia, 2024 Goodrich Ave. #110 Zip: 78704. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

Tacoma: SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Labor says: Pass ERA in Illinois!

All
out
May 10
in
Chicago!



Unionists at Chicago ERA march in 1978. March and rally set for May 10 this year have won broadest labor support ever. Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

By Suzanne Haig

GARY, Ind.—Trade union, women's rights, and Black leaders here appealed April 22 for support to the April 26 Labor Conference for the Equal Rights Amendment and the May 10 national ERA march, both to take place in Chicago.

"This is our way of demonstrating to the people of Illinois that we in Indiana want our neighboring state to join us, along with thirty-five other states that have ratified ERA," said Evelyn Conners, of the north western Indiana Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), which hosted the news conference.

Supporters of the ERA are pressing for the amendment's passage in Illi-

Gwendolyn Kenndy, president of the Gary local of the American Postal Workers and head of the NAACP women's auxiliary, spoke of her union's decision to boycott states that have not yet ratified ERA as well as "right to work" states: "The 'right to work' law means the right to work for less. That is what women have been doing all the time."

Kennedy added that "women, the NAACP, and the unions have common goals." President Carter "is talking about cutting the budget. This means cutting our jobs. Equality without opportunity doesn't mean anything."

Lewis Thomas, president of the Lake County central labor union, compared the fight for ERA to the fight for civil rights in the South, where he was brought up.

"To be a woman is to be treated as separate," he said. Women today are fighting for "some of the same things people in the South died for and went to jail for. We're talking about equal rights."

"When you are head of the household and go to the grocery store—or to the doctor's office or any other place—the only thing the proprietor wants is money. If a woman can't find a decent job equal to that of a male, you are deprived of some necessities of life."

Also present at the news conference were Arthur Bland, president of the Gary branch of the NAACP; Jackie Hill of the women's committee of Region 4, United Auto Workers; Jack Parton, president of USWA Local 1014; and Barbara Byrd, executive vice-president of American Federation of Teachers Local 1955.

"Labor has never been as activated as it is now," Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, had told a Chicago NOW meeting April 17. "Labor has decided

that this issue really matters."

The news conference in Gary certainly bore witness to the truth of Smeal's statement. It was an impressive display of solidarity, at a time when that solidarity is really needed.

"We are in the eleventh hour," Smeal had said in Chicago, referring to the June 30, 1982, deadline for passage of the ERA. "The vote cast this time may be it for this century for American women. We have to communicate that urgency."

"We want to address the issue of ERA again and again. Especially the economic issue and inflation. We want everybody to recognize that when the

vote is cast they are voting on what the future salary and income level of women and their families will be."

Speaking at the Gary news conference, Sue Errington, former Indiana national board member of NOW, expressed the spirit with which the march is being organized:

"Now is the time for ERA supporters throughout the country to convey our message to the Illinois legislators. We will not stand by and see our rights denied. We will demonstrate in Chicago, just like the thousands of women, men, and children marched in Washington, D.C., two years ago in support of extending the ratification deadline."

INSIDE: Questions and answers on the ERA. Page 7.

nois before the state legislature there closes its session on June 30.

Some forty area unionists, most of them Black, backed up the speakers here by their presence. Many were from the United Steelworkers of America, which is playing a big role in building the ERA march and labor conference.

"Our union is committed to the passage of ERA," said James Balanoff, director of USWA District 31. "As long as women in this country are discriminated against, as long as they earn fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by men, that is an injustice not only to women but to all working people in this country. Our union is determined to make a change, so that ERA becomes the law of the land."

Minnie Hobbs, Indiana state vice-president of CLUW, also stressed the economic importance of ERA, as did most speakers.

Pulley urges big turnout at Chicago ERA march

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, announced April 23 that he and his running mate, Matilde Zimmermann, will be marching in Chicago May 10 in the demonstration for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The socialist candidate urged "a huge outpouring for women's equality in Illinois" to win ratification in that state.

Pulley also announced that he would attend the Illinois Labor Conference for the ERA on April 26. "As a steelworker and union member," he said, "I know that all workers suffer when women are denied equal pay or equal job opportunities."

It is no coincidence, the socialist candidate added, "that the same

forces that oppose passage of the ERA support antilabor 'right to work' laws, oppose affirmative action for minorities, and favor drafting our youth to fight for oil company profits abroad."

Only the united power of the labor, women's, and civil rights movements, said Pulley, "can fight for a future in the best interest of working women and men."

At 6:30 p.m. April 26, the SWP will host an open house where conference supporters can meet Pulley and the Illinois candidates: Lee Artz, who is running for U.S. Senate; Susan Browne and David Tucker, candidates for the University of Illinois Board of Trustees. The location is 434 South Wabash, Room 700. For more information, call (312) 939-0737.

THE MILITANT

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

U.S. HANDS OFF IRAN!

Stop war moves! No draft! Send back the shah!

The following statement was released April 25 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

The landing of U.S. troops in Iran was no "humanitarian mission," as Carter claims. It was an act of war against Iran.

It cost at least eight American lives. It could have led to disaster—to a broader military conflict on the borders of the Soviet Union. Yet today Defense Secretary Harold Brown repeatedly refused to rule out mounting another such military assault!

Carter undertook this provocation knowing full well that some or all of the Americans held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran would almost certainly die in the "rescue." He has proven that he has no concern for their lives.

Carter knows there is a simple way to end the crisis and save the hostages. Just return the shah to Iran to face justice.

The shah is a mass murderer, a torturer, a despot who stole billions of dollars by exploiting and oppressing the Iranian people. Yet Carter refuses even to acknowledge the crimes of the

shah or U.S. complicity with his blood-soaked rule.

The abortive troop landing in Iran also proves once again that Carter has lied to the American people and kept Washington's real plans secret.

Washington's aim is not and never has been to save lives. Its aim is to roll back the Iranian revolution. The Iranian people have inspired the oppressed of the world by booting out the dictator shah and challenging the domination of their country by U.S. and British oil companies and other foreign corporations. The workers and farmers of Iran have won economic gains and democratic freedoms never before enjoyed in their country.

That is why Iranians demonstrate by the millions in defense of their revolution and are ready to take up weapons in an "army of twenty million" to safeguard it.

Yet Washington and the big-business interests it represents have never given up hope of reimposing a regime in Iran that would again rule the country in the interests of U.S. corporate profits.

One of the biggest obstacles to Washington's plans is the opposition of the American people to new Vietnam-style wars. That's why Carter has persistently used the hostage crisis to

try to whip up support for the U.S. military buildup, the draft, and the higher energy prices and other economic sacrifices he is demanding at home.

Last week, under cover of the hostage situation, the House passed Carter's bill for draft registration. But the latest events make clearer than ever that Carter wants a draft not to protect American working people but to crush the revolutionary struggles of workers and farmers—our brothers and sisters—around the world.

That's also why Carter is trying to curb our democratic rights—banning travel to Iran, limiting U.S. news teams there, and trying to win new legal powers for the CIA and FBI.

The American people have no interest in sacrificing—much less going to war—for the shah or the U.S. oil monopolies. At the April 26 antinuclear protests, and through rallies, pickets, and teach-ins, the voice of the antiwar majority in this country must be heard. We must demand a halt to Washington's provocations and war moves.

No draft—no war!

Withdraw U.S. warships from the Arabian Sea!

Send back the shah!

U.S. hands off Iran!

Washington's real target:

By Fred Feldman

APRIL 25—Why did Carter do it? That the "rescue mission" was undertaken with complete disregard for the lives of the U.S. hostages in Tehran is clear.

In fact, Carter's actions against Iran have never had anything to do with the safety of the hostages.

From the first months of 1979, when millions of Iranians succeeded in driving the shah from power, Washington's goal has been to reverse the revolution and to prevent other peoples from following the example of the Iranian workers and farmers.

Down to the last days of the shah's reign, Carter declared full confidence in this butcher.

Washington backed the shah because he helped preserve and multiply the profits of the big U.S. corporations—above all, big oil.

The shah also acted as a policeman for Washington, protecting big oil's interests throughout the Persian Gulf.

When the shah was toppled, all that began to change—fast.

Gains of revolution

The Iranian workers and farmers won the right to vote, to speak out, to demonstrate and organize. The first free elections in twenty-five years were held.

Thousands of political prisoners were released and SAVAK, the hated secret police, was abolished. The torturers and hangmen began to be put on trial and punished.

Instead of being a main ally of the racist South African and Israeli regimes, the new government broke relations with both.

U.S. military and spy bases were dismantled.

The Kurdish, Azerbaijani, and Arab nationalities—brutally repressed under decades of monarchy—made gains in the struggle to run their own affairs.

The building of deadly nuclear power plants, ordered by the shah, was stopped.

Peasants began dividing the lands of the big agricultural barons. Schools and other public services began to be established in many rural districts—for the first time in many villages.

Throughout the country factory workers began organizing committees to fight for their interests on issues of wages, health, safety, housing, and production priorities.

Wages were doubled for most industrial workers.

The distribution of food and other necessities to the poor of the cities began.

The Carter administration wants to stop this process before it leads to a socialist revolution, as happened in Cuba.



Shah's prisons and torture chambers held tens of thousands of political dissidents. Above, woman prisoner is helped as she escapes from Qsar prison February 11, during insurrection that toppled shah's regime.

They want to get rid of the present government, which has not been able to halt the advance of the working people, and replace it with a dictatorial regime like that of the shah.

Washington's obstacles

Washington faces two big obstacles, however.

One is the unprecedented mobilization of tens of millions of Iranians, and their readiness to risk their lives for the gains they have won.

The other is the deep opposition of the American people to any new Vietnam.

To overcome these obstacles, Washington has been making a concerted effort—beginning well before the embassy was occupied—to whip up hatred of the Iranian revolution.

The Iranian people have been por-

trayed as mad fanatics, while the shah was pictured as a modernizer.

We were told that Iranian oil workers were the cause of oil "shortages," long gas lines, and soaring prices.

That lie has fallen apart. The identity of the real culprit is evident in the multi-billion dollar profit figures of Exxon, Texaco, Mobil, and the other oil giants.

Then last November, Carter provoked the embassy takeover by inviting the shah to this country. U.S. diplomats in Iran had warned that hatred of the shah was so strong that this could provoke an embassy occupation.

Since then, Carter's moves have blocked the road to a just settlement of the dispute.

He began by trying to whip up an anti-Iranian frenzy in this country.

The government harassed and threatened to deport Iranians, encouraging racist attacks against them.

Carter refused to negotiate with any Iranian officials.

As extradition proceedings against the shah were about to begin in Panama, where he had been placed after leaving the United States, the U.S. State Department arranged to have him spirited away to Egypt.

When some Iranian officials began making conciliatory statements, Carter declared that Washington would never apologize for imposing and supporting the shah's regime.

A tightening economic blockade was imposed on Iran.

And a drumfire of military threats including the positioning of a U.S. naval armada off Iran's shores, kept tensions at a high pitch.

Losing support at home

But the American people did not react as Carter hoped. After the initial shock and anger many experienced after the embassy was occupied, they have been finding out more about the crimes of the shah and Washington's role in Iran.

They don't want war with Iran, or with any other people fighting for a better life.

More and more American people are coming to realize that it is Carter who endangers the lives of the hostages by his support to the shah and his military moves against Iran.

To try to block the spread of knowledge about the real situation in Iran, Carter on April 17 banned travel to Iran and tried to curtail U.S. news coverage from there.

Adding to Washington's problems, it has gotten little support from its imperialist allies in Western Europe and Japan for tougher sanctions against Iran, much less military action.

It was in this context of a steadily weakening position that Carter undertook the gamble of sending U.S. troops into Iran. The White House may have hoped that the death of some or all of the hostages—a certain consequence of a raid on Tehran—would galvanize public sentiment behind its aggressive course.

But whatever the real military objectives of the disastrous mission, which cannot be fully known at this time, the political objective was certainly to reverse the ebbing of U.S. public support for the anti-Iranian campaign.

In this regard the mission can already be counted a fiasco for Washington. Its aftermath is certain to be the realization by more and more Americans that the way to end the embassy crisis peacefully overnight is to grant the simple and just demands of the Iranian people.

Emergency protests hit Carter action

By Harry Ring

APRIL 25—Within hours of the disclosure of Carter's military adventure in Iran, the protests began.

In Washington, a hundred people turned out on three hours' notice for a White House picket initiated by the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World and the Washington Area Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

In New York, a dozen organizations and individuals held a press conference to denounce the U.S. aggression.

Women Strike for Peace condemned the action as "bringing us closer to a military confrontation which, in a nuclear age, can mean nuclear war." It said the military strike confirmed "that the request for draft registration is but a prelude

to intervention and war."

Mobilization for Survival characterized the move as bringing us "one chilling step closer to a major military confrontation."

Matilde Zimmermann, vice presidential nominee of the Socialist Workers Party, declared: "I agree with the families of the hostages that President Carter has recklessly endangered the lives of their loved ones. American working people have no interest in a war with Iran. Only the big corporations would profit from such a war."

The U.S. Peace Council insisted Carter should "facilitate the return of the shah and his stolen wealth to Iran" and that there be "an immediate and complete withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from the Middle East."

Veteran antiwar activist Dave Delinger declared the action "shows contempt for the Iranians and for the hostages, as well as for the hostages' families and for the eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds who are being dragged into this."

In a statement issued at its Philadelphia office, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom declared that the events "confirmed the bankruptcy of U.S. foreign policy" and urged "a congressional inquiry into the history of our involvement in Iran before and after the revolution."

In a telephone interview, the noted linguist and peace activist Noam Chomsky said that if the Carter administration really had the hostages as its main concern it would meet the Iranian demand that it

acknowledge "the actual U.S. role from the early period when the shah was installed up to the very end when it tried and failed to instigate a military coup."

And civil liberties attorney William Kunstler told the *Militant*, "I'm in favor of the shah being returned." He warned that what happened "risks a world war."

In a statement issued from his Washington office, Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) condemned the military action as "defiance of the Constitution and the War Powers Act."

Dellums vowed he would insist on a congressional inquiry into what Carter had done, declaring that the president "has spoken in truly Orwellian terms to the American people. . . . The American people deserve to be told the truth."

Gains of Iranian revolution

Washington's account only raises questions

By Gus Horowitz

APRIL 25—Eight American troops died and several more were injured on Iranian soil yesterday as a military operation ordered by President Carter against Iran ended in failure.

The operation, presented by Carter as an attempt to rescue the hostages in Tehran, was said to be only in the initial phase, at a staging area in the Iranian desert, 360 miles from Tehran, when helicopter malfunction caused it to be canceled. The deaths and injuries occurred when a helicopter collided with a C-130 transport plane, engulfing both in flames, according to U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown.

The account of the debacle presented afterwards by Carter and Brown received a distrustful and disbelieving response throughout the United States and internationally.

How could a "rescue mission" be carried out without serious fighting and much loss of life, including the lives of the hostages?

To this obvious question, asked twice at his news conference, Brown could only answer by evasion.

The initial staging operation in the desert involved, according to Brown, six huge C-130 transport planes, eight

helicopters, and almost 200 troops. He refused to say how much more force would have been used in the more difficult part of the operation in Tehran, merely saying that it would have been successful.

But a military operation of this type would have had to include contingency plans. For example, the U.S. troops seized and held a busload of fifty Iranians who happened to be riding by. What would they have done in an encounter with Iranian troops?

Such an encounter was a certainty if the U.S. force moved toward Tehran. Washington would have had to be preparing for a clash involving hundreds, probably thousands of troops. The chances that many hostages would survive were slim.

Clearly, the Carter administration had a broader objective in mind.

Carter hinted at it when he tied the timing of the operation to "the steady unraveling of authority in Iran."

Brown was more explicit when he talked of the "considerable disorder in the streets in Iran."

Carter and Brown were alluding to the continuing revolutionary ferment in Iran that threatens imperialist interests in the area.

"The crisis," Brown said, "has been heightening tensions in what is already a volatile and vital region. There is a need to resolve that crisis. . . ."

"I am convinced that a successful rescue would have affected [the situation] favorably."

The main purpose of the operation, in other words, was to deal a blow to the Iranian revolution.

The result of the debacle, however, adds to the discredit of U. S. imperialism in the region.

And it has further exposed the duplicity of the Carter administration in the crisis over Iran. Iranian Foreign Minister Sadegh Gotbzadeh called Carter's move "an act of war"—an opinion that many in the region would share.

Planning for the adventure was begun in November, Carter and Brown now admit. There were "many practice exercises," said Brown, and "training was exhaustive."

All the while, Carter repeatedly promised the American people that he had ruled out that type of military operation as too risky.

The exposure of that big lie raises a series of additional questions about the whole affair.

Exactly how big an operation was planned? How far was Carter willing to go in his contingency plans?

Are there any American forces still in Iran, as Iranian radio has charged? Was Brown lying when he said that

there were no U.S. troops in Iranian uniform and no U.S. equipment with Iranian markings? What about those who spoke excellent Farsi, the main language of Iran, as described by the Iranians held captive?

What governments allowed the C-130s to land on their way? Were they Egypt, Israel, and Bahrain, as reports in the news media indicated? What is the explanation for reports that the West European embassies in Tehran were evacuated a few days beforehand? How far does international complicity extend?

Even prior to this adventure, the American people had become increasingly opposed to any military action in Iran.

This is the explanation for the reaction in Congress, where several representatives and senators recently charged Carter with violating the 1973 War Powers Resolution requiring congressional approval before committing American troops to combat.

The War Powers Resolution was passed during the Vietnam War, over then-President Nixon's veto. It was an attempt to assure the American people that there would be no repetition of the government lying and double-dealing that were used to drag us into the Vietnam War.

Now that Carter has proved those assurances to be hollow, it can be expected that public opposition will grow to Washington's conduct in the crisis over Iran.

Lies, lies & more lies

By Janice Lynn

"The President has made no decision, not even a tentative decision, to embark on such a course. . . ."

—White House chief of staff Hamilton Jordan, April 23, referring to Carter's military options.

The very next day, Carter ordered U.S. troops into Iran.

The lies and secrecy about the latest U.S. aggression are part of a consistent pattern of lies by Washington. Throughout the Iran crisis it has tried to deceive the American people about its real actions and aims.

Lie Number One

"No one in the government of the United States has apologized to anyone in the government of Iran because we have nothing for which to apologize," Carter said last month.

Nothing to apologize for?

On March 2, one of the most widely watched television programs, *60 Minutes*, carefully documented every major charge the Iranian people have made against the U.S. government:

- how the CIA put the shah back in power in 1953;
- how the CIA organized SAVAK, the shah's secret police, and trained its agents in "interrogation techniques";
- how torture on a massive scale was practiced under the shah.

Lie Number Two

Washington repeatedly denied it had any intention of interfering with the new government that came to power after the shah was driven out last year.

On April 20, the *New York Times* revealed that Carter had sent General Robert Huyser to Tehran to try to organize a coup that could block the victory of the antishah revolution. U.S. officials admitted, "The purpose was to install a military government."

Huyser was ordered to draw up plans for a coup and Washington ordered a navy tanker to stand off the coast to supply fuel to the shah's military forces, if needed. But Washington's plans were foiled by the struggles of the

Iranian masses, and General Huyser left Iran.

Lie Number Three

"Completely false" was how American officials reacted to charges of U.S. spying in Iran.

When the students occupied the embassy last November they found: classified documents labeled "Top Secret"; shredded papers; a shredding machine; pieces of electronic equipment. The Iranian people labeled the U.S. Embassy the "spy nest."

Washington vehemently denied these charges. It maintained the embassy personnel were merely diplomats.

But the students persisted. They released secret documents. They exhibited forged passports and displayed memoranda showing how various embassy posts were just covers for intelligence operations.

Washington still denied the charges.

Then on April 9, one of the hostages appeared on television and revealed a hidden bundle of wires he explained were used by the CIA to monitor Iranian radio and computers. He told how the defense attaché had set up a spy ring in Iran. He explained how the computer building had been disguised as a supply depot. And he told how aerial surveillance was organized out of the embassy.

"Hardly credible" said State Department spokesperson David Passage.

But on April 9, U.S. government officials were forced to admit that it is taken for granted "that embassy personnel and facilities are engaged in intelligence-gathering activities."

Lie Number Four

Carter continues to insist that the shah was admitted to this country for "humanitarian reasons"—that he was "a dying man."

A letter in the April 22 *New York Times* from a staff member of *Medical World News* reveals that the shah's "urgent, life-threatening problem was



When Iranians charged Washington with plotting military coup to block revolution, the State Department denied it. The charge is now proven. Coup plans fell apart when the ranks of the army joined revolution. Here soldiers ride a tank they captured in the struggle.

gall stones—not cancer"—a simple matter that could have been easily taken care of in Mexico.

Lie Number Five

From the beginning, Carter maintained that the hostages were being tortured. The Iranian students and Iranian government said no.

Then representatives of the International Red Cross and American clergy visited the hostages. They contradicted

the lurid tales circulated by the State Department.

"I saw fit people to whom I could talk to normally," the Red Cross representative reported.

On April 21, Barbara Timm, mother of hostage Kevin Hermening, visited her son. "The government has said these people are brainwashed, but I can't agree," reported Mrs. Timm after her visit. She confirmed that Kevin seemed in "excellent physical health" and emotionally unchanged.

THE MILITANT

Hostage families protest war moves

By Fred Feldman

Barbara Timm is the mother of Kevin Hermening, the youngest of the hostages. She and her husband were in Tehran when the abortive raid occurred. She had gone there in defiance of Carter's travel ban in order to visit her son.

She called the attack on Iran "a very stupid move."

"I have walked the streets of Iran," she said of her week in that country. "I visited Iranians' homes. At no time have we ever had anything to fear. We spent six hours inside the embassy compound speaking to the students. The students came into our motel room to speak with us. They have given me nothing to fear from them. And I will hold on to that trust. I am confident that no harm will come to us from this end."



SARAH ROSEN

"You sound almost angry, Mrs. Timm," a reporter told her.

She replied, "I'm angry that our president would move in with military force." Mr. Timm interjected, "rather than people-to-people talks, open communication between responsible parties."

"There is absolutely no need to have military action," Mrs. Timm said. "We question so strongly why President Carter is being advised by his top advisers to move in here militarily rather than try to inform the American public."

"We know what the effects of the [embassy] takeover are but I think it's time the American people started asking what the cause of the takeover was."

Sarah Rosen, the mother of hostage Barry Rosen, was both angry and fearful for the fate of the hostages.

Terri Cooke, sister of Donald Cooke, had words of appreciation for the soldiers whose lives were sacrificed in the operation.

"He's trying to kill them," she said of Carter.

She continued: "This Carter. This Carter. It seems like all he's interested in is running for the White House."

"What has he done? What has he done to my boy Barry? His politics has got my boy's life in a stranglehold."

"Eight deaths for what?" asked a worried Bonnie Graves, wife of hostage John Graves, when she was told of the raid. "I hope to God that the Iranians are capable of restraint in the situation."

But her anger boiled over when it came to president Carter's role: "I just can't imagine how he could do such an ignorant thing."

Carter shields the Hitler of Iran

By Janice Lynn

American hostages in Tehran could go free at any time. All President Carter has to do is extradite the ex-shah to Iran so he can be put on trial for his crimes. Instead, Carter has brought the world to the brink of war. Working people in this country have no stake in going to war to defend this brutal dictator—the Hitler of Iran. The record of his crimes is clear:

Massacres

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

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

Executions

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

Torture

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

"Perhaps the most terrifying feature of torture in Iran is its institutionalization, the fact that it has become the almost private domain of huge, semi-autonomous police agencies. . . . The country's repertory of tortures includes not only electric shock and beatings,

but also the insertion of bottles in the rectum, hanging weights from testicles, rape, and such apparatus as a helmet that, worn over the head of the victim, magnifies his own screams." (Time magazine, August 16, 1976)

Political Prisoners

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

SAVAK

"The most dreaded instrument of the Shah's repression was Savak, a force of perhaps 30,000 secret policemen [the International Commission of Jurists

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

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

Theft

The true amount stolen from the Iranian people by the shah and his family has not yet been revealed, but

the figure is said to approach \$20 billion.

Documents in Tehran said that in February 1979, shortly before he fled the country, the shah held interests in "17 banks and insurance companies, 25 metal enterprises, eight mining companies, 10 building materials companies, 45 construction companies, 43 food companies and 26 other enterprises; including pieces of every major hotel built in and around Tehran." (New York Daily News, November 14, 1979)

Oppression of minorities

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

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

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

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

