

THE MILITANT

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

Opposition grows to Carter's Iran threats

End embassy crisis by sending back shah!

The collapse of the April 24 raid ordered by Carter against Iran was a setback to Washington's efforts to reverse the Iranian revolution.

It was a further blow to the American rulers' drive to win popular acceptance for new Vietnams—U.S. military intervention in Iran, El Salvador, or elsewhere.

The real aims of the "humanitarian mission" became clearer when it was revealed that air strikes against Tehran were planned if—as was inevitable—the raiders met resistance from the Iranian people.

Carter's April 29 news conference tried to repair the damage to the anti-Iran policy.

His tactic was yet another bid to whip up hatred against the Iranian people, in order to

An editorial

divert anger from the actions of his own government.

The pretext was the so-called "desecration" of the bodies of the U.S. soldiers killed in the operation. Iranian officials brought them to the former U.S. Embassy in Tehran, where they were briefly shown to reporters in order to substantiate Iran's claim that nine Americans had been killed, not eight as Carter contended.

Not a pretty sight, but hardly unusual in military conflicts.

According to Carter, this "abhorrent act"

25,000 protest nuclear danger



Lou Howort/Militant

WASHINGTON, April 26—Demonstrators braved downpour to call for shutdown of nuclear power plants. Many also denounced Carter's act of war against Iran. Pages 3-5.

showed "the kind of people they are," referring to Iranian officials and the students occupying the embassy.

And what kind of person is Carter? He sent troops to invade a sovereign nation. He threw away the lives of at least eight men. He was ready to provoke the deaths of fifty-three American hostages. He is threatening a repeat

performance or even worse. And all to prevent the Iranian people from bringing the shah to justice.

The ousted monarch is evidently the kind of person Carter feels akin to. The maiming and murder of thousands of Iranians in the shah's torture chambers never brought cries of moral

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**Nicaragua:
capitalists
quit gov't
as
revolution
advances**

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RATIFY ERA!

On to Chicago May 10



CHICAGO, April 26—AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland addresses labor conference for Equal Rights Amendment. Top officials of AFL-CIO and independent unions joined forces to pledge support to women's rights fight. Next step is national ERA march in Chicago May 10. Pages 6-7.

Militant

...Iran threats

Continued from front page

outrage from Carter—only more U.S. arms and backing.

Instead of handing over this monstrous criminal to the Iranian people, Carter sent eight American soldiers to their deaths. And now he is exploiting their bloodshed as a justification for actions that could cost many more lives. And Carter condemns the Iranians as "ghoulish"!

In the weeks before the military attack on Iran, Carter faced growing opposition to military action. His imperialist allies in Europe and Japan were unanimous in warning that such action would backfire. Even a dyed-in-the-wool hawk like Sen. Barry Goldwater agreed with them.

With the failure of the mission, the media and the Republican and Democratic chiefs tried to present a solid front of support to Carter. But the facade of national unity quickly began to crumble.

Many members of hostage families opposed Carter's action. Barbara Timm, mother of the youngest hostage, publicly apologized for Carter's raid in Tehran, and stuck by her apology when she returned home to Milwaukee.

Timm said she plans to campaign for a peaceful solution to the embassy crisis, in opposition to Carter's policy.

Many participants in the April 26 antinuclear march in Washington also voiced opposition to war moves against Iran. Emergency picket lines were held in several cities.

Whatever may be the momentary effect of appeals to "national unity," the long-term impact of the raid will deepen popular skepticism and opposition towards Carter's foreign policy.

That is the main reason for the rifts that quickly appeared in ruling circles over the tactics to adopt in combatting the Iranian revolution. Sen. Frank Chrch, head of the Foreign Relations Committee, called for a congressional investigation into violations of the War Powers Act, which states that Con-



gress must be notified in advance of military actions. Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) criticized the troop landing.

Rep. Henry Reuss, chairman of the House Banking Committee, said: "President Carter should now announce that he is not a candidate for re-election and quietly serve out his term without any more impulsive actions."

And on April 28 Secretary of State Cyrus Vance stepped down, in opposition to the raid.

In hopes of placating Vance's supporters, Carter appointed Edmund Muskie, whose political image is considered by many to be similar to Vance's.

Vance and those who think like him are fearful that Carter—by pressing too far, too fast with warlike acts—will fuel the antiwar attitudes that they are all trying to push back. They are convinced that the "Vietnam syndrome" (their name for the workers' opposition to war) has not been turned back.

The *New York Times* expressed this view in an April 30 editorial that withdrew its support for draft registration:

"At first, like Congress, we applauded the idea. The nation has appeared weary since Vietnam, unwilling even to suppose that it might one day again want to defend a national interest abroad." But, as the *Times* put it, the proposal to register youth for the draft "worked the other way." Instead of disappearing, the antiwar attitudes of millions of Americans reemerged in the limelight.

Under these circumstances, ruling-class strategists such as Vance judge that military action against the Iranian revolution could backfire. They point to the solidarity with Iran expressed throughout the Middle East.

Their fears are heightened by the closer ties being forged between Tehran and Moscow. At the beginning of the revolution, their relations were cool. The Tehran regime pointed to Moscow's friendship with the shah as justification.

The Kremlin did not improve matters when it voted to condemn Iran in the United Nations after the embassy occupation.

But the deepening revolutionary ferment throughout the region—and Washington's attacks—have impelled the two governments to ally out of self-defense. The U.S.-backed drive to crush the revolution in Afghanistan, which led the Soviet Union to send in troops, brought about a change in Moscow's attitude.

In January Moscow vetoed a resolution in the United Nations Security Council calling for economic sanctions against Iran.

As the U.S. drive to economically strangle Iran escalated, Moscow offered to provide truck and rail routes for Iran's goods—limiting the impact of a U.S. blockade. And on April 23, Moscow and Tehran announced an extensive trade agreement.

Moscow's decision to help the Iranian government resist Washington's pressure is progressive—and it makes attacks on Iran even more risky and difficult for the U.S. rulers.

Despite the desire of most working people for a peaceful settlement of the embassy crisis, Carter is stepping up belligerent gestures. The armada of U.S. warships in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea has increased to thirty-seven. And U.S. planes reportedly intercepted an Iranian plane flying over the Straits of Hormuz on April 28 and forced it back to Iran.

After the disastrous attempt to raid Tehran, American working people are going to listen more readily to the truth about the Iranian revolution and what the U.S. government has done and is doing to that country.

Many will be convinced that Carter is blocking the release of the hostages by refusing to grant the just demands of the Iranians.

Socialists and other antiwar, antidraft fighters must remain alert and ready to protest any new adventurist move by Washington. But now more than ever, the central task is one of patiently discussing, educating, and convincing American working people that our interests lie with the Iranian people, and against Carter, the shah, and the capitalist interests both represent.

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If You Like This Paper . . .



GM workers strike in Mexico

Their pay is only 25 percent what U.S. auto workers are paid. Solidarity with their strike, not restricting imports, is part of a real fight against plant shutdowns here. **Page 19.**

Citizens Party: real alternative?

Cleveland convention nominated environmentalist Barry Commoner as presidential candidate. Commoner says his program is the answer to corporate power in the United States. But is it? **Page 20.**



Inflation myths cover antilabor moves

What causes inflation? Why is the economy in crisis? Democratic and Republican candidates say solution lies in tax cuts for business and wage cuts for workers. They call this 'supply side' economics. William Gottlieb takes apart this fraud. **Page 24.**

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25,000 join national march against nuclear danger

'Stop the war before it starts! Hands off Iran!'

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—More than 25,000 joined the April 26 March on Washington for a Non-Nuclear World. Coming only a day after news of Carter's military provocation in Iran, the demonstration also registered a protest by many of those present against this act of war.

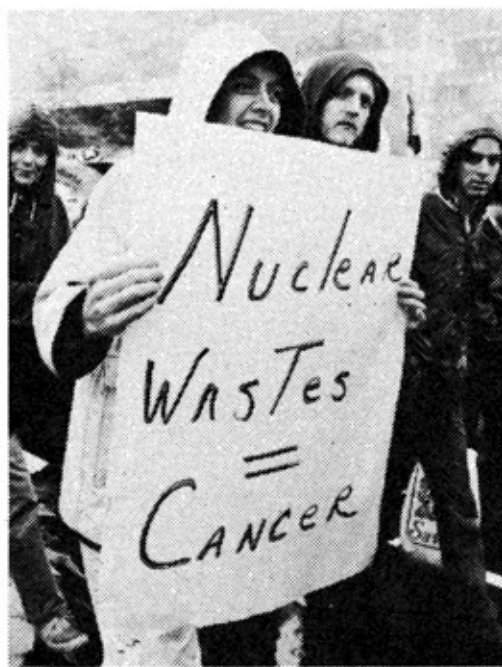
Marchers were up against a steady downpour of rain, which never let up from the assembly point at the Capitol to the end of the rally by the Washington Monument some seven hours later. Cardboard signs quickly disintegrated as demonstrators sloshed down Constitution Avenue under a sea of umbrellas.

The procession led off with a contingent of hundreds from the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area, site of the Three Mile Island nuclear disaster that began more than a year ago. "We almost lost Pennsylvania," declared their banner.

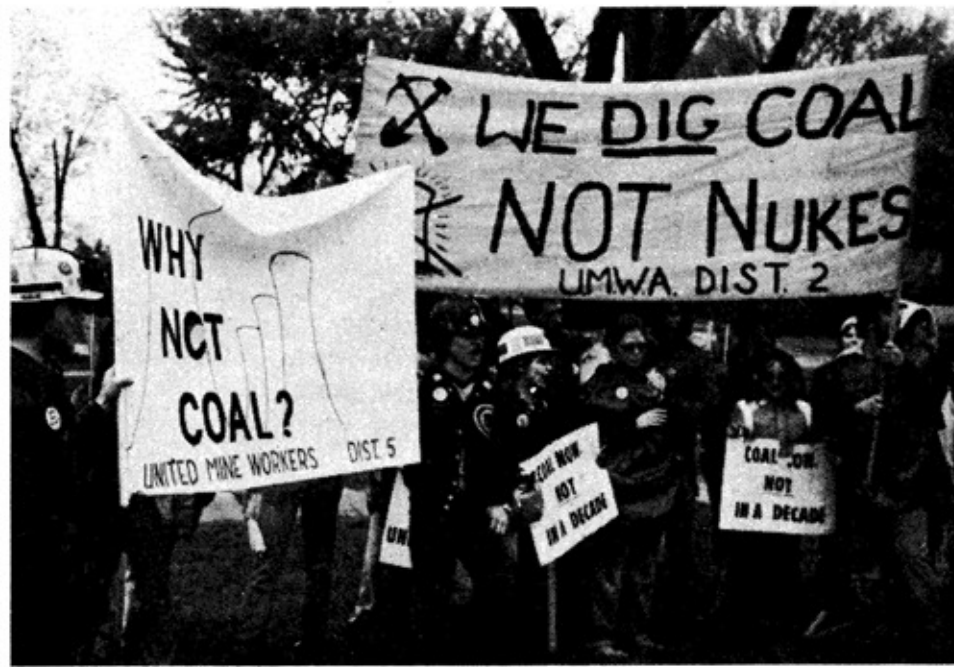
"No one died at Three Mile Island, they tell us," Jane Lee, a Harrisburg area dairy farmer, told the rally. "No one died, but hear this: On the east side of TMI, where the prevailing winds blow into Lancaster County, we had thirteen hyperthyroid cases, eight crib deaths, and nine stillbirths, and we're still counting!"

Not far behind the Harrisburg marchers came a group of coal miners from Pennsylvania's United Mine Workers Districts 2 and 5, chanting, "Nuclear Power, hell no!—why not union coal!" They were joined by more than forty protesters from United Steelworkers Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana.

Also near the beginning of the march was a contingent organized by



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Nancy Cole

the Washington, D.C. and Maryland chapters of the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft. They chanted, "Stop the war before it starts—U.S. hands off Iran!" and "One, two, three, four, no draft no war; five, six, seven, eight, we don't want to radiate."

Carter and the shah

Barry Commoner, environmentalist author and Citizens Party presidential candidate, told the rally, "I want to remind you that when Mr. Carter went to Iran three years ago and proclaimed the shah the 'greatest friend of democracy,' he sold him eight nuclear power plants.

"And I want to remind you that the first act of the new regime that over-

threw the shah was to stop those nuclear power plants.

"We have friends in Iran, and the Iranian people have friends here. We are all for peace; we are all against nuclear power."

The U.S. got into the "mess" in Iran, Commoner continued, because it put the despotic shah into power and gave him arms to "suppress his own people."

Commoner proposed forcing Carter to publish all documents about the U.S. role in Iran. "The day after the truth comes out, the hostages will come home!"

Veteran antiwar activist Dave Dellinger echoed Commoner's charges of the U.S. role in Iran, declaring that if Carter's so-called rescue mission had succeeded, "this would be the first or second day of World War III."

Stop the Trident!

Antinuclear coalitions across the country were represented at the march ranging from Clemson, South Carolina, to as far away as Colorado and California.

Twenty people had come from Saratoga, New York, with a banner that said: "Walk for Peace, Stop the Trident at West Milton." Three nuclear facilities at West Milton, outside Saratoga, train personnel for Trident nuclear submarines. Radioactive materials are regularly transported through the surrounding communities.

About 100 came from Maine, where antinuclear activists recently collected 55,000 signatures to get a ballot referendum on whether to close down the Maine Yankee nuclear plant in Wiscasset. The vote is scheduled for September 3.

There were forty-eight people from Arkansas, where there is one nuclear facility—"one too many," Pam Barickman told the *Militant*.

The crowd was a young one, with a big representation of high school students—many participating in their first protest demonstration. Cathy Bonci, fifteen, and Carol Oppen, fourteen, came with about forty other students from Hammonasset High School in Madison, Connecticut. "Most people at our school are against nuclear power," explained Oppen.

There were two women from Robinson High School in Clifton, Virginia, who heard about the demonstration over the radio and came with four friends.

Two hundred Minnesotans made the long trip and about 120 came from Cincinnati.

Coal miners

The organized contingent of coal miners—about thirty from United Mine Workers District 2 and thirty-eight from District 5, both in Pennsylvania—represented a big step forward for the antinuclear movement. The UMWA has long been on record against nuclear power. The active participation of the union and its members in the fight against nuclear power can bring the movement added strength and authority.

That fact was not lost on demonstrators here. When the District 2 miners arrived at 10 a.m. with their banner—"We dig coal, not nukes"—they paraded through the hundreds of protesters already assembled, chanting, "What do we want? Coal! When do we

Continued on page 5

'Why don't we apologize?'

WASHINGTON—There was no unanimity among protesters here about the war actions against Iran. But few gave Carter the backing he claims to have from the American people.

Becky West from Norfolk, Virginia, judged Carter's action "real bad timing" and the "wrong decision."

"We should just apologize to Iran for our support to the shah," she said. "The government knew all along what was going on there."

Tom Ward, a city worker in Minneapolis, is a veteran of the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations. He's worried about Carter's war moves, but isn't sure the shah should be

sent back. "We should swallow our pride and admit we're wrong though," he said. "And the shah should be held accountable for what he did."

Coal miner Jackie Richards from Marianna, Pennsylvania, thought it was important that "we take a stand in Iran."

But miner Paul Bellack from the Cambria area of Pennsylvania believes Carter is trying to get us into another war. "Right now people are not behind Carter," he said. "All Iran is asking is for us to admit we supported an idiot [the shah]. Why can't we do that?"

—N.C.

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Zimmermann on D.C. march

Protesters have lots of questions for socialist

By Nan Bailey

WASHINGTON—Scores of demonstrators at the April 26 antinuclear march here met the socialist candidate for vice-president.

"Hello, my name is Matilde Zimmermann," she said, introducing herself to protesters waiting for the march to step off in the rain. "I'm running for vice-president on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. My party is demanding that all nuclear power plants be shut down immediately and that we use coal as an alternative energy source."

Zimmermann gave out campaign literature and talked to activists from North Carolina, Texas, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Washington, D.C., and other areas.

"Why would someone like you want to be vice-president?" questioned one young woman. She said she couldn't see how honest people would want to get wrapped up in this country's crooked presidential politics.

Zimmermann answered, "I've got some ideas to change this country and how it's organized. The SWP is challenging the policies of capitalist politicians like Carter and Reagan who are spokespeople for the oil monopolies and the nuclear profiteers."



Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann (right) talks with antinuclear demonstrator.

"Who's your president?" asked another demonstrator. "Andrew Pulley is our candidate for president—he's a steelworker from Chicago," said Zimmermann.

The questions came one after

another: "Do you think you'll win?" "What do you think is the real situation with Iran and Afghanistan?" "Do you think coal is a realistic alternative right now?" "What do you think about [Citizens Party presidential candidate]

Barry Commoner's campaign?"

Zimmermann held a lengthy conversation with several of the coal miners who had organized a contingent from United Mine Workers District 2. They were members of UMW Local 6394 in Johnstown, Pennsylvania—"about 150 miles from Harrisburg," one noted.

"Have you decided who you're going to vote for for president?" a socialist campaigner asked one miner.

"I don't know. I'm disgusted. I tell you, I didn't even register to vote this time. It was wrong for the UMW to support Carter," he said, referring to the recent endorsement given by UMW officials to Carter's reelection campaign. "Four years ago Carter promised us the same things that he's still promising us now. And he's just telling us what he wants us to hear about Iran."

Another coal miner told Zimmermann, "The American government is screwing the American people. I don't know why the government should take it off us. They're letting 3,500 Cubans come here and we don't have jobs. What do you think about that?"

"Well, I think it's an ironic situation," said Zimmermann. "That tiny minority of the Cuban population that

Special Iran coverage boosts Militant sales

By Peter Seidman

The *Militant's* emergency supplement on Iran helped boost sales during the seventh week of our eight-week drive to build the circulation of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* this spring.

Sales were especially brisk at the national March on Washington for a Non-Nuclear World April 26.

Demonstrators bought at least 535 *Militants* and 178 copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper. They also bought forty-six special \$1 introductory subscriptions.

Some 100 demonstrators bought *What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power*, a Pathfinder Press pamphlet by Fred Halstead.

A bright orange tent sheltered demonstrators who came by to talk and buy about \$100 worth of literature at an SWP campaign table.

Newark SWP member Craig Honts was the top salesperson at the action. By seeking out protesters drying off in the Smithsonian Institute, on buses waiting to leave, and at rest stops along the way to Washington, D.C., Honts sold fifty-two papers.

These impressive results help show how demonstrators wanted to send an antiwar—as well as an antinuclear—message to the government on April 26.

Socialists in Minneapolis and St. Paul sold some 100 Iran supplements the first day and have already ordered 150 more papers.

Cleveland socialists asked us to rush them seventy-five more papers. They live in a city where heavy auto layoffs could be expected to spur interest in last week's headline, "Jobs crisis—Labor needs its own party to fight layoffs and inflation."

Cleveland socialists "sold twenty-six papers in just a few hours of campaigning on unemployment lines for our senatorial candidate, John Powers," SWP organizer Alyson Kennedy reports.

Kennedy noted a friendly response. People were more willing to consider the Iranians' side of the story than they had been at the outset of the hostage crisis.

This matches the experiences of socialist workers in the big auto assembly plants in the New York-New Jersey area. They're also trying to get out as many copies as they can of the "Jobs crisis" issue.

At a recent meeting of United Auto Workers Local 595 in Linden, New Jersey, Helen Schiff proposed that the union organize a discussion on how to stop the layoffs. Afterwards, workers at the meeting bought twelve copies of the *Militant*.

Schiff says people were interested in

her arguments that foreign imports weren't the cause of unemployment. Several wanted to read her report in that issue about Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union leader Tony Mazzocchi's speech calling for a labor party.

Selling at demonstrations and to unionists discussing politics has been the most successful aspect of our spring circulation drive so far. Our

ambitious effort to put the SWP candidates on the ballot in some thirty states, however, continues to limit the total number of papers we've been able to sell.

We're especially far behind on subscriptions, which are coming in at an average of eighty per week. Every area should discuss taking whatever steps possible to catch up on this important goal of our drive.

Sales scoreboard

Branch	MILITANT		PM		TOTALS			YS		Ttl.	Subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Ind.	Goal	Sold
Denver	86	247	14	1	100	248	248.0	75	71	**	20	10
Salt Lake City	110	170	7	10	117	180	153.8	25	28	1.0	20	6
N.Y. Lower Manh.	60	61	40	89	100	150	150.0	145	63	1.2	30	3
Tacoma	80	92	0	0	80	92	115.0	65	20	7.3	20	0
Dallas	50	60	30	31	80	91	113.7	115	68	2.4	25	4
Morgantown	80	91	0	0	80	91	113.7	75	67	**	30	1
Baltimore	90	100	0	0	90	100	111.1	60	72	10.7	35	16
Seattle	140	154	5	2	145	156	107.5	130	109	15.2	30	10
San Jose	70	68	20	28	90	96	106.6	70	51	3.4	25	17
Tidewater	80	83	0	0	80	83	103.7	100	74	14.4	25	11
San Diego	120	117	20	26	140	143	102.1	150	125	23.0	40	12
Portland	85	86	0	0	85	86	101.1	30	23	2.2	20	10
Los Angeles	240	205	35	73	275	278	101.0	100	33	6.1	70	16
Pittsburgh	185	185	0	2	185	187	101.0	100	143	9.3	50	11
Birmingham	115	116	0	0	115	116	100.8	80	87	11.7	30	4
Iron Range	70	70	0	0	70	70	100.0	75	57	13.4	35	16
N.Y. Upper Manh.	95	75	30	50	125	125	100.0	140	0	21.6	40	19
Piedmont	90	90	0	0	90	90	100.0	85	60	18.6	20	10
Newark	140	122	20	26	160	148	92.5	75	13	21.1	30	12
Atlanta	100	90	0	1	100	91	91.0	60	59	3.7	25	8
Philadelphia	135	132	25	9	160	141	88.1	100	62	14.0	60	17
Toledo	60	47	0	0	60	47	78.3	50	0	6.3	15	10
Washington, DC	100	69	25	25	125	94	75.2	150	27	5.3	25	9
Oak/East Bay	90	63	10	12	100	75	75.0	100	15	16.0	0	8
Cleveland	80	51	10	14	90	65	72.2	30	26	2.8	15	6
N.Y. Brooklyn	80	53	10	12	90	65	72.2	140	0	15.3	25	12
Miami	70	53	10	3	80	56	70.0	60	5	8.9	15	14
Albany	50	31	2	2	52	33	63.4	50	0	**	25	5
Indianapolis	75	46	0	0	75	46	61.3	100	93	29.5	15	18
Albuquerque*	80	52	20	5	100	57	57.0	80	15	12.5	30	6
San Antonio	60	33	25	14	85	47	55.2	50	57	10.6	25	0
Twin Cities	175	88	0	0	175	88	50.3	100	65	8.0	80	24
Chicago	215	104	35	8	250	112	44.8	125	3	33.0	50	10
San Francisco	140	60	40	20	180	80	44.4	90	74	2.5	0	13
Cincinnati	80	31	0	0	80	31	38.7	40	0	.0	15	6
New Orleans	75	28	5	0	80	28	35.0	75	18	64.2	40	7
Louisville	80	20	0	1	80	21	26.2	75	35	25.0	25	1
Gary	65	11	5	0	70	11	15.7	30	35	19.2	25	3
Misc.									118			112
Totals	4606	3254	505	464	5111	3718	72.8	4100	1866	10.3	1385	477

NOT REPORTING: Boston*, Detroit*, Houston, Kansas City*, Milwaukee, Phoenix*, 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 fifteen of the Militant, the second week of sales of issue seven of PM, and the fourth week of sales for the April YS.



Militant/Nan Bailey

candidate

wants to come to the United States may have other reasons for wanting to leave Cuba, but unemployment isn't one of them.

"Everyone in Cuba has a job. And that's because the Cuban government represents working people there. And if they can do that in Cuba, we can do it here. It's possible for everyone in this country to have a job, too. I think what stands in our way, though, is not immigrants from other countries, but a government committed to maintaining unemployment."

"But Cuba's a dictatorship, isn't it?" the miner interrupted.

Cuban example

"That's what Carter is trying to convince people of, but he'll never convince me," said Zimmermann. "I've been there and what I saw in Cuba was a government run by and for working people—with decent health care, education, and a job guaranteed to everyone. Working people here could learn a lot from the Cuban example."

The miner asked, "So is your campaign for the United States? Are you for the United States?"

"I'm for the people of this country," Zimmermann said. "I'm not for Exxon, Mobil, General Motors, and the other big corporations that run the country. I make a distinction there. Just like on the job, my campaign is for the union, but we're against management."

The miner nodded, and pointed to the capitol building looming overhead, "Yeah, they can care less about us. The president, too. Here I am, a working man, a poor man, probably most of these people, too," he says, pointing to the crowd of demonstrators.

"That's what we need in there. We need a guy who works his way up from the ranks as a poor man. We need a guy who's going to be down to earth with us. We need someone who's going to do the job, and if they don't, we can say they're outta there, and we'll try somebody else."

Labor party

"Yes," said Zimmermann. "That's why I'm campaigning for a labor party. So that American workers can have a political party that's organized to speak for us."

When told that campaign supporters would soon be petitioning in Pennsylvania to get the socialist candidates on the ballot there, another miner said, "You should come to Johnstown to do it. I bet you'd get a lot of people to sign your petitions there."

That evening, more than seventy-five people attended a socialist campaign rally held at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters here. They heard Zimmermann and Tom Moriarty, coal miner and socialist candidate for governor of West Virginia.

"Coal is an alternative to nuclear power," said Moriarty. "The technology exists today to mine that coal safely and burn it cleanly. What's stopping us is the small group of profiteers who benefit financially from the danger that miners face and the dirty air that we are all forced to breathe."

"One of the things that was especially gratifying to me today was the number of miners who attended the march," he said. "They are union members who traveled quite a distance, most of them at union expense, and marched to challenge an industry that poses a threat to all of humanity. I think their example points the direction forward for the union movement," said Moriarty.

"The union movement must begin to take a stand on the important issues of the day. Nuclear power is a labor issue. Carter's act of war against Iran is a union issue. Defense of women's rights is the concern of the union movement. That's the way it ought to be."

The rally raised \$900 for the Socialist Workers 1980 campaign.

150 at labor antinuclear meeting

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—The day after the antinuclear march here of 25,000, the Labor Task Force of the sponsoring coalition met at the international headquarters of the International Association of Machinists.

About 150 people attended, including official representatives or individual members of at least twenty-one unions.

The meeting was chaired by Labor Task Force director Jerry Gordon of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

Greetings were delivered by George Robinson, director of the IAM Department of Health and Community Resources; Joel Bander from the United Mine Workers legislative department; Sara Nelson, head of the labor task force, National Organization for Women; Ralph Nader; and Washington City Councilwoman Hilda Mason.

"I never met a coal miner who's in favor of nuclear power," said Bander. "The United Mine Workers continues to stay committed against nuclear power. We'll fight against it in any way possible."

Discussion here centered around a series of proposals by Jerry Gordon, which were later unanimously approved by the meeting. A follow-up gathering open to all trade unionists was scheduled for Toledo, Ohio, on Sunday, June 29.

Proposals on labor task force activities included holding education conferences on a local level, encouraging unions to pass antinuclear resolutions, and distributing literature and union resolutions.

The proposal also suggested working toward a national safe energy conference with broad labor participation.

Sparrows Point steelworker Norton Sandler described how the threat that radioactive waste from the Three Mile Island plant will be dumped in the Susquehanna River, which runs into the Chesapeake Bay, is daily news in Baltimore. It's provoked a lot of discussion.

The weekend before, he said, the antinuclear coalition in Baltimore held an educational program at the headquarters of United Steelworkers Local 2609. It was the first official U.S. involvement in the antinuclear fight there.

... march

Continued from page 3
want it? Now! What kind of coal? Union coal!"

They were greeted with applause and some admiring comments of, "Hey, it's the coal miners!"

When a few protesters interjected that they wanted clean coal, the miners responded, "But it can be clean coal. It can be burned 99 percent cleanly if the utilities spend the money."

Nearly one-fourth of District 2's 12,000 miners are laid off while Carter is pushing nuclear power, one of the miners explained in a soap-box-type speech to the early arrivers. "There is a conspiracy in this country against the unions," said the miner, who told me this was his first demonstration of any kind.

Later, as the UMWA contingent reached the end of the march route, the miners stepped to the side with their banners and signs and chanted as the march wound onto the Monument grounds. Many demonstrators cheered as they marched by the miners.

There was also a contingent from District 4 of the United Food and Commercial Workers. And although most signs identifying protesters as unionists were incapable of surviving the rain, auto workers, machinists, and others also joined the demonstration.

Mike Olszanski, from USWA Local 1010's environment committee, brought the rally greetings from Local 1010's 19,000 members and from USWA District 31 Director James Ba-

Gary Koos, a steelworker from Bridgeport, Connecticut, distributed copies of a resolution his union local had taken to the state labor council convention two years in a row. "Last year we won 30-35 percent of the vote. This year 40-45 percent of the delegates were in favor. We're making steady progress," he said.

Doug Hord, a member of the United Transportation Union in Chicago, told the meeting of the antinuclear movement's labor outreach in the Chicago area, which had included sending letters to rail locals asking them to invite antinuclear speakers before their meetings. "Many locals welcomed us," he said.

Jerry Tucker, from the United Auto Workers international office, suggested that the task force proposal include reaching out to top labor leaders, as well as to those at the local level. That amendment was accepted.

One objective of the labor task force approved by the meeting was "to educate working people about the perils of nuclear power and the ready availability of safe, clean energy alternatives, including coal (mined safely and cleanly), and the solar technologies, as well as the more efficient use of energy."

There was a good deal of discussion here about coal as the reasonable, immediate alternative to nuclear power plants.

The president of an American Federation of Teachers local in Wayne, New Jersey, said, "It seems to me the most immediate alternative is coal. The antinuclear movement should put out literature answering acid rain and the other problems raised against coal."

Other unionists echoed that request for educational materials and meetings on coal as the alternative.

The UMWA's Joel Bander responded that his union would be very interested in holding an education session to answer the questions on coal.

Participants in the meeting also pointed to the need to address workers involved directly in the nuclear cycle.

A gold miner and member of the United Steelworkers from South Dakota explained that uranium underlies that state. Her local union there is organizing to educate about the dangers of uranium mining.

lanoff and "the 130,000 steelworkers in the Chicago and Gary area, who also say, 'No nukes.' I think we all know how important the labor movement can be in this struggle," he said.

Hilda Mason, D.C. City Council member, told the protesters, "We don't want wars, we don't want nuclear radiation, we want peace. All of us are going to go out and organize, mobilize, educate people, and we're going to turn this country around."

The April 26 march on Washington was part of a series of events sponsored by the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World.

The demands of the coalition events were: stop nuclear power, zero nuclear weapons, full employment, safe energy, and honor Native American treaties.

On Friday, April 25, 500 people held an evening vigil in front of the White House. Congressional lobbying was scheduled for April 24, 25, and 28.

On Monday, April 28, more than 1,000 protesters marched from the Department of Energy to the Pentagon for a civil disobedience action. Chanting, "No war in Iran," and "No draft, no war," they tried to block the entrances to the Pentagon. More than 300 were arrested, including Dr. Benjamin Spock, Dave Dellinger, Daniel Ellsberg, and Phillip Berrigan.

John David Borgman, who as a marine captain had flown 181 missions in Vietnam, burned his uniform in protest of U.S. war moves. "The government is trying to start a new war," he explained. "It was wrong in Vietnam, and it's wrong now."



Militant/Nancy Cole

Unions had big impact on April 26 demonstration.

Mark Nelson—who is on the medical staff of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union—detailed concerns of workers at the uranium enrichment plants organized by his union. They're worried about their jobs first of all, he said, and they don't all know the dangers of radiation because industry and the government tell them it's safe. They also face harassment and even firing if they ask for information on nuclear risks.

Several members of Physicians for Social Responsibility attended the meeting and pledged their group's assistance.

"The demonstration yesterday had the largest labor presence yet," said Mike Ferner, regional representative of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World in the Midwest. "It had an impact on the demonstration. There is a lot of support for these task force proposals in the antinuclear movement."

The Labor Task Force can be contacted through Environmentalists for Full Employment, 1536 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 347-5590.

Calif. march

SAN FRANCISCO—Chanting, "Peace now," protesters marched from Union Square to a rally in Dolores Park here April 26. More than eighty antidraft, labor, religious, and antinuclear groups and individuals sponsored the March for Survival in solidarity with the national action in Washington, D.C.

The protest centered attention on Carter's war actions against Iran, as well as on the threat of a renewed draft.

"We're outraged by the recent military incursion into Iran," said Martha Henderson of the American Friends Service Committee, one of the organizers of the march.

Among the rally speakers were Fernando Guerrero, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-1978; Rev. Cuchulain Moriarty, chair of Commission on Social Justice, San Francisco Archdiocese; and Dennis Banks, American Indian Movement.

The rally organizers estimated that more than 3,000 participated in the march and close to 5,000 in the rally.

In Houston, twenty-five people picketed the Houston Lighting and Power Company offices on April 26 in solidarity with the national antinuclear march. The action was sponsored by the Mockingbird Alliance.

Labor unites for women's rights

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—Union pride, solidarity, and the desire to fight for women's equality were the dominant sentiments of the 1,000 women and men who attended the Illinois Labor Conference for the Equal Rights Amendment held here April 26.

They came from every major union in Illinois, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Some labor representatives attended from as far away as New York and New Jersey. Members of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and other women's rights groups were also present.

The participants came to join forces to demand that the Illinois state legislature ratify the ERA before its adjournment on June 30. Illinois is one of fifteen states that have not ratified the proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution barring discrimination on account of sex. Thirty-eight states are needed before June 30, 1982.

They responded with thunderous applause as major labor leaders pledged all-out support for the fight for ERA and the May 10 national march for ERA in Chicago called by NOW.

This conference, along with the May 10 march will be two powerful state-



April 26 conference cheered calls for big turnout May 10

Militant/Suzanne Haig

ments on behalf of the majority of this country who want equality for women to be the law of the land.

Several important themes ran through the conference. "Labor United for the ERA" proclaimed a big banner above the platform. This was the first time in decades that the major trade unions—AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, Teamsters, and Mineworkers—in this country have all joined together under one roof in pursuit of a common goal.

That this unity took place around the issue of ERA shows the centrality of the fight for women's rights throughout the union movement today.

The conference was a step toward labor unity around other related issues as well, such as organizing the unorganized, the fight against the "right to work" laws, layoffs, and inflation.

The country's top union officials pointed to the need for labor to join with the civil rights and women's

movements to win ERA and to fight for common concerns.

ERA's importance to the standard of living and dignity of labor, and working women especially, was graphically spelled out. Speakers debunked the myths about ERA spread by its enemies.

The huge number of women in the work force, and their right to be there in any job were also stressed by speaker after speaker representing the top officialdom of virtually the entire labor movement.

ERA was perceived not only as a fight for women's equality but as a means to defend working men and women against the employers' austerity drive and attacks on labor. As one speaker put it, "It's not just ERA. If we don't do something, the unions will go down the drain."

The conference took place in the wake of the abortive landing of U.S. troops in Iran, and the House passage of Carter's bill for draft registration.

Yet there were no calls for sacrifice, for unity behind the president, or for further military moves. The conference was concerned with the war against women and working people at home.

Linda Tarwhelen, deputy assistant to the president, who spoke on Carter's alleged support for ERA, received a polite but chilly reception. Speakers who referred to the need for peace, or opposition to the draft, were met with loud applause.

Other needs of working women were on the minds of conference participants as well. Enthusiastic applause or shouts greeted any mention of the need for child care.

While many speakers stressed lobbying and the election of Democrats and Republicans as labor's main political weapon, conference participants tended to have additional ideas on how the unions could wield their influence. This was evident from their enthusiasm whenever the May 10 action was mentioned, and by the numbers of people who signed up to build the march in the remaining two weeks before the action.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, was well received at one of the ERA strategy workshops, when he pointed to the need for the unions to form a labor party.

The conference ended on a note of enthusiasm, confidence, and a recognition that if ERA is to win in Illinois, and in the other states needed to make it the Twenty-seventh Amendment, the labor movement will have to mobilize its membership in action.

Below are excerpts from the addresses to the conference. Robert Gibson, president of the Illinois AFL-CIO, chaired the event. Other speakers included Jerry Hawkins, Illinois legislative director of the United Mine Workers; Glenn Watts, president of the Communications Workers of America; Normal Hill, executive director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute; and others.

Chicago ERA march

The national march for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois will be held on May 10 in Chicago. Assemble at 9:30 a.m. on Columbus Drive between Monroe and Jackson Streets. March south on Columbus Drive to the Roosevelt Drive end of Grant Park. Rally at the Old Bandshell area following the march.

Participants are urged to dress in white to evoke the tradition of the suffragists and their victorious battles for the right of women to vote.

For more information contact the National Organization for Women at (312) 782-7205.

Lane Kirkland



Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO:

"Full and equal justice for women workers has long been and will always be a central goal of the American labor movement."

Referring to the past position of the AFL-CIO against the Equal Rights Amendment, Kirkland said to loud applause, "But we were wrong. It is far better to change a position wrongly held on the basis of the merits of the arguments than to remain silent. The fact that the labor movement was able to correct its mistake and now wholeheartedly supports ERA should be helpful in convincing legislators and others in Illinois who have opposed ERA in the past to now support ratification."

"We support ratification because it is right and just and long overdue. Your efforts here in Illinois are important for Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Virginia, and every other state where the fight has not yet been won."

"Working together as a united labor movement and with our allies in the

women's groups, we can turn the tide. We can bring about a victory in Illinois and go from here to a final victory in the nation.

"I pledge the full support of the AFL-CIO."

Eleanor Smeal



Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women:

"We are allies. We are determined and we are working together for a historic common goal against an enemy that is out there fighting us on all of our issues."

"For so long ERA and the women's movement were treated as a frivolous issue," Smeal said, such as, "Who lights whose cigarette. Or who opens whose door."

"Thank God we are at a time when people realize that when the legislature votes on the ERA in the next two months, they will be voting on each one of our pay checks. And the only way we can end this cheap labor market and pool is by taking some bold and fundamental steps such as ratification of the ERA."

"This conference was so important

because the leadership of labor has said emphatically that the Equal Rights Amendment is a labor issue, an economic issue."

"The next weeks are crucial for the Equal Rights Amendment. This in Illinois is a key fight. This vote in the next few weeks in Illinois is very crucial."

"The Mother's Day weekend is going to be a huge weekend here in Chicago. On May 10 we're having a Mother's Day march and rally and hope every union will come with a large delegation and banners. The most important aspect of that march is that you are there in overwhelming numbers."

"Help turn Chicago out. Help turn this nation out for women's rights on May 10."

Smeal spoke of leafleting on May 11 and May 12 and said that May 13 would be a national and state lobby day for ERA. NOW wants as many people as possible to go to Springfield on May 13.

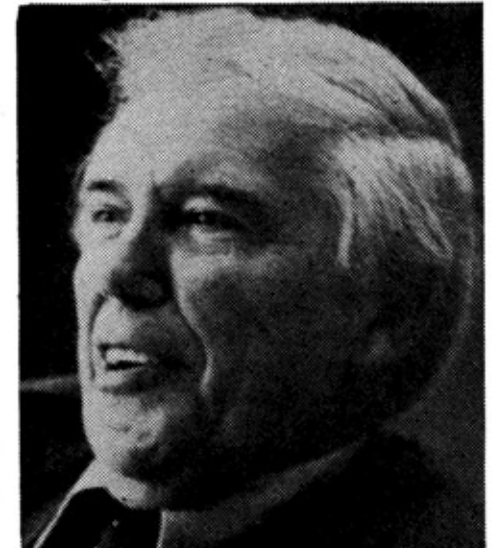
"The richest asset we have is that this nation's majority is on our side. And it is our job to demonstrate the support of that majority. We cannot ever lobby like the Gulfs and Exxons, but we have one asset that they do not have, we have millions of people supporting us. We have to turn out those numbers in more and more effective ways."

"We are coming from behind and the clock is ticking. We can do it but we need the help of the people here. We've got to bring ourselves, our mothers, our daughters, our sons out on May 10. And we need to make this a Mothers Day that no one will ever forget."

"Think of everyone you can bring and call them up and tell them: 'You can be a part of something big. Of something really big. You can change history. You've got to come to South

Michigan on May 10. And I can guarantee you that once you start marching you never stop."

Douglas Fraser



Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers:

"The women's movement is a natural ally of both the labor movement and the civil rights movement, because our objectives are basically the same: equality and dignity. We all have the same enemies."

"The extremists say the ERA is going to destroy American family life. If anything is going to destroy American family life it is going to be the disastrous state the economy is in and unemployment and insecurity—that's what destroys family life."

"Those who are talking about balancing the budget ought to start thinking about balancing the diet of the American people and the American family."

Referring to the 54 percent of women

at Illinois ERA conference

in the work force who have children, Fraser said, "I expect that if we had decent child care in this country that the number would be much higher."

"Women go into the work force for a variety of reasons, many for economic pressure, some because they get a sense of fulfillment in the workplace. But the point is that nobody ever asks a man why he goes into the workplace, and women have the same right to go into the work force, obviously, as men. And the next time anyone asks you why you are working, say, 'It's none of your goddamn business.'"

"Well, you are going to hear cries that 'I really believe in equality for women, but they're moving too fast. They're too aggressive.' Well, you ought to tell those people to go to hell and keep marching, marching, marching."

"The fight for equal rights is not going to come to you automatically. You're going to have to go out and fight for it. We have to keep struggling here in Illinois. And don't forget the rally that's going to be held here on May 10."

Charles Hayes



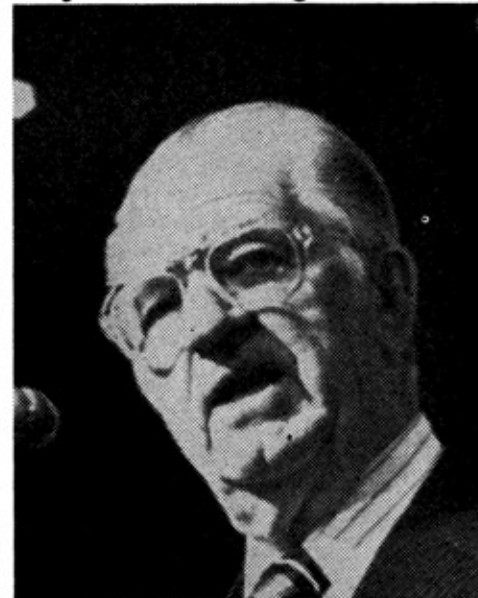
Charles Hayes, vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists:

"It appears that we've realized the necessity of togetherness in order to win our objectives. This is going to be a tough, tough battle. There are people in Springfield who don't want to see men and women, Blacks, whites,

brown, or whatever working together on any issue."

"I can't help but mention that the economic and political situation in this country today dictates the need for cohesion and union among people who have to work for a living."

Ray Schoessling



Ray Schoessling, general secretary-treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

"My topic is why a predominantly male union is interested in the ERA and women workers, and I am certain when I finish you will know that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is fully behind the ERA."

"They say women shouldn't have to do the dirty work in America's factories and plants. They are the same people who have no objection to women staying home scrubbing dirty toilet bowls, washing dirty clothes, sweeping and mopping dirty floors, emptying the trash, and scraping and washing dirty dishes."

"What they mean is they do not object to women doing dirty work as long as they do it in the home and don't go into the job market and demand equal pay for equal work."

"We are talking about enacting a constitutional amendment which says once and for all to employers: 'You will no longer exploit by paying less, by denying advancement, by denying the same rights to earn a living as men simply because she is a woman.'"

"What we are saying is that no employer has a right to declare that the work of a woman in the market is worth less than a man. ERA is a gut union issue."

"There has been a change that we who call ourselves trade unionists must recognize: the nature of the work force has drastically changed. Women's place is not in the home, but any place she chooses to make it. And if she chooses to make that place in the job market, the unions must demand equality."

Schoessling brought the house down when he pledged support for ERA from the "International Brotherhood and Sisterhood of Teamsters."

Joyce Miller



Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women:

"Eighty percent of women in the workforce are found in secretarial and clerical jobs, in service jobs, and in the retail industry, in what I call the female job ghetto. They are the lowest paid, least status, least chance for advancement, least job security, and least organized sector of our society."

"Employers say women are in the work force for pin money. Well, our members sitting in the audience, union members, women sitting in this room here today know that they're in the work force because of inflation, because of unemployment, and because they need the money."

"Women need not fifty-nine cents, but the full dollar men earn so that they can support themselves and their families. We don't want the men to get less money, we want women to get more money."

Addie Wyatt



Addie Wyatt, vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers union:

"I leave you with a message that will cause you to leave here motivated and strong enough to participate in the days of marches, rallies, and lobbying. This historic conference has brought together all segments of the labor movement and united them in one cause: ERA."

"I can think of no way to accomplish the goal that seems to be so difficult than to embrace that slogan up there [on the wall banner]: 'Labor United for the ERA.'"

"We have to be involved in this last-ditch effort as we have never been involved before. We know that women cannot continue to carry the double burden of being a worker, the burden of being female. And for us who happen to be women of color, Black and brown and red and yellow, we cannot continue to carry the triple burden."

"Almost 50 percent of Black families have female heads and a growing number of white families have female heads."

"God help us fight to join our hands together to find true solutions to peace so we can get on with the business of life and giving life and sustenance to life rather than programming ourselves to give death and destroy life."

"On May 10 we will march together in demonstration of our equality. Not only for mothers, but for equality for men as well as women."

California unionists urge support for May 10

By Joan Quinn

LONG BEACH, Calif.—The Equal Rights Amendment, the draft, child care, and layoffs topped the list of concerns discussed by 200 unionists at a women's conference here April 20.

The conference was called by the newly revived women's committee of United Auto Workers Local 148. The local represents 13,000 McDonnell Douglas aircraft workers, 4,000 of whom are women. Participants at the conference included women from industrial unions all over the area.

A cheer went up when a woman introduced herself as a member of a ten-woman delegation that had come all the way from Oakland, where their local, UAW 1364, had been hard hit by layoffs. Of the 1,500 women working at General Motors there, only 150 survived the layoffs; and of these half were forced out by being reassigned to jobs outside their experience.

The conference opened with a panel on the ERA and the draft.

"The only purpose of registration," said Dr. Betty Brooks, a professor of women's studies at California State, Long Beach, "is to draft people; and the only purpose of drafting people is to go to war. It is wrong to use young people as pawns in the hands of the military-industrial complex."

Brooks drew laughter and cheers when she scored the fallacy of tying the ERA to the draft. "If you introduce capital punishment for men that doesn't mean we fight for capital punishment for women."

"Young men have an equal right with women not to be drafted," said Joette Baity, a machinist who was present representing the Alliance for Survival. "It's not that women can't fight, or are afraid to fight. Look at the women in Nicaragua and Iran. Look at Mother Jones. The draft is being used to block the ERA."

Baity urged union backing for the May 10 Illinois march for the ERA.

"It's not surprising," she said, "that twelve of the fifteen unratified states are also 'right to work' states. The only people who benefit from inequality in wages are the employers."

Elinor Glenn, founder of the Los Angeles Coalition of Labor Union Women and president of Joint Council 8, Service Employees International Union, joined in the call for labor to back the fight for the ERA.

"I am the daughter of a suffragette," she added. "The biggest mistake they made was that they disbanded after they got the vote. We shall not do that. We shall band together to win what we

want." Glenn urged that California labor representatives be sent to the April 26 conference and May 10 march in Chicago.

"The UAW," she continued, "is suffering the largest unemployment since World War II. And what is the answer of the administration? . . . That we must lay off workers, women, and minorities first, and that if you want equality you get equally drafted."

"We say, 'Hell, no. We won't go!'" The workshops brought out a variety of local experiences.

Brenda Johnson, of United Transportation Union Local 32, explained how she and two other rail workers, a woman and a man, had already started a women's committee to "light a fire under my union."

"We're small right now," she said, "and a little resented. But at our first meeting we had seven people, about as many as usually come to local meetings. Our goals are to stop craft prejudice, set up a network with other unions, and work on affirmative action."

A UAW member from Van Nuys had just been laid off by GM. But she was still active in the women's committee, trying to win child care for women at the plant. "I want to see our committee

get involved in more than just picnics," she said.

Conference participants also saw the movie, *With Babies and Banners*, which depicts the role of the women's auxiliary in the Flint, Michigan, strike against General Motors in 1937 in which the UAW was established. Genora Dollinger, who played a central role in the events, was on hand to comment.

Keynote addresses were presented by Midge Costanza, former adviser to President Carter; Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers union; and Gail Powell, president of UAW Local 148.

Costanza concluded her remarks: "It's time to go out and show that we mean business. At the Mothers Day march in Chicago we will be doing something of equal importance to the [July 9, 1978] D.C. march which won the extension [of the ERA ratification deadline]. I don't know what you are planning to do that weekend, but I hope you're planning to go to that march."

The conference ended by passing resolutions on women's issues and the unions, and sent a telegram to the Illinois State Legislature demanding immediate passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Behind clashes on Iranian campuses

Why Carter fears 'unraveling authority' in Iran

By Janice Lynn

In his 7 a.m. televised address April 25, President Carter referred to "the steady unraveling of authority in Iran" as a major factor behind his decision to take military action there.

"Time does not seem to be on the side of stability in Iran," editorialized the *New York Times* the following day, defending Washington's aggression.

Washington is clearly worried about the deepening of the Iranian revolution.

The occupation of the U.S. Embassy last November gave a big impetus to the anti-imperialist struggle throughout Iran. It spurred forward the struggles by workers for increased control over decisions in the factories and other workplaces; the struggles by peasants for land and the struggles by the oppressed nationalities for their national rights.

Role of Bani-Sadr

The government of President Bani-Sadr, recoiling against the tendency of these struggles to go beyond the capitalist framework, is desperately trying to establish its authority.

Earlier this year, Bani-Sadr launched bitter verbal attacks against the militant students occupying the embassy, accusing them of behaving like "a government within a government." When massive demonstrations assembled outside the embassy to support the students, however, the government was unable to make any moves against them.

In another attempt to assert its authority, the government has relaunched an offensive against the oppressed Kurdish nationality. But here again, government forces have met stiff resistance from the Kurdish population.

And the government has begun stressing more insistently that the workers *shoras* [committees] in the factories have outlived their usefulness. Oil Minister Ali Akbar Moinefar recently fired several leaders of the oil workers shora in Abadan. When these workers came to Tehran to protest the firing, they were thrown into jail.

Fact, fiction about campuses

This was the background to recent events on Iranian campuses that led the government to step in.

Reports of these events in the media have been totally distorted and confused. An account by Iranian socialists of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) stands in stark contrast to those in the bourgeois press.

Members of the HKE report that this is how the events began.

Groups of anti-imperialist students called Islamic Student Organizations (ISOs)*—connected with the militants occupying the U.S. Embassy—conceived of a plan to revolutionize the universities throughout Iran.

Many ISO members are the same students who, through the mosques, organized massive demonstrations in late 1978 and early 1979 that succeeded in overthrowing the shah.

Following Bani-Sadr's election as president in January, many ISO members hoped that he would take decisive measures to further the revolution. But they have been frustrated at Bani-Sadr's inaction.

As a result, the ISOs decided to take another initiative on their own to spur the revolution forward. They formulated a plan to occupy the universities and transform them into centers to serve the needs of the anti-imperialist

struggle. They held meetings in the working-class neighborhoods to explain the necessity of transforming the universities.

The ISOs explained that the universities should be teaching needed industrial, agricultural, and technical skills and carrying out literacy campaigns to fulfill the present needs of the country. They said that the campuses should also be centers for training the army of 20 million in defense of the revolution.

According to the HKE, the first ISO-led occupation began at the University of Tabriz. Within the next few days, occupations extended to other campuses throughout the country.

The ISOs declared that the campuses should be closed down and the students sent out to work on revolutionary projects. Meanwhile, the educational system should undergo a revolutionary transformation and be put at the service of the oppressed.

The HKE and its youth group, the Young Socialists, called on "every anti-imperialist militant to support the action of the ISOs."

Sectarian opposition

However, a wide spectrum of forces opposed the ISOs' occupation of the campuses.

According to an April 21 statement by the HKE, "The Tudeh [pro-Moscow Stalinist] Party, Mujahedeen, Fedayeen, Paykor and other so-called Marxist organizations, which always start from their own narrow, sectarian interests, have essentially opposed this brave action. These forces, under the pretext of defending the 'barricade of

freedom' (these organizations think that reaction has taken over the country and that the campuses are the last bastion) have mobilized against the action of the ISOs."

In contrast to the position of these groups, the HKE declared:

The demand to revolutionize all the institutions inherited from the monarchy, which were under the control of capitalism, and to put all of them at the service of the advancement of the revolution and the struggle against U.S. imperialism has conquered the hearts of millions of oppressed Iranian people. The occupation of the campuses is a step toward the realization of this demand.

Bani-Sadr publicly criticized the ISOs for taking this initiative. He complained that such actions relegate the government to the role of spectator.

The ruling Revolutionary Council feared that the government would lose even more authority if the ISOs succeeded in taking control of the universities. So, seeing the divisions between the ISOs and groups such as the Fedayeen as a convenient opportunity, the Revolutionary Council issued an ultimatum to all political organizations (including the ISO) to evacuate the campuses.

ISO opposes ban

In the April 20 Tehran daily *Azadegan*, ISO members at the College of Social Communication and Sciences clearly differentiated the aims of the ISOs from the government's ban on political organizations:

Our aim is to transform the educational system rather than to prevent the activity of different groups. If tomorrow anyone

poses the problem otherwise, they must know that by occupying the campuses our aim is to transform the incorrect educational system. The Revolutionary Council has made a mistake in posing the problem in a different way.

Taking advantage of this situation, the Iranian capitalists mobilized right-wing goon squads to attack the students of the Mujahedeen and Fedayeen, who remained on the campuses in defiance of the government's evacuation order.

The HKE explained:

The 500 capitalist families, and all the capitalist politicians . . . want the institutions of society to be under their control and at the service of their interests. . . .

They fear that the occupation of the campuses will lead to the occupation of the factories, confiscation of the land by the peasants, and occupation of the ministries inherited from the time of the dictatorship. They are afraid of imperialism being uprooted from Iran.

It was these right-wing squads—not the Islamic students, as the U.S. media would have us believe—who were responsible for the violence, including some twenty deaths, on the campuses.

According to the HKE, on many campuses the ISOs left the universities, either at the time of the government order or as soon as confrontations broke out. On other campuses, the ISOs participated in defending the students from the rightist attacks.

Socialist stand

The HKE strongly denounced the role of the capitalists in creating the confrontations and attempting to distort and misrepresent the intentions of the Islamic students. And the socialists strongly denounced the government's order banning political groups from the campuses.

"This action, which was against freedom and against freedom of speech, was not what the ISOs wanted," the HKE statement declared.

ISO members appeared on nationwide television to debate about the occupation with leaders of the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen youth. They also defended their plan before thousands of Iranians at Friday prayer meetings throughout the country.

Contrary to press accounts, the HKE says, there is no escalating anticommunist campaign or witch-hunt against the Mujahedeen or Fedayeen in Iran today, despite attempts by the capitalists to create such a situation.

There is anticommunism, including among some anti-imperialist militants, and there are victimizations by government and rightist forces. But the general revolutionary ferment has created a political atmosphere open to debate and discussion of differing viewpoints.

Purge heritage of the Shah

"The experience of more than a year since the victory of the insurrection," the HKE said, "has shown that the government is not willing or able to fundamentally transform the society and break from the capitalists."

"And in the case of the universities, the government has no inclination at all to do this."

Given this situation, the HKE statement explained:

"The issue of the day is to purge the campuses of the heritage of monarchy and transform them into anti-imperialist fortresses. This will be the beginning of the struggle to revolutionize all institutions and put them at the service of the struggle of the oppressed against the influences of the imperialists and capitalists."

Calling on the workers shoras and popular organizations, the statement concluded, "Today we must organize support for the ISOs everywhere and come to the aid of these vanguard anti-imperialist militants!"

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Iranian socialists freed



Contrary to U.S. media reports of successful right-wing crackdown in Iran, deepening revolutionary ferment has created atmosphere open to debate of different viewpoints. Recent release from prison of two members of Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) is one example of democratic gains. With headline "Victory for the revolution, a blow against American imperialism," April 16 issue of HKE newspaper 'Kargar' features release of Fatima Fallahi (right) and Mahsa Hashemi from Evin prison April 14. All fourteen HKE members imprisoned last June for expressing their socialist ideas are now free.

*In this article the term ISOs (Islamic Student Organizations) is used to refer to two closely linked organizations: Anjomanha-ye Islami Daneshjooan-e (Islamic Student Councils) and Sazmanha-ye Daneshjooan-e Muselman (Muslim Students Organizations).

An appeal to aid Militant's emergency response

To our readers:

Carter went on television at 7:00 a.m., April 25, to tell the American people about his failed commando raid on Iran.

The *Militant* had gone to press and been mailed out to its readers the night before.

With the enormity of the Carter revelation, we knew we couldn't wait a week to respond.

The Socialist Workers presidential ticket immediately issued a statement denouncing the attack and demanding Carter halt his war moves and send back the shah.

Writers, editors, technical staff, and printers went to work on an emergency basis to get out a special supplement to the *Militant*.

Within twelve hours, this four-page feature was written, typeset, pasted up, and rolling off the press.

As soon as the special supplement came off the press, bundles were rushed to a rented van and driven down to Washington so they would be on hand for Saturday's big antinuclear protest. Demonstrators gave a warm response to the *Militant's* new front

cover assailing the criminal act.

Bundles were shipped by express mail to Midwest and West Coast SWP branches. The supplement is included as pages 9-12 of this *Militant* to ensure that it reaches all our subscribers and other readers.

We feel we did a good job in getting the supplement out. But we're not looking for congratulations.

We do need something else—your financial help.

Our staff had the extra energy to get the job done.

But we don't have the extra

money.

We're sure our readers will see the value of what we did. And that you will want us to be in a position to mount a similar emergency response when events again require it.

If that has your vote, please back it up with a special contribution to help defray the added cost of the Iran supplement.

Vote "aye" by sending a check or money order to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

In solidarity
The editors

Special Militant supplement

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 Vietnams.

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.

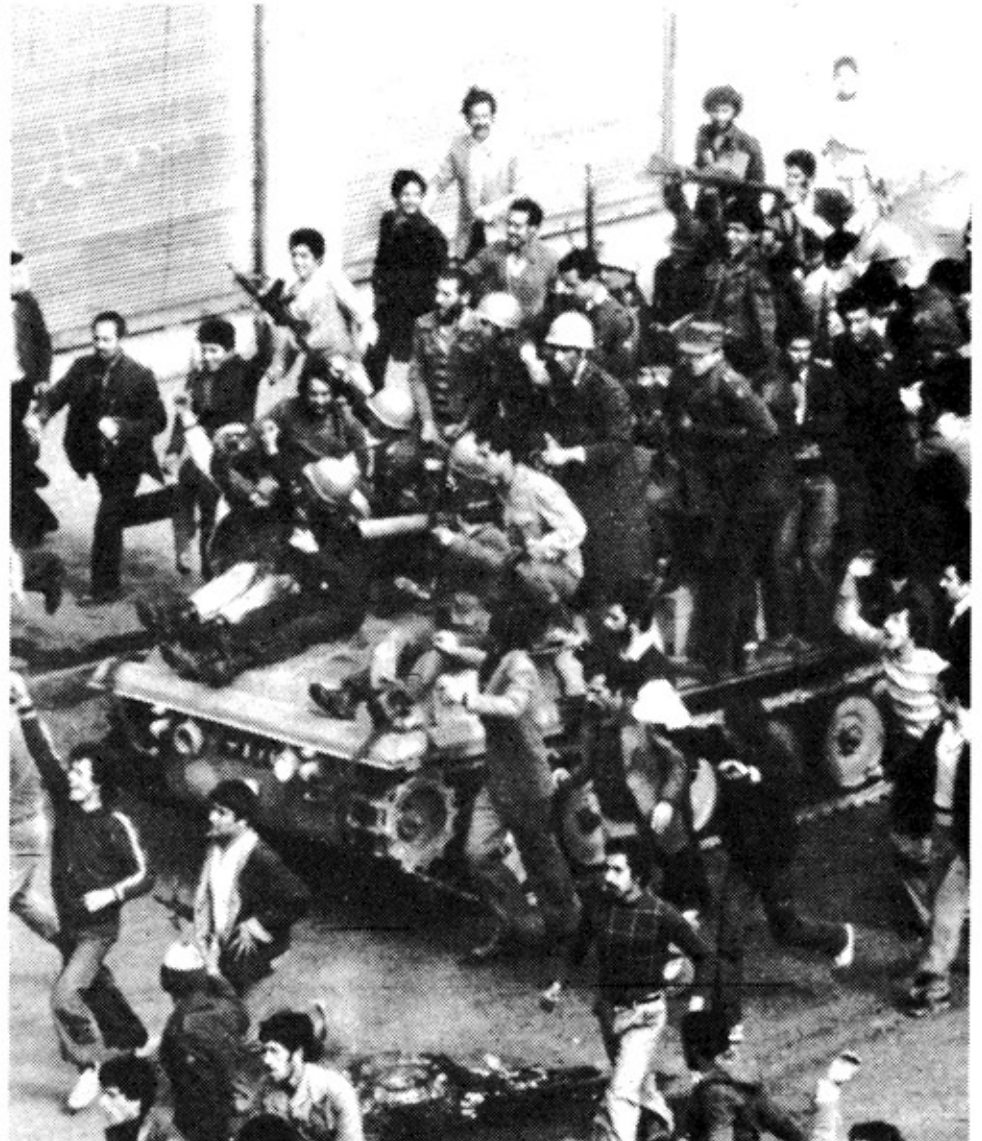
"Hardly credible" said State Department spokesperson David Passage.

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.

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.

"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."

Terri Cooke, sister of Donald Cooke, had words of appreciation for the soldiers whose lives were sacrificed in the operation.

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,

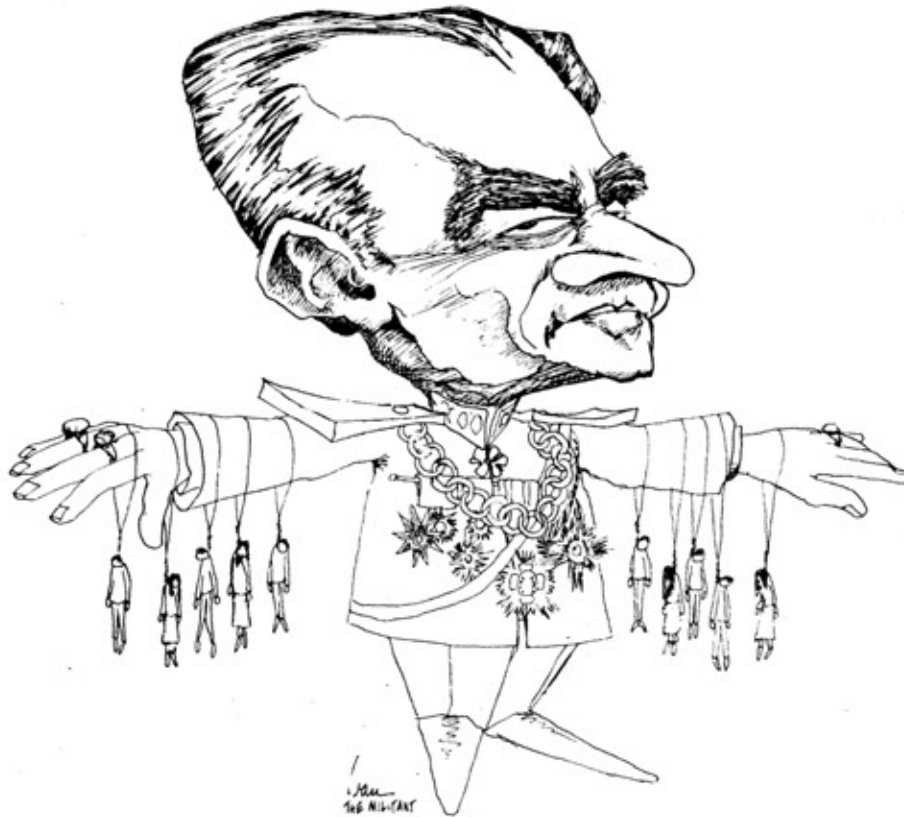
but also the insertion of bottles in the rectum, hanging weights from testicles, rape, and such apparatus as a helmet that, worn over the head of the victim, magnifies his own screams." (Time magazine, August 16, 1976)

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.



Organizing the South today



Militant illustrations by Diane Jacobs

Introduction

By Harry Ring

Organizing the South. It's recognized as an urgent necessity by union activists throughout the country, perhaps more so today than ever before.

The threat to move production from union shops to the low-wage, nonunion South is a club used to beat down wages for all workers.

And it's no idle threat. From 1968 to 1978, factory jobs declined in the Northeast by almost 800,000, while they increased in the South by more than 900,000.

It's no secret that the employers find more to like about the South than the warm weather. North Carolina, for example, is the least unionized state in the country. Less than 7 percent of its eligible workers belong to unions.

And in 1977—when the Teamsters union began an organizing effort in the manufacturing plants of the Piedmont region—North Carolina workers were listed as the lowest-paid in the nation. They averaged only \$4.53 an hour, compared to a national average of \$5.72. A 21 percent gap!

As low as average wages are in the South, for Black and women workers there the situation is even worse. A recently published study by the Southern Regional Council found that in 1950, Black workers in eleven Southern states were paid fifty-eight cents for every dollar paid white workers. By 1975, it was down to fifty-seven cents.

Black women made a pitifully small gain. In 1950 their wages were but 25 percent of those paid to white males. In a quarter of a century it advanced to 29 percent.

Southern white women lost ground. In 1950 their income was 44 percent that of white males.

By 1975 it had dropped to 40 percent.

It's not that workers in the South don't want unions. The myth of the "happy" unorganized southern worker, like the earlier one about the "happy" slave, has been pretty well dispelled.

A U.S. Labor Department study released last July confirmed that pro-union sentiment was just about as strong among Southern workers as among those in the north.

And Southern workers have demonstrated in battle that it's union time for them.

In 1977, for example, the United Auto Workers made a Southern breakthrough by winning a union representation election at the General Motors plant in Monroe, Louisiana. Following that, the union organized about a dozen plants, mostly in small towns, in a two-year period.

The biggest UAW victory came at GM's plant in Oklahoma City. There the company and local media were unable to prevent a majority of the workers—white and Black—from carrying the UAW to victory.

The biggest, most significant union gain in the South is the recent winning of a Steelworkers contract at the huge Newport News shipyard in Virginia. With some 16,000 workers brought under union contract, it is one of the biggest organizing victories anywhere in the country in decades. The story of that victory is told on these pages by Jon Hillson.

The recent ups and downs of the Teamsters organizing drives in North Carolina are described in the article from Winston-Salem by Jack Foster.

In several important Southern plants, the workers voted the union in but have not yet won a contract. The best known of these is J. P. Stevens. The textile giant has stubbornly refused to sign a contract after losing a representation

election in its Roanoke Rapids plants in 1974. And the wealthy PPG Industries is now following the same tack.

For many years, the rule of Jim Crow segregation in the South proved—as it was intended—a big barrier to union organizing. Few labor officials were ready to undertake the challenge of smashing official segregation, the only way unions could be won.

But the great Black civil rights movement of the 1960s accomplished that historic task. It broke the back of Southern Jim Crow.

That opened the way for union organizing in the South.

Not surprisingly, Black workers have played a leading role in these union drives. Not only because they're the lowest paid and worst treated and need the union most. But also because the victories they won in the civil rights battles gave them the confidence to take on the employers in the fight for the union.

White workers have proven ready to move into action too—alongside of their Black brothers and sisters.

On these pages you will see pictures of the Newport News strikers battling the cops.

What struck me when I first saw these pictures was not only the outrage of police brutality against workers. That's not new. Cops have been clubbing pickets ever since there have been cops and pickets.

What was new—and inspiring—in these photos was to see Southern white and Black workers standing shoulder to shoulder in beating back the cops.

It is that indispensable solidarity that gives such hope for the unionization of the South. And, by the same token, the victory of unionism in the South will be a victory for all American workers.

The Newport News victory

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—It was a year ago April that workers at Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, a subsidiary of the Tenneco conglomerate, ended their bitterly fought strike.

Thousands of workers at the huge shipyard had struck for nearly three months for recognition of their union, Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers of America.

They went back to work without a contract.

The *Wall Street Journal*, premier voice of American big business, gloated.

"The big Pittsburgh-based union—and organized labor—have suffered a major defeat," the *Journal* proclaimed. The paper wondered aloud if "the Steelworkers will ever become the certified representatives of Newport News

shipyard workers, much less whether it will lead a union invasion of the South."

Organized labor's "latest dream of establishing a Southern organizing beachhead," was dead, the *Journal* stated.

The obituary for Local 8888 proved premature. The "Southern organizing beachhead" at the shipyard is not only alive but stronger than ever.

There was a good reason why the *Wall Street Journal* was wrong in its assessment.

It forgot to talk with the Steelworker shipbuilders, who had no intention of giving up the fight.

Contract signed

Today, every one of the nearly 16,000 production and maintenance workers at Newport News shipyard is covered by a Steelworkers contract. While leav-

ing much to fight for the next time around, the agreement, ratified by union members in late March, represents a real gain for the workers.

And the impact of Local 8888's winning a contract has been immediate and widespread in southeast Virginia's heavily industrialized Tidewater area.

USWA Subdistrict Director Jack Hower reported that workers from thirty-six area workplaces were seeking Steelworker support in organizing drives.

The United Auto Workers have already set efforts to organize a Mercedes-Benz truck plant slated to open in nearby Hampton. Recently, the UAW began a drive to unionize Liebherr-America, which manufactures excavators and cranes, also in Hampton.

The next big target announced by the USWA is organizing nearly 10,000 workers at Avondale shipyard in

"right to work for less" Louisiana.

The decision to do so was prompted by the Steelworkers victory in Newport News, a success which USWA international President Lloyd McBride stated, dispels the myth that "southern working people are anti-union and unwilling to fight for recognition and contracts."

In Newport News, workers and bosses went at each other tooth and nail over the issue of establishing a union.

The bosses lost.

The workers won.

The story of that victory holds inspiring lessons for working people across the country.

Company union

The impetus to organize the Steelworkers at Newport News Shipbuild-

Continued on next page

...shipyard

Continued from preceding page

ing came from within the yard, under the terrible impact of years of give-back, sweetheart contracts between the bosses and the long-established company union, the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA).

The first big challenge to the company union came from the 1,200 workers in the yard's marine design department. Designers and designers' aides, working for half the wage of comparably skilled workers in other shipyards, broke from the PSA and established Local 8417 of the United Steelworkers.

In 1977 they were forced out on a twenty-two-month strike for recognition. They're still waging their battle (see story elsewhere in this feature) but the designers did a lot to help the workers in the other departments get Local 8888 going. The example of their fighting union spirit gave the organizing drive an important boost. And, while on strike, the designers helped sign up thousands of production workers for Local 8888.

The starting handful of workers who wanted to challenge the PSA in the summer of 1976 grew into an army of 700 volunteer organizers.

The four initiators of the Local 8888 drive were Black workers, veterans of contract battles, civil rights struggles, and fights for democracy in the PSA. They symbolized the leading role that Black workers would play in the organizing drive and strike in the majority-Black shipyard.

The first stage of the fight was to sign up a majority of the workers and then to win a union representation election.

That effort went up against every imaginable enemy.

Anti-union campaign

The local media ceaselessly baited "union bosses" and "carpetbaggers" from Pittsburgh.

Area employers formed an alliance, its members kept secret, to boost the PSA, bankrolling a major advertising

barrage against the USWA.

Inside the yard, goon squads organized by the company union threatened and attacked Steelworker volunteer organizers.

The company inspired a racist propaganda campaign, aimed to split white workers away from the organizing drive. It baited the USWA for inviting Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr., to a union rally.

Tenneco formally endorsed the PSA, and foremen and supervisors campaigned for it inside the yard with veiled and not-so-veiled threats of economic reprisals for supporting 8888.

The PSA was so confident of winning the election (it predicted a seven-

to-one victory) that it purchased a new, million-dollar headquarters on the eve of the January 1978 vote.

The 9,093 to 7,548 Steelworker win stunned everyone but the union's organizers.

The triumph upset the cozy, historical relationship between the yard's brass and the top company union good old boys—a combination that had dominated the shipyard, and political life in Virginia's Peninsula, for decades.

Contrary to a pre-election pledge, however, Tenneco appealed the vote, snarling the newly chosen union in legal red tape.

But the Steelworkers hung tough.

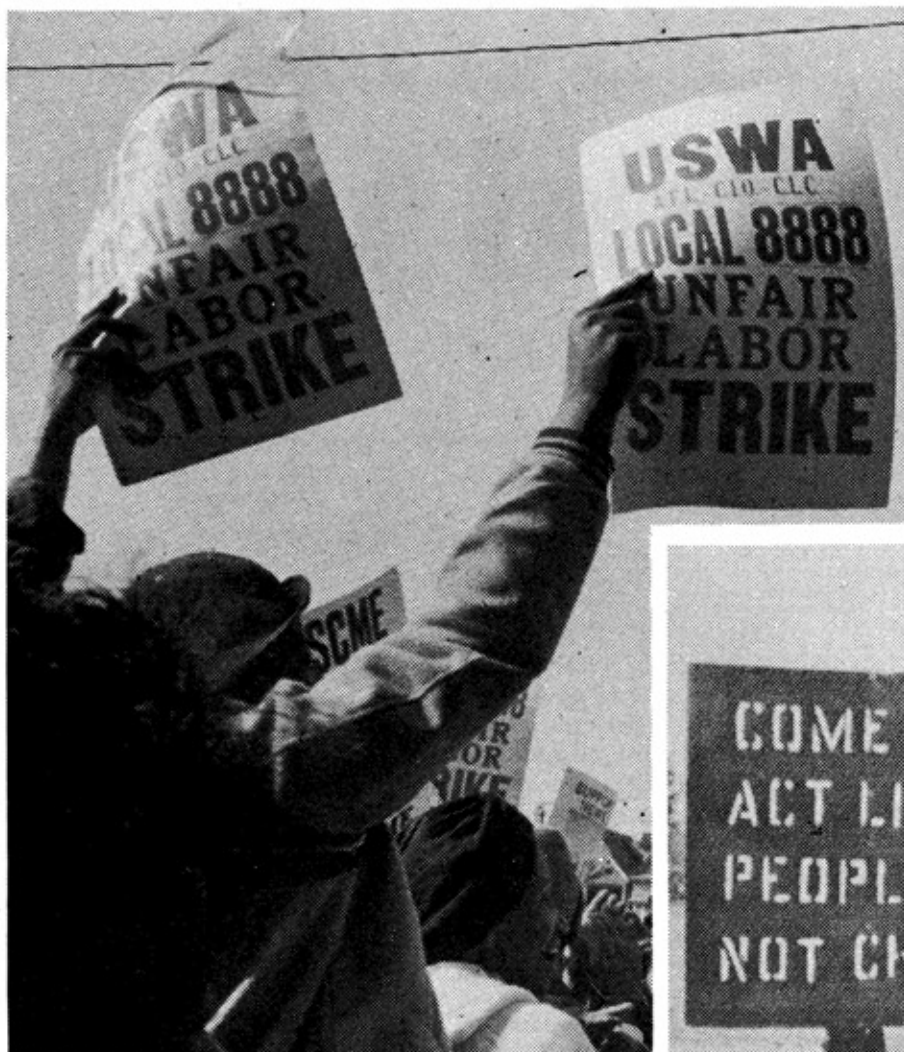
When Tenneco challenged the National Labor Relations Board's certification of the USWA victory in October 1978, strike talk fanned throughout the yard.

Strike begins

In December, 7,500 cheering workers authorized a strike. Pickets hit the bricks on January 31, 1979, a year to the day after the shipyard election.

The Steelworker strikers were backed by contingents of solidarity pickets from area unions. By rallies and marches. By pledges of labor support from across the country.

These picket lines had a new look, too. With nearly a third of the work



Militant/Eric Simpson



Embattled North Carolina w

By Jack Foster

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Workers at Fiber Industries in Salisbury, North Carolina, came out of the plant cheering this past March 29.

The ballots had just been counted. The union had won.

It was a slim margin in a hard-fought campaign. But organizing in this area has been an up-hill fight all the way.

The vote was 1,002 to 990.

That was a big turnaround from last July, when Teamsters Local 71 lost a representation election at the plant 1,272 to 883.

This victory marked the largest union vote in North Carolina since 1974, when the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) won at J. P. Stevens's Roanoke Rapids plants in the drive that inspired the movie *Norma Rae*.

The new election at Fiber had been ordered by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), which upheld union charges that the company used lies and intimidation to stop the workers from voting for the union.

Lies and intimidation

The NLRB cited the company's use of armed guards in company meetings with the workers and a company-produced phonograph record sent to the homes of its 2,200 employees on the eve of the last election.

The record was a vicious piece of anti-union propaganda. Professional actors, hired to simulate a Teamsters strike, depicted women screaming as their husbands were taken to the hos-

pital to have wounds treated. Machine-gun fire, shattering windshield glass, and crying babies punctuated the fictitious strike story.

In a show of contempt for the NLRB ruling, the company tried the same trick on the second round. Company officials sent out another anti-union record to all employees.

They also dug up every article they could find from issues of the *Salisbury Post* that associated violence with union activities, blew them up to poster-size, and displayed them behind

glass in the employee canteens before the election.

Organizing Committee

With the election won and a contract to be obtained, the in-plant organizing committee, composed of more than 200 unionists, has launched a drive to sign up a larger majority for the union.

Bill Grant, international staff organizer for the Teamsters, points to the large worker committee as a key to the union's successful organizing at Fiber.

"Our committee is well informed. It's

been a continual educational process," he said. "If there had been a break in that confidence-building process we would have lost."

Willie Mae Sloan is a member of the organizing committee. She was ordered to leave the plant two days before the union vote. She had refused to let the company search her purse. The company charged that she had a tape recorder with her during a company anti-union meeting for employees.

They didn't tell her she was fired. "They just said they'd let me know," said Sloan.

After the union victory, they let her go back to work—with a year's probation. The probation does not apply to her work performance, only to her union activity on the job.

Fiber is now challenging the outcome of the election. The company claims the union spread rumors that Willie Mae Sloan had been fired. Meanwhile, company officials are looking for every chance to victimize and demoralize union supporters.

* * *

The tactics Fiber is employing to keep the union out are almost identical to those being used by PPG Industries in nearby Lexington, N.C.

Workers there welcomed news of the union win at Fiber with placards and bathroom graffiti that read "PPG eats crow, Union wins at Fiber."

PPG workers won Teamster representation in July 1978, but the company has used courtroom stalling to avoid contract negotiations with the union.

Meanwhile, to undercut union sup-

Socialist: End 'right to scab'

Douglas Cooper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of North Carolina, pledged his commitment to work for repeal of this state's anti-union "right-to-work" law.

The misnamed law, he said, doesn't create a single job, and isn't intended to. A barrier to unionism, it has succeeded in keeping wages of North Carolina working people among the lowest in the country.

To show how it's used against unions, Cooper pointed out that before "right-to-work" was passed back in 1947 most tobacco workers were organized.

With contracts that brought all workers into the union, they were able to more effectively defend their living standards against the

profit drive of R.J. Reynolds, Lorillard, and American Tobacco.

But "right-to-work," which banned the union shop, opened the door for Reynolds to get rid of the union. Since 1949, the 13,000 production workers there have been without a union. And Reynolds has helped other companies to keep the union out.

"The fight against 'right to work for less' is a political fight," Cooper said. "The support of Democratic and Republican politicians alike to this antilabor law underlines the need for the unions to break from these two parties of the bosses."

"Along with support for the unionization efforts here and repeal of 'right to work,' the need for a labor party is one of the central ideas I'm campaigning around."

force female, women flocked to the union. They served as organizers, leaders of strike committees, and picket line mainstays.

Black and white workers joined together in the lines, singing civil rights songs that suddenly had a powerful, new meaning as they sang "We Shall Overcome." Workers as young as eighteen and nineteen added a contagious militancy to the pickets.

The union found itself up against Virginia's "right to work" statutes, which go far beyond banning a union shop. These laws restrict picketing, protect scabs, and give the cops the right to pick off strikers with flimsy "picket line misconduct" charges.

Buttressed by these laws, the company hired nearly a thousand strikebreakers.

The toll of this, coupled with a federal court order for an investigation of Tenneco-PSA charges of 8888 election "irregularities," whittled away at the strike, dampening morale with the prospect of months, at least, in the courts.

The international union said the strikers should return to work. The union's executive board and negotiating committee concurred by a vote of 22-9.

The final decision, however, was in the hands of Local 8888's ranks. Thousands of workers heard debate and

discussion at an April 13 meeting. They rejected Tenneco's humiliating conditions and voted, now with the agreement of their local leadership, to continue the strike.

When picket lines went up again, they were alive with the militancy of the union meeting's powerful exercise in democracy. The workers defended their lines against scabs.

State and Newport News police wasted no time in handing out employer "justice." On April 16 they unleashed a savage attack on the strikers.

The cops' club-wielding riot against the strikers was capped by an unsuccessful attempt to smash their way

into the union's headquarters. There the thugs in blue were met by a union defense team that made them back off.

It was Bloody Monday in Newport News.

Beaten, bruised, and hit with sixty-three arrests, the Steelworkers refused to give in. They emerged from the shattered front of their headquarters, taking the streets again in a chanting, angry, and disciplined march in front of disbelieving cops.

This sent a message to Tenneco.

The bosses softened the return-to-work conditions. The Steelworkers went back, heads held high, to reorganize and sign up new members while preparing for the next stage of the battle.

In October 1979, the same judges who had earlier dragged the union through contrived legal delays were forced to declare the obvious: the shipyard election was valid, the results stood.

The Steelworkers had also won public opinion. Tenneco gave in, recognizing the union.

Victory

Negotiations began last November.

When the shipyard tops stalled bargaining, the talks broke off. Strike sentiment grew. Tenneco again relented. But even as the negotiations were set to resume, 9,000 Steelworkers rallied at day and night union meetings to put an exclamation point next to their demand for a contract.

Days later, the announcement the *Wall Street Journal* believed would never come was made. A tentative contract agreement had been reached.

On March 25-26, members of Local 8888 voted. They had received a copy of the agreement three days before, something unprecedented in the shipyard's history, and a democratic gain for the entire USWA.

Unfortunately, no time had been set aside for serious discussion of it at the union meeting where the contract had been reported out. Many workers found reasons to criticize its shortcomings, those who favored voting for as well as

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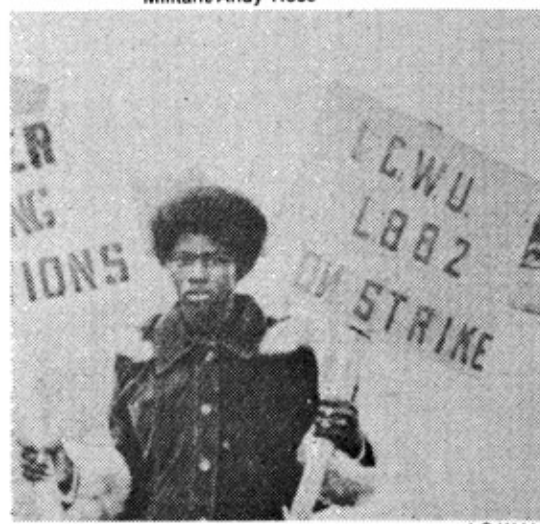


Militant/Andy Rose



Militant/Jon Hillson

Clockwise from left: solidarity march in Newport News, Virginia, supporting striking Steelworkers; cops arrest Local 8888 member; union rally celebrates victory. Bottom center photo shows strikers from poultry-processing plant in Laurel, Mississippi.



I.C.W.U.

orkers face open-shop bosses

port in the plant, the company started a campaign aimed at getting workers to request that the union return their cards. This has been combined with a softer, more polite approach by foremen toward workers on the job.

Boycott

Last October, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons announced that the union was launching a world boycott of PPG products, including Zerez antifreeze, Pittsburgh brand paint, PPG glass, and PPG insulation.

In a letter to all Teamsters, Fitzsimmons said, "We lost the battle for labor law reform, and the only effective weapon we have to fight an anti-union company such as PPG is to combine economic resources and boycott PPG products."

But the boycott hasn't been enough, said one production worker at PPG.

"We need to use the boycott to get more support," she said. She suggested civil rights leader Jesse Jackson be invited to speak at a rally against the company's refusal to bargain.

"He helped the fire fighters in Chicago, didn't he?" she said.

In the face of the employers' drive against the union, there have been a number of losses.

Teamsters Local 391 pulled out of a union representation election at the Hanes Knitwear textile plant in Winston-Salem March 25, after losing a vote at one of the company's distribution centers.

Hanes is one of the area's largest employers. When the union announced

its effort there last December, Hanes hired a team of union-busting lawyers to advise it in its anti-union campaign.

Violence-baiting

Anti-union "memos" to employees from the Hanes production manager referred to an unsuccessful Teamster strike at Thomas Manufacturing Company and a strike then underway at Halstead Metal products in Pine Hall, North Carolina.

The company asserted that a man was killed during the Halstead strike "because he wanted to cross the picket line and go to work." This was a lie.

Tyrone Smith, twenty-five, was sentenced to fifteen years in prison in March after being found guilty of manslaughter. Smith had been hired as a strikebreaker by Halstead in September. He joined the picket line after a week on the job.

While Smith was waiting for a friend one day, about fifteen strikebreakers' cars pulled up. One scab tried to assault him. Smith tried to scare him off by firing his shotgun in the air. The scab died in the blast.

Smith is of below-normal intelligence and suffers from acute anxiety, according to a psychiatrist from Dorothea Dix hospital, who testified at his trial.

Area companies and the media nevertheless went all out using this tragedy to prove the Teamsters union is violence-prone. But it was the Halstead company that created the atmosphere of violence.

Early in the strike, supervisors came out of the plant, guns in hand, to intimidate strikers. Five plastic explosive devices were found one day just

outside the strikers' make-shift picket hut.

The Teamsters union called off the eight-month Halstead strike April 4. The company has refused to rehire the 140 strikers.

In an interview with the *Winston-Salem Journal*, John Russell, former president of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen Local 525 in Asheville, North Carolina said, "There has to be a more militant way of dealing with these companies. I think the passive way of waiting for the NLRB to take months to hand down legal decisions to solve our problems won't work anymore."

North Carolina workers have already begun to show what will be needed to win these struggles.

Workers at PPG and other area plants organized pickup-truck parades, plant gate rallies, and T-shirt days during their representation election drive. These actions, which were backed by the union, helped to reach out and win solidarity from the community that was key to winning the election. This process will be repeated on a vastly larger scale to win the bigger and more decisive battles over union recognition and contracts that are on the horizon. As they gain more self-confidence and become better organized, workers like those at PPG will take on this state's right-to-work law.

The fight continues. During 1979 the concentration of manufacturing plants in the Piedmont made this area the center of efforts by North Carolina workers for the right to a union. Sixty-seven percent of union elections in the

state were held here. There will be more battles.

It's a fight that can and will be won. More than almost anywhere, the workers in this low-wage area desperately need the union. Out of today's often bitter experiences, they will begin to develop the leadership needed for victory.

Ben Chavis backs drive

Rev. Ben Chavis, the civil rights fighter who recently won his freedom in the Wilmington 10 case, sees the Southern unionizing drive as a vital issue.

Pointing to the fight to compel PPG Industries to sign a contract with the Teamsters, Chavis told the *Militant*: "The victory that can be won at PPG will be a victory for the civil rights movement. I stand ready to come to local meetings and rallies to support PPG workers."

A former organizer for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Chavis added, "The brothers and sisters at PPG must not see their struggle in isolation. As I travel around the state, I talk to everyone about the need to support unions. I believe the union vote that was taken at their plant is just as important as the vote for president in November."

...shipyard

Continued from preceding page

those against it. "We fought for four years for this," a shipfitter told the *Militant*, "you'd think we could have a few hours to discuss it."

The contract was, however, discussed. Not in a union setting, but on board ships, in tanks, in submarines, at lunch breaks and on shipyard commuter buses.

The proposal, representing significant advances over old company union agreements, was ratified by a three-to-one margin. Many of those voting yes did so because they felt it was the best they could get in the given situation: more could be won in the years ahead.

"The Steelworkers," one middle-aged worker told the *Militant*, "are here to stay."

Fight continues

Staying, as many Local 8888 members understand it, means fighting. "We're going to have to make them stick to the letter of the contract," a mechanic told the *Militant*.

Tenneco's union-busting days are far from over. It is still fighting to decertify designers Local 8417. These embattled Steelworkers, who were forced back without a contract last September, look to Local 8888 and the USWA international as their hope for survival.

Some twenty-two union members, fired for "picket line misconduct," have yet to be rehired.

Now armed with a standard union grievance procedure for the first time, the union will find its ability to defend workers on the job rapidly tested by Tenneco's foremen and supervisors.

New organizing drives will undoubtedly seek Local 8888's aid and solidarity in battles with employers, the victories of which can only fortify the shipyard union.

Local 8888's example of solidarity between Black and white workers in struggle against a common enemy makes it a natural ally of fights for equality by the Black community.

The union's active backing to the drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment in Virginia, its aid in building a pro-ERA rally in Newport News last December, and its leadership in the Labor for Equal Rights Now march in Richmond on January 13 have given women throughout the state reason to look to Local 8888 for further support.

Capitalist politicians

The Tenneco leopard won't change its spots. Neither will the Republican and Democratic politicians who support the wealthy corporation against the strikers.

Union members got a bitter taste of the capitalist politicians' solidarity with Tenneco when they went to a Newport News City Council meeting held right after the Bloody Monday police riot against the strikers.

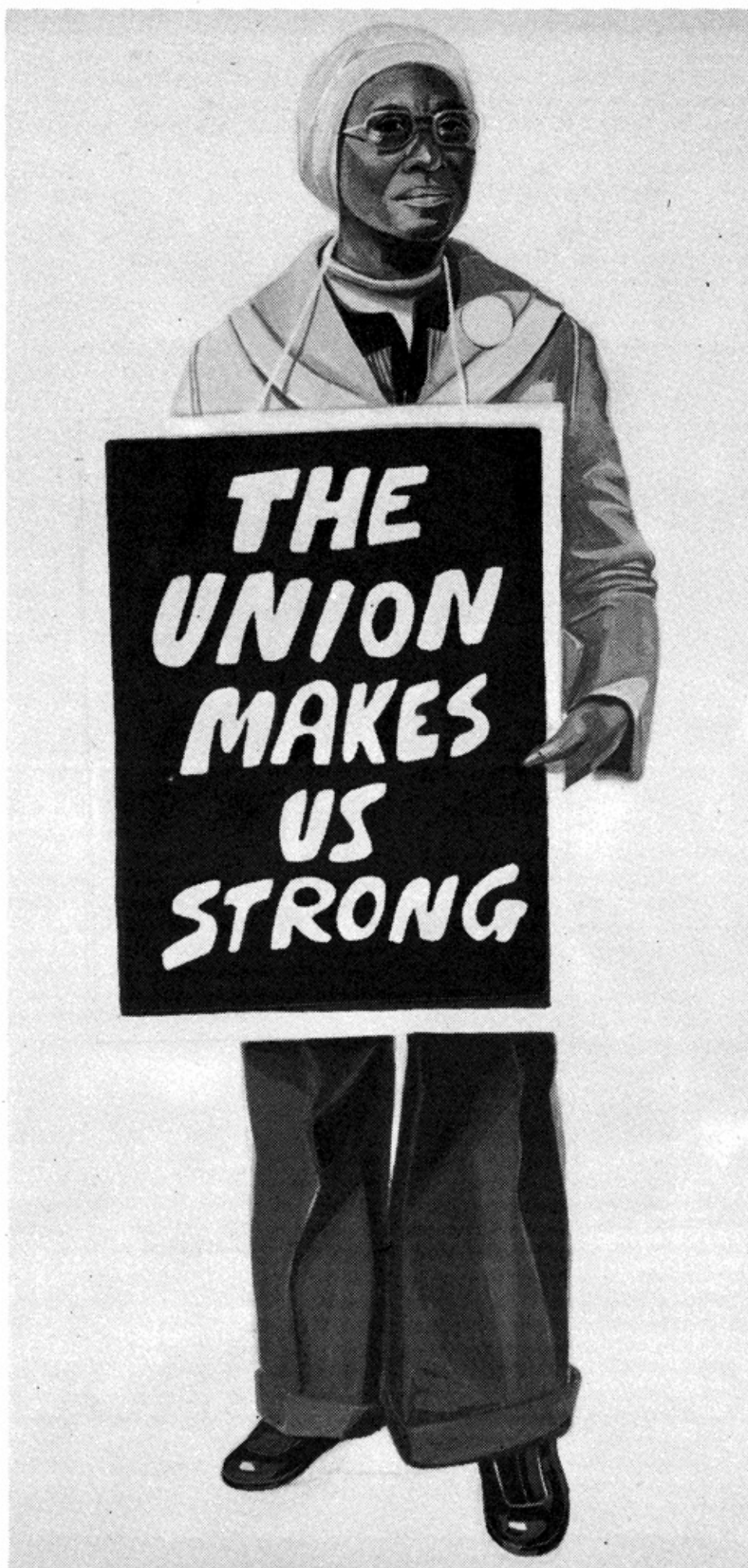
Union leaders had applied to speak under an established point on the council's agenda, "audiences granted the public."

Without a single dissenting vote from either Democratic or Republican members, the council voted to deny them the right to speak. Instead, the mayor assailed the victims of the police attack as guilty of "mob violence!"

Scores of union members were stunned last summer when, at their first Political Action Committee gathering, they heard Democratic candidates endorsed by the state AFL-CIO routinely note their support of "right to work" laws.

A good number of Local 8888 members I have talked with look forward to discussing the idea of a labor party and perhaps running independent candidates against the Democrats and Republicans in the future.

Basing itself on the union's fighting legacy, a legacy of mass organizing, mass meetings, action, and struggle, Local 8888's members have seen the power of union democracy in action. It



Militant/Diane Jacobs

Pathfinder pamphlet on class battles in the South



Nelson Blackstock, a native southerner, takes a look at the fight against Jim Crow segregation, the gains won by the civil rights movement, and the growing radicalization of southern workers today. 30 pp., \$.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

Nat'l march for Miss. strikers

Labor, civil rights, and women's organizations have called a national demonstration in Laurel, Mississippi, for Saturday, May 17. The action is in support of 200 workers at the Sanderson Farms poultry processing plant who have been on strike for a year.

Represented by the International Chemical Workers Union, the strikers are mostly women and mostly Black.

Describing the conditions that led to the walkout, strike leader Gloria Jordan said workers received starvation wages, had no regular hours, worked under unsafe conditions, and women workers were harassed sexually by male supervisors.

"We were like slaves on a plantation," she declared.

The May 17 action is sponsored by the Committee for Justice in Mississippi. For information, contact the committee c/o International Chemical Workers Local 882, 226-D Ellisville Boulevard, Laurel, Mississippi 39440. Telephone (601) 649-8836.

was just such a process that allowed the membership to reverse the initial return-to-work proposal last April that would have been so costly.

This method of free exchange and democratic decision making is the most effective basis to ensure that the union is able to not only defend its gains and the contract, but to prepare for coming battles as inflation bears down on every worker.

Union cause

"I knew it would be a fight," Oscar Pretlow, the now-retired Black worker who helped found the union organizing drive, told the *Militant*. "But I never doubted we would win."

Neither did the workers who volunteered, organized, recruited, picketed, fought scabs, defended themselves against the cops, and stood their ground against every curve ball thrown by the company, the courts, and the politicians.

That's the meaning of Local 8888's historic struggle and its victory—the unyielding commitment of the workers to collectively fight for a union.

That victory has placed in the hands of shipyard workers a weapon they have forged, to defend their rights and fight for their needs against Tenneco, a giant of southern labor-haters.

"It's a plantation," was the comment strikers made over and over in referring to the shipyard.

And the struggle? "It's a cause," "a crusade," they repeated. "Like the civil rights movement," "like the abolitionists," "like the 1930's."

A battle in the war to organize the South.

To bring union power and the dignity it can win for working people in the bosses "right to work for less" haven.

Things are changing fast for workers and employers in the South, thanks to Local 8888's historic victory.

These Steelworkers have said Newport News is just the beginning.

Aid pledged to designers

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Boosted by Local 8888's victory against Tenneco, United Steelworkers Local 8417, representing the shipyard's marine designers and designers' aides, has begun to reorganize its forces to demand a resumption of contract negotiations.

The Steelworker designers were forced back to work without a contract last September after a two-and-a-half-year strike. Since then, Tenneco has taken on decertifying the union "as a cause," according to shipyard President Edward Campbell.

Steelworkers Subdistrict Director Jack Hower told an April 10 lunchtime gathering outside the main design department building that the USWA "is not going to walk away from you, is not going to turn its back, and is not going to be satisfied until you have a contract."

The majority of the forty workers who heard Hower, Local 8888 President Ed Coppedge, Local 8417 President Ray Taylor, and USWA international staff representative Roosevelt Robinson were workers hired after the strike began and were not in the union.

Yet. But they listened carefully to the speeches, asking questions, and agreed with the union talk they heard.

"It was a good beginning," Hower told the *Militant*.

"You don't have to prove you're tough or that you have guts," Coppedge said. "You struck for two and a half years. If you hadn't done what you did, Local 8888 wouldn't be here today."

Capitalist figures resign

Nicaragua masses gain in new gov't council

By Nancy Cole

The Sandinista-led government of Nicaragua has taken another step toward establishing the right of the workers and peasants to a decisive say in how their country is run.

On April 21, the governing junta announced that a majority of delegates to the Council of State set to convene May 4 will represent the mass organizations. This altered the original balance weighted heavily in favor of capitalist forces.

The announcement was met with an alarmed outcry from Nicaraguan capitalists. The following day, the sole remaining non-Sandinista in the government junta, Alfonso Robelo Callejas, resigned in protest. Several days before, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro had bowed out of the junta, citing fatigue and failing health. She too, however, had opposed changes in the Council of State.

Robelo is a millionaire industrialist who has been publicly criticizing the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) since mid-March. He also relaunched his capitalist party, the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN).

Robelo tries to portray himself as the real defender of the Nicaraguan revolution, saying he will work to "forge a democratic, free, and revolutionary Nicaragua."

An MDN statement coinciding with Robelo's resignation charged that the decree altering the council "revived... the overwhelming totalitarian-style apparatus that brings back such unpleasant memories to Nicaraguans."

Thus, the effort to put government institutions at the service of the vast majority of Nicaraguans is turned on its head in the rhetoric of these capitalists, portrayed instead as a move backward toward the methods of the hated Somoza dictatorship.

This theme was dutifully picked up by the big-business news media in the United States. The growing tensions between Sandinistas and "moderates," asserted the May 5 *Newsweek*, "were further evidence that instead of becoming the democratic society promised by the rebels, Nicaragua was turning into a one-party state."

FSLN 'pep club'

Rather than giving "the middle class access to government officials" as originally conceived, *Newsweek* continued, the revised Council of State "has become a pep club for the revolutionaries."

Just what is this "pep club" to consist of?

The council's initial composition was established in the Program of Government issued just before the FSLN-led Junta of National Reconstruction took power last July, at a time when there were few organizations representing the workers and peasants.

The council, in which the capitalist parties and organizations were disproportionately represented, was taken to have veto power over measures taken by the FSLN-led government junta.

Once Somoza was overthrown, the capitalists pushed to have the Council of State immediately convened.

But the government junta announced in October that the council would be restructured to make allowance for representation from the newly forming trade unions, peasant associations, and other mass organizations.

The restructured council will still provide seats to the capitalist organizations and parties that were originally included. But it has been expanded to include representatives of the mass organizations that have been leading the country's reconstruction.

Nine of the council's members are to be chosen on a regional basis by the Sandinista Defense Committees. Eight will come from Nicaragua's five trade-union federations, including three re-



Nicaraguan capitalists object to seats on new Council of State being allotted to mass organizations like Rural Workers Association (left) and trade unions like Sandinista Workers Federation (right).



Militant/Fred Murphy

presentatives from the Sandinista Workers Federation.

Three delegates will represent the Rural Workers Association and one each will be chosen from the teachers union, health workers union, and journalists union.

Women and youth

The Association of Nicaraguan Women and the July 19 Sandinista Youth will each have a delegate. And for the first time on any Nicaraguan government body, the Indian minorities of the Atlantic Coast region will be represented with one delegate.

The FSLN will have six representatives, and six other smaller political parties will have one delegate each.

The three capitalist parties, including Robelo's MDN, are allotted one representative each.

The six organizations of industrialists, landlords, merchants, and big farmers that make up the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) will each get one seat.

There will also be one representative each from the Catholic clergy and the university system.

"The Sandinista front and its organizations have a majority in this Council of State," said junta member Sergio Ramirez. "This corresponds to a concrete and objective reality—the balance of political forces that exists in the country."

By expanding the council, Ramirez said, "we seek to achieve a sort of total representation of what constitutes the country at this moment."

This is the council the bourgeois parties say represents a revival of "overwhelming totalitarian-style apparatus."

The MDN said it will not participate in the Council of State.

COSEP expressed its "total disagreement" with the council decree and declared itself in "permanent session."

"For weeks there had been rising complaints from the COSEP and its affiliates against further confiscations," reported *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* correspondent Fred Murphy from Managua, "such as the April 11 seizure of Nicaragua's largest brewery; the government's refusal to repress peasants who occupied land without authorization; the criminal charges for decapitalization brought against the owners of the country's largest private construction company; and the growing role of the Nicaragua Enterprise for Basic Foods (ENABAS) in distributing foodstuffs at prices lower than those charged by private merchants."

No subordination to profits

"So the alteration of the Council of State to provide more real democracy to the workers and peasants has been taken by many capitalists as the final

confirmation that the Sandinista-led government cannot be subordinated to the needs of private profit," Murphy continued.

The day after Robelo resigned from the junta, the FSLN held a news conference. A statement read by FSLN Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce explained that Robelo was seeking "to cover up the true causes of his resignation with the pretext of the Council of State," but "the essence of the problem lies in the fact that Robelo could not identify himself with a political platform that limits indiscriminate enrichment and benefits the dispossessed majority of the country."

The FSLN faces even more challenges in its drive to meet the goals of the 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation. Key sectors of industry and agriculture are still in the hands of capitalists. There is always the threat of production boycotts and the removal of much needed capital and machinery from the country (decapitalization).

Refusal to produce "would be a suicidal attitude," Commander Arce warned the capitalists April 23.

"Our revolution has made a political and moral commitment to our people to rectify their social situation. We are going to do that—with the help of the private sector, without the help of the private sector, or against the private sector."

FSLN vows El Salvador solidarity

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—A week of solidarity with El Salvador was organized from April 13 to 20 by the Nicaraguan Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples, which is made up of all the Sandinista-led mass organizations.

As part of the solidarity week, the Rural Workers Association encouraged all its members to donate a day's wages for the struggle in El Salvador.

Leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have reiterated earlier warnings against direct imperialist intervention in El Salvador.

"If they commit the adventure of intervening in El Salvador," Commander Tomás Borge declared in a speech to the Sandinista police April 26, "we are going to consider it an aggression on our own soil; and members of the militias, the army, the CDSs [Sandinista Defense Com-

mittees], and the police will have to be ready to pick up their guns and defend our Salvadoran brothers."

A further step toward united action among Salvadoran forces opposing the U.S.-backed junta there was achieved April 16 with the formation in the capital city of San Salvador of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR).

The FDR represents a bloc between the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses—which in turn is made up of the four main organizations of the Salvadoran workers and peasants—and the Salvadoran Democratic Front.

The new front also involves the People's Liberation Movement, which is led by the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party; important trade-union federations such as the FENASTRAS and the Revolutionary Trade Union Federation; the General Association of Salvadoran University Students; and

the National Federation of Small Businesses.

While El Salvador's main cities remain heavily patrolled by the armed forces, there has been a considerable increase in rural guerrilla activity. On April 10, at least 400 militants of the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL) occupied five large haciendas in the northern province of Chalatenango, near the Honduran border. Army troops and paramilitary forces were sent in with tanks and helicopters to dislodge the guerrillas. As of April 18, there was no indication that this operation had succeeded.

According to an FPL representative, the occupied haciendas "could be considered liberated zones where the peasants work, have refuge, and prepare to confront the enemy." Some 3,000 peasants who have fled intense repression in other areas of the countryside have reportedly sought refuge in these zones.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Sets new Guantanamo maneuvers

Carter brandishes club against Cuba

By David Frankel

Although virtually ignored by the media, forty-two U.S. warships, 350 planes, and more than 20,000 military personnel are scheduled to begin three weeks of maneuvers in the Caribbean May 8.

Called Solid Shield 80, the operation will include the landing of 2,000 Marines on Cuban soil at the Guantánamo Naval Base, and the transportation of an additional battalion of 1,200 soldiers to the base.

As the Cuban daily *Granma* pointed out, the landing of U.S. military forces at Guantánamo—a part of Cuba occupied by imperialist forces against the will of the Cuban people—can only be interpreted as “a brazen provocation and a threat against Cuba.”

Seeking to emphasize the seriousness of its threat, the Pentagon is evacuating civilian personnel at the Guantánamo base in a move that *Granma* called “unprecedented.” In addition, the number of ships in the exercise will be more than twice as great as in a similar exercise last October.

“The idea of a possible real attack on Cuba is behind such operations,” *Granma* warned.

Command of the maneuvers will be

in the hands of the special Caribbean military task force set up by Carter last October as part of his propaganda campaign around the handful of Soviet troops in Cuba.

Behind that anti-Cuban propaganda offensive was Washington's fear of the victorious revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada. Nothing has happened since then to allay that fear.

In addition, *Granma* pointed out, the new U.S. maneuvers “are unquestionably an attempt to intimidate the revolutionary movement in El Salvador with the possibility of military intervention.”

Nor was the Iranian revolution left out of consideration. B-52 bombers will take part in Solid Shield 80. Their mission? To practice techniques for mining sea-lanes from the air.

U.S. policymakers had apparently hoped that the Caribbean maneuvers would coincide with a successful smear campaign to portray revolutionary Cuba as a concentration camp.

But the Cuban leadership effectively scuttled Carter's propaganda ploy by opening the port of Mariel to boats from Florida announcing that they could pick up anyone who wanted to leave the island.

“Castro Turns the Tables” was the headline on a story in the April 25 *New York Times* by correspondent Jo Thomas. Reporting from Havana, Thomas said that Western diplomats there believe that “Mr. Castro has tossed Havana's problem in Washington's lap.”

An angry State Department official told reporters April 23 that those taking part in the sealoft were “playing into the hands of Cuban authorities.” He warned that boat owners could face jail terms of up to five years for “the transportation of undocumented persons to this country.”

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Costa Rica shunts emigres to Peru

By Harry Ring

U.S. officials are yelping with outrage that Cuba has welcomed boats from the United States to pick up Cubans who want to emigrate. Washington's plan was never to let in more than a fraction of these thousands of would-be immigrants, only to exploit them for anti-Cuba propaganda.

The fate of those Cubans who were airlifted to Costa Rica before the boat brigade started underlines this point. Until the Castro government called a halt to the swindle, these emigres were being shunted on to Peru—whether or not they wanted to go there.

Cuba suspended the Costa Rica airlift April 18, demanding that the emigres be flown directly to the country accepting them. The Cuban government noted that almost all the emigres wanted to go to the United States and that it was “cheaper and faster” to fly them directly there. The Costa Rica

center, Cuba charged, was being used for media purposes to fan anti-Cuba sentiment.

That was only part of the game.

Reporting from San José, Costa Rica, April 18, *Miami Herald* correspondent Guillermo Martínez revealed that most of those arriving there from Havana “will have to move on to Lima, Peru, almost at once, they were told.”

The next day Martínez reported:

“Diplomatic officers, when asked if the people being sent to Peru were given a choice, hedged their answers. ‘Well, nobody went on a hunger strike and we didn't have to drag anyone on the plane,’ one replied.”

“Could the refugees stay in Costa Rica if they wanted to wait for U.S. immigration inspectors to begin screening applications? ‘No, not really,’ said a U.S. representative. . . .

“Many refugees,” Martínez commented, “boarded the Thursday mid-

night flight to Lima with dejection in their faces and voices.”

And rightly so.

The *Washington Post* reported from Lima April 14, “It was not clear exactly how the Peruvian government plans to go about permanently resettling the Cubans in a country where decent housing is in short supply and where as much as 40 percent of the work force is either underemployed or without jobs altogether.”

But, most likely they'll be able to go on from Peru to Miami?

Not likely.

The April 18 *Miami Herald* reported that State Department spokesperson Myles Frechette had explained that “if a refugee in Costa Rica is selected [!] to be resettled in a country other than the United States, the person would have to apply as a regular immigrant under that country's quota system to come to the United States.”

Welcome to the “Free World.”

New York Protest Stop U.S. War Preparations in Central America and the Caribbean!

Protest U.S. war maneuvers on Cuban territory of Guantánamo. Saturday, May 10, from noon to 2 p.m. Assemble at Armed Forces Recruitment Center, Times Square, Forty-third and Broadway. March to Herald Square and Broadway.

Sponsor: Committee for July 26.

Should Daily World talk about ‘false friends’?

The present U.S. drive against Cuba challenges every party and publication that claims to be socialist. It measures their capacity to resist the pressure of capitalist “public opinion” and to pour every effort into combatting the anti-Cuba offensive.

The Communist Party and its paper, the *Daily World*, have failed this challenge miserably.

It was on April 4 that Cuba responded to provocation by removing the guards from the Peruvian Embassy, letting those who wanted to leave the country flock in.

It's been front page news everywhere. But for five days, the *Daily World* said nothing. Absolutely nothing.

Finally, on April 11, there was a headline at the

The article didn't mention the events surrounding the Peruvian Embassy.

It was an attack on the *Militant*.

Why? For publishing major extracts from three speeches by Cuban leader Raúl Castro, plus an introductory article by this writer.

In these speeches, Raúl dealt with the problem of bureaucratic tendencies in Cuba and called for a mass struggle against them.

He also assailed those he called the “faint-hearted.” People who shrink from the struggle against imperialism. Who would like to see Cuba withhold support to other revolutionary struggles in the hope of an accommodation with Washington.

The *Daily World* article offers no opinion about Raúl Castro's speeches. Instead, it warns that because the *Militant* printed them people should not make the mistake of thinking that we're genuine friends of Cuba.

Even in terms of traditional Stalinist slanders of the Socialist Workers Party and the *Militant*, it's pretty thin stuff.

Bert offers two principal assertions. One is that we are “anti-Soviet.” The other that we reveal hostility to Cuba by referring to it as a “workers state” rather than as a “socialist country.”

The charge that we are anti-Soviet is falsely deduced from the fact that we are opposed to the bureaucratic misrulers in the Kremlin. But that doesn't make us “anti-Soviet” any more than our equally implacable opposition to the bureaucratic misleaders of the AFL-CIO makes us “anti-union.”

Our view of the Cuban leadership is entirely different. We see them as genuine revolutionaries.

And if calling it a workers state makes us anti-Cuba, then Lenin—who frequently referred to the Soviet Union as a workers state—must have been a “false friend” of the Russian revolution.

Could it be that what really irked Bert was not the *Militant*, but Raúl Castro's speeches? It must make an apologist for Brezhnev and company

uneasy to hear a leader of a workers state denounce bureaucratism. Or assail the “faint-hearts” who would rather accommodate to imperialism than fight it.

Be that as it may, the *Daily World* did finally get to the Peruvian Embassy events. On April 15—ten days after the crisis began—it published an editorial defending Cuba.

It explained that the U.S. blockade has been a major obstacle to Cuban development and it demanded an end to U.S. interference.

The editorial ended on a curiously ambiguous note. It said: “The Cuban government has said that those who want to leave are free to do so. But that is not the real issue. The real issue is the right of nations like Cuba to develop without the destabilization of their economies and without a U.S. government blockade.” (Emphasis added.)

Why is Cuba's open-door policy brushed aside this way? It is, after all, a highly progressive policy that testifies to the revolutionary caliber of the Cuban government. And it is proving a powerful counter to Carter's slander campaign.

Is the *Daily World* touchy about Cuba's open-door emigration policy because it stands in such glaring contrast to the Kremlin's policy? A policy under which the disaffected have great trouble leaving. A policy where political dissidents find themselves in internal exile, or mental hospitals.

Another week later, the *Daily World* had its first news article on the Cuba events. The April 22 issue reported on the demonstration of a million people in Havana.

As of its issue of April 24, that was it. Nineteen days of unrelenting slander against Cuba and it warranted a single editorial response and one lonely article in a daily paper that calls itself “communist.”

“False friends” of Cuba? The *Daily World* would do well to remember the adage about people who live in glass houses.

—Harry Ring

As I see it

bottom of the front page: “Cubans rally behind their government. Page 5.”

I turned to page five. No Cuba story.

Well, an easy typographical error. Must be on another page. I looked carefully through the issue. No story.

Back to page five. It seemed odd. A story occupied the top third of the page and another the bottom third. In the middle, where another story would have fitted nicely, two unrelated cartoons.

Was the story there and then yanked out?

The next day, April 12, there was a story on Cuba. “False friends of Cuban people,” by Erik Bert.

I assumed that indicated he would be going after some false friends of Cuba who had buckled under the intensified imperialist pressure.

I must admit surprise.

Mexican GM strikers need UAW support

By Stu Singer

Thirty-two hundred auto workers at the General Motors assembly plant in Mexico City have been on strike for nearly three months.

The strike is aimed against GM's signing a sweetheart contract with another union to cover a new plant being built in northern Mexico, near Monterrey. The strikers are also demanding a wage hike to help them catch up with the inflation rate of over 20 percent a year.

Workers at the Mexico City plant make about twenty U.S. dollars a day. A union leader there estimates workers at the new plant would make as little as four or five dollars a day with the union the company "bought," as they put it. Auto workers in the U.S. make over seventy dollars a day.

The strike by the Mexico City General Motors Assembly Plant Workers and Employees Union has won support from other unions in Mexico. They have also gotten support from auto workers in Colombia and, reportedly, some aid from the United Auto Workers in the United States.

The UAW could help workers in both countries by actively supporting the Mexican strikers. As long as one group

makes less than a third the pay, everyone's wages will be depressed.

UAW officials have joined the auto companies in blaming Japanese imports for layoffs and plant shutdowns here. But to protect its members the union will have to return to one of its founding principles—solidarity.

Just as the UAW fights to organize non-union plants in right-to-work-for-less states here, it only makes sense to support the struggles of the underpaid workers in Mexico.

The wage rates of U.S. auto workers were won by the union over decades of struggle. The only way to preserve those gains is to extend them.

Statements of support to the Mexican auto strike should be sent to: Sindicato de Obreros y Empleados de la Planta de Montaje de General Motors de México, c/o Lago Pátzcuaro #100, México D.F., México.

The following article was translated by Joanne Murphy from the May 5 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. The PM article is excerpted from a longer one in the March 17 Mexico City weekly *Bandera Socialista*, published by the Revolutionary Workers Party, the Mexican section of the Fourth International.



Bandera Socialista

Solidarity meeting for GM strikers. Banner is from electrical workers.

By Antonio Soto

MEXICO CITY—Midnight March 8 marked the end of the first month that the workers at the General Motors assembly plant have been on strike. Morale is still high, as the regular attendance on the picket line shows.

The duration of the strike makes it clear that this is not just an ordinary economic struggle.

The company clearly intends to weaken the union by an illegal maneuver in violation of the contract. Last year, GM Mexico signed a collective bargaining agreement with one Association of Industrial and Commercial Employees of Coahuila, affiliated with the Mexican Workers Confederation (CTM). The contract will cover people who will work at the plant being built in Ramos Arizpe, Coahuila [an industrial center near Saltillo, the capital of that northern Mexican state].

The new plant will not go into oper-

ation until 1981. In other words, a collective bargaining agreement has been signed with a union that does not represent a single worker involved in auto production for GM.

The Federal Labor Law has been violated in this case. The company is buying "protection."

The contract with the GM Assembly Plant Union has also been violated, since in that contract the company recognized that union will have bargaining rights in all new GM plants.

Company maneuver

The company maneuver is transparent: More than 6,000 workers will be employed at the new plant. If the GM Assembly Plant Union does not have bargaining rights at the new plant, the company will lay off workers at the plant here and subject workers at the new plant to superexploitation as it does in Toluca.

In that plant, an undemocratically

imposed union has the bargaining rights. The company is trying to prevent a combative union from winning the right to bargain at Ramos Arizpe.

International competition

In the case of the GM engine factory in Toluca, production is aimed not only at supplying the Mexican market; the plant also sends motors to the South of the United States. Since the machinery in Mexican plants is deliberately kept at a lower technological level than that in the U.S., the only way of producing engines for export at competitive prices is to impose superexploitation on the workers. This is what is at stake at the new plant in Ramos Arizpe.

We can take a look at the new trends in the automobile industry to confirm this. Volkswagen of Mexico decided that it would be cheaper to produce its sedan model in Mexico and export it to Europe rather than produce it in Germany. The reason is very simple: wages in Mexico are much lower than in Germany.

The point is that the imperialist

companies are trying to pit the workers of the semicolonial countries—earning low wages and working with backward equipment—against the workers of the advanced capitalist countries, with higher wages and advanced technology.

Thus, they attempt to get American, German, and other workers to lower their wage demands under threat of losing their jobs altogether, while at the same time, they try to impose speedup on the workers of the semicolonial countries—Mexicans, Brazilians, etc.

For these reasons, in the new plant now under construction, GM needs to deal with a safe and docile union, like the union which has the bargaining rights in Toluca.

All that we have said has one objective: to underline the importance that the strike at GM has for the entire Mexican working class. A victory of the GM assembly plant workers would mean a big step forward for the whole working class.

Canadian women victimized by aerospace firms

By Janice Lynn

Three Quebec women who have gathered impressive union support for winning back their jobs at Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Ltd. have now been laid off from their new jobs as well.*

This is a further attack against the right of women in Quebec and English Canada to hold industrial jobs.

On April 11, Suzanne Chabot and Wendy Stevenson, employed at Canadair for the last two months, were laid off for "administrative reasons." The same day, Katy LeRougetel, the only woman working in the machine shop at Canadian Marconi, was laid off due to a "work shortage."

Despite the employers' excuses, these layoffs are clearly linked to the sexist firings at Pratt & Whitney. Canada's federal government has announced a contract for construction of an F-18 fighter jet that would result in increased hiring at both Canadair and Canadian Marconi. In fact, job offers for machinists at Canadair recently appeared in the newspapers.

In response to these latest attacks the Committee to Defend the Three Women Fired From Pratt & Whitney called an emergency news conference April 15. Speaking along with the



Militant/Stu Singer

From left: Katy LeRougetel, Wendy Stevenson, and Suzanne Chabot

three women were Claude Vincent, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 510 at Pratt & Whitney, and Grant Hargrave, a UAW Local 510 member.

Hargrave revealed that Pratt's director of industrial relations had mentioned the case at an April 2 information session for new employees. In

answering a question about why the three women had been laid off, while the company had been hiring other workers, this Pratt official said that "the three girls" were a "threat to industrial relations."

Chabot, Stevenson, and LeRougetel are members of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), Canadian co-

thinkers of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. They were well-known to their Pratt & Whitney co-workers as feminists and as political and trade-union activists.

UAW Local 510 has filed a complaint with the Quebec Human Rights Commission challenging the Pratt layoffs as discriminatory. At its April 13 union meeting, Local 510 voted to send protest letters to Canadair, Canadian Marconi, and the federal government regarding the latest firings, as well.

In a further victimization of union activists, Pratt recently fired a Local 510 union delegate for pointing out to workers how the company was trying to shirk its responsibility for safety in the plant. The local is circulating a petition protesting this victimization.

Lodge 712 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Canadair voted unanimously April 16 to support the right of the three to get back their jobs at Pratt & Whitney.

Other new support for the three women has come from several New Democratic Party (NDP) Members of Parliament (the NDP is Canada's labor party); the executive committee of Montreal's blue collar city workers; the Ontario NDP women's committee; and numerous other union officials and activists.

*See February 22 *Militant* for background on the Pratt & Whitney case.

Commoner-Harris seek liberal backing

Citizens Party: challenge to corporate rule?

By Fred Feldman

The Citizens Party held its founding convention in Cleveland April 11-13, with some 500 people attending.

The main business of the convention was to ratify the nomination of Barry Commoner for president. Commoner is an environmental scientist and author who is prominent in the antinuclear movement.

La Donna Harris was nominated for vice-president. A Comanche Indian, Harris was a leading figure in the 1976 campaign of her husband, Fred Harris, for the Democratic presidential nomination. Fred Harris, former U.S. senator from Oklahoma, is also supporting the Citizens Party.

Commoner summed up the sentiments that his campaign is trying to appeal to in his speech accepting the nomination: "We must break the grip of the corporations and return the power in this country to the people who live in it. We must unify the people of this country to solve the problem of control."

The Citizens Party claims 4,000 members. Its main base is a layer of people—teachers, college professors, lawyers, social workers, "community organizers," administrators of government social programs, and others—many of whom have been active in Democratic Party politics. But they are disappointed in the Carter administration and dismayed by the prospect of a Carter-Reagan choice in November.

Local candidates are being fielded in some states, but as Commoner put it April 12, "On the question of Democrats whose positions are similar to that of the Citizens Party, I can assure you we are not going to run against any of them. We are interested in getting good people into Congress, not out of it."

Among the longtime Democratic Party activists who played a role at the convention was Don Rose. Rose was the organizer of Jane Byrne's 1979 campaign for mayor of Chicago.

Byrne's victory was hailed in reform Democratic circles as an example of "insurgent populism" in the Democratic Party. But the cheering died down when Byrne engineered the firing of more than 1,000 teachers, canceled a cost-of-living increase due to transit workers, and tried to smash the fire fighters union.

No balance sheet was drawn by the Citizens Party on the lessons of this disaster. Nor was it clear whether Byrne represents the sort of "good Democrat" that Commoner indicated the Citizens Party would not oppose.

Program

According to a report by Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway in the April 21 *Village Voice*, La Donna Harris "was encouraged to go into the Citizens Party by Jim Abourezk, the former Democratic senator from South Dakota. . . . Abourezk is also a Kennedy supporter. The general hope is that if the Massachusetts senator



Barry Commoner and La Donna Harris, presidential ticket of Citizens Party.

goes down . . . then his supporters will shift over to the new party."

The middle-class base of the Citizens Party and its orientation to procapitalist liberals shaped the program on which Commoner and Harris are running.

"There is nothing wrong with profit, or with private ownership," an early program statement declared. The aim is to correct "the faults of capitalism," as Commoner put it in his *In These Times* interview.

How, then, does the Citizens Party propose in practice to challenge corporate power and solve the most pressing problems of working people?

Wage-price freeze: Candidate Commoner favors a wage-price freeze. "I think that is a temporary bandaid," he told *In These Times* correspondents John Judis and David Moberg.

This position is reactionary and antilabor to the core.

Whether in the form of Carter's "guidelines," Kennedy's "controls," or Commoner's freeze, such wage-price restrictions are no band-aid. They are a bludgeon in the hands of the government and employers. A capitalist government cannot and will not hold down prices; it invariably uses the facade of controls to justify keeping wage increases well behind inflation rates.

There is no support in Commoner's program to the labor movement's demand for escalator clauses for all wages and pensions.

The Citizen's Party platform actually calls for "controls" on prices,

utility rates, and profits—rejecting a freeze or rollback. When a freeze on utility prices was proposed in the convention workshop on energy, a utility company executive rose to protest that this would put his firm out of business. The workshop then voted down the proposal.

Compete with GM?

'Worker ownership': The party stresses the proposal that the government help workers or unions buy plants that are threatened with shut-downs.

Speaking of the auto industry, Commoner declared in his acceptance speech: "We say that instead of making loans to Chrysler, the government should provide the workers or the union with the money to buy it. And what's more, we say they can be more competitive than General Motors, and even drive them out of business."

Why should workers have to pay off the billionaires for plants that were built by working people in the first place? Why should these plants continue to be governed by the capitalist profit drive, which would require unions (as "owners") to impose wage cuts, speedup, and unsafe working conditions on themselves in order to compete?

The Citizens Party's attempt to salvage some form of *private* ownership of industry, when the need for *social* ownership is clearer every day, is a reactionary dead end.

Slash energy consumption: Commoner calls for gasoline rationing to reduce consumption by 20 percent. And he asks import quotas to reduce dependence on foreign oil.

In this way, the Citizens Party echoes Democratic and Republican demands that working people sacrifice their living standards to help overcome the difficulties capitalism is facing. The pretexts are the same: that we are running out of oil, and that dependence on Arab oil is a danger to U.S. security.

Nuclear power: Commoner favors a moratorium on the construction of new nuclear power plants and the "phaseout" of existing nuclear installations. This parallels the position taken by Brown, Kennedy, and, most recently, Anderson.

Why does Commoner reject shutting down nukes now? One reason is that solar power and other renewable re-

sources he supports are insufficiently developed to pick up the slack.

The Citizens Party program and candidates don't advocate using coal as an immediate alternative.

So the deadly power plants would keep operating, endangering millions of lives, after President Commoner took office.

Condemns Iran and USSR

Foreign Policy: The Citizens Party convention took a stand against the draft. But the platform voted on there accepts the basic premises used to justify the militarization drive. It condemned Iran for taking American hostages (while voicing sympathy for the demand that the shah be brought to justice) and the Soviet Union for sending troops to fight right-wing CIA-backed guerrillas in Afghanistan.

Consistent with this stand, the Citizens Party calls only for a "significant reduction" in arms spending—reminiscent of Carter's campaign promises in 1976.

This program does not represent an alternative to the Republican and Democratic parties.

The stream of anticorporate declarations from the Citizens Party conceals its failure to ask the basic question: What social force can drive the corporations out of power? How can that force be organized and mobilized?

Class society

Like the Democrats and Republicans, the Citizens Party claims to represent "the people."

But "the people" are divided into classes with opposed interests. One class, the capitalists, owns the big corporations.

The other decisive social force is the working class. Its potential power stems from the fact that it operates the factories, mines, communications, and transportation systems without which no modern economy can function.

It is working people who most directly face the employers' attacks at home and abroad—unemployment, inflation, cutbacks in public services, racist and sexist discrimination, the dangers of nuclear power, and the threat of war.

Only the working class has the power and self-interest to lead a struggle to abolish these evils and reorganize the economy to serve human needs rather than profits.

That's why it takes a party of working people to challenge capitalist rule.

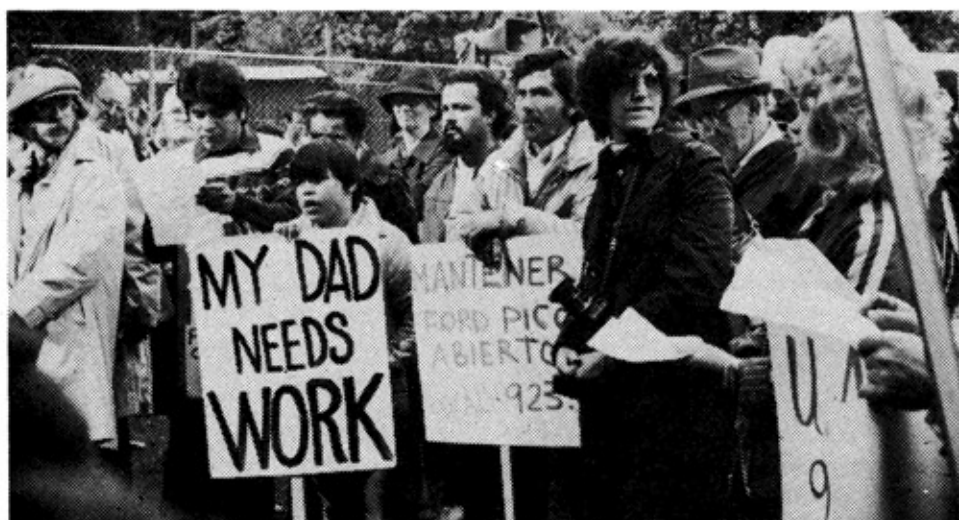
The American working class is organized into powerful unions, 22 million members strong. They can and should take the lead in forging a labor party to unite and mobilize union members, the unemployed, the unorganized, Blacks, women, and all oppressed people.

Discussions are growing today in the unions about the need for a labor party. Such discussions, while just beginning, point toward a genuine alternative to the capitalist monopoly of American politics.

The Citizens Party points in the opposite direction. Its middle-class base cannot lead a consistent fight against corporate dominance. And the top leadership has its eyes fixed on the goal of winning over procapitalist liberals in the Democratic Party.

For those looking for a real challenge to capitalist misrule, the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann represents a realistic alternative. For this party's face is turned not to liberal critics of the Carter administration, but to the millions of oppressed and exploited who represent the future.

And the theme of their campaign is the next big step forward for American working people: the formation of a labor party, based on the powerful union movement.



Auto workers and families protest plant shutdown in California. Commoner proposal that unions buy plants and run them on capitalist basis offers no answer to layoffs.

Ballot drives advance

Socialist campaigners hit U.S. war moves

Arizona

By Dan Fein
and Jill Fein

PHOENIX—The Socialist Workers Party filed suit April 22 in U.S. District Court here against a newly imposed election law aimed at keeping the SWP and other smaller parties off the November ballot.

The new law was passed last summer by the Arizona state legislature. It requires the SWP to petition twice to gain ballot status.

The first petition signatures required are those of 10,800 voters in the state. Then, in addition, 283 SWP members in the state must sign nominating petitions to put the electors for the presidential ticket on the ballot. This second requirement is the target of the SWP's suit.

Over the last few weeks, socialist campaigners have collected 16,000 signatures to put the socialist presidential ticket on the November ballot. This is well over the first state requirement.

The socialists charge that the state's new demand for signatures of 283 registered SWP members is unconstitutional.

Rob Roper, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress from Arizona's District 1, explained: "This requirement is designed to be impossible for the SWP to meet. Fewer than 100 people in the state are registered as being affiliated with the SWP. Undemocratic election practices—like the very law we're challenging—have meant that people are not as familiar with our party as they are with the Democratic and Republican candidates.

"Some people's knowledge of the government's campaign of harassment against the SWP and other socialists might also make them reluctant to register their names with the state as SWP supporters.

"But even if we did have that many registered supporters in the state," said Roper, "there's a Catch-22. While the Democrats and Republicans are furnished with a list of all the registered supporters of their parties, my party is denied this information.

"Then," Roper continued, "the state requires the Democrats and Republicans to file signatures equaling a certain percentage of their membership. The demand that the SWP file a fixed number of signatures, without taking into account our membership, is clearly a move to try to bar us from the ballot."

At the news conference held in front of the federal building as the suit was filed, SWP attorney Diane Post said, "If this law is not found unconstitutional, not only will the rights of the SWP be denied, but the rights of 16,000 voters in Arizona who signed the petitions to place the party on the ballot will also be denied."

The *Phoenix Gazette*, the *Arizona Republic*, the *Mesa Tribune*, the *Tempe Daily News*, and the local CBS television affiliate all carried news stories announcing the suit.

Two days after the suit was filed, Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley came to Phoenix.

Some 250 students at West High School heard Pulley speak against the draft and on other issues.

Late that night, Pulley, along with other Americans, heard the news about the attempted United States raid on Iran. At a news conference the next day Pulley denounced Carter's aggression. The April 25 *Phoenix Gazette* article on the press conference was headlined "Socialist Blasts Carter on Raid."

The article read, "President Carter's aborted raid on Iran was 'reckless, and the blood of the eight American soldiers killed [is] on his hands,' Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presi-



Martha Pettit, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri, petitions in downtown Kansas City.

dential candidate, said in Phoenix today. Pulley told a news conference the United States should 'apologize for its criminal past in Iran and do everything it can do to get the shah back to Iran.'"

Pulley was also broadcast live on the local all-news radio station protesting U.S. war moves against Iran.

On April 27, Pulley spoke at a campaign rally at the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters in Phoenix. Several steelworkers came to hear a "union brother" who is running for president. The rally raised over \$950 for the socialist campaign.

Colorado

By Jim Altenberg

DENVER—"A presidential candidate was in town today. Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, is calling for shutting down nuclear plants, stopping the draft, and nationalizing the energy corporations."

This is how a Denver television station described the socialist campaign as it broadcast scenes from an April 8 campaign rally featuring Andrew Pulley. The rally drew rail workers, communications workers, antinuclear activists, and others. Over \$2,000 was pledged to the socialist campaign.

Campaigning outside the Burlington Northern roundhouse while in Denver, Pulley got a friendly reception from the laborers and carmen gathered for their coffee break. But not from management. Special agents (railroad cops) were called in to escort the socialist campaign team off the premises.

Fortunately, the special agents were delayed by a coal train moving through the yard. Before leaving the area, Pulley was able to speak to a number of rail workers and was interviewed by two television stations.

The story of this incident got around to BN employees in other departments. One clerk said he didn't think throwing Pulley out was right. "If it had been Carter or Reagan, they wouldn't have been thrown out," he said. "Of course, if Carter or Reagan came, they would probably meet with the officials, not the workers."

Pulley also addressed 250 people on "Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, and the U.S. War Drive" in Boulder, Colorado, on April 7. The event was sponsored by the World Affairs Conference of the University of Colorado.

On April 19, Colorado socialists launched a campaign to collect well over 5,000 signatures to put the socialist candidates on the ballot. The petition drive was kicked off at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant protest that day, which attracted thousands of demonstrators.

At the demonstration, socialist petitioners met two people who had recently moved to Colorado from the Chicago-Gary area. As he signed the

petition, one of them explained that he remembered Pulley's campaign for mayor of Chicago. His friend said that he had worked with Pulley at a steel mill in the Chicago-Gary area.

Many of the protesters were glad to sign petitions for a party that supported the demands of the demonstration to close the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant and convert it to non-nuclear production.

Petitioning has continued at shopping areas, construction sites, and street corners throughout Denver. "If he's a brother he must be all right," said one man, who then added, "If he's a socialist worker and sticks with the unions then I'd be glad to sign."

One young woman was approached by a petitioner and asked to help put Pulley and Zimmermann on the ballot in Colorado. "A woman running for vice-president?" she said. "That's what we need."

Colorado socialists have so far collected almost 2,000 signatures.

Missouri

By Bruce Lesnick
and Susie Berman

When the powers-that-be wrote the law requiring third parties and independent candidates in Missouri to collect a minimum of 18,000 signatures just to qualify for the ballot, they surely never expected that the petitioning itself would serve as a magnet and inspiration to those who are fed up with the two big-business parties.

But two weeks into the drive to get the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in Missouri, this is exactly what has happened. So far, 15,900 people statewide have signed petitions to put the SWP on the ballot.

Kansas City petitioners met a Black truck driver who had heard about Andrew Pulley when the SWP presidential candidate was on tour there recently. "I'll be glad to help get Pulley on the ballot," he said. It turned out the truck driver had recently returned from a trip to Cuba.

At an informal gathering in Kansas City to meet SWP senatorial candidate Martha Pettit, two people who had heard about the event from petitioners decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

One socialist petitioner was taken aback by the response he got from an elderly woman. After reading the petition, she grabbed the pen out of the campaign worker's hand and shouted to her friends, "Mabel, come here quick. There are some socialists running for office."

Five or six people gathered around, all wanting to sign. Mabel said, "This is wonderful. Finally we have someone to represent poor people. I'm sick of inflation. I'm sick of the hardship. We need a change."

Eighteen thousand auto workers in the St. Louis area are laid off. "People are really angry about the shutdowns," petitioner Chuck Petrin explained.

"They know General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler keep saying that things will get better. But it's just a pack of lies. They're not just shutting down and laying off in Missouri, it's happening to auto workers all over the country.

"I explain that the socialist candidates are campaigning for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay so that everyone can have a job," said Petrin. "And that we are opposed to them shutting down any of these plants and throwing people out into the streets. If Chrysler, Ford, or GM can't run these plants, they should be nationalized. Many people eagerly sign our petitions when they hear the socialist answer to the auto crisis."

In addition to the presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the Missouri SWP is running St. Louis steelworker Martin Anderson for governor, and Martha Pettit, a Kansas City auto worker, for U.S. Senate.

On May 4, the Texas Socialist Workers Party will begin a massive drive to collect well over 23,700 signatures to place the Socialist Workers candidates on the November ballot. Campaign supporters from San Antonio, Austin, Dallas, and Houston will kick off the petitioning with a rally in Houston on Saturday, May 3, featuring Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers presidential candidate.

The May 3 campaign rally begins at 7:30 p.m. in the Lafitte Room, University Center Building of the University of Houston.

Your help is urgently needed to successfully complete this major petition effort. If you can help, contact one of the state petitioning centers. In Houston, 806 Elgin Street, #1, phone (713) 524-8761. In Dallas, 5442 E. Grand, phone (214) 826-4711. In San Antonio, 1406 N. Flores Road, phone (512) 222-8398.

Michigan

By Meg Hayes

DETROIT—The second weekend mobilization of socialist petitioners in Michigan came only one day after the American people were informed of the U.S. military aggression in Iran.

We found many people very anxious to sign to put an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans on the ballot and to find out what the socialist candidates stand for.

Many people were confused and upset at the bungled "rescue" that threatened the hostages' lives and resulted in the deaths of eight American troops.

Remarks such as "Anything is better than what we have now," and "After that mess Carter got us into, I'm willing to listen to other ideas" were heard throughout the day.

More than 5,000 signatures were collected during the second week of the drive to put the Socialist Workers Party on the Michigan primary ballot. This brings the total collected so far to 19,000. Michigan socialists plan to continue petitioning to go well over the state requirement of 18,000 signatures.

As the final petitioning is completed, Michigan socialists are preparing to move into the next stage of our campaign for ballot status: the fight to overturn Public Act 94, the undemocratic Michigan election law which effectively bars smaller parties from the general election ballot.

N.J. explosion: 'organized crime'

By Caroline Lund

NEWARK—Residents of Elizabeth, N.J., lived through a terrifying night on April 21. Exploding drums of chemical wastes at a dump site generated a huge fire that burned out of control all night. The blaze threw up a thick cloud of noxious fumes. Fireballs and exploding drums of chemicals were sent rocketing into the sky.

"It reminded me of World War II," commented John Indyk, who lives near the chemical dump site where the fire started.

Thirty-four fire fighters were overcome by the poisonous smoke. The entire Elizabeth fire force of 225 fought the blaze, which was not totally put out for two full days.

On the third day after the explosion the city's health department received calls from thirty residents complaining of nausea and other ailments.

As the smoke cleared over Elizabeth, the chilling truth began to come out: the chemical inferno that erupted in Elizabeth could have been much worse, and the conditions that created it exist in countless cities across the country.

According to an official of the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the dump site that exploded in Elizabeth, owned by the Chemical Control Corporation, "is so far from unique it's ridiculous."

Every day, said EPA official Eckardt Beck, "one horror after another" is discovered in some area of the country, from abandoned poisonous waste dump sites to chemical contamination of water supplies, explosions, and fires.

Thousands of time bombs

The EPA estimates that 30,000 to 50,000 chemical disposal sites exist around the country and that 1,200 to 2,000 of them could be extremely dangerous. The agency fears that 90 percent of industrial wastes are presently being disposed of in ways that threaten the environment and human lives.

The enormous dangers inherent in this situation were dramatically revealed in 1978 when more than 200 families were evacuated from their homes in the Love Canal area of Niagara Falls, N.Y. The leakage of chemicals dumped in the area caused birth defects, cancer, and many other ailments.

In Elizabeth, the bankrupt Chemical Control Corporation had claimed that it couldn't pay the costs of disposing of the 40,000 corroding drums of noxious chemicals it had accumulated on its dump site. So the state obligingly agreed to take over the clean-up.

Over the past year the state moved at a snail's pace to remove about 2,000 drums containing the most dangerous substances (explosives such as nitroglycerin and radioactive materials).

If the fire had broken out one year earlier with those substances present, "the blaze could have turned into a holocaust," said an official of the state Department of Environmental Protection. It could have resulted in poisonous air pollution forcing evacuation of up to a million people in North Jersey, Staten Island, and lower Manhattan.

The chemical and petroleum industries are together the largest and most powerful segment of the New Jersey economy. Thanks to industry pressure, the dumping of toxic wastes was legal in this state until February 1980.

No profit in safety

Edwin Stier, director of the state Criminal Justice Division, tried to explain to reporters the state's difficulties in "regulating" the chemical waste disposal industry: "It's difficult to dispose of these chemical wastes easily," he said, "so prices go up, to take in the cost of legitimate treatment plant disposal. But if they [the waste disposal



Fireball rises from Jersey waste dump carrying deadly chemicals into atmosphere.

'The blaze could have turned into a holocaust' forcing evacuation of a million people.

companies] dump the stuff in a sewer, there's no overhead, and profits go up significantly."

The president of the Chemical Control Corporation had been convicted of doing just that back in 1978. He found a waste "disposal" method that was very easy on his pocketbook: he siphoned off chemical wastes from the drums at the dump site in Elizabeth into a tanker truck, and then simply drained them into a hole on a major street in Newark.

New York Assistant Attorney General John Fine from the state's organized crime task force has charged that "racketeering elements" are in control of the toxic waste disposal industry throughout the country.

He told a New York legislative subcommittee last month that "the profits are so vast that public officials are commonly corrupted while the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has adopted an attitude of indifference," according to a summary account by Herb Jaffe in the April 27 Newark *Star-Ledger*.

Elizabeth residents pointed to another possible reason for the explosion that engulfed their neighborhood.

"I'll tell you what I think," said Stanley Liana, who lives several blocks from the Control Chemical Corporation dumpsite. "I think they didn't know what to do with these chemicals. They couldn't get rid of the stuff, so they blew it up."

Rev. Joseph Harmon, speaking for a coalition of social and church organizations in Elizabeth, told the City Council April 22 that he thought the Chemical Control Corporation dump would have been cleaned up much faster if it had been situated in a wealthier neighborhood.

"In Elizabethport [the neighborhood where the dumpsite is located] the only thing threatened is low-income housing and high concentrations of poor people, mostly Black and Hispanic," he stated.

Socialist campaign

Chris Hildebrand, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New Jersey's 10th district, ridiculed the attempt by government officials to put the blame for the chemical waste time bombs onto "organized crime."

"Actually," she told the *Militant*, "this problem shows how the capitalist

profit system itself legalizes 'organized crime' by the chemical industry against the people of this country."

Hildebrand pointed to the various bills in Congress to provide a "superfund" for toxic waste clean-up. "These bills have been stalled in Congress for nearly a year by legislators who do the bidding of the chemical and petroleum industries," she said.

"And even these bills are completely unjust," she continued, "since they would force taxpayers to foot the bill for 25 to 50 percent of the cost of the 'superfund,' with the industries who are responsible for the problem paying only the remainder."

Dr. Glenn Paulson, a former assistant commissioner of the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection, has called the "superfund" proposal "a tourniquet for a critically injured patient." The fund would cover only clean-up of emergencies, not day-to-day clean-up.

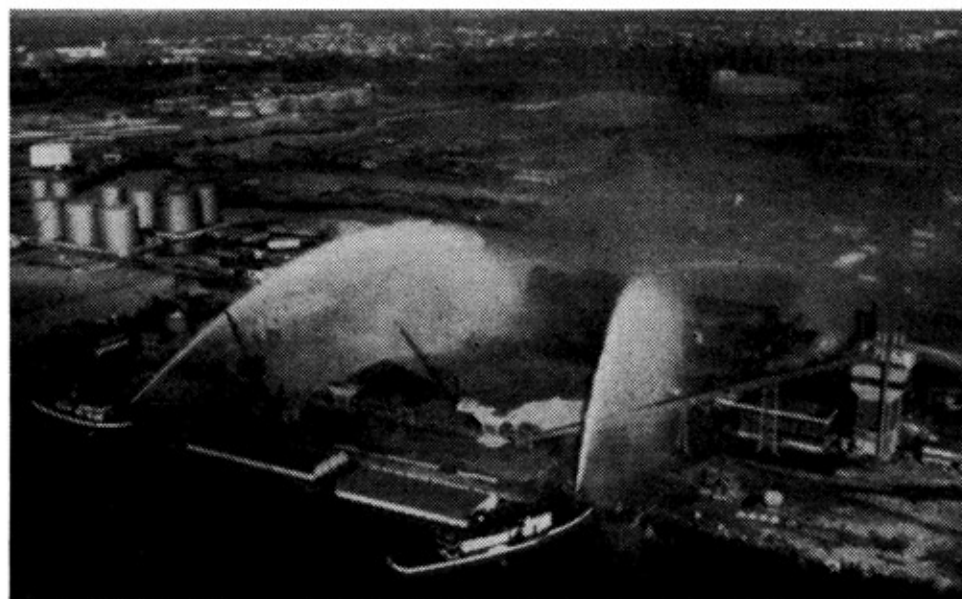
Paulson says that explosive dumps like the Control Chemical Corporation "will become more and more common" because illegal dumping "is a fast way to make a lot of money" and the laws aren't stiff enough to prevent it.

Explosive waste dump sites are not the only danger to New Jersey residents produced by the profit system. This highly industrialized state leads the nation in its cancer rate, which is boosted by all sorts of industrial pollution.

Cancer epidemic

State Senator John Skevin, who is chairman of a Senate Commission on the High Incidence of Cancer, issued a report last January admitting that dramatic steps must be taken to deal with this threat: "The simple fact is that the only way we are going to successfully fight against chemicals that are poisoning our underground water supplies is by banning them completely, or at the very least declaring a moratorium on their use in New Jersey until successful disposal methods have been designed," stated Skevin.

Hildebrand of the SWP proposes that "the real solution to the 'organized crime' of toxic waste dumping and pollution is nationalization of the chemical and oil industries. They should be operated under the control of the oil and chemical workers, with the policies of the industries determined not by profiteers but by an elected board responsible to the people of the state."



Fireboats hosing down site. Chemicals washed in to nearby waterways.

By Ernest Harsch

In 1890, an armed detachment of white settlers led by Cecil John Rhodes invaded Zimbabwe to conquer it for the British empire. For the subsequent ninety years, the British colonialists and their white settler allies plundered the country—which was renamed “Rhodesia”—exploited its indigenous African inhabitants, and imposed a brutal system of racist oppression over the Black majority.

At midnight on April 17, 1980, the British flag was hauled down for the last time in Salisbury. A few minutes later, as tens of thousands of Blacks cheered at Rufaro Stadium and millions watched on television, the new green, yellow, black, and red banner of an independent Zimbabwe was unfurled.

For the Zimbabwean masses, that ceremony symbolized an historic victory. With it, they have taken a major step toward regaining control of their country.

It was a victory, too, for all of Africa. Like the attainment of independence by the former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau in 1974-75, the emergence of an independent Zimbabwe under Black majority rule will inspire the oppressed and exploited across the continent.

Its political repercussions will be felt most immediately in neighboring South Africa and in the South African colony of Namibia, where millions of Blacks are still fighting against white minority rule.

Arduous struggle

The proclamation of an independent Zimbabwe on April 18 was not a British gift. It was a Black conquest, wrested out of the hands of the imperialists and Rhodesian settlers through an arduous and costly struggle.

That struggle has been a long one, dating back to the mass-based *chimurenga* (liberation war) of the 1890s. It resurfaced on a mass scale during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s with a series of militant strikes and large demonstrations and with the emergence of the first major African nationalist groups, especially the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

Because of the terrorist repression and political intransigence of the Rhodesian settler community—which administered the country with London's approval—Blacks were forced to take up arms to defend their struggle. During the mid-1960s, both ZANU and ZAPU launched their first armed actions against the Ian Smith regime.

Smith had proclaimed Rhodesia's “independence” from London in 1965, but in reality his settler regime remained a colonial outpost of Britain—and increasingly of the white South African ruling class, which invested heavily in the Rhodesian economy and sent thousands of paramilitary police to help Smith suppress the guerrilla insurgency.

After some initial setbacks, the mass movement revived. Beginning in late 1971, Blacks demonstrated and went on strike throughout the country in opposition to attempts by the British government to accord the Smith regime legal independence and recognition. This upsurge provided a basis for the resumption of armed insurgency the following year by ZANU, and later by ZAPU as well. In 1976, these two groups allied to form the Patriotic Front.

Mass support

The “boys”—as the ZANU and ZAPU fighters were popularly known by Blacks—soon acquired mass support in the countryside. They held innumerable rallies and meetings in villages, farms, and African reserves to explain the goals of the struggle. They spoke about the need to overthrow the white racist regime, regain the land that had been stolen from Blacks, and improve the social and economic conditions of the mass of the population.

Tens of thousands of youths flocked to the nationalist movements.

By the end of 1979, ZANU and ZAPU had established their predominant influence in much of the countryside, particularly in eastern Zimbabwe where ZANU was most active. The Rhodesian forces, however, were still in a strong position.

Despite the imposition of martial law over most of the country; despite the acquisition of sophisticated armaments from South Africa, France, the United States, Britain, and other imperialist countries; and despite the appointment of some former Black nationalist leaders like Bishop Abel Muzorewa to the government, the Smith regime proved incapable of containing this upsurge.

Imperialist maneuvers

The major imperialist powers—in an attempt to derail the freedom struggle and protect their long-term interests in southern Africa—stepped in to try to install an acquiescent Black regime that would safeguard imperialist interests and keep the masses under rein.

The long road to Zimbabwe independence



Zimbabwean freedom fighters (top) greeted by their supporters in Salisbury. ZANU leader Robert Mugabe, now prime minister.

To that end, negotiations were held in London in late 1979, while the military and political campaign against the Patriotic Front stepped up. Rhodesian planes bombed Zimbabwean camps in neighboring countries. South Africa increased its aid to Smith and Muzorewa. Some of the African regimes backing the front “advised” it to compromise.

Under these pressures, the leaders of the front made some concessions at the talks, including promises to “guarantee” continued white privileges in certain fields. ZANU and ZAPU leaders publicly acknowledged that the London accord was unsatisfactory, but maintained that they had little choice but to go along with it for the time being, given the relationship of forces.

If London and its allies in Washington had thought that they could use the accord to demobilize the Zimbabwean population, they were sorely mistaken.

Taking advantage of the legalization of ZANU and ZAPU, hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans poured into the streets of Salisbury, Bulawayo, Fort Victoria, Sinoia, and many other towns to demonstrate their support for the main nationalist groups and their opposition to Muzorewa and other openly proimperialist Black figures. When ZANU leader Robert Mugabe returned to Zimbabwe on January 27, 1980, after several years of exile, he was greeted by a crowd of 200,000 Blacks, one of the largest political rallies ever held in the country.

February elections

The British colonialists—who had taken over formal administration from the Smith regime—were alarmed at these outpourings. They did everything they could to prevent the strongest of the liberation groups—ZANU—from winning the elections that were held in February.

The Rhodesian military continued to harass and intimidate the population—with the tacit approval of Lord Soames, the British governor. Some 25,000 Black “auxiliary” troops loyal to Muzorewa terro-

rized Blacks to vote for Muzorewa, while South African and other imperialist interests poured nearly \$30 million into Muzorewa's election campaign. The hundreds of thousands of Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique and Zambia—who overwhelmingly supported the Patriotic Front—were not allowed to return in time for the elections. At least two attempts were made to assassinate Mugabe.

When Black voters finally got to the polling stations, however, they cast their ballots overwhelmingly for the parties of the Patriotic Front: ZANU got 63 percent of the 2.7 million votes, and ZAPU got 24 percent. Mugabe—whose election the imperialists had tried to stop—became prime minister designate. Massive street celebrations swept the Black townships.

The large vote for ZANU and the big mobilizations greatly strengthened the Zimbabwean masses in their struggle for political and social liberation. But they were still in a precarious position. British and South African troops remained in the country for the moment, and sectors of the Rhodesian military hinted at a coup against Mugabe. The apartheid regime in South Africa warned of a possible invasion.

Mugabe regime

Facing this situation, Mugabe has sought to present a “moderate” image. He denied that there would be any immediate nationalizations, appointed a white landowner and a former official under the Smith regime to his cabinet, and retained Gen. Peter Walls, the Rhodesian military commander, in his post.

At the same time, however, the new regime also faces very high expectations for social change among the Zimbabwean masses. Reflecting this pressure, Mugabe said in an interview in the April issue of the London monthly *Africa*, “It is the status quo that we fought against and we must be seen to be overthrowing it.”

He pledged to rapidly rebuild the many schools that had been destroyed during the war, improve medical and social services, and institute rapid promotions of Blacks in the civil service and in the officer corps of the new army that is to be set up through a merger of the guerrilla forces and units of the Rhodesian military.

“The position of the worker is paramount,” Mugabe said, “his conditions of work must be redefined and a minimum wage must be set.” Nonetheless, ZANU officials have so far sought to convince striking Black workers to return to their jobs, stating that their demands would be dealt with in time.

The Mugabe government has said that no “productive” white-owned farms would be taken over for the time being. But abandoned farms and idle or underutilized land would be quickly distributed to landless peasants and returning refugees.

Lives improved

Even before Zimbabwe had gotten its independence on April 18, the day-to-day lives of millions of Blacks had already improved. The brutal Rhodesian counterinsurgency operations were brought to an end. Martial law was lifted. The 600,000 villagers who had been herded into fenced-in “protected villages” by the Smith regime were free to go home.

Throughout the Zimbabwean freedom struggle, it was the mobilizations of the Black majority that proved decisive. They fueled the insurgency and upset the plans of imperialism. Continued mass mobilization and organization will determine the further advance and direction of the Zimbabwean revolution.

To what extent the new government relies on the masses will be an important test of its capacity to respond to the major problems and obstacles that still confront Zimbabwe.

Much of the countryside was devastated by the years of war. Entire villages were dispersed. Some 750,000 Zimbabweans are listed as “displaced persons.” Unemployment is rising. With the widespread failure of subsistence crops, severe hunger stalks some regions.

White settler and imperialist interests continue to control industry, mining, and the most productive sectors of agriculture. They will attempt to use their strong economic and social position to obstruct and subvert the struggles of the Black masses.

The white-led Rhodesian military forces—though demoralized and weakened—still survive. As long as they do, the danger exists that they will try to overthrow the new regime and protect the economic position of the exploiters.

And to the immediate south lies the apartheid regime, the most heavily armed power on the African continent, poised to strike out with massive military force.

Now more than ever, the Zimbabwean masses need the greatest possible international solidarity.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

By William Gottlieb
(first of a series)

Working people face growing difficulty trying to stay above water in an economy that even business publications describe as more and more out of control.

Inflation is soaring at an annual rate approaching 20 percent, according to government figures. Interest rates have reached levels not seen since the 1830s. Loans, especially mortgages, are increasingly difficult to get at any rate.

Industrial production has been stagnant for more than a year. Unemployment is steadily rising. Some 200,000 auto workers are on indefinite layoff; auto production this spring is scheduled to be the lowest in fifteen years. The housing industry appears to be headed for its worst collapse since World War II. Plant shutdowns have hit workers in steel, rubber, auto, and other basic industries.

The Carter administration has responded with policies to drive interest rates higher, limit wage increases to far below the rate of inflation, balance the federal budget by cutting social spending while military spending is drastically increased, along with higher Social Security taxes and a new ten-cent-a-gallon tax on gasoline.

Politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties point to two outstanding culprits responsible for the economic crisis. One is the excessive demands of working people, especially organized labor. Second is oil price increases by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Justification for sacrifice

If labor's demands are even partially to blame for the terrible economic problems now confronting us, then sacrifice by the unions might make at least some sense. This approach is upheld by AFL-CIO



President Lane Kirkland, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, and all the rest of the top union officials. Thus they endorse the Carter administration's 7.5-9.5 percent wage guideline, even though it guarantees a steady loss of purchasing power for workers. And they support a political party, the Democratic party, that insists on sacrifices by workers as the solution to inflation.

In trying to find the real cause of the economic crisis—and a road out of it for working people—we can start by examining in more detail the analysis put forward by the capitalist press and politicians and accepted by the union leadership and by many workers themselves.

While the exact arguments may vary, they all run about as follows: High wages and low productivity have driven up the cost of production, forcing the corporations to pass along the increases in the form of higher prices. At the same time, energy costs have been driven sky high by OPEC.

We've been living beyond our means. The greatly expanded purchasing power of the working class—the result of higher wages, easy credit, and government deficit spending—alongside the world redistribution of wealth brought on by the increased buying power of OPEC, has led to such an increase in demand that American and world industry simply cannot meet it.

When demand exceeds supply, prices must rise. And there you have today's inflation.

'Supply-side' economics

Therefore, say the Democrats and Republicans, the only way out lies in what has come to be called "supply-side" economics. First, costs must be lowered through wage restraint and tax cuts benefiting corporations and the rich. Taxes should be made less progressive, since the taxing of extra profits only discourages the corporations from investing and increasing supply.

These "supply-side" measures, it should be emphasized, have the support of every Democratic and Republican candidate for president—Kennedy and Anderson no less than Carter and Reagan. Sometimes as a vote-getter they talk about also cutting taxes paid by workers, but at the very same time they support raising other such taxes. Anderson, for example, calls for a fifty-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax.

To finance the "supply-side" tax cuts for business

Inflation myths hide antilabor campaign



Unsold cars

(and the increased war budget), social spending must be slashed. This carries the additional benefit of reducing excessive demand that is driving up prices.

Higher productivity is another "inflation fighting" watchword of the employers and the Democratic and Republican politicians. This means more discipline on the shop floor, fewer rest breaks, speedup of assembly lines, and curbing the right of workers or union stewards to challenge management. In addition, further tax breaks for corporate investment would encourage use of advanced technology, further boosting productivity.

Safety regulations and pollution controls must be relaxed or removed in the interest of cutting production costs and easing inflationary pressures.

Restore capitalism to health?

The combination of these measures, the employers and capitalist politicians claim, would over time restore the capitalist economy to a healthy condition. What with higher productivity, lower production costs, and more incentives to invest, the corporations will supply us with abundant goods at moderate prices. The combination of increased supply and reduced demand—brought on by wage moderation and tight money—will break the back of inflation.

At the cost of a little recession and sacrifice now, the future economic boom will lead to an increase in productive jobs. It might even be possible to restore social services.

Everyone will benefit . . . in the long run.

In the short run, to be sure, the outstanding feature of this bipartisan program is that sacrifices are demanded of workers, the unemployed, and the impoverished, elderly, and disabled who depend on social services—but not of the corporations or banks. On the contrary, they are to get the benefits of lower wages, lower taxes, more authority on the shop floor, and an end to onerous safety and pollution laws. In short, they get higher profits at the expense of working people.

But even if it's somewhat unfair, does the "supply-side" program of the Democrats and Republicans at least correspond to the facts? Will their proposals restore capitalist prosperity?

The answer is no. The "analysis" outlined above—despite its repetition day in and day out by the news media, economists, and politicians—is a fraud on every point. Let's first examine the underlying proposition: that the current inflation is caused by demand exceeding supply.

There have been times in history when demand has exceeded supply, although this has certainly been the exception under capitalism. During World War II there were shortages caused by the needs of the war effort. Industry was operating at full capacity (producing means of destruction, to be sure) and there was virtually no unemployment.

Prices rose then because demand *did* exceed the existing supply of commodities.

Today, in contrast, there are *no shortages* of commodities. On the contrary, production has been stagnant for a year because the corporations *can barely sell* their current production.

Showrooms and lots filled with unsold cars, vast stockpiles of unsold steel, warehouses filled with unsold consumer goods—these are not the signs of short supply or excess demand.

The world is awash with excess crude oil and refinery products. The big problem is that storage facilities are near the bursting point.

So much grain has been produced that the storage and transport systems for it are under severe strain.

The amount of unused industrial capacity is estimated by the government at nearly 16 percent, up from about 13 percent a year ago.

All this is not to say that enough goods are being produced to meet the needs of the people of the world, the vast majority of whom live in dire poverty. But since they have little or no money income, they are hardly a source of excess "effective demand," that is, demand backed up by the ability to pay. And for the capitalists, that's the only kind of demand that counts.

Nor has demand been increasing from working people here at home. To the contrary, our "effective demand" has been falling right along with our dwindling paychecks. Layoffs, restricted credit, and cuts in social spending assure that our "effective demand" will decline even more.

Productivity hoax

The claim that low productivity is the cause of inflation doesn't fit the facts, either. According to the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, from 1960 to 1978 productivity for the overall private business sector rose an average of 2.2 percent a year.

In 1979, the bureau reports, productivity in the private business sector declined slightly—a little less than 1 percent. But in *manufacturing*, productivity *increased* 1.8 percent last year, to an all-time record high. *American industrial workers are more productive than any time in history.*

Much of the current clamor about a slowdown in productivity is based on misrepresenting a normal effect of the onset of recession. At the beginning of a recession, employers typically cut production faster than they lay off workers. But the layoffs come soon enough, and productivity "recovers"!

What the figures show at most is a slowdown in the *rate of increase* of productivity in recent years, and this largely because of the growth of the service sector of the economy (where measurements of productivity are dubious anyway). This can in no way explain the persistence of high inflation over the past decade, let alone the current near-20 percent rate.

In the next article we'll examine the claim that wage increases cause inflation.

Texas socialists gain free speech victory

DALLAS—Bowing to public pressure and embarrassing publicity, the University of Texas administration dropped all charges April 24 against two socialists.

Floyce White, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Chris Horner of the Socialist Workers Party had been arrested on the Arlington campus March 6. They were charged with criminal trespass for campaigning for SWP candidates and selling the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers.

In response to the arrests, a Free Speech Committee of faculty and students was formed. The group set up petitioning tables and gathered hundreds of signatures demanding that the charges be dropped.

In an April 16 editorial, *The Shorthorn*, the campus daily newspaper, stated in part: "Horner and White were right, the university is wrong. . . . Christopher Horner and Floyce White should not have been arrested for practicing the same inalienable right that the *Shorthorn* is using in printing this editorial—freedom of speech. Any infringement on that basic right can't help but open the gates for further erosion of personal freedoms."

The UT Arlington administration's

decision followed several weeks during which public support was expressed for the socialists' First Amendment rights. On March 19, White addressed a student-sponsored debate on the draft. He also took the opportunity to denounce the arrests.

On April 23, the university president and a UT lawyer met with the socialists and with John Albach, an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer representing them. Albach told the university representatives that the

school could be liable to legal action for infringing on civil rights and interfering with a federal election campaign.

The university president and lawyer asked for an hour to think it over. Meanwhile, reporters and TV cameras crowded the corridor outside the president's office, waiting for information.

Albach and the socialists proceeded to the student union, where Albach was scheduled to give a talk on freedom of speech.

Following his speech, the campus administration informed Horner and White that the Regents Rules—regulations under which they were jailed—were being revised. This turn of events was featured by local television news broadcasts and in the major Dallas and Fort Worth dailies.

The Dallas SWP and YSA plan to test the university's new rules by sending *Militant* sales and socialist campaign teams on campus in the coming weeks.

W. Va. socialist office damaged by vandals

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—The campaign headquarters of Tom Moriarty, Socialist Workers candidate for governor, was the target of three right-wing vandal attacks. A death threat was made.

Moriarty's supporters and other supporters of civil liberties are demanding that the mayor take action to apprehend those responsible.

On April 19, when Socialist Workers vice-presidential nominee Matilde Zimmermann was in town for a day of campaigning, a rock was hurled

through the window of the storefront campaign headquarters here.

On April 25, the threat, "Sat. Kill Cong Reds" was sprayed across the other storefront window.

The next day, Saturday, several hours before a news conference called to denounce this vandalism, a rock was thrown through the remaining window. A campaign mailbox was also smashed.

All the acts of vandalism occurred during the night.

An open letter demanding that the

mayor act is being circulated among groups and individuals concerned with the right of a legal political party to participate in the election without violent interference.

Copies of such protests are being made available to the local press.

Responding to the attacks, gubernatorial candidate Moriarty declared, "We will not be intimidated. We will redouble our efforts to take the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party campaign throughout the state, presenting a program in defense of working people in this country and abroad."

...FBI

Continued from back page

attendance at an SWP meeting 14 or 15 years earlier."

In another instance, an SWP member "ceased receiving unemployment compensation as a result of FBI activity."

Another SWP member was evicted from her apartment.

A student non-citizen, married to an SWP member, was deported.

People selling SWP and YSA newspapers in public places were harassed and arrested.

An SWP or YSA member was prevented from speaking at a school.

An SWP member speaking at a public street meeting was arrested.

People were sent into SWP public meetings to create disturbances.

Lists of people interested in an SWP election campaign were turned over to the FBI.

The FBI received informer reports on SWP legal strategy in the suit against the FBI.

As for the nature of the information that the informers provided to the FBI, Breitl explains: "The informants reported constantly on the names, addresses, telephone numbers, places and changes of employment, unemployment, marital or co-habitational status, marital strife, health, travel plans, and personal habits of SWP and YSA members."

What was done with the information? In addition to the crimes and harassment noted earlier, the government has admitted "sending anonymous letters to SWP members, supporters, spouses, and employers."

Poison-pen letters designed to cause loss of jobs and stir up discord!

This is not all. One non-member informer "offered to provide the FBI with SWP-YSA trash and did so." But it was decided not to use this individual as a "trash cover" on a regular basis. The record shows the FBI paid a mere \$45 for the service.

In another case, however, involving a member-informer, trash was handed over to the FBI on a regular basis for a period of years. Breitl quotes an FBI report that regarded this trash as of "considerable value and the informant was given additional compensation . . . for trash retrieval." No monetary amount was noted, but it can be surmised, given the evident stature that this kind of thing has for the FBI, that this informer was one of those who received tens of thousands of dollars.

What the informer files *do not* show is also evident from Breitl's report. They do not show any evidence whatsoever of violence or illegal activity by the SWP.

Breitl even cites the case of an informer "who had consistently been rated reliable by the FBI" reporting that "during the informant's six-year

association with SWP and YSA during the 1970's, neither organization advocated violence or terrorist tactics."

Breitl's report, says Andrew Pulley, "shows beyond any doubt that the role of informers in the SWP and YSA is not a mere information-gathering task, as the government claims."

"Party and YSA policies are not secrets to be ferreted out by spies. Our program and policies are public knowledge, published in our newspapers and magazines, and voiced by candidates for public office."

"The function of FBI spies is provocation. Their job is to help the various police agencies disrupt the SWP and YSA, and injure the organizations and the individual members."

"This police campaign against us must stop, and it must stop now!"

Margaret Winter, an attorney for the SWP and YSA in their suit against the government, called Breitl's report "precedent-setting" for exposing the role of police informers.

"Fighters for social change have always known about the role of police provocateurs in the movement," she said. "But here is dramatic evidence from the police informer files themselves that proves it. This proof will aid all movements for social change to fight against government disruption and harassment."

"Furthermore, Judge Breitl's report is based on the study of only eighteen

files, covering the years 1960-1976. The FBI admits that during those years it had about 300 informers inside the SWP and YSA at one time or another, and an additional 1,000 who spied on the party and YSA from the outside. So the real damage done to the SWP and YSA is many times more than that noted by Breitl."

Breitl concludes his report by saying, "it is evident to me that the files are not fully self-contained, although presumably complete and undeleted or redacted."

What does this mean? I asked Winter. "It means that the items he saw had not been altered—at least in his opinion. But even the files he received do not tell the whole story. The most scandalous information about FBI activity was probably omitted."

"So we assume that Breitl's report, as revealing as it is about the FBI, still understates the damage done to the SWP and YSA."

After he received Breitl's report Judge Griesa said that he now wanted to move ahead to a trial in the next few months.

"That's fine with us," says Andrew Pulley. "We've been fighting for a long time for our rights. We've got the proof against the government. We want satisfaction of our claim. Most of all we want a court order declaring it illegal for the government to continue its spying and disruption against us."

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

SEND BACK THE SHAHI NO MORE VIETNAM! Speakers to be announced. Sat., May 10, 7 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

COLORADO DENVER

WHAT'S BEHIND THE EVENTS IN CUBA. Speakers: Silvia Zapata, Socialist Workers Party candidate

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

GRAND OPENING OF SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS AND SOLIDARITY BOOKSTORE. Tues., May 13, 5:30 p.m. meet the candidates. 6:30 buffet dinner; 7:30 rally. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; Ilona Gersch, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress 8th C.D. 1012 2nd Ave. S., Virginia. Ausp: 1980 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

for U.S. Senate; Harry Nier, attorney. Slide presentation. Sun., May 11, 7 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: 1980 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (303) 534-8330.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN OPEN HOUSE. Meet Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president; Lee Artz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois. Refreshments, music. Sat., May 10, 5 p.m.-midnight (following National ERA March and Rally) 434 S. Wabash #700. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA INDIANAPOLIS

SOUTHERN AFRICA FREEDOM STRUGGLE ON THE RISE. Speakers: Adrianna Koka, South African student; John Lands, Fall Creek YMCA; Kurt Steinmetz, Young Socialist Alliance. Also, film showing: "Dumping Ground." Sat., May 3, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

CELEBRATE SUCCESSFUL BALLOT DRIVE. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; Nelson Gonzalez, SWP candidate for Congress, 6th C.D. Sun., May 11, 5 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Music, refreshments. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY WITH ANDREW PULLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Fri., May 16, 6 p.m. refreshments, 7 p.m. dinner, 8:30 p.m. rally. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$5 dinner; \$4 rally only. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president; others. Sun., May 18, social hour 3 p.m., rally 4 p.m., reception 6 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad Street). Donation: \$3.00. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (201) 624-3889.

OHIO CLEVELAND

U.S. HANDS OFF IRAN! Speakers: Dave Hoover, Cleveland Mobilization Against the Draft; Werner Lange, Cleveland Peace Council; Marjorie MacEwan, chief steward, Service Employees International Union Local 47; and John Powers, Socialist Workers candidate for Senate. Sun., May 11, 7 p.m. Cleveland State Univ., Univ. Center Room 110, E. 22nd and Euclid. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

OREGON PORTLAND

SALT OF THE EARTH, film showing. Sun., May 11, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

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 West Virginia. Tues., May 6, dinner 6 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Dinner \$3.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

'Victory for all oppressed'

On April 29, 1975, more than three decades of struggle against imperialist armies by the Vietnamese masses came to a victorious conclusion. To the cheers of residents, soldiers of the Vietnamese liberation army entered the city of Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), then South Vietnam's capital.

Their victory has served as an inspiration to all struggles of the oppressed. The antiwar attitude that developed among American working people as a result of the war has become a central factor in international politics.

Imperialism has found it impossible thus far to again use massive numbers of U.S. soldiers to suppress revolutionary struggles. When South Africa invaded Angola in late 1975, Washington was unable to commit its own forces to defeat the Neto government, which was aided by Cuban troops.

When Vietnamese and Kampuchean forces toppled the murderous Pol Pot regime, Washington found itself in a similar bind.

The revolutions in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Iran are all beneficiaries of the Vietnamese revolution.

The Socialist Workers Party, which played an important part in the antiwar movement, foresaw some of the impact this victory would have on the world revolution. The following are excerpts from a statement adopted May 1, 1975, by the SWP National Committee. It appeared in the May 9, 1975, issue of the *Militant* under the title, "Vietnam: victory for all oppressed."

* * *

On this May Day the world working class is celebrating the history-making victory of the Vietnamese rebels, who have succeeded in expelling the last contingent of imperialist armed forces from their country.

The triumph is a powerful reaffirmation of what May Day represents to the workers movement: worldwide solidarity of all the oppressed. This solidarity found powerful expression in the international antiwar movement, the strongest component being right here in the United States, where the American revolutionists played a major role.

The victory in Vietnam will inspire the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial world who are fighting for national liberation from economic and political domination by imperialism.

It is a victory for all those throughout the world who are fighting oppression and exploitation.

For nearly ten years the war in Southeast Asia was the central focus of the struggle between imperialism and the advancing world revolution. The U.S. rulers decided to contain the revolution in Vietnam by American military means and entrenchment of a counterrevolution-

ary government in South Vietnam. They wanted to show the peoples in the colonial and semicolonial areas that any who tried to stand up against U.S. imperialism would be crushed. But although Washington's mighty military machine pounded this tiny country year after year, it could not defeat the popular resistance.

The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese helped promote the radicalization of a new generation of youth throughout the world. An international antiwar movement developed.

The brutality of the Pentagon's military onslaught revealed for the whole world the terrible lengths to which Wall Street will go in order to maintain and advance the capitalist system. Millions of Vietnamese were killed. One million Cambodians, one-seventh of the population, were killed or wounded. The countryside of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos was devastated.

The military cost alone for bringing about this death and destruction amounts to an estimated \$400 billion. More than 56,000 American soldiers lost their lives.

The defeat of the imperialists in Vietnam . . . represents something new. It is the first war of such size that the United States, the world's strongest imperialist power, has lost. It is also the first war that has led to the development of a mass antiwar movement inside the United States. It is this overt antiwar sentiment that left the White House with no choice but to accept defeat and to withdraw to a new line of encirclement of the colonial revolution in Southeast Asia.

As a result of the political education the American people have gained from the war and the antiwar movement, the options open to the top cops of international capitalism have become more restricted. They now must bring into their calculations the likely opposition of masses of Americans—including GIs—to new U.S. military operations to prop up dictatorships threatened by popular rebellions.

They can no longer rely on the American people bowing passively to the defense of imperialism under the banner of anticommunism. As all the opinion polls now show, the American people are opposed not only to intervention in Vietnam but also to U.S. military intervention in other areas of the world.

With the defeat of the Saigon army, and with Washington's options severely limited by antiwar sentiment at home, the objective possibility now exists for achieving the long-strived-for goal of national unification and self-determination of Vietnam. The objective conditions also exist for a social revolution to abolish the entire system of exploitation for private profit.

After years of suffering and war, the Vietnamese masses deserve the full fruits of their victory. The task ahead is unification with the workers state of North Vietnam and the establishment of proletarian democracy.

Bosses' justice

Cleveland is a union town but it is clearly the bosses' system of justice that prevails here. On April 18, Eddie J. Martin, a member of United Auto Workers Local 1741, was convicted of aggravated rioting stemming from Local 1741's five-month-long strike against the Bailey Controls Company.

Sentencing was postponed. He could face up to five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

Twelve more members of Local 1741 have yet to come to trial on similar felony charges.

The strike was one of the longest and most bitter class battles to occur in Cleveland in recent years. Babcock and Wilcox, owners of Bailey Controls, made it clear that their intention was to break the UAW. Over 1,000 scabs worked in the plant during the course of the strike.

On August 13, Local 1741 decided to put an end to this strikebreaking. A mass picket line of more than 500 workers was put up.

At this point 100 police attacked the picket line with clubs and tear gas. Over seventy strikers were arrested, thirteen on felony charges, including the top leadership of the local and an international representative of the UAW.

Solidarity was the watchword of the labor movement as thousands of dollars were collected by UAW locals in the area for the Bailey strikers. My local, 451, was the first to come to their aid. We in the labor movement need to respond again to this latest round of union-busting by the bosses and their courts.

Glen Arnold
UAW Local 451
Cleveland, Ohio

Baseball & Nicaragua

I read with interest Baxter Smith's letter to the *Militant* (April 11) concerning the visit of the Baltimore Orioles to Nicaragua. Hopefully, these baseball players won't be the last popular personalities to see first-hand the revolution there, helping break down the wall of silence that the capitalist media has erected around Nicaragua.

When Roberto Clemente, the great Pittsburgh Pirate outfielder, died tragically in a plane crash while trying to land medical supplies in Managua in the aftermath of the 1973 earthquake, the local press was forced to write about how Somoza profited from that catastrophe.

I think that more and more sports personalities, especially those originally from Mexico and the Caribbean (like Clemente) will reject Washington's lies and come to support the Latin American revolution.

However, I do disagree with Mr. Smith in his assessment of the very exciting 1979 World Series. It is interesting to note that when Fidel Castro came to New York last fall to address the United Nations, he was asked whom he picked for the Series. Without the slightest hint of hesitation, he responded "Pittsburgh."

Immediately after that interview, national TV

cameras picked up a banner fluttering in Three Rivers Stadium in Pittsburgh. Featuring a large picture of a cigar-smoking Fidel, the banner read: "Castro's choice, our choice."

Ain't that right, Baltimore.
Bill Kalman
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

New YSA in Iowa

The spirit of Sandino and the impact of the Nicaraguan revolution, the ousting of the shah of Iran, the awakening of the American working class, and the impressiveness of the YSA and SWP and the *Militant* have made an impact and expanded the Trotskyist movement.

You will be very pleased to add the state of Iowa to your "If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up" column. We have a YSA chapter of seven members.

The activists here turn to the *Militant* to find answers to such things as the latest Cuban "exodus" and to write leaflets for the antidraft or ERA movement activities and to prepare teach-ins on foreign policy and Iran.

We will be looking forward to seeing Iowa added to the list of states where there are SWP and YSA organizations in the newspaper that uncompromisingly stands on the side of the oppressed.

Last week we ran off three different editorial statements on Iran and passed them out from our literature table in the student union. Iranian and Arab students who read it came back for more copies or showed them to friends who came for copies and we sold the *Militant* to some of these international students.

Mark Jacobson
Cedar Falls, Iowa

Inside NL plant

The article by Nelly Brown on the effects that N.L. Industries has on the surrounding community in Albany was very good. This was the second article that you printed on the hazards of the environment created by N.L. What these articles have not been able to cover are the conditions that the workers inside the N.L. plants have to live with. I worked briefly at the N.L. Lead Smelting Division in Dallas, Texas. I would like to comment on what I experienced.

This plant is located in the middle of the Black community. The odor of chemicals coming from the plant's triple-shift operation can be smelled as far as a mile away. The odor is so bad that it never leaves the air.

The entire work force, with the exception of two whites, is made up of Blacks, Mexicans, and Chicanos. The foremen and the supervisory personnel are all white.

A condition for hiring is that we have periodic blood tests to determine the amount of lead poisoning. It is naturally assumed that after a period of exposure, your blood will contain a certain amount of lead. If the quantity is too high, it will lead to several days off with no pay. If the contents of lead continue to be

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'Now this baby was owned by a lil' ol' teen-ager who couldn't hack the price of gasoline.'

high then they will dismiss you permanently.

New employees get checked on the first day and then once a month thereafter for a period of three months. If during that time you accumulate a large quantity of lead, it will lead to dismissal.

All of the workers have to wear a respirator throughout the work day. The foremen avoided this by staying indoors with the rest of the supervisory personnel.

I worked alongside a team of Mexicans and Chicanos on the maintenance crew. A large part of my time was spent trying to wash down the motors and bodies of the forklifts with a steam blower. The dirt and chemicals were so heavily compounded that layers of it would not wash away after hours of work.

The company dared to boast that they run a clean operation for a smelting plant!

These are only a few examples of the terrible conditions that N.L. employees must face to earn a living. Or at least die trying to do so.

The few gains made by the United Steelworkers union for the workers at the plant are good but it is still far from being enough. As long as workers are kept from running industry for their own benefit companies like N.L. Industries will continue to produce for profit at the expense of our health and our lives.

Melvin Chappell
New York, 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.

'Independent' candidates

John Anderson's announcement of an "independent" presidential campaign and the nomination of Barry Commoner by the newly-founded Citizens Party indicate growing strains in the capitalist two-party system.

But neither represents the interests of working people, or a step toward the formation of a labor party.

Some similar issues were raised for class-conscious workers when Henry Wallace, former vice-president under Franklin Roosevelt, ran on the Progressive Party ticket against Harry Truman in 1948.

Some members of the Socialist Workers Party thought the Progressive Party was a step toward formation of a labor party. James P. Cannon, national chairman of the SWP, replied to them in "Election Policy in 1948," an abridged excerpt from which appears below. While the Wallace campaign differed in many respects from those of Commoner and Anderson, Cannon's ideas are useful in evaluating current "independent" candidates.

Cannon's speech appears in the Education for Socialists booklet, "Aspects of Socialist Election Policy." It is available from Pathfinder Press and the offices listed below for \$3.00.

The Wallace party must be opposed and denounced by every class criterion. In the first place it is programmatically completely bourgeois. Its differences with the Republican and Democratic parties are purely tactical.

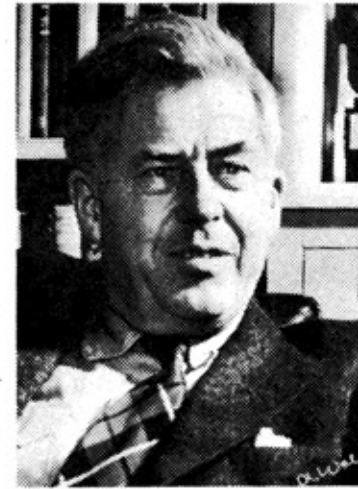
A reasonable argument could be made for the support of Wallace's movement in any circle of American capitalism. Wallace's policy can be just as much a preparation for war as the Truman-Marshall program. It is a matter of opinion as to which is the most effective way of preparing war against the Soviet Union—whether by an outward effort to reach agreement by concessions in order to prepare better and put the onus of responsibility on the Soviet Union before the fight starts, or by the rough and tumble "get tough" policy of Truman and Marshall. It is a tactical difference within the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The Chicago comrades argue that the capitalists do not support Wallace and therefore it is not a capitalist party. It is quite correct that all, or nearly all, of the monopoly capitalists at present oppose Wallace. That is not decisive. The class character of the party is not determined by the class that supports the party at the moment but by the class that the party supports.

The class character of the party is determined first by its program; secondly by its actual policy in practice; and thirdly, by its composition and control. The Wallace party is bourgeois on all these counts; by program, policy, practice, composition, and control. The contention that the party is controlled by the Stalinists and the Stalinist unions is radically false.

The control of the Wallace movement rests in the hands of Wallace and those he supports. He determines the candidates and he determines the program. The program and the candidate are presented to you in a finished package: "Wallace for President, and Wallace's program."

These Stalinist unions in the Wallace movement function as supporting organizations and not as controlling powers.



HENRY WALLACE



JAMES P. CANNON

They roughly play the same role toward Wallace's wrapped-up, predetermined program as the Political Action Committee [of the CIO] and the Political Committee of the AFL will play in the Truman movement. [The latter] represent far more workers than the Stalinists in the Wallace camp, but that doesn't make the Democratic Party a labor party.

The Wallace movement has another ugly side to it. It appears as a one-man Messiah movement. That is the worst kind of substitute for independent political action by the workers' own organizations. Wallace's Messiah movement is a diversion and an obstacle in the way of a labor party.

I read in one document that the Wallace movement can, or must, or will develop into a genuine labor party. This contention seems to me purely arbitrary.

The traditional two-party system in the United States has been well suited for normal times. The ruling capitalists couldn't ask for anything better than this system which absorbs shocks and grievances by shifting people from one bourgeois party to another. But that system can blow up in time of crisis. The aggravation of the crisis can shake up the political situation, so that the two-party system will no longer suffice to serve the needs of the American bourgeoisie.

The less it becomes possible to mobilize the workers' votes for one of these two bourgeois parties, the more impelling and powerful will become the urge of the workers to found a party of their own. That mood will create a condition wherein American capitalism will objectively require a pseudo-radical party to divert the workers from a party of their own.

That is what really happened in the thirties, in a distorted form. Roosevelt revamped the Democratic Party to serve the role of a pseudo-radical, "almost" workers party. By that he choked off entirely, for the period, the development toward an independent labor party.

Next time, the role played by Roosevelt will most likely require a new party. In the essence of the matter that is what Wallace's party is. Wallace is the, as yet, unacknowledged candidate for the role of diverting the workers' movement for independent political action into the channel of bourgeois politics dressed up in radical demagoguery—which costs nothing.

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.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Stephen Bloodworth, 2715 Hiawatha. Zip: 50613.

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, YSA, 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.

OHIO: 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.

Court documents FBI spy crimes against socialists

By Gus Horowitz

A court report released to the public April 22 shows that the role of FBI informers in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance has been to facilitate a constant pattern of FBI and local police harassment and disruption of party and YSA activities.

The FBI, the court report says, acting on information provided by informers, has instigated physical assaults against party meetings and individual party members. It has arranged shootings, break-ins and thefts at party offices, has caused party members to lose their jobs, and has carried out many other criminal and disruptive acts.

"This is a landmark report," said Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president and one of the party leaders who filed suit in 1973 against the FBI and other police agencies. The \$40 million lawsuit demands that the government halt its illegal forty-year campaign against the party.

"For years we have been denouncing the dirty and illegal role of police spies and provocateurs in the movement," Pulley said. "We have submitted a mountain of evidence to back up what we said. Now the court itself says that the FBI informer files prove that we were right."

"This is a victory, not only for the SWP and YSA, but for the entire labor movement; for the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican movements; for antidraft and antiwar fighters; for the women's rights movement; for the antinuclear-power movement; and for everyone fighting for justice and a better world."

"All of us have been victimized by police finks and agents. The court document in our case gives everyone a weapon to fight back."

"The government has been determined to cover up for its informers and agents. It has refused to concede anything. It has done everything it could to prevent knowledge of the real role of its spies from coming out. This court report deals them a real blow."

'Put gov't on trial'

"Now we can move ahead to a trial. We're going to put the government on trial. We're going to expose them before the entire country. And we're going to make it much, much harder for them to continue their crimes against us."

Pulley noted that this major new development in the SWP and YSA lawsuit comes at a time when the Carter administration is trying to crack down on democratic rights and give new legitimacy to FBI and CIA activity.

"They're trying to end the 'Watergate syndrome' of opposition to police spying along with the 'Vietnam syn-



Cartoons from 'Los Angeles Times' (left) and 'Minneapolis Star' (right) illustrate press reaction in 1976, when FBI burglaries against Socialist Workers Party headquarters were exposed. SWP fight to obtain files on FBI spies has resulted in new court documentation of government crimes against socialists.



drome' of opposition to war," the socialist candidate said. This gives added importance to the possible upcoming trial in the socialist suit.

The recently released court report is a product of the SWP's long efforts to compel the government to make available evidence needed in the party's lawsuit. In particular, this represents the outcome of a four-year fight that the SWP has been waging to obtain the files of a representative group of eighteen people who have acted as FBI informers inside and outside the party.

In May 1977 Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the case, ruled that the FBI should turn over the eighteen files to the SWP. Griesa's ruling was upheld by the Supreme Court.

But Griffin Bell, who was then attorney general of the United States, refused to turn over the files, asserting that his duty to protect the identity of the informers was paramount. In July 1978 he was held in contempt of court, the first time an attorney general had ever been put into such a position.

It was headline news from coast to coast.

The Court of Appeals, however, overturned the contempt ruling in March 1979, thus saving Bell from having to go to jail, as he should have.

Since the files would not be turned over to the SWP, Judge Griesa then appointed former New York state judge Charles Breitler to be a "special master" in the case, assigned to study the eighteen files and prepare a report on their contents.

Breitler's report, which has the effect of a finding by the court itself, was completed February 4 and just released to the public.

The most damning portions of this report implicate FBI informers in thefts and crimes of violence against the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

In 1973 and 1974, for example, the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees was organizing goon squads to attack left-wing groups and individuals with clubs, lead pipes, hammers, chains and other weapons. There were many assaults and some serious injuries to members of the SWP, YSA, and other groups before the NCLC was finally forced to back off.

Breitler discloses that in 1973 the NCLC was sent a letter containing names, home telephone numbers, and addresses of SWP members—clearly an attempt to foment NCLC violence against them.

After studying the informer files Breitler says that "it should be conclusively presumed that the letter was sent by the FBI."

The information in the letter was provided to the FBI by informers.

By the legal term, "conclusive presumption," Breitler meant the following:

The government had objected to his citing of specific details in the files, on the grounds that the SWP and YSA would then be able to identify the informers. But if the details were left out, the SWP and YSA would be deprived of the information needed to pursue and prove their case against the FBI. To resolve the matter, Breitler decided that the details would be left out of his report, but it was "conclusively presumed" in each incident that the case against the FBI was proved.

Some of the other "conclusive presumptions" in Breitler's report were that:

- In 1963 informers provided the FBI with diagrams of an SWP headquarters. The FBI requested the diagrams "to facilitate clandestine entries to the SWP headquarters."

- In 1967 bomb threats against an SWP headquarters "were attributable to FBI activity."

- On one occasion (no date given) smoke bombs were thrown at a YSA gathering; "the smoke bomb tossing was attributable to FBI activity."

- On another occasion (no date given) shots were fired at a local SWP headquarters; "the shooting was attributable to FBI activity."

- In 1972 an SWP office was broken into, and a typewriter and about \$100 in cash was stolen; "the break-in and the taking of the property were attributable to FBI activity."

- In 1975 members of the SWP and YSA were attacked at a local SWP office by a group of young men; "the activity was attributable to FBI activity."

- Again in 1975 an SWP member was attacked while selling newspapers; "the attack was attributable to FBI activity."

- In 1974 a local SWP office was damaged in the amount of \$300; "the damage was attributable to FBI activity."

Loss of jobs

In addition to threats and illegal acts of theft and violence, the FBI caused SWP members and people in contact with the SWP to lose their jobs. Breitler cites many examples. In one case, someone was denied a government job because informer reports stated that the individual "had been in

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