

# THE MILITANT

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

# Iran: masses drive for power

## Khomeini's return: revolution enters new stage



TEHRAN, Jan. 27—One million march to protest massacre and demand right of Khomeini to return.

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN, Jan. 29—Determined to block the arrival of the exiled Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and the revolutionary explosion his arrival could bring, Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar has launched a bloody crackdown against the movement here.

Yesterday the sickening crackle of machine-gun fire echoed throughout the city all afternoon, along with the

## On the scene in Tehran

screams of the wounded, as the army opened fire mercilessly on demonstrators in Esfan Square near Tehran University.

The government claims people had attacked a cop station. This is untrue. The assault by the army was unprovoked.

As the army opened fire, the drivers of ambulances and buses tried in vain

to form barricades that could protect the hundreds fleeing from the bullets that filled the air.

No one knows how many hundreds are dead. The hospitals are filled to overflowing.

The renewed repression began the night of January 25, after Khomeini announced he was flying to Tehran the next day. Iran Air employees had declared they would end their strike for one day to fly Khomeini here on a special "revolution flight." The army then surrounded the airport with tanks and closed it down.

Angry students demonstrated the next day at Tehran University. They were met with army machine guns that killed more than 100.

Meanwhile, martial law authorities began a roundup of newspaper reporters, professors, and other activists. Seized at midnight, January 26, were five officers of the Writers Syndicate. [They were released January 30.]

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## Help us get out the truth

To get out the truth about the Iranian revolution and counter the lies of the big-business press, the 'Militant' is making an extraordinary effort. We have sent staff writer Cindy Jaquith to Iran, where she is reporting firsthand on the freedom struggle of the workers and peasants.

For a paper not supported by the capitalists, this is a budget-wrenching expense. Round-trip air fare to Tehran is \$1,400. Other trip expenses have surpassed \$1,500. Just to phone in one of the pages of eyewitness coverage in this issue costs more than \$100.

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## An urgent fund appeal

## Sears 'class action'

The charge of government "overregulation" was heard again late last month.

Sears, Roebuck & Company, the nation's largest retailer, filed an unprecedented "class action" lawsuit against ten federal agencies.

Sears says it is sick of complying—or facing the penalties for not complying—with antidiscrimination laws and regulations. The lawsuit seeks exemption from the "confusing," "arbitrary," and "capricious" rules until the federal government gets its act together.

Since 1965, 1,500 federal charges and complaints have been brought against Sears. In April 1977 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission found that Sears discriminates against women, Blacks, and *latino* workers. No settlement has been reached.

The EEOC says Sears's "class action" suit is just the company's effort to escape the charges pending against it.

It is also part of a bigger "class action"—the drive by the employing class in this country to take back affirmative-action gains that Blacks and women won in the past.

Sears's suit goes hand in hand with the so-called reverse discrimination *Weber* case now pending before the Supreme Court (see page 3).

Sears makes use of the age-old divide-and-rule strategy with a new twist. The work force it had to choose its 400,000 employees from, the company claims, was molded by government action and beyond Sears's control. The government, Sears charges, failed to enforce civil rights laws, gave men special advantages through the veterans benefits, discouraged women through tax and Social Security laws, and extended the minimum retirement age.

Until the government figures out just which group of workers are to get the spoils, Sears argues, how can employers be held responsible for discrimination?

These arguments are a deliberate distortion of the fight for civil rights and affirmative action. The struggle to win equal job rights for Blacks and women is a struggle to *unify* the work force. Divisions between whites and Blacks, women and men, older and younger workers are encouraged by the bosses because they weaken the unions and lower wages for *all* workers. Simply put, affirmative action cuts across profits.

It is this that is behind Sears's challenge to federal regulation. There is nothing "confusing" or "arbitrary" about it.

## Grant CP exemption!

The FBI complains that it is being "oppressed" by the Communist Party.

Has the CP—a central target of FBI crimes for more than fifty years—suddenly begun breaking into FBI offices? Tapping FBI phones? Calling up landlords, employers, and friends of FBI agents in order to disrupt their lives?

No, not even the FBI claims that.

The FBI's complaint is that it is "unreasonable and oppressive" for the CP to demand evidence on crimes the FBI committed against the party.

FBI officials admit that their Washington headquarters alone has 26.5 million pages of dossiers on the CP. Another 9.6 million pages are mouldering in the FBI's New York files.

Who knows how many crimes are recorded in these millions of pages of secret documents? In any case, the FBI says it will allow no "fishing expedition." Besides, it says, to collect, copy, and "sanitize" the files would cost \$36 million and "could virtually paralyze existing FBI functions."

The case, which is now in a federal court, began when the Federal Election Commission demanded a list of financial contributors to the CP's 1976 presidential campaign.

The CP replied, quite reasonably, that such a roster would be a ready-made "enemies list" for the government. Since the names would be available to the public, disclosure could also provide a hit list for right-wingers.

The CP pointed out that the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that smaller parties could win exemption from the disclosure requirements by showing "reasonable probability" that compliance could lead to "threats, harassment or reprisals" against the contributors.

"Threats, harassment or reprisals"—that's an apt description of the U.S. government's operations against the CP and its members. And if anybody doesn't believe that, the proof is in the 36 million pages of documents the FBI is keeping under wraps.

After a five-year battle with the government, the Socialist Workers Party recently won exemption from the federal disclosure law. All supporters of civil liberties should demand that this important precedent be maintained and extended—in this case, by supporting the Communist Party's demand for an exemption from the campaign disclosure law.

## Patty Hearst

On January 29, President Carter commuted Patty Hearst's jail term, making her eligible for immediate release from prison. She had been serving a seven-year term for bank robbery.

According to the White House, Hearst "needs no further rehabilitation" and "is no risk to the community."

That may or may not be true. But if that's all it takes to get your prison sentence ended by Jimmy Carter, then consider these cases:

- **The Wilmington Ten**, North Carolina civil rights activists sentenced to 282 years in prison for allegedly fire bombing a grocery store in 1971. A 1977 hearing showed that the evidence against them was invented by the district attorney. The Carter administration has turned a deaf ear to numerous appeals. The **Charlotte Three** in North Carolina are in prison on a similar frame-up.

- **Gary Tyler**, Black, sentenced to life in a Louisiana prison at age sixteen for a murder he didn't commit. No witnesses saw Tyler fire the gun that killed a white student during anti-Black demonstrations outside his school. Carter has yet to utter a word about Gary Tyler.

- **Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis**. Carter, a champion prize-fighter and outspoken advocate of Black rights, and Artis, an acquaintance of his, were framed on murder charges in New Jersey and sentenced to life. Nothing from the president.

- **Héctor Marroquín**, a socialist forced to flee to the United States from Mexico when falsely accused of terrorist activities. If he is forced to go back, he faces imprisonment, torture, and possibly even death at the hands of the Mexican government. The Carter administration is trying to deport him.

Carter's sudden concern for the unjustly imprisoned doesn't extend to any of these people. Or to the thousands of political prisoners in U.S. jails admitted to by UN Ambassador Andrew Young.

Patty Hearst's father is a multimillionaire newspaper publisher. Forty-eight members of Congress wanted her release. Even the FBI agent who led the search for her said Carter's action was "a proper move."

The message from the White House is simple: you can get all the human rights that money can buy.

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### The Teng Hsiao-p'ing visit

What's behind the Washington-Peking talks? Are Teng's overtures to Carter a 'betrayal' of Mao's policies? **Page 7.**



### Revolutionary soldier and scientist

At a New York meeting in tribute to the late Joseph Hansen (left), SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes assessed Hansen's contributions to the Marxist movement. **Page 18.**



### A movement that won

Today's activists can draw rich lessons from the movement that helped force U.S. imperialism to withdraw from Vietnam. Fred Halstead's 'Out Now!' tells the story. **Page 16.**



## The Militant

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK  
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON

Editorial staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, David Frankel, Osborne Hart, Cindy Jaquith, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Andy Rose, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg, Matilde Zimmermann.

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# Weber protests pick up steam

By Nancy Cole

Unions and women's and Black groups across the country are beginning to alert their members to the threat posed by Brian Weber's "reverse discrimination" lawsuit.

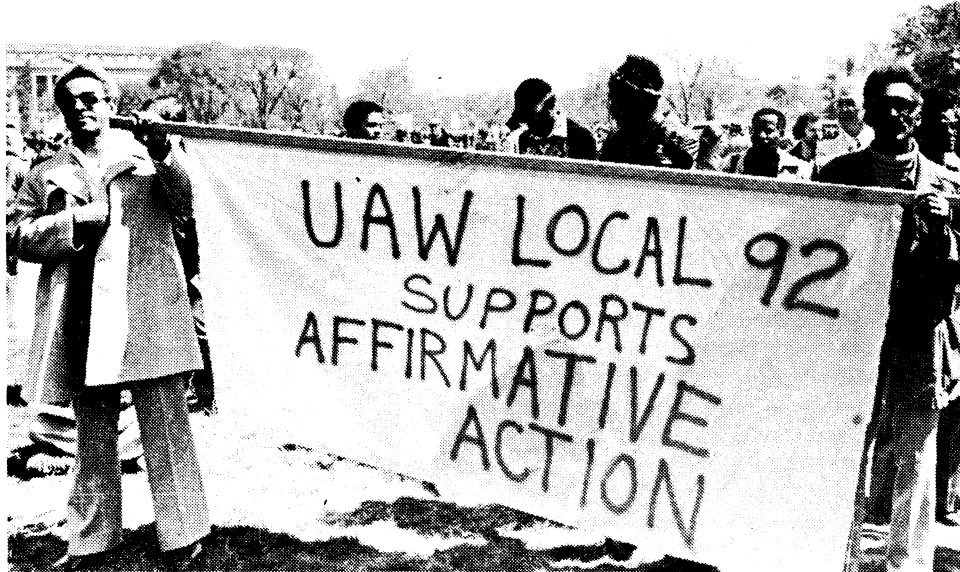
In the Chicago-Gary area, a meeting is planned for sometime during the week of March 14, sponsored by United Steelworkers District 31 Director James Balanoff and Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher.

According to Balanoff, the meeting in Gary will "explain our affirmative-action plan and the issues involved in the Weber case."

Weber's lawsuit, now before the Supreme Court, jeopardizes affirmative-action plans affecting millions of workers.

The white lab technician at the Gramercy, Louisiana, Kaiser Aluminum plant charges that the affirmative-action plan there negotiated by the USWA "discriminates" against him. The plan provides that half the trainees for skilled jobs be Black or women workers.

The New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action reports that the USWA's international civil rights office will provide a keynote speaker for the committee's March 4 rally.



United Auto Workers is among unions that filed briefs with Supreme Court against Brian Weber's 'reverse discrimination' suit.

The list of other rally speakers so far includes representatives from the state National Organization for Women, New Orleans NAACP, state American Civil Liberties Union, Louisiana Bureau for Women, New Orleans Urban League, state Southern Christian Leadership Conference, National Association of Black Social Workers, United Teachers of New Orleans, and Hotel and Motel Employees.

In San Diego, the 1,500-member Local 685 of the International Association of Machinists has announced the formation of an affirmative-action task force to organize an educational campaign, including a labor/community speakout on the Weber case.

A letter from the union is going out to unions and community, Black, Chicano, and women's groups in the city inviting them to become part of the task force, which will hold its first meeting February 24.

The Oakland, California, City Council voted unanimously January 23 to ask the Supreme Court to reject Weber's challenge to affirmative action.

The action by the council was prompted by a request from Lorenza Carlisle of the anti-discrimination committee at the Caterpillar Tractor plant.

The Caterpillar committee is also joining with the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision in Oakland for a February 10 meeting on the Weber case.

The deadline for filing court briefs with the Supreme Court on the Weber case was January 25. Unions that went on record against Weber included the United Auto Workers; United Mine Workers; United Farm Workers; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; United Electrical Workers; International Union of Electrical Workers; National Education Association; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Union of Hospital Employees; and the International Woodworkers.

## AT&T decree expires

The consent decree that a federal judge dubbed the "largest and most impressive civil rights settlement in the history of the nation" quietly expired last month.

The January 18, 1973, agreement between the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the federal government gave many Black and women telephone workers a chance at better jobs they never would have had otherwise.

Yet AT&T never reached the goals set out in the six-year decree.

Nevertheless, government attorneys concluded in January that AT&T has "substantially complied" with the antidiscrimination provisions of the decree. They argued against extending it.

It "didn't solve all of the equal employment opportunity problems with the Bell system operating companies," the federal report generously admitted, but any continuing problems "wouldn't constitute a violation of the decree."

The federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission was pressured to sue AT&T back in 1970 because of Ma Bell's blatant discriminatory practices. The government charged AT&T with violating every

civil rights act on the books.

Now we are told to believe that—left on its own with no goals, timetables, or supervision—the phone company will end discrimination on its own.

Unfortunately, the unions representing AT&T workers opposed the consent decree from its inception and actually filed a lawsuit to overturn it, charging violations of bargaining and seniority rights.

It was true that because the unions—primarily the Communications Workers of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—were not party to the decree, enforcing it was much more difficult. It was nonetheless a victory for Black and women workers and viewed as such by them.

When the Supreme Court decided to uphold Allan Bakke's charges of "reverse discrimination" last year, AT&T took heart. Any post-consent-decree affirmative-action plan, the company said, would be "modified" in light of the high-court ruling.

Now the corporate giant must be watching the Weber case. A defeat for the racist Weber would without question shape AT&T future affirmative action.

—N.C.



## The Weber Case:

### HELP GET OUT THE TRUTH

**The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action** by Militant staff writer Andy Rose presents the real story behind Weber's assault on job rights. It takes up key issues posed by the case: so-called reverse discrimination against white males, seniority, and how the labor movement can win jobs and better conditions for all. Join the effort to get out the facts to working people.

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# Iranian Trotskyists launch party

## Call for constituent assembly

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—An historic news conference took place here January 22, announcing the formation of a Trotskyist party in Iran, the Socialist Workers Party.

Reporters from virtually all major Iranian and foreign media packed into the Intercontinental Hotel to hear the proposals of the Iranian socialists for ending U.S. domination of their country and for the immediate election of a constituent assembly.

Under the shah's tyranny of the past three decades, such a news conference would have been impossible. Anyone publicly declaring the formation of a socialist party would have been jailed or possibly executed.

Prof. Zeyott Obrohimy of Tehran University opened the news conference, which was conducted in the Farsi and English languages. He introduced poet Reza Baraheni, who was imprisoned and tortured by the shah and forced into exile in the United States. Baraheni said the panel of speakers represented longtime fighters in the struggle against the shah.

Babak Zahraie, editor of the socialist opposition weekly *Payam Daneshjoo*, was the first speaker. Reporters had been given copies of the new constitution proposed by the SWP.

### Socialist program

Zahraie explained the socialist program. "The historical problems of the Iranian people will be solved through the struggle for democracy and socialism," he said.

"No government imposed from above will bring freedom for the people of Iran. Only by the participation of the Iranian people in decision-making through the democratic election of a constituent assembly can we begin to solve the problems we face.

"We demand U.S. imperialist hands off the Iranian revolution. We are for nationalizing all foreign holdings, basic industry, and the banks and



Speakers at Tehran news conference included (clockwise from top left): Javad Sadeeg, Parvin Najafi, Babak Zahraie, and Reza Baraheni.

placing them under workers control.

"We demand full equality for women in Iran," Zahraie said.

"Iran's oppressed nationalities—the Azerbaijanis, Kurds, and Baluchis—should have the right to their own



languages and complete control of their own affairs.

"The land should belong to whoever works it. There should be easy credit for the peasants.

"We are for full rights for the soldiers.

"We are for opening the books of the big corporations and the government and ending the huge expenditures for arms, turning that money over to social benefits for the people."

### Workers & peasants gov't

"Finally," Zahraie said, "we believe that to solve the problems faced by the Iranian people, we need a workers and peasants government."

Reporters had many questions. What would be your relationship to the United States if you were in the government? How many members does your party have? When will you hold your first convention? What is your view of other parties in Iran, such as the Tudeh Party [Communist Party]?

Zahraie emphasized that the first demand of Iranian Trotskyists on the U.S. government is to get out of Iran. "At the same time," he explained, "we support the oppressed of the United States. The Blacks, the women, the working class."

As for other currents in the Iranian opposition, Zahraie urged democratic rights for all parties and groups. He called on other currents to join in the discussion on how to advance the revolution.

He also explained that the Iranian SWP is in solidarity with "the revolutionaries gathered in the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement." As a Trotskyist party, the SWP opposes the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union and China, he said.

Zahraie then introduced Javad Sadeeg, who went into exile twenty-five years ago after the 1953 CIA-inspired coup that put the shah back on the

throne. Sadeeg is the author of *Nationality and Revolution in Iran*.

Sadeeg said that the recent toppling of the shah is a major victory for the Iranian people. He compared it to the overthrow of the tsar in Russia, of Chiang Kai-shek in China, and Batista in Cuba.

In each of these revolutions, Sadeeg continued, the masses learned it was not enough to overthrow a dictatorial regime. It was necessary to continue the struggle until power was wrested from the ruling class and a workers and peasants government established. This will also be true in Iran, he said. A socialist revolution is necessary.

### Women's rights

Parvin Najafi, a frequent writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, spoke on the SWP's program for the liberation of women of Iran. The SWP calls for the abolition of all laws that prevent women from equal participation in social, economic, and political life.

In a constituent assembly, Najafi said, women could fight for their demands, such as equal pay and repeal of laws that give husbands and fathers control over women's lives.

Another exiled revolutionist, Hooshang Sepehri, gave a moving tribute to the martyrs of the struggle for freedom in Iran. Four of his brothers died fighting against the shah.

To win the demands for which past revolutionists have given their lives, Sepehri said, the Iranian people need a revolutionary socialist party. He urged everyone to join the SWP to further that goal.

A powerful weapon against the shah's repression in recent years has been the U.S.-based Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). The former executive

*Continued on page 6*

## 'An historic & inspiring event'

The following message to the Iranian Hezb Karegaran Socialiste (Socialist Workers Party) was sent January 29 in the name of the political committee of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

Dear comrades, the formation of the Hezb Karegaran Socialiste—the first Trotskyist party on Iranian soil—is an historic and inspiring event.

It was an event prepared during long years of exile—through patient propaganda work to explain the truth about the shah's bloody regime and to try to save the lives of his political prisoners, and through the painstaking tasks of trying to maintain contacts inside Iran and to distribute literature under the dictatorship.

You were part of the movement against the shah's dictatorship when many thought that his downfall was merely a utopian dream.

Now, thanks to the heroism of the Iranian masses, new possibilities have opened up for the future of Iran. The Iranian people have served notice that they want no more injustice, no more economic exploitation, and no more imperialist domination—they want democracy and social equality.

In this situation, you have once again shown the value of your politi-

cal judgment by boldly stepping forward and announcing at a public news conference the formation of the Hezb Karegaran Socialiste and issuing your call for a constituent assembly and a workers and peasants bill of rights.

By fighting for a democratically elected constituent assembly, as opposed to the illegitimate government of Shahpur Bakhtiar, you have made clear your commitment to an Iran whose future will be freely determined by the people themselves.

And by explaining the need for a workers and peasants government to advance the struggle for a socialist Iran, you have put forward the only program that can meet the needs of the oppressed and exploited masses.

Finally, with the formation of the Hezb Karegaran Socialiste, you have taken a major step in building a mass revolutionary party based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky. Only such a party can lead the fight for a socialist Iran to a successful conclusion.

We in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and our sister parties in the Fourth International, pledge to do everything in our power to explain the truth about the struggle for democracy and social justice in Iran to the people of the world.

Long live the Iranian revolution!  
Long live the Hezb Karegaran Socialiste!

## Long live 'Mobarez'!

The following message of greeting was sent by the 'Militant' January 29 to 'Mobarez' (the Militant), the newly established newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran.

We hail the appearance of our sister publication *Mobarez*!

We know that *Mobarez* will act as a tribune of the people. It will expose injustice and oppression wherever it occurs. It will speak in the interests of the working class, the poor peasants, women, the oppressed nationalities, and all those who are downtrodden and exploited.

We know that *Mobarez* will be a source of truth for the Iranian people. It will be an educator, laying bare the lies of the capitalists and their hirelings, pointing the way toward a better society, drawing the lessons of previous struggles, and explaining the next steps needed to move forward.

And we know that *Mobarez* will be an organizer and agitator. It will help rouse the masses to action, help build the independent organizations of the oppressed, and help advance their struggles.

Certainly the Iranian people, whose heroic battle against U.S. imperialism and "the American shah" has inspired freedom fighters all over the world, deserve such a voice. And they will find it in *Mobarez*.

Long live *Mobarez*!  
Long live the Iranian revolution!



# ...Iranian masses drive for power

Continued from page 1

airmen were executed at Jamshidieh garrison here for anti-shah activities. Some of the airmen had held demonstrations against the shah, others had reportedly gone on strike.

In Isfahan, a hunger strike has been going on by air force pilots who refused orders to bomb Iran's major cities the day the shah was forced to leave the country. The planned bombings were to initiate an attempt at a military coup.

Bakhtiar has been using the threat of such a coup to try to intimidate the masses. But growing divisions within the armed forces and the masses' universal hatred for his regime have forestalled any coup up to now.

A resounding answer to the threat of a coup took place January 27, when 1 million people marched here to condemn the murder of the Tehran University students and to demand that Khomeini be allowed to enter the country.

Outrage at the slaughter of the students the day before was so great that Bakhtiar was forced to declare the march legal. The army was not present, and the demonstration proceeded peacefully.

This demonstration dwarfed attempts in recent days by the right-wing, pro-shah forces to carry out their own actions.

On January 23, the Immortal Guards, an elite military corps, carried out an exhibition in which they shouted, "Long live the shah!" Even within this regiment, however, there have been shoot-outs between pro- and anti-shah elements.

On January 25, a pro-shah demonstration—thinly disguised as a pro-Bakhtiar, pro-constitution march—took place. Thirty to forty thousand participated, including many cops and soldiers ordered to attend and carefully instructed on slogans they should chant.

Organizers of the action insisted that no one mention the shah by name, but the purpose was clearly to create the impression that large numbers want the hated despot to return.

## Polarization

It is in the context of this deepening polarization that the shah's loyal followers fear a return by Khomeini will irreversibly tip the balance.

The entire country is at an intense revolutionary pitch.

In the North, peasants have carried out massive land seizures.

The oppressed nationalities—the Azerbaijanis in the Tabriz area and the Kurds—are mobilizing both against the shah and for their national rights.

Appeals to striking workers by Bakhtiar, and in some cases by the strike coordinating committees set up by Khomeini, for an end to walkouts have not been successful. The oil

workers in particular—whose strike is at the heart of the struggle here—have rejected all appeals to return to work.

Every day there are also new reports of anti-shah activities by soldiers and airmen, not only in Tehran but throughout the country.

The chief of the Supreme Commanders Staff, Gen. Abbas Qarabaghi, has announced a "state of emergency" within the armed forces. "Punishments will be more severe" against rebellious soldiers, he threatened.

In this situation the masses feel the confidence to take power and abolish the monarchy. Many are convinced that they should wait for Khomeini's return to do so, however. But frustration is growing as Khomeini delays his return.

Religious leader Ayatollah Yahya Noori, according to the January 29 *Tehran Journal*, "warned last night a time may soon come when people might ignore the appeals from religious leaders to be calm and resist the

get-tough moves now being used by the government.

"I do not know when the clenched fists of our people will turn into guns," Noori said.

## Signal to masses

This is why Bakhtiar has refused until now to allow Khomeini to return. His arrival would signal to the masses that the time was right to overthrow the current regime and the Pahlavi dynasty.

This would pose the question of what government would best serve the workers and peasants—and would raise the question of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The pro-shah forces and their backers in the White House want to prevent events from ever reaching this stage. Bakhtiar claims he is for opening negotiations with Khomeini. He says he doesn't oppose the opposition leader's return, but must first "prepare" the situation because there are

"agents and enemies," "irresponsible elements," who might harm Khomeini.

By this Bakhtiar does not mean his own generals, who openly threatened several days ago to shoot down Khomeini's plane. Bakhtiar's reference is a slanderous attempt to portray groups on the left as opponents of Khomeini's democratic right to return.

The left here—such as the Tudeh (Communist) Party and the Hezeb Karegaran Socialiste (Socialist Workers Party)—has supported this right. Bakhtiar's threats are aimed at dividing the movement against the dictatorship and setting up such groups for arrest or worse. Khomeini himself has stated that the only people threatening him are the shah's officer corps.

The Iranian masses have charted a course. To win their freedom, they are determined to brave all the bullets the government can fire. They are an inspiration to the workers and peasants around the world.

## One million march against Bakhtiar

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN, Jan. 27—The blood of slain students was still on the streets when 1 million people poured out here today to vent their anger at the Bakhtiar regime.

More than 100 young people had died in machine-gun fire the day before at Tehran University.

As I join the march, demonstrators are chanting, "My brother, you are gone, but we will continue." Along with other journalists I am swept along in a sea of humanity down the street where the students died.

To our left is a contingent of 1,000 women, all in black veils, with raised fists. Women are nearly half the demonstration. These sisters chant: "It is good the students and workers are getting together."

Behind them are signs denouncing Jimmy Carter and Shahpur Bakhtiar.

"Death to Carter, the shah, and Shahpur" is a popular slogan.

"If Khomeini comes late, we will kill you Bakhtiar," is another.

Word passes quickly through the crowd that 160 airmen were executed this morning for mutiny. "Oh you airmen; you are the light of our eyes," the demonstrators shout.

This demonstration has been organized overnight by supporters of Khomeini. It coincides with the traditionally observed anniversary of the death of the prophet Mohammed. Many of the slogans combine religious and political messages. The focus is on the massacre of the students, the call for an Islamic republic, and the demand that Kho-

meini be allowed to return.

Hundreds of thousands—perhaps a million—people have come into Tehran from other cities to greet Khomeini. Many of them are on the demonstration.

Also marching is a contingent of Azerbaijanis, chanting in Turkish, "Koran is our aim; our capital is our integrity; Shahpur Bakhtiar is more dishonest than the shah."

Islamic members of the guerrilla group Majaheed Khalg, which is now split into Muslim and Marxist-oriented wings, are here. Their slogans hail the workers, peasants, and Palestinians.

We stop to rest at Esfan Square. There used to be a statue here of the shah's father. That has been pulled down and replaced with pictures of Khomeini.

People start to gather around us;

realizing we are journalists. They are anxious for the truth to reach the rest of the world.

A young boy shows me color photos of the dead and wounded from Black Friday, September 8. Another shows us caricatures of the shah.

An engineer tells us he believes the CIA has masterminded the killings here. He denounces Ardeshtir Zahedi, Iran's ambassador to the United States, as a CIA agent.

Many demonstrators say that armed resistance by the masses must come soon. "We cannot go in front of the tanks barehanded," explains one student, who narrowly escaped death the day before.

Others have a message for Carter: "Jimmy boy, Jimmy boy, run run run; the people of Iran are picking up their guns."



Tehran, January 26. Massacre by Bakhtiar's troops provoked huge protest.

## Exiled revolutionists return to cheers, flowers

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN, Jan. 22—It is 12:30 p.m. The pilot has announced Mehrabad Airport in ten minutes.

Smiles and looks of disbelief are on the faces of my companions as we fasten our seatbelts for the landing.

This is no ordinary plane trip. On board are more than a dozen Iranian revolutionists who are returning to their homeland after years—and in some cases, decades—of exile.

As we enter the airport, it looks barren. The police have chosen to be scarce for the occasion.

We line up to have our passports checked. This used to be a terrifying experience for Iranians. If an opposi-

tionist was recognized at the airport desk, he or she would be whisked off by the shah's secret police, known as SAVAK, and probably never be heard from again.

Today it is different. Although one of the revolutionists, Babak Zahraie, is detained for a few minutes, he and everyone else finally pass through. The passport officials are well aware that outside there are more than 100 people pressing against the gates waiting to give a heroes' welcome to the exiles.

In the crowd are the families of the exiles, other oppositionists, and newspaper reporters.

The customs workers decide not to conduct business as usual today. In-

stead of checking suitcases, they present flowers to the exiles.

We hear cheers and applause as each of the oppositionists finally reaches the crowd outside. There they are embraced by relatives and friends they have not seen for years.

Everyone wants to talk, but we are late for a news conference at the Intercontinental Hotel. There the revolutionists will announce the formation of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran.

But in order to get there, taxi drivers have offered free rides to all the exiles.

The family of one oppositionist offers to take me to the hotel. As we ride toward the city, I get my first real view of the revolution here. Political

slogans cover almost every inch of the walls, houses, and shops. Banners span the streets. The slogans range from "Down with the shah" to "Yankee go home," and "We don't want the American king."

Martial law is still in effect, however. We pass by two truckloads of soldiers with machine guns.

But neither repression nor promises of reforms have slowed the revolution here. On Friday, January 19, 4 million people demonstrated in Tehran. I am told they stretched for twenty kilometers, nearly all the way out to the airport.

As one participant in the march told me: "Every inch of the city was filled with demonstrators that day."

## 'Unconscious' editing?

# How big-business media twist Iran news

By David Frankel

"We have been unable to find a single example of a news or feature story in the mainstream American press that uses the label 'dictator' to describe the shah."

That was one of the findings of William Dorman and Ehsan Omeed after an eleven-month study of the big-business media's coverage of Iran.

"Reporting Iran the Shah's Way," the article by Dorman and Omeed, appeared in the January/February issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review*. It gives a devastating summary of the way the capitalist press has consistently lied about events in Iran.

For example, Dorman and Omeed point out that while the mass media continually referred to the participants in the Hungarian revolution of 1956 as "freedom fighters," they dismissed the Iranian masses as "religious extremists" and "fanatics."

One lead sentence they quote, from the November 6 *Christian Science Monitor*, declared: "Tehran is burning, a city of anarchy set ablaze by rampaging mobs."

Among other examples of the slanted coverage cited in the article are:

- Continual references to "black-robed mullahs." "Would it occur to American reporters covering the Vatican, for example, consistently to refer to priests in their everyday garb as 'black-robed'? . . . For that matter, would it occur to a North-American reporter to refer to Latin American worker-priests as religious extremists or fanatics?"

- Repeated references to the shah's so-called land reform as an example of modernization and as one of the reasons for the Shi'ite opposition to the shah.

"Under what the shah calls land reform, large private holdings were reduced by 9 percent and state-owned holdings by 1 percent . . . and religious holdings remained virtually unchanged."



Dictator? What dictator?

Ten million peasants were left with no land, or not enough to survive on.

- Frequent assertions that behind the opposition to the shah was religious opposition to equal rights for women.

Of course, the shah's claim to be an emancipator of women was a lie in the first place. Moreover, as Dorman and Omeed point out: "Not even the most conservative religious tracts or pamphlets cite lifting of the veil, giving women the vote, or granting women the right to attend universities as reasons for opposition" to the shah.

"Reporting Iran the Shah's Way" drew blood. *Newsweek* magazine, for example, devoted a page

by Thomas Griffith in its January 29 issue to answer the charges made by Dorman and Omeed.

Griffith begins by trying to discredit the article. He red-baits Dorman as "a radical-left California journalism professor," and quotes Sandy Socolow, executive producer of the CBS "Evening News," who dismissed the article as "a kind of diatribe."

While admitting that perhaps some "journalists were unconsciously guided by a sense of the [U.S.] national interest" in their reports on Iran, Griffith never entertains the idea that editors consciously backed Washington's man in Tehran.

Griffith further argues that shortcomings in the coverage of Iran in the mass media were due to lack of resources! He complains that there just weren't any full-time American reporters in Tehran to find out what was really going on.

Now, however, Griffith assures his readers that the reporters are in place, and "in good position, free of the onus of sponsorship, to report whatever happens next."

But there has been only one change in the capitalist media's reportage on Iran. As the revolution there unfolds and the radicalization of the masses deepens, the hatred and fear felt by the American ruling class and its hirelings for the Iranian people become more and more open.

R.W. Apple, Jr., describing one group of demonstrators in a dispatch in the January 28 *New York Times*, wrote about "their eyes growing wilder by the minute as their rhythmic cries seemed to produce a kind of intoxication."

But who is really "intoxicated"?

What can one say about a man who, ignoring the symbolism of the Christian cross so prevalent in American society, disparages Iran as "a society morbidly fascinated by martyrdom"?

Such sentiments attest not only to Apple's own racism and chauvinism, but also to the class hatred of his employers for the Iranian revolution and everything associated with it.

## ...Iranian Trotskyists

Continued from page 4

secretary of CAIFI, Nemat Jazayeri, spoke of the accomplishments of this group in winning freedom for political prisoners and alerting the American people to the brutality of the Carter-backed regime in Iran.

Most recently, Jazayeri reported, CAIFI has mobilized support from the American labor movement for striking workers in Iran. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, for example, released a statement in support of oil workers here in Iran.

### Abolish SAVAK!

One of CAIFI's most prominent cases was that of Reza Baraheni. After CAIFI helped win his release, Baraheni came to the United States and became honorary chairperson of CAIFI.

In his statement to the news conference, Baraheni demanded that the Bakhtiar government dissolve SAVAK, the hated secret police; bring to trial all SAVAK agents and spies; open all SAVAK secret files, including those on its relationship with the FBI, CIA, and Israeli political police; and recognize the right of all political parties to function openly in Iran.

The press conference received prominent coverage in all three Tehran dailies. Among the foreign press in



NEMAT JAZAYERI

attendance were the London *Daily Mail*, Swedish Broadcasting, CBS, the Chicago *Tribune*, *Newsweek*, the British *Daily Telegraph*, and several other European dailies.

## Why crowds line up at Tehran newsstands

TEHRAN—Few workers here used to read the daily newspapers. The truth was carefully edited out by the shah's censors, so there was little point.

But today on the streets of Tehran, long lines form, every afternoon at newsstands to pick up one of the three dailies. Since censorship has been lifted, the papers are filled with reports of demonstrations, statements by groups of striking workers, articles about political prisoners, and more.

I was in the lobby of the Intercontinental Hotel one day when *Ettela'at* came in. Copies were quickly passed around among all the hotel employees. Two workers sat down with their copies. One read each article out loud to his friends, who could not read.

The waiters in the tea room stopped serving customers to read the paper, and the cashier perused his copy, hidden behind the cash register.

A sampling of the articles in the press here gives a feel for the depth of the revolutionary process going on.

One article reports on a demonstration of striking gas workers. It reprints a resolution the strikers passed out during their protest. The resolution is revealing in light of attempts by Western bourgeois commentators to portray protesters here as right-wing religious fanatics.

The strikers' leaflet calls for an Islamic republic and then explains that such a republic should establish

"a classless society, a socialist society" free from "U.S. imperialism and world capitalism." The strikers expressed their solidarity with all workers in Iran, declaring that the struggle here is for the unity and betterment of the toiling masses.

Another article covers a women's liberation demonstration at Tehran University. The students were demanding a government that will grant equality for women.

There is a report that a Turkish-language newspaper has appeared in Tabriz. Such non-Persian publications were illegal under the shah. And in the opinion columns, there is a debate over Kurdish nationalism.

\* \* \*

The strike of shop owners, which began months ago, continues. Just about the only stores open here are bookstores, newsstands, and those selling food.

It is common for book dealers to cover the sidewalk with pamphlets, and crowds gather round to look at previously banned literature.

I visited a bookstore one evening. Prominently displayed at the front of the store were Lenin's selected works, his *What Is To Be Done?*, and Marx's *Capital*—all in Persian. There were also several books on Vietnam, one on Cuba, and the works of Maxim Gorky, which were illegal here for years.

At another bookstore, across the street from Tehran University, Trotsky's *Transitional Program* was for sale. —C.J.



## Talks aim to expand trade

# Teng covers for Carter's arms buildup

By Dan Dickeson

Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing arrived in Washington January 28 for the first U.S. visit by a Chinese leader since the 1949 revolution.

The delegation headed by Teng met with a series of American government officials and corporate leaders. A major aim on both sides is to open expanded trade. The Chinese government wants U.S. equipment and technology.

American businessmen, for their part, are eager to sign export contracts with China, especially since they know a recession in this country is on the way.

One reason U.S. rulers speeded up normalization with China in December was that Japanese and European capitalists had already taken the lead in making trade deals.

Carter has more reasons than this to be pleased with Teng's visit. Just last week the White House announced a tight-fisted austerity budget, while pushing up war spending to a record \$135 billion. So Teng's call for an even bigger U.S. military buildup against the Soviet Union is music to Carter's ears.

In an interview for the February 5 issue of *Time* magazine, Teng claimed that "the true hotbed of war is the Soviet Union, not the U.S."

The truth is that the American capitalists and their government are entirely to blame for the escalating arms race. But Teng is glad to help Carter cover up that fact.

The strategy of the Chinese bureaucrats is one of seeking to cooperate with capitalist governments around the world. Teng's trip is the culmination of a process that began with Nixon's 1972 visit with Mao Tsetung.

This policy by the Chinese Stalinists parallels that of the Kremlin bureaucrats, who also hosted Nixon in 1972. Both of these Stalinized regimes have eagerly betrayed revolutionary fighters around the world in return for favors from Washington.

Carter comes out the winner in the dispute between the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats. He has even exploited

Teng's anti-Soviet diatribes to cynically pose before the press as a "moderate" on the question of military spending.

At the welcoming ceremony for Teng, Carter had the gall to remark, "For too long, the Chinese and the American peoples have not been able to see each other for themselves. We are glad that time is past."

As if it were all some unfortunate mistake? As if Carter and the wealthy handful he represents were not responsible for the thirty-year campaign to isolate China? As if the rulers of America did not militarily encircle China in hopes of rolling back the Chinese revolution?

The significance of Teng's visit was perhaps best symbolized by the invitation to Richard Nixon to attend the January 29 state dinner at the White House. This should serve as a reminder that above all, Teng's trip marked another stage in a rotten deal worked out between Mao and Nixon while U.S. bombers pulverized Vietnam.



Teng and Carter at White House. Collaboration between Chinese Stalinists and U.S. imperialists was inaugurated six years ago by Nixon and Mao (inset).

## Visit sends Maoists into frenzy

By David Frankel

One byproduct of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's visit to the United States has been nationwide media coverage of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party.

Two RCP members on the press platform shouted out slogans against Teng during the welcoming ceremonies on the White House lawn. Police dragged them off and brutally beat them.

Later that day, forty other RCP members were arrested during a protest outside the White House. The police violence against these demonstrators should be condemned by all socialists and supporters of civil liberties.

The RCP, formerly abject supporters of the Peking regime, decided after Mao's death to cast their lot with the deposed "Gang of Four." Teng's ascent to power transformed

China into a "fascist" country, the RCP claims.

To protest Teng's visit as a betrayal of Mao's heritage, however, flies in the face of historical fact.

It was Mao himself, after all, who welcomed Richard Nixon to Peking in February 1972, even as U.S. bombs were raining down on the people of Vietnam. In flights over Hanoi and other North Vietnamese cities, U.S. warplanes dropped, along with their bombs, thousands of photos of Mao and Nixon shaking hands.

The RCP hailed Mao when he stabbed the Vietnamese revolution in the back. Despite the RCP's outraged protests today, Teng's foreign policy truly follows the lead of the late Great Helmsman.

In its frenzy against the post-Mao regime in Peking, the RCP went so far as to carry out an attack on the

Chinese liaison office in Washington, D.C. Five RCP members broke windows at the office on January 24 and threw white paint on its walls.

RCP Chairman Bob Avakian told reporters: "The kind of thing that happened at the embassy yesterday is an example of a 'fitting welcome'... A warning has been issued, and a call has been made."

Such actions are virtually indistinguishable from those carried out by racist and ultraright forces. The United States, we should remember, has a long and sordid history as an imperialist exploiter of China, as an aggressor on Chinese territory, and as a center of anti-Chinese racism.

Political opposition to the Chinese regime is one thing. Physical attacks or threats by citizens of an imperialist power against representatives of an historically oppressed country are something else.

# Nelson Rockefeller: butcher of Attica

By Matilde Zimmermann

Nelson Rockefeller's grandfather wanted his official biographer to identify him simply as "John D. Rockefeller Sr., capitalist." After all, he commanded a personal fortune of \$1 billion at a time when the entire gross national product of the United States was only \$50 billion. His oil company at one time controlled 95 percent of the world's refining capacity.

His grandson would probably have preferred to be described as "Nelson Rockefeller, public servant." But only because he was less forthright.

Among the eulogies that filled the newspapers after Rockefeller's death January 26, there was even one that described him as a "worker." *New York Times* columnist James Reston made much of the fact that Rockefeller reportedly died at his desk, and called him "a worker, a yearner, and a builder to the end."

But the only kind of "work" Nelson Rockefeller would ever have dreamed of was exactly the type one *Daily News* obit attributed to his grandfather: "Six days a week he labored at his ledgers, keeping track until the day he died of his net worth down to the penny."

In fact, Nelson Rockefeller was spared even the labor of counting his money. He simply hired people to manage the wealth that flowed in from his global empire.

This freed him to spend his time playing a direct personal role in U.S. politics, instead of calling the shots from off-stage like the more modest members of his class.

Rockefeller's grandfather taught him a few things about using his government to deal with trouble-



makers. In 1914 John D. sent troops to gun down striking miners and their wives and children in Ludlow, Colorado. Almost sixty years later, it was Attica Prison and Nelson Rockefeller's troops, but the massacre was just as bloody.

Attica wasn't Nelson Rockefeller's only accomplishment, of course.

There is the monstrous Albany mall—a monument to himself on which Rockefeller spent \$1.7 billion of New York workers' money.

Rockefeller was particularly proud of the draconian drug law he shepherded through the New York state legislature. The harshest in the nation, it

mandates life imprisonment for possession or sale of one ounce of any narcotic.

But the contribution on which Rockefeller's eulogists have concentrated was his patronage of the arts.

When it came to art, Rockefeller knew what he liked—or at least what he didn't like. He had a mural by the great Mexican artist Diego Rivera chopped off the walls of Rockefeller Center and destroyed, for example. He didn't want a picture of Lenin staring him in the face every time he checked in there.

In his last years, Rockefeller went into the retail art business. When art critics complained that the copies Rockefeller was peddling were of shoddy quality and grossly overpriced, he reminded them of the service he was performing by making great art (or facsimiles thereof) available to the general public.

After all, the public could hardly enjoy the originals—which were livening up the walls of various Rockefeller mansions.

But it would not be fair to say that Rockefeller hid away some of the world's great masterpieces solely for the pleasure of his family and friends.

His art was also a good investment. In fact, a January 28 *New York Times* article on Rockefeller's personal fortune points out that "while stocks and bonds proved difficult areas for many money managers, particularly in the last decade, art and real estate have been notably lucrative for many investors."

Old John D. may not have known—or cared—very much about art. But he probably would have understood his grandson's collection perfectly well.

# Unionists back asylum for Marroquin

By Jane Roland

Supporters of Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum are finding growing support for his appeal in the trade-union movement.

Marroquín, a student leader in Mexico, was forced to flee to this country after being framed up for his political activities. He faces imprisonment and possible death if deported to Mexico.

In New York and northern New Jersey, the Marroquín Defense Committee has targeted several auto plants, including the big General Motors plant in Linden, New Jersey. On January 23 they distributed a special leaflet reprinting the article on Marroquín's case that appeared last October in *Solidarity*, the United Auto Workers magazine.

Mary Sears, one of the committee members in New York, described their reception.

"We passed out 900 leaflets in about an hour," she said. "Everyone took one—Black, white, and *latino* workers, young and old. As soon as they saw the *Solidarity* masthead, they grabbed it."

A number of workers stopped to request more information about the case.

The national defense committee has issued a new brochure, "Why trade unionists support political asylum for Héctor Marroquín."

The brochure explains the case and the need for labor support. It includes a list of prominent union endorsers, the *Solidarity* reprint, and the letter sent by the National Education Association to Vice-president Mondale urging political asylum for Marroquín.

Among the latest labor endorsers of Marroquín's case are Victor Reuther, longtime leader of the United Auto Workers, and Mike Rinaldi, president of UAW Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge complex.

The United Farm Workers in Houston voted January 16 to support Marroquín's case, UFW organizer Chip Jeffries told a recent Houston Marroquín Defense Committee meeting.

The Houston committee is setting special plans to publicize the upcoming deportation hearing for Marroquín, which will take place there. Some fifty people attended the meeting to plan outreach and media work and to set fund-raising goals.



Campaigning for Marroquín at New Jersey auto plant

Militant/ Mary Sears

## AS WE GO TO PRESS

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has set April 3 as the date for Héctor Marroquín's deportation hearing. The hearing will take place in Houston and is expected to last four days.

The INS denied Marroquín's petition for asylum last December and is now moving to deport him. At the April 3 hearing Marroquín will be able to present witnesses and re-raise his request for asylum before an immigration judge.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is on an emergency campaign to publicize the case and win new support in the weeks leading up to the hearing. Supporters are asked to send letters and telegrams to Leonel Castillo, Director of Immigration, Washington, D.C. 20536, protesting the INS ruling against Marroquín and urging asylum.

Send copies and contributions to the defense committee at P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

## Piedra to speak in NYC

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra will visit the United States in early February. She and Héctor Marroquín will be the featured speakers at a rally in New York City on the eve of President Carter's trip to Mexico.

The meeting will demand political asylum for Marroquín and protest repression in Mexico. It is scheduled for Friday, February 9, at Barnard

College, 304 Barnard Hall, 117th and Broadway, at 7:30.

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra is the internationally known leader of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared" and Exiled. Her son Jesús, a student activist, was grabbed by the police three years ago, tortured, and "disappeared."

# Protest cop inaction in Louisville bombing

By Cris Mann

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The Socialist Workers Party has gained new support in its efforts to stop violent right-wing attacks in Louisville.

On January 25 the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the state's major daily paper, editorially condemned the Louisville Police Department's failure to seriously investigate a November 4 gas-grenade attack on the SWP's campaign headquarters (see box).

In contrast to the police stalling on the November 4 incident, a second tear-gas attack quickly resulted in an arrest. On January 21, a tear-gas grenade was tossed into a bingo game at the Holy Family Elementary School. Approximately 300 people were present, and many required emergency medical treatment.

The next day, ten cops were assigned to the Holy Family case. Two days later, an arrest was made.

In the SWP case, only one detective

has been assigned to investigate, and he has several other cases at the same time.

Admitting they have a suspect in the attack on the SWP, the cops have refused to arrest the person for identification by witnesses. Instead, they insist the witnesses must go find the suspect at his place of work and identify him there—a procedure lawyers say could jeopardize the entire case.

Elizabeth Jayko, SWP candidate for governor of Kentucky, said that the quick arrest in the Holy Family case "shows that the police inaction is politically motivated. They haven't acted because they don't like what we stand for. But we're going to continue our public campaign to circulate the facts of the case and force the city government to take steps to put an end to the series of violent right-wing attacks that have plagued Louisville."

The SWP's demand for police action on the case has been widely supported,

including by the board of aldermen. In response to pressure, the U.S. attorney's office has undertaken an investi-

gation of the case because of possible violations of the civil rights of a candidate for public office.

## The Courier-Journal Tear-gas attacks aren't pranks

IT'S REASSURING that Louisville arson investigators have made a prompt arrest in connection with the tear-gas attack on a Catholic bingo party last Sunday. What's less reassuring is the slow progress or possible lack of interest by the police in a similar but apparently unrelated incident at a Socialist Workers Party gathering in Louisville last November.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party are bitter and frustrated at what they consider to be the Police Department's cavalier attitude toward the attack on their headquarters. No arrests have been made in the case, though at least one witness reportedly can identify the person who threw the gas grenade.

It would be discouraging to think that

the failure of the police to make an arrest was due to antipathy to the party's ideology. However they were intended, the attacks on both the Socialist Workers headquarters and the bingo party were not harmless pranks. Tear gas in an enclosed space can cause serious injury or illness. Even if the gas itself should cause no permanent injury, people can be hurt in the panic that inevitably follows.

One needn't be a cynic to think that a tear-gas attack on a Fraternal Order of Police social would be investigated vigorously. Frustration would be rampant if 11 weeks went by without a solution. The Socialist Workers Party case has taken that long and seems to be gathering dust rather than steam.

# Socialist confronts Bell on Adams murder

By Dave Hurst

SALT LAKE CITY—When U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell spoke to the Utah State Bar Association January 19, he hardly expected to meet representatives of the Socialist Workers Party. However, Pam Burchett, SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City, was there.

Burchett demanded that Bell immediately begin an investigation into the murder of Tony Adams, chairperson of the SWP's 1978 congressional campaign in Utah. Adams was killed on the weekend of November 3, just days before the election.

Interference in a campaign for federal office is a federal offense. Although a complaint was filed with the Justice Department in December, nothing has yet been heard from them.

"We are concerned with apparent police reluctance to pursue the investigation," Burchett said.

She described the unsuccessful police entrapment of Adams, which took place last summer a few days after he was a featured speaker at a gay rights rally here.

"On occasions when we have met with police investigators," Burchett noted, "they seemed more interested in

getting Socialist Workers Party members to consent to fingerprint samples and lie detector tests, and repeatedly asked for membership and mailing lists."

Despite repeated assurances by Police Chief Bud Willoughby that there is no surveillance of political activists or files on them, Burchett pointed out that "two undercover officers recently visited the [SWP] headquarters and bookstore posing as people 'interested in' our ideas."

The same two undercover cops tried to pose as reporters at a news conference held by the Iranian Students Association at the University of Utah

on January 17. They also took pictures of activists selling the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

As Burchett stressed, "Despite police denials, there is plenty of evidence that the Socialist Workers Party and its members have been subject to police harassment and victimization nationally and locally."

After Burchett gave Bell a copy of her statement and asked him about the Adams investigation, Bell said he would "look into it." What is needed is public pressure to see that he does, indeed, "look into it" with a thorough federal investigation.



## Activists begin organizing

# NECLSA meeting discusses April actions

By John Hawkins

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Nearly 100 anti-apartheid activists gathered at Yale University here January 27 for a meeting of the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA) steering committee.

It was the first steering committee meeting since the conference on divestment and southern Africa solidarity work held at New York University November 17-19.

The conference, sponsored by NECLSA, was attended by close to 1,400 activists. Conference participants adopted a call for a week of anti-apartheid actions on the nation's campuses April 4-11.

The sizeable turnout at the steering committee meeting—despite the semester break—reflected the desire of campus anti-apartheid activists to begin organizing and coordinating their spring actions.

Unfortunately, the meeting was marred by a move—spearheaded by the Workers Viewpoint Organization, Revolutionary Student Brigade, the Communist Youth Organization, and others—to split the coalition.

Liz Dressen of Boston, the meeting chairperson, opened the gathering with a frenzied attack on many of those who had come to participate. She falsely charged the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party with “packing” the meeting.

### 'Suspicious' groups?

As proof, she pointed to new campus committees at the meeting and the presence of groups such as the National Lawyers Guild, the J.P. Stevens Boycott Committee, United States Student Association, and a representative of Hospital Workers Local 1199—implying that these were “suspicious” organizations because their representatives might agree with the positions of the SWP.

Dressen announced that the meeting was being moved to a new location and that the YSA and SWP and other groups not meeting their approval would be excluded. Half of the partici-

pants followed Dressen and other meeting organizers to a new meeting place behind a barricaded door.

In an attempt to preserve the unity of the NECLSA and block a split, those who were excluded followed to the new meeting place and demanded to be let in.

When it became clear that the splitters seemed bent on their exclusionary course, those who were blocked from entering reconvened and held a separate meeting.

Among those excluded who attended the meeting were representatives from groups at Yale University, University of Massachusetts (Boston), University of Delaware, Vassar College, Temple University, Morgan State University, and Howard University, and representatives of the United States Student Association, YSA, SWP, Young Workers Liberation League, and J.P. Stevens Boycott Committee.

Led by USSA President Frank Jacalone, the more than forty activists spent four hours discussing how to build the spring actions on their campuses. In addition, they adopted a strongly worded appeal for nonexclusion in the Africa solidarity movement.

### Exclusion meeting

Meanwhile, those who had followed Dressen voted to restrict voting at NECLSA steering committee meetings to campus divestment committees, to exclude participation of other groups such as the U.S. Student Association as voting members, to establish a body to screen campus committees that wish to participate in NECLSA, and to “censure” the YSA and SWP.

A motion proposed by the Workers Viewpoint Organization to expel the YSA and SWP from NECLSA was voted down overwhelmingly. The censure motion passed by a slim margin of thirteen to eight with several abstentions and with many established committees not allowed to vote.

“A number of activists were going along at first with this exclusionary process and red-baiting,” said Rohima Miah of the NYU Coalition Against Apartheid.

“But it became pretty clear that those who were pushing these motions were splitting and narrowing the coalition.”

Miah pointed to the role of those groups at the November conference as an example of this. At the conference a debate took place over so-called principles of unity of NECLSA.

When the Workers Viewpoint Organization and others failed to win a majority to their position, they disrupted the conference and began the talk of excluding other groups.

Miah pointed out that it is a victory for the Africa solidarity movement that these attempts to split the coalition have been unsuccessful.

### 'Outrage'

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, USSA President Frank Jacalone called the walkout from the steering committee meeting an “outrage.”

“This led to a far less productive weekend than could have happened,” he said.

“We’re going full steam ahead to support the actions, and we’re not going to allow disruption by any particular group of people to affect our work.”

At its January 12-14 board of directors meeting in Knoxville, Tennessee, the USSA voted to endorse the April 4-11 action call. Since then the group has been urging its student government affiliates nationwide to help build the actions.

Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the YSA, told the *Militant* that “the move to condemn the YSA and SWP for our role in helping organize the November 17-19 conference and our participation in it hurts the whole movement since such actions inhibit freedom of expression on the part of all.

“We do not accept that so-called censure as valid, and we’re convinced that any objective observer will see it for what it is—a slander and a lie.

“Despite that action,” Sedwick continued, “we’re going to remain a part of NECLSA, and we’re going to build the April 4-11 actions.

“We’re also going to continue to build the kind of broad-based, powerful movement that can force an end to university and U.S. government complicity with the white minority regimes in southern Africa.”

## Conference endorses actions

By Osborne Hart

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—More than 100 anti-apartheid activists from five southeastern states attended a “Conference on Southern Africa and Apartheid” January 26-28 at the University of Tennessee campus.

The conference was sponsored by the Afro-American Student Liberation Force (AASLF) and the Committee Against University Support of Apartheid (CAUSA).

The conference unanimously endorsed the April 4-11 week of campus activities against apartheid and es-

tablished a southeast coordinating body.

Participants came from twelve college campuses and from the United States Students Association, Washington Office on Africa, African National Congress, Zimbabwe African National Congress, and other groups.

Four members of the AASLF and CAUSA were arrested last October for “disorderly conduct” as they tried to present their divestment proposals to the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees. The conference voted to continue support for those arrested.

## Imperialists tighten blockade against Vietnam

By Fred Murphy

The response of the imperialist powers to the overthrow of Pol Pot's regime in Cambodia by Vietnamese troops and Cambodian rebels was not long in coming. As happened after the fall of the puppet regimes in Indochina in 1975, they are taking revenge on the Vietnamese people by tightening their economic blockade of Vietnam.

The January 9 *Financial Times* reported that the Japanese government is taking “a critical look” at its aid to Vietnam. “The chances are that the aid will be cut.”

On January 20 Swedish Prime Minister Ola Ullsten warned that unless Vietnam withdraws its military forces from Cambodia, it risks “reconsideration” of the aid that Stockholm and other Scandinavian governments have been providing.

“I think foreign aid should be given to suffering people,” said this ineffable cynic. “That need has decreased because of this war.”

Ullsten made his announcement in an interview at the conclusion of his visit to the United States. The warning came a few days after a meeting with President Carter.

Other imperialist governments have picked up the signals from Washington. “The Australian Government has suspended all its aid programs and cultural exchanges with Vietnam in protest against Vietnam's military involvement in Cambodia and against



Hanoi's Bach Mai Hospital, destroyed during Vietnam War. Swedish prime minister threatens to cut aid because of Cambodia war.

Hanoi's refugee policy,” the January 25 *Christian Science Monitor* reported.

The economic assistance being given Vietnam by imperialist powers hardly begins to repair the damage done to that country during the U.S. war against the Vietnamese revolution. Sweden provides \$100 million a year, and the other Scandinavian countries provide a similar amount between them.

According to the *Monitor*, “Australia's aid to Vietnam has mostly been in the form of livestock and dairy projects in Vietnam. Australians working on pilot farm projects in Vietnam are being recalled to Australia.”

Japan had agreed to provide about \$20 million in aid and \$50 million in loans to Vietnam. In exchange the Vietnamese had to agree to accept responsibility for loans made to the South Vietnamese puppet regime before 1975.

Even the loss of these miserly amounts will be a hard blow to the Vietnamese people, who face food shortages following floods and droughts and who urgently need to break out of the economic isolation imposed on them.

Using the war in Cambodia as a pretext, the imperialists are escalating

efforts to damage and ultimately reverse the Vietnamese revolution. This reflects their rage at the overthrow of capitalism in Vietnam and their disappointment at the overthrow of Pol Pot, whose regime they were beginning to view as a buffer against the spread of socialist revolution to Thailand and other Southeast Asian semicolonies.

The imperialists are ultimately responsible for the war in Cambodia today. Their support to the brutal Lon Nol regime and their massive bombing of the countryside created the vast social ruin that Pol Pot's tyranny inherited. And they have chortled encouragement to the Peking bureaucrats in their campaign against the Vietnamese revolution, a campaign aimed primarily at currying favor with the imperialists.

Working people around the world should reject the imperialists' hue and cry against Vietnam for what it is—a counterrevolutionary assault against the anticapitalist revolution that established the Vietnamese workers state.

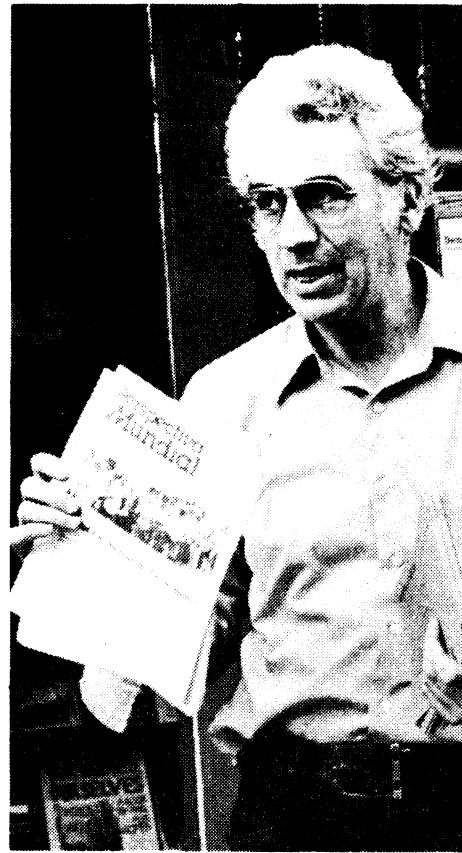
In the face of this brazenly hypocritical propaganda campaign, working people should step up demands that Washington and the other imperialist powers recognize all the Indochinese regimes, dismantle military bases in their region, and provide massive assistance to reconstruct all the countries of Indochina—with no strings attached.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Militant/Nancy Cole

# WANTED: 100,000 new readers for the Militant & Perspectiva Mundial



Militant/Ethel Lobman

## By Peter Seidman

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are launching a drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* this winter and spring.

The drive will open February 23 with a national subscription blitz week.

It will continue with a ten-week single-issue sales campaign beginning March 9.

The next several months will be an exciting—and politically important—time to sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*:

- The workers and peasants of Iran will be carrying forward their revolution against tyranny and exploitation.
- Millions of American workers will face contract expirations and potential strikes, including those covered by the crucial Teamsters' Master Freight Agreement.
- Shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia, will be striking for recognition of the Steelworkers union—a battle to inspire workers across the nonunion South and the entire country.
- Demonstrations demanding divestment of university holdings in ra-

cist South Africa will take place all over the United States. So will protests against nuclear power.

The big-business news media will continue to distort, disparage, and just plain lie about all these struggles.

But the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will tell the truth about them week after week.

This is why members of the SWP, the YSA, and other readers of the *Militant* will make this circulation drive one of their top priorities during the next four months.

## An ambitious goal

The socialists' plan to sell 100,000 papers is ambitious.

Last fall, *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* supporters set the same goal.

That effort was a big success. Altogether, we sold 123,544 papers (see final scoreboard on facing page).

But this time, we will be trying to make our goal in a shorter period of time—ten weeks instead of twelve.

What's more, as part of this drive, socialists are setting some additional ambitious sales goals.

First of all, to increase the number of subscriptions, especially six-month

and one-year subscriptions sold to co-workers on the job.

One step toward this will be the nationwide subscription blitz week in February.

A second goal is to increase single-copy sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to industrial workers, both at plant gates and to co-workers on the job.

Houston is one area that had particularly good plant gate sales during the last drive.

Rick Berman, the SWP organizer there, tells how they did it:

"We picked a small number of places, only four plants. But we made sure we sold there every week. We found that our sales went up as we started selling regularly.

"At the Hughes Tool plant," Berman says, "we sold at two or three shifts. This meant we could hit more people in the plant. It also meant that workers who might have been in too much of a hurry going in, could stop and talk to our salespeople as they were leaving."

Berman advises that "it's a big help to have two or three people at a plant gate sale. That makes it easier to talk to more of the people rushing in and out.

"Sometimes it's impossible to talk with people when they're driving on busy plant access roads," Berman says. "But with a little digging, we were able to find some good sales places anyway. Stop lights a bit farther down the road. Or a transit transfer platform. Or a nearby coffee spot."

Berman also thinks that "it's good to have the same people go back each time. That way workers can get to

know salespeople personally."

Sales to co-workers on the job took a big step forward during last fall's *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* circulation drive.

One area that did particularly well in this aspect of sales was Detroit. Tom Smith, a member of UAW Local 140, organizes sales of the *Militant* there.

## On-the-job sales

Smith reports that during last fall's sales drive, Detroit sold an average of forty-nine *Militants* a week to co-workers on the job, mostly in the auto plants.

Most areas could enjoy similar success, Smith believes. "It's a question of having confidence in people's interest in the *Militant*. This interest is real. People are interested in ideas.

"It's only natural to get into discussions with people that relate to articles in the *Militant*, since the *Militant* writes about the big events of the day and the big questions on people's minds," Smith points out. "Those discussions can easily lead to sales."

Of course, "you have to be careful about company rules and avoid victimization," Smith warns. "But none of the *Militant's* supporters among Detroit auto workers have been victimized for getting the paper around on the job," Smith says. "It's a matter of using discretion and ingenuity."

## Perspectiva Mundial

Los Angeles set the pace on sales of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language socialist biweekly, last fall.

Andrea Lubrano, who organizes sales there, explains how.

"From the very beginning," she

## 'Fantastic' response in Newport News



Militant/Shelley Kramer

## By Andrea Baron

"Fantastic." That's how sales teams described the response of Newport News, Virginia, shipyard workers to the *Militant*.

The workers in USWA Local 8888 there were about to go on strike. They bought 155 copies of the January 26 issue of the *Militant* with feature coverage of their struggle.

Sales teams from Baltimore and Raleigh, North Carolina, sold at the docks during shift changes and at street-corner rallies held by union organizers to discuss the strike.

The Raleigh team sold seventy-six papers in a few hours on Saturday, January 20.

The Baltimore team arrived the next Tuesday. Workers who had already seen the *Militant* around the yard approached them with money in hand to get their own copies.

In nearby Williamsburg, Virginia, students at William and Mary College held a meeting to discuss what students could do to support the strike. Afterwards, they bought twenty-one copies of the *Militant* and one subscription.

## Subscription blitz week

One important feature of the upcoming *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* circulation drive is the national subscription blitz week.

The week will begin with sales of issue number eight—which arrives in local areas beginning February 23.

During last fall's circulation drive, our supporters sold 2,627 subscriptions. This was without any nationally coordinated effort.

That was good. We want to sell subscriptions whenever the occasion arises—before, during, and after our circulation drives.

But during the sub blitz week, we want to begin signing up an even larger number of regular readers. This can be done through:

- door-to-door sales in working-class neighborhoods;
- canvassing at college dormitories—both in town and those that might require a special trip (this

could be combined with building support for upcoming anti-apartheid demonstrations);

- individual subscription sales to the thousands of activists our readers work with on the job and in women's, Black, and Chicano liberation organizations.

Ten-week introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* cost \$2. Six-month subs are \$8.50; one-year subs, \$15.

The key to success will be careful organization of the blitz week in advance.

The New York branches of the Socialist Workers Party, for example, are holding a city-wide meeting one week before the blitz. There they will discuss how to coordinate subscription sales.

Of course, all subs sold during the entire drive will be counted toward areas' cumulative goal on the scoreboard.



says, "we decided that we could not say we had made our overall weekly goal of 500 papers if we had not made our *Perspectiva Mundial* goal of 100 as well.

"This meant we had to discuss where we were going to sell the Spanish-language paper every week. Then we organized special *Perspectiva Mundial* sales teams to go to these community sales spots, political meetings, and plant gates."

*Perspectiva Mundial* salespeople don't have to be bilingual to succeed, Lubrano explains.

"Many such people became convinced last fall that they could sell *Perspectiva Mundial* anyway," she says. "This happened when we sold more than 220 at the annual September 16 parade in the Chicano community."

"Discussing what was in each issue was a big help to non-bilingual salespeople," Lubrano recalls.

"We also experimented with some new places to sell. We found, for example, that we were able to sell quite well at the office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service—where hundreds of people are forced to wait, often for hours at a time."

"You've got to take your goal for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* seriously—and campaign to make it every single week, not just overall," says Stuart Schwab, a member of the International Association of Machi-



SWP mayoral candidate Thabo Ntweng (left) sells the 'Militant' to explain socialist view of Cleveland's financial crisis to workers at Republic Steel. Spring circulation drive will publicize socialist campaigns from coast to coast.

nists, who organizes sales in Salt Lake City.

"That's because sales are more than selling. They're the regular presence of the Socialist Workers Party. Our campaigns. Our activities. What we have to say to other working people."

Salt Lake City is one of two areas that made their goals every week during last fall's drive.

Saturday is a big sales day for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in Salt Lake City.

"But if bad weather or some other problems come along," Schwab explains, "we might have to organize harder at the end of the week to make the goal. Salespeople are glad to go out on special teams Thursday and Friday if that's what we need to do to sell out our bundle."

Morgantown is the other area that made its goal every week.

Eric Oleson is the sales director there.

"Regular sales are essential at mine portals and plant gates," Oleson says. Since these sales were 25 percent of Morgantown's total, "we were forced to plan them carefully."

#### On to 100,000

How will socialists sell 100,000 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials* in the next several months?

After the subscription blitz week, our supporters will have one week to get ready for the start of the single-copy sales campaign.

This will open on March 9, when areas begin to receive issue number ten of the *Militant*.

We want to start this drive off with a bang. We're urging supporters to take

extra-large goals for this first issue of the campaign.

Last fall, many areas doubled their goals during two such national target sales weeks.

SWP campaign committees combined stepped-up *Militant* sales with big efforts to get out socialist election literature.

In New York City, for example, socialists distributed 20,000 pieces of literature at street rallies in addition to selling more than 1,800 papers during one target week.

Cleveland socialists used last fall's target weeks as an occasion to send special teams down to the big U.S. Steel and Ford plants in Lorain, introducing scores of new readers there to the *Militant*.

We are urging our supporters to think through how they can take on big goals like this again.

The drive will then continue for nine more weeks.

We'll wrap it up with another big target week beginning May 11.

We'll report the progress of the circulation campaign every week. We hope areas will send us reports that we can pass on.

This spring, the Carter administration's attacks on working people will deepen.

Trade unionists, Blacks, Chicanos, women and students will be looking for political solutions to the problems the capitalist offensive is creating.

Socialists have those solutions. And our campaign to sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will put them in the hands of more than 100,000 more people.

## Competition!

The *Militant* would like to give special recognition to outstanding participants in the spring sales campaign.

A January-June 1979 bound volume of the *Militant* will be awarded to:

- the branch of the Socialist Workers Party with the highest cumulative sales;
- the branch with the highest per capita participation; and
- all branches that make their weekly goal every week of the drive.

The ten people with the highest single-copy sales during the drive will win the paperback of their choice from Pathfinder Press.

Think that you or your branch might be in the running? Let the circulation office know, so we can highlight this competition from time to time in the pages of the *Militant*.

## Help us spread the word

We urge all our readers to join the 'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial' circulation campaign. Help spread the ideas of socialism to an increasingly receptive audience among the industrial working class and its allies.

Yes. I'd like to help. Please send me:

- ☐ Subscription blanks and sample copies so I can join in the national blitz week.
- ☐ A weekly bundle of \_\_\_\_\_ Militants.
- ☐ A biweekly bundle of \_\_\_\_\_ Perspectiva Mundials. (We'll bill you 35¢ per copy for bundles of five or more of either publication.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

# 50th anniversary drive went way over the top

123,544! That's the grand total on the scoreboard below—which gives the final results of the 'Militant's Fiftieth Anniversary circulation campaign.

The twelve-week drive to sell 100,000 copies of the 'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial' ended December 15.

Other highlights of the drive included:

• Two national sales target weeks. During the first, our supporters sold 14,568 papers. During the second, 12,670.

• 2,627 new subscribers to the 'Militant' (introductory ten-week subs are credited for ten points each on the scoreboard).

• More than 80 percent of the areas listed made or exceeded their cumulative goals.

• Nearly 9 percent of our weekly sales were at plant gates or on the job. Of course, many more papers got into the hands of industrial workers at political events, strike picket lines, demonstrations, and community, campus, and door-to-door sales.

CITY	MILITANTS SOLD	PMs SOLD	SUB POINTS	GOAL	TOTAL	PERCENT
Albuquerque	2165	382	860	1900	3407	179.3
Kansas City, Mo.	1700	76	580	1500	2356	157.1
Portland	1402	0	650	1450	2052	141.5
Miami	1516	485	460	1800	2461	136.7
San Antonio	1341	370	270	1450	1981	136.6
Dallas	1981	390	320	2000	2691	134.6
Iron Range, Mn.	539	0	430	720	969	134.6
Salt Lake City	2218	47	340	1950	2605	133.6
Louisville	1308	3	590	1450	1901	131.1
Cleveland	1773	62	360	1700	2195	129.1
Morgantown	2061	0	780	2200	2841	129.1
San Diego	1576	226	490	1800	2292	127.3
Pittsburgh	2149	25	600	2200	2774	126.1
Newark	2052	148	560	2200	2760	125.5
Seattle	2246	31	450	2200	2727	124.0
Milwaukee	1698	60	440	1800	2198	122.1
Phoenix	1407	325	430	1800	2162	120.1
Tucson	304	9	190	430	503	117.0
Berkeley	2010	32	460	2200	2502	113.7
Tacoma	1623	0	420	1800	2043	113.5
Cincinnati	1310	3	330	1450	1643	113.3
New York	8858	1050	2500	11000	12408	112.8
Oakland	1805	180	830	2500	2815	112.6

Baltimore	1724	1	290	1800	2015	111.9
Minneapolis	1585	1	870	2200	2456	111.6
St. Louis	2082	6	360	2200	2448	111.3
Los Angeles	5353	1475	1080	7200	7908	109.8
St. Paul	909	19	660	1450	1588	109.5
San Francisco	3125	579	640	4000	4344	108.6
San Jose	1396	316	210	1800	1922	106.8
New Orleans	1632	60	650	2200	2342	106.5
Toledo	1476	17	260	1650	1753	106.2
Denver	1293	142	650	2000	2085	104.3
Philadelphia	2791	199	710	3600	3700	102.8
Washington, D.C.	2876	499	930	4250	4305	101.3
Boston	2239	175	1220	3600	3634	100.9
Raleigh	1312	0	440	1800	1752	97.3
Atlanta	2226	15	540	2900	2781	95.9
Indianapolis	1434	0	280	1900	1714	90.2
Detroit	2588	3	600	3600	3191	88.6
Gary, Ind.	608	0	30	720	638	88.6
Albany	1147	12	420	1800	1579	87.7
Chicago	3833	403	1440	6500	5676	87.3
Houston	2425	352	520	5050	3297	65.3
Miscellaneous			130		130	
TOTALS	89,096	8,178	26,270	111,720	123,544	110.6

# Actions mark '73 abortion rights victory

Activities across the country commemorated the January 22, 1973, Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. The February 2 'Militant' carried reports on a teach-in of 500 in New York City and a march and rally in Trenton, New Jersey, attended by nearly 500 demonstrators.

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, held a news conference in Washington, D.C., on January 22. A commentary on Smeal's statement appears in the 'Women in Revolt' column on page 29.

Below are reports on abortion rights activities in other cities.

## New Mexico

By Barry David

SANTA FE, N. Mex.—Nearly 100 supporters of abortion rights picketed the state capitol here January 22 to protest proposals that would further restrict a woman's right to choose abortion.

The marchers chanted, "What do we want? The right to choose! When do we want it? Now!" as a smaller group of counterdemonstrators from the Right to Life Committee looked on.

Sylvia Mares spoke for the Santa Fe Coalition for Abortion Choice. She explained that the pickets were protesting a bill before the state legislature that calls for a federal amendment outlawing abortion.

Mares emphasized the need to fight for abortion funding for poor women. After the Hyde amendment gave state governments the option to deny Medicaid funds for abortion, the New Mexico legislature became one of the first states to deny the right to choose to poor women.

The picket was sponsored by the

New Mexico Right to Choose, the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, and the National Organization for Women.

## Vermont

By Valerie Eckart

MONTPELIER, Vt.—A spirited march and rally for abortion rights was held here January 20. As the 200 participants reached Taplin Auditorium they marched past a smaller group of silent abortion rights opponents.

Speakers at the two-hour rally included Bonnie Escott, state coordinator for NOW; Marty Levin, Vermont Federation of Teachers; and Mary Mitchell Miller, Catholics for Free Choice.

The rally participants responded enthusiastically to Millie Bliss, who spoke on the problems facing poor women in the fight for abortion rights. "The best thing for the Vermont women's movement to do," she said, "is struggle in every arena until there is the right to a legal abortion and state and federal funding for it."



New Mexico abortion rights supporters picket state capitol

Montpelier and Burlington newspapers covered the abortion activities.

## Minnesota

By Stacey Seigle

MINNEAPOLIS—A rally of 300 gathered January 22 at the Capitol Rotunda in St. Paul to support women's right to abortion.

Despite heckling from a large crowd of anti-abortion pickets gathered outside, the rally proceeded without disruption.

The American Civil Liberties Union announced the same day that they have filed a suit against state restrictions on federal funding for abortion. The suit is filed on behalf of a Black woman with sickle-cell anemia, an inherited disease. She is being denied funds for an abortion.

## Arizona

By Jill Fein

PHOENIX, Ariz.—A noon rally here in defense of abortion rights drew more than 100 students at Arizona State University January 22.

The rally celebrated the historic Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion and commemorated the tragic death of Rosaura Jimenez. The twenty-seven-year-old Chicana was a victim of the restricted Medicaid funds for abortions. Jimenez died October 3, 1977, after suffering medical complications from a back-alley abortion.

Mary Tucker, executive director for the Right to Choose, condemned an attempt earlier in the day to prevent an abortion at the Planned Parenthood clinic. A small "right to life" group entered the clinic, chained themselves to tables, and attempted to block the hallways.

Tucker aptly termed this a "callous disregard for the health and life of the pregnant woman who chooses abortion. This same disregard for pregnant women caused the death of Jimenez."

The memorial rally was sponsored by the Central Arizona Coalition for the Right to Choose, Arizona State University Women's Affairs Board, and Feminists United for Action.

## Texas

By Lea Sherman

DALLAS—Seventy people turned out here on a cold, windy day January 21 in support of abortion rights.

The action, called by the Dallas County chapter of NOW, began with a picket at the Catholic Diocese. Participants then marched to the federal building for another picket.

Charlotte Taft, president of the local NOW chapter, explained the sites were chosen to focus the protest against the intervention by the church and state to deny women abortion rights.

Gretchen Jarvis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Dallas, participated in the picket and issued a statement in support of women's right to choose abortion.

## March 31 actions in U.S.

Abortion-rights activists in a number of U.S. cities have announced plans for demonstrations on March 31, in response to a worldwide call issued by the International Campaign for Abortion Rights.

An international conference in Brussels last September called for the International Day of Action in support of a woman's right to abortion and contraception and against forced sterilization.

The Northeast Coalition for Reproductive Rights, recently formed by activists in the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA) and the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA), has announced that actions are already being planned in New York, Boston, and Hartford. NCRR

has urged abortion-rights supporters around the country to set up coalitions or committees to build March 31 actions.

A planning meeting in New York City January 24 was attended by twenty-five to thirty women who formed the March 31 Coalition for Reproductive Rights. They came from the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women, CARASA, the Socialist Workers Party, the Columbia Women's Center, New York Working Women, International Socialists, and NOW's Minority Women's Task Force.

All interested persons have been invited to attend the next meeting of the New York coalition, which will take place February 7 at 7:30 p.m., at 100 Barnard Hall, Barnard College.

# Victim of forced sterilization loses in racist trial

By Kathy Rettig

PITTSBURGH—Five defendants charged with conspiracy to involuntarily sterilize a Native American woman were acquitted here January 18 in U.S. District Court.

An all-white jury of four men and two women found the doctors and welfare officials not guilty of conspiring to sterilize Norma Jean Serena, a forty-one-year-old Creek-Shawnee, in 1970.

The jury did find the two welfare officials guilty of conspiring to remove three of Serena's children under false pretenses and illegally placing them in foster homes for three years.

In awarding Serena and her children punitive damages of \$17,000, the jury declared that the welfare officials had acted out of racial prejudice.

Serena did not discover she had been sterilized until two years after the operation when she was forced to have

a hysterectomy due to complications from the sterilization. She had given her signed "consent" to the sterilization while still heavily sedated one day after the difficult delivery of her youngest child.

During the trial Serena testified that the doctors and caseworkers never explained the permanence of sterilization or alternative birth-control methods.

A former foster parent of one of Serena's children revealed that several months prior to the sterilization defendant Jean Burgess, one of the welfare officials, told her that "any child Mrs. Serena had would be retarded, so she should be sterilized." Serena would sign the consent forms, Burgess added, because "she's too stupid to know what they say."

Other witnesses reported that Burgess referred to Serena as a "squaw," "call girl," and "retarded," and that

she was upset by the fact that Serena had Black friends.

The Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center and the Patients Rights Program of the Pittsburgh Free Clinic, two groups involved in the Norma Jean Serena Support Committee, plan to seek the aid of women's rights organizations in appealing the case.

"We are infuriated by the verdict," said Joannie Eisenberg of Patients Rights. Serena's case shows the importance of enforcing the new federal sterilization guidelines that take effect February 6, she added. The guidelines require a thirty-day waiting period between the patient's consent and sterilization.

Carol Rogers of Women Against Sterilization Abuse in Philadelphia said she was not surprised by the trial's outcome. Sterilization is pushed as a "solution" to poverty, Rogers said,

while federal funding for abortions, birth-control clinics, social services, jobs, and child care are all being axed.



NORMA JEAN SERENA



# New Mex. senate OKs 'right to work for less'

By Barry David

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—The state senate voted twenty-two to nineteen January 23 to outlaw the union shop in New Mexico. A coalition of Republican and Democratic legislators rammed the misnamed "right to work" bill through with almost no debate.

Most observers expect that the state house of representatives will also pass the bill, signaling employers throughout the state to declare open season on the labor movement.

In last November's elections, the workers and farmers of Missouri delivered a resounding defeat to anti-union forces by rejecting a "right to work" referendum. Now the union-busters seem to be concentrating on states such as New Mexico, where the union movement is weak and the working class appears more vulnerable.

Only 12 percent of the New Mexico work force are unionized, and only 4 percent are in union shops. The state ranks forty-third in per capita income. Unemployment is consistently higher than the national average.

New Mexico Citizens for Right-to-Work, the local RTW affiliate, plays on the economic insecurity of workers here to whip up support for its anti-union drive. The right-to-work forces compare low wage levels and scarce job opportunities in New Mexico to the relatively higher wages and lower unemployment in neighboring Texas and Arizona, both RTW states.

They dishonestly omit the fact that, on the average, wages in RTW states run significantly lower than in states where union shops set the pace. For example, thirteen of the twenty RTW states, including Texas and Arizona, are among the bottom twenty states in average wages.

## Thirty-year history

Ever since 1947, when passage of the federal Taft-Hartley Act gave state governments the legal go-ahead to try to impose the open shop, the employers in New Mexico have been campaigning for "right to work" laws.

In 1948 New Mexico voters overwhelmingly rejected a RTW referendum. From then until 1972, open-shop laws were introduced and defeated in every full legislative session.

In 1976 the national anti-union committee began focusing attention on New Mexico. In March 1977 the pro-RTW law came close to passing in the legislature.

In the period leading up to the November 1978 elections, the New Mexico Citizens for RTW poured thousands of dollars into a newspaper, radio, and TV advertising campaign. Thousands more went into the pockets of the most outspoken anti-union candidates in both the Democratic and Republican parties.

Working people throughout New Mexico are beginning to realize what is at stake. It is the hottest issue on the shop floor.

Unionized workers appear almost unanimous in their opposition to RTW. Bumper stickers have appeared, declaring: "RTW Means Slave Labor" and "Right-to-Work is a Ripoff."

## Missouri example

In Missouri, the November defeat for RTW forces showed the potential for a campaign by labor and its allies—Black and women's groups, students, environmentalists, and farmers.

Initially Missouri labor officials concentrated their efforts on voter registration and on legal action to remove the anti-union initiative from the ballot.

But with only weeks left and the polls favoring RTW, the labor movement went on a publicity and educational drive. In the days before the election, thousands of unionists in St. Louis and Kansas City went door to door to explain the issues involved.

Farmers organizations, on which the antilabor forces had relied heavily for support, spoke out against RTW.

The National Organization for Women held a news conference and cosponsored a rally against the "right to work" law.

Black groups distributed literature showing the anti-union movement to be anti-Black as well.

Campus activists set up "right to truth" committees, named after similar formations established by local unions.

This is what brought down the "right to work" legislation throughout Missouri with a three-to-two vote.

The same forces need to be involved in a drive in New Mexico to defeat the union-busters.

Unfortunately, the state AFL-CIO concentrated almost all its efforts this past fall in trying to elect "friends" in the Democratic Party. In particular, union officials have been counting on newly elected Gov. Bruce King, a millionaire rancher, to veto RTW.

As the election approached, King began to waffle more and more. Just prior to the election, he told the *Albuquerque Journal* that the decision of whether to veto or sign a RTW bill "depends on what the people of New Mexico want and what facts are brought up as the bill is worked through the legislature. . . . I have never said on any bill that I will sign or veto it . . . I haven't taken any position."

The Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 1978 elections laid out a serious strategy to fight back. In a campaign position paper, senatorial

candidate Carole Newcomb and congressional candidate Floyd Fowler explained, "Every gain working people have ever won has been through our own struggles: the eight-hour day, unemployment benefits, child labor and civil rights laws, not to mention the simple right to organize. Defeating the 'right to work' forces will be no exception."

"The politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties cannot be relied on to stop RTW," the socialists continued. "Labor must fight its own battles, and once and for all stop supporting the 'lesser evil' tricksters."

## 500 protest anti-union bill



Militant/Barry David

SANTA FE, N. Mex.—One day after the state senate approved "right to work" legislation, nearly 500 people rallied here against the anti-union bill.

The January 24 action in the state's capital was sponsored by the Citizens Clearinghouse Against Right-To-Work.

In his most recent statements, Democratic Gov. Bruce King has said he will veto the RTW bill if passed—and then put it on the ballot for a referendum vote.

The action here was originally planned as a march and rally at the capitol building. Later, organizers changed its character to an "educational day," featuring a "legislative update" in the house and senate chambers. The event culminated in

an indoor educational rally at the College of Santa Fe.

Although many local union officials and some union locals endorsed the protest, the AFL-CIO did not, claiming that public actions are inappropriate at this time.

The NAACP and PADRES, an organization of progressive priests, backed the day's activities.

Speakers at the rally included leaders of the National Education Association, Retail Clerks Union, NAACP, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Tom Shirley, originally from the Navajo coal mining region around Kayenta, Arizona, spoke as an international representative for the United Mine Workers. —B.D.

# Portland students hear striking paper worker

By Joel Shapiro

PORTLAND, Ore.—Striking pulp and paper workers brought their cause to students at Lewis and Clark College here January 25.

Fifty people attended the meeting to hear Don Frost, a member of the bargaining board of Local 13, Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers. Three other members of Local 13 also drove the 130 miles from Toledo, Oregon, to be at the meeting.

Frost emphasized that the main issues are the rights the companies are trying to take away from the union. These include the right to honor a picket line.

Up until mid-January, the companies had all but suspended negotiations. At that time several companies resumed talks.

Strikers at Boise Cascade's newsprint mill in West Tacoma, Washington, voted down a contract proposal January 24. This mill has been out since July 7, longer than any other in the West Coast strike. But the workers are determined to hold out until the company improves pensions and guarantees amnesty for strikers.

Frost also told students about the AWPPW's history. The Association



Militant/George Chalmers

Local 13 members Chuck Ritz and Ray Mosier. One way AWPPW guards democratic rights is by paying its officers no more than mill workers.

was formed in 1964 when workers on the West Coast left the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers and the United Papermakers and Paperworkers. The major issues that led to the split were

lack of local autonomy and lack of union democracy.

The motto of the AWPPW is, "Guard well the democratic rights of your members."

One of the ways they guard demo-

cratic rights, Frost explained, is to pick all union officers from the ranks of the union. Association officers are paid no more than workers in the mill.

"If you take a job as officer, it is not for the money but for what you believe in and what you want to do for your fellow workers," Frost said.

He talked of how hard the strike has been for the people in Toledo, a town of 3,000. Local 13 has opened all its union meetings to the families of union members to involve them in organizing the strike.

The paper workers believe the outcome of their strike will affect all future labor relations in this area of the country. Support from many unions, however, has been lukewarm. Some have ordered their members across the AWPPW's picket lines.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has aided the strikers, and the Oregon Federation of Teachers recently passed a resolution in support.

An encouraging sign for future solidarity was a meeting held several days before Frost spoke here between the AWPPW and district representatives of the ILWU, Teamsters, International Woodworkers, and Lumber and Saw Mill Workers Union.

# Southern farmers rally support in Atlanta

By Linda Millwood

ATLANTA—On January 25, nearly 400 tractors rolled into Atlanta.

Farmers from seven southern states rallied here on their way to Washington, D.C. They are part of the national tractorcade sponsored by the American Agriculture Movement (AAM).

The farmers are expected in the capital around February 5 for a national demonstration.

The AAM is demanding that the government enforce farm legislation that would help farmers protect their living standard.

Alvin Jenkins, a national AAM coordinator from Colorado, reported to the rally that there were 652 tractors in Illinois, 900 in Minnesota, and others in Kentucky—all headed for Washington for the protest.

The overwhelmingly white audience cheered Joseph Lowery, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as he said, "The causes and needs that bind us together are far more important than those that tend to divide us. . . .

"This is a beginning of a new move-

ment. They have kept us apart, but we know those who are against the farmers are against poor folks in the city, too."

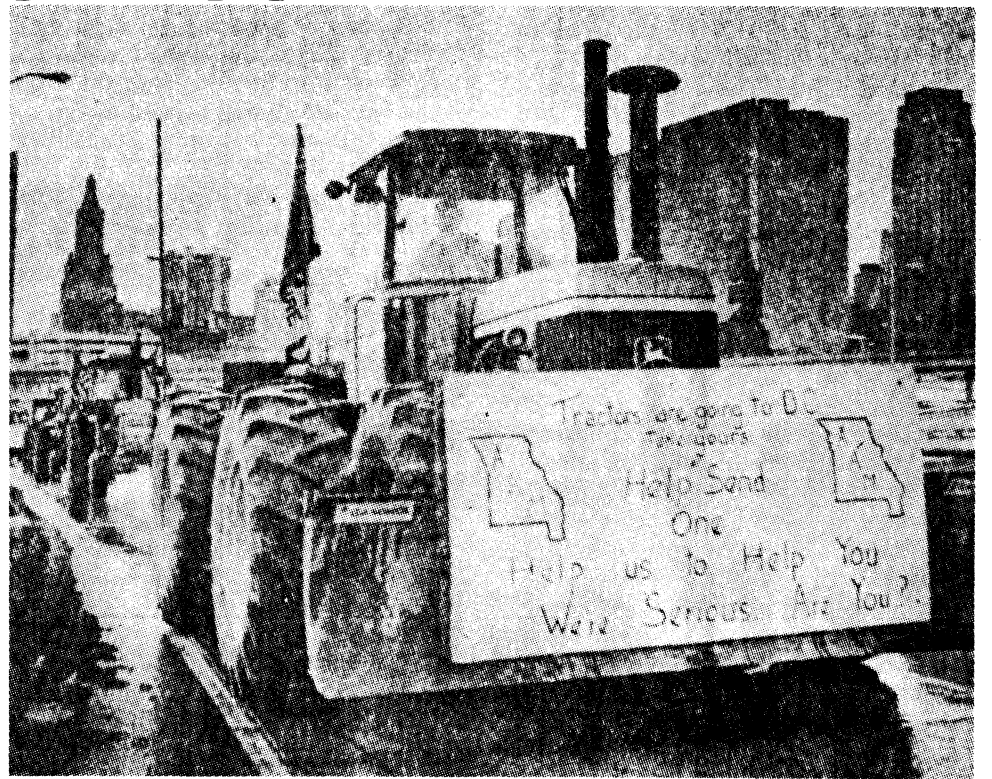
Tommy Kersey, Georgia president of AAM, said, "Our problem lies on Capitol Hill. We are not going knocking on doors begging and crying—we're going demanding."

Georgia State Sen. Roscoe Dean spoke for the Georgia Consumer Co-op, which sponsored the Atlanta rally. "Who is our enemy?" he asked. "Giant corporations control the food industry. They are going to force the farmers into bankruptcy and force higher prices on consumers."

Dean also stated that out of the 32,000 food manufacturers, 50 control 61 percent of the profits.

Other speakers included Herb Mabry, state president of the AFL-CIO, and representatives of the Retail Clerks and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, which are organizing a boycott of Winn Dixie Food stores.

Mayor Maynard Jackson proclaimed January 25 Consumer-Farmer Day in Atlanta.



KANSAS CITY—More than 150 tractors head toward national rally. One sign on this tractorcade read: 'What the hell does Shah Carter know about human rights?'

## Midwest farm workers kick off national boycott

By Jeff Stephenson

TOLEDO, Ohio—"We want the public to know that Campbells—a household word—is forcing whole families to work, including children, in semifeudal conditions," declared Badleamar Velásquez at a news conference here January 25 kicking off an international boycott of Campbell and Libby products.

Velásquez is president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, which organized the strike by 2,000 farm workers last summer in northwest Ohio's tomato fields.

FLOC has initiated the boycott because Campbells and Libbys, major canners in the area, refuse to meet with the migrant farm workers about their demands for wage increases, medical insurance, and travel costs between here and their winter homes in Texas and Florida.

The tomato growers in the area contract with the canneries during the winter. FLOC is demanding that Libbys and Campbells see to it that the growers improve the wages and working conditions of the farm workers.

"We hope to use the boycott tool twelve months a year and the strike one month a year," said Velásquez,

referring to the peak harvest time.

He explained that this year Campbells and Libbys are only contracting with farmers who use mechanical pickers.

"If we went away, they would return to hand harvest, because the machines are nowhere as effective as they should be," he added.

Tom Nowell, assistant regional director of Ohio Council 8 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, spoke at the news conference. The 35,000-member state AFSCME "stands right next to FLOC," he said. He added that AFSCME would seek national AFL-CIO endorsement of the strike and boycott.

On January 28, 200 supporters joined 60 farm workers in a public rally to announce the boycott. Speakers included Charles Hendrix, regional director of AFSCME Ohio Council 8; Paul Sidello, U.S. Catholic Conference; Tom Jones, National Association of Farm Workers Organization; and Bert Corona, National Brotherhood of Mexican American Workers.

In Ann Arbor, Michigan, January 25, more than fifty pickets marched in front of a Kroger's food store in support of the FLOC boycott.

## UFW strikes lettuce growers

By Jesús Santos

EL CENTRO, Calif.—A strike by members of the United Farm Workers grew to include more than 3,000 workers on January 27. The farm workers began walking off the job January 19 after lettuce growers rejected their demands for better wages.

California's Imperial Valley produces 95 percent of the nation's winter iceberg lettuce crop. The major lettuce growers here are presently under contract with the UFW, providing the union with its major base in California agriculture. So far the strike has halted harvesting by eight of the twenty-eight growers.

The farm workers are demanding a 40 percent wage hike, which would boost their current minimum wage of \$3.70 to a modest \$5.25. The

growers insist they have to abide by Carter's 7 percent guideline.

On January 23, a judge declared the strike illegal at two of the companies, which said their contracts had no-strike clauses. Two days later, sixty-four strikers were placed under "citizen's arrest" by their employers for disobeying the court order.

One *campesino* told the *Militant* that the farm workers are no longer willing to take "crumbs and charity" for their labor. Another said, "As for us, we can tell this strike is solid, and we have decided to fight."

The growers called in federal mediators, but the UFW refused to meet with them. "It is none of their business, and we are not abiding by President Carter's recommendations," said UFW President César Chávez.

## National picket line

### N.J. chemical workers win safety demands

Chemical workers at the American Cyanamid plant in Bound Brook, New Jersey, voted to end their fifty-two-day strike January 25. The workers, who suffer high rates of cancer and lung abnormalities, had demanded job safety and information on hazards in the plant.

Cyanamid reportedly agreed to begin informing workers of "significant new health problems," the results of environmental tests, the generic names of all chemicals used in production processes along with the safety and health requirements of each and the written results of medical examinations.

The wage settlement, which the company insisted be within Carter's 7 percent guidelines, was said to be 54 cents the first year and 42 cents the second. Pay had ranged from \$4.96 to \$7.35.

### St. Louis judge drops order against teachers

At the request of the St. Louis School Board, a judge dissolved a restraining order against picketing by striking teachers January 29. He also dismissed the board's suit seeking a back-to-work order.

Members of the American Federation of Teachers Local 420 struck January 16 over wages, class size, and preparatory time. Teachers have held firm despite the immediate restraining order and the arrest of several pickets.

The school board's newest angle in its effort to get teachers back to work without meeting any of their demands is to call for a "public audit to prove there is no money."

Strikers' morale remains high, reports Helen Savio, a member of Local 420's executive board. On Tuesdays and Sundays the union holds mass rallies, and on Thursdays special strike events are scheduled.

Despite the bitter cold a torch-light parade of 800 strikers marched to the school board offices January 25.

### Scotia widows win a round

For the first time, the widows of coal miners killed in the 1976 Scotia disaster have won a victory. A three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals recently overruled a lower court decision that dismissed the widows' \$60 million damage suit against the Blue Diamond Coal Company.

Twenty-three miners and three federal inspectors were killed in two blasts at the southeastern Kentucky mine in March 1976.

More than two years after the tragedy, the federal inspection agency finally levied fines totaling \$267,897 against the coal company for sixty violations of federal mine and safety laws. The company protested, but the matter has yet to be resolved because the U.S. attorney's office in Kentucky is conducting its own investigation. Now, three years since the murder of the twenty-six, this investigation is still "in the preliminary stages."

The court of appeals sent the widows' case back to Judge H. David Hermansdorfer for trial later this year. The widows, unable to sue the Scotia company for more than the meager workers' compensation allotment, charged the parent firm, Blue Diamond, was responsible.

Hermansdorfer, whose bias is pegged with the few thousand dollars he receives each year for coal mined on his land, dismissed the widows' case in September 1977.

At the beginning of the court session the judge granted Blue Diamond's request to bar release of a report on the disaster by the federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration. The MESA study, which reportedly faults Blue Diamond for the explosions, has yet to be released to the public.

—Nancy Cole



## The city that works?

# Pulley blasts Democratic snow job in Chicago

By Bobbie Bagel

CHICAGO—"If the Democrats and Republicans can't even get rid of the snow, how are they going to get rid of unemployment?" asked Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, in the wake of the twenty-one-inch blizzard that crippled the city last month.

"The city that works," as its business boosters like to call it, didn't work at all for days.

Residential streets were buried. Train and bus service ground to a halt, stranding thousands of working people. Businesses shut down. Many people were trapped in their homes, unable to get to food stores or doctors.

How did elected officials respond? Republican Gov. Thompson caught a plane to Florida.

Democratic Mayor Bilandic stayed in town, but "for all the good he did, he

might as well have left too," Pulley said.

The mayor's message was, "If everyone will shovel their walk and pray for no more snow, we will be okay."

Bilandic probably knew what he was doing in appealing for divine intervention, because the city's useless plan for snow removal had been drawn up by one of the mayor's political cronies at a cost to the taxpayers of \$90,000.

Former Deputy Mayor Kenneth Sain declared his plan to be "cost effective." The only effect the cost had was on Sain's bank balance.

The city government's racism didn't abate during the storm, either. The administration made its minimal efforts at snow removal only in white neighborhoods, leaving the Black and *latino* South and West sides unplowed for up to five days.

"There wasn't enough equipment, there wasn't the right kind of equipment, there weren't enough people to operate the equipment, and there was no plan," Pulley commented. "We pay higher and higher taxes for services and in return we get five-foot snowdrifts."

While no one can stop snow, Pulley said, every snowfall doesn't have to turn into a disaster.

"We have the technology to effectively remove snow," he declared. "We have the people. We could put thousands of the city's unemployed to work learning how to use snow removal equipment. That would certainly make more sense than Bilandic's scheme of paying fifty-seven dollars an hour for experts from Buffalo."

"The best, most modern snow-removal equipment should be placed in each city neighborhood," Pulley went on. "Residents should organize and direct snow removal operations, because local people know best what local priorities are."

"The big question is where the money will come from. We say that the bill should be paid by the big corpora-

tions and banks, which make enormous profits from tax loopholes, tax-free bonds, and inflated prices."

Pulley said his plan would get rid of the snow, put the unemployed to work, involve people in running their own

communities, and not cost working people a dime.

"The Socialist Workers Party puts human needs before corporate profits," Pulley said. "And that is what Chicago needs today."



"If they can't get rid of snow, how will they get rid of unemployment?"

## Socialist files for ballot spot

CHICAGO—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, filed 27,500 signatures with the Board of Election Commissioners January 25 for a place on the April 3 ballot.

Pulley, a twenty-seven-year-old steelworker, is so far the only Black and only independent candidate to file for mayor.

Urging the board to put Pulley on the ballot without delay were Quentin Young, director of Cook County medical services; Leon DesPres, former alderman; and other civil libertarians.

Pulley is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 at U.S. Steel Gary Works. He has been an activist and leader for ten years in the antiwar, Black rights, and socialist movements.

As a GI at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, Pulley was one of eight soldiers victimized in 1968 for their

outspoken opposition to the Vietnam War. A national civil liberties campaign forced the army to drop all charges against them.

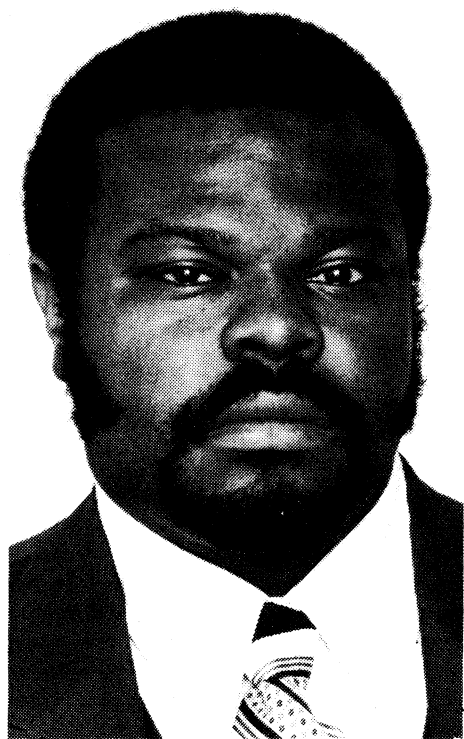
In 1972 Pulley was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president.

"The people of Chicago are supposed to go to the polls and elect a new mayor," Pulley told reporters at a news conference after the filing. "But there is no real choice between the Democrats and Republicans. Michael Bilandic, the leading Democrat, is part of the racist machine that's been running this city for fifty years."

"The likely Republican nominee is a millionaire business executive, who couldn't care less about unemployment, segregation, and police brutality."

"My campaign is the only alternative for Chicago's working and poor people."

—B.B.



ANDREW PULLEY

Militant/Lane Satterblom

# Railroad seeks to victimize SWP candidate

By Doug Hord

CHICAGO—Manuel Barrera, Socialist Workers Party candidate for treasurer of Chicago, is under threat of losing his job as a result of his union and political activity.

Barrera, a machinist, works at the California Avenue Coach Yard facility of the Chicago and North Western Railroad. He is an activist in the International Association of Machinists Local 478.

The Chicago and North Western is charging Barrera with excessive absenteeism. But the facts of the case show that the real issue is whether Barrera has the right to be active in his union, to advocate his views openly, and to run for political office without fear of reprisals from the C&NW.

C&NW management first began harassing Barrera for his participation in the September 5 one-day strike that shut down the C&NW system.

At issue in that strike was whether unionists on the C&NW had the right to honor the picket lines set up by members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks on strike against the Norfolk and Western Railway. The one-day strike ended in victory with C&NW agreeing to drop threatened disciplinary action.

But Barrera, who had refused to cross BRAC's picket lines, was suspended for fifteen days for a minor



Socialist Barrera (left) is charged with being absent from work during nationwide railroad strike in support of clerks.

work-rule violation. In the presence of a union representative, Shop Superintendent James Bowen told Barrera he was going to "keep after" him.

Now Barrera is being charged with absenteeism on September 5 and again on September 26 and 27, the days of the national railroad strike in solidarity with BRAC. On top of that, the C&NW wants to discipline Barrera for the fifteen days he was suspended!

Barrera is also charged with missing work when he was off due to a severe

strep throat, despite the fact that he presented a doctor's note upon returning to work. It is company policy, contained in a memorandum signed by the same officer who signed the charges against Barrera, that illness cannot be used as grounds for discipline.

The C&NW also holds Barrera responsible for a three-day absence when he was sent home for illness by the company's own doctor.

Finally, the C&NW has charged

Barrera with absence and tardiness during Chicago's recent blizzard, which virtually shut the city down. Shop Superintendent Bowen had assured union representatives that no disciplinary action would be taken against anyone who missed work or who was late during the blizzard.

Bowen also told one of Barrera's co-workers that he was "going to get" people who were "demoralizing" other workers by talking about politics on the job.

The C&NW is saying, in effect, that it has veto power over the political opinions and union activities of its employees.

Barrera explained his case at the last meeting of IAM Local 478. He reports that there was general agreement that it was political harassment. The union will represent him in the company's disciplinary hearing scheduled for February 8.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago and a member of Local 1066 of the United Steelworkers, has denounced this harassment campaign by the C&NW.

"If the C&NW can fire Manuel Barrera," Pulley said, "this puts a question mark on the right of working people to participate in politics."

SWP campaign supporters are gathering signatures of trade unionists and others who support Barrera's right to run for office without harassment. They are demanding that the charges be dropped before the February 8 hearing.

Doug Hord is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 764.

By Matilde Zimmerman

The first major national demonstration against the Vietnam War took place April 17, 1965. Exactly ten years later, the troops of the U.S.-backed Thieu regime were scattering in panic, as the victorious liberation forces prepared to enter Saigon.

Fred Halstead's *Out Now!* tells the dramatic story of that decade and of the movement that helped force U.S. troops out of Indochina.

In large part because of that movement, the United States was a different place in April 1975 than it had been in 1965.

There were new limits on Washington's ability to intervene militarily to block revolutionary developments in other countries. The legacy of the antiwar movement has been a big factor in Carter's decision that he could not risk throwing everything the Pentagon had to offer behind the shah of Iran.

Americans in 1975 looked at the government with a new skepticism—and the higher the office the more likely to be mistrusted. Marches, rallies, pickets, and teach-ins had become a normal way to express opposition to the oppressive policies of the U.S. government.

Powerful new segments of society became politically active during the decade of the antiwar movement. Looking to the earlier civil rights move-

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*Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War. By Fred Halstead. New York: Pathfinder Press. 1978. 759 pp. \$8.95.*

---

ment for inspiration, university and high school students moved into action. They were soon joined by dissident GIs, an explosive women's movement, and sections of the trade unions.

The Vietnam War swept away many of the remnants of the McCarthyism of the 1950s. Red-baiting became less and less effective.

Fred Halstead is singularly well-equipped to tell the history of the struggle against the Vietnam War. He makes that struggle come alive. Despite *Out Now!*'s 700-plus pages, it is easy and exciting reading from cover to cover.

A longtime trade unionist and Socialist Workers Party leader, Halstead was a central figure in the antiwar movement. He helped organize some of the largest demonstrations ever held in the United States.

At antiwar meetings and conferences Halstead had a knack for cutting through secondary questions. He would get right down to the real social and political forces at work.

Would a particular proposal advance or set back the struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination?

Would it tie the hands of the warmakers, or give them a little room to maneuver?

Would it help or hinder bringing GIs into the movement?

Would it make any sense to someone who came home from work and turned on the evening news?

Halstead brings the same perspective to *Out Now!* The book always begins with the war itself—with what was going on in Vietnam, in Washington, in Moscow or Peking. It starts with what had to be done next to aid the Vietnamese struggle and how that related to the sentiments and level of

## What they're saying about 'Out Now!'

"A vivid and valuable account of a mass popular movement that had a remarkable impact on modern history. Extensive efforts are being made to reconstruct recent history to conform to the needs and interests of dominant groups in the industrial democracies. It is important in this context to keep the truth alive, and Halstead makes an important contribution to this end."

Prof. Noam Chomsky

"*Out Now!* brings back vividly the whole story of the struggle to end the Vietnam war. It is told by one of the key organizers who knew personally all the others, and he pulls no punches. . . ."

Dr. Benjamin Spock

"... It will be difficult for anyone to produce a more informative, evocative, and conscientious chronicle of one of the most significant movements in American history."

Library Journal

# OUT NOW

## Story of the antiwar decade



Fred Halstead addresses San Francisco rally of 30,000 on April 27, 1968

understanding of the masses of people in the United States.

*Out Now!* is full of lessons for today's activists and for the big class battles ahead: for anyone who wants to do away with nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons; for a Black student trying to build a mass campaign against U.S. investment in South Africa; for a member of the National Organization for Women looking for the most effective strategy to win the ERA.

### Unity in action

*Out Now!* is the story of what it took to bring together in common action individuals and groups with very different points of view and sometimes long-standing hostilities toward each other. .

Halstead explains that this difficult unity could only be maintained by sticking to certain hard-learned principles.

- The movement had to keep its eyes on the goal of organizing the largest possible demonstrations to get U.S. troops out of Vietnam.

- It could not be under the thumb of either the Democratic or Republican parties.

- And it had to be nonexclusionary, welcoming everyone who opposed the war.

Halstead represented one current in the antiwar movement—the Trotskyists of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. The SWP and YSA played an important political role in consistently pressing for the kind of mass demonstrations that kept the movement from being derailed and made it into a powerful political force.

But—as *Out Now!* makes very clear—the SWP and YSA were only one component of a genuine coalition of forces.

Radical pacifists such as A.J. Muste and the War Resisters League played an important role, particularly in the early stages. Radicalizing students made up the bulk of the movement's activists. Then there were the organized political tendencies, including the Communist Party.

Halstead explains why a united effort was so crucial. None of the organizations or individuals prepared to fight against the war had the size, resources, or political authority needed to mobilize, on its own, forces that could actually have an impact on the warmakers. This could be achieved only if different tendencies pooled their efforts and came up with activities that struck a responsive

chord among people not previously influenced by any of the groups in the coalition.

### The all-important marches

The coalition's reason for existence was its ability to call periodic marches and rallies that drew larger crowds than any one of the participating groups could possibly muster on its own.

As these demonstrations grew in size, they provided the most irrefutable proof that the American people did not support their government's war against Vietnam. The administration's attempts to counter them with prowar rallies, or dismiss them as the work of a noisy fringe, were dismal failures.

Especially powerful were the large national actions, with their diverse contingents and speakers. They are all described in *Out Now!*: April 15, 1967, when Martin Luther King addressed a crowd of 400,000 outside the United Nations; the two big mobilizations in the fall of 1969—October 15 and November 15; the angry outpouring of May 9, 1970, when more than 100,000 people came to Washington on less than one week's notice to protest Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.

Halstead describes the largest action of them all: April 24, 1971.

"It was the biggest demonstration in American history! Without any intention, the sheer bulk of the masses of people pouring in blocked the city's traffic.

"Buses bringing demonstrators that morning were backed up for twenty miles—all the way to Greenbelt, Maryland. Uncountable numbers of cars and buses filled with demonstrators didn't get to Washington until after the march and rally were over. . . .

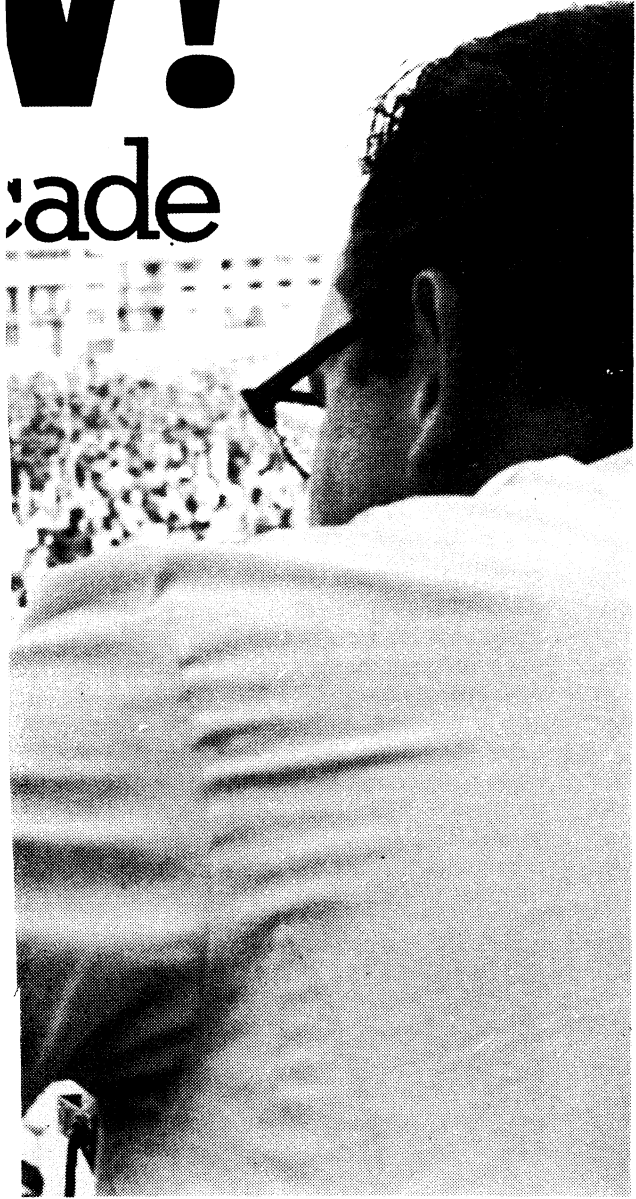
"After the first contingents reached the capitol, I ascended its steps and turned to gaze upon the spectacle of Pennsylvania Avenue jammed with marchers as far as the eye could see. It stayed that way for hour upon hour, long after the grounds of the capitol were packed with people. The continuous overflow took over every available patch of space in the general area."

April 24 was not just big. It also represented a real cross-section of American society:

"Present were older veterans of earlier wars, along with Vietnam vets and GIs. There was an all-Black contingent and a Third World section embracing Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, Iran-



# V! ade



Militant/David Warren

ians, and Palestinians, each bearing their own banners. There was also a group of left-Zionists. In the procession in addition were a delegation of Native Americans; religious groupings; students from scores of colleges; political parties and organizations; hundreds of local and regional antiwar committees and coalitions; pacifists; gays; lesbians; Women Strike for Peace; Another Mother for Peace; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; the National Welfare Rights Organization; Business Executives Move for Peace; professional bodies of doctors, teachers, lawyers, and law and medical students; multitudes of government workers; a contingent of reservists and national guardsmen; high school students; handicapped people and others. . . . Tens of thousands of trade unionists marched, their affiliations identified by placards and banners, in many cases defying top union officials."

The centrality of the big national demonstrations was not obvious to everyone in the antiwar coalition. Many pages of *Out Now!* are devoted to the debates that took place over whether another demonstration should be called, and if so what its character should be.

Some people argued—especially leading up to an election—that the movement should concentrate on putting Democratic and Republican "doves" in office.

Others thought something more flamboyant than "just another march and rally" was needed to capture the administration's attention. The ultimate putdown by some who thought this way was that demonstrations were "boring."

But they weren't boring at all. Some of the actions described in *Out Now!* illustrate the tremendous versatility and imagination of the movement: the March Against Death before the November 15, 1969, demonstration, when for two days and two nights 45,000 demonstrators filed silently past the White House, each carrying the name of a GI killed or a village destroyed; marathon all-night teach-ins against the war; the veterans' encampment at the Capitol before April 24, 1971, and the drama of 600 angry veterans ripping off their bravery medals.

## The not-so-silent majority

There was nothing dull about the explosion of antiwar activity in the high schools either.

In the beginning—and during lulls in activity—the movement sometimes seemed to consist only of

students and members of organized political groups. But its orientation was always to bigger forces.

Halstead shows how the independent campus committees—the Committees to End the War in Vietnam and later the Student Mobilization Committees—played the role of a mass-action left wing of the movement. Occasionally it was the national student coalition, under less pressure from the government and from the Democratic Party, that issued the initial call for a demonstration.

As Halstead tells the story, there was a speech he gave over and over again at antiwar meetings and conferences. He said the movement should do everything possible to reach two forces who actually had the power to end the war—labor and GIs.

During peak periods of antiwar activity many thousands of working people, including trade unionists, demonstrated against the government's war policy. This in spite of the fact that AFL-CIO President George Meany was, as Halstead puts it, "if anything, more of a hawk than Johnson himself."

Meany did not waver in this prowar stance as the conflict wore on.

But millions of working people did.

Under the impact of growing opposition to the war, and workers' refusal to believe that the war was in their interests, trade-union officials slowly began to take antiwar positions. This was particularly true of unions with largely Black and *latino* memberships.

Antiwar sentiment was always deeper in the Black community than in the population as a whole. As early as 1964, Malcolm X struck a responsive chord when he denounced U.S. intervention in Vietnam. When Martin Luther King spoke at the April 15, 1967, demonstration, opposition to the war was already a majority sentiment among Blacks.

In the early days of the antiwar movement, few outside the SWP and YSA regarded GIs as potential allies. Many students considered soldiers murderers, or thought GIs had some stake in the war.

By 1969, however, antiwar GIs were among the heroes of the movement and were often singled out to lead peace marches.

The nature of the war and its obvious unpopularity at home began to have an impact on many more GIs than those who actually attended demonstrations. *Including GIs in Vietnam.*

One of the most powerful chapters in *Out Now!* is entitled "The Crumbling of U.S. Military Morale." It shows how the disintegration of the fighting army became a decisive factor in forcing Washington to pull out of the war.

## Political independence

The unity of the antiwar coalition was continually threatened by attempts to drag it into electoral politics.

Sometimes this came in the form of subordinating the antiwar movement to campaigning for Democratic Party politicians. The presidential campaigns of Eugene McCarthy in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972 were consciously designed to draw antiwar youth off the streets and into "responsible" politics. Insofar as they were successful, they weakened the antiwar movement and prolonged the war.

There were also many independent radicals who had no political party of their own and wanted the antiwar movement itself to become a party, or at least to adopt a general program for dealing with a variety of social evils.

Then there was the Communist Party. Halstead pulls no punches when he describes their role in the

antiwar movement, which was generally one of trying to make its activity more acceptable to liberal Democrats.

But Halstead shows that one wing of the movement—including but not limited to the SWP and YSA—was always determined to organize the kind of independent actions that could draw in everyone who opposed the war, whatever their opinions on other political questions.

## Nonexclusion

The first march on Washington against the Vietnam War, in April 1965, was publicly attacked by the right-wing Social Democrats of the old peace movement because it did not exclude communists. But the student activists who built that march had grasped a vital concept: you cannot fight a war being waged under the banner of anticommunism while waving the same banner, yourself.

The struggle for nonexclusion did not end there, however. *Out Now!* describes how the same battle was fought again and again throughout the history of the movement. But after April 1965, it became almost impossible to stand up at an antiwar gathering and propose that people be expelled from the movement simply because they were socialists or communists.

The red-baiting that occurred came in a different form. It was used by people who opposed a certain proposal or perspective but for one reason or another preferred not to debate the issue openly.

After a successful demonstration, for example, it was sometimes difficult for opponents of mass action to come up with convincing arguments against calling another march. Opponents of such a proposal would sometimes try to intimidate its supporters by labeling it an SWP proposal.

This kind of red-baiting was least successful before a large number of people and when there was an opportunity to discuss the merits of the proposal. That was one reason the SWP and YSA always pushed for broad, democratic conferences open to the whole movement, rather than small, behind-the-scenes conclaves of self-appointed leaders.

## Socialists & antiwar movement

*Out Now!* is not only the story of the antiwar movement. It is also a proud chapter in the history of the SWP and YSA.

Halstead does not romanticize the role of socialists in the antiwar movement. But he explains the indispensable contribution they made in holding to the political line of mass action, nonexclusion, and political independence.

And—because *Out Now!* is also the story of some of the people who made up the antiwar coalitions—he gives a picture of the talents many individual socialists brought to the movement.

The SWP and YSA threw everything they had into building the antiwar movement and defending the Vietnamese revolution. Every single member was involved in this campaign and almost without exception was an active member of an antiwar group or coalition. The *Militant* and the *Young Socialist* were the movement's best and most consistent publicizers.

Because the YSA and SWP put the fight against the war at the center of all their work, they attracted a good number of the student antiwar activists who were beginning to look for socialist alternatives to injustice and war.

As a result, the socialist movement—like American society as a whole—was a different thing in 1975 than it had been in 1965.

# Halstead to tour U.S. cities

By Bob Schwarz

Fred Halstead will speak in twenty cities this spring on the history and lessons of the anti-Vietnam War movement and the new movement against nuclear power and weapons.

The Militant Forum in New York City will sponsor a panel February 2 at the Marc Ballroom on "How to Stop Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons." Speaking with Halstead will be David McReynolds, a leader of the War Resisters League.

On February 3, Halstead will speak at a rally launching the campaign of Andrew Pulley for mayor of Chicago on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Halstead will attend the Midwest No-Nukes Conference in Gary, Indiana, the following weekend.

Halstead will be in Albany, New York, February 15-17, speaking at the State University of

New York and the Militant Forum. A reception to celebrate publication of *Out Now!* will be hosted by James and Dorothy McClellan, longtime activists and leaders in the Albany-area radical movement.

Halstead's tour is being coordinated by Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 (212) 242-7654.



# Joe Hansen: a soldier and

More than 550 people attended a meeting in New York January 28 to pay tribute to Joseph Hansen.

Hansen, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Fourth International, died January 18 at age sixty-eight. He was editor of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' and a former editor of the 'Militant.' From 1937 to 1940 he served in Mexico as a secretary to Leon Trotsky.

The New York meeting launched a special \$20,000 fund to begin publication of Hansen's most important political and theoretical writings.

Comrades, friends, and co-workers of Hansen traveled to the meeting from throughout the eastern United States—Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Morgantown, Baltimore, Washington, and Boston. The Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire sent a delegation from Toronto and Montreal.

Mary-Alice Waters, a member of the SWP Political Committee, chaired the meeting. Speaking were:

- Art Sharon, a member of the American Trotskyist movement since 1933. Sharon collaborated with Hansen for many years in the leadership of the SWP and the Fourth International.

- Cristina Rivas, a member of the political bureau of the Mexican Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT—Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores). Rivas worked with Hansen in the leadership of the world Trotskyist movement, and for nearly two years as a staff member and translator for 'Intercontinental Press' and 'Perspectiva Mundial.'

- Michael Baumann, managing editor of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' Baumann and Hansen shared editorial responsibility for the international socialist weekly since 1974.

- Manuel Aguilar Mora, speaking on behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Aguilar is national secretary of the Mexican PRT.

The final talk, excerpted below, was given by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

## By Jack Barnes

The Joe Hansen I knew was above all an internationalist.

Some of you will recall a speech Joe gave at a party educational conference three summers ago entitled "James P. Cannon, the Internationalist." It was not only about Cannon. It was also a way of telling us everything Joe thought about internationalism. The talk opened with this sentence:

"In considering James P. Cannon as an internationalist, it may prove useful to begin by eliminating some possible misunderstandings."

That would be useful with Joe too.

The first misunderstanding Joe eliminated was that an internationalist is someone who is interested in foreign causes. Many people are interested in foreign causes, Joe said, and for progressive reasons. But that does not qualify one as an internationalist.

There is a second misunderstanding: that an internationalist is someone who is an expert on another country, or on many countries. Joe called this the "quantitative theory of internationalism." He didn't think that had anything to do with internationalism either.

It's *what you do* that is key, not what you're interested in, Joe said. The very first duty of an internationalist is to master the affairs of your own country, to be part of a team in your party, a proletarian party rooted in the class struggle of your country.

You have another duty, too. To squelch any presumptions by anyone who claims to be an internationalist that they're going to write programs or prescribe medicines for revolutionists in other countries.

Joe lived up to these standards pretty well, as you've heard testimony to in the speeches and messages here. He never tried to dictate programs or tactics for other countries. Regardless of his wide knowledge and insight about countries in Latin America and elsewhere, he was not and never considered himself a specialist in the affairs of any country except one—the United States.

## Utah origins

All the things Joe said about Jim Cannon—how he began in Rosedale, Kansas, and moved from the Great Plains to a world-historic view—that was true of Joe, too. You just have to

shift the scene to southern Utah and Nevada.

Joe, the Norwegian-American, the southern Utah boy, carried out in life his advice to the Iranian Trotskyists. In their message that we heard to this meeting, the comrades of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran said that Joe had always urged them: "Above all, be Iranian Trotskyists."

Above all, Joe was an American Trotskyist. That's one of the reasons he was such a complete internationalist.

To understand Joe, you have to go back to 1910, when he was born. Joe's father wrote a little autobiography that tells us a lot about the Hansen clan.

Joe was the oldest of fifteen children. He spent his early life in southern Utah and parts of Nevada—rural areas, mining areas—and later in Salt Lake City.

You get some insight into Joe if you know a little bit of what was happening in Utah around the time he was growing up. In the little autobiography, Joe's father—who is not himself a political person—tells a story about an incident that moved him deeply. Joe was only four years old, and the family was living in Nevada.

"In sympathy with a strike at Bingham, Utah," Joe's father writes, "a strike was called by [some Nevada] workers. The smelting company hired a gang of strikebreakers, and they killed two of the strikers. Nothing was done to the company, not even a court session. Instead, the governor of Nevada ordered the state militia out to protect the company's interests."

Those were the kind of things that morally repelled Joe's father. Those were the sort of events that surrounded Joe and were part of his earliest memories.

There's another interesting thing in the autobiography—more personal. Joe's father is talking about the difficult problems of making a living and raising a large family. "We had a problem with the oldest boy"—that's Joe—the father writes. "The oldest boy was hard to keep at home, and we had to tie him to the porch. He would go clear to the end of the rope and then cry and holler as loud as he could."

But no rope and no porch could ever hold the oldest boy—that was for sure.

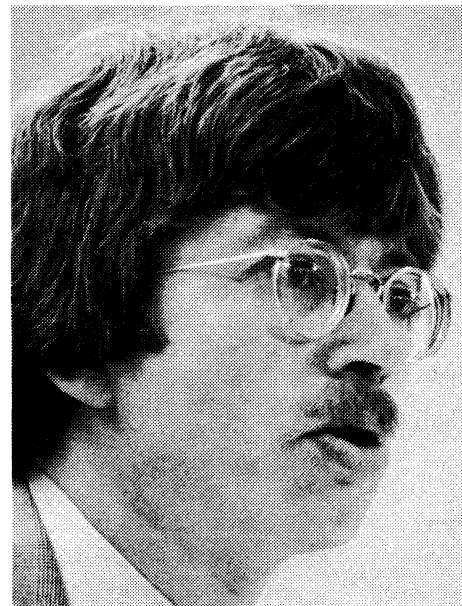
It was in Utah that Joe picked up



Militant/Lou Howort

**ART SHARON:** 'Joe first took up the tasks and challenges of the revolutionary movement forty-five years ago. I can't think of any other country where revolutionists span such a long period of history—not just Joe, but a whole generation of leaders.'

'And as a result of the very conscious work done by Joe and others over the past two decades, a new generation has now stepped in to take over those tasks and those challenges.'



Militant/Lou Howort

**MICHAEL BAUMANN:** 'Joe believed that journalism, revolutionary journalism, was an essential skill. He believed that skill had to be mastered by the leadership team of a revolutionary party.'

'Joe insisted that every staff member meet the highest standards of accuracy and attention to detail in their writing, editing, and translating. In his view, any job that needed to be done needed to be done right.'

some of the personal characteristics that people talk about: Joe the laconic person; Joe, the taciturn person—under some conditions; Joe, the stoic; Joe, the western humorist.

## Inspired by Bolsheviks

Joe told us a little about himself in the introduction he wrote to Trotsky's *My Life*. It was reading about the Bolsheviks on the front pages of the newspapers that first got Joe interested in the broader world and gave him his first political sympathies. He began digging around in libraries, listening, arguing. He began devouring books. He quickly became known as the socialist and the Bolshevik. And of course, in those days, everyone thought Bolsheviks were just wild-eyed bomb throwers.

Joe soon became known as the atheist, too, which was probably considered even worse.

He wandered around. He knew and he loved the outdoors. He became a great marksman—he claims he could often nail a jackrabbit with a pistol. He learned tools. He learned all about cars. He learned a lot about plants.

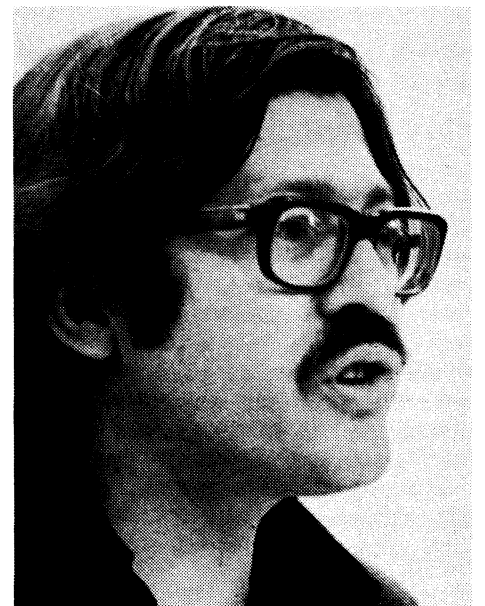
He thought that Snelgrove's had the



Militant/Lou Howort

**CRISTINA RIVAS:** 'Joe was a true internationalist who had deep respect for our traditions. He always taught us that we have to build parties able to stand on their own feet.'

'Joe was the main educator for many Latin American Trotskyists. Now we have a responsibility to make his writings from which we learned so much available to the hundreds of new comrades who are joining the Fourth International in Latin America and Spain.'



Militant/Lou Howort

**MANUEL AGUILAR MORA:** 'Joe's decisive contribution to the formation of the present-day Fourth International in Latin America was fundamental in a long and hard debate on revolutionary perspectives, which took place in our ranks from 1969 to 1976. On the basic issues, his evaluation proved to be the correct one.'

'Joe was a living link between revolutionary Marxists in North America and those south of the Rio Bravo.'

best ice cream in all of Salt Lake. And after sampling alternatives in Italy and France forty years later, he still claimed it was the finest in the world.

The brutal depression, the struggles of the workers and farmers, these are the things that marked Joe as a young man. These are the things that prepared him to be won to Trotskyism, to a world view that was the least provincial, least narrowly American of any possible world view.

The internationalist perspective stuck with him to the end. To Joe, the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International were basically one and the same. To join one, you also joined the other. Every revolutionist is a party member in their own country, fights to make the revolution there first and foremost, and in doing so is an integral and invaluable part of the world party of socialist revolution.

Joe always said that during his years in Mexico as Trotsky's secretary, he learned some of the deepest internationalist lessons and got the greatest programmatic grasp of politics from discussions with the Old Man on American questions—something Trotsky took a special interest in.



# scientist for the revolution

When he was sixteen, Joe met Reba Hooper. From then on, he and Reba were connected in their lives and in their adventures.

Joe and Reba were both dropouts. Like millions of other young people during the depression, Reba made it through about one year of high school and then went to work. Joe's mother was determined that every one of her fifteen children would go to college, but Joe was the only one to make it. He made it for a couple of years, was recruited to the Trotskyist movement, and then headed west to help build the movement in the San Francisco Bay Area.

You had to be resourceful in those hard times. Joe and Reba told me that our headquarters in Salt Lake for awhile was the Joseph William Taylor Funeral Home, owned by a sympathizer of the movement. Joe took a job in the office. He and Reba lived there and used it as a party headquarters.

You take advantage of what you've got and move ahead.

Joe and Reba were often referred to as a team, because they worked together so closely for so many years. But I think that view of them is partly false. It misses the more important point that they were two individuals who were part of a much bigger team—the cadres of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International. That was the team in which they worked throughout their entire adult lives.

## Three periods

I think you can divide Joe's political life into three periods.

The first encompasses his recruitment at the University of Utah; the period of his experiences working with Jim Cannon on the West Coast; his years in Mexico learning politics and discipline alongside Trotsky—the single thing that most transformed Joe's life and marked him from that time forward.

The second period began after Trotsky's death. Joe returned to the states and came to New York City. During the forties and fifties, Jim Cannon and his generation were still very active in the leadership of the party.

Joe, with all his talents, went through a further apprenticeship in the working-class movement, taking a variety of assignments and contributing as a party journalist. He went through the sometimes difficult transition in leadership from Jim's generation to



More than 550 people attended New York meeting to launch Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund

Militant/Lou Howort

that of Farrell [Dobbs] and Joe.

He was among those who stood fast, carried a heavy load, and kept the party from faltering under the tough circumstances of the witch-hunt period.

The third period began with the victory of the Cuban revolution and the end of a long dry spell in young recruits to our movement. That's when I knew Joe.

The Cuban revolution didn't give Joe a new lease on life; he never needed that. But it had a very deep impact on him and changed him in important ways.

## Revolutionary openings

This historic event proved to Joe that a new period of the world revolution had opened. This unanticipated revolution, only ninety miles from the shores of American imperialism, led against and over the heads of the Cuban Stalinists, opened up new political opportunities for our movement in an entirely unexpected way.

Just as Trotsky's third exile was the time of his deepest, richest, and most mature written contributions; the period beginning with the Cuban victory was Joe's.

The SWP's approach to Cuba was simple, and Joe wrote more about it than anyone else.

Defend the revolution. And in doing that, exert every effort to help its leaders extend it.

Fight for and explain the need for a Leninist party in Cuba and on a world scale, and the need for socialist democracy.

From the beginning, Joe explained the quality of the political leadership team around Fidel Castro—their revolutionary character, their contradictions, and the particular abilities of Castro himself. Joe was not one of those who considered the Cuban leadership primarily a Guevarist one. He correctly assessed Castro's greater political strengths and understood that the leadership team of the Cuban revolution was built around Fidel.

Joe believed that revolutionists had one practical obligation here in this country, in Cuba, and throughout the world: to make a bloc with the Castroists against the Stalinists. This was of historic importance. The outcome of that struggle—which Joe believed was going to be a fight to the death—would deeply influence the world revolution and deeply influence the American revolution.

In this struggle, Joe always insisted that we had two basic contributions to make: the Leninist strategy of party building; and the method of the Transitional Program, the fundamental ap-

proach to politics we learned from Trotsky.

As the Cuban revolution unfolded, Joe reviewed and enriched the most fundamental conquests of Marxism: our understanding of the state and the government; the role of our class in this revolutionary epoch; and the role of the revolutionary party.

The Cuban revolution was a great pleasure to Joe the scientist. It provided a real-life experiment to study, to dissect, to understand.

It shed new light on what had happened in China a decade earlier. During the fifties, Joe had made important contributions toward a Marxist analysis of the social overturns in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, and China. But China was the toughest, posing a variety of questions—questions about the state and government, the role of guerrilla warfare, the role of the peasantry in that massive revolution. Joe thought it presented enough of a challenge to call it a headbuster. And he didn't think either he or anyone else dealt with it in a totally satisfactory way.

In addition to what he wrote on Cuba itself, that revolution also gave Joe a chance to go back, look at, and understand the process that had occurred in China from a whole new

*Continued on next page*

## \$8,000 raised in NY for publishing fund

More than \$8,000 was raised for the Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund at the New York meeting. The aim of the fund is to collect \$20,000 by March 31 to publish some of the most important writings by Joseph Hansen.

"Many comrades have been inspired and impressed since last August by the publication of the first such collection of Joe's works on the Cuban revolution, which was one of Joe's finest contributions to Marxism," chairperson Mary-Alice Waters told the New York meeting.

"Today that book is serving to reeducate an entire generation of revolutionists on the understanding and appreciation of how to approach and analyze the great events of the class struggle as they are unfolding."

Waters said that plans are under way to publish the book in French, German, and Spanish.

The success of the publishing fund, Waters explained, will ensure the quickest possible publication of books by Hansen on revolutionary strategy in Latin America, the

workers and farmers government, and many other topics.

The fund was initiated following Hansen's death by Reba Hansen and by the contributing editors of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*—George Novack, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank, and Livio Maitan.

The project has won wide international support. Among the most recent sponsors are Robert Alexander, a scholar of Latin American affairs; Irish revolutionist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; Marguerite Bonnet, Trotsky's literary executor; Dave Holmes of the Australian Socialist Workers Party; François Moreau and Joyce Meissenheimer of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire in Canada; Marxist anthropologist and feminist Evelyn Reed; Young Socialist Alliance leader Cathy Sedwick; Ross Dowson of the *Forward* newspaper in Canada; and Bohdan Krawchenko, an associate editor of *Critique* magazine.

Twenty initial sponsors of the fund were listed in last week's *Militant*.

In addition to the New York gathering, Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund meetings will be held in:

**Los Angeles.** February 4, 2:00 p.m. at the Community Service Organization Hall, 2130 East First Street (at First and Chicago) in

Boyle Heights. For more information, call (213) 482-1820.

**San Francisco Bay Area.** February 11, 3:00 p.m. at the Unitarian Church, corner of Franklin and Geary streets in San Francisco. Call (415) 824-1992.

**Detroit.** February 17, 7 p.m. at 6404 Woodward. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

Future issues of the *Militant* will report on these and other publishing fund meetings.

To contribute, fill out the coupon below and send it to:

**Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.**



Militant/Lou Howort

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** "Joe's works on Cuba are helping to educate an entire generation of revolutionists."

I want to contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_.

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City \_\_\_\_\_

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# ...Hansen

Continued from preceding page

angle. I stress this, because along with Joe's writings on Cuba and Latin America, his writings on China in the 1960s and 1970s are among his finest contributions to our understanding of the state and Stalinism.

Finally, Joe thought that the Cuban revolution opened up a new revolutionary period in this century. The stranglehold of Stalinism was broken. The long detour was coming to an end. As soon as Cuba hit and Joe absorbed its full meaning, he knew we were a lot closer to the time when a radicalization was going to be manifested in the American working class.

He knew it would mean tremendous opportunities for the revolutionary movement in this country.

## Strategy for Latin America

The second political chapter in this last period of Joe's life was helping to lead the fight within the Fourth International for a correct revolutionary strategy in Latin America.

Beginning in late 1967, the leaders of the SWP realized that a growing section of the leadership of the Fourth International was moving toward elevating guerrilla warfare from a tactic to a strategy. Under the impact of rising struggles in Latin America and a misreading of the lessons of the Cuban revolution, they were coming under the influence of Guevarist and Debrayist ideas.

We were convinced that if a decisive turn was not taken away from this guerrillaist orientation, the entire Fourth International would be in grave danger. A continuation and deepening of this wrong strategic orientation, Joe argued, would lead to other errors. We would begin to misread Stalinism, by elevating military tactics above political program. We would start to lose some of the continuity of our program. We would become susceptible to alien class pressures, as we tried to explain complex events and fit them into a false framework that didn't fit what we had expected. The world movement would be open to terrible disappointments and confusion when forces that we shouldn't have counted on didn't do what we hoped they would.

Joe considered helping lead the fight to reverse this erroneous course the most important single political obligation of his life. He believed that the work he did and the articles he wrote explaining our positions in that struggle were his greatest single contribution to our world movement.

Those writings were as close as Joe could come to emulating what he had learned when Trotsky was writing the polemics collected in *In Defense of Marxism*.

Joe was a revolutionary intellectual of the finest caliber, but he had no interest in impressing or seeking approval from the "experts" of academia. He sought clarity to help advance the workers movement. He knew that you didn't become a theoretician by deciding to become a theoretician, but by taking any political responsibility, any political opening, and understanding it, explaining it to others, and acting on it.

If you sit down and read *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*, for example, you'll be amazed at how well these timely Marxist articles and polemics hold up twenty years after they were written.

Joe had firm opinions about political faction fights in the revolutionary movement. He did not consider them aberrations, something to be ashamed of—unless they were abused and led in a wrong and harmful way. Nor were they narrow, "internal," or sectarian problems of small groups.

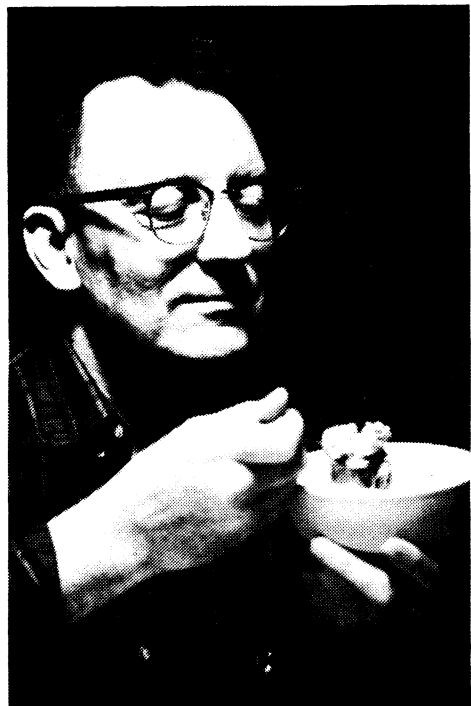
Such disputes, Joe wrote in 1977, "which sometimes break into hot factional contests, reflect the acute political problems faced by the masses in the twilight of capitalism. That is why they are instructive and even absorbing."

Joe was closely involved in the fight in the 1950s that led to a split in the Fourth International. The stakes in that fight were very high—both politically and organizationally—for the world movement.

But Joe was convinced, along with most other SWP leaders of that time, that the split was not necessary. Here, the political police of U.S. imperialism—the FBI and CIA—intervened directly into the fight. They did it by their control over the border and over international travel.

At the climax of the fight, the SWP leadership believed that if a central party leader could get over to Europe to talk to comrades there, they could convince many people, slow down the drive toward a split, and probably prevent it.

But neither Joe, nor any other central leader of the party, was able to get a passport. Joe always kept the money



Ice cream and good cigars were among Joe Hansen's greatest pleasures

order rejected by the State Department when they refused to give him his passport. They refused for openly political reasons.

That's one reason why Joe and Farrell, who had a few run-ins with the political police in the thirties and forties as well, got special enjoyment out of being plaintiffs against the FBI and Justice Department in the SWP's landmark lawsuit.

Joe was absolutely determined that the party's first obligation was to put the International back together again. The entire SWP leadership thought reunification was possible and that it would prepare an entire new generation to lead the Fourth International forward.

This goal of reunifying the big majority of the cadres of the Fourth International was accomplished in 1963. And Joe played a decisive role in it.

And so, with this more recent fight over strategy in Latin America, Joe considered the greatest victory not that our basic views were proven correct, but that this vital political dispute was carried out and largely settled without a split in the basic cadre in the International. We proved that we could have the deepest-going, most important, highest-stakes debate imaginable in an international movement, and do it without a split.

We conducted the discussion in such a way that thousands and thousands of new members were prepared to move forward.

Joe also always considered the job of reunification unfinished. He was especially happy when the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International began to seek out discussions with the United Secretariat in recent years. Joe was convinced that a reunification with those forces could be accomplished at the new world congress of the Fourth International, or shortly afterwards.

Joe held strong views on the question of leadership in the International.

He explained these in his speech on Jim Cannon three years ago. But Joe was simply repeating what Jim learned from Lenin and Trotsky.

I want to summarize what Joe wrote:

First, international leaders can never act on the basis of ulterior motives. They must act objectively and fairly toward all the different trends of thought in any given party and country.

Second, they listen carefully to every side in any dispute when appeals are made to their judgment. They never abuse their reputation and authority. They never try to settle old scores or defend any mistakes.

Third, leaders always let a political fight follow its course. They view this as a natural process through which a young party develops a leadership that can stand on its own feet and lead the party, including in internal political struggles. When the time comes to express any opinion, leaders express it



carefully and with thorough explanation.

Fourth, real leaders are completely open to argument and ready to change their mind if the arguments are persuasive. Joe Hansen was always capable of changing his mind in a discussion. I saw it many times.

Fifth, leaders never use organizational crackdowns to deal with political questions. They rely on advice and discussion.

Finally, they always remember that the international leadership is the sum total of experienced leaderships of the national sections, collaborating and acting as an international team.

Those are the simple rules. Joe thought these were the soundest, quickest, and easiest way to build the International.

Then he would always add, "Of course, it's also the only way."

The only way, if you want an international made up of revolutionary parties led by national leaderships that can do the job in their countries. This was the lesson from Lenin and Trotsky that sunk into Jim Cannon's head. This was the lesson Jim passed on to all SWP leaders.

## 'Intercontinental Press'

During this past fifteen years of Joe's life, *Intercontinental Press*—founded following the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963—played an invaluable political role. Joe's task in editing *IP* was not a simple one. During many of these years, Joe was part of a minority in the Fourth International. He was editing an international journal here in New York, far from the International's center in Europe.

It was a difficult task to come out each week, to be timely, to analyze new events, and—at the same time—to use the magazine objectively to explain the views of the entire International. In order to give *IP* readers a chance to understand all points of view. But he accomplished this.

Joe was an expert on everything connected with *IP*. Joe thought it was irresponsible for the editor of a publication not to be intimately knowledgeable about all aspects of its production. And also about the problems and needs of the print shop that had to put it out.

## Objectivity and kindness

Contrary to some people's opinion of Joe, he has strong emotions and was as excitable as the next person. But he knew how to keep his emotions under control.

This was because Joe was convinced that objectivity, kindness, and encouragement in your relationship with every revolutionist you work with are the mark of a revolutionary leader. I don't think you can find anyone whom Joe worked with over the past fifteen years who would deny that those are fair words to describe Joe.

Joe always said, "Whatever you do in politics, you have to do as a scientist." He would look at me and say, "If you were dissecting a frog in a laboratory, would you allow yourself to get mad at the frog?" That's a scientific job, he said. If you got mad, you could cut off a leg or puncture a liver.

"You have no more right to operate from anger in the revolutionary movement," Joe would say. He didn't live up to this perfectly, but he did pretty well.

Joe was a student of Freud. He understood a lot about himself, about us, about our conscious thought, and about our unconscious processes. I think Freud shaped his life more than anyone except Trotsky.

But Joe was not an advocate of psychoanalytic methods or explanations in politics. What counts is what people do politically—how they marshal and use their drives, their energies, and their capacities. They have to be judged as political people.

He despised Stalinism partly because of its reactionary falsification and rejection of scientists such as Freud, obscurantist attitudes toward scientific theories and advances in understanding the complex human animal.

Joe was happy about many of the changes in attitudes that have taken place over the past twenty years. He thought that the world was more and more outgrowing reactionary prejudices. The more free workers are from the prejudices fostered by class society and repeated by the petty-bourgeois misleaders of the labor movement, Joe believed, the better equipped we are to understand ourselves and to organize ourselves in the fight for a better world.

Joe was encouraged by the changes in the status of women and their struggles. He was encouraged by the changes in the status of oppressed nationalities and their struggles. He pointed out that this meant an enriching advance in our enjoyment and understanding of life, in addition to a major strengthening of the workers movement's ability to successfully carry out the socialist revolution.

## A fun-loving person

Contrary to what some people thought about Joe from a distance, he was not really a taciturn person. Of course, Joe was no glad-hander. He was discreet and trustworthy like a leader should be, yes.

But when Joe relaxed, he would talk for hours about things that interested him. At such times, he seemed to those around him like the most fun-loving person imaginable.

Before he got diabetes, he was willing and able to drink a few drops with the younger comrades on these occasions, too.

Joe enjoyed a good cigar. But in the last years, he was a smoker of a certain kind. He was like Red Auerbach the former coach of the Boston Celtics, who would light up when he was sure victory was guaranteed. It was a good sign when, after a meeting, Joe would accept a big cigar and light up.

I remember being in Italy with Joe



# Messages from Dobbs, Scholl, Iranian SWP

Scores of messages paying tribute to Joseph Hansen have poured into New York from all over the world by mail, telegraph, and phone. A sampling will appear in next week's 'Militant.'

Below are two of the messages read at the New York meeting by chairperson Mary-Alice Waters. Waters opened the meeting with a message "from the very front lines of the world revolution, from the newly formed Socialist Workers Party of Iran."

The second message is from veteran Socialist Workers Party leaders Farrell Dobbs and Marvel Scholl:

\* \* \*

Joseph Hansen's contributions to Marxist theory are an important part of our revolutionary heritage. His collaboration with Trotsky symbolizes the continuity of our movement from the days of the Bolsheviks. His defense of the Transitional Program, his single-minded devotion to the strategy of party building, exemplified by his struggle to build the SWP and the Fourth International, places Hansen among the most outstanding Leninists of our time. As such, he has educated a whole generation of young Trotskyist fighters and party builders.

Comrade Hansen played a central role in educating our leadership and developing our party. During our years in exile, we came to know him and learn from him. Despite the major tasks he shouldered, he always found time for us whenever we needed to have a discussion with him. Our discussions would range from theoretical questions to the questions of day-to-day party building tasks. With his usual thought-out and concise questions and comments, he imparted to us the result of his years of collaboration with



In 1946 New York State election, SWP ran Joe Hansen for U.S. Senate and Farrell Dobbs for governor. 'Joe was a soldier for the duration,' said Dobbs and Marvel Scholl in message to New York meeting.

Trotsky, and his lifetime experience in the revolutionary movement. He was always concrete and precise.

Comrade Hansen taught us to concentrate on the problems of our own country, to be Iranian Trotskyists. He taught us to have revolutionary patience. Yet, never once did he give us advice on the tactical questions of our movement, never did he try to use his tremendous moral authority with us to intervene in our internal situation. We learned that we had the right to make our own

mistakes, learn from them and build our own leadership. He educated us in the Bolshevik tradition of internationalism.

Now in the midst of the third Iranian revolution, we are struggling to build the proletarian party. We will redouble our efforts in this direction. This is the best tribute that Comrade Hansen would have wanted us to pay to his memory.

\* \* \*

Speakers at the gathering to cele-

brate the life of Comrade Joseph Hansen will describe his many talents and the selfless dedication with which he brought these to bear in the service of the movement. Yet it will not be mere repetition for us to mention some of his most outstanding qualities as we came to know him during long years of close association with him.

Joe was a capable intellectual who—following the initial example set by Marx and Engels—identified himself with the working class and cooperated fully with the workers in the party leadership in striving to build the revolutionary movement.

As part of the leadership team, he played an especially strong role in helping to keep Marxist theory abreast of the latest objective trends, doing so in connection with both class-struggle developments in this country and revolutionary events abroad. He wrote prolifically on these and other subjects in a precise, lucid manner that helped others gain deeper insight into complex situations. Being an accomplished journalist, he did much at the same time to promote high editorial standards generally for the party press.

Comparable qualities of revolutionary devotion were manifested by Joe on the organizational side. He functioned consistently as a loyal and disciplined comrade, accepting in good spirit whatever assignments he received and putting the party's needs above personal considerations. His time and energy were completely at the disposal of the party, as were his tireless efforts to aid the party in getting the maximum results out of limited financial means. In every respect he was a good soldier who had enlisted for the duration in the revolutionary struggle for humanity's socialist future.

Joe was a beloved, respected, and treasured comrade in arms. We shall miss him greatly.

and Reba in the summer of 1965. We were there for a meeting of the International Executive Committee. We cheated and took a day off in Florence on the way back. They took me to Michelangelo's statue of David and began talking to me about it—its form and structure, materials, ideas behind it, and controversies over it.

Some years later, when I had learned a little bit about art, I realized how much they knew and how much joy they got out of it. Several times following a meal Joe would point to a painting on the wall and start analyzing it. He would analyze it so you would laugh at it. He would analyze it so you could understand it. Then so that you could laugh at yourself. Joe was primarily a scientist, not an artist. But he put a lot of stock in a revolutionary politician's "ability to see."

He recommended the great Renaissance writers and the writers of the French Enlightenment. He would recommend Diderot, Rabelais, Cervantes, and Shakespeare. He identified with their thirst for new horizons, for human freedom, for the good life for all humanity. Their humor, their satire, their humanism, their expression of the social, political, scientific, and philosophical preoccupations of their times. He enjoyed their attacks on prejudice and cant.

Joe liked comic characters. He thought we were all comic characters. He didn't cotton to pompous people. He thought they were fools, not comic characters. And he disdained the hypocrisy of the prude.

We're all comic. All of us are wrapped up in these funny bodies that have bowels as well as brains. Only by recognizing this, by laughing at it, can we see the glorious possibilities and the happiness that derive from what is

achieved by the people who walk around in these funny bodies.

Joe could be stoical, but he was not a stoic. His aim was not to suffer the problems of the world but to eliminate them. Transformation, not endurance, was his goal.

Joe was always trying to figure out how things worked. He was a tinkerer. He loved to build radios, fix zippers, make the most difficult cactus or orchid bloom. That was one way he relaxed. But hobbies never became a substitute for his vocation as professional revolutionist. To understand. To change. To change and understand. To understand more as you change. That's what Joe loved doing.

## Disliked pomposity

Those of us who worked with Joe thought that he was one of the funniest stand-up comedians we've ever heard. Sometimes he would respond in the only way possible to some preposterous proposal.

One incident sticks in my mind in particular. It was several years ago at a steering committee meeting of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction in the International. During that meeting, someone took the floor to propose that Joe be designated general secretary of the faction.

Joe got up and ambled slowly down to the front. "I am deeply honored by this proposal," Joe said. "I hope you will now begin addressing me as, Your Excellency."

He then went on in that vein for about ten minutes. He said he found it disappointing that the title of king or emperor had not been considered, too. He described the uniform and hat he thought should be prepared for the general secretary of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

When Joe sat down, though, he had made a political point that could not have been made in a better—or more devastating—way.

Joe always said that the biggest mistake revolutionists can make is to put on an act, pretend you're something different than you are. I think that was the best piece of advice he ever gave me. Joe told me:

"Can you imagine Lenin getting up in the morning, looking in the mirror, and saying, 'Now what would Lenin do today?'"

No, just get up and get to work.

The problem with being a permanent actor is that the mask can become the face. And that's fatal.

Joe was also a poker player. As a good westerner, he prided himself on this. But he pointed out that there's only one way to play poker in a political debate—with all your cards face up. You want your colleagues to know clearly what you're thinking, what you're proposing, what's being discussed. It's the only way to be objective and fair, to resolve any question.

In a factional debate, whenever comrades began to be suspicious of Joe, when they began looking for the trick up his sleeve, when they began wondering, "What's he really after?"—they would always wind up getting themselves in trouble. Because Joe meant just what he said.

Another of Joe's favorite examples of how to approach politics scientifically was to compare it to diamond cutting.

A diamond cutter studies the diamond, locates the fault lines, places the chisel on just the right spot and taps it gently—and the diamond falls apart into four or five beautiful pieces.

If you just grab a hammer and hit the diamond, it shatters into worthless

pieces of stone that fly all over the room.

## Just human effort

Joe would have objected to some of the things that are said to honor him as comradely exaggerations. He would

*Continued on next page*

By Joseph Hansen

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# ...Hansen

Continued from preceding page  
object to descriptions such as "socialist man" or "genius."

Joe didn't believe that any of us are socialist men or women. He said that socialist humanity will build a statue to us. They will honor us for how well we did in knocking over this old order with all its crap, despite our many limitations inherited from the epoch we live in.

He thought it was a joke to start talking about ourselves as socialist men and women. Our job is to make the revolution that will create the conditions for such human beings to emerge.

Joe wasn't a genius. The last genius in the revolutionary movement was Trotsky. Joe considered that simply a fact.

He thought that those who allowed cultism to grow up around them were descending into a form of religion.

Joe especially objected to the idea that he put out a superhuman effort for the movement. Joe said no, he never put out a superhuman effort. Just a human effort. He enjoyed it.

Joe was the first to insist that whatever he contributed was not some individual accomplishment but the product of a team effort by the entire central leadership of the party. Whatever your assignment, it's just labor power, the sum total of which turns the wheels of a homogeneous political machine.

Joe had his weaknesses, of course, and he would have been disappointed if at least one or two of them weren't gently mentioned.

Joe followed the rule, "Never ask anyone to do what you would not do yourself." That's a prime rule for any revolutionist, any leader.

But Joe didn't always follow the corollary: "Never ask anyone to do more than they are capable of." He sometimes did demand too much—usually by example, by moral pressure. He would invoke Red Army staff discipline, lessons of the civil war, and hope that you wouldn't say, "But the civil war isn't on right now, Joe."

If you pointed out to Joe what he was doing, though, with a little firmness, he would immediately say, "OK."

Since Joe understood psychology, he understood the problems between generations and the problems of resentment of strength that are common to human relations in class society. He also understood that young people in particular like to discover ideas, like to discover ways of doing things, independently from their elders.

So Joe would sometimes maneuver you, try to get you to propose the course of action he favored. Then he would agree, grab the idea, salute you for proposing it, and help you drive the whole thing forward.

But once you got to know Joe well, you always knew exactly what he was up to—and he knew you did. It was sometimes a hilarious experience to watch him do it.

## Joe's illness

In early 1972 Joe discovered he had serious diabetes. From then on, the disease simply began burning out his resistance and the natural capacity of his body to fight off even two-bit infections. Diabetes meant the end of Joe's ice cream, which was the only thing he really missed as far as sweets go.

He had to change his pattern of functioning, to drop a certain amount of work, to protect his resources and energies. But this didn't have a big impact until 1975. If Joe was stronger and produced more in earlier years than he did between 1969 and 1975—and people who knew him say he did—then I would hate to have seen it. Because in those years he was something to behold.

But by late 1975 Joe was much weaker, and he and Reba discussed how best to proceed.

Joe had always functioned with deadlines, at a desk in an office where

everyone was working to get out a publication on time. He liked the discipline of a production schedule and thought that the most efficient way to work.

So he proposed that he continue on *IP*, while turning over more and more editorial responsibility to Mike Baumann, the managing editor, and that he take on some special projects.

But Joe told me he wanted to continue to work on assignment. He wanted to know from the party leadership what needed to be done. Joe—the most prestigious and most capable individual in the leadership bodies of the Fourth International—insisted that we continue to decide what would be most useful. As Marvel and Farrell so accurately said, Joe was a good soldier who had enlisted for the duration.

Joe worked to the end. The last year or so he used every effort to protect his strength. He even had to avoid visits with many old friends. "They'll understand," he said. "My affection for them hasn't changed at all. I just have to conserve my energy."

What were the last things he worked on?

One was the draft world political resolution for the next congress of the Fourth International. He wrote most of the section on the growing opportunities in the industrial working class and the need to proletarianize the entire Fourth International. Working on that made him especially happy. Ever since the Cuban revolution he had known these new openings and new challenges were coming.

He worked very hard, and took a little extra time, on the introduction to the Cuba book [*Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*]. That introduction summarizes clearly his view of the Cuban revolution.

He collaborated with the comrades who drafted the Latin American resolution for the next world congress of the Fourth International, which will chart a new course for Latin American Trotskyists in a united world movement.

He wrote a couple of short articles and book reviews on important and complex political questions.

On the day before he went into the hospital, Joe attended, as a guest, a long meeting of the SWP Political Committee. He shared his ideas on Iran, on Cambodia, on changes and opportunities in the working class—cogent, clear, to-the-point ideas. The same Joe as always.

## A running disagreement

Joe and I had one running disagreement. He was always hard on old people in the party. I was always hard on young people.

Joe insisted that the older comrades collaborate with, but never try to dominate the younger comrades. Help, but don't try to buffalo. Take assignments from, not give assignments to those who have to learn and who have the responsibility.

He got mad at people who didn't live by those rules.

I had the opposite point of view. I thought that younger leaders who don't work with, collaborate with, and know how to learn from and draw on the abilities of the older comrades weren't really complete as leaders. Why should you go easy on them?

So we compromised. We agreed that we were approaching the same thing from different angles.

Of course, like every human being, Joe was unique, and he's irreplaceable. I would be less than honest to say that you don't feel it when you lose someone you fought in combat with and who gave unstintingly of friendship and love.

You can't be totally prepared for it, either. But, as Joe would say, facts are stubborn things. And his death is a fact.

Joe was convinced—from analysis, not from hope—that we are in a new period of world revolution opened up by Cuba, verified by the events of 1968, and proven by the stirrings of a

working-class radicalization in the United States. He saw great opportunities in this country, leading toward the struggles that can resolve the fate of all humanity. The need to act on this in a timely way dominated all his work and his advice.

## The American revolution

At the end of his speech on Jim Cannon, Joe said this:

"The question might be asked, how well did Cannon succeed in this [leadership], particularly on the international level?"

I'll transpose "Joe" for "Jim" in the next few sentences:

"I think the question is somewhat misleading. The Fourth International consists of the sum of its national leaderships, and the primary test they face is their capacity to build combat parties in their own countries. How well they meet the test will be seen in the period now opening up.

"As for Joe, he left some speeches and some writings on the subject. He left his example, and not without importance, he left some cadres, able to start on a higher level than was available to him when he first began."

Responsibility is a relative concept, of course. How well you do depends not only on what you do but on what you

have to do it with. We in this country have a gigantic responsibility, as we understand full well. A responsibility of decisive importance to the world revolution.

Joe, like Jim and like Trotsky, insisted that nothing will ever be finally settled until the American proletariat takes power in this country.

But there's another reason why we in the United States have a special responsibility. And that is that we've had a unique advantage. Because of a peculiar combination of historical factors—no wars on this continent, longevity, good health, right livin' and good thinkin'—we've had a large number of older leaders who worked with us and taught us everything they learned over decades. That gives us a greater responsibility than those who were not fortunate enough to have that continuity of revolutionary experience.

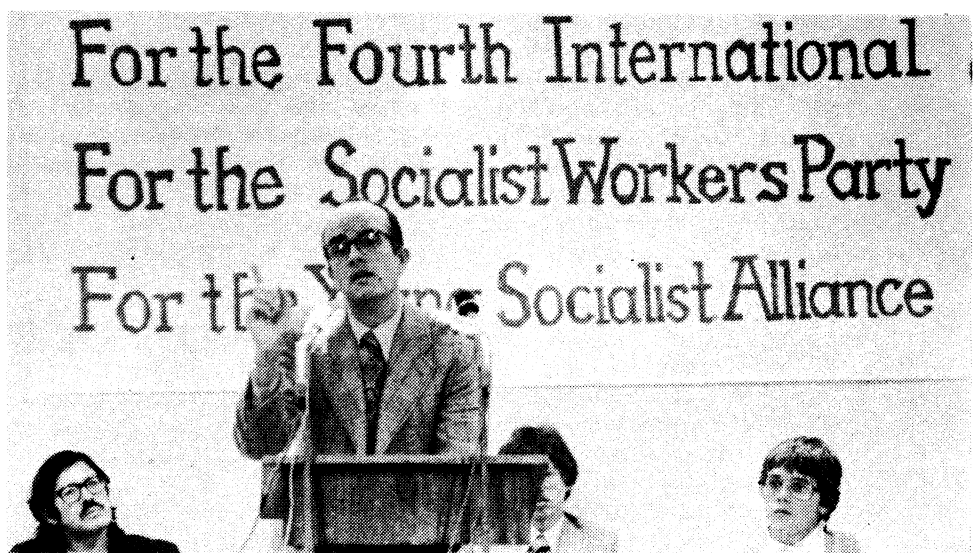
We can't exactly continue Joe's work. Joe's work is done. He did it. We have to continue ours. And Joe laid out what that is in the last thing he ever wrote, his greetings to the Young Socialist Alliance convention at the turn of this year.

So we can give the last word to Joe.

"For the Young Socialist Alliance.

"For the Socialist Workers Party.

"For the Fourth International."



Jack Barnes, pointing to banner behind podium: 'We can give Joe the last word. It's the last thing he ever wrote.'

# ...strike

Continued from back page

also rounded up boats to picket the waterfront.

As the 11 p.m. shift approached—the first to be picketed—excitement in the headquarters reached fever pitch.

Wives of shipyard workers were part of it. "I'm not standing behind my husband in this strike," Pat Calautti said. "I'm standing right beside him."

Then, at 9:30 p.m., the first picket contingents proudly marched down to the gate. All along the shipyard for more than twenty blocks, Washington Avenue became what one striker called "Steelworkers City."

Union hats, buttons, jackets, and picket signs were everywhere. Cars honked greetings, and passengers raised fists and flashed victory salutes.

By 11 p.m. more than 100 pickets blocked the main Thirty-seventh Street gate.

Despite provocative antics of the riot-equipped state and city cops, the strikers maintained their holiday mood. Songs were improvised: "We're fighting for our union, we cannot be moved."

"Free at last, free at last," the pickets shouted as their brothers and sisters on the afternoon shift poured out.

"We're making history here tonight," a Black striker said to no one in particular. "We're beautiful," added another.

Out of some 1,000 third-shift workers, only 70 went in the gate.

By January 30, the local newspapers reached new crescendos in sensationalistic coverage of the upcoming strike. Downtown merchants were busy boarding up their store windows. Armed state troopers were on parade.

Newport News Police Chief George

Austin leaked word that the city's special "SWAT teams" were ready for action. It was reported that Tenneco was training a special forty-man security guard at a private camp nearby.

On the day of the strike a police helicopter hovered overhead. An armored van was spotted downtown. And police dogs were in ready supply.

"This is a setup as sure as I've ever seen one," a picketing designer told me. "Tenneco had a plan of attack, and now it's carrying it out. They want trouble."

"Tenneco's the lawbreaker, yet we get penalized," said Calautti, who heads the Thirty-seventh Street pickets. "The government's not fair to us, just like it wasn't to the miners."

The strikers know their battle will shake the entire nonunion South.

"Right to work" laws will go down the drain after we win," predicted Dick Hall.

Outside Gus's, a member of the Boilermakers at the Norfolk Navy Yard asked where he could get "Go Steelworkers" stickers and buttons. "I want to show my support. At my next local meeting I'm going to propose that we do everything we can for the Steelworkers," he said.

"Unions should be everything the name implies," says Calautti. "Joining together hand in hand. You know that old saying, 'United we stand, divided we fall'? Well, we're going to prove that in this strike."

## You can help

Send messages of support and financial contributions to: United Steelworkers Local 8888, Bank of Newport News Building, Third Floor, 3301 Washington Avenue, Newport News, Virginia 23607.



## Bill of rights for workers & peasants

### Iranian Socialist Workers Party program



Anti-shah demonstrators gather in Tehran. Iranian Socialist Workers Party proposes that a constituent assembly be elected to decide on next moves for revolution.

As reported elsewhere in this issue, the Iranian Socialist Workers Party is calling for the immediate election of a constituent assembly so that the masses of workers and peasants can democratically discuss and decide the future course of the Iranian revolution.

The Iranian Trotskyists have distributed thousands of copies of a four-page tabloid outlining their program for Iran. Below are major excerpts from that program, including an important section on the constituent assembly and the workers and peasants government.

#### For the revival and extension of the heritage of the constitutional revolution

More than seventy years ago, the people of Iran rose up to win deliverance from the yoke of the autocratic Qajar monarchy and the piratical agents of the British and tsarist Russian states.

The essential objectives of the constitutional revolution were to put an end to the absolutist rule of the monarchy and of the foreign colonizers, and to build a democratic system that would reflect the aspirations and demands of the people of Iran.

Faced with the unrelenting mobilization of the masses striving to achieve their political freedoms, the monarchy was finally forced to issue an edict for drawing up a constitution and setting up a parliament. In the eyes of the people, the constitution represented a rein on the monarchy and its agents.

For the first time in the history of Iran, the constitutional revolution struck at the autocratic rule of the court by extending rights to the people.

The foundation stone of these rights was the recognition of the right of the people to take control of their own destiny.

In opposition to the oppression of the Qajars, the people wanted the following rights:

- Freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and freedom of religion.
- The right to due process instead of the arbitrary penalties and rulings meted out under the control of the monarchy.
- The right of the people to vote and to elect the representatives of their choice.
- The right to form committees of people's representatives that would be responsible to the people themselves and not to the monarchy.
- The right to arm the people and organize a people's militia.
- The right of the mass organizations of the people to administer all the affairs of the towns and provinces.
- The right to liberation and voluntary cooperation of all the peoples and nationalities living in Iran.
- The right of Iran to political and economic independence from imperialism.

With the defeat of the constitutional revolution, none of these rights could be solidified and guaranteed. After the defeat of the constitutional revolution, the imperialist states, the remnants of the Qajar monarchy, and the property-owning classes collaborated to bury the traditions of the revolution. The compilation of the basic laws made after the defeat of the revolution preserves the record of all that the monarchy and ruling classes destroyed. Nothing remains of the *anjomans* [councils] and *Mujahedeen* [people's militias] that gave life to the constitu-

tion. Of the freedom and voluntary cooperation of the nationalities of Iran, no trace remains. This entire heritage of the revolution must be revived.

#### For the revival and extension of the heritage of the second revolution

The second revolution in Iran, which followed the end of the rule of Reza Shah at the conclusion of the Second World War, revived the heritage of the constitutional revolution in various forms. During the rule of Reza Shah every nationality in Iran was subjected to national and linguistic oppression. The second revolution began with the rebellion of the nationalities.

In Azerbaijan, women won the right to vote. A workers and peasants government came into existence in Azerbaijan in less than a year. After the suppression of this uprising on the 21 of Azar [December 12], an Iran-wide movement developed. In the course of this movement, the workers organized in labor unions of their own. The oil industry was nationalized. Moreover, in Azerbaijan and later in other places in Iran as well, the peasants seized the big estates. The coup d'état of the 28 of Mordad [August 19, 1953] put an end to this second phase of the revolution.

Coming after the twenty-year-long period of stifling repression under Reza Shah, the second revolution sought to achieve a new set of rights:

- The right to vote for women and participation of women in all the affairs of the society.
- The right of the oppressed nationalities to use their own languages.
- The right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities.
- The right of the workers to organize in labor unions.
- The right of the peasants to own

the land they till.

- The right to establish a government of workers and peasants instead of a government of the property-owning classes.

- The right to nationalize the oil industry and take it away from the imperialists.

Today the broad masses of Iran are demanding a new set of rights beyond those sought in the second revolution. On the basis of the great heritage of the previous revolutions and the pressing needs of Iran at the present time, the Socialist Workers Party proposes the following bill of rights for the workers and toilers.

In the factories, the countryside, the universities, everywhere that the workers and toilers are waging their struggles, we want to achieve these rights. It is urgent and vital, in opposition to the present regime, to create a constituent assembly on the basis described below. Only in this way will the people be able to discuss the issues facing the country and decide how to solve them.

In order to achieve and consolidate these rights, it is necessary to establish a new social order in Iran, one free from imperialist influence and domination. The government of the property-owning classes—the capitalists and the big landowners—must be replaced by a government of the workers and peasants. Society must be reoriented away from serving the interests of the ruling classes to serving those of the masses of workers and toilers.

#### A constituent assembly must be set up as soon as possible

No government established from above will bring freedom to Iran. The task of the people is not to support

*Continued on next page*

Continued from preceding page

handpicked governments set up from on high. The basic task of the people is to establish a government that will support their interests and their struggles. The goal of setting up a new government is to achieve all the demands that are being raised by the oppressed and exploited in society. But the people cannot and must not wait for any government to achieve their demands. Passivity will result only in the perpetuation of the old despotism.

The workers, peasants, and toilers; women, the oppressed nationalities, and students; and finally the soldiers must all organize to win their demands. A single assembly made up of representatives of all the political and religious forces of the people must be set up without delay. Those forces that oppose a constituent assembly, while claiming to defend the interests of the people, are in fact opposed to allowing the genuine expression of the will of the masses. Therefore, the workers, soldiers, and peasants, the masses of the people, will not wait for the convening of the constituent assembly, but through their own organizations, by adopting the call for a constituent assembly as the central slogan in their fight for democracy, will advance the conditions for achieving all their civil, economic, political and social demands.

The constituent assembly is faced with the following questions, which are of fundamental importance for the country:

- The modern history of Iran is the history of unrelieved despotism and backwardness. This reality indicates that the road to solving the basic historic questions in Iran is fighting for democracy and socialism.

The rule of the monarchy and the capitalists in Iran is the source of all the social evils that exist in the country. The hunger, poverty, and unemployment that exist in the cities and in the countryside arise from the penetration of imperialism and the rule of its local partners.

- Even after the end of the rule of the shah, the crisis of the disintegrating state apparatus threatens the country with a catastrophe or the return of military rule.

- The problems creating the danger of catastrophe cannot be solved without revolutionary methods. The decisive majority of the workers and toilers of Iran demand the adoption of various revolutionary measures.

The new Iran must build up a new governmental structure based on the following social and economic organs. Once it is set up, the constituent assembly should consider establishing the following bases of a new government:

## 1. The government:

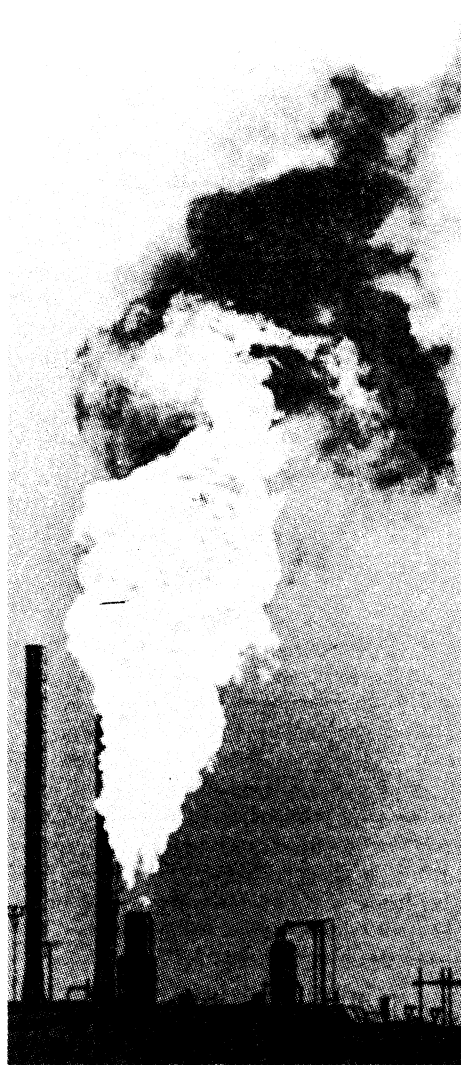
Local governments must be made up of representatives democratically elected by the organizations of the workers, peasants, white-collar workers, soldiers, university students, and high school students.

The all-Iran government must be made up of representatives of these organizations chosen on an all-Iran basis with the voluntary collaboration of representatives of the oppressed nationalities.

All the officials of this government, at every level, must be subject to recall at any time.

The salaries of officials in this government cannot exceed those of the average worker.

Such a government can direct the economy of the country and solve all questions in the life of the country in accordance with the interests of the majority of the people and not those of the exploiters. The interests of the working people must be placed above the greed of the capitalists, who have



Oil fields. Wealth of Iran should belong to the Iranian people, not foreign capitalists.

monopolized all the wealth, so as to avert the economic catastrophe these capitalists intend to provoke.

## 2. Break the yoke of imperialism:

World imperialism holds Iran in bondage through its economic and military pacts. All such pacts that American imperialism has imposed on us must be abrogated, and all American advisers must be immediately expelled from Iran. The CENTO military pact and all military pacts and agreements with imperialist countries and states under their control must be immediately ended. Not one drop of oil should be exported to Israel or South Africa.

Relations with those governments must be replaced by solidarity with the Palestinian masses and the Blacks of South Africa. All foreign companies and property must be confiscated and nationalized without one cent in compensation. Not one cent should be paid in interest or principal on the billions of dollars in loans that the banks and imperialist companies have extended in order to suck the blood of the people of Iran.

## 3. Unity of workers and peasants and a program of land reform:

For the small and landless peasants, the following demands are urgent:

Land to the peasants, land to the tiller—take the land away from the big landowners and absentee landlords without paying compensation. Grant long-term credits and loans on easy terms to the peasants. Total abrogation of the debts owed by peasants to the state for installments on the land given them by the shah's land reform. Open the ledgers and account books of the Agricultural Bank and related institutions.

Wages for agricultural workers must be set at full parity with those of industrial workers. The lands and property of the big landowners and the model farms must be confiscated without payment of any compensation and distributed among the poor peasants, or else be placed under the control of the agricultural workers in the form of

cooperatives or collective farms. The program for nationalizing agriculture and putting it on a cooperative basis should be designed so as to remove any possibility of the small peasants being expropriated and forced to join cooperatives. Until they recognize the possibility and need for taking another path, the small peasants will continue to hold their own plots of land.

The workers and toilers should give consideration to how to solve the following questions regarding the nomadic tribes that have always been put under pressure by government programs. Special attention to improving the economic life of the tribes. Against forced settlement of the tribes. Control by the tribes themselves over the areas in which they live.

## 4. Political and civil rights

Release of all the political prisoners, return of all the exiles, complete abolition of censorship, freedom to demonstrate and assemble, freedom of thought and expression, freedom for all political parties, freedom and equal rights for all religions, the right to bear arms, freedom for labor unions, full and equal political and civil rights for Afghani, Pakistani, and other immigrant workers. All these rights must be instituted and guaranteed.

## 5. Freedom for the oppressed nationalities:

The most basic violations of the rights of the non-Persian nationalities are the suppression of their mother tongues and the denial of their right to self-determination. These violations of their rights have also been the foundation stones of the rule of the Pahlavi monarchy, the capitalists, and the imperialists in Iran. These nationalities must be given the freedom to use their languages. The oppressed nationalities of Iran must have the right to self-determination, to exercise as they choose.

Permitting oppression on the basis of language culture, and nationality must be clearly declared illegal. Special programs for building schools, universities, and other public works in the districts inhabited by the oppressed nationalities must be undertaken by the central state on an urgent basis.

Only in this way can the Persian working people make restitution for the oppression to which their Azerbaijani, Kurd, Baluchi, and Arab brothers and sisters have been subjected by the central state. In this way, they can replace the division created by the central state with a lasting unity of all the working people of all the nationalities of Iran.

## 6. Full rights and equality for women, liberation of women:

Women, this great mass of humanity, have been oppressed and deprived for centuries. In the modern age, women workers have been subjected to double exploitation. The liberation of women is one of the fundamental tasks of the revolution. Full political and social rights and equality for women. Equal pay for equal work.

In order to assure the economic independence of women, free child-care centers must be set up and run at state expense. Women's right to control their own bodies and decide whether they want to bear children. This right includes the use of abortion and contraceptive methods.

## 7. Abolition of business secrets:

Capitalists, property owners, landlords, the bosses of the big companies and the intermediaries for foreign capital, the chief bureaucrats in the army and civil service, and the court circles have maintained total secrecy to hide their plundering of the country. All the

books and accounts of the secret transactions of these rich must be opened, so that their robberies will be known to everyone. The action by the central bank employees provides a clear example of the importance of this.

## 8. Oppose the flight of capital from the country, oppose the capitalists' wrecking and sabotage of production:

All the property of the capitalists and wealthy people who have stolen billions of *tumans* [7 tumans equal US\$1] from the poor people and taken this wealth outside the country must be confiscated and nationalized in the form of people's property. And not a cent should be paid in compensation.

## 9. Workers and toilers control over the banks, industry, commerce, and social services:

The capitalist parasites have grown fat from exploiting the workers. The workers must have the right to know the "secrets" of the banks, factories, and all parts of basic industry, transport, and the economy as a whole. The bosses' control of the factories must be replaced by workers control. In this way, control of the workers and toilers must be established over the banks, basic industry and trade in general.

The offices, institutions, and big state companies that exploit millions of Iranian toilers (workers, teachers, functionaries, and so on) in the interests of the capitalists must be brought under the control of workers committees, cooperating with committees and unions of state employees, to form a real system of social services for the toilers.

## 10. Against inflation and unemployment:

The workers cannot and must not have to bear the burden of the savage exploitation of the capitalists and the economic disasters they cause. Faced with the constantly rising prices of consumer goods, workers should get full cost-of-living adjustments. The rate of inflation must be measured by committees of workers, honest specialists, and statisticians loyal to the workers. Every worker must get a wage sufficient to assure at least a decent standard of living.

Everyone who wants to work must be guaranteed a job. The workweek must not exceed forty hours. In order to increase the number of jobs, the government must create public works projects such as the construction of housing, cities, schools, universities, child-care centers, parks, roads, and so on. There must be an end to the appropriation of huge sums for the army, police, and rural guards; this money must be used instead to build useful public works.

Similarly, a direct progressive tax system must be established, rising sharply at each higher level of income. Workers and toilers should be exempt from taxes. Indirect taxes on such items as sugar, foodstuffs, and necessities of life for the broad masses must be abolished.

Moreover, in order to safeguard the standard of living of the workers and raise it, insurance and social welfare programs must be instituted, especially unemployment insurance. Workers and lower-ranking civil servants must get annual paid vacations of at least one month, as well as retirement benefits that will enable them to lead a decent life after the age of fifty. The wages of women, youth, and immigrant workers must be equal to those of other workers.

## 11. Nationalize the banks, insurance companies, basic industries, and transportation:

Without regulating the activities of the banks, it is impossible to control



and regulate production and distribution of goods for human needs. And without total control over this, it is impossible to make any fundamental advances in improving the wretched living conditions of the masses. Through the banks, the capitalists carry out their various schemes to plunder the poor workers. All the banks must be nationalized and combined in one state bank. All insurance companies must be nationalized.

The banks and basic industry and the most important branches of commerce must be nationalized and brought under a state monopoly if any serious attempt is to be made to regulate the economic activity of society in accordance with human needs. Such nationalizations are of a fundamentally different type than those carried out by the monarchy. The monarchy's "nationalized" oil, gas, petrochemical, and steel companies were all created to further the exploitation and plunder carried on by the capitalists, the monarchy, and the imperialists.

The bankers and capitalists must not get compensation for even the smallest part of their loot. The expropriation of the major means of production and distribution is an entirely

the people. The people will mete out justice themselves.

In order to defend the revolutionary unity of the workers and peasants against the attacks of the capitalists and imperialists, in order to defend the life of the workers and peasants republic, everyone must be armed. The organization of the Mojahdeen militia at the time of the Tabriz Anjoman in the constitutional revolution is a perfect example of how to organize a people's militia. This is also exemplified by the defense forces in Amol and other cities. Other examples are the workers and factory self-defense guards in the plants and the oil fields. As such defense organizations spread more and more in the cities, in the working-class centers, and in the villages, the soldiers, who are the sons of the toilers, will be reminded of their class roots and be won over to the side of the workers and toilers.

#### 14. International solidarity:

When the workers are in control of society, the basis for advancing toward a society of abundance will have been laid. But such progress is only conceivable with the solidarity of the workers and toilers in other countries. Isolated



Soldier and demonstrator embrace during recent demonstration in Tehran. Trotskyists call for full political rights for soldiers.

different thing from taking the property of the peasants, individual small traders, and professionals.

#### 12. For a monopoly of foreign trade:

All foreign trade must come under a state monopoly, so that it can be put under the control of all the people for the benefit of society.

#### 13. Dissolve SAVAK, the police, and the rural guards; political rights for the soldiers; arm the people:

All repressive bodies must be abolished. SAVAK must be abolished. The police and the rural guards must be abolished. The task of maintaining order in the cities and the countryside must be carried out by armed groups of the people, the workers, and the peasants.

Repression in the army must be ended. The military hierarchy must be dismantled. The army must be democratized, and the soldiers must enjoy full political and civil rights. Army commanders must be elected by soldiers' committees.

All military and special courts must be dismantled. Judges in all trials must be elected and all trials must take place before juries chosen from among

and besieged in a world of exploitation and poverty, a workers and peasants republic would not be able to take many steps forward.

The great revolution of the disinherited people of Iran has already had an impact on every neighboring country.

How could it be otherwise? The peoples of Turkey, Pakistan, and Afghanistan are watching the revolution in Iran. They are being inspired by it and gaining self-confidence from it. The cry of freedom will doubtless have reverberations in the Soviet Union as well. After being isolated for years, the Palestinian revolutionists have heard the powerful voice of solidarity raised by millions of Iranians. The South African Blacks are finding allies in Iran. The Iranian revolution has opened a period of blood and iron in the entire region; that is, the age of revolt of the oppressed against the oppressing classes. Thus by establishing a workers and peasants government the workers and toilers of Iran will lay the cornerstone of the "Socialist United States of the Middle East."

The Socialist Workers Party's proposal for the constitution, the "Bill of Rights for the Iranian Workers and Toilers," will be presented to the party congress for discussion and ratification.

# For a constituent assembly! For a workers and peasants gov't!

The following has been excerpted from a four-page program now being distributed in Iran by the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (formerly Sattar League), sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Iran. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

No government appointed from above can bring freedom to Iran.

The achievement of democracy, the elimination of imperialist domination, and the winning of real independence is possible only through the struggle of the broad masses.

Therefore, it is necessary to dissolve both houses of the parliament of the Rastakhiz\* period immediately. It is necessary to convene without delay a constituent assembly made up of delegates elected by universal and direct vote by secret ballot. No matter what regime is at present in power in Iran, it is urgent and vital for the broad masses, who have paid a high price in blood for the gains they have made, to be able to discuss freely the issues facing the country today. Only an assembly made up of genuine representatives of the people can discuss all such issues and make decisions about them. All parties and political forces in Iran must have the right to participate freely in this democratic debate.

High school students and all other sections of the society, literate or illiterate, must have the right to take part in the constituent assembly elections. All political groups banned under the shah's regime must have the right to participate in these elections. This right must be extended as well to the soldiers.

Supervision of these elections is the task of the people themselves. Only in this way will it be possible to keep the government from interfering in this democratic decision-making process. Committees of workers, soldiers, women, and peasants—both those committees that already exist and others that must be formed—could discuss the various issues and supervise the elections to the constituent assembly.

Delegates to the constituent assembly should be elected by proportional representation on a nationwide basis. Only in this way will all political groups, even those with a relatively small percentage of the vote nationwide, be able to make their voices heard. This is necessary for real democracy in discussion and decision making.

The aim in establishing the constituent assembly is not to limit the debate on issues facing the country to this assembly. To the contrary, discussion of all issues must take place in the barracks among the soldiers, among the peasants, in the various neighborhoods, and in the high schools and universities. Only in this way, can the broad masses play a real role in the decision-making process, consolidate the gains of their struggle, and extend the revolution until they completely

break the chains of oppression and exploitation that bind them.

At the present time, when the broad masses of people have been able to achieve an important victory against the despotic and disintegrating system in Iran, the U.S. imperialists, the Iranian generals, and all the big landowners and capitalists have focused their plan around two basic axes. Deliberately and constantly, they have been sabotaging the production and distribution process so as to create an unprecedented breakdown. In this way, they are seeking to engender a situation in which the workers, peasants, and student organizations would be threatened with losing the gains they made in their struggles. At the same time, in order to halt the advancing revolution, some of the generals are planning a coup. Of course, it remains to be seen if these plans by U.S. imperialism and its local supporters will succeed.

In conditions of deepening workers' struggles and growing solidarity between the people and the ranks of the armed forces, it would be very difficult to set the stage for such an economic breakdown or to carry out a coup. However, not a moment must be lost in advancing the organization of the whole mass of workers, soldiers, and toilers. . . .

The call for a constituent assembly is the central slogan of all democrats and socialists. The successful establishment of a constituent assembly and a democratic decision-making process will be assured only when every section of the workers, peasants, toilers, and soldiers have formed their own fighting organizations. Through mass participation in deciding the future of Iran, the people can end the era of despotism and eliminate the capitalist exploiters. . . .

It is only through their own independent struggles that the workers and toilers of Iran can achieve the rights to which they are entitled. It is the strikes, demonstrations, and marches that have shaken the oppressive and corrupt government. It is not logical, then, to strike and demonstrate in order to achieve rights and freedoms and at the same time place your confidence in the political forces that benefit from the present system and have been chosen to represent the decaying system in Iran.

Only through building a mass socialist party can the power of the Iranian workers and toilers be brought to bear to destroy the governmental apparatus of the capitalists, landowners, and their foreign imperialist partners. Only through this can this regime be replaced with a government that would express the will and interests of the working people. The party that is needed is not one that would only talk and issue declarations. What is needed is a combat party that takes part in the people's struggles and helps extend them. Such a party is essential to assure the establishment of a workers and peasants republic in the favorable conditions that exist.

It is the aim of the Socialist Workers Party to become such a party. We are trying to explain the need for it and we are fighting to achieve it.

\*The single party established by the shah in 1975.

## Account by Iranian strike leader

# How oil workers paralyzed shah's regime

One of the most powerful weapons unleashed in the battle to oust the shah was the strike by Iran's oil workers. The strike, which began in late September, demonstrated the strength of the organized working class, virtually shutting down the country's key industry.

The following are portions of an account of the strike by one of the founders of the Association of Oil Industry Staff Employees, a union in Ahwaz formed in the heat of the struggle. The entire account appeared in the January 29 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor,' which translated it from the December 29 'Payam Daneshjoo,' a revolutionary socialist Persian-language magazine.

The way the strike started was that the very broad movement that developed in our country made us realize that we staff employees in the oil industry were part of this nation too, and so we also had to participate in this movement. We knew from the start that if we walked out our strike could play a very important role in this movement.

From the beginning, we felt the need to organize a committee that could give systematic direction to the strike.

So, we decided to elect one representative for every fifty persons. The first duty of these representatives was to organize the professional and office workers association. So, we called this body the Organizing Committee of Oil Industry Staff Employees.

But from the very first days of the strike, we realized that there were more important questions facing us. The strike itself had to be organized. We had to define our aims. We had to clarify for our co-workers what our overall aims were. This was not clear to many of them. We had to specify our demands.

### Domestic production

One question over which there was a lot of discussion was whether we should extend the strike through the entire oil industry, or whether some facilities such as hospitals and some teams that do emergency repairs on the oil pipelines should be kept in operation. In particular, there is always a danger of explosions in oil pipelines, and if such accidents occur people may be killed. So, we said that we would designate a group of workers to make emergency repairs.

There was also a lot of discussion about maintaining production for domestic consumption. We decided finally to assure the supply for domestic needs. The cold weather was on its way, and so we knew that consumption was going to be high.

But later on, we found ourselves facing another problem. We were in fact producing the amount of oil required for domestic needs. But we discovered that the RAY refinery had gone on strike. In other words, they would not refine the crude that we were producing and pumping to them. The same thing happened with the Abadan refinery.

### Refinery workers

We began discussing with the refinery workers and urging them to refine the crude we were producing and pumping to their plants. We reasoned with them, explaining that the government would exploit this situation. So as not to allow the government to misrepresent our action, to set one section of the people against another, to open up a propaganda campaign against us, we thought that it was better for them to go ahead and refine the crude that we were producing to cover domestic needs. If they did that, we argued, the government would not be able to divert people's attention from the central issues involved in the strike by playing up the long lines in front of the gas stations and petroleum distributors.

The workers at the refineries accepted our arguments and decided to go ahead and produce. But the next day, they reported to us that the government was taking all the fuel being refined and using it for military purposes.

We reaffirmed that the essential aim was to meet the needs of domestic consumption. But if, for any reason, they thought that they were not achieving this objective they should act accordingly. Their decision was to go back on strike.



'The authorities finally realized that we were the only people who can operate the oil industry.' Inset map shows cluster of oil fields where Ahwaz is located.

Three or four days later the oil workers in Ahwaz sent a delegation to us, pledging their support to our strike. They said that they would collaborate with us provided we went all the way and stuck with them to the last. We told the Ahwaz workers that that was our intention, and they joined with us.

After the production workers joined us, news of the strike reached practically all the oil fields. As a result, oil production dropped sharply. The average daily oil production in Iran is, or was, 6.5 million barrels. In the following days, production dropped to about 500,000 barrels a day.

We had presented a list of twelve demands. Three of these were not economic, and had been raised separately. They were as follows: end martial law, full solidarity and cooperation with the striking teachers, and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Our economic demands included Iranianization of the oil industry, all communications to be in the Persian language, and for all foreign employees to leave the country.

In regard to the expulsion of the foreign staff employees, we said that this should be done gradually and according to a plan. Some of these employees were simply superfluous. They were drawing salaries and doing nothing. Such people could leave Iran very quickly, or else we would expel them. As for the others, there should be a plan to start replacing them.

The second economic demand was for an end to discrimination against women staff employees and workers.

The third demand called for implementation of a law recently passed by both houses of parliament dealing with the housing of oil workers and staff employees.

Another demand was for revision of the regulations governing retirement of staff employees.

Our final demand was for support to the demands of the production workers. The production workers had raised a demand not included in the list presented by the oil industry staff employees. It was for dissolution of SAVAK. The other demands raised by the production workers coincided entirely with ours.

[At this point, the account describes the attempts by the government and Iranian Oil Company officials to maneuver the strikers and get them back to work. At first, management said it was willing to negotiate on the economic demands but that the political demands were government questions over which it had no control.

[According to the account, the strikers told the

company official "that we were not going to make any distinction between our economic and noneconomic demands. We told him that we had only one set of demands, from number one to twelve."

[Government and company officials also failed in their attempts to pit oil workers in one area against those in other regions.

[These tactics having failed, the government brought in strikebreakers. But the sophisticated technology of the industry made it impossible for these newcomers to operate the oil installations.]

### Government turns to force

["The authorities finally realized that we were the only people who can operate the oil industry in Iran," the account explains. So the government sent armed troops into the oil workers' homes to force them back on the job.]

Despite all our tactics, many of our mates had been forced back to work and production had gone up considerably. At this point, we decided to go back to work along with other workers and prepare for a new strike. We did not consider ourselves defeated, since it was obvious that there was a continuing movement of the entire Iranian people.

What was happening was that one group would retreat one day, and the next day would resume the struggle in a different form and propel it forward. This is why we decided to go back to work and prepare everyone to strike again. This gave us a chance to draw a balance sheet of our strengths and weaknesses and to get ready for the next battle. At the same time, we decided to build up the structure of the Association of Oil Industry Staff Employees.

Our first strike lasted thirty-three days. The first day we went back to work, we held an assembly. The agenda dealt with setting up the association. We elected a committee of fifteen persons. Their primary task was to contact other organizations and individuals to solicit help and coordinate our work. We called this body the Coordinating Committee. It was also given the task of drawing up a constitution for the association. A preliminary draft was prepared and distributed among the employees. I think by this time, the constitution must have been approved by a general assembly of the membership.

[Despite this temporary return to work, the oil field strike reignited in December and January, after the period covered in this account. The strike played a decisive role in putting the shah to flight last month, and it remains one of the powerful engines in the struggle to bring down the current Bakhtiar regime hand-picked by the shah before his fall.]





## Their America...and ours

With this issue we begin publication of a new column, 'Nuestra América,' taken from the pages of 'Perspectiva Mundial,' the Spanish-language socialist magazine. Héctor Marroquín is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who is fighting Washington's attempt to deport him to Mexico (see story on page 8). This column was translated for the 'Militant' by Anne Teeddale.

Why "Our America"? To express our basic stance of taking sides in the struggles of the workers and the oppressed throughout the American continent, from Alaska to Patagonia.

Because there are two Americas: the America of the oppressors and the America of the oppressed; one of the capitalists and another of the exploited.

There is the America of the Rockefellers and their junior partners. The other one, our America, is the America of workers and peasants of the entire hemisphere, who have nothing in common with the capitalists.

Our America was born from revolutions against tyranny, slavery, and foreign domination. But this America that fought to free itself from the yoke of European domination has fallen under new oppressors.

There is the America of the Rockefellers, of the CIA, the Carters, and the marines; of the Somozas, the Torrijos, the Turbay Ayalas, the López Portillos, and the Pinochets. In the name of the "free world" they defend their America against ours, which continues its struggle for real national sovereignty. They defend it against the America that is fighting today to end the exploitation of the great majority of workers by the capitalist minority.

In English, the American imperialists have made the word "America" synonymous with "United States." And they try to convince all North Americans that their interests are the same as those of the capitalists.

But as James P. Cannon, the founder of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out:

"There are two Americas—and millions of people already distinguish between them.

"One is the America of the imperialists—of the little clique of capitalists, landlords, and militarists who are threatening and terrifying the world. This is the America the people of the world hate and fear.

"There is the other America—the America of the workers and farmers and the 'little people' . . .

"This is the America which must and will solve the world crisis—by taking power out of the hands of the little clique of exploiters and parasites. . . ."

There is the decadent America of profit and

humiliation. Its opposite is the America being born from the struggle of its working people, the revolutionary struggle that has as its example and inspiration Cuba, the first free territory of the Americas.

There is the cruel America, and the America that is not willing to put up with any more. As the Second Declaration of Havana put it: "The very depths of a continent are profoundly moved, a continent that has witnessed four centuries of slave, semislave, and feudal exploitation beginning with its aboriginal inhabitants and the slaves brought from Africa, up to the nuclei of nationalities that emerged later: white, Black, mulatto, mestizo, and Indian, who today are made brothers by the scorn, humiliation, and the Yankee yoke, and are brothers in their hope for a better tomorrow."

That is our America—of Bolívar, Martí and Che, of Eugene Debs, Malcolm X, Zapata and Sandino, the America that the revolutionists throughout the hemisphere are trying to create.

Our America is the America that fights for national liberation, for freedom and democracy, for an end to racism and the oppression of women—in sum, against capitalist oppression and exploitation.

This column is dedicated to that struggle, which knows no borders. It seeks to serve as a contribution to the final liberation of our hemisphere.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Omari Musa



## Carter budget & the crisis for Black America

"1979 promises to be a year of crisis for America's Black people.

"The state of Black America today verges on the brink of disaster."

So spoke National Urban League Executive Director Vernon Jordan at a recent news conference releasing the NUL's annual State of Black America report. Conditions in the Black community have grown steadily worse during the Carter administration, the report graphically explains.

Topping the list is depression-level unemployment. According to the NUL Hidden Unemployment Index, one of every four Black workers is unemployed, underemployed, or has given up looking.

The report estimates that more than 50 percent of Black youth are unemployed. For those of us who have jobs, inflation continues to drive down our standard of living.

Jordan concluded his statement by calling on the rich and their political representatives—that is, those responsible for the situation—to solve it.

"Today we call on the administration and the

Congress to be responsive to the needs of America's poor and Black people. We are calling on the government and the private sector to make training and employment a top priority in 1979."

A few days later Jordan got his answer in the Carter administration budget.

Carter announced cutbacks in federally funded jobs programs. He also put the ax to the already miserably low funding for health care and education while *increasing the military budget to a whopping \$135.5 billion!*

Jordan and other misleaders of the Black community have pleaded with the ruling rich to drop them a few crumbs to work with in their efforts to sidetrack the growing mood of rebelliousness among Blacks. They have warned that this mood is becoming hotter and harder to "contain."

It must seem to Jordan and other well-heeled house servants as if their advice is no longer valued by the ruling class.

The problem is that the capitalists have changed the rules.

They are not in a position to trim a little of their

fat in order to give concessions to Blacks or other working people. To the contrary, profiteers are on a campaign to take back as many previously won gains as they can.

This drive to force down the living standards of working people, including those of the most oppressed and exploited workers, is meeting growing resistance.

One powerful expression of this resistance was the defeat of a ruling-class-backed union-busting referendum on the Missouri ballot last November. This "right to work" referendum was defeated by a sixty-to-forty margin overall. The Black community voted it down by a whopping ninety-three to seven, according to the Urban League report.

This victory was accomplished through an alliance of the trade unions, Blacks, women, and students—and no thanks to the Democratic and Republican parties.

This kind of alliance—fighting independently of the capitalist parties, demanding jobs and defending affirmative-action programs—could go a long way to resolve the crisis facing Black America.

## Capitalism Fouls Things Up

### Arnold Weissberg



## Carter budget: a bomb for workers

Carter's 1980 budget is an all-around attack on the environment, from job safety to nuclear power.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), a major target of the employers, has been allotted a skimpy \$179 million. That's about a 4 percent increase over 1979, less than the rate of inflation. So OSHA's budget is actually cut.

Nearly 5,000 workers were killed on the job in 1977. Lives could be saved if an expanded OSHA cracked down on employers who speed up production and ignore safety. But Carter's more interested in multi-billion-dollar Trident submarines and missiles.

Carter proposed giving the Environmental Protection Agency \$70 million for controlling cancer-causing chemicals and other poisons. Experts estimate there are about 2,000 industrial substances that cause cancer. The EPA currently regulates 17.

Doing a proper job could run to \$1 billion.

Meanwhile, 100,000 workers die each year from job-related injuries or disease—many of them from cancer.

But Carter's more interested in a \$35 billion MX missile program.

Government-sponsored research on nuclear power will eat up \$988 million of our tax dollars. This is a giveaway to the nuclear industry, which reaps profits from the research without spending a dime of its own money.

Over the years, the federal government has spent about \$10 billion on nuclear power research. Without that subsidy, the nuclear industry could not exist. And we wouldn't have seventy-two deadly nuclear power plants operating in the United States.

Carter also set aside \$655 million for "nuclear waste management." *There is no way to dispose of nuclear waste safely.* By pretending there is, Carter

is encouraging expansion of nukes.

If there was ever any doubt that Jimmy Carter favored nuclear power, his plan to spend \$564 million on breeder reactor research should dispel it. The breeder produces more nuclear fuel than it consumes. It's the most deadly nuclear plant on the drawing boards. And it's a must for a country that's planning to rely on nuclear power, because the world has a limited uranium supply.

Although Carter has opposed building a breeder at Clinch River in Tennessee, he's in favor of a bigger and "better" one somewhere else.

Carter proclaimed his 1980 budget "lean and austere." It's lean and austere, all right, if you're concerned about job health and safety, cancer, or nuclear power.

But it's fat and flamboyant if you're interested in making big profits at the expense of workers' lives.

## Quote unquote

"Love is by far the most powerful force in the world."

—Nelson Rockefeller, the butcher of Attica.

## WHATEVER HAPPENED TO SEVEN PERCENT?

The fourth quarter 1978 figures are in, and the oil companies did it again—racking up profit increases ranging from 30 percent (Marathon Oil) to 134 percent (Standard of Ohio). Exxon posted a 48 percent boost, Texaco 72 percent, and Gulf 45 percent.

Exxon alone made more than a billion dollars in profits in the last three months of 1978.

But none of this wealth will make its way into the hands of the people who produced it. With government cooperation, the oil companies managed to keep wage boosts for members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union to 7 percent—Jimmy Carter's "in-

flation guideline."

Carter refused to criticize oil profits at his January 26 news conference. Instead, the president mumbled that he would "like to see a good balance between prices and profits."

Since he has announced plans to soon lift all remaining limits on oil prices, Carter presumably meant that he'd like to see prices rise still further—the same as profits have risen.

## ALABAMA FRAME-UP STARTS TO CRACK

An eyewitness account of a prison guard's death has shed new light on the frame-up of Imani (Johnny Harris), a Black Alabama prisoner sentenced to death for his alleged role in killing the guard during a 1974 prison protest.

Imani and three other prisoners, all Black, were convicted of killing guard Luell Barrow, even though there was not a single witness who could point an accusing finger at them.

Now white prisoner Jesse David Jett has said that he

saw Barrow's murder and that Imani had no part in it.

Jett also said, according to the *Birmingham Post-Herald*, that prison officials killed Black prisoner George "Changina" Dobbins during the protest. No one was ever indicted for the murder of Dobbins.

## FREE THE WHITE HOUSE 11

A rally to support eleven antinuclear activists arrested on the White House lawn will be held in New York City February 11 at 1 p.m. at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 West Fourth Street.

The eleven were recently convicted and will be sentenced February 12 in Washington, D.C. A rally is set there, also. For more information call (212) 228-0450.

In Seattle, 176 people were sentenced January 2 for their part in protesting the Trident nuclear submarine and missile system. Five defendants must serve forty-five days in jail. The remainder had their forty-five-day jail terms suspended

and will have to serve three years probation.

Sentences have been delayed pending appeals.

## FISHERMEN PROTEST NAVY BOMBARDMENT

The fishermen of Vieques, a small island off Puerto Rico, are trying to prevent the U.S. Navy from holding maneuvers in the middle of their best fishing grounds.

The navy owns 27,000 acres at both ends of Vieques. The island's 9,500 residents live on 6,000 acres between. The navy uses "its" land for target practice.

The people of Vieques have been trying to get rid of the navy for years. The government of Puerto Rico has asked a federal court to order the navy to stop damaging the island's coral reefs and mangrove swamps.

The navy admits it never filed "environmental impact statements" on its bombing, as required by law.

The Vieques fishermen have been conducting a "fish-in" in the waters the navy is trying to use for maneuvers, and have succeeded in forcing cancellation of some military exercises. They have vowed to continue despite a federal court injunction against them.

## HOW A LIBERAL RUNS FOR PRESIDENT

Sen. Edward Kennedy announced January 28 he would seek to bring a federal death penalty bill before the Senate—although he said he personally opposes capital punishment.

Kennedy said he was pushing the bill in return for support on his "Son of S-1" revision of the U.S. criminal code. That pet project of Kennedy's would impose new curbs on the right to demonstrate, strike, and other civil liberties.

Two days later Kennedy denounced the Carter budget for giving the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration "the lowest priority in the Administration's budget for law enforcement."

The senator announced he would seek to add \$30 million to the LEAA's budget. The money would be used to beef up local police forces.

## WHAT'S THE RUSH?

New Jersey State officials have decided that the 286 tons of mercury dumped on an abandoned factory site near the Hackensack Meadowlands pose no threat to human health and have rejected taking any quick action to clean the mercury up.

Samples taken two years ago in nearby waterways found mercury residues up to 245 parts per million. One part per million is considered dangerous contamination.

Federal, state, and local officials have known about the mercury problem since 1970, but have done nothing.

The state says it is hoping to win a lawsuit against the former factory owners that will force them to pay the \$6 million cleanup costs. The case has not yet gone to trial and could remain unresolved for years.

Mercury attacks the nervous system and can cause loss of muscle control, speech problems, and emotional disorders.

## CITY COUNCIL HITS NAZI VIOLENCE

The St. Paul, Minnesota, City Council adopted a resolution January 11 condemning a recent series of Nazi attacks. The resolution deplored "such acts of violence" and pledged "to insure the protection of the democratic rights and constitutional liberties of St. Paul's citizens."

Testifying in support of the resolution were representatives of the St. Paul NAACP and Socialist Workers Party.

The most recent incidents of Nazi activity were vandal attacks December 26 against the St. Paul Urban League and the St. Paul and Minneapolis SWP offices. The offices were plastered with Nazi stickers and posters. The Mt. Zion Temple was similarly defaced several weeks earlier.

A cross was burned at the family home of the University of Minnesota's first Black homecoming queen in November; and Black workers in several area plants have found Nazi hate materials at their machines.

## 600 in Texas say 'no nukes!'

Some 600 activists from around Texas converged on the state capitol in Austin January 21 to demand a ban on transportation and storage of nuclear wastes.

Protesters also celebrated a January 20 decision by Austin voters to take the city out of the South Texas Nuclear Project.

Speakers at the rally, which was sponsored by the Lone Star Alliance, included Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, a founding leader of the Raza Unida Party; Annie Fitzpatrick, treasurer of Austin Citizens for Economical Electricity; State Rep. Ron Waters; and writer/activist Grace Paley.

Meanwhile, the Union of Concerned Scientists called on the Nuclear Regulatory Commission January 26 to shut down sixteen nuclear power plants with particularly acute safety problems.



Judge José Angel Gutiérrez speaking at Austin rally

UCS spokesperson Dr. Henry Kendall said that since the NRC had repudiated its own reactor safety study, which had claimed that the chances of serious accident were minimal, there was "no technical basis for concluding that the actual risk is low enough to

justify continued plant licensing and operation."

Two days later, a truck carrying radioactive wastes overturned in Tennessee, spilling forty-six drums of cobalt 60 and cesium 137. The truck was on its way to the nuclear waste dump at Barnwell, South Carolina.

# What's Going On

## MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**'EUROCOMMUNISM': IS IT THE PATH TO REVOLUTION?** Speakers: Mike Pearlman, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. (Kenmore Sq.) Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

**WHAT'S BEHIND THE VIETNAMESE INVASION OF CAMBODIA?** Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, staff writer for the 'Militant,' Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. (Kenmore Sq.) Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## MINNESOTA ST. PAUL

**THE HILL BROTHERS: CELEBRATE THEIR RELEASE; DEMAND THEIR NAMES BE CLEARED.** Speaker: Stanley Hill. Sun., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 373 University. Donation: \$1.25. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

**CHINA AFTER MAO: AFTER 30 YEARS, THE UNITED STATES RECOG-**

**NIZES CHINA.** Speakers: Carl Peterson, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Feb. 11, 7 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

**MALCOLM X: HIS LIFE, IDEAS & ASSASSINATION.** Speakers: K.A. Aziz, Nation of Islam; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

## NEW YORK BROOKLYN

**PROFITS VERSUS LIVES: THE FIGHT FOR JOB SAFETY.** Speaker: Jack Quarrier, writer on job safety. Fri., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. 841 Classon Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 783-2135.

## PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

**WINE AND CHEESE PARTY TO AID HECTOR MARROQUIN DEFENSE.** Sun., Feb. 11, 3-5 p.m. 6653 Wilkins Ave. Donation: \$5. Aup: Pittsburgh Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (412) 665-9308.

## TEXAS DALLAS

**1979 SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY.** Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, SWP National Committee; Gretchen Jarvis, SWP candidate for mayor of Dallas; Bob Cantrick, SWP candidate for city council; Melvin Chappel, SWP candidate for city council. Sat., Feb. 10, open house 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 5442 East Grand. Donation: \$1. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

## WASHINGTON SEATTLE

**REPORT FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA.** Speakers: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, just returned from southern Africa; Judy Hightower, American Friends Service Committee. Tues., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. Kanen Hall, Rm. 220, Univ. of Washington. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## TACOMA

**REPORT FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA.** Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, just returned from southern Africa. Sun., Feb. 11, 7:30

p.m. 1306 S. K St. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

**REPORT FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA.** Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers

Party National Committee, just returned from southern Africa. Tues., Feb. 13, noon. Pacific Lutheran Univ., Regency Room, Univ. Center Building. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

## Iran forums

### LOS ANGELES

**U.S. HANDS OFF IRAN!** A panel discussion. Speakers: Herbert Aptheker, director of American Institute of Marxist Studies; Vernon Belcourt, American Indian Movement; Robert Farrell, LA City Council; José Medina, president, ILGWU Local 301; Frank Wilkinson, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; others. Fri., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. 1st Unitarian Church of LA, 2936 W. 8th St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

**ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX. REVOLUTION IN IRAN.** Speakers: representative of University of New Mexico Iranian Students Association; Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., Feb. 8, 7:30 p.m. UNM

Sub Room 250 C&D. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum series & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

### SALT LAKE CITY

**THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN: ITS IMPORTANCE FOR THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS.** Speaker: Glen Swanson, member, Moulders & Allied Workers Local 231, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 11, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### SEATTLE

**THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN.** Speaker: Kate Daher, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.



## Arson won't stop Black weekly

A fire gutted the offices of the *Carolina Times*, the oldest Black weekly in North Carolina, December 31. The fire was apparently set deliberately. It destroyed the entire production facilities of the paper.

Two other Black-owned businesses were also burned out.

The owner of one of the businesses charged that a fireman said "these buildings have got to go" when asked why only minimal

efforts were being made to put out the fire.

Vivian Edwards, editor and publisher of the *Carolina Times*, said Durham's "redevelopment" commission had been trying to force the Black businesses out for years.

The *Carolina Times* is still publishing. "Bombs and fire can't still the voice of the Black press," said Ernie Pitt, co-director of the North Carolina Black Publishers Association.



Building housing 'Carolina Times' was destroyed by arson

## LAWYERS REPORT ON ISRAELI OCCUPATION

The National Lawyers Guild has issued a report detailing human rights violations by Israel in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In July 1977, ten Guild members visited the Middle East to investigate charges that the Zionist regime had systematically denied basic rights to the Palestinians.

The 159-page report summarizes the charges against the Israeli regime, documents the official Israeli answers, and presents the facts as found by the delegation. Since the report also draws on other studies of human rights violations by the Israeli regime, it is perhaps the best general reference work on this aspect of the occupation.

The report is available for \$4.50 (\$3.50 for ten or more copies) from the National Lawyers Guild Report, P.O. Box 14023, Washington, D.C. 20044.

## DISCRIMINATION'S TOLL ON HISPANICS

Puerto Rican families had an average income of \$7,972 in 1977, compared to the national average of \$16,000, according to a recent Labor Department study. Chicano families averaged \$11,742 and Cubans \$14,000. Black families averaged \$9,563.

Chicanos suffered a 10.1 percent unemployment rate in 1977, the study found, compared to the national average of 7 percent.

Hispanic workers are "severely underrepresented in the nation's professional and technical ranks," the study found.

## CORRECTION

Our January 19 issue gave the wrong phone number for the upcoming midwest regional no-nukes conference in Gary, Indiana. The correct number is (219) 938-3427.

## Gov't OK's more smog

The Environmental Protection Agency said January 26 it would raise acceptable limits of ozone, a major component of smog, by 50 percent.

The EPA insisted its deci-

sion was based solely on new scientific evidence and had nothing to do with the Carter administration's stated goal of loosening environmental regulations to save industry billions of dollars.



# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



**Sounds appropriate**—A sympathetic judge granted permission to Rep. Daniel Flood to hurry over to the Hill during a lunch break to be sworn in for his sixteenth term as a member of the House. The opening session of Congress coincided with the opening of Flood's bribery trial.

**Second-class citizens**—The coffin-nail industry surely has a persuasive case when it argues that it's the victim of government persecution. Like, for instance, the eight-cent federal tax on a pack of cigarettes. Despite numerous bills to change it, Congress has kept it frozen at that amount since 1951.

**Social trends**—What with the shortage of domestic help, many New York socialites are doing their entertaining in plush supper clubs, reports the *New York Times*. One such is Jonathan Farkas, a self-described ex-member of the "Woodstock generation" and now vice-president of a prosperous family business. "I used to

wear those Ricky Ricardo babalu shirts and Nehru tunics," he confides. "But now I'm one of those who believes we're headed for a return to elegance."

**Positive view**—What with the demand outpacing the supply, a good second-hand Rolls is now bringing more in England than a price-fixed new one. So the company has asked the queen's price board to hoist the retail. Commented the Rolls managing director: "I still think there's hope for this country."

**Just one of the comrades**—The former Christina Onassis is doing nicely as the spouse of a minor Soviet bureaucrat, reports Associated Press. She's learned to "live simply" and is content with the two adjacent apartments combined into a seven-and-a-half room suite for the happy couple. She did buy a Mercedes to get to the "special store where foreigners buy produce that is not generally available to Soviet citizens."

## Women in Revolt

### Matilde Zimmermann



## Dialogue with 'right to life'?

As the sixth anniversary of the legalization of abortion approached, the anti-abortionists' campaign to drive us back to the days of the coat hanger seemed to be picking up momentum in a frightening way.

Concerned women in a number of cities were trying to respond to the escalating attacks on abortion rights by organizing rallies, teach-ins, and pickets.

And we waited to hear what Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, would say in the major policy statement she was to make at a January 22 news conference. As head of the largest feminist organization in the country, she could give the campaign to defend abortion a real national thrust.

We were disappointed.

Smeal announced—not the countermobilization that was needed—but exactly the opposite. She proposed that the abortion controversy be quieted down for a while, to give "the leadership on both sides of the issue" time to "meet and begin a dialogue."

Smeal disclosed that NOW was sending telegrams to "major organizations on both sides of the abortion issue, inviting leaders to meet to discuss the formation of a comprehensive reproductive health program." She said it was time for both sides "to seek ways to lessen the need for abortion, to reduce the incidence of unwanted and troubled pregnancies, and to end the increasing polarization and violence."

The summit meeting is supposed to take place February 15 in Washington, D.C. But it seems unlikely ever to occur.

The response of the anti-abortionists was rapid and predictable. "Pro-life people will not negotiate with baby killers," said Nellie Gray, organizer of the 60,000-person "March for Life" that was taking place as Smeal spoke.

The underlying theme of Smeal's statement was a dangerous one for the women's movement. She suggested that an overemphasis on abortion was responsible for the current crisis.

Prochoice forces, according to Smeal, are being "driven to the extreme" of

focusing on abortion rather than on the "comprehensive reproductive health program" they actually want.

But legal abortion is what is under attack today. The only way to turn back that attack is through more emphasis on abortion, not less.

The concentration on abortion is also forcing the anti-abortionists into more extreme positions, suggested Smeal, with the result that "the campaign against abortion is becoming a campaign against contraception."

But most anti-abortionists have always been opposed to contraception!

They are also opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative action, and child care. They are opposed to the very existence of the women's movement.

The same people who are organizing the campaign to do away with legal abortion are also against unions, against strikes, against school desegregation, against gay rights.

While many in the women's movement call for taking money from the war budget to fund needed social programs, these women haters call for a bigger war chest.

What exactly are the "common goals" that feminists are supposed to sit down and discuss with the Right to Life Crusade, the National Right to Life Committee, the National Catholic Conference of Bishops, and Americans for a Constitutional Convention? (These are four of the nineteen anti-abortion groups Smeal invited to the February 15 dialogue.)

It is true that battle lines have been drawn around the issue of abortion. The polarization and violence are caused exclusively by those who want to criminalize abortion again.

This confrontation can be resolved in only two ways: either through guaranteeing the right to legal abortion or through abolishing it. There is no middle ground.

It is possible for this confrontation to be resolved in our favor. But women will win only by standing up and fighting for abortion, not by sitting down with our enemies to dialogue our way toward some nonexistent common ground.

## Trotsky on 1905

On January 9, 1905, Russian troops opened fire on a demonstration of workers in St. Petersburg who were trying to petition the tsar. This massacre, known as "Bloody Sunday," touched off the Russian revolution of 1905. Although the 1905 revolution failed to overthrow the tsarist autocracy, it weakened it and provided rich lessons for the Russian working class. In Lenin's words, 1905 was "the dress rehearsal" for the revolution twelve years later that finally did away with the Romanov dynasty and opened the way to the establishment of a workers state in Russia.

The following excerpts are from two articles by Leon Trotsky, the most prominent leader of the 1905 revolution. The first is from 'The Proletariat and the Revolution,' an article written at the end of 1904—just before the events of Bloody Sunday.

The second excerpt is from 'The Events in Petersburg,' written on January 20, 1905.

There are striking similarities between many of the questions posed during the 1905 revolution and those posed by the revolution currently unfolding in Iran.

A tremendous amount of revolutionary energy has been accumulated. It should not vanish with no avail, it should not be dissipated in scattered engagements and clashes, with no coherence and no definite plan.

We have got to summon all revolutionary forces to simultaneous action. How can we do it?

The starting point ought to be the factories and plants. That means that street manifestations of a serious character, fraught with decisive events, ought to begin with *political strikes of the masses*.

A political strike, however, not a local, but a *general political strike all over Russia*,—ought to have a general political slogan. This slogan is: *to stop the war and call a national constituent assembly*.

We ought to use all possible occasions to make the idea of a national constituent assembly popular among the people. Proclamations and speeches, educational circles and mass meetings ought to carry, broadcast, to propound and to explain the demand of a constituent assembly. There ought not to be one man in a city who should not know that his demand is: a national constituent assembly.

The peasants ought to be called to assemble on the day of the political strike and to pass resolutions demanding the calling of a constituent assembly. The suburban peasants ought to be called into the cities to participate in the street movements of the masses gathered under the



TSAR NICHOLAS II AND TSARINA: Predecessors of shah and shahbanou.

banner of a constituent assembly.

We ought to carry on the most intensive propaganda in the army in order that on the day of the strike each soldier, sent to curb the "rebels," should know that he is facing the people who are demanding a national constituent assembly.

\* \* \*

Victory demands not a romantic method based on an illusory plan, but revolutionary tactics. *A simultaneous action of the proletariat of all Russia must be prepared*. This is the first condition. No local demonstration has a serious political significance any longer.

After the Petersburg uprising, only an all-Russian uprising should take place. Scattered outbursts would only consume the precious revolutionary energy with no results. Wherever spontaneous outbursts occur, as a late echo of the Petersburg uprising, *they must be made use of to revolutionize and solidify the masses, to popularize among them the idea of an all-Russian uprising* as a task of the approaching months, perhaps only weeks.

This is not the place to discuss the technique of a popular uprising. The questions of revolutionary technique can be solved only in a practical way, under the live pressure of struggle and under constant communication with the active members of the party. There is no doubt, however, that the technical problems of organizing a popular uprising assume at present tremendous importance.

### 'We do it all for us'

When members of United Auto Workers Local 451 arrived at their jobs at the Baker Material Handling Corporation plant in Cleveland one recent Monday morning, we were greeted by temperatures so low that icicles had begun to form inside the plant.

As workers met in groups all morning deciding what to do about the situation, the company kept insisting that heat would be restored. Finally, after five hours of no heat, approximately seventy out of eighty workers in two departments decided to walk out.

Before the second shift began that afternoon, the company installed giant space heaters which brought the temperature of the two departments up to normal.

Upon arriving the following morning and seeing the heaters, those of us who had walked out knew we had won a small but important victory. This is not the end of the story, however.

Baker Material Handling Corporation, which is owned by Linde of West Germany, manufactures forklift trucks. Undoubtedly the owners of Linde felt that the Baker plant in Cleveland was a good investment, since wages and benefits are low here, relative to those received by German workers.

Workers at Baker always felt that the owners regarded us as a cheap investment. We didn't realize just how cheap, though, until after the walkout.

The company, no doubt after consulting with top specialists in labor-management relations, decided to reward every worker who *didn't* participate in the walkout, including those whose departments were warm from the beginning, with a one-dollar McDonald's gift certificate.

Apparently the Baker management has taken to heart the McDonald's slogan, "We do it all for you." But with one addition . . . "and us."

Jeff Powers  
and Glen Arnodo  
Cleveland, Ohio

### Islamic Billy Grahams?

If one were to rely totally upon the mass media and the sectarian left press such as *Workers Vanguard*, one would get the impression that the events in Iran have resulted from the tirades of Islamic Billy Grahams.

Now that the shah has left Iran, however, reality slipped into an article by R.W. Apple, Jr., that appeared in the January 17 *New York Times*. It confirmed the excellent analysis that has consistently appeared in the *Militant*.

Noted Apple: "The spreading influence of Ayatollah Khomeini was a result not so much of his religious appeal to the masses—although that appeal is considerable—as of their symbolic attachment to his rejection of the Shah's rule. To the people he is the only leader who proclaimed that he would

absolutely not compromise with the Shah. He offered the people, under the guise of Islamic principles, a rallying point for their mounting discontent, and they in turn gladly lent themselves to his exhortations for revolt, strikes and work slowdowns."

A basic of political analysis is to look beyond the surface. The *Militant* is to be congratulated for doing so.

After all, if the revolution in Iran is nothing but a Moslem revival, how would one describe the early Black civil rights movement? Its major leaders were connected to religion, such as Martin Luther King, Jr., and including Malcolm X. Perhaps the civil rights movement was nothing but an unholy alliance of Baptists and Moslems?

Jim Brinning  
New York, New York

### Excellent work

Your newspaper, the *Militant*, is the most decent and thought provoking publication I have read in a long time.

Keep up the excellent work.  
Bert Nichols  
Willow Grove, Pennsylvania

### Only through socialism

I wish to thank you personally for sending me the *Militant*. I've had so many requests from other inmates to read the paper, I'm in the process of making up a list so everyone will have the privilege of reading one of the most important papers on the American scene.

The struggle in America is not Black and white anymore. Discrimination surely continues, but the main struggle is one of *class*.

In this capitalistic society, the line is drawn between the "haves" and the "have nots." Many minorities are becoming more assimilated into the present power structure. In this way they are climbing the fence to the "other side."

In order to convert them, the idea of socialism must be manifested in their everyday actions. They and others must learn that the destiny of man can only be accomplished through socialism.

In solidarity.  
A prisoner  
New York

### Two national anthems?

During the Christmas holidays I spent a few days in Puerto Rico. While I was there, an interesting development once again revealed the precarious colonial status of the island.

It all centered around whether the Pan American games, scheduled to take place in Puerto Rico, should play two national hymns—that is, Puerto Rico's and the United States's—and if both flags should be present during the ceremonies.

The last I heard, the president of the Pan American games had resigned in protest against Gov. Romero Barcelo, an ardent supporter of statehood, who insists that the U.S. hymn and flag be

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## JOIN THE SWP



## Cannon on the labor party

This week we reprint a selection from 'Notebook of An Agitator' by James P. Cannon, founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party. 'Implications of the Labor Party' first appeared in the April 26, 1954, 'Militant.' It was part of a series of articles Cannon wrote on the threat of an American fascist movement during the period of McCarthyism.

Despite the different political climate, Cannon's comments on the union officialdom's relationship to an independent labor party ring just as true today.

'Notebook of An Agitator,' a collection of articles Cannon wrote between 1926 and 1956, can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$4.95 plus 50 cents for handling.

The formal launching of an Independent Labor Party, the indicated next step in the preliminary mobilization of the American working class against a rising fascist movement, will hit this country like a bomb exploding in all directions. It will not only blow up the traditional two-party system in this country and bring about a basic realignment in the general field of American politics. It will also mark the beginning of a great shake-up in the labor movement itself. The second result will be no less important than the first, and it should be counted on.

Under the present system the political stage is occupied by two rival capitalist parties, which in reality represent two different factions of the ruling class. The workers play merely the part of a chorus in the wings and have no speaking part on the stage. The formation of a labor party will change all that at one stroke. The struggle of capitalist factions for control of the government will be subordinated to the struggle of classes, represented by class parties. That is the real meaning of politics anyway.

The political realignment, brought about by the appearance of a labor party on the scene, cannot fail to have profound repercussions inside the labor movement. There will be a great change there too. The break of the trade-union movement with capitalist politics will coincide with the rise of the big opposition to the present official leadership. This rank-and-file opposition movement will most likely take shape in the struggle for a labor party, and be identified with it.

To imagine that the present official leaders can make the great shift from the Democratic Party to independent labor politics, and maintain their leadership smoothly in an entirely new and different situation, requires one to overlook the basic causes which will force them to make this shift. That is, the radicalization of the rank and file and their revolt against the old policy. No matter how it is formally brought about, a labor party will be the product of a radical

upsurge in the ranks of the trade unionists. The more the officialdom resists the great change, the stronger will grow the sentiment for a different leadership. Even if the present leaders sponsor the labor party at the start, they will be under strong criticism for their tardiness. The real movement for a labor party, which will come from below, will begin to throw up an alternative leadership in the course of its development.

The demand for a labor party implies the demand for a more adequate leadership; and the actual formation of a labor party, under the auspices of the present official leadership, would only accelerate the struggle under more favorable conditions. As revolutionists, we advocate the formation of a labor party with this perspective also in mind.

It is true that the simple fact of the formation of a labor party, by itself, would have profound influence in speeding up radical and even revolutionary developments. But those who are satisfied with that might as well retire from the field and let the automatic process take care of everything. The automatic process will not take care of anything except to guarantee defeats. The conscious revolutionists, however few their numbers may be in the beginning, are a part of the process. Their part is to help the process along by telling the whole truth. The fight for a labor party is bound up with the fight to cleanse the labor movement of a crooked and treacherous leadership, and cannot be separated from it. Those radicals and ex-radicals who are willing to settle for a labor party, leaving the question of program and leadership unmentioned, are simply inventing a formula for their own betrayal.

It is not permissible for revolutionists to pass themselves off as mere advocates of a labor party, pure and simple, like any labor faker who devotes Sunday sermons to this idea. A labor party headed by the present official labor skates, without a program of class struggle, would be a sitting duck for American fascism. That's the truth of the matter, and advocacy of a labor party isn't worth much if it leaves this truth unsaid. Large numbers of trade-union militants know this as well as we do. They know that the present official leaders are no good for a real fight on any front, and that they have to be thrown out before there can be any serious thought of a show down with American fascism.

Those militants who know the score on this ought to organize themselves in order to conduct their struggle more effectively. This organization of the class conscious workers can only take the form of a revolutionary party. There is no substitute for that. And since the SWP is the only revolutionary party in the field, there is no substitute for the SWP. Those workers who today already recognize the necessity of a labor party ought to take the next step and unite with the SWP in its effort to direct the struggle toward a revolutionary goal.

included in the ceremonies.

Everybody in Puerto Rico seemed to be caught up in this debate. To many it just seemed like a comedy of tragedy.

As one person commented, "Considering the political ineptness of the governor, and his desire to get in good with the rulers in the U.S., I wouldn't be surprised if he recommended to the Yankees that the shah be given asylum here in Puerto Rico."

P.T.

Bronx, New York

### Feels deprived

I've just returned from Europe, where I was staying in Paris. The newspapers there were (some of them, of course) very good. Unfortunately, living in South Bend, Indiana, as I do, I feel deprived of anti-imperialist information.

Today, at the University of Notre Dame—where I go to read—I read the *Militant*. I like it and would like to try it for a while. Let me subscribe for ten weeks and see what I think.

Jonathan Daly

South Bend, Indiana

### Hansen, Querio deaths

Learning of the deaths of Joseph Hansen and Ruth Querio in the January 26 issue of the *Militant* saddened me.

I had the great opportunity to meet Ruth in the fall of 1973 when I participated in a national *Militant* sales team that worked with the newly formed Pittsburgh branch in extending socialist ideas in western Pennsylvania. Ruth's example was an inspiration to all those new members in Pittsburgh and to me.

I first met Joe Hansen through the discussions in the Socialist Workers Party on Latin America. The insight I gained through his very reasoned and complete arguments shall not be forgotten by me.

I also was lucky enough to meet Joe when I spent a year working with Pathfinder Press in New York. Pathfinder shared adjacent space with *Intercontinental Press*, of which Joe was the editor.

I remember the meeting held in New York for the tenth anniversary of the founding of *IP*. At that meeting it was told how *World Outlook* (the original name of *IP*) was launched as a simple mimeographed sheet, originating in Paris, I believe. Now it is the *Time* magazine of revolutionary socialism, thanks in large part to Joe.

These two socialist fighters epitomize the dedication of those in the leadership and those at the roots needed to make socialism a reality here in the United States.

G.B.

Toledo, Ohio

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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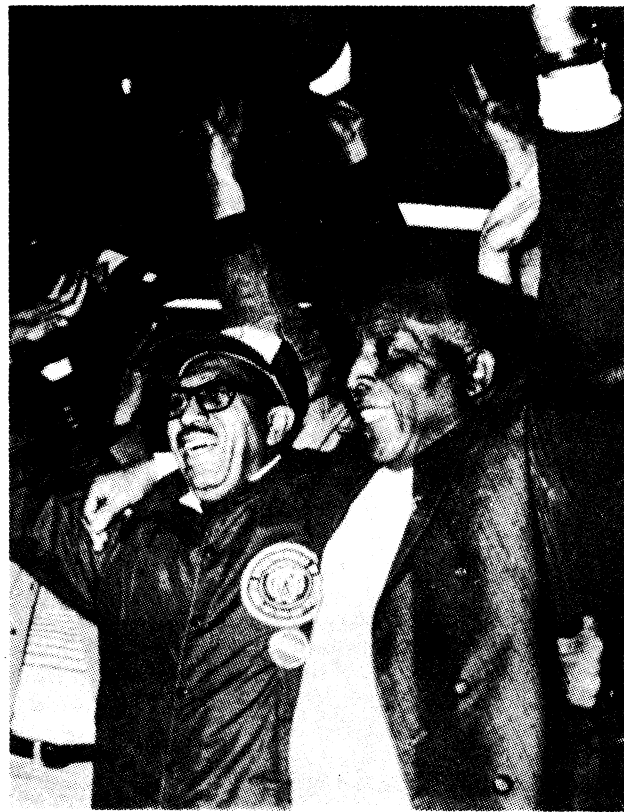
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# THE MILITANT

## Support Newport News Steelworkers!



Steel Labor

## Shipyard strike challenges open-shop South

The strike by members of the United Steelworkers at the Newport News, Virginia, shipyard is shaping up as the biggest U.S. labor battle since last year's courageous strike by coal miners. Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, issued a statement February 1 in support of the strike. Pulley is a member of USWA Local 1066 at U.S. Steel.

"The Newport News strikers deserve the all-out support of the entire labor movement," Pulley said. "Last winter, unions, Black and women's groups, students, and community organizations rallied to the coal miners' cause. Those same forces are needed today behind the Newport News Steelworkers."

"Resolutions of support, plant-gate fund collections, and a general drive to get out the facts on the strike will aid the striking workers in their fight for union recognition. We must put Tenneco and the Democratic and Republican politicians in Virginia on notice that the labor movement will not tolerate strikebreaking with cops, the National Guard, or court orders."

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va., Jan. 31—

"What time is it?"

"Steelworkers time!"

"What time is it?"

"Strike time!"

"What time is it?"

"Freedom time!"

This was the most popular chant

here at 5:30 this morning as 300 striking members of United Steelworkers locals 8888 and 8417 picketed the Thirty-seventh Street gate of Newport News Shipyard.

Across the street in front of Gus's Restaurant stood about the same number of workers—watching, waiting, deciding whether to walk through the strike lines.

"Come on, brothers, join us. We're fighting for you, too," a striker called out across Washington Avenue.

"Protect your job, stand up for your rights," yelled another, holding out the union's red-and-white picket sign.

A few workers broke ranks and crossed over to the picket line. Bear hugs and cheers greeted them.

The picket line grew as the 7 a.m. shift change approached. So did the crowd in front of Gus's.

But the onlookers chose to stay off the job. Many admitted they didn't expect the strike to be so successful and added that they were impressed.

Some shipyard workers did go through the gate, but not very many. It looked like nowhere near the 6,000 the shipyard owners had said would be necessary to keep production going.

Company-arranged carpools brought some. Shipyard buses, normally packed, dropped off a handful.

But the Steelworkers have clearly won the first round in what all predict will be a protracted struggle for their union rights.

A few blocks down Washington Avenue, at Thirty-third Street, is Local 8888's strike headquarters. On the eve of the strike the mood there was exuberant.

One year ago to the day, the Steelworkers won a representation election among the yard's 17,500 production

and maintenance workers.

But the shipyard's owner, the giant Tenneco oil conglomerate, would not recognize or bargain with Local 8888. The company forced members of sister Local 8417—1,200 of the yard's marine designers—into what will soon be a two-year strike to win their first union contract.

Now, finally, the time had come for the Steelworkers of Newport News to fight back.

"I'm not letting the company walk over me anymore," Dominick Calautti told the *Militant* as he stood before a room-sized map of the shipyard's operations. The union plans to picket forty different yard locations with up to 100 pickets at each spot, he said. They've

*Continued on page 22*

### What strikers are fighting for

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—At strike headquarters and on the picket lines, members of Local 8888 told the *Militant* why they chose to take their stand with the United Steelworkers.

- **Dick Hall**, volunteer organizer, fifty-five years old. "After ten years at the yard, I'm making \$6.61 an hour. A janitor hires in at more than that at unionized yards."

- **Ann Warren**, the first woman to work on a ship here. "As a woman, it took me three years to get into the trades. The company kept wanting me to take a clerical job, even though I can't type. Then it took me four and a half years to make first-class mechanic, when it

only takes a man two years."

- **Peggy Carpenter**, Local 8888 financial secretary. "The union will give women a voice in the yard. For me, it means justice and freedom."

- **William Flippen**. "I'm from West Virginia, where they know what strikes are all about. Slavery ended in Abraham Lincoln's time. We want some self-respect on the job today."

- **Dominick Calautti**. "Workers signed up for the union because they wanted to elect the people who represent them, right on up to international officers. And they wanted a say on what's in their union contract. Democracy—that's it in a nutshell."

—S.K.

### NEWS BULLETIN

United Steelworkers Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby was arrested February 1 for 'violating Virginia's right-to-work law.' A condition of his release is that he not appear at strike headquarters or 'assemble with strikers.' State cops arrested Crosby as he defied their prohibition against picketing an area where scabs were entering in cars. Three other strikers were also arrested.

## Slaughter at Sparrows Point

By Norton Sandler

BALTIMORE—An explosion caught Earl Barley's attention shortly after he arrived at Sparrows Point January 27 for the daylight turn.

Barley walked from the millwright shed toward blast furnace "D", which had been closed since last October. Within minutes Barley was dead from inhaling deadly carbon monoxide gas.

During the next two hours at least thirteen other Bethlehem steelworkers were overcome by the gas.

Fortunately, no one else was killed by the gas leaking from a broken seal,

*Norton Sandler is a member of United Steelworkers Local 2609.*

but hospital officials say that some of the workers may suffer from amnesia, nausea, and severe headaches.

Barley, fifty-three, was the seventh steelworker killed at Sparrows Point in the past ten months. John Smith, a welder, fell to his death through an unsafe floor plate in the open-hearth furnace only a month earlier.

News of Barley's death spread rapidly through the Sparrows Point plant, sparking discussions that have become an all too frequent occurrence as Bethlehem's disregard for safety constantly places our lives in jeopardy.

Leroy Garvin, a safety representative from United Steelworkers Local 2609, told the *Militant*, "In my thirty-

one years at Bethlehem I've never seen slaughter like what is going on today."

As steelworkers grapple with a solution to this problem they're getting no comfort from state safety officials.

O'Neill Banks of the Maryland Occupational Safety and Health Office told the media it would not be necessary to close the blast furnace.

The only way state officials will force Bethlehem to uphold safety standards is when the muscle of the 17,000 increasingly angry steelworkers organized in USWA Locals 2609 and 2610 is brought to bear.

A joint union meeting to map out an action campaign to win a safe workplace is urgently needed.