

# THE MILITANT

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

## Act now to stop nuclear power!

**Militant Interview**



Michael Baumann/Intercontinental Press-Inprecor

In the shadow of the nuke: King family of Middletown, Pennsylvania, tells of their ordeal. See page 3. Also inside: special section on the cover-up at Three Mile Island, pages 13-20.

**By Doug Jenness**

MIDDLETOWN, Pa., April 4—The nuclear accident and near-meltdown at Three Mile Island have profoundly shaken the lives of working people here. For them and their children, things will never be the same.

Hundreds of thousands in central Pennsylvania—and millions more throughout the country—have had the danger of nuclear power seared forever into their consciousness.

Virtually every aspect of their lives has been horribly disrupted—and they are drawing deep lessons from the disaster.

They have learned that the utilities, the nuclear industry, and the Democratic and Republican politicians lied to them. Not once, but over and over. Lied as a matter of course when they promised that nuclear power was safe, that the accident was under control, that low-level radiation was harmless, that food and water were not being contaminated.

For millions, confidence in the capitalist government has been shaken more than any time since the Vietnam War and Watergate; and even more so for those most directly affected.

The lesson has been driven home that nuclear reactors are inherently unsafe. As one nine-year-old boy told us, "Me and my whole family think the plant should be shut down for good. They should *all* be shut down, all of them!"

People have learned that the government

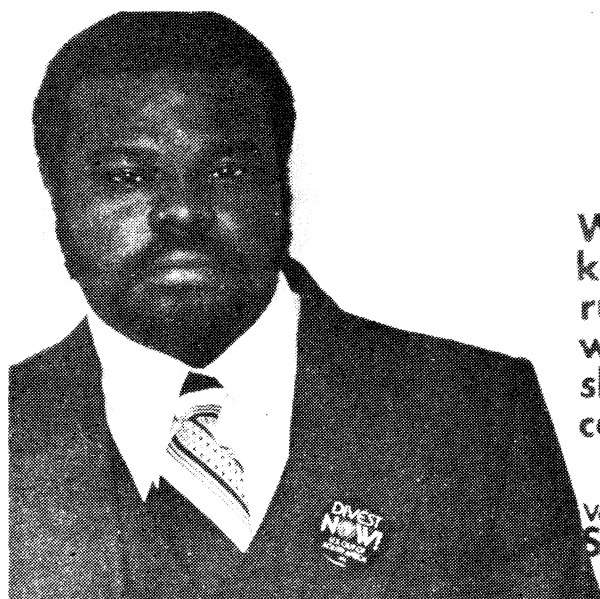
*Continued on next page*

### Marroquin goes on trial for his life

Deportation hearing opens in Houston

—PAGE 9

### 'Nuke threat shows we need labor party'



Working people keep the country running-- working people should run the country

Vote Socialist Workers

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago. See pages 6-8, 13.

## Abolish the death penalty!

The 480 people on death row in this country are constantly tortured by threats of execution and last-minute reprieves. But for John Evans, the appeals have just about run out. As we go to press, he is scheduled to die in the electric chair April 6 at the state prison in Atmore, Alabama. The capitalist media have tried to ignore what may be the first execution in the United States in more than two years. But working people have a vital interest in the fate of John Evans.

Murder by the state—and *that's what it is*—is a weapon of terror aimed against the labor movement and the oppressed.

The ruling class tries to obscure the real issue.

It denies that racism is involved, because Evans happens to be white. But Blacks are represented on death row at a rate almost five times their proportion in the population.

Like others before him, Evans says he prefers to die rather than suffer the torture of Alabama's brutal and inhuman prison system. But the issue is not Evans's "right to die." It is whether the state has a right to kill.

It is no accident that the capitalist rulers are trying to quietly reinstitute the barbaric death penalty at the same time they are stepping up their attacks on the working class in every other area.

From the Haymarket martyrs, to Joe Hill, to Sacco and Vanzetti, the death penalty has been used to terrorize all those who dared to stand up for the rights of the exploited.

Capitalism's answer to those who demand social justice is the hangman's noose, the gas chamber, and the electric chair. The labor movement should demand:

Stop the executions!

Abolish the death penalty!

## ...nukes

*Continued from front page*

knew far in advance about safety hazards at Three Mile Island—and hushed them up. They have gotten a better idea of who this government serves; that it is dedicated to defense of corporate profits, not to the safety and lives of ordinary people.

This has been especially shown by the

government's crass disregard for the mental anguish, health, and economic losses of workers and farmers, who are the overwhelming majority in this heavily industrialized area.

Three Mile Island has been a shattering experience. But it has also been a radicalizing one. Opinions have been changed overnight as anger mounts against what has happened.

The massive, rapid growth of antinuclear sentiment—the determination by millions that they and their families should never have to face this danger again—has thrown the Carter administration and the giant energy corporations on the defensive. Carter has reportedly felt compelled to drop from his upcoming "energy crisis" speech proposals for faster licensing of nuclear plants. Other capitalist politicians have for the first time—under this intense pressure—expressed "reservations" about nuclear energy.

But while the administration's plans for driving ahead with nuclear power have suffered a major blow, the fact remains that *the government has not ordered the shutdown of a single nuclear plant*. It is still determined to keep these deadly plants open and to build more.

Under cover of a blue-ribbon inquiry, a few more token "safeguards," the government clearly hopes to let the public furor blow over and then proceed with business as usual. Until, of course, the next catastrophe.

Those who favor an end to nuclear power and nuclear weapons now have an unprecedented opportunity and historic obligation. That is to vastly step up education and action, to organize the burgeoning antinuke sentiment into an effective political response that can halt this deadly peril.

That means above all carrying the educational campaign against nukes to the American workers in their millions and to their mass organizations, and unions. The challenge is to link up with the growing antinuke forces inside the unions and begin to rally the power of the labor movement—the only power that can stop the nukes—into this fight.

In the weeks ahead local protest actions have been set for scores of cities. These are an important initial step toward getting out the truth and drawing new forces into action. Their impact can be magnified by coordinating and focusing the actions nationally.

This imperative political need—to mount a united show of strength that gives expression to the new rise of antinuke sentiment and directs it squarely into demands on the

government—is being discussed by many antinuke groups. Some are weighing a march on Washington for later in April.

Major local or regional actions are set for April 28 in Colorado and New Mexico and for June 3 in Cincinnati; Cleveland; Shoreham, New York; and many other cities.

A central task now is to win support for these actions in the labor movement. Antinuke groups can solicit union endorsements and offer to provide speakers to interested unions.

Local union activists can introduce resolutions, propose that their unions sponsor debates or other educational activities, and organize their co-workers on the biggest possible scale to join the protests.

Employer arguments that nuclear plants are necessary to provide jobs will have to be patiently exposed for what they are—as fraudulent as the claim that nuclear power is "clean" and "safe."

A powerful working-class antinuclear movement will put the responsibility on the government not only to shut the nukes down but also:

- to provide accurate, truthful information on the continuing danger from escaping radiation;

- to grant full compensation—including medical care, moving expenses, lost earnings, and property-value losses—to workers, farmers, and small businesspeople victimized by Three Mile Island and other nuclear accidents; and

- to provide jobs at full union-scale wages and retraining where necessary for all workers displaced by the shutdown of the nuclear industry.

The steelworkers, Teamsters, auto workers, and other unionists in this area are more than ready for such a campaign. So are their brothers and sisters across the country.

The *Militant*, the only working-class newspaper to respond to the Three Mile Island crisis with an emergency effort to get out the truth, will continue to spread the word about the nuclear danger and what strategy is needed to fight it.

A campaign to get this and future issues of the *Militant* into the hands of working people is one of the best answers we can give to the ongoing cover-up of the nuclear peril, the capitalist peril, to humanity.

*Help get out the truth: Order a bundle of Militants to distribute to your friends and co-workers. Send \$1.75 for a bundle of 5; \$3.50 for 10; or \$8.75 for 25 to Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.*

## Militant Highlights This Week

- 5 Tributes to Evelyn Reed
- 6 Andrew Pulley campaign
- 10 Texas rally backs Marroquin
- 12 Actions demand abortion rights
- 13 Special nukes section
- 23 Ernest Mazey: 1929-1979
- 24 Class struggle & gay rights
- 26 Va. NOW backs USWA strike
- 27 How bosses rip off 'aliens'
- 28 In Brief
- 28 What's Going On
- 29 The Great Society
- 29 Union Talk
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage
- 30 Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism
- 31 If You Like This Paper . . .

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 21 Crossroads, S. Africa, struggle



### Crossroads, South Africa

Ernest Harsch reports from inside South Africa on the fight by Black squatters to survive racist attacks. **Pages 21-22.**

### Class struggle & gay rights

What is the road to winning lesbian and gay rights? How does this struggle fit into developing class battles in the U.S. today? **Pages 24-25.**



### Abortion rights now!

Demonstrations across the U.S. and around the world demand halt to government attacks on abortion. **Page 12.**

## The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK  
Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH  
ANDY ROSE  
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON

Editorial Staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, David Frankel, Osborne Hart, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, August Nimitz, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg.

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

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year; outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail U.S., Canada, and Mexico \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland £2.50 for ten issues, £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues), £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe £4 for ten issues, £8 for six months (twenty-four issues), £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to *Intercontinental Press* account) to Intercontinental Press (The Militant) P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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

# In the shadow of the nuke

## Middletown family tells of ordeal

By Nancy Cole

MIDDLETOWN, Pa.—When Lavoyne and Bill King built their home in 1973, a few hundred yards across from Three Mile Island, they didn't give the nuclear reactor there a second thought.

Now the young couple, along with their sons Billy, twelve, and Scott, nine, think of little else.

They have lived a nightmare ever since March 28, when the "general emergency" bulletin at the plant was issued.

They have already "voluntarily evacuated" their home twice.

And they never know whether the latest commotion virtually outside their door is a signal for the final evacuation.

Sitting in their living room April 3, Lavoyne, Billy, and Scott were interviewed by the *Militant*. Several hours later we returned to take a photo of the banner Bill had planned to make for their front yard after he got home from his job as a steel hauler at the Bethlehem Steel plant in Steelton.

The hand-lettered sign painted on a sheet had attracted so many reporters to their door that they had taken it down.

But they held it up for us. It read: "Thank you, Met Ed. Co. For all of the mental anguish, inconvenience, lower property value, and higher electrical costs."

Their home is the closest one to the plant. From the Kings' vantage point on top of a slope, there's no escaping the four monstrous cooling towers on Three Mile Island. From their front yard, the towers appear stark and overpowering across the river.

Lavoyne King's main concern is her children and what this threatened disaster will do to their lives. After that, her concern is their home—whether they can stay in it and what it will mean for the property value, which represents their life savings.

"I was at work when they started

talking about the school closing on Friday," she says.

Because their home is so close to the plant, she didn't want the school district sending her kids home. But they did it anyway. A frightened Lavoyne left her job at a department store and rushed home.

### 'Kids were scared'

"I knew it was about radiation," says Scott of the ruckus caused at school. "Kids were scared. Two kids were crying. They were mostly scared about their animals—their dogs and cats and hamsters."

A day or two before, Scott said, the teacher had read to the class—without explanation—a letter about Metropolitan Edison's dumping of contaminated water into the river.

The night they closed the schools, the Kings left and went to stay with Lavoyne's mother. But Saturday night, believing things had improved, they returned. It turned out to be the worst night thus far.

"I was scared," she recalls. "They had maybe eight or ten police cars

with their lights flashing, all kinds of trucks. Then at midnight they started pounding in 'No Parking' signs. We didn't know what they were doing. I thought they were setting up some kind of system. I didn't know."

"They left again the next day."

Not knowing is one of the biggest complaints of communities close to the plant.

"We have not had one official come to our door and say this or that. They have not been here or at any house around here, as far as I know. It's upsetting."

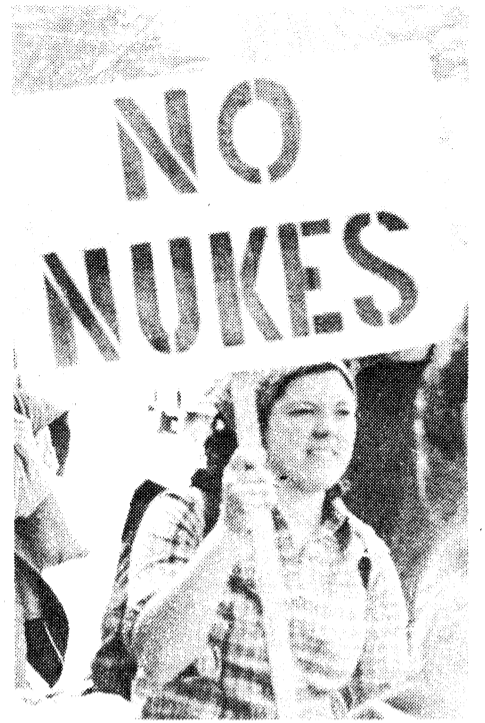
And that includes President Carter, who dropped in at the plant—and left just as quickly—on April 1.

### Carter

"Well, he pulled up in his limousine," Scott explains. "He talks about [gas] shortages, and he drives this big limousine."

"The kids really notice," Lavoyne laughs. "They said either he'll come on a ten-speed or in a Volkswagen because of the energy—and here he

*Continued on page 11*



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Seabrook, New Hampshire, 1977. Lavoyne King urges protests against nuclear plants around the country.

## Steelworkers hit nuke threat

STEELTON, Pa.—George Burkett works at the huge Bethlehem Steel plant here and lives in Elizabethtown. Both towns are less than ten miles from Three Mile Island.

Burkett's wife is pregnant. He's worried.

"We went to my mother's, but that's only about fifteen miles away. We need to get further away."

Burkett wants to take a couple of weeks off from his job. "I've got two weeks vacation coming, but the company won't let me take it," he told the *Militant*. "Why can't I take it?

The company is letting the bosses take their vacations now."

The company has agreed that Burkett and others in similar situations can take off work—but without pay. "Who knows," he said, "if we'll even have a job when we get back."

"It was just two weeks ago they said it couldn't happen—not in a million years," noted Bill Bronya, who also works at Bethlehem. "Now it's been a million years."

"I was asking the union rep what our union thinks of this accident," Bronya went on. He thinks his

union, United Steelworkers Local 1688, should and will discuss the nuclear accident.

Will they take a stand against the nuclear plant reopening?

"What I think and what they do is two different things," he answered. "But they should be getting some good answers."

Bethlehem, Bronya says, has been checking the plant for radiation. "Supposedly, even at the part of the steel plant closest to Three Mile Island, they say there's no radioactivity. But they might just be saying that to keep us happy." —N.C.

## Protests against Three Mile are worldwide

By Fred Murphy

The Three Mile Island accident has spurred fresh protests against nuclear power internationally.

Fifty thousand persons rallied in Hanover, West Germany, on March 30, protesting construction of a nuclear waste dump. The action had been planned for some time, but its numbers were swelled as news of the impending disaster in Pennsylvania spread across Europe.

Demonstrators came to Hanover from a number of European countries. Their slogan—"We all live in Pennsylvania"—could well become the watchword of the international movement against nuclear power.

On March 31 the youth organization of West Germany's ruling Social Democratic Party demanded that all fourteen operating nuclear plants in the country be shut down.

Demonstrations have been reported at a number of nuclear plants in Japan in recent days. That country has eight reactors of the type that is threatening the Harrisburg area.

In France, women in the small town of Chooz near the Belgian border locked up the mayor in the city hall for several hours to protest government plans to expand a nuclear plant there.

The Three Mile Island accident came just as the French government was preparing to launch a major expansion

of its nuclear-power program, which is already the most ambitious in Europe. The government-controlled television network lost no time in broadcasting a documentary film purporting to show that French reactors are much safer than those in the United States.

But French trade unions are calling for a re-examination of the Giscard government's plans. François Mitterrand, leader of the opposition Socialist Party, is calling for a halt to nuclear-plant construction, and a new national organization has just been formed to press for a referendum on Giscard's nuclear program.

A similar referendum was held in

Switzerland on February 18. A massive propaganda campaign by the government and the nuclear industry led to the narrow defeat of a proposal that would have given persons living within twenty miles of a proposed or existing nuclear plant the final say over its operation.

Forty-nine percent of Swiss voters said "yes" to this proposal; those who voted "no" are undoubtedly having second thoughts in light of the Three Mile Island accident.

Antinuclear activists in Canada are planning to hold a demonstration on April 6 at the Ontario Hydro reactor site near Toronto.

## Special offer to new readers

### The Militant—10 weeks/\$2

Keep up with the struggle against nuclear power and nuclear weapons—and all the other battles in which working people are trying to defend their living standards, rights, and safety against capitalist encroachment. For news and analysis that cuts through the big-business and government lies, don't miss a single issue.



## Subscribe today

( ) \$2 for ten issues (new readers only)  
( ) \$8.50 for six months ( ) \$15 for one year  
( ) New ( ) Renewal

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

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

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

# Militant sales campaign against nukes

By Peter Seidman

As soon as news of the disaster at Three Mile Island began to emerge, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance started planning an emergency response.

Millions of people would be looking for the truth about the hazards of nuclear power—and all they'd be getting was lies from the government, industry, and the big-business news media.

Since the *Militant* dated April 6 had been completed right before the news hit, we decided to put together an eight-page special section that could be printed in advance and sold without waiting for the next week's issue. (It appears as pages 13-20 in this *Militant*).

A team of *Militant* reporters was immediately dispatched to the Harrisburg area, while staff writers in New York prepared background articles.

By Saturday, March 31, SWP branches and YSA locals were discussing how they could use the supplement. Within twenty-four hours they were calling back greatly increased bundle orders.

Branches were readying special sales at plant gates, campuses, working-class neighborhoods, and showings of the movie *The China Syndrome*.

Teams of socialists were preparing to go to the Harrisburg area, where they would sell the paper at many big plants.

By Monday morning the supplement was roaring off the press. The total run was 25,000 copies.

Most branches more than doubled

their regular weekly orders—and planned to sell these papers in half the usual time. San Francisco took 2000; Philadelphia, 1000; Boston, 800; Albuquerque, 600.

As this *Militant* goes to press, most areas have had the supplement for less than twenty-four hours. But initial results confirm the interest in what the *Militant* has to say about this national emergency.

Philadelphia sales director Laurie Perkus reports that supporters there sold 400 supplements in the first twenty-four hours. Nels J'Anthony, SWP candidate for city council, sold seventy-five papers himself. "We sold in subways, at street corners, at work places. And a lot, about 100, at *The China Syndrome*," Perkus said.

Byron Ackerman, who organizes sales in San Francisco, seemed barely able to contain his enthusiasm. "We're going to town," he told me Wednesday morning. "We got the papers at noon yesterday. Now we've sold 413. And I still haven't heard how seven plant-gate sales went so far today."

As of Monday evening the Oakland branch had already sold more than 100 papers, and Berkeley, more than 160. Morgantown reports selling 150 papers in the first twelve hours. Minneapolis and St. Paul, also 150. In Los Angeles, "Five of us sold 100 papers at two showings of *The China Syndrome*."

The supplement is also getting a good response in the Harrisburg area. "The bosses and cops don't want people here to read the *Militant*," special sales team member Mike Schwartz told me. "But workers snap up the paper



Michael Baumann/Intercontinental Press-Inprecor  
**Doug Jenness of SWP Political Committee went to Middletown to help organize 'Militant' coverage and SWP's antinuclear campaign.**

when we first arrive at the plant gates," he said.

"For example, at one steel plant, we sold eleven in a few minutes at the 6:30 a.m. shift change before nervous company officials and cops came and chased us away."

The same authorities who'll do nothing to protect people's lives and health suddenly become very anxious to "protect" them—from the *Militant*.

Schwartz said his team had sold sixty papers in an hour and a half at Harrisburg Community College re-opened this morning.

Despite having to dodge all kinds of local gumshoes, socialists have already sold 166 supplements—including many at plant gates—in the Harrisburg area.

These plant-gate sales have an especially important objective. One of the central messages of the *Militant* coverage is the need to bring the power of the labor movement into the fight against nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

Louisville socialists sold fifteen at one shift change at the giant GE plant there. A similar number were sold at the Brooklyn Navy Yard Tuesday morning. Twenty-three were sold at the big Ford Plant in St. Paul, "an all time record for *Militant* sales there."

Interest in the supplement among working people is no surprise, of course. One young Black steelworker at the Bethlehem plant in Steelton, Pennsylvania, spoke for thousands when he told our team, "I'm tired of being lied to for the last week. I'm glad to see someone telling the truth."

Readers will notice that we aren't publishing in this issue our usual sales scoreboard for our ten-week spring drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. We felt the best use of space would be to report on sales of the special antinukes section, which has given an enormous boost to the entire spring drive.

The ability of the SWP and YSA to get out this supplement—and the response it has already gotten—offer inspiring proof that in the remainder of the drive we can make big strides forward in increasing the *Militant's* readership among industrial workers.

## Three Mile Island disaster: who pays?

By Arnold Weissberg

MIDDLETOWN, Pa.—Tens of thousands of lives have been disrupted by the Three Mile Island nuclear accident. Workers laid off. Families fleeing their homes. And potentially, major medical expenses if and when radiation-caused diseases begin to show up.

The news media give the impression that insurance companies for Metropolitan Edison are passing out cash right and left to compensate for the disaster the company's reactor has brought about. Not so.

In fact, a grand total of only 600 families have received any money at all.

Insurance, it turns out, pays only the relocation expenses for government-ordered evacuation. And the only people Gov. Richard Thornburg has told to leave are pregnant women and preschool children living within five miles of the runaway reactor.

The government's refusal to order a full-scale evacuation has saved Met Ed and its two insurance companies tens of millions of dollars.

The State Crisis Intervention Center in Harrisburg said over the weekend that half its calls came from elderly people who wanted to leave the area but were too poor. No help for them from Met Ed.

"Because I'm not pregnant or don't have a preschool child, I can't leave," said Jackie Baker. I met her at the Hershey evacuation center, where she was visiting her daughter and son-in-law and their child.

Baker is not impressed with President Carter's assurances. "Jimmy Car-

ter is for nuclear power," she said. "He came down here to tell us, 'good job, good job.' Talk about a gas shortage, he should have saved his gas and stayed in Washington."

Robin Jobanelly, Baker's daughter, explained, "The insurance company told me after it was all over, I could bring in proof that I have a school-age child and get reimbursed." So maybe, months from now, Robin and Leonard Jobanelly will get a few dollars.

Many companies in the area have

*Continued on page 11*

## Pa. farmers face uncertain future

By Arnold Weissberg

ANNVILLE, Pa.—The rolling farmland of Lebanon County in central Pennsylvania is some of the most fertile in the country. Driving through it, it's hard to imagine the fields, still brown and waiting for spring, as a wasteland.

But the Three Mile Island nuclear plant could do it. A core meltdown, which is still possible, would release a huge amount of radioactivity into the atmosphere and poison hundreds of square miles. Even a less catastrophic accident could contaminate vast areas.

Jake Brandt's farm here is only twelve miles from Three Mile Island, and he's worried.

"I saw what happened to Hiroshima," Brandt said. "I know what radiation can do. I've seen the pictures of land where everything is destroyed."

Brandt farms 500 acres. He owns 80 and leases the rest, raising mostly soy beans, corn, and pigs.

"That accident never should have happened," he told me. "With the possibility of so many people getting hurt or killed, they should find a new way" of generating electricity.

"They say that coal pollutes the air," Brandt went on. "But you can clean that up. You can't clean up radiation."

Many farmers in the Three Mile Island danger zone are worried. Inspectors have been around checking the milk for radioactive iodine. The government keeps saying it's safe, but nobody will explain exactly what the test results mean.

A Middletown farmer told a reporter for the *New York Times* that a milk test in York County—where people had complained of a metallic taste in their mouths—came up with a reading of ten. "We don't even know what ten means," he said.

No one has been out to Jake Brandt's place at all.

By now some farmers have heard about a uranium fire in Windscale, England, more than twenty years ago that contaminated 200 square miles of farmland and forced the dumping of a half-million gallons of milk.

As Jake and his wife Dotty talked about the possible threat to their land, she suddenly asked, "Jake, what about your garden?"

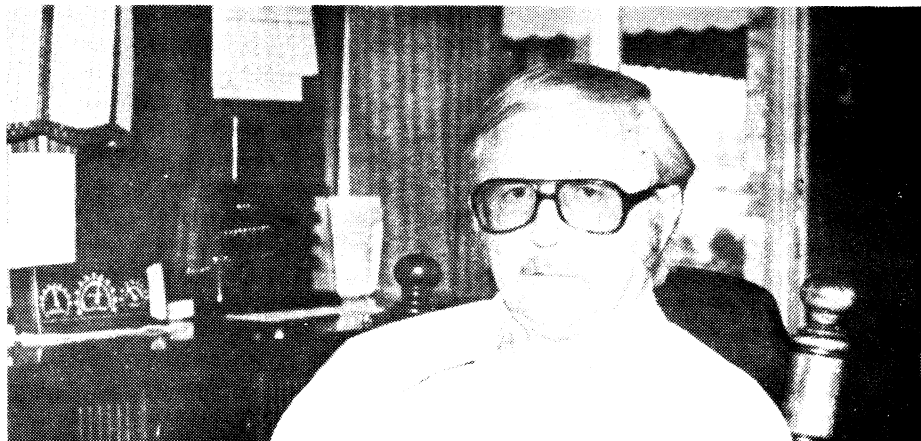
He turned to me, hoping for some

assurance it was safe. I wasn't a scientist, I told them.

"I just don't know," Jake answered sadly.

Farmland around here sells for up to \$5,000 an acre, Brandt told me. But nobody is saying who would cover the farmer's losses if crops, animals, or land are poisoned by radioactivity.

Most likely nobody would. Federal law limits insurance liability in a nuclear accident to about \$600 million—a tiny fraction of the potential damage from a meltdown.



JAKE BRANDT

*Militant/Arnold Weissberg*

# Teamsters battle Carter wage guidelines

By Shelley Kramer

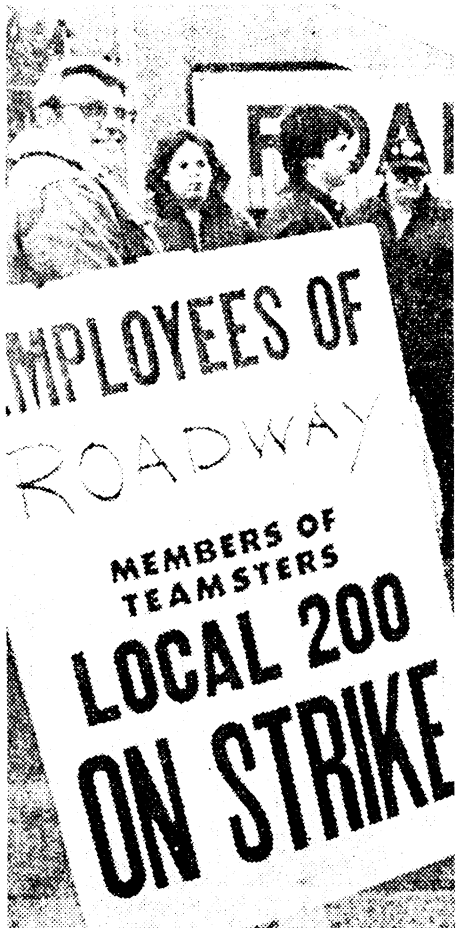
At midnight March 31, the Teamsters' National Master Freight Agreement, covering some 300,000 truck drivers and dock workers, expired. Despite every effort, Carter had failed to force the nation's biggest union to swallow his austerity wage "guidelines."

Over the previous weekend, Teamsters voted by an overwhelming majority to authorize strike action, should their negotiators fail to reach an acceptable settlement. Citing Carter's well-publicized threat to stop a national shutdown with a Taft-Hartley injunction, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons called selected strikes at seventy-three companies. But anger at Carter and the bosses is running so high within the union that Teamster pickets began to fan out beyond these designated targets.

With lightning speed, the 500 trucking companies that bargain through Trucking Management Incorporated—and haul about 30 percent of the nation's freight—locked out their workers in "self-defense" April 1. "We are complying with the administration's anti-inflation program," was the justification TMI chief J. Curtis Counts offered.

On cue, Carter began to beat the drums for a Taft-Hartley injunction. The Teamsters—like the miners and rail workers last year—are accused of placing the "health and safety of the entire country" in danger. By holding out for their rights, says the government, they will cause mass layoffs, consumer shortages, and spiraling prices.

Carter used the lockout to lift truck-



Teamster pickets outside Roadway Express terminal in Milwaukee.

ing regulations. This allows the bosses to legally hire independent owner-operators during the strike, a move designed to set truckers against one another.

Now, according to Labor Secretary Ray Marshall, the administration is considering its strikebreaking

options—mediation, arbitration, legislation, or Taft-Hartley.

Carter and the trucking bosses have been running the same tag-team race against the Teamsters since negotiations opened in December.

The Master Freight Agreement was immediately singled out as a make-or-break test of Carter's "anti-inflation" program. The ruling class knows full well that if the Teamsters win a victory over the guidelines, it will inspire the rubber, auto, and electrical workers who soon follow them into contract talks.

But despite Carter's threat to immediately deregulate trucking—and heavy-handed government pressure on the union officialdom—Teamster leaders did not dare take a 7 percent settlement to their ranks.

The employers' last wage-and-benefits proposal reportedly stretches the 7 percent limit to 30 percent over three years. Denying the obvious fact that 30 percent just doesn't equal the 22 percent sought by the administration, Marshall explained, "We have to evolve interpretations to fit new situations as they come along."

This "new situation" included the fact that the government released figures right in the midst of the Teamster talks that show prices rising at a whopping 15 percent while bosses rake in record 26 percent profits. Settling for 10 percent wage increases a year—let alone 7 percent!—leaves Teamster wages trailing far behind.

"Our members can read too," said union negotiator Roy Williams, explaining why union leaders would have a hard time heading off a strike.

Despite the media's campaign to

portray Teamsters as overpaid and underworked, like all union members they've been fighting an uphill battle to defend their wages and working conditions.

What Teamsters want would strike all working people as bare necessities:

- **Cost of living.** The Teamsters are owed fifty-eight cents an hour in cost-of-living increases under their expired contract; Carter is trying to make some of this money count toward the 7 percent guidelines. Teamsters are demanding that the new COLA be calculated on a semi-annual instead of the current annual basis.

- **Safety.** Last year more than 900 drivers died on the road. The union is seeking to amend the MFA so that drivers can refuse to take out unsafe rigs.

- **Hours.** A seventy-hour workweek—at straight-time pay—is the norm for over-the-road drivers. In part for greater safety, Teamsters want restrictions on compulsory overtime and double-time pay. They are also demanding guaranteed forty-eight-hour stretches of time off.

The real "danger" to working people is *not* a Teamsters' strike to win these modest demands. On the contrary, our wages, jobs, health, and safety will be endangered only if the Teamsters lose.

If the Teamsters succeed in busting through Carter's guidelines, they will strengthen the resolve of all unionists to fight back. That's why the labor movement and its allies should line up behind the Teamsters and stand ready to close ranks against any government strikebreaking move.

# Iran referendum: gov't wins hollow victory

By David Frankel

Official figures on the vote in the March 30-31 referendum in Iran are not expected for weeks, but the government of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan has already begun to lie about the results.

The outcome of the referendum was rigged to begin with. There was no way to vote against the hated monarchy without voting in favor of an undefined "Islamic republic." Choice was restricted to a simple yes or no on whether an Islamic republic should be established.

Claiming that 98 percent of those eligible to vote had turned out on the first day of the referendum, one interior ministry official hailed the outcome as an "overwhelming victory for Islam."

However, there seems to be little doubt that the claims of a huge turnout are inflated. In fact, fearing that participation would be embarrassingly low, Bazargan moved at the last minute March 29 to extend the voting from one day to two. He had good reason for his fears.

Even as the polling was in progress, government troops were battling Turkoman fighters demanding autonomy in the northeastern city of Gonbad-e-Kavus.

The fighting in Gonbad, according to a report in the March 28 *New York Times*, began when government forces "opened fire on Turkomans who had gathered to call for a boycott of the coming national referendum. . . ."

As with most of the oppressed minorities in Iran, the national oppression of the Turkomans is tied together with their exploitation as peasants. Much of their land was taken away under the monarchy and given to court favorites. In recent weeks the Turkomans have been taking back the stolen land and setting fire to farm buildings to make sure the big landowners understand they should go.

Answering attacks by the Bazargan

government, the Central Committee of Turkoman Councils, which called the boycott of the referendum, declared:

"Our abstention, contrary to the propaganda put out by reactionaries, is not in order to strengthen the rule of imperialism [or] the treacherous shah, as our claims to the land usurped by the agents of the previous regime proved."

Kurdish leaders also called for a boycott of the referendum. The constitution for the proposed Islamic republic is being written behind closed doors by a secret committee appointed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. As Sheik Ezzedin Hosseini, a Kurdish leader, noted in a letter to the Tehran daily *Ettela'at*, he supported a boycott because the "exact nature of the Islamic republic was so unclear and, particularly, as there is no mention of the autonomy of Kurdistan and the lawful rights of the people of Iran."

Bazargan has made public appeals to the Kurds, the Turkomans, and the Baluchis to stop their struggles for autonomy. In a March 29 statement Khomeini mentioned Zahidan, the capital of Baluchistan, and Ardebil, an Azerbaijani city, as other areas of unrest.

But the struggle of the oppressed nationalities is only the sharpest expression of the dissatisfaction of the masses. Although the Bazargan regime has taken some progressive anti-imperialist measures, and has been forced to retreat from attacks on the rights of women and the Kurds, it has done virtually nothing to improve the conditions of the workers and peasants inside Iran.

Instead, Bazargan is resisting demands for wage increases; opposing the right of the workers to assert their control over industry through elected committees; trying to lay off "excess" workers; refusing to support the rights of the poor peasants against the big landlords; and trying to prevent the extension of social services needed by

the masses.

Bazargan wants to be able to point to the referendum as a mandate for his unelected government. He hopes to break the momentum of the Iranian revolution and restore control by the capitalist government over the workers and peasants in the name of the Islamic republic.

But the working masses—including those who voted in favor of an Islamic republic—have not given up their demands. They will continue to fight for the social advances they desire.

Iranian Trotskyists in the Hezb-e Kargarane Socialist (Socialist Workers Party) opposed Bazargan's referendum.

dum. They demand the immediate election of a sovereign constituent assembly—not the type of body planned by the government as a rubber stamp for a secretly written constitution, but an assembly that would freely debate and act on all the problems facing the Iranian people.

And the Trotskyists say that such an assembly can only guarantee the rights of the workers and peasants, the liberation of women, and self-determination for the oppressed nationalities, by going forward to the establishment of a workers and peasants republic.

## Tributes to Evelyn Reed (1905-1979)

### NEW YORK CITY

Sunday, April 8, 3:00 p.m.

Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West  
(between 15th and 16th streets)

### SPEAKERS:

**Willie Mae Reid**, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-president in 1976

**James T. Farrell**, Novelist, Author of *Studs Lonigan*

**Connie Harris**, Leader of International Marxist Group of Britain

**Karolyn Kerry**, Longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party

**Mary-Alice Waters**, Editor, *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

### CHAIR:

**Jack Barnes**, National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

### SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Sunday, April 22

For more information call (415) 824-1992

### LOS ANGELES

Friday, April 20

For more information call (213) 582-1975

## Chi. rally focuses on need for labor party

By Bob Schwarz

CHICAGO—Chants of "No nukes, No nukes!" resounded through the hall as Hattie McCutcheon opened the final rally of the Socialist Workers Party mayoral campaign on April 1.

The program began with announcements of upcoming demonstrations and meetings to protest the nuclear threat at Three Mile Island near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Then McCutcheon introduced Betsey Stone, a member of the SWP Political Committee, who helped organize the 1975 Chicago campaign when the SWP ran Willie Mae Reid for mayor. That campaign, the first socialist mayoral ticket to get on the ballot here in decades, won a wide hearing for the SWP and is still remembered by many Chicagoans.

Comparing the Pulley campaign with that of 1975, Stone said, "This year we've gotten to speak to more people, and we are getting a better hearing."

"This country has seen important changes since 1974. We've seen one attack after another on the standard of living of working people, and workers are beginning to react to this through their unions."

"This has meant that our most fundamental ideas make sense to more people," Stone said. "Particularly our view that the unions should build a labor party to take on the Democrats and Republicans."

Stone pointed out that at debates with the other candidates, Pulley was not only listened to seriously, but often got the best response.

"Pulley always brings up the questions they would like to avoid, and these just happen to be the questions that are of burning concern to working people."



SWP leader Betsey Stone: Socialist ideas are getting better response than ever before.

"Pulley always asks, what about the thousands of Teamsters who live in Chicago, who are fighting to protect their paychecks from inflation?"

"What about funding for the schools, and desegregation? What about the Equal Rights Amendment?"

Stone pointed out in particular the TV debate watched by hundreds of thousands, in which Pulley spoke out strongly against nuclear power. The other candidates remained silent on

the issue, despite the crisis in Harrisburg.

Stone quoted from the *Sun-Times* editorial endorsing Democrat Jane Byrne, which criticized what it called Pulley's "simplistic slogan of tax the banks and corporations and give the money to the poor." Chicago, the *Sun-Times* complained, "is no Sherwood Forest; Pulley is no Robin Hood."

"I agree with them on two points," Stone said. "Pulley isn't Robin Hood,

and Chicago certainly isn't Sherwood Forest. Chicago is a gigantic industrial city, with a population that is overwhelmingly working class.

"And there is no Robin Hood who is going to solve the problems we face today. No single person, no savior. Only the organized power of working people can do it."

"We are saying in this campaign that we think this power can be organized in a party of labor. And we are going to help make this happen."

"Harrisburg shows what this system has in store for working people. Harrisburg came on top of a capitalist economic crisis that will continue: inflation, unemployment, and other attacks on working people."

"The most important thing to us is winning people to our party and to a socialist perspective for solving these problems."

"This means that no matter what our vote is on Tuesday, we will consider this campaign to have been a gigantic success. We are organizing for the future. We represent the future. And things are going our way."

Stone was followed by the main speaker of the rally, Andrew Pulley. Pulley was greeted with loud applause and more chants of "No nukes!" [See facing page for Pulley's speech.]

Following Pulley, prominent local antinuclear activist Ed Gogol spoke and announced plans for a protest march April 14.

The rally also heard greetings from Susan Browne, chairperson of the Chicago Young Socialist Alliance, and it sent a telegram to INS Director Leonel Castillo calling for political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

An appeal for funds by SWP candidate for city treasurer Manuel Barrera netted more than \$2,000.

## Pulley talks to steelworkers, Teamsters

By Bob Schwarz and John Studer

CHICAGO—On the final weekend of the socialist mayoral campaign here, supporters of Andrew Pulley turned out on the streets of Chicago to get out the word. Some came from as far away as Pittsburgh and Kansas City.

One new supporter of the Socialist Workers Party in St. Louis was so inspired by the campaign that she organized a car load from that city. She asked to join the SWP as soon as she gets back.

A highlight of Saturday's campaigning was the distribution of literature

by fifteen supporters at the afternoon shift change at U.S. Steel's South Works.

The week before, half a dozen workers from the plant had gathered at a nearby apartment to discuss issues in the campaign with Pulley.

A similar meeting with Pulley was held at a bar across the street from Danly Machine Corporation. The meeting had been publicized through a leaflet distributed to steelworkers in the plant by campaign supporters.

Monday evening, Pulley campaigned at a meeting of the overwhelmingly Black 29,000-member Local 743 of the Teamsters union. His statement supporting the Teamsters' strike, carried on the front page of the *Militant*, received an especially friendly response.

"It appeared to me that Andrew Pulley won the debate." That was the judgment of John Madigan, the chief political commentator for WBBM radio, Chicago's CBS affiliate.

Madigan was referring to the March 29 TV debate between Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Jane Byrne, the Democratic candidate; and Wallace Johnson, the Republican.

The prime-time debate reached an estimated TV audience of 250,000. In addition, it was broadcast simultaneously on five radio stations and was rereleased by Channel 11 after the evening news.

Pulley kicked the debate off by stating: "The central idea that I am promoting in this campaign is the need for working people—the majority of people in Chicago—to break from the Democratic and Republican parties

and form a party based on our own interests and our own organizations. That is, to build a labor party."

Five panelists fired questions at the candidates. Pulley was asked by Eleanor Elam, representing the League of Women Voters, which sponsored the debate, about his tax proposals.

Pulley answered: "The *Sun-Times* explained why it did not endorse me by saying that my proposals are 'too simplistic.' That is, every time someone asks me how will money be gotten to clean up the snow, provide full employment, to rehabilitate the cities, to solve all the problems that exist in Chicago, I say tax the rich."

"Well, the answer is very simple. When the rich want to fight a war, they tax working people. When they want to do all the things they have in their plans to do, they get the money from us."

"I say that it's about time that the interests of working people come ahead of that of big business. And the only way of getting the funding necessary to provide the services is to tax the rich."

Analyst Vernon Jarrett, a Black columnist for the *Chicago Tribune* asked, "What would a socialist mayor be able to do in a city like Chicago?"

Pulley responded: "One of the main issues in my campaign is the idea that labor needs to build its own party based on the trade unions, not only in Chicago but also nationwide."

"Certainly, if I tax the banks they will attempt to flee someplace. But I believe working people here in Chicago will demand that if the owner leaves, the money remains."

"But Lincoln could not have abolished slavery in South Carolina and

Continued on page 8

CHICAGO DEFENDER - MONDAY, APRIL 2, 1979

# PULLEY--

## for mayor

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I am asking for your vote on April 3. I am the only serious choice working people have in this election.

Jane Byrne will not bring solutions to our problems. For 16 years she was a silent partner in "Boss" Daley's racist, repressive administration.

Republican Wallace Johnson is a millionaire himself. He doesn't represent change either.

Both the Democrats and Republicans represent big business. They favor tax cuts for the corporations and cutbacks on social services. They do nothing to end high unemployment. They favor a big military budget to protect the profits of their business interests abroad. They demand that wage increases for working people be no more than 7 percent when inflation is 15 percent!

I'm appealing to you to join with me. I'm campaigning for a total break with the Democratic and Republican parties. I'm calling for the formation of a Labor Party, based on the unions, which can fight for all working people.

The unions are the largest and most powerful organizations of working people in Chicago. A large percentage of union members are Black. We should use the power of our unions not only to defend ourselves on the job, but also to fight back on the political level. We need a Labor Party which can fight in the interests of all victims of the rule of the rich.

There are solutions to our problems. A vote for me is a vote for a break with the parties of the rich. A vote for me is a vote for the following program:

- FOR THE RIGHT OF EVERY PERSON TO A JOB: Create jobs by ending forced overtime and shortening the work week, with no reduction in pay.
- SHUT DOWN ALL NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS
- END INVESTMENT OF CITY FUNDS IN RACIST SOUTH AFRICA
- END JOB DISCRIMINATION AGAINST VETERANS: Cancel all "bad paper." Equal job opportunities for all vets, regardless of discharge.

For a real amnesty to all opponents of the Vietnam war. Against the Sears Suit which tries to pit women, Blacks, Latinos and veterans against each other. No to the reintroduction of the draft.

Working people keep the country running -- working people should run the country

Vote Socialist Workers

Andrew Pulley

Andrew Pulley is a steelworker and a union activist in United Steel Workers Local 1066. He has participated in the 1975 Chicago mayoral campaign.

Full-page ad run the day before the election, in Chicago's major Black community paper, the 'Daily Defender.'

# 'Workers must take society's destiny in their hands'

The following are excerpts from a speech by Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Andrew Pulley at the Chicago campaign rally April 1.

The Republican candidate, Wallace Johnson, has said that the world is divided into "givers" and "takers." Johnson, who is a millionaire banker, describes himself as a "giver" not a "taker."

Well, I would divide the world between those who are takers and those who are being taken. Throughout this election campaign the Socialist Workers Party has addressed the interests of those who are being taken.

Democrat Jane Byrne has campaigned under the slogan "One Chicago." But in reality there are two Chicagos: One is the Chicago of the super-rich, of the bankers and giant corporation owners, which she represents. The other is the Chicago of the working class, where the overwhelming majority is. It's where the Blacks and *latinos* are. And it includes not only those who are working, but those who are looking for work.

My slogan in this campaign has been, "Working people keep the city running. Working people should run the city."

We have made it widely known that there is a working-class position on every question. On the tax question. On inflation. On unemployment. On schools. On nuclear power usage. On every single issue you have to choose between positions that will benefit either the working class or the super-rich.

The central political proposal we have made throughout this campaign has been that labor should build its own political power. That labor needs a labor party, based on the trade unions, to champion the political positions that are in its favor.

## No nukes!

The events in Harrisburg make it clear that now is the time to move in that direction. One of the main issues on which I've campaigned has been the need to shut down *all* the nuclear plants immediately. The nine plants surrounding Chicago, the ten others under construction, and the radioactive dump at Morris, just a few miles



SWP mayoral candidate Andrew Pulley addresses April 1 wind-up campaign rally in Chicago

Militant/David McDonald

down the road, should be shut down as well.

You know, the capitalists who built that Morris dump—after realizing they don't know how to control the radioactive wastes—have decided that they don't want to own it anymore. They have told the state of Illinois that "this is your property. You pay for it. You clean it up."

These are some sorry, animal-minded people. They have made maximum profit from us. The tax dollars that have been taken from us have been used to subsidize these power companies. Then the power companies have made money off us by charging high rates. Then, when they produce this waste, they say the waste is not theirs but the government's. So government comes back to *us* for more tax money to help them deal with the waste.

Now let us look at the Three Mile Island problem. What's happened there in Harrisburg? Put simply, the

thing malfunctioned. It didn't work. And now radioactive gas, is being spewed into the atmosphere.

And there is a horrible danger that the radioactive fuel will melt down. There is a possibility of hydrogen gas exploding, sending radiation everywhere.

If it goes, tens of thousands of people—perhaps even hundreds of thousands of people—could be killed right away. And many more would die in the future from leukemia and cancer. And a vast area would be uninhabitable for years.

There are over seventy nuclear plants now operational in this country. The Chicago area has the largest concentration of nuclear plants. If one melts down or blows up, Chicago is history. Even without a major catastrophe, our cancer and leukemia rate is sure to rise because radioactive material travels on highways and railroads to and from the plant. Moreover, radiation leaks out of the Morris dump.

Yet, according to federal energy tsar James Schlesinger, "The benefits of nuclear power outweigh the risks." Carter agrees. And of course, so do the power companies.

## Worth the risk?

How can they say it is worth the risk?

The oil companies, the power companies are in business to make profit regardless of the cost to human health and lives. And President Carter, like all Democratic and Republican politicians, represents the interests of the super-rich, including the nuclear power industry.

It is frightening to think that these same ruling rich here in America, who have hidden from us the dangers of nuclear power and who are so ready to sacrifice our well-being for their profits, also control the nuclear bombs, which are even deadlier weapons of destruction.

The billions in military spending are not used to defend our interests. They are not used to defend you and me from outside attack. Rather, this military might is used to oppose uprisings of the oppressed and working people in other countries, to protect U.S. business profits abroad. U.S. foreign policy has zero to do with democracy *anywhere*.

That is why Washington sided with the shah of Iran against the Iranian masses. That is why Washington favors apartheid in South Africa and opposes the revolution of the Black majority. Yes. Carter's human rights program is a fake.

Human rights begins at home. And the first thing is the right of the living to live. The inalienable rights to breathe uncontaminated air. But that does not concern Carter, Byrne, or Johnson. For them, the profits of the super-rich are worth the risk.

## Labor needs its own party

That is why labor must seize the government. The working class must grasp the fate of human society. Because unlike the greedy profiteers, the workers have no interests in making war or continuing nuclear power. Workers do have an interest in clean air, job safety, and the continuation, if you will, of human beings.

Labor needs its own party. Some unions have already discussed this.

Last summer, Douglas Fraser, the head of the United Auto Workers, talked of a "one-sided class war" of the rich against working people. That war continues.

Because of increased competition from abroad, the American capitalists are trying to get more profits from the hides of American workers. They are squeezing us tighter and tighter. The cost of living is now climbing at a rate of 15 percent a year. Gasoline has hit one dollar a gallon in Chicago. Food, housing, and medical costs are skyrocketing.

The unions can play a big role in removing the capitalists' hands from our throats. The unions can knock that hand away.

## Teamsters vs. government

How can they do this? The Teamsters, who are out on strike, and other workers facing the expiration of contracts this year, should fight to break through Carter's recommended wage-increase limit. They should tell Carter to take his 7 percent and jump in the lake. Unions should fight for what they can get. They should seek escalator clauses so that when the cost of living goes up, so will our wages.

To fight effectively, the Teamsters  
*Continued on next page*

## SWP polls 15,000 votes

By Bob Schwarz

CHICAGO, April 4—With only a few precincts left to report, official tallies show SWP mayoral candidate Andrew Pulley receiving 14,996 votes, 1.8 percent of the total. More than 82 percent went to Democrat Jane Byrne.

At a campaign celebration Tuesday evening, campaign manager Bobbie Bagel described the media coverage this campaign won. "We started with a press conference in January where the reporters straggled in almost by accident. And we finished with Pulley walking out of his voting booth facing every network in the city.

"As a result, hundreds of thousands of people have heard the views of the Socialist Workers Party—the party that is the future of this city and of the country."

Pulley told the packed room at the downtown Boackstone Hotel about the growing receptivity to the ideas his campaign had sought to popularize, especially the idea of a labor party.

"We have seen this in real life—from the handshakes; the smiles; from people telling us, 'We're with you brother,' 'You're doing a good job'—not only from Blacks, but increasingly from whites.

"Working people are beginning to consider the ideas we are raising, even if they vote for someone else who's against their interests."

Chicago SWP chairperson John Studer, speaking about the party's plans to continue campaigning for socialism, reported that since 11 a.m. that day, 175 copies of the special *Militant* supplement on the nuclear time bomb in Harrisburg had been sold in Chicago.

Wednesday wrap-up coverage on Chicago's all-news station, WBBM, reported that Pulley viewed his campaign as a success. "It gave him a platform to explain his idea of a new party, a labor party, to get the working man and woman in America out from under the thumb of the Democratic and Republican parties."

# ...Pulley: 'Labor must build its own party'

Continued from preceding page

and other unions must take a further step. They must run candidates for office, and build a labor party. Because every time we fight the employers, we also find that we must fight the government as well.

It is the federal government mediators who are really negotiators in disguise for the rich. These are the ones who, according to the Teamsters, are driving a hard bargain.

It's the Democratic Party, through Carter, that is threatening to impose the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act against the Teamsters. The same thing happened against the miners' strike. The miners fought back. They told them where to go with their Taft-Hartley.

Every strike by its very nature is in reality a strike against the government. We are forced to fight the government because the government intervenes against the strikers.

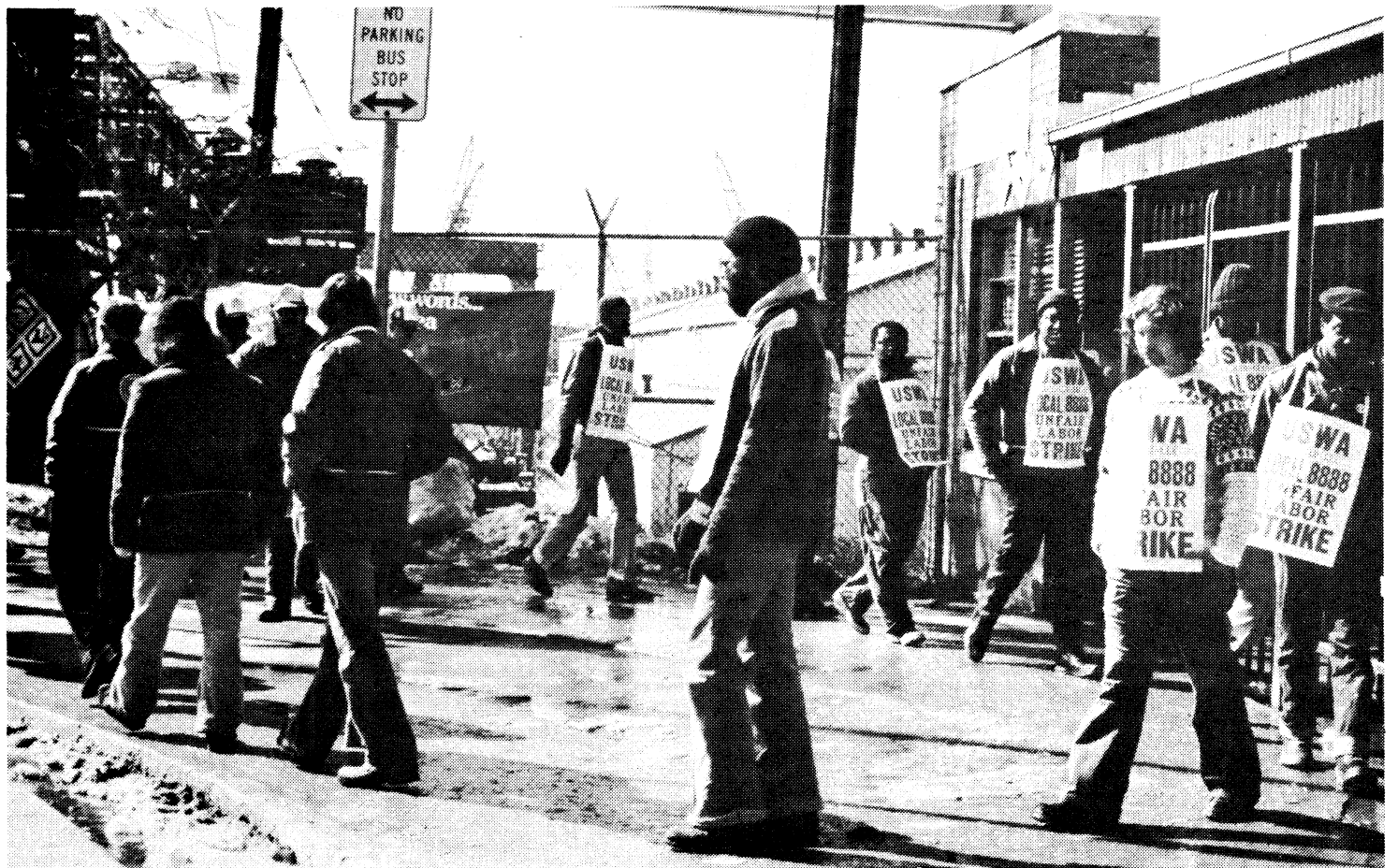
So we need a labor party to fight back. Not only for the unionists, but for all working people. A labor party that can mobilize Black groups, *latinos*, students, women's groups, and small-business people. Everyone who is victimized by the ruling rich.

Now if you know anything about the labor movement, you know that this will take some changes. The situation that exists now is that the ranks do not control what the labor officials do. Many members do not even have the right to vote on their union contracts. And the memberships have no say over what candidates the officials endorse.

Right now Jane Byrne is receiving tens of thousands of dollars from the labor unions in this city. This even includes public workers, who Byrne has said should not be allowed to strike.

But the unions are changing. The stepped-up rulers' offensive—the speed-up, inflation, worsening safety conditions, forced overtime, high unemployment, cuts in social services, the threat of nuclear power—all these things are compelling the unions to change.

One expression of this is the strike of



Striking steelworkers at Newport News: 'The unions can knock the capitalists' hands from our throats.'

Militant/John Cobey

17,000 shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia. In the Old Confederacy, Black and white workers on one side are battling it out with the company and government on the other.

Unions have also begun to fight around more social issues. Unions marched for the ERA. Unionists are speaking out against nuclear power. And now we see the United Steelworkers union resisting the racist *Weber* suit. Yes the Steelworkers union supports affirmative-action quotas to make up for present and past discrimination.

In Chicago, one-third of all people are involved in manufacturing. There are big unions of steelworkers, truckers, postal workers, auto workers,

rail workers, and so forth. These unions have vast power. They have the potential to shut this city down.

To fully utilize this power, we as workers must first recognize that we've got that power. Then we need to adopt a political course to use that power to get what we need. We need to form a party of labor. The formation of a labor party would signify the political awakening of a sleeping giant.

In order to move toward political power for labor we've got to begin now. The idea that labor needs its own political instruments has been the central idea that the Socialist Workers Party has been seeking to convey in this campaign.

While speaking to Local 534 of the

Auto Workers, while speaking to the O'Hare Local of the Postal Workers, I urged them to take steps immediately to run labor candidates. This is one of the main points members of the Socialist Workers Party will be conveying after the April 3 election.

The campaign does not end on April 3. It just goes into another phase. We will continue to raise in our unions and elsewhere the message that the world can be better than it is. That there is a better fate for humanity. And that in order to realize this, working people must organize their own party to take power.

Those of you who recognize that today should join us, join the Socialist Workers Party.

## ...campaigning for socialism in Chicago

Continued from page 6

left it standing elsewhere. In the end, it's going to take a fundamental change. And the only thing that can bring that about is a political party of labor on a national scale."

Jarrett misunderstood. "In other words, we wouldn't have any alteration of the structure of our political system, of our economic way of doing things, in the city of Chicago?"

Pulley answered, "Yes you would. I would propose my tax plan before the city council. If the majority of the people in this city vote for me as mayor I would utilize that as a mandate to carry out these policies. I would mobilize people in Chicago, in the labor movement, the Black community, and women, to see to it that their will is implemented.

"I'm convinced that the people of Cleveland and New York, and elsewhere, who have had economic problems will be inspired by our example here and emulate it."

Bill Kurtis, an anchorman on Channel 2 television, was another panelist. He concluded his evening news coverage of the debate that night by reporting as one of the highlights Pulley's response to a Kurtis question. Kurtis referred to the following exchange in the debate:

Kurtis: "Mr. Pulley, who would you appoint police chief?"

Pulley: "I haven't given any thought to that question. I don't think that one person is going to change the main role or character of the police department, which I view as not an institution designed to protect the rights of

working people, but as an institution designed to protect the property rights of the rich and the present political system.

"I'm for replacing the whole thing."

Kurtis: "The whole thing being the system?"

Pulley: "Right."

Kurtis: "But would you replace present chief Jim O'Grady then?"

Pulley: "Well, yes, he would go with it."

Kurtis: "Go with it?"

Pulley: "He would go with everything else."

Kurtis had chuckled and Pulley had smiled. But Pulley was completely serious.

\* \* \*

Getting into the Chicago TV debate was seen as a major victory for the Socialist Workers Party, not just in Chicago but nationally as well.

"For the first time in memory a televised, major candidates debate will include a third-party candidate," Doug Cassel reported in a half-page column in the Chicago *Sun-Times* on the day of the debate.

Cassel is an attorney with Business and Professional People in the Public Interest. In the column he tells how the SWP first found out from columnist Irv Kupcinet that the debate would exclude Pulley.

"Kup's column alerted Pulley's campaign manager. . . . Immediately she badgered the League of Women Voters and Channel 11, cosponsors of the debate. Why not include Pulley? What about fairness, democracy, and the

equal-time rule? How could they square their nonpartisan status and their pleas for public donations with playing political favorites?"

When Channel 11 finally agreed, the SWP asked Cassel to get confirmation. After Channel 11's Richard Bowman confirmed, Cassel reports, "I congratulated Channel 11 for acting in accord with good public policy.

"Policy?" he gasped. 'Oh no. This was no "policy," just a one-shot decision.' What Channel 11 will do next time, or even this time had Byrne or Johnson balked, Bowman would not venture to say.

"Fair enough," Cassel writes. "Yet having rescued one third-party candidate from the unseen pits of off-night Nielsen ratings, Channel 11 should think very carefully before tossing them all back come next election. Apart from troublesome legal questions, public policy is at stake. Voters are entitled to choose among candidates on their merits. And if that is how democracy is supposed to work, Public Television (and all major media) should represent the candidates fairly and equally when covering the news.

"Critics . . . will say that third parties are rarely serious contenders, so why waste prime time on them? But this is a self-fulfilling prophecy. In 1975 the Socialist Workers Party mayoralty candidate, Willie Mae Reid, got almost 17,000 votes, close to the number cast for Wallace Johnson in the recent Republican primary. Who is to say that if Andrew Pulley got anywhere near the TV and newspaper

coverage given Byrne and Johnson he could not beat Johnson?"

\* \* \*

Channel 11 wasn't the only media outlet forced to include the SWP campaign. The *Sun-Times* and *Tribune*, Chicago's two major dailies, each discussed Pulley along with the Republican candidate in their editorial endorsements of Jane Byrne.

Most campaign reports on TV and in the newspapers included some mention of Pulley's activities or positions. And both dailies quoted Byrne media strategist Don Rose calling the SWP vote the "unknown factor" that would affect Byrne's margin of victory.

Influential Black columnist Lou Palmer reported in the Black community weekly *Metro News*, "I think I am detecting a pattern, if not a trend, in the mayoral election. More and more Black people are indicating that they will vote for Andrew Pulley, the Black Socialist Workers Party candidate. Andrew Pulley, despite the uncertainties Black people have about his party, talks the kind of talk Blacks and other poor folks can identify with. Whenever he appears before a Black audience he picks up new votes."

The election edition of the *Metro News* recommends a vote for Pulley.

When the *Sun-Times* tried to ignore Pulley in their Sunday election roundup, a protest meeting with editorial staff members brought a change in the later editions. Ten column inches on Pulley's position were added under the headline, "Pulley: Place Power in Workers Hands."

# Marroquin on trial for his life

## Socialist tells his story at Houston deportation hearing

By Harry Ring

HOUSTON, April 3—Héctor Marroquin went on trial for his life today. The socialist and trade unionist took the stand in his own behalf on the opening day of the Immigration and Naturalization Service hearing to determine if he will be deported to Mexico.

Marroquin, who is demanding political asylum in the United States, faces imprisonment, torture, or death if the Carter administration succeeds in deporting him to Mexico.

The hearing opened in an INS courtroom that seats only twenty-five spectators, including the press. Despite the fact that more than twice that number sought admission, INS Judge James Smith refused to move the case to a larger courtroom.

To establish an atmosphere of intimidation, INS cops started out by insisting that spectators provide identification to gain admission. When Marroquin's attorney, Margaret Winter, objected to this, the judge backed off on his blatant interference with the right of public trial.

But despite protests, cops continued with an electronic search of each person entering the courtroom.

Marroquin, twenty-five, fled to the United States from Mexico five years ago after frame-up charges were leveled against him because of his political activities. His demand for political asylum in the United States has won significant support from labor and other organizations. Yet last December, the INS rejected his asylum appeal and set the deportation trial.

### Marroquin's story

As a student activist at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey, Marroquin fled in 1974 after being falsely charged with "conspiring" to bring about the assassination of a school librarian.

He entered this country as an undocumented worker. While he was here, the Mexican press trumpeted new

charges against him. The police accused him of terrorist acts and armed robbery.

Today at the hearing these false charges were effectively refuted by evidence introduced in the form of wage vouchers, rent receipts, and purchase receipts establishing that Marroquin was living and working in Houston at the time of the allegedly committed terrorist acts in Mexico.

The charges against him suffered their heaviest blow when X-rays were introduced confirming that he was in Galveston, Texas, recovering from a major auto accident when he was supposed to have been robbing a half-million pesos from a factory in Mexico.

Testifying for nearly six hours, Marroquin explained the facts of his case.

He grew up as one of ten children in a family living in the border town of Matamoros. His father, a low-paid customs worker, died when he was a youth. "We were always poor," Marroquin explained.

Marroquin entered the university at sixteen. For three terms in a row, he had the top grades in his class.

Meanwhile, he had been radicalized by the actions of the Mexican government in the infamous 1968 Tlatelolco massacre. Five hundred students were killed and many more jailed and tortured.

At the university in Monterrey, Marroquin plunged into campus political life.

As student struggles for democracy mounted in Mexico, he said, so did government repression. A number of demonstrations were savagely attacked by cops and gangs of thugs organized by the government.

Then in January 1972, police raided a Monterrey apartment complex where many students lived.

Marroquin, who was nearby, saw the police arrive. He entered the building and saw two cops dragging a wounded student down the stairs by his feet.

It was Jesús Rivera, Marroquin's closest friend. Rivera died. The police

### 'Marroquin is innocent'

HOUSTON—Héctor Marroquin had welcome support from members of his family on his opening day in court. His mother and three of his sisters traveled from Mexico to attend his trial.

Marroquin's sister Lilia said they had come because they had not seen him for a long time and because they support his fight for asylum.

Many people in Mexico know about his case, Marroquin's sister said. They sympathize with him because they are aware of the

repression he would face if he returned.

Maria García, Marroquin's wife, testified on his behalf. She confirmed in her testimony Marroquin's story of how he had decided to flee Mexico only after lawyers insisted there was no way he could get a fair trial.

She declared from the witness stand: "Héctor is innocent. He is being persecuted for crimes he did not commit. If deported, he would face torture or death." —H.R.



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Harry Ring

falsely asserted, Marroquin said, that Rivera had been a "guerrilla."

Later, a school librarian was assassinated. The police immediately charged that it was the work of "guerrillas." There were more arrests, more reports of torture.

Then Marroquin's picture appeared in the Monterrey paper, *El Norte*, and the police charged that he was part of a "conspiracy" that had resulted in the slaying.

Thoroughly frightened by the frame-up charge, Marroquin and his wife, Maria García, consulted with relatives.

Marroquin's first reaction was to get a lawyer, turn himself in, and prove his innocence. Relatives consulted several lawyers. They all agreed there was no way he could do this. He would be jailed and tortured until he "confessed."

Marroquin fled across Mexico to Baja California. He stayed there for a period. But when his picture appeared in local papers, he decided to seek asylum in the United States and made his way across the border.

### Undocumented worker

Because he was undocumented, he had to take a job as a helper in a Houston bar, working eight hours a day, seven days a week for \$1.80 an hour. Meanwhile, he followed the Monterrey press and saw the cops were escalating the charges against him. Even as he lived and worked here, they were charging him with committing crimes in Mexico.

Risking capture, he made several trips back to Mexico to consult with attorneys about the possibility of returning to expose the charges against him.

Finally, on returning to the United States from a trip in September 1977 he was apprehended at the border, and served three months in prison for seeking to enter the country under an assumed identity.

It was at this time that the major public campaign was launched to win him political asylum in the United States.

Earlier Marroquin had come in contact with the Socialist Workers Party and soon joined it. Later he also joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Looking directly at the judge, Marroquin declared, "When I joined the Socialist Workers Party, no one asked

to see my documents. The Socialist Workers Party is in the forefront of the fight for democratic rights."

Cross-examination of Marroquin was done by INS trial attorney Daniel Kahn. As Marroquin was describing the widespread hunger in Mexico, Kahn interrupted: "Did you ever starve to death?"

Marroquin stared at him and responded, "No, I wouldn't be here."

Considering Marroquin's assertion of widespread hunger among Mexican children, Kahn inquired if this wasn't really more of a social problem than a political one. Wasn't it really a problem for groups like the World Health Organization?

Earlier, when Marroquin was describing police atrocities, Kahn had interjected to explain that police brutality exists in all countries. "What," he asked, "does that have to do with political persecution?"

Apparently dismayed to learn that Marroquin did not support the U.S. government, Kahn asked him if there was any country in the world that he did support.

Marroquin talked about the Cuban revolution and the social gains made by the workers and peasants there.

Did he approve of the use of Cuban troops in Angola, Kahn asked.

"Yes," Marroquin replied. He explained the revolutionary role played by the Cuban forces in helping to defeat the reactionary U.S.-backed invaders from South Africa who were trying to crush the Angolan liberation movement.

What about the way the Castro forces came to power, Kahn demanded to know. Did Marroquin approve of that? Wasn't it by "force and violence"?

Marroquin explained that the murderous Batista dictatorship left the Cuban people no choice but to rise up against it.

Suppose then, Kahn asked, the president of the United States became like Batista. Would you then favor the same kind of overthrow here?

The American people have every right to defend themselves against ruling-class violence, Marroquin responded.

"Do you think capitalism and imperialism is the enemy?" Kahn asked.

"Yes," Marroquin replied, "I do."

Apparently wearied by the encounter, Kahn responded, "That's all."

# Texas rally backs Marroquin

HOUSTON—Two hundred people rallied here March 31 demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquin, the trade unionist and socialist facing deportation to Mexico.

Held on the eve of Marroquin's hearing before the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the rally drew people from as far away as San Antonio, Dallas, Austin, and New Orleans. Houston participants included Chicano activists and trade unionists from the ARCO refinery, and the Southern Pacific Railroad.

The rally gave an ovation to Marroquin, who described how he had been framed up because of his political activism. He cited the impressive support for his case by major unions and others concerned with human rights.

His attorney, Margaret Winter, cited documents baring the illegal disruption program conducted by the FBI in Mexico against political dissidents there, including Marroquin.

Of the hearing, Winter declared: "We are going to do more than prove Héctor's right to asylum, more than defend Héctor's life. We're going to put on trial the United States government and the Mexican government!"

José Alvarado, a member of the Sunbeam Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of the U.S. and Canada, declared that it was the responsibility of all working people to defend Marroquin. In doing so, he said, they would be defending their own rights, those of their Mexican brothers and sisters, and the rights of the oppressed and exploited everywhere.

To vigorous applause, he concluded with the time-honored labor declaration: "An injury to one is an injury to all!"

Marroquin's assertion that his life would be jeopardized if he did not win asylum was given powerful corroboration by two speakers from Mexico.

One was Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, founder of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled.

Piedra said the committee has won steadily mounting support from workers, students, and peasants throughout Mexico.

There is good reason for this, she explained. "In Mexico," she declared, "there is not one single worker, one single peasant, one single student who has not, at one time or another, been a victim of government repression."

Thousands of Mexicans, she said,



Marroquin holds up poster listing those who have been 'disappeared' by the Mexican government.

are aware of Marroquin's case and support his fight for asylum because they recognize that it will be a blow against repression in Mexico.

The rally listened silently as Delia Duarte de Ramirez described the atrocities suffered by her family at the hands of the White Brigades, a gang of political killers sponsored by the Mexican government.

One of her sons was kidnapped by the Brigades in June of 1977. Several months later her second son was gunned down by the Brigades. Then, the son's widow was arrested and taken to a notorious military detention camp.

She was held there for five months and severely tortured. Two weeks after her release, she died as a result of her prison ordeal.

"This," Duarte de Ramirez concluded, "is why I am here in support of political asylum for Héctor Marroquin."

Olga Rodríguez, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party also spoke.

She blasted the Carter administration's record on human rights in Mexico and throughout Latin America.

Other declarations of support for Marroquin's right to asylum were made at the rally by attorney Ben Levy, veteran civil libertarian and member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; and Father Edward Salazar, regional director of PADRES, an association of Catholic priests seeking social justice for Hispanics.

The meeting was chaired by Gertrude Barnstone, the civil liberties activist who is treasurer of the Marroquin defense committee.

An appeal for funds was made by Sister Victoria Zúñiga, a member of Hermanas, an organization of socially concerned nuns.

In response to her appeal, the audience contributed \$535. Of this, \$70 came from a group of workers at Hughes Tool Company, and \$125 from a group of rail workers.

## Why no asylum for Hector?

The following are excerpts from the speech by Socialist Workers Party National Committee member Olga Rodríguez at the March 31 rally to defend Héctor Marroquin.



RODRIGUEZ

What are the real reasons why Héctor has been denied asylum and faces a deportation hearing?

Some say the reason that the U.S. government refuses to grant Héctor asylum, refuses to speak out against the brutal repression of workers and *campesinos* in Mexico, is because Carter wants Mexico's oil. To speak out would offend the Mexican government and make it harder to get the oil, according to this argument.

But Carter, like other U.S. presidents before him, was silent on the tortures, disappearances, jailings, and murders in Mexico long before the discovery of huge oil reserves in that country. In fact, Carter and past administrations have actively abetted the Mexican government in its drive against the democratic rights of the vast majority of Mexican people.

The simple truth is that neither Carter nor his predecessors have ever given one whit of concern about human rights anywhere in the world.

The reason Carter doesn't want to give Héctor asylum is not because he is worried about offending the Mexican government. On the contrary, Carter's so-called human rights policy has nothing to do with humanity or rights. It has to do with profits—and protecting profits.

The U.S. government fears that the Mexican people will decide to do exactly what the Iranian people are trying to do today, or what the Cuban people did twenty years ago: to take control over their own lives and destiny and to end U.S. corporate control over their economy.

American imperialism wants, needs, and will do everything in its power to safeguard and extend the ability of the U.S. corporations to exploit Mexico and its people. Yes. They want a license to rob and steal Mexico's resources, including its oil and gas. That is why they help maintain in power the Mexican government and its White Brigades, its torture chambers, its military camp Number 1, its system of frame-ups, spies, and disruption of political activity.

Our country's rulers are very concerned that American working people be kept in the dark about the pernicious role the U.S. government plays all over Latin America—including and especially in Mexico.

This government maintains the ability of U.S. corporations to rake in billions of dollars off the backs of the Mexican, Chilean, Dominican, Nicaraguan, and Argentine people. It is responsible for the suppression of the struggle of millions for political and economic justice—for socialism.

For the U.S. rulers, profits come before human needs, here in this country and around the world. This is the most ruthless, callous, inhuman class we have ever seen.

## Marroquin meets with oil workers

HOUSTON—Sixteen people, mostly oil workers from three major refineries and chemical plants here, attended a house meeting with Héctor Marroquin March 25. They are members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, and are employed at the ARCO Refinery, Phillips, and Shell Oil.

The meeting was at the home of Debby Leonard, an active unionist at the ARCO plant and a Marroquin supporter.

Marroquin explained the issues in his case, and then there was discussion and questions.

Almost all of the workers took literature on the case to distribute to shopmates and friends.

Three of the unionists participated the next day at the ARCO plant gate in a distribution of leaflets for the March 31 Marroquin rally.

## Messages of support

Below are excerpts of solidarity messages read at the Héctor Marroquin defense rally March 31 in Houston.

The Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union has long fought for improvements in the area of human rights. While recognizing that many countries have suppressed the rights of workers to join in unity in formulating a structure to collectively bargain for wages, hours, and working conditions, we also recognize the struggle of others who continue to fight for freedom in other areas.

We support the united efforts to assure that Héctor Marroquin is granted a fair trial in Houston, Texas, on April 3rd, a trial that is free of the political influence of this government and the government of Mexico.

*L. Calvin Moore, Citizenship/Legislative Director, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers*

The Maryland State Teachers Association, an affiliate of the National Education Association, supports your efforts to obtain asylum

for Héctor Marroquin. We have sent a telegram to Leonel Castillo indicating our concern about the possibility of violation of Héctor Marroquin's human rights.

*Pete V. Tribble, President; Harvey W. Zorbaugh, Executive Director; Maryland State Teachers Association*

*PADRES* supports your request for political asylum.

We hope that justice is on your side and the matter is settled quickly.

*Trinidad Sanchez, S.J., Bro. PADRES Executive Director*

I express my solidarity with all of you gathered here today on behalf of Héctor Marroquin, to protest this infamous attempt to deport him.

*Angela Y. Davis*

Messages of support were also received from Rep. Ronald V. Delums, Kate Millett, Edward Asner, the *Guardian* newspaper, U.S. Rep. Mickey Leland, Anne Braden, and Robert and Michael Meeropol.

# Judge refuses bond reduction for Marroquin

By Harry Ring

HOUSTON—Immigration and Naturalization Service Judge James Smith denied a motion April 2 to reduce Héctor Marroquin's outrageously high bond of \$10,000. The government forced Marroquin's supporters to pay the ransom sum in 1977 in order to free the socialist activist from jail. Smith also rejected proposals for third-party custody of Marroquin. The Socialist Workers Party, the Marroquin Defense Committee, and the U.S. Student Association each offered to assume responsibility for Marroquin if he were released without bond.

The INS ruling was made without a pretense of serious consideration of the issue. While Marroquin's attorney, Margaret Winter, was presenting her summation, the judge was preparing his decision. When she concluded her summation, he read his decision.

The INS trial attorney who opposed the bond-reduction proposal, Daniel Kahn, was a poor caricature of a McCarthy-era witch-hunter.

Seeking to establish that Marroquin was not a person of financial status, he demanded to know if Marroquin possessed a burial plot.

"I'm not thinking about dying," Marroquin responded.

Well then, did he have a Master Charge card?

Marroquin conceded he did not.

What property did he possess?

"A bed," Marroquin responded, "a desk, some books, and a little clothing."

Turning to Marroquin's publicly declared membership in the Socialist Workers Party, Kahn asked what kind of a socialist organization it was—a "Norman Thomas-type" or a "Marx-Lenin-type"?

On learning that the SWP supported the views of Marx and Lenin, the prosecutor sought to establish that this meant Marroquin was a "communist" who favored "force and violence" and therefore was not worthy of reduced bond.

Marroquin patiently explained that he was a proponent of socialist democracy. While he fully supported the right of workers to defend themselves against capitalist violence, he explained, he was an opponent of individual terrorism.

Kahn returned to the same theme in questioning Olga Rodríguez, southwest field organizer for the Socialist Workers Party, who testified as a character witness for Marroquin and made the SWP custody offer.

He did likewise with Jane Roland of the Marroquin Defense Committee, and Gertrude Barnstone, Houston treasurer of the committee. Barnstone was an elected member of the Houston School Board for five years and served on the boards of the YWCA and the Texas American Civil Liberties Union.

## ...Middletown

Continued from page 3  
comes in a limousine."

What did Lavoyne think of Carter's visit?

"To sum it up in one word: politics. He had to make a showing here.

"He wasn't in town very long. He made his appearance—that's what it seemed to me, just an appearance. I thought he would try to take a tour of the area, talk to people here," she continued.

"There has not been anyone from TMI [Three Mile Island] or any congressman—nothing—around to talk to people."

"He says he knows everything about it," Scott says of Carter. "But he doesn't, because he doesn't go to people's houses and talk."

"I don't think any politicians at this point are interested in what people think," Lavoyne continues. "I just think that money is the big thing—they're just worried about how much money it's going to take."

### Can't trust government

"If you can't go to your government, who can you go to? If you can't trust people who are supposed to be for you, it hurts. This is what we feel."

She believes that "someone has got to be responsible" for the property damage and other losses due to the accident.

"Why should we, the people, take the loss? Somebody definitely made a mistake, and they have more money than us."

The Kings still owe \$17,000 on their home. But even if they could get a fair price for it, she's not sure they would want to move unless forced to.

"This is our home. It has a lot of memories. We had it built, and we did the yard—seeded it ourselves and planted trees and everything. We put a lot of time into it that can't be replaced."

When they decided on this site for their home, she says, "I imagine that we had heard of the dangers, but we never thought anything could happen."

## ...who pays

Continued from page 4

shut down, laying off thousands of workers. Insurance doesn't cover lost wages.

The utility's own employees don't get treated any better than the general public. Two pregnant clerical workers who normally work on Three Mile Island haven't been coming to work because of the radiation leaks.

Met Ed has given them the choice of having their pay docked or losing vacation time. No wages.

Priscilla Noon, a Black woman who works in a nursing home that evacuated all its patients several days ago, is out of a job indefinitely. She's not being paid, although she is the sole support of her ten-year-old son.

She goes to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission briefings every day, hoping to find out what's going on at Three Mile Island. "It seems like everything they are saying today is a repeat of what they said yesterday," Noon told the *Militant*.

"I went to the unemployment office and they gave me some forms and told me to come back next week," Noon said.

Noon had to skip her April rent. "It could be two weeks without a penny," she explained.

You feel that when something like this is built, the people building it know what they're doing. You just kind of put your safety with them and trust them."

That trust disappeared about the same time that the flashing lights on cop cars appeared—and the disruption of their lives began.

### Antinuke protest

She recalls last year's protests against the plant by Goldsboro residents on the other side of the island.

"I thought they were really dumb, because I thought nothing is ever going to happen. Those people who run the plant are too smart, they know too much about what's going on."

"But I was the dumb one."

To those people who live in other areas where there are nuclear plants operating or under construction, she advises, "If they value what they have, if they think a lot of themselves, they should protest it."

Like most residents affected by the nuclear accident, King has no love for Met Ed's insurance company. The day before, she called the insurers to find out if she was eligible for compensation for some of the evacuation expenses. After all, they live the closest to the plant and have felt it necessary to leave twice so far.

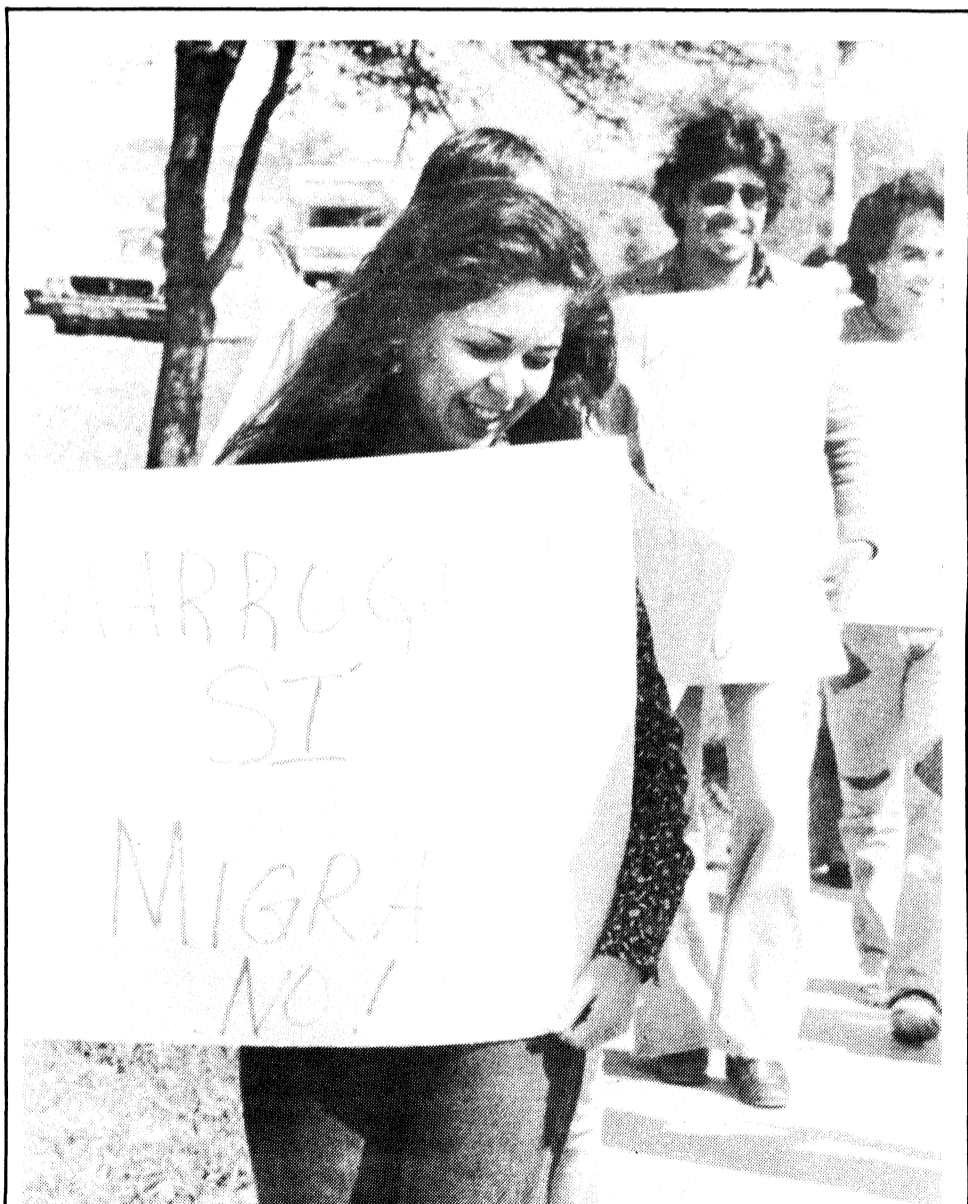
"The man said, 'No, but if you are forced to evacuate, just give us a call and we'll see that you get some money to go.'"

"I have to evacuate, and I'm going to go up there and get money? He's got to be kidding!"

She has heard reports that insurers refuse to say whether homeowners will be reimbursed if anything happens to their property. "So if we had to evacuate and could never come back, they might never give us a penny."

Even the little insurance money handed out to pregnant women and families with preschool children can't begin to replace what they've lost, she says.

"What about the mental anguish they have gone through? They're not making any restitution at all for that."



San Antonio Protest

Militant/Harry Ring

## INS offices picketed

On the eve of Héctor Marroquin's deportation hearing, his supporters picketed offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) demanding political asylum for the socialist activist.

Leonel Castillo, INS director, was confronted with a picket line in Pittsburgh March 30 organized by the Marroquin Defense Committee. Msgr. Charles Owen Rice of the St. Anne's Catholic Church, together with other committee members, held a news conference and then joined

the picket line. Castillo had ignored an earlier request to meet with Monsignor Rice and Marroquin supporters to discuss the case.

In Mexico, demonstrations were held in front of the U.S. embassy in Mexico City and the U.S. consulate in Monterrey.

Other U.S. picket lines took place in New York City, Los Angeles, Portland, Albuquerque, Phoenix, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Boston, Houston, and Washington, D.C.

# March 31 actions demand abortion rights

In response to a call issued by the International Coalition for Abortion Rights based in London, women around the world participated in an International Day of Action March 31. From the Iron Range of Minnesota to Paris, France, they demanded abortion rights and an end to forced sterilization.

Following are reports of some of the demonstrations that took place in the United States. In future issues of the 'Militant' we will report on the actions in other countries.

## Iron Range: Steelworkers march for abortion rights

By Ilona Gersh

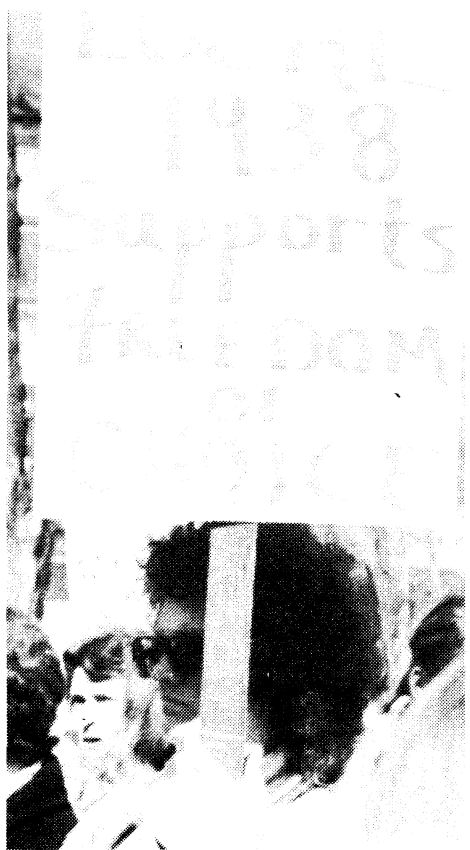
VIRGINIA, Minn.—On March 31 some 200 women and men marched from the courthouse to Virginia Hospital in support of abortion rights.

Many of the marchers wore the jackets of United Steelworkers locals 1938 and 6115. Local 1938 endorsed the demonstration and members of both locals—women and men—served as monitors along the line of march.

"I hope the endorsement of my local is a sign that in the future the whole labor movement will back abortion rights," Local 1938 spokesperson Peggy Keefe told a rally preceding the march.

Also speaking were representatives of the various organizations sponsoring the action. They included the Minnesota Abortion Rights Council, Democratic Farmer Labor Party Feminist Caucus, Farmer Labor Association Caucus, Iron Range National Organization for Women (NOW), and the Socialist Workers Party.

The demonstration was covered by all three television stations and featured prominently in the local newspapers.

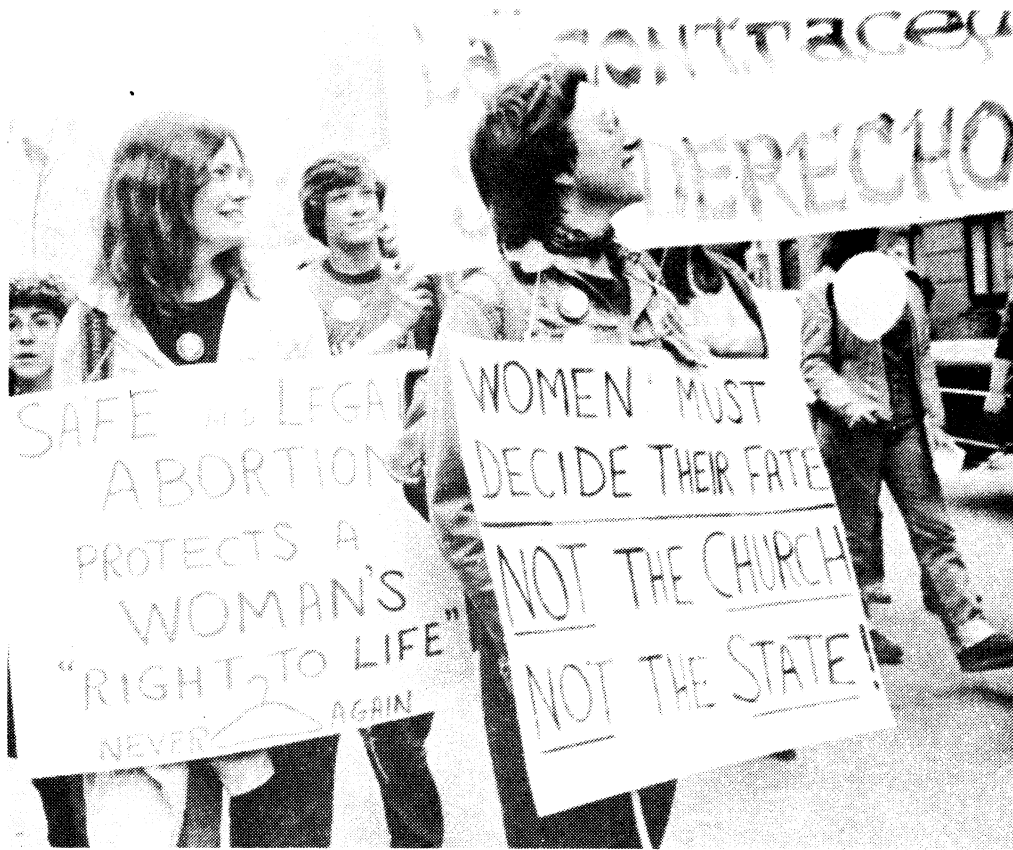


Militant/ Stu Singer  
Steelworkers Local 1938 endorsed March 31 demonstration in Virginia, Minnesota.

## N.Y.C.: 1,500 say 'fight back'

By Pat Mayberry

NEW YORK—"They say cutback, we say fight back!" is what 1,500



New York City. Demonstrators were angered by attacks on abortion and by nuclear danger in nearby Harrisburg.

Militant/ Lou Howort

marchers chanted on their way from the United Nations to a rally in Union Square March 31. Cheered on by bystanders all along their route of march, the demonstrators were demanding abortion rights, medicaid funds for abortion, and an end to forced sterilization. Contingents ranged from welfare rights supporters to antinuclear activists.

Sponsored by the March 31st Coalition for Reproductive Rights, the march and rally were endorsed by dozens of organizations.

Rally chairperson and Coalition of Labor Union Women President Joyce Miller pledged continued union support for women's rights. "CLUW is 100 percent involved in this movement," she said.

Rally speakers included Denise Fuge, New York National Organization for Women; Pauline Haynes, American Indian Movement; Kate Millett; and Terry Josephs, Social Service Employees Union Local 371.

Also, Jennie Lifrieri, Catholics for a Free Choice; Ruth Messenger, New York City Council; Meredith Tax, Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse; and Dr. Sandra Turner, Committee of Interns and Residents.

## Boston: 2,000 demand right to choose

By Jeannette Tracy

BOSTON—Some 2,000 abortion rights activists marched four miles through downtown Boston to the State House March 31. Marchers included contingents of Iranian women, and Black women from neighboring Roxbury.

Speakers at the reproductive rights rally included Rev. Linda Brebner, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights; Linda Gordon, author of *Women's Bodies, Women's Rights*; Marlene Stevens, a Roxbury community representative; and Karen Lindsey, feminist writer.

The protest action was sponsored by the Abortion Action Coalition, South-Middlesex NOW; Socialist Workers Party, New American Movement, and International Socialist Organization. Endorsers included representatives of District 65 of the Distributive Workers Union and Local 880 of the Hospital Workers union.

## Protests in other cities

• In **Pittsburgh** 100 rallied in Market Square for abortion rights. Sponsors included Pittsburgh Campus NOW, First Pittsburgh NOW, Pittsburgh Committee for Human Rights, Young Socialist Alliance, American Civil Liberties Union, and New American Movement.

• In **Atlanta** 50 picketed outside Grady Hospital to protest the cut-off of abortion funds to poor women. Following the protest a teach-in on reproductive rights was held at Georgia State University. The day's events, sponsored by the Abortion Rights Movement of Women's Liberation, were

featured on all local television stations.

• In **Oakland, California**, 175 supporters of abortion rights picketed the offices of Birthright, a wing of the anti-abortion "right to life" movement. The pickets were protesting the false and misleading information Birthright distributes about abortions.

Sponsors of the action included the Coalition to Defend Reproductive Rights, San Francisco and East Bay NOW, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1660, California Health Action Coalition, Women's Health Center, and Women's Health Collective.

• In **Kansas City** the University of Missouri Women's Union sponsored a panel discussion March 30. Forty-five people heard speakers from NOW, Planned Parenthood, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

## Balto.: 'Women's concerns are labor's concerns'

By Yvonne Hayes

BALTIMORE—About sixty-five trade-union women and men attended a "Salute to Working Women" conference here March 31. Held at the United Steelworkers Local 2609 hall and sponsored by the local's Women's Advisory Committee, the conference focused on the relationship today—and historically—between the women's movement and labor movement.

Sara Barron, a retired member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, was particularly well qualified to speak on the history of working women. Barron was elected a union shop steward at the age of fourteen in 1916. In 1918 she marched in Washington to demand women's suffrage. Later Barron helped to organize the CIO.

"Our union stood for equal rights from the beginning," Barron said. "But we had to educate the men."

"Here it is 1979," she continued, "and I see all these women working in auto factories and steel mills. We should say to men, 'You have gained from this.'"

Alice Camara, president of Baltimore National Organization for Women, spoke on the developing alliance between women and labor today.

"The concerns of the women's movement are the concerns of the labor movement," she said. "Eighty percent of women workers are under-

paid, undervalued, and underemployed. Union women earn at least 40-70 percent more than non-union women, but only about 10 percent are organized."

The conference was chaired by Bobbie Spiegler, a member of USWA Local 2610. Other speakers were Ruth Haynes, an international organizer for the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen, and Barbara Bowman, a member of the 2610 Women's Advisory Committee.

Haynes spoke on the Equal Rights Amendment and pointed to the upcoming activities of Labor for Equal Rights Now, a Virginia union-initiated coalition, as a model for carrying forward the ERA struggle.

Bowman took up the threat that the *Weber* case poses to affirmative-action gains. Women, Blacks, and unionists must band together to defend these rights, she said, because they strengthen the entire labor movement against its enemies.

Local 2610 President Dave Wilson showed conference participants a slide show his local has prepared on the Newport News shipyard strike.

"If you don't believe there's a conspiracy to keep down unionism," he said, "look at how much coverage you've seen in the press of the strike in Newport News." Working people have to get the word out themselves through support activities, he told the conference to enthusiastic applause.

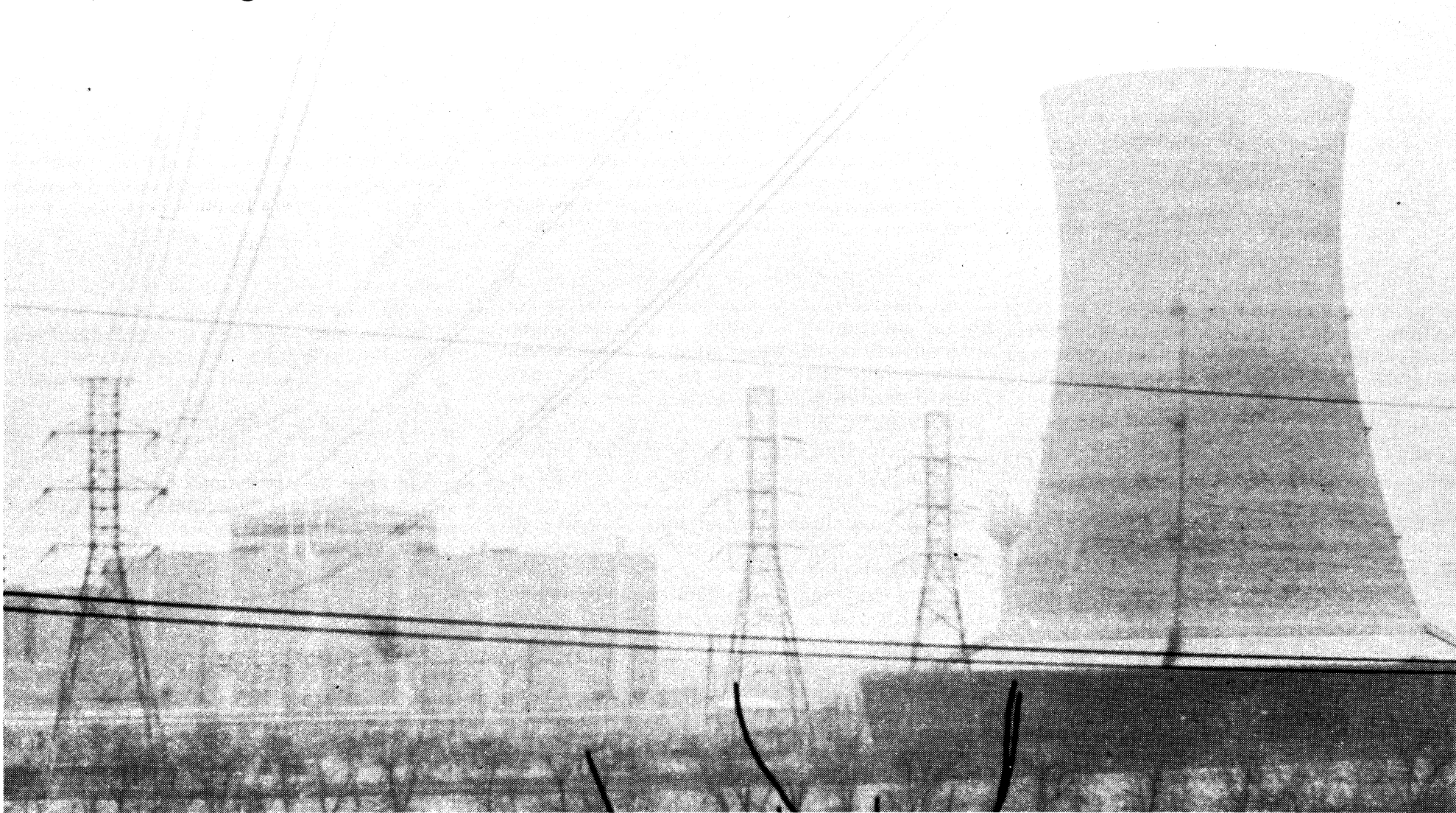
On-the-scene report

## Cover-up at Three Mile Island

Special  
Section

# Stop Carter's nuclear time bomb

## Why labor should take the lead



Three Mile Island

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

The following statement was released April 1 by Andrew Pulley and Nora Danielson. Pulley is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago and a member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 1066. Danielson, SWP mayoralty candidate in Philadelphia, is a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 518.

The Carter administration and the Democratic and Republican parties bear full responsibility for jeopardizing millions of lives in the Three Mile Island nuclear accident.

Government inspectors knew months ago about problems in the cooling systems of Babcock and Wilcox reactors, including the

one at Three Mile Island. But the administration did nothing—except to hush it up. Just as the government has hushed up and lied about the hazards of nuclear power for decades.

So now the accident the public was always assured was “impossible” has happened. The horrible possibility remains that a meltdown or explosion could still send deadly clouds of radiation over the surrounding cities and countryside.

Even if this most terrible outcome is averted, no one knows how many people, including workers exposed in the plant itself, have been harmed by the radiation that has already escaped.

On April 1 Carter flew into Middletown, Pennsylvania, just long enough to proclaim

that radiation levels are “quite safe for all concerned” and that the top priority of the authorities is “the health and safety of the people.”

Yet the day before, speaking in Wisconsin, Carter vowed that nuclear power plants “will be continued.”

The disaster at Three Mile Island proves that nuclear energy is totally unsafe, that “Atoms for Peace” is a myth, and that all nuclear reactors and processing plants, both commercial and military, should be closed down immediately.

As one worker who lives in the shadow of the Three Mile Island plant said, “It’s like living with a rattlesnake. Sooner or later it’s

*Continued on next page*

# ...time bomb

Continued from preceding page

going to bite you. You just don't know when."

State and federal officials; the Metropolitan Edison Company and its owner, General Public Utilities; the Nuclear Regulatory Commission; and the scientist-hirelings of the employers have lied from the beginning about what is happening.

They are lying now. They contradict each other, they contradict themselves, and they refuse to give the American people straight answers. Scarcely a person now believes a word they say about this accident.

Thousands who live near the crippled reactor are showing how much confidence they have in the official promises of safety—they are fleeing the area.

From its very beginning in the 1940s, the development of nuclear energy has been cloaked in secrecy. The dangers have been either denied or downplayed.

Why the secrecy? Why the lies?

The capitalist class doesn't dare tell the truth about nuclear energy any more than they do about how they plan shortages and fix prices. To tell the truth, they would have to say:

"We took billions of dollars from taxes paid by working people to finance the research and development of nuclear weapons and nuclear energy.

"We knew all about the hazards. But we suppressed or censored reports on the likelihood of catastrophic accidents, cancer epidemics, birth deformities, and other consequences we didn't want the public to know about.

"We fired scientists who got too nosy. We didn't hesitate to kill people like Karen Silkwood who threatened to blow the whistle on the nuclear danger.

"We need nuclear weapons to police the world for U.S. corporate interests.

"And there are big profits to be made from nuclear energy."

This is what the employers and their bipartisan representatives in Washington would say if they told the truth. But they don't.

In his Middletown speech, Carter declared he would take personal responsibility for "thoroughly informing the American people" about the lessons of the disaster. Democrats and Republicans in Congress are already talking about a blue-ribbon investigation.

We have no reason to trust those who have covered up the nuclear danger for all these years.



DANIELSON

PULLEY



CARTER: Tells Middletown residents not to worry, while he pushes for more nukes around the country.

At the same time he promises to keep us informed, Carter has imposed an unprecedented censorship order barring the *Progressive* magazine from printing an article about the hydrogen bomb. The Democrats and Republicans are desperately pushing for more secrecy, not less.

The Socialist Workers Party says that the entire record from both government and private industry on nuclear energy—every secret study and hearing, every technical and financial detail, every medical record—should be opened up for public scrutiny and debate.

The labor movement should take the lead in fighting for this. Meanwhile nuclear power should be stopped cold.

Just as the doubletalk about what happened at Three Mile Island reveals the destructive and antidemocratic nature of capitalist rule, so do the disastrous implications of the accident. Three Mile Island is not an exceptional incident. It epitomizes the nightmarish prospects of capitalist society today.

The employing class and its insatiable drive for profits are taking us down a road to catastrophe:

Runaway inflation and mass layoffs can overnight shatter the lives of millions of working people.

Monopoly-rigged shortages of key commodities can trigger price explosions.

Young workers will be sent to die in other lands—not to defend their own interests, but those of the bosses.

Imperialist wars threaten to lead us to a nuclear holocaust.

This threat of catastrophe is sharpened by the fact that the capitalists in this country face stiffer competition from their counterparts in Western Europe and Japan. Since the 1974-75 depression, they have been on a stepped-up

campaign to improve their competitive position by squeezing more profits out of workers in this country.

As every worker knows, they have launched a war on many fronts to accomplish this. It includes speedup, reversing on-the-job health and safety rules, forced overtime, higher taxes, and cutbacks in social services.

Wages are held down by Carter's 7 percent guidelines while prices soar at 15 percent a year.

Laws protecting the environment are rolled back under the pretense of fighting inflation.

The employers are out to weaken and if possible destroy the unions—the chief obstacle to their goals.

Part of this offensive is the rulers' attempt to prepare us to accept the use of American military might to defend *their* interests in other countries—especially where they are under attack now by the workers and peasants of Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East.

The nuclear industry is part of the employers' war drive from top to bottom. The nuclear industry originated with the race to develop and use the atomic bomb during World War II. Today it services the entire nuclear arsenal, which the Pentagon sees as essential to its war aims.

So we are faced with seventy operating commercial reactors—each capable of repeating the crisis of the Three Mile Island plant—along with scores of processing plants, reactors, and waste depots directly related to military purposes.

The disaster at Three Mile Island will give tremendous impetus to the rapidly developing antinuclear movement—not only in this country but throughout the world. Millions, maybe tens of millions, more people are now convinced that nuclear power should be stopped.

Protests have already begun, and we can be sure the actions planned for later this spring will be much larger than originally expected.

The Socialist Workers Party is participating in and helping to make these actions as successful as possible. The solidarity the German antinuke demonstrators expressed this week in their slogan, "We all live in Pennsylvania!" should be the watchword for all of us.

The key to success for the forces organizing against nuclear power is to link up with those in the labor movement who are opposed to nuclear power and to win the entire labor movement to this fight. That's where the strength lies to make this fight victorious.

The antinuke resolutions adopted by Meat Cutters District 2, by the United Auto Workers in Ohio, by Steelworkers District 31 in Chicago-Gary—along with the formation of antinuke committees in some unions—show the growing sentiment inside the labor movement.

The struggle against nuclear power and all its hazards is part of the overall struggle against the capitalist catastrophe that threatens the entire working class.

That catastrophe can be prevented only if the working class organizes itself and its allies to take political power away from the capitalist rulers, who are willing to risk the fate of humanity in their drive for profits.

To carry out this struggle for power the working class will have to break from the war parties, the nuclear energy parties, the capitalist parties—the Democratic and Republican twins.

We need a labor party based on our own organizations, the unions. A labor party will be an antiwar party, an antinuclear party, a party that fights for the rights of Blacks, *latinos*, and women.

There is a force greater than nuclear power: the political power of the labor movement.

That is the power and authority of the overwhelming majority of the American people. Once it is mobilized to take control out of the hands of the profit-hungry minority, it can immediately close down all the nuclear plants and dismantle all the nuclear weapons.

Three Mile Island shows the urgency of the task. Nothing less than the survival of humanity is at stake.

## Join the fight...

• for a labor party, for a government run by and in the interests of working people

• for a society free from racism, sexism, inflation, and unemployment

• for a world without war and devastation of our environment

☐ Enclosed is \$2.95 for a copy of *Prospects for Socialism in America*

☐ I want to join the Socialist Workers Party

☐ Please send more information

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

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

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## join the SWP

## Steelworkers explain

# Labor's stake in fight against nuke threat

By Dick McBride

Workers exposed to radiation at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard in New Hampshire die from leukemia more than four times as frequently as the national average. They die from all cancers at twice the national average.

In the western United States, uranium miners suffer disproportionately from lung cancer and related diseases.

The Karen Silkwood case is revealing how nuclear workers risk their lives daily in unsafe plants.

Now the Three Mile Island nuclear accident threatens the lives and property of thousands of working people and their families throughout southeastern Pennsylvania.

On April 1, four days after the accident at Three Mile Island began, I talked with Norton Sandler and Geoff Mirelowitz. Both work at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore—the nearest metropolitan area to Three Mile Island.

"I had my radio on at work Thursday night when they announced that they were considering evacuating a million people from around Harrisburg," Sandler said.

"The first reaction was jokes—which way is the wind blowing, is your car gassed up, and so on. But as the news kept coming in, people got more serious."

"What came up over and over in the plant," Sandler said, "was the need for workers to regulate and control things like nuclear power—take them out of the hands of the rich. Because the people who own these power plants now are willing to sacrifice a million lives rather than tell the truth."

Mirelowitz told of a discussion some three weeks before the Pennsylvania accident. "One person had a friend or a relative who worked at a nuclear plant and had told him how safe they are. So his idea was that nuclear power is OK."

"I was on with the same crew Friday night [March 30—two days after the accident] and someone said to the guy who had been talking about how safe the plants are, 'Now look!'"

"And he answered, 'Yeah, we ought to just shut them all down.'"

Mirelowitz said Baltimore steelworkers are fast becoming aware of two things: "First, everybody knows that the Susquehanna River flows into Chesapeake Bay. And the other thing

*Dick McBride is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana.*



Big business reaps huge profits from dangerous nuclear plants. Steelworkers are joining the fight to 'just shut them all down.'

Militant/Mike Moser

everybody knows is that there's a nuclear plant right near Baltimore at Calvert Cliffs."

"People laughed when the radio announced that Carter was in contact

with the governor," Sandler said, "and that the governor had said things were under control. Then everybody was really ready to head for their cars and get out of town!"

My union, Steelworkers Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, has filed a petition with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to deny a permit to the Bailly nuclear plant that is under construction near Gary. We expect to be joined in this by the steelworkers of Local 6787 at Bethlehem's Burns Harbor plant, which is right next to the Bailly site.

Local 6787 is also considering filing a lawsuit challenging the Bailly evacuation plan—which would require that some steelworkers remain at Burns Harbor to keep the blast furnace going if there was a nuclear accident!

Last year USWA District 31, which represents 118,000 steelworkers in the Chicago-Gary area, went on record opposing the development of nuclear power. District 31 Environmental Director Mike Olszanski told me April 1 that the Three Mile Island accident "is all anybody is talking about" in the steel plants around Gary and Chicago.

"People are coming back and saying 'Hey, you were right,' when the district took its antinuclear position last year. There were a few people around who were skeptical at that time, but now it's clear that an overwhelming majority of people feel we were right."

Other unions have also gone on record against nuclear power in recent months.

On March 5 the executive board of District 2 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen unanimously voted to oppose "the construction, manufacture, operation, exportation or proliferation of additional nuclear power plants."

Meat Cutters District 2 includes the state of Pennsylvania and seven other mid-Atlantic states, as well as Puerto Rico.

Last October a United Auto Workers Community Action Program convention in Ohio adopted a motion citing the dangers of nuclear power and calling on state officials to "enact an immediate moratorium on licensing and construction of nuclear power plants in Ohio, if definite scientific safeguards cannot be provided, and implement a procedure for phasing out all existing facilities now operating or under construction in the state."

These and similar resolutions mark a welcome break from the pronuclear, pro-employer positions expressed by George Meany and the AFL-CIO hierarchy. They point the way toward increased involvement by organized labor in the movement to end nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

## Tragedy from 1950s Utah nuke tests

By Ed Berger

SALT LAKE CITY—Authorities are telling the people of Pennsylvania not to worry, that fallout from the Three Mile Island plant isn't dangerous. Radiation levels are low and harmless, industry-paid scientists say on TV.

*Try telling that to the fallout victims in Utah.*

Between 1951 and 1958 the U.S. military set off at least ninety-seven atomic explosions above ground in Nevada. The radioactive debris fell on Utah, Arizona, and Nevada.

Children born in southern Utah during those seven years died from leukemia two and a half times as frequently as children born before or after. Throughout Utah, approximately fifty children died from leukemia who otherwise would be alive today.

This was one of the grisly findings of a study conducted by Dr. Joseph Lyon, a University of Utah epidemiologist, and three associates.

The Lyon study confirmed a suppressed 1965 government report that

found the leukemia death rate in southern Utah between 1950 and 1964 was 50 percent higher than expected.

The 1965 Utah leukemia studies were hidden from public view for fourteen years. Federal agencies also conspired to keep other evidence out of the spotlight.

In 1953, for example, 4,300 sheep that had been grazing downwind from atomic tests in Nevada died. Some of the animals had been as far as 120 miles from the test site.

The sheep received a dose of radioactive iodine up to 1,000 times greater than the maximum allowable for humans. Ewes had spontaneous abortions and showed burn-like lesions on the face, neck, and ears. The majority of lambs were born dead or stunted, and ewes died either during lambing or a few days later.

The Atomic Energy Commission said the sheep died of natural causes.

Dr. Stephan Brower, a Brigham Young University professor, charges that the federal government sought to

buy the silence of the sheep ranchers by offering to set up a desert range nutrition research project. Brower was a county agricultural agent in the area at the time.

One young woman in southern Utah told Brower her hair fell out after a radiation cloud passed over her home. She also developed lesions that healed only slowly.

Dr. John Gofman, once the AEC's leading expert on the biological effects of radiation, says that the government canceled atomic tests if the wind was blowing toward Los Angeles or Las Vegas—but not if it was blowing toward sparsely populated areas of Utah and Nevada.

As recently as 1974 the plutonium level in Utah topsoil was found to be 3.8 times higher than anywhere else in the country. Plutonium, one of the most fiercely radioactive of all elements, is a byproduct of atomic explosions and certain types of reactors. It is used in the production of nuclear weapons. A speck of plutonium dust

will cause cancer if inhaled.

Other shorter-lived radioactive elements were also found in the soil. Officials sought to minimize the dangers of these poisons by saying they were now far less radioactive than when they were first found.

That means, of course, that Utah residents have been subjected to abnormally and dangerously high levels of radioactivity all these years.

More than 400 people—surviving cancer victims and relatives of those who have died—have filed claims against the federal government.

Pam Burchett, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City, is demanding full compensation for all the fallout victims.

"The government should provide free, lifetime medical care for those whose lives it has so callously blighted," she told the *Militant*.

"The cover-up of the effects of the atom tests must end," Burchett said.

"The time is long overdue to open up all the records of the federal atomic agencies for public inspection."

# Cover-up at Three Mile Isl

By Nancy Cole  
and Arnold Weissberg

MIDDLETOWN, Pa., April 1—Fear and disbelief grip central Pennsylvania as the possibility of a devastating core meltdown at a nuclear plant several miles from here has yet to be ruled out.

And anger. No one told people here that anything like this could happen. And now that it has, no one is telling them what is going on.

All they really know is that at any time they may be evacuated from their homes on two hours' notice. Thousands have already fled, in addition to several hundred pregnant women and children staying in nearby evacuation centers.

The federal government has refused to take any steps to prevent a recurrence of the Three Mile Island accident. There are now seventy-two nuclear power plants licensed to operate in this country, many of them of a type similar to Three Mile Island. Six are identical to it.

Both President Carter and Nuclear Regulatory Commission Director of Operations Harold Denton have refused to order the immediate shutdown of a single reactor.

## 'Postpone the question'

Denton, responding to a reporter's question at a news conference, said he wanted to "postpone the question of the other six [identical] operating reactors until I have a better feel for what happened here."

How long it will take Denton to acquire "a better feel" remains unknown. Meanwhile, another Three Mile Island could happen any time.

Seeking to shore up Washington's rapidly waning credibility, President Carter visited the facility April 1 and then held a short, no-time-for-questions

news conference at Middletown's Borough Hall.

It is "quite safe for all concerned," he told townspeople, who have suffered through a mire of confusing reports and outright lies from plant and government officials.

Unabashedly taking the side of the nuclear industry, Carter proclaimed it "too early yet to be making judgments about the lessons of this nuclear incident."

"Well, the people of this town are passing judgment," Middletown resident Darlene Snyder told the *Militant* shortly after Carter's appearance here.

"And so are the ones over in Royalton, especially the ones in the five-mile [radius of the plant]—let alone my mother down in York County and people all over the world."

## 'He didn't say anything'

As for Carter's assurances of safety, Snyder declared, "That's about all he did say. He didn't say anything about what's happening up there. He could have stayed and answered some questions, but he rushed right out."

Snyder, wearing a T-shirt saying, "Middletown Is Where It's At," is "scared the thing's going to blow up" but reluctant to pick up and leave because of the disruption for her family and her husband's job.

"I think they ought to shut them all down," Snyder firmly said. And if they try to open up Three Mile Island again, she says, they're going to have trouble from Middletown residents.

That is the prevailing view here, where few people paid much attention to the four gigantic towers that loom over the surrounding community—until the March 28 bulletin informed residents of a general emergency at the plant.

"We'd drive by and not even notice



140,000 people live within ten miles of runaway nuclear plant

the plant," a resident told the *Militant*. "This really woke up everybody."

"Seems like they didn't take anybody into consideration," Christine Cox said. Cox lives in Steelton, a town adjacent to a giant Bethlehem Steel mill within ten miles of Three Mile Island.

"Get rid of it," said Middletown High

School student Ann Chapman. "I don't want them to open any of them. And I don't think they're telling us all that's going on."

Plain speaking and truth disappeared long before Three Mile Island began leaking radioactivity.

## Carter censors nuke data

By Dick Roberts

On March 26 a federal district judge in Milwaukee granted a government motion for an injunction prohibiting the *Progressive* magazine from publishing an article on the hydrogen bomb.

This sweeping denial of freedom of the press—unprecedented under the U.S. Constitution—is intimately linked to the disaster at Three Mile Island. For it is the government's policy to envelop in secrecy all that has to do with the production of nuclear power and weaponry.

This is passed off as keeping secrets from foreign powers. But that is clearly absurd. Foreign governments that themselves manufacture sophisticated nuclear weapons do

not need second-hand information gathered by a reporter.

Governments that do not manufacture nuclear weapons have ruled this out for political and financial reasons. They also are not going to learn anything from a magazine article that the government itself admits has no secret or classified information in it.

The real target of this kind of secrecy is the American public. In the government's view, working people are not to be trusted with the facts about nuclear production. We might learn too much about the hazards involved.

In defending itself, *Progressive* magazine emphasizes this aspect of the case. According to the March 24

*New York Times*, the magazine "argues that the information in the article is needed by the American public to permit intelligent discussion of policy issues pertaining to the possible dangers to the environment of nuclear production and underground testing, health hazards to workers in nuclear plants and issues in the strategic arms talks."

The democratic rights of working people—to free speech, a free press, access to the truth, and the freedom to organize and act in our own interests—are more and more intolerable to the capitalist government.

But as Three Mile Island shows, these are exactly the rights we must have to prevent a future nuclear catastrophe.

## The cover-up

The cover-up began three months ago, after a Nuclear Regulatory Commission inspector filed a report on the Three Mile Island plant's cooling system—the failure of which would lead to the present disaster.

The NRC inspector recommended that problems with the cooling system be brought to the attention of the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board. He was overruled by his superiors.

So, early on the morning of March 28, a steam pump apparently failed, triggering the failure of another pump that circulates cooling water to the reactor's core.

At 6:50 a.m. Metropolitan Edison declared a "general emergency." The state police relayed the declaration, adding that no radiation had been released.

At 9 a.m., Met Ed also said there had been no radiation leak.

An hour later, "no leak" became "a small leak."

## Help spread the truth...

The big-business news media have joined with the Carter administration and the nuclear industry to conceal the facts about the Three Mile Island crisis. It's part of their ongoing cover-up of the deadly hazards posed by the entire nuclear industry.

The *Militant*—which doesn't have the backing of big business or millions in advertising revenues—is making every effort to get out the truth. Our team of eyewitness reporters in the Harrisburg area is exposing the government-industry lies and telling what workers there are thinking and doing about the disaster.

This special effort places a big financial burden on a working-class weekly. We need your donations. And we need your help in getting out the *Militant* to working people from coast to coast. Won't you give us a hand?

The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

☐ Enclosed is a donation of \$ \_\_\_\_\_

☐ I'd like to subscribe (one year, \$15; six months, \$8.50; ten weeks, \$2). Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, State & Zip \_\_\_\_\_

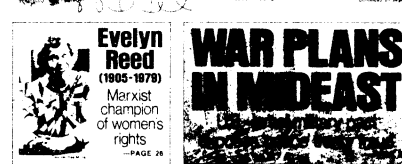
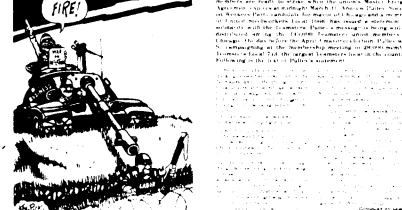
Save the life of Hector Marroquin!

APRIL 6, 1979 50 CENTS VOLUME 15 NUMBER 12

**THE MILITANT**

**Runaway inflation: how we can fight back**

Socialist urges: Support the Teamsters!



## Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

A weekly magazine of international political and news analysis. Three months, \$6. Send 75 cents for sample copy.

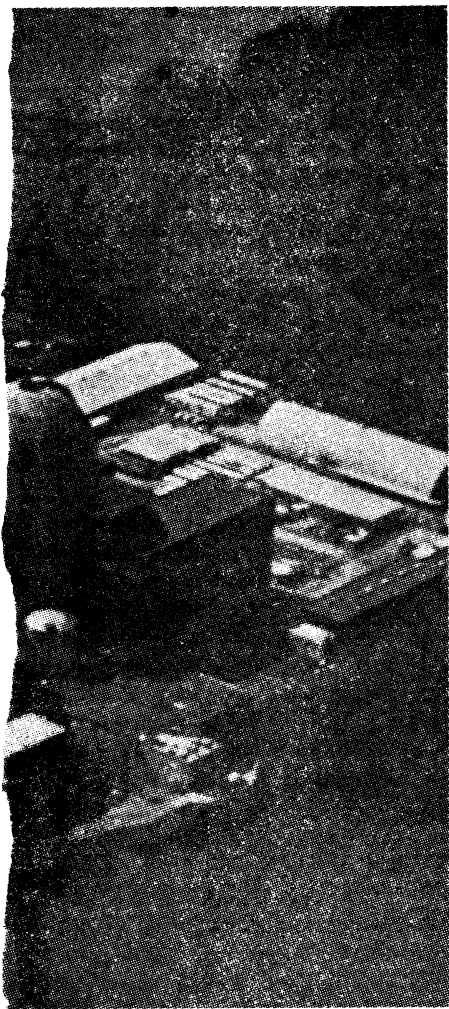
P.O. Box 116 Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014

## Perspectiva Mundial

A Spanish-language socialist biweekly, carrying news of the antinuclear movement and other struggles. Three months, \$2. Send 50 cents for sample copy.

P.O. Box 314 Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

# and: on-the-scene report



Forty-five minutes later, Lt. Gov. William Scranton, Jr., joined the cover-up. "There is and was no danger to public health and safety . . . there was a small release of radiation to the environment. All safety equipment functioned properly," Scranton asserted.

Fifteen minutes after that, the Three Mile Island plant began automatically venting radioactive steam to the out-

side. The venting continued for ninety minutes.

Thursday night the Nuclear Regulatory Commission chimed in. "The danger is over for people off site," the NRC declared.

But the next morning, an NRC spokesperson admitted there remained a "potential" for a disastrous core meltdown.

Meanwhile, Thursday night, Met Ed dumped 400,000 gallons of radioactive water into the Susquehanna River without telling the public. Just hours earlier, the NRC vigorously denied the dumping would take place.

## 'Why should we tell you?'

When asked by reporters Friday why there had been no public announcement, Met Ed Vice-president John Herbein arrogantly declared, "I don't know why we need to tell you everything we do."

That has served as the motto for both government and Met Ed officials during the entire crisis.

On Friday the cover-up fell apart. Met Ed officials vented radioactive steam several times, driving radiation readings above the plant up to 1,200 millirems an hour.

Gov. Richard Thornburgh "advised" everyone within a ten-mile radius to stay indoors and keep the windows shut. He also "advised" pregnant women and young children to leave the area.

Also on Friday, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission announced that there was, indeed, a risk of a fuel meltdown.

The effort to keep "the Harrisburg Syndrome" under wraps had failed. But the government still won't talk about the long-term health hazards from the radioactive emissions.

How much radiation have area residents been exposed to? What effect will it have on them? It's impossible to get a straight answer.

Nobel Prize-winning biologist George Wald, speaking at a Harrisburg news conference Thursday organized by the Mobilization for Survival, explained that "every dose of radiation is an overdose. A little does a little harm, and more does more harm."

Federal standards require that average yearly exposure for the entire population be limited to 170 millirems. With Three Mile Island emissions being measured in adjoining Goldsboro at 20 millirems an hour, the potential for dangerous exposure is high.

Keith Kirk, a West Virginia physicist who came here at the request of antinuclear power activists, took his own readings on Friday morning and found some as high as 7,000 times the normal levels.

But Saturday morning, top NRC official Harold Denton reassured that the odds against anyone getting cancer were "five to one."

Unless, of course, there's a meltdown. Then, Denton said, "a certain number" of cancers could be expected.

## Antinuke activists

That the cover-up failed is due in large part to the efforts of the antinuclear activists in the Harrisburg area and their success in bringing the nuclear power issue before the public.

"This is the last nuclear accident the American people will tolerate," Chauncey Kepford of the Environmental Coalition on Nuclear Power told a news conference March 30.

Kepford's group has petitioned the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to close all pressurized water reactors—about half of all U.S. nuclear reactors. The group charges that the Three Mile Island accident showed that these reactors all violate federal safety standards.

At another news conference on March 29 sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival, radiation expert Dr.

Ernest Sternglass lashed out at the government's and Met Ed's efforts to minimize health hazards of radioactive emissions.

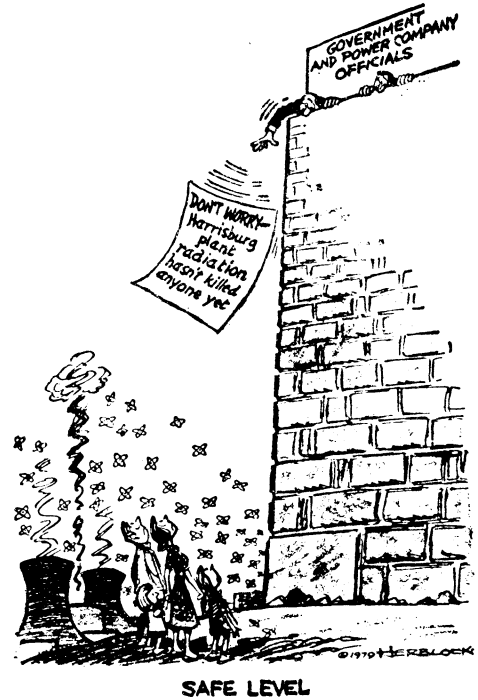
"The community should stand up and scream," Sternglass said. "This is a long-term, creeping thing. People don't just fall down like flies."

A group called Three-Mile-Alert is tentatively planning a demonstration for Sunday, April 8, at 2 p.m. on the steps of the state capitol in Harrisburg. For more information call (717) 233-3072.

Last year, Three Mile Island was cited seventeen times for safety violations. None were deemed "serious" by federal officials.

So now at least 140,000 people—the number living within a ten-mile radius—face a nuclear disaster.

As disabled steelworker Edward Keitch commented, "We'd better straighten this out before we get killed."



## Nuclear refugees—angry and scared

HERSHEY, Pa., Apr. 1—The Hershey Arena is usually the home of a professional hockey team. But since last Friday, it's the home for hundreds of refugees from nuclear radiation.

Last Friday, Pennsylvania Gov. Richard Thornburgh "suggested" that pregnant women and young children living within five miles of Three Mile Island leave the area.

Young and old people are especially sensitive to radiation. So are fetuses.

The two communities nearest the plant are Middletown and Goldsboro, both small, populated mostly by poor and working people. Both are within five miles of Three Mile Island.

The state set up emergency facilities for the evacuees at the Hershey Arena.

It's a makeshift arrangement down on the hockey rink, leaving no privacy for the refugees. Families sleep side by side on cots. "Home" is a small area separated from other "homes" by cartons.

The Red Cross serves meals. Showers and the toilets are in the locker rooms normally used by the hockey teams.

Today there were about 100 people using the emergency facilities. Red Cross volunteers said there is a constant turnover as refugees seek better accommodations.

The people who remain are the ones who can't afford to go anywhere else.

The people I talked to were angry and frightened. No one had ever

suggested to them that Three Mile Island might put their lives, their children's lives, and their homes in danger.

Many of the refugees fled homes in Harrisburg, more than ten miles from the reactor.

"I've got two children, and I'm not taking any chances," a seven-months-pregnant Black woman from there told me.

"I'm thinking of them." She added that she was nervous about the idea of ever going back to where she had lived.

Truck driver Roberto González lived thirteen miles from the runaway reactor. But he and his wife and three children are going to stay in Hershey, he said.

González believes the situation at Three Mile Island is worse than Metropolitan Edison and the government have admitted.

González is not the only man in the place. Many fathers and husbands came to Hershey with their families.

One of them was a man with three children, who had worked on construction at the Three Mile Island plant.

"They tell you it's safe, but this makes you wonder," he said. His family left their Middletown home Friday at Thornburgh's suggestion.

"We're scared," his teen-age daughter said. "Even before they told us to leave. Then we got more scared."

Families will continue to sleep under wool emergency blankets, on emergency cots, till someone decides it's OK for them to go home.

They will always worry now about the children, and never know if it can all happen again.

—A.W.

## Middletown youngsters learn fast

MIDDLETOWN, Pa., April 1—When residents of this town of 10,000 picked up their Sunday papers at Judy News this morning, they were handed a notice from Mayor Robert Reid.

"In the event of an evacuation, these are the pick-up points for people who do not have transportation to leave the borough!!!" Eight sites around town were listed.

Behind the news counter, a woman was explaining over the phone to a customer why his paper hadn't been delivered. "All the kids left town," she said. "You'll have to come in and get your paper."

Three miles from the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, Middletown has become the focus of international attention during the past week.

One-third to one-half of the townspeople have already left. Most churches didn't open their doors this morning. A 9 p.m. to 7 a.m. curfew has been in effect since Friday night.

Those left on the streets are ceaselessly approached by reporters—who outnumbered visible residents today by about five to one.

Plans for President Carter's news

conference brought more people out into the streets this afternoon.

"Is the community invited?" asked a resident in the drug store. "I didn't get my engraved invitation."

They weren't.

Across the street from borough hall, residents gathered on the roped-off sidewalk. The crowd grew to several hundred by the time Carter arrived.

"We're just here to see the president, and after that we're getting the hell out of town," a woman told her child.

One child who hasn't left town is nine-year-old Brent Burger. "We're all ready," he told the *Militant*. "Our car is packed, shoes and everything."

Disasters have a stark way of raising consciousness. And that includes children in this situation.

"You've got to be crazy to work in that place," commented Brent, who reels off terms like "meltdown," "contamination," and "gas bubbles" like his multiplication tables.

He watches TV a lot lately to learn the latest news.

"Yesterday I was watching 'B.J. and the Bears' when a news bulletin about [Gov. Richard] Thornburgh's latest evacuation orders came on," he said. Brent's mother works in a clothing factory nearby, his father in a garage.

"Me and my whole family think the plant should be shut down for good," he declared.

And what about the other seventy-one in other parts of the country?

"They should all be shut down, all of them!"

—N.C.

## From mining to deadly wastes

# Can nuclear power ever be safe?

By Fred Murphy

The accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant has millions of people across the country asking, "Can the nuclear industry ever be made safe?"

Our answer is, "No." To see why, let's start with how nuclear plants work.

Atomic power is based on a unique natural process called *fission*—the splitting of atoms. When a sufficient quantity of a radioactive fuel—usually uranium or plutonium—is brought together under the proper conditions, this fission becomes self-sustaining and generates large amounts of heat.

### How reactors work

Water is pumped through the hot, fissioning fuel of a reactor to generate steam. The steam drives a turbine to produce electricity.

The fission process is halted by inserting special rods into the fuel core. As the rods are pulled out, the reactor heats up and power production can begin.

Once a reactor has been in use for a certain period of time, however, inserting the control rods does not lead to a complete cooling down of the core, because of the radioactive waste products that accumulate there. Reactions in the wastes keep them so hot that they must continue to be cooled for months after being removed from the reactor.

So whether the reactor is in operation or not, if the flow of cooling water through the core is blocked—perhaps because of a broken pipe or a pump failure—the fuel and wastes can overheat and melt.

Nuclear plants are equipped with several kinds of emergency core cooling systems to guard against such an event. But as the Three Mile Island accident shows, their reliability is highly questionable.

## Pa. accident not the first

Three Mile Island is not the first major accident or near-miss at a nuclear plant:

- December 1952: Partial fuel meltdown and release of more than 1 million gallons of radioactive water inside the NRX experimental test reactor at Chalk River, Ontario.

- October 1957: Uranium fire in the British government's weapons-production reactor at Windscale, England. Farmlands were contaminated over a 200-square-mile area; more than a half-million gallons of milk poisoned with radioactive iodine had to be dumped.

- January 1961: U.S. government test reactor at Idaho Falls, Idaho, went out of control. Three workers were killed, one of whom was impaled on the reactor ceiling by a control rod.

- October 1966: Partial meltdown at the Fermi breeder reactor near Detroit. Nuclear explosion was narrowly averted.

- March 1975: Fire at Browns Ferry plant in Alabama destroyed control cables for many safety devices, including emergency core cooling system. By rigging up a makeshift cooling apparatus, operators managed to avert a meltdown.

These are some, but not all, of the most dramatic nuclear mishaps. In a recent two-year period, there were some 2,000 "reportable" accidents at nuclear plants in the United States alone.

If the melting is not stopped, the hundred tons or so of intensely hot fuel and waste can cause a steam explosion, bursting the concrete-and-steel containment building around the reactor.

### Meltdown

If this is somehow avoided, the fuel can still burn straight through the bottom of the building. In either event, huge quantities of radioactive debris are spewed into the environment, contaminating a wide area as wind and water carry the deadly materials away.

A long-suppressed 1964-65 report by the Atomic Energy Commission found that the consequences of such a "meltdown" accident could amount to 45,000 deaths, 100,000 injuries, long-term contamination of an area the size of Pennsylvania (!), and up to \$280 billion in damage.

The Three Mile Island accident proves beyond doubt that such catastrophes can and will happen. Indeed, Carter energy adviser Jack O'Leary told a 1977 conference in Washington that "between now and the year 2000 there would be a serious core meltdown of a nuclear reactor."

Yet the Carter administration has continued to press for stepped-up use of nuclear power.

### Fuel cycle

Nuclear dangers are by no means limited to catastrophic accidents at operating plants. Other parts of the "nuclear fuel cycle" also present grave threats to human life.

The cycle begins with the mining and processing of uranium.

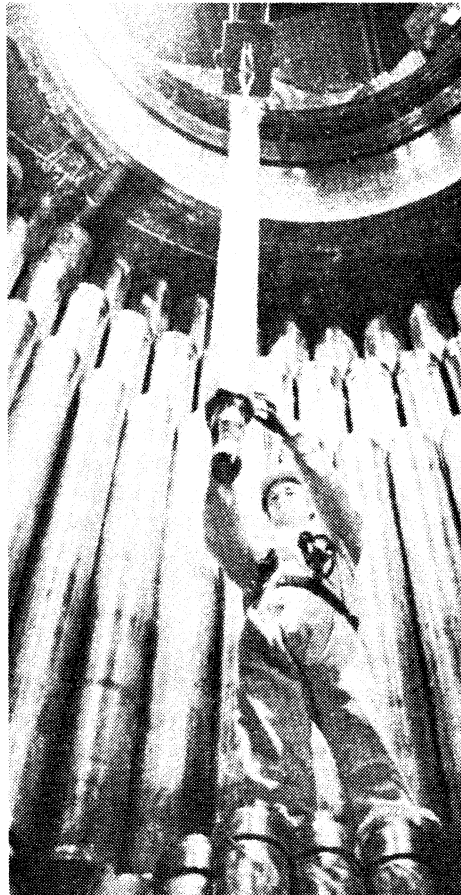
Mining releases radioactive radon gas into the environment, with deadly effects. An estimated 16 percent of U.S. uranium miners who worked underground between 1946 and 1968 will develop lung cancer as a result of the radon they inhaled in the mines.

Radioactive residues, called tailings, are a waste product of uranium milling. Some 26 million tons of these tailings are piled up at twenty-two sites throughout the western United States. Gamma rays from the main radioactive component of these wastes, radium, can cause cancer.

In a number of areas, the sand-like tailings have been used as building materials. In Grand Junction, Colorado, for example, an estimated 300,000 tons of uranium tailings were used in the construction of more than 700 homes, businesses, churches, and schools.

Colorado Health Department statistics show that residents of Grand Junction have an acute leukemia rate that is twice the average for the state as a whole.

As milled uranium is further processed into fuel, highly radioactive matter may be accidentally released. Even the most complex procedures have proven insufficient to isolate



Inside the reactor. Once in operation, this core must be continually cooled or a meltdown will occur.

these poisons completely from the environment.

The normal operation of nuclear reactors in power plants results in releases of low-level radiation. There is growing evidence that the effects of this have been gravely understated by the government.

A recent study by Dr. Thomas Mancuso of the University of Pittsburgh showed that the incidence of cancer and leukemia among workers at the government's Hanford, Washington, nuclear weapons complex was considerably higher than the national average. These workers had been exposed to small doses of radioactivity for extended periods of time.

### Wastes—eternal nightmare

The most mammoth nuclear problem of all involves the intensely radioactive wastes that come from spent nuclear fuel and from the government's bomb-building industry.

Millions of gallons and tens of thousands of cubic feet of these deadly substances have been produced since the beginning of the Atomic Age. More and more scientists are coming to agree that there is no way to store them safely and permanently.

The most fiendish waste product of all, plutonium, remains radioactive for half a million years and must be kept isolated from all living things during that entire time.

The government and the nuclear industry once had high hopes that the plutonium could be removed from reac-

tor wastes and reprocessed into fresh fuel elements. But the few reprocessing plants that were built failed miserably, and it is unlikely that more will be tried in the near future.

Because there are no reprocessing plants, each nuclear reactor must store its own spent fuel on site. The deep pools in which the wastes are kept are fast filling up.

But even if the fuel could be reprocessed, the waste problem would remain unsolved.

What cannot be reused must be buried. None of the various proposals for this have in any way been proven effective for the extremely long-term isolation required.

So even if the whole nuclear industry were shut down today, the huge quantities of wastes already produced will pose an enormous problem for generations to come.

### Government bail-out

The only "solution" the Carter administration has come up with is a plan for the federal government to buy used fuel rods from the power companies and take responsibility for disposing of them. This lets the industry off the hook and forces working people to foot the bill with our tax dollars.

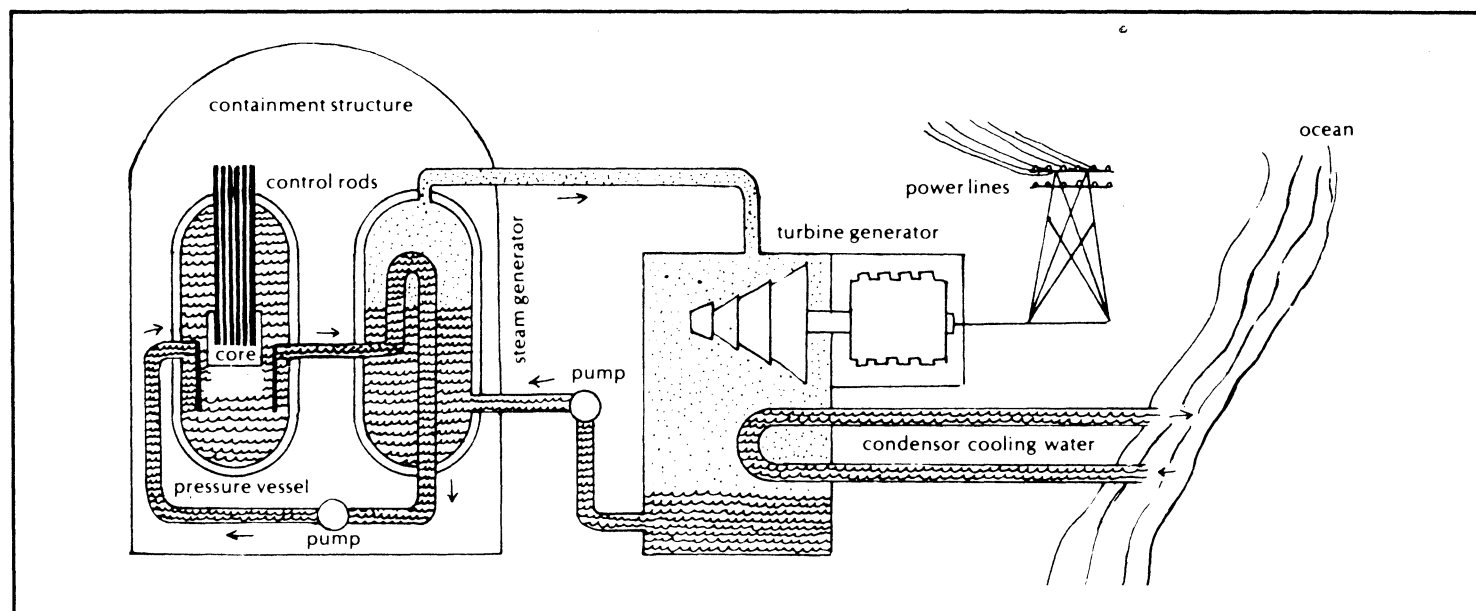
Nor has the government proven any more capable of handling wastes than private industry. In fact, the worst accident involving high-level wastes occurred at the military's nuclear complex in Hanford. In 1973 a tank leaked more than 100,000 gallons of its fiercely radioactive contents into the soil only a few miles from the Columbia River. That was in addition to some 300,000 gallons that have escaped in other accidents at Hanford. The Columbia River has been labeled "the world's most radioactive river."

### Shut them all down!

All the dangers described here—from mining, milling, reactors, and wastes—accompany not only the nuclear power industry but also the Pentagon's far-flung apparatus for producing atomic bombs and missile warheads. And in that lies the danger not only of some catastrophic accident but also of the deliberate, calculated use of nuclear weapons by this country's rulers. That could bring about the total destruction of life on this planet.

Perhaps someday human beings will achieve such giant scientific advances as to make possible the safe use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. But it is more likely that a rational, socialist society will concentrate instead on harnessing safer, simpler, and cleaner energy sources.

For the present, our survival requires that all nuclear plants be shut down, that the production of nuclear weapons be halted and the present stockpiles destroyed, and that the entire government/big-business nuclear complex be dismantled.



Pressurized water reactor, similar to the one at Three Mile Island

Susanna Natti

# ENERGY PROFIT DRIVE

## Why Washington pushes nuclear power

By Dick Roberts

As word of new radioactive leakage at the Three Mile Island plant came over the wires March 30, Energy Secretary James Schlesinger was presenting the Carter administration's viewpoint on nuclear power to a congressional committee in Washington.

Nuclear power "continues to be an essential element" in the nation's drive for energy independence, Schlesinger said. He declared that the "historic record" of nuclear power was "excellent." He said the risks in light-water reactors like that on Three Mile Island were "relatively trivial" when compared to coal or oil generating plants.

Just before the Three Mile Island disaster began, the Carter administration was evidently planning to launch a major offensive in favor of nuclear power production. The cover was to be the new "energy crisis" scare Washington has tried to whip up around the Iranian revolution. Major articles in the business press outlined the need for such a campaign.

"One by one, the lights are going out for the U.S. nuclear power industry," *Business Week* magazine complained in a special report December 25. "Reactor orders have plummeted from a high of 41 in 1973 to zero this year."

*Fortune* magazine began a series of articles with the headline: "It's time to end the holy war over nuclear power." "Today," said *Fortune*, "the U.S. gets 12½ percent of its electric power from seventy-two nuclear generating plants. This is already enough to make a vital difference when foreign oil supplies are pinched or when coal miners stage a lengthy strike."

### Carter plan

From the beginning, the Carter administration has been trying to steamroller the growing opposition to nuclear energy. The appointment of James Schlesinger showed where the White House stood. Schlesinger was previously head of the Atomic Energy Commission, then secretary of war, and always an outspoken advocate of nuclear power.

In his first major energy address in April 1977 Carter made it clear that nuclear power production had a green light: "We must . . . increase our capacity to produce enriched uranium fuel for light-water nuclear power plants," he said.

"We must also reform the nuclear licensing procedures," Carter maintained. He complained, "It should not take ten years to license a plant." "Reform" meant making it much more difficult to press questions about safety and environmental hazards during the licensing process.

Washington's concern for nuclear power stems from both military and economic necessities of American capitalism. The momentum for nuclear power initially came from the production of atomic weapons. The "Atoms for Peace" program was launched by the newly founded Atomic Energy Commission in the early 1950s to promote nuclear development.

Its very name betrayed one of the purposes: production of nuclear power for energy could help distract attention from the relentless production of nuclear weapons for the Pentagon's deadly arsenal.

Nuclear reactors had to be built to supply plutonium for atom bombs. If they could also be sold to the public as a miraculous new energy source, so much the better. Under this guise the AEC poured massive subsidies into such corporations as General Electric and Westinghouse for nuclear research.

### Secrecy

From the beginning this process has been shrouded in secrecy. The government, the corporations making nuclear reactors, and the utilities conspired to conceal the dangers of nuclear production.

When Schlesinger headed the AEC, for example, in 1971-73, it conducted a survey of safety problems in nuclear reactors. "The large number of reactor incidents, coupled with the fact that many of them had real safety significance . . . raises a serious question regarding the current review and inspection practices both on the part of the nuclear industry and the AEC." The AEC kept this report secret. It came to light through the efforts of the Union of Concerned Scientists in 1974.

Meanwhile nuclear energy became a growing factor in the production of electricity. Why? Because of a shortage of other energy sources? Or because of the immense profits U.S. capitalism stands to gain



JAMES SCHLESINGER

from nuclear energy production?

At the center of this process are two of the main bastions of American industrial capitalism: Westinghouse and General Electric, the corporations involved with the AEC's development of nuclear technology from the beginning.

From the 1890s GE and Westinghouse were key sectors of the financial empire of J.P. Morgan and Company. This powerful banking group, now centered around the Morgan Guaranty Trust, also controls AT&T, U.S. Steel, and a number of railroads. As well, it controls a host of electric generating companies.

Westinghouse and GE themselves sell three-fourths of the reactors produced in this country. They sell nuclear reactors abroad. And they control a considerable amount of the uranium necessary for nuclear production.

The other two companies that manufacture nuclear reactors are the Babcock and Wilcox division of the J. Ray McDermott, and Combustion Engineering.

### Profits

These monopolies stand to gain immense profits from the continued construction of nuclear power stations. This flows from the huge amount of capital involved in the production of nuclear plants. Today a 1,000-megawatt unit costs close to \$1.5 billion.

According to *Business Week*, the "most hopeful" industry and government projections for nuclear growth in the next decade call for 180 new plant orders. That is some \$270 billion worth of plants!

It is this enormous potential investment and potential profit that keeps the pressure on for the development of nuclear power—not the supposed running out of fossil fuels in the United States.

In fact the continental United States is abundantly rich in energy sources, above all in coal and natural gas.

The energy shortage myth has been drummed up to aid Washington in removing price controls on domestic oil and natural gas. The oil companies have deliberately cut back U.S. oil production, hoarding the oil for a time when they can sell it at deregulated world market prices.

Despite their flag-waving calls for U.S. "energy independence," the U.S. oil giants reap vast profits from the import of oil from OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) producers. These U.S. corporations—along with a handful of European oil trusts—control the distribution and sale of OPEC oil.

Through their manipulation of world oil supplies during the Iranian oil strikes in the last quarter of 1978—in which they promoted an oil "shortage" scare, although the evidence is that no shortage ever existed—the five top U.S. oil companies reaped the following profit increases: Exxon, up 48 percent; Gulf, up 45 percent; Mobil, up 10 percent; Standard Oil of California, up 33 percent; and Texaco, up 72 percent.

The oil companies have another reason to foster massive oil imports at this time: they want to pump this oil out of the Middle East before more revolutionary upheavals like in Iran threaten to take it out of their control.

As to reserves in the United States, in 1974 the Ford Foundation's "Energy Policy Project" calculated that there are 200-400 billion barrels of undiscovered recoverable onshore and offshore oil here in addition to what is already known. The upper figure exceeds the entire known reserves of the Middle East.

For natural gas, the Ford Foundation's figures were much higher: 1,000 to 2,000 trillion cubic feet. Present U.S. natural gas production is less than 1 percent of the upper figure.

### Coal

In addition, there are immense reserves of coal. In fact the oil companies themselves have bought up some of the largest coal companies, as well as much uranium, in order to extend their control of energy resources. Today oil companies mine 17 percent of the coal and 25 percent of the uranium in the United States.

The railroad companies also own large amounts of coal.

Continental Oil owns Consolidation Coal, the second-largest coal producer. In 1976, a year of major coal output, Consol produced 50.6 million tons of coal. Yet Consol's reserves in the same year were listed as 14.3 billion tons of coal.

There are enormous reserves of coal. But the American ruling class refuses to invest in the pollution-control equipment needed to convert coal safely into energy, and in the upgrading of the railroads necessary to transport coal.

There is plentiful natural gas and a considerable amount of oil. But these are kept in reserve to a greater or lesser extent as the companies strive to raise gas and oil prices to the limits.

Finally, nuclear energy—the most dangerous industrial enterprise today—is promoted because of the vast profits that lurk in this industry.

Contrived shortages, soaring fuel bills, hazards to workers in the industry and the public at large, and now the ultimate threat of nuclear disaster—this is what capitalist control of the energy industry has brought us.

It is time that energy production was reorganized from top to bottom—under the control of working people, not the private profit drive.

## Lessons for the fight against nukes

### Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement against the Vietnam War

By Fred Halstead. The dramatic story of the antiwar movement, told by one of its central leaders and organizers. Monad. 759 pp., cloth \$30, paper, \$8.95.

### And for reading on the hazards of nuclear power . . .

**Nuclear Power** by Walter Patterson. Penguin Book, 302 pp., \$3.50

**The Poverty of Power** by Barry Commoner. Bantam Books, 297 pp., \$2.75.

**The Silent Bomb**, ed. Peter Faulkner. Vintage, 382 pp., \$3.95.

**We Almost Lost Detroit** by John G. Fuller. Ballantine, 288 pp., \$1.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.50 for postage, \$.75 if order for more than one book.



New York, March 30

Militant/Anne Teesdale

By Osborne Hart

"We all live in Pennsylvania!" chanted 50,000 antinuclear demonstrators at a rally in Hanover, West Germany March 30.

The protest was organized against plans for a nuclear waste dump, but the nuclear accident at the Three Mile Island plant in the U.S. became the automatic focus for the action.

In the United States, antinuclear activists and organizations mounted a rapid response to the events in Pennsylvania. Quickly organized demonstrations and emergency meetings were held in cities across the country.

Antinuclear activists mobilized to express their outrage and to organize immediate actions against nuclear power. Profit-gouging utility companies owning nuclear plants have become targets for protest actions. Activists are also leafleting and holding impromptu rallies at showings of the antinuclear film *The China Syndrome*.

As we go to press, antinuclear activists have organized news conferences, demonstrations, and meetings in more than twenty-five cities in opposition to the continued use of nuclear energy.

• **Connecticut**—On April 7 a major demonstration is planned in Groton, the launching site of the Trident nuclear submarine (the largest nuclear sub in the world).

• **Boston**—The Clamshell Alliance and others mobilized a demonstration of 3,000 on the Boston Commons and marched to the governor's house April 1. The Student Coalition Against Nukes plans an April 4 demonstration.

• **Philadelphia**—A daily vigil at the Philadelphia Electric Company (PEC) will continue until the crisis at the Three Mile Island plant is over. Two hundred demonstrated at the PEC offices on March 30 demanding that PEC shut down its nuclear plants. The Keystone Antinuclear Alliance will picket the PEC board of directors April 4. On April 8, demonstrators will

march on the federal building. On April 22, protesters will rally at the PEC Limerick nuclear power plant in Limerick, Pennsylvania.

• **Chicago/Gary**—One hundred people, including members of United Steelworkers of America locals 1010, 1066, and 6787 participated in a picket on March 31 demanding a halt to construction of the Bailly nuclear power plant. Another action is planned for April 7 at the Bailly site, which is located near the Bethlehem Steel plant.

• **Minneapolis**—150 picketed Northern States Power, calling for the closure of two nuclear power plants.

• **Raleigh, North Carolina**—An emergency meeting of the Kudzu Alliance was held April 1 to plan a picket and other actions against nuclear power.

• **St. Louis**—A demonstration was held at the Callaway nuclear power plant on April 1. A debate on nuclear power April 5 will pit Union Electric (owners of the Callaway plant) against antinuclear activists at Washington University. April 24 St. Louisans for a Safe Environment will protest at Union Electric's stockholders' meeting.

• **Phoenix**—Mobilization for Survival is organizing for an April 7 demonstration at the state capitol demanding that Arizona Public Service stop construction of the power plant outside Phoenix.

• **Detroit**—The Arbor Alliance will picket Detroit Edison April 5.

• **Louisville**—Two hundred demanded a halt to the construction of the Marble Hill nuclear plant March 31. An emergency meeting was held to plan further actions.

• **San Francisco Bay Area**—More than 300 demonstrated March 30 and 31 at Pacific Gas & Electric Company. Activists are demanding shut-down of the Rancho Seco plant.

• **Kansas City, Missouri**—The Kansas City People's Energy Project

# Thousands protest 'We all live in Pennsylvania'

picketed the federal building, calling for the closing of the Wolf Creek plant.

Protests are also scheduled this week for: Denver, Toledo, Cleveland, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Albany, Amherst, San Diego, Milwaukee, Albuquerque, New Orleans, and Washington, D.C.

By Bennett Satinoff

NEW YORK—The news March 30 of increased danger at Three Mile Island brought out a quickly built protest of 1,500 people in Washington Square Park.

The protesters held a rally in the park and then marched to the showing of *China Syndrome* in Times Square. Chants of "No more nukes! Shut them down!" and "No more Hiroshimas! No more Harrisburgs!" attracted many onlookers to join the march.

From Times Square, 200 people marched to the TRIGA nuclear reactor at Columbia University. There hundreds of people leaving a campus concert and others from nearby dormitories joined a picket line.

The president of Columbia University, Dr. William J. McGill, was forced to announce that he would "go to the faculty of engineering with a very strong request to not go forward with the reactor—to terminate this development."

TRIGA may be the first nuclear reactor that is a casualty of the Three Mile Island disaster. Students vowed to continue fighting TRIGA until it is dismantled.

The rally and march coincided with a highly successful weekend conference here of the New York SHAD Alliance.

There were over 400 people at the Saturday educational and organizing workshops of the conference. They called a demonstration against Con Edison's nuclear power plant at Indian Point.

The demonstration will take place Friday, April 6, at the headquarters of Con Edison at 14th Street and Irving Place. It will be cosponsored by the New York Mobilization for Survival.

The numbers to call for further information are: NYC SHAD Alliance (212) 533-0796; NYC Mobilization for Survival (212) 673-1808.

## Antinuke forums

### DETROIT

**NO NUKES: AN ACTION PERSPECTIVE.** Speakers: Stan Hills, Arbor Alliance and Young Socialist Alliance; Marvin Fried, Safe Energy Coalition of Detroit. Fri., Apr. 8, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### LOS ANGELES: EAST SIDE

**NUCLEAR POWER: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO STOP IT.** Speakers: Dr. Irving Lyon; Lou Martin, South Coast Alliance for Survival; Jim Odling, Alliance for Survival, Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., Apr. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave. Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

### NEW YORK

**SOCIALISM AND THE ANTI-NUCLEAR POWER MOVEMENT.** Speaker: Paul Mailhot, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. Wed., Apr. 18, 7 p.m. NYU Loeb Student Center Room 411, 566 LaGuardia Pl., Washington Sq. South. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

### OAKLAND-BERKELEY

**NO NUKES! A PANEL DISCUSSION.** Fri., Apr. 6, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156 or 261-1210.

### PHILADELPHIA

**NO TO NUCLEAR POWER: THE THREE MILE ISLAND DISASTER.** Speaker: Arnold Weissberg, staff writer for the *Militant*; others. Fri., Apr. 6, 8 p.m. Univ. of Pennsylvania, Houston Hall, 3417 Spruce Street. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

### PITTSBURGH

**THE CASE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER: LESSONS FROM HARRISBURG.** Speakers: Brian Bergen, Mobilization for Survival; Brett Merkey, USWA Local 12046 and former radiation control technician at the Shippingport nuclear plant; Mike Kocak, member of *Militant* reporting team in Harrisburg. Fri., Apr. 6, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

# Against Nuclear Power?

NOW AVAILABLE—A special 'Young Socialist' supplement featuring a report given to the Young Socialist Alliance National Convention on the

dangers of nuclear power and the movement to halt all nukes. Also a statement by the YSA on the Harrisburg disaster. The April 'YS' includes an article on the struggle to get the University of California to sever its ties with the Livermore Labs, where the neutron bomb is being developed.

**young socialist**

**No to nuclear power and weapons!**



- ☐ Send me a copy of the *Young Socialist* (30¢ each, 25¢ for bundles).
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1.00 for a six-issue subscription to the *Young Socialist* (special high school rate 50¢).
- ☐ Send me a copy of the special 'No Nukes' supplement (10¢ each, 3¢ for ten or more).

The vast majority of people are against the use of a technology that threatens the very existence of human life.

If you want to join the struggle for a nuclear-free world, a world where health and safety are not sacrificed to capitalist profit, you should join the Young Socialist Alliance. For more information, return this coupon to: **YSA National Office, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.**

**NO NUKES!**

ysa

- ☐ Send me the 'No Nukes' button (50¢, 25¢ for ten or more).
- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- Name \_\_\_\_\_
- Address \_\_\_\_\_
- City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

# World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

## Eyewitness account

# Crossroads, S. Africa: The struggle to survive

By Ernest Harsch

CAPE TOWN—Almost anywhere else in the world, Crossroads would be the sort of place one would want to move out of. But not in South Africa.

The 20,000 African residents of the impoverished shantytown ten miles east of here are fighting for the survival of their community; they are struggling to save their meager homes from demolition by the bulldozers of white supremacy. As crowded and flimsy as Crossroads is, its inhabitants are determined to stay there, because the alternatives—eviction to the barren rural reserves or the breaking up of their families—are simply unacceptable.

At a time when most open political activities against the regime have been suppressed, the fight being waged by the people of Crossroads has become a symbol of resistance for the entire Black population. A victory there would not only strike a blow at Pretoria's policy of forcible population removals, but could also inspire Blacks elsewhere to once more press forward with their own struggles for political, social, and economic rights.

The regime realizes this, and is determined that Crossroads be stamped out, despite recent conciliatory statements by some government officials.

### Defiance of apartheid

The very existence of Crossroads stands in defiance of the regime's racial and labor policies. Yet, ironically, it is a direct product of those same policies.

In the South African scheme of things, Blacks are supposed to be rightless, underpaid laborers for the white-owned industries and farms. Nothing more. From the time of the first white settlement here more than three hundred years ago, Blacks have been dispossessed of the vast bulk of their land. In their millions, they have been driven, by law and economic necessity, to seek work with white employers.

At the same time, Blacks are denied virtually all political rights. This enables the ruling class to keep Black wages extremely low and to hamper Blacks from using their substantial social and economic weight to advance their political position, to challenge the dominance of the white settler community.

A central aspect of this set-up is the migratory labor system, under which Africans in the Bantustans (rural reserves) are allowed to work in the "white" cities, like Cape Town, on a contract basis only—with no rights of permanent residency and without their families. Roughly half of all African workers in the country fall into this category.

Conditions in the poverty-stricken Bantustans being what they are, however, many Black migrant workers have chosen to defy the law by bringing their families with them, or have



Photos by Ernest Harsch/Intercontinental Press-Inprecor

refused to return to the Bantustans once their labor contracts expire. Since they cannot then get legal housing in the established Black townships, they have little choice but to erect whatever shelter they can, wherever there is an available patch of vacant land. The result: rambling shantytowns, or "squatters' camps" as they are usually called.

Some Blacks who might be legally eligible for township housing end up in squatters' camps as well, either because the rents are too high in the townships or because there is simply no housing available.

Although for many Blacks squatting is the only acceptable alternative open to them, it has been decreed a "crime" in South Africa, punishable under the Illegal Squatting Act of 1951.

The phenomenon of squatting is particularly acute here in the Western Cape. In this region, the government has a strict policy of keeping out virtually all Africans, except for migrant workers. As a consequence, no family housing for Africans has been built in Cape Town since 1968, and the migrant workers must live in barracks in the three recognized African townships around the city: Guguletu, Nyanga, and Langa.

In reality, of course, African families do come here—and end up in the shantytowns. A number of settlements have sprung up over the past few years, including Modderdam, Unibel, Werkgenot, Elsies River, Lourde's Farm, and Crossroads.

### Coloured camps

There are also many squatters' camps inhabited by those Blacks who are classified as Coloured (of mixed ancestry). In fact, the majority of the more than 200,000 squatters in this area are Coloured. Although they are

legally entitled to live here, the housing situation is so bad that they too have little choice but to crowd into shantytowns. Many had previously been kicked out of their homes in Cape Town to make way for white residential areas.

The conditions in one of the Coloured squatters' camps that I visited were little better than those in Crossroads.

Crossroads itself was first established in February 1975, many of its early residents having been evicted from smaller settlements in the area. Ironically, it was officials of the local Divisional Council who actually told them to go to Crossroads, a stretch of land near the intersection of two main roads not far from D.F. Malan Airport. At that time, the authorities viewed it as a temporary "transit camp," from which those workers who were authorized to be in Cape Town would eventually be rehoused in the townships—and everyone else shipped off to the Transkei and Ciskei reserves.

The entire area in which Crossroads is located, between Cape Town and False Bay to the southeast, is known as the Cape Flats. It is made up of sandy, low-lying terrain and offers little protection from the fierce winds that sweep across the Cape Peninsula. In winter, a heavy mist hangs over the flats, accounting for a high incidence of bronchial ailments among the large Black population of the area.

Crossroads now houses some 3,000 African families, or about 20,000 persons in all.

A majority of the adult men are employed in Cape Town, to which they must commute daily. Some men and women are self-employed within the settlement, as mechanics, dressmakers, small-scale traders, or operators of shebeens (illegal drinking establish-

ments). The average income for family heads in Crossroads is R35 (US\$40.25) a week.

About half of the men are in the Cape Town area legally. The vast majority of the women and children are not. They have come for two main reasons: to be with their husbands and fathers and to escape the harsh conditions in the Transkei and Ciskei.

### Women in Crossroads

There are many women in Crossroads from Cala, in the Transkei. According to one of them, they left because there it is dry, and we go hungry. The doctors are scarce, and there is nothing to keep us there. Also our husbands are in Cape Town. That is why we are making our homes here in Crossroads."

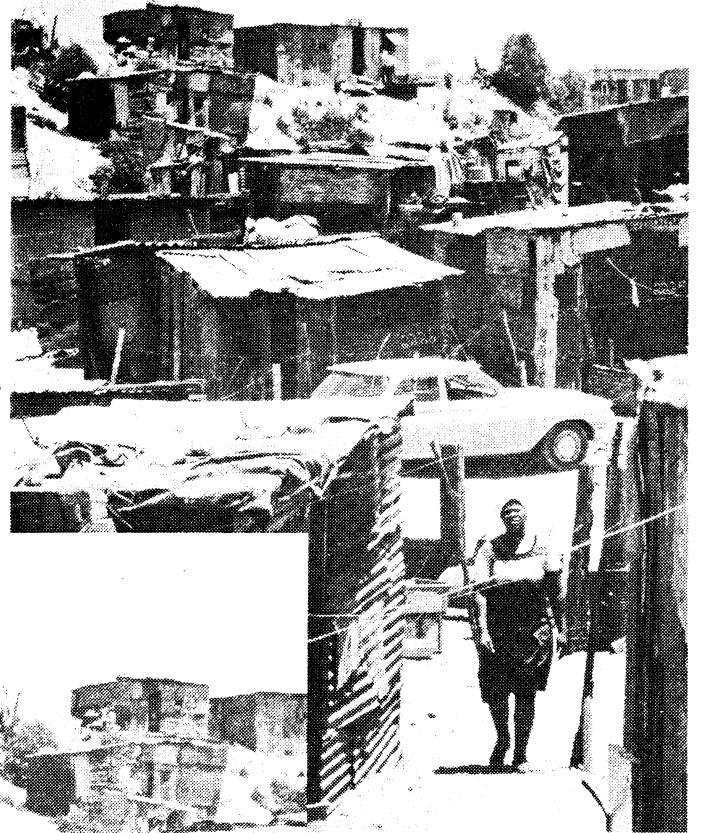
Many of the inhabitants of Crossroads, including those who are here "illegally," have actually resided in the Cape Town area for many years, averaging about eighteen years for the men and twelve years for the women. Contrary to government claims, they do not regard the Bantustans as their "homelands."

Crossroads was built by the residents themselves, out of materials that they either bought or salvaged. On a visit to the shantytown one morning, I was able to walk through extensive sections of it. All the housing is pretty much the same.

The shacks, called *pondoks*, are generally very small, composed of one or two rooms. With the exception of a rare brick structure, they are made of wood, corrugated iron sheeting, pieces of zinc or tin, cardboard, plastic, tarpaulin, or any other materials that offer a small measure of shelter.

Most of the *pondoks* have no glass windows, just square holes in the walls

*Continued on next page*



People of this South African shantytown are fighting for survival of their community.

## ...Crossroads

Continued from preceding page

to let some light in. Some have wooden floors, and many have their walls covered with old newspapers, advertising posters, and other kinds of "wall-paper" to help keep the wind and rain from blowing through the cracks. Most roofs are of metal sheeting or tarpaulin, weighted down with stones and bricks to keep the wind from lifting them off.

Cape Town winters can be bitterly cold, and the only heating available in the pondoks is from coal or wood stoves.

Crossroads, not surprisingly, has few facilities. No one has running water or electricity. The only toilets are enclosed in pits in the back. After the residents won a court ruling in 1976 declaring Crossroads an "emergency camp," the local authorities grudgingly provided eight water taps on the outskirts of the camp, twice-weekly garbage collection services, and a medical clinic—for which each household must pay R7 (US\$8.05) a month (an amount that in some cases is even higher than in the official townships).

The conditions in Crossroads are not the worst of South Africa's shantytowns. Many are flimsier and even more impoverished. In some respects, in fact, life in Crossroads is more bearable than in the officially authorized African townships here.

What is immediately striking about Crossroads is a strong sense of community solidarity. In the words of Johnson Ndayi, a former unofficial "mayor" of Crossroads, "There is a strong community spirit amongst the people at Crossroads, who tend to help one another in many different ways."

This results partly from the residents' common struggle to save their homes, and partly from the fact that they have some influence over at least certain aspects of their lives, unlike in the strictly-regulated townships, where the police are ever-present.

### Organization

The development of a closely-knit community in Crossroads is reflected in many different things. On their own initiative, the residents have set up a thirty-member elected committee to oversee the affairs of the settlement. The area is subdivided into wards, each with its own small committee. A neighborhood force, called the "home guards," has also been established to patrol the shantytown against crime and to warn residents of raids by the authorities. The camp is kept relatively clean of litter.

Since most of the men are away at work during the day, women play a leading role in running the camp. They have also organized the Crossroads Women's Movement to help fight the regime's demolition plans.

The people of Crossroads have built two schools, the Sisamiele lower primary school and the Noxolo lower and primary school, which teach about 500 students. Teachers' salaries are paid by school fees raised within the shantytown and by donations from sympathetic groups in Cape Town and elsewhere. Adult literacy classes have also been established.

In addition, Crossroads has more than three dozen shops, seven churches, a number of cooperative self-help schemes, karate clubs, and soccer teams. During the day, it is bustling with activity.

The ability of the people of Crossroads to accomplish all this *in opposition* to official policy could set an example to Blacks elsewhere. If Crossroads survives, the entire system of "influx control" (the regulation of population movement from rural areas to the cities) could be undermined, and with it the white ruling class's firm



On September 14, 1978, racist regime tried to disperse community with guns, clubs, and police dogs. But residents fought back.

grip over the Black majority.

In the words of one official of the Divisional Council, it is difficult in shantytowns like Crossroads "to control the influx of persons and these unstable conditions could be a serious hazard in times of unrest."

As the regime sees it, it is imperative that the threat of Crossroads be blotted out.

Although the local authorities initially directed some squatters to move to Crossroads, they soon realized their mistake as the shantytown rapidly blossomed out of control. The first demolition moves against individual shacks began just a few months after the camp's establishment.

What followed was a long period of harassment and intimidation designed to force residents out. Police conducted raids and searches to pick up people whose passes did not contain the proper authorization allowing them to be in Cape Town. Some workers were arrested for "illegally" harboring their wives and children. Residents who fell behind in the payment of their service fees were threatened with eviction. Some pondoks were demolished.

### Police harassment

One woman, in a letter to a friend, described the constant harassment: "The police are waking us up at night, and they are waiting for us at the [water] taps and even at the office when we go and pay our rents [service fees]. So it is difficult to fetch water and pay rent."

On several occasions, women were seized during the day, while their husbands were away at work, and unceremoniously dumped with their children onto trains headed toward the Bantustans. Some managed to make their way back to Crossroads.

Utilizing a loophole in the Illegal Squatting Act, the residents of Crossroads won a partial victory in court in June 1976 when they had the settlement declared an "emergency camp," thus staving off the immediate threat of demolition.

However, the authorities at the same time declared a freeze on the building of any new shacks at Crossroads. The shacks were numbered to enable the inspectors to enforce the ruling, and a "squatter control unit" would swoop in to knock down any new ones that were discovered.

The people of Crossroads having forced a temporary stalemate, the authorities eased up on the harassment for most of 1977.

In the meantime, however, they moved to close the legal loopholes

allowing squatters to challenge demolition orders through the courts. They also turned their attention to other squatters' camps in the area: Modderdam, Unibel, and Werkgenot were flattened by bulldozers and their 30,000 inhabitants rendered homeless (some eventually ended up in Crossroads).

That left Crossroads as the largest surviving African shantytown here. The authorities decided it was time to zero in on it once more.

New eviction orders were issued in early 1978, and the police raids and intimidation rose sharply. So did the squatters' determination to stand fast.

Regina Ntongana, the head of the Crossroads Women's Movement, affirmed, "In 1976 we had trouble. When they came into Crossroads, we ran. We had to stay like baboons in the field and then come back."

"This time we're not running. It's our aim to stay. We'll stand in our houses."

In June, after a series of raids in which police shot at crowds and arrested fifty persons, about 200 women of Crossroads marched to the Bantu Affairs Administration Board offices to protest. When told that their presence in Crossroads was illegal, they responded, "If we are told we are illegally here, that is bad. We did not make those laws; we will stay here."

### Protest actions

The following month, on July 30, protest actions were held in several cities in South Africa, and in other countries as well, to express support for the struggle in Crossroads. Some 4,000 persons rallied in Crossroads itself. It was even reported that a group of students in Soweto, the huge African township outside Johannesburg, were boycotting classes in solidarity with the squatters.

The regime's stance hardened even further. In August, Defence Minister P.W. Botha (soon to become the prime minister) announced that Crossroads would have to go. Brig. J.H. van der Westhuizen, chairman of the Cape Peninsula Administration Board, proclaimed that if Crossroads were not demolished, other squatters' camps would grow and spread.

During the early morning hours of September 6, about 600 police, some of them dressed in camouflage uniforms, descended on Crossroads in what van der Westhuizen called a "police exercise." They kicked down doors, assaulted residents, tore up identity documents, and arrested about 450 persons. Many were subsequently fined.

A little more than a week later, on

September 14, came a second, even more vicious attack.

Some 600 police and board officials had attempted to catch the people of Crossroads by surprise, but they had been expected and the shantytown's home guards were posted around the perimeter of the camp to sound the alarm.

The authorities withdrew, but returned a few hours later in force. They were armed with clubs, guns, and police dogs. Residents of shacks were dragged out and beaten. Tear gas was fired when crowds gathered in self-defense. Johnson Ngxobongwana, the chairman of the Crossroads residents' committee and commander of the home guards, was beaten unconscious when he protested the attack. Amid the panic, another 350 inhabitants were arrested and carted off.

One resident of Crossroads, thirty-three-year-old Sindile Ndlela, was shot to death by the police. He had just returned from the Transkei, where he had taken his wife for safety after the first mass raid a week earlier. Another resident, Evelyn Tshaba, was wounded by gunfire.

Brigadier van der Westhuizen tried to blame the violence on the people of Crossroads themselves. "There is no doubt," he claimed, "that the squatters' committee, the home guards and the spirit of resistance against laws and officials have led to confrontation and violence and the tragic loss of life."

The Crossroads committee responded to a similar declaration by the Western Cape divisional commissioner, Brig. J.F. Rossouw, who claimed that only "necessary" force had been used to "restore order." The committee pointed out in a statement, "The police never restored order. There was perfect order before they came. After they came there was no more peace." It charged the police with acting like "terrorists."

### 'We will not move'

A member of the committee also reaffirmed the residents' determination to continue their struggle: "We will not move, no matter what happens."

The resistance of the people of Crossroads, and the widespread publicity and support they have won, forced the government to back down somewhat from its immediate demolition plans.

On November 30, Minister of Plural Relations Pieter G. Koornhof, who is in charge of overseeing policy toward Africans, said that the demolition plans had been set aside indefinitely. Koornhof refused, however, to discount demolition entirely. He emphasized instead that the residents of Crossroads would be "persuaded" on a "case-by-case" basis to move out "voluntarily."

I visited Crossroads just a few days after Koornhof's announcement. There was little rejoicing. The general consensus was that Crossroads had won a temporary reprieve, but that the regime still aimed to eliminate the settlement, reverting for the moment to the old tactic of applying pressure on individual families to get out, a process of piecemeal demolition.

Nor has the threat of outright destruction of the entire camp receded very far. Given more politically favorable circumstances, the authorities would certainly try to rush in with their bulldozers to finish off Crossroads once and for all.

The struggle of the people of Crossroads themselves will obviously be key to the settlement's survival. But international solidarity can do much to aid them. It already has. What is needed now are stepped-up efforts internationally to halt this latest attack of the apartheid regime on Black rights. Crossroads must be saved.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

**1920-1979**

# Ernest Mazey: labor, civil rights fighter

By Frank Lovell

Ernest Mazey, widely known among civil libertarians as the longtime executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan, died at age fifty-nine in Hawaii on March 19 following a heart attack and stroke at his home. He was convalescing from heart surgery when stricken. His life was devoted to the labor movement and to the cause of civil liberties.

The youngest of four sons in a large working-class socialist family in Detroit, Ernie grew up in the hard struggle of working people against the auto corporations. His father worked at the Briggs company, manufacturer of auto bodies for Ford.

These, then, were the factors that shaped young Ernie's life: the good fortune to be born of a socialist family, and the need to be part of the working-class struggle for social equality. He was a fighter all his life against the injustices of capitalist oppression.

As a youngster he was taught the basic laws of capitalist economy and the class structure of society by an uncle, Steve Mazey, who was a member of the Socialist Labor Party. Other members of the family were in the Proletarian Party, and in his early teens Ernie joined the Proletarian Youth and later became a member of the party. He took ideas seriously and weighed their practical consequences.

In 1937, at age eighteen, he and several others left the Proletarian Party because it gave political support to the Communist International, which his friends and he correctly identified with the crimes of Stalinism in the Soviet Union.

One of Ernie's close friends, and his mentor at that time, was Fred Valle. In the course of his studies, Fred came upon a book by Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, which explained the class character and social base of the Soviet bureaucracy. As a result of this discovery, Fred and Ernie joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 in Detroit.

## Union and party leader

In later years Mazey often said that his political education really began in the SWP. But his tests were in the union movement in the beginning.

He helped organize municipal workers, and at age nineteen he became president of Local 110 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. Later, he went to work at the Huck Manufacturing Company, where he became chief steward and head of the bargaining committee, a unit of United Auto Workers Local 212. As a negotiator for Huck workers he won model contracts in the auto industry, far better than any others at the time.

Recognized as a leader in UAW Local 212 and as a Trotskyist, Ernie was elected to the SWP National Committee in 1944.

During World War II he was one of the UAW local leaders who championed the formation of a labor party. With his older brother Emil, who later joined with Walter Reuther to consolidate bureaucratic control in the auto union, Ernie helped campaign for a labor party. The idea met with widespread popular support. It was the most effective answer to the anti-union decrees of the capitalist bipartisan administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Wartime inflation boosted prices, and the unions sought ways to overcome or circumvent the government-imposed wage freeze. Trotskyists explained that the only practical answer was an escalator clause in every agreement to keep wages



Mazey, gritting teeth, carries off victim of cop attack during union anti-Nazi protest in 1945.

fully abreast of rising prices. In the first UAW contracts after the war this became a hotly debated issue, and Ernie was at the center of it.

In his reminiscences on UAW democracy, Frank Marquart recalls "Town Hall" debates organized by him when he was education director of Local 212. One debate was on the escalator clause. He describes it in his book, *An Auto Worker's Journal*, as follows:

"Ernest Mazey and Erwin Baur debated Tom Clappitt and myself on the proposition . . . At that time, the Trotskyists were the strongest advocates of wage escalation. I learned later that Leon Trotsky first raised this issue as a 'transitional demand,' he theorized that the employers would not grant it, but in the course of fighting for it workers would become more radicalized.

"When we debated the subject in Town Hall, the UAW was opposed to the escalation principle on the ground that 'what goes up, must come down!' Accordingly, the local officers were opposed to our holding the debate because 'it's against UAW policy!' I consulted the education committee and they agreed that 'the show must go on!' Ernest Mazey and Erwin Baur are formidable debaters. Clappitt and I got trounced."

When the Trotsky School for SWP leaders was organized in 1945 Ernie was among those chosen to attend the first session. These comrades studied the Marxist classics for six months under the tutelage of George Novack, Marxist scholar. For Ernie this was one of his most satisfying and productive experiences.

## Antifascist campaigns

He was in the forefront of antifascist campaigns organized by the Socialist Workers Party, both before and after World War II, mobilizing, whenever necessary, UAW flying squads against fascist demonstrations.

He also helped bring out UAW forces to curb the police-led 1943 racist riots against Blacks in Detroit. And in the years that followed, Ernie and his SWP comrade Ernest Dillard, one of many Black auto workers in our party at the time, were largely responsible for a campaign by the NAACP to desegregate housing and public eating places in Detroit. This was a decade before the Montgomery bus boycott and the rise of the civil rights movement in the South.

In 1953, like many others during the reactionary McCarthy witchhunts, Mazey began to question the ability of the working class to lead society and to create the kind of political party necessary to overthrow capitalism. This lack of confidence in the historic role of the working class was expressed inside the SWP through a faction led by Bert Cochran.

Mazey supported the Cochran faction and left the SWP to help publish and sustain a magazine, *The*

*American Socialist*, which ceased publication by the end of the 1950s.

Mazey drifted into collaboration with and support of Democratic Party politicians. But his training in the SWP had prepared him for his future work in defense of civil liberties.

He had helped launch the SWP case against the Michigan "antisubversive" Trucks Law in 1952. He was also one of the original organizers in Detroit-area unions of the defense for James Kutcher, the legless war veteran who was deprived of his pension and all assistance by a vindictive government because of his SWP membership.

## Radulovich case

While active in these cases, the fight against the unconstitutional Trucks Law in particular, Mazey became associated with attorney Charles Lockwood. And shortly after Mazey left the SWP a young man by the name of Radulovich was fired from his job at the Detroit Tank Arsenal.

Radulovich was told that the reason was his refusal to spy on the Socialist Workers Party, to which he had been introduced by Mazey. He sought advice from Mazey, and Charles Lockwood became his attorney. The famous "Radulovich Case" began. It publicized the scandalous activities of Army Intelligence, the FBI, the Detroit police, and other government agencies. It won support in the UAW and from the ACLU. And it won. Radulovich got his job back.

This case was the first of many battles for civil liberties and civil rights involving the SWP that Ernest Mazey supported as an officer of the ACLU. These included defense of SWP members who were harassed and detained by the Detroit police while collecting funds for the Montgomery bus boycott, valuable assistance in gathering data on police surveillance and break-ins of SWP headquarters, defense of democratic rights of Young Socialist Alliance members in Detroit high schools, support to civil rights activists in the early 1960s, and aid in the antiwar movement.

Despite his disagreement with the politics of the SWP during the entire latter half of his adult life, Ernest Mazey was an occasional speaker in the 1960s at the SWP-sponsored Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit.

His association with the American Civil Liberties Union in a leadership and administrative capacity, which began in 1953, ended in 1974 as a result of policy differences within the organization.

This, however, did not terminate Mazey's active participation in the defense of civil liberties and in the affairs of the union movement. In 1977, after an eight-year bout with cancer, he went to Chicago to help the campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the Steelworkers union. The Sadlowski campaign was essentially a struggle for union democracy, a cause that Ernie Mazey was always identified with in the auto union.



Mazey in 1971

# The class-struggle road



West Virginia miners rally during 1978 coal strike. Their fight altered political climate in U.S., pushing back ruling class that is responsible for all forms of discrimination, including gay oppression.

By Rich Finkel  
and Matilde Zimmermann

Over the weekend of February 23-25, some 300 representatives of lesbian rights, gay rights, and other groups met at a conference in Philadelphia.

The meeting was called by the San Francisco and Philadelphia Ad Hoc Committees for the March on Washington, and the New York City Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

Delegates voted 106 to 56 in favor of calling an October 14, 1979, march on Washington for lesbian and gay rights.

## What conference debated

The central debate at the conference was between advocates and opponents of a national march in 1979.

Pro-march delegates argued in support of the tactic of mass demonstrations. They polemicized against the dead-end approach of waiting politely on the sidelines for courts and legislatures to decide to outlaw discrimination against homosexuals.

Eric Rofes, from the Boston newspaper *Gay Community News*, told the conference, "I've covered countless marches over six years. In each case, demonstrations have proven more important than legislation."

Arguing for a march in 1979 rather than in 1980, the election year, Luvenia Pinson from Salsa Soul Sisters of New York said, "Politicians will promise us anything to get elected. They talk out of both sides of their mouth."

Marc Rubin of the Gay Teachers Association spoke of the self-confidence that past civil rights marches had given him and other participants. "Gay people need that now," he said. "They're not going to give us our bill."

Lined up against the march call were national gay rights figures most closely associated with Democratic Party politics.

Morris Kight of the Los Angeles Stonewall Democratic Club argued that a national march would "bankrupt" the gay community, and detract from local organizing. Steve Endean of the Gay Rights National Lobby opposed the march as ineffective in helping advance federal legislation.

Delegates from Washington, D.C., and from Houston argued for a later march date. Rev. Troy Perry, founder of the Metropolitan Community Church, did not attend the conference but informed the organizers MCC

would not support a 1979 action.

After the march was called, a "Hinterlands Caucus" was formed at the conference to oppose the proposal. Caucus supporters said a national march would reinforce victimization of rural areas by East and West Coast "cultural imperialism." A group of lesbians from Philadelphia argued that any national action inevitably oppressed the disabled and women with children who could not afford transportation costs.

Among those who opposed the 1979 march call were Lois Reckitt, a prominent leader of the National Organization for Women, and Kay Whitlock, former chair of NOW's Lesbian Rights Committee.

## A narrow framework

But the central questions facing the conference were totally obscured by the fact that the debate took place within a narrow tactical framework. The question of whether or not to march in the national capital in 1979—around gay rights or any other issue—can only be decided by determining whether such an action would be effective within the overall course of U.S. politics today. Unfortunately, the conference did not even address these broader questions.

In fact, the most striking political fact revealed by the conference is the isolation of the gay rights movement from the important class battles now unfolding in this country. It is these battles that determine the relationship of class forces within which all fights against oppression take place. Only by understanding this framework, and siding with the workers against the exploiters and oppressors, can any oppressed group fight *effectively* for their rights. Only on this basis can a winning strategy be charted and then appropriate tactics chosen.

What are the lessons that can be drawn from the Philadelphia conference? What is the strategy that can win full human rights for lesbians and gay men?

The fight for gay rights is part of and inseparable from the struggle to extend the democratic rights of all Americans and to defend these rights against ruling-class attempts to take them away.

Since the 1974-75 world recession, the U.S. ruling class, driven by the laws of capitalism, has been on an accelerating offensive to squeeze more profit out of working people. But work-

ing people increasingly resist this, most effectively by using the only major weapon they have—their unions.

The biggest obstacles to the employers' achieving their goal are the workers organized in the major industrial unions. In order to hamstring the unions and beat down the expectations of the American working class, the rulers are challenging every right through which working people can defend their class interests: the right to strike, to picket, to vote on a contract, to have a union shop. To deter people from fighting back, the employers make more general attacks on democratic rights, including freedom of assembly, speech, and the press.

This is aimed at establishing an atmosphere of greater conformity and weakening the self-confidence of all oppressed or exploited persons. The antidemocratic assault must include attacks on personal freedoms that do not directly stand in the way of the employers satisfying their profit hunger. Attacks on gay rights fall into this category.

Anything that succeeds in blocking this capitalist offensive strikes a blow for the democratic rights of all. In this sense, events that seem to have nothing to do with gay and lesbian rights—such as the 1978 miners' strike, the Iranian revolution, the extension of the Equal Rights Amendment deadline, and the defeat of the right-to-work-for-less referendum in Missouri—have represented big advances for the gay rights struggle. Each of them helped push back the class that is responsible for gay oppression and every other form of oppression and discrimination.

Each of these events changed the relationship of forces within which everyone fights for their human rights. Fundamentally, the political struggle to advance gay and lesbian rights, like the fights for women's equality and for the rights of oppressed nationalities, is a reflection of the struggle of class against class.

## Role of labor

The labor movement—ultimately even to survive—must develop a revolutionary program for meeting the ruling-class offensive head-on and fighting for the democratic rights of all.

The unions are the institutions best equipped to move the struggle for

democratic rights forward, because they are the only mass institutions specifically designed to represent the interests of working people against the employers, and are potentially the most powerful social instruments that exist.

To win the support they need to do their job, the unions have to see themselves as responsible for fighting against every form of discrimination, including discrimination against homosexuals.

This does not mean that all issues have equal political weight within an overall revolutionary strategy. Different oppressed layers have greatly different social weights in the class struggle. The oppression of women, for example, affects 53 percent of the population, the majority of them working-class. Blacks, *latinos*, and other oppressed nationalities constitute massive components of the industrial working class. Without the politicization and mobilization of women and oppressed nationalities the transition to a workers government cannot be made.

Therefore, the unions should not throw the same resources into the defense of gay rights that they must throw into the defense of women's rights and Black or *latino* rights. At the same time, unionists fighting for a revolutionary strategy do not give an inch to reactionary antigay prejudice.

The strategy that supporters of gay rights need is similar to the strategy that fighters for women's equality and for the rights of Blacks need. It is a strategy that includes doing everything possible to strengthen and protect the working class, the only class whose interests lie in extending democratic rights, the only class capable of defending these rights against the class determined to take them away.

A gay rights movement whose tactics are based on this strategic understanding must revolve around politics, not sexuality or "lifestyle." What counts in this kind of movement is the willingness to fight for gay rights and all democratic rights, not the question of with whom, how, or whether, a person has sexual relations.

Attempts to define a movement on the basis of sexuality are an obstacle to the struggle. Such efforts lead to the illusion that the fight for gay rights will be carried out by a "gay movement" assumed to consist of individuals who sleep with people of the same sex.

Today the so-called gay movement defined by sexuality includes people like bar and bath owners who profit from the exploitation and isolation of lesbians and gays. It includes real or aspirant ruling-class politicians. It includes gay preachers whose religious role is not a bit less reactionary than that of more orthodox clergy. It includes individuals who insist that living a certain "lifestyle" is the road to victory in the fight for gay rights.

Attempts to substitute sexuality for politics lead to mistakes like identifying the enemy as "straight" society. This is just as wrong and self-defeating as the insistence of some feminists that men are the enemy. The enemy of both gays and women is the cutthroat, war-making, U.S. ruling class.

## Lessons of July 9

The gay rights movement cannot orient itself and break out of its current isolation unless it comes to grips with the real confrontation taking place in the United States today, which is a class confrontation. The Philadelphia conference did not register any progress in this direction.

For example, although there was discussion of the importance of the July 9, 1978, march for the Equal Rights Amendment, there was serious underestimation of what it took to

# to winning gay rights

make that march a political success.

First of all, the size, character, and militancy of July 9 would have been impossible without the earlier success of the coal miners in standing up to the attempt to break their union. That victory affected the political climate of the entire country, inspiring all those fighting against exploitation.

Secondly, it is important to understand what the fight to win the ERA represents. It is the focal point today of the drive to bring the legal status of women into harmony with the vast economic and social changes that have occurred in the past three decades.

The entire labor movement sees the ERA as a question of elementary justice. Winning the ERA, will strengthen the self-confidence and combativity of the entire working class and make it more difficult for the bosses to transfer the burden of their economic crisis onto the shoulders of working people, especially women.

The Black population identifies with the ERA struggle as an integral part of the fight for Black equality.

## Test of strength

More and more the ERA is seen as a decisive test of strength over whether women will continue to move forward on any front. There is broad recognition that the outcome will affect every social force in the country.

The July 9 march got further impetus when it became clear that the political hirelings of the ruling class had decided to kill the ERA and deal a blow to the entire working class. Women and their allies were not willing to take that. They were ready to march.

It was also important that the call for July 9 was issued by NOW, a national organization with tens of thousands of members and hundreds of chapters.

From the start, essential work was done to draw the unions into the march. Black and *latino* organizations were asked for support.

In contrast, supporters of a national gay rights march did not even consider the broader framework in which their deliberations at the Philadelphia conference occurred. They failed to weigh thoroughly the political import of their demands, downplayed the narrow representation at the conference, and underestimated the forces lined up against the action.

The tactic of a march on Washington can sometimes be extremely effective—when it flows from a correct political strategy and an orientation to mobilizing the forces that can really defend democratic rights. But it is only a

tactic and should not be elevated to a strategy. Unfortunately this is exactly what happened at the Philadelphia conference.

One of the results is reflected in the narrow way the demonstration is now being publicized. For example, the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights put out a leaflet for an April 1 meeting “to organize the New York City metropolitan area for the march.” The leaflet reads: “All lesbians and gay men are urged to participate in this meeting. The major purpose of the march is to mount a powerful expression of lesbian and gay pride.”

This leaflet is directed exclusively at gay people, instead of appealing to all the potential supporters of gay rights. And it focuses solely on the question of gay pride, rather than raising political demands that can win wide support.

## Age-of-consent

The Philadelphia conference adopted as the main theme for the national march, “To end all social, economic, legislative, and judicial oppression of lesbians and gay people.” But one of the other demands approved by the conference—to revise the age-of-consent laws—poses a mortal threat to the struggle for gay rights. As long as the movement does not decisively repudiate this demand, it will cut off the possibility of involving other social forces.

The age-of-consent issue has recently been foisted on gay rights organizations by a small group called the North American Man/Boy Love Association. A central leader of this group is David Thorstad, who presents himself as a “revolutionary socialist homosexual.”

Thorstad argues that supporters of gay rights must take up the fight against all age-of-consent laws. He has distributed widely a manifesto in which he claims that there is “a war between the forces of sexual liberation on the one hand, and the forces of sexual repression on the other,” and that “man/boy love and cross-generational sex have become the cutting edge of that war.”

The repeal of age-of-consent laws is a reactionary demand, even though its supporters try to pass themselves off as defenders of adolescents against legal victimization.

The campaign around this demand has nothing to do with the totally progressive stance of defending the right of teenagers not to be penalized for their sexual activity. On the contrary, the advocates of repealing age-of-consent laws are primarily adult men who believe they should be unrestricted in having sex with children.



Militant/Marie Kelley

**Bolstered by miners' battle, 100,000 turned out July 9 in support of Equal Rights Amendment, a major political issue and focal point of drive to win full equality for women.**

Saying that children have the “right” to “consent” to sex with adults is exactly like saying children should be able to “consent” to work in a garment factory twelve hours a day. Don't some children “consent” to being used in brutal pornographic films? Don't child prostitutes “consent” to their miserable and terrifying existence? Some of Thorstad's associates argue that, at least for male youngsters, prostitution can be a freely chosen and fulfilling “lifestyle.”

Laws designed to protect children from sexual and economic exploitation by adults are historic acquisitions of the working class and should be enforced. An anti-working-class, anti-child, campaign against the age-of-consent laws has nothing to do with gay rights or human rights of any kind. It has no place in the struggle to end discrimination against lesbians and gay people.

After the Philadelphia conference adopted the demand, “Full rights for gay youth, including revision of age-of-consent laws,” a number of lesbian delegates who had supported the march threatened to walk out. Some of them spoke from their own experience about the horror of sexual abuse of children by adults.

A compromise was later adopted by a mail poll of delegates. The poll approved a substitute demand: “protection for lesbian and gay youth from any laws which are used to discriminate against, oppress, and/or harass them in their homes, schools, and social environments.”

However, while this demand does not include the words “age-of-consent laws,” it was described in the mailing as a “statement to replace and enlarge the concept of the ‘Revise the Age of Consent’ motion.”

It remains to be seen whether those who oppose all age-of-consent laws will interpret the substitute demand as encompassing their own reactionary views. What is certain is that the tainting of any action call with the “cross-generational sex” issue will make it impossible for organizations like NOW, civil rights groups, trade unions, or socialists to endorse—and correctly so.

The Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, which has initiated the building of the march in the New York City area, has been publicly associated with the demand for repeal of age-of-consent laws through statements by Thorstad in which he was identified as a spokesperson for CLGR.

At a March 27 meeting, Michael Maggi, who is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, proposed that CLGR clear up this confusion by adopting a formal position “for the protection of male and female children from sexual abuse by adults.” His motion characterized adults’ having sex with children as exploitation and

“the antithesis of the fight for lesbian and gay rights.”

Thorstad and others argued vigorously against this motion and in favor of a much vaguer motion expressing “opposition to the sexual abuse of children by heterosexual or homosexual people.” (“People” was substituted for “adults” in this motion because one supporter said that children could also sexually abuse each other.)

But this is a fraud. We don't want laws against child labor changed to simply outlaw vaguely defined “abusive” child labor. Nor do we want “non-abusive consensual” sex by adults with children OK'd. Both are reactionary to the core.

## Strategy to win

With the correct strategy, supporters of lesbian and gay rights can make important gains in the fight against discrimination. There is more support for gay rights today than ever before, although educational activities remain essential. A Gallup Poll conducted in mid-1977 indicated that 56 percent of the population supported equal job opportunities for gays.

This sentiment can be expected to grow as the radicalization that gave rise to the Black and women's liberation movements, and has been deepened by the defensive struggles of the American working class, spreads further into the labor movement. Unlike the bosses, working people have absolutely no material interest in curtailing democratic rights or tolerating discrimination of any kind. To the contrary, any discrimination hinders them.

There is growing potential for winning trade unions, women's organizations, and civil rights groups to support of gay and lesbian rights as part of an unconditional defense of the democratic rights of all. This was shown by the International Women's Year Conference in Houston in 1977 and by the opposition of a number of California unions to the anti-gay and anti-union Briggs Initiative.

There are also a significant number of activists in the struggle for full rights for homosexuals who want to think politically and chart a course that can win. They don't want to be trapped in the swamp of the Democratic Party or drift off into petty-bourgeois utopian “lifestyleism.” They sense that the road forward must be a political struggle, in harmony with the broad development of social forces that have the power to defeat those responsible for exploitation and oppression.

With a clear understanding of American politics, a correct evaluation of the greatly differing social weights of the various struggles of the oppressed, and the place and importance of democratic rights in the fight of labor and its allies, these gay rights activists can chart a winning strategy.



Militant/Lou Howort

**New York gay rights demonstration. More people than ever before see gay rights struggle as part of fight for democratic rights. Education around this theme will lead to growing support as radicalization of working class deepens.**

# ...USWA

Continued from back page

civil rights committees to hold forums on *Weber* at local meetings."

Van Deusen also thinks civil rights committees and locals should take the initiative in organizing community meetings involving Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women's organizations.

After the conference, Rev. Isidore Booker, head of the Local 13000 civil rights committee, told the *Militant*, "We have only scratched the surface of the outcome" if *Weber* wins.

There is no reason to be "apologetic" about the Steelworkers' position in this case, he said. Rather, it's time to "solicit more support on the local level."

A leaflet circulating around the conference here showed one possible kind of local union activity.

The civil rights committee of Local 12770 in Troy, New York, printed up a statement on *Weber*. Several other union civil rights committees in the area—in the steel, auto, and electrical industries—have also distributed the Local 12770 flyer inside their plants.

The role of the civil rights committees, what they should be doing and how they can do it most effectively, was the subject of much interest and discussion here.

In his remarks to the delegates, USWA Civil Rights Director Frank Mont urged civil rights committees to "fight for your spot on the agenda at local meetings. And make your report so you can make your membership aware of the activities of this so important committee."

When local civil rights committees accomplish all they should to end discrimination on the job, "your work is still not done," Mont said. "As long as there is a grandmother sitting somewhere in a room deciding, 'Shall I eat today, shall I pay my rent, or shall I buy heat today,' our work is not done."

"As long as there is a Black child suffering in an inferior school, our work is not done."

"As long as there is some counselor telling a girl she should go into nursing when she has the aptitude and ability to be an engineer, our work is not done."

"As long as there is a Hispanic somewhere who suffers because of the language barrier, our work is not done."

"As long as someone is singled out because he is a Jew or a Gentile, our work is not done."

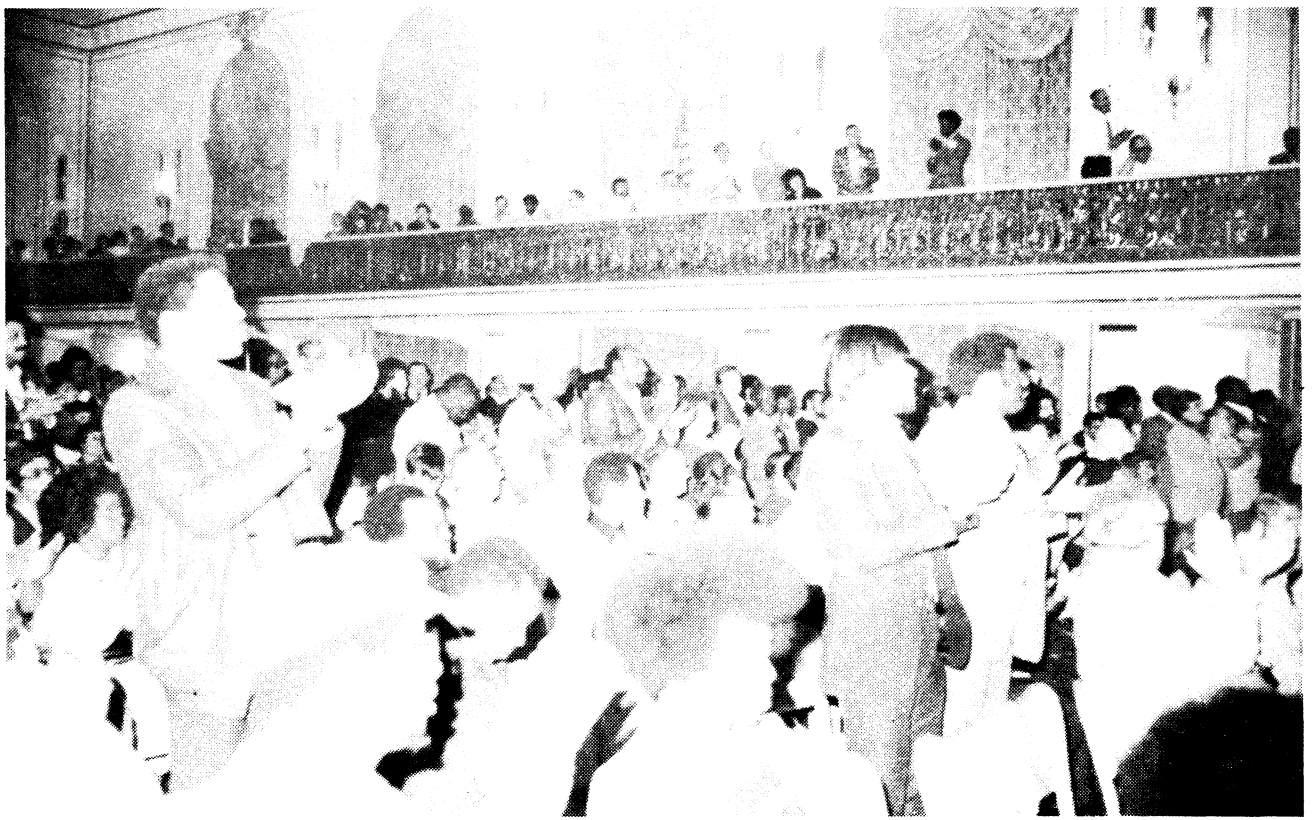
The workshop on "Effective Civil Rights Committees" attracted nearly 500 delegates.

One Black steelworker contended that the companies hired minorities because it looks good on paper, but then they turn around and fire them.

A representative from the international legal department highlighted a problem faced by women steelworkers—harassment on the job.

"All members of the union have an obligation to treat every other member the same," he said. "Intimidation of women and threats against them are a violation of the [union] constitution, a violation of how we should treat each other, and also a violation of Title VII."

The 1974 consent decree was the first major effort in the steel industry to tackle discrimination both in hiring and in craft jobs. It was lauded at the



Militant/Nancy Cole

Defending job equality, and solidarity with Newport News strikers were themes of first USWA civil rights conference.

conference as a truly historic agreement that the Steelworkers union can take credit for bringing about.

Yet with only a few statistics offered in a special report on the decree, it was seemingly laid to rest here at the conference.

"We are not at the point that we have proceeded to deal with all those matters that would conclude our particular point under the decree," John T. Smith, an assistant to international vice-president Leon Lynch, told the conference.

"The implementation committees have been dismissed—only three are still in effect where there are lawsuits going on."

But the reported figures failed to show the extent of implementation of the decree. Under plant-wide seniority—which is preserved in the basic steel contract—28,844 non-craft workers transferred since 1974.

The one-in-five hiring requirement for women was almost met, with 19.8 percent new production and maintenance hires since 1974 being women. But that brought the total number of women in basic steel from 3,828 to the present 9,523, only 5.2 percent of the total work force.

No figures were offered whatsoever for implementation of the goals for crafts training and hiring—the most disputed part of the consent decree.

Unfortunately, there was no time set aside for delegates to ask questions or contribute their ideas on the consent decree, on *Weber*, or on most of the other important topics on the agenda at the conference.

During the entire three days, delegates had the chance to speak for only two hours, during four workshops held simultaneously. Even there the

moderators tried to limit the topics under discussion.

In the civil rights committees workshop, a Black woman from the Homestead mill in Pittsburgh expressed the feeling of large numbers of delegates when she pleaded, "Couldn't we cut the speeches in the morning short so that we can add more to this?"

Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, had brought a resolution passed by their 17,000-member local and forwarded ahead of time to the civil rights department. It called on the international to initiate an education campaign around *Weber* in the pages of the union's newspaper, *Steel Labor*.

When a Local 1010 member tried to read the resolution during the civil rights committee workshop, the moderator cut him off.

In the Affirmative Action and Safety workshop, the local's civil rights committee head Juanita Holmes was able to read the resolution after workshop participants demonstrably backed her up.

Yet the content of the resolution was not reported back to the conference in the workshop summaries.

Despite the limitations of the conference, most delegates—whether they were angry over the way it was run or not—appeared buoyed by the commitment to civil rights shown there by union officials.

Their stance reflects the deep desire of the large number of Black and women union members for their rights and the growing understanding among the white membership that racist and sexist practices are a tool that can be used by the companies against the whole union.

The conference provides encouragement and new opportunities to those who want to make their locals and civil rights committees more effective fighters for the rights of all workers.

## 'Weber' protests held

Picket lines and meetings protested the *Weber* suit as the Supreme Court began hearings on the case.

In Milwaukee, the Committee to Reverse the *Weber* Case organized a



Militant/Scott Breen

Participants in New Orleans meeting launched educational campaign against 'Weber.'

March 30 rally attended by more than one hundred people. Held at the Smith Steelworkers D.A.L.U. Local 19806 hall, the meeting was chaired by Local 19806 President Paul Blackman.

Speakers included representatives of the Milwaukee County Labor Council; the director of District Council 48 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Roberta Wood from the USWA District 31 Women's Caucus; and Narciso Aleman of the Latin American Union for Civil Rights.

In San Diego, sixty people participated in a picket line and news conference March 28. The action was organized by the Labor/Community Affirmative Action Task Force. The task force is also planning a speak-out in support of affirmative action April 29.

And in Chicago, forty activists organized by the USWA District 31 Women's Caucus picketed the federal building against *Weber* March 31.

## Va. NOW backs strike

Striking Newport News shipyard workers are continuing to win support in their battle with the Tenneco-owned shipyard.

At its state convention in nearby Virginia Beach April 1, the Virginia National Organization for Women overwhelmingly passed the following resolution:

"Whereas our union sisters and brothers are constantly fighting union-busting efforts in the South; and

"Whereas our friends, the Steelworkers, are currently in an unfair labor practice strike against the Newport News Shipbuilding Company; and

"Whereas the Steelworkers are fighting for women's rights in affirmative action and against the *Weber* case;

"Be it Resolved that the Virginia Conference of the National Organization for Women go on record in support of the Steelworkers."

In right-to-work-for-less Arizona,

USWA locals 3937 and 4102 passed resolutions in support of the Newport News strikers. Local 3937 also voted to send a \$200 donation to the strike fund.

In Texas, Dallas-area USWA locals 6312 and 5312 passed resolutions in solidarity with the strike.

USWA Local 2609 at the giant Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore is showing a slide presentation of the solidarity marches and rallies in Newport News.

It has been presented at the local meeting, the Baltimore Central Labor Council, and at a working women's conference organized by the Local 2609 Women's Advisory Committee.

Cleveland-area auto workers are also expressing their support through slide presentations. The Education Committee of UAW Local 451 has shown the presentation to more than 500 auto workers in the greater Cleveland area.

# How bosses rip off undocumented workers

By Harry Ring

For the first time, some facts and figures are available showing the extent to which undocumented workers are ripped off by employers.

With a \$1 million grant from the U.S. Labor Department, the California Division of Labor Enforcement sent out a team of thirty-five investigators to find out if employers of undocumented workers were complying with state labor laws.

They weren't.

Over an eight-month period, three teams checked out the Los Angeles garment and restaurant industries and light industry and fast food operations in a San Diego suburb.

All of these are known to hire mainly undocumented workers.

The investigators visited 3,800 busi-

ness places and found violations of state labor laws at 90 percent of them.

They checked out 999 garment shops in Los Angeles. Ninety-two percent of them were paying less than the minimum wage. Failure to pay time-and-a-half for overtime was widespread.

Thirty-four percent of these shops didn't even have workers' compensation to cover the employees.

In the restaurant industry, they found that 64 percent were paying below the minimum wage and/or not paying overtime.

In La Mesa, near San Diego, they found widespread violation of the child-labor law, with children as young as twelve working in fast food places.

One restaurant operator denounced the investigators as "gangsters." He denied a charge that he was working

employees more than eight hours a day.

"But they ask the workers, and the workers lie," he said. "They claim they work ten hours."

The findings of the investigators illustrate the extent to which employers are able to exploit the "illegal" status of undocumented workers in this country. Largely not unionized and ever fearful of *la migra*, these workers are at the mercy of the bosses.

The abuses they suffer should be of concern to all working people. Not only as a matter of elementary solidarity, but also because the superexploitation of the undocumented contributes to depressing the wages and working conditions of all workers.

How should labor respond to this burning problem?

Certainly not by joining hands with racism and reaction by demanding these several million workers be rounded up and deported. Or that the borders be sealed.

Moves in that direction would only fuel racist hysteria and would give the bosses an even stronger hand in oppressing the undocumented.

These workers are here, and will remain here—with the exception, of course, of the unfortunates who fall into the hands of *la migra*. And, driven by hunger and want, more will continue to find their way across the border.

The only positive way for the U.S. labor movement to deal with the issue is to take a stand in full solidarity with the undocumented.

That means, first of all, fighting for an end to their "illegal" status. That would immediately lift the bosses' club from over their heads. The unions should demand full rights—political, economic, and social—for the undocumented already here.

And they should demand an end to reactionary immigration restrictions. U.S. imperialism is responsible for the unemployment that drives Mexican and other workers from their homelands.

The only "fair," nonracist immigration quota is *no* quota. There should be an open border!

And, of course, the unions must open a big drive to organize the undocumented.

The stand taken by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Los Angeles to defend and organize these

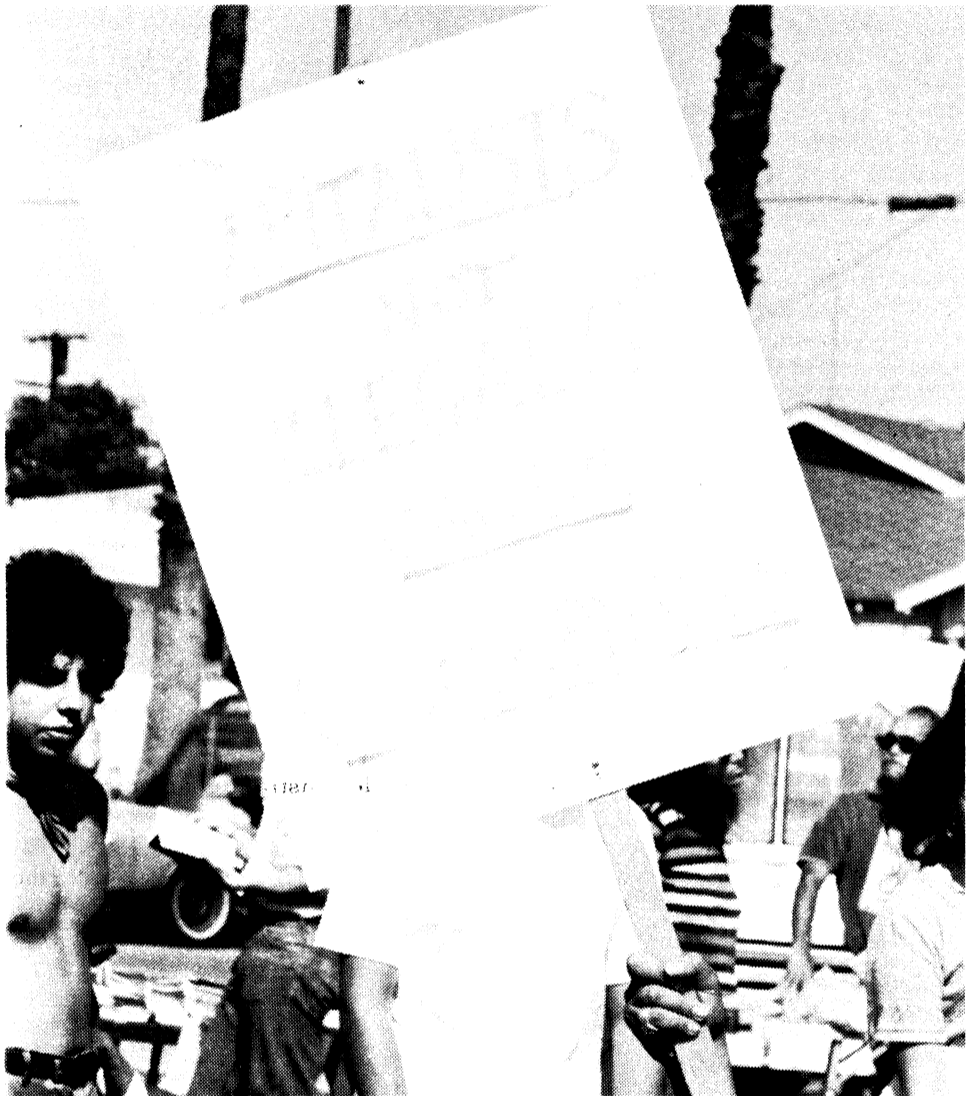
workers should be regarded by labor as a beginning step in the right direction.

Given that kind of support and solidarity, undocumented workers will demonstrate their militancy and class consciousness.

Despite the best efforts of *la migra* and the sweatshop operators to stop them, undocumented workers have organized and won union contracts in Los Angeles.

And in Arizona, undocumented workers at the big Goldwater ranch, organized by the Maricopa County Organizing Project, conducted a fearless struggle and have now won the first union contract ever gained by undocumented field workers.

With such an approach, the undocumented will prove a powerful ally in advancing the interests of all workers.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Ending 'illegal' status would lift the employers' club from over heads of undocumented workers. It could facilitate union organizing, higher wages and better conditions for all workers.

## Making the victim the criminal

A recent *New York Times* account of undocumented immigrants in New York City includes the usual racist bunk about cost to taxpayers.

Example: An official of one hospital says they assume that the bulk of their unpaid bills are run up by the undocumented. He does concede, however, that "we have no way of proving that."

Perhaps the most imaginative example of how the undocumented cost the city money came from the Office of Management and Budget.

The city schools incur a loss of federal funds, a spokesperson explains, because "many illegal aliens are afraid to register their children in public schools."

How does that mean a loss of money?

Explanation: Added teachers would *not* be hired to accommodate these children, more classroom space would *not* be needed. The city could be collecting extra federal money with negligible added cost.

Therefore, those dratted "illegal" children are costing money by not coming to school.

—H.R.

# Texas Chicano student conference draws 300

By Olga Rodríguez and Miguel Pendás

AUSTIN, Tx.—More than 300 Chicano youth gathered at the Tejas Chicano Student Conference at the University of Texas campus here February 23-25.

Participants came from all over Texas, including campuses as far away as El Paso and Odessa, to discuss the growing attacks on Chicanos and how they affect Chicano youth.

A rally featuring Chicano leaders opened the conference. Speakers included Rubén Bonilla, statewide director of LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens); Chicana feminist Inez Tovar; Joaquín Avila of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF); and Dr. Armando Gutierrez, a leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party who was recently denied tenure in a racist and politically motivated move by the university's administration.

In his keynote address Gutierrez said that Chicanos have two choices in the fight to better the lives and conditions of their people. "You can register and vote Democrat or Republican," he said. "You won't have any significant im-

pact on your community."

Or, he said, you can take the other road—"being independent, creating our own agendas," whether through the RUP or "some other political unit." He urged the students to "visibly demonstrate" the discontent they feel with their present social, political, and economic status.

The main issue at the conference turned out to be democracy and free speech in the Chicano movement.

A right-wing faction at the conference with a slim majority on the presiding committee voted to turn itself into a screening committee. Anyone wishing to distribute literature was required to first submit it for inspection. Marshals were instructed that their main task was to stop the distribution of "communist and socialist" literature.

The presiding committee majority banned the literature of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

Two East Austin *barrio* activists who were scheduled to lead a workshop on prisoner abuse in Texas prisons walked out of the conference rather than submit their literature to censorship, as did supporters of the newspa-

per *Workers World*.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance also refused to submit their literature for "inspection." Nonetheless, the *Militant* and other socialist literature sold well outside conference meeting rooms.

Saturday workshops overwhelmingly passed resolutions in support of Héctor Marroquín, and adopted a motion put forward by students from El Paso in favor of free speech and nonexclusion of ideas in the Chicano movement.

However, on Sunday, with total attendance shrunk to about 125, the right wing managed to defeat by a very small margin the resolution in solidarity with Marroquín.

Immediately after defeating the Marroquín motion, virtually the entire right wing walked out, enabling the remaining assembly to pass resolutions on free speech, collective bargaining for farm workers, full rights for undocumented workers.

Leaders of the right wing argued against the farm worker resolution, saying that such issues are of no immediate concern to the Chicano students. They held that the problems

of Chicano youth are "personal, not political."

As a parting shot, right-wing leader Al Newton of San Antonio College explained why he favored the suppression of free speech in the movement.

Describing himself as a "student with a high grade-point average," Newton said that the minds of Chicano youths are highly impressionable and must be protected against such things as "nude pictures and Marxist literature."

A statement condemning the undemocratic procedures of the five members of the presiding committee majority was issued by Sylvia Lopez, representing St. Mary's University, and Andrés Gonzales, representing UT San Antonio. The other two members of the minority later endorsed it.

The statement read in part: "Chicanos do not need to have anyone anywhere tell us what we can or can't read, or what ideas we can or can't discuss. . . . Exclusion, censorship and suppression of ideas . . . are deadly policies for our *movimiento*. They are the methods used by our oppressors who seek to divide us, pit us against each other, and defeat us."

# In Brief

## Quote unquote

"It's like living with a rattlesnake. Sooner or later it's going to bite you. You just don't know when."

*Worker living near the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant.*

### TERRENCE JOHNSON TRIAL ENDS

Sixteen-year-old Terrence Johnson was convicted March 31 on charges of manslaughter and illegal use of a handgun, but acquitted on murder charges. The convictions carry a maximum sentence of twenty-five years in jail, a minimum of five.

The Prince George's County, Maryland, trial stemmed from the July 26 arrest of the Black youth and his brother, supposedly in connection with a robbery earlier that evening. At the police station, Johnson was beaten and threatened. Fearing for his life, Johnson grabbed a policeman's gun and began firing. Two cops were killed. Johnson and his lawyers argued that he had acted in justifiable self-defense.

Since the verdict was announced, cops have been making threats of vengeance, clearly directed against the Black community. The president of the county police union declared, "If anyone threatens a police officer in any way or pulls a gun on them in this country, they better be ready to meet their maker."

"The men in this department are fed up," he added. "I think they're going to start using

their guns more."

Johnson's lawyer will file for a new trial and also request the youth's release until sentencing.

### LOUISVILLE SWP FILES FOR BALLOT SPOT

The Louisville Socialist Workers Party filed more than 6,500 signatures March 29, fulfilling the legal requirements for ballot status in Kentucky. Liz Jayko, the SWP candidate for governor, announced the filing at a press conference in Frankfort, the state capital.

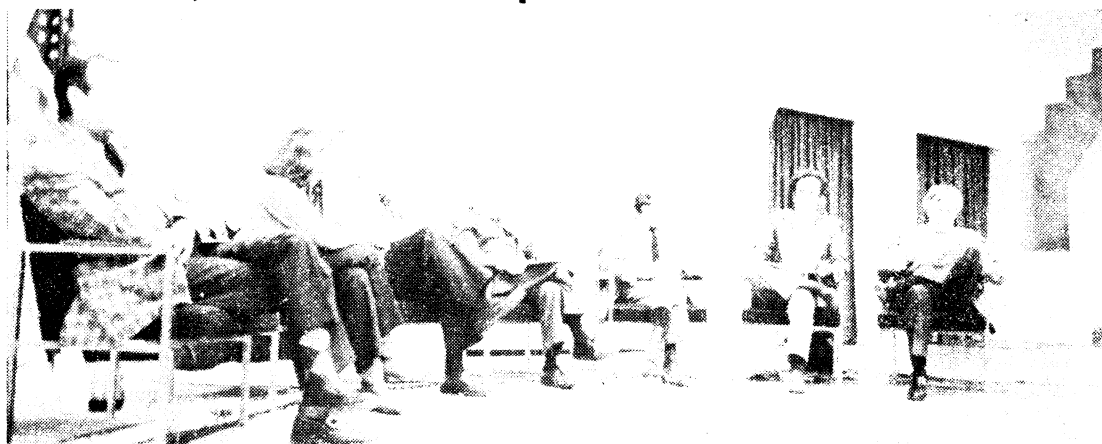
In a statement to the press, Jayko said the successful drive to gather these signatures "was achieved despite the attempts of anti-union, anti-Black, antiwomen forces to silence our campaign through violence."

In November 1978, a tear-gas grenade was tossed into an SWP election campaign rally. Serious injury to rally participants was avoided only because Jim Burfeind, SWP candidate for Congress, quickly threw the grenade out of the room.

The Louisville Police Department has yet to conduct a serious investigation of the attack.

In her statement, Jayko said, "I am running for governor because I think that working people, Blacks, women, and farmers cannot depend on the Democrats and Republicans to protect our standard of living or protect our rights. . . . In this election, the Socialist Workers Party offers the only alternative to those who want to fight back. This is why filing

## 2,000 come to panel on socialism



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Some 2,000 people, an overflow crowd, turned out for a debate on the American socialist movement March 31. The panel discussion, held in New York City's Cooper Union, was sponsored by a Dutch television station.

Featured (from left) were trade unionist Henry Foner; critic Susan Sontag; Gus Hall, Communist Party; historian Henry Steele Commager; journalist I.F. Stone; Pedro

Camejo, Socialist Workers Party; and Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organization Committee.

Much of the discussion focused on Camejo's proposal that workers break decisively from the Democratic and Republican parties and form a labor party to speak and fight in their own interests.

these petitions today is a victory for all working people in Kentucky."

### VICTORY AGAINST CAR SEARCHES

The Supreme Court has ruled that cops can no longer arbitrarily stop cars at random to search them and check drivers licenses.

The high court ruled such searches violate the Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure.

Instead, the court ruled, police may only stop a car if they have reason to believe the driver is violating the law.

Arbitrary car searches have

been used in the past by cops to victimize Blacks and young people particularly.

### CORPORATE DOUBLESPEAK

The *New York Times* correspondent in Middletown, Pennsylvania, notes in the April 3 issue that because nuclear power is so "controversial," corporations resort to code-words to present it to the public:

"Thus, what happened on Three Mile Island . . . was an 'abnormal evolution,' not an accident."

"It was a 'reactor excursion,' not a near disaster. It was a 'transient event,' not a breakdown. . . ."

"Now," said the scientist who was briefing some police officers here, "in the event there's an event. . . ."

### NO MORE HARRISBURGS!

Anti-nuclear power protests continue in the wake of the Three Mile Island disaster.

Four hundred demonstrators called for the "immediate shutdown of all nuclear facilities" and "no new nukes" in Albany, New York, April 2. The action was organized by the Capitol District Antinuclear Alliance.

The Kansas City, Missouri, Energy Project held a news conference and picket of the federal building April 3.

Forty members of the Coalition for Safe Energy picketed in downtown Toledo, April 2, calling for the closing of the Davis-Bessey plant.

Meanwhile, in Cincinnati, the Citizens Against a Radioactive Environment news conference demanded the construction of the Zimmer Nu-

clear plant be halted. CARE and the Mobilization for Survival plan a demonstration for April 8 against the plant.

"Gov. Brown stop Diablo," "Close San Onofre," and "No more Harrisburgs," were the chants of more than 100 people in Los Angeles March 28. The action took place at a \$500-a-plant fundraiser for Gov. Jerry Brown. Demonstrators were protesting the Diablo Canyon Nuclear facility scheduled to open soon and the San Onofre plant near Los Angeles.

And on March 24, nearly 200 marched and rallied at the proposed site of the Yellow Creek Nuclear plant outside of Iuka, Mississippi. The Mississippi Catfish Alliance, which sponsored the rally, plans future activities.

### UNITED AIRLINES MECHANICS STRIKE

After rejecting two contract offers as inadequate, 18,600 mechanics and other ground workers at United Airlines walked off the job at midnight March 31.

The workers, organized by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, are demanding protection against the rising cost of living.

"The main issue here is wage security," said Don Kramlich, IAM local president in the Chicago area. "We're going to demand an unlimited cost-of-living provision to keep pace with inflation."

The union is demanding a cent-an-hour increase every time the Consumer Price Index rises three-tenths of a percentage point. The company had agreed to wage increases for

## Moody Park 3 trial set

By Miguel Pendás

HOUSTON—The trial of the Moody Park Three on trumped-up charges of "inciting a riot" is set to begin April 10. The three—Travis Morales, Thomas Herschi, and Myra Youngdahl—were arrested after a cop riot that took place in May 1978 in Moody Park. The park is in Houston's North Side Chicano barrio.

The cop riot led to a rebellion in the Chicano community against police brutality. Anger was particularly focused on the stubborn refusal of local, state, and federal authorities to punish Houston cops involved in the brutal slaying of Joe Campos Torres one year before.

Many people arrested during the rebellion have already been convicted of such charges as arson, assault, and destruction of property.

Morales, Herschi, and Youngdahl are in the People United to Fight Police Brutality, a group led by the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The prosecution does not claim the three physically participated in any "riot." Instead, the state claims, they "caused" it by making certain statements.

Conviction could result in jail sentences of up to twenty years each.

The attack on the Moody Park Three is part of an escalating campaign by city officials to stifle criticism of

the police and restrict the right to protest in the city. Led by Mayor Jim McConn, the city council, and Police Chief Harry Caldwell, this drive has intensified since the Torres murder created a national scandal, exposing the Houston Police Department's racism and brutality.

On March 26 the American Civil Liberties Union filed two federal law suits that challenge city ordinances restricting the distribution of leaflets and the use of city parks for rallies and demonstrations.

Supporters of civil liberties in Houston are demanding: Drop the charges against the Moody Park Three!

# What's Going On

## ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

AN EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member, recently returned from tour of southern Africa. Fri., Apr. 13, 8 p.m. Lecture Room C Volker Hall, Univ. of Alabama at Birmingham. Ausp: Univ. of Ala. Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (205) 322-6028.

## MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

NUCLEAR POWER: WHAT IT IS AND

HOW TO STOP IT. Speaker: Vinnie Longo, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Apr. 20, 7 p.m. Place to be announced. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

## ST. PAUL

CHINA AFTER MAO. Speakers: Richard Kagan, professor of East Asian history, Hamline Univ.; Ted Farmer, professor of history, Univ. of Minnesota; Gary Prevost, professor of government, St. Johns Univ. member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Apr. 13, 8 p.m. 373 University. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SOUTH AFRICA: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: Anita Baltzer, member of Socialist Workers Party, traveled to South Africa in fall 1978. Fri., Apr. 20, 8 p.m. 373 University. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## NEW JERSEY NEWARK

STOP CARTER'S NUCLEAR TIME BOMB. Speakers to be announced. Thurs., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## OREGON PORTLAND

NO NUKES. Speakers: representative from Trojan Decommissioning Alliance; Sam Warden, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Apr. 15, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

ROLE OF RELIGION IN SOCIETY. Speaker: Kris Huget, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Apr. 22, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

## PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN AFRICA. Speaker: August Nimtz, staff writer for the *Militant*; Tafa Taona Mahoso, member of Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. Wed., Apr. 11, 7:30 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

## PITTSBURGH

STANTON STORY BENEFIT. Speakers: Ron Story; Mrs. Raglin. Fri., Apr. 13, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1. For more information call (412) 788-4000.



### Unionists fight racist firing

By Ray Hamilton

SEATTLE—Larry Johnson, a Black machinist at Lockheed Shipyards and member of International Association of Machinists Local 79, is fighting for his rights after being fired in a clear case of racist discrimination.

Lockheed advertises itself as an "equal opportunity employer." But words are cheap. After Johnson came back from seeing the company doctor about a shoulder injury, his lead man accused him of wasting company time and called him a "Black-ass nigger."

Johnson called the lead man a racist. Shortly afterwards, he was fired. No disciplinary action was

taken against the lead man.

Johnson immediately filed a grievance, demanding reinstatement with full back pay. He also took his case to Local 79's civil rights committee, which voted to support the case.

A number of shipyard workers have helped Johnson distribute a leaflet at plant gates explaining his case, and have circulated petitions demanding he be rehired.

As a result, the news media has given the case some coverage. A television station filmed Johnson leafleting at a plant gate.

The company has sent the case to immediate arbitration.

1980 and 1981, but balked at giving one in 1979.

Union members rejected tentative agreements reached February 2 and March 19. The National Mediation Board has arranged for a new round of negotiations.

Meanwhile, in an effort to divide airline employees, United has laid off 13,300 pilots, attendants, and others, and has grounded all its flights.

### PROTESTS WIN PALESTINIANS' RELEASE

Two Palestinian women political prisoners have been released from Israeli jails, apparently in response to international protests.

Aisha Audi, who is in her thirties, had served ten years of a life sentence. She was suffering from a heart condition, spinal rheumatism, and ulcers. Arrested in 1969 after widespread Palestinian protests against the Zionist occupation of the West Bank, Audi was accused of planting bombs, none of which ever exploded.

Twenty-eight-year-old Miriam Shakshir is also extremely ill, suffering from heart and kidney disorders and severe ulcers.

The release of Audi and Shakshir was announced March 15 by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign.

### 'Nation' hits informers ruling

The recent ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals overturning a contempt citation against U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell received major media coverage throughout the United States.

Bell had been found in contempt for defying a federal court order to turn over eighteen FBI informer files to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party. The court order was issued in the course of the SWP's \$40 million suit against the FBI and other government spy agencies.

An editorial in the April 7 issue of the *Nation* angrily denounced the appeals court ruling. The editorial was written by Aryeh Neier, the nationally prominent civil liberties figure.

"First the good news," wrote Neier. "A United States Court of Appeals has just 'unequivocally affirm[ed] the principle' that the Attorney General of the United States is not above the law."

"Now, the bad news. The court doesn't mean it."

Neier points out that by overturning Judge Thomas Griesa's contempt citation the court of appeals effectively upheld the attorney general's defiance of the law.

It's clear from this, says Neier, that there is a double standard being applied. "It is just a few years . . . since a President was forced from office for withholding information about illegal wiretapping against another

political party. An Attorney General and several other high officials went to prison for their parts in that affair even though the intrusions on the rights of Democrats and other enemies of Richard Nixon were bush league compared to what the F.B.I. did to the Socialist Workers Party."

"Why then should Griffin Bell be able to get away with defying a Federal court when Nixon et al. could not do so?"

"Of several possible answers," says Neier, "the most plausible one is the identity of the victims. . . . The legal principle that emerges is less than resounding. It goes something like this: An Attorney General is not above the law, except in cases involving groups like the Socialist Workers Party."



GRIFFIN BELL

**House-hunting?**—In La Jolla, California, 15,000 square feet featuring a two-story living room. Plus a swimming pool with a bridge over it. Also, "a sunken cocktail area and bar looking out on golden pool and ocean." The real estate agent describes it as "friendly." \$4.5 million.

**Sharp**—Mercedes-Benz has decided to do a station wagon. Base price, \$23,900. The first one went to a faculty person at the University of Florida's business school. He wanted a wagon that wouldn't "rattle and roll." "Sure," he conceded, "the thing costs a few pennies, but I only buy Mercedes."

**Slight confusion**—Americans for Nuclear Energy say: "Long unemployment lines; empty schools; cold and dark homes; and a sad future for millions of Americans. This is the second Stone Age that radical antinuclear activists would bequeath to the American people." If you simply substituted "procapitalists" for "radical antinuclear activists" it would be a pretty accurate assessment.

**Sociology department**—Using advanced electrode and computer techniques, sociologists have established that

TV can be relaxing to the point of putting you to sleep.

**A real consumer, that one**—Federal aides are probing Dr. Stewart Richardson, former director of the Office of Consumer Affairs. It seems that while he was running the agency he was also enjoying a \$4,300 contract to study its functioning.

**Doublespeak dep't (I)**—"Sadat, Begin ask for weapons—Mideast leaders appeal to Congress for arms to keep peace."—Headline in *Dallas Morning News*.

**Doublespeak dep't (II)**—"WASHINGTON (AP)—President Carter is seeking to accelerate underground testing of nuclear weapons while progressing toward an agreement with the Soviets to ban such tests."

**Radiation? No problem**—Of course there's no risk involved in nuclear tests, but down in Mississippi, where they conducted underground bomb tests in the 1960s, biologists recently found deformed toads.

**Conservation program**—"We should all walk more."—Rosalynn Carter.

## Union Talk

## Solidarity with Steelworkers

This week's column is by Glen Arnod and Jeff Powers, members of the education committee of United Auto Workers Local 451.

CLEVELAND—The labor movement here is still feeling the effects of the coal miners' strike, even though it ended almost a year ago. When the miners were under attack, Cleveland unionists rallied to their cause.

The old labor adage "an injury to one is an injury to all" took on new meaning. We realized that we all had a stake in the miners' fight.

Today the fight for justice is centered in Newport News, Virginia. Shipyard workers there are on strike to win recognition of their union, the United Steelworkers.

Our UAW local has initiated a campaign of support for the Newport News strikers.

It all began when, as members of the education committee, we proposed that we go to Virginia and report back to our membership.

We had no idea what to expect. But soon after we pulled up to the Steelworkers' picket line, we knew we had done the right thing.

We told the strikers we were auto workers from Cleveland and that our local had sent us to show our support for the strike. A big cheer went up from the pickets.

What we saw on that picket line was a good picture of what the strike is all about.

Black and white workers, men and women, were all united.

Like our local, other unions had sent representatives to walk the line in solidarity.

Cops were everywhere. We got it all down on film.

When we got back to Cleveland, our local president suggested we make a leaflet to publicize our slide presentation on the strike for the next local meeting.

Apparently, our employer—the Linde Corporation of West Germany, believes it too has a stake in the strike. For three days the industrial relations department held up approval for our leaflet to be

posted on the plant bulletin boards. It caused such a stir that the company vice-presidents met about it.

Finally, after our recording secretary threatened to run off 800 copies and pass them out at the plant gates, the company gave in and allowed the leaflet to be posted.

About 120 members attended the local meeting. A real sense of solidarity with the strikers prevailed. We voted to make a financial contribution to the strike.

Noting the difficulties the steelworkers in Virginia face because of the anti-union "right to work" laws there, our local president said that the UAW knows from experience "when you don't have a closed shop, you've got one hell of a battle on your hands."

"They attempted to push through a 'right to work' law in Ohio, and we defeated it here," he said. "And we helped to defeat the 'right to work' law in Missouri last year."

For days after the local meeting, people would come up to thank us and congratulate us for what we had done in bringing them news of the strike.

Next we took the presentation before the Cleveland UAW CAP Council, which represents 60,000 UAW members.

Following our presentation, the council unanimously passed a resolution in support of the strike.

"Nobody can eat this resolution," declared Local 420 President Joe Diamco. "These people need more than words."

He said his local had access to a tractor-trailer truck and he would make it available to take food, clothing, and money to the Virginia strikers.

Plant-gate collections are now planned in many UAW plants, and a car caravan to Newport News is in the works.

We've shown the slides to other UAW locals and to the National Organization for Women Labor Task Force.

We think this spirit of labor solidarity is best summed up in the words of an auto worker who was present when we brought news of the strike to UAW Local 1250, the 14,000-member local at Ford Brookpark.

As we were leaving, he came up to us and said, "I have a family and I don't have that much. But I'm willing to give five dollars. We all have to stick together."

## Reed on women & draft

Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment have argued that if the ERA were passed, women would be subject to the draft.

Now that the Carter administration is considering reinstituting the draft, the question is coming up again: Does passing the ERA threaten women with conscription?

In the fall of 1970, while socialist leader Evelyn Reed was on a nationwide speaking tour on women's liberation, this question was raised many times by her audiences.

Reed, who died March 22, was best known for her Marxist study of the origins of women's oppression. In an interview with Caroline Lund, which appeared in the December 18, 1970, 'Militant,' Reed explained how she answered the question of women and the draft.



Cuban militia women

This question came up in a discussion I had with women from Washington, D.C., who were very concerned about the way the question of the draft had been introduced by certain senators into the Senate discussion of the women's Equal Rights Amendment. Some of these women were uneasy about the whole matter of conscription. They were concerned about being drafted and therefore were worried about the whole question of equal rights because of the threat of the draft.

Other women felt that there was something wrong with the whole way in which the question of the draft had been introduced into the issue of equal rights for women.

I explained that as a representative of the socialist wing of the women's liberation movement, I do not support even the conscription of men for an imperialist war like the one in Vietnam—a dirty war that serves only the monopolists and the profiteers.

But let's examine the question of why men, including the senators who killed the Equal Rights Amendment, are asking women to accept conscription.

It sounds to me like a kind of punishment for demanding equal rights.

What women are demanding is full and equal rights in all of the constructive, productive, creative areas of work and improving our lives and our human values.

Now, you have some senators and other men coming forward and saying, all right, if you want equal rights in all these constructive, productive fields, then you are obliged to accept equal "rights" in all the destructive, hideous aspects of this society.

Because of the nature of this capitalist society, women may have to accept this punishment, as men have had to accept it, but I am convinced they will protest it every step of the way.

Women are not about to take kindly to the prospect of being conscripted into any army that is carrying out an imperialist war—an army that is sent abroad to shoot down not only men but also women, children, and older people in Vietnam.

I doubt very much whether women are going to ever passively accept this kind of conscription.

This issue of conscription is nothing but a gun held at women's heads as a form of intimidation when they demand their rights.

Another point must be made here also.

It is often said by men that women are too weak, fragile, biologically inferior, and incompetent to undertake such "manly" matters as war.

In actuality, what we have seen throughout history is that women are perfectly capable of shouldering arms and participating fully in a militia, as they have done in Cuba, in order to protect and defend a government they support.

In Cuba, some women bore arms in the battles when they kicked out the dictator Batista. And today, many Cuban women voluntarily bear arms alongside of men to protect the government of their own choosing.

Often I feel that women are too much on the defensive concerning this question when they don't have to be at all.

### Pulley for mayor!

I really appreciate what your organization is doing. It is truly vital to the struggle.

I support the socialist worker and candidate Andrew Pulley [Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago]. We as the oppressed majority must realize the effect his victory in the election would have toward bringing about mass change.

He has taken a vital step in the uplifting of nations from imperialist oppression.

In my view, our support of Andrew Pulley is our contribution to the struggle

against the rule of the rich.

Unity is the foundation of successful liberation.

A prisoner  
Missouri

### Commends Militant

I have long approved of the ideals and dedication of the Socialist Workers Party, both the organization and its membership. The party fulfills a valuable function in exposing people to new ways of looking at world problems and national issues as well.

In a country where the work of the socialist is perhaps



Militant/Wayne Glover

## Weber's big lie

The Supreme Court has started its hearings on the Weber case, which puts before this arm of the government the question of reverse discrimination.

That they even consider such a case, given the unemployment figures for minorities and women, gives credence to the biggest lie since the origins of the myth of the "happy slave."

Look at what the Bakkes and Webers are trying to pull in the courts. "Mr. Judge," they say, "I'm not trying to push Blacks, women, and *latinos* out. I just don't want white males to be deprived of our rights". . . . to be first and foremost.

White males are the overwhelming majority of the skilled work force, and Weber's saying to the judges, "Those Blacks, *latinos*, and women aren't letting us white males have a chance."

And, so far, the white male judges and their fellow commentators of the business world repeat with a straight and solomonic face, "We don't want a perversion of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by having discrimination against white males."

It makes me wonder what Malcolm X would have to say about reverse discrimi-

nation. He'd make it really plain whose foot's on whose back.

Many workers today realize that the bosses that own the companies that hire workers have their feet on all workers' backs. They let up on a few only to pit those few against the majority. They do this to keep us from uniting and ganging up on any one boss. Or, worse yet for them, ganging up on bosses as a whole, as a class opposed to the working class.

When we see that we're being shafted as workers, then we'll look for allies among all other workers as long as they're ready to organize a union, a strike, a labor party to fight for our rights as full members of the working class and as human beings.

The strike of the United Steelworkers union Local 8888 in the Newport News, Virginia, shipyard is a good example of workers uniting in their own interests as workers.

But until we do get an equal portion of those jobs and rights, it's a lie to say that discrimination is in reverse. . . . It's going full speed ahead.

P.M.  
New York, New York

## Our party is your party

**THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.**

**IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.**

**JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.**

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.  
☐ Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$\_\_\_\_\_.  
☐ Please send me more information.
- Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_  
 State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
 Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## JOIN THE SWP

# Learning About Socialism

## Deeper into the unions

harder than any other, in Europe or North America, I think the task has required great dedication. And all of you and your organization are to be commended.

I am concerned with events in southern Africa. I am a member of the Association of Concerned African Scholars, a professional group dedicated to bringing about a just resolution of the southern Africa crisis.

We are a new organization. The SWP has been engaged in this struggle for a long time, at a time when it was not much at all on the minds of most Americans.

I commend you, your organization, and the *Militant* on the tenacity of your efforts and hope that our organization can do as well.

*Dennis Cordell*  
Assistant Professor  
Southern Methodist University  
Dallas, Texas

### 'Educational' paper

I am writing to express my appreciation for the prisoners' subscription that has been sent to me. I find the *Militant* educational as well as an interesting paper to read.

Writing this letter is my only way to thank you for this subscription. Keep up the good work.

*A prisoner*  
Tennessee

### Barred from Britain

On February 16 I flew to England to begin a three-week vacation there. Upon arriving at Gatwick Airport, I was detained by immigration agents and subjected to one of the most insulting and humiliating experiences of my life.

For nearly five and one-half hours I was subjected to interrogation. I was subsequently denied entry into England. To quote the immigration officer, "I am not satisfied that you will stay for only this limited period or that no more than a visit is intended."

All indications seem to point to the fact that my detention, interrogation, and deportation were the result of two factors: I am an entertainer, and I am Black. Two other immigrations detainees were Black, and were also barred from entering England. Inquiries among friends and acquaintances in the entertainment industry revealed that this is a surprisingly common occurrence among entertainers traveling to England.

*David Jenkins*  
New York, New York

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.

During its first years the Trotskyist movement in the United States was a small propaganda group. Because of objective conditions, it was relatively isolated from the working class and the day-to-day events in the class struggle.

But as American workers began to respond to the impact of the economic depression of the 1930s, new opportunities for socialists opened up in the trade-union movement. In the following article from the December 5, 1936, issue of 'Labor Action'—a forerunner of the 'Militant'—James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the American Trotskyist movement, explained the necessity of revolutionists turning toward these opportunities in the industrial working class.

As Lenin had earlier done, Cannon explains that there can be no revolutionary theory without revolutionary practice. The opportunities for winning workers to socialism that Cannon saw in the mid-1930s are even greater today.

Not the least of the reasons for the renewed vitality and firm, healthy growth of the socialist movement in California, is the newly developed activity of many of its members in trade unions and the increased attention the party as a whole is devoting to this field.

The turn toward trade-union work means the turn toward new life for the Socialist Party in the West. It means reconstructing the organization on a proletarian foundation. And that is what is needed first of all, if we are to be a real force in the class struggle and not a mere club of well-meaning people which never offends anybody, and which nobody ever thinks of taking seriously.

It takes a fighting organization to make a revolution, and the place to build it is inside, not outside, the broad labor movement. That means, primarily, the trade unions. We still have a long way to go to complete this necessary transformation of the party. What has been done so far—and it is all to the good—is, after all, merely dabbling. We will not really get down to business until we devote nine-tenths of our time and attention to trade-union work.

The trade unions are the elementary and basic organizations of the workers and the main medium through which the socialist idea can penetrate the masses and thus become a real force. The masses do not come to the party; the party must go to the masses. The militant activist who carries the banner into the mass organization and takes his place on the firing line in their struggle is the true representative of resurgent socialism.

And it is not enough by any means to have a few

"specialists" attending to this function while the others occupy the cheering section in the grandstand. Nothing is more absurd and futile than such a party. Auxiliary organizations can and should be formed to enlist the support of sympathizers and fellow-travelers. But the party of the proletariat, to my notion, should be conceived as an organization of activists with the bulk of its members—everyone eligible, in fact—rooted in the trade unions and other mass organizations of the workers.

At this point we always come to the old moth-eaten and utterly ridiculous contrast of theory and practice. There is neither sense nor profit in such a debate, for the theory of Marxism, as Engels explained many times, is a guide to action. Let muddleheads argue which comes first and which is more important. As an all-around nuisance and futilitarian the misnamed "Marxist" who mulls over theory in a vacuum is tied by the vulgar activist who is "all motion and no direction." Effective revolutionists unite theory with practice in all their activity.

Engels fought on the barricades in his youth. Marx, the formulator of the theory of the proletariat, devoted an enormous amount of time to the practical work of organization in the First International, and he remained a revolutionary war horse till the day of his death, sniffing the battle from afar. Lenin was a thinker and a doer. And Trotsky, the greatest revolutionary man of action the world has ever seen, elucidated problems of theory on a military train in the heat of civil war.

The purposeful activism of the educated socialists must be directed primarily into the trade unions precisely because they are the immediate connecting link with a broader circle of workers and therefore the most fruitful field of activity. When the socialist idea is carried into the workers' mass organizations by the militant activists, and takes root there, a profound influence is exerted upon these organizations. They become more aware of their class interest and their historic mission, and grow in militancy and solidarity and effectiveness in their struggle against the exploiters.

At the same time, the party gains strength from the live mass contact, finds a constant corrective for tactical errors under the impact of the class struggle and steadily draws new proletarian recruits into its ranks. In the trade-union struggle the party tests and corrects itself in action. It hardens and grows up to the level of its historic task as the workers' vanguard in the coming revolution.

The trail-blazing work of the socialist activists in the California unions has opened a path for the party as a whole. There can be no doubt that the near future holds great successes for the party if it follows that path.

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205. Tel: (205) 322-6028.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. Los Angeles, Eastside: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Zip: 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Los Angeles, Westside: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Zip: 90018. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, c/o Joe Carmack, Univ. of Hartford, 11 Sherman St. Zip: 06105. Tel: (203) 233-6465.

**DELAWARE:** Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, P.O. Box M218. Zip: 46401.

**KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Veronica Cruz, Kansas Univ. 326 Lewis. Zip: 66045. Tel: (913) 864-2066.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262.

Louisville: SWP, YSA, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Clason Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1299. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Fl. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Raleigh: SWP, Odd Fellows Building, Rm. 209, 19 West Hargett St. Zip: 27601

Tel: (919) 833-9440.

**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, The Evergreen State College Library, Rm 3208. Zip: 98505. Tel: (206) 943-3089. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## 'Weber case threatens our union & civil rights'

### Steelworkers conference vows to defend job equality

By Nancy Cole

PITTSBURGH—"The Brian Weber case poses a real threat in turning back all the work this union has done, all the work you people here have done, all the work people in this country concerned with civil rights have done," United Steelworkers General Counsel Bernard Kleiman told the first USWA Civil Rights Conference held here March 27-29.

Weber is a white laboratory technician at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, Louisiana. Claiming "reverse discrimination," he filed suit against the affirmative-action plan at Kaiser negotiated in the 1974 USWA contract.

The object of the plan was to increase the number of Black and women skilled craft workers. In 1974, Blacks held only 2 percent of these jobs and women held none.

Two lower courts upheld *Weber* and the Supreme Court began hearings on the case March 28.

In the midst of the conference here, top union officials left to attend the hearings in Washington, D.C.

The outcome of the case, Kleiman explained in a report back to the conference, "may be possibly the most important civil rights decision since the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

"As we see it, what is at stake is our power to continue to move forward, to continue to implement [affirmative-action] agreements, basically to treat our members with equity."

The Weber threat—and the conditions of discrimination that led to affirmative-action plans—was a theme of this unprecedented gathering of 1,000 steelworkers.

The delegates were members of local union civil rights committees. More than two-thirds were Blacks, and there were several hundred women.

Another theme was solidarity with the strike of Newport News, Virginia, steelworkers who are



Sticker distributed at conference.

fighting for union recognition against the giant Tenneco conglomerate.

USWA organizing department director Elmer Chaddock captured this sentiment when he told the delegates, "Civil rights and organizing go hand in hand."

Conference organizers painted a picture of the United Steelworkers as the union that is and should be in the forefront in the fight for civil rights—not just on the job but throughout society.

Speakers at the three-day conference included AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director William Pollard; Coalition of Labor Union Women president Joyce Miller; and Alfredo Montoya, executive director of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement.

In the keynote address the first day, USWA

President Lloyd McBride explained that before the affirmative-action job training plan at Kaiser, the facts of discrimination were there for anyone to see.

"Had the government come in and looked at it, the government would have been obligated to issue an order to correct the situation," he said.

"Because the government didn't, two courts said the union and the company couldn't enter into a voluntary agreement.

"Our union is committed to what we did," McBride declared. "There was nothing else we could have done."

Many delegates had heard of the *Weber* case but were not aware of the dangers it poses for the USWA and the entire labor movement.

In one of the conference workshops, "Reaching Out to Our Human Family," Jane Van Deusen explained what had been done in New Orleans to counter the threat. Van Deusen is a member of the civil rights committee of USWA Local 13000 at Kaiser's Chalmette, Louisiana, plant.

"Individual steelworkers got together," she said, "and contacted different unions, the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the National Organization for Women. We were able to put together a rally to explain the danger of this case."

Van Deusen pointed out that the union international had aided the effort by providing a speaker from the international civil rights department.

"I'd like to suggest some things we can do to further the educational process we began here at this conference," she said. "The international can send out the fact sheet included in the delegates kits to all local unions, along with any other literature available on the case."

"One good idea," she continued, "might be for the

*Continued on page 26*

## 'Newport News is us' says USWA conference

By Nancy Cole

PITTSBURGH—"What time is it?" "Steelworkers time!"

That refrain, the favorite chant on Steelworkers Local 8888's picket lines in Newport News, Virginia, was also heard many times throughout the March 27-29 United Steelworkers civil rights conference.

The strike by Virginia shipyard workers for a union is a "life and death struggle," said USWA Vice-president Leon Lynch in opening the conference.

"88: Close the Gate!"—a USWA film on the Newport News strike—received an enthusiastic response from 1,000 delegates attending a rally held during the conference.

After the film, Elmer Chaddock, director of the USWA organizing department, declared: "There's no play acting there, and those clubs you saw [the cops carrying] are four feet long. Your union is engaged in a massive, difficult struggle. We're going to win, there can be no doubt."

Chaddock went on to express his belief that the "struggle at Newport News will prove to be a blessing for the entire labor movement.

"Hundreds and hundreds of organizing efforts have been crushed in recent years," he said. "The Newport News strike is reminding the Steelworkers union, the labor movement, and the general public about the difficulties

workers face when they try to exercise their right to a union.

"We won the election fair and square by 1,500 votes, and now we are almost immersed in a legal quagmire," he told the rally.

"We now have thousands and thousands of legal documents. That's the name of the employers' game. If we let them, they'll choke us on their legal documents."

"I was never more proud of your union and my union when we made the decision to 'close the gates.' The normal course in this situation—and it is the employers' battleground—is to follow the legal route. And hope and pray that someday down the road you'll be officially certified. But even then that's not the end of the road. Then they back you to the wall until you don't have any strength left."

Chaddock explained that the National Labor Relations Board, which is now holding court-ordered hearings into the January 1978 USWA election victory, has eight thousand pages of testimony and evidence thrown in by the employer, Tenneco. It's the "old delay and destroy tactic," he said.

"The message I want to leave here today is that above all we must continue to organize. . . . That's where our strength comes from, that's where we replenish ourselves."

Leon Lynch then noted that the film

that conference delegates had just seen might inspire them to raise funds for the strike. He said any fund raising should be conducted through the auspices of their local unions and districts.

Laurence Goodman from Local 7055 jumped up from the audience and initiated a spontaneous collection. "I see \$1,000 right here in this room that's guaranteed to get there," he said, adding, "Newport News is us!"

A request by Lynch for volunteer collectors quickly brought more than twenty people to the front of the room. Table cloths were stripped from speak-

ers' tables to serve as huge collection receptacles.

While the collectors were going around, the delegates sang, "We're going to roll the union on," with verses pledging to roll on over Tenneco and the politicians if they got in the way of the union.

Counted on the spot, the collection came to \$1,095.85.

The film "88: Close the Gate" is available from the USWA Public Relations Department, 5 Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222. Telephone (412) 562-2400.



Newport News strikers. Labor solidarity is needed to help them win.

Militant/Jon Hillson