

THE MILITANT

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

Cops riot against Va. Steelworkers

Strikers defy attack—solidarity urgently needed



NEWPORT NEWS, Va., April 16—Cops beat Steelworker pickets at shipyard. From there, police rampaged down city streets and tried to storm strike headquarters. See pages 2-7.

Militant/Jon Hillson

The following statement was released April 18 by Socialist Workers Party leader Andrew Pulley. A member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 in Gary, Indiana, Pulley was the SWP's candidate for mayor in the recent Chicago elections.



The bloody police riot against striking Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, on April 16 was a calculated attack on the entire labor movement.

It must not go unanswered.

When uniformed stormtroopers can bust into a union strike headquarters—in a violent attempt to wreck the offices and beat up those inside—the rights of all unions are in jeopardy.

When peaceful pickets can be systematically broken up—denied their rights to free speech, free assembly, and even freedom to walk the streets—then no working person is safe.

Steelworkers organizer Jack Hower said, "It was a 'beat-a-steelworker day' for Newport News and Virginia State police."

An emergency outcry of protest—telegrams, news conferences, and rallies—is needed to show that the labor movement will not allow democratic rights to fall under police boots and billy clubs. Now is the time for a renewed

nationwide campaign of labor solidarity with the embattled Newport News shipyard strikers.

The truth about police union busting in Newport News and the threat it poses must be made known. It is being covered up by the employers' news media which talk about "strike violence," as though the men and women fighting for their democratic right to union representation were at fault.

The need for solidarity is more urgent, not less, since the April 18 announcement by shipyard management of a new "offer" to allow strikers to return to work. This "offer"—a transparent attempt to divide the strikers—has been promptly repudiated by the union. The strike continues.

The members of USWA Local 8888 voted last December to strike because Tenneco refused to recognize their union and bargain with them. It is up to the members of Local 8888 to decide when they will end their strike and on what terms.

A powerful show of nationwide labor solidarity now is one of the best ways to help them in their present struggle and in future battles.

The stakes have never been higher. Newport News has become the front line of a major confrontation between the corporate profiteers and the labor movement. The bosses are determined to keep unions out of the low-wage, "right to work" South and to extend the same antilabor policies north, east, and west.

The Tenneco-cop strikebreaking in Newport News was no isolated event, no southern

peculiarity. It is part of a national offensive of the capitalist class to make workers shoulder the burden of the worldwide crisis of their economic system.

Strikebreaking in Newport News goes along with Carter's 7 percent wage ceiling and his "use less pay more" energy policy.

It goes along with the attempts to roll back equal rights gains such as busing, affirmative action, legal abortion, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

It goes along with Carter's military moves in the Middle East and his attempts to prepare the American people to accept new wars in which young workers will fight and die to protect—not freedom—but U.S. corporate interests abroad.

It goes along with the attempt by Carter and the coal bosses last year to destroy or cripple the United Mine Workers union.

But like the coal miners, the Newport News Steelworkers are setting an inspiring example of how working people can organize and fight back.

The union cause has brought together Black and white, men and women, young and old. They have held fast, despite Tenneco's virulent strikebreaking, despite news media lies, despite police violence.

They have gotten no help from the phony "friends of labor" in government. No Democratic or Republican politician has condemned

Continued on next page

Steelworkers reject Tenneco's latest offer

As we go to press

NEWPORT NEWS, Va., April 18—Steelworkers tonight rejected Tenneco's latest attempt to divide and break Local 8888.

In a letter distributed at the shipyard this afternoon, Tenneco said it was dropping its insistence that Local 8888 members sign an "unconditional offer" to return to work. But it maintained its demand that strikers go through the company personnel office and await job assignments through the mail.

The "orderly and efficient return" Tenneco wants out of this procedure is to screen out union leaders and militants while retaining a recently hired scab work force that the shipyard says numbers 1,100.

Reaction on picket lines to the company's offer was immediate and unanimous.

"They want to humiliate us," a maintenance worker said.

"All they should ask of us to come back is what we went out with—our badges. We left at our job sites, that's where we should go

back," another striker said.

Another striker said: "We go back on our terms."

USWA District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher issued the following statement:

"On April 13th I sent a telegram to [shipyard President] Edward J. Campbell, of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company stating the Union's position with respect to returning to work.

"Today, April 18th, instead of affording me the courtesy of a reply, in a typical Tenneco move, Mr. Campbell wrote a letter to each employee ignoring the Union, which, in our opinion, is the certified bargaining agent at Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock.

"In light of this action by Mr. Campbell, this is to advise that the Union's position has not changed since April 13th. Therefore, until properly notified by the Union, we ask our members to ignore this latest letter from Mr. Campbell."

leading Colombian daily has charged him with complicity in the assassination of a former cabinet minister last September—even though it is well known that González and his party oppose such actions.

The PSR reports that González "is being tortured, both physically and psychologically."

The highly respected Institute for Legal Medicine of Colombia has published irrefutable evidence that torture of political prisoners is a common practice in Turbay Ayala's prisons.

When he took office in August 1978, Turbay Ayala faced a rising tide of strikes and union organization by workers angered by low wages, rising prices, and unemployment. He responded by launching a crackdown against unions and other working-class organizations, using the "fight against terrorism" as a pretext.

He invoked the "Security Statute," which provides for military trials of political dissenters; allows imprisonment without charges or a hearing; and bans vaguely defined "public disorders" and "subversive propaganda." Restrictions were imposed on strikes and union organizing.

By January 1979, Colombia's jails held at least 2,300 political prisoners, according to the Council on Hemispheric Relations. Many of these were political prisoners.

Opponents of antilabor repression, including the PSR and PST, organized a conference at the end of March. It attracted 1,500 delegates. Nearly 200 unions sent delegates including top leaders of all four major labor federations. The conference concluded April 1 with a rally against repression attended by 3,500.

González, who was to be a delegate from his union to the conference, was arrested March 29—hours before the gathering was to open.

In the week following the conference, more than 120 unionists and other political dissenters were seized in Bogota alone.

González, Gallego, and the other victims of political repression in Colombia urgently need support from trade unionists and civil libertarians. Messages calling for their release should be sent to the Colombian Embassy, 2118 Leroy Place NW, Washington, D.C. 20008; or to Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala, Presidente de Colombia, Palacio de San Carlos, Bogotá, Colombia.

Send copies to the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

...solidarity

Continued from page 1

the police riot or campaigned for the rights of the strikers.

Instead, local and state officials have sent two- and four-legged dogs against them. The courts and the National Labor Relations Board have willingly played Tenneco's game of stalling and starving the strikers back to work.

But the strikers have found allies—among other unionists, among Black organizations, among women's rights groups, among students. In this solidarity lies a power greater than Tenneco's billions. The power the coal miners showed when they laughed Carter's strikebreaking Taft-Hartley order out of the coal fields, with the support of other workers across the country.

Now the Newport News strikers need the same kind of solidarity from the labor movement and its allies. They need support resolutions from our local unions. They need our financial and material aid. They need to see rallies and picket lines at Tenneco's offices across the country. They need to see caravans of unionists stream into Newport

News to share picket duty with our Steelworker brothers and sisters.

Protest police union busting!

An injury to one is an injury to all!

Support the Newport News Steelworkers!

Free Gonzalez and Gallego

The labor movement is the prime target of a wave of political repression directed by President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala in Colombia.

Libardo González Flores, a leader of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR) and Gloria Stella Gallego, an activist in the Socialist Workers Party (PST), are among those who have been jailed. The PSR and PST are supporters of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement.

González, an author and leader of the professors' union at Bogota's Free University, is a prominent opponent of the government's sweeping violations of basic democratic rights.

No charges have been leveled officially against González. But as part of a campaign to smear opponents of antilabor repression, a

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Some 22 million Iranians hear Trotskyist leader Babak Zahraie debate government spokesman on national television. **Page 11.**



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Because Héctor Marroquín is an avowed socialist, an immigration judge has ordered him to leave the United States. **Page 9.**



A tribute to Evelyn Reed

Speech by SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters on the life of an outstanding fighter for the emancipation of women and the working class. **Pages 15-19.**



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Newport News strikers defy attack on union office

This week's 'Militant' coverage from Newport News, Virginia, was compiled by a team of on-the-scene reporters consisting of John Hawkins, Jon Hillson, Tom Leonard, Omari Musa, Andy Rose, and Nancy Schwalb.

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—A bloody, antilabor state of siege gripped Newport News on Monday, April 16, as state and local cops rampaged down city streets, attacking Steelworker pickets and trying to storm Local 8888's strike headquarters.

At least thirty Steelworkers required hospital treatment. At least sixty-three strikers were arrested.

Many of the Steelworkers were injured when Newport News cops smashed into the front entrance of the union's strike offices. It was here also that the police apparently sustained most of their injuries, as Steelworkers stopped the cops short in their effort to break up the local's headquarters.

The police violence has not checked the fighting spirit of the Steelworkers.

Scores of strikers—including men and women injured and arrested during the cop riot—returned to the picket lines within hours.

Hundreds were on the lines again just after dawn on Tuesday, April 17, in a chanting, militant display of the union's refusal to be intimidated.

The pickets were flanked Tuesday by a massive display of force by city and state cops, who cracked open the head of one striker in the afternoon. But there was no repeat of Monday's cop riot.

"I thought this was a free country," Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby told the *Militant*. The police, he said, "remind me of a bunch of nazis."

"If anything, what the police did has strengthened our determination," Crosby said. For the Steelworkers, protecting their headquarters "is like protecting your home."

Real lawbreakers

Steelworker spokesperson Bill Edwards terms the police sweep and headquarters assault Monday as "completely unprovoked."

"The police in Newport News are the lawbreakers," he said.

Attorneys for Local 8888 are preparing lawsuits against the governor, the mayor of Newport News, the police chief, and individual officers. They are also calling on the U.S. attorney in Norfolk to post federal marshals as observers on picket lines to protect picketers' rights. USWA District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher has demanded a congressional investigation of Tenneco.

* * *

This is how the Newport News and Virginia state "guardians of order" acted as lawbreakers and strikebreak-



'They're trying to smash our union, to break us,' declared Steelworker representative Bill James (center, in suit) as march toward shipyard took off. Militant/Jon Hillson

ers for Tenneco on April 16:

Hundreds of Steelworkers fanned out in picket lines at 5 a.m. on April 16, an hour earlier than usual. They were inspired by the union meeting on Friday April 13, which had unanimously rejected Tenneco's humiliating return-to-work conditions. The union had wired Tenneco of its refusal to submit. (See story on page 4.)

The shipyard replied, over the weekend, with a media blitz designed to spark a back-to-work panic. Tenneco bought newspaper and TV ads directing strikers to come to the company personnel office April 16 and go through the reapplication procedure.

After Friday's union meeting, there seemed to be few takers. Barely a handful showed up, and some of them left after seeing the picket lines, which totalled 600-800 at all locations.

As the size of the picket lines along Washington Avenue grew to around 500, mostly at the Thirty-seventh Street main gate, groups of Steelworkers formed mobile squads that fortified lines at smaller gates.

Soon, for the first time since the strike began on January 31, the Forty-second, Forty-sixth, and Fiftieth Street gates were briefly shut to scabs.

For a moment, the "right to work"

laws, which protect scabs and company profits, gave way to the rights of the majority—the right to strike and to shut down a job site to force the employer to recognize the union and negotiate with it.

A group of 300-400 pickets marched past the nearby office of the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA), Tenneco's company union, chanting, "Scabs" and "PSA is dead." Cops charged and dispersed this demonstration.

Cop riot begins

Newport News cops with attack dogs had moved in on the strikers several times in the early morning, picking off individual members and plowing into picket lines to make arrests. As the last scabs drifted in to work, state police reinforcements—more of them than at any time during the strike—began pouring in.

Shortly after 9 a.m., nearly 300 strikers lined both sides of Washington Avenue. Their voices filled the streets with the words of "We Shall Not Be Moved." The coffee shops along the street were jammed with Steelworkers taking a break after three to four hours on the picket lines.

An oddly quiet moment.

Then, nearly 100 cops quickly massed in a line across Washington Avenue. Without any warning or any order to disperse, they took two or three rapid steps forward, then broke into a charge, sweeping down the street, their clubs flying.

Outside Kim's Cafe, an older Black man who didn't move fast enough was knocked to the ground. Then cops grabbed his arms and started dragging him down the street, while a police dog chewed on his leg.

Customers peered out of Kim's windows with anger. Suddenly, cops burst in and taunted, "Who in there thinks they're a king?"

At both Kim's and Pearl's, another Washington Avenue restaurant, cops barked orders at customers to get out. They grabbed, pushed, and shoved people against doors, flailing at them with their four-foot batons.

On the street, cops were clubbing and knocking down anybody in front of them.

Dozens of Steelworkers.

A local newspaper reporter, trying to get a story.

A scab taking the day off and watching from the sidelines.

The frenzied cops swept back and

Continued on page 5

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'We'll go back to work on our own terms'

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—It was a glimpse of union democracy in action. A collective discussion and decision by several thousand striking shipyard workers on a question that will shape their lives and the future of the labor movement in the South for years to come:

How can they best continue their battle for union recognition after eleven grueling weeks on the picket line?

The floor of Hampton Coliseum was nearly filled Friday afternoon, April 13. Good-sized crowds extended up both sides as well. Press estimates put the turnout anywhere from 3,000 to 6,000. A little more than half the crowd was Black, about the same as Newport News Shipyard as a whole.

It was the first meeting of United Steelworkers Local 8888 since a similar mass meeting last December voted to authorize a strike to force Tenneco, owner of the shipyard, to recognize the union.

It was clear that news reporters busy scribbling death notices for the union hadn't bothered to ask these men and women. Their spirits were high right from the start. No sense of defeat clouded the gathering.

It started out with the formalities of a regular union meeting. Roll call of officers. Minutes. Financial report. New business. Finally, unfinished business. The unfinished business that everybody had come to discuss.

Executive board's decision

Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby read through a letter explaining the recommendation by the executive board and negotiating committee to suspend the strike, with strikers returning to work on April 16.

He said that all of organized labor was "proud of the tremendous show of strength demonstrated during the strike."

"Newport News Shipbuilding originally stated it would abide by the result of its day in court," Crosby said, referring to the company's repeated attempts to overturn the union's victory in a January 1978 representation election.

"Now it has had its day in court. But it now indicates it will continue to use delaying appeals to deny our members their lawful rights, and will continue to punish the community with further economic hardship."

Crosby said the union was confident of eventually defeating Tenneco's court challenges. "When we finish those legal proceedings we may be forced to resume striking to get a just and decent contract, and if necessary, we are prepared to do just that."

Strike organizer Jack Hower, from the international union staff, further discussed the strike recess proposal.

"Slowly as the weeks passed, many

of our fellow workers went back to work," he said. "Now 45 percent are back on the job. Our ultimate goal of negotiating a contract would never be reached if we go to the bargaining table with half a membership."

'The company's game'

Hower explained that "the company's game" has been to stall the strike to death. "We're talking about another six to nine months," he said, before the National Labor Relations Board will rule on Tenneco's latest challenge to the union's collective bargaining rights. Even if the NLRB rules in the union's favor, Tenneco can appeal through the federal courts for years to come.

"When that time comes we've got to be ready to go [on strike] again," Hower said.

Next Bruce Thrasher, director of USWA District 35, told the crowd, "I renew my pledge to you to bring Tenneco to the bargaining table."

"This is a strike suspension, not termination. With the desire of the membership, it can be used again."

Thrasher added that the union would set up a subdistrict office in Newport News, bring in a permanent attorney from the international union's safety department, and ask the U.S. Senate Labor Committee to investigate the shipyard.

Then the floor was opened for discussion. Nine floor microphones were spread through the coliseum, and strikers had free access to them to speak. The discussion started with questions about the punitive procedure Tenneco is trying to impose on strikers who return.

'Unconditional agreement'

Two points were especially ominous. All strikers were told to report to the personnel office, not to their old jobs. And they would be forced to sign a statement, "I make an unconditional agreement to return to work."

The initial proposal of the local and district office officials was to accept these terms. But strikers had a lot of questions, a lot of hesitations.

"What are we going to do about the people who have been arrested? Is Tenneco going to take them back?"

"If we go back, won't that mean crossing the designers' picket lines?" Marine designers at the shipyard, organized in USWA Local 8417, have been on strike for twenty-five months for a contract.

"How will signing this agreement affect us under the 'right to work' law?"

Strike organizer Jack Hower suggested that strikers write at the bottom of the "unconditional offer" statement that they were signing "under protest."

Strikers didn't see this as an effective tactic. Speaker after speaker made

it clear that Tenneco's terms were designed to deny returning workers and union protection and to give Tenneco a free hand to weed out and victimize union militants.

'I know this company'

"How long is this whole process going to take? Six weeks? Six days? Six months? What is the guarantee that we'll ever get back?" a striker asked.

"I know this company," a young Black mechanic said. "They're going to separate out the 'troublemakers.' They'll say the jobs we were doing have been done away with, and 'we'll call you if we need you.' Shipbuilding is at a low. Maybe I'll get called back, but what about the helpers and the handymen?"

A young white worker declared: "If we go back in there, I'm not going back to the personnel office and sign no damn paper. I'm not going back in there with a bell around my neck and my head hung down like a cow. I'm going back to my own job."

A striker reported that she was the first woman apprentice in her craft and had only a few months to go before getting journeymen's papers.

"I've given up a lot for the strike," she said. "I want to get back on my job. I can get buried very easily in paperwork. For representation [on grievances], Tenneco is going to tell us that we're supposed to take a co-worker into the office with us. We haven't been to school. We don't know the grievance procedure. What are we supposed to do?"

Excitement was building up as sentiment grew for defying Tenneco's orders.

At one point a striker asked, "If we decide to stay out, will you back us?"

Democratic union

"This union is democratic," came the answer. "We will back you."

Especially for a crowd this large, the self-discipline and seriousness of the discussion were extraordinary. Agree or disagree, nobody booed a fellow striker. What everyone had to say was listened to attentively.

As the discussion went on, groups began to meet around the microphones to bring together their questions and comments. Then one spokesperson would take the floor.

Strikers were angry about the court decisions that have allowed Tenneco to stall and stall again. "We've been sold out by the Fourth District judges," one speaker declared. "Tenneco has been known to buy judges. I want the union to find out the selling price for judges in our courts today." This was greeted with loud applause.

From a group around the mike in the center of the floor, one striker checked

again. "Now, where are we supposed to report Monday morning? To the personnel building or to our jobs?"

To the personnel building.

"There's no way in the world that all of us are going to fit in the personnel building Monday morning," he said. This brought cheers.

He passed the mike to a co-worker next to him.

Another idea

"I have another idea," he began. "Tenneco says it's going to take a week to get their supervision together [to assign jobs to returning strikers]. Well, all right. We'll go back to work, but we'll go back on our own terms. We'll go back when we're ready. So why don't we tell them we'll be back not on Monday but a week from Monday. And we're not going back to the personnel office. We're reporting to our regular jobs!"

The coliseum rocked with cheers and applause.

"Would you like to put that in the form of a motion?" Hower asked.

After the motion, the local leadership caucused for just a couple of minutes, then announced: "The executive board concurs unanimously with the motion. Is there any discussion?"

In the course of a brief discussion, strikers made it clear from the floor that the intent of the motion was not simply to extend the strike for one week, but to return to work only on their own terms.

All those in favor?

The entire meeting surged to its feet and cheered. No one was opposed.

'Continue the strike!'

A striker asked the obvious question: "What happens if Tenneco doesn't go along with it?"

District Director Thrasher rushed across the stage and took the microphone. "I'll tell you what we're going to do—we're going to continue the strike!"

The strikers—united—jumped to their feet again. They were not beaten. They were taking a stand. They were throwing Tenneco's "offer" back in its arrogant face.

The final word: "Now, this means let's see everybody out on the picket line."

The strikers walked out cheering and chanting.

"Eighty-eight—close the gate!"

"Eighty-eight—close the gate!"

Tenneco's blows, meant to divide and demoralize the strikers, had had the opposite effect. A bond of solidarity had been forged anew, maybe firmer than ever.

As thousands of determined men and women poured out of the coliseum shouting, "What time is it? *Steelworkers time!*" you knew their time had come. They were the union.



Tenneco's blows forged new bond of solidarity. Above, strikers picket shipyard gate April 16, just before police riot.

Militant/Jon Hillson

...Newport News strikers defy attack on union

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forth over a fifteen-block area, rousting people from stores and doorways, breaking up groups of passers-by, chasing Steelworkers through parking lots and side streets.

After clearing the main street of strikers, cops fanned into the nearby community and systematically assaulted groups of strikers retreating from the scene. Pickets at outlying picket stations, although they knew of the cop attack at the main gates, stood their ground until they too were assaulted and their picket lines broken.

Attack on union headquarters

The Steelworkers slowly regrouped at strike headquarters at Thirty-third and Washington, informing each other of what had happened. The more they talked the angrier they got. Some were bleeding. Others hobbled. And most shook with rage.

Twenty yards diagonally across the street, the police also regrouped. They were preparing another attack, much as they had carefully arrayed themselves at the main gate.

Strike leaders, sensing the impending charge, began huddling people into the lobby of the building.

Then the cops started marching—fast and hard—directly on the crowd outside the headquarters, jamming them with nightsticks, shouting at them to get inside.

The cops charged into the building lobby, throwing two Steelworkers through a plate-glass door.

Some of the strikers escaped into the Bank of Newport News, which shares the lobby with the union, and were given hiding places by sympathetic employees.

Some, such as Local 8888 trustee Bill Bowser, were caught in the cops' rush and repeatedly clubbed. Bowser was taken out of the headquarters later by ambulance, suffering a broken ankle, bruised ribs, and a slight concussion.

The cops pounded strikers as they kicked them out of the building, slamming them onto the street and into walls. Among those beaten was the pregnant wife of a striker.

Other strikers were able to rush upstairs ahead of the cops and joined a defense team that pushed the police back and blocked them from reaching the second floor.

The cops, stunned by the powerful greeting they got on the landing between the first and second floors, withdrew from the building.

Regaining the streets

The Steelworkers who had scattered to safety, and those caught by the police rush, again regrouped outside the headquarters. They were dazed by what had just happened.

It didn't take long for shock to turn to fury as shouts of defiance erupted from the crowd and from the two stories of Steelworker windows above.

Steelworker staff representative Bill James came to the front of the Local 8888 members. "They're trying to smash our union, to break us," he said. "Are you going to let them?"

The roar that went up from the strikers filled the street. "No!"

"Then let's go," James shouted, and 100 Steelworkers marched down the street toward the shipyard, past the cops and scores of onlookers who had just witnessed the stormtrooper assault.

Fists and placards in the air, the strikers took up familiar chants.

"Steelworkers bustin' loose!"

"Eighty-eight—Close the gate!"

"Scabs can't build no ships!"

"What time is it? Steelworkers time!"

The slogans took on new meaning now. It was a question of the very right of the union to function, to have an office, to have its members picket or even walk unmolested on the streets of Newport News.

The disciplined picket line marched from gate to gate up and down Washington Avenue for a mile, trailed by cops, then single file along several city blocks, until the police formed a human wall.

Steelworkers stopped, surrounded by an equal number of cops. They were told that in five minutes they would be arrested for "parading without a permit."

The pickets stood their ground. Then, about thirty seconds before the five minutes elapsed, James said, "At the count of ten, we disperse."

Every striker joined the shouted countdown, which ended with a cheer. Every striker dispersed. There were no arrests.

Strikers walked back to their headquarters, angry and proud. They had



Militant Jon Hillson

defied the cop attempt to deny them their right to city streets.

Throughout the afternoon, Steelworkers helped other Steelworkers to the hospital, then to the U.S.W.A. office across town, where affidavits for legal action against the police were being drawn up.

They were Black and white, male

and female. Some were missing shoes. Others dabbed blood as they recounted their stories. Mostly they were young, as young as nineteen or twenty, and already with two years of duty at the shipyard.

Later in the afternoon, fourteen more
Continued on next page

What Va. shipyard workers are fighting for

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Why is Steelworkers Local 8888 standing fast against Tenneco?

It's not just money. Although the strikers know they average roughly 60 percent of what unionized shipbuilders across the country earn. In Newport News, a welder makes around \$5.69 an hour. Under union contract in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, for instance, he or she would make more than \$6. And in a Steelworker-organized plant, such a skill could mean \$10 an hour or more.

It's not only hazardous working conditions that prompted the strike. Although there has never been a shipyard contract with a safety clause, and the bosses maintain a standing threat to fire any worker for talking with the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

It's more than Tenneco's policy on wages and hours, despite the shipyard's virtual establishment of a six-day workweek and its removal of traditional paid holidays, such as Easter.

There's no cost-of-living clause in the contract. Wage raises are pegged to ninety days' work on a given job site and a favorable recommenda-

tion of the supervisor. That's why the tours of duty more often than not last eighty-five days and why the typical shipyard employee hasn't had a raise in anywhere from two to four years.

Any of these oppressive facts of life in the world's largest private shipyard are reasons to fight to the finish.

There are many more.

A company pension that leaves many workers after forty years of employment with forty dollars a month. For what's left of their life.

The plantation attitude of the bosses.

Wage discrimination.

Unequal treatment of women workers.

On January 31, 1978, the majority of the shipyard's 15,500 production and maintenance workers voted to make the United Steelworkers of America their union. It was no small feat.

Tenneco spent tens of thousands of dollars to beat the Steelworkers. Supervisors and foremen campaigned for the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the company union. The local media shrieked about "outsiders" from Pittsburgh,

where the Steelworkers' international headquarters is located.

The Steelworkers were certified by the National Labor Relations Board on October 27, 1978. Tenneco and the PSA went to court. And there's no light at the end of that judicial tunnel in sight.

In the face of employer contempt for the democratic choice of the shipyard workers, the Steelworkers struck for union recognition on the first anniversary of the union election.

Local 8888's members described their strike as one for dignity on the job. For the right of the workers to be treated like human beings.

When Black and white 8888 members sing "We Shall Overcome," and "We Shall Not Be Moved," what they intend to overcome and will not be moved by is Tenneco, the nineteenth-biggest corporation in America. The huge, oil-rich conglomerate had its most profitable year ever in 1978, bringing in \$8.9 billion in sales and \$400 million in profits.

Tenneco's multi-billion-dollar power—backed up by courts, state and local cops, and antilabor "right to work" laws—combined to form a powerful foe of the Steelworkers.

But there's a reason that 8888's organizing drive, the fifth since the CIO tried to organize the shipyard four decades ago, was, unlike all the others, successful.

It's why 8888 refused to submit to Tenneco's demand that they reapply for their jobs, and crawl on their bellies to the corporate giant.

The union, and the fight for it, is a cause uniting young and old, Black and white, male and female, skilled and unskilled, in a common struggle for a better life. The union is the only weapon of self-defense the workers have inside the shipyard that goes by every name from "Hell-hole" to "Jungle."

What makes the Steelworkers dig their heels in harder, perhaps more than anything else, is the understanding that their victory can inspire workers across the country in the fight for a better life.

Not least of all, it can inspire the entire labor movement to organize the bosses' "right to work" paradise below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Tenneco recognizes this stake too. And that is what makes it determined not to give the union an inch.

Because a victory for the Steelworkers in Newport News would turn that inch into a mile.

...Newport News strikers defy attack on union

Continued from preceding page

strikers were arrested at the Fiftieth Street gate for "disorderly conduct"—they had linked arms for a moment. But again it was the police who were disorderly, as they belted strikers to the ground, as gangs of four cops or more worked over individual pickets.

Vigilante behavior

Later in the evening, Local 8888 employment coordinator Jim Pagels helped a Steelworker to the hospital after he had been dragged from a restaurant and beaten in the face.

Police didn't try to disguise their vigilante behavior. "I want that one" or "That one's mine" were open and oft-repeated boasts by cops.

Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby told the *Militant* that as he protested the sweep, a police lieutenant shouted at him, "We're going to beat the shit out of you, we want you."

Wayne Walker, a twenty-one-year-old Black shipwright, one of three strikers in his family, told the *Militant*, "Where I was picketing, they came over and pulled a man aside for singing 'We Shall Not Be Moved,' and told him that if he kept it up they'd kill him."

Strike coordinator Jack Hower was arrested that afternoon on a "right to work" violation while walking downtown. A passing driver had called Hower a scab and Hower said something in response. Then cops just grabbed the union organizer. The driver turned out to be an anti-union type who boasted to reporters about his role in helping to snare Hower.

Jerry Lee Lewis, arrested four times already during the strike, was trying to see about a friend hurt during the sweep. He was spotted, beaten, and busted for the fifth time.

'My right to strike'

If one Steelworker is an example of why the pickets keep coming back, and what makes Local 8888 tick, it is Jan Hooks, a crane operator. She and her twin sister Ann Warren are two women who fought to get jobs in the yard, to get better jobs, and to organize the union to strengthen their fight.

Jan was tripped and pushed to the ground by a scab at the main gate before the sweep, then threatened by a cop who'd been after her before. Later on she was clubbed on the back and kidneys trying to escape the sweep.

Why was she out picketing again despite aches and bruises on the evening of April 16 and at 6 a.m. on April

17? "I'm not going to let anybody—the state, city, or federal cops—keep me off the street," she told the *Militant*. "It's my right to strike, my right to walk a picket line, no matter clubs, dogs, or whatever."

Bitterness runs high on these picket lines against Tenneco's refusal to let the strikers return to work in an orderly and united fashion, its insistence that they sign an "unconditional" reapplication for their jobs.

"They want us to be marked," said a white mechanic who has worked in the yard for more than twenty years. "If you even go to file a grievance, they'll pull out that piece of paper and say, 'You wanted back in here unconditionally.'"

"They preach 'right to work,'" said another picket, "but when we try to exercise that right they won't let us do it without strings attached. They want us to crawl back, but we're not crawling anywhere."

'Major disruption'

To some of the pickets on April 17, it seemed that their presence and the news of the cop riot the day before had cut down the scab traffic at a number of gates.

Everyone knows that many hundreds of workers—even a couple of thousand—who support the union to one degree or another, have returned to work because of personal or financial pressure and because they don't understand how crucially important it is to stand together against Tenneco.

Some pickets—not all—were optimistic that more such workers might be convinced to rejoin the strike, especially if the union made a special appeal to them as it has done at some earlier points.

Everyone is also aware that the massive police force that remains on the streets is designed to prevent any effective picketing. Tenneco's game remains one of delay and divide, of waiting for the pressure to push more strikers back into the yard. With the added ingredient now of violent police intimidation.

But Tenneco is hurting.

Confidential shipyard memoranda that found their way to the Steelworkers a few weeks ago cited "major disruptions" due to the strike in key work areas, as well as a "desperate" lack of pipefitters.

Ninety percent of the shipyard's vitally necessary welders are out. Work on the Carl Vinson aircraft carrier has

stopped, while the yard's major project, an oil supertanker, is behind schedule.

This is why Tenneco has raised a whip over workers in the yard, pushing them to meet unreachable production deadlines. "It's like a jungle in there," one worker who came back out on strike told the *Local 8888 Strike Bulletin*.

Discussion

The owners of the jungle are not about to give up easily.

That's why they ordered the police they own to take off their gloves and apply the anti-strike, antilabor, anti-picket "right to work" laws with vengeance.

The Steelworkers' courage in the face of such an attack has stayed the bosses momentarily. But it's also prompted much serious discussion.

How to win the strike. What to do if it's necessary to go back to work, and how to protect union members inside the yard. How to gain the solidarity of the rest of the labor movement.

They look back at Friday's union meeting as a high point of the strike, sensing the power it showed.

"What the union needs to do is call another meeting like last Friday," a forty-year-old Black worker remarked in a conversation outside strike headquarters. "It doesn't have to be at the coliseum, it could be at a park or something. Just to get our people together and explain what happened and what we should do about it."

Many see the need to bolster the picket lines dramatically. "What we need is the crowd that was at the coliseum out on the picket line," is an often repeated sentiment.

Solidarity

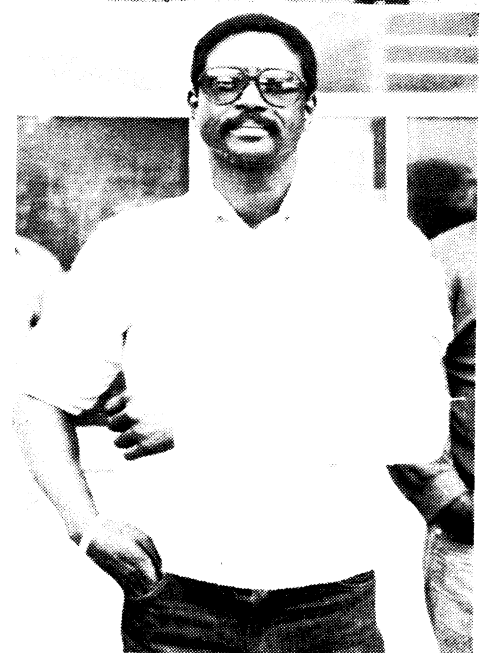
The strikers are the first to say they don't have much experience with the labor movement. But they are learning fast about solidarity.

"I've been getting calls from unions all over the country," Wayne Crosby told the *Militant*, "from as far away as California. They want to know what happened. They want to picket with us."

"We want to get all of labor exercised about what is happening in Newport News," Bill Edwards told the *Militant*.

Never has the potential for such a massive, united show of labor solidarity with the embattled Steelworkers of Newport News been greater. Never has it been more needed.

Striker after striker says why: "If they can attack our headquarters and get away with it, they can do it anywhere."



Militant photos by Jon Hillson
"Law and order" in Newport News. Top two photos show arrests of Steelworkers following police rampage down Washington Avenue. In third photo, a bloodied scab, who had been watching from the sidelines, stares at his attacker. Above, Roosevelt Kean returned to the picket lines after a cop 'broke his stick on my arm' early in the day.

Steelworker takes his story to students

WILLIAMSBURG, Va.—While the picket lines were still smoldering early Monday night, the Union Support Committee at William and Mary College met to discuss how to involve students in supporting the Steelworkers' strike.

One young strike leader, who asked not to be identified for fear of police reprisal, addressed the meeting. The striker, who is also a student at another nearby college, had been beaten twice by police earlier that day.

He described his experiences on the picket line, gave background information on the strike, and talked informally with the students about their role in building strike solidarity.

"Tenneco and the city of Newport News have declared war on the Steelworkers," he said. He characterized the police assault on strike headquarters as a union-busting operation.

"We're determined to keep this strike strong, and that bothers them. We've united Blacks, whites, Chicanos, and Asian-Americans, and that's tearing the cops up. This is the first time something like this has united the whole community, the whole Peninsula.

"When they beat up that fourteen-year-old Black girl, it broke my heart. It made everyone mad, Black and white."

The striker reminded students of the 110-day coal strike last year, comparing it to his own struggle.

"They're trying to force us into a position like the Mine Workers, where people are getting shot in the back," he said, "but workers are going to fight back. If I was a scab, I wouldn't be going in tomorrow."

"We have to defend ourselves by any means necessary, to keep the cops off our backs. We're not criminals, we're out there fighting for what we believe in."

Community support was also a theme of the striker's remarks. "We're not out here for our health, we're out here for our lives. If people in the community knew how hard we had it, they'd be behind us. Some of them are already."

One student asked him about the company's proposed back-to-work terms. He answered, "We didn't come out with nothing, why should we go back with nothing?"

The striker felt that he had come too

far to give up. "We've been shoved, brutalized, really put through the mill," he noted. "But we remained non-violent."

"But this unconditional surrender just took the cake. We hadn't lost by any means. We weren't going to come back crawling on our bellies." The Steelworkers will return to work on their own terms, he said.

The meeting came to the conclusion that strong strike support committees are needed on all campuses in the area. The students discussed organizing a press conference for campus newspapers and sending student teams to the picket lines.

The striker ended the meeting by relating to the students his Steelworkers' motto: "Unity is strength; strength is power; power is achievement."

The next meeting of the Union Support Committee will be Sunday, April 22, at 8 p.m. at the William and Mary College Campus Center in Williamsburg. A Steelworkers representative will address the meeting.

Labor solidarity

'We send you full support in your critical hour'

Labor solidarity for the Local 8888 Steelworkers began to step up this week as news of Tenneco's unconditional back-to-work order and the April 16 brutal cop assault was reported.

The following reports were received in time for the *Militant* press deadline.

United Steelworkers Local 13000 at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Chalmette, Louisiana, voted unanimously to send a telegram of support to the Newport News Steelworkers.

Local President Gene Graef told the meeting the message would say that "2,500 members of Local 13000 send you their full support in your critical hour. One thousand dollars is forthcoming to help you."

USWA Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana, confirmed their support for the embattled Local 8888. "We're behind them 100 percent," Local 1010 President Bill Andrews told the *Militant*. "We're sending them a telegram of support from the local. We recently sent them a second contribution."

In Los Angeles, telegrams expressing solidarity with the shipyard workers' fight for a union came from USWA locals 2058, 4997, and 1845. Local 1845 also voted on April 10 to send \$1,000 to Local 8888.

USWA Local 1843 in Pittsburgh has drawn up a petition that is being circulated at plant gates. "We see your strike in the heart of right-to-work territory as our fight too," the petition says. "We condemn Tenneco's union-busting drive to deny Local union number 8888 the right to a union contract through the use of courts, police, and scabs. Furthermore, we condemn the company's demand that strikers return to work unconditionally."

A telegram of support was also sent to Local 8888 by the Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Below is a report on support for the Steelworkers in the Newport News area.

* * *

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The police riot against Steelworkers Local 8888 drew an angry response from labor and Black community leaders in the Tidewater area.

Three of the central labor councils in the area—covering Norfolk, Virginia Beach, Suffolk, Chesapeake, Newport News, and Portsmouth—called a joint news conference April 17 to protest city hall's aid to Tenneco's strikebreaking.

At the news conference, labor leaders released a telegram and letter to President Carter asking for a federal investigation of violations of workers' rights by state and local cops.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Paul Askew, president of the Norfolk Central Labor Council, called the police attack on the strike head-

quarters "brutality and totally uncalled for."

"The state government and local government have done all they can to side with Tenneco, to drag the strike out, to demoralize the strikers, use psychological warfare on them," he said.

Askew pointed to the recent conviction of Tenneco for bribing cops in Louisiana as an example of the combined company-government strike-breaking Local 8888 faces.

"We don't believe their ethics, policies, and morals are any different in Virginia than they are in Louisiana," he said.

"Unions here have already assisted the strikers with contributions and in other ways. Some have come from out of state to take back reports to their locals. Now I heard there's consideration of caravans to bring strikers support and food and clothing. Anything like that that is going to help the strikers would be good."

John Senekel, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 919, told the *Militant*, "We strongly deplore this type of police action against the strikers. If they can do it to the Steelworkers, then they can do it to us in September, when we might be out on the streets."

Workers at the Ford truck plant in Norfolk that Local 919 represents were outraged at the cop riot, Senekel said. "The local has donated \$2,300 collected by local members to the 8888 strike fund."

At an April 18 news conference, Rev. Michael Battle and Joani Ivey, presidents of Hampton and Newport News branches of the NAACP, condemned the cop violence and called for a fed-

eral investigation of the police.

Norfolk NAACP President George Banks told the *Militant* that Blacks across the country should demonstrate their support for the strikers. "We should speak out about the police brutality, and as long as the strike is on we should walk the picket lines with the steelworkers and have rallies to bolster the strikers' morale. Community leaders—Black and white—should pressure Tenneco to settle with the strikers."

"I am pro-union," said Banks, a former official of Machinists Lodge 71, "because that's what's best for working people, the only way the working

Statement by Local 8888

The following statement was released April 16 by United Steelworkers Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia.

State and local police today using clubs and attack dogs swept Washington Avenue and adjacent streets clear of Steelworkers pickets. In a scene reminiscent of the police riot of 1968 in Chicago, police brutalized over a score of pickets to the extent hospitalization was required. An undetermined number of strikers have been arrested.

The incident took place over a period of a couple of hours between 9:00 A.M. and 11:00 A.M. At about 11:00 A.M. a group of police num-

bering about 75 invaded strike headquarters throwing one member through a window and beating him as he sat in the debris. Steelworkers inside the building stopped the police on the stairwell although several workers were badly beaten.

The brutal police action can only be characterized as strikebreaking by the state and city. Strikers' rights were blatantly violated. USWA attorneys are studying the circumstances to determine what legal action to take to protect workers' rights.

The Steelworkers will attempt to maintain their picket line despite police harassment.

Contact Bill Edwards, 804-599-0480.

man or woman has some representation. Otherwise they are totally vulnerable to management.

"Management may have the funds," he said, "to delete the real picture of what is going on from the media. But if enough pressure is brought to bear, it will have enough weight to force them to acknowledge the grievances of the steelworkers and solve the strike."

Messages of support and contributions can be sent to: United Steelworkers Local 8888, Bank of Newport News Building, Third Floor, 3301 Washington Avenue, Newport News, Virginia 23607.



Cops charge Local 8888 headquarters April 16. Moments later Steelworkers regrouped (right) and marched on the shipyard.

Militant photos by Jon Hillson

The Militant: the only pro-strike paper in town

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—There are two daily newspapers in this town, the *Daily Press* and the *Times-Herald*.

The difference between them is that one is the morning paper and the other comes out in the afternoon.

They occupy the same building.

They're owned by the same rich individuals.

They both campaigned against the Steelworkers from the day the organizing drive started.

Dorothy Bottom is the editor-in-chief of both papers and owns Tenneco stock. Other editorial officials participate in a local big-business formation, which tried unsuccessfully to defeat the Steelworkers in the shipyard re-

presentation election in January 1978.

That's why these papers print all the news that fits their anti-union perspective.

Since shortly before the strike began, there's been a third paper in town—the *Militant*. The socialist *Militant* tells the union's side and supports the strike.

Nearly 200 Local 8888 members now subscribe to the *Militant*, and two or three times that number read it regularly.

When the police riot broke loose on April 16, six *Militant* reporters were in the thick of the fray getting the facts about the unprovoked cop assault.

A "Tenneco Joe," one of a team of

shipyard security photographers, tried to take advantage of the Washington Avenue melee to try to knock down *Militant* reporter/photographer Jon Hillson from his perch between two parked cars.

During the police rampage, *Daily Press* reporter Yolanda Jones, who is also president of the Newspaper Guild local at the paper, was trapped by cops running amuck.

They knocked her to the ground from behind and roughed her up. Only her screams and ability to produce a press badge stopped their clubs.

Did it jar a front-page story out of *Daily Press* editors?

No way.

What about the cops storming the Steelworkers' headquarters and sweeping Washington Avenue restaurants?

That took a little digging to find in the *Daily Press*, which claimed it was "unclear how the violence began."

Instead, the newspaper featured a front-page story headlined, "Reporter mistaken as scab, beaten."

In this anti-union tear jerker, a reporter claims she was roughed up for "ten or fifteen seconds" outside strike headquarters. It doesn't mention that the reporter was carrying a walkie-talkie and had no visible press credentials. After a day of battle and moments after strike leader Jack Hower was arrested and another Steelworker

Continued on next page

109 percent: Militant sales top weekly goal

By Peter Seidman

Results from last week's sales are in. And they are good. Of forty areas reporting, twenty-eight made or went over their goals. Overall we sold 7,651 papers (109 percent).

This is the first regular week of the sales drive that we've made our national goal.

Our success shows that interest in socialist ideas among working people runs far ahead of our ability to reach out to it—even when there's no exceptional event like the near-disaster at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant to galvanize special concern.

Reaching this growing audience of radicalizing workers is the reason members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are on a ten-week drive this spring to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and its biweekly Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Some branches—like those in the San Francisco Bay Area, Morgantown, and Seattle—did exceptionally well last week, as the scoreboard shows.

Their successes are largely based on big sales at antinuke protests that opened the sales week in these areas.

But underlying our overall national high totals are solid improvements by many branches of their regular sales at plant gates, in working-class neighborhoods, and to co-workers on the job.

The twenty-nine areas that called in complete figures reported they'd sold 258 papers at plant gates and 143 on the job.

Morgantown sold the most papers at plant gates: thirty-four at mine portals.

Toledo continued to lead the way on

industrial sales—selling fifteen papers at plant gates and twenty-five to co-workers on the job.

Despite this overall progress, sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* have been declining each week of the drive.

We got off to a good start, selling 920 during the first target week. But *PM* sales have been dropping every week since: from 519 to 388 to 325. Last week, we sold only 246.

These figures are far below the 550 per week average we sold during last fall's sales campaign.

We need to turn this problem around.

All our experience shows that when socialists go out and sell *Perspectiva Mundial*, it gets a warm response.

New York socialists learned this during the first national target week when they sold 417 *PMs* (more than one-fourth of their total).

Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Albuquerque demonstrate this consistently.

The proven secret behind these branches' successes? Nothing that every area can't duplicate: they organize special *PM* sales teams every week.

There's still time to improve *PM* sales. And it will be particularly important to accomplish this with sales of the next issue of *PM*.

This will feature the latest stage of the struggle by revolutionist Héctor Marroquín for political asylum in the United States. It will also carry news of the battle by steelworkers to win a union contract at the Tenneco shipyard in Newport News.

Both of these are stories we want to get into the hands of as many Spanish-speaking workers as possible.

Sales scoreboard

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Oakland	145	440	15	7	160	447	279.3
Morgantown	100	225			100	225	225.0
San Francisco	275	551		16	275	567	206.1
Berkeley	145	294	5	0	150	294	196.0
San Jose	105	228	15	5	120	233	194.1
Seattle	145	281	5	0	150	281	187.3
Philadelphia	225	336	25	21	250	357	142.8
Minneapolis	150	203			150	203	135.3
Portland	100	133			100	133	133.0
Louisville	100	131			100	131	131.0
Iron Range	35	45			35	45	128.5
Birmingham	100	125			100	125	125.0
Pittsburgh	200	239		1	200	240	120.0
Raleigh	90	108			90	108	120.0
St. Paul	100	113			100	113	113.0
Chicago	310	385	40	10	350	395	112.8
Kansas City	110	121		1	110	122	110.9
Phoenix	115	128	35	33	150	161	107.3
Dallas	125	144	20	11	145	155	106.8
Milwaukee	120	133	5	0	125	133	106.4
Atlanta	145	155	5	0	150	155	103.3
New York City	540	568	60	40	600	608	101.3
Los Angeles	320	390	80	15	400	405	101.2
Denver	120	127	20	14	140	141	100.7
Albuquerque	115	115	20	20	135	135	100.0
Cincinnati	75	75			75	75	100.0
New Orleans	100	100			100	100	100.0
Salt Lake City	130	135	5	0	135	135	100.0
San Diego	105	122	20	0	125	122	97.6
Newark	130	126	15	12	145	148	95.1
Miami	100	107	30	13	130	120	92.3
Boston	200	203	25	2	225	205	91.1
Indianapolis	115	101			115	101	87.8
Tacoma	125	109			125	109	87.2
Baltimore	100	82			100	82	82.0
Toledo	100	83	5	0	105	83	79.0
Washington, D.C.	230	190	20	3	250	193	77.2
San Antonio	60	34	20	21	80	55	68.7
Cleveland	115	78	5	0	120	78	65.0
Albany	100	68	5	0	105	68	64.7
Houston	200	74	50	1	250	75	30.0
TOTALS	6,453	7,405	555	246	7,008	7,651	109.2

Not reporting: Amherst; Detroit; Gary; Iowa City; St. Louis; Vermont.

Covers sales of 'Militant' issue fourteen and the second week of sales of issue number six of 'Perspectiva Mundial.'

A Spanish-language socialist magazine . . .

Perspectiva Mundial

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- The working class and the fight against nukes
- Argentina, three years after the coup
- Victory of Steelworkers in Brazil
- Strike at thirty-two universities in Mexico
- For the rights of working women—Declaration of the Fourth International



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... Newport News

Continued from preceding page

beaten, such an appearance smacked of provocation by a reporter out to do a smear job on 8888.

Predictably, the *Daily Press* editorially blasted the Steelworkers for "the violence they initiated."

This antilabor bias is the norm for the media here and around the country.

Like WEVC-TV, the ABC affiliate here, which simply didn't mention the police sweep of Washington Avenue and reported on the "alleged" police assault on the union's strike headquarters.

Like the national media, which described "strike-related violence," as if

the police were peacemakers. Or didn't report the brutal strikebreaking at all.

Most Steelworkers in Newport News don't like the news media—the "Tenneco media," as they call it.

But many Local 8888 members have a different sense of the *Militant*. When strikers don't recognize *Militant* reporters and occasionally challenge them, other strikers say, "Wait, he's with us," or "She's OK, she's on our side," or "They're different. They tell the truth."

One incident during the police riot said it all.

When the club-swinging cops swarmed into Kim's Cafe on Washington Avenue to empty the place, one Steelworker shouted, "Let's call the *Militant* reporters."



Harrisburg residents reading 'Militant' at April 8 antinuke rally

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

INS ruling on Marroquín

Victimized for his socialist ideas

By Roger Rudenstein

Can a socialist get political asylum in the United States? Can a refugee from political repression by a pro-U.S. regime be admitted to this country?

The Carter administration says no and has ordered political refugee Héctor Marroquín to leave the country or be sent back to Mexico. The order was issued by immigration Judge James Smith in a decision released six days after Marroquín's deportation hearing April 3-5 in Houston, Texas. Smith's ruling is being appealed to the Board of Immigration Appeals (see story below).

In his ruling, Smith admits that dissidents are tortured and killed by authorities in Mexico but denies that Marroquín would be persecuted there. He attacks Marroquín for being a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and suggests that he should seek asylum in "Castro's Cuba."

According to the law, the only criterion for asylum is whether or not the applicant faces persecution in his or her native land. But the actions of both the prosecutor and judge have shown they didn't decide on this basis. Rather, Marroquín's socialist views are on trial.

Prosecutor Daniel Kahn stated the INS's case quite succinctly when he told the *Houston Post*, "He [Marroquín] has admitted from his own mouth he is a Marxist. The United States does not grant asylum to communists."

Smith's written decision makes it clear, both by outright attacks and by selective quoting of the evidence, that Marroquín's views are the real issue. For example, Smith claims that Marroquín joined the Socialist Workers Party only after he was arrested in 1977 and faced deportation. The SWP, the judge asserts, entered into a "union" with Marroquín because it needed a "cause to promote." In this way Smith tries to both smear Marroquín as an opportunist and imply that the socialists are using him for their own nefarious ends.

"That's a lie," Marroquín told the *Militant*, "and the judge knows it. I testified in court that I joined the SWP and YSA two years before the INS tried to deport me. I told the judge I did this because I agree with the views of

the SWP and YSA and want to build the kind of working-class organization that can bring about a socialist change from this unjust, capitalist system."

In response to Smith's remark that he would like it better in Cuba, Marroquín replied:

"I also told the judge that along with my party, I am proud to be a supporter of the Cuban revolution. So are many other residents of this country. Does that mean we are to be excluded from this country—because we support the Cuban revolution?"

Last December Marroquín's request for asylum was turned down by an INS district director and he was ordered to appear at a deportation hearing. At the April 3-5 hearing in Houston, testimony was heard from expert witnesses and hundreds of pages of documentary evidence submitted. The evidence confirmed Marroquín's contention that he was framed by the Mexican police and that forcible return to Mexico would be his death sentence.

In the past the INS has claimed that no repression exists in Mexico. However, in his decision, Judge Smith admits that the key defense witnesses, who testified to the regime's brutality, are "impressive." The witnesses were Robert Goldman and Rosario Ibarra de Piedra. Goldman is dean-designate of the American University Law School and author of a report on repression in Mexico for the prestigious International League for Human Rights. Piedra is a leader of the Mexican human rights movement.

Their testimony, Smith concedes, shows that "there have been arbitrary arrests and detentions, torture, failure to get a speedy trial, et cetera."

But, says Smith, the issue is "not the existence of political prisoners in Mexico," which he concedes, "but the likeli-



Militant/Harry Ring
Southwest media have given particular coverage to Marroquín case. Here he is interviewed by reporter for San Antonio Express.

hood that respondent Marroquín would become one" if returned there.

Smith accuses Marroquín of having "never registered to vote in Mexico" and contends that he "has never been arrested nor jailed nor in any way persecuted. . . ."

But the only reason Marroquín was not arrested is because he fled in time. Had he let himself be jailed by the Mexican cops, he wouldn't be here seeking asylum in the United States today.

Smith chose to ignore testimony concerning the fate of three activists accused along with Marroquín of "subversion" and "terrorism." Two were gunned down by the cops and the third, Rosario Piedra's own son, was arrested and has not been heard from since.

Another reason Smith gives for denying Marroquín asylum is that the Mexican government has enacted an "amnesty law." The law was passed last September to head off mounting criticism of the regime's human rights violations. Both Goldman and Piedra refuted the law at length in their testimony, calling it "ineffective."

Smith offers not one word of evidence in support of his statement about the amnesty law.

The judge does, however, try to assure doubters that Marroquín's safety is guaranteed in Mexico.

Why? Because, according to Smith, he has "had considerable exposure on his 60 plus city speaking tour in this country." This, says Smith, has "endeared him to numerous persons and organizations who undoubtedly would remind the Mexican authorities that such a celebrity should not disappear."

Thus Smith cynically turns the widespread support for Marroquín into another "reason" for denying him asylum.

Smith is equally illogical when he declares in another part of his decision that Marroquín cannot receive asylum because he is an undocumented worker. Since Marroquín entered this country without papers, Smith reasons in Catch-22 fashion, he has no right to

Continued on page 14

"Marroquín's case paralleled that of the average wetback for three years until he was caught. He worked here and complained of the low wages in our horrible capitalist system. It wasn't until after he was arrested that he asked for asylum." —INS Judge James Smith as quoted in the April 14 'Washington Star.'

Winter: Public support needed to win appeal

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Héctor Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, has filed notice of appeal against the decision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service that Marroquín be deported. On April 11 INS Judge James Smith, ordered him to leave the country within thirty days.

The appeal, Winter said in an interview here, will be considered by the INS Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C., and will stay Smith's order.

This is the last source of appeal within the INS, she explained. If the board should confirm the deportation order, the matter would then go into the federal courts.

Such appeal would be made to the U.S. Court of Appeals. And, if that were not successful, the case would be taken to the Supreme Court.

Commenting on Judge Smith's ruling, Winter said, "He's really in an impossible situation. He knows—as does everyone else who heard the proceedings—that our case is absolutely sound. But to admit that, he would have to go up against the long-standing U.S. policy of not granting

political asylum to anyone from Mexico.

"And," she emphasized, "it would go counter to Washington's hostility to the idea of granting asylum to an avowed socialist, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, like Héctor."

The government's view of the matter, Winter commented, was summed up by INS trial attorney Daniel Kahn.

Kahn told one reporter that Marroquín was an admitted Marxist, and "the United States does not grant asylum to those kind of people."

Kahn also told a reporter that if asylum were granted to a Mexican national, "50,000 of them would be coming out of the woodwork."

These factors, Winter said, were the basis of Smith's decision, not the evidence presented, which really went unchallenged.

One indication of the strength of Marroquín's case, she observed, "is that the judge didn't have a word to say against Héctor's credibility as a witness or against the credibility of any of our witnesses."

"He did claim," she added, "that Héctor was not a 'disinterested party'

in the case. That's really bizarre. No one on trial is 'disinterested.'"

Assessing the prospects for winning reversal of the deportation order, Winter said, "I think we have a perfect record on appeal, an absolutely perfect record."

You can help block deportation

Protest messages to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and donations of funds are needed to head off the government's attempt to expel Socialist Héctor Marroquín from this country.

"The INS has ruled that Marroquín must leave by May 10," said Jane Roland, coordinator of Marroquín's defense committee. "But we are appealing the ruling. Launching this appeal is expensive, and we are counting on supporters of the case to send in emergency donations and help raise money through mailings, benefits, and other fund-raising activities."

Roland asked that there be an

outpouring of letters and telegrams to Leonel Castillo, head of the INS, protesting the decision to deport Marroquín and demanding asylum be granted.

"It's also important that Marroquín's defenders get out the word about this outrageous ruling to trade unionists and others who have been following the case and ask for their help."

Donations and copies of protest messages should be sent to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3587.

Urge vote for Islamic republic

Stalinists back capitalist regime in Iran

By David Frankel

What is the road forward for the people of Iran now that they have destroyed the shah's tyranny?

According to the Communist Party, the Iranian people should unite behind the procapitalist forces headed by Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

As Tom Foley put it in the March 21 *Daily World*:

"The Tudeh ('Masses') Party of Iran, in its most recent statement—the first issued in Tehran itself—urged the unity of all forces taking part in the Iranian people's revolution. . . .

"The Tudeh Party in its statement declared its support for the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and for the creation of an Islamic republic."

Those who object to the Bazargan regime and its policies have been denounced as agents of imperialism by both the capitalist government and its Stalinist supporters. For example, the People's Fedayeen, a group whose part in the insurrection against the dictatorship was prominently reported, has

been slandered in this way by the Stalinists.

After the Fedayeen objected to demands that the masses turn in their arms, and to the government's attempts to restrict democratic rights, the February 22 *Daily World* declared in an editorial:

"One thing we know from past experience: the CIA often uses fake 'left' groups to further its aims. The so-called People's Fedayeen, by their actions in Iran, more and more fit this description."

Although in a slightly more circum-spect form, the Stalinists took the same position regarding the protests of Iranian women against Khomeini's order that they wear the veil in public. After two weeks of silence about the protests, the *Daily World* ran an article by Eliza Bennett March 21 saying:

"The question of the behind the scenes hand of the CIA cannot help but be raised. It has the stamp of their typical handiwork: utilize a legitimate demand in order to disrupt the revolutionary process. Genuine feelings of Iranian women and legitimate feelings

of solidarity of women throughout the world could offer such an opportunity."

It is certainly true that the imperialists dislike the new government in Iran. This is because it has come to power in the course of a revolution. The imperialists fear that it may not be strong enough to contain the masses and prevent them from breaking out of the capitalist framework.

But the only effective way to defend the Iranian revolution from attacks by imperialism is precisely through the mobilization of the masses—that is, through the same power that destroyed the shah and his army.

Millions of the oppressed and down-trodden were brought into political life through the struggle against the dictatorship. Now that the weight of terror has been lifted, they are voicing demands for social and economic justice.

This pressure of the masses for social progress has begun to reveal the class divisions within the mass movement that overthrew the shah. A polarization is occurring.

On one side is the working class and its allies. They have begun to demand

a deepening of the revolution—workers' control of industry, a deepgoing land reform, women's equality, and self-determination for the oppressed nationalities.

On the other side is the capitalist government and its supporters. It is trying to halt the mobilization of the masses, to impose censorship in the mass media, to dissolve the workers committees in the factories, and to limit the Iranian revolution to the elimination of the monarchy.

Because they are trying to hold back the masses and demobilize them, it is precisely the Bazargan government and its supporters who are opening the door to rightist forces and imperialist maneuvers in Iran.

An example of this is the regime's response to the demands of the oppressed nationalities. Millions of Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Arabs, and other peoples whose rights were trampled on under the shah were in the forefront of the movement against the monarchy.

But instead of forging bonds of trust and solidarity with these peoples, the new government has attempted to curb their demands for self-determination by the use of force.

Bazargan, Khomeini, and the Stalinists have all tried to label the demands of the oppressed nationalities as the work of the shah or imperialism. In a speech on the clashes between government forces and Kurdish and Turkoman fighters—a speech approvingly quoted in the April 10 *Daily World*—Khomeini charged that Washington was working "through distortionists wearing the mask of 'leftists' but taking their orders from the U.S."

Daily World staff writer Tom Foley reported April 6: "Premier Mehdi Bazargan of Iran on Wednesday blasted 'Trotskyites and Maoists . . . aided by remnants of the Satanic regime of the Shah' for provoking uprisings aimed at toppling Iran's new revolutionary government."

While attacking the demands of women and the oppressed nationalities, the *Daily World* has not reported *one word* about the protests of Iranian workers—from demands for the right to run their factories to demonstrations against unemployment.

In the class polarization that is shaping up in Iran, the Stalinists are squarely on the side of the capitalist class.



Iranian women protest Khomeini's order to wear veil. Communist Party suggests they were duped by the CIA.

CAIFI announces decision to dissolve

By Fred Feldman

Officers of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) announced in an April 7 letter to supporters that the organization has been dissolved following the release of tens of thousands of prisoners from the shah's jails and the return of political exiles to Iran.

The April 7 letter states, "CAIFI was originally formed around the case of Dr. Reza Baraheni, who was imprisoned in Iran in 1973 because of his opposition to the Shah's regime. CAIFI helped free Baraheni and then with his help publicized the cases of many other artists and intellectuals victimized by the Shah."

CAIFI's activities contributed to winning the release of imprisoned anti-shah activists such as Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi and Mahmoud Beh-Azin, a member of the executive board of the Iranian Writers Association.

During its six-year existence, CAIFI won the sponsorship of civil

libertarians of many political viewpoints. These included Hortensia Allende, Ramsey Clark, Joan Baez, Dave Dellinger, Kate Millett, Paul Sweezy, Nat Hentoff, Jane Fonda, I.F. Stone, and Leonid Plyushch.

"With the February events that ended the Shah's regime of terror," the letter continued, "the specific purpose for which CAIFI was formed no longer exists. Furthermore, most of the leading figures who had carried on CAIFI's work from its foundation, have now returned to Iran."

The letter thanked sponsors and contributors for their help. "Your efforts, in fact, helped make it possible for many of us to return to Iran after years in exile."

Signers included Dr. Reza Baraheni and Prof. Kay Boyle, honorary chairpeople; Prof. Ervand Abrahamian, Prof. Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh, and Prof. Allan Silver, co-chairpeople; and Nemat Jazayeri and Kateh Vafadari, national secretaries.

NEW FROM PATHFINDER

Leon Trotsky On France

In 1934, French society was entering a period of intense crisis. Fascism had triumphed the year before in Germany and was becoming a threat in France as well. What could the French workers do to avoid the fate of the German workers?

The French Communist and Socialist parties answered this question with the strategy of the People's Front. This was based on subordinating the workers movement to the building of coalitions with the liberal bourgeoisie, in this case represented by the Radical Party.

This book contains Trotsky's answer to the proponents of the People's Front. Included here are his major public writings on French political life from this period. They begin with 'Whither France?' written in October 1934—when the French CP took its first formal steps toward a coalition with the Radicals—and end with an article written in July 1939, shortly before the start of World War II and the collapse of the Third Republic. 263 pages, \$4.45

Leon Trotsky
On France



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Iranian Trotskyists gain wide hearing

By Gerry Foley

TEHRAN—Two weeks after the referendum on the "Islamic Republic," it is already becoming clear that the attempt to use this plebiscite to reconsolidate a strong capitalist government in Iran is running into trouble.

In the first place, the referendum did not arouse general enthusiasm among the broad masses of Iranians. A large percentage of the population apparently did not vote at all.

What is more, it seems that the government expected this result. It fell over its own feet trying to cover up in advance for a low vote, giving wildly different estimates at different times of the number eligible to cast ballots. Then, faced with an indifferent turnout, it issued vote figures that were obviously fake.

The regime claimed a vote of 3.5 million in Tehran, for instance. But such a number could not have voted in two days' time at the 1,200 polling places in the capital even if there had been constant lines in front of the polls, and there were not.

The government's claims of an overwhelming turnout are even more suspect on the all-Iranian level, since the Kurds and Turkmenis did not vote, and probably a large percentage of the Arabs in Khuzestan did not either. This amounts to millions of people.

People rounded up

Moreover, in many villages, people were rounded up and brought to the polls. Their votes were cast for them, en bloc, in favor of the Islamic Republic.

This happened even in the cities. A cab driver in Tabriz told me that at his polling station, the officials tore off the pro-Islamic Republic side of the ballot for the voters. They did it for him, too, and there was nothing he could do about it. In any case there was no secret ballot. The vote had to be cast publicly in front of an armed guard. Such an obviously rigged vote could hardly inspire much fervor.

Unquestionably a large section of the population did vote for an Islamic republic. But even this does not necessarily represent support for the government. The religious leaders made a lot of demagogic promises before the referendum, and most of those who voted "yes" probably did so in hopes that the promises would be fulfilled.

In Tabriz, where the hold of religion is quite strong, activists from the Socialist Workers Party (HKS)¹ found people lining up to buy their paper, *Kargar* (Worker). Standing next to them were persons trying to sell the publication of Ahmad Bani Sadr—one of the chief ideologues of the "Islamic revolution"—who were having trouble getting rid of their bundle. I have heard similar reports from HKS activists from a number of different parts of the country.

The government did try to use their faked referendum results as a mandate for launching a witch-hunt against the opposition to the regime. Shortly after the vote Prime Minister Bazargan delivered a major speech over all-Iranian television. He began by declaring that the opponents of the Islamic republic "represent only 1 percent of the population." He then proceeded to devote about half of his talk to the "danger" such people represent. He paid special attention to the Trotskyists.

Most of the rest of Bazargan's speech dealt with the problems posed by the nationalist movements of the Kurds and Turkmenis.

Bazargan's address was followed by stepped-up harassment from the Im-



Militant/Mark Satinoff
Socialist Workers Party leader Babak Zahraie

am's committees² of activists selling the HKS newspaper. This happened especially in the southern oil center of Ahwaz, where the Iranian Trotskyists have faced fierce persecution. One woman activist was badly beaten.

Unable to offer the population any improvement in their lives, the government has sought to gain support by filling the front pages of the Tehran press with pictures of executed officials of the old regime lying on morgue slabs. The masses are certainly glad to see these hangmen brought to justice. However, one political effect of the quick, secret trials and immediate executions is to cover up the extent of the repression under the shah. The public is being given little or no information about the scope of the tortures' activities or their collusion with the CIA and other imperialist agencies.

Trotskyist proposals debated

But what the Iranian people want most is answers to the mounting economic problems they face. Their concerns and their mood became strikingly evident after April 11. On that date, Trotskyist leader Babak Zahraie, editor of *Kargar*, debated government partisan Ahmad Bani Sadr over all-Iranian television. The debate became a major political event.

Zahraie began his presentation by saying there had been no public discussion of the way to solve the country's economic problems. He then proceeded to lay out a program for dealing with these difficulties by building a socialist economy.

The favorite formula of the Muslim politicians is that the Islamic Republic means national independence. Zahraie demolished that point by showing how the Bazargan government is doing nothing to combat the wrecking of the economy by the big imperialist corporations. He contrasted this passivity with the bold moves the Castro leadership took in Cuba to break the power of the imperialists and rebuild the economy.

The Trotskyist spokesman explained that the only way the Iranian anti-imperialist revolution could succeed was to overturn the capitalist economy.

Bani Sadr prefaced his contributions with the phrase "in the name of Allah, the beneficent, the merciful." But Allah apparently could not help him offer

any concrete answers to the problems facing the Iranian masses. He could come up with little more than vague formulas, and he was obviously floundering about.

At the time of the debate I was in a Persian village near the Turkmeni area. There, local Muslims said that they had once thought that Bani Sadr was the *bisnallah*—"the holy scourge who would drive away the devil." But now they thought that Bani Sadr must be the devil and Zahraie the *bisnallah*, since when the Trotskyist spokesman talked, Bani Sadr ran away.

Dailies run full text

The two major Iranian dailies, *Kayhan* and *Ettela'at*, ran the full text of the debate along with editorials about the importance of public discussion of these problems.

The debate has focused national attention on the HKS and on the socialist alternative for solving such problems as unemployment, inflation, food shortages, the backwardness of Iranian agriculture, and so on.

The day after the debate, at the Tehran General Motors plant (where the Iman's committee had succeeded in destroying the workers organizations), the workers chanted, "Zahraie, you're the apple of our eye."

Everywhere on the streets of Tehran and other Iranian cities, people can be heard discussing the debate, mostly agreeing with Zahraie. Everywhere he goes, people give him the victory sign. Some construction workers, inspired by the debate, began occupying buildings and demanding nationalizations.

HKS prestige growing

There has been an immediate wave of sympathy with the HKS. This has, for example, forced the Iman's committee in Ahwaz to back away from its persecution of Trotskyist activists.

There are many reports of workers in the plants saying that Zahraie said exactly what was on their minds.

Even many Tudeh (Communist) Party members have called Zahraie to congratulate him for raising the voice of socialism in the country as it has never been raised before. And rank and file members of some of the sectarian Maoist groups, which in the past have disrupted HKS meetings and called the Trotskyists CIA agents and traitors, are now coming to the HKS to apologize for their actions.

The debate has established the HKS on the political scene. It has shown that this party has a real program for the Iranian socialist revolution. This contrasts with the position of the much larger centrist groups, such as the People's Fedayeen, which are not clear about the nature of the government or about how to carry forward the fight for socialism. It has shown that the Iranian workers have a tremendous hunger for political discussion and that they are beginning to think that socialism may be the answer.

The masses of Iranian people, having done away with the shah's dictatorship, are beginning to move further to the left. Of course, Zahraie's presentation in the debate did not cause such a turn. But it did give expression to the shifting public mood.

This achievement was in fact a result of the Trotskyists' confidence in their program. Bani Sadr had challenged all Marxists to a debate, but none of the other groups took him up. This was probably because they had no alternative to offer, and perhaps even because they were afraid of taking on the Islamic demagogue directly.

The centrists' attitude toward the government and the religious leaders has been marked all along by fuzziness and conciliation. The Trotskyists, however, took up Bani Sadr's challenge, and this quickly attracted the attention of journalists from the main Tehran dailies. Although the editors tried to avoid giving the debate any but the most minimal advance publicity, the word got out and an estimated 22 million persons viewed the program.

The television editors tried to limit the debate to narrow fiscal questions. But Zahraie was able to take advantage of the opportunity to raise all of the broad economic issues facing the Iranian people.

The standing of the HKS has risen dramatically among the rank and file of the centrist groups, and even among sections of their leaderships, because it stood up for socialism in the way they hoped their own organizations would but did not.

The response to Zahraie's appearance and the growing interest in revolutionary-socialist ideas points the way forward for the Iranian revolution.

There is a class polarization under way among the diverse forces that

Continued on page 22



As their revolution deepened, Cubans mobilized to end capitalist system responsible for unemployment and other social evils. In debate, Trotskyist leader Babak Zahraie urged Iranian masses to take same road forward.

1. Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist, the Iranian section of the Fourth International.

2. Committees set up by the religious hierarchy, composed of supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini. Khomeini is usually referred to as "the Imam"—a title connoting "messiah" in the Shi'ite religion.

On election eve

Rhodesia raids liberation camps in Zambia

By August Nimtz

As the April 17-21 elections approached, the Rhodesian white minority regime escalated its brutal assaults on Zimbabwean guerrilla camps in neighboring African countries. Bombing raids into Zambia, beginning the

Imperialists build up Rhodesian regime's arsenal. See pages 23-25.

second week of April, left more than 350 people killed or wounded. In a flagrant violation of Zambia's territorial rights some planes flew as far as 350 miles into the country. Similar

raids have recently been launched against camps in Mozambique and Angola.

The most brazen attack was made by ground forces against a camp in Lusaka, Zambia's capital, where Joshua Nkomo, one of the leaders of the Patriotic Front, lives. Apparently, these forces had intended to capture Nkomo, but he escaped in time. A similar raid was carried out in Botswana, where fourteen aides of Nkomo were captured.

The Rhodesian regime has stepped up its attacks in an attempt to block the armed forces of the Patriotic Front, which are actively opposing the sham elections taking place. These elections,

which supposedly will result in Black majority rule, have been rigged to allow whites to maintain control of the state apparatus.

The raids are also part of the regime's attempt to intimidate the Black masses in Rhodesia into voting. The white minority government hopes to convince them that it has the means to crush the nationalist opposition to the elections and that Blacks, therefore, have no choice but to participate in the elections.

To this end, the government has "organized the biggest military mobilization in the country's history," according to the April 17 *New York Times*. The avowed purpose of this

100,000-person force is to provide security for the elections. Its real purpose, however, is to get, by any means necessary, the largest number of Blacks to vote in order to give legitimacy to the elections.

The regime's raids are also aimed at bolstering white morale, which has been slowly crumbling as a result of the battlefield successes of the liberation forces over the past year.

The government's campaign to get Blacks to vote has been met with resistance. On the very first day of the voting more than 1,000 Black students at the University of Rhodesia in Salisbury, the capital, demonstrated in opposition to the elections.

Idi Amin regime overthrown in Uganda

By Ernest Harsch

A Tanzanian-led military force marched into Kampala, the capital of Uganda, on the night of April 10-11, forcing President Idi Amin to flee the city with his remaining supporters.

The Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF), a bourgeois opposition force formed in Tanzania in late March under the tutelage of Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere, lost no time in proclaiming a new regime. Yusufu K. Lule, the chairman of the UNLF, was named president.

The American and British imperialists were quick to greet Amin's overthrow. Within hours of Kampala's capture, an Associated Press dispatch from Washington reported: "United States officials welcomed the ouster of President Idi Amin today and said the United States planned to establish a normal relationship with the new Government quickly." British Foreign Secretary David Owen also declared London's sympathies for the new authorities in Kampala.

A representative of the UNLF stated in the Tanzanian capital of Dar es Salaam April 11 that Washington was now expected to play "a tremendous role" in Uganda, adding that preliminary talks with American officials were already under way.

As a justification for this pro-American stance, the UNLF representative claimed that Washington had had "a consistently clean record towards Amin's regime." But it was Washington, in fact—together with London and the Israeli regime—that originally helped put Amin in power in 1971 and supported his brutal repression against the Ugandan masses.

It was only after Amin proved an unreliable neocolonial ruler that Washington and London began to hunt for a replacement. The war that broke out between Uganda and Tanzania in October offered them an opportunity. They publicly favored Nyerere in the war and made no secret of their desire for Amin's ouster.

Washington now obviously hopes

that Lule's regime will prove suitable. A State Department spokesman declared April 12 that the new government's "composition indicates that it will pursue moderate policies in both the domestic and international fields."

News reports from Kampala indicate that the city's remaining inhabitants greeted the downfall of Amin and the arrival of the Tanzanian and UNLF troops. Such a reaction is not surprising coming after eight years of Amin's brutal dictatorship.

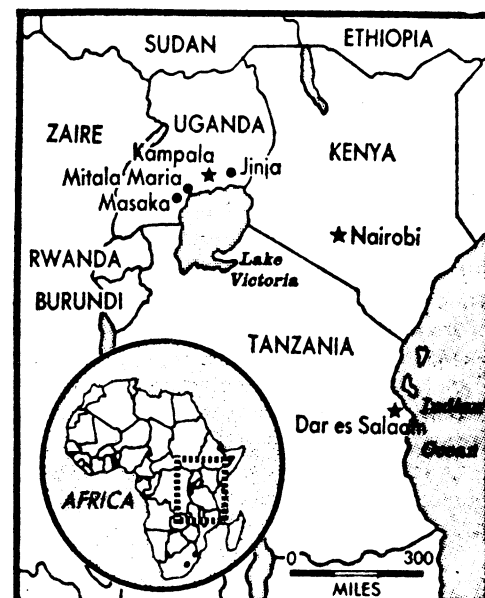
The new authorities, however, are moving quickly to try to bring the population under control and to reestablish "order." In his first address after he was sworn in as president, Lule denounced the "lawlessness" that had swept Kampala and other parts of the country since Amin's overthrow and called for an end to "vigilantism."

While promising to institute "democracy," Lule has indicated that no elections will be held for at least two years.

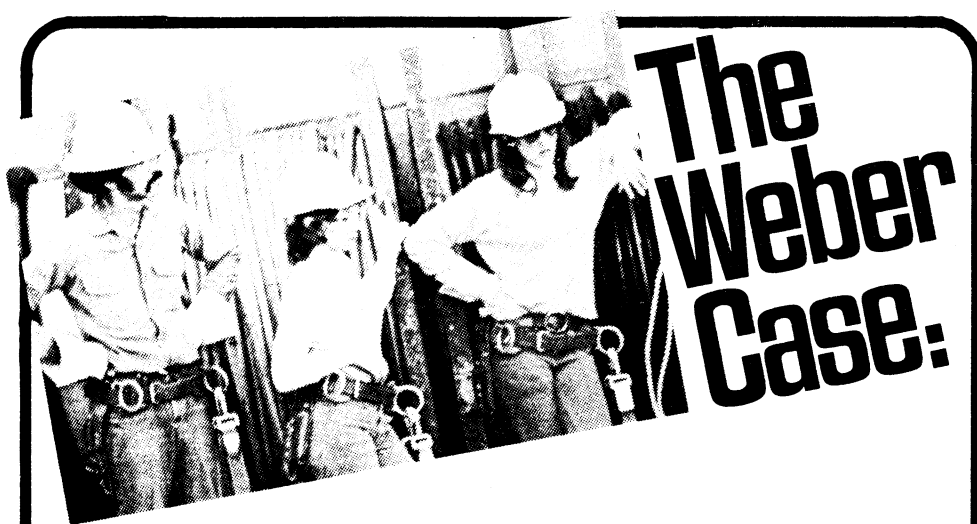
Meanwhile, Nyerere has made it

known that the several thousand Tanzanian troops now in Uganda are to remain for an unspecified period.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Washington Post



HELP GET OUT THE TRUTH

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

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'Weber' pamphlet in demand: Now in its second printing

By Helen Meyers

The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action by Andy Rose is now in its second printing. Demand for the pamphlet is so widespread that almost all 4,500 copies of the first printing have been shipped out.

Brian Weber, a white steelworker at Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, has sued the United Steelworkers of America and Kaiser on the grounds of "reverse discrimination." He claims that the affirmative-action program negotiated by the union at Gramercy discriminates against him and other white males.

Dick McBride, a member of USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel in Gary, Indiana, has sold forty Weber pamphlets. He says, "The subject just keeps coming up on the job. Is affirmative action 'reverse discrimination' against white males? What about seniority rights? How can we win better working conditions? After we discuss these questions, I usually bring in the pamphlet the next day, one or two people will read it, and then we continue the discussion."

Jane Van Deusen, a member of USWA Local 13000 at Kaiser's plant in

Chalmette, Louisiana, reports that during the recent USWA civil rights conference held in Pittsburgh, a Pennsylvania steelworker bought five pamphlets so his local's entire delegation could receive copies. He became interested after Van Deusen spoke about the Weber case in a workshop.

Following the conference, USWA Local 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore set up a literature display in the union hall. The Weber pamphlet was included, along with other materials gathered at the civil rights conference.

Marilyn Vogt, a member of the Brooklyn branch of the Socialist Workers Party, sold nine pamphlets at the March 31 demonstration for abortion and reproductive rights.

The importance of continuing to get this pamphlet into the hands of as many workers as possible is summed up by Rose: "Weber is a battle over equality where it counts the most in this society—equality on the job, in hiring, training, and promotion." Rose points out that if Weber wins, the "reverse discrimination" argument can be used to "roll back civil rights gains in education, employment, housing, and every other sphere of life."

Cuban revolution won him to Marxism

Dan Styron: a fighter for socialism

By Dick Roberts

HOUSTON—Dan Styron, a leading activist in the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party for seventeen years, died here last week. He was thirty-seven years old.

Dan was one of the best representatives of the generation of American youth that was recruited to socialism by the Cuban revolution in the early 1960s.

Styron was a leader of the YSA in the 1960s. He was an organizer of the anti-Vietnam War movement in New York, Berkeley, Chicago, and Los Angeles. He worked in numerous capacities to build the SWP and was one of the leaders of the party's expansion in the Southwest.

In the past year, Styron helped lead the campaign to turn the party's membership and activities toward the growing political openings in the industrial unions. Since last June he had been working in Houston's Hughes Tool Plant, where he was a member of United Steelworkers Local 1742.

Dan Styron was born in 1941 and grew up in Lincoln, Massachusetts. His father was a Unitarian-Congregational minister and his mother a speech therapist.

Studied Marxism

It was at Carleton College from 1959 to 1963 that Styron first came in contact with revolutionary Marxism. He participated in a socialist discussion group and studied the great German philosopher Hegel in a seminar under Hegelian scholar J.M. Findlay.

Reading Marx and Engels taught Dan to analyze history and society scientifically. But it was the Cuban revolution that convinced him the working class had the power to change society, and that revolutionary struggle and victory were indeed possible against the imperialists.

Dan was one of the dozens of Carleton students who built the largest chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on any campus in the U.S. They told the truth about Cuba, refuting the barrage of anti-Castro lies in the imperialist press.

Another key ingredient in Styron's revolutionary education in Minnesota came from Vincent Ray Dunne, an outstanding leader of the Trotskyist movement. Ray Dunne, then in his seventies, had been a central political leader of the Minneapolis truck drivers' strike of the 1930s.

Ray's doors were always open to the young people coming around the party, and from him Styron learned a great deal about the history of the American working class. From Ray Dunne Dan absorbed the conviction that guided him the rest of his life—that the American working class can and will lead the overturn of decaying capitalism in America. Only the workers can do this; there is no other force with the social power. They would finish what the Cubans began.

Houston to hold Styron tribute

A meeting in tribute to the life of Dan Styron will be held April 21, at 4 p.m. at the Houston Socialist Workers Party headquarters.

Speakers include Rick Berman, chairperson, Houston Socialist Workers Party; Dick Roberts and Betsey Stone, SWP National Committee; Tom Kincaid, member of Sunbeam Lodge, Railway Carmen; and Julie Scott, member of Steelworkers Local 7756.

The meeting will take place at 806 Elgin Street, Number 1, Houston, Texas 77006. Messages may be sent to that address.



Dan Styron during his 1974 Socialist Workers campaign for U.S. senator from California.

The winds of social change were picking up in America. Mass demonstrations for desegregation were sweeping the South. Students were organizing solidarity demonstrations in the North. The "ban the bomb" movement was winning support on the campuses. Malcolm X was beginning to speak ever more loudly and clearly. Styron and his companion at the time, Mary-Alice Waters, left Carleton for graduate school at the University of California at Berkeley. They wanted to be at a center of political activity and where they could also join the SWP—which they did at the end of 1963.

Soon the Berkeley YSA was immersed in the civil rights movement. Mass picket lines and sit-ins were organized at the Sheraton Palace Hotel and Cadillac dealers in San Francisco to demand equal employment opportunities for Blacks. A few months later, the university administration at Berkeley moved to crack down on the political ferment that was stirring among students. When the administration tried to ban tables collecting funds for civil rights organizations, the Berkeley Free Speech Movement exploded.

Styron and other YSA members were among those thrust forward into the leadership of the FSM.

Antiwar movement

Graduate school lasted less than a year for Dan, as political activity became more and more the center of his life. Following the civil rights protests and Free Speech Movement, the YSA and SWP in the Bay Area plunged into the antiwar movement, helping to organize the Vietnam Day Committee.

In April 1965 the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organized an antiwar march in Washington. The Bay Area followed up by organizing a thirty-six-hour teach-in that drew some 30,000 participants at the University of California in Berkeley.

The teach-in could not have been built without the work of the YSA. And much of that work was organized and led by Dan Styron.

The next six years of Styron's life would be absorbed with building the antiwar movement and building the YSA and the SWP across the country. These were inseparable processes.

Styron moved to New York in August 1965 to participate in the leadership of the YSA as a member of its National Executive Committee. He became New York City YSA organizer and worked to build the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee as well as numerous campus antiwar groups.

The struggle against Washington's war was bringing hundreds of new forces into the Trotskyist movement around the country. It was imperative to organize new branches of the YSA and SWP. And Styron soon packed his suitcase again to help build the SWP nationally. He was always ready to go when a new party assignment came along.

He served alternately as antiwar director and party organizer in Chicago in the period of 1966-69; in Austin and Houston in 1969-70; and in Los Angeles in 1971-74. He served on the SWP National Committee from 1967 to 1976.

Party organizer

As a leader of the party building branches in city after city, Dan put the highest value on education—not just in classes but in day-to-day contact and discussion. He related everything to the largest ideas of socialism.

Styron was a popular educator, constantly giving classes. He was good at recruiting and was instrumental in building the YSA on many campuses.

He would always insist: "You have to read. And not only the *Militant*; there is no substitute for basic reading. Read Lenin's *State and Revolution*. Read Engels's *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*."

The launching of the SWP branch in Houston in 1969 was intimately related to the new rise of the Chicano movement. When Styron moved to Houston to help found the branch, he plunged into the history and development of the Chicano nationality. He followed the development of the Raza Unida Party and went to Crystal City to talk to leaders of the party after they were elected to office there in 1970.

It was in Houston that Styron met Olga Rodríguez, a leading Chicana activist, whom he helped to recruit to the SWP and who would become his

close companion for the next ten years.

Rodríguez was a student at the University of Houston and a leader of MAYO, the Mexican American Youth Organization.

In Los Angeles Styron continued his special interest in the Chicano movement. He was the SWP's candidate for U.S. Senate from California in 1974. In 1975 Styron returned to New York where Rodríguez was working in the national office of the YSA and then the SWP.

Industrial turn

By this time the long economic boom of the 1960s had faded into chronic inflationary and recessionary crises. In New York in 1975 unemployment was growing sharply, and the Democratic Party rulers of the city were laying off thousands of municipal workers and cutting back social welfare programs wherever they could. Everywhere the ruling class was stepping up its warfare against the American working class.

For a time, Styron was the acting director of trade-union work for the New York SWP. Meanwhile, big struggles in basic industry were beginning to shape up. This was the radicalization of working people that Styron had looked forward to for fifteen years.

The campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the United Steelworkers union showed there were tens of thousands of steelworkers—young, women as well as men, Blacks, and Chicanos—ready and willing to chart a new course of struggle against the bosses.

Styron had been closely following news about the steelworkers' struggles in Houston, and especially at Hughes Tool, where supporters of the Sadlowski Fight Back campaign had gobbled up bundles of *Militants* each week.

In April 1978, following the decision of the SWP National Committee to rapidly get a majority of party members into basic industry, Styron moved back to this big industrial hub. He wanted to help lead the turn to industry with which he wholeheartedly agreed. He had a job at Hughes within a month. He plunged into the struggles around the right of steelworkers to ratify their contracts, the *Weber* case, and the strike at Newport News.

The revolutionist

Throughout his adult life Dan suffered increasingly from bouts of severe psychological depression. Ultimately this proved too much for him and on April 9 he took his own life.

His suicide in no way represented a statement of political despair. He was enthusiastic about the work the party is doing in the labor movement and totally confident in the revolutionary perspective for the American working class. Dan avidly followed the near-nuclear disaster at Three Mile Island, using it to underline the depth and dangerous implications of the capitalist crisis. He continued to carry out his political activity to within a few days of his death.

Once convinced of Marxism a decade and a half ago, Styron turned every ounce of his energy and ability to building a revolutionary party of workers. He never wavered from his commitment to this goal or his loyalty to the SWP. He spread the ideas of Marxism with a warm, winning conviction that inspired deep affection for him.

Styron made a significant contribution to building the Leninist party in this country. He was one of those who, beginning with the first thaw of the cold war in the early 1960s, made it possible for the revolutionary party to revive and to grow so that it would be present for the new generation of workers now entering our ranks.

Students demand divestment

April protests: End U.S. aid to S. Africa

By Osborne Hart

Educational events highlighted April 4-11 campus anti-apartheid activities.

The national week was called by several student conferences on southern Africa last fall. Students at New York University hosted the largest gathering, which more than 1,400 attended. The Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA) initiated that conference.

Students at colleges and universities around the country organized debates, teach-ins, rallies, and pickets in conjunction with the solidarity week. These activities helped to expose U.S. government and corporate complicity with the white minority regime in South Africa.

Many student organizations focused their attention on the millions of dollars that university administrations have invested in U.S. corporations operating in South Africa.

Campus divestment committees gathered signatures and picketed boards of trustees calling for total withdrawal of campus endowments and other funds from U.S. businesses.

The observance of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s death on April 4 served as a rallying point for solidarity actions.

Thousands of armbands were passed out on April 11 as part of the national day of solidarity with African liberation.

Seventy-five percent of the student population at **Brandeis University** in Waltham, Massachusetts, participated in a two-day strike and boycott of classes April 5 and 6. The strike was organized by the Divestment Movement and supported by the Brandeis Student Senate.

The protest began with a rally and picket of the board of trustees. Students demanded that Brandeis divest



Actions helped to educate about U.S. support to white minority regimes.

\$6 million worth of investments. Two hundred students occupied the administration building for four days following the initial protests. Brandeis trustees said they would announce a decision by May 2 on the student proposal for divestment.

More than 3,000 signatures of students and faculty demanding divestment at **Harvard University** in Cambridge, Massachusetts, were presented to President Derek Bok. Later, students held a rally at the Englehart Library and symbolically renamed it after the late South African Black leader Steve Biko.

As part of ten days of educational activities, 400 students rallied at the

University of Massachusetts at Amherst April 7. A thousand armbands were passed out on April 11.

Pickets were formed by 100 **University of Pennsylvania** activists in Philadelphia at the April 5 trustees meeting. Students at U. of Penn. organized a teach-in and other activities throughout the week.

On April 6, more than 150 demonstrated in front of the Provident Bank in downtown Philadelphia calling for an end to loans to South Africa. Other actions occurred in Delaware Valley area schools, including: Haverford College, Temple University, Swarthmore College, Bryn Mawr College, and the University of Delaware.

The Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa in New York City sponsored an April 11 picket of Citibank headquarters.

The **Columbia University** Committee Against Investments in South Africa sponsored a week of events composed of rallies, film showings, and a teach-in. Prior to the anti-apartheid week, more than 200 students called for divestment and a shut down of Columbia's Triga nuclear reactor.

African solidarity actions also took place at Cornell University, Princeton University, New York University, Rutgers University, and New York City Community College.

"U.S. Out of South Africa," and "Divest Now," were the chants of 150 demonstrators at the federal building in downtown Chicago April 7. The action was part of the week of actions organized by the Midwest Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

A hundred **University of Chicago** students demonstrated for divestment at president Hanna Gray's state of the university address April 12. The previous day, 2,000 armbands were distributed on the U.C. campus.

At the **University of Minnesota**, in Minneapolis, the Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa organized a picket of the regents meeting April 6 and a rally of 100 on April 11 for divestment.

Other campuses where solidarity activities occurred were: University of Illinois Champaign, Northwestern University, University of D.C., Washington University, West Virginia University, Atlanta University Center, University of Washington, Oberlin College, University of New Orleans, and California State University at Los Angeles.

Birmingham media feature Dixon on Africa

By Garrett Brown

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Maceo Dixon's tour here April 13-15 made a big impact in the local media.

Dixon, a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from a two-month tour of Africa. He is currently speaking throughout the country on the African liberation struggle and the role of the U.S. government in Africa.

Media interest in Dixon, and the newly formed branch of the SWP here, was reflected in interviews by seven radio stations and three newspapers. These included the three Black radio stations, one of which aired Dixon's entire presentation on a popular daytime program. Lengthy articles appeared in the *Post-Herald* and the *Times*.

Dixon spoke to more than fifty people at the University of Alabama in Birmingham and was invited to a reception hosted by African students the following evening.

Dixon's slide presentation and speech at the university were attended largely by African and Afro-American students and local civil rights activists.

Dixon's talk was the first major meeting organized by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance here. It was an important step in putting the socialists on the political map. The media coverage and interest in Dixon's presentation introduced many people to socialist ideas for the first time.

One individual, however, was less than pleased about the widespread interest in Dixon's tour. Shortly before

Dixon arrived, the president of the UAB student government unilaterally rescinded a decision by the student government assembly and refused to give Dixon the \$300 honorarium voted him to cover tour expenses.

NEW YORK—More than 150 people, most of them Black, heard Dixon speak about his recent tour of Africa at two campuses here on April 5. The largest of the two meetings, a noon-time talk at New York City Community College, drew about ninety people. The meeting was sponsored by the Afro-Caribbean Club and the Young Socialist Alliance.

At New York University Dixon and Duma Ndlovu of the South African Students Coordinating Committee spoke. The NYU Coalition Against

Apartheid and the YSA sponsored the meeting.

Dixon tour

Hear Maceo Dixon speak on "Southern Africa: The Struggle for Liberation; What Americans Can Do To Support It." The next stops on his tour are:

Washington, D.C. Apr. 26-27
Newport News, Va. May 3
Baltimore May 4-5
Detroit May 6-8

For more information contact Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone (212) 242-7654.

...INS

Continued from page 9

asylum because he is not here "lawfully." In Smith's view refugees should be sure to fill out all the proper forms and wait for the INS's reply before fleeing here from another country for their lives.

In Marroquín's case, this would have been doubly fatal, since documents show that the FBI and the INS were collaborating to keep him from entering this country in the first place.

Smith gives yet another reason for turning down Marroquín's asylum request. An earlier ruling by an INS district director rejected Marroquín's appeal on the grounds that he was

wanted in Mexico for "serious non-political crime(s)." Smith, on the other hand, says that Marroquín is not being sought by the Mexican authorities at all.

The only "proof" Smith offers for this absurd claim is a two-day trip that Marroquín made to Mexico, in disguise, in 1977 to consult a lawyer. Since Marroquín was not caught, Smith asserts, the Mexican police aren't after him.

"I find it incredible," says Smith, "that a 'notorious' Mexican subject so distinctive as to be nicknamed 'El Pecas' ['Freckles']—Marroquín's childhood nickname] could pass through the highway check point some 25 miles inside Mexico in midafternoon if the Mexican authorities were really as

concerned about his activities as he now claims."

Smith conveniently ignored the fact that, as Marroquín testified under oath, he disguised his appearance to look quite different from the way he appeared in the high school photo the cops had of him.

However, in a document submitted by the defense but also conveniently ignored by the judge, Héctor Villagra, head of the Nuevo León Judicial Police, wrote to the INS asking that Marroquín be turned over to his custody.

Villagra enclosed a wanted poster that falsely accuses Marroquín of shooting two policemen and says he is to be considered "armed and danger-

ous." In other words, shoot him on sight.

Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, has protested Smith's ignoring of the evidence in his decision.

"We are going to show in our appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals that what we have here is a violation of Héctor Marroquín's right to a fair trial," she added. "We will show that any fair-minded person, on the basis of the evidence, would immediately grant him political asylum in this country."

Marroquín's supporters agree and are redoubling their efforts to expose the discriminatory practices of the government and win the American people to support the demand: Marroquín sí, Migra no!

A tribute to Evelyn Reed

By Shelley Kramer

NEW YORK CITY—Five hundred people met here April 8 to pay tribute to the life and work of Evelyn Reed.

A leader of the Socialist Workers Party and one of the foremost Marxist writers on the origins of women's oppression, Reed died of cancer March 22.

"Evelyn Reed was a rebel from the word go," said SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes in opening the meeting. "She attacked the world as an artist, writer, politician, and anthropologist—always seeking uncompromisingly to understand the world and to alter it for the better."

Speaking for the SWP Political Committee, Mary-Alice Waters explained why Reed, at the age of thirty-five, abandoned her career as an artist and devoted herself to the socialist movement. And why from that day forward she gave every ounce of her impressive talent and boundless energy to building a proletarian party in the United States.

"Evelyn Reed was a materialist," began Waters. "That, if it can be done, summarizes her great strength in one word."

Reed was convinced that only the working class could put an end to capitalist injustice and misery; personal rebellion and defiance of conventions were not enough. By studying and applying the materialist method she was able to lay bare the real class origins of women's oppression.

Unwavering dedication to the tasks of the SWP, big and small; scrupulous honesty in her theoretical work; exacting discipline and efficiency in every organizational assignment—these were some of Reed's party-building traits that Waters emphasized.

Willie Mae Reid, the SWP vice-presidential candidate in 1976, knew Reed for only seven years. She first heard her speak at an abortion rights meeting in Chicago. From that time on, Reid told the audience, Evelyn Reed deeply influenced her political thinking.

"Evelyn's love for the party showed in both her public speeches and personal actions," Reid recalled. "She had a special concern for women in the party, particularly the new recruits. She would seek you out for a meeting or a meal, put you at ease, and be prepared to talk for hours." The apartment Reed shared with her lifelong companion, George Novack, was always accessible to the young comrades who lived in New York.

"Evelyn knew, above all, that the millions of us in the labor force would be called on to play a decisive role in



Anne Teesdale

Speakers at New York rally, clockwise from top left: Connie Harris, Jack Barnes, Willie Mae Reid, James T. Farrell, Karolyn Kerry, Mary-Alice Waters.

the biggest battles in history," said Reid. "She helped the party orient to the growing struggles of working-class women by recruiting and developing women leaders as thinkers, speakers, writers, organizers, and theoreticians." Reed's example, she concluded, is a "tremendous heritage to take to our class in the industrial work force."

Karolyn Kerry, a forty-five-year veteran and leading member of the SWP, shared a friendship with Reed for more than thirty years. They collaborated in important party responsibilities and on defense cases in both New York and Los Angeles. Her remarks painted a warm and vivid picture of Reed, especially of her contempt for the pretenses of bourgeois society.

In one anecdote Kerry described the embarrassment Reed and their mutual friend, Connie Weissman, felt about their "pre-party affluence."

"Both had mink coats tucked away in their clothes closets, which they refused to wear on even the coldest and windiest days," Kerry recalled. On one such evening the three were having dinner before going out in the cold to distribute literature. Kerry urged her friends to wear their minks to keep

warm.

"But despite all my eloquence, neither Evelyn nor Connie would yield. So the three of us left, Connie and Evelyn shivering, and I, warmly ensconced in a mink coat, occasionally bestowing a look of pity on my two chilled comrades."

James T. Farrell, author of the renowned *Studs Lonigan* trilogy, spoke as a friend of Reed and Novack over almost four decades. During World War II he served with both of them on the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which organized support for the eighteen SWP members and Teamsters framed up under the Smith "Gag" Act.

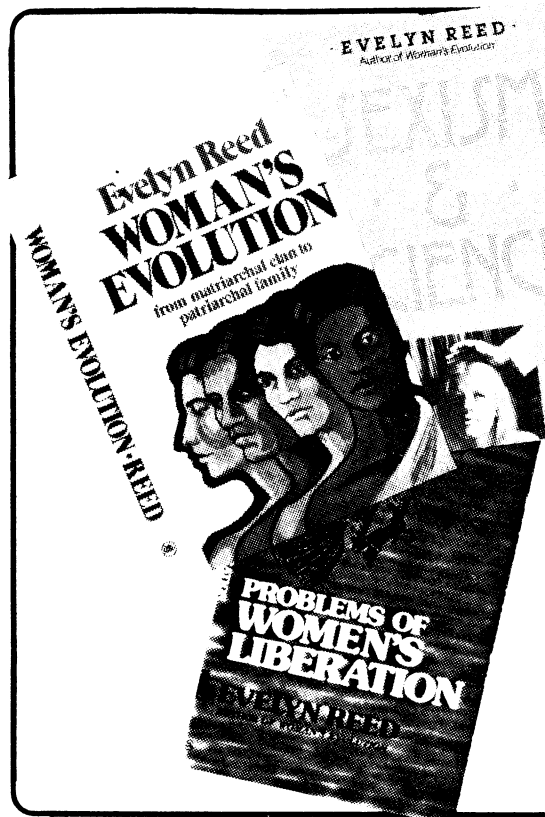
There is so much injustice in this world, Farrell said, that "we cannot live a decent, creative constructive life unless we are militant. It was this militancy of spirit of Evelyn Reed that I admired." He took note of the "startling courage" Reed displayed in facing her own illness and death.

Connie Harris, a leader of the British International Marxist Group, told how she got to know Reed through her speaking tours to England, Ireland, and France on behalf of her major work, *Woman's Evolution*.

"The SWP has enjoyed a unique continuity of revolutionary experience since 1928," said Harris. "This imposes a special responsibility on the SWP so that the whole world movement can benefit from this experience. The tours Evelyn made were a concrete expression of that responsibility and greatly contributed to the growth of the Fourth International. These acts of international solidarity have been central in giving us a clearer understanding of the theory and practice of women's liberation."

Messages from many parts of the world poured in following Reed's death. They came from sections of the Fourth International as well as from individuals who never met Reed but whose lives and thinking were affected by her writings. A selection of these messages will be carried in a forthcoming issue of the *Militant*.

At the close of the meeting \$7,591 was pledged and contributed to the Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund, a special fund to help establish a school where selected SWP members can engage in an intensive study of Marxism. This school will continue the legacy of Evelyn Reed—a Marxist, feminist, and fighter for the working class.



By Evelyn Reed

Books

Woman's Evolution \$5.95
Problems of Women's Liberation \$1.95
Sexism and Science \$3.95

Pamphlets

Is Biology Woman's Destiny \$.85

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Include \$.50 for postage.

Education for Socialists Tapes

Discount Price

Feminism and Women's Biology, 1975 \$5.00
The History of the Family and Marriage, 1965 \$5.00

Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State by F. Engels. Introduction by Evelyn Reed. \$2.95

By Mary-Alice Waters

The following tribute to Evelyn Reed was given by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of 'Intercontinental Press/ Inprecor,' at the April 8 meeting in New York City.

Evelyn Reed was a materialist. That, if it can be done, summarizes her great strength in one word.

It was Evelyn's understanding of the long view of history and the materialist dialectic that enabled her to make a real contribution to a scientific understanding of humanity's passage to class society; that enabled her to enrich Marxism; that enabled her to conquer many limitations imposed on her by capitalist society; that enabled her to understand those obstacles that she couldn't conquer by sheer force of will.

It enabled her to see that the problems of life that take a toll on everyone are not fundamentally private problems or personal shortcomings but are created by exploiters who rule the decaying, class-divided society in which we live.

Evelyn was a materialist through and through—a consistent materialist. That was why she was a Marxist. That was why she was a feminist. That was why when she became convinced that the working class had the power to remove this wretched ruling class, Evelyn turned her back on the first thirty-five years of her life to give every ounce of her strength, her energy, and her intelligence to building a revolutionary workers party in the United States.

She saw clearly that this was the only road to the liberation of humanity from the economic shackles that bring poverty, war, the threat of nuclear annihilation—and that distort, corrupt, and limit all human relations.

To understand Evelyn Reed the Marxist, the feminist, and the fighter for the working class, you have to understand something about where she came from. Contrary to what some of you may have heard, Evelyn didn't come from a wealthy family.

She was born in 1905 in Halidon, New Jersey. Her father left home when she was very young and died before she was in her teens. Evelyn and her two sisters grew up in New Jersey living with her mother, a devouring and domineering woman, whom Evelyn disliked immensely. Years later she would sometimes refer to the psychological misery inflicted on children by what she called "cannibal mom." I always sensed there was an element of personal history involved.

When she was still in her mid-teens, Evelyn escaped to New York and began to make her own way in life.

One of the few people from this period whom Evelyn spoke about with affection was an aunt in New York who first introduced her to the museums, took her to plays and concerts, who introduced her to the broader culture of the times.

Evelyn became a serious aspiring artist, which was not that easy for a young woman in the 1920s. She was a rebel and a fighter. She had courage. I'm sure her youthful courage had a great deal of brashness in it, and her rebelliousness had a strong dose of contempt for hypocritical bourgeois mores.

I once heard Evelyn proudly describe herself as an alley cat—someone who knew what it took to survive in the real capitalist world, because she'd done it. She fought her way through life and landed on her feet.

New York bohemian circles

Evelyn traveled in New York's bohemian milieu of artists and writers. Early in life she had absorbed what all women are taught from the day they're born—that they're expected to sell themselves. Evelyn decided she could turn this back on society and use it to her advantage. She was young and attractive and found a wealthy German chemist who was willing to set her up in comfort and fashion. She thought this would give her the free-

dom to make her own way.

From her own experiences as a young woman determined to live on her own terms and not those imposed by society, Evelyn learned that society was structured in thousands of ways to destroy her as an individual rebel. To break her spirit. To force her into the assigned role for a woman of her class, in her generation.

So after a while, Evelyn decided to try the more conventional route. She married an aspiring young writer and went back home with him to Iowa—only to decide that the narrow family life was too confining for her spirit. In a few years she fled back to New York.

One of Evelyn's paintings during that period beautifully expresses what she thought about her life in the Midwest. The five young sisters of her husband are all attired in stiff Victorian dresses. They seem bound up, unable to move. All have innocent, pretty faces—that are absolutely empty and on the surface almost identical. But what comes through that painting as you look at it is the stifled intelligence of these young women and the trapped rebelliousness that lies beneath the surface. That very fine painting tells a lot about Evelyn, about her life in Iowa, and about what she was going through.

Looking for answers

By the time Evelyn got back to New York, her younger sister had married an ageing wealthy General Motors tycoon. Now Evelyn had no financial worries. She traveled to Mexico and Central America to paint. She was "free." But she knew something was missing. She was searching desperately for answers.

I've heard Evelyn tell this personal story of hers to more than one shocked listener—and in much more vivid detail than I have today. But Evelyn always told it to make a political point.

From her own experiences, she understood that personal nonconformism elevated to what's called today a "lifestyle" becomes a backhanded way of accepting the oppressive institutions of class society that she so roundly denounced.

When Evelyn finally came across Engels's explanation of how the family and its twin institution of prostitution arose as pillars of class society and determine the oppression of women, she already knew the truth of class and sex oppression. Now she understood where it came from and why.

No personal solution

By the end of the 1930s Evelyn had learned that there are no personal solutions, that there are no utopian lifestyles that can liberate you. She understood that she herself would have been one of the victims of the capitalist system if she hadn't found a coherent explanation of the world and a perspective for how to change it.

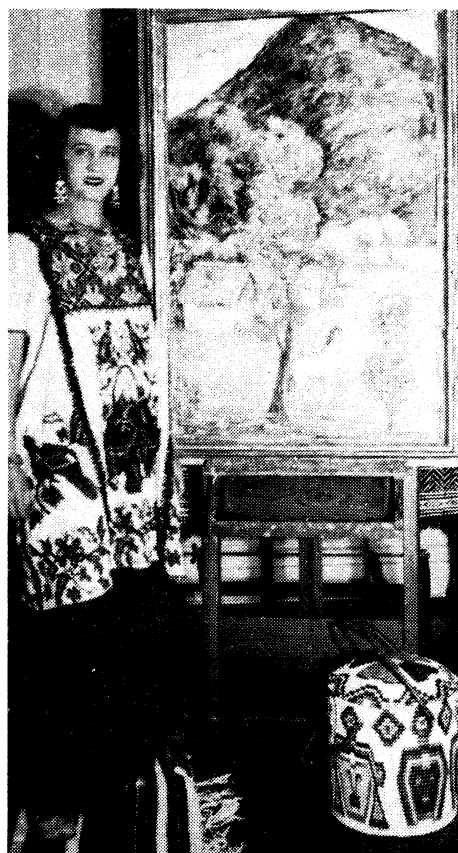
In 1974 two young French feminists came to the United States to do a series of interviews with leaders of the women's liberation movement here. One of the women they talked with was Evelyn.

It's a fascinating interview. As you read it you see that Evelyn was also interviewing them. Evelyn's characteristic warmth, her curiosity about these women, her desire to know more about their ideas, their experiences, to draw them out as much as they were drawing her out—all this comes through.

One of the questions these women asked Evelyn was about alternative lifestyles. What did she think about the groups that want to change the way we live now? Evelyn gave a fine answer.

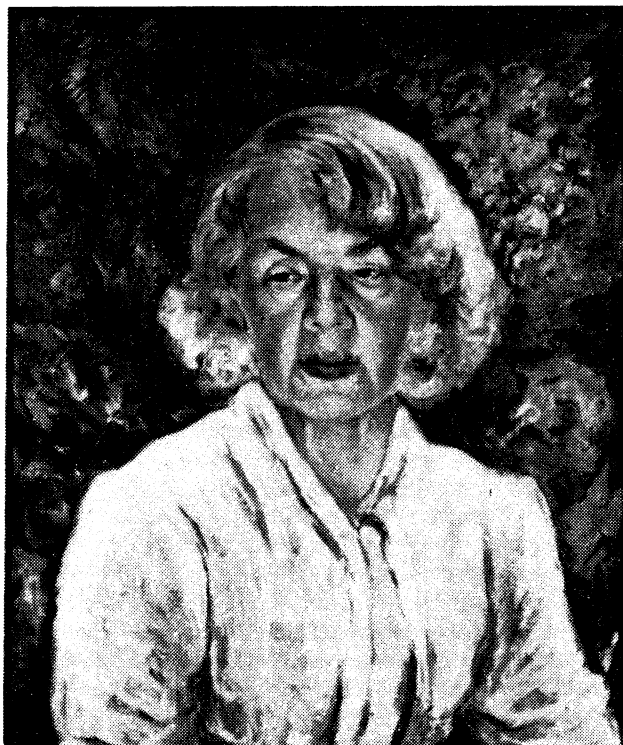
"Counterculturalism, alternative cultures, new lifestyles, whatever you want to call it," Evelyn said, "that's not something new that came along with the feminist movement. That comes out of the youth movement, from the revolt of youth, from the desire to live better right now, despite the predatory nature of capitalism. We're totally sympathetic. That's what we're fighting for, too, for a life that's

EVELYN Marxist, fighter workin

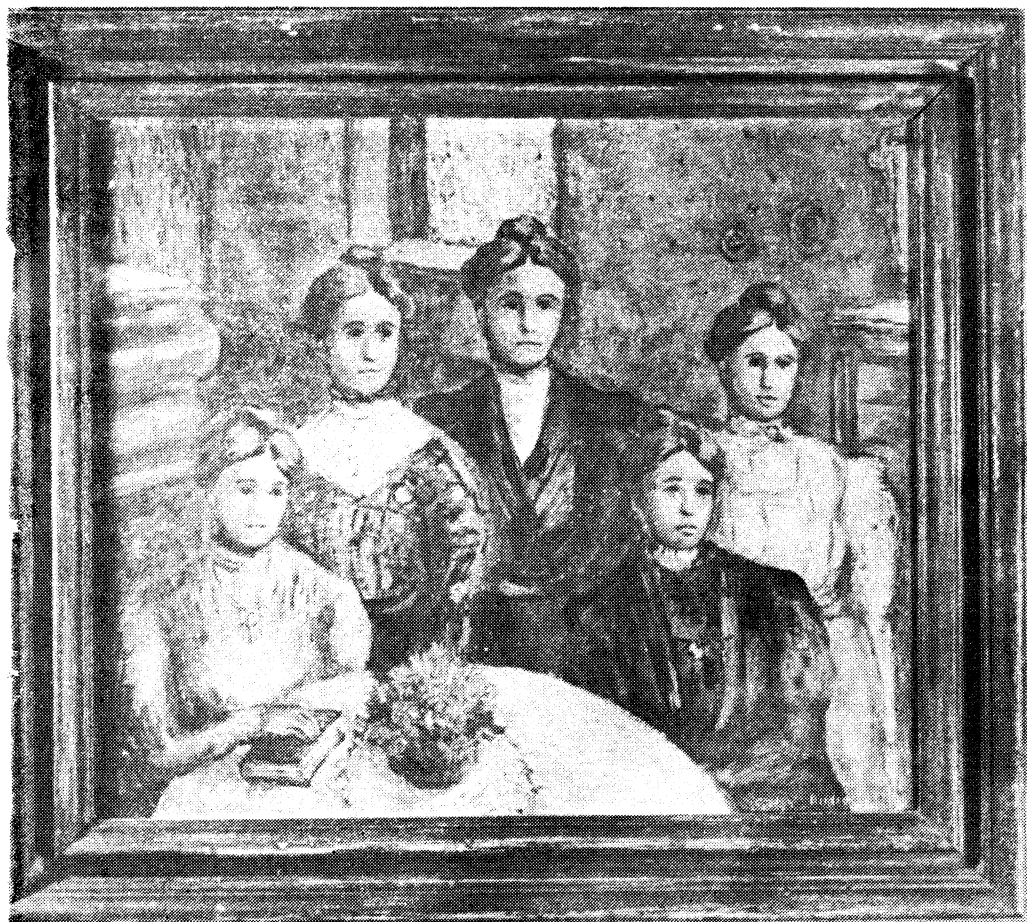


Reed illustrated the column she wrote for the 'Militant' on workers' lives with sketches (shown above). At left, Reed with two of her paintings.

AN REED feminist, for the big class



Reed's portraits of Natalia Sedova (right) and five Midwest women (below). After joining socialist movement, Reed applied same creative energies to study of Marxism and tasks of building a party.



better adapted to the needs of human beings. But the question is to know how to get there. Utopianism is futile. It's ridiculous."

One of the interviewers asked, "But don't these experiments have a positive side?"

"They are certainly valuable if one learns to know the limits of freedom under capitalism," Evelyn responded.

Class hatred

From her experiences, Evelyn developed a deep and lifelong hatred for the ruling class. She saw that behind its idealization of women as wives and mothers was a reality of abuse and degradation. She came to realize that this wasn't a personal question; it was the attitude of a class—a ruling class that today must maintain the oppression of women to preserve its exploitation of the working class, from which it derives its wealth, its power, and its status.

I happened to be having dinner with Evelyn and her husband, George Novack, on the day the Chappaquidick story broke in 1969. Sen. Edward Kennedy was trying to explain, through all his prevarications, his role in the drowning of his secretary, Mary Jo Kopechne. Evelyn had some rather graphic and colorful things to say about Kennedy and Company—because she knew the truth of all the Chappaquidicks.

She knew how the ruling class imposes its own perverted and corrupted values on society and then piously lectures and condemns others.

How she loved to see that hypocrisy exposed! She loved to see someone like Kennedy caught in his own bind and squirming to get out.

But Evelyn also had a deepgoing sympathy with the Mary Jo Kopechnes of the world—the victims of this capitalist system, and especially the female victims of class and sex oppression. She identified with them to the depths of her soul.

But while she understood human weaknesses—nothing human was alien to Evelyn—her own reaction was always to fight back, not to give in.

In recent years, many friends and comrades, especially women, went to Evelyn with their personal problems and tribulations. She was always attentive and concerned. She would spend hours discussing with them. She would often seek out friends, especially young women, who she knew were having some problems, and try to help.

A fighter

But Evelyn would never give an inch to sentimentality, self-pity, self-indulgence, or soul-searching. She would just say: Be honest! Look yourself in the face! And fight!

She would say: We've all got problems. We all have difficulties. But there's only one answer that makes sense. There's only one perspective that will help. There are no isolated individual or personal solutions. That's why I'm in the Socialist Workers Party. That's why you should be in the Socialist Workers Party. Because it's only if you're a Marxist, and are striving to build a working-class party to change this world, that you can rise above what society does to each of us.

That kind of determination and perspective marked Evelyn throughout the second half of her life.

James T. Farrell spoke of how Evelyn faced her own death with courage. That was true. She was able to be a materialist about that, too. But she also faced it with a sense of humor and self-consciousness.

On one of the occasions that I visited her in recent months, she joked with me, saying, "You know, this cancer is just not my kind of disease." She was right. It sapped her strength and vitality and prevented her from working. It was one of the few things in her life she felt she could not fight.

And she didn't like that.

In everything Evelyn did, she exhibited seriousness and self-discipline. She was efficient. She was well-

organized. She wasted no time or motion.

I used to watch with admiration as she would cook and put dinner on the table for three or four people, all the while carrying on a lively political conversation. And all without putting down her glass or missing a line in the discussion.

That was typical of Evelyn. She was extremely practical. She was an excellent typist, for example. She had no illusion that if she refused to learn how to type, somehow she could escape from "female" jobs. She knew she'd better learn to type and type well if she wanted to earn a living. So she did.

She also used to sew. She made and altered a lot of her own clothes. She would just do it in passing, among all the other things that she did.

It was with the same seriousness and self-discipline that Evelyn approached painting in her early years. She gave it everything she had.

Very few comrades have seen Evelyn's paintings, because when she decided to become a serious revolutionist she gave up painting. She decided that she couldn't have two vocations, and she didn't want to dabble in either.

Evelyn thought that being a Bolshevik would give her the greatest satisfaction. From that time forward, she turned her creative abilities to building the revolutionary party.

Evelyn wasn't a writer before she joined the Socialist Workers Party. She learned to write by working on the *Militant* staff. She learned to write in a clear, well-organized, pedagogical style that was a joy to read.

As a painter

Before going on to Evelyn's accomplishments in the socialist movement, however, I just want to mention one more thing about her paintings. Several that I've seen show a real craft and talent—especially Evelyn's portraits of women.

Evelyn did paint other subjects, of course. For example, she once did a portrait of Trotsky, which she didn't think had much insight. She did it rapidly, and she wasn't happy with it.

But it is her portraits of women that are the most interesting. They are remarkable for the feelings that come through in them, the fierce resentment in the faces of women, their suppressed rebellion—all the things Evelyn was to write about and express in other ways in the years to come.

Evelyn's portrait of Natalia Sedova is one of her finest. Joe Hansen, who was not given to light compliments, said that if you study that portrait you understand what kind of woman Natalia was.

But all this before 1940 is what can be called the prehistory of Evelyn Reed. She would be the first to explain that unless you understand your prehistory, history itself is unintelligible.

Like the prehistory of humanity, this period in Evelyn's life came to an impasse in which there was no way forward without a whole new framework.

When she was a little over thirty-five years old, Evelyn came in contact with the Trotskyist movement. That was in New York. Shortly after that, she went to Mexico with a companion, Walter O'Rourke, who was in the Socialist Workers Party and had been assigned as a guard to Trotsky's household at Coyoacán. Evelyn went along to paint. She set up a studio in Mexico City. She had a car and began helping out around the Trotsky household.

Comrades in the SWP remember hearing about this bohemian woman artist down there who seemed to be very helpful.

Joining the SWP

Evelyn occasionally explained to me how she came to join the party. She was at the Trotsky house one day. Joe Hansen came out to the courtyard to talk to her. He said he had just been with Trotsky and that Trotsky had asked why Evelyn wasn't in the Socialist Workers Party.

Continued on next page

...Marxist, feminist, fighter

Continued from preceding page

Joe said he didn't know. Trotsky suggested that he find out. So Joe came down and asked.

Evelyn responded that she didn't think a working-class party would want "bourgeois" women like her. Joe explained—very pedagogically, I'm sure—how false that was. So Evelyn said: Fine, I want to join.

Trotsky came down later, embraced her Russian-style with a big kiss on both cheeks, and commented: "Lots of different types of people join our movement. Some don't turn out so well, others do. I have the feeling you'll be one of those who turns out well."

He was right.

Marxist perspective

While Evelyn didn't come to Marxism through feminism, she—like many of us—realized in retrospect that she'd been a feminist all her life. She just didn't think of it that way until the women's liberation movement came along.

Evelyn became a Marxist because she understood that only the working class has the capacity and the self-interest—the class interest—to replace the rapacious ruling class and open the door to move all humanity forward. She also knew that could happen only if the working class itself was consciously led by a revolutionary workers party.

Evelyn never wavered in that understanding. She never budged from that class perspective in anything she did, including the struggle for women's liberation.

Over the past decade, Evelyn became an internationally known figure. She was recognized for her contributions to the study of the origins of human society—how animals became human, how humanity made itself; how we got from the communal, egalitarian prehistory of humanity to the class-divided and sex-stratified society of the past 6,000 years; how we're going to move forward to socialism.

Evelyn took the most advanced scientific method available and applied it, searching for facts, directly and indirectly verifiable, about the origins of human society.

She didn't start with any preconceptions about women's role in this process. She started with some unanswered questions, with some doubts about answers that had been given so far. Evelyn's curiosity became an important force in this process.

The answers she came up with were solidly based on years of research and documentation.

'Woman's Evolution'

Evelyn was a little afraid of the possible reaction to her conclusions. As a materialist, she knew that the acceptance of correct ideas has its time, too. She had lived through the years of McCarthyite reaction, the isolation of women during those years, the isolation of the socialist movement. While she had a valuable collaborator in her companion and comrade, George Novack—someone with whom she could discuss the research she was doing and the ideas she was formulating—still she was working on her own.

So, when she finished the long-awaited manuscript—I think it was early in 1974—she was a little nervous. What are its flaws? Is it time? Is it ready to be published?

She gave me the manuscript of *Woman's Evolution* to read on vacation, and I remember my reaction when I finished. A tremendous vista had been opened up. Evelyn had provided thoughtful and generally convincing answers to some of the most complex and difficult questions about humanity's origins.

Because of her few trepidations, we had to convince Evelyn not to pull her punches on a question or two when it came time for the finishing touches.

There was one thing she did refuse to include, though. Those of you who have read *Woman's Evolution* know that the final chapters analyze several of the most famous Greek tragedies. Evelyn explains how the conflict and turbulence that accompanied the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy left an indelible imprint in Greek mythology.

I tried to talk her into doing a parallel chapter on the Hebrew Bible, on the Old Testament, and early Christian practice. By the time you get to the end of the book, there are some obvious things to be said about the origins of various food proscriptions, communion, the meaning of some of the Biblical tales.

Evelyn is sometimes referred to as a feminist anthropologist. I think that's wrong. "Feminist" isn't an adjective that properly modifies the word "anthropologist."

Evolutionist & anthropologist

Evelyn was an anthropologist who applied the scientific method of dialectical materialism. She was an evolutionist. Change is uneven, novel, and contradictory. Combinations occur. Chance and causality intermingle. But change occurs according to understandable laws. Stages of evolution are discernible. To understand history, the social scientist must proceed as any other scientist, by searching for and establishing the laws that govern social evolution.

As Evelyn researched and analyzed her material, she came to realize the true scope of women's hidden prehistory—the role that those creatures she affectionately dubs the "feminids" played in humanizing and socializing—in creating us all. She understood what a powerful weapon the truth about our own prehistory could be in women's hands. What a weapon it would be for all communists. So she was determined to make this knowledge available. She was determined to give women self-confidence, to prove that female biology is not a handicap. She wanted to give women pride in our history, strength, and the courage to fight.

Evelyn approached all this with the highest standards of intellectual honesty and truth. One example of this was contained in a letter a leader of the party from the Midwest sent me about some of her recollections of Evelyn. She recalled a discussion in which a comrade had objected to Evelyn that *Woman's Evolution* had not discussed the role of lesbianism among primitive communist women.

Evelyn sat down with the comrade



Reed with Connie Weissman at a New York anti-Vietnam War demonstration in New York.

and very carefully explained that after twenty-five years of research, she had no evidence that lesbianism existed in primitive communist society. Certainly not as it's known today.

Evelyn hoped someday to write a book on sexuality—how it is social and psychological as well as biological; how it evolves and changes like everything else. She wanted to explain how unscientific it is to project forward or backward the forms and expressions of sexuality we know today.

She always insisted, if you're serious about history, you don't begin my making it up. All prejudices assume some eternal order of institutions and values. But that is simply religious cant. Our obligation is to tell the truth about society and history. Because it's the truth that will set us free—if we fight for it.

Marxist and feminist

Evelyn's feminism—her understanding of women's oppression, and her determination to fight for women's liberation—was so profound that she never felt any need for superficial or phony demonstrations of her convictions.

She was totally secure in her feminism and her Marxism. She understood that the two were totally inseparable.

Evelyn had no difficulty with the fact that the pioneering insights into the origins of human society and

women's oppression were made by men—Marx, Engels, Morgan—who developed the method that enabled us to understand and move forward. Few things made Evelyn angrier than the dismissal of these scientific insights, or the charge that Marx and Engels could not be true proponents of women's emancipation, because they were men, or because they fell short of standards of language and conduct we would apply today. Any woman who got hung up on that kind of ahistorical and unscientific approach, Evelyn believed, was never going to make a serious contribution to the struggle for women's liberation.

Evelyn understood that you couldn't label Engels as a Marxist anthropologist while labeling her a feminist anthropologist. *Both* were Marxists. *Both* were materialists. *Both* applied their common method to understanding the prehistory of humanity. *Both*, under different historical conditions, were in the forefront of the fight for women's emancipation.

Evelyn didn't see *Woman's Evolution* as a crowning achievement after which she could comfortably sit back and get old. She saw it as the beginning of a fight—a fight she had eagerly awaited for years.

She knew that over time some of her hypotheses and interpretations would be proven wrong, that others would be confirmed. What she had done was to put the ball in the court of the anti-evolutionists and antimaterialists. Now *they* would have to come up with some answers.

Evelyn loved nothing better than the polemics and debates over the ideas contained in *Woman's Evolution* and her other works.

But it would also be correct to say she had one weakness in this regard.

There was one element of a lack of self-confidence that she never totally overcame: She cared a little bit what various academic anthropologists thought about the seriousness of her work. Not what they thought about the content of her works—she had nothing but contempt for their falsification of history. But she did want to be recognized as a serious professional, of high standards.

We used to kid her about this. Did she believe Engels would have cared what a Lévi-Strauss thought about the quality of his work? Of course not. And Evelyn would laugh, because she knew it was true.

Tireless party builder

Most of us knew Evelyn primarily through her contributions to the struggle for women's liberation and her education of the party on this question. In the past decade she rarely wrote on other subjects.

But for nearly forty years, Evelyn was a tireless activist and builder of the Socialist Workers Party in every and any capacity. In the Civil Rights Defense Committee, defending the victims of the Smith gag act during World War II; writing and producing the *Militant*; selling the paper. She rarely missed a branch meeting. She loved nothing better than demonstrations and rallies, whatever the issue might be. And she gave every penny of her personal wealth to finance the party's needs.

Evelyn got her greatest satisfaction precisely from giving her energies, her talents, and her endless enthusiasm to building the party of the socialist revolution in the United States and internationally. Even if the women's movement hadn't come along to give her that extra boost, Evelyn would have felt she had done the only worthwhile thing with her life.

Evelyn did not carry the particular kind of responsibility a central political leader of the party has to. She did not have the same complex political responsibilities in the day-to-day national leadership as people such as Jim Cannon or Farrell Dobbs.



With her companion and comrade George Novack

for the working class



July 9, 1978, demonstration for Equal Rights Amendment. Reed was inspired by deepening radicalization in labor movement, its impact on fight for women's liberation, and its meaning for socialist future.

But Evelyn was a leader of the Socialist Workers Party nonetheless. She was part of that political machine that is the collective strength, the heart and soul of the Socialist Workers Party.

There was never any egotism toward the party. The last thing on Evelyn's mind was "my role" or "my development" or "my recognition." She didn't think of herself first. She thought of building the party. What she could do. How she could use her strengths for whatever the party needed at that particular moment.

The party recognized her contribution and elected Evelyn to the party's National Committee for nearly sixteen years.

Workers' radicalization

One of the things that made Evelyn the happiest in her final months was the deepening radicalization in the American working class and the party's progress in getting the majority of comrades into industry to take advantage of these political openings. She looked forward to establishing new contacts with working-class women



At work. In everything she did, Evelyn exhibited self-discipline and thoroughness.

who would be coming into the party.

She would talk to comrades for hours about the changes in attitudes that were taking place among the young men and women on the assembly lines and in the factories where we are working—what questions they had, what they were interested in, what they wanted to know. She was fascinated and delighted by the new experiences comrades are beginning to have, by the new battles looming.

But Evelyn was a materialist about the Socialist Workers Party, as about everything else. She knew it wasn't perfect. She knew that no party can escape the social contradictions and conditions in which it is built, or the limits of the human material produced by capitalism. She thought the idea that we are prototypes of socialist man and woman was one of the most laughable things she had ever heard.

Evelyn knew that attitudes inside the party could not be decades ahead of society in general. At the same time, she was convinced from her own experiences in the SWP, and in the rest of the world movement, that the attitude toward women in the Socialist Workers Party is unique among revolutionary organizations. Anyone who light-mindedly made a remark in Evelyn's presence about sexism in the party would get a not-so-light-minded response.

Women in the SWP

Evelyn never felt she was discriminated against or taken unseriously in the party because she was a woman. Her only negative experiences in the revolutionary movement were in the Fourth International in the 1950s. She and George had been asked by the SWP to live in Europe for a period of time to participate in the work of the Fourth International. There, Evelyn said, she did feel that she was generally dismissed as a female appendage of George, something that had never happened to her in the movement before.

In the interview with the two French feminists I referred to earlier, Evelyn was asked: "How do you think the women's liberation movement has changed the men around you?"

Evelyn responded: "I'm going to tell you something. Here in the Socialist Workers Party the men are miles ahead of those in other revolutionary groups. They're conscious of the problem of male supremacy. They're conscious of the importance of the women's movement—how it was able to burst forth and why it is developing. Their immediate support for the movement comes from their political integrity. They are real revolutionaries. It's something that future historians are

going to have to give some thought to explaining. It's one of those bonuses of history."

She went on, "I'll never forget a young woman in New Zealand who told me she didn't like political parties because of their attitudes toward women. And I told her: 'Maybe that's true in most cases, but it's false as far as the Socialist Workers Party is concerned.'"

The New Zealand feminist had responded, "You mean that the Socialist Workers Party is different from all other parties?"

"Yes, that's exactly correct," Evelyn had shot back. "It's different and that's why I'm a member."

Her French interviewers then asked her, "Was the Socialist Workers Party always like that? Was it already like that when you joined?"

Evelyn responded with a short lesson on the need to develop historical perspective. "When I joined? Let's see, that was thirty-five years ago. We were a tiny party. It's really difficult to say. The women's movement didn't exist. We were persecuted by the capitalists and the Stalinists at the same time. You can't foresee the solution to a problem that doesn't yet exist, can you?"

"If you ask me," continued Evelyn, "was the consciousness about the problems of women the same as today, I would reply, no. Because the women's liberation movement itself brought that consciousness forward. That was its birth. A baby must be born before you can express an opinion about it. But it was born. And it's a beautiful child that is filling the air with its cries!"

One thing that made Evelyn very angry was any attempt by men or women to use the "woman question" to

push themselves into undeserved leadership positions or to attack the party. She wanted nothing to do with those kinds of phonies whose actions and attitudes actually degraded women and produced obstacles to the development of women as revolutionary leaders.

Internationalism

Evelyn's experiences in the Fourth International gave her a passionate interest in the development of the international women's liberation movement and developments within the Fourth International. She considered the discussion now taking place around the draft international women's liberation resolution for the next world congress of the Fourth International to be a tremendous step forward for the entire world Trotskyist movement.

Evelyn knew there was controversy around that resolution, especially around the section on the origins of women's oppression. She thought what the document said was correct, although she herself would have said a lot more. She looked forward to the discussion and debate beginning to open up around it.

Evelyn had the self-discipline, self-confidence, and conviction born of experience, study, and a thorough grounding in the classics of Marxism.

While her work is finished, ours is not. Our challenge is to build on Evelyn's contributions and go forward. To train new generations to develop their knowledge and capacity, and take that work further.

No one understood better than Evelyn how difficult it is, especially for women, to develop this kind of Marxist training and self-confidence. But she knew that the party's ability to develop political leaders who were women would be crucial for the coming American revolution. She understood the importance of the party collectively organizing to reduce the barriers women face. That's why the best possible tribute to Evelyn is the launching today of the Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund. It is a first step towards drawing together the resources to establish a party leadership school that will enable other comrades to take time off to study, to learn, and to develop a thorough grounding in Marxism.

When Fidel Castro gave his 1967 speech in tribute to Che Guevara, in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución, he said of Che: "The master may die, especially when he is a virtuoso in an art as dangerous as revolutionary struggle. But what will surely never die is the art to which he dedicated his life, the art to which he dedicated his intelligence."

Evelyn gave everything she had to the struggle for the future of humanity. She's gone, but the art, the science, and the revolutionary struggle to which she dedicated her activity and her intelligence lives on, enriched by her life. All we can promise is to do our best to live up to the example she set for all of us.

Reed Scholarship Fund

In tribute to Evelyn Reed, a scholarship fund in her name has been established to help set up a school where selected members of the Socialist Workers Party can study Marxism. At the April 8 meeting for Reed in New York, \$7,591 was pledged and contributed to the fund.

An April 14 meeting in Seattle raised more than \$800. Speakers were SWP member Stephanie Coontz and Deann Rathbun of the Young Socialist Alliance in Olympia.

A tribute to Reed will also take place in St. Paul April 23. It will be held at 7:30 p.m. at the Women's Lounge, Coffman Union, University of Minnesota. SWP National Com-

mittee member Susan LaMont and Minneapolis SWP chairperson Stacey Seigle will speak.

A Los Angeles meeting April 20 and one in San Francisco April 22 are also scheduled.

If you want to contribute to the fund, clip the coupon below and mail to: Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

...secrecy

Continued from back page

high. All four workers got at least three rems.

And, despite assurances from the authorities, farmers in the Three Mile Island area aren't resting easy about the effects of radiation on their land, crops, and livestock. But no one will tell them the truth, either.

The NRC's secret meetings and the continuing radiation cover-up reveal in sharp detail what the government's concerns are.

Democratic and Republican politicians, along with their appointed commissions, have cooperated with Metropolitan Edison, operators of Three Mile Island, to hide the truth, both before and after the accident.

Their conspiracy puts Met Ed's profits above human life. Both the government and the industry know that American working people would not stand for nuclear power if the full truth were known.

To get at all the facts, we must have access to all the financial, technical, and safety records of the utilities and the government "regulatory" agencies.

Let's see just how much the utilities have profited from nuclear energy while endangering millions of lives. Let's see the full record of the meltdowns and near-meltdowns, the accidental leaks, and the contamination.

Meanwhile, we must demand the immediate shutdown of all nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons facilities.

The energy monopolies and their government do not like the idea of giving up their \$100 billion nuclear industry.

These same people run the electric and gas utilities. They own the oil and

coal in this country. They are determined to keep the entire energy industry in the hands of a few giant corporations, controlled by a tiny handful of wealthy families. They are determined to continue making decisions that affect the jobs, health, and very lives of working people on the basis of what is profitable for them.

That's why the entire energy industry must be taken out of the hands of its private owners and their agents in Washington. Energy should be publicly owned, and produced and distributed according to human need, not profit.

'I don't know what we are protecting'

That the role of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, far from regulating, is to protect the profits of the nuclear industry was dramatically confirmed by the publication of transcripts of secret NRC meetings during the Three Mile Island crisis.

The big-business press has carefully chosen only small parts of the 800-page transcript to publish. Printed below are excerpts, taken from the April 14 'New York Times.'

The cast: Commissioners Joseph Hendrie, Victor Gilinsky, and Peter Bradford; Harold Denton, director of the office of nuclear reactor regulation; and Mattson.

Friday morning, March 30

Denton. It is really difficult to get the data. We seem to get it after the fact. They opened the valves this morning, for the letdown, and were releasing at a six curie per second rate before anyone knew anything about it.

Hendrie. How far out—there has been a suggestion for a five-mile evacuation in the northeast direction, I take it.

Denton. Yes, I think the important thing for evacuation to get ahead of the plume is to get a start rather than sitting here waiting to decide. Even if we can't minimize the individual dose, there might still be a chance to limit the population dose.

Hendrie. It seems to me I have got

to call the governor. We are operating almost totally in the blind. His information is ambiguous, mine is nonexistent and—I don't know, it's like a couple of blind men staggering around making decisions.

Friday afternoon

Mattson (by phone from Three Mile Island). I'm not sure why you are not moving people. Got to say it. I have been saying it down here. I don't know what we are protecting at this point. I think we ought to be moving people.

It's too little information too late unfortunately, and it is the same way every partial core meltdown has gone.

Gilinsky. What is your principal concern right at this minute?

Mattson. Well, my principal con-

cern is that we have got an accident that we have never been designed to accommodate, and it's, in the best estimate, deteriorating slowly, and the most pessimistic estimate it is on the threshold of turning bad. And I don't have a reason for not moving people. I don't know what you are protecting by not moving people.

Saturday, March 31

Bradford. I mean, is it at all likely that there is a sequence of events that could start anytime without warning which would leave you with substantially less than 200 minutes or six hours or whatever number on that order you want to use to have people more than five or ten miles away?

Hendrie. I don't think it's a very large possibility but you can't rule it out.

Carter stacks Harrisburg commission

By Arnold Weissberg

On April 11, President Carter announced his special panel to look into the Three Mile Island nuclear accident.

The appointments underline Carter's intention to continue to keep the truth hidden.

There is on the panel not a single representative of the fifty thousand people who fled the Harrisburg area during the crisis.

Not a single representative of the area's working people—not one steelworker, not one farmer.

Not a single activist from the hundreds of anti-nuclear power groups around the country.

Not a single unbought, independent scientist or engineer. None of those who have done much to expose government lies about reactor safety and radiation.

Instead, Carter named panelists who can be expected to remain safely loyal to the government-industry drive for more nuclear power and profits.

Carter isn't interested in the truth. If he were, he wouldn't need a panel. The truth is simple: nuclear power cannot be made safe, and the future of humanity depends on abolishing both nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

Heading the panel will be Dartmouth College president John Kemeny. Kemeny, a mathematician, worked on the Manhattan Project, which built the first atom bomb.

Carter appointed Patrick Haggerty, a former president of Texas Instruments, a Fortune 500 corporation. Its Attleboro, Massachusetts, plant fabricates nuclear fuel.

Carter appointed Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt. Speaking before the state



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Although hundreds of people fled to refugee center in Hershey, not a single one of them will be on Carter's panel investigating the accident.

Thousands say: no nukes!



Militant/Karl Bermann

Twelve hundred people marched in Seattle April 7 demanding an end to nuclear power. Called on an emergency basis to respond to the Three Mile Island nuclear accident, the protest concluded with a rally at the federal building.

On April 14, 1,000 people rallied in pouring rain in Buchanan, New York, to call for shutting down the Indian Point nuclear reactors, twenty-five miles from New York City. The two operating units are built atop an earthquake fault.

convention of the Arizona Educators Association, the teachers union, after the Three Mile Island accident, Babbitt defended the under-construction Palo Verde nuclear power plant as a source of funds for education, and suggested that such funds might be cut if Palo Verde weren't built.

Carter appointed Russell Peterson, a former governor of Delaware, where election to high office requires loyalty to the interests of the DuPont family. DuPont is a heavy investor in nuclear power.

Carter appointed Thomas Pigford, chair of the department of nuclear engineering at the University of California at Berkeley. Such university departments exist in large part to provide nuclear engineers to the industry. Their very existence depends on the continued growth of the nuclear industry.

Carter appointed Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers of America. Despite growing opposition to nuclear power in the union's ranks, McBride pushed through a resolution at the last USWA convention declaring

that "the number of coal and nuclear power plants should be significantly increased."

Carter appointed Harry McPherson, described by the *New York Times* as "a Washington lawyer who was a special counsel to President Johnson."

Carter appointed Anne Trunk of Middletown, Pennsylvania, a token concession to the people of the Three Mile Island area. The *New York Times* described Trunk's qualifications as "active in civil affairs and whose family remained in their home during the evacuation."

That makes eight out of eleven. With a big majority favoring nuclear power, the panel will do its best to avoid exposing the government and industry lies during the accident and the continuing cover-up of the radiation effects.

That's its real purpose: to "restore confidence" and assure American working people that the government is interested in discovering the truth, just as they are.

But like the cover-up on Vietnam and the Watergate cover-up, this one will come back to haunt them.

Close Rocky Flats nuclear bomb plant!

By Harold Sudmeyer

DENVER—The Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant poses a deadly peril to working people all over the Denver area. It can't be made safe. It must be shut down.

Rocky Flats produced plutonium triggers for the entire U.S. arsenal. Rockwell International, which owns the plant, and the government have repeatedly concealed or downplayed its hazards.

More than 200 fires have occurred in the plant's twenty-six-year history. In one of them, more than \$20 million worth of plutonium was burned.

There is no safe way of disposing of the radioactive wastes from the plant.

According to an Atomic Energy Commission report, between one and three ounces of plutonium have leaked from waste-disposal drums that were stored on plant grounds. A millionth of a gram can cause cancer if inhaled.

The manufacturer discovered the leakage in 1959, but the company continued to add more drums until 1967, when there were more than 3,000 drums in the open field. The leakage was concealed from the public until it

Harold Sudmeyer is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Denver and a member of Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Lodge 1351.

was discovered in an independent study.

Workers at Rocky Flats are the immediate victims of radioactive pollution. The government and Rockwell International have cynically exploited their need for jobs and lied to them about the deadly risks.

In fact the rate of cancer among nuclear production workers exceeds that of the general population. At Rocky Flats they are exposed to beryllium, uranium, and plutonium.

The plant also threatens working people living in the area. For its first three years of operation, the purpose of the Rocky Flats plant was concealed from the public. Since then, thousands of homes have been built within a ten-mile radius, and a housing development a couple of miles away is projected.

The Democrats and Republicans who run the government have been part of the Rocky Flats cover-up from the beginning.

They lie when they say we need nuclear weapons for our security. These weapons only serve to defend the investments of U.S. corporations around the world.

They lie when they say nuclear plants are safe or can be made safe. Who can believe their promises after Three Mile Island?

Instead of responding to the demand for shutting down Rocky Flats, the

government has announced a new study. A task force, formed at the urging of U.S. Rep. Tim Wirth (D-Colo.), will undertake a two-year investigation to "find out" if Rocky Flats is a health hazard.

The Democrats and Republicans appoint task forces and conduct hearings, hoping to fool working people into believing that the government is solving the problem.

Any real investigation of Rocky Flats would begin by making public the financial and safety records from Rocky Flats.

Let the working people of the Denver area see how much money Rockwell International has made by polluting us with plutonium.

My program for Rocky Flats is simple:

- Close Rocky Flats now. I urge everyone to join me and my supporters at the demonstration at Rocky Flats April 28.

- Union wages and retraining for any workers laid off by closing the plant.

- Free lifetime medical care for all area residents and past and present Rocky Flats workers.

- Full compensation for all property lost due to Rocky Flats contamination.

Working people need to break with the two parties that defend and promote Rocky Flats. We need a labor party, based on the power of the

unions, that will put human needs above profits.

We need a workers government that will democratically plan the economy and devote the wealth that we create to a full, healthy life, not death and destruction.

The price of 'nat'l security'

Five hundred cases of cancer in three years.

That's the cost to Denver-area working people of "national security."

Between 1969 and 1971, 501 people living downwind from Rocky Flats got cancer as a direct result of radioactive contamination from the plant, according to a study by Dr. Carl Johnson, director of the Jefferson County (Denver) Health Department.

Rocky Flats produces only one product: plutonium triggers for nuclear bombs.

According to the rulers of this country, "we" need those bombs to "protect" us.

But as the study demonstrates, it's Rocky Flats working people need protection from.

Three Mile Island: accident waiting to happen

By Arnold Weissberg

Three Mile Island was an accident waiting to happen. In fact, it was a series of accidents that had already happened by March 28, when the last and worst one began.

Some of the earlier accidents foreshadowed the near-meltdown.

But none of this was made public until after world attention focused on the crippled reactor.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission records show at least ten cooling system failures between April 1978 and January 1979. A cooling system failure finally led to the near-meltdown.

The NRC declared of each failure: "This event did not affect the health and safety of the public."

Each failure led to a "scram," or emergency shutdown. Because each scram puts such a strain on the entire reactor, there is a limit to how many are permitted.

Three Mile Island unit two went on line December 30, 1978, despite the fact that there had been five scrams in December alone.

By rushing the unit into commercial

operation before the end of the year, its owner, Metropolitan Edison, saved millions of tax dollars.

Exactly a year before the accident an almost identical episode occurred. But the reactor was stabilized that time.

None of this was made public. For the NRC, it's simply "routine."

Congressional testimony has revealed that Metropolitan Edison was permitted to operate Three Mile Island without complying with NRC regulations on backup pumps. The failure of such pumps was a cause of the recent accident.

Meanwhile, the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, the NRC's top safety body, announced April 9 that forty-three of the country's seventy-one operating nuclear power plants lack the proper instruments to prevent a Three Mile Island type accident.

None of the forty-three reactors allow the operator to directly read the cooling water levels in the core.

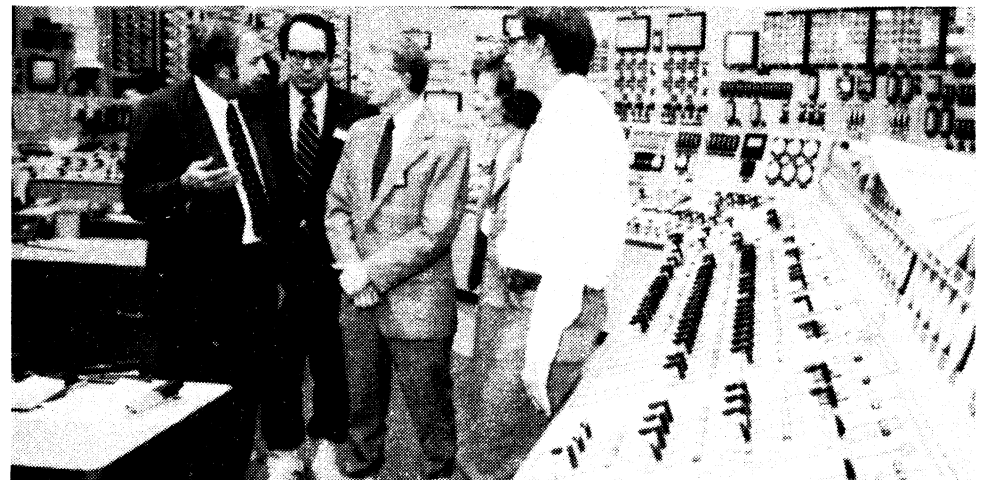
If the water level drops, the core overheats and begins to melt. That's precisely what happened at Three Mile Island.

The NRC knew about this design deficiency as early as January 1978 but did nothing. On the very day the Three Mile Island accident began, a NRC official declared the problem insignificant because it couldn't have a serious effect.

None of the Three Mile Island problems were unique to that reactor. In

fact, in 1978 there were 2,835 "reportable" incidents at the nation's nuclear power plants.

With this pattern of spills, leaky pipes, radiation releases, hydrogen explosions, and sticky valves, it was only a matter of time before a major accident like Three Mile Island occurred.



Carter visiting Three Mile Island during crisis. Reactor had many mishaps previous to near-meltdown.

Steelworker addresses New Mexico nuke conf.

By Floyd Fowler

ALBUQUERQUE—Four hundred people took part in the Nuclear Alert Conference here April 6-7.

The conference, called by the Nuclear Alert Coalition, won endorsement from International Brotherhood of Electricians Local 2112, Local 1199 of the hospital workers, Retail Clerks Local 1564, the grievance committee of Communications Workers of America Local 8671, a branch of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and the president of an American Federation of Teachers local.

Keynote speaker was Mike Olszanski, head of the environmental committee of United Steelworkers Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana. Local 1010 and United Steelworkers

District 31 are on record as opposing construction of the Bailly nuclear power plant on the shores of Lake Michigan.

"We, the people," Olszanski said, "can control our energy resources and our destinies. The people can get control over our collective future. Here today we join your struggle. You may have to join us on our picket lines tomorrow. Together we can win. We in the United Steelworkers are with you in this fight, and we fight to win."

Speaking for the Santo Domingo Pueblo Indians, who are fighting efforts to mine uranium on their land, Ernest Lovato said, "We stopped them. They wanted our land but we stopped them, Exxon and the rest. And you can too."

The conference voted enthusiastically to endorse the April 28 Native American-led anti-uranium mining protest at Mount Taylor, near Grants, New Mexico; and for two actions as part of the International Days of Pro-

test in early June: an action at the Palo Verde nuclear plant, under construction near Phoenix, and a protest against the nuclear waste dump at Carlsbad, New Mexico.

The conference also endorsed the May 6 anti-nuclear power march in Washington, D.C.

The New Mexico protests against uranium mining are set for April 28-30. On April 28 and 29 there will be rallies in the morning. The protests will be held at the edge of Mount Taylor, north of Grants. For more information call the Native American Environmental Council at (505) 243-2862.

The nuclear danger

Lessons of the sixties for the movement today

A panel discussion, featuring **Fred Halstead**, author of *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the War in Vietnam*, and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

With **Norma Becker**, War Resisters League and Mobilization for Survival; **David Dellinger**, editor of *Seven Days*; **James Haughton**, director, Harlem Fight Back

Irwin Silber, chairperson, National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs; **Amy Swerdlow**, Women's Strike for Peace and activist in feminist movement

Friday, April 27, 7 p.m. At P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St., New York City. Donation \$2. Sponsored by Pathfinder Press. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

People returning to towns

Kampuchea: new gov't gains against rightists

By Fred Feldman

A new military offensive by Kampuchean government and Vietnamese forces is dealing blows to remaining Khmer Rouge units backing the ousted regime of Pol Pot. The offensive is expanding the control exercised by the government of the National United Front for National Salvation (FUNKSN) from the cities, towns, and main roads that were captured in January to large sections of the countryside.

The approach of the rice harvest, needed to feed the Kampuchean people, gives special urgency to the drive against Khmer Rouge bands.

Since the victory of the FUNKSN and its Vietnamese allies, Pol Pot's armed gangs have continued to terrorize much of the countryside. Villagers who cooperated with FUNKSN forces were often slaughtered after government forces left. Units supporting Pol Pot plundered villages of rice or extracted it by forced labor. Many thousands of peasants were forced to accompany retreating Khmer Rouge soldiers into the countryside.

In recent weeks, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Frederic A. Moritz reported April 9, FUNKSN and Vietnamese forces have made advances in rice-growing regions around Kompong Cham, Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, and Tonle Sap.

The decisive battles, however, are being fought along the Thai border over a strip of territory that includes Battambang, the most important rice-growing province. Here the Khmer Rouge forces, with the direct complicity of the pro-Washington Thai regime, have maintained some base areas. Following a seesaw battle the first week in April, the border town of Poipet was taken by progovernment forces.

The recent fighting has produced new evidence of the Thai dictatorship's role in backing Pol Pot. A CBS News report April 10 showed Khmer Rouge soldiers being taken to refugee camps in Thailand. A correspondent on the scene explained that the troops will be rearmed there and sent across the border to resume fighting.

The Phnompenh government's military successes have accelerated the collapse of the Khmer Rouge's grip on the rural population. Many villagers,



Kampuchean peasants and workers, forced from their homes by reactionary Pol Pot regime, have now begun to return.

Moritz reported April 9, "no longer believed Khmer Rouge warnings that the Vietnamese would mistreat them."

The government of Heng Samrin has retreated from its initial promises to immediately dissolve the system of forced agricultural "collectivization" and to allow people to return to the cities and villages they had been forced to leave. The new regime fears the social upheaval that could be unleashed by following through on these promises.

So the Kampuchean masses have begun to take matters into their own hands. "Gone is the Draconian system of collective rice production," Moritz wrote:

The Vietnamese invasion has triggered a tremendous movement of people. Some are city dwellers now trying to return to the homes they were forced to leave. . . . Some are villagers trying to escape the hard labor and rigorous discipline of Khmer Rouge control. Some are flocking to the cities in the hope they will find food and security.

Some are young men led into the hills by the Khmer Rouge. . . . Others are food-seeking scavengers from villages where rice crops have been destroyed or carted into the jungles by the Khmer Rouge. (*Christian Science Monitor*, April 11, 1979.)

The new government's need for popular support has led Heng Samrin to denounced corruption in his own regime, singling out officials who steal property and take concubines. The almost total collapse of the hated

Khmer Rouge apparatus presents the regime with the need to organize a new administration from scratch.

Moritz described Kampuchea as gripped by "a new kind of upheaval marked by hunger, chaos, and continued fighting in the countryside."

The social, political, and economic breakdown in Kampuchea, together with the first initiatives of the Kampuchean masses, put heavy pressure on the FUNKSN government and its Vietnamese backers to reorganize and restore agricultural production, renew and expand industrial activity to provide a livelihood for city-dwellers, and establish administrative and military structures that could secure the population from punitive raids by the Khmer Rouge.

In taking steps in this direction, the Heng Samrin government has had to rely heavily on popular mobilizations, according to a report in the March 23 *Le Monde* by correspondent R.P. Paringaux.

In areas under government control, Paringaux reported the formation of what he called "popular revolutionary committees, self-management committees, and militias—recruited essentially from the area."

Rice, medicines, and clothing are being distributed to the population, and "hospitals are little by little resuming operation." Communal dining—enforced by the Khmer Rouge to minimize consumption, is being replaced by family dining, and cooking utensils are being returned to the peasants.

imizing consumption, is being replaced by family dining, and cooking utensils are being returned to the peasants.

According to Paringaux, FUNKSN Minister of Education Chan Ven "declared that the Khmer Rouge kept the population in a state of illiteracy" and called for "parents, teachers, and students to participate in the reorganization of national education at all levels."

The fall of Pol Pot, and the decisive role of Vietnamese troops in helping to crush the remains of his army, is making it possible for the Kampuchean workers and peasants to begin taking action in their own interests and to press the Heng Samrin government to carry out progressive measures. This process points toward the only road out for Kampuchean society—the mobilization of the masses under a workers and peasants government to replace the shattered and decayed foundations of capitalism with a workers state.

But the abolition of capitalism would only begin the staggering task of social and economic reconstruction facing Kampuchea. Nine years of bloody war and capitalist tyranny—first under Lon Nol (backed up by U.S. saturation bombing) and then under Pol Pot—have left Kampuchea with a shattered economy and a dislocated and malnourished population. The civil war that has been required to do away with the marauding Khmer Rouge army has compounded some of these problems.

Kampuchea desperately needs food, medical supplies, and massive reconstruction aid. The U.S. rulers, who bear prime responsibility for the near-destruction of this people, must provide it, as must U.S. imperialism's allies in Europe and Japan.

But the Soviet rulers, who backed Lon Nol, and the Peking regime, which helped keep Pol Pot in power, also owe a debt to the Kampuchean people.

For massive international aid to reconstruct Kampuchea and stave off hunger—with no strings attached!

For recognition of the Phnompenh regime by the U.S., West European, Japanese, and Chinese governments!

End U.S. and Thai complicity with Pol Pot's terrorist gangs!

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

... Iranian Trotskyists make rapid gains

Continued from page 11

united to bring down the shah. This is reflected not only in the reaction to the televised debate, but also in the increased desperation of the conservative, procapitalist forces. For example, the week after the referendum I saw a demonstration of about 2,000 youths at the University of Tehran, shouting for the execution of the Fedayeen. It was the first armed rightist demonstration that I have seen here. It was led by a squad carrying heavy automatic weapons, and a number of demonstrators also had guns. Many of them were wearing army uniforms. There were a number of other such demonstrations in that week, although none of them was very large.

But the overall situation seems to be turning in the opposite direction. There are many signs of this; one came in Tabriz at an April 10 meeting of unemployed high-school graduates. An official from the local Imam's committee arrived with a gun and tried to break up the meeting. The crowd picked him up bodily, gun and all, and deposited him outside. Maoists who came to disrupt the meeting got the same treatment.

Also in Tabriz, when a local Imam's committee arrested HKS activists for selling the party paper, all the young men in the committee sided with the Trotskyists against the Islamic official who had arrested them.

Any indication that the religious leaders are losing influence over the committee members is extremely important. There is still a very large number of armed committeemen in the country. For example, on the train I took from Tehran to Tabriz, there were about twenty of them. Everywhere in Tabriz I saw armed civilians, most of them obviously ordinary people who chatted with their neighbors as they leaned on their heavy infantry rifles.

The hunger for the Iranian people for socialist politics is also shown by the sales of the HKS paper. About 16,000 copies of the special issue of *Kargar* on the referendum were sold in Tehran alone.

In Kurdistan the week before the referendum, a team of three HKS members sold in less than two hours all the papers that they were able to carry into the area. Local news agents in the three main Kurdish cities decided to take bundles of 300 papers

each. *Kargar* was obviously the hottest item in the newspaper trade. Some buyers on the street were so enthusiastic that they took bundles to sell themselves.

In one poor neighborhood of Tabriz, when the local Imam's committee tried to drive the HKS paper sellers away, the population would not let them leave and insisted that they keep selling. And while the HKS activists were counting up the receipts from the sales, local people took over selling the paper.

Workers demand jobs

The unemployed are in the vanguard of the reviving workers movement in Iran. Actions demanding jobs are flaring up around the country, often organized by trade-union activists.

Lack of jobs is the biggest problem Iranian workers face; about half the work force is unemployed. The only way to provide enough work is to nationalize all the big plants and start them producing to meet the needs of the Iranian people. Only the Trotskyists are putting forward a clear program for doing this, and that is another reason why Zahraie's debate with Bani Sadr has had such an impact.

The importance of this was shown, for example, by the HKS's experience in Tabriz. A handful of Trotskyists there won the leadership of a section of the unemployed movement simply by presenting an effective proposal for united action. Those who sought to raise sectarian obstacles were unceremoniously booted out of the meeting by the workers.

Such experiences prove that the Iranian masses are eager for a perspective to carry their struggle forward. They did not fight for the revival of Islamic fundamentalism, or for religious vigilantes flogging people for their "moral offenses." They fought for the same things that the oppressed and exploited masses fight for all over the world—for the freedom to discuss their problems and to take control of their fate so that they can build a better life.

The Iranian Trotskyists are showing that they are the only party that can present a program that meets the needs of the masses. That, overnight, has given their message a broad hearing.

April 13, 1979

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Pre-election arms buildup

Zimbabwe: imperialists move against revolution

By Ernest Harsch

Despite a formal international arms embargo against Rhodesia, the regime of Ian Smith has recently acquired significant additions to its arsenal.

Coming at a time of growing insurgency among the Zimbabwean masses, this new infusion of military equipment testifies to a stepped-up intervention by imperialism behind its local allies to help hold back the Zimbabwean revolution.

One of Smith's latest acquisitions is a version of the American-made "Huey" helicopter, which is well-suited for large-scale counterinsurgency operations. During the Vietnam War, the Huey served as a mainstay of the American efforts to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

At least eleven Augusta Bell 205A helicopters—the commercial version of the Huey—arrived in Rhodesia in late 1978. They had been converted for military use by the addition of extra armor plating and through the mounting of machine guns on the side doors. The helicopters significantly expand Rhodesian air-strike capabilities.

On December 14, a Rhodesian military representative admitted that the air force was now using the American helicopters. Both the Carter administration and the Bell helicopter company also acknowledged that Smith had obtained the aircraft, though they sought to deny any responsibility.

After conducting an "investigation," the State and Commerce departments claimed that the helicopters had originally been built in Italy under an American license, sold to the Israeli armed forces, and then resold to a "reputable" American firm in Singapore. The White House did not explain how the helicopters ended up in Smith's hands, and it refused to name the American firm that was supposed to have taken delivery of them.

Imperialist military aid

The arrival of the Bell helicopters in Salisbury is not an isolated case, but part of an emerging pattern of greater foreign military backing for the Rhodesian regime. Other known indications of this include the following:

- In 1976, the Rhodesian air force had only sixteen French Alouette III helicopters as part of its counterinsurgency strike force. According to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, which publishes the authoritative annual *Military Balance*, the number of these French helicopters had climbed to sixty-six by 1978.

- Also according to the *Military Balance*, the Rhodesian army now has sixty AML-90 Eland armored cars, manufactured in South Africa, in its service.

- An unknown number of French-made Mirage jet fighters have been added to the Rhodesian air force. The distinctly shaped Mirages have frequently been sighted in the air, and the Mozambican government charges that they have taken part in some of the Rhodesian bombing raids against Mozambique.

- Citing unnamed sources in London and Pretoria, a "Voice of Zimbabwe" radio broadcast from Mozambique reported February 11 that 1,400 tons of British firearms and several tanks recently reached Salisbury via Britain, Portugal, and South Africa.

- The December 16, 1978, issue of the South African *Rand Daily Mail* reported that "independent intelligence



'Smith and the white-settler community that he represents are no longer capable of containing the struggles of the Zimbabwean workers and peasants.'

sources in Washington" had taken note of "reports earlier this year that [American-made] C-130 aircraft with Iranian markings were bringing unknown cargo into Rhodesia." (That was before the overthrow of the shah.)

- American officials have acknowledged that there have been reports of the appearance in Rhodesia of about twenty American Cessna FT-337B reconnaissance planes manufactured in France under U.S. license.

- According to a report in the January issue of the London monthly *Africa*, Smith has earmarked for the 1979 military budget \$26.5 million out of a recent loan of \$150 million raised from the Saudi Arabian regime.

Look to 'internal settlement'

The immediate aim of the imperialists in stepping up covert aid is to bolster Smith's rapidly deteriorating position. Both Washington and London (not to mention Pretoria) fear that if Smith were overthrown by a mass revolutionary upheaval, imperialism's substantial interests throughout southern Africa would be endangered.

At the same time, however, they realize that Smith and the white-settler community that he represents are no

longer capable of containing the struggles of the Zimbabwean workers and peasants. For that reason, the ultimate aim of Carter and Callaghan is to pave the way for the establishment of a neocolonial regime that could serve as a more effective bulwark against the Zimbabwean revolution.

Until recently, they attempted to achieve that through the convening of round-table negotiations involving all the major Zimbabwean nationalist factions—those led by Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, Abel Muzorewa, and Ndabaningi Sithole. Although the negotiations succeeded for a while in diverting the liberation struggle, they failed to give birth to a viable neocolonial administration, the imperialists' main objective.

There are now indications that Washington and London are looking toward the "internal settlement" Smith reached with Muzorewa and Sithole (as well as Chief Jeremiah Chirau) as a possible basis for such a neocolonial regime.

The increased arms shipments is one sign of this. Another was the attempt by Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, to get the Chinese government to aid the internal

settlement, an attempt that was revealed in memoranda of conversations between Michael Oksenberg of the National Security Council and John Carbaugh, an aide to Senator Jesse Helms.

Summarizing the memoranda, correspondent Jonathan Steele reported in the December 22 London *Guardian* that Brzezinski, while in Beijing (Peking), "asked the Chinese to use their influence with Robert Mugabe to join the leaders of the internal settlement and isolate Joshua Nkomo, his colleague in the Patriotic Front who has made frequent trips to Moscow. He also asked the Chinese to persuade President Samora Machel of Mozambique, who was about to visit Peking, to help in the internal settlement by denying bases and sanctuary to Mugabe's guerrillas." There has been no indication whether Beijing tried to act on this request.

This maneuver shows that greater imperialist backing to the internal settlement would not rule out continued attempts to further divide the Zimbabwean nationalist movement or efforts to bring either Mugabe or Nkomo—or both—into a neocolonial regime.

Yet another indication of imperialist interest in the internal settlement was a debate within the United Nations Security Council March 8, when the American, British, and French representatives strongly opposed a resolution condemning the elections Smith has called for April 17-21. Those elections are designed to set up a new proimperialist "majority rule" regime, with Black figures like Muzorewa playing the most visible roles, but with white officials continuing to wield considerable influence.

The imperialists may hope that if Smith is successful enough in compelling a sufficient number of Blacks to participate in those elections—and if Smith then steps down to make way for a Black prime minister—that could serve as a political cover for more direct imperialist aid to a "popularly elected" Rhodesian government.

Although 2.8 million Black Zimbabweans will be allowed to vote for the first time, the fact is that the elections, by their very nature, will be highly undemocratic.

Smith's election scheme

First of all, the elections will be held in terms of a new constitution, which was approved in late January by a whites-only referendum. The Black majority had no say in its drafting. The constitution, while providing for a Black prime minister and Black majority in parliament and the cabinet, nevertheless seeks to maintain a strong white role in the government apparatus itself; continued white dominance of the army, police, civil service, and judiciary; and protection against expropriation of white-owned property.

Secondly, each white vote in the elections will in effect carry nine times the weight of a Black vote since, under the new constitution, whites are to have 28 percent of the seats in parliament and the cabinet automatically reserved for them, despite the fact that they are only 4 percent of the entire population.

Thirdly, Black voters will have no opportunity to cast ballots for the Patriotic Front, the only major Zimbabwean nationalist formation now fighting against Smith. The two com-

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

ponents of the front—Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)—are both outlawed by the Rhodesian regime. They have called for a boycott of the elections.

Finally, the elections will be held under the guns of the Rhodesian army. Since Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau will require as high a Black turnout as possible in their bid to use the elections as a basis for more direct imperialist support, Blacks who try to boycott the polls will run a serious risk of physical reprisal.

The Rhodesian regime is preparing for a massive military mobilization during the elections and has canceled all leaves and deferments. Plans have also been laid for staggered balloting over several days to make it possible for large concentrations of troops to be moved from one polling area to another.

White employers and farm owners have been urged to instruct their Black employees to vote. According to Ayoun Kara, a leader of Muzorewa's United African National Council, "It is in the White interest to see a very large turnout at our first one man, one vote elections."

Terror drive against Blacks

The elections come at a time when the regime has sharply escalated its military campaign to terrorize the Black masses and to crush the liberation struggle.

Martial law has been extended to cover 80 percent of the country. Under it, the military has a completely free hand to brutalize the rural population and to execute anyone suspected of sympathizing with the freedom fighters.

Citing church sources, correspondent John F. Burns reported in the December 28 *New York Times* that "a picture has emerged of perfunctory trials resulting in quick death sentences for guerrillas and for those assisting them, and of troops descending on black villages and burning the huts of tribesmen accused of assisting the insurgents. In other cases, the troops are said to have rounded up all the young men living in an area and taken them to detention centers to prevent their being drafted by the rebels."

Napalm is now being widely used, and there have been frequent reports of massacres of Black villagers.

In attempts to starve the insurgent Blacks into submission, the army has shut down shops, destroyed granaries, killed cattle, and prohibited the Red Cross from distributing food to civilians in certain areas.

Rhodesian troops have rounded up hundreds of Black students and taken them to martial-law zones to participate in forced-labor programs for white farm owners.

Commenting on the measures against rural Blacks, Smith stated in an interview, "This is mild treatment

by comparison to what could happen to them. According to the laws of the country, they could be convicted and hanged. So if they are still alive and able to talk about these things, they have gotten off lightly" (*New York Times*, February 9).

These terror operations have induced thousands of Blacks to flee the country. There are now thought to be some 140,000 Zimbabwean refugees in camps in Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana, plus hundreds more in Angola and Tanzania.

Silence in Washington

In a serious extension of the war, the Rhodesian forces have bombed Zimbabwean refugee and guerrilla camps in nearby countries, taking thousands of lives since the first such large-scale raids in 1976.

In one of the recent attacks, 192 refugees were massacred during a February 26 raid into Angola.

The virtual silence in Washington and London over these murderous bombing raids is yet another indication of the support in those capitals for the Salisbury regime. As the imperialists see it, the heavier the losses inflicted on the liberation struggle, the better.

Besides such large-scale air strikes, the Rhodesian forces are also engaged in sabotage and other actions against neighboring Black regimes that provide sanctuary and assistance to the freedom fighters. Gen. Peter Walls, the Rhodesian commander, has admitted that Rhodesian troops were active outside of the country on a daily basis.

One prominent target of these attacks has been the Mozambican government. Units of the Rhodesian Special Forces and of a Rhodesian-backed group in Mozambique called Free Africa have struck at numerous economic and civilian—as well as military—sites in recent months, including buses, truck convoys, trains, bridges, and regular army camps. The destruction of a railway bridge near M'Cito has cut off the bulk of Mozambique's coal exports.

This escalating aggression against other countries—especially the raid into Angola—is also a sign of the regime's growing desperation.

The strains on Salisbury are likewise evident in the stepped-up flight out of the country by white settlers. During 1978, Rhodesia suffered a net loss of nearly 14,000 whites, more than a quarter higher than the outflow for 1977. Hundreds of those who left were young men liable for military call-up. Hundreds of the foreign mercenaries who were fighting for Smith have likewise packed up and gone.

Because of the weakening grip of the white settlers and the need to begin building up additional military forces for the "majority rule" regime that is slated to emerge from the elections, the authorities in Salisbury have sought to recruit additional Blacks into the army, whose ranks are already majority-Black. Conscription of certain categories of Blacks was introduced at the beginning of the year.

In addition, both Muzorewa and Sithole have been building up their own armies, which number anywhere between several hundred and several thousand troops each. A leader of Sithole's group has admitted that they serve as "auxiliaries" to the regular security forces.

These "auxiliaries" have been involved in some of the terror operations against the rural population, plundering villages and killing suspected supporters of the Patriotic Front. A sworn statement by an African peasant in the Nembutsiya Tribal Trust Land said, "Many people are being tortured and killed, especially the men," by Sithole's forces.

Despite everything Smith and his



French-made Mirage jets like the South African model above are used in Rhodesian bombing raids of Mozambique.

Black allies have attempted to do so far, however, the Zimbabwean struggle for national and class emancipation continues to gain momentum.

In a rare admission, General Walls stated in October that the situation was "pretty serious" and that "in some areas we have slipped back a bit."

Freedom fighters gain

Walls was understating. Despite the vacillations of the Patriotic Front leadership and the continued factional squabbles between ZAPU and ZANU, the front has won increasing mass support. Its fighters are now believed to be operating in about three-quarters of the country, with many rural areas, especially along the eastern border with Mozambique, under their effective control.

ZANU remains the more active of the two groups, and has an estimated 10,000 guerrilla fighters and political activists functioning within the country, primarily in the east. ZAPU, which has thousands of supporters based in Zambia, is reported to have increased the number of its militants within Zimbabwe to about 2,000, most of whom operate in the western part of the country, or clandestinely in the cities.

Reflecting their growing confidence against the Rhodesian forces, the freedom fighters are operating in larger units than before. Some of the new recruits are now even being trained within Zimbabwe, instead of in bases located outside the country.

The increasingly effective guerrilla war has even reached Salisbury itself, with a mortar attack on the airport in February and the destruction of some 15 percent of Rhodesia's oil supplies during a raid against Salisbury's fuel dumps in December.

The reason for these gains is the growing mobilization of the Zimbabwean masses, especially in the countryside. According to a report in the January 19 issue of the London weekly *New Statesman*, missionaries returning from rural areas "tell stories that would be treasonable if overheard in Salisbury. They report almost 100 percent support for the guerrillas. . . ."

In response to calls by ZANU militants in eastern Zimbabwe, large numbers of the country's 320,000 Black agricultural workers are refusing to work for the white farm owners. As a result, some 70 percent of the white farms in the Umtali region have been abandoned by their owners.

A November 10 radio broadcast from Mozambique reported that "guerrillas are politicizing farm workers in the farming regions of Zowa, Chitomborgwizi, Zwimba and Musengezi, all around the racist capital [Salisbury], explaining why it is necessary for them, the farm workers, to terminate their services to the racist rich white farmers."

There have also been new signs of

ferment in the cities themselves. In September, ZANU militants distributed leaflets in Umtali, the fourth-largest city in the country, calling on the 48,000 Black inhabitants to stage a general strike. The strike failed to materialize after the Rhodesian army rushed in, but a month later the entire population of the Zimunya township (1,500 inhabitants) left in response to a ZANU call.

A campaign against conscription into the Rhodesian army has been launched by Black students in several cities. Demonstrations by hundreds of university and high-school students were held in late 1978 in Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo, and other towns, against the draft as well as against the internal settlement.

Many Blacks who were called up to report for induction into the army have refused to show up. Some, including more than 100 students from the University of Rhodesia, chose to join the guerrilla fighters instead.

Appeal to Havana

It is against the background of this mounting upheaval—and the stepped-up imperialist involvement to contain it—that the Zimbabwean nationalist forces have appealed for greater assistance from the revolutionary government in Cuba.

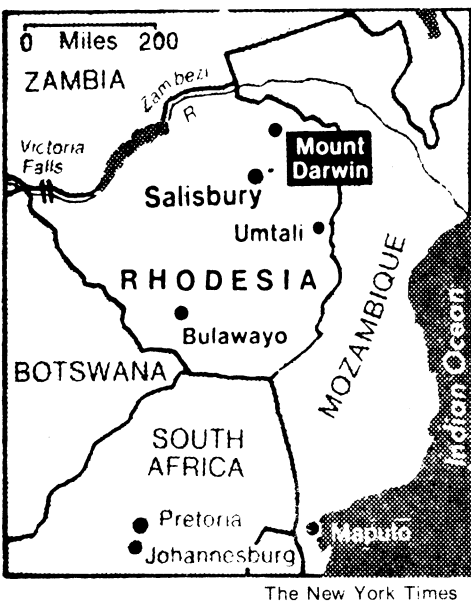
Havana has already provided training and other forms of aid to the ZAPU forces for several years, but now ZANU is also appealing for such assistance. Following ZANU's failure to enlist continued material backing from Beijing (until recently its major supplier of military aid), ZANU leader Mugabe was reported to have met with Fidel Castro at least twice to discuss possible Cuban support. Although no announcements on this subject have yet been made, Mugabe stated in an interview in the February 7 *New York Times*, "We are now expecting aid from the rest of the socialist bloc."

The imperialists have frequently expressed fears that Cuban forces could become more directly involved in the Zimbabwean struggle, presenting a formidable obstacle to imperialist intervention and acting as a spur to the revolutionary process in all of southern Africa.

Even without Cuban involvement, however, the situation in Zimbabwe is serious enough from the viewpoint of the American, British, South African, and other imperialist powers.

Fear 'losing' Zimbabwe

In a dispatch from Salisbury in the December 15 *New York Times*, correspondent Flora Lewis summed up the situation as seen by American officials. Noting that the "long-term, overall stakes for the United States in the conflict are increasing," Lewis concluded that "it would be a setback to the United States if southern Africa lost the valuable contribution that a





Cuban troops have been training some Zimbabwean nationalists. The U.S. and other imperialist powers fear a more direct Cuban military intervention.

healthy [i.e., capitalist] Rhodesia could make to its economic advance. . . ."

Given the stakes involved, the imperialists cannot afford to "lose" Zimbabwe. They will do everything they can to safeguard their dominant position there and in the rest of southern Africa.

If the increased arms shipments are insufficient to contain the insurgency, if the internal settlement regime proves too weak to survive, or if the attempts to divide the Patriotic Front or win its leadership over to collaboration with imperialism continue to fail, a very real danger exists that Washington, London, and Pretoria will attempt more direct intervention against the Zimbabwean revolution.

The stepped-up arms flow to Salisbury through South Africa—and the unconfirmed reports that South African pilots may be flying Smith's new Mirage jets—indicate that Pretoria may be considering a military intervention along the lines of its 1975-76 invasion of Angola.

According to John Stockwell, the former head of the CIA's covert war against Angola during that period, the CIA already has agents operating in

Zimbabwe, under the cover of foreign mercenaries. "To my knowledge, the CIA is in Rhodesia to have its finger on the pulse," he said in an interview in the February 26 issue of the California fortnightly *Internews*. "The agency knows who all the players are. It has people on the ground, in the military, gathering information. Of course, this could be in preparation for a paramilitary operation like Angola."

In 1978, British Foreign Secretary David Owen revealed that a British battalion had been placed on standby alert for possible intervention in Zimbabwe, ostensibly to "rescue" whites, a justification that is commonly used by the imperialists to cover military aggression. Similar plans are under consideration in Washington.

The diverse attempts by Washington, London, Salisbury, and Pretoria to strangle the Zimbabwean revolution demand that all supporters of the freedom struggle in southern Africa remain on the alert. They should be ready to move into action at the first sign of any new aggression against the people of Zimbabwe.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

World news notes

Somoza's troops massacre civilians

Ten days after guerrillas of the National Sandinist Liberation Front had won control of Esteli, Nicaragua, in early April, President Anastasio Somoza's National Guard was reported to have recaptured the city.

"Nearly every building in this city of 35,000 showed evidence of the fighting," reported the April 17 *New York Times*. "Some were scarred by bullets, others reduced to rubble by artillery fire."

Townpeople reported that soldiers had burst into a local hospital, taken out forty wounded youths, and shot them. Another woman said her husband, a doctor, was killed by the soldiers as he was coming out of surgery, where he had been working around the clock. "They did it just for pleasure," she reported bitterly.



Civilians flee Somoza terror in Esteli

U.S. warns Grenada on Cuba

The Grenadian government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and the Cuban government announced April 16 that they are establishing diplomatic relations.

Bishop's government came to power March 13 in an armed uprising led by the New Jewel Movement which toppled Sir Eric Gairy. Grenada is a 133-square mile island off the coast of Venezuela.

Bishop's moves toward friendly diplomatic ties with Cuba have irritated the State Department, which warned the new government that the U.S. rulers "would view with concern any move by Grenada to establish close military ties with Cuba," according to the April 17 *New York Times*.

U.S. military buildup in Indian Ocean

U.S. naval forces in the Indian Ocean have increased to their greatest strength since the 1973-74 oil crisis, Pentagon officials said April 16. The buildup is part of U.S. imperialism's intensifying war moves against revolutionary struggles in the Middle East, the Horn of Africa, and southern Africa.

The navy said the aircraft carrier *Midway* and the frigate *Downes* have entered the Indian Ocean, bringing the number of U.S. naval vessels in the area to fourteen.

Marcos allows U.S. to maintain bases

A new agreement allowing the United States to retain military bases in the Philippines is becoming a focus of opposition to the martial-law dictatorship of President Ferdinand Marcos.

Under the agreement the U.S. government retains authority to conduct unhampered military operations at the Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay Naval Station.

In exchange, President Carter has promised to seek congressional approval for \$500 million in aid to Marcos—\$300 million of which will be in military grants and sales credits. The other \$200 million "allows the Philippines government to divert budgeted funds to purchase military hardware, if officials choose to do so," the April 15 *New York Times* reported.

200,000 Basques demand home rule

About 200,000 Basque nationalists, calling for home rule and denouncing the French and Spanish governments, marched April 15 in four provincial capitals in the Basque province of Spain—Bilbao, San Sebastián, Pamplona, and Vitoria. The demonstrations were held to celebrate the Basque National Day. The French government came in for protest because of its recent crackdown on exiled Basque liberation fighters living in France.

A week earlier, 100,000 had marched in Bilbao to demand the freeing of Basque political prisoners.

—Fred Feldman

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40 hours: labor's early goal

Forced overtime & the fight for a shorter workweek

By Frank Lovell

(second of a series)

The organized struggle of workers against their employers for shorter hours has a long history, and it is still not resolved. From its beginning in the nineteenth century, it has been waged at vulnerable points of industrial production, on the streets of cities and towns, and in the national political arena. It began when the normal working day was ten hours, often twelve, and premium pay did not exist.

Since it is evident that shorter hours throughout industry can be secured only through governmental action, picket lines and demonstrations for this demand always involved the fight for working-class representation in government.

From time to time state legislatures and the U.S. Congress enacted laws that seemed to limit the hours of work. They were always the direct result of political demands and strike actions by workers, very often supported by the ranks of the unemployed and others. A covert purpose was always to bolster confidence in the capitalist political structure and head off challenges to the two-party system.

Eight-hour Leagues

Agitation for the eight-hour day began shortly after the Civil War. Eight-hour Leagues were organized in many sections of the country, from New York to California, supported by workers and farmers.

The leaders of the Eight-hour Leagues believed their goal would be won only when an eight-hour law was adopted by Congress and enforced by the vigilant action of workers in every mill, mine, shop, and factory. Few had any confidence in the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican parties.

The National Labor Union was in the vanguard of the early eight-hour movement. At the union's founding convention, its organizer, William Sylvis, proposed an anticapitalist party of labor, recently freed Blacks, and farmers.

After the untimely death of Sylvis, his idea was diverted into procapitalist third-party channels, and the promising movement he worked for foundered.

As early as 1868, however, Congress passed an eight-hour law for laborers and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the U.S. government. But it was intended only to appease and was not meant to be enforced.

The movement for a shorter workday was disoriented but not destroyed. The idea of an anticapitalist party, espoused by Sylvis, did not die either.

Twenty years later the eight-hour movement of 1886 rolled across the country on the crest of a great strike wave. The employing class undertook to crush the unions and destroy the movement. Despite repression, the early AFL craft unions won some initial victories and forced many employers to accept the eight-hour day—for a while. But the employing class was not convinced, and the struggle continued for three decades.

During those years—from 1886 to 1916—efforts to build a working-class political party persisted. The most popular and best-organized result was the Socialist Party led by Eugene V. Debs.

The Debsian Socialist movement of the pre-World War I years, beginning at the turn of the century,



Eugene Debs addresses railworkers. Debsian socialists were in forefront of initial battles for shorter work week.

popularized and organized the continuing struggle for the shorter workday. The unions kept it as one of their central demands.

Not until the very eve of U.S. entry into World War I did the capitalist government make its first serious concession on this issue. In 1916 the Adamson Act, providing a basic eight-hour day on railroads, was enacted to head off a nationwide railroad strike. The Wilson administration was preparing to enter the war and wanted to avoid a confrontation with the union movement.

The First World War profoundly changed American society and generated new economic and political pressures. The labor movement was weaker after the war than before. But gains made toward the shorter working day held.

In the years between wars, eight hours became accepted as the normal working day. The working week in most private industry was forty-four hours, which included a half-day on Saturday.

By contrast with prewar conditions when the ten-hour day was common, the years after the First World War seemed like a more relaxed period with the prospect of universal prosperity. At any rate, that is how it was pictured by capitalist propagandists at the time. Capitalism appeared strong and growing stronger—until the 1929 economic collapse.

The Great Depression threw millions out of work and convinced broad layers of the population that capitalism was no longer a viable economic system.

Strikes and demonstrations of 10,000 or more occurred sporadically from 1931 through 1933 in Detroit and other industrial centers. Most attempts at union organizing in those years were crushed and unemployed demonstrations brutally dispersed. But these localized uprisings were warning signals to the ruling class.

The thirty-hour workweek was widely endorsed in those early depression years as a means of spreading work and creating jobs. It was argued that this would create more purchasing power, stimulate the consumer market, and revive industrial production. The popularizers of this solution to mass unemployment did not present it as an anticapitalist measure.

A thirty-hour bill, backed by the conservative leaders of the AFL, was passed by the U.S. Senate in 1933. It was sidetracked in the House of Representatives because the newly elected Roosevelt administration opposed it.

Fair Labor Standards Act

The employing class has never voluntarily acceded to shortening the working day. It has always resisted any and all legislation to limit the hours of work. When such laws have been enacted, it has sought to circumvent them.

In 1936 Congress enacted the Public Contracts bill, which established labor standards on government contracts, including minimum wages, overtime pay for work in excess of eight hours a day or forty hours a week, and health and safety rules.

Two years later the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act was adopted. It established the forty-hour week for industrial workers and provided a twenty-five-cent minimum wage.

These measures and all other social legislation enacted in the 1930s, including legal recognition of the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively, were concessions forced from the employing class. The Roosevelt administrations in those years had the task of controlling an aroused and radicalizing working class.

The broad mass sentiment for the thirty-hour week was never organized and mobilized, as was the case earlier for the eight-hour day.

It is true that "the six-hour day, five-day week" was one of the goals of the workers who built the new CIO unions with a massive wave of sitdown strikes in 1937. The demand had been popularized earlier by the unemployed organizations and by the Communist and Socialist parties.

But by the time the CIO upsurge crested in 1937-38, the top leadership, (including the Stalinist Communist Party, which controlled a number of unions), fully supported the Democratic Party and opposed anticapitalist political action.

This betrayal of working-class political needs prepared the way for Roosevelt, the authoritative representative of the ruling class, to introduce his "war deal," crush the antiwar opposition in the ranks of the union movement, and drag the workers of this country into the second imperialist slaughter.

During World War II, the forty-hour week gained almost universal recognition and acceptance. War-time labor shortages spurred overtime and stretched out the workday in some industries, but the practice was less common than today. Because of the wage freeze and war-inflated prices, some workers sought to maintain their living standard by trying to work two jobs. Others looked for a more rational answer to their problems.

Labor party sentiment

Hobbled by the wartime "no-strike pledge" submitted and sworn to in their behalf by their union officials, many workers began to look for a political solution. Their on-the-job grievances were buried in the bureaucratic maze of the National Defense Mediation Board (and after that the War Labor Board) where union functionaries became transformed into servants of government "for the duration."

In 1942 a candidate for governor of New York on the American Labor Party ticket got more than 400,000 votes, 18 percent of the total. This surprised almost everyone—especially Roosevelt and his chief labor lieutenant Sidney Hillman. They had campaigned strongly for the Democratic Party ticket, which lost.

In other states where there was no labor party, the workers stayed away from the polls in unprecedented numbers. It marked the return of disillusionment with the two-party system.

Broad sentiment for a labor party based on the unions developed during the war, especially in auto and other CIO unions; and it continued to grow when the war ended.

Almost immediately after the peace declaration the unions revived their demands for the thirty-hour week, in anticipation of postwar depression and mass unemployment.

The prewar demand of the auto workers had been thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay. The "thirty for forty" goal was readopted at UAW conventions in 1944 and 1946.

Bureaucratic control

But the war years had also seen the further consolidation of bureaucratic control over the unions. Top union officials managed during the Truman and Eisenhower administrations to scuttle both the shorter hours movement and the labor party idea. They settled into their comfortable "labor-management partnership" with the capitalist two-party system.

They turned their attention to streamlining union grievance procedures, negotiating orderly wage increases more or less commensurate with the gradual rise in the cost of living, expanding company-controlled health and pension funds, "fighting" for a few more paid holidays, and policing the payment of premium wage scales for overtime work.

The end result of these decades of class-collaboration is the extension of the workday to its present ten- and twelve-hour duration, while a new generation of unemployed youth is locked out of jobs.

(next: today's fight for a shorter workweek)

WHAT THE 8 HOUR DAY MEANS

- ☐ The Employers' Association of Pittsburgh will show in a series of advertisements:
- ☐ That the 8-hour day is not practical.
- ☐ That it is not economical.
- ☐ That it is not for the best interests of the employee or the employer.
- ☐ That it cannot be put into successful operation in our plants.
- ☐ That the men themselves want to work more than 8 hours a day.
- ☐ That it will drive industries away from Pittsburgh and destroy its prestige as a manufacturing center.
- ☐ That, if enacted here, it would place Pittsburgh at a disadvantage in its competition with other American manufacturers.
- ☐ That, if in effect throughout the United States, it would prevent successful competition with carefully fostered industries abroad.
- ☐ That it would place an additional burden of millions of dollars annually on the public.

The Employers' Association of Pittsburgh

The bosses developed their arguments early on and haven't improved them since.



Washington & right-wing Cuban terrorists

The following column, by José G. Pérez, is from 'Perspectiva Mundial,' the Spanish-language biweekly.

The virtually complete impunity that counterrevolutionary Cuban terrorists enjoy in the United States was demonstrated once again when they exploded three bombs in the New York area March 15.

One bomb exploded in a suitcase that was about to be loaded onto a Trans World Airlines plane. The plane was scheduled to take off from Kennedy Airport to Los Angeles in less than fifteen minutes. If the suitcase had already been on the plane, the explosion would have killed 155 passengers and crew members. As it was, four workers were injured.

Two bombs were planted in New Jersey, one in a business that sends medicines and clothing to Cuba; the other at the offices of the New Jersey Cuban Program. The director of the Cuban Program is participating in the "dialogue," the discussions that began at the end of last year between the Cuban government and representative individuals in the Cuban community abroad.

A group called Omega 7 claimed responsibility for

the bombs. According to the FBI, this is a "pseudonym used by members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement." Authorities say Omega 7 is so small that it could have as few as seven members.

Of these, three members of the CNM/Omega 7 are currently in prison. They were sentenced March 23 for the murder of Orlando Letelier. Three others were caught red-handed in mid-1976 while planting a bomb. They were set free in July 1978 after taking a brief vacation at a state prison, even though they confessed to crimes that supposedly carry a minimum jail sentence of eight years.

The police and FBI claim to be "desperately" searching for the Omega 7 terrorists. But they haven't arrested anyone for the numerous explosions caused by Omega 7 in New York since 1976. Representatives from the New Jersey Cuban Program charged at a news conference after the bombing that the police know who the terrorists are but refuse to take action. They said they have notified the police of "at least" ten death threats, but that the authorities "have done nothing."

Fidel Castro made the same point at a news conference last December: "The government of the

United States knows perfectly well who the terrorists are, what arms they have, where they live, what they do." Castro added one explanation for Washington's failure to act is "because it doesn't want to."

Of course, the U.S. government knows who the terrorists are. They have been organized, trained, armed, and financed by the CIA to make war on the Cuban revolution. The bombings in New York and New Jersey are a continuation of that dirty war.

The U.S. government is responsible for the New York-area bombings and many other similar crimes, such as the Letelier murder. It put together these terrorist groups in the first place and now shows absolutely no interest in destroying them.

Moreover, Washington's continuing hostility to the Cuban revolution, its belligerent statements and military maneuvers against Cuban support to anti-colonial struggles in Africa, and its refusal to lift the economic blockade against Cuba encourages terrorists. The counterrevolutionaries think they can act with complete impunity because they know the bombs they plant are no more than an extra-official implementation of the White House's unending attacks on the Cuban revolution.

By Any Means Necessary

Omari Musa



Sears—A wolf in sheep's clothing

The following is a guest column by August Nimtz.

The assault on affirmative action for oppressed minorities and women takes many forms. One of the more nefarious variations is the class-action suit filed recently by the giant retailer Sears, Roebuck and Company. The suit argues that retailers with fifteen or more employees should be exempted from federal affirmative-action guidelines. Why? Because the government itself makes compliance impossible.

Sears claims that such federal policies as preferential treatment for veterans have slanted the labor pool from which it draws in favor of white males. Trying to portray itself as a victim of a maze of conflicting and confusing laws, Sears says employers would step up affirmative action on their own were it not for the federal government.

Why has Sears decided to act now?

It just so happens that the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has launched a suit against the giant merchandiser for sex and race discrimination.

It is certainly true that the government is a major contributor to race and sex discrimination. What

Sears fails to note is that corporations such as itself are in collusion with the government.

Because of pressure from the civil rights and women's rights movements, the government has been forced to make some concessions to Blacks and women.

What Sears wants to do is to restore government to its "rightful" place, where even feeble attempts at equal rights are absent.

Sears has indeed initiated a *class* action. The world's largest retailer sees itself in the vanguard of capitalism's "take back" offensive against all American workers. One of the rulers' main tactics is to try to drive a wedge between Black and women workers on the one hand and white male workers on the other. That, for example, is the aim of the *Weber* suit, which challenges the right of the unions to bargain for job equality.

The Sears suit is also a conscious attempt to divide women and minority workers. "We believe in equality for women," says Charles Bacon, Sears vice-president for personnel. "But we think the government has moved its enforcement priorities from minorities, for whom the 1964 law was primarily intended, to women. And we think that the minorities are getting the short end of the stick."

Bacon would have us believe that Sears is a friend of minorities!

Unfortunately, some misleaders in the Black community have seconded this demagoguery. Urban League head Vernon Jordan wrote in his nationally syndicated column: "Sears does have some justice in its complaint. The concept of affirmative action for minorities previously denied their rights and opportunities has been seriously diluted through extension of that mandate to include all women, and others."

Jordan's comment is as off the mark as that expressed in the March issue of the National Organization for Women's *National NOW Times*: "It is encouraging to find that Sears, . . . joins us in condemning the depth and breadth of sex-based and racial discrimination."

Sears has no intention of doing anything to help either Black or women workers. *Its aim is to help itself and its class roll back affirmative action.*

The "class action" by Sears should be met with action by our class. To strengthen and unify our class against the employers' offensive, workers must fight against attacks on the rights and living standards of Blacks and women. The unions must lead the struggle against attacks on affirmative action such as the *Weber* and Sears suits.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



New Mexico: land of nuclear waste?

The following is a guest column by Elaine Baca, editor of 'La Lucha Nuclear' newsletter and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

ALBUQUERQUE—If the nuclear industry has an Achilles' heel, it is the problem of radioactive waste disposal.

The Department of Energy (DOE) has designated the salt beds outside Carlsbad, New Mexico, for permanent disposal of "low level" wastes and up to 1,000 commercial spent fuel assemblies from nuclear power plants.

Translated, this means up to 4,000 tons of plutonium in a twenty-acre plot.

The project is called Waste Isolation Pilot Plant, or WIPP. It is scheduled to start up in 1985.

Despite a tremendous effort by DOE to sell New Mexicans on the project, polls and surveys show a

majority oppose it. This has not escaped the notice of Democratic and Republican legislators who, for two years in a row, have refused to allow New Mexicans the right to vote on WIPP.

The problems with WIPP go beyond the obvious hazard of dumping radioactive wastes into a relatively small area.

Transportation accidents are inevitable, leading to spills of radioactive materials. In addition, because most property insurance doesn't cover nuclear accidents, residents living along the transportation routes may get no compensation if forced out of their homes by such an accident.

Faced with increasing opposition from the people of New Mexico on one hand and pressured by the energy corporations on the other, DOE officials are trying to hurry the licenses from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

The DOE's haste has become so gross that even

the capitalist media are astonished. In a June 1978 editorial, the *Albuquerque Journal* commented, "The determination with which the DOE moves . . . strongly implies . . . that nothing will, or can, stand in its way. . . . [The DOE] has stressed that all work that has gone into the site to date, and much of the work yet to be done, has been performed primarily to determine the feasibility of storing nuclear wastes in the deep salt deposits near Carlsbad."

"Yet overshadowing these reassurances is the omnipresent timetable which . . . has never been modified."

An important step toward bringing labor's power into the fight against WIPP was a "Nuclear Alert" conference held in Albuquerque April 6-7. Several area union locals endorsed the conference and a significant number of unionists attended. Chicano and Native American activists also participated.

Quote unquote

"Which amendment is it that guarantees freedom of the press? Well, I'm against it."

—Joseph Hendrie, chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, at a secret NRC meeting on the Three Mile Island nuclear accident.

LESS FOR DUM & DEE

Three-quarters of U.S. taxpayers are skipping the "opportunity" to allocate a dollar of their tax money to the Democrats or Republicans.

Despite a TV commercial campaign, featuring Eric Sevareid, only 24.7 percent are checking the deduction this year on their income tax forms, as against 28.2 percent last year.

The other 75 percent either check off "no" or just skip the item.

SCHOOL JIM CROW UPHELD IN ST. LOUIS

St. Louis Blacks said they would fight a federal district court ruling upholding school segregation in that city.

Judge James Meredith said April 12 he found no constitutional violation in the city's segregated schools. Racial imbalance, he philosophized, is "a fate of geography."

Minnie Liddell of Concerned Parents of North St. Louis, declared the decision would be appealed to higher courts.

Liddell, one of the parents who sued the board of education and state of Missouri in 1972 for racial discrimination, said, "We have not sweated all these years to end up with nothing. We'll scrape our pennies together and keep fighting."

SOAKING THE POOR FOR THE OIL BARONS

Recent figures indicate the extent to which the poor will carry the heaviest burden of Carter's plan to further enrich the oil magnates by deregulating oil prices.

An April 13 *New York Times*

Love Canal: company hid facts on deadly poisons

Cold-blooded murder for profit.

New evidence has confirmed that this is what the Hooker Chemical company is guilty of.

Documents obtained by a congressional committee reveals that as far back as 1958 Hooker knew that the toxic chemicals it had dumped into the Love Canal site near Niagara Falls were seeping into surrounding areas, where there were homes, a school, and a playground.

One document tells of a call the company received from Niagara Falls officials advising that three or four children had been burned by material while playing at Love Canal.

Hooker was joined in the conspiracy of silence by the local board of education to whom Hooker had turned over the poisoned property. The board remained silent after Hooker quietly advised board members of the contamination.

Why has Hooker remained silent since 1958?

Because, an official explained, they were concerned about damage suits against the present owner, the board of education.

Of course, Hooker had no



Love Canal residents express their view of what happened

Militant

concern that they might also be sued.

Responding to the new revelations, Lois Gibbs, head of the area homeowners group, branded Hooker officials as "murderers and child abusers."

In the past year, two children in the contaminated area were born with deformi-

ties.

Dr. Beverly Paigen, a cancer researcher retained by the homeowners, said that among those families still not evacuated, there has been an increase in several health problems, "including miscarriages, birth defects, nervous breakdowns, asthma, and diseases of the

urinary system."

Meanwhile, Hooker stood by its declared stand that it's always been "a good corporate neighbor."

This was echoed by the president of the Niagara Falls Chamber of Commerce, who said: "They could have dumped it all in the Niagara River."

article cited studies showing that "while rising energy prices will cause a real income loss at all levels, the poor and the near-poor will suffer a loss six times greater than affluent families."

The extent of added hardship is suggested by the finding of the National Consumer Law Center that since oil prices began skyrocketing in the early seventies, the poor have suffered a loss of \$8 billion in real income.

Since that period, according to James Flug of the Energy Action Educational Center, "the average worker's weekly earnings have increased by 50.2 percent while the cost of fuel oil has risen 184 percent, the cost of natural gas has

gone up 133 percent, and the cost of gasoline has gone up 101.5 percent."

FORCED WORK FOR FOOD STAMPS

In a reactionary move reminiscent of some of the early local welfare programs in the 1930s, the Agriculture Department has initiated a pilot "workfare" program for the very poorest of food stamp recipients.

Recipients in nine areas, age eighteen to sixty, whose food-stamp allotment is greater than their income, will be required to work in "public service" jobs. They will be paid in food stamps.

Why, if there is work to be

done, they are not paid regular wages, the government doesn't say.

APPEAL ENTERED IN DEATH PENALTY CASE

The Supreme Court terminated an eight-day stay of execution issued six hours before the slated execution in Alabama of John Evans.

The court said it acted because Alabama has not set a new execution date.

Evans had originally insisted he wanted to be electrocuted. But he changed his mind and approved an appeal on his behalf in federal district court challenging the constitutionality of the 1975 Alabama law under which he was sentenced.

Evans said, however, that he still preferred death to "a hell on earth in prison."

GOV'T CONCEALED BOMB-LEUKEMIA DATA

It's not just greed-driven corporations that conceal information about their poisoning of people.

New documentation establishes that the government suppressed a 1965 study that established that bomb tests had brought an increase in leukemia in southwestern Utah.

The report was buried after the Public Health Service (!) was advised by the Atomic Energy Commission that publication could pose "potential problems" in the form of law suits and increased public opposition to the deadly tests.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES: EAST SIDE

MIDEAST DEAL: PEACE OR WAR?

Speakers: Said Arakat, Palestine Arab Fund; Peter Link, Socialist Workers Party; speaker from Palestine War Victims Society. Fri., Apr. 27, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN JOSE

THE WEBER CASE: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION UNDER ATTACK

Speakers: member of United Steelworkers; others. Sat., Apr. 28, 3 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

STOP THE EXECUTIONS: ABOLISH THE DEATH PENALTY

Speakers to be announced. Fri., Apr. 27, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

PROTEST DEPORTATION RULING AGAINST HECTOR MARROQUIN

Speaker: Rich Cahalane, Marroquin Defense Committee; others. Fri., Apr. 27, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

ST. PAUL

TRIBUTE TO EVELYN REED

Speakers: Stacey Seigle, and Susan LaMont, Socialist Workers Party. Mon, Apr. 23, 7:30 p.m. Women's Lounge, Coffman Union, Univ. of Minn. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 222-8929 or 825-6663.

DEREGULATION IN THE ENERGY CRISIS: WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR WORKING PEOPLE?

Speaker: Bill Onasch, president, Local 1139, United Electrical Workers, member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Apr. 27, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

WHY AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY

Speaker: Frank Lovell, retired member of United Auto Workers Local 160, National Committee member, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Apr. 20, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

ALBANY

BEHIND CARTER'S PHONY ENERGY CRISIS

Speaker to be announced. Fri., Apr. 27, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

NEW YORK CITY

WHAT ARE THE LESSONS OF THE U.S. MOVEMENT AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM FOR TODAY?

Speakers: Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!* Socialist Workers Party National Committee, Norma Becker, War Resisters League, Mobilization for Survival; Dave Dellinger, editor, *Seven Days*; James Haughton,

director, Harlem Fight Back; Irwin Silber, chairperson, National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs; Amy Swerdlow, activist in Women's Strike for Peace and feminist movement. Fri., Apr. 27, 7 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Press. For more information call (212) 741-0690.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

THE LONGEST WALK. A report on the Native American Walk for Survival, with slides

Speaker: Harold Ironshield. Sun., Apr. 29, 4 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

BETTER ACTIVE TODAY THAN RADIOACTIVE TOMORROW

A film on the antinuclear movement in Germany. Speaker: Joe Lombardo. Fri., May 11, 8 p.m. 970 McMillan. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

SOCIALISM WITH A HUMAN FACE: WHAT THE DISSIDENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE ARE SAYING . . . AND WHY

Speaker: Barbara Medoff, Socialist Workers Party.

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SOLIDARITY WITH THE NEWPORT NEWS STRIKERS

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OREGON

PORTLAND

ROLE OF RELIGION IN SOCIETY

Speaker: Kris Huget, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Apr. 29, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

BORDER DEATH TOLL ON THE INCREASE

The death toll is increasing among undocumented Mexican immigrants trying to make it across the Rio Grande River.

Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Leonel Castillo said he ordered an investigation after learning that in the past year, twenty-four bodies have been washed ashore in Laredo, Texas, alone.

And in two months, December 1978 and January 1979, eight bodies were recovered in that area—double the previous average.



CASTILLO Militant/Bruce Kimball

Castillo admitted there was "no question" that hundreds of undocumented people die this way every year.

While he's investigating this situation, Castillo would do well to probe how many of these drownings are actually murders by *migra* cops.

In April 1977, United Farm Workers head César Chávez demanded such an investigation after an undocumented immigrant, Ramón Longoria, drowned at El Paso when a cop pushed him back in the water.

United Farm Workers members picketed INS offices protesting that crime, and Chávez's telegram of protest to President Carter demanded investigation and punishment.

To date, there's been no response.

PENTAGON PICKET BAN IS STRUCK DOWN

A gain for democratic rights was won April 6 when a federal judge struck down a Pentagon regulation prohibiting picketing and leafleting at Pentagon entrances and limiting the number of protesters at approaches to the area.

The ruling was won by a group of antinuke protesters who had slated an April 9 picket at the war complex.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Useful analogy—The *New York Times* described federal guidelines governing exposure to radiation for workers at the Harrisburg nuke plant. Each worker is permitted up to five rems of radiation a year, with unused amounts carried over. Or, the *Times* explained it, "Any unused portion of the yearly total . . . may be carried forward, just as an investor on Wall Street carries forward a long-term capital loss."

Of course, of course—The New York State Department of Health told consumers not to worry about the "very, very low levels" of radioactive iodine found in Pennsylvania and New Jersey milk the week after the Harrisburg nuclear breakdown.

Getting sharp—Rep. Les Aspin of the House Intelligence Subcommittee lauded the CIA for predicting the Chinese invasion of Vietnam six weeks in advance. Which really is pretty good, considering they had to go all the way to the White House for the dope.

Just moral ones—Speaking in support of giving senators an added benefit of a fifty-dollar-a-day income tax deduction,

Sen. Ted Stevens of Alaska demanded, "Do we have to become financial eunuchs to come to the Senate?"

The austerity boys—What with the income tax deadline just past, you'll be pleased to know that Nixon and Ford received nearly a half-million dollars for "office expenses" last year. Nixon's swindle sheet included five color TVs and repairs on his electric golf cart. Ford's included \$2,242 for plants for his office, plus \$100 a month for professional watering of same.

Jaundiced?—Graffiti above toilet-tissue dispenser in men's room, University of Texas, Austin: "Diplomas—take one."

Thought for the week—"I can see the day when the press will accuse a guy of being in the food business and the guy will deny it vehemently and insist he is really a shylock. These days, along with oil, food must be the most lucrative proposition since booze during Prohibition." —Columnist William Reel in the *New York Daily News*.

Union Talk

UAW women's committee

Elizabeth Ziers is a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 and was chairperson of the Ford Stamping Plant Women's Committee until she was recently transferred to another plant.

DEARBORN, Mich.—The Dearborn Stamping Plant Women's Committee recently got a firsthand lesson in the "last hired, first fired" policy that is applied to women in industry.

Of the thirty women active in the committee, twenty-five were laid off by the Ford Motor Company.

These women and many others had been hired only last spring after Ford was forced to comply with the federal government's equal employment opportunity standards. Having the least seniority, they were among the first to go when Ford laid off 400 stamping plant workers.

All the laid-off workers were shuffled to new jobs in other plants in the gigantic Ford River Rouge Complex, such as assembly, foundry, and glass. They were herded in and out of the new plants like so many cattle, the majority of them "disqualified" within days, sometimes within hours, by foremen unwilling to take the time during a speedup to train an influx of new workers.

The "disqualified" were placed back on layoff again, to be recalled by the stamping plant in March.

All this took its toll on the Women's Committee. Discussions of resolutions for the 1979 contract negotiations were disrupted.

While the impact of the layoffs has been disorienting, the women see the reestablishment of the committee as necessary to combat Ford's discrimination and to educate all workers, men and women alike, about the gains they can make by upholding and fighting for women's equality.

"The conditions we are facing now—the last to be hired and first to be laid off, sexual harassment, discrimination in promotions, company refusal to pay pregnancy disability—all this won't go away if we don't fight it," one committee member said. "It will only get worse."

"I'll be working in this plant for years to come," said another. "But I'll be

damned if I'll stay on the line. I'm going to get a classified job, and I'm going to get it fair, not by going to bed with somebody. The women's committee can help me do that."

The Dearborn Stamping Plant Women's Committee was relatively new, having been formed on the women workers' own initiative last spring. Since then it organized an educational for the women on the union's contract and the rights it guarantees all workers.

Two topics of much discussion at that meeting were how to file grievances against sexual harassment by foremen and how the company disregards medical restrictions by putting workers on jobs beyond their physical capacities.

All those who attended received a copy of our contract, including some men who had never seen it before.

In October the committee showed the film *With Babies and Banners* to an audience of 100 stamping plant workers, half of whom were men.

In January of this year the committee heard a speaker from the National Organization for Women discuss the importance of the Equal Rights Amendment for working women. Afterward, the committee discussed the economic basis for discrimination against women and the power of a united effort of NOW and the unions against companies like J.P. Stevens, unorganized southern auto plants, and attacks on affirmative action.

We were just beginning to work on resolutions for our upcoming contract negotiations when the layoffs came down. At the top of our list of demands was a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and strict enforcement of the posting of job openings.

We're confident that Ford, which has done so much to disrupt the committee, will likewise provide the motivation for women to reactivate it. It's the time of year when Ford traditionally hires hundreds of new workers, forces heavy overtime, and generally runs roughshod over its workers. Then it lays them off before they acquire full union protection, pay, and benefits.

This treatment of women last year is what inspired the formation of the committee in the first place.

U.S. probes Phila. headbuster

"These students and all, they'd never get away with that in my city, never. We'd grind 'em up. Grind 'em up."

The way to treat offenders, is to *spacco il capo* (break their heads).

That was the advice given to the president of the Italian Senate by Frank Rizzo, the Philadelphia police chief, when he visited Rome in 1977.

The chief wasn't just beating his gums. That was the way the cops under his command treated Black people and others. And that's the way it's continued under Rizzo's administration as mayor.

Now the U.S. Civil Service Commission has slated a hearing in Philadelphia to hear testimony on police violence.

There should be plenty.

A state legislative committee has pinned responsibility on Rizzo and his chief for "police lawlessness," which it admitted sometimes reaches the point of "homicidal violence."

In recent years, the press has reported countless cases of brutality by Philadelphia cops, culminating in the bloody attack last summer

on MOVE, a Black counter-cultural group.

The Civil Rights Commission said it chose Philadelphia, along with Houston, as two initial sites for a probe of police violence.

Philadelphia was selected because of "the large volume of complaints from citizens here who said their civil rights were violated by the police."

In Houston, the cops are also notorious for their brutality, particularly against the Chicano community.



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**The
Militant
INDEX**

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Einstein the socialist

It is twenty-four years this month since the death of Albert Einstein, perhaps the twentieth century's most outstanding contributor to our knowledge of what the universe is and how it works. It is also a century since his birth in Ulm, Germany.

A front-page article reporting Einstein's death in the April 25, 1955, issue of the *Militant*, commented: "In 1915 he produced his 'General Theory of Relativity' with the famous formula $E=mc^2$ —the key to the atomic age.

"Einstein's genius lay in the synthesizing quality of his mind. He achieved a synthesis of seemingly separate and contradictory developments in scientific knowledge in the fields of physics, mathematics, geometry, dynamics, astronomy and electromagnetism. This synthesis required new concepts and formulas uniting space, time, matter and energy."

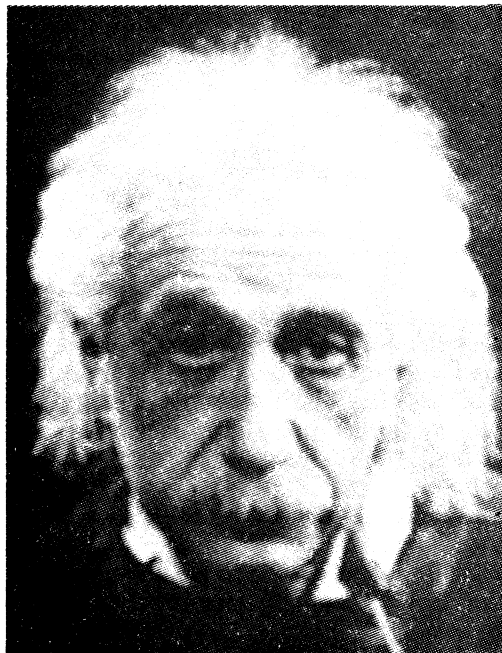
The article continued: "Einstein, who was both a Socialist and a Jew, made his home in the U.S. after fascism triumphed in Germany. During the second imperialist war, he communicated to Roosevelt the feasibility of an atom bomb because he feared Hitler's scientists would produce it. He hoped U.S. possession of the bomb would forestall its use by Germany. When it was wantonly used on the defenseless people of Hiroshima, after the defeat of Germany, he was filled with horror."

"Since then Einstein's public activities fell into two categories. First, he tried to restrain the U.S. militarists, who were threatening World War III, by warning of the danger of destruction of life on the globe from radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere. Second, he boldly spoke out against the political repressions and witch hunt which are poisoning the atmosphere of this country."

"On June 11, 1953, he defied a Senate Investigating Committee by publicly writing to a subpoenaed schoolteacher: 'Every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e. he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country.'"

Einstein also wrote President Dwight Eisenhower urging that the Rosenbergs not be executed following the infamous "atom spy" trial.

An editorial in the same issue of the *Militant* explained that: "Einstein was not only against war and for civil liberties, he believed in socialism. Shortly after his 70th birthday he wrote out his ideas on the subject. Taking as his point of



ALBERT EINSTEIN

departure the individual's insecurity in the modern world despite technical progress, he declared: 'The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion the real source of the evil.' Then outlining Marx's theory of how surplus value, created by the worker, is kept by the boss and turned into capital, Einstein explained:

"The result of these developments is an oligarchy of private capital the enormous power of which cannot be effectively checked even by a democratically organized political society. This is true since the members of legislative bodies are selected by political parties, largely financed or otherwise influenced by private capitalists who, for all practical purposes, separate the electorate from the legislature. The consequence is that the representatives of the people do not in fact sufficiently protect the interests of the underprivileged sections of the population. Moreover, under existing conditions, private capitalists inevitably control, directly or indirectly, the main sources of information—press, radio, education. . . .

"I am convinced there is only one way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals."

"The world has lost not only one of the greatest scientific minds of all time but an active fighter for the cause of humanity."

Auto worker's view

Funny, the different picture that gets painted of the Teamsters' strike/lockout effect on the auto industry, depending on who's holding the brush and palette: "industry spokesman" or auto worker.

Chrysler infers that the Teamsters caused the layoff of 21,500 assembly workers. Workers will tell you that in that total is included those already laid off for "inventory adjustments" (too much production, not enough sales). Warren Truck had already scheduled two-week layoffs in April, June, and July before the strike was even announced.

General Motors announced 28,700 layoffs. But stock and material handlers at GM's Fleetwood plant say their reduced hours don't appear to be even necessary because that plant has been squirreling away supplies a long time in preparation for the strike.

Ford Motor Company has not had to lay off any workers. Relative to the other two partners in the big three, they had more capital with which to fortify their stock pantry and more to lose by laying off.

Looks like a case of ruling-class solidarity, trying to help the trucking bosses give the impression that this strike was causing a "national emergency."

One interesting ray of truth that's come out of all this hubbub about thousands of layoffs is the devaluation of the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits. It was always said before in the press that for a laid-off worker, unemployment benefits plus SUB pay is 95 percent of the average weekly pay. Lately the papers have been quoting 89 percent and 86 percent as the total. Actually the total is

much lower since SUB doesn't include a cost-of-living adjustment. Apparently, laid-off auto workers are lost in a time warp and are unaffected by inflation.

So what are the expressions of working-class solidarity despite all these scare tactics?

"Taft-Hartley?" said one Dearborn assembly plant worker. "The Teamsters'll probably tear 'em up and use 'em for toilet paper like the miners did."

"Let them stay out as long as they want," said a woman auto worker at the same plant. "The more the Teamsters get, the better chance we stand for our contract."

Elizabeth Ziers
Detroit, Michigan

No vote for capitalism

I'm writing to comment on the Chicago mayoral campaign.

The nation of Islam in the West showed their support for the Chicago Democratic candidate Jane Byrne in their newsweekly.

Giving support to the Democratic or Republican party is giving support to Carter, Washington, imperialism, the Egypt-Israeli alliance against the Arab revolution, and the South African racist regime.

You cannot support the Democratic or Republican party without supporting racism and exploitation. As Malcolm X said, "If you're registered as a Democrat or a Republican, you've sold your soul."

I'm not attacking the Nation of Islam, but I do question their intelligence in this matter.

You see, you cannot support imperialism and support the freedom struggle. You cannot

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A decisive test for revolutionists

Campus radicals during the 1960s were often suspicious of the labor movement. Justifiably repelled by the reactionary policies of top labor officials, many students drew the wrong conclusion that the ranks of the unions would never radicalize. Theories that wrote off the working class as a revolutionary force were highly popular.

Today the center of radicalization has shifted decisively from the campuses to the factories and mines. This is not only true in the United States. In most West European countries, the workers' radicalization began more than a decade ago and is more advanced than it is here.

"A radicalization of the working class," Fred Feldman notes in his introduction to the most recent publication of the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party, "is a decisive test for a revolutionary party, once it has reached a certain size. If it can't recruit industrial workers and root itself in the industrial working class at such a time, it signifies a contradiction between program and practice that must be resolved. Program or practice must change." (*Background to "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party,"* available for \$1.75 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.)

The material collected in this bulletin begins in the fall of 1937, as the American Trotskyist movement was in the process of withdrawing from its year-long entry into the Socialist Party. New forces had been won to revolutionary socialism through this entry; the Trotskyist movement had about doubled its size. But the question was posed—what should the movement do next?

Leon Trotsky, who followed the American movement closely from his exile in Mexico, wrote in October 1937: "The party has only a minority of genuine factory workers. This is an inevitable beginning for every revolutionary workers' party everywhere. . . . The nonproletarian elements represent a very necessary yeast, and I believe that we can be proud of the good quality of these elements."

But Trotsky's answer as to what should be done next was unequivocal: "The task is . . . to orient in practice the whole organization toward the factories, the strikes, the unions."

In Trotsky's view, both political and organizational challenges facing the party could only be solved in the context of such an orientation. Discussing the demand for a labor party in an October 1938 letter, Trotsky says:

"The danger is that the question of the labor party will become a pure abstraction. The base of our activity is the trade unions—the question of the labor party can receive flesh and blood only insofar as we are rooted in the trade unions."

When the Socialist Workers Party held its founding convention in January 1938, it formally adopted the perspective outlined by Trotsky. The SWP raised the slogan,

"Ninety percent of party work must be directed to the trade unions."

In a report following the convention James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the SWP, was optimistic. "I can state that the large majority of the delegates were proletarian activists and trade unionists," Cannon declared.

But a big section of the SWP's central leadership obstructed this needed shift. It fell prey to the mood of pessimism and defeat spreading among radical intellectuals as a result of the rise of fascism in Europe and the crimes of Stalin in the USSR.

Consequently, the turn toward industry was not carried out in practice by the majority of the party.

A gulf began to open between the party's worker militants and the section of the party—which included a majority of the SWP Political Committee—that was resisting the necessary turn to the industrial unions. In the beginning of 1939, the tensions came to a head in a dispute over the party's work in the auto workers union.

This crisis, which erupted while Cannon was in Europe, is described in an article by George Clarke. Its influence on Cannon's thinking was obvious. Thus, he wrote in a June 1939 pre-convention article:

"Our sluggishness in making the abrupt turn to mass work with all force and energy; . . . our failure to reach new, fresh strata of workers; our hesitation, half-hearted, at the brink of the great stream represented by the workers' mass movement;—herein is the root of all our evil. . . ."

"Our convention must let the dead bury the dead and turn the face of the party to the workers, who are the real source of power and inspiration and well-grounded optimism. We had said this before. More than once we have incorporated it in resolutions. But we have not made the turn in forthright fashion. That is why we are lagging behind. That is the main reason we are suffering a certain stagnation. That is why we are even flirting with the danger of a degeneration of the party. . . ."

The danger referred to by Cannon emerged full-blown shortly thereafter. A petty-bourgeois opposition in the SWP sought to scrap the fundamentals of Marxism. The struggle in the SWP culminated in a split that cost the party 40 percent of its membership.

It was only after this fight that the party was able to carry out its orientation to the unions in a decisive way, proletarianizing its membership and winning hundreds of working-class fighters to revolutionary socialism.

Today, we are once again in the midst of a working-class radicalization. The world Trotskyist movement has an historic opportunity to win thousands upon thousands of workers to its program. This new publication will be a big help in planning the next steps in building revolutionary proletarian parties.

—David Frankel

fight for a world without war, racism, or exploitation without fighting the Democrats, Republicans, capitalism, and imperialism, which are all interrelated.

A prisoner
Ohio

Prisoners 'modified'

This letter is written from the walls of a prison behavior modification program. The racial breakdown of those in behavior modification is 95 percent Black and 5 percent white. The program concentrates on young Blacks.

The program is not voluntary. Prisoners are approached by guard goon squads, chained, and forcibly taken.

Modification programs function on a point system of token economy. Positive behavior is "rewarded" with points. These points take off time you have to spend in the program and also mean increased privileges.

Prisoners on most levels of the program spend at least twenty hours in their cages. In some levels, all but forty-five minutes a day is spent in the cell.

The point system of reward is the same method used to train dogs.

Within the modification program there is a total invasion of privacy. In each cell is an intercom used to speak to the prisoners or listen to their conversations.

There is also a window on the roof of each cell where a patrolling guard spies on the prisoner twenty-four hours a day. Even the prisoners' most intimate moments are spied on.

For refusal to participate in the program, a prisoner's record is marred for the parole board. Then when he is returned to prison he does extra time.

Prisoners should have the right to say no to behavior modification without fear of punishment. There can be no free choice when you are told to stay in the "hole" or go to behavior modification.

A prisoner
Michigan

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, Odd Fellows

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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, 608 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.

Secret gov't tapes bare Harrisburg cover-up

By Arnold Weissberg

Almost at the very moment that Jimmy Carter was "reassuring" residents of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area that it was "quite safe for all concerned," his appointees at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission were coolly discussing the still-real possibility of a disastrous hydrogen explosion or core meltdown at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant.

Tapes of the secret Washington meetings, recently made available to congressional committees, reveal that

INSIDE: Excerpts from transcripts of secret Nuclear Regulatory Commission meetings during Three Mile Island crisis. Page 21.

the NRC played with tens of thousands of lives.

Aware of the possibility of a core meltdown, the NRC refused to order an evacuation of the area, despite repeated urging from one of its own top experts.

"I don't know what we are protecting at this point," wondered NRC Safety Systems Director Roger Mattson. "I think we ought to be moving [evacuating] people."

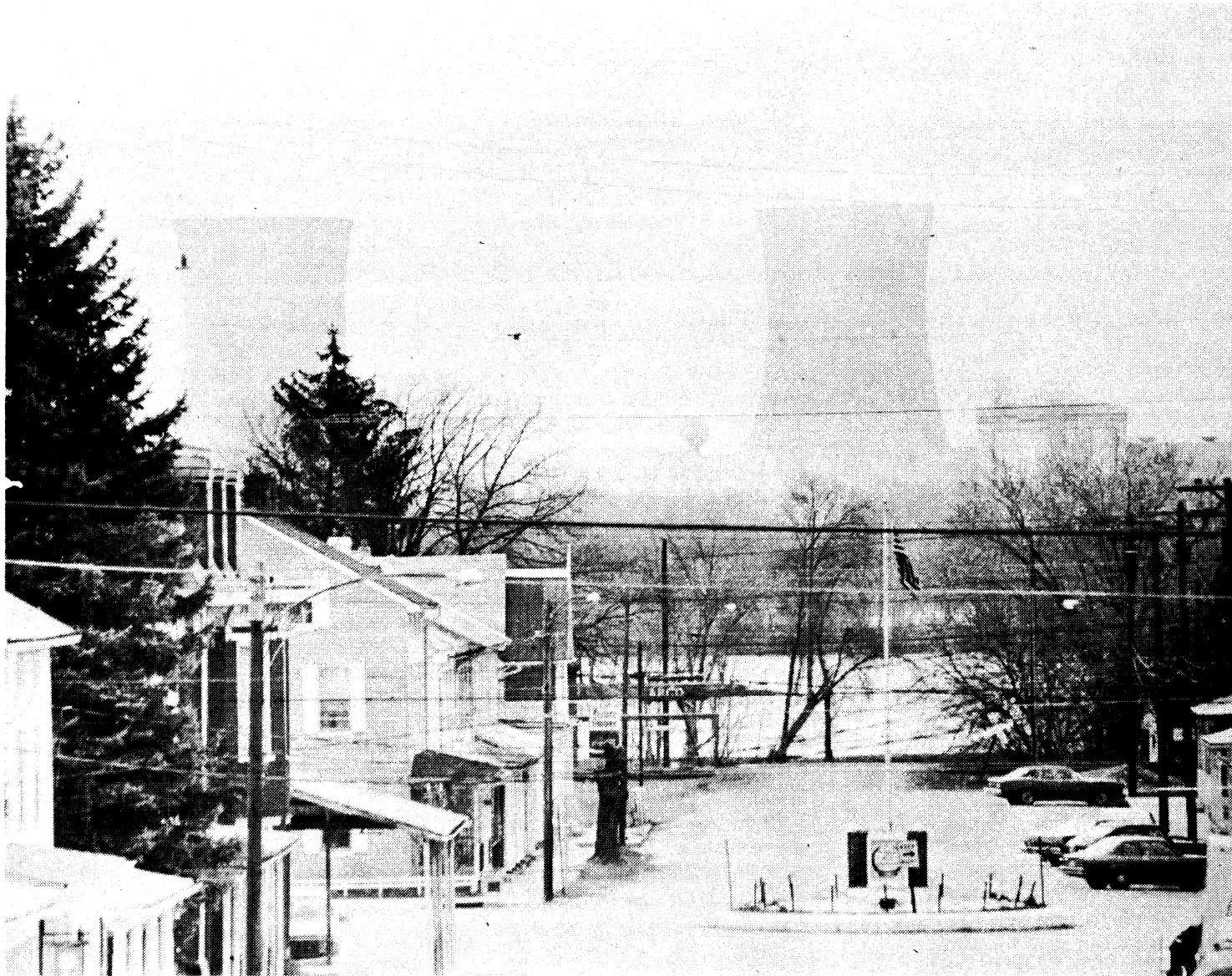
The transcripts show what the NRC was protecting: the profits and the very future of the nuclear industry.

Rather than risk the political blow a full-scale evacuation would have delivered nuclear power, the Carter administration decided to risk the lives and futures of central Pennsylvanians.

It was one of many examples of the callous disregard this government "regulatory" agency has for the working people whose interests it is supposed to watch out for.

Equally shocking is the government's efforts to minimize in its statements the effects of the radiation emitted during the Three Mile Island disaster.

The government has compared the radiation of X rays, knowing perfectly well that the comparison is completely misleading.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Residents of Goldsboro live only 500 yards from Three Mile Island reactor. Government won't tell them how much radiation they've been exposed to.

X rays penetrate only a small part of the body, and then only for fractions of a second. But the people of the Harrisburg area were subjected to full-body doses for twenty-four hours a day.

Dr. Ernest Sternglass of the University of Pittsburgh, a leading expert on the effects of low-level radiation, estimated that the rates of spontaneous abortions, birth defects, and leukemia

will increase 20 to 50 percent downwind from Three Mile Island.

This is 100 times greater than the official estimates.

Writing in the April 12 *New York Times*, Paul Milvy, assistant professor of community medicine at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine, predicted an extra fifty cases of cancer would be the result of the nuclear disaster.

This is 250 times one official estimate.

At least four Three Mile Island plant workers received more than the allowable radiation dose for three months in only a few minutes. There is evidence to suggest that the government standard for workplace radiation exposure in a year—five rems—is ten times too

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Labor support urged for May 6 antinuke march

Simultaneous news conferences were held in eight cities April 18 to announce a May 6 anti-nuclear power march on Washington, D.C.

The news conferences were held in Washington, D.C.; New York City; Chicago; Boston; Philadelphia; and Albany, Buffalo, and Binghamton, New York.

Speaking in Washington, Jerry Gordon, international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, declared, "Working people in this nation and throughout the world have the greatest stake in putting an end to the nuclear menace."

"It is workers who must operate the nuclear plants and suffer daily exposure to radiation. It is workers who transport the nuclear fuel to the power plants and the hazardous

wastes from them. And it is workers and their families, together with others, who live in the communities surrounding these plants, who will be the immediate victims in the event of a catastrophic accident.

"We are confident," Gordon went on, "that as the debate on nuclear power intensifies, as the true facts continue to come to light, as the lies of the nuclear industry and its government backers are further exposed, and as more and more workers understand fully the perils of nuclear energy, the trade-union movement will increasingly play a key role in the antinuclear struggle."

Also speaking at the Washington news conference were Eugene Glover of the International Association of Machinists, Ralph Nader, and others.

The May 6 march has been en-

dorsed by Critical Mass Energy Project, Mobilization for Survival, Socialist Workers Party, numerous anti-nuclear power alliances, Jane Fonda, Barry Commoner, Gloria Steinem, Tom Hayden, and many more.

The May 6 protest will begin at noon and march from the Ellipse, behind the White House, down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol. For more information call (202) 462-3903.

The May 6 action is part of a series of protests this spring aimed at the dangers of nuclear power.

On April 28, a protest against the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant will begin at 11 a.m. For more information call (303) 832-4508.

Also on April 28, a protest against uranium mining on Indian land is set for Grants, New Mexico. For more information call (505) 243-2862.

Around the country, activists are organizing anti-nuclear power protests for June 2-3 as part of International Days of Protest.

"All these actions give antinuke activists an opportunity to begin educating about the dangers of nuclear power and involving the labor movement in the struggle against it," said Paul Mailhot, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"Trade unionists can seek endorsement from their locals for the actions, try to get antinuclear speakers to address union meetings, get union buses to the actions, and talk to co-workers about the protests."

"This will be an important first step in bringing the strength of the labor movement to bear against nuclear power and nuclear weapons," Mailhot said.