

THE MILITANT

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

Stop nuclear threat March on Washington May 6

—PAGES 2, 3



Militant/Lou Howort

**U.S. & Thailand
step up secret
intervention
in Kampuchea
civil war**

—PAGES 2, 9

VIRGINIA STEELWORKERS

Newport News strike suspended
but union struggle continues

—PAGES 5-7

March on D.C. May 6

Opponents of nuclear power will march on Washington May 6 to demand, "No more Harrisburgs! Shut them all down!"

The protest will serve notice on Carter and the entire energy industry that American working people want an end to the nuclear threat hanging over our heads.

The Washington march has been endorsed by more than ninety groups. And it is gathering support in local unions and from labor officials. Endorsers include William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists.

The March 28 accident near Harrisburg spotlighted the nuclear danger for millions of working people. The still small, but significant, involvement of unions in the antinuclear struggle is important in building the kind of power that can halt the nuclear danger.

The May 6 action gives trade unionists the chance to talk to co-workers about the deadly threat of nuclear power. It provides an opportunity to begin explaining why *no* nuclear power plants are safe and what the labor movement must do to shut them down.

Halting nuclear power is an urgent task. May 6 is a good beginning.

U.S. out of Kampuchea!

The Carter administration is using the military dictatorship of Kriangsak Chamanand in Thailand to carry out a large-scale covert intervention in the civil war in Kampuchea. The Thai regime is providing military supplies and other assistance to rightist Khmer Rouge gangs said to be led by the ousted dictator, Pol Pot. (See story on page 9.)

Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops back-

ing the Heng Samrin government, which has the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of Kampuchians in the civil war, are driving the rightist bands ever closer to the Thai border. This increases the likelihood that Thai forces aiding the Khmer Rouge will come into open military conflict with Kampuchea and Vietnam.

While selectively leaking information, the organizers of the U.S.-Thai operation keep it shrouded in secrecy. "Thailand wants the problem to be handled only by the Thai authorities," wrote Henry Kamm in the April 24 *New York Times*, "without such foreign observers as journalists in the border areas."

The secrecy is intended to hide the U.S. government's role in aiding and organizing the rightists; the Thai army's role in helping them retain control of enclaves along the border; and the brutal measures taken to force refugees into areas controlled by the Khmer Rouge and other rightists.

U.S. aims in this operation are to block and push back the revolutions in Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam. The fall of Pol Pot's capitalist government in January, coming on the heels of the overturn of capitalism in southern Vietnam in the spring of 1978 and advances in the Laotian revolution, threatened to bring socialist revolution to Thailand's borders. Carter and Kriangsak fear this may inspire workers and peasants in Thailand to topple the military regime there and put an end to exploitation and oppression.

The Thai regime's intervention in Kampuchea is no independent operation. This regime is dependent economically and militarily on U.S. imperialism.

During the U.S. war in Indochina, tens of thousands of Thai troops were sent to fight the liberation forces in Laos and Kampuchea. Then, as now, Thai military operations were under U.S. direction.

In January, when Kriangsak visited Washington, Carter promised to step up U.S. arms shipments to Thailand—just as the Thai regime was helping the Pol Pot forces retain control of areas along the border.

The Peking regime is playing a counterrevolutionary role in this struggle, fronting for U.S. imperialism in exchange for diplomatic and economic deals. Peking's February invasion of Vietnam was an unsuccessful effort to force the Vietnamese to end their support to the Heng Samrin government. Peking has also offered to support the Thai regime if it is "attacked" by Vietnam or Kampuchea.

Above all, Peking's actions throw a smoke-screen over deepening U.S. intervention—fostering illusions that the war is simply an extension of the Sino-Soviet dispute, rather than a stage in the long struggle between imperialism and the Indochinese people.

American working people have a vital stake in insisting that U.S. imperialism and its Thai agents stop their support to reactionary forces in Kampuchea. The U.S.-Thai intervention can lead to still greater U.S. involvement—perhaps in the form of aid to "democratic Thailand" against "Vietnamese expansionism."

American labor's interests require that the U.S. government end its intervention in Kampuchea now and recognize the new regime in Pnompenh. Labor should also demand that the U.S. rulers provide massive amounts of food and other aid to Kampuchea—with no strings attached.

Asylum for some?

"Americans should welcome the unwanted, gladly."

These fine words are from an April 23 *New York Times* editorial urging political asylum for the ex-shah of Iran—one of the bloodiest despots in recorded history.

The *Times* is joined in its plea for fair play by the *Wall Street Journal*, David Rockefeller, and Henry Kissinger.

Is the *Times*, perhaps, simply being fair-minded about the issue of political asylum? Not on your life.

Consider the case of Héctor Marroquín, the Socialist Workers Party member who is fighting deportation to Mexico.

The advocates of a haven for the shah see that case differently.

In the course of his fight against deportation, Marroquín's precedent-making case has won increased media coverage.

But not in the *New York Times*.

There has not been a single news story about Marroquín in the *Times*. Not to speak of an editorial on the need to "welcome the unwanted."

Marroquín, you see, is a socialist fighter for freedom and justice. That's why he can't expect support from friends of the shah.

But Marroquín can count on the working-class fighters who have rallied to his cause. And now, with the battle to reverse his deportation order underway, we're confident that support will intensify.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 9 Thai regime supports Pol Pot
- 10 Indiana Nazi attack
- 12 Unionists defend job equality
- 14 Forced overtime
- 17 Machinist picket murdered
- 18 Communist Party on nukes

- 12 Campaigning for Socialism
- 23 In Review
- 24 In Brief
- What's Going On
- 25 The Great Society
- Union Talk
- 26 Our Revolutionary Heritage
- Letters
- 27 Learning About Socialism
- If You Like This Paper...

- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 19 Imperialist drive in Afghanistan
- 20 Egypt's prohibitions
- 21 Repression in Colombia
- 22 Mexican miners' fight
- World News Notes



Class polarization in Iran

Procapitalist forces are divided over how to handle rising struggles of workers and peasants. **Page 10.**

Chicago mayoral election

Why Social Democrats of 'In These Times' backed Democrat Jane Byrne and opposed working-class alternative. **Page 13.**



How to fight NYC health cuts

If municipal hospitals are to be saved, unions must act now to form labor party. **Page 11.**



The Militant

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Protest nuclear power May 6

By Arnold Weissberg

Alerted by the accident at Three Mile Island, thousands of activists in anti-nuke groups, trade unions, and other organizations are purchasing their bus tickets for the May 6 march on Washington against nuclear power.

Organized by the May 6 Coalition, the march and rally are backed by William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists; Ralph Nader; Mobilization for Survival; Barry Commoner; Jane Fonda; Jerry Gordon of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; and a host of anti-nuclear power alliances around the country.

"We must immediately launch a massive, national, concerted effort to examine the entire issue—with all the answers—of safety at nuclear power plants for the workers who man them and the citizens who live near them," Winpisinger declared in endorsing the protest.

Steelworkers in Baltimore and Pittsburgh, auto workers in New Jersey, and rail workers in Philadelphia are

talking about the May 6 protest and are planning to take part. Members of the Socialist Workers Party in those industries, along with other workers concerned about the nuclear threat, have begun to involve their unions in the fight.

In the eastern half of the country, anti-nuclear power groups are organizing buses for the May 6 protest. In New York City, for example, both the Shad Alliance and the Mobilization for Survival chapter are campaigning to bring New Yorkers to the march and rally.

Tory Dunn, a member of United Transportation Union Local 232E in Philadelphia told the *Militant* that her local had voted to oppose nuclear power and to support the May 6 action and the April 22 protest at nearby Limerick.

Dunn said the local meeting took place around the time of a chlorine tank-car derailment in Florida that forced thousands of people to flee their homes.

"Imagine if that were nuclear waste!" one union member said during the discussion.

Another union member, Dunn said, had worked at a nuclear power plant. He admitted there were problems with nuclear power but said it could be made safe.

"The local president just looked up and said, 'It can't be made safe,'" Dunn described.

In Washington, the May 6 Coalition's phones "never stop jumping off the hook," said Paul Mailhot, a member of the Young Socialist Al-



Militant/Lou Howort

liance National Executive Committee who has been volunteering in the office. "The whole staff is like a giant outreach committee," he added. "They're always on the phone, calling to groups all over the country."

Mailhot said the coalition knew of dozens of buses already filled and that dozens more had been reserved from such cities as Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, Boston, Albany, and Buffalo.

Mailhot said the action would be "an important event in the fight to shut down all nuclear power plants. It will show that the opposition to nuclear

power is deep and widespread. And it will help involve the labor movement, whose strength is essential in this struggle."

At press time, the coalition had confirmed such speakers as Jane Fonda, Barry Commoner, Michael Harrington, Grace Paley, Dick Gregory, and Ralph Nader.

The march will assemble at the Ellipse, behind the White House, at 10 a.m. It will step off at noon and head down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol.

For more information, call the May 6 Coalition at (202) 462-3903.

Help sell Militants

Help sell the *Militant* at the May 6 protest in Washington against nuclear power. You can pick up your bundle of papers at the *Militant* truck stationed at Fifteenth Street N.W., just south of E Street.

Peruvian junta jails thirty-one Trotskyists

By Fred Murphy

The Peruvian military dictatorship has launched an ominous new attack on the Trotskyist movement.

On April 22, State Security agents acting on the orders of the Ministry of the Interior raided the downtown Lima headquarters of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

Thirty-one PST members attending a meeting at the headquarters were taken to the State Security detention center, where they were beaten and interrogated. All are being held incommunicado. The cops also jailed six children who were with their parents at the PST offices.

Among those being held are PST General Secretary Juan Villa and two members of the PST's Executive Committee, Carlos Delgado and Fernando Gutiérrez.

Villa is also a member of the National Executive Committee of the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP), and Delgado is the organization secretary of the FOCEP's Lima branch. The FOCEP is a

bloc of Trotskyist parties and independent socialists that was formed before last year's Constituent Assembly elections.

The Ministry of the Interior did not acknowledge the raid and the arrests until the following day, and then would say only that they had been carried out because of the PST's "subversive activities." As of April 23, no charges had been filed against any of the detainees.

One goal of the regime's attack on the PST undoubtedly is to disrupt the unification process now underway among revolutionary socialists in Peru. In recent weeks the PST has been preparing to fuse with the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), also a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. One of the PRT's central leaders is Hugo Blanco, a FOCEP deputy in the Constituent Assembly and the most well-known and popular figure on the Peruvian left.

The raid on the PST's headquarters is the most serious step to date in the Peruvian military regime's ongoing

campaign of slander and harassment against the Trotskyist movement. Hugo Blanco has repeatedly been the target of vile attacks in the government-controlled press. Last September, Blanco narrowly escaped a kidnapping attempt after a meeting at the PST's headquarters. Two PST members and a visiting Colombian Trotskyist journalist were abducted in that attack by the "Peruvian Anticomunist Alliance"—a shadowy outfit widely suspected of links to the military intelligence apparatus.

The third major Peruvian Trotskyist group, the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (POMR), is also under attack by the regime. The POMR is the Peruvian affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

FOCEP deputy and POMR leader Hernán Cuentas is in danger of losing his parliamentary immunity and being prosecuted by the dictatorship because of his support to a strike by 4,600 copper miners in southern Peru in late March. POMR leader Humberto Chaparro and about sixty other miners are currently in jail in Lima awaiting

charges for their role in leading the strike, which was crushed after the regime sent heavily armed troops into the mining districts.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

USLA urges telegrams

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) urges immediate protests of the repression in Peru. Telegrams or letters demanding the release of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores members and their children, the dropping of charges against Hernán Cuentas, and the release of Humberto Chaparro and the miners' leaders should be sent to Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Presidente de la República, Palacio Presidencial, Lima, Peru.

Copies should be sent to USLA, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Special offer to new readers

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2

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



Subscribe today

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

Thousands protest nuclear power plants

Pennsylvania

By Mark Dressler

LIMERICK, Pa.—More than 5,000 opponents of nuclear power converged on this rural community April 22 in a show of force against Philadelphia Electric's continuing construction of a nuclear plant here. The rally was organized chiefly by the Keystone Alliance.

Roads leading to the plant site were jammed, and the big turnout, a direct result of the near-meltdown at Three Mile Island, a short ninety miles away, surprised even the rally organizers.

Doug Baker, of Limerick Ecology Action spoke about attempts by Metropolitan Edison, operator of Three Mile Island, to pass expenses for the accident on to its customers.

"All we're asking is that electric utilities take full responsibility—including criminal liability—for nuclear accidents. Let's have Pennsylvania be the first state in the union to shut down all its nuclear power plants, starting with Limerick and Three Mile Island," Baker said.

Sister Falakkah Fattah, a leader of the Black United Front in Philadelphia, said: "They ask us to vote for president, for governor, for senator, but when something as important as nuclear power is involved, why don't we ever get a vote?"

Allan Noguee, a leader of the Keystone Alliance, related a recent discussion he had with Philadelphia Electric Managing Director Hillel Levinson on a talk show.

"How can we allow a nuclear plant to be built twenty-one miles from Philadelphia after Three Mile Island, I asked," Noguee said. "Is there an evacuation plan in case of an accident, I asked."

"Mr. Levinson replied, 'We do have an evacuation plan, but it's a secret.'

"Well, I think we've all had enough of 'secret plans'!" shouted Noguee as the crowd roared its approval.

Other speakers included longtime nuclear opponent Larry Goldberg; Lee Frissell, Philadelphia mayoral candidate of the Consumer Party; and Betsey Sweet, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

At the end of the rally, thousands of helium balloons were launched to symbolize the spread of radiation.

California

By Joanne Tortorici

SAN ONOFRE, Calif.—More than 1,000 people demonstrated at the nuclear power plant here April 21, calling for a halt to construction and licensing of new plants, a shutdown of existing nuclear facilities, and job protection for nuclear plant workers.

Speakers included: Don May, a former instrumentation engineer at AiResearch Corporation; Dr. Rosalie Bertell, a cancer research specialist; Jeannie Bernstein, Alliance for Survival; and Mark Friedman, a member of the International Association of Machinists and the Socialist Workers Party.

There were two notable participants in the demonstration—two of the plant workers, one still in hard hat and work clothes, but wearing a "Stop Nuclear Power" t-shirt.

Both men, electricians, preferred to remain anonymous for fear of losing their jobs. Nevertheless, they allowed reporters to interview them, and were clearly alarmed by the things they had learned at work.

One said he came to the demonstration because he had seen the movie *China Syndrome*.

"There are a lot of things we're not informed of," his co-worker said.

Now, he said, he is thinking about getting out of the industry; the other

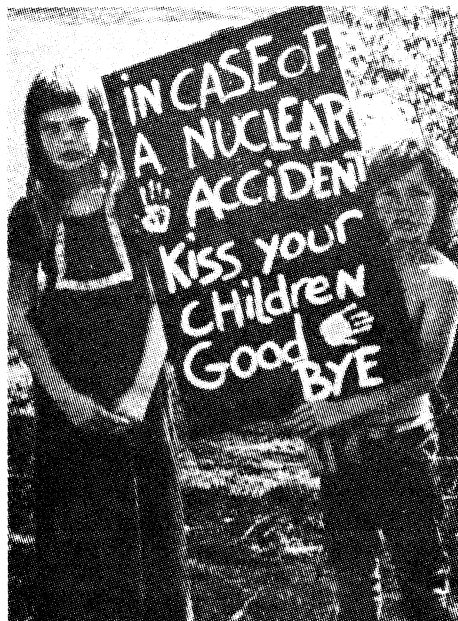
worker thought he would stay because the money, he said, was good.

But, did he think the whole nuclear power industry should be shut down once and for all?

"Yeah," he said. "Don't like nuclear."

Why not?

"It's too hot."



Michigan

By Jim Garrison

MIDLAND, Mich.—In the largest anti-nuclear power demonstration in Michigan to date, nearly 5,000 protesters marched through Midland in a driving rainstorm April 21 and rallied near the construction site of Consumers Power's nuclear power plant.

United Auto Workers locals 599 in Flint and 1618 in Lansing supported the demonstration, which was coordinated by the Huron Alliance and backed by more than fifteen state antinuclear groups.

Paul Kazee, a member of the UAW Local 1618 Executive Board, brought a

message of solidarity from his local. Kazee has been a leading labor spokesperson against nuclear power in Michigan.

The urgency of the issue was underlined by the news that a leak of radioactive water that morning had caused a temporary shutdown of the Big Rock nuclear power plant near Charlevoix.

Other speakers included Michael Moore, Huron Alliance; Helen LeTarte, active in the successful drive to stop the storage of nuclear waste in Michigan; State Rep. Mark Clodfelter of Flint; and Dr. Anabel Dwyer of Michigan State University.

"We stopped the war in Vietnam, and we can stop nuclear power too," Dwyer declared.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sold more than 100 *Militants*.

SALEM, Ore.—One thousand people demonstrated at the state capitol here April 19 for a halt to construction of nuclear plants in the state until there is a way to safely and permanently dispose of radioactive waste.

Indiana rally set for May 5

A May 5 rally at the Indiana state capitol in Indianapolis will call on the government to halt construction of the Marble Hill and Bailly nuclear power plants. Marble Hill is located near Louisville, while Bailly is adjacent to a steel mill and the city of Gary. The rally is sponsored by the Paddlewheel Alliance, and will begin at 12:30 p.m. For more information, call (317) 923-1762 or 873-3701.

Mine union official: 'Nuclear power is insanity'

By Bill Thomas

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—"Nuclear power is a form of insanity—it is not the act of rational minds," declared Joe Jurczak, official of the Political Action Committee of the United Mine Workers Union (COMPAC), District 5, to a crowd of 100 people at West Virginia University April 12.

Jurczak was part of a panel organized by the Militant Forum, called "No more Harrisburgs."

Nuclear power "started right after World War II when the government and the power industries took a look at the labor forces returning from the war," Jurczak said.

"The miners were a mighty hard bunch to deal with," Jurczak went on. This led to cutbacks in coal production, he said, while increasingly larger amounts of money were pumped into the development of nuclear power.

"Today we are sitting on at least 300 years of coal supply in Pennsylvania alone," Jurczak noted. "And Carter says there is an energy crisis."

Also speaking was Brett Merkey, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1206 in Pittsburgh and the Socialist Workers Party. Merkey formerly worked as a radiation control technician at the Shippingsport, Pennsylvania, nuclear power plant.

"Nuclear power plants are equipped with safety backup after backup because they are inherently *unsafe*," Merkey said. "Not only will disasters like Three Mile Island occur, but deadly radiation is leaked at every step of the nuclear energy cycle."

Merkey pointed to the new opportunities to reach the labor movement opened up by the Three Mile Island accident. It is vital for the anti-nuclear power movement, he said, to bring

labor's power into the fight. Merkey noted that the unions have already begun to publicly oppose nuclear energy, and pointed to resolutions from District 31 of the United Steelworkers and District 2 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union.

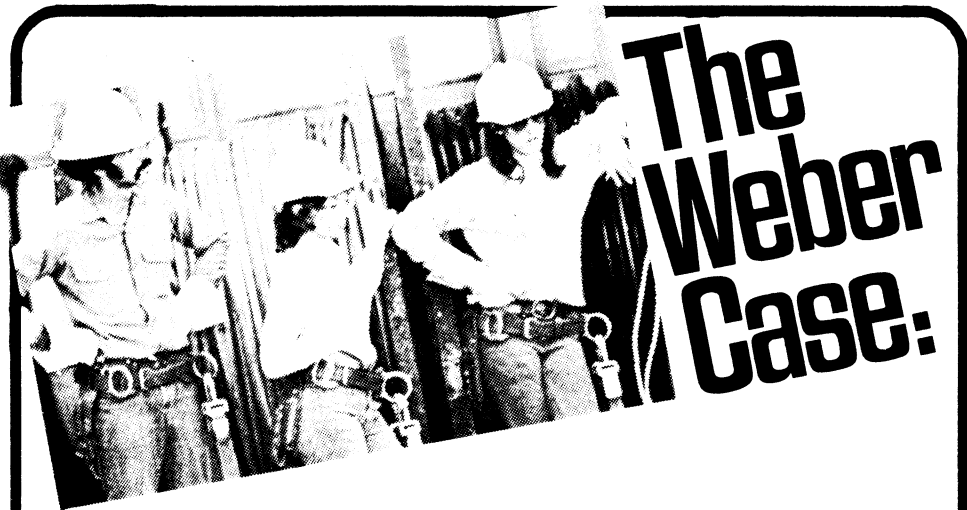
"It's obvious we're being lied to," said Ben Linsky, a professor at West Virginia University. "The repeated assertions that Three Mile Island was under control were lies. It is corporate policy for the utility companies to lie."

Geophysicist Keith Kirk, who spent five days in the Harrisburg area taking radiation readings, said: "The amounts of radiation were compared to an X ray. What they didn't tell you was that it equalled about one X ray per hour. Fifty-two hours elapsed before pregnant women were evacuated." One study found that a single X ray of a pregnant woman could increase the possibility of cancer in her child by 40 percent in the child's first fourteen years.

Some of the economic aspects of nuclear power were explained by Lowell Markey of Highlands Conservancy, a local conservation group.

Karen Theiling of the National Organization for Women spoke on the Karen Silkwood case. A nuclear technician at Kerr-McGee's giant plutonium plant in Oklahoma, Silkwood died in a mysterious auto crash in 1974 while trying to expose the company's blatant disregard for worker health and safety.

Joe Jurczak was loudly applauded when he declared, in response to a question: "The government and the utility companies will only respond to a show of power. We can organize that power by getting thousands of people into the streets."



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.

Please send me:

☐ 5 copies for \$3.30

☐ 10 copies for \$6.60

☐ 25 copies for \$12

☐ 50 copies for \$24

☐ 100 copies for \$45

☐ Other _____ (75 cents each; 5 or more, 25% discount; 25 or more, 40% discount. Add 50 cents for postage.)

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

Zip _____

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Steelworkers suspend strike but struggle goes on

The following article is based on reporting by John Hawkins, Jon Hillson, and Andy Rose. It was written by Jon Hillson.

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Steelworkers by the hundreds took the first step toward returning to work at the Newport News shipyard on Monday, April 23, following the announcement that Local 8888 was suspending its eighty-five-day strike for union recognition.

"We are going back proud," one woman told the *Militant* as she waited in a long line of Steelworkers outside the shipyard's personnel office. "There's no reason for us to hang our heads."

The shipyard "was behind on work," a young Black worker said. "They had to get us back."

The union members were not returning defeated or demoralized. They see themselves preparing for another round with Tenneco, the oil conglomerate that owns Newport News Shipbuilding, with the terrain of battle now shifted back inside the yard.

For many this means preparing for reprisals.

From the shipyard.

From the courts and cops.

From the scabs and company-union goons.

Defense of its members will be the first test of the union's ability to regroup its forces and win fresh support. And in this new stage of the fight, Newport News Steelworkers will need the solidarity of workers across the country more than ever.

How strike ended

Most Steelworkers learned of the strike's suspension through the media, after an April 21 news conference at which strike coordinator Jack Hower read a statement from Bruce Thrasher, director of Steelworkers District 35 (see box).

Hower reported the statement out earlier in the day at a meeting of Local 8888's negotiating committee, executive board, and a number of picket captains. It brought to an end the most dramatic week of the strike.

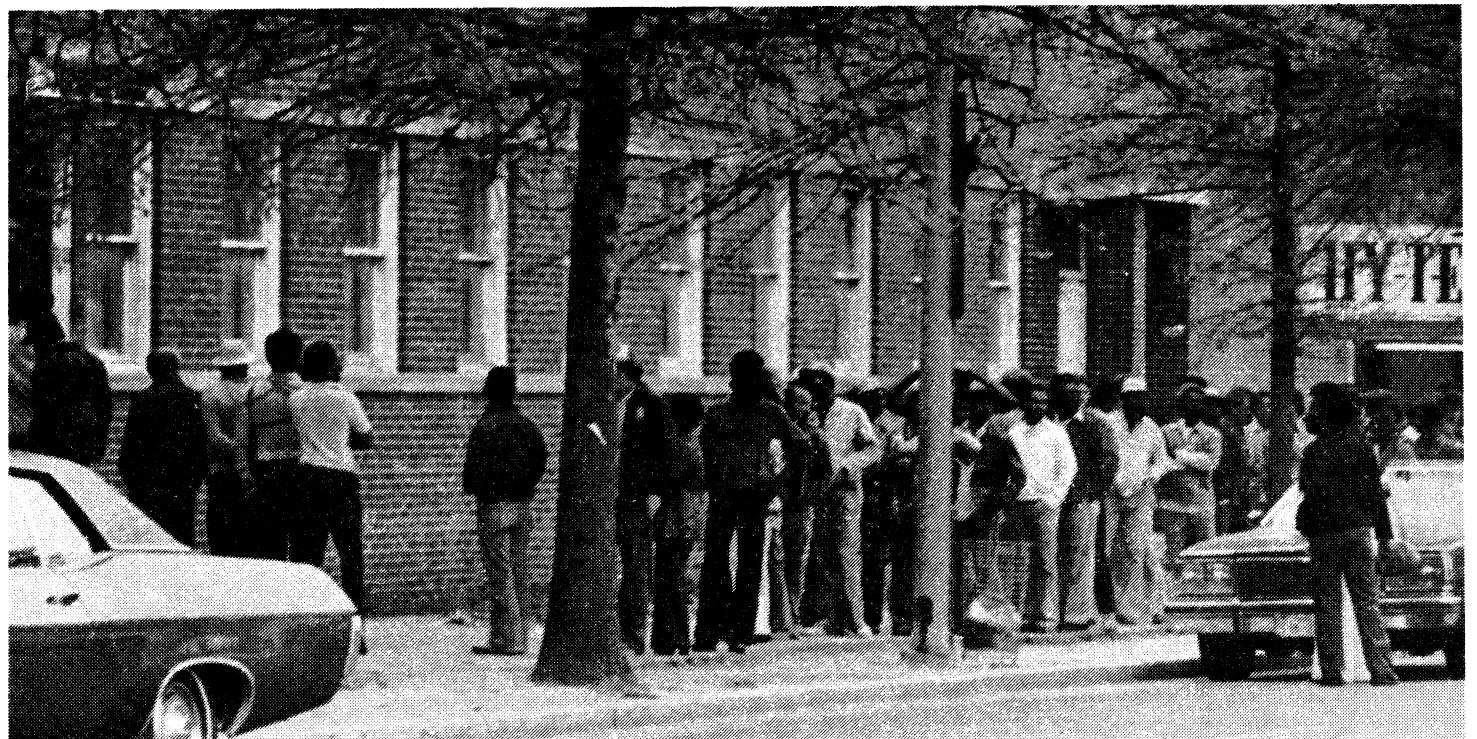
On April 13, at a union meeting packed with several thousand members, the Steelworkers had voted unanimously to return to work on their own conditions. They rejected the shipyard's demand that they go through the personnel office and sign an "unconditional offer" to return. All strikers must be taken back to their previous jobs, the union meeting voted.

This perspective was approved after a discussion that convinced the union's leadership to change its previous position on return-to-work conditions.

The officials had earlier called for suspending the strike on April 16 and signing the company "unconditional offer." They cited the return to work by some 45 percent of the shipyard's 15,500 workers and the likelihood of months or years of court wrangling over union recognition. After the court battle was won, union officials said, the strike might be resumed.

The democracy and solidarity of Local 8888's mass membership meeting were expressed in shouting, cheering approval to stay on strike until the union's terms were met. The union sent a telegram to Tenneco to give it the news.

Tenneco's answer was delivered on April 16 with an iron fist, when city and state police rioted against strikers. But the police violence failed to achieve its major aim: to break the spirit of the Steelworkers and crush the strike.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Local 8888 members line up in front of Tenneco's personnel office. They see themselves preparing for another round with the company.

The determined resistance of the strikers—who returned to the picket lines within hours—evidently prompted a token concession from the overlords of the shipyard.

'Typical Tenneco move'

On April 18, in a letter to all employees, shipyard President Edward Campbell dropped the demand that returning Steelworkers sign individual "unconditional offer" statements. He maintained the demand, however, that strikers be processed through the personnel office.

That evening Thrasher released a statement urging union members to "ignore" Campbell's letter as a "typical Tenneco move" that still "ignore[d] the union." Thrasher said that the position adopted by the April 13 union meeting had "not changed."

In his statement three days later announcing the strike's suspension, Thrasher stated that Tenneco had "dramatically reversed its original position," thus meeting the "membership position on return to work."

Returning strikers, informed by Tenneco through newspaper, radio, and television advertisements on the return-to-work procedure, began reporting alphabetically to the personnel office and a shipyard gymnasium on April 23. The shipyard advertisements referred to this as a "simplified" process.

Shipyard spokespersons deny any direct talks whatsoever with the union on back-to-work terms. Such contact would carry an implied recognition of the Steelworkers, something that Tenneco has gone to war to avoid.

Union spokesperson Dick Miller declined to comment on the existence of any direct contact.

Steelworkers discuss

The first chance for large numbers of Local 8888 members to talk about the strike suspension was the morning of April 23, as they awaited the opening of the company doors they would walk through to notify the shipyard they were returning to work.

The lines were alive with discussion.

"I would much rather go back with a contract. We won to a point, not all the way. We're fighting the laws now, the courts," one young Black worker told the *Militant*.

"This was my first strike, and I won't come out again just for recognition," said another. "If we're going for a contract or something I will, but not just for recognition."

On everyone's mind was what will happen back inside the yard.

"The scabs are going to try to take it out on us when we go back," one worker said. "Company announcements about everybody getting their jobs back are a front. The Steelworkers don't have anybody in there—no means to protect us."

Other workers differed.

"We've got a strong union. The union has done the best it could by us," another Black worker told the *Militant*. "The problem is now we'll be on the spot."

A buddy of his agreed. "We're strong now. We can gain more members behind us because people have seen what the union can do."

Victimizations

Although nothing is official yet, Tenneco has made clear it will discipline some or all of the workers arrested during the strike. The company also insists it has the right to discipline any worker accused by a scab of threatening behavior on the picket

line. This is a formula for selectively victimizing—or simply refusing to rehire—hundreds of union militants.

The shipyard's grievance procedure allows a worker to be accompanied by a co-worker of their choice up the supervisory discipline ladder. Union sources say that picket captains and union organizers will begin functioning as stewards inside the yard. Union officials also say they will file grievances directly with government agencies—the National Labor Relations Board, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

But these supposedly pro-labor federal bodies have served in the past only to stall Steelworkers' complaints—and their fight for union recognition—in endless red tape. Without the pressure of the strike their delays, which play into Tenneco's hands, may get even longer.

Many Steelworkers see evidence that Tenneco was beginning to suffer real economic damage from the strike des-

Continued on next page

USWA District 35 statement

The following statement was issued by Bruce Thrasher, director of United Steelworkers District 35.

The statement was headlined, "Victory—... Membership Position on Return to Work Met By Tenneco! To: All members of Local union 8888."

This is to advise you of developments following the unanimous membership action taken on Friday, April 13 concerning the suspension of the Local 8888 strike against Tenneco on Monday, April 23.

Because of this action, Tenneco has dramatically reversed its original position on the unconditional offer. *No member will be required to sign an unconditional offer!!*

We expect each member to be promptly notified by Tenneco with respect to the procedure for an orderly return to work in *YOUR CLASSIFICATION AND RATE*. You can be assured that your rights will be protected by the Union under the recall procedure.

Because of your courage and determination, your support for true

union representation, and your ability to stand against those forces who want to deny you the right of union representation, Tenneco has met completely your unanimous motion of April 13, and as such, our picket lines will be removed at 11 pm, Sunday, April 22.

Strike benefits will continue for two weeks to assist you in meeting your basic needs.

Let me close by reviewing the remarkable accomplishments you have already achieved by your own heroic efforts. Because of your effective strike, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals has acted with unprecedented speed and the National Labor Relations Board has compressed what would most certainly have been months of legal delay into a very expedited hearing period. As we await the NLRB decision, our fight for human dignity and industrial democracy in the Yard will continue. By your effective strike action, you have proven to Tenneco, the community, the state and the trade union movement that you will no longer be denied your rights in the Yard.

...Steelworkers suspend strike, struggle goes on

Continued from preceding page

pite the large numbers crossing picket lines. They point to the swift recall of Steelworkers back to their jobs, and to Tenneco's immediate imposition of ten-hour shifts to catch up production.

For this reason some oppose the strike suspension.

"I think we should have stayed out longer," a young striker said. "We should have stayed out until we got what we went out for."

'We need a meeting'

One middle-aged Black worker, who has been active for years in the fight against Tenneco and the old company union, explained his views in a long discussion with the *Militant*.

"This was the proper time to stay out," he said, "to get national attention, to put pressure on. Local businesses were being pushed to the wall. Tenneco was starting to hurt."

"I don't like the fact of not coming to the membership again" with the strike suspension proposal, he explained. "I think we should have voted on it."

A lot of his questions are not answered, he said. "There will be some kind of confrontation in the shipyard. How much leeway will our organizers have to move around, to look after their men? What's going to happen to the people who were arrested? Are we required to work more than forty hours a week?"

"If our officials are going to send us back, they should lay it all out about what's going to happen. We need a membership meeting, and soon."

Although this worker disagreed with ending the strike, he said, "I would like people all over the country who were supporting us to know the real situation. I'd hate for them to think that we're going back because we're too weak or we were beaten back."

Anyone who talks with union members here knows these are not men and women who have been beaten.

They are different people than when they walked out.

They have learned something about their enemies.

"Tenneco don't care about nobody," a young worker says, "just making that profit."

"It's been learned that the system



Tenneco failed to break Steelworkers' spirit. Above, Local 8888 members and supporters demonstrated March 2.

down here is out to rule us," explains another.

"We're not just fighting the shipyard, we're fighting city hall," an older worker says.

'Strength is in numbers'

They have learned about themselves.

"We've shown that the union is something we really believe in. We all have suffered a bit, mentally and physically, not knowing where the next dollar is coming from. We've seen how you can depend on somebody who believes in what you believe in."

"Before we always talked about what we would like to do. Now it's no longer just talk."

"Strength is in numbers. If everybody had stuck together we could have got what we wanted."

There are ideas about how the strike could have been more effective.

"With 100 percent participation, the strike would have been over by the second week or so."

"If we had had the crowd out here on the picket line like at the [mass union meeting in Hampton] coliseum, the police could never have beat up on

people that way. With a strong force, you could accomplish something."

They are thinking about the question of leadership. Because as one Black woman said, "You expect a leadership to be a leadership, to be strong, to lead you in the right direction at all times."

Courage & solidarity

The Steelworkers have taken Tenneco's hardest shots—"right to work" laws, courts, cop terror, and every shipyard attempt to humiliate them.

They have responded with courage and solidarity—solidarity between Black and white, male and female, young and old, skilled and unskilled.

They have gotten up from police beatings to take to the streets again.

They have shown that at union meetings members intend to decide policy.

They have acted with the understanding that the outcome of their struggle will affect the future of the labor movement in the South and nationwide.

They are veterans of a struggle that members of Local 8888 say "is not over."

Labor solidarity

Members of Steelworkers Local 8888 began going back to work April 23 knowing their battle with the Tenneco-owned shipyard is not over.

During the eighty-five-day strike the Virginia Steelworkers received support from unionists around the country. That support is still needed.

More than 100 Steelworkers were arrested before the suspension of the strike. Sixty-three members face charges from the April 16 cop riot alone.

In a telegram to U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell, USWA District 31 Director James Balanoff demanded an "immediate investigation of the actions by state police of Virginia in perpetrating a brutal attack on the workers at Newport News Shipyard."

USWA Local 1219 at U.S. Steel's Edgar Thompson Works in Pittsburgh distributed 1,200 fact sheets demanding all the charges against strikers be dropped. Seven hundred steelworkers at the mill signed petitions in support of Local 8888 members.

At the Jones and Laughlin mill in Pittsburgh USWA Local 1843 grievors gathered hundreds of signers on petitions in support of the Newport News workers.

Steelworkers from Local 2610 at Baltimore's Sparrows Point plant circulated a petition demanding Tenneco's recognition of Local 8888 and of Marine Designers Local 8417.

United Mine Workers Local 2874 in Marianna, Pennsylvania, also added its voice to those in support of the Virginia Steelworkers. They voted unanimously to send a solidarity message to their brothers and sisters in Newport News.

Contributions and messages of support can be sent to: USWA Local 8888, Thirty-third and Washington streets, Newport News, Virginia 23607. Telephone: (804) 247-5291.

'Justice' serves Tenneco in courts and city hall

By John Hawkins and Andy Rose

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—One week after "Bloody Monday," when Newport News police forcibly denied Steelworkers their right to assemble and picket, the mayor and city council capped it off by denying unionists the right to speak out against the cop violence.

The city council on April 23 unanimously refused to allow steelworkers a voice under the "audiences granted the public" point of its agenda. Ordinarily any citizen can speak merely by filling out a card indicating their desire to address the council.

Union leaders Wayne Crosby and Bill Bowser had filed cards to speak, and a delegation of about twenty Steelworkers made up most of the audience at the city council meeting. They patiently waited their turn through an hour and a half of discussions on golf course drainage bids, zoning ordinances, and elimination of a traffic circle. But before the unionists could utter a word, Republican Mayor Joe Ritchie read a letter from City Attorney Robert Beale lambasting "mob violence on the part of the striking workers."

Without any court having ruled on the charges, Beale's letter declared that "all of [the evidence] indicates that the striking workers acted in an unlawful manner, in violation of the laws of this Commonwealth and this city."

Beale advised the council that "this is a matter to be left to the courts and not to outside special interest organizations or other parties who did not witness the happenings." He did not explain how this justified suppressing testimony by Steelworker victims of police brutality.

The gag rule was approved by the city council without a single dissenting voice or vote from either Democratic or Republican members. The Steelworkers walked out, astonished at the crude denial of free speech.

Jack Hower, Steelworkers subdistrict director, told the news media that Ritchie was acting as "not only mayor of this town but also judge, jury, and hangman."

Bill Bowser, trustee of Local 8888, said the council's action was "just as criminal and inhumane as what happened on the streets and in our headquarters." All this raises "a question in my mind about human rights in our country," Bowser said.

Bowser was on crutches and visibly in pain. He suffered a chipped bone in the heel and a battered arm in the police riot April 16. He has also had severe headaches ever since his beating by cops who were invading the union's strike headquarters.

When the frenzied, club-swinging cops rushed in, "I had my hands up and was instructing members to go to

the second and third floors," Bowser told the *Militant*. He was beaten and shoved through a plate-glass door.

Minutes earlier, police had used clubs and attack dogs to drive off the streets hundreds of pickets, other union members, passersby, reporters, and even a stray scab or two. Police squad cars cruised the streets, breaking up picket lines many blocks from the original clash.

But the unprovoked cop assault on Local 8888's strike headquarters was repulsed before the uniformed thugs reached the second floor. Defiant union members then marched back into the streets to reassert their right to picket.

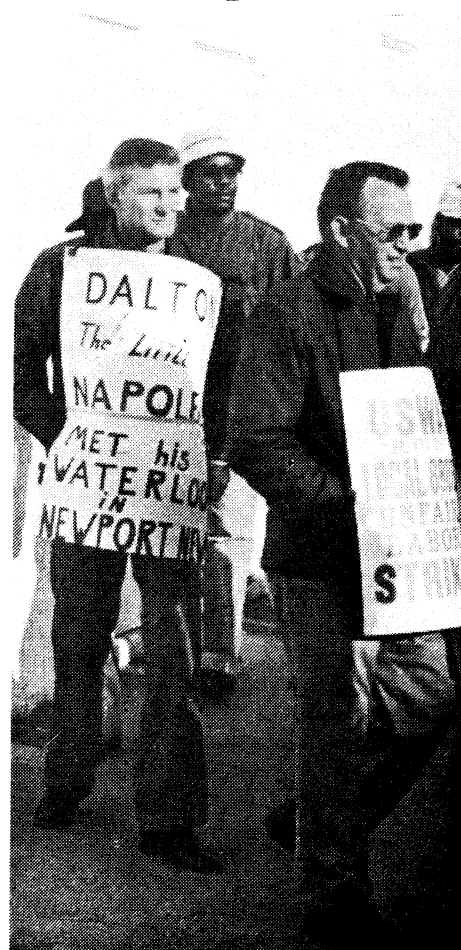
The union has since filed damage suits against the chief of police, individual cops, Mayor Ritchie, and Virginia Gov. John Dalton, who some strikers are now calling "the shah of Richmond."

The same day as the council meeting, more Tenneco justice was being dispensed at Newport News Criminal Court. The aim of these proceedings was made clear by Commonwealth Attorney Larry King.

During a brief recess before the trial of several Local 8888 members, King was asked by a cop hanging around the courtroom what he had in mind for the upcoming cases.

"It's going to be measure for measure," King snapped back.

Continued on page 17



Picket sign blasts Democratic and Republican officials, especially Virginia Gov. John Dalton, who joined in Tenneco's strikebreaking.

Labor party could wipe them off books

'Right to work' laws: bosses' anti-union tool

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The "right to work." It sounds good enough, like the right to a job, decent pay, and good working conditions. Like equal rights. Civil rights.

Think again.

As any Steelworker here can tell you, it's just the opposite.

When Tenneco refused to bargain with Steelworkers Local 8888 despite a majority vote for the union by shipyard workers, that was the "right to work."

When Newport News and Virginia State police went on a rampage against strikers on April 16, clubbing down people in the streets, smashing the picket lines, and attacking the union's strike headquarters—that was the "right to work" being enforced with a vengeance.

"Right to work" laws have been part of the employers' legal arsenal for keeping unions out of the South for a quarter-century or so. And today the bosses are pushing to extend such antilabor laws to more states.

"Right to work" laws prohibit the union shop. That is, they bar unions from negotiating contracts under which all workers are required to join the union. No matter if 51 percent or 75 percent or 99 percent of the workers want such a contract.

This is palmed off on the unthinking and uninformed as protection of the "democratic right" of any worker not to join a union. We'll return to the question of what is democratic later. But first let's see what "right to work" means in practice in Virginia.

Antistrike provisions

"Right to work" laws make illegal any action or words that a cop thinks may "interrupt" a scab's work or "interfere" with his or her right to walk through a picket line. Also banned are "intimidation, use of force, threat of use of force, reprisal or threat of reprisal"—and it's left to the police to decide what these are.

"Right to work" in Virginia is the umbrella over a series of related anti-union, antistrike statutes against "unlawful" picketing and assembly. All have been used against the Steelworkers' strike.

What's it like to live in a "right to work" state?

If you were a member of Local 8888 during the recent strike, it means you couldn't touch a scab, couldn't close ranks in a picket line, couldn't utter an "obscene" word, couldn't make a "threatening" gesture, couldn't drop a paper cup on the ground. And Steelworkers were arrested for just such "crimes" during the strike.

For scabs, however, "right to work" means they could pull a gun on a Steelworker picket and have the charges dismissed. That happened during the Newport News strike as well.

Under "right to work" in Virginia, public employees are forbidden any union representation whatsoever. They have no collective bargaining rights.

Women's rights don't get far under "right to work" either. Of the fifteen states that have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment, twelve—80 percent—are also "right to work" states. Virginia is one.

When it comes to equal education for Blacks, "right to work" states are among the worst. Effective desegregation plans have been sabotaged by Democrats and Republicans alike at the state and local level. Virginia's "prestige" public colleges and universities remain almost completely white.

The political forces behind the "right to work" laws are the same ones that are most determined to keep women and Blacks in second-class status.

The professional mouthpieces for "right to work" sing praises about the

lower cost of living in the South, which is supposed to mean workers can live better for less. Never having spent much time in the South, I was somewhat taken in by this myth and was prepared to see some mileage added to my money.

I was dead wrong.

Prices and wages

While rents are a little cheaper than in Philadelphia, where I used to live, everything else is about the same, on balance.

Vegetables cost a bit less here, while meat is more expensive. The telephone is higher, gas is the same, as are movies and clothing.

What about wages?

It's not unusual for nonunion industrial workers to make four dollars an hour or less. Clerical workers earn only sixty cents an hour more than the minimum wage.

An experienced welder at the Newport News Shipyard averages \$5.69 an hour. The same skill in a Steelworker-organized plant elsewhere in the country could mean up to \$10 an hour. Benefits and pensions in the yard range from meager to invisible, and a shipyard job around here is considered a prize.

Some people do make a good living in Virginia.

The bosses.

In 1978, Virginia corporations boosted their after-tax profits by a fat 23 percent—easily topping the nationwide profit increase of 16.2 percent.

Anticipated profits for the first three months of 1979 have local corporate big-wigs licking their chops. They expect a juicy 30 percent profit jump over the same period last year.

It's no wonder that in the advertising pages of the financial magazines, "right to work" states adopt a more honest self-description. There they boast of being the "right to profit" strongholds.

It's not only the low wages. The weakness of the labor movement allows a tax structure where the corporate rich shoulder the lightest blows. Figures for 1976 showed corporate

income taxes were 5.5 percent of total state tax collections in "right to work" states, compared to 7.6 percent in non-"right to work" states.

'Freedom'?

Any setup that gives working people such a raw deal obviously needs a slick advertising cover. That's where the "right to work" concept comes in. The "individual freedom" of a worker not to join a union or not to honor a picket line.

It's not a new idea.

As long as there have been capitalists and wage-earners, the bosses have opposed any collective action by the workers as a diabolical conspiracy against the free market.

Capitalists and workers meet as equals on the labor market, the story goes. If the wage offered is too low, the worker is free to refuse the job. If the wage asked is too high, the employer is free not to hire.

There's just one problem.

In this one-on-one bargaining, the employers always come out ahead. Up against a multi-billion-dollar corporation like Tenneco, the individual worker is virtually powerless.

The strength of the workers lies in united action, in solidarity. Every gain the working class has ever won—higher wages, shorter hours, safer conditions—we have had to wrest from the employers through collective action.

Remember, the misnamed "right to work" laws don't guarantee anybody the right to a job. Or the right to a living wage. Or the right to safe working conditions. Progress has been made toward securing these rights only through united labor action.

And that is exactly what the "right to work" laws aim to prevent.

When workers at a particular company democratically decide to form a union or to go on strike, individuals who insist on their personal "right to work for less" are jeopardizing the right of the majority to improve conditions for all.

"Right to work" opens the door for the company to provide special privi-

leges to workers who refuse to join the union. It's the ideal setup for buying off a minority of the workers to act as stool pigeons and strikebreakers.

For all its talk of individual rights, Tenneco is a past master of this corrupt strategy. With no cost-of-living allowance and raises based on "merit" recommendations from supervisors, Tenneco has rewarded anti-Steelworker finks with lavish bonuses and meteoric promotions.

This divide-and-conquer ploy aims to cripple the ability of the work force as a whole to struggle for a better life. When the unions win gains, the higher wages apply to every worker in the place. That's why the union shop is genuinely democratic, while "right to work" is an antidemocratic, anti-union fraud.

Labor history

A glance at labor history shows that the government, which is run by the employers through the two-party system, has never aided the organization of unions, much less forced anybody to join one.

The mass-production industries—auto, steel, rubber, electrical, and others—were unionized in the 1930s through the struggles and sacrifices of millions of workers. In their organizing drives and strike battles, they faced antilabor laws, strikebreaking injunctions, and police violence—just like the Newport News shipyard workers today.

Legal recognition of collective bargaining rights came only *after* the workers had defeated these obstacles. The Democratic and Republican politicians, acting on behalf of the employers, sought to straitjacket the rising labor movement before it challenged the two-party monopoly and the entire capitalist system.

They tried to steer the new unions into reliance on government institutions instead of the collective strength of the workers themselves. Thus began the process of snarling the unions in a web of legal do's and don't's and red-tape.

In 1947 Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act.

Continued on page 16



Virginia's so-called right-to-work laws in practice. Later charged with 'breach of peace,' above sequence of photos show Steelworker Brian Ribble's arrest April 17 in Newport News.

Campaign pressed to save Marroquin

Socialist Workers Party member Héctor Marroquín is fighting a deportation order to Mexico, where he faces prison or death. Protests should be sent to Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonel Castillo, Washington, D.C., 20536, with copies to the Marroquín Defense Committee, Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

By Clemens Bak

SALT LAKE CITY—Héctor Marroquín had a successful three-day tour of Utah in his fight against deportation. The high point was a meeting April 18 at Utah State University in Logan.

The noon meeting, held in the student lounge, was attended by 450 people.

It was the biggest political meeting in recent years on the campus.

This was due in good part to the effective building work done by Marroquín's supporters.

For the past year, there has been a Marroquín Defense Committee in Logan. Some 500 students have signed Marroquín support petitions as a result of the committee's efforts, so a lot of people knew about the case in advance.

But the meeting got its biggest spur when the campus MEChA threw its energies into building it.

There were campus literature tables, leafleting, advance media publicity, and more. The students obtained a videotape of Marroquín from a Salt Lake TV station and used it constantly as part of the advance buildup.



Héctor Marroquín participated in panel on political refugees at California State University, Los Angeles, April 20. It was part of a three-day session titled 'The Struggle for Human Rights in Latin America,' sponsored by campus organizations. Here Marroquín displays copy of prize-winning Mexican news photo showing man being kidnapped by White Brigades, a government-sponsored vigilante gang.

At the meeting, Marroquín was introduced by Dennis Vigil, cochair of the Salt Lake defense committee, who came to Logan to help with the meeting.

Marroquín was well received. There were many interested questions about his socialist ideas. That discussion continued for several hours at a reception following the meeting.

The next day, Marroquín spoke at Weber State College in Ogden. About thirty-five people participated in the meeting, which was organized by Chi-

cano students and included a number of Latin Americans.

And on April 21, the Marroquín Defense Committee held a successful fund-raiser at Guadalupe Social Hall in Salt Lake.

There Marroquín was introduced by Frank Cordova, cochair of the defense committee and chair of the Chicano Student Association at the University of Utah.

About sixty people attended the social gathering, which netted \$150 for the defense effort.

Steel unionists urge asylum

Dave Wilson and Joseph Kotelchuck have joined the growing roster of Steel unionists demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

Wilson and Kotelchuck are presidents of United Steelworkers Locals 2609 and 2610 respectively, representing workers at the giant U.S. Steel works at Sparrows Point, Maryland.

Other USWA supporters of Marroquín include: Local 1010, East Chicago, Indiana; Linus Wampler, director, District 33; Roger Klander, president, Local 6115, Virginia, Minnesota; Percy Edmond, recording secretary, Local 50, San Francisco; and Mike Olszanski, executive board member, Local 1010.

The following are the texts of messages to Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonel Castillo from Kotelchuck and Wilson:

"I strongly protest the decision by your department to go ahead with deportation proceedings against Hector Marroquin Manriquez.

"Overwhelming evidence of hu-

man rights violations in Mexico warrant granting political asylum in this case."

Joseph Kotelchuck
President Local
2610, United Steel-
workers of America

"On behalf of the 7,000 steelworkers and their families in my local, let me advise you that we strongly protest the decision by your department to go ahead with deportation proceedings against Héctor Marroquín. . . . Such distinguished human rights organizations as Amnesty International and the International League for Human Rights have carefully documented the lack of political freedom in Mexico.

"This, coupled with compelling evidence of Marroquín's innocence, warrants granting political asylum in this case.

"Political asylum for all victims of political repression must be the cornerstone of a just human rights policy.

Dave Wilson, President
USWA Local 2609

Big Militant sales set for D.C. antinuke action

By Peter Seidman

The sales spotlight this week focuses on the upcoming demonstrations against nuclear power and nuclear weapons. Our supporters on the East Coast from Boston to Raleigh and from New York to Pittsburgh, will be mobilizing to build and attend the May 6 protest in Washington, D.C.

The previous weekend, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will also be participating in major antinuke actions in Rocky Flats, Colorado, and Grants, New Mexico.

At these actions, we can take further big steps in our drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, this spring.

That was certainly the experience socialists had at three antinuke protests last weekend.

Antinuke demonstrators in Midland, Michigan, snapped up 117 papers.

Some 175 of the 5,000 protesters at Limerick, Pennsylvania, also bought papers.

Portland socialists found that they'd brought nowhere near enough papers with them to meet the demand of more than 1,000 people at a Salem, Oregon, protest. They sold all of their papers in twenty minutes.

Overall sales of issue number fifteen declined from the previous week. We sold only 5,369 papers (about 78 percent of our goal). Most areas said this drop was largely due to the spring holiday weekend.

Significantly, we improved our industrial sales despite the slip in overall sales. Thirty-three areas calling in full

figures sold 319 at plant gates and 228 papers on the job for a total of 547. By comparison, twenty-nine areas reported industrial sales totaling 401 for the previous issue.

And this week, our industrial sales will benefit from the warm reception Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, gave the *Militant's* coverage of their strike (see story, page 16).

But last week's figures also demonstrate how we're making progress all over the country. The Seattle and Tacoma branches of the SWP, for example, have begun collaborating on sales at the big Auburn and Renton Boeing plants, where they sold sixteen papers.

Socialists at Bethlehem's Sparrows Point steel plant have already topped their previous on-the-job record with sales of issue sixteen. In just four days, they've sold more than fifty papers to co-workers.

After a downward slide of *PM* sales, last week these sales went up—an important accomplishment. But this is an area that still needs a lot of improvement.

After sales of this issue, there will be only two weeks left in the spring circulation drive. Nationally, we've already achieved more than 85 percent of our goal. But many areas report they're stepping up their sales activity in the final laps—taking a hard look at their progress so far and how they can improve; making final (usually upward) adjustments in their cumulative goals. And most importantly, thinking through how to use the national target week (issue nineteen) to put a final big push on sales.

Sales scoreboard

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Iron Range	35	46			35	46	131.4
Birmingham	100	121			100	121	121.0
Albuquerque	115	131	20	22	135	153	113.3
Morgantown	100	106		6	100	112	112.0
Seattle	145	167	5	0	150	167	111.3
Detroit	175	195	5	0	180	195	108.3
San Antonio	50	43	10	22	60	65	108.3
Tacoma	125	135			125	135	108.0
Kansas City	110	116			110	116	105.4
Phoenix	115	122	35	35	150	157	104.6
Dallas	125	124	35	42	160	166	103.7
Raleigh	90	92			90	92	102.2
New Orleans	100	102			100	102	102.0
Portland	100	102			100	102	102.0
Salt Lake City	130	136	5	1	135	137	101.4
Atlanta	145	152	5	0	150	152	101.3
Los Angeles	320	365	80	37	400	402	100.5
Cleveland	115	119	5	1	120	120	100.0
Gary	75	75			75	75	100.0
Louisville	100	100			100	100	100.0
Minneapolis	150	150			150	150	100.0
Toledo	100	97		3	100	100	100.0
Denver	120	121	20	10	140	131	93.5
Chicago	310	289	40	13	350	302	86.2
Philadelphia	225	204	25	8	250	212	84.8
Newark	100	82	10	11	110	93	84.5
Baltimore	100	84			100	84	84.0
Cincinnati	75	63			75	63	84.0
Milwaukee	120	95	5	6	125	101	80.8
Washington, DC	230	187	20	7	250	194	77.6
Miami	100	86	30	9	130	95	73.0
San Diego	105	65	20	25	125	90	72.0
Indianapolis	115	81			115	81	70.4
Boston	200	105	25	39	225	144	64.0
St. Paul	100	64			100	64	64.0
Pittsburgh	200	117			200	117	58.5
San Jose	105	61	15	2	120	63	52.5
New York City	540	253	60	37	600	290	48.3
Vermont	18	8			18	8	44.4
Albany	100	41	5		105	41	39.0
St. Louis	125	40			125	40	32.0
Oakland	145	50	15	0	160	50	31.2
San Francisco	275	80		4	275	84	30.5
Houston	170	57	30		200	57	28.5
Totals	6383	5029	530	340	6913	5369	77.6

Not reporting: Amherst; Berkeley; Iowa City. Covers sales of 'Militant' issue fifteen and the first week of sales of issue number seven of 'Perspectiva Mundial.'

Thai regime steps up support to Pol Pot

By Fred Feldman

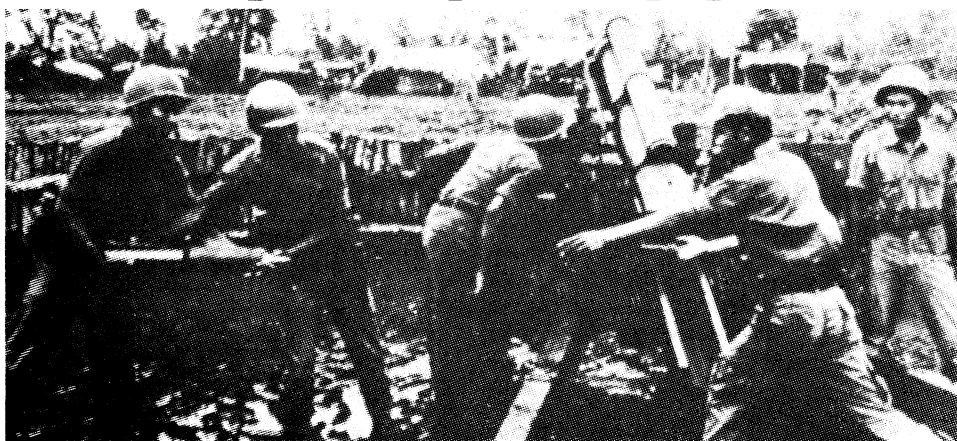
Reactionary forces led by former Kampuchean Premier Pol Pot are taking a beating in battles with Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops backing the new Heng Samrin government. More than 8,000 Khmer Rouge soldiers fled into Thailand April 22 as progovernment forces pressed to the Thai border, according to the April 23 *Wall Street Journal*.

In an attempt to block the consolidation of an anti-imperialist regime in Kampuchea, the pro-U.S. military dictatorship of General Kriangsak Chamanand in Thailand is stepping up support to Pol Pot.

"In recent weeks," reported the April 21 London *Economist*, "Khmer Rouge troops, in tight spots, have been allowed to cross into Thailand, where the Thai forces have fed them, given them medical treatment, rearmed them and then trucked them along the border to re-enter the battle, sometimes at tactically improved positions."

"Thailand is officially neutral," wrote Henry Kamm in the April 24 *New York Times*, "But privately, Thai officials, particularly in the military, make no secret of their hope that the Pol Pot forces will continue to be a viable foe of the Vietnamese. Thailand views Vietnam's supposed striving for regional superiority with far greater concern than the cruelty of the former Pol Pot regime and wishes that regime had survived."

Like U.S. propaganda during the Vietnam War on the danger of "North



Thai troops shelling across Kampuchean border during Indochina war. Now U.S.-dominated regime is heavily aiding Pol Pot's rightist gangs.

Vietnamese conquest," the Thai-U.S. talk about "Vietnamese superiority" is code for their fear of the further extension of socialist revolution to Laos, Kampuchea, and Thailand.

"Thailand wants all Cambodians who have fled here since the Vietnamese invasion to return," wrote Kamm, "the Pol Pot troops in order to continue the fight, and the others to prevent their becoming an obstacle to good relations with the Cambodians resisting the Vietnam-dominated regime of Heng Samrin."

Few Kampucheans are willing to support the Khmer Rouge terror gangs once they have escaped their control. Many indicate their preference for the Heng Samrin government, and a few have even returned to Kampuchea to fight for it.

Thus Pol Pot's forces place great store on keeping some of the population in their grip, where the peasants' forced labor can be used to supply the Khmer Rouge.

The Thai rulers are also trying to beef up other rightist forces in Kampuchea, such as the Khmer Serei units—financed and controlled by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency since the early 1960s. Kamm reported that on April 12 the Thai government turned 1,700 refugees over to Khmer Serei control.

"In a recent interview," Kamm wrote, "Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the former Cambodian head of state, said that his Chinese hosts had told him that they were financing Khmer Serei soldiers to fight alongside the Pol Pot

forces, who also enjoy Chinese support."

Delicately left out of reports about Thai backing to Pol Pot and Khmer Serei forces is the central role played by Washington (through Bangkok, Peking, and other conduits) in maintaining reactionary forces in Kampuchea.

Thailand's aid to Pol Pot has been a major obstacle to the Kampuchean government's effort to protect the peasants against punitive raids and forced population transfers carried out by the Khmer Rouge. Folger Jensen reported in the April 9 *Newsweek* that the new regime "disclosed that it had been forced to issue weapons to Cambodian villagers for self-protection."

A major goal of the U.S.-organized drive against the Kampuchean regime is to disrupt the rice harvest, bringing famine to a nation whose people already suffer severe malnutrition.

The United Nations is playing a part in this new imperialist crime against the peoples of Indochina. According to Henry Kamm, writing in the April 22 *New York Times*, the UN has no intention of providing food aid to Kampuchea: "The attitude of the Food and Agriculture Organization, as reflected by its regional office, is that it can act only at the request of the government concerned. The United Nations recognizes the ousted Government, which is not likely to ask for aid and, in any event, is in no position to receive or distribute it."

Teamster steelhaulers demand contract vote

By Shelley Kramer

On April 10 Teamster officials announced agreement on a new three-year Master Freight Agreement and called an end to their union's ten-day strike. But some Teamster drivers did not heed their back-to-work order.

Teamster steelhaulers—covered by the iron and steel rider to the MFA—are still on strike. They are demanding the right to vote on their contract supplement—a right Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons rescinded in 1976.

The strikers, both fleet drivers and owner operators, are also calling for an increase in their rate of pay and back

sick pay owed them under their old contract.

Of an estimated 10,000 Teamster steelhaulers, up to 8,000 are reported to have joined the strike. The action was initiated in Ohio and western Pennsylvania with the help of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, a dissident union group. It has since spread into parts of Indiana and Michigan as well.

Several Ohio steel mills announced production cuts and layoffs because of the strike. On April 23 three strikers were shot by an unidentified company driver in Youngstown, Ohio.

The steelhaulers strike was immediately backed by a few Teamster locals, including Pittsburgh's 1,600-

member Local 800. The Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, which led a two-month strike last winter over similar demands, is asking its members (Teamster and non-Teamster alike) to honor the strikers' picket lines.

Most significantly, the Teamsters top officers, who had initially denounced the strike as an unauthorized walkout, bent to the steelhaulers' pressure and reversed their stand on April 18. "The union is backing totally the steelhaulers," Teamster spokesperson Bernard Henderson told the *New York Times*.

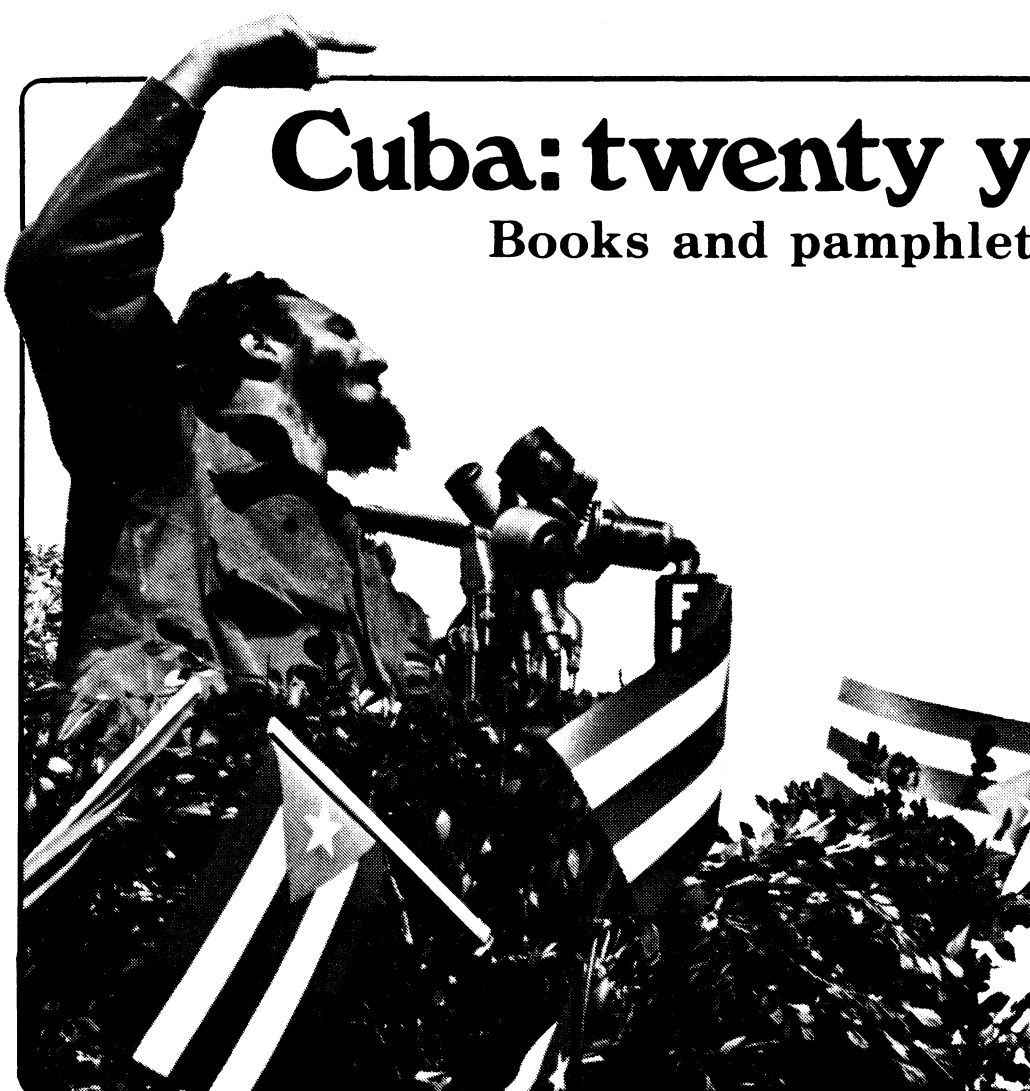
"It's the first time the IBT has ever sanctioned a strike for steel haulers,"

said FASH president Bill Hill, "and it will further inspire the strikers and increase their demands for fair pay and better working conditions."

According to TDU spokesperson Ken Paff, the strike "has united fleet drivers and owner operators for the first time. They went out together."

On April 22 Teamster negotiators reached agreement with several steel companies on a new steelhaulers' supplement, which raises the drivers' percentage and provides for past and future sick pay.

As the *Militant* goes to press the steelhaulers' right to vote on their contract is still up in the air and the strike continues.



Cuba: twenty years of revolution

Books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press

Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro

A new Education for Socialists bulletin featuring Castro on topics such as the road to revolution in Latin America, freedom of expression and thought, the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the role of Cuban troops in Africa. 136 pages, \$4.00.

The Second Declaration of Havana

by Fidel Castro. New from Pathfinder Press. Castro's stirring speech to a million Cubans following the U.S.-inspired decision to exclude Cuba from the Organization of American States. 31 pages, \$.75.

History Will Absolve Me, by Fidel Castro. Castro's speech at his October 16, 1953, trial by the Batista dictatorship for the attack against the Moncada Barracks—the opening act of the Cuban revolution (Lyle Stuart publication). 79 pages, \$2.00.

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution, by Joseph Hansen. A Marxist

study of the origin and course of the Cuban revolution. 385 pages, \$5.45.

Upsurge in Africa, by David Frankel. Cuba, American imperialism, and the new rise of the class struggle in Africa. 31 pages, \$.75.

The Ethiopian Revolution, by Ernest Harsch. The Ethiopian revolution, its roots and development, and the role played by Cuba. 38 pages, \$.85.

Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add \$.50 for postage.

Education for Socialists Tapes on Cuba (Offered at a special discount price)

Policies of the Cuban Leadership, by Joseph Hansen, 1967. \$5.

Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution, by Jack Barnes, 1978. \$5.

The Theory of Permanent Revolution (on Cuba) by Joseph Hansen, 1961. Two talks, \$9.

Procapitalist forces divided

Iran: class polarization pressures gov't

By David Frankel

Nobody knows what the rate of inflation is in Iran today. Estimates vary from 50 to 150 percent.

Nobody knows the exact percentage of unemployment either. The Tehran newspaper *Kayhan* estimates it is 40 percent—4 million jobless out of a work force of 10 million.

But regardless of the precise statistics, it is clear that the economic crisis is driving forward the class polarization in Iran. Demonstrations of unemployed workers have been taking place every day in Tehran. In Abadan, the center of the oil industry, several thousand jobless refinery workers have staged a sit-in.

Workers are also protesting in the oil town of Ahwaz. And "in Sanandaj, Isfahan and Tabriz," Doyle McManus reported in the April 16 *Los Angeles Times*, "striking workers marched and scuffled with unsympathetic Islamic revolutionaries."

In oil-rich Khuzistan province, the assistant governor told *New York Times* correspondent John Kifner, "We hope the people will give us some time. We hope they will be a little more patient."

But the workers' patience is beginning to run out. At the same time, the economic problems that the capitalist government is unable to solve are adding to the urgency of demands by Iran's oppressed nationalities.

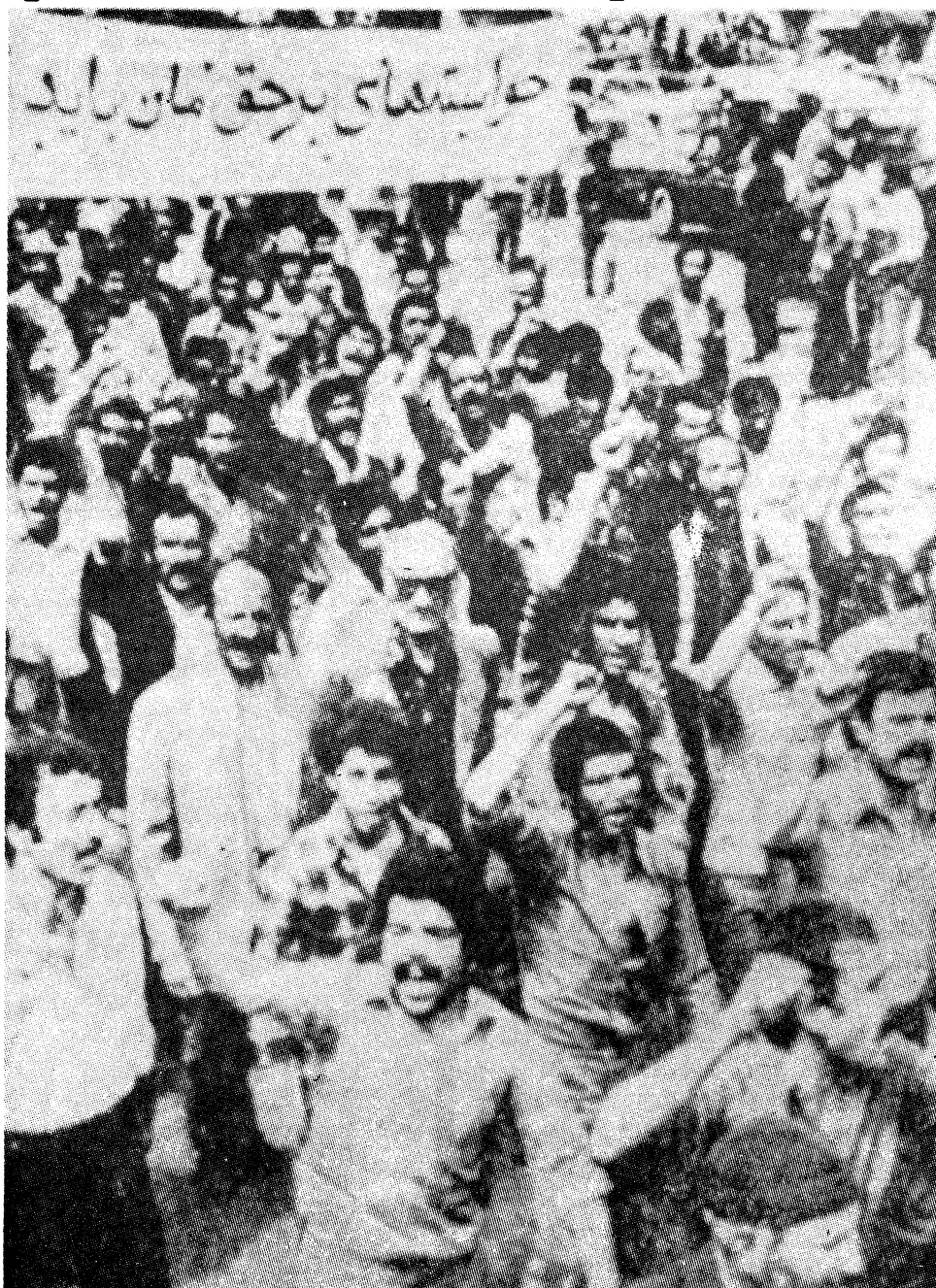
Clashes between rebellious Kurds and government forces are continuing in the northwestern part of the country. And in Khuzistan, in the South, where the majority of the population are Arabs, demands have been raised for the same kind of autonomy the regime has been forced to promise the Kurds.

This process of class polarization is the essential fact that is determining the course of politics in Iran today. It has opened up increasing opportunities for socialists and it has posed new difficulties for the capitalist government and the right-wing religious forces.

The problems facing the procapitalist forces were indicated April 17 when a government official announced that the elections scheduled for June 1 and the publication of a new constitution have been postponed indefinitely.

A leader of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran, contacted by telephone April 21, explained the postponement was due to the fact that the regime "is unable to limit democracy all that much in the current situation. If they held the elections as scheduled, they would have to allow a large degree of discussion and electioneering." But what the regime wants is to stop the political discussion, not encourage it.

One important result of the class polarization is that it has caused divisions among the procapitalist forces over how to handle the situation.



Unemployed workers march in Tehran. Economic crisis is rapidly deepening class struggle.

Right-wing forces, using Islamic demagoguery, have sought to use the local committees that grew up during the struggle against the shah to repress the workers and their allies. Some of the so-called Islamic committees, and those the capitalist press refer to as "Islamic revolutionaries," have engaged in attacks on women demanding their rights, on meetings of the oppressed nationalities, on workers' protests, and on socialists.

As opposition to this has stiffened—including within the committees themselves—the rightists have turned more and more to building up armed organizations outside the committees. An attack on the headquarters of the left-wing Fedayeen group in Abadan April 21 was probably the work of these rightists.

According to the Iranian Trotskyists, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini "seems to know about these steps and is backing this project, giving it politi-

cal support and cover."

But the Iranian working class and its allies among the oppressed have just come through a year of struggle in which they faced the tanks and machine guns of the shah's army virtually bare-handed. They are not about to be intimidated or give up their demands in the face of rightist gangs trying to take away the fruits of their victory.

The Iranian ruling class is aware of this, and it has sought to sidestep any immediate confrontation and rebuild a reliable governmental apparatus. The divisions among the procapitalist forces were dramatized by the resignation of Foreign Minister Karim Sanjabi April 16, and the dispute that flared up around the same time between Khomeini and Ayatollah Mahmoud Taleghani.

Both Sanjabi and Taleghani complained bitterly of the local councils

that have refused to bow to the authority of the government.

It has been clear for some time that Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, and others in his government, along with the American imperialists, have viewed the committees loyal to Khomeini as an obstacle to the consolidation of a strong capitalist government. As the editors of the *Washington Post* complained April 16, Khomeini "is using the great prestige he won in dethroning the shah not so much to govern as to refuse to let others govern."

Taleghani seized upon the arrest of two of his sons and a daughter-in-law to protest the functioning of the committees. His protest received wide support because of the heavy-handed violations of democratic rights carried out by the right-wing religious forces that dominate the committees.

For several days there were demonstrations in Tehran and other cities—including one of about 50,000—in support of Taleghani and what was seen as his stand in defense of democratic rights.

The last thing the Iranian ruling class wants, however, is a confrontation between its government and the forces led by Khomeini. Whatever their differences, they know that they will have to rely on Khomeini if they are to hold the workers in check.

Thus, on April 19, Taleghani appeared on nationwide television to offer an apology to Khomeini. "He is the source of belief, sincerity, determination, and honesty," Taleghani declared.

Khomeini, speaking the same day, bluntly explained that the government was too weak to do without the committees. These, he said, would remain "until the authority of the government has been established." However, he said that the committees would be purged of "corrupt and antirevolutionary" elements.

Iranian Trotskyists point out that there is no use in purging the committees, since the purge would be carried out by precisely those forces responsible for the attacks on democratic rights. Nor should the committees—which are legitimate mass organizations that grew out of the struggle against the shah—be dissolved to facilitate the consolidation of a strong capitalist regime.

Rather, the Trotskyists call for the democratization of the committees by opening them to the control of the toilers. That is how the rightist elements could be purged and the committees turned into instruments for the defense of the oppressed and exploited.

Meanwhile, workers organizations are planning to hold May Day demonstrations to celebrate their victory over the monarchy and to raise their demands for the next stage of the Iranian revolution.

Indianapolis: Socialists hit cop inaction on Nazi attack

By Leif Shaver

INDIANAPOLIS—In the early morning hours of April 18 Nazi thugs fired three gunshots into the offices of the Indianapolis Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. The committee had announced its candidate for mayor, David Ellis, at a March 28 news conference.

Since the news conference, Ellis's campaign had attracted much attention, both from the local press and from working people in this city. Ellis had received coverage from the *Indianapolis Journal*, every local radio station, and all three TV network affiliates. He had marched at a picket line protesting sales of the Kruggerand, the

gold South African coin. And he had issued a statement to the press on the Three Mile Island nuclear accident, which was distributed at an April 7 antinuclear march in Bloomington.

The bullet holes in the front windows of the offices were found Wednesday morning by campaign workers, along with a sticker bearing a swastika from an American Nazi Party splitoff, the National Socialist White Peoples Party. The sticker bore the words, "We are back."

Ellis immediately called the police, who upon arriving at the campaign office said that the shots were probably fired from a pellet gun. But broken glass was found scattered thirty feet

from the window. The cops took no action, saying that if campaign workers found the bullets or other evidence they should contact police detectives.

Confronting Indianapolis Mayor William Hudnut at an appearance the next night, Ellis demanded that Hudnut condemn this violent attack on his rights as a candidate and order the police department to investigate the incident.

Hudnut replied the following day that he "deplored" the attack. The Democratic candidate for mayor, Paul Cantwell, also denounced the shooting in a public statement.

An appeal has been drafted protest-

ing right-wing attacks and is being circulated for the signatures of prominent individuals and organizations.

Endorsers already include city-county council member Glenn Howard; State Rep. William Crawford; Black community leader Nyosu Elmore; Joseph Smith, aid to Sen. Birch Bayh; Avis Bell, state director for affirmative action; Noel Beasley, business agent for the local Textile Workers union; the Black Law Student Union at Indiana-Purdue University.

A public speak-out is being held at the Militant Bookstore, 4163 North College, on Sunday, May 6, at 4:30 p.m. to protest the Nazi assault and to demand the police arrest those responsible.

Socialist urges a labor party to halt health cuts

The following is a statement by Ray Markey on behalf of the New York Socialist Workers Party.

Markey is a delegate to the New York City Central Labor Council from the New York Public Library Guild Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. He is a delegate to District Council 37 of AFSCME and serves on the executive board of Local 1930.

"A society that does not care for its sick is a sick society," declares Lillian Roberts, associate director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

I agree. And New York City threatens to take a turn for the worse with the campaign against health care now being engineered by Democratic administrations in New York, Albany, and Washington, D.C.

They have targeted for destruction one of the social conquests of the working class: the seventeen remaining New York City public hospitals.

The Socialist Workers Party believes it is time for working people to abandon the Democratic Party—along with the Republican Party—and strike out on our own.

Working people need our own political party, a labor party based on the unions.

And we need it *now*, because if these massive cuts are carried out, large numbers of working people in this city will be denied the medical care they need.

Hardest hit will be the Black and *latino* communities. Up to 75 percent of municipal hospital patients are Black or *latino*, as are 68 percent of municipal hospital workers.

These proposed drastic cuts are only the latest of a series of cruel attacks in recent years that have targeted those least able to afford them.

The municipal work force has been reduced by 50,000 to 60,000 workers.

Twenty-nine hospitals have been closed in the past three years.

Schools, libraries, child-care facilities, public transportation, and garbage collection have all been slashed. Free tuition in the city university system has been abolished.

Wages have been held down, while inflation rampages and working conditions deteriorate.

No money?

Each time there is a new round of cutbacks in social services, we are told there is no other choice, that there is no more money.

A budget cut, Koch explained a couple of months ago, "impacts upon poor people because our budget is primarily devoted to poor people."

That is a lie. The New York City budget, along with the state and federal budgets, are all "devoted primarily" to the interests of big business. That is proven every time there's a money crunch and the needs of working people are the first to go down the tubes.

In New York City, working people are told to "sacrifice" everything from medical care to education, but the bankers are ensured exorbitant interest payments on municipal bonds. Nearly 17 percent of the budget is set aside for debt service alone.

Around the nation, federally funded social services get the ax, but the military corporations enjoy an astronomical \$135 billion war budget.

There is money—working people know that because we pay a big chunk out of our shrinking paychecks in federal, state, and city taxes—but the priorities of the Democratic and Republican officials are all wrong.

District Council 37 of AFSCME has joined with others to organize a "Rally



Public Employee Press/Alan Howard
'A labor party would fight to greatly expand and improve the quality of public medical care.'

for Survival" May 1 to protest the latest hospital cuts.

The call for the action says, "It is time to show the politicians that they are wrong, that we are in fact many, united, strong—and angry. It is time to demonstrate that we are prepared to mount a powerful political challenge to any elected official who turns his back on us."

In the April 6 *Public Employee Press*, Lillian Roberts is quoted as

saying that the May 1 action should be viewed as "the kickoff of a prolonged campaign to show people that we can make the changes we need if we learn to organize ourselves effectively. The rally could be the beginning of a massive voter registration drive, for instance, so that we are able to translate our strength in numbers into political clout at the ballot box."

We certainly do need to organize some clout at the ballot box and in

politics in general. But it will do us no good to continue to channel our money and energy into support for Democratic Party politicians.

AFSCME takes credit for helping to elect the vast majority of the present New York City Council. And our union has traditionally supported major Democratic Party candidates at every level of government.

None of *this* kind of clout has gotten us anything but more attacks on municipal workers, more cuts in social services.

The labor movement should run its own candidates. We should build our own party, a labor party, to act in our interests, not the interests of the rich bankers and corporations.

A labor party is a compelling need right now, as the latest threatened cuts show.

A labor party would fight to greatly expand and improve the quality of public medical care. It would fight to take the profit out of health care and make it free for all.

And when the bankers who control the city's purse strings say there's no money for such programs, a labor party would respond, "Let's open the books and see just how much money there really is. Let's see the financial records of the city and of the banks so that the public can determine just what can be afforded."

Tax the rich!

A labor party would demand that the rich—the corporations and the banks—not working people, be taxed to provide social services.

A labor party would demand that the bloated \$135 billion military budget be abolished and that the money be used instead to provide jobs and needed social services.

The New York City labor movement need not wait for such a party to develop nationally. New York labor, or even District Council 37 of AFSCME, should take the lead and announce that not a penny more of our union funds will go to any Democrats and Republicans or to their Liberal and Conservative appendages.

I am urging my union to run independent labor candidates against the capitalist politicians. The money, energies, and votes of our 100,000 members would be a powerful and inspiring example for the rest of the labor movement to follow.

Along such a road, we can end the situation where we are now being forced to suffer one blow after another, takeaway after takeaway. Working people, who are the big majority, can fight in our own interests, and win.

Koch's new cuts: 3,000 hospital beds

By Joel Britton

NEW YORK—"No more cutbacks!"

"No more layoffs!"

"Keep our hospitals open!"

These will be among the slogans chanted by the thousands expected to attend a "Rally for Survival" at city hall here at noon on May 1.

The action was called by District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); the Committee of Interns and Residents; the New York State Nurses Association; other unions representing workers in the municipal hospitals; and dozens of community organizations opposed to drastic new health-care cuts being prepared.

The new round of cutbacks are

part of Democratic Mayor Edward Koch's 1980 budget. Some 3,000 "surplus" hospital beds will be eliminated, doubling the number cut in recent years. And as many as one-half of the seventeen municipal hospitals are slated to be closed or turned over to private hospitals.

AFSCME "will not stand idly by and allow the private health establishment . . . to rape the public health system," wrote Victor Gotbaum, executive director of DC 37 in the April 6 *Public Employee Press*.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, chairperson of the Black United Front, asks, "How does one rationalize closing hospitals in a Black community, where the infant mortality rate is the highest in the city, 32.7 per 1,000 live births, or in a Hispanic community, where the infant mortality

rate is second worst at 26.9 per 1,000 live births?" Daughtry appeared with Gotbaum and other union and community leaders at a news conference April 19 in DC 37's offices.

Hardest hit by the cuts will be the estimated 1.4 million working poor and others not covered by Medicaid or private medical insurance. Most such patients are turned away from the private hospitals.

The health-care cuts are not all that's in store for New Yorkers. The NYC Planning Commission, headed by Democrat Robert Wagner, Jr., advised Koch on April 8 to begin the closing of 200 public schools, to stop construction at City University and to delay a subway construction project. This is in addition to the 5,000 "excess" hospital beds they say should go.

Unionists back fight to defend job equality

By Omari Musa

More and more unionists around the country are concluding that Brian Weber's challenge to affirmative action poses a threat to all working people.

The executive board of Communications Workers of America Local 5011 in Lockport, Illinois, went on record recently against Weber and pledged "to publicize the dangers of the Weber case among members and others in the Labor Movement."

The reasons for their decision relate in part to the situation in the communications industry.

"In the Bell System, jobs traditionally held by males were opened to women workers because of affirmative action," the resolution states. It continues, "the Weber case is designed to inflame race hatred and divisions."

The resolution further states that "to rule in favor of Brian Weber would be opening the door to wholesale assaults on ALL affirmative action programs and paves a way for more attacks in the future."

It argues that "unless the Labor Movement mobilizes to force the Supreme Court to turn Weber down, every affirmative action program in private industry will be thrown out."

The California State Executive

Board of the Social Services Union Local 535 passed a strongly worded anti-Weber resolution at its March 25 meeting.

The unanimously adopted resolution said, "Local 535 joins with others in support of the efforts of the United Steel Workers of America to defend affirmative action and overturn the Weber decision."

It pledged "support and participation in efforts by labor and community organizations to publicize the facts about and win support for the overturning of the Weber decision, a central obligation of all who support affirmative action and equal opportunity for all working people."

By Mark Friedman

SAN DIEGO—Support is growing for the April 29 speak-out here in defense of affirmative-action programs and against the Weber decision.

The rally at Balboa Park is being sponsored by the Labor/Community Affirmative Action Task Force.

Greetings to the rally have already come from William Oliver, director of the United Auto Workers Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department; Clark Johnson, director of the International Association of Machi-

nists Department of Human Relations; and Phillip Vera Cruz, former vice-president of the United Farm Workers union.

The executive board of the San Diego Central Labor Council voted at a recent meeting to go on record against the Weber decision and to recommend that the California Federation of Labor do the same.

Scheduled speakers at the April 29 rally include Dottie Sullivan, UAW Local 506; Estelle Ricketson, president, San Diego Coalition of Labor Union Women; Tom Johnson, NAACP; and John Pérez, District 38, United Steelworkers of America.

Twenty local unions here have voted to back the campaign against Weber. Unionists active in organizing the April 29 rally include members of the UAW, IAM, Iron Workers, Laborers, Transit Workers, and Longshoremen.

The Labor/Community Affirmative Action Task Force is distributing a

fact sheet on the case.

"Growing numbers of unionists are coming to recognize that solidarity is the key to their own self-defense," it states.

"Solidarity is not only respecting picket lines of other workers. Solidarity means when a section of workers have been victimized and oppressed, the union stands up for them and puts real muscle behind their demands."

The leaflet has been passed out at anti-nuclear power demonstrations, in the Chicano community, at high schools, and—in one coordinated push—at all the major industrial workplaces in San Diego.

UAW and IAM shop stewards are distributing leaflets in their departments.

For further information contact the Labor/Community Affirmative Action Task Force, c/o UAW, 2266 San Diego Avenue, San Diego, California 92110, or phone (714) 234-1995.

Campaigning for socialism

'Shake hands with next mayor'

"Hey, I want you to shake hands with the next mayor of San Diego." That's how the chief shop steward at Solar Turbine introduced SWP candidate Raul González to a co-worker.

González, a machinist there and a member of Local 635 of the International Association of Machinists, has become well known for activity against the Weber anti-affirmative-action case and for his efforts to organize support at Solar for a strike by IAM members at nearby General Dynamics.

Following official announcement of the González ticket, workers at Solar contributed more than \$200 to his campaign. Another \$1,000 was raised from an April 7 rally launching the campaign. González focused his speech to the rally on an indictment of the energy corporations and the government for continuing to promote nuclear power after the accident at Three Mile Island.

"Nuclear reactors are unsafe," he explained. "We believe no one has the right to endanger the public this way."

González told his supporters that the Harrisburg nuclear accident epitomizes the political crisis facing working people today.

"We need our own party," he said, "in order to break from the Democrats and Republicans and end the stranglehold the twin parties of capitalism maintain over working people."

"If just one local union took the initiative and ran its own candidates, the idea would catch on like wildfire. Today the idea of a labor party is not just a good idea. It has become a necessity for working people."

A steelworker for Louisiana governor

"Labor needs its own political organization. Labor needs a labor party," according to SWP candidate Greg Nelson, as quoted in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*.

Nelson, a production worker at Kaiser Aluminum's Chalmette plant, and a member of United Steelworkers Local 13000, was also quoted as saying "reverse discrimination is a lie. As a Steelworker, I can say that Weber does not speak for me or my union. Affirmative action must be defended and extended."

Chalmette is not far from the Kaiser plant in Gramercy where Brian Weber works, and the Weber case is a hot issue in the area. Nelson and other socialists in the plant are well known as defenders of affirmative action. His campaign has aroused a lot of interest. Following the announcement, copies of the *Times-Picayune* article were posted on bulletin boards in the plant and left in many of the lunchrooms.

Nelson's campaign is also focusing on opposition to nuclear power and the need to repeal Louisiana's anti-union "right to work" law.

Toledo campaign for labor party

Announcement of the Toledo SWP campaign of Susan Skinner for mayor and George Windau for city council also received wide media coverage. In addition to reports on radio and all three major TV stations, an article in the city's major newspaper, the *Blade*, quoted extensively from their statements, explaining that "Ms. Skinner said people in a labor city such as Toledo must build a labor party that will represent their needs."

Also appearing at the news conference in support of the SWP candidates was Mike Ferner, chairperson of Toledo Safe Energy Coalition, the major antinuclear group in the area.

—Bob Schwarz

Who is Brian Weber?

By Nancy Cole

"The lower courts found that there was no discrimination at the Gramercy plant. The reason they struck down our agreement is that they said there's no problem here, it's a fair situation."

But what are the *real* facts? asked United Steelworkers General Counsel Bernard Kleiman at the March 27-29 USWA Civil Rights Conference in Pittsburgh. Kleiman had just returned from the Supreme Court hearing on the Weber anti-affirmative-action case. A decision is expected in June or July.

In 1974, less than 2 percent of the craft workers at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, were Black, Kleiman explained. "And they had just gotten four of them in there on a hustle-up basis to try and make the figures look better."

Yet 39 percent of the surrounding population was Black. "And every craftsman ever hired there came from outside of the plant."

So in 1974, the USWA negotiated an agreement with Kaiser and other aluminum companies to begin to correct this discrimination.

The plan set up a craft training program at each plant with half of new trainees to be white males and half Black or women workers.

"A strange thing happened," Kleiman went on. "A guy named Brian Weber got a lawyer—or the lawyer got him more likely—and filed a suit against the plan at his plant in Gramercy." Weber was, and still is, a white lab technician at the plant.

"Weber says, 'I got discriminated against because they picked two or three Blacks that were less senior than I.' He'll get there quite soon, but he wants to get there sooner."

"Incidentally, Weber isn't all that senior—he was hired in 1969."

"But more than that, Weber couldn't have this [craft] job if it weren't for this agreement. If it weren't for this agreement, Kaiser would still be hiring from the outside—hiring fully trained, old, white building-trades people."

"Weber couldn't even be *asking* for a job," Kleiman went on. "If he were in there on his knees, they wouldn't give him one. If he went in there with a gun, they wouldn't give him a job."

"So this very agreement that Weber is *attacking* gave Weber the hope and chance of *getting* a job. He had no aspirations for getting a job before this agreement because he couldn't."

"The only way he could have gotten it was to leave the plant, go out and join the building trades, become a trained journeyman, and five years later they *might* hire him back."

What is at stake, Kleiman concluded, "is our power to continue to move forward, to continue to implement agreements, basically, to treat our members with equity."

"If we lose on that basis, there is nothing left of affirmative action."



Is Democratic Party politics road forward for workers?

A reply to 'In These Times' on Chicago election

By Bob Schwarz

Shortly before Democrat Jane Byrne was elected mayor of Chicago, David Moberg wrote in the Social Democratic weekly *In These Times* that "her victory in the Democratic primary has opened up politics in the city. The big question for the left . . . is how do you take advantage of the opening?"

How did the left respond?

With the sole exception of the Socialist Workers Party, every group either abstained from taking a position or else lined up behind Byrne. The supporters of Byrne included both the Communist Party (see box) and the Social Democrats around *ITT*.

The SWP, in contrast, saw the Chicago election as an opportunity to explain the basic issues facing the working class and the need for an independent labor party based on the trade unions. The SWP didn't wait for the outcome of the Democratic primary to announce the campaign of Andrew Pulley, a steelworker and veteran of the antiwar and Black liberation struggles.

As it turned out, Byrne's surprise victory in the primary marked the first defeat of a major candidate backed by the Chicago Democratic Party bosses in decades. It caused momentary panic among machine regulars, even though Byrne herself had been a protégé of Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley before his death. Within a week, however, all factions of the Democratic Party had lined up behind her.

But Byrne's victory reflected widespread discontent. This, along with the fact that Pulley was the only alternative to the Democrats and Republicans on the ballot, opened the way for the socialist campaign to fight for and receive wider coverage in the capitalist media, and fairer treatment in debates and other campaign events.

While Pulley received nowhere near equal time with his Democratic and Republican opponents, his campaign was able to reach tens of thousands who had never seriously considered or even heard a socialist before. For the first time, Public Television and the League of Women Voters were forced to include a socialist candidate in their pre-election debate.

"We have made it widely known,"



Socialist candidate Andrew Pulley during mayoral campaign. SWP used campaign to explain need for a labor party based on trade unions.

Pulley told a campaign rally "that there is a working-class position on every question."

Working-class position

Pulley focused on a strategy for winning these demands: "If you get one thing out of this campaign" he told the quarter of a million Chicagoans who watched the public television debate, "it should be that working people need our own political party, a labor party."

A full page campaign ad in the Black community paper, the *Daily Defender*, carried the same message on election eve. Hundreds of copies of the *Militant* were sold with extensive coverage of Pulley's speeches. One hundred thousand copies of a special flier were printed and distributed in the final two weeks of the campaign.

At first, *ITT* obviously thought it

could ignore Pulley's campaign. An article by Moberg in the March 14-20 issue came out squarely on Byrne's side. "Her programs—which she describes as 'populist'—are likely to favor the neighborhoods and lead to both more progressive and more equitably distributed city services in everything from health to street cleaning. . . ."

But when the capitalist politicians themselves were no longer able to ignore the socialist campaign, Moberg had to retreat a little. He wrote a second article in which he deigned to take up the working-class alternative.

'Rhetorical & unconvincing'?

Moberg concedes successes of the SWP campaign such as the wide media coverage it won and the Supreme Court victory lowering signature requirements for new parties seeking ballot status in Chicago.

"Pulley wants to offer a 'workers' alternative.' In some ways he does," Moberg admits.

But according to Moberg, the alternative offered by Pulley "is more in terms of very abstract principles than in any concrete, immediate program that takes into account the reality of the city while trying to transform it."

Moberg calls Pulley's campaign "remote, rhetorical and unconvincing" because it stressed "issues currently emphasized nationally by the SWP—opposition to nuclear power, support for Newport News shipyard strikers, opposition to the Weber anti-affirmative action suit."

Such issues don't take "seriously the city of Chicago, its immediate problems," Moberg says.

Is that really true?

Is the danger of nuclear power remote from Chicago—a city ringed by nine operating nuclear reactors with ten more under construction, a city with the largest nuclear concentration in the United States?

Is discussion of the largest steelworkers organizing drive in decades, and a major strike in the open-shop South, "rhetorical" in Chicago—a center of the steel industry, with hundreds of thousands of steelworkers and members of other industrial unions?

And what about affirmative action in a city that is one of this country's

most segregated? Isn't that a "local issue"?

The issues Moberg calls more immediate are public transportation, school desegregation, and snow removal (the city government proved unable and unwilling to clear the streets and maintain services during last winter's blizzard). But on each of these issues, the Pulley campaign had a well-publicized position.

Moberg ignores what he really found "unconvincing"—the SWP strategy of working-class political independence. His strategy is to stay in the Democratic Party.

Moberg's solution

As an example of a campaign that relates to "local issues"—as Moberg puts it, "the intimate details of the area—rats here, faulty wiring there"—he holds up Helen Shiller's attempt to win a city council seat as an "independent" Democrat.

Shiller "helped to draw up specific plans for rehabilitating parts of the neighborhood block by block, worked with the new community health clinic and assisted with the other 'survival programs,'" Moberg says.

Even Moberg has to admit this isn't a very inspiring program. "It is doubtful that an alternative vision for the whole society will spring from even the best small community projects."

But Shiller had one great attraction: "She works both within the Democratic Party and in coalition with a wide range of community people, including small businessmen."

It is the Democratic Party that both Moberg and Shiller look to for solutions. Their ability to maneuver, cajole, wheedle, and influence one or another capitalist politician is their proposal for changing society.

They oppose breaking with the Democrats and Republicans, running independent trade-union candidates, and forming a labor party. They oppose even raising this proposal in the election campaigns. It is the opposite strategy from maneuvers in the internal Democratic Party faction fight.

But is remaining inside the Democratic Party and supporting candidates such as Jane Byrne a realistic solution to the real problems of unemployment, declining city services, rising taxes, segregation, and discrimination against women?

What will Byrne do?

In the past decade "reform" administrations have been elected on Democratic Party tickets in cities such as Cleveland, Newark, New York, Detroit, and Gary. In each case these administrations have carried out austerity programs, cutting city services, attacking public employees unions, and raising taxes.

Jane Byrne will not prove any different. Above all else, Byrne is a loyal servant of the Democratic Party—a party that is controlled by and represents the interests of the capitalist class. It is the Democratic Party—in the White House, in the halls of Congress, and in statehouses and city halls around the country—that is carrying out the attack on the standard of living of American working people.

This attack is not a matter of a particular policy that is supported by some Democrats and opposed by others. It flows from the economic crisis of the capitalist system and is being carried out by liberals and conservatives alike.

News of a serious budget deficit began to leak in Chicago even before

Continued on page 17

Stalinists backed Byrne too

Like the Social Democrats around *In These Times*, the Communist Party supported Democrat Jane Byrne's mayoral campaign. A statement in the March 8 issue of the CP's *Daily World* hailed Byrne's primary victory as "the first time in 48 years the political 'machine' of the Democratic Party has been defeated."

In trying to present Byrne as an independent alternative to the Democratic Party machine, the CP ran into the problem that Byrne herself, while claiming independence from the machine, stressed her well-known association with former Democratic Party boss Richard Daley. Ads for Byrne during the primary featured pictures of her with Daley's voice in the background praising her.

In supporting Byrne, the CP found it necessary to paint Daley—the man responsible for the police riot against antiwar protesters at the 1968 Democratic Party convention—as a progressive. According to the CP statement:

"The late Mayor Daley gave lip-service to the popular demand for reducing federal military spending to fund the city's needs. In contrast, Michael A. Bilandic [Byrne's primary opponent] led the steamroller in support of President Carter's anti-human 'bombs and austerity' program."

"Daley once called for a moratorium on evictions and foreclosures against the unemployed. Bilandic gave free rein to condominium profiteers, forcing tens of thousands to relocate in the past year alone."

The statement also attributes attacks on Blacks to Bilandic, never mentioning that Daley was guilty of the same acts.

Before the primary, the Socialist Workers Party distributed an open letter asking for CP support to the Pulley campaign. Attempts to contact the CP after the primary met with no response, although individual CP members expressed support in conversations with campaign workers.

The fight against

To win a shorter workweek, labor

By Frank Lovell

(last of a series)

The need to limit the working day and renew the struggle for shorter hours is felt among all sectors of the working class. This is partly the result of persistently high unemployment levels combined with exceptionally long hours of work demanded of those who have jobs. It also results from a general uneasiness about the economic upturn that began almost three years ago.

For workers, this latest "economic recovery" has not brought the promised prosperity—neither "good times" nor any sense of security.

There is good reason. Industry in the United States has increased production and raised the level of productivity in recent years. That is truly the mark of economic well-being for the employers. It brings in greater profits.

This remarkable recovery is different from previous ones. Production has been increased with no appreciable change in the level of unemployment, which remains around the 10 million mark, confirmed by a careful reading of misleading government data. Also the rise in labor productivity has not been accompanied by any comparable increase in capital investment, as in the past.

It is true that more jobs are available now than three years ago, but new job openings have hardly kept pace with the expansion of the work force. There are not enough jobs for the millions of young people entering the labor market and looking for work.

The rise in productivity is due entirely to speedup and "improved management techniques," not to the introduction of new labor-saving machinery. This means that workers on forced overtime schedules are made to work harder as well as longer.

Demands for union protection

Long hours of work for many while millions are unemployed has prompted new demands for union protection against forced overtime and legislation for a shorter working day.

These closely related demands are expressed in distorted form by the "shorter worktime" scheme in the auto industry, and by the Conyers bill in the U.S. Congress to shorten the working day.

Not all workers are on forced overtime nor do a high percentage of them work a twelve-hour day, but the extended working day is common enough to make a difference in the unemployment rate of city youth. For Blacks in such industrial centers as Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh this rate is officially 35 percent, but is actually about

double that figure.

If the 19 million who worked more than forty-one hours a week in 1978 had worked instead "the normal workday," several million new job openings would be available.

But union officials avoid pressing for a shorter workday. Instead, they try to find a formula acceptable to the employers and adjustable to the government's wage guidelines.

What is called for in the union movement is a thorough exposure of how capitalism exploits and degrades the working class—plus implementation of a class-struggle policy for full employment, shorter hours of work, and a better standard of living for all working people.

No such policy is acceptable to the union bureaucracy. Top union officials, without exception, loudly proclaim their support of capitalism and are committed to improving the system through labor-management collaboration.

UAW's 1976 plan

Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, reached agreement with the corporate directors of the auto industry in their 1976 negotiations whereby workers with satisfactory attendance records would occasionally be given time off with pay to partially compensate for overtime work.

As the UAW prepares for the 1979 negotiations with the auto corporations, Fraser is once again talking about "shorter worktime."

At the UAW's skilled-trades bargaining conference in Detroit in mid-February Fraser outlined this demand.

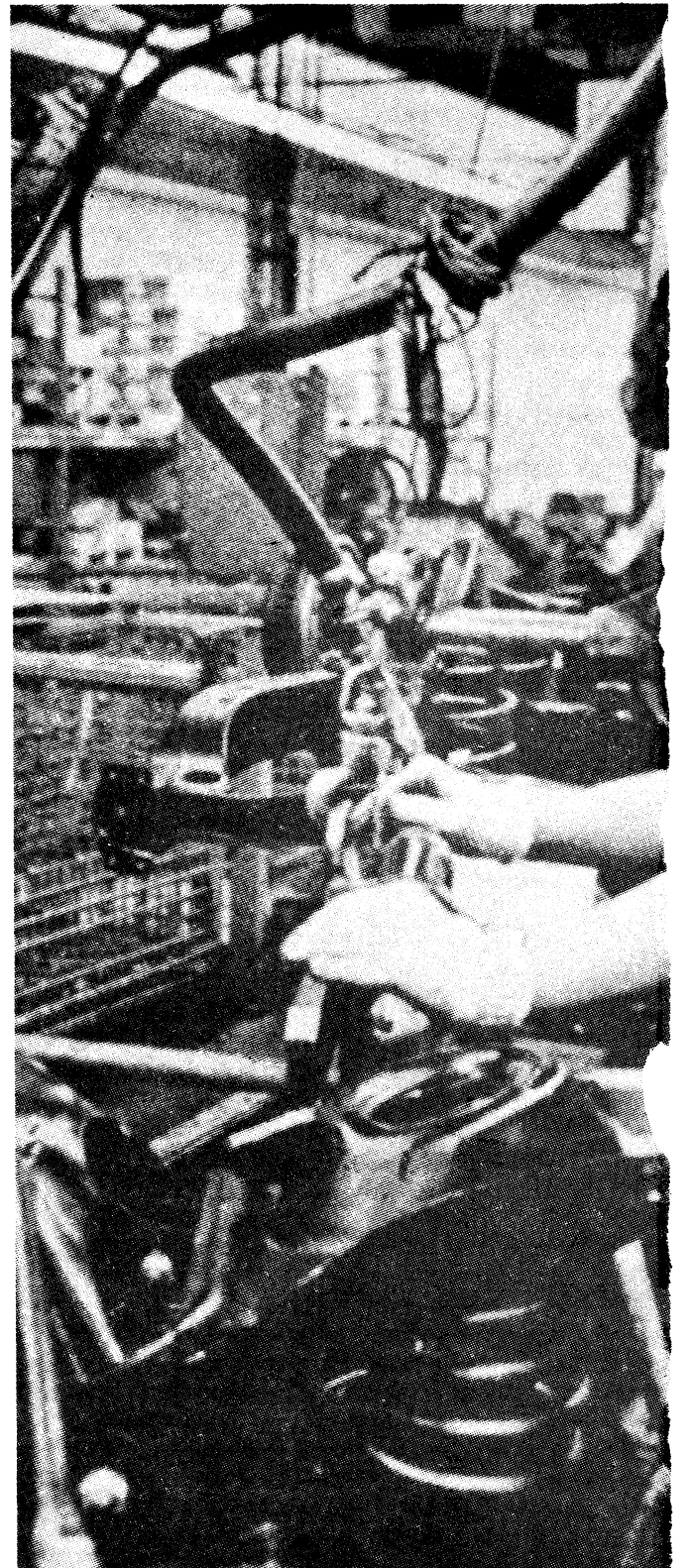
He claimed that a shorter workweek remains the UAW goal, and explained that it will force the employers to hire more workers. But, of course, the problem is how to win the thirty-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay.

He says his "shorter worktime" plan will eventually create more jobs because the corporations may be discouraged from scheduling overtime work if they are forced to pay triple time.

This is one of the union's demands going into negotiations, "triple time for overtime." But like all other demands it is "flexible," which means it can be withdrawn.

The other part of the plan to discourage overtime is more subtle, and more complex. Workers will be credited with a half-hour "compensatory time" for each overtime hour worked. When this credited time reaches forty hours for any worker, that worker will be required to take a week off with pay.

This is also subject to modification in the auto



Ky. workers warn G.E. on speedup

By Mary Gutekanst

LOUISVILLE—Over 90 percent of the workers in Building 5 of the huge General Electric Appliance Park plant here have signed a "Warning Notice" to alert the company that we will no longer sit back and accept speedup.

Building 5 employs the largest number of production workers—more than 3,000, which is over 20 percent of the total production work force at Appliance Park.

The notice, drawn up by Local 761 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, accuses G.E. of "theft of wages and/or labor of employees through abusive re-balance methods and unjust workload manipulation."

Since pay for most workers is based partially on a piecework system, one effect of the speedup has been short paychecks. Even though workers in the affected sections are putting out more work than ever before, if we don't

meet the new production goals, we aren't given full pay.

One worker, hired February 5, 1979, when the speedup went into effect, said, "I figure I've been cheated out of about two paychecks so far."

The warning notice declares workers are willing to strike if necessary to halt the labor intensification abuse. A May 2 deadline has been set for the company response.

A leaflet distributed by the top union stewards in the building explained what the speedup has meant to workers in several sections. For example, in one section of one of the main assembly lines, "Line speed raised from 68 to 138 [refrigerators per hour]. Employee count only increased 15. Net gain for company—1,285 free additional pieces. This is an average of 1,328 additional refrigerators without one cent additional labor cost per week."

They continue, "It is our considered opinion that there is no lower form of life on earth than a person who would steal wages or the labor of working men and women, or their families, no matter what method is used or what it is called.

"We call additional work—without additional pay—theft. We call excessive production increases—without commensurate pay—theft. We call job elimination—without justification—theft."

Over the past several months, G.E. has mounted an intensive propaganda campaign to convince production workers that increases in "productivity"—that is, speedup—are necessary to maintain our jobs.

Recent mergers of major appliance manufacturers have heightened the intense competition between the corporate giants, G.E., Westinghouse, and White Consolidated Industries.

Now, under cover of what G.E. calls "rebalances," the company has begun a major offensive to improve its competitive position, or to put it simply, to up its profits at our expense.

Effective April 16, G.E. pushed through another major rebalance in Appliance Park's Building 2. According to a report given to the April 8 meeting of IUE Local 761, which represents production and maintenance workers at Appliance Park, Building 2, production will be cut 7 percent, but the work force will be cut 34 percent.

G.E.'s strategy of imposing speedup on a few assembly lines at a time gradually spreading it to all sections and all buildings, is designed to prevent a united, park-wide response.

This company scheme has run into some snags. In Building 5, although only about half the work force was directly affected by speedup, over 90 percent signed the warning notice to the company.

But a building-wide response to G.E.'s speedup campaign will not be enough. We need, first, a park-wide response based on the mobilization of all workers at Appliance Park. And second, we need an industry-wide response tied to the upcoming negotiations for a new national contract with G.E., a response that could bring together all the unions that represent G.E. workers.

One of the things we need to focus on is getting rid of the piecework system that lets G.E. cut our paychecks when we can't meet their arbitrary production goals.

The response of workers here in Building 5 to the union's initiative shows that we are ready to stand up and defend ourselves.

Mary Gutekanst is a member of International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Local 761. She works in Building 5 of General Electric's Appliance Park.

forced overtime

will have to form its own party



Solidarity

negotiations next September.

Schemes of this kind postpone, to the advantage of the employers, a serious struggle by the workers, waged on all fronts, in defense of rights that they have won in the past and that are now being denied them.

Retreat from labor's goals

Union agreements today that accept and condone forced overtime are a retreat from one of the inspiring goals of the union movement. Unions have traditionally fought to reduce the working day in whatever trade or industry they were able to organize.

In the past the union movement has also made the shorter workday a political issue, and has succeeded in forcing political representatives of the employers to enact protective legislation.

These laws, establishing the eight-hour day for some, registered the gains that were made up to the time of their enactment more than fifty years ago. Later laws in the 1930s extended these and other benefits to the entire working class (except those specifically excluded such as agricultural and domestic workers).

But social legislation of this kind has never been passed without a militant mass movement behind it, striking fear in ruling-class circles that their two-party system can be shattered by the organization of a mass working-class political party.

For more than thirty years the ruling class has been assured by the entrenched union bureaucracy that the two-party system is secure for the foreseeable future, and the result is that all proposed social legislation, except that enacted as a concession to the massive civil rights movement of the 1960s, has been denounced and ridiculed by the employing class.

The fate of bills to outlaw forced overtime or to reduce the length of the working day is typical of what has happened to all other measures to help working people initiated by the unions.

A bill to eliminate mandatory overtime (Assembly Bill 1295) was introduced early in 1978 in the California legislature. It was promptly attacked by business interests as "the most anti-business bill of the session."

They claimed it challenged "the fundamental right of management to manage," and warned that passage of the bill would drive business out of California.

This bill had the full backing of the California AFL-CIO. It quickly dropped out of sight and was soon forgotten.

Some secondary union officials from about twenty-five different unions met in Detroit last April and set up the All Unions Committee to Shorten the Work Week. They endorsed a bill that was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives by Democrat John Conyers. The bill would outlaw forced overtime, establish double pay for all overtime hours, and after four years from date of enactment reduce the workweek to thirty-five hours. This bill never even made its way to a committee hearing in the Ninety-fifth Congress.

The Conyers bill was reintroduced in the present Congress. The All Unions Committee called a conference in Washington, D.C., on April 6, attended by about 300 accredited union delegates, to drum up support for it. It stands no more chance of getting passed this year than last.

The union officials who are trying to publicize this bill hope to convince whatever followers they can find that there are still some pro-labor Democrats in Congress—if only a handful. But that is a sure way not to get pro-labor legislation enacted.

The union movement today with more than 20 million members has the power to reduce the hours of work, but the present leadership lacks the will. Any serious struggle for shorter hours, now as in the past, necessarily involves many other issues. The most important is, as the employers say, "management's right to manage."

Millions of workers are becoming convinced by the series of recent "accidents" that capitalism fouls things up, that a new social management by working people is needed. This is why the shorter working day, if it becomes a rallying cry for the overworked and the unemployed, will be fought for on picket lines and in the electoral arena.

When determination develops in the union movement to win on this issue, the pickets will announce that the days of forced overtime have ended and that the unions will endorse their own labor party candidates to write a new law limiting the workweek to thirty hours. In this way the struggle for shorter hours will become part of the movement for a labor party.

This was implicit in the remark of a delegate to the UAW skilled-trades conference earlier this year. Addressing himself to the problem of advanced technology and the loss of jobs, he said, "Profit is going to have to be traded off against achievement of social goals."

Any winning strategy for the labor movement, regardless of the issue over which the struggle against the employing class is waged, must begin with this basic anticapitalist proposition.

Toledo jeep workers fired

By George Windau

TOLEDO, Ohio—"We should have gone on strike the day Jim and Ray were fired. If AMC can do this to them then they can fire anyone for anything."

This is what one Jeep worker said when he heard that Jim Meagher and Ray López, members of United Auto Workers Local 12 at American Motors Jeep, lost their arbitration case last month.

Meagher and López were fired last June on trumped-up charges of assault and insubordination after speaking out against a forced-overtime deal union leaders had struck with AMC. The two workers had passed out literature urging their union brothers and sisters to vote down the overtime proposal.

After seeing union stewards and others passing out "vote yes" literature in the shop, Meagher and López assumed they had the same right to distribute their "vote no" leaflets.

George Windau is a member of United Auto Workers Local 12. He is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Toledo City Council.

Legally they did have this right. But AMC and its friends in the state and federal government decided to victimize them anyway so other workers would be scared to speak up.

The National Labor Relations Board refused to take their case. In reaching this decision, the NLRB refused to even hear evidence from witnesses who could have proven the two workers' innocence.

The state of Ohio stalled on López's unemployment claim. The claims-taker even doctored López's testimony in an effort to discredit him.

Democratic Congressman Ludlow Ashley asserted in a letter to López that AMC had merely enforced a valid "no distribution of literature rule" when they fired the two men. No workers had ever seen such a rule posted in the Jeep plant. Not Meagher. Not López. Not even the union's Jeep unit chairperson.

In order to make this so-called rule stick, the company began to enforce it against union stewards as well. The local's executive board protested, insisting that literature distribution in the shop is a union right that the company cannot prohibit.

After months of grievance procedure red tape, in March Meagher and López's case came before an arbitrator. The day before the hearing the union's star witness was fired and could not testify, although he tried to get into the hearing.

The arbitrator ruled against the two workers despite the union's defense of their rights.

In his decision the arbitrator said, "... there is a difference between literature which is distributed formally ... by Union committeemen ... and literature distributed by individuals without permission."

He further cited the NLRB's decision not to hear their case as a reason not to put Meagher and López back to work.

This incident alone should prove to workers at Jeep that they cannot put their faith in the grievance procedure, the U.S. government's NLRB, the state, or any of its Democratic or Republican politicians.

Only when Jeep workers and all workers have the right to strike over any grievance—and employ this right when necessary—will we have a chance for justice.



Militant in Newport News: 'It tells the truth'

By John Hawkins

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—“The *Militant* has won the confidence of workers at Newport News,” said one Steelworker.

“You all have had the best coverage of the strike,” said another. “Keep up the good work.”

That's the way many members of USWA Local 8888 view the *Militant*—especially after reading last week's issue, which featured the cop riot against strikers and the Steelworkers' refusal to be trampled upon.

A team of six *Militant* reporters was on the scene to get out the truth on the cop rampage that local and national big-business newspapers refused to print.

If the sales of the *Militant* over the past week are an indicator, the same appreciation is shared by hundreds of working people throughout the Tidewater area.

In two days, *Militant* sales teams in Newport News, Hampton, and Norfolk sold 461 single copies and twenty-nine introductory subscriptions to the socialist newspaper.

Volunteers from New York City and Newark, New Jersey, drove all night after the *Militant* was printed Thursday to bring the papers to Newport News.

Beginning early Friday morning, *Militant* sales teams hit the picket lines along Washington Avenue and at outlying gates to the shipyard.

At the Thirty-seventh Street gate eight out of ten strikers on the picket line soon had copies of the paper. And those who didn't were reading over their co-workers' shoulders.

At the Marshall Avenue gate, a young Black striker who had previously subscribed turned to another and said, “Hey man, this is a good



In two days, sales teams in Tidewater area sold 461 'Militants' and twenty-nine subscriptions.

paper. I get it at home. You ought to get it.”

His co-worker did just that.

A complimentary bundle dropped off at Local 8888 strike headquarters was greeted with enthusiasm. One striker insisted on paying for a copy for himself and returned to buy two more for friends a few minutes later.

By noon on Friday close to 120 copies had been sold on the picket lines. Restaurant owners along Washington Avenue also helped get out the *Militant*. At Pearl's and at Kim's, where cops broke onto the premises to evict strikers, bundles were placed on the counters for customers to buy.

In all, eight restaurants took bundles to sell. And at one restaurant, *Militant* clippings on the strike were prominently displayed on the wall, along with coverage from other area newspapers.

On Friday afternoon, after sales on the picket lines, two teams took off for Norfolk to sell at Norfolk Shipbuilding and Drydock Company (Norshipco), which employs about 3,000 workers, and at the Ford Truck plant, which employs 2,100.

One team included a young Black worker at the Newport News shipyard who met *Militant* salespeople earlier in

the week and volunteered to help get out the next issue.

At the Ford Truck plant, sixty-two workers stopped to buy copies of the *Militant* on their way into and out of the plant.

“We need to read about this,” said one auto worker, “so we know how to deal with the cops if they ever try to break a strike of ours.”

After looking through the coverage of the shipyard workers' strike, another said, “I'll be sure to leave this inside when I'm done so that other people can read it.”

At Norshipco, *Militant* salespeople sold fifty-three copies to day-shift workers as they came off the job. Some of those who bought copies were strikers from the Newport News shipyard or brothers or sisters of Local 8888 members.

Several wives of Norshipco workers waiting to pick their husbands up from work bought copies. “I've been following this,” one woman said. “If they can get away with it over there, they can do the same thing here.”

By the end of the day, close to 250 copies had been sold.

Sales teams fanned out through the Tidewater area again on Saturday, selling on the picket line, at shopping centers, and door to door in working-class neighborhoods in Newport News, Norfolk, and Hampton.

At the Ford plant, 43 more copies were sold, bringing the total there to 105.

One salesperson at the Ford plant ran into an older, white auto worker wearing a UAW jacket. He'd read the *Militant's* coverage of the strike the day before, and stopped to say, “Some guys told me this is a socialist paper. But if it's socialists who're telling the truth about the strike, then I say that's just fine.”

... 'right to work' laws: bosses' anti-union tool

Continued from page 7

Hartley Act, the granddaddy of all “right to work” laws. Both Democrats and Republicans voted by big majorities for the anti-union bill.

It provided for presidential back-to-work orders.

It prohibited “secondary boycotts.” It required anticommunist “loyalty” oaths from union officials.

It allowed employers to file damage suits against unions.

And its infamous section 14b permitted states to outlaw the union shop.

The Democratic Party machine in Virginia was one of the first to seize this opening. And in 1953 the Virginia antilabor code was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Today the profit-greedy employers are driving ahead to wipe out every gain working people have won since the industrial unions were organized.

That means keeping the South non-union territory. It means imposing “southern” conditions on workers from New York to California. It means using the power of government to try to cripple, and then destroy, the union movement.

The attempt to break the coal miners union in the 1977-78 strike was part of this pattern.

So was the attempt to extend “right to work” to the heavily industrialized border state of Missouri in the 1978 elections.

In the face of this onslaught, the unions are fighting defensive battles, trying to uphold past conquests.

The coal miners showed that when working people rely on their own power—not on fair-weather friends in government—they can make a powerful stand against the employers. The ranks of the United Mine Workers, with a nationwide labor solidarity

campaign behind them, defied Carter when he invoked Taft-Hartley against them.

But the antilabor law is still on the books.

In Missouri, labor joined forces with Black and women's groups and farmers to decisively turn back the “right to work” measure. But workers in twenty states are still shackled with these laws.

The courage shown by the Newport News strikers, as they stood off local cops and state troopers, should be an inspiration to the entire labor movement.

But their battle for union recognition and a Steelworkers' contract remains to be won. Tenneco has dug in its corporate heels for a long, tough fight, and every big business in the country is banking on the oil-rich conglomerate to teach the Steelworkers a lesson in “right to work” law.

On top of it all, there's not a single Democratic or Republican politician who has mustered the human decency to back up Local 8888.

“We're fighting the laws now, the courts,” one Steelworker remarked after the strike. Since the April 16 cop riot, sentiment has run high for replacing the current mayor and city council in Newport News.

As all these experiences show, every union battle today quickly turns into a political battle.

On one side are workers and their unions, together with allies such as working farmers, Black organizations, women, and students.

On the other side are the “right to work” laws, Carter's 7 percent wage ceiling, strikebreaking injunctions, Taft-Hartley, the Democratic and Republican parties.

This lineup is convincing more and

Designers vote to stay out

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Steelworkers Local 8417 struck the Newport News shipyard on April 1, 1977. On April 23, 1979, the local voted 329-0 to stay out. For these workers, the shipyard's marine designers, that's the only possible response to Tenneco's contract “offers.”

Local 8417 Vice-president Ray Taylor told the *Militant* the morale of the strikers remains high after twenty-five months on strike.

Tenneco's standing proposal to Local 8417 amounts to a 1.67 percent per year wage increase from the time of the designers' last raise—on February 1, 1976—to the end of the so-called contract, November 31, 1981.

“This doesn't really keep up with inflation,” Taylor said with a smile. “It's just ridiculous. We're just waiting for an offer we can negotiate.”

Other provisions of the Tenneco proposal include a four-month period

to allow the shipyard to reprocess striking workers, and severe conduct conditions imposed on union members, such as prohibiting the use of the “silent treatment” against scabs. Violation could lead to a discharge. The bosses demand union agreement that no grievance against such provisions be subject to arbitration and that “the company's final answer shall settle grievances.”

Tenneco is also demanding the union give up its right to file a grievance for the firing of any striker for picket line conduct.

“We realize why Local 8888 went back in the yard. It was what they had to do,” Taylor told the *Militant*. “They certainly couldn't stay out with the numbers they had. It was impossible for them right now, but it's not impossible for us. We intend to maintain our picket line.”

Letters and telegrams of support can be sent to: Steelworkers Local 8417, 4615 Huntington Avenue, Newport News, Virginia 23607.

more union activists that labor's side must get organized politically. That workers need a labor party based on their unions.

There's a lot a labor party could do. It could fight for the right of shipyard workers to the union of their choice and rally the widespread but as yet unorganized public sympathy that exists for the Steelworkers.

It could insist on strict enforcement of health and safety standards on the job.

It could lead a political fight to outlaw discrimination and ensure equal rights for Black and women workers.

It could fight for shorter hours of work and a massive public works program to provide jobs for all.

But this much is certain. At the top of the agenda of labor's political tasks would be wiping Taft-Hartley and the “right to work” laws off the books once and for all.

Bring Pilla's murderer to justice!

Minnesota machinist killed on picket line

By Gillian Furst

MINNEAPOLIS—A young machinist went to his death on a picket line in Coon Rapids, Minnesota, March 29.

"In my opinion, it was murder," one eyewitness said.

The picket, Donald Pilla, twenty-one, was deliberately run over by a semi-trailer truck after a verbal confrontation with the truck driver.

An Anoka County police investigator called it a "tragic accident."

John Peterson, an official of District 77 of the International Association of Machinists, wrote bitterly about the so-called accident.

"To date, there have been no arrests, no charges filed, not even a citation issued," said Peterson in a letter to the *Minneapolis Labor Review*.

His letter continued:

"The Machinists Union considers this a gross miscarriage of justice. The lack of prompt affirmative action by police and prosecutors further serves to erode the confidence that working peo-

ple once had in the law and the people who enforce it.

"Accounts of the tragedy by the media have been incomplete or abridged."

At a special legislative hearing, eyewitness Steve Smith, who was a close friend of Donald Pilla, described how he was killed.

The picket line had been set up at the non-union Plastics, Inc., in Coon Rapids, because production had been shifted there from the St. Paul Plastic factory. Machinists Lodge 459 had struck the St. Paul factory four weeks before.

Pilla and other strikers got into an argument with nonunion driver Stephan Fritz who said he wanted to deliver a truckload of pallets.

Smith told the legislative hearing that after five minutes of heated exchanges, the driver looked at Pilla and said, "If you're so smart, stand in front of my truck and I'll run you down."

According to Smith, Pilla walked in front of the truck and held up his

picket sign.

Smith said the driver "revved up the engine and popped the clutch," and started to hit Pilla "who couldn't get out of the way. And that truck driver never slowed down and never gave him a chance."

Peterson, the Machinists union official, appealed to the state legislators for "new laws to help assure that a similar tragedy is never repeated in this state."

Said Peterson, "We don't want Don Pilla's death to be in vain."

The Machinists union has reportedly asked the legislature to pass a law requiring drivers who approach a picket line to slow to a certain speed and forbidding harassment of pickets.

New laws are not necessary, however, to bring Pilla's murderer to justice.

The Republican and Democratic politicians who run Minnesota could move immediately, if they desired, to apprehend Pilla's killer, and state in no uncertain terms that the full weight of

the law would be brought against him.

But that is not the way things work. The cops, the judges, the legislators, the governor are not in business to protect the rights of unionists—whether on the picket line, on the job, or in their quest for better living conditions. The Democratic and Republican officials are there to protect the interests of big business.

Don Pilla's death ought to be a message to the Minnesota labor movement.

Workers need their own labor party based on the unions, one that can't be bought by a scab truck outfit in Coon Rapids or a plastics firm in St. Paul. We need a party that sticks up for workers on the picket lines, not the bosses in their patent-leather chairs.

In the meantime, the demand of the Minnesota labor movement to the courts and the government must be unequivocal:

Bring Don Pilla's murderer to justice!

... 'justice' serves Tenneco in courts, city hall

Continued from page 6

One shipyard worker—who had scabbed on the strike and been hauled into court to press charges against a picket—didn't share King's lust for vengeance.

He'd heard that Tenneco would use "strike-related" convictions as a pretext for firing union members. That, he said, was just too stiff a penalty. Despite the DA's attempt to convince him otherwise, he refused to go along with the legal lynching.

Judge W. Robert Phelps, Jr., convicted a number of strikers on the flimsiest of evidence—cop testimony—without the supposedly aggrieved person even appearing in court.

William Edward Bowser and Hugh Gibson were each convicted of breach of the peace for calling a scab a scab.

In Bowser's case the pickets directly in front of him and behind him testified he had simply yelled "scab" as had every other union militant on the line when scabs crossed their line.

The cop who arrested Bowser claimed he had yelled "scab" too loudly.

For Phelps that was more than

enough evidence. Fined twenty-five dollars.

Despite his enthusiasm for Tenneco justice, Phelps was forced to dismiss charges against a number of strikers—in one case because cops followed blatantly illegal arrest procedures; in another because the chief witness, a Virginia state trooper, quit the force soon after the arrest.

Since late February about forty unionists have come to trial on strike-related charges. Many more will be coming up in the next several weeks—including sixty-three arrested during the cop riot.

According to Richard Hudgins, one of the attorneys for the Steelworkers, about 60 percent of the cases so far have resulted in acquittals or dismissals. But firings by Tenneco based on these fabricated charges remain a major threat.

The realization is growing among union members here that cops, courts, and politicians from city hall to the White House are all part of one corrupt political system that serves only the interests of corporate giants like Tenneco, not working people.

Many would wholeheartedly agree



Militant/Nancy Schwalb

Union members are beginning to realize that cops, courts, and politicians all act in the interest of big business.

with Jack Hower's comment that the mayor and city council should be dealt with at the polls. The question is, who should they be replaced with? And from what party?

When class lines are drawn in politics as sharply as they have been here in Newport News, the idea of independent labor candidates makes more and more sense.

Lessons from Teamster history



Teamster Power
Farrell Dobbs

Let me say now, unless the International Union orders you not to go through picket lines, that clause must be set aside during the war.

Teamster Bureaucracy
Farrell Dobbs

If you can't comply with our International orders, which are founded on necessity, AND ON ORDERS FROM OUR GOVERNMENT, then the best thing to do is to notify the International Union. Then we will protect ourselves. We know how!

Donald F. Johnson

By Farrell Dobbs

Teamster Rebellion
192 pp., paper \$3.95.

Teamster Power
256 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Politics
256 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Bureaucracy
256 pp., paper \$4.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.50 for postage, \$.75 if order of more than two books.

...Chicago

Continued from page 13

the election, and nobody should be surprised about where Byrne will stand on such issues.

During her campaign, she was already calling for a tax-break for the rich—the elimination of Chicago's three-dollars-per-employee tax on corporations—as a way of dealing with unemployment.

In addition to calling for a shift of the tax burden onto the working class, Byrne attacked undocumented workers and refused to even mention the Equal Rights Amendment, although it has not been ratified in Illinois.

Byrne campaigned for a large majority so that she would have more leeway in carrying out the attacks on working people dictated by the capitalist rulers.

Continued reliance on Democrats such as Byrne and Shiller disarms Chicago's working class by tying it organizationally and politically to the party of the employers—the same people who are campaigning to weaken and destroy the trade unions.

This is the "reality of the city" that Moberg ignores. His strategy is to tie

workers politically to the very capitalist politicians attacking our standard of living and our unions.

The only practical and realistic reply is the one Pulley gave in his speech to the Joint Council of United Auto Workers Amalgamated Local 453:

"We can't reverse the employers' offensive by fighting only on the economic level, on the union level," Pulley said. "Nor can we do it by supporting the bosses' political parties."

"Every struggle today is political. They immediately pose the question of what the government will do."

"This is why I'm campaigning for a labor party. We need our own instrument to organize and mobilize against the employers at every level."

"But we can't wait for it to emerge fully developed as a mass national party. It may well start locally, in a modest way. It will start when some unionists somewhere say, 'Yes, we can do it.'"

That was the message of the socialist campaign for mayor of Chicago. It will be the message of the socialist campaign for president in 1980. It is the only concrete, immediate way forward for the working class and the oppressed.

Communist Party: squirming, but still for nuclear power

By David Frankel

Title: "A reply in defense of nuclear power."

Author: Energy Secretary James Schlesinger?

Metropolitan Edison, operator of the Three Mile Island nuclear reactor?

Babcock and Wilcox, builder of Three Mile Island?

Wrong. The author is Communist Party leader Victor Perlo.

Writing in the March 31 issue of the *People's World*, the CP's West Coast weekly, Perlo defended the November 1978 statement on nuclear power adopted by the party leadership.

"From the very first paragraph of the CP Statement," declared Perlo, "it is clear that the Party supports the peaceful use of atomic energy as having 'already brought great benefits to mankind' and promising 'tremendous' future benefits. Hence it disagrees with opposition to peaceful uses of atomic energy."

Perlo's ill-timed article, which flatly asserted that "there is no significant emission of radiation from nuclear power plants," appeared as radioactive steam was drifting over Pennsylvania.

But it was only the beginning of the CP's difficulties. Torn between the pronuclear policy of the Soviet government and the pressure of the growing antinuke movement, the CP leadership has issued one contradictory statement after another.

April Fool's article?

Perlo gave a blunt summary of the CP's starting point when he declared that "the demand to shut down or prevent the construction of nuclear power plants is not viable. It proceeds from the false conclusion that nuclear energy is intrinsically harmful and uneconomic and it ignores the definite environmental, economic and resource-saving advantages of nuclear energy."

An embarrassed Carl Bloice, the editor of the *People's World*, felt compelled to register a mild dissent. "... I fear [Perlo] is too sanguine about the matter," Bloice commented.

Readers of the *People's World* were not so mealy-mouthed. One letter in the April 14 issue characterized Perlo's arguments as "almost incredible." Another said:

"Publishing Victor Perlo's 'Defense of Nuclear Power' on the heels of the Three Mile Island disaster was certainly a grotesque way to celebrate April Fool's Day."

Under the impact of the Three Mile Island nightmare—and the protests of their own members—the CP leadership tried to reformulate their defense of nuclear power. The political core of support to nuclear power was coated with extensive rhetoric attacking the energy monopolies.

An editorial in the March 30 *Daily World* illustrated this approach. The editorial said, "There is a dire warning in the nuclear disaster Wednesday at the Three Mile Island Nuclear Plant in Pennsylvania. It is that the fight for adequate safeguards must be stepped up."

Like the energy monopolies and President Carter, the CP argued that the nukes could be kept running if we only add a few more safety precautions. But the whole point of the antinuke movement, with its demand of "No nukes!" is that nuclear power is unsafe—period. All nuclear reactors should be shut down—now.

As Perlo correctly pointed out, the CP is opposed to this demand. To confuse the issue, the Stalinists throw in a supposedly radical twist. The March 30 editorial says that "the only way to guarantee these safeguards is through nationalization of the energy industry under people's control."

In this case, the general demand for nationalization of the energy industry is counterposed to the specific demand of "No nukes!" It is posed as the CP's alternative to this demand, rather than as an addition to the no nukes slogan.

Fancy footwork

How slippery the CP leaders were in formulating their statements was indicated in the April 7 *People's World*. The main news article on Three Mile Island said the "incident revealed the lengths the government and corporations will go to hide the

dangers of present U.S. nuclear policy" (emphasis added).

The implication is that nuclear power in general is not a problem.

A front-page editorial in the same issue pussy-footed around the real question in a similar way, saying that "the giant power monopolies of the United States simply cannot be trusted with management or development of anything as delicate and potentially hazardous as nuclear energy" (emphasis added).

Instead of the simple, straightforward demand of "No nukes," the editorial demanded: "Immediately close down all nuclear installations having characteristics such as those of the Three Mile Metropolitan Edison plant—especially the Rancho Seco plant near Sacramento, Ca.—any perilously close to urban centers, and any built on or near earthquake fault lines."

In short, the CP said that most nukes should be left running.

Fancy footwork by the Stalinist leaders here in the United States, however, could not hide Moscow's attitude. As the April 10 *Daily World* reported:

"The Soviet Union and India will continue to work together to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, according to a communique signed by Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin and Indian Prime Minister Mararji Desai."

The article proudly noted that "the Soviet Union will help India put up a huge atomic power plant which will be the largest of its kind in Asia."

On the same day, *Izvestia* published an article by Anatoly Aleksandrov, the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Aleksandrov attributed the growing antinuclear sentiment in the United States to machinations by the energy monopolies!

Aleksandrov charged that "coverage by the Western press of the accident at the nuclear reactor in Harrisburg, in which some basically minor unpleasant consequences were described in an extremely exaggerated manner, was an extension of the campaign against atomic power" allegedly being conducted by "fuel monopolies" that fear losing oil profits in the shift to nuclear energy.

Flip-flop by Gus Hall

But if Moscow wasn't feeling any pressure from the antinuke movement, the CP certainly was. The following day, the *Daily World* ran a front-page report on a speech by Gus Hall in which the CP leader declared: "After the Harrisburg events, no one in his right mind can say 'nuclear power plants are safe.'"

Was Hall saying that Alexei Kosygin and Anatoly Aleksandrov are off their rockers? Or doesn't the leader of the CP read his party's paper?

According to the *Daily World*, Hall said in his speech that "the nuclear plants should all be closed down for basic inspection and never opened again except after people's committees with veto power will agree to their opening."

Was the CP changing its line despite the position of Moscow?

Any illusions on that score were quickly scotched. On April 14 the CP Central Committee issued a formal statement on nuclear power. It was signed by Hall and CP National Chairman Henry Winston, just so there would be no mistake about the CP's real position.

Once again, the Stalinists refuse to raise the demand that all the nukes should be shut down. Instead, they call for continued nuclear development and demand that "nuclear energy production for peaceful purposes in particular" be nationalized.

The CP calls for "a genuine Nuclear and Energy Regulatory Authority . . . with power to immediately close all unsafe installations." The "safe" ones would presumably continue to operate.

'Political Meltdown'

Appearing in the April 21 *Daily World* was an interview with Gus Hall. The title—"Political Meltdown From Nuclear Power"—seemed to reflect the internal processes within the CP as much as those at Three Mile Island.

On the one hand, Hall repeated his earlier demand that "nuclear plants should be shut down and



Militant/Lori Ganyou
Antinuke protest in San Diego. CP is opposed to 'No nukes' slogan.

never opened again till Peoples Commissions, with veto-power, agree to their reopening."

No qualifications about "safe" and "unsafe" plants were mentioned.

Moreover, Hall made a direct attack on the *Izvestia* article by Aleksandrov. That is no small thing for a party known throughout the world for its unquestioning servility to the Kremlin.

Although Hall never mentioned Aleksandrov by name, he quoted from his article. Speaking of the Three Mile Island accident, Hall declared, "it was a 'near-disaster' and to characterize it as a 'minor leak of radioactivity with insignificant consequences' either reflects a total lack of knowledge of the concrete circumstances, or an attempt to ignore the real problem."

As for the antinuke movement, Hall said: "Any idea that this broad movement is 'masterminded by oil monopolies' is not only false, but a slander."

Hall tried to stake out a fall-back position. He argued that nuclear power is unsafe under capitalism but safe when it is under the direction of the bureaucrats in Moscow.

"Socialism"—by which Hall means the Stalinist regime in the USSR—"by its very inner-nature, is socially responsible. . . ."

"Any attempt to deal with the problems of technology, including nuclear power, without taking into consideration these inherently opposite characteristics of the two different societies is to inadvertently cover up for capitalism and to slander socialism."

Thus, CP members were put on notice that there must be strict limits to their opposition to nuclear power. But the pretense that nuclear reactors are only unsafe under capitalism won't help the Stalinist leaders out of their predicament.

Soviet nuclear reactors emit radiation and produce deadly radioactive waste, just like American reactors. In fact, the day after the interview with Hall appeared Pyotr Neporozhny, the Soviet minister of power and electrification, admitted that there had been accidents, including an explosion, at Soviet nuclear plants.

Moreover, the Soviet regime is quite willing to export its reactors to capitalist countries such as India. And American companies export nuclear reactors to the workers states. A Westinghouse reactor is scheduled to start up this year in Yugoslavia, for instance, and others are on order.

There is only one reason for the CP's contortions on the issue of nuclear power. It is that the Stalinist leaders must ensure that any position they take will dovetail with the policy of the Kremlin.

For the Stalinists, the policy decisions of the Soviet bureaucracy come first. The needs, the interests, and the very lives of working people around the world don't even enter their calculations.

Afghanistan Imperialist drive to push back social reforms

By Ernest Harsch

In response to the deepening revolution in Afghanistan, as well as in neighboring Iran, rightist guerrillas have sharply stepped up armed actions against the Afghan regime in recent weeks. Their drive, cloaked in the guise of "Islamic fundamentalism," is aimed at rolling back the agrarian reform and other progressive measures being carried out by the regime of Noor Mohammad Taraki under pressure from the aroused Afghan workers and peasants.

The military officers and Islamic religious figures leading this reactionary offensive have received support from the Pakistani military dictatorship and the main power behind it—American imperialism.

The guerrillas operate from bases in Pakistan. Following a visit to four such camps, *New York Times* correspondent Robert Trumbull reported in the April 16 issue that the "nerve center" of the guerrilla operations was in Miram Shah, in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP).

More than two months earlier, *Washington Post* reporter Peter Niesewand visited a guerrilla camp in the NWFP, where forces of the Hezb-i Islami (Islamic Party) were undergoing training at a former Pakistani military base. "The camp, freshly painted, still contains some Pakistani Army vehicles and is under the guard of Pakistani soldiers," he reported in the February 2 issue. "The Pakistanis, therefore, are clearly aware of any activity on the base."

According to a former major in the Afghan army, about 2,000 troops were being trained in various camps in Pakistan.

Rightist groups

Although there are a number of rightist groups opposed to the Taraki regime, the two largest are the Hezb-i Islami and the Jamiati Islami (Islamic Brotherhood). The former favors the restoration of the monarchy, which was overthrown in 1973, and the latter has close ties to the Jamiati Islami of Pakistan, the major party supporting Pakistan's military dictator, Gen. Zia ul-Haq.

These rightist forces have also received political backing from Ayatollah Kazem Shareatmadary and other Islamic religious figures in Iran, who accuse the "Communist" and "atheist" Taraki regime of repressing Muslims. This is part of their campaign to discredit socialism among the Iranian masses, blunt the impact of the Iranian revolution in Afghanistan, and block the tendency of the two

revolutions to link up and reinforce each other.

The Soviet government, which provides substantial assistance to the Taraki regime, charged in March that a leader of the Afghan rebel forces met with top American officials and that the CIA was indirectly aiding the guerrillas.

Washington, while formally denying the charges, has made little secret of its desire to roll back the gains being won by the Afghan masses.

In June 1978, just two months after the coup that brought Taraki to power, more than 270 top government officials and military officers gathered at the NATO Atlantic Command at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss the threat posed to imperialist interests by the prospect of deepgoing social ferment in Afghanistan. This February, the Carter administration slashed its economic aid to Kabul by more than two-thirds.

An article in the March 2 *Wall Street Journal* underlined the hopes that the imperialists are placing in the rightist guerrilla forces: "The large-scale opposition in Afghanistan provides the anti-Soviet forces in the region and the world with an opportunity to increase significantly the price of expansionism for the Soviets and reduce the likelihood of the consolidation of a Cuban-style regime in a crucial part of the world."

April 27 coup

Washington's fear of revolution in Afghanistan increased considerably following the April 27, 1978, coup that overthrew Mohammad Daud, who was killed in the fighting. Daud was ousted by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and by a section of the military influenced by the PDPA.

At that time, the PDPA included all of Afghanistan's pro-Moscow Stalinists, as well as a small non-Communist current. Its leaders admit that the overthrow of Daud came much sooner than they had expected. Under the impact of mass demonstrations in Kabul and in response to moves by Daud to launch a massive repression, the PDPA was impelled to seize power. Moscow, with which the PDPA had close ties, was taken by surprise.

Despite some initial overtures to the imperialist powers and despite assurances that private enterprise would be encouraged, the Taraki regime has initiated a series of far-reaching reforms.

The most important measures include the following:

- Legalization, for the first time, of trade unions.
- Cancellation of all debts owed by peasants.
- An extensive land reform, initiated January 1,



setting a ceiling on land ownership of about 15 acres. All surplus land is to be expropriated without compensation and distributed free to landless peasants and nomads. Out of a total of 680,000 families who stand to benefit from this aspect of the land reform, 50,000 already have, according to a report in the March 19 West German weekly *Der Spiegel*.

- Plans for a massive literacy drive, in a country where up to 95 percent of the population cannot read or write.

- Steps to improve the status of women, such as the banning of arranged marriages and limitation of dowries.

- Recognition of some of the national rights of Afghanistan's various peoples, including the establishment of education, radio programming, and newspapers in local languages. These measures could have an impact beyond Afghanistan's borders, especially since some of the nationalities spill over into Pakistan, Iran, and even the Soviet Union itself.

- Pledges to nationalize at least 51 percent of most enterprises.

- A purge of the state apparatus, including dismissal of most officers above the rank of major.

- The adoption of anti-imperialist stands on some international questions including the call for Puerto Rico's independence from the United States.

Although the PDPA had a limited base of support when it seized power a year ago, these measures have won it increasing popularity.

A report from Kabul in the January 16 *Wall Street Journal* noted that when the regime changed the country's flag "more than 150,000 persons, one-third of Kabul's population, marched to honor the new flag on the day it was first unfurled. Similar demonstrations of support occurred in other cities. The marches were organized, but witnesses say the participants appeared genuinely enthusiastic."

The unfolding of the Afghan revolution has raised the hopes and expectations of the country's 20 million workers and peasants. As they mobilize to fulfill their aspirations, the masses will be propelled toward a complete overturn of capitalist property relations.

That is what the imperialists and their local allies fear above all else. That is what they are now attempting to head off.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Bahamians protest regime's support for shah

By Baxter Smith

NASSAU, Bahamas—Nearby Paradise Island has an unwanted guest, if the opinions expressed by a growing number of Bahamians are any indication.

Since his March 30 arrival, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, until recently the shah of Iran, has provoked vocal opposition. Black rights groups, political parties, an Islamic organization, and angry letter-writers, including tourists, have made their opinions known.

Meanwhile, the Progressive Liberal Party government of Prime Minister Lynden Pindling has assailed the crit-

"We bet if you took all those persons who put out press releases in the past week about the shah and have them walk down Bay Street, there would be no more than twenty-five persons in the procession," said one government official. These groups "speak for no one" in the Bahamas, he declared.

According to the April 11 *Nassau Guardian*, "the shah appears to be settling in for a lengthy stay." Indeed, Bahamian troops armed with tommy guns stand a round-the-clock watch over the former dictator's ocean-front hideaway as he frolics in the surf with his family and dog.

In an open letter to the Pindling regime, the National Council for the Protection and Promotion of the People's Rights and Freedoms (NCPPPRF) asked, "Are we in the business of protecting private citizens who are fugitives from justice in their own country and persons who have violated the fundamental human and civil rights of a whole people?"

Taking note of the Bahamas' recent financial aid to rebels fighting in Rhodesia and South Africa, the NCPPPRF leveled its fire on the shah's support for apartheid.

"How is it now that the Bahamian

government can play host to the shah of Iran, who is not only accused of multiple fundamental criminal acts in his own country, but also one who has supported regimes that are inimical to people very much like ourselves?" the group asked.

The Black Village Youth Association, which has called for demonstrations against the former monarch, likewise condemned the "Progressive Liberal Party government for allowing the Bahamas to be used by the racist shah who contributed millions of dollars and oil to the racist South African government, which violated the rights of Black people."

By Fahmi Ali,
Mohamed Moustafa,
and Abu-Talib Ahmed

A recent report by the American State Department alleges that Egypt has made significant progress in human rights. But the reality is far different. Political repression under Sadat continues to be brutal. Anyone who violates "national unity" by criticizing the government is subject to arrest, imprisonment, and torture. Just one example—perhaps the most prominent—is the case of the poet Ahmed Fouad Negm.

Negm was born in a small village in Egypt in 1929. He had no formal schooling, and he worked for years as an agricultural wage laborer. In 1945 Negm was employed by the British army as a worker in the Canal Zone. There he joined the Egyptian Workers Movement, which was fighting for Egyptian withdrawal from a 1936 treaty permitting British military occupation of the Canal Zone. The movement was successful in 1951. Since that time Negm has dedicated his life to the revolutionary movement, writing poems for the workers and peasants of Egypt.

In the early 1960s Negm met and began collaborating with Sheikh Imam Issa, the popular blind singer. Imam put Negm's poetry to music, and their songs immediately met an enthusiastic response. Today students and workers, men, women, and children sing their songs and play their tapes in homes, factories, and schools throughout Egypt. The popularity of the songs of Negm and Imam is largely due to Negm's use of the language of the people for improvisation on long-suppressed themes of national and international struggle. The masses find in Negm a man who is able to say what they want to say but cannot—a man who can express their feelings and hopes and portray their oppression and suffering.

Four interrelated themes appear in all of Negm's songs and poems: biting criticisms of the Egyptian state, attacks on the imperialist powers, confidence in the revolutionary potential of ideas, and identification of the struggle of the Egyptian workers and peasants with the international revolutionary movement. In criticizing the Egyptian state Negm has tried to expose the myth of the "coalition theory," which depicts the Egyptian state as the representative of all social groups, including the army, intellectuals, workers and peasants, students, and national capitalists. In "Coalition," written in 1967, Negm showed that the state really represents the capitalist class and oppresses the workers.

Negm also attacks the gross bureaucratic inefficiency of the Egyptian state. Again in 1967 Negm blamed the Egyptian defeat in the Six Day War on this inefficiency.

The "bey"¹ appoints an officer-director in each place.
And of course he's an ass.
Dear god! The Egyptian state is helpless.
It's drowned in lying from beginning to end.
And the people are confused.

The repression of the Sadat regime is also portrayed in Negm's verse. In early 1976 revolutionists in France invited Negm, his wife Azza Balbaa, and Imam to Paris to record their poems and songs. Sadat issued a decree prohibiting them from leaving the country. Negm's response to this and other examples of political repression was contained in the following lines, addressed to the Egyptian people:

'Prohibited from singing'

Egypt: the case of Ahmed Fouad Negm



SADAT: Critical poetry not allowed.

Prohibited from leaving.
Prohibited from singing.
Prohibited from speaking.
Prohibited from longing.
Prohibited from dissatisfaction.
Prohibited from smiling.
And each day in your love prohibition increases.
And each day I love you more than before.

A second theme in Negm's poetry is his denunciation of imperialism for its exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial workers, its theft of the natural resources of the Third World, and its export of junk "culture." Thus, Negm describes the American imperialist:

He starts by plundering
and stealing from
the customers in broad daylight.
Throw a dollar and gather it back,
three hundred dollars.
by bottles and ladies,
by gum and bon-bons,
by guns and bullets,
or by cowboy movies.
Say then he is a businessman
and a libertine.

In another poem, referring specifically to Henry Kissinger, the same theme is developed, together with the pledge of resistance.

O Kawaja,² O Weka,³

who is from America,
you are a robber of workers
inside the factory,
whose mind is stony,
whose bed is soft.
Listen, Mr. Ba'ajar,⁴
who is stealing oil,
you know what will happen
if you cross the threshold
just one step closer.
We will break your leg.
And you are the one who started it all.
We'll kick you out.
We'll erase you completely.
And at your tomb
we will play music.

Against both domestic capitalism and foreign imperialism Negm raises a stirring call for revolutionary action. In this respect, he places great confidence in the power of ideas. And the belief in the power of ideas makes Negm, in turn, a firm supporter of freedom of speech. Both themes are interwoven in the following lines:

Let words move as they will.
Let our country swim in their light.
Throw the words into the depths of darkness.
Salma⁵ will become pregnant,
generating light,
revealing our faults,
and burning us

sting after sting,
we are aroused and radicalized.

Negm clearly recognizes the international character of the revolutionary movement. He correctly sees the Palestinian struggle as the vanguard of the Arab revolution. And, at the same time, he understands the significance of the world revolutionary struggle for the Palestinians.

However long the road, however far it seems,
by traveling faster we will get there sooner.
Vietnam is good news for you,
Palestinian.
The victory is emerging
from a hundred thousand banners.
The candle is burning and the Americans beaten,
returning home in sorrow.
If only this could happen for you.

When Che Guevara was hunted down and killed in Bolivia in 1968, Negm expressed his deep sense of loss for the revolutionary movement in a eulogy to Guevara. But Negm also used "Guevara Is Dead" to expose the pretensions of the Egyptian rulers. After the 1952 coup in Egypt the military leaders claimed their action was a model for the socialist revolution in the semicolonial world. Negm contrasts Guevara's revolutionary example to the fake revolutionists of the Egyptian military. And in the final section he tells the masses that only by following Guevara's example of uncompromising revolutionary struggle can they achieve liberation.

Impoverished workers,
with your legs and head bound,
you have no liberation
without bombs and bullets.
It is the logic of our happy age,
age of Negroes and Americans.
The world belongs to fire and iron
and justice is mute or afraid.
O slaves: the cry of Guevara!
In every land and every nation
there is no other choice, no liberation
or say that the world has come to an end.

Negm's poetry has played a role in radicalizing the workers and students of Egypt. But together with Sheikh Imam, he has paid the price for this. Both have been jailed on an almost annual basis. Most recently, Negm was arrested in 1977 and jailed in Tora Prison for more than a year for violating Sadat's "principles of national unity." The conditions of Negm's imprisonment were those suffered by all political prisoners in Egypt. His cell—which he shared with rats, cockroaches, and other insects—was without ventilation or daylight. Negm had tuberculosis when he entered prison. But, as a result of torture, malnutrition, and lack of all medical care, his health further deteriorated. He was not permitted to receive information from the outside world through radio or newspapers, and he was allowed no visitors.

In spite of the conditions of his imprisonment, Negm's spirit remained unbroken. From his prison cell he sent the following message to the Egyptian people:

I am telling all of you
that a prison is a fence.
I am telling all of you that idea
is light
and a fence can never hold an angel.
and light can tear through thousands of fences.
I am telling all of you
that oppression is decrepit.
I am telling all of you
that prison is obsolete.
I am telling all of you
that it doesn't have locks.

Continued on page 22

1. A Turkish title for province governor. The term came to Egypt with Ottoman colonialism. Here it refers to the Egyptian ruler.

2. Originally the title for a foreign colonialist.

3. A term of derision.

4. The name used to refer to any fat, foolish authority.

5. A name commonly used as a symbol for Egypt.

Thousands hit gov't repression in Colombia

By Miguel Fuentes

BOGOTÁ—The "National Forum for Defense of Human Rights" ended here April 1 with a public rally attended by more than 3,000 persons.

At the forum's closing rally, Tulio Cuevas Romero of the National Trade-Union Council (CNS)¹ launched a call for a united national mobilization on May 1 by labor and its allies.

Ever since the citizens' national general strike (*paro cívico nacional*) of September 14, 1977, the trade unions and the left have been the target of a repressive drive aimed at heading off another such upsurge.

During his 1978 presidential campaign, Liberal Party candidate Julio César Turbay Ayala called for "public security" and a war against "crime and subversion."

But one month after taking office, Turbay invoked the "Security Statute," which allows detention without charge for ten days, transfers jurisdiction over "political crimes" from civil to military courts, and declares "public disorder," "rebellion," and "subversive propaganda" to be crimes punishable with one to four years imprisonment. Turbay also pushed through new restrictions on the right to organize and strike, ordered greater militarization of rural zones, began to impose press censorship, and gave the military a green light to use torture.

On December 31, 1978, the urban guerrilla group M-19 claimed credit for the theft of a huge quantity of weapons from a military barracks. The regime used this as the pretext for jailing thousands of persons during subsequent months.

A pattern emerged of the detention of political and trade-union figures known to be *opposed* to terrorism and guerrillaism. Most of those arrested were held for the ten days allowed under the Security Statute and then released, with a warning to halt their "subversive" activities. Many were tortured, or witnessed others being tortured. Under cover of a "war on terrorism," a government campaign was under way to terrorize and intimidate the labor movement and the left.

1. The CNS is a coordinating body involving Colombia's four big union federations—the UTC, linked to the Conservative Party; the CSTC, controlled by the Communist Party; the CTC, linked to the Liberal Party; and the CGT, which orients to the Christian Democrats.



Cop arrests worker during 1977 strike. Turbay Ayala regime is trying to drive back workers' demands for better living standard.

A response to the repression began to take shape. Human-rights organizations such as Amnesty International and the U.S. Council on Hemispheric Affairs, along with groups of Colombians living abroad, began to publicize the regime's attacks and organize telegram and letter-writing campaigns.

Inside the country, discussions began on how to mount a response to the repression. This was made more difficult by a ban on demonstrations imposed under the Security Statute. But soon plans were set for a series of local and regional public forums on human rights, to culminate in the national forum that took place March 30-April 1.

Among those involved in planning and organizing these forums were the Communist Party, the Trotskyists of the PSR and PST,² the Firms movement,³ and individual figures from

2. Partido Socialista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialist Party); Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party). Both are sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International.

3. "Firmes" (Signatures) is an organization that arose out of a drive to collect 500,000 signatures on a petition urging a single candidate of "the left" in the June 1978 presidential elections.

Colombia's two main bourgeois parties, the Liberals and Conservatives.

There were some differences over orientation at the outset. The bourgeois politicians, echoed by the CP and Firms, wanted a rather low-key pressure campaign by well-known personalities. But the Trotskyists pressed for an orientation to the labor movement with the goal of eventually mobilizing in the streets.

The regime's actions on the one hand and the response of the trade unions on the other helped to settle the debate during the two months leading up to the national forum.

Many of the more than 3,000 activists arrested were well-known trade-union leaders. Labor responded with active participation in the local and regional forums. By the time of the national forum almost the entire organized labor movement was involved and playing a prominent role.

The government focused its repression on forum organizers as the date for the national gathering neared. Leaders of the CP, PSR, and PST were arrested. In all, more than 100 activists were detained in raids during the week before the national forum.

The forum was a representative and authoritative affair. Among the 1,554 delegates were 472 representing 198

different trade unions, including the top leaders of all four labor federations. The remaining delegates included 107 from peasant groups, 117 from student organizations, 57 from professional groups, 43 from the media, 9 from feminist groups, 75 from political parties, 17 from church groups, and 316 from the regional coalitions that had helped to build the event.

During the first two days, working commissions heard testimony and held discussions on the following topics: torture and maltreatment of political prisoners; militarization of peasant zones; restrictions on the rights of labor and the public; "crimes of opinion" and censorship of the communications media; the prolonged state of siege and the Security Statute in light of the constitution; social, economic, and constitutional aspects of human rights in Colombia; and others.

Of the voluminous testimony, none was more damaging to the regime than that on the use of torture. In a devastating rebuttal to government denials issued earlier in the week, official photos and documents from the Institute for Legal Medicine were presented that conclusively proved the regime was lying when it had claimed not to have tortured thirty-four university students in October 1978.

Other findings substantiated charges that Turbay's government had violated freedom of the press by raiding the offices of the CP weekly *Voz Proletaria* and the PST weekly *El Socialista* and by arresting six journalists; had denied due process of law through military tribunals without juries or adequate defense counsel; had violated the right of labor to organize and strike; had effectively made the holding of certain opinions a crime; and had massively violated the rights of peasants with military occupations of large sections of the countryside.

These findings were summarized in the "final declaration" adopted unanimously by the delegates. The forum demanded an end to torture; an end to arbitrary detention; an end to censorship; revocation of the Security Statute; an end to restrictions on the rights of the trade unions; and economic justice.

The most important result of the forum was the call by the National Trade-Union Council (CNS) for a united May 1 mobilization. This had been hotly debated in the working commissions, where delegates from the Liberal, Conservative, and Communist parties tried unsuccessfully to get the union leaders to withdraw it.

But CNS President Tulio Cuevas received a resounding ovation when he announced the May 1 call at the concluding rally. Arnulfo Bayona of the PSR and Kemel George of the PST also received sustained applause as they made the May 1 actions the focus of their speeches at the rally.

It remains to be seen whether the union leaderships will be under enough pressure to make the May 1 actions an effective show of labor's power. But the fact that they have been called, and the fact that the national forum was such a success, means that the relationship of forces is shifting against the government.

Colombian workers are showing their willingness to fight back in other ways as well. At the Paz del Río steel mill northeast of Bogotá, 7,500 workers downed tools on April 4 to demand a 75 percent wage hike.

The workers of the state oil industry ECOPEPETROL have also announced plans for a strike, demanding higher wages and reinstatement of workers fired in 1977.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Hugo Blanco

LAND OR DEATH

The Peasant Struggle in Peru

"Blanco is acknowledged to be a foremost Latin American revolutionary. . . . authentic glimpse into a significant pocket of simmering Latin American rebellion."—**Publishers Weekly**

"A most interesting personal account—necessary reading for those involved with contemporary Latin America."—**Library Journal**

"Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example. . . ."—**Che Guevara, Algiers, 1963**

LAND OR DEATH describes the conditions of peasant life and tells the fascinating story of how thousands of Quechua Indians began to take back the lands stolen from them. Blanco's incisive analysis and strategy for revolutionary action make this one of the decade's most important books on Latin America. Translated by Naomi Allen with an introduction by Pedro Camejo. 178 pp. \$3.45.

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

How Mexican miners fought strikebreaking

By Seth Galinski

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Nacozari, Sonora, Mexico is a company town. The stores, the bars, and the police are all run by the Mexican Copper Corporation, which is largely financed by Anaconda Copper, a division of Atlantic-Richfield.

Many of the miners live on the outskirts of town in *cartonlandia*—cartonland, where “living” space is literally made out of cartons.

Drinking water, when available, is from a few faucets where the workers must bring their buckets.

Accidents in the mines are common, the result of unsafe conditions.

Most miners are paid only 780 pesos a week, less than forty dollars. Of that, the workers actually receive a little more than half. The rest is taken back by the company for food, lodging, and safety equipment the workers need on the job.

In 1978, a group of fifty workers secretly formed a coordinating commission with the aim of winning authentic union representation for the workers.

The *Militant* interviewed Ignacio García-Morales, a mine worker who became a member of the coordinating commission after it was expanded to 270 workers.

The initial commission, he explained, would run off leaflets dealing with the problems of the workers and quietly deliver them to their living quarters at night.

Finally, in February 1978, a leaflet invited the workers to a public meeting. About 6,000 people showed up, the workers and their families.

“We asked the coordinating committee to call a strike,” García-Morales said. “This is the only way we have gotten anything in the past. They argued against this, saying there wasn’t enough money in the strike fund. We told them we didn’t care. We told them we were going on strike with or without them. Then they felt obligated to call the strike.”

The workers adopted a broad series of strike demands involving wages, working conditions, health and safety, a worker-run government store to replace the company one, improved housing and medical care, and a democratically controlled union.

For forty-four days, the workers held firm. They sought and won support from unions and progressive organizations across Mexico. Solidarity rallies were held in many provinces.

Women, both office workers and family members, played leading roles in the strike. They served as pickets and guards. Twenty were members of the coordinating commission.

The company brought in the *Confederación de Trabajadores de México*—the Mexican Workers Confederation, a government-dominated organization.

The CTM persuaded the workers to go back while they worked out a settlement.

The workers were double-crossed. The company began firing strike leaders.

On April 29, 1978, the workers struck again.

The Mexican secretary of labor came to try to talk the workers into going back. Then, García-Morales said, the army came in. “They told us if we didn’t end the strike, we would be beaten. We refused. They called in the police to help them brutalize many *compañeros*.”

The workers stood tough. They held a federal army agent and local police chief hostage for two hours.

The CTM signed an agreement with the company ending the strike.

It didn’t gain any of the workers’ major demands.

They prepared to go out a third time.

The company and government reacted quickly. Five days before the scheduled strike, the town of Nacozari was occupied by more than 500 soldiers. Thirty-eight members of the coordinating commission were arrested without charges. García-Morales was one of them.

“We were tied and blindfolded and then beaten,” he said. “They took us to Mexico City, which is 1,500 miles from the mines. During the flight, they told us they were going to push us out of the plane.”

“We were beaten up the whole way there. When we got to the city, they threw us in jail, beat us again, and tortured us with electric prods.”

Eight days later, twenty-six were released. The other twelve were held on impossibly high bail. They were told that even if they raised the money they wouldn’t be allowed to leave Mexico City.

The jailed miners received strong support from workers, students, and peasants. This forced the government to lower the bail and lift the travel restrictions.

Before they were released, company agents came to the jail offering them 50,000 pesos each to betray the strike—claiming that those released earlier had accepted this offer.

Unshaken by this lie, the workers said they would die first.

On their release, unions, students, and left groups, including the Revolutionary Workers Party, sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, organized a victory rally in Mexico City in which 45,000 people participated.

In Nacozari, the repression continues, says García-Morales. Soldiers are still stationed there, and police agents disguised as workers operate in the mines. Many workers are afraid to speak out.

Despite repression and lack of funds, the coordinating commission continues to try to defend the interests of the workers.

“We are going to win,” García-Morales said. “They can break a strike, but they can’t stop the struggle.”

In early 1978, after completing his term, and as a result of mass pressure, Negm was released from prison. But Sadat immediately issued a presidential decree bringing the same charges against him. Since that time Negm has been underground. If he is caught, he faces possible life imprisonment at hard labor.

Immediate action is necessary to save Negm, Azza Balbaa, and Imam. Letters and telegrams demanding an end to their persecution should be sent to Anwar el-Sadat, Presidential Palace, Cairo, Egypt.

World news notes

Rightists in S. Lebanon declare ‘independence’

Major Saad Haddad, commander of rightist Christian militia forces in the area of southern Lebanon bordering on Israel, declared the region independent of the central government April 18. He acted after the Beirut government sent a battalion of troops to join United Nations forces stationed in the enclave.

Haddad’s rightist forces have been armed and financed by the Israeli regime for several years now. They have collaborated with Israeli forces in attacks on the Palestinian and Lebanese Muslim population in southern Lebanon—an area which the Zionist regime would like to annex. Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizmann stated that Israel has a “common interest” with the rightists.

In declaring independence from the Beirut government, Haddad indicated his goals are not limited to southern Lebanon. “Our intention will be: Liberate all of Lebanon,” he declared. His move drew support from more powerful rightist forces led by former President Camille Chamoun.

Israel presses West Bank settlements

The Israeli government has approved two new settlements on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

The April 24 *New York Times* reported, “The Elon Moreh settlement is to be established south of Nablus. The second site, Shiloh, about 20 miles northwest of Jerusalem, has been occupied by members of the militant nationalist Gush Emunim bloc for about a year.”

To deflect international protest against the Shiloh settlement, the Israeli government originally called it an “archaeological excavation.” Ultra-rightist outfits such as Gush Emunim are used by the Zionist regime to establish settlements the Israeli government is reluctant to take direct responsibility for.

The State Department mildly protested the new Israeli moves. “The chief concern here is that the Israeli move seems to show little concern for [Egyptian] President Anwar el-Sadat’s problems in persuading Arabs that chances for real peace in the Middle East exist now,” reported the *Times*.



Youths protest Peking’s repressive policies.

Youth demand Peking free prisoners

About thirty youths picketed the offices of the New China News Agency in Hong Kong April 5. They demanded that the Peking regime release all political prisoners and allow democratic rights.

The action was organized by the Revolutionary Marxist League. The RML supports the Fourth International, the worldwide revolutionary socialist organization.

Liberian masses protest price rises

The Liberian government has rescinded an announced increase in the price of rice in the wake of massive protests in the capital city of Monrovia. Popular anger exploded when police used tanks to attack thousands of Liberians protesting the increase.

The demonstration was organized by a student-based group, the Progressive Alliance. The April 22 *New York Times* reported that as many as 50 people were killed and 500 injured.

On April 21 President William Tolbert ordered the University of Liberia and Cuttington University College closed saying they had become “a breeding ground of revolutionary ideas alien to our democratic form of government.”

Liberia is virtually a wholly-owned subsidiary of U.S. rubber, shipping, and other multinational corporations. —Fred Feldman

...Egypt

Continued from page 20

I am telling all of you
that it will be just a memory.

I am telling all of you
that revolution is tomorrow.

I am telling all of you
that the promise is tomorrow,
and announcing to all of you
that its fulfillment is tomorrow.

Today these words are sung by political prisoners, not just in Egypt, but throughout the Arab world.

In Review

'The China Syndrome'

The China Syndrome. Starring Jane Fonda, Jack Lemmon, and Michael Douglas. Directed by James Bridges. Screenplay by Mike Gray & T.S. Cook and James Bridges. Released by Columbia Pictures.

"There is absolutely no danger of a meltdown. We are not in a *China Syndrome* situation."

—Dave Klucsik, Three Mile Island nuclear spokesman

On March 28, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, was almost Chicago, and the Three Mile Island nuclear accident was almost Mrs. O'Leary's cow. It was that close to a "core meltdown"—a nuclear power plant catastrophe, which could have generated a China syndrome—

Film

the escape of hot, fiercely radioactive materials that would go through the earth "to China."

The term is only a mild exaggeration. "I'm glad we're not off the map," Harrisburg-area Civil Defense Director Les Jackson said of the nuclear accident.

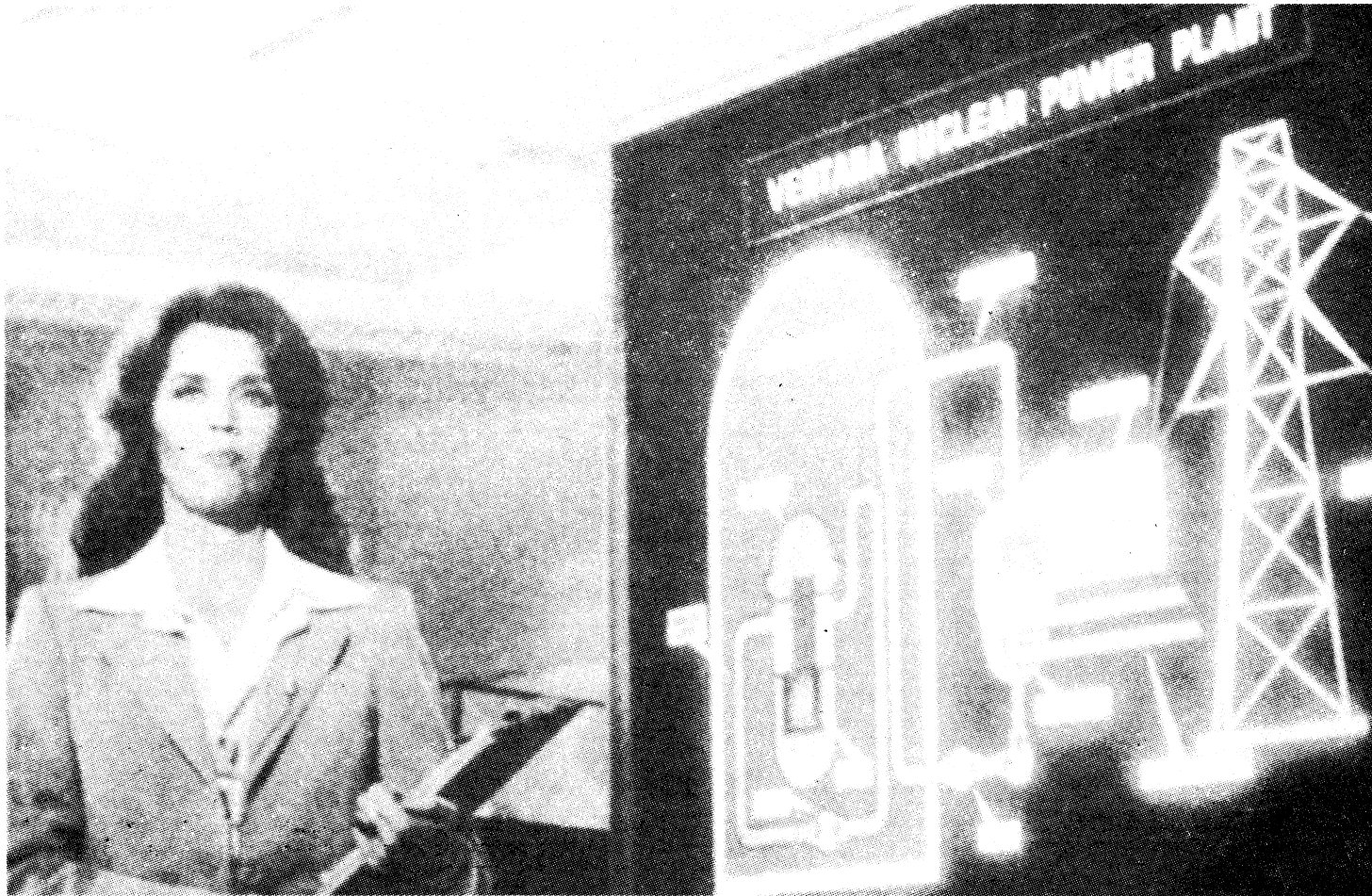
China Syndrome is deepening an already profound, popular skepticism about nuclear power.

The movie is a hard-driving suspense thriller, which features the bringing together of three people, in their own ways, to expose the lack of safety in a California nuke.

Jane Fonda, a woman reporter seeking to assert herself beyond sexist stereotypes; Michael Douglas, an anti-establishment filmmaker who tells off bigshots; and Jack Lemmon, the agonizing pronuke engineer who becomes a hero; give tough, honest, and vibrant performances.

The China Syndrome takes aim at corporate profiteering and the role of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission as a cat's-paw of the atomic industry.

The film portrays a Karen Silkwood-like situation—an unmythical "accident" that befalls a courier with valuable antinuke information, which



Jane Fonda in 'China Syndrome'

disappears in the rubble.

The China Syndrome explains the dangers of nuclear power. It educates, and with all the intensity of an unrelenting detective film. And it scares you to death.

Hollywood bet that there exists an audience big enough to make a sharply anti-big-business, antinuke film profitable.

That assumption was correct, and not only for New York and Boston and Chicago and Philadelphia, but in places not readily thought of.

Like Newport News, Virginia.

The congressman here is a pronuke Ronald Reagan fan.

The huge Newport News shipyard, now being struck by the Steelworkers, subsists on government contracts, including nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, surface vessels, and submarines.

The whole Tidewater area is studded with army, navy, air force, and marine bases.

So I wasn't sure how big an antinuke movie starring Jane Fonda would go over here, especially since the pronuke local media didn't exactly play it up.

The China Syndrome sold out the first night, and I couldn't get in. The second night, I did but had to sit in the second row.

The crowd was partisan. People cheered and hissed at the right points. At the film's end, there was an ovation.

This mood had been fueled by an announcement earlier in the week of a shutdown of the nearby Surry nukes, whose structure, it had been discovered, couldn't sustain an earthquake. The Virginia Electric and Power Company announced it would pass on the

\$10 million monthly cost of the shutdown to working people.

A week after they saw *China Syndrome*, Newport News viewers were told by VEPCO that there would be a construction halt of one of its North Anna nukes, because cracks had been found in the steel plates that direct coolant flow.

These experiences explain the power and strength of *China Syndrome*, whose scientific accuracy and sense of prediction are confirmed in reality. The script seems to be lifted from the monologues of atomic energy officials, Carter cabinet members, and other doubletalking mouthpieces for the nuclear industry.

The China Syndrome is not merely a sensational film. It is also a weapon that will help educate tens of millions.

—Jon Hillson

'Norma Rae'

Norma Rae. Starring Sally Field, Ron Leibman, and Beau Bridges. Directed by Martin Ritt. Produced by Tamara Asseyev and Alex Rose. Screenplay by Irving Ravetch and Harriet Frank, Jr. Released by Twentieth Century Fox.

After the release of *Blue Collar* and *F.I.S.T.*, I wondered if Hollywood could ever realistically depict the struggles of working people to better their lives in the capitalist United States.

It appears that Hollywood may have done just that in Martin Ritt's production of *Norma Rae*, starring Sally Field and Ron Leibman. It comes very close to the independently produced *Harlan County U.S.A.* in showing the alienation and misery workers face on the job and what they can do to begin to overcome it.

The story of *Norma Rae* revolves around a small southern town whose one industry is a textile mill and the efforts of an organizer from New York City to bring a union into the factory. The setting is the late 1970s. There is an obvious parallel with the real fight of textile workers to organize the J.P. Stevens mills.

Sally Field, in one of her first serious acting roles, plays Norma Rae, a

young working mother, whose life—like the lives of her family and the rest of the town—is intimately tied to the mill.

Before the arrival of the union organizer we see her as a working woman, continually being beaten down by the system but yet trying in a variety of ways to assert her independence and individuality.

When the organizer, played by Ron Leibman, comes to town, a new element enters the lives of Norma Rae and the other mill workers. By handing out fact sheets and talking ceaselessly with the mill workers, he tries to convince them that in unity there is strength and that a union will make a difference at the mill.

His successes are uneven but the film shows how the factory owners and cops work hand in hand to try to defeat the organizing drive.

Although there is no overt discussion of it, one of the first tasks in organizing Norma Rae's mill is to overcome the divisions between Black and white workers. Union meetings are held at the Black church, and Blacks are among the first to sign union cards.

At one point Norma Rae is reproached for having a union meeting at her home that includes Black mill workers. She replies simply that the

only men who have ever given her any trouble were white.

Norma Rae is key to the organizing drive, and the union organizer works hard to win her over. He sees in her the strength and audacity that can make the difference in recruiting other workers to the union.

The bosses also realize this quality in Norma Rae and try to buy her off with a supervisory promotion. Tempted by the extra money, she takes it, but her class allegiance wins out when her co-workers, including her family, make it clear that she is no longer one of them as long as she's a supervisor.

Once she is convinced of the necessity of unionization, she puts her all into it, and becomes the union organizer's chief lieutenant.

In the end the union gets enough cards signed to warrant a National Labor Relations Board representation election. In the movie, this is depicted as the end of the struggle, but we know that in the real world, it is only the beginning. That is shown well enough by the long struggle mill workers have waged with J.P. Stevens and by the battle of Steelworkers fighting for recognition in Newport News, Virginia.

Nevertheless, in the movie—as in real life—winning the first battle in the "war" gives workers the confidence they need to carry on the struggle.

Norma Rae is a very human movie.

It depicts class struggle, and along with that, the strengths and weaknesses of its participants. Perhaps even more it gives an inkling of the untapped potential of individuals and the working class as a whole.

Through the "big city" college-educated organizer, Norma Rae is exposed to ideas previously unavailable to her as a worker in a small town. She starts to read Dylan Thomas and sees that there is much to learn about the "outside" world.

Norma Rae also develops a consciousness of her worth as a woman. In one scene her husband (Beau Bridges) complains vehemently that she is spending too much time with the union and not enough on household chores. Her response expresses her feelings beautifully.

The relationship between the organizer and Norma Rae is handled well whether it's him pushing her harder to make the organizing drive a success or her mimicking his New York talk. It's an intense relationship, but contrary to the usual Hollywood fare, it doesn't lead to the inevitable bedroom scene.

Norma Rae is fast paced, well acted, and provides insight into people as well as class. There are millions of men and women like Norma Rae and her co-workers across the country. They deserve more such sympathetic portrayals.

—Edwin Fruit

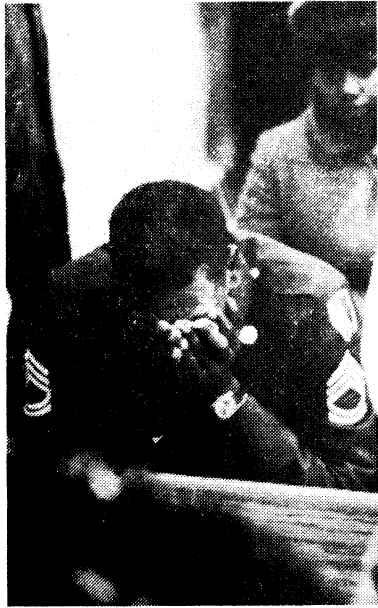
In Brief

Quote unquote

"People's expectation is that prices will go up; it's an accurate perception."

—Fabian Linden of the Conference Board, a business research group.

NEW TRIAL ORDERED IN CHICAGO PANTHER SUIT



Soldier weeps at 1969 funeral for slain Panther leader Fred Hampton.

A federal appeals court ordered a new trial in the damage suit against Chicago officials responsible for the police shootout against the Black Panthers in 1969.

The \$47.7 million suit had been brought by relatives of the slain Panthers and by survivors of the police assault.

The trial had continued for eighteen months and, as it neared a close, was arbitrarily ended June 20, 1977, by the trial judge. He dismissed the charges against the twenty-eight officials who were charged with organizing the bloody attack on the apartment of two Panther leaders, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Both were killed and four other people in the apartment wounded by the hail of police bullets.

The April 23 appeals court decision reversed the judge's decision to dismiss the charges.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND

The April 21 issue of the *Chronicle*, a Black weekly published in Charleston, South

Carolina, reprinted the exclusive story by *Militant* staff writer August Nimtz on the U.S. official in South Africa who peddles the same kind of racist poison as the apartheid regime there.

In a footnote, the *Chronicle* advises that introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* are available for ten weeks at \$2.

COURT OKs N.Y. SCHOOL JIM CROW

A federal appeals court upheld a New York "desegregation" plan that is actually designed to maintain segregated education.

The plan permits a few Black students from Andrew Jackson high school in the borough of Queens to transfer to majority white schools. No white would have been brought into Jackson. The school presently has a single white student.

Last May Judge John Dooling declared the phony plan unconstitutional.

The appeals court reversed Dooling's decision on the basis of the racist dictum that desegregation cannot be required except where "intentional discrimination" can be proven. Which is hardly likely.

The court conceded that the plan does "prevent certain Black children from attending a school of their choice," but said this was OK because if they went where they wanted they might cause "white flight."

The court's argument that segregation is not deliberate, merely a matter of "neighborhood patterns," is a wonderful example of Catch 22.

Blacks go to poor schools because they live in poor neighborhoods. They live in poor neighborhoods because they can't get good jobs. They can't get good jobs because they go to poor schools. Whose fault is that, the good judge asks.

NYC UNIONISTS BACK SCHOOL BUS DRIVERS

In a demonstration of solidarity, 2,500 New York unionists picketed city hall April 18 in support of striking school bus drivers.

The drivers, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, are the victims of a vicious union-busting move by the Democratic administration of Mayor Edward Koch.

Koch is demanding the right to sign contracts with scab bus

companies offering the city a lower rate.

The drivers, who have been out since February 15, have been the target of the worst kind of anti-union abuse, with city officials and the media raising a phony hue and cry about handicapped children not getting to school during the strike.

The solidarity demonstration was called by the city's Central Labor Council. Marching alongside the bus drivers were striking milk truck drivers and members of more than a dozen other unions.

The main slogans at the demonstration were, "Job security now" and "No union busting in our town."

THEY NEED PRACTICE?

To assess the military's ability to deal with a nuclear disaster, the air force crashed a jet carrying nuclear bombs into the desert about 100 miles from Las Vegas.

According to the scenario, radiation oozed from the weapons strewn among the wreckage. To make the scene more

lifelike, dummies were scattered around the crash site.

Also, a "thimbleful" of radium 223 dissolved in fifty gallons of chemicals was sprayed about to check instrument readings.

The radium, officials assured, will "disappear" in ninety days.

The exercise cost \$1 million.

BLAMING THE VICTIMS

The National Transportation Safety Board voted three to one to pin primary responsibility on the crew of a California airliner that crashed after colliding with a small plane over San Diego last September.

It was the worst air disaster in U.S. history, killing 144 people, including 7 on the ground.

The finding was assailed by the Airline Pilots Association, which has been waging an uphill fight against unsafe landing and takeoff conditions at major airports, of which San Diego is considered one of the worst.

The airport is immediately off the city's downtown section,

and planes have to make a steep descent in the vicinity of office buildings.

Area residents have long demanded that the airport be moved, but the port authority, which derives income from it, has so far successfully resisted such demands.

John O'Donnell, president of the pilots union, declared that the board's finding laid "primary blame on the dead flight crew when, in fact, it is the system that is at fault."

"Nothing seems to have changed as a result of this accident," he added. "It's just going to be a matter of time before it repeats itself."

BEGINNING TO SEE THE LIGHT

As one move to divert public attention from the extent of the ripoff by the oil monopolies, the Carter administration has been making noises about gas stations that are hiking pump prices out of sight.

Some of the small business people operating such stations are beginning to see the light

New exposé on chemical co.

Last week we reported that the Hooker Chemical Company knew as far back as 1958 that the deadly chemicals it was dumping into the Love Canal site near Niagara Falls were seeping into a neighboring residential area.

Now a secret 1975 company report has been made public by an engineer reportedly fired for complaining about unsafe emissions from the plant.

The report shows that Hooker, a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, regularly released mercury, chlorine, phosphorous-based gases, and cancer-causing pesticides into the air and sewers of the city.

Interviewed by the *New York Times*, plant workers complained of high leukemia rates and other types of cancer.

The 1975 report confirmed that the releases of chemicals were often due to broken-down equipment pushed beyond capacity.

And, according to fired engineer Michael Bayliss, it was Hooker company policy

"not to tell workers of the dangers of the chemicals they worked with."

Large sections of the plant, which covers 100 acres, have now been shut down, but plant workers and neighboring residents say that mercury, chlorine, and other gases continue to be released.

Said Bayliss, "They shut down about one-third of the processors with problems, fixed about one-third of them, and ignored about one-third. It's still cheaper to pay the fines than fix things."

One pregnant woman, who balked at testing benzene, a carcinogen, was threatened with firing.

She said chlorine leaks forced evacuation of the laboratory building every three or four weeks.

In 1975, a tank car of chlorine blew up on a siding inside the plant, killing four workers.

Back in 1910, a leak of hydrogen-sulphide fumes killed a worker and a Hooker official who tried to give him first aid.

Asked what the company would do if workers develop cancer as a result of exposure, a Hooker vice-president responded, "Well, we'd feel very badly about it."



What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

MAYDAY: ITS MEANING FOR LABOR TODAY. A panel discussion. Fri., May 4, 8 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

LABOR SAYS NO TO CARTER'S 7 PERCENT GUIDELINES. Speaker: Mary Martin, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 4, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

TROTSKY'S CONTRIBUTION TO MARXISM: A CELEBRATION OF THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF LEON

TROTSKY'S BIRTH. Speaker: George Novack, Marxist scholar and longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., May 13, 8 p.m. Essex Inn, Buckingham Court Room, 800 S. Michigan. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

THE STAKE IN NEWPORT NEWS SHIPYARD STRIKE. Speakers: Norton Sandler, member of United Steelworkers Local 2609 and Socialist Workers Party. Sunday, April 29, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

THE ROOTS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION. Speaker: Laura Moorehead, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 4, 8 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

A PARTY TO SUPPORT HECTOR MARROQUIN. Hosted by José Cortez, José Gaitan, Gillian Furst. Wed., May 9, 7 p.m. 3813 Harriet Ave. S. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (612) 822-0317.

ST. PAUL

THE LONGEST WALK. Speaker: Clyde Bellecourt, American Indian Movement. Slide show. Fri., May 4, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

'POTEMKIN.' A film on the 1905 Russian revolution. Fri., May 11, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

NEWPORT NEWS STRIKE: STEELWORKERS DEFEND THEIR RIGHTS. Speaker: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, just returned from Newport News. Fri., May 4, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

OHIO CLEVELAND

HOW TO STOP NUCLEAR POWER: LESSONS OF THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR. Speaker: Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!*, member of Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Wed., May 9, 7 p.m. Kiva Room, Cleveland State Univ. Ausp: Western Reserve Alliance. For more information call (216) 621-4319.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

INJUSTICE IN AMERICA: NO ASYLUM FOR MARROQUIN. Speakers to be announced. Fri., May 4, 8 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

WASHINGTON TACOMA

EUGENE DEBS AND THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT. A film. Sun., Apr. 29, 7 p.m. 1306 S. K St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

MAY DAY FILM SHOWING: 'FIDEL' Sat., May 5, 7 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.



Compiled by Harry Ring

about how they are being used as scapegoats.

For example, one Shell dealer in Huntington Beach, California, told the *Los Angeles Times*:

"We're all getting screwed. I'm a victim, too. . . . The price keeps going up, not only to the motorist, but to me and I keep passing it on. . . . And yet I read where the oil companies have all these profits. . . . I see their executive salaries climbing and climbing. . . ."

"I'm sorry, I don't like sounding like sour grapes. But things aren't the way they used to be for me, or for any other small businessman. I'm not even bitter at Shell or the other oil companies any more. It's the entire system. There's something wrong with the entire system, government included."

HIGH COURT LETS JOBS BIAS STAND

For the second time the Supreme Court refused to review lower court rulings against Black workers suing a southern trucking line and the Teamsters union for discrimination. The Civil Rights Act suit focused on the use of seniority as a device to ensure that long-lines jobs would go to whites.

The suit was against Ryder Truck Lines of Jacksonville, Florida, and the union.

The workers charged that Ryder had a consistent policy of not hiring Blacks for the better-paid long-lines jobs and that utilization of seniority blocked last-hired Blacks from being promoted into these jobs.

Stripped of legal jargon, the ruling upheld by the court said that the seniority system was not deliberately meant to discriminate. Cases where it is used that way, however, are apparently of no concern to the justices.

MIGRA SEIZURES SOAR

"Hard cops" in the Immigration and Naturalization Service like to argue that INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo is soft on incoming undocumented workers.

Castillo doesn't think so. He announced with apparent satisfaction April 16 that *migra* border cops had made a record catch in the month of March. In California alone, he said, more than 52,000 undocu-

mented immigrants were apprehended, an increase of 35 percent over March 1978.

HOSPITALS 'UTOPIAN'?

Declaring that New York "is a different city today from what it was" in the "free-spending 1950s and the utopian 1960s," the chairman of the New York City Planning Commission unveiled his vision of the future April 8.

A report by the planning commission calls on the city government to deny funds for building new public schools, hospitals, colleges, and mass-transit facilities.

It also proposes the closing of 200 schools and the phasing out of up to 5,000 hospital beds.

PROTEST POLICE MURDER IN L.A.

Seventy people marched in downtown Los Angeles March 29 to protest the police murder of Eula Mae Love. Love, a fifty-three-year-old Black woman, was shot eight times by two cops January 3. The police had been called by the gas company after a dispute with Love over a \$22.09 utility bill.

The cops who emptied their guns into Love claim she attacked them with a kitchen knife.

DISCRIMINATION A 'TRADE SECRET'?

The Supreme Court ruled April 18 that private parties could not block disclosures of government documents as obtainable under the Freedom of Information Act.

The ruling was in a case where workers sued the Chrysler Corporation for race and sex discrimination.

Under the act, they had applied for copies of Chrysler personnel reports filed with the government.

Chrysler obtained an injunction against their release under a clause of the law barring disclosure of "trade secrets and commercial or financial information."

While ruling that Chrysler couldn't bring a suit under the Freedom of Information Act, the Supreme Court indicated concern that the company's "secrets" be protected. It sent the case back to the lower court to determine if disclosure could be blocked under the Trade Secrets Act.

Sheer coincidence—Black Chicago homeowners pay higher taxes than whites because the tax office consistently overestimates the value of Black homes and underestimates the value of white homes, reports a University of Illinois research team. However, adds the professor who headed up the team, he doesn't think this is "due to a conscious effort to discriminate. . . ."

Public notice—The Rhode Island Supreme Court ruled a worker was entitled to compensation for an injury he suffered when he smashed his fist into a coffee machine that took his money but gave no coffee.

Heart of gold—Workers at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant who followed the governor's advice and left town if they were pregnant or had preschool-aged children were initially advised by their employer, Metropolitan Edison, that they would have to forfeit pay or vacation time. But the company then decided it was an "unusual situation" and modified its usual no-pay policy.

Nobody told her?—Rosalynn Carter said she is "shocked" by high food prices.

Nothing worse than thinking—Even though the jury found him not guilty, junior high schoolers and their teacher are catching hell in Hiroshima Harry Truman's home town, Independence, Missouri, for trying him as a war criminal. Speaking for a resolution of censure, a member of the state senate declared, "It's a sad day when misdirected educators can . . . poison the minds of young people through such an unfortunate exercise in the classroom."

A reasonable approach—The state of South Carolina fined a construction firm \$630 after an improperly designed temporary dam collapsed, killing seven people. Officials decided the firm was not guilty of "willful neglect" because the designer of the dam was among those killed.

Bigger than the bomb—"A 'Cosmic Laser Explosion'—featuring special lighting, disco music, and sound effects—will treat visitors to Opryland with a facsimile of a futuristic space war."—Special-events item in the *Indianapolis News*.

Union Talk

Defending new workers

This week's column is by Steve Eckardt, a member of Transport Workers Union Local 234. Eckardt is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Philadelphia City Council.

PHILADELPHIA—One maneuver that has become a special favorite in management's age-old divide-and-rule strategy is to try to force unions to trade off the rights of newer members (or members-to-be) in exchange for maintaining rights for more senior union members.

Employers have used this gambit with considerable success recently. Last fall, Carter and the U.S. Postal Service shoved an inadequate contract down the throats of postal workers that retained the no-layoffs clause—but only for those workers already employed. New hires will have to work six continuous years before enjoying job security.

In January officials of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks agreed to a contract for BRAC members on the Norfolk and Western Railway that gives new workers only 85 percent of full pay during their first year and 95 percent in their second.

Then in March, the divisive tactic was used against the transit workers here—Transport Workers Union Local 234. Holding the club of hiring part-time workers and eliminating lay-off protection over the workers' heads, management was able to force acceptance of a settlement that denies new workers full wages and benefits until they've been on the job for two and a half years.

These types of trade-offs represent a grave danger for labor. The whole idea of unionism—and its power—is that workers unite into one organization and demand that management deal with everybody at one time, not with individuals or particular groups of employees.

Thus company attempts to discriminate against any section of the union—new hires, Blacks, women, unskilled workers, pensioners—are a dagger aimed right at the heart of the union.

The same thing holds true for company attempts to divide the union from the rest of the working class. The increasingly dangerous situation our unions are in today—declining memberships, hit hard by lay-offs, take-aways, and inflation—is the bitter fruit of years of company-

inspired isolation of our unions from each other and from the population as a whole.

The inward-looking strategy of "protecting" an ever-narrowing circle of established union members at the expense of other members and the working class as a whole places the very existence of the union in jeopardy.

It decreases the rights and the power of the entire union. And it leaves those members who might not be immediately affected by trade-offs isolated and defenseless when management decides to turn its guns on them.

The only way to defend our unions is by conscientious adherence to the old labor slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

This means rejecting second-class status for any union members, be they newly hired, Black, or female.

It means fighting for affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, and abortion rights.

And it means united labor action in support of other unions, like the Steelworkers fighting for a union in Newport News, Virginia.

A glimpse of the kind of power working people have when they are united in action was seen last year when the coal miners stood up to the companies, the courts, and Carter with the active backing of auto workers, steelworkers, and thousands of other working people.

It was seen again last fall when the Missouri labor movement joined with Black and women's groups and farmers to resoundingly defeat the corporation-launched "right to work" ballot initiative.

The most important reason why the power of solidarity is not usually mobilized is that our union officials remain trapped within the bosses' two parties—the Democratic and Republican parties.

Instead of making trade-offs, our unions should strike out on our own with an uncompromising defense of the rights of all working people through our own political party, a labor party.

Adoption of this strategy would mean an end to the days when a contract "victory" means we didn't *gain* anything and we didn't *lose* too much.

And with the powerful weapons of solidarity and a labor party in our hands, we'd be on the road to ending "divide and rule" forever.

Toxic lake stocked with fish

New York State conservation officials have begun restocking salmon and trout in Lake Ontario. Fish stocking had been halted in 1976 when fish caught there showed dangerously high levels of toxic chemicals.

At dedication ceremonies April 18, State Conservation Commissioner Robert Flacke acknowledged that the concentration of Mirex and PCBs (polychlorinated biphenols) were still above hazardous levels in the lake.

However, he assured, trout and coho salmon caught next spring would be edible. But chinook salmon, he added, should be consumed only within specific guidelines, if at all.

Amplifying, a Health Department spokesperson said

adults should eat no more than one meal a week of any fish caught in the lake and that pregnant women and children should eat none at all.

"We still have a toxic substance problem in Lake Ontario," Commissioner Flacke conceded, "but I believe, taking into consideration the wide publicity the Mirex pollution has received and the advisory issued by the Health Department, the general public has been made aware of the risks associated with eating these fish."

Why this deadly insanity?

By the 1980s, the Lake Ontario sports fishing industry anticipates grossing more than \$100 million a year.

Castro on Vietnam

Below are excerpts from an April 19, 1967, speech by Fidel Castro commemorating the sixth anniversary of the defeat of U.S. imperialism at Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs).

The speech was given a few days after nearly half a million people marched in New York and San Francisco against the Vietnam War and is appropriately titled, 'A Mighty Ally in the People of the USA.'

We have said on other occasions, and we will have to repeat it many more times, that the people of Vietnam have given the world, the revolutionaries, and also the imperialists, a supreme lesson, a lesson they cannot ignore.

The imperialists have seen that there are limits to their might; they have seen that despite their industrial and military resources they have been unable to crush the revolutionary movement in a country many times smaller than the United States.

They have, it is true, caused much pain and sacrifice, they have spilled much blood, but they are further than ever from defeating the revolutionary movement in Vietnam.

The situation of the imperialist aggressors is worsening. The consequences in domestic politics, the moral and economic consequences, are increasingly difficult to ignore. One of these consequences is the resistance of the people of the United States itself, who just a few days ago staged one of the biggest demonstrations that has ever been seen there, precisely against the brutal and criminal war being waged by the imperialists in Vietnam.

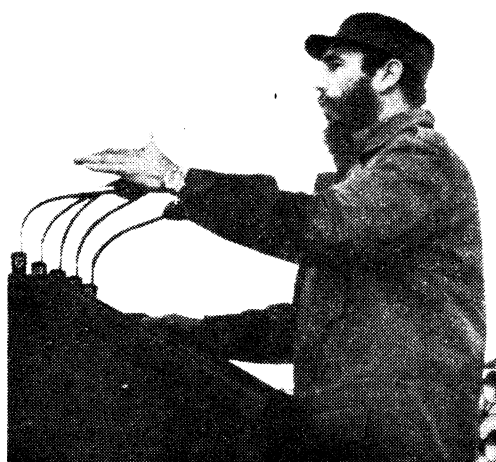
And one more ally—a most estimable one at that—is arising right there among the people of the United States.

It is really interesting from an historic standpoint, from the point of view of the course of events nowadays, that there—right in the heart of New York—hundreds of thousands of citizens joined together under that watchword.

The representatives of the movement against racial discrimination were present in considerable numbers with posters saying that the war being waged by the imperialists against the Vietnamese people is inspired [by] the same feelings that lead to the oppression of Black people in the United States.

That is, the victims of exploitation and discrimination in the United States have realized that their own cause has an ally in the Vietnamese who are fighting and dying for their homeland.

This is an indication to us, to revolutionaries, that sooner or later, among the exploited sectors of the United States, among those who suffer discrimination under that system, among the poor of the United States, among the students of the United States, and even among the pro-



gressive and intellectual sectors of the United States—whose awareness will awaken more and more—the world revolutionary movement, and in particular the Latin American revolutionary movement, will have—sooner or later—a mighty ally.

Imperialist interests, the interests of the small minority of monopolists who rule the United States, try to persuade the people of that country that the liberating revolution of the peoples goes against their interests. But the people of the United States will come to see with increasing clarity who represent the most vital interests of the people of the U.S., whether the revolutionaries of the liberation movements or the imperialists who are spending nearly \$100 billion in war-mongering adventures.

Not only do the imperialists squander the fruits of the labor of the people of the United States on war adventures and brutal crimes; they divest the U.S. people of a good part of the fruits of their labor in order to augment their monopoly capital and to foot bloody wars in defense of these monopoly interests. And they squander not only the money of the people of the United States, but also their blood, and they are threatening to cause greater bloodshed with each passing day.

This lesson, of course, has not been learned by the people of the United States from speeches or pamphlets. No! It has been a costly lesson; it has cost the Vietnamese people much blood, it has cost Dominican blood, and, unfortunately, it will cost still more blood, of these peoples and of others.

In other words, the peoples of the world have had to pay the cost of imperialist barbarity so that the people of the United States might open their eyes. And the people of the United States will open their eyes; they will open them more and more as the revolutionary struggle of the peoples grows, and as the imperialists become increasingly impotent and increasingly battered by the revolutionary movement, not only in Vietnam, but, as Che said, in two, three, four, five, ad infinitum, Vietnams.

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

☐ I want to join the SWP.
☐ Send me _____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$_____
☐ Please send me more information.
 Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 State _____ Zip _____
 Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

JOIN THE SWP

Letters

Protest school cuts

About 300 students, faculty, and administrators held a rally here at the University of Connecticut in Storrs on April 5. Chanting, "Hey, hey, Governor G., How many bucks you gonna keep from me?" they protested Governor Grasso's proposed budget cuts for operating our educational system.

Grasso's proposal amounts to \$65.6 million, a cut of \$4.5 million from the board of higher education's recommended budget of \$70.1 million; \$3.1 million less than the minimum required to run our university. Our current budget is \$66.1 million.

The cuts will cause layoffs of faculty, maintenance workers, and secretaries; exclusion of

'Tell it like it is'

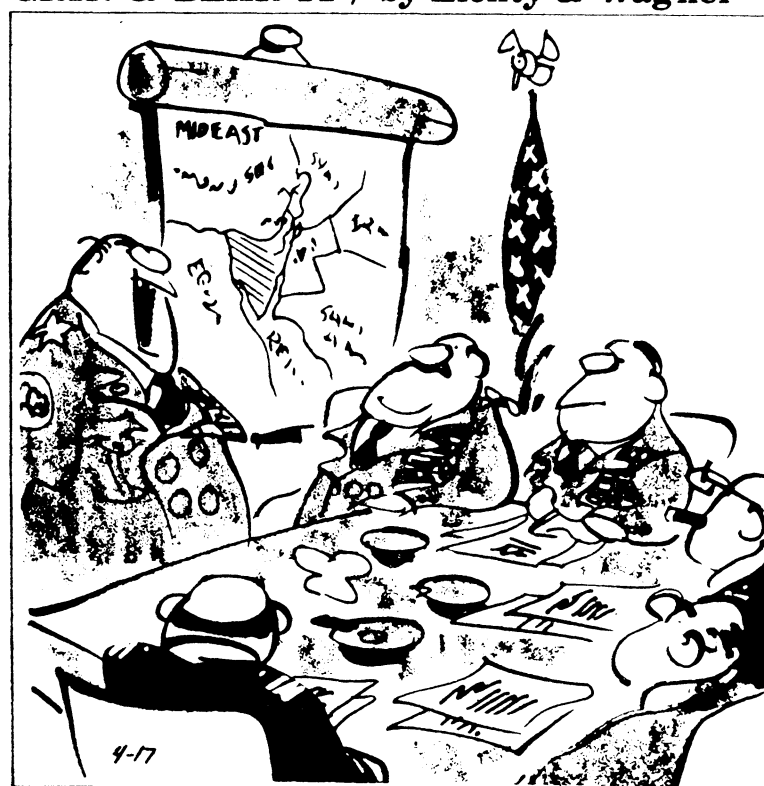
I have just finished reading the April 10 special supplement [the issue of the *Militant* put out in response to the Three Mile Island nuclear accident]. I purchased it at a store in Toms River, New Jersey. I found it interesting and quite easy to understand.

Enclosed you'll find a check for a ten-week subscription. I'd like to give more, but at this time I'm unemployed. However, I hope to be working soon and will be glad to do more when I'm able.

Keep up the good work. You have restored my faith in honesty, real down-to earth people who know how to tell it like it is.

I'll be sure to let my friends read the copy I have. Looking

GRIN & BEAR IT / by Lichty & Wagner



'Five billion dollars for peace in the Mideast? Why, we've had wars for less than that!'

several hundred students from upper division courses; and a loss of accreditation for the school of engineering. To ensure our current level of education, these costs will possibly end up in tuition increases.

This attack on our educational system is part of the attack waged by big business against the working class and other oppressed people. While big business is reaping profits, workers and students have to pay with cutbacks in social services, unemployment, and higher taxes.

More actions like this one are needed to fight back this offensive against our rights.

A.A. Koskinas
 Storrs, Connecticut

'Fine efforts'

I wish it was easier to make contributions to your fine efforts in support of all the causes of social justice that the great ideal of true socialism underlies.

For the workers of the world, I can only aid you with a half year's subscription renewal I am sure is due.

Please send me the first April issue, I don't want to miss one.
 Joel Bailly
 Chestertown, Maryland

forward to receiving my next issue.

Aleta Dougherty
 Toms River, New Jersey

'Send me ten more'

I was handed a copy of the *Militant* at the Groton, Connecticut, anti-Trident rally protesting the launching of a nuclear submarine.

I enjoyed it and would like to receive ten more issues.

B.B.
 Warwick, Rhode Island

U.S. wages falling

I used to think American industrial workers were the highest paid in the world—probably because I'd been told it so many times by the capitalists and their friends in the labor bureaucracy. But the facts show it isn't so.

I came across an eye-opening study in a publication put out by the Citibank corporation—the December issue of their *Monthly Economic Letter*. It showed that when you take stock of the total "social wage"—that is, hourly wages plus government-provided social services—American workers come in a distant fifth. As other readers may be interested in the figures, you

Learning About Socialism

may want to print them. Here they are:

Sweden	\$9.88 an hour
Belgium	9.88
Netherlands	9.62
Germany	9.18
USA	8.26
Canada	7.54
France	6.90
Italy	6.18
Japan	5.65
Britain	4.24

The obvious question for the labor brass is why, under their leadership, wages here have fallen so far behind. It looks like a few questions are in order in Canada, France, Italy, Japan, and Britain too.

M.B.

New York, New York

'Too partisan'?

Regarding your recent letter inviting me to extend my trial subscription. While I feel my socialist education must continue, I do not feel strongly that regular reading of the *Militant* is how I want to do it.

I am interested in other points of view in the socialist movement. I also have felt that your articles reflect too partisan a viewpoint.

On the whole I appreciate the *Militant* and the opportunity I have had to examine it.

Allen Goldman

Oakland, California

'Keeps me informed'

I have started to receive the *Militant* thanks to the Prisoners Fund. I want the whole staff and all socialists to know that I appreciate it very much and will definitely pass it on to other "aware" people in this dungeon.

The *Militant* keeps me informed, wakes a lot of people up to the fact that our problems are collective.

I will definitely buy a subscription and contribute to the Prisoners Fund upon my first paycheck.

Keep up the good work. And thanks a lot!

A prisoner

Colorado

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Speeches of Fidel Castro

Joseph Hansen, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the world Trotskyist movement, once described the Cuban revolution as "one long and never ending meeting." He was referring to Fidel Castro who, as the revolution unfolded, was seemingly always in front of a battery of microphones and TV cameras speaking to the Cuban people.

Millions attended the huge rallies and demonstrations where Castro was usually the main speaker. These occasions were like mass classrooms where Cuban workers and peasants listened, responded, felt their power, and came to a deeper understanding of the next tasks in their fight for freedom.

The speeches of Fidel Castro, the foremost leader of the Cuban revolution, are necessary reading for anyone who wants to understand what has occurred in Cuba over the past twenty years. Primarily an orator and not a writer, Castro has shared his ideas mainly through speeches.

Castro's speeches tend to be long, but readers should bear in mind that under the yoke of the dictator Batista and his Yankee imperialist backers, about 40 percent of the Cuban population could not read. (Today, the literacy rate in Cuba is 97 percent.)

Many of Castro's earlier speeches were widely circulated in the U.S. and abroad and played an important role in inspiring the new generation of revolutionary youth in the 1960s to take up the fight for socialism.

Eight of Castro's major talks given over the past twenty years are now available in a new Education for Socialists publication, "Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro" (Pathfinder Press, \$4.00).

Also included is the talk by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, given to the twentieth-anniversary celebration of the Cuban revolution at the December 1978 Young Socialist Alliance national convention. Readers will find this talk by Barnes a good introduction to Castro's speeches.

Castro's 1960 speech to the United Nations General Assembly was televised throughout the world and attracted a great deal of attention at the time. It was on this trip to the U.S. that the Cuban delegation made a sharp political point by staying at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

Fidel spoke for four and a half hours at the United Nations, giving a point-by-point indictment of U.S. impe-

rialism, using the experiences of the Cubans themselves to document how imperialism exploits the masses of the world, keeping them poor, and backing up its domination with military might.

A "... government of force—that of Fulgencio Batista—that was most appropriate for the United States monopolies in Cuba. . . . One billion dollars . . . were extracted from the treasury of the country by corrupt officials of the tyranny and were later deposited in United States and European banks. . . . The poor and under-developed country in the Caribbean, with 600,000 unemployed, was contributing to the economic development of the most highly industrialized country in the world!"

Castro's last speech in this collection celebrates the twentieth anniversary of the revolution that freed the Cuban workers and peasants from imperialist domination.

Here Fidel says, "Isn't it a wonderful thing to be able to state today that we freed ourselves of the hell of that domination two decades ago? Isn't the day coming soon when other peoples will also shake off that yoke? Can't we hold out another 20 years, and as many times 20 years as needed, without bowing our heads? Of course, we won't bow our heads—in this hemisphere, in Africa or anywhere else in the world . . . Cuba isn't China or Egypt."

These speeches can best be read and studied along with *Dynamics of The Cuban Revolution* by Joseph Hansen (Pathfinder Press, \$5.45). Hansen's book analyzes the development of the Cuban revolution, especially the process in which capitalism was abolished in Cuba and a workers state established there.

Also just off the press is a reprint in pamphlet form of *The Second Declaration of Havana* by Fidel Castro. This was the speech given by Castro on February 4, 1962, to nearly a million Cubans protesting the U.S.-inspired decision to expel Cuba from the Organization of American States (available from Pathfinder Press for \$.75).

The speech "History Will Absolve Me" by Castro is also available in pamphlet form from Pathfinder Press for \$2.00. This contains the complete verbatim transcript of Castro's talk given at his 1953 trial for leading the July 26, 1953, assault on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago.

The National Education Department of the SWP has prepared a study guide on the Cuban revolution, which is available on request.

—Paul Montauk

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205. Tel: (205) 322-6028.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. Los Angeles, Eastside: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, Zip: 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Los Angeles, Westside: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Zip: 90018. Los Angeles, City-wide: SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Joe Carmack, Univ. of Hartford, 11 Sherman St. Zip: 06105. Tel: (203) 233-6465.

DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Veronica Cruz, Kansas Univ. 326 Lewis. Zip: 66045. Tel: (913) 864-2066.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 Univer-

sity Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262.

LOUISVILLE: SWP, YSA, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o M. Casey, 42 McClellan. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 537-6537. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Clason Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1299. Zip: 10025 Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, Odd Fellows

Building, Rm. 209, 19 West Hargett St. Zip: 27601. Tel: (919) 833-9440.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 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.

THE MILITANT

Zimbabwe 'elections': voting at gunpoint

By August Nimtz

With 100,000 troops mobilized to crush any opposition, the white minority regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) claimed that 65 percent of the country's eligible voters turned out for the elections held the third week of April. The regime called the returns a defeat for the Patriotic Front, the major nationalist group fighting for Black majority rule. The Front had called for a boycott of the elections.

Aimed at providing cover for continued white domination of Zimbabwe the elections set up a new government that gives whites 28 percent of the seats in the new parliament, although the white population is a mere 4 percent.

The Ian Smith government tried to portray the elections as democratic and popular. Smith wanted to make it easier for U.S. and British imperialism to openly support the regime by extending diplomatic recognition and ending economic sanctions.

But even the capitalist media could not conceal the fact that the elections took place in a climate of fear and intimidation intended to make sure Blacks voted.

David Ottaway reported in the April 17 *Washington Post* that the government "has effectively silenced anyone opposed to the elections."

This was clearly shown in Bulawayo, where 900 people were arrested for trying to organize a campaign against the elections. Blacks who intended to boycott were afraid to give Ottaway their names. Many reported that their white employers had threatened to fire them if they did not vote.

"Hundreds of thousands of blacks were explicitly or implicitly intimidated," U.S. Rep. Stephen Solarz, who was in southern Africa at the time, told



Zimbabwean students calling for Cuban aid at demonstration against elections

the April 25 *New York Times*. The Patriotic Front was banned from participating in the elections.

One demonstration against the elections took place on the first day of voting in Salisbury, the capital, by students at the University of Rhodesia. Among the signs carried were appeals to the revolutionary troops of Cuba to aid the Zimbabwean liberation struggle.

In the so-called protected villages—Zimbabwe's equivalent of the U.S. "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam—the government claimed the highest vote

turnout. Numerous accounts of armed intimidation of Blacks were reported from these areas.

The white minority regime, aided by its Black collaborators, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Chief Jeremiah Chirau, and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, carried out an intensive propaganda effort to present the elections to Blacks as a peaceful resolution of their plight.

After the elections, in which Sithole came in third for the seat he sought, he charged "gross irregularities" in the vote, adding a new crack to the shaky alliance the white-dominated regime

hopes to base itself on.

Meanwhile, efforts are under way in the U.S. Congress to lift the economic sanctions against Zimbabwe and extend diplomatic recognition. To justify this move with the American people, several groups of U.S. "observers" went to Zimbabwe during the elections. Among them was a delegation from the Freedom House.

Freedom House Co-chairperson Bayard Rustin, who is also co-chairperson of Social Democrats USA, participated in the delegation, praising the phony elections. Rustin said the Carter administration should not refuse support to the new government because of what he delicately termed "deficiencies" in the vote.

Rustin has taken the same stance toward the racist regime in South Africa. Blacks in South Africa, he insists, are "marginally better off in terms of freedom than other Black Africans." And Rustin's Social Democrats USA is now campaigning to build support for the South African-backed UNITA forces in Angola.

These pro-imperialist observers weren't interested in whether the election was free or had the support of the population. Their sole concern in going to Zimbabwe was, "Can Smith get away with it?"

Their aim is to give Carter cover for lifting sanctions against Zimbabwe and deepening imperialism's commitment to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

U.S. supporters of the Black liberation struggle in Zimbabwe must continue the campaign to educate about the regime there and the U.S. role in maintaining white control. We must demand Black majority rule now—U.S. out of southern Africa!

A few facts on cop brutality

The April 16 police riot against striking Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, is a reminder of the many acts of cop violence against working people.

Statistics on the extent and frequency of police brutality have been carefully hidden by the government, especially facts on the racist character of these attacks. But the increase of cop violence on the picket line and in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities has produced an outcry of protest, forcing out some of the truth.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has begun hearings on police brutality in Philadelphia and Houston (see story on this page).

In a recent speech, Gilbert Pompa, director of the Community Relations Service of the Justice Department, revealed that police violence is directed with a particular vengeance at Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. Speaking before the National Association of Blacks in Criminal Justice, Pompa reported:

- "A detailed study of 1,500 killings . . . concluded that minorities—and especially Blacks—were common police victims, and that the

young Black male was a most likely victim."

- In Chicago, during a period of less than four years, cops "killed a civilian every 11.9 days and wounded one every 4.3 days."

- In seven major U.S. cities, "80 percent of the nonfatally shot civilians were minorities, while 78 percent of those killed were minorities."

And if those facts were not enough to demonstrate how racist cops are, look at Seattle.

In Seattle, which has a population of little more than 500,000, Pompa said, "while Blacks account for only 9 percent of the city's population, they comprise 49 percent of the people shot by police in a three-year period."

Pompa added that "the notion that such cases arise only in large urban areas does not hold up. . . . Incidents occur just as often in small communities as in large cities." Pompa's admissions are all the more startling because they are based on reports from police agencies and thus only scratch the surface of cop terrorism. They give but an inkling of the real story that can be told by the thousands of victims of "law and order" each year. —O.H.

Hearing probes Phila. police

By Osborne Hart

As part of a government investigation into the "causes of illegal police violence" around the country, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission concluded hearings on police brutality in Philadelphia April 17. The commission will begin hearings in Houston in June.

These cities were chosen because of their history of frequent cop violence—particularly against Blacks and Chicanos.

In Philadelphia, according to the Public Interest Law Center, of the 469 police shootings between 1970 and 1978, 299 were fatal. These figures and the public outcry against what they show have put the government under pressure to hold the hearings.

Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo testified before the commission on the final day. Rizzo was police commissioner until 1971. As a street cop, the media called him the "Cisco Kid" because he wore two guns.

Last summer, Rizzo ordered an attack on MOVE, a predominantly Black countercultural group. More than 300 cops moved in with tear gas, fire hoses, and guns. One of the captured victims was beaten with police helmets.

At one point during seventy-five minutes of testimony, Rizzo slipped and said, "As long as I'm police commissioner—as long as I'm mayor



FRANK RIZZO

of Philadelphia—nobody, but nobody, will take advantage of a policeman doing his job."

Rizzo went on to accuse "militants and anarchists," and reporters "who scream, 'the First Amendment'" of fabricating stories of cop brutality. Rizzo denied any pattern of police brutality and claimed that the commission was biased against the cops.

The current police commissioner, Joseph O'Neill, remarked that police brutality was a "minuscule problem."

A Philadelphia district attorney and a U.S. attorney who testified said Rizzo and O'Neill "have let it be known that policemen who use deadly force will not be punished" and that the department "has an attitude that the police can do no wrong."