

THE MILITANT

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

No to nuclear plants & weapons!

Bring union power into the fight



INSIDE: Reports on nuclear protests and Utah fallout hearings. Plus, 'New challenge for the antinuclear movement.' See pages 4-8.

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

More than a month ago, working people were terrifyingly alerted to the nuclear danger.

The criminal lies we had been told came bursting to the surface. The stark truth was laid bare:

The nuclear industry—aided every step of the way by Democratic and Republican officials—had jeopardized the lives and future of close to 1 million people in central Pennsylvania.

They jeopardized lives when they built the Three Mile Island nuclear plant.

They jeopardized lives for five years of its operation while it was emitting low-level radiation and building up nuclear wastes.

And they jeopardized lives in the days after March 28 when the crippled reactor leaked radiation and threat-

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Special offer to opponents of nuclear power and weapons

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Why do we think you'll want to subscribe?

Because we bring our readers coverage they won't find anywhere else. About the struggle against nuclear power . . . and a whole lot more.

The 'Militant' rushed a team of reporters to Three Mile Island to get the whole story on the nuclear disaster there. Within three days we'd published a special eight-page supplement that exposed the government/industry cover-up and explained why working people need to take the lead in the fight against nuclear power and weapons.

When the Iranian masses ousted the hated dictatorship of the shah last February, the 'Militant' was the only socialist newspaper in the United States that sent a reporter to Tehran, providing our readers with eyewitness accounts of the struggles by working people, peasants, soldiers, and women for democracy and socialism.

When Steelworkers at the Newport News shipyard in Virginia went on strike for a union in the "open shop" South, the 'Militant' was there from the beginning, providing unsurpassed eyewitness coverage of this inspiring chapter in the struggle by workers to defend their standard of living and democratic rights.

Why does the 'Militant' go to such lengths to get stories you'll never even see in the big-business media? Our masthead explains: We're "a socialist newsweekly published in the interests of the working people."

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Rubber workers vs. inflation

Capitalist economists have developed what they call a "discomfort index" to gauge the effect that unemployment and inflation have on working people.

Noting the sharp rise in this index since 1967, one U.S. commissioner of labor statistics recently commented, "These have been uncomfortable times."

Workers' "discomfort," as they so delicately put it, jumped again last month when the March consumer price increases were announced. The government's Consumer Price Index rose by 1 percent for an annual rate thus far this year of 13 percent.

Once again, the costs of life's necessities—food, fuel, and housing—were in the lead.

Carter's chief "inflation fighter" Alfred Kahn promised there would be "continued bad news" over the next few months.

Bad news for working people, that is. For big business, prospects are rosy. In the first quarter of 1979, corporate profits rose 28.5 percent over the same period last year.

Profit hikes ranged from a whopping 763 percent for National Steel to General Electric's "modest" 22 percent.

All of this, of course, is completely legal under Carter's convoluted price guidelines. He told reporters April 30, "I do not know at this point of any company where we can prove that they are out of compliance because they modify their prices [!] or . . . convince us that they indeed are meeting the guidelines."

Under the same "anti-inflation" plan, wages are to be kept to an uncomplicated 7 percent—barely one-half the inflation rate of the past three months.

The first big contract of the year with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union fell within the starvation guidelines. The next, which the Teamsters union officials agreed to April 10, squeezed out barely 8 percent.

Now Carter's fire is aimed at the United Rubber Workers. The URW's contracts for 55,000 tire and rubber products workers expired April 21. URW President Peter Bommarito says the union will go to court to try to prevent the Carter administration from further "interfering" in its negotiations. Bommarito charges that Uniroyal, the designated strike target, backed down from a wage agreement because of pressure from the government.

A key point of dispute is Uniroyal's refusal to

meet demands for an improvement in the union's cost-of-living adjustment. As more and more workers realize, an effective and unlimited COLA—not any sort of government controls—is the real "inflation fighter." It offers the only way to keep wages abreast of soaring prices.

Another contested point in the rubber talks is also of national significance—the burning need to organize the South. The URW, which has suffered major losses as the rubber companies moved plants south, is seeking a "neutrality pact letter," in which the company would pledge not to discourage organizing of its nonunion plants. Uniroyal refuses to sign.

The URW has pledged to strike Uniroyal if no contract agreement is reached by May 5.

Contract talks between the General Electric Company and the International Union of Electrical Workers and the United Electrical Workers opened May 1. IUE President David Fitzmaurice started off by saying there was no place in the negotiations for "outside dictation." Contracts for the more than 95,000 GE workers expire June 30.

Bommarito, Fitzmaurice, and other union officials are responding to rises in what could be called the "anger index." Unionists are sick and tired of seeing prices and profits soar while their real wages decline.

Some 16,800 members of the International Association of Machinists, for example, have been on strike against United Airlines since March 31. The machinists have voted down two proposed contracts that offered only 40 percent increases over three years—proposals that got by Carter because they were in line with another airline agreement reached last year.

Business Week reported in its April 30 issue that "talks with the rank and file indicate that wage guidelines and 'tandem relationships' with earlier settlements do not count for much when United is posting a 1978 profit of \$302.3 million—a gain of 237% from 1977."

That is absolutely right. Carter's wage guidelines and all the other antilabor schemes of the Democrats and Republicans don't count for much in the eyes of unionists.

Working people need big wage increases, adequate cost-of-living clauses, the right to vote on contracts, and the right to strike so that the employers realize they can't get away with cutting our paychecks and fattening their pocketbooks.

All unionists fighting for these basic demands—rubber workers, machinists, electrical workers—need the broadest possible support.

Israeli terrorism

Formal documents putting the new treaty between Israel and Egypt into effect were exchanged by the two governments April 25. But even as the documents were changing hands, the Zionist regime was making crystal clear what its plans are for the future. And they have nothing to do with peace.

Israeli gunboats and artillery pounded Lebanese towns for the fourth day in a row during the treaty ceremonies April 25.

"According to UN and US observers," Joseph Harsch reported in the May 1 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Israelis used American weapons supposedly limited by agreement with Washington to defensive action only."

Harsch was referring to antipersonnel cluster bombs, which are used by the Israeli armed forces to maximize civilian casualties.

Israeli Minister of Defense Ezer Weizman, before boarding a plane taking him to talks in Cairo, told reporters he was not worried about the reaction of the Egyptian government.

"This is one of the problems we are going to be facing in the future. But I think they will understand," Weizman declared.

Weizman's assessment proved accurate. His diplomatic mission proceeded as planned, with the Egyptian regime issuing only a mild protest.

But where do the Zionist rulers plan to stop?

- On April 10, Israeli bombers raided the Lebanese towns of Tyre and Damur, causing dozens of casualties.

- On April 18, right-wing Christian forces declared the strip of southern Lebanon they control "independent." Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin denied responsibility, but the rightists are completely dependent on Israeli support and could not have moved without their tacit approval.

- On April 22 Israeli forces began a savage bombardment of Lebanon that went on for five days.

- Also on April 22 the Israeli cabinet gave the lie to the Palestinian "autonomy" promised in the Sadat-Begin treaty by voting to establish two new settlements in the occupied West Bank.

- And finally, on April 29, the Israeli cabinet voted to impose the death penalty on Palestinian guerrillas convicted of "inhuman terrorist crimes."

But the real terrorist in the Middle East is the Zionist regime. It has taken the treaty with Egypt as a green light for stepping up its attacks against the Arab masses, and especially against the Palestinian people.

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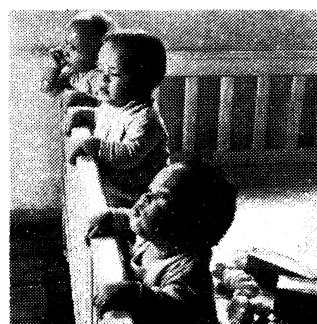


What road to Mideast peace?

Can Washington-sponsored Sadat-Begin pact prevent new Mideast wars? This month's *International Socialist Review* features a debate between revolutionary socialist David Frankel and Social Democrat Carl Gershman. **Page 13.**

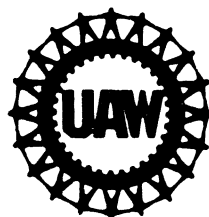
Auto Workers conference

Three thousand UAW delegates met in Detroit to hammer out upcoming contract demands. **Page 24.**



Health care in Cuba

August Nimtz discusses the immense strides revolutionary Cuba has made in upgrading the health of its people. **Page 23.**



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U.S.-Soviet prisoner exchange

Carter poses as defender of freedom

By Marilyn Vogt

A secret deal between Washington and Moscow led to the exchange on April 27 of five imprisoned Soviet dissidents for two Soviet citizens convicted of espionage by U.S. courts.

The five dissidents were paraded before reporters for a well-publicized news conference April 28. Capitalist politicians lost no time in trying to use the exchange to portray themselves as defenders of freedom.

President Carter shared a church service with one of the released dissidents April 29. Meanwhile, cabinet member Patricia Harris, together with senators Daniel Moynihan, Jacob Javits, and Henry Jackson appeared alongside some of the other dissidents at a New York rally.

These Soviet human rights activists suffered years of persecution for their ideas. All five had inspired considerable defense work internationally and within the USSR.

Edward Kuznetsov and Mark Dymshits, two Jewish activists who were repeatedly denied the right to emigrate, were finally driven to the kind of individual action against their oppression that many Palestinians have resorted to. In 1970 they were sentenced to fifteen years in prison by the Kremlin rulers for trying to hijack a plane to go to Israel.

Aleksandr Ginzburg, twice imprisoned for his anti-Stalinist writings in the 1960s, was sentenced to an eight-year term in 1978. He was jailed for participating in a group that was monitoring the Kremlin's human rights record and for overseeing a fund to aid political prisoners.

Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian historian, was sentenced in 1970 to a fourteen-year term because of his writings condemning Stalinist repression and the Russification of the Ukraine.

Georgi Vins, a dissident Baptist leader, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment because of his religious views.

Certainly the release of these unjustly imprisoned opponents of the Stalinist bureaucracy is to be welcomed. At the same time, the way in which these five were released will be used by the Kremlin against the over-



Soviet dissidents at U.S. press conference following exchange: From left, Ginzburg, Moroz, Kuznetsov, Vins, and Dymshits. Carter tried to use deal to bolster his own popularity.

all movement for democratic rights in the USSR.

Of course, the released prisoners were given no choice in the matter. But the fact that they were released to the U.S. government, while Washington released two Russians convicted of being Soviet spies, can only make it easier for the Kremlin to portray dissidents as foreign agents rather than people who are persecuted for fighting for democratic rights within their own country.

Washington is well aware of this. Last year the Carter administration explored the possibility of a similar exchange that would have involved Anatoly Shcharansky, a prominent dissident who was framed up on espionage charges by the Kremlin.

According to the April 29 *New York Times*, "there was some concern in the Administration on whether it was wise to exchange the Soviet spies for Mr. Shcharansky. . . . But it was decided in Washington that his release would be worth the *public relations problem* of seeming to acknowledge his guilt."

The Carter administration saw a move that could have done serious

damage to the dissident movement in the eyes of the Soviet working people as merely a "public relations problem."

In negotiating this latest deal, as in the Shcharansky case, the imperialist politicians in Washington were cynically using the Soviet dissidents for their own purposes.

While Carter is milking this sensational exchange for all it is worth, he is refusing to grant political asylum to thousands of Haitians fleeing the U.S.-backed dictatorship in their homeland. And he has refused political asylum to Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican socialist who faces imprisonment or death if he is forced to return to his country.

By exiling dissident leaders, the Soviet bureaucracy reduces the ability of its opponents to reach out and win a hearing among the Soviet workers and peasants. This was recognized by Ginzburg and Vins, who stated they did not want to leave the USSR and the struggle of which they were a part.

Of course, Washington has no more interest in helping establish workers democracy in the USSR than in helping establish workers democracy in southern Africa or Iran. A democratic

workers state in the USSR would imperil the very survival of imperialism by inspiring workers everywhere to follow that example.

Both Washington and the Kremlin fear the potential for a broad *working class movement* in defense of Soviet dissidents. The possibility of such a movement was shown by the successful campaign for the release of Leonid Plyushch, a campaign that won the support of the French and Italian Communist parties and trade union organizations in many countries. Both Carter and the Kremlin hope that their prisoner exchange will undercut the future development of such labor actions by associating the dissident movement with the U.S. government.

It is not imperialism, the deadly enemy of democratic rights the world over, that will help win the struggle for these rights in the USSR. Nor is it secret meetings between Brzezinski and Dobrynin. Only the power of the Soviet workers and peasants, in alliance with the oppressed and exploited around the world, can win these rights. It is to this force that the Soviet dissidents must appeal.

Iran: gov't seeks to dissolve popular committees

By Gerry Foley

The supreme commander of the central Imam's Committee of Iran, Ayatollah Mahdavi Khani, held a new conference on April 25, together with national police commander Col. Nasser Mojallali, to announce that the revolutionary committees would be dissolved. "Reliable" members of the committees would be incorporated into the police force.

The April 26 *New York Times* reported: "Ayatollah Khani said that . . . as the membership of the police force increased the revolutionary committees would be phased out and more of their members would join the police force or return to their previous occupations."

Actually, most committee members have never left their occupations. They have continued working at their regular jobs and have kept their ties with the masses of working people and poor. That is one of the reasons why both the religious leaders and the government officials are anxious to "phase out" the committees, which arose as neighborhood defense organizations and carried out the mass insurrection

that overthrew the shah's regime.

Neither the committees nor the insurrection were desired by the religious leaders. The objective of the procapitalist forces in the opposition had been to save as much as possible of the police and army as a basis for rebuilding a stable bourgeois order after the ouster of the shah. Just before the uprising in Tehran, they had reached an agreement with the military commanders providing for a "peaceful" transfer of power. But they were unable to head off the mass insurrection that had been building up for months.

With the military and police forces left demoralized and mangled by the uprising, the procapitalist forces in the opposition were obliged to try to keep control of the situation by manipulating the committees.

The religious leaders appointed regional committees and a central committee to "coordinate" the local bodies. They sent mullahs and theology students into the committees to assure their "Islamic" character. They sought to purge all the politically conscious and militant elements. They also encouraged ex-SAVAK agents to come in

to continue their work of repressing socialists and militant workers under the cloak of the committees.

Nonetheless, the capitalist forces have been unable to make the committees into reliable instruments of repression. There is a thin layer of reactionaries on top, but the bulk of those actually carrying out the work of these bodies are armed, revolutionary minded youth—about 5,000 in Tehran alone.

One example of the "unreliability" of the committees was an incident that happened in Tabriz in mid-April. Members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) were arrested for selling their paper in the streets of the city. They were taken to the committee headquarters, where there were about twenty young men with guns. These activists outspokenly opposed the arrest of the Trotskyists, and told the official who had brought them in that he had no right to interfere with the propagation of any political views. To make their point clear they all bought copies of the Trotskyist paper right under his nose.

There have been many cases when

Trotskyists arrested by reactionary committee members have been able to argue with the committee and essentially win their point. So it is obvious why the government and the religious leaders want to get rid of the committees and rebuild a professional police apparatus.

The claims in the international capitalist press that the call for "phasing out" the committees represents a victory for Prime Minister Bazargan's government over Ayatollah Khomeini are false. All the capitalist forces in Iran agree on the need to liquidate the committees.

Rightist forces do not want to set up paramilitary organizations to use against the workers and the left, but the committees cannot serve that purpose. In mid-April, the Holy Warriors of the Islamic Revolution were launched with a rally at Tehran University addressed by Khomeini's chief ideologist, Abdul Bani Sadr.

The new paramilitary organization then held an openly reactionary demonstration, calling for the execution of all leftists. Further actions of this kind were held in subsequent weeks, but

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...labor party needed to fight nuclear threat

Continued from front page

ened a devastating meltdown.

Then the full scope of the cover-up hit home: if they had lied about Harrisburg's Three Mile Island plant, they had lied about the seventy-one others across the country. And about the ninety-two under construction. And they could be expected to lie again.

In the weeks that followed, we learned they had also covered up the hazards of nuclear weapons testing in Utah during the 1950s and 1960s.

It suddenly hit millions of people that we had been lied to about the entire nuclear industry, from uranium mining to the weapons plants to the justification for nuclear power—the artificially created oil and gas shortages.

Yet the Democratic Carter administration has shoved all these revelations aside and is moving full speed ahead with expansion of nuclear power!

While some Democratic Party politicians are opting for a more cautious approach, not one Democratic or Republican official is demanding:

Shut all the nuclear plants down today! End the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons!

Big-business parties

No Democratic or Republican politician is going to lead the fight to end this nuclear nightmare, because every one of them, by representing one of the two big-business parties, is tied up with the energy industry.

And the Democratic and Republican appointees in the supposedly independent Nuclear Regulatory Commission are no better. They are industry representatives on loan from big corporations or careerists from the pronuclear Defense Department.

Whatever these politicians and officials do, they have the interests of the profit-making corporations at heart. The lives and health of working people take a back seat.

It's the same when it comes to health and safety on the job, pollution, chemical wastes, and strip mining's ravaging of the land. The Democrats and Republicans close their eyes, crying "overregulation" when even the slightest precautions are proposed.

The only way working people have to fight these injustices is through our unions. And we must turn to them in the struggle against nuclear power and weapons.

The labor movement has the power to end the nuclear danger. And it can take action *now*!

Unions, from the international level to local committees, can campaign to get out the truth on the nuclear poison. They can publicize the facts on radiation—facts the government has fought to keep secret since the 1950s.

Unions can form committees, such as the environmental committee in United Steelworkers Local 1010, to educate the membership and work with other unions and groups against nuclear power.

And the unions can initiate and support protests that can put the government and energy industry on notice that the power of the union movement is behind the antinuclear movement.

But to stop the nuclear danger will require more than these actions. It is a political fight that must be organized independently of the Democratic and Republican parties. Now more than ever, the labor movement cannot afford to help elect Democratic politicians, a practice that amounts to supporting our executioners.

Labor party

Union money, political talent, and organizational experience that is now channeled into support for our enemies should be used instead to elect union candidates. It should be put toward creating an independent voice for labor—a labor party.

Just think about how the Three Mile Island horror would have been handled if there had been a labor party.

Action by a labor party, of course, would have begun long before the March 28 accident. A labor party would have fought from the very beginning against construction of the plant. It would have continued to demand that it be shut down.

At the first news of the March 28 accident, a labor party would have campaigned for the public to know the full truth, instead of participating in the cover-up as the Democrats and Republicans did. Labor party officials would have fought to open to the public the secret meetings of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

A labor party would have conducted its own radiation monitoring of the communities surrounding the plant, and it would have publicized those readings along with the possible consequence.

And while NRC officials were secretly discussing "losing the horse race" at Three Mile Island at the same time they were cynically reassuring the pub-



Harrisburg residents demonstrate April 8. 'No Democratic or Republican politician is going to lead antinuclear fight,' says socialist Andrew Pulley (inset).

lic, a labor party would have demanded a full-scale evacuation until the reactor was cooled down.

A labor party would have vigorously protested passing any expenses whatsoever along to Metropolitan Edison's customers. Instead it would have demanded that all costs be deducted from the utility's profits.

A labor party would have insisted—and backed up its demands by whatever action necessary—that any wages lost because of workplace shutdowns or evacuations be reimbursed. It would have demanded that small businesses be repaid for their losses and that farmers be compensated for damage to farmland and livestock incurred because of Met Ed's profit drive.

A labor party would have fought to provide jobs for the nuclear workers put out of work by the plant shutdown.

And a labor party would now be demanding free, government-guaranteed, lifetime medical testing and care for residents of the area.

Open the books

A labor party, whether organized on a national or regional basis, whether in office or not, would join and lead the struggle to expose the dangers of radiation and halt the threat of nuclear plants and weapons.

It would demand that the books of the energy monopolies—the oil barons, the coal companies, the utilities—be opened to the public so that the real costs of energy, as well as the known energy reserves, could be assessed.

And it would fight to win funding for development of new energy sources, using tax dollars that are now squandered on nuclear and other deadly weapons.

A labor party would fight to nationalize the energy industry and put it under the control of directly elected committees. The books of these committees would be open, their meetings public, and they would be responsible to the American people.

Join us

There are many cruelties and injustices that condemn this profits-first capitalist system. Nuclear power and weapons rank near the top. For the sake of profits, and the might with which to run roughshod over the rest of the world to protect and expand those profits, the rich who rule this country

endanger millions of lives. They sentence communities in Utah to high rates of cancer, old people and children alike. They condemn future generations to genetic defects.

They imperil the very existence of humanity.

"People have got to learn to live with the facts of life, and part of the facts of life is fallout," said an Atomic Energy Commissioner in 1955, trying to justify the Utah weapons testing.

No, fallout is not a fact of life. It is a fact of capitalist life.

It is part of the same system that provides health care only for those who can afford it. That drives working people to an early grave with speedup and forced overtime, while relegating millions of others to the unemployment lines. That dooms women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans to a second-class status from their births.

These facts of life would change under a socialist system where working people ran the country, basing production and social services on human needs.

That's what the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are fighting for. If you agree, join the socialist movement today.

JOIN US

If you like what you read in the *Militant* and believe Andrew Pulley has the right ideas about changing this profits-first capitalist system, you belong in the socialist movement. Join the Socialist Workers Party or the revolutionary youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance.

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☐ Please send more information about the Young Socialist Alliance.

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New challenge facing antinuclear movement

By Arnold Weissberg

The disaster at Three Mile Island alerted millions of American working people to the deadly dangers of nuclear power. The belief that nuclear power is not safe has become widespread.

The anti-nuclear power movement, which has fought to prevent Harrisburg-type disasters, can now get a hearing from broad layers of the population. More and more workers believe that the government and nuclear industry have consistently lied to them, just as they lied throughout the Vietnam War and Watergate.

How can the movement seize this opportunity and challenge? How can we mobilize the force that can stop nuclear power and nuclear weapons once and for all?

To answer these questions we must first look at the big political changes that have occurred in this country and around the world since the early 1970s.

The long period of economic prosperity and stability that began in this country at the end of World War II is over. Faced with stiffened competition from their Japanese and European counterparts, U.S. corporations are relentlessly driving for higher profits by making workers pay. This means lower real wages, fewer jobs, murderous speedup, reduced workplace health and safety, more pollution—including radiation—and deep cuts in social services.

Combined assault

This has been a combined assault by the employers and the government. The Carter administration's oil price decontrol, which will give at least \$6 billion to the oil monopolies, is only the latest example.

In allowing oil and gas prices to rise, the government claims it is simply responding to the "energy crisis." But it is the rulers of this country who have manufactured this crisis—to hack away at the living standards of working people, to dilute environmental protection laws, and to stir up fear of a cutoff of Mideast oil supplies, a fear they hope can be used to win support for war ventures abroad.

The government and the employers have also launched attacks on the democratic rights and social gains that enable working people to resist this offensive. Attacks on the right to strike have gone together with assaults on affirmative action, as in the *Weber* and *Bakke* cases; on women's rights; and on freedom of the press, as in the *Progressive* magazine case.

The assault of the ruling class on the rights and lives of the working class has increasingly focused on the industrial unions, that section of the labor movement with the power to lead the fight against this offensive. In 1978, the coal bosses and the Carter administration directly took on the United Mine Workers union with the aim of breaking it.

What happened during the UMWA strike has altered the relationship of class forces since—to the advantage of the antinuclear movement and all those struggling against exploitation and oppression.

The miners stood up to the employers' attacks on their union and won the solidarity of millions of other workers. They rebuffed the drive to crush the UMWA and inspired all those fighting for their rights.

The growth of combativity in the labor movement—illustrated by the coal miners—is today seen most strikingly in the heroic fight of Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia. They have stood up against the combined power of the Tenneco conglomerate, the cops, courts, and government.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Steelworkers march in Newport News, Virginia. Growth of combativity in ranks of labor gives antinuclear movement opportunity to reach those who have power to end nuclear danger.

Working people are beginning to see that the problems they face—the environment, energy, employment, inflation, racism, and sexism—are part of a class struggle, a struggle that pits the employers and their government against the vast majority.

The fight against nuclear power and nuclear weapons is part of this class struggle. Nuclear power and nuclear weapons benefit only the bosses. It is working people who suffer their effects the most, from early death from cancer and leukemia, to the layoffs caused by nuclear accidents such as the one at Three Mile Island.

Only the labor movement has both the need and the power to stop nuclear energy. Through their unions, workers have the numbers, organization, and political and economic power to affect the deepgoing change necessary to shut the nukes down.

To successfully reach out to labor, the anti-nuclear movement will have to answer the questions on many workers' minds: Isn't there a worldwide energy shortage? What can we substitute for nuclear energy? Doesn't nuclear energy provide needed jobs?

Energy shortage?

The anti-nuclear power movement needs to explain that the "energy shortage" is a manufactured crisis.

It has been the justification for the giant leap in oil profits.

It has been used by U.S. corporations to improve their position in regard to their overseas competitors, through their overwhelming domination of the distribution of Mideast oil.

It has been used to try and whip up war hysteria, by blaming oil prices on the Iranian and Arab working masses instead of on the oil companies and the U.S. government.

And the rulers have used their manufactured shortage as the main justification for building nuclear power plants.

While the energy monopolies have manufactured a shortage, they have

also created a real crisis—a crisis of the pocketbook for American working people. They have simply held fuel supplies for ransom.

The government has fully cooperated in this ripoff, using oil company figures to "prove" there is a real shortage.

The antinuclear movement must expose the fraud that the world is running out of fossil fuel. There remain in the earth vast untapped reserves of coal, oil, and natural gas. But the actual amounts are the closely guarded secrets of the oil companies.

The antinuclear movement can join with labor in a campaign to demand public inspection of the energy monopolies' records—their secret records of oil and gas reserves, and their financial records. Let's see just how much fossil fuel is still in the ground, and what the oil companies' real profits have been.

Public ownership

The truth about mismanagement, lying, and profiteering by the energy monopolies would make it clearer than ever that the only way to ensure adequate supplies of affordable energy is to place the entire energy industry under public ownership.

This would not mean phony "regulatory agencies" such as the Nuclear Regulatory Commission or the various state utility boards, which work hand-in-glove with the energy monopolies.

It would mean placing the energy utilities under the control of independent boards directly elected by and responsible to the American people. The books of the utilities would be open and easily available. Meetings of such boards would be public.

That way, the American people could make the decisions about energy that affect everyone's lives, instead of those decisions being made—as they are now—secretly, by a tiny handful of capitalists interested only in profits.

The ruling class's propaganda machine has convinced many working

people that their jobs depend on nuclear power and that shutting down nuclear power plants will mean more unemployment.

But nuclear power plants don't hire workers. Bosses hire workers—and fire them. The owners of the big corporations hire and fire according to one standard alone: what will make them the biggest profit. The capitalists' profit drive is the source of unemployment.

The movement can point out that switching from nuclear to coal-fired plants will provide tens of thousands of jobs for coal miners and railroad workers who transport coal.

The United Mine Workers union, which has been in the forefront of the fight to force the coal bosses to mine coal safely and without damaging the environment, opposes nuclear power and favors expanding coal production. This gives the anti-nuclear movement a powerful potential ally.

The anti-nuclear power movement should also join with the labor movement in demanding job security for every worker. Anyone who loses a job because of the shutting of a nuclear facility should get full compensation at union wages.

The real solutions to massive unemployment have nothing to do with expanding nuclear power. What is needed is a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay and a crash program of public works, paid for with the \$130 billion war budget, to provide the millions of jobs needed.

These proposals put the burden for creating jobs where it belongs—on the bosses and the government.

Is small beautiful?

"Conserve," says Jimmy Carter, in advising us how to cope with his "energy shortage." Turn the heat down in the winter. Drive slower. "Walk more," says Rosalynn Carter.

According to the capitalists, the real

Continued on next page

15,000 say: 'Shut Colo. nuclear bomb plant'

By Pat Silverthorn

DENVER—In one of the largest demonstrations against nuclear weapons this country has seen, 15,000 people braved cold and intermittent rain April 28 to demonstrate against the Rocky Flats nuclear bomb plant, sixteen miles from Denver.

A similar demonstration last year drew 6,000. The significantly larger rally this year is an indication of the growing strength of the antinuclear movement.

The demonstration called for converting Rocky Flats to peaceful use. Pam Solo of the American Friends Service Committee opened the rally with a call for a nonnuclear future.

"We are determined to put an end to this technology before it puts an end to us. We demand the conversion of Rocky Flats to an industry that is environmentally safe and socially productive."

The Harrisburg nuclear disaster was

referred to again and again by speakers. Antiwar activist Daniel Ellsberg called Rocky Flats "a Harrisburg waiting to happen, Denver's own Three Mile Island. It threatens all of us."

Ellsberg burned his dividend check from the Rockwell Corporation, the multinational that manages Rocky Flats, calling it "my registration card in the capitalist class." He had bought stock in Rockwell so he could attend its stockholders meeting, in a futile attempt to get the corporation to reconsider manufacturing nuclear weapons.

Alan Gummerson of the Aurarians Against Nukes drew cheers when he reminded the crowd that "this is the largest demonstration in Colorado since the height of the antiwar movement."

George Wald, Nobel laureate from Harvard, told the demonstrators "not to get fooled into thinking that the U.S. has a two-party system. We can't depend on the Republicans and Demo-

crats to achieve disarmament for us—we have to force them to do it or nothing will happen."

Nor will the SALT II negotiations lead to disarmament, Wald said. He pointed out that the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima is too small to be included in the SALT talks.

Another demonstration, to be held at the Fort St. Vrain nuclear power reactor near here, was announced for June 2, in conjunction with the International Days of Protest against nuclear power.

Musicians Holly Near, Fred Small, Jackson Browne, Bonnie Raitt, and Danny O'Keefe performed for the rally.

Supporters of Harold Sudmeyer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Denver, distributed a statement demanding Rocky Flats be shut down. In addition, Sudmeyer demanded union wages and retraining for any workers laid off in closing the plant; free lifetime medical care for all

area residents and past and present Rocky Flats workers; and full compensation for all property damage from plutonium or other contamination from Rocky Flats.

The next day, about 300 people tried to blockade the plant. Federal marshals arrested 284 people and charged them with "willfully and wantonly trespassing on federal property." All 284 were released on personal recognizance.

Indians protest uranium mining

By Floyd Fowler

GRANTS, N. Mex.—On April 27-30 between 750 and 800 people, mostly Indians, took part in a protest against uranium mining on Indian land. The action was held near here on the big Navajo reservation.

Supporters came from around the country. Tribes represented included Pueblo, Navajos, Hopis, Sioux, Chippewa, and Iroquois.

Carol Wright of the Native American Action Council, organizers of the action, told the *Militant* that the government believes "it can rip off Indian land without resistance from the general public. The companies can't keep on raping Indian land. More whites are realizing that to talk about the nuclear issue is to talk about more than reactors."

Native American tribal leaders addressed the gathering, including several who spoke in Navajo. Also speaking were Nobel Prize-winning biologist George Wald and pediatrician Helen Caldicott. Music was provided by Jackson Browne and Bonnie Raitt.



Massive turnout demanded closing of Rocky Flats nuclear bomb plant

Militant

...antinuclear movement

Continued from preceding page

problem is that we are a nation of "energy gluttons." We use "too much energy."

This argument seeks to shift the blame from the shoulders of the energy monopolies onto the backs of working people.

The truth is that only about 2 percent of all electricity produced in this country is used in homes for such things as appliances, lighting, and heat. Even if we were to throw out every electric can opener and electric toothbrush in the country, the amount of oil saved would be too small to measure.

The real waste of energy is built right into the capitalist system.

For years, big corporations encouraged the waste of energy and recklessly wasted it themselves. It has been—and continues to be—more profitable to waste energy than to use it rationally.

The government has aided this institutionalized waste. For example, it has starved out mass transit in the cities.

While subsidizing nuclear power to the tune of \$10 billion, the government has refused to allot adequate funds for research into the development of safe and renewable energy sources, such as solar energy or wind power.

It is not workers who use "too much" energy. In reaching out to working people, the anti-nuclear power movement must again pin the blame where it belongs—on the corporations and on their government.

The anti-nuclear power movement must point to the inseparable connection between nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

Everything that is dangerous about nuclear power—from mining to

waste—is equally dangerous about nuclear weapons, *even if they're never used*. The nuclear power program exists—among other reasons—to provide a cover for the Pentagon's nuclear weaponry.

The \$130 billion war budget—much of it for nuclear weapons—is the major source of inflation.

Working people pay with their lives, too, for nuclear weapons production. A recent study linked cancer increases to plutonium contamination from the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant.

Who benefits from Washington's vast nuclear arsenal? We are faced with the horror of nuclear war and the destruction of civilization for the protection of the profits of the giant multinational corporations. Working people have no interest in protecting those profits, and we certainly have no interest in starting a nuclear war for *any* reason.

The May 6 antinuclear march on Washington and the upcoming June International Days of Protest against nuclear power will give the movement the opportunity to continue reaching the ranks of labor by educating about the danger of nuclear power.

Antinuclear activists, working with the growing number of trade unionists opposed to nuclear power, can continue this education campaign by addressing union meetings, introducing resolutions against nuclear power, asking for labor endorsement of local actions, and talking to co-workers about the nuclear issue.

A central aspect of such discussions will be the responsibility of the unions in this struggle. The nuclear industry is a \$100 billion colossus, backed to the hilt by the government. The only power that can stop it is the power of the working class.

No Nukes!



Socialist Workers Party candidates in cities and states around the country are demanding that all nuclear plants be shut down and kept shut, and that all U.S. nuclear weapons be dismantled.

SWP candidates are campaigning for the union movement to join the struggle against the nuclear threat. They are urging formation of a labor party that would have no stake in the profits of the utilities or in the nuclear arsenal meant to defend capitalist interests around the world.

Unlike the Democratic and Republican politicians who stand 100 percent behind the war budget and the energy monopolies, the socialists propose that the profit be taken out of energy and that the industry be put in the hands of the public.

For more information or to join in campaigning for the socialist candidates, contact the SWP office nearest you listed on page 31 or write the national campaign office at 14

Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Boston, Massachusetts: Luis Castro for mayor; Jeanette Tracy for city council.

Cleveland, Ohio: Thabo Ntweng for mayor.

Denver, Colorado: Harold Sudmeyer for mayor.

Indianapolis, Indiana: David Ellis for mayor.

Kentucky: Elizabeth Jayko for governor.

Louisiana: Greg Nelson for governor.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Nora Danielson for mayor; Steve Eckardt for city council.

Salt Lake City, Utah: Pam Burchett for mayor.

San Diego, California: Raúl González for mayor.

Toledo, Ohio: Susan Skinner for mayor; George Windau for city council.

Vote SWP!

Utah bomb test victim: 'We were guinea pigs'

By Pam Burchett

SALT LAKE CITY—"A million dollars can't replace loved ones. Those responsible should be brought to trial as murderers."

This was the testimony of Kay Millet of St. George, Utah, whose thirteen-year-old daughter died of leukemia after atomic weapons tests in the 1950s and 1960s. Radioactive fallout from the Nevada tests showered southern Utah.

Millet was one of dozens of Utahns who testified on the effects of atmospheric nuclear testing at a series of regional hearings leading up to Sen. Edward Kennedy's joint congressional hearing held in Salt Lake City April 19.

Aptly named the Congressional Oversight Committee, Kennedy's panel made it clear that the Democratic and Republican politicians have overlooked the health and safety of the American people for decades in a bipartisan attempt to press forward with nuclear power and weapons.

The five-hour panel heard evidence from scientists, ranchers, and survivors of cancer and leukemia. Formerly suppressed Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) documents revealed that after one atom bomb test in 1953, residents of southern Utah and Nevada received radiation doses of 1,000 millirems an hour—an amount estimated to be 400 to 500 times higher than that which triggered the evacuation after the Three Mile Island accident.

The residents received no warnings and in fact were told time and time again that they had nothing to fear from the fallout.

Harold Knapp, a former AEC scientist, told how he had calculated that a one-year-old who drank milk for one month after a 1953 test received between 120 and 440 rads, a dose 60 to

Pam Burchett is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City and a member of United Steelworkers Local 4208.



'Not to worry . . . Just a little fallout from our 1950s weapons tests.'

240 times higher than a direct dose from fallout particles. His report was suppressed, and he was eventually driven from the agency.

Other testimony was devoted to the deaths of 4,300 Utah sheep in 1953, the result of the animals' exposure to radioactive fallout.

Autopsies of twenty sheep showed large levels of radioactivity. "I heard the scientists say about one of them, 'This sheep is hotter than a two-dollar pistol,'" said rancher Kern Bulloch.

Bulloch also recalled the comment later of Joseph Sanders of the AEC. Sanders said, "The easiest thing we could do is to pay for the sheep. But if that happened every woman who got pregnant, and every woman who didn't, would sue."

The Utah wool-growing region has never completely recovered from the effects of the livestock deaths, and many ranchers are still in debt.

The hearings were originally scheduled for St. George, Utah, but were changed to Salt Lake City, supposedly to facilitate them. This meant that most people affected by the fallout couldn't come.

Still, some of these witnesses managed to be heard. They all felt the government had lied to them and had used the citizens of southern Utah as guinea pigs.

Elizabeth Catalan, whose father died of leukemia, testified: "I feel like we did what we were asked to do by our government. In return we were used. We were conned. They did not tell us."

Darrell Nisson told how his brother, the mayor of Washington, Utah, had been invited to the test site to see the blasts. "The government was always careful to have the wind this way," he said. "We were just guinea pigs. I know we're expendable."

Heavily censored documents show that the AEC and former President Eisenhower started the cover-up. In 1953 Eisenhower was concerned about the public hearing too much about nuclear weapons testing. Revealing his contempt for the American people, Eisenhower ordered that the public be "kept confused" about "fission" and "fusion." He also asked that the word "thermonuclear" not be in any press releases or speeches.

The Kennedy hearings are nothing more than a cover-up of an already existing cover-up that began twenty-five years ago.

In a cynical attempt to shift suspicion and blame from elected officials who knew or were in a position to find out about the effects of radioactive fallout on the citizens of Utah and Nevada, Kennedy and senators Orrin Hatch and Jake Garn, Republicans from Utah, blame "the U.S. government" for covering up the very real dangers.

But this government has been run by these same Democrats and Republicans before, during, and since the atomic tests. These are the same capitalist politicians who have voted for increases in the war budget and for development of the neutron bomb and other nuclear weapons. They are the same people who put the profits of the energy corporations ahead of our need for a safe and healthy environment.

Now is the time for working people to break with these twin parties of big business and to form our own political party—a labor party—to fight for our own interests at every level of government. A labor party would demand, as my campaign does:

- Open the files! The complete uncensored documents of the AEC and related government agencies must be made public to determine the extent of damage to the 1950s fallout victims and to determine what potential health hazards still remain.

- Full compensation to fallout victims, including free lifetime medical care and payments to ranchers for livestock losses.

- No nukes! Immediately shut down all existing nuclear power plants. Dismantle nuclear weapons stockpiles. Stop all nuclear power plant construction.

A labor party based on the strength of the trade unions would win the support of the small farmers and ranchers of southern Utah with this program. Never has the need been greater.

Antinuclear demonstrations put heat on Carter

Around the country, protests against nuclear power are continuing as public concern over nuclear dangers mounts.

Responding to this growing pressure, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission announced April 27 it was temporarily closing two nuclear plants. The closed plants were designed by Babcock and Wilcox, builder of the crippled Three Mile Island plant.

Three other B & W units now shut for maintenance or refueling will stay shut until their owners convince the NRC they have made a few safety improvements.

Despite the NRC's admission that the B&W plants posed an immediate danger to the public, it refused to close two B&W plants in South Carolina. Duke Power, owner of the two units, claims a shutdown would force it to buy expensive electricity from other utilities to prevent power shortages.

New Hampshire

By Albert Campbell

PORTSMOUTH, N.H.—Four hundred antinuclear protesters greeted President Carter here April 25 when he came to hold a "town meeting." Carter was also picketed by seventy-five workers from the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, protesting Carter's refusal to grant them more than a 5.5 percent wage boost.

Many seacoast town meetings have voted against nuclear power. In March, 1976, Seabrook voted against allowing construction of twin nuclear reactors there, but the townspeople's voice has been ignored.

In a television interview, one Portsmouth resident commented on the president's visit: "Carter's visit has made a mockery of the New England town meeting. In a meeting a vote would be taken, say on nuclear power or other issues brought up by the people. He's just talking and answering a few questions. It's a campaign tour, not a town meeting."

The *New York Times* reported April 26 that Carter was "dogged" by antinuclear protesters in his trip around New Hampshire.

New York

By Diane Shur

SAUGERTIES, N.Y.—Two thousand people gathered here April 29 to observe the annual Hudson Valley Preservation Day and to protest plans to

build nuclear power plants in the valley.

There was also a victory being celebrated. The Power Authority of the State of New York had recently decided against building a nuclear plant that had been planned for nearby Cementon.

Speaking for the Capital District Anti-Nuclear Alliance, Marilyn Wallace briefly outlined the dangers of nuclear power. Summing up, she urged the crowd to "get involved. No nukes! Shut them down! March on Washington May 6!"

The afternoon wound up with entertainment by John Sebastian and Pete Seeger.

Washington

By Greg Moo

OLYMPIA, Wash.—Claiming it would be impossible to get an unbiased jury due to the publicity generated by the Three Mile Island disaster, the Grays Harbor county prosecutor dropped all charges against 150 antinuclear activists in early April.

The activists had been charged with trespassing at the Satsop nuclear power plant in nearby Elma.

Members of the Crabshell Alliance and the Satsop Legal Defense Committee had planned to use the trial as an educational forum about the dangers of nuclear power. Internationally recognized experts had committed themselves to testify at the trial.

Three of the expert witnesses agreed to come anyway, and on April 17 here, 500 people heard Sister Rosalie Bertell, a specialist on the biological effects of radiation; Dr. Ruth Weiner, a nuclear

chemist on the faculty of Western Washington State University; and Stephen Stalos, former manager of environmental surveillance at the Hanford national nuclear waste storage facility.

Bertell, a consultant to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, told the audience that radiation levels given out by the industry were just guesses and that there is no "safe level" of radiation exposure.

On April 21, 250 people gathered at the Public Utility District offices in downtown Aberdeen to protest the district's continued support for the Satsop nuclear plant. The demonstration was organized by the Grays Harbor Crabshell Alliance.

More than a dozen local residents spoke about the various dangers and consequences of having a nuclear plant "in our own back yard."

Ohio

By Morris Starsky

CLEVELAND—Hundreds of people here have demonstrated against two nuclear power plants owned or operated by Cleveland Electric Illuminating (CEI).

CEI operates the Davis-Bessie nuclear plant near Toledo, which is the same type of plant as Three Mile Island units I and II. In a report recently made public, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission cited numerous deficiencies at Davis-Bessie.

CEI is also building a nuclear power plant at Perry, thirty-five miles away.

Protest actions have been extensively covered in local news media.



Cleveland, March 30 Militant/Jean Tussey

Why biggest steel local opposes nuclear power

By Nancy Cole

EAST CHICAGO, Indiana—Shock waves from the March 28 nuclear accident near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, carried quickly to workers at the Inland Steel plant here.

United Steelworkers Local 1010 at Inland was already on record against nuclear power plants. But news of the horror visited upon central Pennsylvanians suddenly made real the meaning of that stand.

"People started coming up and wanting to go back over some of the stuff we had put out on nuclear power," says Mike Olszanski, head of Local 1010's environmental committee. "They wanted to ask questions and find out more."

"Before, there had been very little opposition in the local to our antinuclear position, but it wasn't a big issue in people's minds. Now the feeling is that it's really important."

Since the Harrisburg accident, Olszanski told the *Militant* in an interview, more steelworkers from Local 1010 have become active in the Bailly Alliance, the antinuclear group in the Gary, Indiana, area. For example, about twenty-five 1010 members joined a picket line March 31 to demand a halt to construction of the Bailly nuclear plant.

"People who supported us but weren't willing to get active are willing now. Mostly they're already union activists. But I think we're going to get others too."

It can work both ways, he explains. Sometimes an appeal to union activists brings new forces to the movement for a safe and healthy environment. And sometimes workers are first involved around environmental issues and then become union activists.

'It's got to get big'

As for the future of the antinuclear movement, Olszanski is "particularly concerned that it reflect a cross section of the people. It can't be just a student movement, just a radical movement, just a middle-class environmentalist movement—although they are important. It's got to reflect especially working people and unions."

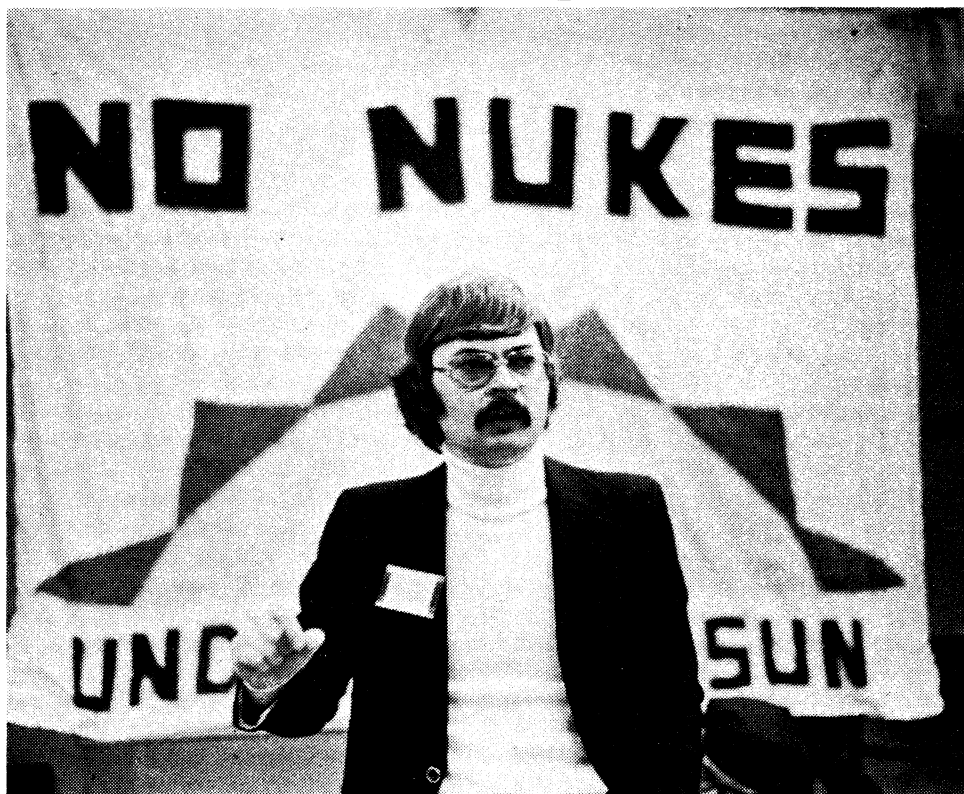
"And it's got to get big. I think that when you get big enough, the demonstrations almost happen by themselves. That's when you really show strength."

"And organized labor is an essential part of any kind of movement like that."

Local 1010, with 18,000 members, was the first big steel local to establish an environmental committee. In 1972 the Army Corps of Engineers was dredging the Indiana Harbor ship canal.

"They had a deal with Inland to dispose of the dredged 'spoils' as they call them, in the Inland Steel land fill."

But the "spoils," consisting of various toxic substances, were seeping out and leaving what looked like a black



Mike Olszanski at February antinuclear conference in Gary, Indiana. He and other members of Local 1010's environmental committee have spoken out across the country against nuclear power.

oil slick all over the lake.

So Local 1010 sent a letter to the company questioning the procedure. "A letter came back that was basically blackmail," Olszanski recalls. "They said, 'You better not get involved in issues like this because these are the kinds of things that force steel plants to shut down because of regulations, and so on.'"

It was in response to this letter that the environmental committee was formed.

The army didn't come back the next season to dredge. When it announced in 1977 that it was going to resume the practice, the environmental committee filed a petition for a public hearing, making clear the local was opposed to the dredging.

The ruckus forced federal authorities to require that the army do an environmental impact study, which it had never done before. The army still hasn't done it, and the dredging is at least temporarily halted.

Coke-oven emissions

In 1976 the local environmental committee took on the issue of coke-oven emissions, which cause cancer.

"We began to make the connection between on-the-job hazards and the community, which is getting the same smoke," he explains.

In contract negotiations the committee pushed for four-hour relief times for workers in the coke ovens. And the unionists demanded increased crew sizes to make the relief time possible and to provide people to do the repair, maintenance, and operating proce-

dures essential to curb the coke-oven emissions.

Coke-oven emissions are the worst in a steel mill and the hardest to solve, says Olszanski. "You can't just put a scrubber on, you have to put people to work at it. The emissions leak from doors, from lids, from the whole operation. What it takes is day-by-day, hour-by-hour proper operation and maintenance."

And that is going to take a "real struggle," he adds, because the companies want to cut jobs, not create more.

He does believe, though, that by taking a stand on such environmental issues, the local has helped put a gaping hole in the company-inspired "environmentalists versus jobs" feud.

"Before, it was the environmentalists saying, 'Clean up the coke ovens because they're air pollution problems for the community,' and the workers were saying, 'These people are threatening our jobs.' Actually it was the company saying it, and the union people were buying it. I think we helped to turn that around here."

It was also in 1976 that Local 1010 first passed a resolution opposing construction of the Bailly plant by the Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO). The nuclear facility was to be built next door to the Bethlehem Steel plant in Burns Harbor, Indiana.

"It was debated on the floor and passed unanimously by the local. It put us on record, the biggest local in the steel union, as opposed to the Bailly plant."

The committee set up a speakers

bureau to talk to different groups about steelworkers and environmental issues. When the Bailly Alliance was formed, "we decided to get our people in there right away."

Bailly Alliance

Last year Local 1010 took a resolution opposing the Bailly plant to the District 31 conference. Two USWA locals representing NIPSCO workers "tended to be pronuke, pro-Bailly because of the heavy propaganda by the company. They hadn't been hearing anything from the other side."

But the majority of the conference voted against construction of the Bailly plant.

Olszanski and other members of Local 1010's environmental committee have made themselves available to speak on the question of nuclear power across the country.

Local 1011 in District 31 has now started an environmental committee. And on April 5, Local 6787, whose members would work several hundred feet from the Bailly plant, approved a resolution opposing its construction.

The USWA international has an official position in favor of nuclear power plants. "We introduced resolutions at two conventions calling for a rethinking of that position and for taking an antinuclear stand," Olszanski says. He thinks that there is a chance now that the official position may change after Harrisburg and the accompanying disclosures of nuclear danger.

"A lot of unions were led down the garden path on nuclear power just like a lot of people were."

Questions on dangers

One of the USWA locals representing NIPSCO workers "was about to take a pro-Bailly position because the company was pushing. But we went down with some Bailly Alliance people and talked to them," Olszanski says.

"We brought up questions, which they then took to the company. How much radiation are we going to be exposed to? How do you measure it? What happens when a guy gets his yearly dose and the year's not over? What are you going to do with him—lay him off, fire him? What happens if he gets cancer down the road? Are you going to compensate him for it?"

NIPSCO didn't have the answers.

"We also set up debate between a NIPSCO public relations guy and a Bailly Alliance person in front of a group of workers from the NIPSCO plant. It came off real well."

Olszanski thinks that now there is a good chance that some of those unionists will get involved in the anti-Bailly movement. Several were at the Bailly Alliance meeting just the evening before.

"Anywhere we are able to get to people and tell the facts," he adds, "it makes a big difference."

South Africa steps up intervention in Zimbabwe

By Ernest Harsch

Threatening a major escalation of imperialist intervention against the Zimbabwean revolution, the white supremacist regime in South Africa has offered "all-out support" to the incoming Rhodesian government headed by Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

Pretoria's move came just days after the undemocratic Rhodesian elections, in which Muzorewa's party claimed to have won a majority of seats. Muzorewa is to be installed in several weeks as the new prime minister of a regime in which Blacks hold a majority of posts but in which whites—including Ian Smith himself—will continue to wield considerable direct power.

The revelation of increased South African involvement was made by one of Smith's closest advisers April 27. According to a report by John F. Burns in the following day's *New York Times*, the unnamed official stated that Pretoria's offer included "massive" arms and financial assistance—and possibly

the use of South African troops—to combat the Zimbabwean guerrilla forces of the Patriotic Front.

A week earlier, South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha publicly proposed that Pretoria establish a new military and economic bloc with a "constellation of states" in southern Africa, including Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Smith hailed Botha's proposal as "manna from heaven." Muzorewa stated that he favored continued economic ties with South Africa meaning South African domination of the Zimbabwe economy—and added, "We will take help from anyone. . . ."

Muzorewa may have already received some direct South African backing. The April 27 *Christian Science Monitor* reported from Salisbury that "there are persistent rumors here that Bishop Muzorewa's expensive election campaign was financed in part with secret funds from South Africa." And even before the elections, Smith was benefiting from

stepped-up South African arms shipments.

The imperialist press—especially that in the United States and Britain—has portrayed the Rhodesian elections sympathetically, playing down their undemocratic nature and the widespread use of force to compel Blacks to vote. Claiming that the elections were "free and fair," a growing number of members of the U.S. Congress are pressing for recognition of the new Rhodesian regime and for the lifting of economic sanctions against it.

For the moment, Washington and London are still weighing the political risks of open support for Muzorewa and Smith. But their deep fear of the impact of the Zimbabwean revolution throughout southern Africa impels them to employ whatever forces are available to hold it back.

And in the front line of that effort stands the main bastion of reaction and imperialist rule on the African continent—South Africa.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Marroquin backers hit deportation order

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—The decision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service that socialist Héctor Marroquín be deported has evoked an angry response among supporters of democratic rights.

A refugee from political persecution in Mexico, Marroquín is seeking asylum in this country.

Marroquín Defense Committee Coordinator Jane Roland said that since the April 11 deportation order numerous supporters of Marroquín have renewed their protests to INS Director Leonel Castillo.

The demand that Marroquín be granted asylum has been supported by a significant number of trade-union bodies and officials, as well as Chicano organizations, civil liberties groups, and many prominent figures.

On the basis of a State Department recommendation, however, the INS

ruled that Marroquín should be deported. The State Department recommendation came despite its own recent report admitting repression in Mexico.

Marroquín's case was heard in early April by INS Judge James Smith. At the three-day hearing, it was abundantly clear that the government was not concerned with the fact that Marroquín has every right to fear what would happen to him if he were returned to Mexico.

Rather, the INS trial attorney and judge joined in focusing on Marroquín's political beliefs, questioning him at length about his socialist views.

In his ruling that Marroquín be deported, Judge Smith scarcely tried to hide the fact that the case was not being decided on its merits but on the fact that Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The hypocritical double standard by which Washington refuses political asylum to socialists is becoming increasingly apparent to people and is helping fuel protests against the attempt to deport Marroquín.

For instance, the defense committee received a copy of a protest to Castillo from a resident of St. John in the U.S. Virgin Islands.

He wrote: "Maybe he isn't our government's favorite type of political refugee. But there are a substantial number of people in our country, me and my wife and children among them, who would rather that Mr. Marroquín get asylum than, say, the chief of police of Saigon who gained instant fame by blowing away that poor suspect for the front page of the *New York Times* and the rest of the world media. Or Thieu, or the shah of Iran, who looks headed this way."

Marroquín was a student activist who fled Mexico after being falsely accused of criminal activity. He left after Mexican lawyers persuaded him he could not hope for a fair trial and would face torture and possible death.



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

Marroquín Defense Committee in Detroit organized picket line to protest INS decision.

He entered the United States without papers and made several secret trips back to Mexico to further consult lawyers about the possibility of turning himself in so that he could prove that the charges against him were a political frame-up.

Returning from one such trip in September 1977, Marroquín was apprehended by U.S. border cops and served three months in jail for entering without proper documents. Faced with the threat of being handed over to the Mexican government's death squads, Marroquín appealed for political asylum in the United States.

The deportation order by Judge Smith is now being appealed to the Board of Immigration Appeals. If that is unsuccessful, the case will be taken into the federal courts.

A victory for Marroquín will strike a substantial blow for democratic rights. The racist and reactionary nature of the government stand against Marro-

quín was spelled out in the crudest way by Judge Smith in a post-trial statement to the *Washington Star*.

There the judge branded Marroquín a "wetback" who "complained of the low wages in our horrible capitalist system."

The Marroquín Defense Committee is convinced that this poisonous government view does not reflect the thinking of American working people and serious partisans of civil liberties. The committee is resolved to intensify its battle to win asylum for Marroquín.

Demands that asylum be granted should be directed to INS Director Leonel Castillo, Washington, D.C. 20536. Copies should be sent to the Marroquín Defense Committee, Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Contributions are much needed by the committee to defray the cost of the continuing defense effort.

'Nation' editorial

In a May 5 editorial, the 'Nation' magazine commented:

Judge Smith adduced some bizarre arguments for ordering Marroquín's expulsion, but the most disturbing of all was his attack on Marroquín's "courtship with the Socialist Workers Party" and his implication that he might be happier in "Castro's Cuba." I.N.S. attorney Daniel Kahn also betrayed political motivations when he told *The Houston Post* that Marroquín "has admitted from his own mouth that he is a Marxist. The United States does not grant asylum to Marxists."

Such a doctrine is pernicious. A refugee's political beliefs should not be made a condition for asylum in this country.

Blanco on hunger strike against Peru arrests

By Fred Murphy

Peruvian Constituent Assembly deputies Hugo Blanco and Enrique Fernández began a hunger strike at the Legislative Palace in Lima on April 25, demanding the release of twenty-one Trotskyists being held incommunicado at the military regime's State Security prison.

The prisoners are all members of the Socialist Workers Party (PST), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth

fore last June's Constituent Assembly elections.

Hugo Blanco and Enrique Fernández were both elected to the assembly on the FOCEP's slate. The PST and Blanco's Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT)¹ are both part of the FOCEP, which is a legally recognized political organization in Peru. The PST's offices have served as one of the FOCEP's Lima headquarters, so the police raid also represents an attack on the FOCEP.

The attack on the Trotskyists comes as part of a fresh wave of repression against the workers movement by Peru's military rulers. At least eight leaders of the national teachers union SUTEP are being held at the State Security prison following an April 23 raid on the SUTEP headquarters. The union had just announced plans to strike on June 17 if their demands are not met. The homes of various SUTEP activists have been raided, and a number of union leaders have gone into hiding.

Thirty copper miners from southern Peru remain in jail in Lima for their role in leading a strike in late March that was crushed by heavily armed troops. Among them is Humberto Chaparro, a leader of the Trotskyist POMR.² FOCEP deputy Hernán Cuen-

tas, also a POMR leader, faces possible prosecution and loss of his parliamentary immunity because of his active support of the miners' struggle.

Since the strike ended at the beginning of April, many miners and their families have been fired from their jobs, evicted from their homes, and forcibly relocated up to 600 kilometers from the mining districts.

The regime has also withdrawn legal recognition from the elected leadership of the national miners federation, the

FNTMMP, and is threatening to outlaw the union itself.

International protest is urgently needed to secure the release of the twenty-one PST members and the growing number of other political and trade-union prisoners in Peru. Telegrams and letters should be sent to Peruvian embassies or to Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Presidente de la República, Palacio Presidencial, Lima, Peru.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

As the 'Militant' goes to press, we have learned that sixteen Trotskyists seized by the Peruvian regime have been freed. However, several of those not released face deportation, and protests are still needed.

International. They were seized April 22 during a police raid on a meeting at the PST's public headquarters in downtown Lima. The party's offices were then taken over by State Security agents;

State Security agents have conducted raids as well on the homes of all twenty-one of the PST members being held. Blanco and Fernández are also demanding an immediate halt to such raids and an end to the police occupation of the PST headquarters.

Three central leaders of the PST are among those being held—party General Secretary Juan Villa and Executive Committee members Carlos Delgado and Fernando Gutiérrez. Delgado is also the organization secretary of the Lima branch of the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP), a bloc of Trotskyist parties and independent socialists formed be-

Colombian Trotskyists freed

Colombian Trotskyists Libardo González Flores and Gloria Stella Gallego have been released without charges after being held for nineteen and fourteen days respectively by the Military Institutes Brigade (BIM), the Turbay regime's antiguerrilla unit.

González, a member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), was arrested March 30 during an early morning raid on his home by BIM agents. He was held until April 17 at a cavalry barracks. According to the April 30 issue of the PSR's newspaper, *Combate Socialista*, González was subjected to "midnight interrogations, threats, pressure, continuous blindfolding, and psychological torture."

At the time of his arrest, González was accused in the pages of the progovernment daily *El Tiempo* of having been involved in the September 1978 killing of an ex-cabinet minister. His unconditional release

gives the lie to such slanderous charges.

Gloria Stella Gallego, a member of the national office staff of the Socialist Workers Party (PST), was released on April 11 along with two brothers and a sister. The four had been seized March 29 when the BIM raided their home and accused Gallego of having arms. No arms were found, but the military held the four members of the Gallego family until a military judge ordered their release.

Hundreds of political activists and trade unionists remain in Colombia's jails and military prisons, as the Turbay regime pursues a witch-hunt under the pretext of combating "subversion and terrorism." The Bogotá *El Espectador* reported April 11 that "even the card files at the Luis Angel Arango Library in Bogotá are being examined by agents of State Security, seeking the readers of Marxist works."

Big target week will end Militant sales drive



Campaigners for socialist candidate Andrew Pulley had brisk sales during Chicago mayoral election.

By Andrea Baron

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sold more copies of the *Militant* at industrial plants last week than during any week of our spring circulation drive so far.

The success of our industrial sales this week is an important step toward the goal of the drive—to reach working people with a socialist perspective by selling 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Last week's experience puts us in a good position for the target week that will cap the drive. Of the 5,393 copies of issue number sixteen sold, more than 948 copies were bought by co-workers on the job, at plant gates, and union meetings. Front-page coverage of the police attack on the Newport News strikers drew wide interest, and many cities made special efforts to get the issue out.

In Louisville, 92 of the 142 copies sold were bought by workers at industrial plants. Two salespeople sold 27 copies at one shift change at an International Harvester plant organized by the UAW.

Other cities also reported their best sales of the drive at industrial sites—Los Angeles sold eighty-three, Chicago sold seventy-three, Baltimore sold seventy-five and Houston sold sixty-three.

The wide interest in socialist ideas has been demonstrated repeatedly during the drive. Steelworkers at Newport News, Virginia, bought more than 1,500 copies of the *Militant*, as teams of salespeople returned throughout the strike. More than 250 people in Newport News are now subscribers and read the *Militant* on a regular basis.

During the week of our special supplement on nuclear power, put out during the Three Mile Island accident, more than 15,000 people, in addition to our regular subscribers, read the socialist analysis of and answer to the nuclear threat.

As we move into the final weeks of the drive, we expect the brisk pace of sales to increase. Sales of issue sixteen have brought us over the 92 percent mark, and the national target week will take us over the top.

The way we plan to do this is to try to double the regular weekly goals for every area during the target week—to expand sales to co-workers, at plant gates, at antinuclear activities, and increase teams to working-class neighborhoods.

Special subscription-selling teams will also be an important part of the target week plans. So far, we have sold 2,550 subscriptions this spring. There has been a big increase in the number of six-month and one-year subscriptions sold. Many people who start

Sales scoreboard

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Iron Range	35	87			35	87	248.5
Philadelphia	225	396	25	13	250	409	163.6
Newark	100	163	10	0	110	163	148.1
Baltimore	100	143			100	143	143.0
Louisville	100	142			100	142	142.0
Phoenix	95	106	30	44	125	150	120.0
Portland	100	119			100	119	119.0
Kansas City	110	128			110	128	116.3
Birmingham	100	110			100	110	110.0
Washington, D.C.	230	260	20	12	250	272	108.8
Gary	75	80			75	80	106.6
St. Louis	125	132			125	132	105.6
Toledo	100	103		2	100	105	105.0
Seattle	145	154	5	2	150	156	104.0
Raleigh	90	92			90	92	102.2
Salt Lake City	130	138	5	0	135	138	102.2
Morgantown	100	102			100	102	102.0
Dallas	125	138	35	25	160	163	101.8
Los Angeles	320	360	80	42	400	402	100.5
Atlanta	145	147	5	3	150	150	100.0
San Antonio	50	48	10	6	60	54	90.0
Pittsburgh	200	178			200	178	89.0
Albuquerque	115	114	20	3	135	117	86.6
Denver	120	119	20	0	140	119	85.0
Cincinnati	75	63			75	63	84.0
Tacoma	125	105			125	105	84.0
Albany	100	80	5	3	105	83	79.0
Cleveland	115	91	5	1	120	92	76.6
Chicago	310	253	40	15	350	268	76.5
Boston	200	155	25	15	225	170	75.5
San Francisco	275	180		17	275	197	71.6
Houston	170	135	30	6	200	141	70.5
Miami	100	57	30	17	130	74	56.9
St. Paul	100	49			100	49	49.0
New Orleans	100	48			100	48	48.0
Minneapolis	150	65			150	65	43.3
Indianapolis	115	43			115	43	37.3
New York City	540	200	60	15	600	215	35.0
San Diego	105	34	20	8	125	42	33.6
San Jose	105	30	15	7	120	37	30.8
TOTALS	6,363	5,137	525	256	6,888	5,393	78.0

Not reporting: Amherst, Berkeley, Detroit, Iowa City, Milwaukee, Oakland, Vermont.

Covers sales of 'Militant' issue sixteen and the second week of sales of issue number seven of 'Perspectiva Mundial'.

reading the *Militant* want to continue to read it regularly for longer than the ten-week introductory offer.

During the target week, we want to give more people a chance to do that. We will have a special subscription offer for the target week only—four months for only three dollars.

The target week is also the wrap-up of the national sales contest. Prizes

will be awarded to the areas with the highest participation, the highest cumulative sales, and all areas that make their weekly goal every week of the drive. Individual prizes will also go to the top ten salespeople in the country.

Every area should send in the names of individuals who might qualify for the top ten sellers.

New York cops: Law isn't for Blacks

By Michael Smith

New York City Criminal Court Judge Bruce Wright has become the focus of a racist campaign fueled by Mayor Koch, the police, and the big-business news media.

On April 11 Wright, who is Black, released Jerome Singleton, a Black college student, without bail. Singleton was arrested for allegedly assaulting a white decoy cop.

Wright's action infuriated the racists.

Koch led the charge, calling the release "bizarre" and claiming it "denigrates our system of justice."

Sam DeMilia, head of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, chimed in labeling Wright a "Hitler" and deeming him "not worthy to serve as a judge."

But as the facts began to surface, the racism of the campaign against Wright and the Black community became more and more clear.

Singleton had been charged with slashing a decoy cop's throat with a broken bottle. Then the bottle story was dropped, and a knife was substituted as the weapon. But no blood was found on

the knife supposedly used. The only blood found on Singleton was his own. He had been beaten by the cops during his arrest.

There was one shred of evidence presented against Singleton. As the cops put it, "No one else was on the street." That is, they picked up the first Black they saw.

Given the evidence, Wright let Singleton go without bail. As Wright explained in an April 12 speech at Princeton University, "The firmest underpinning of our judicial system is the presumption of innocence."

He just followed the law.

The racists howled. As far as they are concerned, any Black is automatically guilty.

Koch, the cops, and the capitalist news media complained bitterly about Wright's bail policy. Because of Wright's past rulings, the cops and media nicknamed him "Turn-'Em-Loose Bruce."

But the whole bail system is designed for the rich. A lot of money or property is required. Most Blacks and other working people have neither. Bail laws, like the capitalist legal system in general, are directed against the majority in this society.

Wright only carried out the provisions in the law. But even the minimal observance—especially by a Black judge—of the rights of the accused recognized in the ruling rich's laws causes a racist reaction.

Another reason for the outrage is Wright's public denunciation of the police.

In his Princeton speech, Wright blasted police violence declaring, "There is murder among New York's finest" and commenting that cops "have a license to hunt down Blacks and kill them with impunity."

Twenty-two Blacks have been murdered by white cops in New York over the past four years. The most recent killing involved Arthur Miller, a Black community leader in Brooklyn who was strangled by a gang of cops last year. The murder prompted a mass outcry among Blacks against police brutality, and several large demonstrations ensued.

The issue here is racism; and the continued offensive by the rulers against the rights and living standards of working people and the oppressed.

In response to the racist barrage, 800 people, mostly young and mostly Black, rallied April 17 at noon outside the Manhattan Criminal Court building. The rally was organized in defense of Judge Wright and against police terror and killings in the Black community.

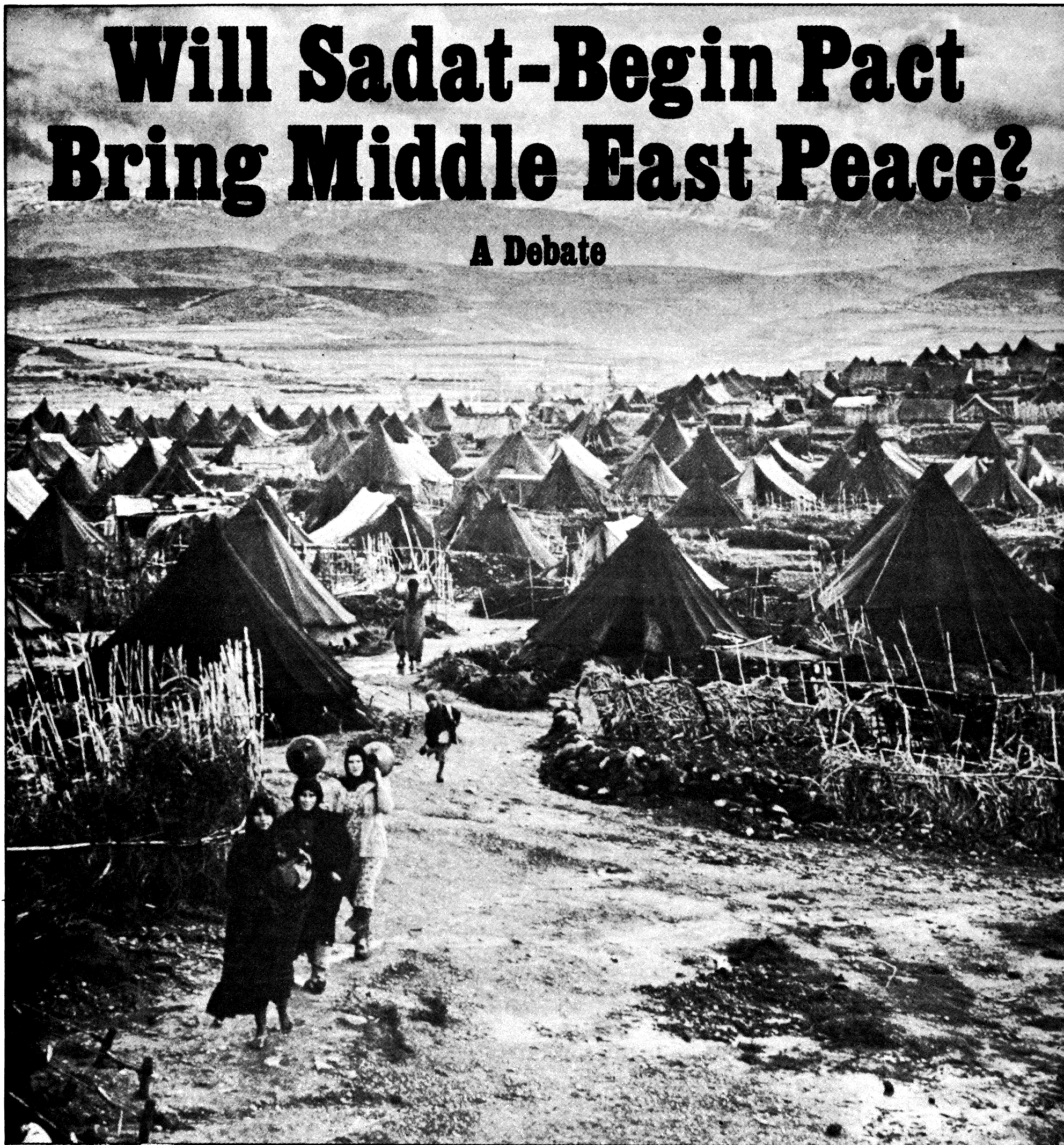
What started as a racist offensive against the Black community has ended up further exposing the New York City police and the Democratic and Republican politicians who stand behind them.

As I see it

international socialist review

Will Sadat-Begin Pact Bring Middle East Peace?

A Debate



**Reviews of Eleanor Marx • Law
and Capitalism • Trotsky on China**

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Class Battle in Newport News

This month's column was written by Shelley Kramer, who has regularly covered the Newport News strike for the 'Militant.'

The twelve-week strike for union recognition by shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia—like the coal miners' strike last year—has revealed political trends extending far beyond the immediate conflict.

The courage and determination of the strikers have set an inspiring example for working people across the country. They refuse to be intimidated by Tenneco (the oil conglomerate that owns Newport News Shipbuilding), by hundreds of state and city cops, by the courts, or by the entire hierarchy of Democratic and Republican politicians.

Now the steelworkers have returned to work without union recognition—a retreat prompted by the delaying tactics Tenneco has carried out with the complicity of federal courts and the National Labor Relations Board.

But the strikers have not returned defeated. They are determined that their struggle for union rights—against the victimizations Tenneco has already launched against union militants; for representation, decent wages, safe working conditions, racial and sexual equality—will go on. As the fight continues in a new stage inside the shipyard, they will need the solidarity of the rest of the labor movement more than ever.

What lies behind this bitter class battle is typical of American capitalism today.

When Tenneco took over the shipyard—Virginia's largest industrial workplace—in 1969, it set out to "rationalize" operations. Workers soon learned that what is "rational" for their boss is speedup, shrinking paychecks, no safety protection, and health-care and pension takebacks for them.

In January 1978, a majority of the yard's 17,500 production workers voted for representation by the United Steelworkers. Tenneco turned to the NLRB and courts for help in blocking the workers' decision. These government agencies entrapped the union in miles of red tape.

Finally—a year after the representation vote—the Steelworkers struck back in self-defense, taking a majority of workers out onto their picket lines. The government immediately stepped in to help Tenneco break the strike. When eleven weeks of harassment and sporadic arrests failed to crush the strikers' spirit, the rulers set loose their cops April 16 in a terrorizing rampage.

Tenneco, the nineteenth largest U.S. industrial corporation, is showing exactly what the employers have in mind for all workers. The bosses aim to impose southern-style "right to work" conditions across the country.

Driven by their boundless greed for profits, the capitalists have launched an across-the-board attack on the rights and living standards of the working class. This offensive includes Carter's use of Taft-Hartley against the coal miners last year and his 7 percent wage limit today. It includes murderous speedup and forced overtime, higher taxes and prices, social service cutbacks. It includes a relentless campaign to roll back gains toward equal rights for Blacks, Chicanos, and women. It includes Washington's drive toward new Vietnamese-style wars. And it includes the ever-present danger of nuclear disaster and environmental ruin.

But the courage and toughness of the Virginia Steelworkers reflect the readiness of millions of workers to fight back.

The Newport News organizing drive and strike show that workers are turning toward the unions more than any time in decades. And that includes unorganized workers in the anti-union South. They sense that organization into unions is the basic source of the power of the working class. They want to see that power unleashed to protect their rights and living standards. The Newport News strikers began to show how.

First, in the working-class solidarity forged between Black and white, male and female, young and old, skilled and unskilled. The advances made by Black workers in the sixties—in breaking down Jim Crow segregation, in getting into previously all-white jobs, in gaining confidence in themselves, and in profoundly altering the attitudes of white workers, young and old—were crucial to laying the basis for this solidarity.

Black workers started the union organizing drive and were among the most courageous and respected strike leaders. Women played a role in the strike that far outweighed their numbers. After fighting to get into the shipyard trades—only to be cast into second-class jobs and wages—they were ready to fight again. This time for a union that would put its muscle into their fight for equality.

Elmer Chatak, USWA director of organizing, correctly termed the Newport News battle "one of the great challenges of labor history." Victory would inspire a mighty crusade to organize the South and turn back the employer offensive nationwide. A union defeat would be a green light to the bosses to redouble their union-busting drive. More than a "business as usual" response was clearly required from the entire labor movement.

The militancy of the strikers and a recognition of the stakes did inspire support resolutions, donations, and meetings in a number of union locals across the country. Extending this budding solidarity movement was a vital necessity for a union victory in Newport News. But unfortunately, neither top Steelworker officials in Pittsburgh nor central leaders of the AFL-CIO ever issued an appeal for mass labor support or encouraged the solidarity movement.

The eyes of top union officials were turned instead to the government. They said and apparently believed: 1) that the NLRB will rule for the union, eventually; 2) that the courts, someday, will stop Tenneco's stalling and overturn Virginia's reactionary "right to work for less" laws; 3) that elected officials will speak out against cop violence; and 4) that the Carter administration will punish Tenneco by withholding navy contracts.

But the government has proven itself to be squarely on the side of the bosses. Not a single Democratic or Republican politician, from Newport

News to Washington, uttered a word of support for Local 8888's battle.

Concessions will be exacted from the government—as from Tenneco—only through a mass mobilization of strikers and their supporters, a nationwide show of force by labor.

The weaknesses that many strikers began to see in their leadership—its reluctance to hold union meetings, to keep the members informed, to organize large-scale picketing—flowed from this misplaced confidence in the government.

From their own experience in battle, the Newport News workers are learning that a union can act forcefully only if *the ranks exercise control*—only if the membership is informed and able to speak, vote, and decide union policy.

This process came into the boldest relief April 13 when the leadership called a meeting—the first meeting of Local 8888 since the strike vote last December—to announce their back-to-work decision. Several thousand strikers turned out to debate and discuss what should be done. Weighing all considerations, they unanimously voted to postpone their return to work until Tenneco backed down from its union-busting rehiring conditions. They swung their leadership into line.

When they did return to work—although Tenneco's conditions were not completely reversed—it was with their heads held high and with a new sense of their own power. It was a retreat, not a rout.

The Newport News workers are also beginning to realize that their strike—like every union struggle these days—was a political battle right from the start.

Now sentiment is growing for sweeping out the politicians who have ganged up against the union. But who would replace them? How can workers gain a political voice?

Electing a new crop of Democrats and Republicans will mean more of the same. The shipyard workers will be open to discussing a more effective course—formation of an independent labor party. A labor party could launch a political fight to overturn "right to work" and other anti-union laws. It could help get the courts and cops off the Steelworkers' backs. And a lot more.

One harbinger of the rapidly changing social and political attitudes among workers today is the extraordinary response in Newport News to the *Militant*. Hundreds of strikers took out subscriptions or bought the *Militant* regularly on the picket lines. They like the *Militant* because it is a workers' newspaper that tells the truth about their strike.

But there's more to it. Growing numbers also like what the *Militant* has to say about class-struggle policy for the entire labor movement. About socialist solutions to the big political questions facing American workers. And about the struggles of workers all around the world.

The response the Newport News strikers have given to the *Militant* should not be surprising. It confirms our confidence and optimism in the fighting capacity of the working class.

It offers a glimpse of how revolutionary socialists—that is, workers who are conscious of the history and logic of the class struggle, who see the necessary road forward—can win a hearing and respect very rapidly among workers in struggle today. And it is an inspiring preview of the prospects for transforming the Socialist Workers Party in the course of these struggles into a mass party of worker leaders.

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Will Sadat-Begin Pact Bring Middle East Peace?

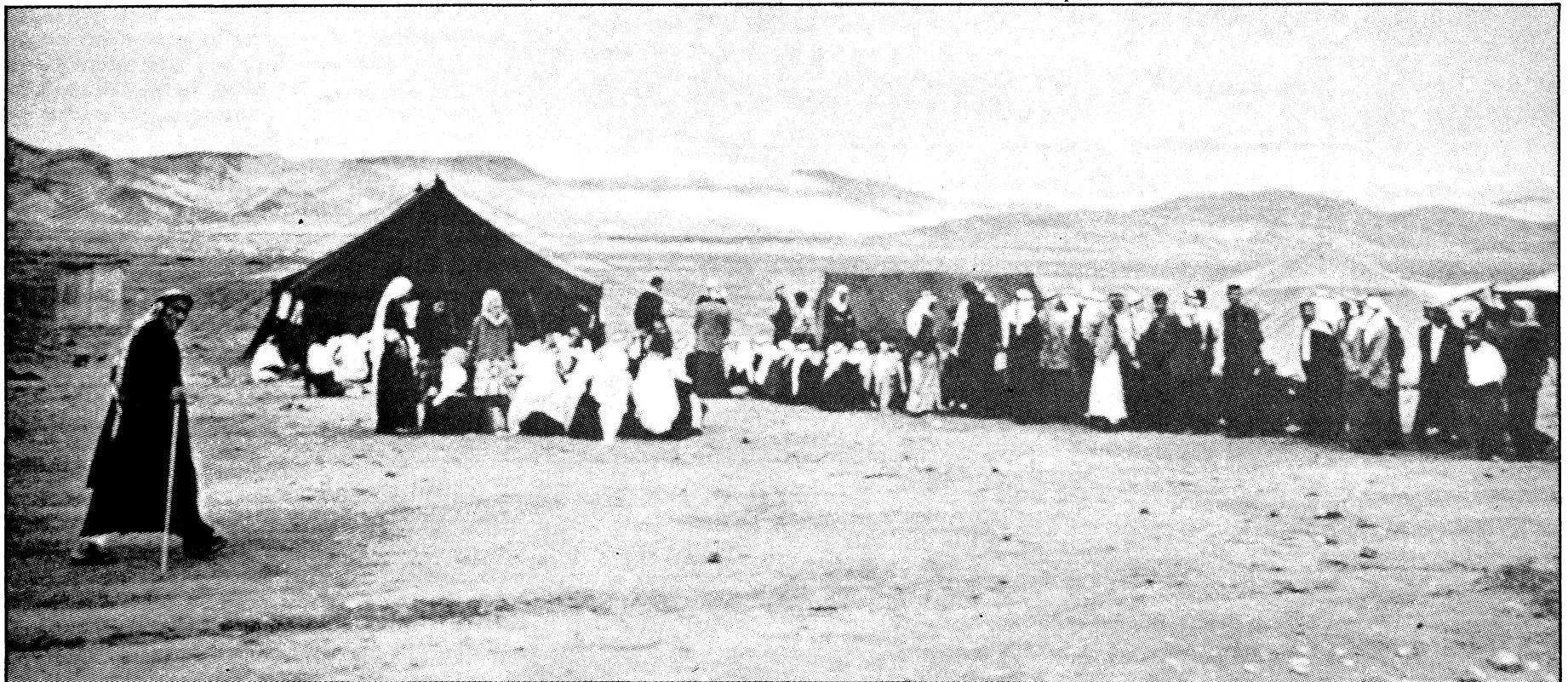
A Debate

The following is the text of a debate on 'Which Way to Peace in the Middle East?' held March 13 at the University of Pittsburgh. The debate was sponsored by the Student Government Board, the Youth Institute for Peace in the Middle East, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The debate, including a selection from the extensive discussion that followed the presentations, has been edited for publication by the 'International Socialist Review.'

Carl Gershman is the founder and chairman of Youth

Institute for Peace in the Middle East and executive director of Social Democrats USA. He is a frequent contributor to SDUSA's monthly publication 'New America' and to 'Commentary.'

David Frankel is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, a staff writer for the 'Militant,' and a contributor to the 'International Socialist Review.' He has written widely on the Middle East as an opponent of the Zionist state of Israel and a defender of the Palestinian struggle.



Top: Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat (left), U.S. President Carter, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin sign preliminary accord in September. Begin-Sadat pact is part of Carter's drive to increase U.S. military muscle in the Middle East. Bottom: Some of the million and a half refugees expelled from their homes by the Israeli rulers since 1948.

Carl Gershman

In answering the question, "Which way to peace in the Middle East?" I think it's worth beginning by trying to understand how the current agreement was achieved and what we have to learn from the way in which this agreement was achieved.

In order to understand that, I'd like to just go back for a moment and look at the events preceding November 1977, when [Egyptian President Anwar el-] Sadat went to Jerusalem, and particularly the first eleven months of the Carter administration.

The policy followed by the Carter administration during these first eleven months was a policy outlined in a 1975 Brookings Institute

report, one of the co-authors of which was [Zbigniew] Brzezinski, the head of the National Security Council. And the key policy advocated by the Brookings Institute report was the United States should press for an immediate, comprehensive settlement; that a peace conference should be convened in Geneva.

In order to achieve such a comprehensive settlement the United States set about in these first eleven months to court the most extremist elements in the Middle East, the elements which they felt were the most intransigent in resisting a settlement. So the United States was courting the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization], courting [President Hafez al-] Assad of Syria—calling him a "strong and moderate leader."

And they also extolled the Soviet Union as a

peacemaker in the Middle East in the October 1, 1977, joint communiqué. The Brookings report had said in 1975 that the Russians were annoyed at being left out. But from the sidelines in the Middle East they had the capacity to block a settlement; therefore they had to be brought back in.

Exclude PLO

The policy that was being followed by the United States gave a veto to elements that it was trying to bring in. It didn't reduce the Soviet Union's ability to disrupt a settlement by bringing them right into the middle of the negotiating process. Nor did it reduce the ability of the PLO and Syria to block a settlement, giving them a veto over whether or not a settlement could be

achieved.

This was perceived by the parties in the Middle East that wanted a settlement. In particular, Sadat understood that this path followed by the United States—this path to Geneva—was leading to a disaster. A disaster which would precipitate another war in the Middle East, a war which he did not want—a war which would not serve Egypt's purposes, a war which would not serve Israel's purposes.

It was to derail the Geneva negotiating process that Sadat went to Jerusalem. This was not understood by the United States government in the beginning. It was only later that the United States caught on to what was happening.

But it was to derail Geneva that Sadat went to Jerusalem. Because both Egypt and Israel had a stake in a real, genuine peace settlement. Egypt because it would prefer economic development to war, because it would lose in any future war in the Middle East.

In past wars in the Middle East, Egypt has borne the brunt of the fighting. The more radical elements talked a good game but they never fought. Egypt was the country that really suffered most of the casualties and did not want to suffer them in the future.

And Egypt did not have an interest in seeing the Soviet Union dominate the Middle East, which it would if the conflict were not settled. It did not have an interest in seeing elements like the PLO and Syria dominate the Arab world.

Israeli 'Compromise'

Israel too had an interest in peace. Because it did not want another war; and it too understood that even a settlement with Egypt, which is not a total settlement in the Middle East, would be a step toward a settlement—a partial peace. It would make war very unlikely in the future. Because lacking Egypt—the largest Arab country, the main country in past wars with Israel—war would become very unlikely in the Middle East.

So a compromise was achieved. A genuine compromise settlement.

Now in understanding this compromise, many commentators talk about the risks that Sadat is taking, the compromise that he is making in recognizing the existence of Israel. But I think it should be understood that Sadat's compromises here were on the level of words, the level of psychology. Israel's compromises were on the level of land, the level of territory, the level of security.

It should be understood what Israel has given up here. For Israel, a free country in the Middle East, this land is a matter of the time it will take for missiles to attack Israel. Land means whether or not Israel will have a waste of ten miles to defend itself at its central point near Tel Aviv. Land means whether or not shells can be lobbed from the Golan Heights onto the kibbutzim below.

There is great hypocrisy involved in the international campaign against Israel's acquisition of territories by means of war. This campaign is led by the Soviet Union, which as a result of World War II occupied, took over, and kept 272,500 square miles of territory—a territory two and a half times larger than Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq combined, a territory with a population of over 24 million. And it has kept these territories not for needs of self-defense.

Israel, which took these territories in a war of survival where its very existence was threatened, was willing to give some of these territories up in a compromise settlement with Egypt.

And I think the compromise that Israel is willing to make on the West Bank should also be appreciated. It has agreed to the principle of self-rule. It has agreed ultimately, if this process continues, to giving up any sovereignty over the West Bank.

By the way, in the elections of 1977, Begin's Likud bloc (I'm a Labor Party person myself) had said that there must be Jewish sovereignty alone between the sea and Jordan.

In my view, Begin's compromise on the West Bank is equal to Sadat's compromise in recognizing Israel. Because he feels, given his historical perceptions, that Judea and Samaria are part of the traditional Jewish homeland. This is a psychological concession equal to the psychological concession which Sadat has made.

So we have a genuine compromise peace here, a peace of two sides which are coming together to avoid future hostilities, a future war which could endanger the peace of the world. This is the only

kind of peace that is possible in the Middle East. Any kind of real peace—if that's what people are interested in, real peace—as opposed to the peace of the graveyard.

This is the only kind of peace possible, because the other elements in the Middle East at the present time—the so-called rejectionist front, or the steadfastness front, whatever it's called—these elements are fundamentally opposed to the existence of Israel. They consider its existence—the very existence of Israel, not a matter of territory, but the existence of Israel, a sovereign, democratic state in that area—to be an aggression. And this too, if I understand it, is the position of the Socialist Workers Party.

So it's rather simple with this kind of a setting to point out why that is not the direction that can lead to peace. It is the direction from which only war can result.

Now I say that these elements are opposed to the existence of Israel as their fundamental concept. Sometimes for propaganda purposes they'll try to cover this up. They'll try to say no,



'Israel will live. Israel will not be destroyed. Its back is against the wall. There are wolves at the door. Not only Arafat wolves, but Brezhnev wolves that want to dominate the region, because if they can control the oil supplies they'll subjugate Europe.'

we're not really opposed to Israel, it's just a matter of territory, we're willing to accept some kind of compromise.

In Article 11 of the resolution adopted at the Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo in March of 1977 it was said that they would accept an independent national state on the national soil. This was interpreted by some people to say well, they'll accept a separate state which is not Israel, to exist side-by-side with Israel.

But it was a very carefully worded document. For external purposes, for propaganda, this is the way it could be interpreted. But internally, it is still interpreted as meaning *all* of what is Palestine, and there is no compromise here on the existence of Israel.

One can see this by reading the other of the fifteen resolutions that were adopted by the same meeting, of which this is just a part. A resolution called for escalation of the struggle both to defeat and liquidate the occupation, saying that Palestinian rights must be restored "without recognition of, or reconciliation with, the Zionist entity."

And of course there is the Palestine National Covenant, still unrepealed, which calls not merely for the destruction of Israel, but the removal from that region of the Jews that were not there in 1917—practically the entire Jewish



Lebanese rightist. The Christian militias, which Gershman claims are threatened by Islam, are actually organized to suppress democratic rights of the Muslim and Palestinian majority.

population which is in Israel today.

And there are of course also the statements—regular statements, time after time—of PLO leaders. In the last year, even when they were trying to make some moderate noises for Western journalists, they called for the destruction of Israel.

Arafat: "I am not an anti-Semite or a confessionalist, but I will fight until every inch of Palestine is returned."

The chairman of the Palestine National Council: "I want a Palestinian state in every part of Palestine, and I am strongly opposed to the concession of any part of the land of Palestine."

The head of the political department of the PLO: "We cannot think of recognition of Israel, because this would mean conceding a part of our land."

The secretary of the Palestinian central committee: "The right of the Palestinian nation to self-determination is expressed in the exposure and destruction of the Zionist idea, and of Israel, which is the result of that idea."

There is a notion that if a West Bank state were accepted by the PLO that this would somehow mean a settlement. But at the meeting of the Palestine National Council in 1974, a resolution was adopted saying the PLO will consider any step toward liberation which is accomplished as a *stage* in the pursuit of this strategy.

That's what a PLO state on the West Bank would be if it were accepted as a compromise. It would be a confrontation state. A small, landlocked state, armed by Moscow and committed by religious belief to an irredentist war against Israel.

The Islamic Peril

And then we have the notion—I think this is the view presented by the YSA [Young Socialist Alliance] and the SWP—of a democratic, secular state, where Jews, Moslems, and Christians will live in peace.

To me, this is a morbid joke. To think that a movement which is fighting a *jihād*—that's a *holy war*—could establish a secular state. This is the kind of joke which is not very funny to people who are living in that state which is going to be replaced by the so-called democratic, secular state.

One just has to look at the nature of the movement that is going to replace this state to know that it could not be a democratic secular state. The al-Fateh speaks for the PLO. It is a group which had its origins in connection with the Moslem Brotherhood.

Yassir Arafat, the leader of the PLO, has as his *nom de guerre* the name Abu Omar, which is an allusion to Omar ibn-Yassir, the son of Yassir, who was a companion of the prophet Mohammed, and a fighter in all his battles.

The Fateh, itself, is a technical term, meaning conquest for Islam gained in the holy war. Even the Palestinian Liberation Army has carried over the imagery of this nomenclature in the names of its brigades—brigades named after great victories of Muslim armies in holy wars won against non-Muslims.

The military communiqués of Fateh begin with the Muslim invocation, "In the name of God the merciful and compassionate."

If that were not enough, one just has to understand the nature of Islam, which is not a religion of the Western model, but is a community, a loyalty, a way of life in which there is no separation between church and state as we know it, no separation between religious and political authority.

Mohammed, let us remember, did not die on the cross. He was a prophet, a soldier, a statesman, a head of state—a theocratic state—and the founder of an empire. There is no separation of church and state in his concept.

Danger to Christians

And in addition to that, Islam in the Middle East—the way it has functioned—especially recently in turbulent times—has not been tolerant of other minorities. And here I'm not just referring to the Jewish minority, but to other minorities—the Coptic Christian minority, 4 million of them in Egypt; the Armenians; the Greek Orthodox.

In 1967, one of the statements which was circulating among the Arab armies was a statement: first the Saturday people, then the Sunday people—first the Jews, then the Christians. It appears from what has happened in Lebanon that the priorities have been reversed, and maybe the Christians will get it before the Jews.

Stuff like this is not necessarily deliberate. There can be demonstrations organized in which in the passion of the demonstration any non-Islamic elements are attacked. In 1945 a demonstration was organized in Egypt on the occasion of the Balfour Declaration to protest. It was not only anti-Jewish, but Catholic, Armenian, and Greek Orthodox churches were burned.

In 1952 demonstrations organized against the British occupation of the Canal Zone turned into an anti-Coptic demonstration, in which Coptic churches were burned.

But one has only to look today in Iran to see what I'm talking about. Iran, where even homosexuals are executed for violating the Islamic code. What would they do to Zionists, Jews, if they are willing to do this for violations of that kind?

Against Iranian Revolution

Khomeini, who invited Arafat, is a complete reactionary. If we were to coin a term to describe what he is in terms of political ideology we would have to call him a clerical fascist, or something of the kind. The only reason he was considered progressive was because he opposed the shah and opposed the Americans.

But Khomeini became a figure, a leader, in 1963, by opposing the decree on agrarian reform because the clergy in Iran were large landholders. They opposed a decree on suffrage and equality for women, because they considered this to be an abomination and against the fundamental principles of Islam.

Perhaps some people in the SWP will say, well, now it will be different. Because the progressives will take over, not the Islamic radicals, but the progressives will take over.

I must say that I just don't trust in the judgment of a group like the SWP on that question. It's a strange paradox, which is that the SWP finds itself in league with countries that have traditionally killed Trotskyists, and they have protested against so-called imperialist countries where Trotskyists can have political meetings of this kind.

And I don't trust the judgment of an organization which seems to have suicidal tendencies. I don't think that they're a good guide to the humane behavior of regimes if they endorse regimes where even Trotskyists are murdered.

The fact that they are suicidal in this regard does not mean so much that they are scoundrels, but that they are fools and I would not trust their judgment on this type of an issue.

And certainly Jews, Jews who have suffered in the holocaust, Jews know that annihilation is not just a word, that annihilation is a reality, could be a reality, and would be a reality if the elements that are supported by these groups would ever achieve their objectives—surely Israel could never accept this type of a program. Never.

It will fight, if necessary, for survival. And it will make peace, if peace is possible.

Now there is an opportunity for peace, and Israel has seized this opportunity. Those who are for war, will oppose the settlement that is now being worked out and that I hope will be worked out to its completion. And those who are for peace will support it. Let us choose peace. Let peace prevail.

David Frankel

Front-page headlines across the country have been hailing President Carter as a peacemaker in the Middle East. But amid talk about a new era of peace, Carter is plunging ahead with plans for war.

With a U.S. naval task force already stationed off Yemen, and with massive shipments of U.S. arms pouring in, Deputy Secretary of State William Crawford announced March 12 that as many as 300 U.S. advisers would also be sent.

Speaking before a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee, Crawford bluntly declared that Washington is prepared to go to war in Yemen for "national security."

State Department officials, according to Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), "are saying that the atmosphere is reminiscent of Vietnam in 1963."

Carter's war moves have gone the farthest and are most immediate in the case of Yemen, but what is happening there is part of a pattern.

War Moves in Middle East

Billions of dollars of additional U.S. arms will

be sent to Egypt and Israel as part of Carter's Mideast "peace."

The administration has begun floating trial balloons about the possibility of establishing U.S. military bases in the Sinai Peninsula.

The Pentagon is considering the creation of a "Fifth Fleet" in the Indian Ocean.

And in keeping with these moves, Carter has been pushing the military budget steadily upward and is considering reintroduction of the draft.

Standby Selective Service directors for each state have already been appointed, and the administration has asked increases in Selective Service funding for both 1979 and 1980. Several bills on reintroducing the draft are currently before Congress.

Not surprisingly, Carter has tried to cloak his war policy in rhetoric about peace. But Carter's diplomacy will not bring peace, and he knows it—which is why he is preparing for war.

Washington's real intentions were spelled out by the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* March 9 when they said: "If we want to insure the

'Why is it that "democratic" Israel is allied to the most reactionary and socially backward regimes in the Middle East and around the world? The reason is that "democratic" Israel is based on a fundamentally antidemocratic foundation. That is, the denial of the right of an entire people to self-determination, and their forcible expulsion from their homeland.'



stability of the Middle East and the security of our friends, there will be no substitute for an actual U.S. presence in the area."

When the *Wall Street Journal* talks about "stability" and "security," it is talking about protecting pro-imperialist regimes from their own people. That's what the U.S. government went to war in Vietnam over, and that's what it's preparing to go to war in the Middle East over.

Myth of 'Soviet Subversion'

The revolution in Iran, and fear that the example of the Iranian people will be followed elsewhere, has inspired Carter's war preparations with new urgency.

In hopes of getting the American people to



David Ben-Gurion declares Israeli statehood in 1948. Above is portrait of Theodore Herzl, founder of Zionist movement. Israeli drive to expel Palestinians and expand territory was well under way before Arab armies struck back.

accept such a policy, capitalist politicians and the big-business media are talking more and more about "Soviet expansionism" and the "energy crisis."

We are supposed to believe that the instability of regimes such as those in Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia is due to subversion from Moscow rather than the deep social inequality, the oppression and exploitation, that drives the workers and peasants in these countries to rebellion.

The State Department and Carter even complained about Soviet radio broadcasts in Iran. The Iranians are supposed to be excitable—they hear radio broadcasts and rush out into the streets to face the tanks and guns that Carter supplied to the shah.

And behind all the propaganda on the "energy crisis" is the implication that, whatever the needs and decisions of the people living there, the United States has a right to the natural resources of other countries—oil in particular—and the right to ensure the "security" of those resources.

As for Carter the "peacemaker," the Egyptian-Israeli treaty he has engineered is a counterrevolutionary military alliance in the tradition of the cold-war Baghdad Pact. It's an alliance that will encourage war, not peace, in the Middle East.

How does Israel fit into this?

Israel and Iranian Revolution

Supporters of the Israeli state often claim that it is the only democracy in the Middle East. It's interesting, in view of that claim, to see the way that the Israeli government reacted to the revolution in Iran.

One of the most vicious dictatorships on the face of the earth—a regime that was described by Amnesty International as having a record of torture that was almost "beyond belief," was overthrown by a sustained, popular revolution.

Every sector of Iranian society has been drawn into political life. Workers are forming committees in factories and offices throughout Iran, discussing politics, and debating the future of their country, despite Khomeini's claim that things are already settled.

Iran's oppressed nationalities—the Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Baluchis, and others, who were forbidden to publish books and newspapers in their own language under the shah, and who faced death for even raising the idea of autonomy, have elected their own representatives and are raising their own demands, despite the opposition of both Khomeini and Bazargan—his appointed prime minister.

The women of Iran, who played a heroic role in the protests against the shah, have now taken to the streets once again in their thousands to raise their own demands. Like the workers and the oppressed nationalities, they say that they intend to have a full say in the future of the country, and neither Khomeini nor Bazargan nor anybody else is going to tell them what to do or what to wear.

This magnificent revolution has opened new prospects for the people of Iran. It has enabled them for the first time in decades to raise up their heads and begin to take a hand in determining the future of their country.

But has this inspiring step forward been greeted with rejoicing and welcomed by the "democratic" government of Israel? No. It has been greeted with undisguised fear and dismay.

And I must say that my opponent has greeted it in the same way.

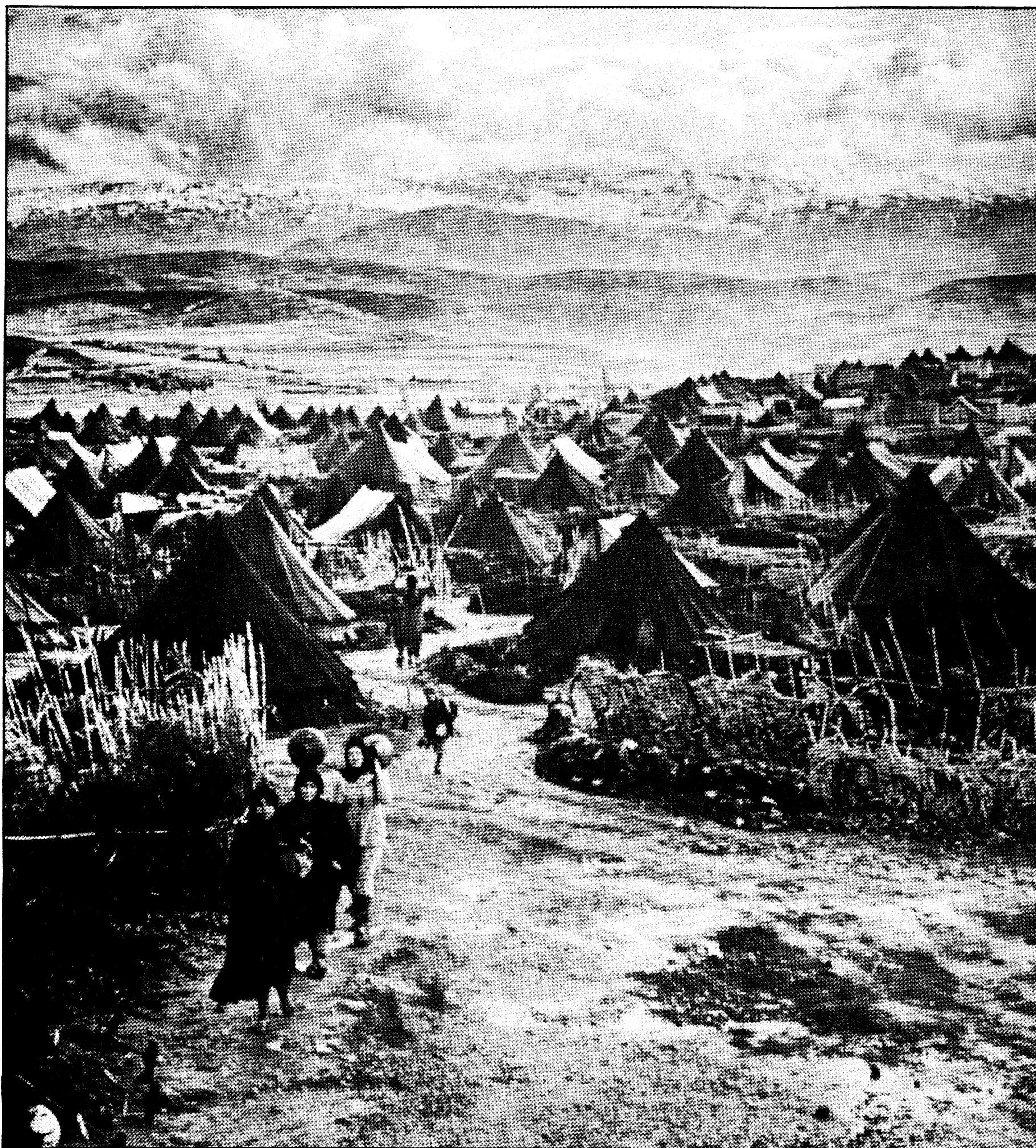
Iran is not an exception. Although Zionist publicists are always ready to talk about the lack of democracy in the Arab world, the Zionist state stands opposed to the democratic aspirations of the masses of people in the Middle East. What would Israel do in the event of a popular revolution against the Saudi Arabian monarchy—a regime hardly less repressive than the shah's?

Defend Reactionary Regimes

They make no secret of their attitude. *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton reported February 13 that "Israeli diplomats and politicians have been asking Washington about American contingency plans in the event of a revolution in Saudi Arabia."

And the same is the case in Jordan. The *New York Times* revealed shortly after the September 1970 civil war there that there had been a joint U.S.-Israeli plan to invade that country in the event that King Hussein began to lose.

And it's not just in the Arab world. The Israeli government sells arms to South Africa. Last



Sadat-Begin pact hasn't ended Palestinian drive to establish a democratic secular Palestine

September, when the Nicaraguan National Guard was crushing the Nicaraguan people on behalf of the Somoza dictatorship, the Israeli government was delivering Galil assault rifles, Uzi submachine guns, and armored cars to the Somoza dictatorship.

Why is it that "democratic" Israel is allied to the most reactionary and socially backward regimes in the Middle East and around the world?

The reason is that "democratic" Israel is based on a fundamentally antidemocratic foundation. That is, the denial of the right of an entire people to self-determination, and their forcible expulsion from their homeland.

When the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into two states in November 1947, there were about 1,800,000 people living there. 1.2 million—a two-thirds majority—were Palestinian Arabs.

The people of Palestine had been prevented from establishing their own independent state first by the Ottoman Empire, then by British colonial rule. Then the United Nations voted to partition their country against the demand of the majority of the people living there.

It would be as if the UN today voted to partition Namibia or South Africa into separate states, a Black state and a white state, under the

pretext of solving the conflict in southern Africa. The Black majority would rightly reject such a "solution," and that is the attitude that the Palestinians took.

Supporters of the Israeli state say the Palestinians were "unreasonable," that they were not willing to "compromise" by giving away half their country. But the truth is that although the Zionists gave lip service to the UN resolution, they never abided by it, nor did they intend to.

Both in its formal program and in its actions, the Zionist movement sought to establish a Jewish state in Palestine—a state that in Chaim Weizman's words, would be "as Jewish as England is English."

But no such state was possible under the 1947 partition plan. The UN partition plan created an Arab state with about 725,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. But the so-called Jewish state, with 54 percent of the country's land area, had a population of about 498,000 Jews and 407,000 Arabs.

Since the Arabs had a higher birth rate, they would have eventually been a majority, even in the so-called Jewish state.

Expulsion of Palestinians

If you try to set up a state that is opposed by nearly half of its population, you have a problem. You can either establish a dictatorship over those

who are opposed, or you can get rid of them.

Israeli "democracy" is based precisely on the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland. By the end of 1948, Israel had swallowed up 80 percent of Palestine and in the process expelled some 700,000 Palestinians.

Apologists for Zionism claim that there was no expulsion—that the Palestinian people left behind their homes and property and fled in obedience to commands radioed from Arab countries abroad. The purpose, supposedly, was so that all the people remaining could be exterminated.

Well, you can find whole books written on both sides of this question. Who's telling the truth? Think for a minute about the evidence.

First, even if we are willing to believe that 700,000 people abandoned all they had and were familiar with because of orders on the radio, the argument still doesn't make sense.

Almost without exception, Arabs and Jews in Palestine at that time lived in different towns, and in a few cases where they lived in larger cities, the neighborhoods were very sharply divided.

Arabs dressed differently, spoke a different language, and their houses and neighborhoods looked different from those of the European settlers.

So even if one accepts the lie that the Arab armies intended to slaughter the Jewish population in Palestine, there was not the slightest reason for the type of broadcasts claimed by the Zionists.

Second, there is the *fact* that the actual flow of refugees coincided with Israeli offensive operations.

Third, there is the general point I have already made—how else could the Zionist state have been established except by the expulsion?

Finally, there is the not unimportant fact that of the 370 Jewish settlements established between 1948 and 1953, 350 were constructed on land that belonged to Arab refugees.

One more question needs to be posed. Why, if the Palestinians fled because they were threatened with death, were they not allowed to return? Since when do civilians fleeing a battlefield not have the right to return to their homes and their property when the fighting is over?

I think the answer is obvious. The entire Zionist argument on this point is a self-serving tissue of lies.

The cycle of expulsion and confiscation by which the Israeli state was built did not stop back in 1948. Some 500,000 new refugees were created by the June 1967 Mideast war.

The June 12, 1967, *New York Times* reported: "There seems to be little doubt that the 60,000 inhabitants of the three big United Nations camps around Jericho were attacked by planes on the second day of the fighting."

The residents of these refugee camps, along with most of the inhabitants of Jericho itself, were forced to flee. And if you drive to Jericho from the Dead Sea, you can still go past mile after mile after mile of empty ruins where those camps were.

Racist Practices

Another example: The Israeli government has established the Company for the Rehabilitation and Development of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem.

"Since the company was established it has had several managers," Yehiel Limor reported in the February 25, 1977, issue of the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv*, "but its goals have remained the same: to evict the Arab inhabitants and to populate the rebuilt quarter with Jewish inhabitants."

Some of the Palestinians living in the Jewish quarter have proved "stubborn," Limor reported. But in such cases, "It was enough that one of their neighbors be evicted—walls would be knocked down, staircases destroyed, and the entrances to the apartment blocked."

The racism behind this project was, if possible, made even clearer when an Arab family living in the Jewish Quarter since 1947 asked to buy one of the newly built homes there as a replacement for its confiscated house. Avraham Ofer, the minister of housing in Rabin's Labor government, declared: "This is the Jewish Quarter, and only Jews shall live here!"

It is worth noting that Ofer was one of the Labor Party's "doves." But his exclamation, when applied to Israel as a whole, is a capsule description of Zionism, and it is the real basis for the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.

The conflict is not a religious conflict. It is not due to any desire on the part of the Palestinians to be new Hitlers and exterminate the Jewish people.

Peace in the Middle East requires first of all the recognition of this fact. Not Begin's and Carter's phony autonomy plan.

Israel and U.S. Imperialism

It requires acceptance of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and their right to compensation for the property that was taken from them. Let Washington, which is willing to pay \$2 billion a year in arms aid to the Israeli state, pay for that.

Those who stand for the maintenance of a Jewish state in Israel as opposed to the establishment of what the Palestinians urge—a democratic, secular Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews can live together—claim to speak in the interests of the Jewish people.

Do they really?

The state of Israel is not the same thing as the Jewish people.

Maintenance of the Israeli state means the maintenance of an endless conflict with the Arab peoples of the Middle East. Since the Arab countries are potentially much more powerful and wealthy than Israel, the Zionist state must

maneuver to keep them weak, divided, and backward.

That is why the Israeli regime supports the most backward monarchies in the Arab world. That is why it fears a social revolution that would really begin to modernize Egypt or Saudi Arabia—not phony modernization like the shah's, but the real thing.

And that is why the Israeli regime must act against the aspirations of the Arab masses to throw off imperialist domination. Israel, as Begin is so fond of saying, is "the only stable ally of the United States" in the Middle East.

The problem is that the United States is interested in promoting American military and economic domination in the Middle East, not the interests of the Arab masses.

That was the problem in Iran—it's why the Iranian people hate the U.S. government, which furthered its own interests at their expense. That is what is happening in Saudi Arabia and Jordan today, and in Yemen.

Is it in the interests of the Jewish people to tie its future to such regimes? With the fall of the shah of Iran—previously considered its dependable ally—Israel is no longer getting Iranian oil. So what does Begin do? He signed an agreement January 15 for 1 million metric tons of coal a year through 1985 with the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Trap for Jewish People

Despite the claim of its supporters that Zionism stands for Jewish survival, it does just the opposite. It leads the Jewish people into a trap, where they are left to depend on the most reactionary forces in the world.

And it leads to things like the adoption of torture as a method of the Zionist state.

It's not just a moral question. These forces and these methods are not going to win. The whole history of the twentieth century is a demonstration of that. In the long run, the Pentagon and the economic interests it protects are going to get thrown out of the Middle East, just as they were thrown out of China, just as they were thrown out of Cuba, and just as they were thrown out of Vietnam. And maybe the long-run isn't so far down the road.

There's another point too. Zionists argue that a Jewish state is necessary as a haven in the event of a new rise in anti-Semitism and the threat of a second holocaust—especially here in the United States.

But Israel is totally dependent on American economic and military aid. Twice as many Jews live in the United States as in Israel. Like so many other questions facing the world today, the fate of the Jewish people will be decided right here on American soil, not in the Middle East.

There's no running away from racism and anti-Semitism. They must be defeated on their own ground—and for us, that means right here in the United States, and it means by fighting *against* the American government.

American capitalism is not something that Jews here in the U.S.—let alone in the Middle East—should rely on for their future. *Nor, for that matter, should anybody else.*

The image of a liberal, tolerant, democratic America—an America that never existed for many—surviving unruffled in the midst of a deepening crisis of the world capitalist system is a utopian fantasy.

Imperialist Anti-Semitism

Isaac Deutscher, the biographer of Trotsky and one of the most prominent historians of the Russian revolution and the Soviet Union, remarked in one of his essays:

"Let this society suffer any severe shock, such as it is bound to suffer; let there be again millions of unemployed, and we will see the same lower-middle-class alliance with the lumpenproletariat, from whom Hitler recruited his following, running amok with anti-Semitism. As long as the nation-state imposes its supremacy and as long as we have not an international society in existence, as long as the wealth of every nation is in the hands of one national capitalist oligarchy, we shall have chauvinism, racialism, and, as its culmination, anti-Semitism."

And that is a weapon that the Rockefellers, Kennedys, and Du Ponts, and the rest of the American ruling class will not hesitate to use, any more than they hesitate to use anti-Black racism.

Nixon, who talked about "Jew boys"; Billy Carter, who says what his brother thinks; [Gen. George] Brown, the former chairman of the Joint

Chiefs of Staff; Rockefeller, whose anti-Black remarks were picked up on the floor of Congress—these people hate Blacks and Chicanos, they despise *latinos* and Asians, they loathe Jews, and they're not so sure about women either.

The Zionists propose that security for Jews lies in aligning themselves with this same capitalism against the struggles of the Arab masses, against the Palestinians who have been expelled from their homeland, and against the rising radicalization of the oppressed around the world, from southern Africa to Iran. This is a reactionary road to disaster.

There is no solution for the Jewish people in their own little corner of the world, carved out at someone else's expense.

For the Jewish people, as for everyone else on the planet the alternative is going to be either the victory of the socialist revolution here in the United States, or else nuclear annihilation.

If there is to be a future for the Jewish people in the Middle East, it must be *with* the Iranian revolution, not against it. It must be *with* the people of Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the other Arab countries, not against them. And it must be together with the Palestinian people as well.

Gershman Summary

Sometimes it's difficult to decide where to join an issue when the positions are so extraordinarily far apart, and to try to find a basis for some kind of rational discussion. I'll go through a few points, nonetheless.

Speaking of a Carter war policy, for starters. This administration has been following—until now, perhaps, we don't know—a policy of appeasement ever since it came into office. A policy of not recognizing the losses which it was suffering in the world. Of cutting back unilaterally on military programs at a time when the Russians are engaged in a military expansion program, in real terms, of 4 to 5 percent a year. At a time when the Soviet Union, with a GNP one-half that of the United States, is spending on its military budget, in absolute terms, 40 percent more. At a time when it is building missiles far more rapidly and engaged in a military buildup far greater than anything that is needed for self-defense.

Defend 'Western Democratic Interests'

There is a kind of obvious one-sidedness here. That which is progressive is seen as that which is in the interests of the forces backed by the Soviet Union in the world and that which is reactionary is backed by the United States.

If one somehow questions those basic assumptions, one realizes that it is not a war policy that is being followed here, but perhaps the very hesitating beginnings of some kind of efforts to achieve, to defend, western, democratic, American interests in the world.

Now, in speaking of Iran, and of the great resistance to this regime which was overthrown. I think we have to recognize something else. The basic reason the shah was overthrown—the basic reason—was not simply that there was great hostility to him, but that he was not as ruthless as other dictators who are far more efficient in their totalitarian rule.

There are far more political prisoners per capita in Cuba than there were in Iran under the shah. There were far more political opponents in Iraq than there were in Iran.

The shah allowed the opposition to develop more than these ruthless dictatorships—which are supported by the Young Socialist Alliance—than these ruthless dictatorships allowed. The shah was simply inefficient. Corrupt, inefficient—he didn't do a good enough job, the way these dictatorships supported by the YSA do. There's a double standard here in recognizing why these regimes fall.

Now, second, the history of the Middle East conflict. He said the Palestinians in 1947 were not willing to give up one-half of their land. But the Jews were.

'Not One Refugee'

There is a failure here to recognize that there was a legitimate national conflict here between two peoples contending for the same piece of land, two peoples who, let it be said, have legitimate rights. And there is a refusal to recognize the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in this conflict.



The Iranian revolution. Gershman can't imagine why these people didn't appreciate the shah. He concludes they must be Islamic fanatics manipulated by 'Brezhnev wolves.'

And here, as there always is, a historical distortion is offered—how the refugee problem was created. There was not one refugee before the Arab armies invaded Israel in 1948. There was a war started by the five Arab armies to nullify the United Nations decision, which led to the refugee problem.

There is a refusal to recognize the legitimate national rights of the Jewish people, and that to me is racist when one is willing to recognize the so-called legitimate national rights of other peoples. There is racism here.

For West Bank Settlements

You talk of Jewish opposition to Arabs living in their areas. There are 500,000 Arabs living in Israel today; 500,000 Arabs living within that part of Palestine which is Israel today. There are 4,500 Jews living on the West Bank. And they are all "illegal"; they ought to get out.

Jews living in Hebron, which was a traditional Jewish city—the city where King David was annointed king of Judah—a traditional Jewish homeland where they are not permitted to live. Is that not racism? Is that not a double standard? I think it is a double standard. I think it's anti-Jewish racism.

There is a double standard applied here, a double standard applied to regimes when the violations that exist in the totalitarian countries in this world are not even on the same order. We live in a paradise compared to what they have over there, the kind of societies that the YSA wants to create, the kind of societies that have destroyed Trotskyists, the kind of societies that won't let Trotskyists have free meetings like this.

Oh sure, it's all a joke, it's all an illusion, it's all a sham, to defend the interests of the capital-

ists. Well try living in one of those totalitarian countries once in a while. Try seeing what it's like.

Israeli Support to Shah

Israel is opposed to modernization in the Middle East. Israel is opposed to the Arab masses, it wants to keep them oppressed.

Then why in god's name did Israel, like he said, support the shah, or support Iran, which was the most rapidly modernizing country in the Middle East?

And now that the shah is overthrown, the economy, I assure you, will go into a tailspin. Oil production is down. They're going to have a disastrous food shortage. Surely, if the state of Israel was stopping modernization, Israel would have had every reason to want to see Khomeini come into power and the shah overthrown.

We are told that Zionism is a trap. This is pure propaganda, and it should be recognized as such.

Who can seriously believe that the destruction of Israel is in the Jewish interest? Even if you want it destroyed, even if you feel that it is a Jewish state in an area that should be Islamic—which is the basic issue, that's the basic reason it's opposed—even if you feel that way, at least recognize that the destruction of Israel would mean the death of hundreds of thousands of Jews. And that no Jew, no Israeli, no one except one who has suicidal tendencies, could support this line of argument.

Brezhnev Wolves at Door

And Israel will live; Israel will not be destroyed, for a very simple reason: we have no choice. *Ein Breira*—there is no alternative. Its

back is against the wall. There are the wolves at the door.

Not only Arafat wolves, or Assad wolves, but Brezhnev wolves that want to dominate that region, who have geopolitical purposes in wanting to dominate that region, because if they can control the oil supplies they'll subjugate Europe.

And if you support that, which the YSA does because they back Soviet foreign policy—if you support that then of course you want that area to be dominated, then of course you want to undermine any effort by the West to protect its interests.

But Israel opposes that. Israel is defending its own survival and the Jewish state. Even if it is abandoned by the United States—perhaps in an effort to appease some foreign power—Israel will continue to fight because its life is on the line. It has no choice. And no amount of rhetoric, no amount of argumentation which says that really self-interest lies in committing suicide, can be taken seriously by anybody who has even a modicum of political common sense.

Frankel Summary

The Socialist Workers Party supported the Hungarian revolution, supported the struggle for democratic rights in Czechoslovakia, and opposed the Soviet invasions of those countries, and we hope and believe that we will see the same thing in the Soviet Union.

But we don't therefore support the United States government and American capitalism, which is what Gershman's position is.

First on Carter and appeasement. I haven't noticed that Carter's been cutting back the arms budget. Quite the contrary, ever since he's been in office he's been raising it steadily. Every one is higher than the year before.

Rulers Push Arms Race

Who is responsible for the arms race and the military build-up? At the end of World War II, the United States, with a monopoly on atomic power and the atomic bomb, confronted a Soviet Union that had had most of its industry destroyed by the Nazi invasion, which had lost 20 million people—more than 10 percent of its population—in the course of that war.

The United States did not have one city bombed. We did not lose any appreciable section of our population in that war. Travellers to the Soviet Union after 1945 described how they saw only women plowing in the fields as a result of the ravages of that war.

During the cold war the American people were told that the USSR—which had just lost 10 percent of its population in a war, which had just had most of its industry destroyed, and which faced an untouched United States which produced 50 percent of the industrial world's products and which had a monopoly on nuclear weapons—was out to conquer the world.

It was a lie.

The United States had the A-bomb first, it had the H-bomb first, the United States was the first power to develop intercontinental ballistic missiles, it was the first power to develop MIRV missiles—multiple warheads. It was the first power to begin to make the rockets more accurate to achieve a first-strike capability.

The arms race comes from the United States, and Carter's so-called appeasement is not Carter's policy. What happened is that as a result of the Vietnam War, the American people have imposed certain restraints on the American ruling class. Restraints that the rulers are trying to break out of with this propaganda campaign about the Soviet threat.

Amnesty International on Cuba

I just want to say one thing about the "progressive" shah—on the idea that Cuba had more political prisoners than the shah. You know, last year the Cuban government allowed Amnesty International to send an investigative team to Cuba to investigate the prison conditions there and to interview prisoners. That's something that the state of Israel has not allowed.

In 1970 Amnesty International requested to be allowed to carry out an investigation after persistent charges of torture and after concluding that there was a good deal of evidence for such charges. The Israeli state refused repeated requests by Amnesty International to carry out such an investigation.

Now I want to quote something that Gershman said. There was not one refugee before the Arab armies invaded Israel. Remember that? That's what he said—that the refugees came about as a result of the Arab armies invading Israel. I want to take this up in some detail.

Former Haganah Commander Netanel Lorch explained in his book, *The Edge of the Sword*, that the Zionist command had decided in the month before the United Nations partition vote to hold onto all thirty-three Jewish settlements outside the boundaries of the proposed Jewish state.

In the beginning of April 1948—six weeks before Arab armies entered the section of Palestine set aside as an Arab state—the Haganah went over to the offensive.

Real Cause of 1948 War

On April 1, 1948, Haganah forces started down the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road. Along the way they attacked Arab villages, driving the population out and dynamiting their houses in order to ensure that they would not return. Within one week between 10,000 and 15,000 new refugees were created.

On April 12, 1948, the infamous massacre of Deir Yassin was carried out by Menachem Begin's Irgun as part of this offensive. More than 350 men, women, and children were murdered in that one village.

On April 18, the town of Tiberias was taken and 5,000 Arabs were put to flight. Haifa was taken on April 22 and more than 50,000 Arabs were forced to flee. Jaffa fell a week later and Acre in early May.

On May 14, 1948, the state of Israel was proclaimed. By that time, before any regular Arab army had entered the fight, *more than 250,000 Palestinian Arabs had become refugees.*

Yigal Allon, who was Palmach commander in 1948, wrote in *Hasepher HaPalmach* (The Book of the Palmach) of the pre-May 15 period. "Thanks to the local offensive war the continuity of Jewish territories was accomplished and also the penetration of our forces into the Arab areas. . . . If it wasn't for the Arab invasion, there would have been no stop to the expansion of the forces of the Haganah, who could have, with the same drive, reached the natural borders of Western Israel"—that is, the Jordan River.

With that admission, we can better judge the hypocrisy of the Zionist argument that the Arab armies set aside the 1947 partition boundaries by force and were responsible for the refugees.

Discrimination Against Arabs

Now, Gershman mentioned the 500,000 Arabs living in Israel. That's right, there are 500,000 Arabs living in Israel. When they go for a job, there's little notices in the paper in all the classified ads, and what they say is military service required.

They don't say no Arabs need apply. They just say military service required, because Arabs are not taken in the Israeli army. The result is discrimination in employment that you can see if you go to Israel. All the laborers in construction crews are Arabs; all the skilled workers are Jewish.

Per capita income for Arabs in Israel in 1970 was about 40 percent that of Jews.

Housing—in 1973, 1.5 percent of the Jewish population in Israel lived four or more people per room, compared to 25 percent for the Arab population.

You can drive into an Arab village and you notice as you drive along that all of a sudden the roads get worse. Half the Arab villages in Israel do not have electricity. Many have no sewer systems.

Many public services are not paid for by the government in Israel. They are handled through quasi-public Zionist organizations. So the result is that the Jewish settlers have electricity, and Arabs who want electricity are forced to raise the money themselves to connect their villages to the national electric grid.

You have a village like Um el-Fahm, which has 20,000 people in it. It's a "village," it's not a town, it's a "village," and the reason it's classified that way is that towns get more aid from the government. So they classify it as a village.

Or take Nazareth, which has 40,000 people and doesn't have a single school. It has little rooms in different places that they rent all over the place because the government refuses to build a school there.

There's a housing shortage in Nazareth. People

are refused permits to build new housing. In the meantime there are empty flats all over Upper Nazareth, which was built on land confiscated from the people of Nazareth. Under the racist, Zionist laws Arabs are not allowed to live there, because it was built on JNF (Jewish National Fund) land with JNF money.

Well, yes, there are Jewish settlers in the West Bank. The problem is not that they're Jews, the problem is not that they're living there, the problem is that they're representatives of military occupation and of expropriation, and of the racist occupation regime. That's why the opposition is there.

Questions

Question: Mr. Gershman, you evidently have not been keeping up with the Palestinian Covenant when you indicated something about the removal of all the Jews not living there since 1917, since all Jews, according to the Palestinian Covenant are invited to stay who are presently there as long as they are willing to accept a secular state where it does not matter if you are a Jew or an Arab.

You quote quite a bit about an Islamic state as the potential danger if Israel were somehow destroyed. You use the word *jihad*, a holy war. You use the phrase a religious belief, that the Palestinians are committed by a religious belief against Israel. And I concluded from your various statements about this religious, Islamic belief of the Palestinians, that the Palestinians are a fervent, militant, Islamic people who are anti-Jewish.

I do not understand that from my understanding of the Palestinian movement. The only Palestinian leader who happens to be Muslim is Yassir Arafat. The other two most prominent Palestinian leaders, Nayef Hawatmeh and Dr. George Habash, are both Christians. Christians are very much involved in the PLO and in the Palestinian movement. . . .

You talk frequently about the threat of the destruction of the state of Israel, and I think you're making a confusion here. I also wish for the destruction of Israel. When you talk about a state called Israel or a state called the United States, that does not mean the destruction of the people. That does not mean the burning of the land. That means simply what it says—the destruction of the present structure of government of Israel whereby it is institutionalized to have a policy of racism and discrimination against persons who are not Jewish. . . .

So when we speak about the threat of destruction of Israel, yes. What is meant is the destruction of institutionalized racism as currently practiced by the government of Israel.

Gershman. There are many articles in the Palestinian National Covenant. Fifteen call for the destruction of Israel. Now the one article I referred to is Article 6, which I shall read to you.

Jews who are living permanently in Palestine since the beginning of the Zionist nation will be considered Palestinians. But there are notes which explain these articles, and in the note explaining this article it defines the beginning of the Zionist nation as 1917—the Balfour declaration.

Now the only thing that is left unclear here is whether they are referring to Jews who were actually living in Palestine at that time or also to their descendants. But certainly nobody who is a descendant of anybody who came after 1917—practically the entire population. And this has not been amended even though it has been pointed out time and again. It is one of the main reasons for refusing to deal with the PLO. They still have not amended this fundamental document.

Now to say that Arafat is the only Muslim leader—you know that there are many organizations in the PLO. Habash is a Christian. One of the reasons why he is moved to this type of radical socialist ideology, if you want to call it that, is precisely because as a Christian he could not achieve prominence or leadership on the basis of nationalist or Islamic ideology.

But basically this movement, which is based on Fateh, the main organization, is an overwhelmingly Islamic movement. I pointed out time and again the different aspects of the centrality of Islam in this movement, and also the fate of minorities under Islam.

Now to say, as you say, that yes, you are for

the destruction of Israel but you're not for the destruction of the Jewish people—you cannot realistically think that your goal will be achieved in any other way first of all, but by the destruction of the people living there.

And you know there is the belief, by the way, among many Palestinians, that the Jews somehow were tricked into coming there, that they would voluntarily leave, or that they really do not support the Jewish state. So they somehow would even want to go back to the Arab countries, where they were treated so wonderfully as a minority. They were expelled, and lost all their belongings. Expelled, by the way, in larger numbers than those Arabs who left Israel after the Arab armies invaded.

And to assume that in the course of the destruction of that structure which is supported by the people of that country there would not be massive slaughter—it's totally a mystery. You cannot expect anybody whose life is at stake to accept that.

Then you say they can live if they refuse to accept it [the Zionist state]. But they do accept it. They're loyal to that state. And sooner or later, I think that this theory—I think at this time there is perhaps a keystone with which some Arabs and some Jews will begin to live together: that one recognized that there is legitimacy here, that there is a national liberation movement which is just as legitimate as the national liberation movement you support. And that you can live side by side with that movement, and not demand that they give up their existence, in order to have their existence tolerated by people like yourself.

Frankel. I'd like to take this opportunity to sum up. I think, and I've tried to show in my talk why—the reasons for that is—that the maintenance of the Israeli state will require endless war, will require along with that endless economic sacrifices on the part of Israeli Jews, and it will require along with that a constant erosion of democracy. Not just for the Arab population, whose democratic rights inside Israel are continually trampled upon, but also for the Jewish population in Israel.

I think it's true—that right now, today, the majority, the big majority of Jews consider themselves Zionists, are supporters of the Israeli state, want to maintain it. But I think that over a period of time more and more of them are going to begin to realize that the maintenance of this state is not in their interest and it cannot lead to a solution to their problems.

Now Gershman says there are two national movements, that Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. Well, yes, there are two national movements. There are two national movements in South Africa also. The Boers in South Africa are a nationality. They speak their own language, they have their own history.

The problem is one nation is the oppressor and the other nation is the oppressed. And socialists in that situation have to support the rights of the oppressed.

It's like talking about the national rights of the whites in the United States. White power has a different social meaning than Black power in the United States.

It's not that Blacks in South Africa want to exterminate the whites. That's the racist stuff that they talk about in Rhodesia—all the Blacks are going to kill all the whites.

It's what they talked about in Vietnam—if the revolution wins there'd be a bloodbath.

The bloodbath was carried out by the counter-revolution, by those who tried to maintain it [the Saigon regime].

The same thing in Algeria. The *pied noirs*—the French settlers in Algeria—could have stayed if they'd wanted to. They chose not to.

I hope that the Jews in Palestine will choose to stay. I hope, and I believe, that there's a possibility in the course of this struggle that there will be common bonds forged, that there will be a common struggle. But that's a question for a political fight, that will be determined by the real political struggle of the Palestinian people for their rights and by what sectors of the Jewish population come over and make a common bond with that fight. It's not a foregone conclusion.

But that's the only road, the only way in which the Jewish community, the Jewish nation, can survive in the Middle East. It's the only way, the only road to progress, just like it is in South Africa. It's the same thing.

BOOKS

Law, Lawyers, and Capitalism

By Michael Smith

Law & the Rise of Capitalism. By Michael E. Tigar and Madeleine R. Levy. New York, Monthly Review, 1977. 346 pp., cloth \$16.00.

Law and the Rise of Capitalism is a well-researched and documented study that traces the role of law and lawyers in the European bourgeoisie's conquest of power. It is the first such history in the English language.

The book is about bourgeois revolutionaries who brought "into being a newly dominant legal ideology based upon a different system of social relations" (p. 310). They sought old legal forms, mainly Roman, and invested them with a new commercial content.

They also used Canon (church) law, Royal law, feudal law, the law merchant, and natural law, to construct a socially protected system of commerce as well as to promote a higher technology. In explaining this, authors Tigar and Levy have helped expose the essential nature of modern law by showing its origins, class use, and evolution. They view law not as a fixed system but as a process bound up with changing social conditions.

Feudal society was static. Land ownership was frozen in the propertied family. Trade and commerce had halted, except in luxury goods for the rich. Interest charges were forbidden, thereby inhibiting commerce and banking. With the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 A.D. there was a general retreat into the isolated village and manor.

In pursuit of their material interests, the bourgeoisie established freedom of contract, the ability to sell land, to lend and borrow money with interest, and devised laws to regulate all this, courts to adjudicate disputes, and a central power to enforce their judgments. These were all preconditions for the growth of modern society. In large measure the medieval bourgeoisie and their lawyers prepared the way for today's possibility of abundance.

Class Conflict

The thesis of *Law and the Rise of Capitalism* is that significant legal change is the product of conflict between social classes seeking to turn the institutions of social control to their own purposes and to impose and maintain a specific system of socio-economic relations.

Today's rules—for what is law but a system of rules backed by the power of the state?—have their source in the revolutionary social struggles of the mercantile bourgeoisie, who first appeared on the scene around 1000 A.D. Moreover, these rules did not arise full-blown in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (with the English and French revolutions, which marked the supremacy of the Common Law and the enactment of the Napoleonic Code) as the authors initially thought. The transformation of the legal system took some 800 years.

The rising bourgeoisie couldn't buy property freely on a real-estate market or associate politically or economically. They were social outcasts whose profit taking was thought to be dishonorable, a form of usury that put their souls in jeopardy. Called *pies poudreux*, or dusty feet, they peddled their goods from market to town to fair.

But this disreputable lot first accommodated to, then openly confronted, and finally overthrew the legal ideology of feudalism, subordinating and sacrificing all feudalism's ties of personal fealty and hierarchy to capitalism's bonds of cash and contract.

Dennis Diderot described the mode of their progress: "The strange god settles himself hum-



'You have the floor, explain yourself.'

Lithograph by Daumier

bly on the altar beside the god of the country. Little by little he establishes himself firmly. Then one fine morning he gives his neighbor a shove with his elbow and—crash!—the idol lies upon the ground."

After accumulating for centuries in the feudal formations, capitalist law cataclysmically replaced feudal law. This precedent can help us understand how the law will change again to reflect different property relations in the transition to socialism, before it withers away altogether.

Law schools deny students this broad understanding upon which legal study should be founded and social activism spurred. Since the basic law curriculum was developed at Harvard in the last century, American law schools are content to make students read interminable appellate cases. They are then quizzed on these cases by professors mistakenly believing they are employing "the Socratic method." Their efforts to make students sharp makes their minds narrow. The curricula of modern law schools do not teach the study of law as a social theory or in historical context and do not relate it to its actual everyday practice.

Law in America is sold as an impartial force for justice and equality. Its origins are shrouded in mystery and invested with the sanction of tradition. Most people have trouble buying this proposition, as indicated by public-opinion polls that find lawyers as professionals to be the second most unpopular group in the country, behind politicians.

This lack of esteem has developed ever since this professional stratum emerged in the thirteenth century "whose special task it was to discover, study, and state the law" (p. 29). Three centuries later the medieval humanist Thomas More, himself a great lawyer whom the authors believe to be an archetypal figure, was so disgusted with the role lawyers played that he left them out of his *Utopia*. His countryman Keats, after some two centuries of additional experience, wrote, "I think we may class lawyers in the natural history of monsters."

Activist Role for Lawyers?

Michael Tigar and Madeleine Levy are two radical legal scholars who grasp the reasons for this animus. They believe that a theory of jurisprudence should be primarily concerned with the dynamics of social change. They further recommend an activist and oppositional role for lawyers. To expose the reality behind the legal facade of free choice and fairness is an indispensable part of what they call "the jurisprudence of insurgency."

This excellent book has been well received and widely discussed on the American left and in the National Lawyers Guild in particular because it serves to demystify the law, to show its relativity and tangibility, and its use by a ruling class on its way to conquering state power.

The authors propose to promote the cause of progress through the work of "insurgent" lawyers. However useful this can be, there is a step

beyond this. Both Lenin and Castro, who were lawyers for a short time, recognized and acted on this understanding. They understood that while individual lawyers could and sometimes did play a useful auxiliary role, that role was not and could not be fundamental. What was fundamental was the struggles of the workers and farmers and the building of a revolutionary organization capable of leading these struggles.

Eleanor Marx: Revolutionary Internationalist

By Dianne Feeley

Eleanor Marx. By Yvonne Kapp. New York, Pantheon, 1972. Vol. 1, 319 pp., \$4.95. Vol 2, 775 pp., \$6.95.

Eleanor Marx devoted all of her skills to the revolutionary workers movement. Her organizing abilities, painstaking research, translations, agitational speeches, theatrical talent, and her small body of literary work were devoted to advancing the socialist cause. Above all, she brought to the movement her revolutionary internationalist perspective.

The youngest daughter of Jenny and Karl Marx, she was accurately summed up at the age of seventeen by her mother as "a politician from top to bottom."

Yvonne Kapp's two-volume biography is a vivid portrait of this socialist leader of the late nineteenth century. *Eleanor Marx* is also a cameo of the Marx household and a sprawling canvas that traces the growth of the Marxist movement against the historical events of the nineteenth century—from the American Civil War and the Paris Commune to the attempts to organize trade unions in the early 1890s in England.

No one can really understand Eleanor Marx's warm, generous, and complex personality, nor the depth of her commitment to the working class and revolutionary socialism, without grasping the passionate commitment to ending injustice that the founders of scientific socialism—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels—infused into their daily lives. Kapp brings to life for readers the combination of deep parental love, chronic economic hardship, and intense political and intellectual activity that characterized the Marx household and shaped Eleanor's early years.

A Stimulating Environment

Born in 1855, Eleanor was one of seven children but the only one of three daughters who survived childhood.

Throughout her childhood, her father was not only following and participating in the major political developments of the day but was involved in helping to establish the International Workingmen's Association—the First International. While participating in the debates of this organization, Karl Marx was also hard at work on the first volume of *Capital*.

In this atmosphere of intense theoretical and political study and discussion—in which Eleanor soon became a full participant—she became a partisan of the North in the American Civil War. She wrote—or perhaps dictated—long letters to Abraham Lincoln, advising him how to conduct a war against slavery. She also championed the struggles of the Poles to liberate their country from Russia.

The Paris Commune

But the political event that most shaped her outlook was the Paris Commune of 1871. The workers and artisans of Paris revolted against the government of Louis Bonaparte in the wake of its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war. They took over the defense of the city. Dismantling the old state apparatus, they established a workers government—the first in history. But surrounded by the French and German armies, the Paris Commune was isolated from the rest of France. Within two months the Paris Commune was drowned in blood by bourgeois forces.

Many communards—including old friends of the Marx family—were brutally killed in the reactionary massacres that followed the fall of the Commune.

Eleanor plunged into the task of aiding the Commune refugees who settled in England. For nearly a decade, she campaigned for the right of the communards to return to France. She exposed the phony stories of the communards' "terror" that had been broadcast, first to prepare, and then to cover up, the terror of the reaction.

She was inspired by the heroism of the communards—who "stormed the heavens" as Karl Marx put it—as well as by the vision of socialism to which their democratic and equalitarian government pointed. And she learned about how brutally the ruling class dealt with their victims. Eleanor commented to a meeting on the anniversary of the Commune:

"To many of you it will seem strange when I remind you that it was proposed—quite seriously—that the communards who had taken refuge in England should be handed over to the doctors and the hospitals for purposes of vivisection. Perhaps exceptionally brutal in form, this proposition nevertheless expressed the feelings of the whole of respectable society."

Eleanor Marx defended the entire spectrum of the working-class movement against any attack. In 1886, while on a lecture tour of the United States, she repeatedly denounced the conviction of the eight anarchists who had led the eight-hour-day movement in Chicago. After her return to England, she and her companion, Edward

Aveling, worked to publicize the case there, writing articles and organizing a massive petition campaign. At the same time, she polemicized against anarchism as a grossly incorrect theory.

International Solidarity

Eleanor Marx was, above all else, an internationalist. She sided with the oppressed and exploited everywhere. She knew that English workers, living in the imperialist stronghold of that time, had a life-and-death stake in supporting the political and economic struggles of workers and peasants in other countries. They would come to this realization, she was convinced, just as they had been won to the cause of amnesty for Irish political prisoners in the late 1860s—one of the first struggles Eleanor joined.

She saw how the ruling class in Britain tried to conservatize a highly skilled section of the working class by making concessions on wages. Again and again she pointed out that a divided working class, whose leaders practiced class collaboration, would never win its own liberation. In fact it stood to lose everything that it had gained unless that policy was reversed. From that standpoint she favored the formation of a labor party as a step toward class independence for the British workers.

The uncompromising internationalist perspective that guided Eleanor Marx's political life was reflected in her writings and translations. As a journalist she contributed columns on the international revolutionary movement to various left-wing English newspapers.

Through translations she made available to English workers key revolutionary writings. In an age of stilted translations, she attempted more than just a literal rendition. She took as her goal the task of making translation "sound" so authentic that the reader would not be constantly aware that it was a translation at all.

Among her political translations are Lissagay's classic *History of the Paris Commune* (1886), articles by the Russian revolutionary Stepnik (1884, 1885), and Plekhanov's *Anarchism and Socialism* (1895).

The Second International

Eleanor Marx knew that a revolutionary must be part of an organized social group. Unable to overcome the small and fragmented character of the socialist movement in England, she worked with all groups and urged them to join together in action wherever possible.

Additionally, she saw the need to organize socialists of various national groups into one international party, where they could hammer out a program with the benefit of international collaboration and coordinate campaigns such as the fight for the eight-hour workday.

Thus Eleanor Marx played an important organizing role in the congresses of the Second International. Her biographer summarizes her fight against the delaying tactics, disorganization, and political disorientation of the organizing committee for the founding congress of the Second International held in 1889. Convinced that the International must have a revolutionary socialist program, she opposed those socialists who believed that it could include such divergent trends as the anarchists.

At the founding congress in Paris, as well as at its subsequent ones in Brussels (1891) and London (1896), Eleanor Marx played an essential role as a translator. As the German socialist Edward Bernstein recounted:

"She was ceaselessly busy, from morning till evening, generally interpreting in three languages. She gave herself no respite, missed no session. Despite the oppressive heat in the hall she stayed the course of the whole Congress doing this thankless, grueling work. . . ."

Eleanor Marx also translated many of the reports of the Second International. She participated in the organization of the congresses, in the political discussions, and in the technical preparations. She delivered one of the main national reports, "Report from Great Britain and Ireland," at the 1891 Brussels congress.

Fighter for Union Rights

As a revolutionary internationalist, Eleanor Marx threw herself into building and strengthening the British contingent of the international workers movement. And the second volume of Kapp's biography details the explosive growth of the English trade-union movement, beginning with the organizing drive launched by the gas workers in 1889.

The victory of the gas workers' strike inspired

a dock workers' strike, which at its peak involved 100,000 workers from eleven London docks. The fact that these poorly paid workers—who had to compete with each other every morning at shape up—could carry out such a united and effective fight was inspiring to all workers.

Eleanor Marx participated at every level in these strike battles—from handling administrative details at the union headquarters, to international fund-raising and explaining the issues to foreign workers so that they would refuse to be used as strikebreakers. She helped organize the first women's branch of the gas workers union and became its secretary.

The two largest trade unions in Britain today, numbering almost 2 million workers between them—the Transport and General Workers Union and Municipal Workers—originated in the struggles of the gas workers and dock workers.

A Pioneer of Women's Rights

An extraordinarily politically aware and well-read woman, Eleanor Marx always felt the pinch of poverty. In an age when educated women acquired only a superficial "culture" in order to be better equipped for marriage, Eleanor Marx longed for economic independence. She became a researcher, a teacher, a translator, an actress, and a typist out of that tremendous need to open wider the limited range of opportunities available.

As a working woman, she saw the central problem of women's secondary position as an economic one. In reviewing August Bebel's *Woman and Socialism* in 1885, she wrote, "We must seek the real cause of woman's enslaved position in her economic dependence upon man, and that her 'emancipation' means nothing but economic freedom."

That year the English editor William Thomas Stead exposed the practice of child prostitution. In the course of the ensuing discussion, Eleanor Marx commented:

"Nearly all women obliged to earn a living have to choose between starvation and prostitution, and this must go on so long as one class can buy the bodies of another, whether in the form of labour power or sexual embraces."

It is clear that Eleanor Marx stood with the most advanced socialists of her age in understanding how the vast majority of women suffered. Some "socialists" of that time called for banning women from the work force. They claimed this was necessary because women were hired at a cheaper rate of pay and forced to work harder than males, thus lowering standards for all workers. But their underlying concern was to uphold class society's definition of a woman's place.

In contrast, Eleanor Marx asserted the right of women to work, and called upon them to organize into unions. Additionally, she pierced the sexist romanticization of housework as "woman's natural role" and labeled it endless "drudgery."

Inspired by the pioneering work of Bebel and by Engels's *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, Eleanor Marx expanded her initial review of Bebel's *Woman and Socialism* into a commercially produced pamphlet, *The Woman Question*, co-authored by Edward Aveling.

Her interest in the most socially progressive writers of her day underscored her awareness of the constricting roles society imposed on women. Thus Marx was drawn to writers such as Ibsen and Flaubert, who portrayed the varied forms of women's oppression and the conscious and unconscious expressions of women's resistance. She translated some of their works into English.

While it would be a mistake to regard Eleanor Marx as a modern-day feminist, she fought for every democratic right denied women—including the right to vote. Above all, she spotlighted the class roots of women's oppression and the socialist solution to it.

A Professional Revolutionist

On everything she did, Eleanor Marx left a stamp of revolutionary professionalism. She was considered one of the most memorable socialist agitators of her generation. A popular lecturer, she was equally at ease discussing the social significance of the poet Shelley, the conditions of English factories and the loopholes in existing health and safety legislation, or popularizing the ideas of socialism.

She was attentive to what others might consider minor details. Her careful research and her

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ELEANOR MARX

On March 21, 1927, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the working class of Shanghai took control of the city. The Shanghai insurrection marked the high point of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. While power was in the hands of the workers and their allies in the city, peasants were organizing to take over the land of the great landlords in the countryside. And throughout the country, millions were challenging the economic and political domination of British imperialism with strikes and boycotts.

Leon Trotsky on China

Introduction by Peng Shu-tse. Edited by Les Evans and Russell Block. New York. Monad. 1976. 688 pp.

On April 10, 1927, Chiang Kai-shek, who had represented himself as the leader of the Chinese revolution, staged a bloody assault on the working people of Shanghai, slaughtering thousands of Communists and repressing all democratic rights. This marked the opening of a counterrevolutionary drive that beheaded and crushed the workers and peasants throughout the country.

How was it possible for Chiang Kai-shek to drown this great revolution in blood? The source of the defeat lay in the disastrous political line imposed on the Chinese Communist Party by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, through its control of the Soviet CP and the Communist International.

Stalin ordered the Chinese CP to subordinate itself to the Kuomintang, the bourgeois party headed by Chiang Kai-shek, and to support Chiang's government and its policies. As part of that policy the Shanghai workers were told to welcome Chiang's troops to Shanghai and turn over all power to him.

Similarly, the CP was told to restrain the peasants movement since a sweeping peasant rebellion would have alienated Chiang's supporters among the landlords and the capitalists.

In the Communist International the Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, fought Stalin's policy and warned of the disaster that could result. After the Shanghai massacre, Trotsky sought an honest bal-

Pathfinder's Choice for May

Lessons of the Chinese Revolution



PENG SHU-TSE

ance sheet of the Stalinist policy so that the damage would be contained and repetitions avoided.

Leon Trotsky on China brings together for the first time all of Trotsky's major writings on China, including many previously unpublished letters and documents.

It also includes an introduction by Peng Shu-tse reviewing the history of the revolution and a document by Chen Tu-hsiu protesting Stalin's policies. Chen was the founding leader of the CCP. Peng, also a founder of the CCP eventually became the leading Chinese Trotskyist. Both were expelled from the CCP for opposing Stalin's attempt to cover up the causes of the defeat.

The Chinese revolution posed the most important questions of program, strategy, and tactics facing the workers and peasants of colonial and semicolonial countries. These questions are still being heatedly discussed today.

Can the local capitalists lead the abolition of landlordism and imperialist domination? Should the working class support capitalist governments as the instrument for achieving these goals? Stalin said yes—citing Chiang as a model. Trotsky said no.

Early articles describe the evolution of CCP-Kuomintang "collaboration" and Trotsky's attitude to this.

At its second congress in July 1922, the CCP called for a united front between itself and "revolutionary elements of the KMT" in the fight against warlords (regional military dictators) and imperialism. The CCP was to have complete political and organizational independence in such an alliance.

Trotsky thought such an alliance could be justified, to the extent that the KMT or sections of it was obliged to come into conflict with imperialism, the warlords, or other reactionary forces. He even applied this concept after Chiang had established a bloody rightist dictatorship. Trotsky called on revolutionists to support the struggle against the invasion by Japanese imperialism, even if this took place under Chiang's leadership.

But a few months after the CCP congress, the Comintern issued new instructions. The CCP was ordered to join the KMT. Although many in the CCP top leadership opposed this course, they agreed to it because of the tremendous moral authority of the Comintern.

Trotsky argued against this policy in much the same way as the Chinese revolutionists. The Comintern policy blocked the independent development of a workers party, limited its demands to what the capitalists in the KMT would accept, and prevented the workers party from competing with the KMT for the allegiance of the peasants.

After revolution broke out in 1925, Stalin transformed the Co-

intern policy into one of slavish support for Chiang Kai-shek (who was even made an honorary member of the executive committee of the Communist International). Chiang used the CP's support to lull the masses while preparing a counterrevolutionary blow.

As the Chinese revolution unfolded, Trotsky concluded that the theory of the permanent revolution—which he had originally developed to explain the dynamics of the Russian revolution—was applicable to China and the other colonial and semicolonial countries.

The Chinese bourgeoisie and its political representative, the KMT, had proven incapable of a real struggle against imperialism. It was too afraid of the workers and peasants and too weak in its own right. Instead it combined with imperialism to crush the revolution.

Thus it fell to the Chinese workers to lead the peasants and urban poor in a struggle for power. Only by establishing a workers and peasants government, toppling capitalism and landlordism, could national liberation be achieved.

The articles in *Leon Trotsky on China*, and an editors' preface by Russell Block and Les Evans, provide a vivid picture of the evolution of Trotsky's thinking on this question.

And they offer valuable insights into how the CCP was transformed from a revolutionary party into a Stalinist party, a process that must be grasped to understand the Peking regime today.—Omari Musa

25% Discount Offer

Leon Trotsky on China is available at a special discount rate of \$5.60. The regular price is \$7.45. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores listed on page 31. Offer expires June 30.

Name _____
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...Marx

Continued from page ISR/11

willingness to acquire new skills—ranging from typing and shorthand to Yiddish were always at the disposal of the workers movement. And she willingly shared her knowledge and skills with others.

She taught Will Thorne, a leader of the gas workers union, how to read and write. She encouraged youthful socialists to develop their writing styles, taking time to go over their first attempts, showing them how to be more concise.

Eleanor Marx's circle of friends included not only political collaborators such as Frederick Engels and Wilhelm Liebknecht, but trade unionists, writers, and actors.

In the midst of all this fruitful work, Eleanor Marx committed suicide in 1898. For nearly fifteen years she had lived with Edward Aveling. Most of her friends intensely disliked him and many blamed him for her suicide at the age of forty-three.

Kapp attempts to present fairly the complex personality of Aveling, sifting through contradictory contemporary accounts. Aveling was incapable of an intense emotional relationship and

seemed cold next to the vivacious Eleanor Marx, but he was an intellectually stimulating companion. He did not demand subservience but encouraged Eleanor Marx's drive to develop in her own right. Both were intensely involved in building the socialist movement, and they shared an interest in the theater as well.

Their relationship was a collaborative one. Together they produced numerous articles and four pamphlets: *The Factory Hell*, *Shelley's Socialism*, *The Woman Question*, and *The Working Class Movement in America*.

Accepting the emotional limitations of her relationship with Aveling, Eleanor Marx managed to live for fifteen years with the inner tensions this generated. These were the most fruitful years of her life.

At the time of her suicide, her relationship with Aveling had come to the breaking point. At the same time it had become clear that he was dying (his death following hers by only two months). Kapp notes, "Aveling alone could not have destroyed Eleanor, though his cold heart, incapable of love, undoubtedly froze her eager hold on life. . . . The dire resolve to kill herself must surely have been taken because she believed she was no longer needed by anyone or anything." It is possible that a downturn in the international class struggle reinforced that ill-founded belief.

The working class movement *did* need Eleanor

Marx. Had she lived, she would have been able to play an important role in combating the degeneration of the Second International, the bulk of whose leaders succumbed to the very chauvinism and class collaboration that she had always fought against. The revolutionary socialists in the Second International would have been significantly strengthened with Eleanor Marx on their side.

In summarizing Eleanor Marx's distinctive contribution, Kapp writes:

"She was zealous to work for any and every practical reform without for a moment losing sight of the revolutionary aim; to agitate for the total overthrow of the system without brushing aside a single immediate demand for which the working class is prepared to fight. . . . She saw organized working men and women as possessed of the strength of a sleeping giant. . . ."

She devoted her life to raising the consciousness and organization of the working class, the social force destined to end oppression and exploitation and open a new era of progress and equality for all humanity. That she was able to accomplish so much in this cause in her short life is both remarkable and inspiring. And Yvonne Kapp has performed a great service by providing this richly detailed and sympathetic portrait of this fighting woman and her historic life's work.

Cuba's health care best in Latin America

By August Nimtz

Revolutionary socialists are for the abolition of capitalism because it stands in the way of improving the quality of life for humanity. Health care for private profit is an example of this.

What can be accomplished when the roadblock of capitalism is removed can be seen in the case of Cuba. Since the revolution in 1959, there has been a dramatic change from what had been one of the worst health-care systems in the Western hemisphere to what is today one of the best.

Recent data from Cuba and the United Nations confirm this improvement, as well as the continuing progress the revolution is making in medical and health care.

The best indicator of improved medical and health care is an increase in life expectancy. Before the revolution, life expectancy in Cuba was about 50 years. The life expectancy for Cubans is now 70.2 years for men and 73.5 years for women—the longest in Latin America.

"Cuba's achievement is especially impressive as it has taken place mainly through improvement in medical and public health services and in the basic nutritional picture," says UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

Infant mortality lowered

Today in Cuba, President Fidel Castro declared in a recent speech, "Infant mortality has now been lowered to 22.3 per 1,000 live births. We calculate conservatively that before the revolution [the previous regimes kept little or no national health-care statistics] the figure must have been around 60."

The new rate gives Cuba the lowest infant mortality in Latin America.

The number of mothers dying immediately after giving birth—maternal mortality—is now 4.5 per 10,000 births, again, the lowest in Latin America.

"One figure reflecting how much things have improved in other respects," Castro said, "is the following: the death rate from acute diarrheal diseases was still 57.3 per every 100,000 inhabitants in 1962. It is now 4.9 per every 100,000 inhabitants. In 1959, the mortality rate from tuberculosis was 16.6 per 100,000 inhabitants; it is now 2.2 per 100,000 inhabitants."

Data from other sources complement



A typical rural hospital in Oriente Province

what Castro provides. For example, according to Herbert Matthews, in his book *Revolution in Cuba*, there has been no polio in Cuba since 1963 (the United States and Canada are the only two other countries in the hemisphere where this is the case), and malaria was eradicated by 1968.

All of these figures and data reflect the vast improvements in Cuba's medical-care system. This improvement is also reflected in the number of doctors.

Castro explained: "In 1959 we had 6,000, almost all in Havana, none in the countryside, and they took half of them from us. [Castro is referring to those who emigrated after the revolution]. Nevertheless, by 1978 we had 14,642 doctors. . . . We now have one doctor for every 662 inhabitants."

The rapid increase in medical personnel has included dentists, nursing personnel, and middle-level technicians, as well as doctors. Cuba now has seven medical schools and plans to have twenty.

One very significant consequence of Cuba's ability to increase the number of medical personnel is seldom mentioned in the U.S. press in connection with the Cuban presence in Africa. "Our doctors, nurses and technicians," said Castro, "are already working in twenty countries besides Cuba, coun-

tries of the so-called Third World; in Africa, in Asia, in the Caribbean." There are now 1,167 Cuban doctors and dentists working in other countries.

New hospitals and clinics

Castro provided another set of figures that help explain the improved medical-care system. "The Ministry of Public Health now has: hospitals, 255; dental clinics, 129; polyclinics, 371; rural hospitals, 57; old people's homes, 53; rural medical posts, 131; hygiene and epidemiology labs, 37; blood banks, 22."

According to Matthews, in 1958 there were only fifty-four hospitals, and rural health centers were virtually nonexistent.

Cuba's achievements are clearly outstanding when compared to the rest of Latin America and the underdeveloped world. Even when compared to an advanced capitalist country like the United States, Cuba's medical and health-care advances are impressive. Life expectancy, for example, is only about one year less than in the United States.

If Cuba's achievements are compared to what U.S. capitalism has to offer Black Americans, the significance of the revolution becomes even clearer.

The latest figures from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare show that the life expectancy of Blacks averages 68.4 years. For whites it is 73.5 years. In 1975, the infant mortality for Blacks was 26.2 deaths per 1,000 live births; for whites it was 14.2.

According to the National Urban League's report, *The State of Black America—1979*, the difference between the two infant mortality rates has actually been widening in the past few years.

One further fact on Black America is important. There is one Black doctor for every 4,000 Blacks and one white doctor for every 700 whites. Since 87 percent of Blacks see only Black doctors, this figure takes on added significance.

By all accounts, the disparity between the health status of Blacks and whites in the United States does not exist in Cuba, where Blacks and mulattos make up half the population. Before the revolution, however, the opposite was true.

One can conclude, then, that tiny Cuba does a better job than the United States of providing the best health care it can offer for all its citizens.

Human needs vs. profits

The Cuban experience illustrates what happens when society is restructured so that human needs are given top priority. That can only happen when profit making is no longer the motor force of society—that is, when capitalism is abolished.

In the United States, medical care is not a right as it is in Cuba but a commodity to be bought and sold. Those who can afford to pay for the best get the best. Those who can't afford it are lucky to get any medical care at all.

In Cuba, where capitalism was overthrown, health and medical care are virtually free. Even the best national medical-care programs proposed by liberals in the United States are not only inadequate, but are far from free.

Cuba is not yet a socialist society. But it has overthrown capitalism and is laying the groundwork for such a society. What its achievements in health care reveal are only inklings of what can be accomplished under socialism.

Cuba: twenty years of revolution

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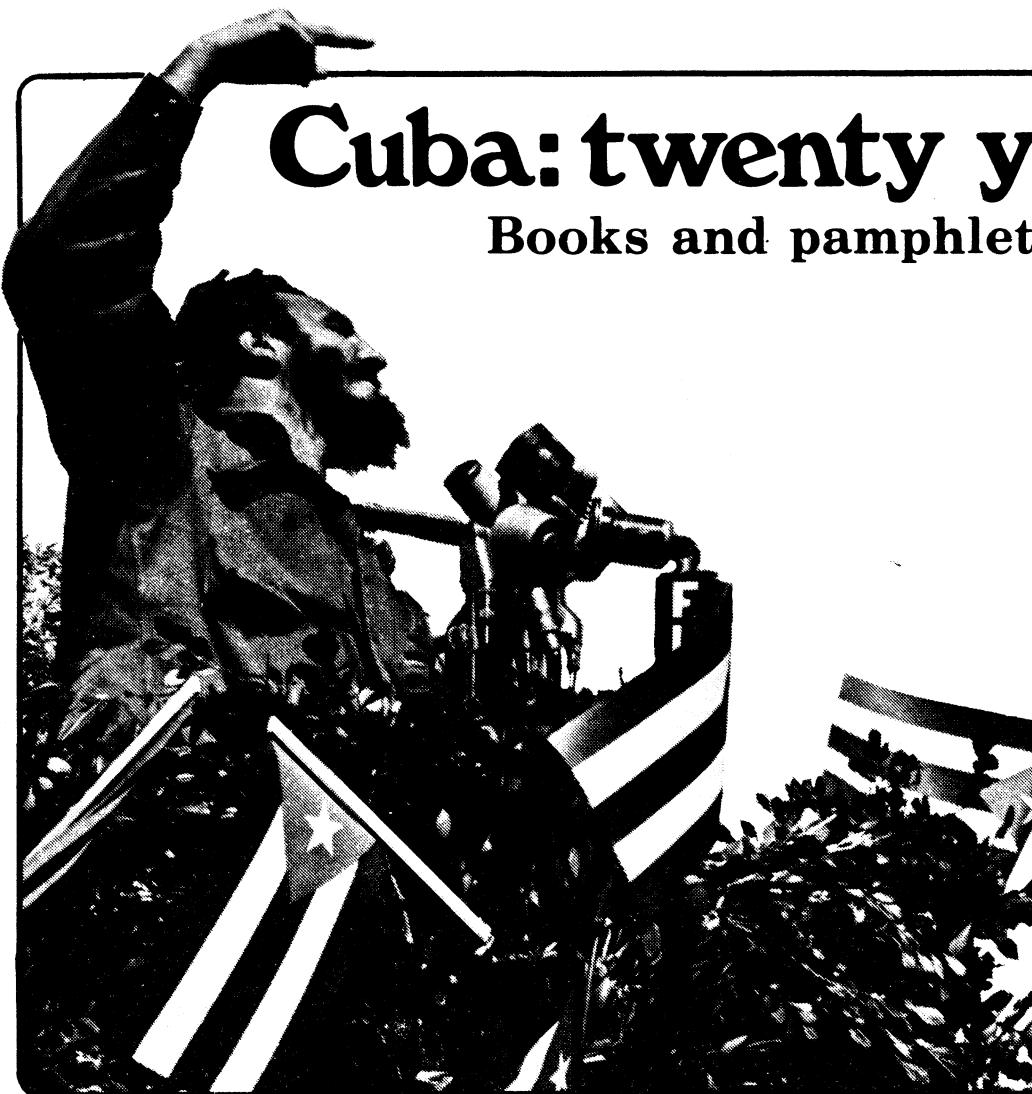
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Policies of the Cuban Leadership, by Joseph Hansen, 1967. \$5.

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.



Fraser's balancing act

Auto Workers conference prepares for

By Shelley Kramer

DETROIT—More than 3,000 delegates from the United States and Canada met here April 16-17 for the United Auto Workers Special Bargaining Convention. Their job was to hammer out the union's demands for upcoming contract talks with the Big Three auto makers. The UAW's current three-year contracts expire September 15.

In his keynote address, UAW President Douglas Fraser struck a bargaining pose that balances precariously between the demands of union members and their profit-hungry employers.

After a brief foray into the picket lines outside (see box), Fraser began with the chief demands of the demonstrators: cost-of-living protection for pensions.

Currently UAW members retire with full pensions only after thirty years on the job. Those who retired before October 1, 1978, receive \$600 a month; those retiring on or after that date get \$700. Despite ruinous inflation, the union's 205,000 retirees are denied any cost-of-living allowance (COLA).

"COLA for retirees will be our number one priority demand in '79," Fraser announced to tremendous applause. But he would not specify how much and what kind of COLA protection union negotiators would ask for.

"Let's not debate and argue how deeply we feel about this issue," he said, telling delegates that "we can't solve this problem to the exclusion of all other problems."

Carter's guidelines

Fraser's bark at Carter's wage guidelines was louder than his bite.

In the face of soaring prices and profits, the administration's "anti-inflation program has self-destructed," Fraser said. He denied that the 7 percent limit "would have any effect on our negotiations."

"I keep hearing that auto workers don't want a wage increase," said Fraser. "Well, we need a wage increase. We want a wage increase. And we're going to get a wage increase in '79."

While he gave no clue as to what the UAW wage demand would be, Fraser

favorably referred to the Teamsters' recent settlement.

The Teamsters "bent the hell out of the guidelines," he declared.

But the Teamsters' three-year wage package actually amounts to less than 8 percent a year—hardly a guideline buster, and far below the current rate of inflation.

Fraser's main complaint against Carter is the administration's abandonment of "real wage insurance"—a limited tax rebate supposedly to compensate workers for unlimited price and profit increases. The UAW chief said he still holds out hope for "equitable" controls.

"If someone will come forward with a program based on equality of sacrifice," said Fraser, "the UAW would not shirk its responsibility, and we would support it."

Paid Personal Holidays

Fraser's answer to growing union sentiment for a shorter workweek was more "Paid Personal Holidays." He hailed the twelve PPH days negotiated in 1976 as the "biggest breakthrough" in the UAW's history of fighting for shorter hours.

According to Fraser, the union must "travel further down the road to the four-day week" to avoid massive unemployment. But, he added, it was "an open question" just how long this trip would take.

Tied to the UAW ranks' demand for a shorter workweek is their opposition to forced overtime. Fraser admitted that the sixty-five-hour workweek is not uncommon in the auto industry today. The companies would rather pay time-and-a-half for overtime work than hire new employees.

Fraser's proposal to deal with this oppressive setup is "compensatory time off." For each hour of overtime, a worker would be credited with a half-hour off. After banking forty hours off (by working eighty hours of overtime) the worker would get that time off. But the actual rate of overtime pay would be unchanged, and no absolute limit would be placed on the length of the workweek.

Despite their record profits in 1978, the auto companies are making noises about forcing auto workers to shoulder part of the cost of rising health-care premiums.

"They're in for the longest strike they've ever had if they try to tamper with this [health benefit] system," Fraser promised the delegates.

It's long been the UAW officialdom's policy to strike only one of the Big Three instead of shutting down the whole industry. Although rumors are rife that this year's strike target will be GM—and the company has already shifted to grueling summer overtime schedules to stockpile supplies—Fraser was noncommittal. He also left open the new contract's duration, saying only that it would be "foolhardy" to lock the union into a three-year contract without sufficient protection from inflation.

Undemocratic structure

The time allotted for discussion of the union's contract demands did not facilitate airing or acting upon the membership's needs.

Delegates were handed a seventy-page booklet outlining the proposed collective-bargaining program only minutes before the discussion began. A good deal of time was taken up reading aloud the vaguely worded resolutions. Delegates who came with resolutions passed by their local memberships—but rejected by the official resolutions committee—had to muster 435 votes to bring them to the floor for discussion. And these local resolutions were not circulated in written form.



Militant/Terry Bell

Despite restrictions on discussion, many delegates tried to put meat on Fraser's bare-bones bargaining proposals.

Despite these restrictions, several delegates voiced the anger boiling over inside the factories. Many tried to put some meat on Fraser's bare-bones bargaining proposals.

The American delegates were furious at Carter's wage-slashing program.

"We have to keep working this overtime because we're caught in the catch-up game," said a Local 719 delegate. "Here's our message to Carter: He can take his 7 percent and stick it!"

A delegate from the same local wasn't satisfied with vague talk about COLA "improvements." "Let's put more teeth in it," he said. "Instead of a one-cent raise for every 0.3 percent increase in prices, we should get one cent for every 0.1 percent."

The president of Illinois Local 718 spoke directly to Fraser. "We keep hearing the Teamsters got a 'substantial' raise, but we're concerned about what you consider 'substantial.'"

"Carter and the corporations are

looking to reduce our living standards," said Local 599 Financial Secretary Hank Oginsky. "It will take 15 percent just to catch up with inflation. The resolution has to be more specific than 'substantial.'"

Shorter workweek

Nor were all the delegates willing to settle for more Paid Personal Holidays as a substitute for the shorter workweek.

Many pointed out that the companies are forcing them to work more overtime to cover for workers taking these days off. "The only effective way to shorten the workweek is to have double and triple time for overtime," said one.

"If this resolution simply means more PPH days, I rise in opposition," said Charlie Hoskins of Local 900. "Young workers in the plants want a genuine four-day workweek in 1979. If we don't get it, we're going to have

GM and Ford: record profits

General Motors and Ford waited for UAW delegates to go back home before reporting their 1979 first-quarter profits. And with good reason.

Both set record highs.

GM raked in a staggering \$1.26 billion in profits in those three months, up 44.8 percent over the same period in 1978.

The figure is so high as to be almost incomprehensible. Think of it this way:

Imagine an auto plant with 2,500 workers each making nine dollars an hour. If they all worked forty hours a week, fifty-two weeks a year, it would take *twenty-seven years* for the combined work force to make as much in wages as GM's profits for just three months.

Ford's first-quarter profits were \$594.8 million, up 27.6 percent from 1978.

Auto workers threatened with 7 percent wage limits, murderous speedup and forced overtime, shrinking pensions, and health-care takebacks are not likely to swallow any claim that these profit-giants "can't afford" to meet their demands.

Protesters voice demands



Militant/Terry Bell

DETROIT—UAW members did not wait for the start of the union's bargaining convention before making their demands known.

More than 2,000 workers and retirees demonstrated outside Detroit's Cobo Hall as delegates began to arrive April 16. They came by the busload with hats, jackets, and picket signs broadcasting their demands: cost-of-living on pensions; twenty-five years and out; and a shorter workweek in 1979.

"Freeze profits, not people," read the sign of a woman from Local 652.

Members of New Jersey's Local 595 carried a banner: "COLA and

shorter workweek or down goes the production line in '79!"

The most spirited contingent—young Black women from Pittsburgh Fisher Body Local 544—marched in unison shouting: "We're from Pitts, and we're here to say: if we don't get COLA, we're here to stay!"

The protesting retirees were clearly buoyed by the solidarity of their younger union brothers and sisters. "This is what we started the union for, sticking up for one another," said one marcher identified by his sign, "Original Sitdowner in '36, Help me in '79."

contract talks

serious problems at ratification time."

"You have to come back with contract language that does the job for us," said another delegate. "Not like last time when you had to plow through seven and a half pages of contract language to find out all we got was twelve days off."

The hottest debate broke out over the popular COLA on pensions demand. Speaker after speaker tried to nail the leadership down to bargaining for full COLA for retirees.

"We, the youth, owe the retirees COLA," said the chairperson of the Ford Rouge Coke Oven and Blast Furnace unit. "It allows the people who built this union to live in dignity. It allows young people to get jobs. When older workers can't afford to retire, that sets up divisions inside the shop—competition for jobs."

"The companies say they can't afford it, but they're making record profits. We should take the COLA from their profits; take from the greedy and give to the needy."

He urged delegates to fight for "twenty-five and out" for coke-oven workers. "My people are dying in there," he told them. "Their cancer rate is ten to fifteen times the rate of the general population."

Older delegates, who have put in their thirty years, testified they could not afford to retire.

"I can't make it on \$633.87 with a wife," said a Local 31 delegate. "Fraser—I expect you to deliver. And if you think the youngsters aren't behind us, you're wrong."

Pension COLA vetoed

When Wayne Medders, a delegate from Local 1250, moved a resolution mandating negotiators to demand full COLA on pensions and twenty-five and out for all workers, the UAW officialdom showed its hand.

Vice-president Irving Bluestone took the floor against the Medders resolution. "We can't put all our eggs in one basket," Bluestone said. These demands for retirees would "eat up the entire package" and leave nothing for wages, health care, and other gains.

This argument accepted the company stance that they can only afford to give so much and that the purpose of negotiations is merely to divide up the package among different benefits. But Bluestone's divisive appeal worked. Only a handful voted for the resolution.

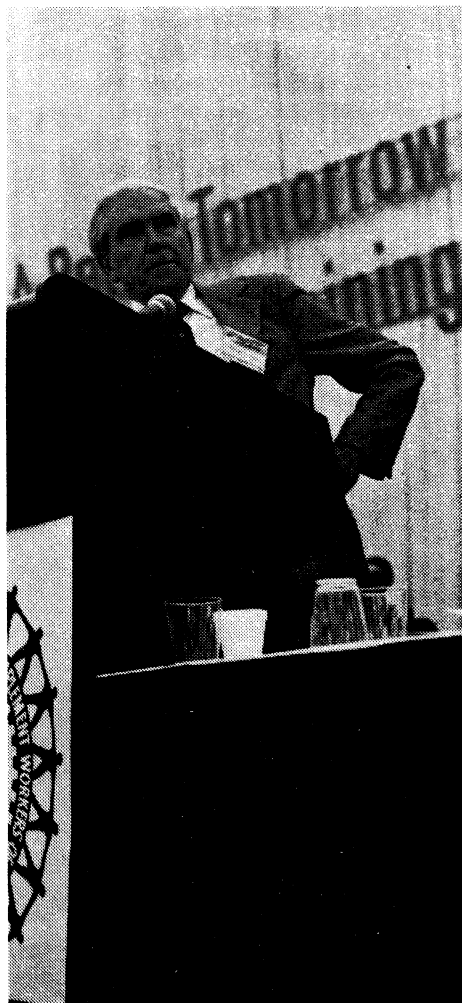
An important new element in this year's convention discussion was the attention focused on women's rights—in part reflecting the revitalization of union women's committees. The official bargaining program cites the increase of women in the work force and the growing need for company-provided child care. It calls for the UAW to come up with a child-care plan for the auto industry.

The key concern of delegates was forcing the auto companies to comply with new laws guaranteeing women workers full benefits for pregnancy leave. Many spoke out for further guarantees of equal protection.

Pregnancy leave

"Pregnancy leave should not have the six-week 'sick and accident benefit' limit attached to it," said Local 900 Vice-president Walter Washington. "And we don't just want this changed for the sisters who take leaves after the new contract. We strongly urge retroactive benefits for time missed. Remember, brothers, some of these sisters are heads of households."

"I represent 10,000 workers, half of them women who are losing pension credits and benefits during pregnancy leaves," said a delegate from Flint,



Militant/Terry Bell

FRASER: His bark at Carter's guidelines was louder than his bite.

Michigan. "This has to be corrected in 1979."

Hanging over the convention proceedings was the threat of government intervention in the UAW's contract talks.

Accusing the administration of strong-arming the Teamsters, Fraser warned Carter's wage-cutting crew to "stay the hell out of our negotiations."

"This government isn't working, and this system isn't working," he said, pointing to the contrast between the bosses' profit bonanza and the falling purchasing power of working people.

That's why, Fraser explained, he convened his "Progressive Alliance" last October. The purpose of this coalition of union officials and their allies is to "fight back and counterattack," he claimed.

How?

By "making the politicians more responsible and accountable."

Leaving the door open to UAW support for Carter again in 1980, Fraser urged delegates to "lay as much or more blame" for their problems "on the doorstep of Congress."

But this lesser-evil game is finding ever fewer fans in the UAW ranks. That's one reason top UAW officials are raising a new demand in this year's negotiations: political contributions check-off. They are asking the bosses to deduct political contributions from workers' paychecks as a way to ensure continued funds for supporting the bosses' parties.

"If we're going to keep putting our trust in the politicians, we're making a grave mistake," said one delegate from Canada—where almost twenty years ago the unions broke from the capitalist parties and formed the New Democratic Party, a reformist labor party. "The only way we're going to get what we want is through our own strength and courage."

Sentiment is growing for reliance on the union's strength instead of on capitalist politicians. And while the logical conclusion was never drawn here—that the UAW should take the initiative to form a labor party—that idea will make more and more sense to auto workers as they confront Carter and the government in their fight for a decent contract.

Stearns miners hit with rigged union election

By Nancy Cole

The Blue Diamond Coal company's three-year drive to keep the United Mine Workers out of its Stearns, Kentucky, mine has taken an ominous turn. A new representation election is scheduled for May 3.

The hitch is that the 110 scabs working at the struck mine are eligible to vote, but only sixty of the 122 strikers still on the picket line are on the list of voters.

"And there's going to be a bunch of those sixty challenged," strike leader Darrell Vanover told the *Militant* in a telephone interview. Vanover himself cannot vote. "All they told us is that they 'replaced' us," he says.

The Stearns miners, of course, already voted back in 1976—126 to 57—to be represented by the UMWA. That was three weeks after another non-union Blue Diamond mine in Scotia, Kentucky, exploded twice, killing twenty-six men.

The Stearns miners didn't want another Scotia. Their battle for the past three years has been first and foremost a fight for safe working conditions.

Blue Diamond's violent resistance has centered around one issue: the UMWA contract provision giving union-elected safety committees the right to shut down unsafe mines.

The union and industry alike have tied the future of UMWA organizing to the fate of the Stearns strike.

"We didn't bring all this on ourselves," Vanover says of the bitter three-year fight. "Blue Diamond Coal Company brought all this on. They're the ones who refused to sign the contract here. Instead they choose to shoot at us and put us in jail, fight us through the courts, fight us every way they can."

The May 3 "election" is the result of an agreement reached by Blue Dia-

mond and the UMWA International Executive Board. A year ago the company announced it had signed a contract with a Justus Employees Association, consisting of the scabs. A complaint by the UMWA brought a lame ruling by the National Labor Relations Board last August. The NLRB said Blue Diamond shouldn't have signed a contract with the company union, but the federal board refused to recognize the UMWA as the legitimate bargaining agent.

The new election was the "solution."

"I hear that some people are accusing us of selling out," UMWA President Arnold Miller told the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. "I don't see how they can say that. We've been there for nearly three years with full support. But sometimes you have to recognize the hard realities."

But Stearns miners don't think those "hard realities" have to include defeat for the UMWA. Vanover says, "If the leaders of the union were half as strong as the rank and file, I'm sure we would have already had a contract."

Stearns strikers have fanned out to mines in Kentucky, Alabama, and Illinois, to picket and bring out their union brothers and sisters to protest the election.

Vanover thinks that one thing miners could do in support is to "journey here to protest the election."

After the rigged election on May 3, "we're going to need support," he says. "We've got 122 families here that are going to be in a bad situation."

"We're going to fight it to the very end. The rank and file is fully behind us. They know the importance of this."

"I'm union," Vanover staunchly declares. "If I went to work in a nonunion mine Friday and they asked me to sign a card on Monday, I'd still sign it. Without unions, we wouldn't be anywhere."

...Newport News

Continued from back page

talked with those workers who went back early about the union. We need to reach out to them, to work together. Many say they went back because of family pressure—they are not hostile to the union.

"We need to have a meeting of the membership, maybe even by sections if we can't do all at one time, to inform the members," he said.

"The Steelworkers can't stand still. The PSA [Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the company union] is passing out new badges and the company allows them to talk to people while trying to gag any union discussion. Shouldn't we have a meeting of the membership to discuss how to build the union stronger in the yard in light of this?"

Union-buster

Roosevelt Robinson, a staff representative in the Steelworkers subdistrict office, told the *Militant* that some workers have received a letter from Tenneco stating: "It has come to our attention that you engaged in certain misconduct during the strike that might result in discharge. We are conducting an investigation of these activities and we will inform you of the outcome."

In an April 26 interview with the local *Times-Herald*, shipyard President Edward Campbell stated that the company would suspend convicted strikers and boasted that he had the right to fire them for misconduct.

A feature article on Newport News Shipbuilding in the April 30 *New York*

Times makes clear that Campbell is a professional union-buster, "who has faced down the auto workers and the machinists as well as the steelworkers during his career."

It says Campbell "is not in the mood for any concessions," and quotes him as saying: "We've shown our workers that we mean what we say and they've shown that they can't conduct a strike."

The ranks of Local 8888 have a different view, and they have no intention of giving up. They see their struggle against Tenneco sharpening.

In the yard, to reach out and build the union.

In the courts, to fight these frame-up convictions.

In the labor movement, to gather support from unionists everywhere.

At stake is the very existence of the local and the jobs of its members. Their success or failure may well shape the future of the labor movement in the South and nationally for years to come.

Now more than ever, Local 8888 needs the active solidarity of unionists across the country. Letters and telegrams of support. Financial aid. The pledge to send busloads of steelworkers, auto workers, miners, electrical workers, Teamsters and other workers to march alongside the Steelworkers of Newport News—if that's what it takes to get their jobs back.

As one Steelworker told the *Militant*, "The American labor movement should make unionization of the South, starting with the shipyard here in Newport News, a crusade."

Messages salute the life of

Since the death of Socialist Workers Party leader Evelyn Reed on March 22, hundreds of messages have come from all over the world paying tribute to the life and work of this Marxist and feminist fighter.

Some have stressed Reed the fighter against bourgeois theories of women's inferiority. Kate Millett, the feminist writer, said, 'Our friendship was formed first when she defended me from academic cretinism for "Sexual Politics."'

Other messages commented on the inspiring example she set for women. In an article on Reed's death in the March 30 edition of 'Rouge,' the French Trotskyist weekly, Jacqueline Heinen wrote: 'All who knew Evelyn will remember what an extraordinary woman she was and the example she represented for the comrades who joined the movement in the past few years. Her combativity, her curiosity, her conviction that she always had more to learn, the gentleness with which she passed on to others what she had learned, will always remain vivid in our memories.'

Among the many messages came two from Turkey: one from Semsä Yegin, translator of the scheduled Turkish edition of 'Woman's Evolution'; another from Ahmet Öztürk, the Turkish publisher of the book. Öztürk noted that 'I have no doubt that her valuable works will eventually be translated into all the languages and thus Evelyn Reed will live for many more generations.'

Besides English, 'Woman's Evolution' has been printed in Spanish and Swedish. It is scheduled to be published in Danish, French, Italian, Turkish, and Farsi.

Messages came from many Trotskyist parties, including those in Britain, Hong Kong, France, Japan, New Zealand, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Puerto Rico.

Below are excerpts from some of the messages.

Family of Vsevelod Volkof, Leon Trotsky's grandson

We learned with great sadness of the death of Evelyn Reed, a great woman and great revolutionary that we all love and admire. The ideas that she devoted her life to live on.

Tamara Deutscher

I want you to know how much I admire Evelyn's intellectual achievement. But what struck me unforgettably was the charm of her personality—that peculiar sparkle in her eyes.

Myrna Lamb

Feminist playwright

Evelyn Reed was the greatest woman I have ever known. Her strength, her brilliance, her life, and her work transcend her mortality. I will never forget her, and I will always learn from her.

United Secretariat, Fourth International

Evelyn helped to educate and inspire many comrades who will carry on the struggle to which she devoted her life.

She was one of the first American feminists to begin writing about the oppression of women—after World War II and during the period of McCarthyism. Within our movement she was one of the comrades who saw first and most clearly the importance of the struggle for women's liberation. Her aim was to treat the origin of the specific oppression of women from a materialist and scientific point of view.

Evelyn was above all an active Trotskyist. She joined our movement forty

years ago. She devoted her life to the party and the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution.

We join you today in celebrating the life and accomplishments of this great revolutionist.

Coordinating Group, International Campaign for Abortion Rights, London

Her contribution to our understanding of the origins of women's oppression has enabled thousands of women all over the world to turn against the myth that our biology determines our destiny.

Chen Pi-Lan and Peng Shu-Tse

Longtime leaders of Fourth International and Chinese Trotskyist movement

Now that the women's liberation movement is surging forward throughout the world, Evelyn's demise will leave an empty space that we will have to make extra efforts to compensate for her absence.

Evelyn Reed researched and analyzed the role and position of women from the earliest historical periods in her book *Woman's Evolution*. This was a valuable and vital contribution to the understanding of the early development of human society. In her many lectures and debates throughout the U.S. and elsewhere in the world, she helped advance the Marxist analysis of the cause of women's oppression and how to liberate all of humanity. We salute our comrade, Evelyn Reed.



EVELYN REED: 'Her work will be a guide to us.'

Daniel Guérin

French writer

She had accomplished a revolutionary task of the first magnitude in launching her courageous and timely offensive against the reactionary cliques that have obscured and perverted the sociology of primitive humanity. For us in France she reduced to dust Lévi-Strauss's false science, renewing our links with the royal road opened by Lewis Morgan and Robert Briffault. Without doubt she would have had much more to say had death not intervened.

New Orleans Socialist Workers Party

Evelyn holds a special meaning for us, since she was the keynote speaker at the opening of our headquarters in 1976. The Ku Klux Klan picketed that meeting and tried to intimidate our supporters and other interested people from crossing their picket line. Evelyn went to the front door and held up her book, *Woman's Evolution*, to show people what the Klan was so upset about, and to give those who had come the courage to walk through them and enter the bookstore. Much to the dismay of the Klan, people did just that,

and the meeting came off without a hitch.

Socialist Workers Party Iran

Now, in the midst of the third Iranian revolution, we have seen an upsurge of the movement of women for their rights. The works of Comrade Evelyn will be a guide to us. The writings of this militant feminist and revolutionary socialist are something we all take pride in, and we are certain they will have a big impact here as they are translated and published.

Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire Canada

Most of today's younger activists of the Fourth International knew Evelyn Reed only through her writings on women's liberation—writings which have made an enormous contribution to arming our forces around the world to understand the vital relationship between the women's liberation struggle and the working-class struggle for socialism.

Her work was scholarly both in the scope and depth of her findings. It stands as a landmark contribution to studies first undertaken by Engels.

Revolutionary Socialist Party Colombia

The perspectives Evelyn Reed envisioned for the women's liberation movement are gaining increasing strength and influence. The March 31 actions of the international campaign for the right to abortion and contraception, and against forced sterilization, testify to this. In Colombia these actions will take place on April 8. This will allow our party to pay the best tribute to Comrade Reed—putting ourselves in the forefront of these actions, as in fact we are already doing.

Communist League India

She was one of the pioneer Bolsheviks forged under the comradeship of Trotsky. Her death has caused an irreplaceable gap immediately in the sphere of revolutionary anthropology symbolized through her monumental work, *Woman's Evolution*. This was a unique contributive supplement to and enrichment of Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.

Fighter for the working class

A fighter for the working class, Evelyn Reed played an important role in labor defense cases. That role was recalled in a letter from Jack Maloney, a Minneapolis Teamster organizer in the 1930s. As an official of Teamster Local 383 in Sioux City, Iowa, he was framed up and railroaded to jail when the government tried to smash the 1939 Teamsters over-the-road organizing campaign.

Maloney was a merchant seaman during World War II and later became president of the International Longshoremen and Merchant Seamen's Local 19 in Seattle. He wrote, 'I well remember after my release from prison, I was waiting to ship. I had little money and no work clothes. It was Evelyn, hearing of my plight, who advanced me the money to purchase some work clothes. If for no other reason I would be extremely appreciative and

grateful. However, there is more than just the one incident.'

Ted Selander was one of the leaders of the 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite strike as well as a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He and his wife, Dot, sent a letter recalling what Reed had said at the time of the death of Rose Karsner, longtime companion of James P. Cannon:

'In a reply to a letter we sent her with an account of Rose Karsner's memorial meeting and 'Irish Wake,' Evelyn wrote, 'Even more than starvation for want of food—bad as that is, I would say it was starvation for being a "human being"—and not an animal—that probably motivated me most into being a revolutionist.'

'Then she continued, 'Embraces are not inspired or cultivated by this cold, ruthless and cynical system. . . . Life must end, so make the most of it while you have it . . . so



Jack Maloney (center) and two other Sioux City frame-up victims.

the final act of friendship of a good and dear friend is to draw all the friends around and embrace them in that parting moment and show them how to embrace each other.'

Evelyn Reed

'Professional revolutionist'

Following are excerpts from the message sent by veteran Trotskyists Farrell Dobbs and Marvel Scholl to the April 8 meeting for Reed in New York City.

We join you in celebrating the life of Evelyn Reed. From the beginning of her four decades in the Socialist Workers Party, Evelyn was a professional revolutionist in the best sense of the term. We first worked closely with her when she came to Minneapolis in 1941 to assist her companion, George Novack, in organizing the Civil Rights Defense Committee after the twenty-nine Trotskyist and Local 544 leaders were indicted under the infamous Smith Act.

Her efforts meant a lot to us personally, as they did to our children whose father was jailed when they were of tender age.

Evelyn was an activist in all ways, including the promotion of financial support for the party. Besides making a major financial contribution for greatly needed expansion of the *Militant* in those days, she turned to, week after week, to

help fold and wrap each issue of the paper for mailing.

Evelyn was a good writer. Here again, she not only wrote for the *Militant* but took her stint at the various technical functions in getting the paper ready for publication. Similarly, concerning all spheres of party activity, she gave her best in carrying out whatever assignment she received. And she was always ready to go where the party had need to send her—whether to Detroit or to Paris.

Being among the first to recognize the new openings for the women's liberation movement provided by the radicalization of the 1960s, Evelyn did her full share to promote that movement's growth internationally. She helped simultaneously to recruit and train the younger generation of women leaders in the party. Then, toward the end of her life, came the publication of her crowning literary work, *Woman's Evolution*. That valuable book, together with her other writings, will continue to play a big role in the movement, even though the author is no longer with us.

By Evelyn Reed

Books

Woman's Evolution \$5.95

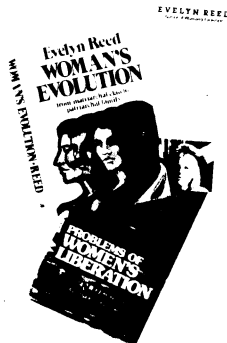
Problems of Women's Liberation \$1.95

Sexism and Science \$3.95

Pamphlets

Is Biology Woman's Destiny \$.85

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



Reed scholarship fund

Several *Militant* readers have sent in contributions to the Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund. Its purpose is to help establish a school where selected members of the Socialist Workers Party can set aside time for intensive study of Marxism.

One subscriber from Phoenix, Arizona, wrote that she had met Reed only once, "but that one meeting plus my knowledge of her and her writings have greatly inspired my development as both a feminist and a socialist."

"Thanks to our dear system," the letter continued, "I'm having some financial difficulties and can't contribute more to the scholarship fund right now, but enclosed is an initial contribution of ten dollars."

Another reader, from St. Paul, Minnesota, wrote, "James P. Cannon made a remark that impressed me in his *Letters From Prison*. 'The young relate the word to the deed,' he wrote. 'They are moved and inspired by example. That is why they demand heroes; nobody can talk them out of it.'"

The reader continued, "In the case of women rebels fighting against a society where women are not supposed to be leaders, and especially not intellectual leaders, this demand is for 'heroines,' women like Evelyn

Reed who stand as examples of intellectual courage and dedicated action in their own lives.

"For this reason it seems particularly appropriate to me that a fund to establish a training center for advanced Marxist study be set up in Evelyn Reed's name."

"As soon as I get my first paycheck from the industrial job I've applied for, I will send a large donation to this fund."

At this time more than \$10,381 has been pledged and contributed to the Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund. This includes more than \$1,000 pledged at a tribute to Reed held in Los Angeles on April 20 and \$1,400 from a San Francisco meeting on April 22.

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

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

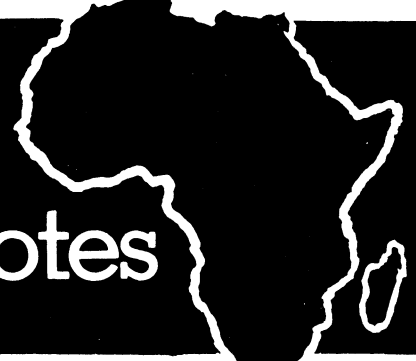
Name _____

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City _____

State _____ Zip _____

African solidarity notes



Harvard students demand divestment

Banners with divestment slogans hung from Harvard University dormitory windows April 23 as students boycotted classes. The students demanded the school withdraw \$300 million in funds from U.S. corporations operating in South Africa. They also called for support to Harvard's Afro-American Studies Department.

The Coalition for Awareness and Action, a group of ten campus organizations, called the action. Classroom picketing, a march through Harvard Yard, and a rally of 1,000 highlighted the day's activities. Organizers estimated that the boycott was 70 percent effective.

Oberlin students strike

More than half of Oberlin College's 2,700 students struck for total divestment April 11.

The strike was organized by the Oberlin Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (OCLSA) after the board of trustees refused to discuss divestment at their spring meeting.

Students attended alternative classes on southern Africa conducted by faculty and OCLSA members during the day-long action. OCLSA plans to maintain a picket of the administration building throughout the remaining weeks of the semester.

... and at Yale

On April 23, the Yale University administration announced plans to sell \$1 million worth of holdings in the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company Bank. School officials cited the bank's policy of loaning funds to South Africa as the reason for their action.

Divestment passes on Berkeley ballot

A proposal for the withdrawal of close to \$10 million in city funds from banks that loan to South Africa passed in the April 17 Berkeley, California, elections.

A member of the Berkeley Citizen's Action organization said this was the first ballot initiative on divestment to become law in the United States. Also passed was a law forbidding city investment in banks that make loans to U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa.

Conference rejects Sullivan Principles

More than 200 Black religious leaders attending a recent "International Freedom Mobilization Against Apartheid" conference demanded that the United States cut all ties with the apartheid regime "until the white supremacist government with its policy of racism, brutality, and exploitation is ended."

The conference specifically rejected the Sullivan Principles. Developed by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a Black board member of General Motors, these guidelines are supposed to put U.S. companies on record as practicing equal treatment of Black workers in South Africa. In reality, the so-called principles are used to justify continued U.S. presence and exploitation in South Africa.

The conference resolution stated that the "Sullivan Principles, though well intentioned, are no longer sufficient and that the very presence of United States corporations in South Africa serves to legitimize the apartheid system of white supremacy."

—Osborne Hart

...Iran

Continued from page 3

most were relatively small. The Holy Warriors and their orientation are not supported by more than a small percentage of those active in the committees.

It is not going to be easy for the regime to get rid of the revolutionary committees. The thousands of young fighters who seized weapons during the fight against the shah's army and police are not going to give them up readily after having had to confront the armed repressive forces barehanded.

Nor will it be easy to get the masses to accept a new police force. By late April, only a few traffic cops had reappeared in the streets of Tehran, and even these were generally ignored by motorists and pedestrians alike.

The Bazargan government and the religious leaders are far from having achieved the power to liquidate the Iranian revolution. In fact, they are beginning to lose their tenuous political grip on the masses.

Thus, it is not likely that the religious leaders and the government will be able to make the committees disappear. Instead, they risk making it clear

to the revolutionary minded activists in these committees that there is a fundamental contradiction between what these bodies represent and the conservative leadership that has gotten control of them.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Militant/Cindy Jaquith
Barricade during February insurrection in Tehran. Popular committees arose during insurrection against hated monarchy.

Quote unquote

"They all said the radiation was 'minimal and insignificant.' We've had so damn much minimal and insignificant it's killing us all."

—Irma Thomas, of St. George, Utah, a victim of atomic weapons tests. Her sister died of cancer, her brother-in-law and husband have cancer, and her daughter and at least twenty-six neighbors have radiation-related health problems.

MARCH AGAINST DEATH PENALTY

A National March Against Death will take place May 12 in Atlanta, Georgia, to demand the abolition of the death penalty.

Georgia has executed more prisoners than any other state and currently has seventy-five prisoners on death row.

The march is sponsored by the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons, the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty, and Amnesty International, U.S.A.

Assembly time is 12:30 p.m. at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Community Center, 450 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

MINE WORKERS BACK ERA BOYCOTT

The United Mine Workers announced April 25 that it was moving its week-long fall convention from Miami since Florida has not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment.

Miami had already lost an estimated \$1 million from the cancellation of the November 1979 AFL-CIO convention, which will now be held in Washington, D.C.

Other unions that have also respected the National Organization for Women's call for a boycott of states that have not

ratified the ERA include the United Auto Workers, the National Education Association, the Communications Workers of America, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

BLACK RIGHTS MARCHES FACE MASS ARRESTS

In Okolona, Mississippi, you can be hauled off to jail for protesting the city's racist hiring practices. That's what happened April 28 to 150 predominantly Black demonstrators.

It was the second time in April that cops made mass arrests of demonstrators for the "crime" of marching without a permit and blocking city streets.

Besides demanding jobs, the marchers were also protesting the firing of Black teachers.

UAW SUES GM AND FORD ON PREGNANCY BENEFITS

The United Auto Workers filed suit April 24 in Detroit charging General Motors and Ford with discrimination against women workers for refusing to treat pregnancy like other disabilities.

The suit, whose plaintiffs include the UAW, many of its Michigan locals, and nine women workers, demands damages as well as an end to discriminatory practices. Women workers get fewer benefits and less time off. They need more proof of disability to qualify for benefits. And harsher work restrictions effectively keep pregnant women from working on available jobs.

COLO. STATE EMPLOYEES PROTEST WAGE OFFER

About 1,000 angry state employees demonstrated on the steps of the state capitol in Denver April 17 to protest attacks on their living standard by the state legislature and the governor. The rally was sponsored by the Colorado Association of Public Employees.

The legislature's Joint Budget Committee recom-

New York: 250 hear panel on lessons of '60s

By Arnold Weissberg

NEW YORK CITY—Two hundred fifty people gathered April 27 to head a panel of anti-Vietnam War activists discuss "The Nuclear Danger: Lessons of the Sixties for the Movement Today."

The panelists were Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Norma Becker, War Resisters League and Mobilization for Survival; Irwin Silber, chairperson, National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs; David Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days*; and James Houghton, director, Harlem Fight Back.

Halstead, who has been on a national speaking tour on the dangers of nuclear power and nuclear weapons, said that the antinuclear movement's appeal owed a lot to the antiwar movement.



Militant/Lou Howort
Fred Halstead, David Dellinger, James Houghton (from left) discussed lessons of anti-Vietnam war movement for today.

"Without the effects of the antiwar movement, I don't think that you would have had the reaction to the Three Mile Island incident that you did have," Halstead declared.

"It's a different country today. And a good part of

the critical eye of people, even a section of the press, is the result of the antiwar movement."

Halstead urged antinuclear activists "to move these issues into the organized working class, and to get the unions to take them up."

mended that workers be held to raises averaging 8.2 percent this year and that no merit increases be awarded.

Using the excuse of Carter's wage guidelines, Democratic Gov. Richard Lamm went yet a step further, recommending wage increases of only 5.5 percent and 1.5 percent merit increases.

Rally speakers pointed out that both proposals fall way behind the current rate of inflation.

DEMAND PROBE OF MALCOLM X COVER-UP

Despite government attempts to bury the truth about the murder of Malcolm X, the fight to uncover it continues.

Norman (3X) Butler and Tho-

mas (15X) Johnson, both serving life sentences for their alleged role in the killing, have asked the Congressional Black Caucus to seek an investigation into the murder.

Congress has refused to touch Malcolm's assassination despite—or perhaps because of—evidence pointing to FBI and police involvement.

At the original trial Tamadge Hayer (also known as Thomas Hagan), the admitted assassin, stated that Butler and Johnson were innocent. Police refused to investigate his assertions.

As recently as November, Hayer gave the New York State Supreme Court the names and descriptions of his four accomplices. Judge Harold

Rothwax, however, denied a motion to acquit Butler and Johnson. No further investigation has been made.

Only an investigation into the assassination organized by and responsible to the Black community would assure an honest and complete investigation.

WESTERN ELECTRIC HAS A FRIEND IN COURT

A federal appeals court arbitrarily threw out a lower-court ruling awarding back pay to an estimated 2,500 Western Electric Black and female job applicants and employees.

The April 9 decision reversed a federal judge who ruled in 1976 that six Black workers had proven their case in a

What's Going On

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Dan Fein, SWP candidate for mayor; others. Fri., May 11, 8 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CHICANOS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Diego. Sat., May 12, 2 p.m. & 4 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

MIDEAST DEAL: NO PEACE FOR PALESTINE. Speakers: Dr. Fouad Moughrabi, professor, Univ. of Chattanooga and president of Arab-American Graduate Students; Don Davis, Socialist Workers Party 1977 candidate for governor. Fri., May 11, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor 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.

INDIANA

GARY

A FIGHTING STRATEGY FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT TODAY. Speakers: Cathy Michaels, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 781; others. Fri., May 11, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE

TROTSKY'S CONTRIBUTION TO MARXISM. Speaker: George Novack, Marxist scholar and longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 11, 7:30 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ELECTION RALLY. Speakers: Greg Nelson, SWP candidate for governor; Cynthia Hawkins, member of United Steelworkers Local 13000; Mrs. Juanita Tyler; others. Sat., May 12, 7:30 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. program. Downtown Howard Johnson's, 330 Loyola Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

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

'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

RUNAWAY INFLATION: HOW WE CAN FIGHT BACK. Speaker: Andy Rose, Associate editor of the *Militant*. Sun., May 13, 7:30 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

NYC: UPPER WEST SIDE

CHILEAN PEÑA. Chilean and Latin American music by the 'Canto Obrero' and others. Food and drink. Sat., May 12, 7 p.m. Trinity Lutheran Church, 168 W. 100th St. near Amsterdam Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Chilean Anti-Fascist Committee.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

BENEFIT RALLY: POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speakers: Rev. George Hrbek, Lutheran Metropol-

itan Ministry; Chris Remple, Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee; others. Sun., May 15, 4 p.m. St. Patrick Church, W.

36th and Bridge Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

No nukes!

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES

LESSONS OF THE ANTI-VIETNAM WAR MOVEMENT FOR TODAY. Speakers: Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!*, member, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Dave Lumian, leading activist and staff member, Southern California Alliance for Survival; John T. Williams, former vice-president and business agent for International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 208, former national coordinator, National Peace Action Coalition. Fri., May 11, 7:30 p.m. People's College of Law Annex, 712 S. Grandview. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

OREGON

PORTLAND

THE ENERGY CRISIS: REAL OR CONTRIVED? Speaker: Paul Freeman, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., May 13, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

NO NUKES! SHUT DOWN TROJAN! March and rally. Sat., May 19, noon. O'Bryant Park, SW 9th & Washington. Ausp: Trojan Decommissioning Alliance.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA

THE ENERGY CRISIS. Speakers to be announced. Fri., May 11, 8 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HOW TO STOP NUCLEAR POWER: WHY UNIONS MUST TAKE THE LEAD. Speakers: Geoff Mirelowitz, United Steelworkers Local 2609, Sparrows Point Bethlehem Steel, member, Socialist Workers Party; Lee Oleson, SWP. Wed., May 9, 7:30 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699 or (301) 235-0013.

Steelhaulers end strike

PITTSBURGH — Steelhaulers from Teamsters Local 800 here voted on April 29 to end a three-week-old strike. Teamsters in several other areas returned to work.

The steelhaulers did not win a main objective of the strike, the right to vote on their supplement to the Master Freight Agreement.

Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons rescinded that right for the nation's 17,000 steelhaulers in 1976. However, the international was forced to sanction their strike against several companies when the steelhaulers refused to go back to work after the MFA was announced on April 10.

The steelhaulers did win

an increase in their rate of pay, since the percentage of payment is to be based on current rates instead of old, lower rates. Each Teamster is also to get an average six days' sick leave that the companies owe from the last contract.

The steelhaulers decided to end the strike, as one Teamster put it, because "if we go back now, we can hold our heads high" having won the economic demands.

As for the right to vote, "that fight is by far not over, I can assure you," Mel Packer told the *Militant*. Packer is a leader of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which helped organize the strike here and in several other areas.

class-action suit charging the American Telephone and Telegraph affiliate with discrimination in hiring and promotions.

The ruling would have cost Western Electric \$1.5 million.

The higher court conceded there had been some on-the-job discrimination but assured that Western Electric had a "commitment" to improve this.

Western Electric said it "welcomed" the decision and would continue in its alleged commitment.

HIGHER EDUCATION?

Many people might wonder why anyone should start paying for a service already being well rendered. Nevertheless, a growing number of corporations are contributing to university coffers to ensure that they promote capitalist ideology.

The University of Texas Institute for Constructive Capitalism is now raising \$20 million. Mobil, Shell, and Tenneco have already pledged more than \$1 million.

Goodyear Tire and Rubber is paying the check for a "chair of free enterprise" at Kent State. (They might consider

placing the chair at the site where the antiwar protesters were gunned down in 1970.)

Some academics have voiced concern that such business funding constitutes financial pressure to teach as directed. Others are more philosophical. Said a Cornell official: "If you're facing financial problems and the Six-Million-Dollar Man asks you to hire a mouthpiece to preach the gospel as he sees it, what are you going to do?"

Indeed.

PAYING FOR POISON

It not only costs a fortune to buy meat, but a good batch of it—14 percent according to the government—contains illegal and harmful drug and pesticide residues.

The 14 percent figure represents the violations found in meat and poultry tested over a two-year period by federal agencies allegedly responsible for protecting consumers.

The problem, they explain, is that by the time they finish testing the samples, the contaminated product has gone to market and, often, has already been consumed.

Novack to speak on Trotsky

By Bob Schwarz

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky, the coleader with Lenin of the Russian revolution and the founder of the Fourth International.

In celebration of Trotsky's centenary, George Novack, noted Marxist scholar and veteran leader of the Socialist Workers Party, will tour ten cities speaking on "Trotsky's Contributions to Marxism."

Novack, the author of numerous books and pamphlets on philosophy and history, worked closely with Trotsky in preparing the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials. Headed by American philosopher John Dewey, the commission exposed the infamous Moscow frame-up trials of the mid-1930s before international public opinion and dealt a powerful blow to the Stalin regime.

Novack is widely known as a defender of civil liberties, beginning with his par-



Militant/Brian Shannon

GEORGE NOVACK

participation in the defense of the Scottsboro Boys in 1932.

Tour Schedule:

May 9	Pittsburgh
May 11	Louisville
May 13	Chicago
May 15	St. Louis
May 17	Kansas City
May 18	Albuquerque
May 20	Salt Lake City
May 23	Los Angeles
May 29	San Francisco Bay Area

The Great Society

Harry Ring



What made him think of that?—Dr. William Goody, a leading British neurologist, recommended that politicians be tested regularly for brain disorders.

Now hear this—"A lot of people have an emotional reaction to the tax system because obviously it costs money. But I think in their more reflective moments most people have to say that it's a fair system and is not, by any objective standard, a very steep tax system."—Jerome Kurtz, U.S. tax commissioner.

They don't?—Supermarkets report a growing number of shoppers are "grazing"—munching various items as they make their way down the aisles. Complained the manager of a Jersey City market: "Every night when the night crew stocks the shelves, they find [barbecued] chicken bones all over the place. People just come in and help themselves to a free lunch while they shop. They don't realize how much it costs."

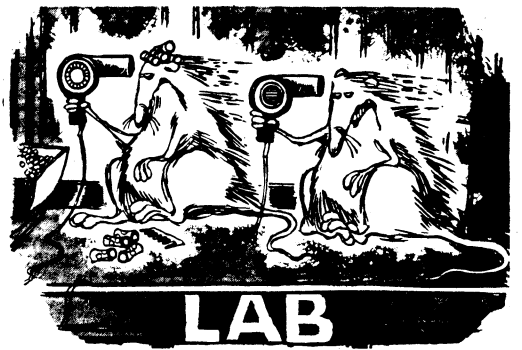
A simple test—A new watch will be on the market for thirty-nine dollars including a miniature device that will allegedly establish, by measuring "voice stress," if someone is lying. We were thinking of trying one out by turning it on and asking the salesperson if it was worth the money.

American as apple pie—Strolling through a shopping mall can be stimulating. The odor of chocolate chip cookies wafting from the bakery. The clove-

scented flavor of a freshly baked ham. Or, perhaps, the aroma of an apple pie just out of the oven. It could be for real. Or it could be International Flavor and Fragrance's artificial odors. Time-release devices activate the aerosol cans at regular intervals.

Keep running—A West Coast health partisan fainted after jogging, and a nervous friend summoned an ambulance. Stanford Medical Center gave him a series of brain tests, a clean bill of health, and a bill for \$1,835. The runner suggested that next time his friend "just throw a glass of water in my face."

Like, for instance, Jimmy?—*E.P.O.*, a magazine for elected public officials, says its helpful hints are needed because today "a politician has to be a cross between Einstein, Superman and Abe Lincoln."



'Remember the good old days when we only had to smoke a few cigarettes and eat saccharin?'

Nuestra América

Héctor Marroquín



'National security'

The following is a guest column by José G. Pérez.

Workers in the United States should carefully study the Cerro Maravilla scandal that currently fills the front pages of the Puerto Rican newspapers. It brings out the real role of the "informers," spies, and provocateurs used by the government against the labor movement and the left.

The facts: In the middle of last year, Puerto Rico's Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló unleashed a propaganda campaign alleging that the Puerto Rican independence movement was going to carry out a wave of terrorist activities around July 25, the eightieth anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico.

Just as the governor predicted, as the date neared several guerrilla actions were carried out by a so-called "Armed Revolutionary Movement" (MRA).

On July 25, three members of the MRA were caught in a police ambush when they arrived at Cerro Maravilla, supposedly to blow up the transmission tower of a television station. According to the official police version of events, the young patriots Carlos Soto Arriví and Arnaldo Darío Rosado were mortally wounded in the shoot-out. The third member of the commando group, Alejandro González Malavé, was slightly wounded.

And here is where things get interesting. Because it so happens that "compañero" González Malavé is a cop. He had been recruited as a stool pigeon six years ago when he was still in high school.

It also happens that González Malavé played a leading role in the MRA actions. He was the main instigator of the various crimes. He played such a big role in these actions that the court, after a preliminary hearing, declared that there was "no

probable cause" to indict any of the eight *independentistas* charged with participation in MRA actions.

The cab driver who was forced to accompany González Malavé to Cerro Maravilla and who witnessed the events stated that the two *independentista* youths were not dead when the shoot-out ended and that after the police took them to a nearby communications tower, he heard more shots. The blows on Soto's face and body indicate that the *independentistas* were beaten before they were executed.

The crowning touch was the discovery that the MRA commandos who the police said were going to blow up the installation, did not have any explosives.

Even so, Governor Romero Barceló had the nerve to proclaim that his paid assassins were heroes, and he tried to cover up the case.

I don't think it was completely coincidental that a few weeks ago an appellate court in New York ruled that the U.S. government can defy a judge's orders in order to protect the identity of its "informers." According to the court, such "informer privilege" is key in defending "national security."

And this is what links the decision in New York and the massacre in Puerto Rico. Since Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States, the "national security" defended on the island is the same "national security" defended in New York: that of the banks and big monopolies that dominate both the United States and Puerto Rico. And there is no doubt that what the monopolies are willing to do to protect their "national security" in a territory they consider their own, they will also be ready to do in any part of the world where they have planted their flag.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Rhodesia & Santo Domingo



U.S. soldiers guard captured Dominicans during 1965 invasion. Elections at gunpoint followed.

Rigged elections are a tried and tested weapon in the arsenal of imperialism and colonial domination. The latest example is in Zimbabwe. There are a number of parallels between the Zimbabwe elections and what occurred in the Dominican Republic thirteen years ago.

In April 1965 President Lyndon Johnson sent 25,000 marines to Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic, to crush a popular revolt against the brutal military dictatorship that had overthrown the legally elected government of Juan Bosch.

In a June 20, 1966, editorial, the *Militant* described the result of the U.S. invasion:

"Instead of restoring Bosch to office, the occupation troops, supplemented by armed contingents from puppet members of the Organization of American States, began the series of maneuvers that culminated in the staging of a 'free election' rigged from start to finish."

New York Times columnist Arthur Krock gloated that the outcome of the election was "a triumph for the President's foreign policy."

But as the *Militant* editorial noted, "With an interim puppet government, hoisted into office by Yankee Marines conducting the election, the outcome was a foregone conclusion."

The outcome was also a foregone conclusion in the recent election in Zimbabwe.

One hundred thousand troops and other armed personnel were mobilized by the white minority settler regime in Zimbabwe to intimidate Blacks into taking part in the rigged election.

The elections were rigged because the racist regime understood that the choice the Black masses would make in a really free election would be majority rule. Rather than have the Black majority decide the constitutional basis for the election, the settler minority made this decision in advance, guaranteeing their continued domination.

Furthermore, they limited the choices before the Black voters by prohibiting the nationalist groups fighting for Black majority rule from participating in the election.

Little wonder, then that in Zimbabwe as well as the Dominican Republic, intimidation by means of the gun was required to insure an outcome favorable to the oppressor.

What the U.S. ruling class feared in the

Dominican case was stated bluntly by Krock, who referred to President Johnson's "determination there shall be 'no more Cubas.'"

Thirteen years later, imperialism and its allies are still motivated by the fear of socialist revolution. The racist regime in Zimbabwe and its imperialist backers fear more than anything a duplication by the Black masses of what the Cuban people did twenty years ago. Since Cuba supports and gives aid to the Zimbabwe liberation struggle, the fear of revolution has been reinforced.

Also afraid of such an outcome are the Social Democratic apologists for U.S. imperialism. They sent a so-called observer team to the Dominican Republic to monitor the 1966 elections for "fairness." The team was headed by the reformist Socialist leader, Norman Thomas. What this team did was to give its support to elections that were inherently undemocratic.

It is no coincidence that Bayard Rustin, one of the members on the team of the late Norman Thomas, led a group to Zimbabwe to give a clean bill of health to the elections there.

Rustin, a leader of Social Democrats, U.S.A., called the elections a "first vitally important step toward a possibility of peace in southern Africa." Defending the Rhodesian constitution, which assures whites a disproportionate share of power, he remarked that it had taken the United States "from 1776 until 1964 before all American Blacks could vote."

Described by the *Washington Post* as the "least conservative" of five observer groups, it is clear that Rustin's group, like its earlier 1966 version, is committed to U.S. imperialism and its local allies as opposed to the needs and interests of the masses fighting for their liberation.

But an important difference between the rigged elections in Zimbabwe and those in the Dominican Republic is that the relationship of forces between the world working class and imperialism has shifted to the disadvantage of the latter.

In 1966, Johnson could send troops not only to the Dominican Republic but to Vietnam as well. Today, Carter would find it difficult indeed to send U.S. forces to fight the national liberation movement in southern Africa.

Bayard Rustin and other Social Democrats are doing their best to reverse that, but history is not on their side.

—August Nimitz

Letters

'Advance the cause'

This week I had the pleasure of attending Fred Halstead's talk on nuclear energy and its accompanying catastrophes, which was sponsored by your organization. It pleased me to hear and see others talking openly of their social and political concerns where they do not fall within the perspective of the two dominant parties in America.

The Young Socialist Alliance in Kansas City needs more speakers such as Halstead to help guide their fight against the policies of those two powers. Enclosed is a donation to advance this cause.

Steven Shipe
Kansas City, Missouri

Instead, this type of program would be used to break strikes, lower wages, give the government a fine opportunity to indoctrinate young people, and literally would legalize slave labor.

The Socialist Workers Party has consistently opposed the draft and other such proposals. I am writing to you, though, because I think I have an idea that would put an end to the constant struggle against the resumption of the draft. Why not begin steps to pass a constitutional amendment outlawing all forms of peacetime draft, labor "service," and so on?

Steve Gay
Maryville, Tennessee

Workers should own it

Enclosed is a contribution. As a very small stockholder (by inheritance) in a very large capitalist enterprise, I wish to return this piece of surplus value to its rightful owners—the workers who made it.

I make a contribution in hopes that in the near future you'll help make surrendering stolen property no longer a necessary evil.

Bill Harris
Atlanta, Georgia

'Hired killers'

On April 18, all New York State prison enforcers—so-called correctional guards—(hired killers and barbaric, sadistical robots) went on strike. In actuality this so-called strike is a mockery.

Supposedly the demands of these guards are higher salaries, more benefits, and added security. The mockery is that I have personally been instrumental and involved with several prison protests—strikes, work stoppages—in various prison warehouses. We prisoners demanded more humane treatment, shorter sentences, good time, earlier release consideration, the elimination of brutality. And on each and every occasion we prisoners were brutalized, given fictitious criminal and disciplinary charges, plus arbitrary and capricious transfers. We were treated as animals and modern subhuman chattel.

A prisoner
New York

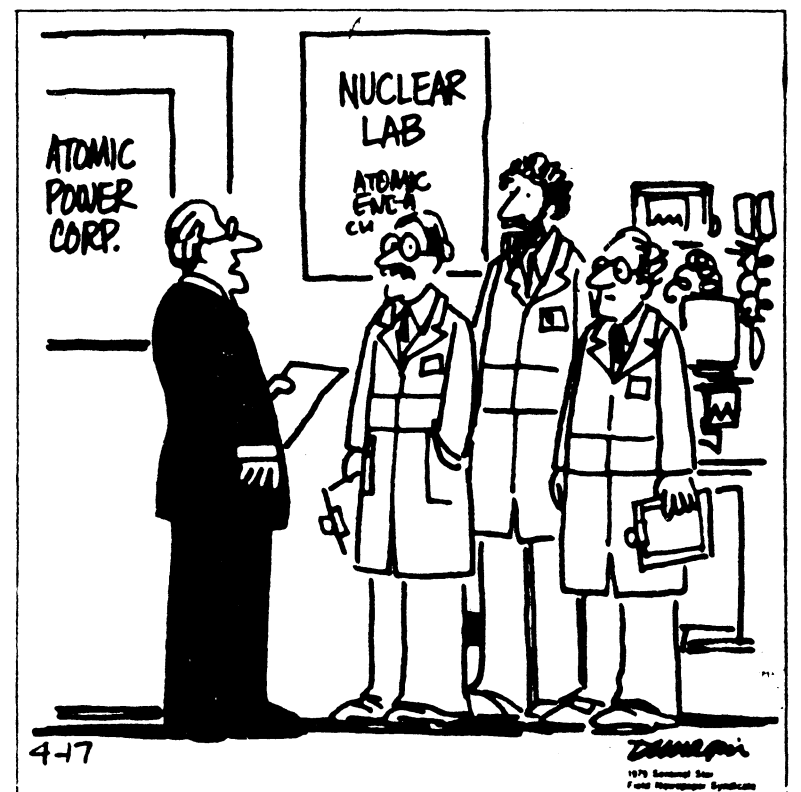
End the draft

As you and everyone who reads the *Militant* (or any other paper) knows, there is suddenly a developing effort to reinstate the draft. Proposals for a "new" draft range from induction into the military in peacetime to a forced "service" by all young people in so-called nonmilitary areas. That is, our young men and women would be required to work when, where, and at whatever job or subsistence pay the government would decide.

Such a program would do nothing to mobilize the young to work for this country at solving peacetime problems.

Virginia prison politics

Your April 27 issue has arrived and, as normal, the in-depth coverage given to the



'The public and press is demanding the truth . . . I want you to come up with three versions of it.'

Learning About Socialism

How socialists look at the world

major political/social events is excellent.

With several friends and relatives among the union members who are on strike in Newport News, the several items devoted to that struggle has particular meaning for me.

One item that recently "stunned" me, and which may be of some interest to your readers concerns the political realities of the Virginia Parole Board.

After serving more than six and a half years, I am to be granted parole release. Needless to say, I have made every opportunity count insofar as building a good prison record, while at the same time remaining 100 percent devoted to the prisoner rights movement.

Last month, while appearing in court in relation to charges I filed that certain constitutional rights were deprived during my original trial, I was told in no uncertain terms that if I chose to appeal, I would certainly be "denied" parole. I told the lawyer that the Supreme Court had ruled in favor of inmates on just this point, and he came back with, 'OK, but I'm telling you how this is going to be handled. You should know that 'politics' plays a very considerable role in the decision to release or remand."

Continue the outstanding reportage. Together we shall struggle and enjoy the fruits of a socialist victory.

*A prisoner
Virginia*

One of the best

I am grateful for the free subscription afforded me. Actually the *Militant* was recommended to me by a notable and eminent source, namely Malcolm X via the book *Malcolm X Speaks*. I agree with him, it is one of the best newspapers around.

*A prisoner
Wisconsin*

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.

The Marxist program for the overturn of capitalist society and the establishment of socialism is based on a broader understanding of reality and how it changes. This understanding is known as dialectical materialism.

Philosophical idealists argue that the material world is subordinate to ideas and that thought is the essence of reality. Materialists, on the other hand, contend that people's ideas are shaped by their conditions of daily life. Marxists are militant proponents of materialism.

During the past three centuries, an immense scientific revolution has occurred. One of its most important discoveries has been that organisms change and develop—they *evolve*.

The enormous growth of humanity's power to reshape nature to fulfill human needs would have been impossible were it not rooted in science—in a belief in material causality and predictability. Marx and Engels sought to apply the same rigorous scientific method to society, where the tremendous powers unleashed by the development of industry have been used to create still more powerful tools of enslavement.

All varieties of philosophical idealism share a common acceptance of the impossibility of understanding or controlling the present reality. This is true whether they take the form of traditional religion, which directs people's eyes to the hereafter. Or an abstract metaphysical statement that nothing every really changes. Or escapism—into mysticism and cultism or into the worship of totally private forms of gratification, denying responsibility for society's fate.

Marxists contend that our senses give us the necessary data to actively intervene in an objectively existing reality.

This reality changes in accord with definite and understandable laws. The logic of Marxism—dialectics—is the science of these laws and how humans perceive them.

A materialist view of society holds that the dominant ideas of any era, except in periods of rapid revolutionary social change, are the ideas of the ruling class, which controls the educational institutions and the mass communications media.

Every privileged ruling class in history has sooner or later, come to oppose a scientific understanding of the world, because such an understanding would show its rule to be only a temporary phase of human history. Ideologies such as the divine right of kings and the god-established natural order of society were developed to justify the rule of these privileged classes.

Capitalist ideologues are no different. They claim that socialism is against "human nature" and condemn socialists as hopelessly utopian fanatics.

The underlying philosophical premises of this argument were first developed by Aristotle some 2,000 years ago in the laws of formal logic.

Aristotle's law of identity says that everything is equal to itself, that is, it remains itself under all conditions at any given moment.

Ideologists who would prefer that things stay the way they are now try to limit the laws of thought to Aristotle's syllogism. But modern science in all its branches reveals that evolution and change are a more fundamental and long-term reality. Categorizing what now exists is merely the first step of a scientific method.

Society, too, evolves. Just like the evolution of species described by Darwin, societies proceed through internal struggle, as one species is *replaced* by a more highly organized and developed one.

The capitalist system that presently exists, and has existed for several hundred years, has not remained the same during its lifetime. While retaining basic characteristics, it has evolved.

A series of *quantitative* changes that have been taking place in the structure of American capitalism for the past 200 years, head in the direction of a *qualitative* change, one that will produce a fundamentally different kind of society.

The American government, which came into being as a result of a revolution, is the greatest enemy of developing revolutions in the world today. The American working class, which 200 years ago hardly existed, is today the overwhelming majority of the population. American capitalism, which once could promise a steady rise in the standard of living of its people, now finds itself confronted by the spread of socialist revolution abroad, by an increase in competition from its imperialist rivals, and has turned to a conscious and deliberate attack on the wages and union organizations of the working people.

There is a profound process of *development* expressed here, leading toward a fundamental restructuring of American society. This can only be brought about by a head-on clash between the defenders of the old—the capitalist class—and the bearers of the new, the American workers.

And from that revolution—if successfully led by a revolutionary Marxist party—will emerge the triumph of socialism and the building of a new society.

A fine introduction to the study of Marxist philosophy can be found in books by George Novack such as *Introduction to the Logic of Marxism and Understanding History*. Also see *Socialism Utopian and Scientific* by Frederick Engels. All of these are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

—Peter Archer

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NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

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THE MILITANT

Newport News

Steelworkers under new attack

By Greg Kobey

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Tenneco, owner of the huge Newport News Shipyard, has rapidly carried out its threat to victimize Steelworkers returning to work after the April 23 suspension of their strike for union recognition.

Many members of Local 8888—how many is not yet known—have not been allowed to go back to their jobs. And

'Class Battle in Newport News.' For assessment of first stage of struggle, see page 12.

by refusing to call back union President Wayne Crosby and Treasurer Kelly Coleman, the bosses have made it clear that their drive to break the union continues with full force.

These reprisals come on the heels of a ruling by a federal court in Norfolk April 26 denying the Steelworkers a temporary restraining order to prohibit police violence against union members. The order had been sought in the aftermath of "Bloody Monday," the April 16 cop riot in which more than thirty union members were injured and sixty-three arrested.

"Almost 200 Steelworkers were arrested during the strike," Crosby told the *Militant*. "I know of four firings so

far. I think Tenneco might fire 150 more.

"The union is going to fight this. We are going to file charges against the company, back pay included. I was already convicted in court for strike activities. Why should I face double jeopardy?"

Crosby's conviction, for violation of Virginia's antilabor "right to work" law, is under appeal.

Asked about support from other unions if Tenneco continues its reprisals, Crosby pointed out, "Most union locals that helped us during the strike are just waiting on a call from us for further support."

Inside the yard

Most Local 8888 members have been back in the shipyard several days, since the April 23 suspension of their strike. Many were eager to talk about the atmosphere inside.

"Friday was my first day back. The scabs just don't look at you, they don't talk to you," one woman told the *Militant*. "You can feel the tension in the air. It just needs a spark to set things off. But you can tell a difference between the scabs and those workers who are with the Steelworkers but crossed the lines for economic reasons. They talk to returning strikers—they

treat you human."

A Black woman painter said, "They are treating union members like garbage. The scabs and management snub you. They'll allow a scab who's a handyman to tell a union member who's a first-class mechanic what to do."

"Management is harrassing us, trying to get union members to quit. But I believe in this union. They'll never get

Support needed

Send messages of solidarity and financial contributions to Steelworkers Local 8888's Suspended Strike Headquarters, Bank of Newport News Building, Third Floor, 3301 Washington Avenue, Newport News, Virginia 23607.

For information call the Suspended Strike Headquarters at (804) 247-5291, or the Local 8888 office at (804) 599-0480.



Militant/Jon Hillson
Steelworkers on picket line before strike suspension April 22. Since returning to jobs some union militants have been fired.

me out of these yards."

Another Black worker, an electrician for eight years, reported, "What you've got in this yard is a time bomb with a very short fuse. You've got scabs that are acting as stool pigeons for management—checking on union members and how long they spend in the bathroom. They are trying to drive us out of the yard. We'll come out [on strike] again. And it will be with more support than ever for the Steelworkers union."

Need union meeting

One local 8888 member, a welder, linked the reprisals and harassment in the yard to ongoing trials of Steelworkers arrested during the course of the twelve-week strike.

"They should jail the scabs who were carrying concealed weapons, not union members defending our right to strike," the Steelworker said. "If they don't hire back the workers who were arrested for strike activities, I think the union ought to have a meeting with the membership to discuss this."

A middle-aged Black worker, active in the fight against Tenneco for many years, summed up the situation in the yard. "I went back Wednesday. I was somewhat apprehensive. But I had

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Cuban activist murdered by right-wing exiles

By Arnold Weissberg

Carlos Muñiz, twenty-six, was shot to death in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on April 28 by right-wing Cuban-exile terrorists.

Muñiz had been a leader of those Cubans living abroad seeking normalized relations between the U.S. and their native island.

Muñiz was a founding member of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans who were sent by their parents to live abroad or who left Cuba with their families after the revolution. The Brigade opposes the U.S. blockade of Cuba, encourages closer ties with it, and organizes trips there. Muñiz was on the first such trip in December 1977, and ran a travel service to Cuba.

The killing is the latest in a series of terrorist attacks against Cubans living in the United States and Puerto Rico. The victims are those who have dared to enter discussions with the revolutionary government in Cuba. These discussions are known as "the dialogue."

The dialogue has led to visits to their homelands by tens of thousands of overseas Cubans, who have now had the chance to see conditions there for themselves.

It is the truth about the Cuban revolution that the right-wingers fear.

At a New York City news conference May 2, Cubans leading the dialogue from the U.S. detailed the recent bombings and assassinations.

The terror campaign "is a desperate response" of a small group to the effort by the majority of the Cuban community to reestablish ties with Cuba, said Rafael Betancourt, a member of the Antonio Maceo Brigade and Cuba travel organizer.

Betancourt said the thousands of overseas Cubans who visited Cuba this year gave a "clear demonstration of wide-ranging support in the communities for the dialogue."

Father Andrés Reyes, a member of the Committee of Seventy-five and frequent

target of terrorist death threats, demanded a federal grand jury investigation of the terrorist groups and a pledge from Attorney General Griffin Bell that the Justice Department will look into the killing.

Thus far, the FBI has refused to take action against any of the terrorist groups. Many of the right-wingers are CIA-trained and took part in the 1961 U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba.

Dialogue leaders in the U.S. urge that telegrams demanding an immediate investigation be sent to President Carter and Bell by all groups supporting free speech. Send copies to the Brigade at Box 1125, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025.

Mariana Gastón, a Brigade member and also member of the Cuban Family Reunification Committee, declared that the murder of Carlos Muñiz was "a hideous crime that will only increase our commitment to reconciliation."

"We demand justice," Gastón said.

Miami protest

By Jack Lieberman

MIAMI—A motorcade of more than 250 cars drove through the Little Havana section here April 29 to protest the assassination of Carlos Muñiz. The response showed clearly that such terrorist attacks will not intimidate those who favor ending the U.S. blockade of Cuba.

The motorcade was organized by the Antonio Maceo Brigade and the Christian Reform Evangelical Church. It was the largest protest action against right-wing terrorists that has been seen here.

In Puerto Rico, 150 cars joined a motorcade to the cemetery where Carlos Muñiz was buried May 1.