Washington, March 22—National protest says no to Carter's draft registration.

The following statement was issued March 26 by Victor Nieto, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York. Nieto is a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 173 at Conrail.

New York transit workers are fighting for wage increases to keep up with inflation. They deserve the support of working people throughout the country.

The Transport Workers Union is asking for:  
* A 30 percent wage increase to restore buying power they have lost to inflation since 1974.  
* A cost-of-living allowance paid every three months to make up, point for point, for price increases.  
* Preservation of union working conditions against the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's "takeaway" demands that would make the buses and subways less safe for riders and transit workers alike.

Faced with prices soaring at 18 percent a year, the transit workers are not asking for new gains. They only want to catch up.

So far the transit authority has not put even one penny on the bargaining table. Their only proposal for wage increases is to take it away—from pension benefits, shift differentials, and by using more part-time workers. In other words, make the workers pay for their own pay hikes. To impose these takeaway terms, the transit workers' fight is a national test of strength. If the TWU is forced to bow to Carter, Carey, and Koch's austerity plans, all working people will be the losers. Other employers, public and private, will plead poverty and take the same hard line. City administrations will be emboldened to move full speed ahead to close more schools, shut more hospitals, wipe out more jobs, cut back more vital services.

We all have a stake in stopping the war against the transit workers.

United, working people can turn back this attack. Look at what happened in Chicago. Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne tried to smash the fire fighters union. The city
Return shah to Iran!

The ex-shah of Iran continues to evade protection of the royal torturer. There is only one country where the people want him for his crimes against humanity. Washington must stop supporting this fugitive from justice, and send him back to Iran.

...N.Y. transit
Continued from front page
administration provoked a strike, jailed the union president, imposed punitive fines, and vowed that strikers would never work for the city again.

But the union movement throughout the country has also been activated by workers' concern that the TWU's fight for better wages, working conditions, and free mass transit. My supporters and I will seek to mobilize the broadest possible solidarity throughout the union movement and the Black and Latino communities.

Billions for public transit and social services—not for war!

No to Koch, Carey, and Carter's austerity drive!

Victory to the transit workers!

In Our Opinion

Militant Highlights This Week

- Labor fights austerity

From the oil refineries to the coal fields, with strikes and demonstrations, unionists are standing up to the takeback demands of government and big business. Pages 5-9.

International Women's Day

This year's actions reflected the growing efforts of women's groups and unions to fight together for women's equality. Page 12.

Women and labor join forces

Socialists in Iran elections

Ky. unionists protest cutbacks

Thousands tell Carter: no draft!

Women and labor join forces

The TWU demands free public transit: "No fares!" Transit workers want to provide good service. They and the riding public have a common fight against a common enemy. Big Lie Number Three: There is no money.

This is the biggest lie of all. For six years New Yorkers have suffered through an austerity plan imposed to "save the city from bankruptcy." Health, education, sanitation, and other services have been gutted. Thousands of jobs wiped out. Wages limited. Union contracts ripped up.

And so what? So the banks and the rich can collect their $2 billion a year in interest payments from the city, never missing a check.

Now Carter wants to impose the same kind of cuts on the TWU's fight for better jobs, safety, and free transit. But the TWU will fight every step of the way—so that military spending can be raised $20 billion this year and even more in years to come.

There is plenty of money. But the Democrats and Republicans put the war machine, corporate profits, and the rich first; working people last.

The transit authority claims it would cost $1 billion to meet all the TWU's demands. Even if true, that is less than the $1.2 billion Carter wants for the new MX: 1 tank.

The $41 billion Carter wants to spend to spread MX missiles on underground tracks across Utah and Nevada—which the people of those states don't want, and which brings the whole world closer to nuclear holocaust—would easily restore the entire New York subway system, pay transit workers a living wage, and cut fares to zero.

From city hall to Congress to the White House, the Democrats and Republicans have ganged up to put the costs of U.S. capitalism's war drive and economic crisis into the backs of working people. Both parties stand for budget-cutting and strikebreaking.

Just as working people need solidarity on the picket line, we also need solidarity in a political fight against the bosses.

That's why the Socialist Workers Party is campaigning for the unions to run their own candidates and launch their own independent party, a labor party.

As Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, I urge full support to the TWU's fight for better wages, working conditions, and free mass transit. My supporters and I will seek to mobilize the broadest possible solidarity throughout the union movement and the Black and Latino communities.

Billions for public transit and social services—not for war!

No to Koch, Carey, and Carter's austerity drive!

Victory to the transit workers!
Nicaraguans protest murder of Salvadoran archbishop

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans filled the Plaza of the Revolution here March 25 to protest the murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of neighboring El Salvador.

Trade unionists, government employees, participants in the National Literacy Crusade that began here March 24, and others took part in the open-air funeral mass and solidarity rally. Three days of mourning for Archbishop Romero were decreed by the government here.

At the mass, Managua Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo compared Nicaraguans to Salvadorans when threats were first made against his life a month ago. "As a priest I cannot stop accompanying my people, which for me is an invariable inspiration," Romero replied in a letter that D'Escoto read at the mass. "And it makes me quite happy to act with the people the risks of the moment."

As the mass concluded, chants of "Nicaragua will win!" rang throughout the plaza.

Commander of the Revolutionary Jaime Rosales read a statement by the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front demanding the murder of Archbishop Romero and denouncing his "sacred and historical" mission of advancing the interests of "the people, the exploited at the hands of the capitalist and military governments."

In recent weeks he had denounced the brutal attacks on peasant communers and peasants who had accompanied the military junta's so-called "agrarian reform" while battling the growing unity of the revolutionary organizations that are mobilizing against the regime.

In late February Romero sent a letter to President Carter calling on Washington to halt its stepped-up aid to the military regime. According to a statement released here March 26 by a group of Nicaraguan Jesuit priests, "Carter's personal envoy at the Vatican complained to the pope's secretary of state about Msgr. Romero's 'political and provocative attitude.'" It was at this time that the archbishop began receiving death threats.

In what was to become his final message given at a mass celebrated on Sunday, March 26, Archbishop Romero issued "a special call to the men of the army, of the national guard, of the police" to heed "the law of God that says 'do not kill.' No soldier is obliged to obey an order that goes against the law of God. No one has to comply with an immoral law." A little more than twenty-four hours later Romero was gunned down by unknown assailants while celebrating another mass at the chapel adjacent to his home.

Pulley's telegram demanded that Carter "direct federal authorities to arrest and prosecute the Omega 7 killers immediately before more lives are lost."

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THE MILITANT/APRIL 4, 1980
The Sandinista-led government is preparing for a decisive showdown.

**Revolution deepens in 1980**

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and Sandinista-led government and mass organizations in Nicaragua are preparing for a decisive showdown.

The showdown is with the exploiting classes, above all in the United States and in Nicaragua itself, who profit from a social system that has trapped the workers and peasants in political and economic subjugation to U.S. imperialism. A Sandinista victory over these forces of capitalist counterrevolution would mark the birth of the second workers state in the Americas.

Right now, the ambitious literacy crusade is getting under way, with the aim of teaching six million more adults to read and write. The fulfillment of this campaign will educate the population in class struggle politics as well as in basic literacy. The revolution is also making important strides on other fronts:

* **On March 2 the government expropriated all private agricultural holdings previously intervened by the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA).** These are the first expropriations of landowners not directly tied to the old Somoza regime.

* **Workers at six privately owned factories have taken over production and demanded government intervention against employers who are sabotaging the new workers control of production.** The FSLN has pointed to these as exemplary initiatives in workers control of production.

* **Volunteer militias**

   - Having constructed a professional Sandinista People's Army (EPP), indispensable for defense of the revolution from its enemies at home and abroad, the FSLN has now launched volunteer militias in the workplaces and countryside. The Sandinistas call these militias "the highest expression of the people in arms." In response to Washington's stalling on aid and growing interference in Nicaragua's affairs, the FSLN-led unions have mounted demonstrations to demand "Hands off Nicaragua!" and "Death to the CIA!"

* **Since late 1979 the projected countercoups have mounted demonstrations to demand"Hands off Nicaragua!" and "Death to the CIA!"** With key sectors of industry and agriculture still in the hands of private capitalists, the 1980 plan stresses the need for their cooperation. "We are no longer going to have what is called "private initiative,"" explained government junta member Sergio Ramirez, "the kind of initiative that means investing in what is most profitable and not in what is required for economic and social needs."

* **The Sandinistas have encouraged the growing participation of the workers, peasants, and their class organizations in control of the factories, farms, and in government.**

* **We wonder if the old ruling classes have become increasingly alarmed?**

**1980 economic plan**

At the beginning of 1980, the FSLN further consolidated its political power. Bourgeois figures formally in charge of the ministries of economic planning, agriculture, and defense were replaced by top Sandinista commanders.

Moreover, the government's 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation made clear there would be no turning back from a top priority on improving the quality of life for Nicaragua's workers and peasants. Fully 62 percent of the budget is targeted for health, education, and housing, compared to 17 percent in Somoza's 1978 budget:

- **Bourgeois opposition**

   - These new advances by the Nicaraguan masses have brought squeals of protest from the big landlords and industrial capitalists in Nicaragua. Organizations such as the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSPE) and the powerful urban uprising that had been the organization of the workers and peasants and taking full advantage of the powerful urban uprisings that brought them to power—blocked the reestablishment of a capitalist-dominated government envisioned by Somoza's liberal opponents.

   - During the final months of the struggle against Somoza, the masses had a chance to contrast the FSLN's unconventional leadership of the revolution to the vacillations of the bourgeois opposition, which hoped to reach an accommodation with elements of the Somoza regime and National Guard.

   - Volunteer militias have made the government impose sweeping measures to weaken capitalist control over the economy, begin the enormous task of reconstruction, and raise the living standards of the population. In addition, the FSLN spurred the development of independent unions and other organizations of the workers and peasants.

   - The Sandinistas have encouraged the growing participation of the workers, peasants, and their class organizations in control of the factories, farms, and in government.

   - The plan therefore projects restoring export and domestic consumption. These targets are important in enabling the government to meet its social goals and keep up the revolutionary morale of the masses.

   - With key sectors of industry and agriculture still in the hands of private capitalists, the 1980 plan stresses the need for their cooperation. "We are no longer going to have what is called "private initiative,"" explained government junta member Sergio Ramirez, "the kind of initiative that means investing in what is most profitable and not in what is required for economic and social needs."

   - And upon taking charge of the planning ministry, FSLN Commander Henry Ruiz warned the private sector against taking "a wait-and-see" attitude toward reactivating production.

   - **Capitalists resist**

      - As recent factory interventions and land nationalizations indicate, however, many capitalists paid no heed to these warnings. Coffee growers have refused to complete their harvests, and cotton producers are threatening not to plant. Industrialists are illegally smuggling commodities, equipment, and money capital out of the country and holding production at below adequate levels.

      - This bourgeois resistance received a shot in the arm in mid-March. Government junta member Alfredo Robelo relaunched his Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN) and began voicing many of the capitalists' concerns. Robelo made this decision shortly after returning from an unofficial visit with U.S. government officials in Washington.
How to fight back?

Union officials blast Carter austerity plan

By Fred Feldman

Denouncing the Carter administration’s new “wage cuts” in public services, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland predicts that “there are going to be a lot more people hurt, and a lot more people suffering” if Carter is reelected. Now Kirkland is warning that “I don’t know how long I can be part of the administration.”

Big business is chortling at the political, economic, and social realities that the Carter administration is facing. Business Week stated, “it thought it was gaining new political clout. But things have not turned out quite this way. . . . Labor is stuck not only with Carter, but with an accord it is not invincible.”

The bipartisan character of the Carter administration is right when it states that “the anti-labor accords” are at the expense of the young, the old, and the unemployed. It is right when it says “at the expense of the young, the old, and the unemployed. They are the victims of inflation, not capitalists.”

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The bipartisan character of the Carter administration is right when it states that “the anti-labor accords” are at the expense of the young, the old, and the unemployed. They are the victims of inflation, not capitalists.

Big business is right when it recognizes that the strategy of “national accord” includes, “not only the unions but the government as well.”
Solidarity key to victory for K.C. fire fighters

By Kirk Fowler

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Striking fire fighters here won a major victory after a two-month strike forced the city to reinstate, with full seniority, forty-one fire fighters who had been fired for participation in a previous job action. Seventy-one union members were also hired as a condition for ending the strike.

Hundreds of fire fighters, their families, and other unionists gathered at a March 24 rally to greet those released from jail.

Mass jailings had failed to shake the fire fighters' resolve. A week of attempted union-busting, the city threw in the towel in its efforts to force the strikers back.

The walkout was sparked by the city's attempt to uphold the firing of fire fighters dismissed last December for refusing overtime in a job action.

The strikers also created "labor unions" of crews to help fight fires where lives were in danger. This was seen as an effort by the company to justify the firing. Community support for the strikers was growing. More than 500 people came to the city hall March 19 to show their solidarity.

The Kansas City Neighborhood Coalition, the Baptist Ministers Alliance, and other organizations came out for the fire fighters.

The United Auto Workers, the Machinists, Communication Workers, and other organizations came out for the fire fighters.

The city administration had set out to bust the fire fighters union. They decided they had had enough of a union that was willing to fight for what it was worth. They chose to send a message to not only the fire fighters but other public employees and Kansas City workers as well.

But labor saw this threat and took action. It was the same kind of positive labor response that the city sees as "right to work" legislation in November 1978.

While the crowd waited Sunday for the united fire fighters to hear the news, Solidarity Forever, Roll the Union on, and other songs were sung.

Leo Wright, the fire fighter president of Local 42 and one of the released prisoners, addressed the crowd. What he said summed up the mood.

"We have said enough. We have shown the world, the company, the government that we are the true winners."

At the close, the strike was still going strong. The strikers forced Harvester to give in on picket lines. One picketer at Harvester said, "I hope this is the end."

Ted Stacey, a steward at the Hinsdale plant, told the Militant: "These people are determined. They will fight for the right to keep their jobs."

The utility, Autoworkers, and Machinists have all spoken out in favor of the fire fighters.

No new negotiations are planned. Local union leaders in the Chicago area have heard rumors that the company plans to use the financial strains of the strike to spawn a "back-to-work" effort.

In the order rejected March 10, the company backed off from their mandatory overtime demands. Instead, they proposed a vote in the future of union workers from which they can request Saturday work.

The unity and determination of the strikers forced Harvester to give in on a 90-day "no-strike" clause. This was a condition for ending the strike.

"On any company proposal for overtime was prevalent on the picket lines. One picketer at Harvester said, "We want a real".

"They are not going back to work until the strikers are back."

The company will open a new truck plant in Wayne, Indiana, and many other new plants opened by the company's plans to use the financial strains of the strike to spawn a "back-to-work" effort.

The striking fire fighters are determined to keep their jobs. They will continue to fight for the right to keep their jobs.
Militant gets warm welcome from strikers

By Peter Seidman

Kansa City fire fighters, West Virginia coal miners, and refinery workers across the country came out on strike last week.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists Coalition kicked off their spring 1980 circulation drive with February efforts to get the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial to this important audience.

Despite the ten-week strike, socialists aim to improve sales of the Young Socialist, the monthly newspaper of the YSA, as well as boost Militant and PM circulation. We are also shooting to maintain total-plant and on-the-job sales and rally lines and rallies organized by striking fire fighters.

"Glad to see you don't here," was the response. Nine workers at one rally who bought the paper were especially interested in the Militant's coverage of the "victorious Chicago fire fighters' strike".

Susan Brown, a young steelworker who is SWP candidate for the University of Illinois Board of Trustees, sold twenty-five Militants and distributed campaign statements at picket lines and rallies organized by striking fire fighters.

"Many miners who live in the western Pennsylvania towns where Pittsburgh SWP members are organizing special sales also give the paper a "very friendly reaction.""

In Kansas City, supporters of SWP senatorial candidate Martha Pettit sold twenty-five Militants and distributed campaign statements at picket lines and rallies organized by striking fire fighters.

"We're also distributing a statement "on our recent victory."

By Tom Swetland

Tom Swetland is Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Kentucky. He is a member of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761 at General Electric in Louisville. His slogan is "Brown means business," is living up to that promise.

House Bill 532, backed by Brown and the House Democratic leadership, would end state payments to black lung victims, impose more restrictive definitions of disability, virtually eliminate lump-sum settlements, and place a time limit on benefits for those who are partially disabled for life.

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The Militant gets warm welcome from strikers.
Gov’t attacks contract terms

Oil company reprials delay strike settlement

By Stu Singer

Many of the 60,000 oil refinery workers who went on strike in January 8 have begun to return to work. Thousands remain on the picket lines against company attempts to victimize strike activists.

The settlement terms are an improvement over the original company offers. But oil workers will remain behind the rise in prices.

The agreement reached with Gulf Oil March 14 sets the pattern for the other companies. It provides a fifty-two-cent an hour raise over the 10.5 percent rise from the contract negotiated in 1979. Next year there will be a 10.5 percent increase. The company will increase payments for medical coverage by $15.95 and $18 next year for workers with families and $6 a month each year for families and $4 a month single workers.

As the articles below describe, workers at a number of refineries are not returning until they get a guarantee that no strikers will be victimized.

The solidarity shown by those strikers is an important example for union members everywhere.

In addition to the companies’ attempts to victimize strike activists, the oil workers are facing another threat. This comes from the government.

The daily day figures were released showing February inflation remaining at the 18 percent level of January, the War on Inflation being a “false official government” who requested “anonymity” as attacking the oil workers continues.

The anonymous official said, “We can’t regard that [10.5 percent a year increase] as very much. The 6 percent was a lot higher. We should not be too concerned by the country.”

By Jeff Mackler

San Francisco—Jake Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-5 in Martinez, at a recent meeting of the keypoint speaker at a militant solidarity rally here March 22, organized by the Bay Area Labor-Community Coalition to here March 22, organized by the Bay Area Labor-Community Coalition.

The rally was addressed by Andrea Lubrano, AFL-CIO, who said: “The solidarity rally that began our campaign has now reached the highest point. The solidarity rally is the key to our entire campaign. It is the key to our entire campaign.”

AOCW demonstrator at March 14 Angeles Harbor strike support march.

The oil workers, in a gesture of solidarity, opened their platform to the striking KRON, Local 4-25, the largest AOCW local in the country.

This comes from the government.

Not all Bay Area oil workers will be returning to work. Thousands remain on the picket lines against company attempts to victimize strike activists.

AOCW members at the Amoco refinery in Texaco City, also voted to consider a new company offer without a no-reprisals clause. Crown Central Petroleum has not made a counter to AOCW. Crown has threatened disciplinary action against strikers and has fired one striking worker for allegedly flushing a tire.

The Crown group of Local 4-277 voted unanimously not to consider any company offers that did not include a no-reprisals clause.

The group also voted not to return to work unless the company agrees to take the clerks back at the same time. The clerks, members of OCAW, have been victimized by the company but have not been able to win a contract. They voted to go on strike along with the oil workers.

Charter Oil in Houston also has a list of strikers marked for disciplinary action.

Bay Area: 400 rally for solidarity

By Jeff Mackler

San Francisco—Jake Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-5 in Martinez, addressed the keynote speaker at a militant solidarity rally here March 22, organized by the Bay Area Labor-Community Coalition to Support the Oil Workers.

Four hundred unionists, including many oil workers, attended.

Expressing the angry mood of the oil workers, Jacobs explained, “We have nothing left today but to try to make the bosses. Whenever we do this we go back. We have to get rid of the idea that we can bargain with management. They are our enemies.

“We have to develop a total adversary position on every level. We have to recognize the fact that the political is as bad with the rich who run this country.”

Jacobs reported that tentative agreement had been reached by union bargaining teams with Shell and Union oil companies in the Bay Area.

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Prices up, jobs down
U.S. Steel escalates anti-import drive
By Stu Singer

U.S. Steel Corporation, the largest steelmaking company in the United States, filed eighty cartons full of complaints March 21 with the Commerce Department claiming unfair competition from steel imported from Europe.

The government then announced suspension of the "trigger price mechanism," its two-year program to reduce steel imports.

Two days earlier the Commerce Department had announced the trigger price level would not be increased again after a 5 percent jump in January. U.S. Steel had demanded the price be raised further.

This escalation of the steel industry's anti-import drive comes in the middle of negotiations on the basic steel contract. The contract, which expires August 1, covers about 400,000 workers in steel production, some fabrication, and iron ore mining. Wage talks began March 24. They are supposed to be settled by April 14. Steel companies are offering a standard wage increase of 5 percent for steel imports, which was established in late 1977. It was supposedly calculated on production costs in Japan.

Higher prices

The immediate result of the new anti-import moves is another increase in steel prices. In response to the U.S. Steel complaints, European steelmakers are suspending shipments to the United States. The Japanese are raising prices. The American steel companies will have less competition to worry about as they go along with the planned price increase of over 5 percent on March 30 for starters.

American steel giants claim every foreign government subsidizes its steel industry in order to sell in the U.S. Steel Corporation, which is called "dumping." The U.S. companies act as if the low-interest government loans, low tax breaks they enjoy here do not exist.

If the U.S. government raises the trigger price to 10 percent, European labor and government officials have threatened to retaliate against U.S. exports. For example, they claim U.S. synthetic textiles are "dumped" in Europe. In fact, the U.S. exports more to the European Common Market countries than it imports.

What have the import restrictions achieved so far? In 1979 steel imports were down 17.5 percent from 1978 because of the trigger price limits. But steel prices went up from 9.7 to 11.2 percent in the same period.

Mills closed

American companies also cut back since steel imports have been limited. The closure of several steel mills in Youngstown, Ohio; Johnstown, Pennsylvania; Lackawanna, N.Y., and other locations has left thousands of workers on the streets. Present U.S. steel capacity is about 10 million tons less than yearly consumption.

This illustrates that the aim of the U.S. companies is not to price steel out of the country's needs. Still less is their aim to provide jobs for steel workers, whose sole aim is to make the highest profits.

Import restrictions help the U.S. companies protect their monopoly. Their real aim is to make sure the firms can profit out of Youngstown and an open market if they give up enough to make the Big Steel companies pay for their higher profits.

The union officials support import barriers, claiming they save American jobs. But more jobs in steel have been eliminated under the anti-import drive than the trigger price "protection" has also added to inflation. Steel and everything made with steel costs more.

There is a division within the U.S. ruling class on the question of trade.

Obviously, those capitalists who are paying more for steel, or who face retaliation for U.S. protectionist moves, are against the restrictions steel industries is pushing for.

These differences do not hold true for workers. All workers, including steelworkers, have suffered from inflation caused by the steel industries. And no jobs have been saved.

Opposing imports does not help workers in other industries, as union officials sometimes claim. If half the energy wasted by the union on the anti-import drive were instead supporting the striking steelworkers in British, it would be a giant step forward for all steelworkers. For example, some workers union could investigate whether U.S. companies are exporting steel to Britain to break the strike, and put a halt to any such exports.

A losing strategy

Union support against the anti-import campaign is a losing strategy. It is like the steelworkers in Youngstown who gave up some of their contract gains. They were told the mills would stay open if they gave up enough to make them profitable. U.S. Steel then squeezed a few million dollars more profit out of Youngstown and announced the plants would be closed anyway.

At this critical point in negotiations on the union contract the companies are pleading poverty. With the union backing the companies' claims they are about to be driven under by imports, how can it ask for a decent wage settlement?

The union should not more support, the anti-import drive than it should help the companies push for speedup and tax breaks, or against pollution controls and safety.

The interests of the workers and the companies are not the same.

The anti-import drive divides the union. Some import restrictions apply to products from Canada. The workers hurt by this are also members of the Steelworkers Union.

The union is weakened by supporting the anti-import campaign. Instead of organizing workers, they are organizing with the companies.

The companies use the propaganda slogan, "The threat is real from foreign steel," to get the workers to vote against labor's insurance that the companies need. The workers union need a different slogan. Like, "The threat is real from U.S. Steel." It names the real enemy.

Newport News Steelworkers vote on contract

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—After having days to read the tentative agreement reached by negotiators for United Steelworkers Local 8888 and Newport News Shipbuilding, union members began voting on the contract outside the yard gates early March 30. By the end of the meetings, the proposed settlement included improvements in health, pension, retirement, and fringe benefits.

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The yard's lowest-paid workers.

Progression for mechanics and spe­cialists, however, is not guaranteed.

The contract refers to two separate "merit systems," which tied periodic wage progression, "which creates general undercurrent of grumbling, according to Steelworkers who talked with the Militant later.

Union President Ed Coppedge told the meeting at the outset that there would be "no fudging" over the contract, and that "this will be en­forced.

Steelworkers I talked with took this as "cost of living increases." Those aren't the same as the cost-of-living escalator clauses which exist in many union contracts. Such COLAs provide for automatic wage hikes pegged to the rise in the cost of living.

The tentative settlement made the company-dominated in-house griev­ance procedure, replacing it for the first time with a standard union griev­ance procedure, including binding arbitration. The contract also contained a clause prohibiting the announcement of this at the union meeting caused an undercurrent of grumbling, according to the entire working population can help pay for their higher profits.

The union officials support im­port barriers, claiming they save American jobs. But more jobs in steel have been eliminated under the anti-import drive than the trigger price "protection" has also added to inflation. Steel and everything made with steel costs more.

There is a division within the U.S. ruling class on the question of trade.

Obviously, those capitalists who are paying more for steel, or who face retaliation for U.S. protectionist moves, are against the restrictions steel industries is pushing for.

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Socialists campaign in Iranian elections

By Suzanne Haig

The first round of elections in Iran's new parliament were held March 14. A second round is to be held in April.

The Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), fielded eight candidates. The three candidates from Tehran were HKE leaders Shohreh Amin, Babak Zahraie, and Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh.

In oil-producing Khuzestan province, the HKE candidates were Hamid Shahriari and Mustafa Gorgazadeh.

In Gilan province in the north, Jaleh Vatandoust was the HKE candidate from the port city of Bandar-e Anzali. Hadi Adibi-Moradi and Hooshang Sephrin ran from the city of Rashid. Hossang Sephrin's four brothers died fighting the shah.

Shahrazi, Gorgazadeh, and Adibi Moradi were among twelve HKE members who were released from prison following the big upsurge in the Iranian revolution that accompanied the occupation of the U.S. Embassy. Supporters of the Iranian revolution around the world had asked for their release, pointing out that they were innocent of any wrongdoing.

The HKE program called for the election of an anti-imperialist parliament based on the Iranian working class, the only force able to guarantee that the revolution will be carried forward.

Its campaign centered around three major planks aimed at strengthening the Iranian revolution: (1) Solidarity with the Muslim Students following the Imam's Line—the students occupying the U.S. Embassy. (The HKE has supported the students' demand for the return of the shah.) (2) For extending and uniting the shoras. (The shoras are committees formed by workers in many factories and by farmers in villages to discuss their problems and to take action to improve their working and living conditions.)

Socialists in Iran

By Fred Feldman

"It could afford it, I'd send more. Your work is truly needed. And it will contribute to saving this nation's soul. Keep on stepping." These comments from a campaign supporter accompanied a $5 contribution.

"Keep up the great work," wrote another, enclosing $10.

Contributions like these—and the encouraging words that accompany them—play an important part in keeping the socialist campaign going.

Campaigning for the rights and interests of working people, the socialist candidates aren't going to get the big corporate contributions—and under the table—that pour into the campaign coffers and bank accounts of Democratic and Republican politicians.

Socialists count on other working people to reach into their pockets for whatever they can afford—whether that's a few dollars or a hundred dollars.

That money is used to help reach others with an alternative to the austerity and war policies being pushed by a chorus of Republican and Democratic presidential contenders today.

It helps us reach people like the student at Connecticut College in New London, who enclosed $10 with a note describing the antidraft activities he has been helping to organize.

And (2) for creating an army of twenty million (as proposed last year by Khoneini) to counter Washington's threats.

In addition the candidates proposed measures to end, once and for all, Washington's domination of Iran's economy. These included: nationalizing factories that are the property of the imperialists and placing them under control of the workers committees; nationalizing and reopening privately owned companies that have shut down so as to create jobs for the unemployed; supporting the poor farmers' struggle against the large landowners; a national plan to eliminate illiteracy; and providing medical care for all.

To unite all of Iran's nationalities in the struggle against imperialism, the HKE called for granting full national rights to the oppressed Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Bahajangi, and Turkoman nationalities.

They put forward a program to achieve equal rights for women.

In addition the HKE called for a vote for seven workers who ran independent campaigns for parliament. These included an oil refinery worker, a production worker at the General Motors plant in Tehran, a railroad worker, and others. They also gave critical support in theballoting to members of the Mujahedeen who were running. The Mujahedeen, an Islamic anti-imperialist organization, has a strong base in the working class. It held large election rallies in many cities, one of which attracted 300,000 people.

The Fedayeen, an organization whose guerrilla fighters opposed the shah, fielded its own candidates. It also supported members of the Mujahedeen and several capitalist candidates.

The Tudeh Party, a pro-Moscow Communist party, offered candidates in many cities. In addition, Tudeh supported several Mujahedeen candidates and a number of capitalist candidates.

The Socialist Workers Party (HKS) favored a workers and peasants united front in the elections. It offered to help workers committees that were presenting independent candidates.

Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission. Washington, D.C.

A federal court ruling allows us not to disclose the names of contributors in order to protect their First Amendment rights.

Support for HKE prisoners

William A. Jones, president, Progressive National Baptist Convention; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, UAW District 65; Dr. Wyatt Tee Walker, secretary-general, International Freedom Mobilizations; and James E. Grant, Charlotte Three defendants were among the new signers of the appeal being circulated for two women socialists imprisoned in Iran.

The two women, Mashe Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi are both members of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) and long-time activists in the fight against U.S. imperialism.

In addition, the March 7 issue of the Los Angeles based Farsi-language paper, Iran News, carried a favorable article on the two women socialists.

Telegrams should be sent to president Abdollahian Bani-Sadr, Tehran, Iran, with copies to the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014.

Cover of HKE election manifesto

SWP fund: better class of contributors

By Fred Feldman

"I and some others are going to attend the March 22 demonstration in D.C. and look forward to seeing you there. Enclosed is what little I can afford at present, but I'm sure it can be well used. I am looking forward to when I will see the SWP on the Connecticut ballot."

Send whatever you can. You can be sure it will be well used.

Make checks payable to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Enclosed is my contribution of $ 
Name
Address
City __________ State __________ Zip ________ Phone ________
Union/School/Org __________

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Pulley tours southern California

(The following article is based on reports from Militant correspondents Steve Warrshell and Joanne Tortorici.)

Meetings with aerospace workers and well-attended rallies highlighted Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley’s swing through southern California in March. The tour began March 9 with a rally of more than 100 people in San Diego State University sponsored by the Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. Speaking with Pulley was Mike McGraw, a machinist at General Dynamics Convair Division and a member of Local 1126 of the International Association of Machinists. McGraw is the SWP’s candidate for congress from the forty-first district.

Supporters of Pulley also organized meetings where workers in several of the state’s major aerospace factories could get a chance to meet the candidate. A meeting for workers at a restaurant near General Dynamics was attended by a dozen workers. A meeting after work for second shift workers at Rohr Industries in Chula Vista, was attended by more than twenty-five people. A collection of $10 was raised to defray the expenses of the meeting. Pulley also spoke to an audience of sixty at San Diego City College. Attempts by the administration to prevent him from speaking were unsuccessful.

While in the San Diego area, Pulley appeared on the popular local television show Telepulse. He was also interviewed by San Diego’s chief afternoon paper The Tribune, the Black community newspaper Voice of the People, and the San Diego Union/School/Party candidates Gus Hall, Angela Davis and Rick Nagin off the Ohio ballot. Davis and 8,500 signatures for Nagin. More than 120 attended, and $500 was raised for the SWP campaign.

Pulley used the occasion to answer President Carter’s March 14 address on the economy. He pointed out that while Carter’s moves would only increase the ravages of inflation for working people, the oil workers were carrying out a real fight against inflation. “They’re demanding a ten percent wage increase, along with a dental plan and hospitalization. These are their vital interests — and ours — which Jimmy Carter has ignored.”

Powers protests CP ballot exclusion

CLEVELAND — Communist Party candidates for president, vice president, and U.S. Senate were ruled off the Republican ballot March 20 on a technicality.

Secretary of State Anthony J. Cele­breeze Jr., denied ballot rights to Gus Hall, Angela Davis, and Rick Nagin because the original petition declaring their candidacy was not filed with other petitions.

According to the March 22 Daily World, the CP candidates turned in nearly 10,000 signatures for Hall and Davis and 8,500 signatures for Nagin.

The state requirement is only 5,000 for each office.

Nagin told the Daily World they were not informed about the require­ment and the Secretary of State’s office gave their campaign a receipt validating the petitions of the Communist Party candidates. Nagin’s request that the petitions be returned used against the party was denied.

While in the San Diego area, Pulley appeared on the popular local television show Telepulse. He was also interviewed by San Diego’s chief afternoon paper The Tribune, the Black community newspaper Voice of the People, and the San Diego Union/School/Party candidates Gus Hall, Angela Davis and Rick Nagin off the Ohio ballot.

“This is an attack on the democratic rights of all working people in our state. If the Secretary of State is al­lowed to carry out this travesty, it will set a dangerous precedent that may be used against other parties or candi­dates.”

“The Socialist Workers Party de­mands Secretary of State Celebreeze immediately rescind his previous deci­sion and validate the petitions of the Communist Party.”

Help Mass. SWP get on ballot!

Volunteers are urgently needed to help collect more than 30,000 signatures needed to assure a place on the ballot for the socialist campaign in Massachusetts.

Petitioners, office workers, drivers, childcare helpers, financial contributors, and housing volunteers are needed. Your help can be used any time of the day or night.

There will be five big petitioning mobilizations: Saturday, March 26; Saturday, April 5; Saturday, April 12; Saturday, April 19; and Monday, April 21.

Mobilizations begin at 9:30 a.m. at the Massachusetts petitioning center.

Parties, barbecues, and other social events will be held for friends of the SWP campaign every weekend.

To volunteer, call 617-262-4621 in Boston, or 413-583-2067 in Springfield-Amherst area.

The Massachusetts Petitioning Committee is located at 510 Commonwealth Ave., fourth floor, Boston, Mass. 02215.

NO DRAFT!

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, are campaigning against Washington’s plans to send American youth to fight and die in new Vietnam. Join us:

☐ Add my name to the list of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.

☐ Send me Andrew Pulley’s brochure, How to stop the draft — 4¢ a copy.

☐ Send me the campaign poster “No draft — for peace” — 5¢ each.

☐ Send me the YSPZ antidraft button — 50¢ each, 35¢ each for 10 or more.

☐ Send me a one-year subscription to the Young Socialist newspaper. Enclosed is $1.

I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC.

A federal court ruling allows us not to disclose the names of contributors in order to protect their First Amendment rights.

Name __________________________
Address ________________________
City State Zip ____________
Phone ____________
Union/School/org. __________________________

Send to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

Join the YSA!

SALT LAKE CITY

Socialist Campaign Rally

Speaker: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Saturday, March 29

7 p.m. reception

8 p.m. rally

Admission: $3 dinner and rally

For more information call

(801) 355-1124 or 364-3514

PUGET SOUND

Socialist Campaign Rally

Speaker: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Saturday, March 29

7 p.m. reception

8 p.m. rally

Admission: $2 rally only

For more information call

(206) 627-0932

ST. LOUIS

Socialist Campaign Rally

Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

Sunday, March 30

7 p.m. rally

3423 Delmar

Dinner and rally: $5

Donation: $2

For more information call

(314) 725-1570

MILWAUKEE

Socialist Campaign Rally

Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

Friday, April 4

6 p.m. dinner

8 p.m. rally

Polish Falcon

801 E. Clarke Street

Dinner and rally: $3

Rally only: $2.50

For more information call

(414) 445-2974

THE MILITANT/APRIL 4, 1980

11
By Suzanne Haig

The centerpiece of a national Women's Day actions this year reflected the developing alliance between the labor and women's movements. The actions at the 250th anniversary of the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire, where 146 workers, nearly all women, were killed in a garment sweatshop fire of 1911.

More than forty groups, including New York NOW and CLUW, which organized the event, joined to pay tribute to those who died.

Under a controversial banner bearing the words of Joe Hill—"Don't mourn, organize"—the contingent then proceeded to the UAW Center headquarters. There, 500 people attended a program of speakers, slide shows, and theater. Topics included the ERA, abortion rights, and the fight of Black women against discrimination.

Other March 8 events in New York included a rally and a tribute to the heroic women of Nicaragua.

Behind new alliance

Impelling the new labor-women's alliance is the flood of women entering the work force. The March 8 AFL-CIO News reported that women made up 60 percent of the total female increase in the work force in 1979, as 1.5 million more women took jobs. In the last quarter of 1979, 44 million women were in the labor force, or 51 percent of all women sixteen years old and over.

Driven by economic necessity to seek work, these women are vitally affected by such issues as equal pay, abortion rights, maternity benefits, equal pay, affirmative action, layoffs, safety, and sexual harassment by the bosses.

The existence of the women's movement and the desegregating sentiment for women's equality that arose in the 1960s and '70s emboldens working women to tackle the problems that they have to insist that their unions defend their rights on the job and in society.

Organizing women workers poses a serious challenge for the labor movement. Only 7 percent of working women are covered by union contracts.

The majority are ghettoized in the traditional low-paid women's jobs. In recognition of this challenge, more than 20 unionists met in Washington, D.C., Jan. 19, conference on organizing women workers, co-sponsored by CLUW and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

The impact of the women in the unions is making itself felt even at the top levels of the officialdom. At its February meeting, the AFL-CIO Executive Council voted to set aside two seats for a woman from the labor movement, or a representative...as vacancies arise.

This spring, the labor-women's alliance is to take a big step forward toward the Illinois ERA ratification campaign. The May 10 actions can strengthen NOW and CLUW.

This campaign, going forward from the ERA march, shows the kind of movement that can win ERA and that can become one of the most mobilizing forces for change in this country.

March 8 actions: women and labor join forces

By Zella Horwame

LOS ANGELES—The announcement of the May 10 march in Chicago for the Equal Rights Amendment was enthusiastically received at the California state conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The conference, held here February 23, drew more than 160 people from twenty union locals.

Owen Marshall, chairperson of the women's committees of United Auto Workers Local 148, suggested that the March action in New York saluted the fight of working women for a union, reports Militant correspondent Peggy Maack. A contingent of 300 women marched from the site of the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire, where 146 workers, nearly all women, were killed in a garment sweatshop fire of 1911.

When a resolution against the draft was read, participants in the workshop burst into applause. A woman from the postal workers' union, who works in the mail shop that the antidraft resolution would be taken to her union's next national convention, revealed that the shop's plan to register youth at post offices, she said postal workers should not be forced to aid and abet this process.

Another woman added that the more appropriate place to register people would be on the gas stations, since the war would be waged for Exxon, Mobil, and other giant oil monopolies.

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By Harry Ring
WASHINGTON, D.C.—Thousands of people—overwhelmingly young—marched here March 22 against Carter’s draft registration proposal.

Estimates of the turnout ran from 20,000 to an official police figure of 30,000. And that was despite a bone-chilling wind storm.

Watching the thousands of high-schoolers and college-age youth marching down Pennsylvania Avenue, past the White House, and onto the Capitol grounds, it seemed surprising to recall that Carter made his registration proposal just two months ago.

The protest was organized in five weeks by the National Mobilization Against the Draft, a coalition of organizations opposed to Carter’s conscription drive.

Active day for socialists
WASHINGTON, D.C. — Supporters of the Socialist Workers presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann worked hard to build the antidraft demonstration. They helped bring more than 200 small peace, high schools, and some factories.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance campaigners also did a good job of getting their ideas out to the demonstrators.

They sold 743 copies of the Militant at the Washington, D.C., and 700 Socialist Workers antidraft campaign buttons.

Fifty-three introductory subscriptions to the Militant were sold, as well as two longer-term ones.

The Young Socialist Alliance sold 180 copies of the Young Socialists, a 12-page newsletter.

At a Pathfinder Press literary table, the runway best seller was the new pamphlet, Truth About Afghanistan, by Doug Jenness. Demonstrators bought 197 copies.

After the demonstration, a party at the D.C. SWP campaign headquarters was packed. Vice-presidential nominee Matilde Zimmermann made a brief, well-received speech.

Many new friends of the YSA and SWP were at the party, including a group from Gainesville, Florida. Several of them wanted information on forming a YSA chapter there.

In many ways, the demonstration seemed reminiscent of early protests against the Vietnam War. But this was no rerun.

In the first period of the Vietnam War, only a tiny minority recognized that U.S. intervention was an act of conscious aggression. Many of the initial opponents of the war saw it as some kind of “mistake” that could be corrected if enough people demanded that the government listen. It took several years of struggle for many activists to realize the government wasn’t listening—and why.

Among the demonstrators in this first national protest against Carter’s draft, there was wide recognition that the government wants to reestablish conscription so that it can better defend the interests of big oil and other capitalist investors.

The most popular single slogan was: “Hell no, we won’t go, we won’t fight for Texaco!”

One protestor held aloft a sign declaring: “President Carter—Oil too—I won’t fight for you!”

There were enough signs about Mobil, Exxon, and Texaco to give the impression that these were the “big” names of the new four-letter words.

Another measure of the mood of the demonstrators was their refusal, in the middle of an election year, to be diverted from action into focusing support for Democratic or Republican candidates.

Carter’s, of course, was roundly assailed. But aside from a few nomenklaturists, these were simply the initial opponents of the war saw it as no rerun.

The militancy of the crowd was also given more than average expression from the platform. Many speakers declared forthright opposition to U.S. policy and were cheered for it. Rev. William Sloan Coffin, an early opponent of the Vietnam War, articulated the prevailing mood when he declared: “Young people want no part of the decision coldly made in Washington. They want to see the draft to stop! Do they want to send young people to war?”

The police assumed a studied “hands off” posture as the “moonies,” led by Sun Myung Moon, tried to disrupt the rally.

With these chants, signs, and banners antidraft demonstrators—women and men—affirmed their overwhelming support for women’s equality. And they made clear their refusal to be fooled by Carter’s attempts to discredit ERA by linking it to drafting.

Feminists: “No draft, no war!”

By Suzanne Haig
WASHINGTON, D.C.—“ERA, yes. Draft, no. Inequity’s not the goal!”

“Who, us? No way!”

“If we won’t be fooled again, neither will the rulers of this country be determined to stamp out the anti-imperialist rebellions that are now spreading on all continents. And the American capitalists are equally determined to push the cost of their war drive fully onto the backs of the working people.

But the Washington demonstration against the draft made clear that this reactionary drive abroad and at home will not go unchallenged. The warmakers will not have a free hand.

In voicing the significance of this Washington March, it’s worth bearing in mind that these thousands of young people turned out to oppose a registration that has not yet been ordered, for a draft that has not yet been reinstated, for a war that has not yet been launched.

March 22 was for openers. The ruling class has every reason for fear and foreboding. And, by the same token, partisans of peace and social progress have every reason to be encouraged.

The new pamphlet, Childcare, not warfare!”

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Just the beginning

Those who marched in Washington represented vast numbers of American working people who are against the draft. These were simply the initial forces to take action.

The rulers of this country are determined to stamp out the anti-imperialist rebellions that are now spreading on all continents. And the American capitalists are equally determined to push the cost of their war drive fully onto the backs of the working people.

But the Washington demonstration against the draft made clear that this reactionary drive abroad and at home will not go unchallenged. The warmakers will not have a free hand.

In voicing the significance of this Washington March, it’s worth bearing in mind that these thousands of young people turned out to oppose a registration that has not yet been ordered, for a draft that has not yet been reinstated, for a war that has not yet been launched.

March 22 was for openers. The ruling class has every reason for fear and foreboding. And, by the same token, partisans of peace and social progress have every reason to be encouraged.

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Continued from preceding page

Rally speakers reflected militant mood

By Priscilla Schenk

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The rally on the grounds of the capitol was spirited and militant. Chanters and chants punctuated the speakers as they praised the new imperialist war. "This time they want to send what lies behind this new draft call: "Carter is punishing us for standing up and fighting for equal rights," she said. 

She explained that Carter "wants us to build a stronger army so that it can fight against women and men around the world who are fighting for freedom, against repression, against ignorance, against poverty.

Women gathering in Lafayette Park told the Militant what they thought about woman's equality and the draft. "ERA has nothing to do with the draft," said Amy Brewstein, a Philadelphia teacher. "This is a convenient tool of the anti-ERA forces.

Mary Walker from St. Binghamton, New York, came to the march with her campaign antidraft group. Her opinion was that Carter brought up the idea of registering women to defeat ERA. "ERA doesn't equal the draft. Carter showed that women could be drafted by Congress when ERA hasn't even passed!"

"No just war waged by U.S. gov't."

By Suzanne Haig

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"Things have changed. My mother supported Goldwater for president, but now she's out here fighting for abortion rights with me."

Diane, a bookkeeper from Washington, D.C., shared her impressions of politics with the Militant. She came to the antidraft march because she believes "this is just another situation where they want us to go out and fight for them—for their interests, not ours." 

Diane isn't active in any particular movement but likes to demonstrate for what she believes in. "Things are picked up faster today than during the Vietnam days," she said. "People recognize what's really going on. They see news reports and pieces together. What they hear from the government isn't credible."

"Look at the 60 Minutes TV program on Iran," she explained, referring to the recent expose on U.S. support to torture under the shah. "People see that the U.S. is not the poor victim of crazy Iranians."

"They hear the government say 'We will not give up the Middle East' or 'We've fought for it' and think it belonged to them, but people won't put up with this." Diane's observations were borne out in other discussions with marchers.

Sara Hicks, a student at Lewis and Clark High School near Portland, Oregon, Falls, told the Militant that "fighting is not one of the appealing ideas I want to do with my life."

Sara does not believe the United States government could ever fight a just war. "They are too involved with corporate interests to fight one—too capitalistic."

Bill Bower, a student from Binghamton, New York, who came with Sara and became, was shot down by President Kennedy. "It's one thing to say 'you're against the draft, it's another to do anything about it.'"

Hicks believes that "no one who gets elected will do anything against the draft."

At Lafayette Park where the women's contingent assembled, two Black women, Joy from the D.C. National Organization for Women and Sharmon from Howard University, told the Militant why they were there. Sharmon said she knew about the march from week-long activities at Howard University, where Rev. Ben Chavis and U.S. Rep. Parren Mitchell spoke against the draft.

She thought the idea of Blacks and women supporting the government on Iraq was "totally absurd. They showed solidarity to us by freeing Black women hostages," she said about the students in the U.S. embassy: "They're not going to be able to send Black students from Howard to fight in Africa!"

Alex Gillespie from Havering College in Pennsylvania told the Militant he opposes U.S. intervention in Afghanistan. "Our national interests are dubious," he said. "Nothing is threaten- ed for the U.S. in Afghanistan."

Peter Johnson, a high school student from Alexandria, Virginia, opposed U.S. support to the Afghan rebels. "Those are the ones killing teachers," he explained.
won't fight 'Texaco!'

Iron Range protest draws good crowd
By Warren Simon
DULUTH, Minn._Three hundred people participated in an antidraft protest here March 22. The action was sponsored by the Duluth-Superior Coalition Against Registration and the Draft.

Speakers included Duluth city council member Michael Paymar; Illona Gersh, Socialist Workers candidate for congress; and Peter Hartwig, a Vietnam veteran.

March in Dallas
By Edeline Gorenstein
DALLAS—Seventy-five opponents of draft registration held a march around city hall here March 22. A rally that followed heard speakers from NOW, the War Resisters League, the YSA, an antinuclear group and a student from University of Texas at Arlington.

Cartier's Afghan line didn't sell
Since the Soviet Union moved to help quell counterrevolutionary forces in Afghanistan, the Carter administration has worked overtime to demagogically exploit the issue to whip up prowser sentiment.

But the antidraft demonstration confirmed that the government is not making big headway with this.

Many people feel they don't have all the facts about Afghan politics, almost instinctively, they shy away from anything that tends to give them common cause with Washington.

Some of the initiators and sponsors of the March 22 protest held the position that the Soviet Union is to be condemned for what they portray as an "imperialist invasion" of Afghanistan. This view was expressed by several speakers at the rally.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, led by Michael Harrington, is one of the groups that condemns the Soviet role in Afghanistan. DSOC was an initiator of the antidraft protest and held decisive influence in the organizational apparatus for the demonstration.

At its initiative, a point was included in the call for the action condemning the Soviet role as a violation of the "self-determination" of the Afghan people.

And a few DSOC supporters carried placards reading, "U.S. Stay Home—Russia Go Home!" This slogan seems to indicate that DSOC agrees with Carter's claim that it is the Soviet Union that threatens peace today.

But slogans condemning the USSR were abounded by the vast majority of demonstrators.

Demonstrators were even more turned off by members of Maoist groups. Their signs and chants focused not on the draft but on the need to combat Soviet "imperialism" in Afghanistan.

Participants in the action at times found it difficult to distinguish them from the right-wingers who were trying to disrupt the rally.

A small incident noted by a Militant reporter offered an insight on this. Often people who were holding banners would ask others nearby to spell them off.

For instance, some people with an antinuclear banner did this and others readily held the banner.

But when some Maoists with a banner assailing Soviet "imperialism" asked for a helping hand, people simply shied away. It wasn't the kind of banner they wanted to hold aloft.

It was evident that while many people have questions about Afghanistan, they're not buying the Carter line. They want to know more.

That's why so many bought the new "Truth About Afghanistan" pamphlet, which offers a socialist analysis.

At the rally in San Francisco, the only speaker to counter Carter's demagogy on Afghanistan was SWP presidential nominee Andrew Pulley.

Pulley described the gains made by the Afghan people since their revolution began in 1978. And he explained why the Soviet Union was right in helping stem the counterrevolutionary forces.

Maoists at the rally booed and jeered Pulley. But the majority of the audience listened to his analysis with serious interest, and when he finished there was a good amount of applause.

-H.R.
Continued from back page
if we shut down all nuclear plants?

There is an answer: coal.

To-day, nuclear power provides slightly more than ten percent of all electricity generated in the United States. This could easily be made up by burning coal.

Coal reserves could provide for the nation’s energy needs for up to 400 years. And there are more than 20,000 unemployed coal miners who could be put back to work in these reserves and fed industries established in the coal fields who need jobs.

Nuclear plants under construction could easily be converted to coal-burning facilities. Workers employed in constructing the nuclear plants would have jobs building coal-fired plants. And factories building components of nuclear plants can just as easily turn out equipment for coal-burning plants. No one would be put out of work.

At some point in the future, coal might be replaced with some yet-to-be-developed energy source. But, to-day, nuclear power provides one of the energy sources we have in abundance right now.

But, others ask, is coal any better? Mining it kills miners and causes black lung disease. Burning it is a major air pollution problem.

As a miner, I know that the coal companies have no concern for the safety and health of coal miners—or for the general public. We miners also know how much safer and cleaner coal mining can be as our union fights for and wins more control over production.

The United Mine Workers has fought long and hard for significant health and safety improvements. They have fought in a constant battle with the coal bosses to protect our health and safety. Getting unemployed miners back to work and expanding the coal work force will strengthen the union’s ability to carry on this struggle. All working people would benefit from having a union with the fighting traditions of the UMWA make up an even bigger part of the national energy picture.

Coal can be burned cleanly

For the utilities, they do not deny they could burn coal cleanly. They just won’t pay for the equipment to do it, unless they are forced.

The dirtiest coal is better than the dangers of nuclear power.

There is no known equipment and no amount of money is spent on coal processing to meet the standards of generating electricity with nuclear power.

Even short of a nuclear accident, nuclear power is a dangerous and a safety issue for the working people—from the miners who mine the uranium, to those who maintain the power plants, to the rail workers and truck drivers who must transport the waste.

There is no human need served by this nuclear power—only the profit needs of the energy corpora­
tions, who have billions invested in nuclear power.

Part of the push for nuclear power also directly threatens the United Mine Workers. The Carter administration talked of coal as the energy source of the future up until the 110-day coal strike in 1977-78. The coal companies intended to break the power of our union, clearing the way for “trouble-free” coal production. They admitted that nuclear power was a strike-breaking weapon because it served as an alternative for coal-fired electric power.

But miners put up a fight, blocking the industry’s union-busting efforts. They humiliated Carter in the process by defying his Taft-Hartley back-to-work order. Suddenly talk of a coal boom died down. The energy monopoly is holding back on expanded coal production, while escalating their efforts to “cure” them through UMWA and state pollution laws. They can do this—juggling supplies of coal, oil, natural gas, and nuclear power—because the same corporations control the entire energy industry.

The corporations who threaten humanity with nuclear power are the same ones who rob working people with outrageous oil and gasoline prices. They try to blame the energy crisis on the Arab countries and the Iran revolution. But the fact is that the transportation, allocation, refining, and marketing of (“OPEC”) oil remains firmly in the hands of the giant U.S. oil companies.

Now Carter proposes to draft working class youth to fight for and to protect the prosperity and investments of Big Oil and other giant U.S. corporations.

(Editor’s note: “We won’t die for Exxon!” has become a popular slogan in antinuclear demonstrations across the country.)

Nationalize energy industry

The public is kept in the dark about energy supplies and profits, just as the miners denied the truth about the dangers of nuclear power.

The giant energy corporations have no right to control such vital natural resources. The entire industry should be nationalized by the government and converted into a public utility.

Every aspect of the energy industry must be opened up to public scrutiny, and the secrets and cover-up’s ended. Workers in the oil fields, refineries, coal mines, and power plants can make sure the truth is told and there are no more contrived shortages. Through our unions or plant committees, we should have the right to control our working conditions—the hour, pace, and safety and health.

The union movement should lead a fight to force open the financial books and records of the energy giants, to police prices, and to assure fair distribution and pricing of fuels.

Management of the nationalized energy industry should be put into the hands of an elected board that will be closely watched by unions and consumer groups. I’m not talking about a government that needs behind-closed doors, and secretly does the bidding of corporations, but one whose books and records are all out in the open and whose meetings are open to public scrutiny.

Labor and the antinuclear fight

The fight to shut down nuclear power plants is a fight against those pseudo-progressive energy monopo­lies. It is a fight in which the United Mine Workers and the entire labor movement can and should take the lead.

Labor has already taken important steps. The United Mine Workers union has long been on record against nuclear power. Miners have spoken at antinuclear events around the country. The 1979 Denver convention of the UMWA reaffirmed this opposition and called for converting Three Mile Island, if possible, so that it can burn anthracite coal, abundant in that part of Pennsylvania. The United Steelworkers and the Machinists Association of Machinists have called for a moratorium on nuclear plant construction.

District 21 of the United Steelworkers in Chicago and northwest Indiana, with 120,000 members, is on record against construction of the Bailly nuclear plant by Lake Michigan.

A host of unionists also endorsed the April 26 national antinuclear march on Washington, D.C. This is the kind of powerful chant that it will take to end the nuclear threat. It will do us no good to instead place our faith in so-called friends of labor in the Democratic and Republican parties. Carter is backing up to the hilt. Jerry Brown and Edward Kennedy, in efforts to boost their lagging campaigns, issued statements calling for a morato­rium on new nuclear power plants. But they cover­ up the threat of those still in operation. That’s because no matter what they might say to pick up votes, they will never challenge the profit system or major investments of the capitalists who control both the Democratic and Republican parties.

A labor party

Unfortunately, labor’s political energies are now wasted by supporting these two anti-union parties. We should be running our own candidates against the Democrats and Republicans. A labor party based on the un­ions, a party based on strength and fighting spirit of unions like the United Mine Workers, would be a political powerhouse.

For once, labor would have its own political voice. We wouldn’t have to spend the four years after a presidential election making excuses for why the candidates our unions backed won but the White House and Congress are still anti-labor.

The reason we are faced with cancer-causing nuclear power plants, skyrocketing energy prices, and threats of war is that we live under an irrational private-profit system. The world’s resources and the wealth of society are owned by few fabulously wealthy families, like my opponent in the West Virginia gubernatorial race—John D. Rockefeller IV.

The very future of humanity—as nuclear power and weapons so dramatically show—depends on the working class taking power away from the capital­ists and building a socialist society based on human needs. That is what the Socialist Workers Party stands for. If you agree, you should join us.

...socialist coal miner speaks out

Copies of this statement, reprinted as a folded brochure, are available for four cents each from the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Harrisburg

After the March 29 rally, come meet the Socialist Workers candidates:

Matilda Zimmerman, for vice-president
Tom Morlarty, for governor of West Virginia
Linda Mohrbacher, for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania
Tory Dunn, for state treasurer of Pennsylvania

Sat, March 29, 5-7:30 p.m.
Friends Meeting House corner of Sixth and Herr Sts. downtown Harrisburg

The public is kept in the dark about energy supplies and profits, just as the miners denied the truth about the dangers of nuclear power.

We wouldn’t have to spend the four years after a presidential election making excuses for why the candidates our unions backed won but the White House and Congress are still anti-labor.

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New support for April 26 antinuclear rally

By Nancy Cole

March 28 activities, set to take place in more than thirty cities, will mark the first anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident. They will highlight the ever more critical demand to shut all nuclear plants now and urge participation in the next national antinuclear mobilization—the April 26 March on Washington.

Promising support for the April 26 demonstration has recently come from the labor movement, reported representatives of antinuclear groups at the March 25 coordinating committee meeting of the Coalition for a Non Nuclear World (CNHW) held in Washington, D.C.

The Social Democratic, president of United Mine Workers District 5 in western Pennsylvania, has endorsed the April 26 march. He has promised to provide a bus for miners from his district.

Labor endorsers of the action now include William Winpinsinger, president of the International Association of Machinists; Charlie Grimes, national field representative for UMWA District 6 (Ohio); Tom Nowell, assistant regional director, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 8 (northwestern Ohio); Baldemar Veldaquez, president of Labor Organizing Committee; and Herb Green, international representative of Auto Workers (Georgia).

Also endorsing are Del Castil, executive board, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Robert Comeau, Win-Dixie Boycott Coordinator and United Food and Commercial Workers Union; Emil Drick, president, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-348 (Ohio); Willis Williams, president, American Federation of Labor Local 170 (Ohio); and others.

Several local unions have also voted to support the action, including APSOMC locals 1830 (New York) and 2527 (Washington, D.C.), United Steelworkers Local 1010 (Indiana), as well as United Food and Commercial Workers District 2, Region 4.

CNHW Region 8 (Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and northern Kentucky) representative Mike Ferger reported at the March 23 meeting that antinuclear forces in Indianapolis are preparing a slide show about nuclear power to International Harvester strikers, members of the UAW. Thus far, 400 strikers have seen the show. Region 8, Ferger said, has been concentrating on labor outreach. They are aiming not just for union members, but for union commitment to bring bus loads of their members to the April 26 march.

Referendum held in Sweden

By Stu Singer

The Swedish people went to the polls March 23 to vote on a nuclear power referendum. Two choices on the ballot favored nuclear power, one was against.

The antinuclear proposal won 38.6 percent of the vote. One pronuclear alternative got 38.7 percent, the other 39.4 percent for a total of 58.1 percent.

The nuclear power issue has been hotly debated in Sweden for years. In 1976, the forty-year rule of the Social Democratic Party was ended primarily because of opposition to its pronuclear stand.

The Social Democrats head most Swedish unions. They backed one of the two pronuclear questions, posing the referendum on a choice between nuclear power or austerity.

Sweden has virtually no coal or oil resources and is the largest per capita importer of oil in Europe. The country produces large amounts of electricity from hydro power, but also produces large amounts of electricity from hydro power, but also has the largest known uranium reserves in Europe.

Because of popular opposition to nuclear power, the government has been unable to fuel any new reactors for nearly four years. There are presently six operating reactors in Sweden, and six under construction. The antinuclear question was on the ballot called for shutdown within ten years.

The only real difference between the two pronuclear questions was that the one supported by the Social Democrats called for 100 percent government ownership and the other called for leaving the government's share at 80 percent. The Social Democratic proposal did, however, try to make the antinuclear power ballot useless by phasing out the plants by 2010 and to build no new ones.

A third pronuclear group was set up within the Social Democratic Party and it campaigned against the official pronuclear vote by trying to phase out the plants by 2010 and to build no new ones.

Most social democrats voted against nuclear power, there is a strong showing for the antinuclear forces.

...Middletown

Continued from front page

cigarette in your lifetime," declared Dr. A. Bertrand Brill, an NRC medical consultant.

"Fifteen percent of all Americans die from cancer in the natural population," an NRC panelist replied.

At another point, an NRC official said to bees and bugs from the entire environment. "We're all gonna die sooner or later."

Some neighbors of the crippled reactor spoke of the "chronic activity," or running noses, in school children which doctors can't seem to treat with any known antibiotic.

A woman who breeds champion dogs and lives "in the shadow of the cooling towers," she added, "has a puppy born with no eye sockets."

A farmer, Jane Lee, who lives inside a gas, which the NRC claims is inert and hence harmless, is inert chemically but not biologically. In fact, its effect on humans, he explained, is etched in the thyroid and reproductive glands.

Stillman said he told the NRC and Metropolitan Edison a year ago that the gas should be refrigerated into a cryogenic, rather than vented and disposed of as "regular" nuclear waste. His advice was rejected as time-consuming and too expensive.

Giving further evidence that the gas cannot be trusted, Stillman said that his readings of radiation outside the plant at the beginning of the accident were fifteen times higher than the figures the NRC released to the public.

Teach-in here also heard environmentalist Barry Commoner and Daniel Sheehan, chief counsel for the Karen Silkwood lawsuit.

On March 18, seventy-five people attended a teach-in on nuclear power here sponsored by the Keystone Alliance. One of the speakers was Dr. Irv Stillman, who called in letters at the beginning of the TMI accident to advise the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Stillman pointed out that krypton gas, which the NRC claims is inert and hence harmless, is inert chemically but not biologically. In fact, its effect on humans, he explained, is etched in the thyroid and reproductive glands.

"We don't want Unit 1 back on line," said an older woman, expressing the fear of people here that Met Ed plans to reopen the undamaged reactor as soon as it can. "We have to prevent decontamination," she went on, "so we should decide how it is done." Cheers went up from the crowd.

"We're gonna hound you until you shut that thing down," promised one resident.

From grandparents to tots, people at the meeting wore stickers announcing the rally at the state capitol on Saturday, March 29, to commemorate one year since the accident. T-shirts proclaimed, "TMI is not over."

State legislator Steven Reed was the last to confront the NRC panel. He has heard our contempt," he belittled, "There shall be no peace in Middletown, Pennsylvania, if you want that gas!"

The crowd jumped to their feet and applauded this final warning. They meant business.
Patients treated as part of society

How Cuba transformed mental health care

By Mariana Hernández

The tour of Cuba by the Socialist Workers Party seminar in late January included a visit to the National Psychiatric Hospital of Havana.

In spite of its reputation as the best mental hospital in all Latin America, I was personally dubious about the visit. This was because of the chilling experiences I had had working in a state mental hospital in the United States.

But for me, the tour of the Havana hospital proved one of the highlights of our visit to Cuba.

The treatment of the patients, 90 percent of whom are chronically ill, was a graphic confirmation of the fundamental change brought by the revolution.

Contrary to psychiatric hospitals in the United States, I was immediately struck by the absence of food being thrown to the patients. Violence was not only prevalent among patients, but by guards as well.

The stark contrast to what existed at this hospital before the revolution, when it was a horrendous human warehouse, was conveyed in an exhibit of photos from a 1958 exposure of conditions there.

Inmates were caged behind bars. Photos showed food being thrown to them like animals.

Dr. Gilbertina Puertas, director of the hospital's occupational therapy department, showed us a ward which has 140 beds and houses 100 patients.

Before the revolution, she said, it had 200 beds and housed 1,000 patients. Patient was pitted against patient for the available beds. Violence was not only prevalent among patients, but by guards toward the patients.

At the time of the revolution, this was the only mental hospital in Cuba. Its direction was taken over by Fidelistas who had fought in the Sierra. Their policy was clear and firm: Mentally ill patients were human beings and should be so treated.

It is not too late to add your contribution. Help put the fund over the top. Please fill out the coupon and contribute all you can.

Of the 48,300 pledged, $10,900 is still outstanding. Supporters are asked to pay their pledges as soon as possible.

That's why the basic treatment at the hospital is occupational therapy.

The occupational therapy department includes fourteen "factories." These include carpentry, cement-making, blacksmithing, barber shop and beauty parlor, broom-making, and rug weaving. The patients make things that will be used in society at large.

Violence in the hospital, as in Cuban society as a whole, is negligible.

As you walk around, you see that calm pervades the area. There is no sign of patients being harassed or pushed to do work that they may not want to perform.

This hospital gives you a glimpse of what rehabilitation programs in this country could look like if a profit-dominated society were reorganized to fulfill human needs.

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement,' V.I. Lenin

With only one more week to go, contributions by friends and supporters of the school total $45,200—only $1,200 short of the $50,000 goal.

This wonderful response assures the success of this important step towards strengthening basic Marxist education in the revolutionary socialist movement.

In the last few weeks we have received reports from around the country on fund-raising activities for the school. Twin Cities raised $1,800, Atlanta $585, Dallas $600, Seattle $1,460, Gary $800, Salt Lake City $620, and Portland $465.

Supporters on the Minnesota Iron Range are pledging $280. Many of the pledges are based on income tax refunds.

The aim of the school curriculum is to study Marxism as it was developed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The first required reading is the Communist Manifesto. In addition the students are reading the correspondence of Marx and Engels and sections of Capital.

It is not too late to add your contribution. Help put the fund over the top. Please fill out the coupon and contribute all you can.

$50 $10 other

I want to contribute: $100 $200 $300 $500

Make checks payable to: SWP Leadership School Fund

Mail to:

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14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

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State __ Zip __________
Problems of the Afghan revolution

The following article appeared in the February 16 issue of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' It is the conclusion of a series on the development of the Afghan revolution up until the entry of large numbers of Soviet troops into the country in December 1979.

'Afghanistan's 140-year fight against imperialist domination; the first in the series, appeared in the February 8 'Militant.' The second, 'How the Afghan revolution unfolded,' appeared in the February 29 'Militant.'

By Ernest Harsch

In less than two years, the revolution that began in Afghanistan in April 1978 has already brought important gains to the country's workers and peasants.

The last remnants of the monarchy were wiped out. The first trade unions were formed. A land reform eliminated most of the semifeudal landlord class and gave 1.4 million acres of land to 248,000 poor and landless peasant families. Measures have been taken to improve the social position of women and the various national minorities.

However, even under the best of circumstances, carrying through a revolution in a country as economically and socially underdeveloped as Afghanistan would be no easy task. Enormous objective difficulties would have to be overcome. In addition, the Afghan workers and peasants confronted other obstacles: stiffl imperialist opposition, attacks by counterrevolutionary bands, and the Stalinist political orientation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

All have hampered the revolution's progress.

Carter & Counterrevolution

By far the most serious impediment to the revolution has been the intervention of Washington and other imperialist powers.

Within days of the insurrection in Kabul that brought the PDPA to power, the White House and the imperialist press made their displeasure known.

The New York Times, one of the more influential capitalist newspapers in the United States, ran an editorial on May 5, 1978, entitled, "A Communist Coup in Afghanistan." It advocated giving sanctuary and other aid to opponents of the revolution, stating, "Countries in the region should be prepared to lend a hand and the wealthier nations should help them carry the burden."

A little more than a month later, about 270 generals, admirals, diplomats, and government officials met at the NATO Atlantic Command in Naples, Italy, to assess the impact of the Afghan upheavals and to discuss possible responses.

Although the new Afghan regime appealed for financial and economic aid from Washington and other imperialist powers, it received very little. The U.S. government's reaction was to suspend all economic aid and reduce from $20 million to $13 million the aid that had previously been planned in 1978. It later cut off all assistance and used its domination of international financial institutions to block loans to Afghanistan.

A propaganda campaign was launched to portray the Afghan regime as exceedingly repressive and unpopular. At the same time, the facts about the progressive measures undertaken there were hidden.

With encouragement from Washington, opponents of the revolution stepped up their activities. Afghan landlords, merchants, usurers, monopolists, capitalists, opium smugglers, former military officers, bandits, and others—all those who feared the new social reforms—began organizing armed resistance.

The new Afghan regime placed no restrictions on freedom of religion, yet these reactionary forces claimed to be fighting in the name of Islam. A number of religious groups did go over to the counterrevolution, but they did so for reasons of politics and social class, not because of religious persecution. Some of them also happened to be landlords and moneylenders whose class interests were hit by the land reform and cancellation of peasant debts.

Right-wing terrorist attacks against supporters of the revolution began within weeks of the April 1978 upheaval, but it was not until early 1979—after the land reform program started to take effect—that they increased substantially.

Hit-and-run attacks were made against government offices, military outposts, schools, villages, bridges, and even mosques, particularly in those areas where the revolution had substantial support and the land reform was taking root. Anyone who favored the regime's measures became a potential target. Peasants, workers, teachers, PDPA cadres, women seeking to exercise their rights, land-reform administrators, members of local defense committees, all fell victim. Some were tortured to death and mutilated, their bodies left out in the open to spread terror among the population.

Such actions were not confined to outlying areas. In mid-March 1979, rightist forces provoked a brief rebellion in Herat, the third largest city, in which about 120 POPA members and their families were massacred. Smaller armed actions have been carried out in Kabul itself.

Bases in Pakistan

Countervolunteer attacks have been reported throughout much of Afghanistan, but the most sustained activity is in the provinces of Paktia, Nangarhar, Kunar, and Badakshan. All border on Pakistan.

The major Afghan rightist groups, though they claim to have substantial support within Afghanistan, actually operate out of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. With the approval and backing of the dictatorship of Gen. Zia ul-Haq, they use Pakistan as a sanctuary for their guerrilla forces. Dozens of guerrilla bands, including some in former Pakistani army bases, are scattered along the border region.

The Zia regime officially claims that it is not backing the guerrillas. Instead, it says, it is aiding Afghan "refugees," to whom it gives about $5 million a month (according to its own figures). A report from Pakistan in the January 29 Philadelphia Inquirer explained what happens to this money: "Thousands of refugees have signed up for aid from the Pakistani government through one of the political parties. The parties then keep the aid and the refugees get nothing."

Besides supporting Zia's efforts, Washington is also directly involved itself. A study of U.S. intervention in Afghanistan published in the Washington-based CounterSpy magazine in late 1979 revealed that American intelligence agents were active in the Afghan-Pakistani border region, either directly or through such U.S. institutions as the Drug Enforcement Agency and the Asia Foundation. Some were reported to be involved in the training of the guerrillas.

The Afghan Islamic and Nationalist Revolutionary Council, one of the major counterrevolutionary groups, has particularly close ties to Washington and to some of the more proimperialist regimes in the Middle East. Its leader, Sayed Ahmad Gailani, a former landlord and businessman in Kabul, spends much of his time in Saudi Arabia raising funds. Zia Nassy, a key spokesman for the group, met with American State Department officials in March 1979. Nassy is himself an American citizen.

Imperialism's Legacy

The U.S. ruling class has been quite open about its sympathy for these right-wing terrorists, whom it frequently refers to as "freedom fighters." An article in the March 2, 1979, Wall Street Journal proclaimed, "The large-scale opposition in Afghanistan provides the anti-Soviet forces in the region and the world with an opportunity to increase significantly the price of expansionism for the Soviets and reduce the likelihood of the consolidation of a Cuban-style regime in a crucial part of the world."

The retarded level of Afghanistan's...
Continued from preceding page

social and economic development—a legacy of 140 years of imperialist domination, reform, and reactionary restraint hampering the implementation of the social reforms. Afghanistan is predominantly an agricultural country, in which the vast majority of the population is employed in the landless herding of livestock. Very little industry was developed under previous regimes. The country does not have even one mile of railway.

The development of industry and the improvement of health care, housing, education, and other social services require tremendous resources. Afghanistan alone does not have enough of an economic base, however, to write the needed programs; it must look abroad for aid. Ultimately, economic modernization as Afghanistan depends on the extension of the world revolution and international economic cooperation.

Only the mobilization of the Afghan workers and peasants can provide the human energy needed to combat the debilitating effects of these objective problems. But mass mobilization, too, is not easy in a country with such primitive social structures.

The urban working class—the one social force that can provide a consistent perspective to lead the Afghan revolution—was numbered only several hundred thousand out of a total population of nearly 20 million.

Under the monarchy and the "republican" regime of Mohammad Daud (who was overthrown and killed during the April 1978 insurrection), the population had suffered a further military upheaval. Between 90 and 65 percent of all Afghans were illiterate.

All but a few women were barred from the limited educational opportunities that were denied their most basic rights. Political activism by women was extremely rare.

In the countryside, particularly among the Pushtun people (the largest nationality in Afghanistan), tribal structures still survived. Like the frictions between the various nationalities, these tribal peoples tended to divide the oppressed from each other. They gave the khans (tribal chiefs and landlords) and landlords almost complete political influence over large sectors of the rural populace. The counterrevolution was able to take advantage of that influence and perpetuate traditional divisions.

In many respects, the material and social problems facing the Afghan revolution are similar to those in Ethiopia. The insurrection of 1974 led to the overthrow of the Ethiopian monarchy. Its implementation was marred by a land reform campaign (even after the overthrow of the monarchy) that had long been dominated by imperialism and semifeudal lords and that had one of the lowest living standards in the world. Afghanistan's problems are very similar to those in neighboring Iran.

So far, however, the Afghan revolution has not reached the popular scope or depth as either the Ethiopian or Iranian revolutions. In the latter two countries, a rapid and forceful mobilization of the workers, urban masses, and—particularly in Ethiopia—the peasantry played a major role in bringing the overthrow of the monarchies. In the process, the masses became highly politicized and established their own strength and ability.

In Afghanistan the overthrow of the Daud regime was followed by days of relatively modest demonstrations, numbering in the tens of thousands. Government forces fired into crowded streets almost entirely to Kabul. The insurrection was carried out by a section of the military under PDPA influence.

The country lacked trade unions, peasant councils, and other mass organizations at the time of the upheaval. In recent decades, the masses' experience in struggle had been limited.

Even a revolutionary socialist leadership would have confronted enormous difficulties in Afghanistan, although a clear-sighted political direction would have done much to help solve them. The Afghan revolution, unfortunately, did not have such a leadership. All it had was the PDPA.

When it came to power, the PDPA numbered under 10,000 members, concentrated in a few major urban centers. It had weak roots in the working class and peasantry (most of its members were teachers, students, or government employees).

The leaders of the party—Noor Mohammad Taraki, Babek Karmal, Hafizullah Amin, and others—were intellectuals by political training, experience, and conviction. Like their mentors in Moscow, they claimed that what was needed in Afghanistan was a "national democratic revolution." The socialist revolution, they insisted, could only come at a later stage. Until then, the working class had to tie itself to a bloc with all "national democratic forces"—which in the PDPA's vocabulary included supposedly "progressive" sectors of the ruling classes.

Under both the monarchy and the Daud regime, the party put its approach into practice by seeking alliance with "patriotic" merchants and "nationalist" capitalists. One wing of the PDPA—the Parcham (Flag) faction of Babek Karmal—initially supported Mohammad Daud and was rewarded with four posts in his regime. It was caught unaware when the "progressive" phase turned in 1973 against the party, as well as against the toiling population.

When the PDPA did finally carry out the insurrection against Daud, the choice was not entirely its own. It had been compelled to act partly out of self-defense (in response to Daud's crack-down on the PDPA leadership and partly under pressure from the landlords in the streets).

Since coming to power, the PDPA has sought to control and limit the revolutionary process. Although the PDPA had to allow— and even encourage—a certain amount of mass organization and mobilization to carry through the reforms, it did so under strict party supervision, for fear that the actions that might develop their own momentum and escape control.

As a consequence, the initiative of the masses was kept to a minimum. The trade unions and women's and youth organizations grew only modestly. The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution—the armed militia units set up to fight the counterrevolution—played only a secondary role.

This limited level of mass mobilization—resulting from the PDPA's bureaucratic strait-jacket—was one of the greatest weaknesses of the Afghan revolution.

Fruits of Bureaucratism

Contrary to the Afghan leadership's hesitancy to call out the masses, it was the overwhelming mass support of the state apparatus for the PDPA's bureaucratic strait-jacket. One wing of the PDPA—the Parcham faction of Babek Karmal—initially supported Mohammad Daud and was rewarded with four posts in his regime. It was caught unaware when the "progressive" phase turned in 1973 against the party, as well as against the working classes.

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"Confessions" were extracted from Quadri, who had been tried and sentenced. Taraki claimed that Karamel and other Parcham leaders were among those who had been killed. However, it was subsequently revealed that they had been released from prison.

Taraki claimed that the Karmal regime was a puppet of the imperialist-backed counterrevolution, which he described as a "buffer" state. He asserted that the Karmal regime had failed to fulfill its obligations to the Afghan people, and that it had been unable to prevent the spread of feudalism.

Moscow, on the other hand, was a "buffer" state that had been established to safeguard the revolutionary成果 of Afghanistan's copper, coal, natural gas, and oil resources. The sectarian conflicts in Afghanistan and the Amin regime's efforts to rebuild the country were seen as threats to the revolution.

The composition of the new government announced on January 11, 1978, was described as attempting to heal the factional rifts that had torn apart the PDPA. However, it was noted that the factional rifts that had torn apart the PDPA were still present, and that the new government was unlikely to be able to heal them.

The new government was described as a mark of a conscious effort to try to heal the factional rifts that had torn apart the PDPA. Half of the presidents in the new twenty-member cabinet were filled by party leaders who had been in Taraki's cabinet. However, the new cabinet was not immune to factionalism, and the changes were unlikely to be able to heal the factional rifts.

According to Deputy Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshmand, the slogans of the regime are "Work for the jobless," and "Land to the peasants," and "Illiteracy is the enemy of the revolution." He stated that the liquidation of the vestiges of feudalism, the expansion of the state sector in the economy, the provision of assistance to artisans, medium-size and small land-owners, and the continuation of the democratic land reforms were the most pressing tasks.

At the same time, like the previous two regimes, Karamel's regime had made overtures to the small number of capitalistic merchants. He announced that private ownership of business would be recognized and that "our direct objective in the present conditions is not the introduction of socialism..."

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Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW

By Frank Lovell

The new information in this book will contribute to a better understanding of the political alliance that was established between the resurgent union movement of the 1930s and the beleaguered Black communities in this country at that time.

The alliance of these two social forces—Black America and the organized industrial working class, represented by the new CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) unions—took form nationally. It became one of the three major power blocs of the Democratic Party under the administrations of Franklin Roosevelt. The other two sources of Roosevelt’s political leverage were the big city political bosses of the time (exemplified in recent years by the late Mayor Daley of Chicago), and the old Bourbons of “Solid South.”

What happened in Detroit was an important part of the national political scene during the years of the Great Depression when the “New Deal” coalition of Roosevelt’s first two administrations was forged.

Because the book is limited to a study of Blacks in one city, and their relation to one union, the United Auto Workers, it does not take into account the impact of national politics, although the influence and intervention of the federal government is described in detail.

Reversal in attitude

The reversal in attitude of the Black community in Detroit from its inhibiting economic dependence on the Ford Motor Company to its ideological and economic identification with the goals of the UAW is carefully traced. This was no easy transformation.

It came about as part of the working-class struggle of the 1930s to organize the auto industry. It was imposed by the contending forces of the 1930s to organize the auto industry. It was imposed by the contending social forces in the continuing struggle against racism and for Black rights.

Meier and Rudwick are professors at Kent State University in Ohio and authors of books on aspects of Black history.

Their study of Black Detroit in the 1930s and during World War II describes how the petty bourgeois Black leadership eventually established ideological and organizational ties with the UAW bureaucracy during the war years.

It is important to be actually beneficial relationship.

In the 1920s, Detroit enjoyed the distinction of having the largest chapters of both the NAACP and the Urban League. Their success was attributed by the local leaders to the close working relationship they maintained with the giant auto corporations. Ford especially, for them Detroit was an “open shop” town, and they were hostile to all attempts to interfere with their operation.

The rise of the CIO in 1935 had a profound effect on the Black working class. This was hardly sensed, much less understood, by Detroit’s Black elite. But there were young working-class Blacks, some still in high school, who identified completely with the new movement for social and economic change. For them the industrial empire was enemy forces, not friendly protectors.

Most of these young Black workers joined the Communist Party or were influenced by it in the early 1930s. They helped organize Black auto workers. Their struggle for union control of the auto industry, the political outlooks and the traditional organizations in Detroit’s Black community. This included the Urban League, the NAACP, even the “Negro church.”

Young Black leaders

The book describes the activities of Paul Kirk, Walter Hardin, Horace Sheffield, William Nowell, Joseph Billups, Frank Evans, Shelton Tappas, Horace White, Christopher Atston, Coleman Young, Leon Bates, William Oliver, Oscar Noble, Gister Current, and other young Black leaders in Detroit during the 1937 sitdown strikes, the final push to organize Ford in 1941, and the wartime struggles against job and housing discrimination.

Some of these early leaders are still living and were interviewed for this study. Some are politically active or remain UAW officials. Horace Sheffield and William Oliver are high-ranking officials at UAW’s Solidarity House. Coleman Young is mayor of Detroit.

At the 1937 UAW convention the union boasted of six Black organizers on the International staff. This group was headed by Walter Hardin, a seasoned union leader, one-time member of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), union organizer in the 1919 steel strike, ex-member of the Communist Party, leader of unemployed demonstrations, and victim of vigilante violence. He was certainly one of the most able Black leaders in the union movement at that time.

In 1938, the CIO News wrote of Hardin, “His courage in refusing to be bullied by vigilante mobs symbolizes the driving spirit of the CIO . . .”

For Black workers the “driving spirit of the CIO” was its proclaimed policy against racial discrimination, and for economic equality. This was a goal worth fighting for and the union represented the potential power of the white working class that seemed to make victory possible. It was vastly different from Ford’s paternalism.

Struggle for equality

In the 1941 strike that forced Ford to sign a UAW contract for the first time, it was the NAACP youth council that was largely responsible for bringing out the Black workers who had initially failed to answer the strike call.

The NAACP youth council was headed by Horace Sheffield, a Ford worker. He became an elected UAW shop steward, and later a full-time union organizer. In 1937, Sheffield and his colleagues formed the Trade Union Leadership Conference to upgrade Black workers in the plants and the unit.

The struggle for Black equality was not won when the UAW forced the auto corporations to sign union contracts. A Klan-organized riot, supported by Detroit police, attempted to prevent Black occupancy of the Sejourner Truth Housing Project in February 1942. Black youth fought a pitched battle with white bigots and police.

In the aftermath, white UAW members joined in with Blacks in demonstrations at city hall to protest the police violence.

A protest march and mass rally were held at Cadillac Square, called by an ad hoc Citizens Committee which represented the union movement, the Black community, and prominent white clergymen of all denominations.

The federal government then insisted that this federal housing project, built exclusively for Blacks, be used for their needs.

By this time the Black community was convinced that its best ally was the UAW. A new leadership had arisen.

The authors assume that this alliance between the Black community and the union movement had to develop in and around the Democratic Party. As events unfolded, that is in fact the way it happened. But it did not have to happen that way. It could have been forged independent of the Democratic Party, and it would have been stronger and more effective.

Labor party effort

One of the most important developments in the UAW during the war years, something completely omitted from this study, was the broad and powerful movement for a labor party. This movement was based in the Detroit locals of the UAW, and was supported by the overwhelming majority of the membership, Black and White. The impetus for a labor party at that time was underscored by the struggles that broke out.

A series of Klan-inspired “hate strikes” erupted in several auto plants in 1941, 1942, and 1943. One of the most vicious of these was at the old Packard plant.

In May 1943 Packard upgraded three Black men to the aircraft assembly line. Several hundred white
workers walked out, and the spineless UAW packed off the line. They said the matter should be settled at a mass meeting of the union membership. Black workers in Packard's foundry, sensing a doublecross, closed the plant. They returned after assurances that their Black brothers would be put back on the assembly line.

These foundry workers were led by UAW chief steward at the Packard plant, Christopher Alston. He was previously a leader in the 1941 Ford strike, editor of the Ford Local 600 newspaper, Ford Facts, and then Black co-chairman of Local 190's Interracial Committee. Alston was a young Black militant cast in the same mold as the more experienced Walter Hardin.

It was Hardin who at this time organized a demonstration of 10,000 in Cadillac Square against the "hate strikers," demanding equal job opportunities for Black workers.

The strike at Packard, which eventually involved 28,000 workers, was finally settled in June when UAW President F. J. Thomas got firm assurances in Washington from the War Labor Board that the racist strike leaders and all others who refused to return to work would be summarily fired.

Some of the racists were fired. But in a show of even-handed "justice" the Black UAW chief steward was also fired. The draft board was waiting to revoke Alston's draft deferment, and he was hurriedly sent into the Army.

The most interesting and informative parts of this book are the detailed accounts of the wartime struggles for Black rights developed in Detroit, how Black working class leaders were repeatedly thwarted by the top UAW officialdom, here how the hopes of Black people were frustrated. Here is recorded for the first time the story of how the UAW relied on wartime government agencies to discipline workers. In this way the emerging union bureaucracy left the final decisions on jobs and housing for Black workers in the hands of government officials who had to hand over federal Jim Crow guidelines.

In one essential respect this book is different from others that have covered some of the same developments. It is written from the side of Blacks involved in struggle, and adds this necessary dimension to the history of such events as the 1943 Detroit race riot as one example.

Another example is the well-known effort of Blacks in the UAW, almost from the founding of the union, to win a seat on the International Executive Board. How this effort was constantly turned aside shows up more clearly in this description of it.

Unresolved questions

The arbitrary limits placed on their study by professors Meier and Rudwick leave many questions for further clarification. Why were Black militants in the UAW unable to take advantage of the factional struggles that were waged among the aspiring white leaders of the union? How did they relate to the three main political currents in the working class movement—Social Democracy, Stalinism, and revolutionary socialism?

Other unresolved questions relate to the two-party political structure of the employing class. How was the Democratic Party, always in the service of the auto barons, able to garner the votes of the Black community and the vast majority of UAW members? Why did the campaign of UAW vice-president Richard Frankensteen for Detroit mayor in 1945 fail? He was the independent candidate of the union and the Black community.

The class divisions within the Black community and the race divisions within the working class relate to further questions. How did the petty bourgeoisie Blacks—preachers, doctors, lawyers, insurance brokers, real estate agents—manage to manipulate the Black working community for their own selfish purposes? With the wealth of talent in the Black working class, how have Black workers not gained more room for political development?

Is there a parallel in the leadership development of the Black petty bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucracy? Both social formations represent narrow strata within the Black community and in the massive working-class population. How do they exercise control over the mass organizations of Blacks in one instance, and over the union movement in the other?

What is the Black petty bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucracy have in common that make it possible for them to maintain a close political alliance inside the Democratic Party? Why did the Black working class emerge of the 1960s as a parallel to the civil rights movement and the rise of Black nationalism, shake up the old alliance with the union bureaucracy?

Valuable contribution

To raise these questions is not to detract from this particular study by professors Meier and Rudwick. All these questions are either implicit in their development, or explicitly raised by them. The answers are left for further analysis.

The research of these two writers is a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the development of this important wartime segment of Black and labor history. It is full of rich lessons for the present and will be useful to those involved in working-class struggles against racism and other capitalist evils.

Communist party

The authors chose not to give close attention to the influence of the Communist Party during World War II. They say they were urged to do so, and had originally intended to. . . . But, our findings indicated that opposition to the union among Detroit Blacks rarely, if ever, involved charges of Communist influence; and, more important, the Communists within the union were usually very similar to other factional groupings in the way they acted on racial matters.

The part played by the American Stalinites in support of the U.S. government in World War II had a greater influence than is commonly known. This influence was enhanced by the practical working arrangement (in close collaboration with the Roosevelt administration) between the Stalinites and Social Democratic wings of the CIO union bureaucracy.

This is a separate question that warrants further study, but materials in this book contribute to a better understanding of it despite the self-imposed limitations of the authors.

Further Reading

Labor's Giant Step: twenty years of the CIO, by Art Preis. 108 pp. $7.95.

A political biography of Walter Reuther: the record of an opportunist, by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pp. $4.00.

Workers in the Changing South: the Impact of the Civil Rights Movement, by Nelson Blackstock. 30 pp. $2.50.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.
B'him killer cop reinstated

S. Louis told to desegregate schools

Electricians strike Burlington Northern
Savak torture: the CIA connection

Last week I had the unhappy task of reviewing the social democratic analysis of Iran, as it appeared in the magazine, 

*Dissent*. For more encouraging recent subject, try the liberal weekly, *The Nation*, one of the few publications that has largely stayed apart from the anti-Iran hysteria that has taken hold in the media here.

In the March 1 issue, Carl Kaplan and Fred Haliday report that the Nation has "obtained testimony that the Central Intelligence Agency had knowledge of instances of Savak torture [Savak was the shah's secret police], that the Agency trained Savak agents and Savak Internal Security Division officers in 'interrogation techniques' both in Tehran and the United States, and that the CIA's knowledge of Savak torture was kept from the American public for more than a quarter of a century, most recently by an American television network."

Among the information related to the Nation from a CIA spy who was an Iranian officer, Savak agents and Savak Internal Security Division members (the squad responsible for domestic repression and torture) received training at the International Peace Academy (IPA) and the International Police Services School, both located in Washington, D.C. One graduate of the program became head of Savak on his return.

The Nation also reports that ABC censored the remarks of Bob McFarland, an Irish diplomat and former president of Amnesty International, who went to Iran in December in connection with the formation of the international commission to investigate the crimes of the Savak regime.

McFarland had told ABC about the CIA link to Savak torture, but the film was never aired on television, and the story got only a short spot on Sunday radio. Bill Blakemore, the ABC correspondent, said his story was suppressed by the network: "I actively pursued the subject. But you know, the important thing about the McFarland visit to Tehran was his effort to release the hostages. That was the story."

A devastating account of Savak torture appeared in the February 23 Nation, written by Baba Baraheni, the noted Iranian poet and novelist, and a victim of Savak torture himself. Baraheni analyzes documents from the Savak files that were brought to light after the triumph of the revolution.

The documents, "couched in the routine jargon of Savak," are deciphered by Baraheni to reveal the language of torture, mutilation, and murder. Baraheni's article is must reading for all those interested in understanding the Iranian people's outrage at U.S. backing for the shah.

... *

"How was Pakistan formed?" was the question posed March 13 in the Daily World's column about stamp collecting. It shows the history of the country in postage stamps, along with a few paragraphs of commentary.

"To split the independence movement, the British encouraged certain Moslem separatists to oppose unity with the other Indian political forces. When the Indian independence movement and a changing world situation forced Britain out in 1947, Indian unity was sabotaged by granting simultaneous independence to India and the new state of 'Pakistan.'"

Not bad for a capsule summary. All that was left out in this Communist Party publication was the fact that the Communist Party at the time supported the creation of Pakistan.
Paris Commune

On March 28, 1871, the workers of Paris established the first working-class government in the history of humanity, the Paris Commune. Although it fell two months later, it marked a turning point in the struggle of working people.

Here we have Leon Trotsky, then living in exile from tsarism in New York City, wrote about the Commune on March 17, 1917. Trotsky later returned to Russia soon after to participate in leading the second workers government to power in the October Revolution.

The following is taken from Leon Trotsky on the Paris Commune, published by Pathfinder Press and available for $1.00 from the bookstores listed on the facing page.

Revolution has often followed war in history. This happened in France forty-six years ago. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 led to the uprising of the workers and the creation of the Paris Commune.

The Parisian workers were armed by the bourgeois government and organized into a National Guard for the defense of the capital against the German troops. But the French bourgeoisie stood in greater fear of its own proletarians than of the power of the Hohenzollerns (the German royal family). After Paris had capitulated, the Republican government attempted to disarm the workers.

But the war had already awakened in them the spirit of rebellion. They did not want to return to their benches the same workers they had been prior to the war. The Parisian proletarians refused to let their arms out of their hands. A clash took place between the armed workers and the regiments of the government.

This occurred on March 18, 1871.

The workers were victorious; Paris was in their hands, and on March 28 they established, in the capital, a proletarian government, known as the Commune. The latter did not long maintain itself. After a heroic resistance, on May 28, the last defenders of the Commune fell into the clutches of bourgeois cohorts. Then ensued weeks and months of bloody reprisals against the participants in the proletarian struggle.

But despite its brief existence, the Commune has remained the greatest event in the history of the proletarian struggle.

For the first time, on the basis of the experience of the Parisian workers, the world proletariat was able to see what the proletarian revolution is, what are its aims, and what paths it must pursue.

The Commune began by confirming the election of all foreigners to the workers government. It proclaimed that: “The banner of the Commune is the banner of a World Republic.”

It purged the state and the school of religion, abolished capital punishment, and suspended the Column of Vendome [a monument to the military victories of Napoleon]. The workers and peasants of the people, setting their salary at a level not exceeding a workingman’s wage.

It began a census of factories and mills, closed by frightened capitalists, in order to initiate production on a social basis. This was the first step toward the socialist organization of economic life. The Commune did not achieve its proposed measures; it was crushed. The French bourgeoisie, with the cooperation of its “national enemy” Bismark [chancellor of Germany]—who immediately became its class ally—drowned in blood the image of the Commune appears before us today.

The Paris Commune was the first step toward the socialist transformation of society. It gave us a clue to living in the epoch of great revolutionary battles.

The following is taken from Leon Trotsky, then living in exile from tsarism in New York City, wrote about the Commune in his book “Terrors of the Paris Commune.”

The Paris Commune aims, and what paths it must pursue.

The Paris Commune was the first attempt by the world proletariat to establish a government of its own class against the bourgeoisie. But the French bourgeoisie stood in greater fear of its own workers than of the power of the Hohenzollerns. The Commune was crushed. The latter did not long maintain itself. After a heroic resistance, on May 28, the last defenders of the Commune fell before the Clamart troops.

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Learning About Socialism

'Imperialism' or Workers State?

A piece I wrote on the Soviet Union in this column (March 18) drew a response from Robert Nordinad, a member of the Essex County Committee of the Socialists for Democracy, a small group claiming descent from the great early American socialist Daniel De Leon.

Nordinad says my description of the Soviet Union as a 'workers state' was 'incredible.' He argues that 'since the working class is not in charge of the Soviet Union . . . how could I logically refer to the Soviet Union as a 'workers state'?'

The alternative proposed by Nordinad (and the SPL) is that the USSR is a 'bureaucratic despotism' since 'the country is run despotically through a secret police force (KGB) and a gigantic military apparatus.'

He is made clear, the Militant argues, that the Soviet Union is governed despots by a bureaucratic caste. The bureaucrats represent the working masses in order to protect their own material privileges.

Nordinad and the SPL think it is enough to answer the question, 'How is the Soviet Union governed?' The Militant goes on to ask, 'What class interests are served by the nationalized and planned economy that was developed through the Russian Revolution?' For the underlying social and economic structure determines the character of the state.

One term 'bureaucratic despotism' is used to describe societies where the bureaucracy serves the interests of the ruling class. This term was coined in the USSR.

In the case of the USSR, the bureaucracy was the 'ruling class.' But in none of these societies was the bureaucracy the 'ruling class.' The bureaucratic apparatus served to protect an economic system that was in the interests of the ruling class (even though the ruling classes often chafed under the corruption, mismanagement, and repression practiced by the bureaucrats).

The military-bureaucratic authorities had no choice; they did not have the capacity to create a new social order, even if they had wanted to use their political power for this purpose. They could only defend economic relations that they had created, while trying to maximize their own take in the process.

The same is true of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. It was able to repress the movements of the workers after Lenin's death, under conditions created by isolation, poverty, imperialist encirclement, and devastating civil war.

But the bureaucrats could not abolish the fundamental social conquests that the workers had achieved. They could not bring the capitalists and landlords back. Nor, despite their enormous accumulation of power and wealth, could they assert personal ownership over the factories, mines, roads, farms, and other means of production. Not without a civil war against the Soviet workers.

The Stalinist bureaucrats were obliged instead to feed off the conquests of the Soviet workers and poor peasants in a parasitic manner. And therefore also to defend them, in the bureaucrats' own way.

These property relations represented a big leap forward from the relations of production in the capitalist countries. For the Soviet workers, they had meant guarantees of employment and the basic necessities of life—something which millions of American workers in a much more wealthy country still don't have.

And they point the way forward for all humanity—the abolition of production for profit in favor of planned, cooperative production to meet needs. That's what we defend the Soviet Union against all attempts to reintroduce the old, reactionary, outmoded system of capitalism.

Nordinad's position leads him to refuse to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism. That puts him at odds not only with the Militant, but with many millions of Soviet workers who are ready to defend those conquests with their lives (as World War II demonstrated).

As I said, the position between the bureaucratically misruled Soviet Union and the bureaucratically led unions in this country.

The Militant in the other hand always recognized that the unions were a great conquest of the American workers. Without unions, workers would be virtually defenseless against the employers.

That doesn't mean that we accept the present leadership of either the Soviet Union or the trade unions. We hold that it is only effectively to defend workers the unions must be transformed through the building of a mass, class-struggle left wing in the labor movement.

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Neighbors of Three Mile Island vow: 'No peace in Middletown' until nuclear terror ends

By Jack Warner

MIDDLETOWN, Pa.—Some 500 angry neighbors of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant jammed the Liberty Fire House here March 19. They came to hear representatives of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission try to explain the plan to vent 57,000 curies of radioactive krypton-85 gas into the air they breathe.

A crowd of at least 200 more were turned away at the door, and some pounded on the glass doors, furious at their exclusion.

The accident that nearly caused a catastrophic meltdown at the plant occurred just one year ago, and people here ever since have been aware of the lies they are told day after day by Metropolitan Edison and the NRC.

The decision to immediately release the krypton as the first step in “clean-up,” the damaged Unit 2 reactor was made in secret and then dropped on the public several weeks ago. The March 19 hearing and another one the next night in Ellibethetown were mere formalities required by law.

But the hatred and frustration of the year’s nuclear terror could not be contained. The meeting exploded into uncontrollable fury.

“We hate your guts!” a woman shouted at an NRC official. Another resident screamed, “You’re an animal!”

Chants of “No release!” and “Keep your krypton!” broke out many times during the five-hour meeting.

“Coal from mines brings peace of mind,” proposed one sign in the crowd. John Collins, the NRC official in charge of the “clean-up,” was interrupted repeatedly with shouts of “Liar!”

The NRC also considered four other methods of dealing with the krypton gas, but it became clear to people at the meeting here that it had chosen to vent because it was the cheapest and fastest.

“Let me tell you what the real decision factors are likely to be,” said NRC panelist Richard Vollmer.

“Money, money, money,” shouted the crowd.

“You are saying we won’t spend money, we’ll spend people,” said one angry man.

Another local resident, Julie Barziski, declared, “You don’t view us as human beings.”

One mother, nearly sobbing, pleaded, “Why don’t you wait until schools are out?”

While the bulk of the radioactivity to be released will be krypton-85, other more deadly isotopes are suspected to be present. Cesium-137, known to replace potassium in the human body, and strontium-90, which replaces calcium in bones, could be released as well as radioactive iodine and tritium.

Knowing this means increased risk of cancer and birth defects. Middletown residents pressed NRC officials for details. They were infuriated even more by the cynical answers they received.

“The maximum risk in the release is the equivalent to smoking one ciga-

Continued on page 17

What NRC report says

Metropolitan Edison’s plan, endorsed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, is to release into the air 57,000 curies of radioactive krypton gas over a sixty-day period. The NRC wants to begin what it calls “purging the reactor building” in mid-April.

The NRC report prepared for “public comment” (a legal requirement) sheds light on why Met Ed is so firmly in favor of releasing the gas.

The price tag for “purging” is $75,000.

Estimates for the other four methods range from $4 million to $160 million. Purging also takes only two months versus a year-and-a-half or more (says the NRC) to develop other methods.

It would be too dangerous to wait that long, the report contends, because the reactor could go “critical” at any time, thus beginning the “accident” (and threat of a meltdown) all over again.

What the NRC does not lay out for public comment is what it and Met Ed have been doing for the last year in all those secret sessions? How come the only thing they have to offer the people of Middletown is a sudden, admittedly cheap release of more cancer-causing radiation?

The “purge” alternative, the NRC report admits, “results in the greatest environmental impact in terms of public dose during normal operations, even though such doses are well within applicable regulations.”

Yet the “primary disadvantage of purging the reactor building,” in the NRC’s view, “can be related only to public interpretation of the impact of releasing radioactive materials to the environment.”

Socialist coal miner speaks out against nuclear power plants

The following is a statement by Tom Moriarty, Workers Party candidate for governor of West Virginia.

Moriarty is a coal miner. His opponent, incumbent Democrat John D. Rockefeller IV, is an oil millionaire.

Moriarty, thirty, is a member of United Mine Workers Local 1949 in Fairmont, West Virginia. He is an active participant in the antinuclear movement. Immediately after the accident at Three Mile Island last year, Moriarty went to the Harrisburg area and talked to working people there to find out their concerns and demands.

By Tom Moriarty

The horror of the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island just won’t go away. Every day the people of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area suffer continuing risks to their health and the health of their children.

The owners of Three Mile Island, with the support of the government, are pressing ahead with their plans to reopen the deadly power plant. They don’t care about the human toll. All they care about is their profits. It happened in Harrisburg. It will happen again.

Every day working people learn of new potential disasters as bad as Three Mile Island, or worse. From the earthquake-caused crack in the California Livermore nuclear weapons lab to the radioactive water spill and malfunctioning of a reactor at Crystal River, Florida.

We never know how much the utility companies and government agencies are lying about the dangers.

We do know that a 1965 government report estimated a nuclear accident could quickly kill up to 45,000 people.

We do know that each nuclear power plant produces thousands of pounds of radioactive waste each year. This waste remains deadly for thousands of years. No safe storage method is known.

We do know that cancer rates are higher in areas downwind from nuclear plants because of the constant low-level radiation. We know that uranium miners die of cancer in disproportionate numbers.

The more the truth comes out, the more the American people want a halt to this deadly business.

But the nuclear monster remains intact. Sixty-seven plants are still licensed to operate. And more are being built.

Every day these nuclear plants continue to operate they threaten our lives and those of future generations. They should all be shut down immediately.

But, many working people ask, what is the alternative? Won’t our lights go out and jobs be lost?