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## THE MILITANT

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

# Thousands march: 'We won't fight for Texaco!'

—PAGES 13-15



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

Militant/Lou Howort

# Support N.Y. transit workers!

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.



VICTOR NIETO

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 Democrats and Republicans who govern New York are trying to force a strike and bleed the union. Governor Hugh Carey and Mayor Edward Koch count on using New York's union-busting Taylor Law to intimidate, fine, or jail strikers. And they hope to pit other working

people against the TWU.

Behind the city and state authorities stands President Carter. The federal budget cuts he announced just last week will take at least \$700 million away from New York City and state. Nationally, Carter cut the budget for mass transit by \$265 million.

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.

There, Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne tried to smash the fire fighters union. The city

*Continued on page 2*



## Return shah to Iran!

The ex-shah of Iran continues to evade justice, thanks to the Carter administration. He was spirited out of Panama by Evergreen International Airlines, which the CIA admits having "formerly" owned, just as extradition proceedings were about to begin.

The shift spotlighted Washington's commitment to the bloody ex-tyrant. In agreements signed by the shah and U.S. officials last December, the U.S. government guaranteed the shah's security and agreed to readmit him at any time for "medical care."

But Carter administration suggestions that the shah could come back to the United States from Panama were shot down when relatives of forty-seven hostages prepared to publicly blast the move.

Egypt was then selected for the shah's next hideout. Washington assumes that the shah will be safe from extradition there, because of President Anwar el-Sadat's fawning dependence on U.S. support.

Since fleeing Iran in January 1979, the shah has holed up in Morocco, the Bahamas, Mexico, the United States, and Panama. In each case, the government eventually decided that his presence was undesirable. Why?

The shah is recognized by tens of millions of people all over the world as a butcher who murdered and tortured untold thousands of Iranians while plundering his country. Each day since his fall has brought new evidence of his crimes.

In every country to which the shah fled, his presence spurred protests, demonstrations, and debates. Working people demanded an end to protection of the royal torturer.

In the United States, his stay inspired ever-widening discussion about Washington's role in putting the shah in power, organizing his secret police, covering up his crimes, and supporting him to the bitter end against the Iranian people.

The sentiments that drove the shah out of Morocco, the Bahamas, Mexico, the United States, and Panama, will dog his steps in Egypt also.

There is only one country where the people want the ex-shah—Iran, which wants to try 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 Chicago area—steelworkers, auto workers, teachers, food and commercial workers, and more—rallied behind the fire fighters.

And so did the city's Black community. The fire fighters strengthened that crucial alliance by including affirmative action—the hiring of more Blacks and Latinos into a fire department the city had kept mostly white—as a union demand.

The fire fighters went back victorious. Mayor Byrne ate crow.

Hoping to block that kind of solidarity, the New York authorities and media are hammering away with three Big Lies.

**Big Lie Number One:** Transit workers are high paid. The *Daily News* printed a list of twenty transit workers who, it claimed, made more than \$35,000 last year. The fine print admitted that to make that kind of money meant working eighty hours a week.

The *Daily News* didn't list the thousands of workers trying to support families on a third to half that amount. It didn't mention that New York bus drivers make from \$1.78 to \$3.13 an hour less than bus drivers in Boston, Washington, or Chicago. It didn't mention that New York subway workers make from \$2.58 to \$5.95 an hour less than workers doing the same jobs on the Long Island Rail Road.

**Big Lie Number Two:** Transit workers are responsible for the high fares and rotten service on New York subways and buses.

Fares keep going up because the transit authority, city, and state have bled the transit system to keep paying off wealthy bondholders. Service deteriorates because transit management lays off workers, cuts back schedules, and neglects repairs and improvements.

The TWU demands free public transit: "No fare!" 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 auster-

ity 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 for 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 cutback-austerity plan on the whole country—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 XM-1 tank.

The \$41.6 billion Carter wants 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—could 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 onto 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 labor 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!

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### 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.**



### Behind Afghan revolution

Ernest Harsch examines the real sequence of events in Afghanistan that led up to Soviet intervention last December. **Pages 19-21.**

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# 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 Romero to the "great, nonviolent figures of history" who suffered "jail, beatings, hunger, pain, and death."

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Fr. Miguel D'Escoto told the crowd that Msgr. Romero "was also one of ours."

D'Escoto said the Nicaraguan government had offered political asylum to Msgr. Romero when threats were first made against his life a month ago. "As a pastor I cannot stop accompanying my people, which for me is an invaluable inspiration," Romero replied in a letter that D'Escoto read at the mass. "And it makes me quite happy to accept with the people the risks of the moment."

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

Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock went to the podium to read a statement by the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The FSLN condemned the murder of Archbishop Romero and denounced "attempts at military intervention and strengthening of the Salvadoran junta by the U.S. government or any other force against which the martyred archbishop energetically declared himself."

"His blood like that of thousands of



Archbishop Romero moments after assassins gunned him down.

Salvadorans was not shed in vain. We are certain that the Salvadoran people will win and at their side will be all the forces of El Salvador and the world that love peace, freedom, and social justice."

Immediately after the shooting of Romero the Nicaraguan government recalled its ambassador from San Salvador.

Archbishop Romero had become, in the past year, a more and more outspoken critic of the fierce repression and exploitation suffered by Salvadoran workers and peasants at the hands of the capitalists and their military governments.

In recent weeks he had denounced the brutal attacks on peasant communities that had accompanied the mil-

itary junta's so-called "agrarian reform" while hailing 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 25 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 proviolent attitudes.'" 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 23, 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.

Reports reaching here from El Salvador indicate that the streets of the main cities and towns are being heavily patrolled by army and national guard units.

An eight-day general strike to protest the murder of Archbishop Romero and to demand a halt to the repression has been called by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses, the united front of El Salvador's four main organizations of workers and peasants.

One of the armed guerrilla organiza-

## U.S. out!

The bullets that killed Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero had "Made in USA" stamped all over them.

Through 700 murders at the hands of the police forces and paramilitary rightists this year, the U.S. government has stood by the military junta in El Salvador. Each new massacre has brought new promises of more U.S. guns and military "advisers" to head off the revolutionary upsurge.

Romero himself pleaded with President Carter in February to halt this flow of military aid, charging that U.S. arms and training had already led to increased bloodshed in El Salvador.

Just the day before Romero's assassination, twenty-five people were murdered by the Salvadoran army in what even the Catholic Church called a massacre of innocent peasants.

But Carter, who is concerned only with maintaining U.S. influence in Central America and preventing "another Nicaragua," brushes these charges aside.

Romero's brutal murder has done nothing to mute U.S. support for the repressive regime. The day after his death, a U.S. House of Representatives subcommittee began discussing a bill to provide \$5.7 million more in arms for El Salvador.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Bushnell told the committee that Washington will continue to support the ruling junta, "which is committed to basic economic and social reforms and to the improvement of human rights."

Then U.S. officials testifying before the committee accused Cuba of contributing to the violence in El Salvador!

This attack on Cuba, which has made no secret of its solidarity with the workers and peasants of El Salvador, is a sorry effort to divert attention from U.S. crimes in Central America.

It won't be so easy.

On March 25, more than seventy-five people picketed the Salvadoran consulate in New York. Their chants deserve to be taken up by supporters of human rights across the nation:

Stop the killings!

USA/CIA out of El Salvador!

No draft, no war, no intervention in El Salvador!

tions, the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), announced that its 6,000 fighters had been put on alert and were preparing to "pass to a new stage of the struggle."

## Assassins target Cuban envoy

Anti-Castro rightists escalated their terror March 25 with an attempted assassination of Cuban United Nations Ambassador Raúl Roa.

A bomb—powerful enough to have blown up a city block, police said—was discovered under Roa's car outside his residence in Manhattan. Police defused the device.

The ultra-right Cuban exile group Omega 7 called news services later to take credit for the murder attempt. The caller reportedly told United Press International that Omega 7 had found the Cuban ambassador "guilty of treason and now we are going to execute him."

The caller pledged to continue the terrorist actions everywhere.

In a protest telegram to President Carter March 26, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley said the assassination attempt "makes federal action to stop Omega 7 even more urgent."

Omega 7 has carried out a long series of murders and bombings. It has been documented that the assailants are well known to the police. But nothing has been done to bring these criminals to justice.

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

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# Nicaragua: Sandinistas prepare

By Steve Clark

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.

And it would create the conditions for a victory over illiteracy, rampant disease, malnutrition, and unemployment, as did the Cuban socialist revolution twenty years ago.

## Revolution deepens in 1980

The social revolution in Nicaragua has deepened during the first months of 1980.

Right now, the ambitious literacy crusade is getting under way, with the aim of teaching more than half the adult population how 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 production and draining the country of vital capital. The FSLN has pointed to these as exemplary initiatives in workers control of production.

## Volunteer militias

- Having constructed a professional Sandinista People's Army (EPS), 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 mil-

itias "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!"

While seeking assistance from any government willing to help, FSLN Commander Daniel Ortega declared March 11, "the future of Nicaragua does not depend on the \$75 million" in loans bottled up in the U.S. Congress.

Cuba has already pledged \$50 million in direct aid, and a top leadership delegation of the FSLN signed trade and aid agreements with the USSR during a visit to Moscow in mid-March.

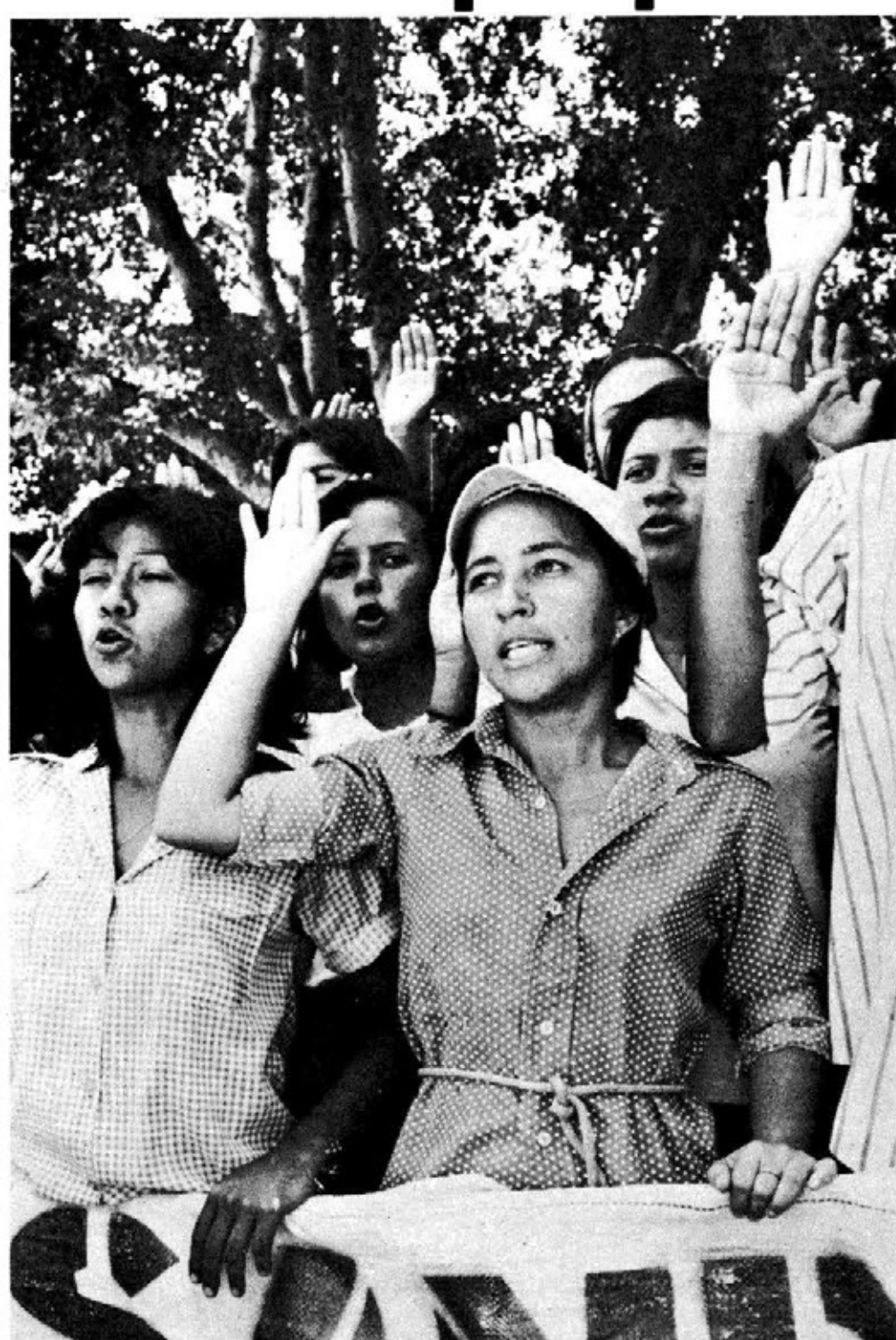
## Bourgeois opposition

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 (COSEP) have denounced the "anarchy and social disorder," the "takeovers of enterprises" and "invasions of haciendas," and warned about the "grave consequences" of the government's new measures against the property and prerogatives of the capitalists.

As they have ever since the end of 1979, the employers complain that the FSLN has not lived up to agreements with bourgeois opposition forces made prior to the July 19 insurrection. The Sandinistas—basing themselves on the organization of the workers and peasants and taking full advantage of the powerful urban uprising that brought them to power—blocked the establishment 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 uncompromising 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.

During the last half of 1979, the new Sandinista-led government implemented sweeping measures to weaken



Militant/Fred Murphy

One of the most ambitious projects of social revolution is the literacy crusade. Above, brigades of university students are being sworn in at Carlos Fonseca tomb before going into countryside to teach.

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.

No wonder 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.

The 1980 plan takes account of the desperate economic situation left by Somoza, who ordered massive destruction of factories when he could no longer hold onto power. This came on top of the ravages of worldwide inflation, the 1972 Managua earthquake, the dictator's rampant corruption, and the disruption of industry and agriculture during the civil war.

The plan therefore projects restoring industrial production to at least its 1978 level, as well as significant increases in agricultural output both for

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 Alfonso 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.

Because of Robelo's greater legiti-

## Voices of revolution

"We represent the immense majority of humanity."

Fidel Castro at the UN



THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION



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Speeches by Daniel Ortega and Fidel Castro  
Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans  
Edited with an introduction  
by Pedro Camejo and Fred Murphy

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# for showdown

macy due to his participation in a government that has taken many progressive steps, his MDN is likely to become a major pole for capitalist opponents of the revolution who have already squandered their own credibility among the masses.

But the FSLN's decisive hegemony in the government, its firm control over the revolutionary army and militia, and its reliance on the mass organizations ensures that in the coming class confrontations, the government will be a weapon of the workers and peasants against their exploiters rather than the other way around.

## Washington's plans

Standing behind the bourgeois resistance to the Sandinista revolution are Wall Street and Washington, on whom the Nicaraguan capitalists are dependent.

U.S. imperialism is determined to crush the Nicaraguan revolution. But its failure to keep the FSLN from coming to power, on top of its notorious record of installing and propping up the bloody Somoza tyranny, have so far forced Washington to avoid a publicly hostile attitude toward the new government.

Nonetheless, the Senate's freezing of a \$75 million loan package—and the outrageous conditions that had already been placed on it—are only the latest signal that Washington plans to do absolutely nothing to help reconstruct Nicaragua.

Some bourgeois governments in Western Europe have done a bit more. But the bulk of their aid has aimed at strengthening the private sector against the FSLN, rather than enabling the government to carry out its social and economic programs. And initial pretensions of friendliness by capitalist regimes in Panama and Venezuela have faded—and in Colombia, been transformed into overt belligerence.

For nearly a century the U.S. ruling

class has gotten away with "sending in the marines" whenever something it didn't like was happening in Nicaragua or elsewhere in Latin America. But things are no longer so simple.

The widespread opposition to Carter's draft registration proposal shows that American workers, especially young workers, have no intention of fighting in another Vietnam. This poses an enormous problem for the rulers, as recent events in Iran and Afghanistan testify.

## Other struggles

With a showdown approaching, prospects for the Nicaraguan revolution are also brightened by the rapid rise of other revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean. The Sandinistas have recognized this, making solidarity with El Salvador a major theme of recent demonstrations and statements by top FSLN leaders.

A victory in Nicaragua is vitally important for Cuba, which has made clear that it will stand beside the Sandinistas in their battles. The escalating attempts by imperialism to stop the socialist revolution in Nicaragua will be accompanied by renewed threats against the Cuban revolution.

For workers in the United States and other imperialist countries, victories by oppressed peoples such as those in Nicaragua are a school in the class struggle. They learn more about the violence and inhumanity of the employing class, but they also learn that the government of their exploiters is not invincible.

The Nicaraguan workers and peasants have already fought heroic battles at the cost of many lives. Today, they are preparing for another, decisive battle. And so are their class enemies in Nicaragua, elsewhere in Latin America, and in Washington.

Supporters of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants must make sure that we are ready, too. The Sandinista revolution is our revolution!

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## West coast solidarity conference

By Jan Gangel

SAN FRANCISCO—Just one week before the opening of Nicaragua's ambitious National Literacy Crusade, more than 150 people met here for the March 15-16 West Coast Conference of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

National Network Coordinator David Funkhouser told the meeting that the U.S. solidarity movement had surpassed its initial goal of collecting \$50,000 to aid Nicaragua's effort to teach more than 50 percent of its population over ten years of age to read and write.

Funkhouser reported that \$65,000 has gone to Nicaragua to help outfit the literacy brigades with lanterns, hammocks, and uniforms. He then blasted the U.S. Congress for its refusal to approve a bill earmarking \$75 million for aid to Nicaragua.

The aid proposal, he explained, "was attached to a foreign aid package and was killed [because] Congress had reached its ceiling on foreign aid spending. Meanwhile, they seem to be finding some funds for Guatemala and El Salvador," he said.

More than 160,000 Nicaraguans need eye glasses so that they can join the literacy program—an especially high figure due to decades of malnutrition. One thousand dollars worth of donated glasses are stranded in the United States for lack of shipping funds, reported

Aura Lila Beteta, Nicaraguan consul general in San Francisco.

The conference here was sponsored by the two Bay Area solidarity groups, Casa Nicaragua and NICA (Nicaraguan Interfaith Council for Action). Workshops were held on solidarity efforts to raise funds for medicine, literacy materials, and reconstruction equipment.

"We recognize that our struggle goes beyond the border," Barbara Gray, president of San Francisco Coalition of Labor Union Women, told the labor workshop. She pledged to return to her CLUW chapter and urge support for solidarity efforts.

Joining Gray on the labor panel were Jeff Mackler, executive board member of the Hayward Unified Teachers Association, and Frank Arnold, executive board member of the Santa Clara County AFL-CIO and member of Local 1101 of International Association of Machinists.

With unanimous agreement, the conference set up a California regional structure of the National Network.

The first cultural tour sponsored by the National Network begins in April. The Nicaraguan musical group, Los de Palacagüina, will kick off its fund-raising tour at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival. From there the group goes to Houston, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Camden (New Jersey), New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Chapel Hill (North Carolina), Miami, and then on to Mexico.

## How to fight back?

# Union officials blast Carter austerity plan

By Fred Feldman

Denouncing the Carter administration for proposing "meat-axe cuts" in public services, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland predicted that "there are going to be a lot more people hurt, and a lot more people suffering" if Carter gets away with it.

Kirkland's comment typified the angry response of union officials to Carter's latest austerity plan.

"Cut through all of the rhetoric, and what you have here is a return to the economic philosophy of Herbert Hoover," said Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

"It is an absolute outrage that [the cuts] should be proposed by a Democratic administration," said United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser. He said Carter's plan would be "at the expense of the young, the old, the poor, the sick, and the unemployed. They are the victims of inflation, not the cause."

The bipartisan character of the budget-cutting drive is particularly galling to union members. Democrats elected as "friends of labor" have proven just as eager as the Republican reactionaries to swing the axe against public services while adding billions to the war budget.

"This is one of those unique times in this country when the parties coalesce," boasted Rep. Robert Giampo, the Connecticut Democrat who chairs the House Budget Committee.

The new attacks on workers' standard of living are straining the "national accord" that Carter reached with Kirkland and other union heads last September. Under the accord, union officials joined corporation executives and government appointees in recommending wage guidelines.

This body proposed the Carter administration's present 7.5-9.5 percent limit on wage increases.

In the March 17 *New York Times*, Edward Cowan hailed this "break with tradition."

"Leaders of organized labor are supporting—and indeed have helped to shape—a new type of national economic policy that says working people must accept some loss of real income to help stop inflation," he said.

With inflation running at an annual rate of 18 percent, adhering to the guidelines would mean a massive cut in real income for workers, coming on top of last year's decline of 5 percent.

Success in getting union officials to take responsibility for proposing wage cuts undoubtedly encouraged Carter to escalate the antilabor drive.

Now Kirkland is warning that "I don't know how long I can be part of" the pay board.

Big business is chortling at the political bind the unions are in. "When organized labor last fall signed the 'national accord' it bargained with Jimmy Carter," a March 31 editorial in *Business Week* stated, "it thought it was gaining new political clout. But things aren't working out that way. . . . Labor is stuck not only with Carter, but with an accord it is not likely to break, even though union leaders are seething over Carter's embrace of fiscal austerity."

Figuring that the unions will be in Carter's pocket in the event of a contest with Reagan, *Business Week* declared, "it appears that labor is effectively neutralized" in 1980, leaving Carter free "to play more to the conservatives."

The editorial was entitled, "For labor, no place to go."

*Business Week* is wrong. Far from having "no place to go," the unions have the potential power to stop Carter's budget- and wage-cutters dead in their tracks.

But *Business Week* is right when it recognizes that the strategy of "national accords" with the administration and support to the antilabor Democratic Party has made the unions sitting ducks for employer-government attacks.

To bring the power of the labor movement to bear, the unions need to make a clean break with this strategy.

Instead of endorsing wage-cutting guidelines as Kirkland did, the unions need to mobilize nationwide solidarity with the oil strikers, the New York City transit workers, West Virginia coal miners, International Harvester strikers, and every other union fighting for a living wage and decent working conditions. They are on the front lines of the only real battle against inflation—the battle to protect the working class from the ravages of rising prices, unemployment, and speedup.

In addition, the unions should take the lead in mobilizing youth, the unemployed, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and the elderly in mass protest against the war budget, budget cuts, and Carter's entire "anti-inflation" fraud.

Instead of spending union dollars to elect Democratic and Republican "friends of labor" who unfailingly turn out to be labor's worst enemies once the last vote has been counted, the unions can use their resources to build a party of, by, and for working people—a labor party.

The Consumer Price Index shows the rate prices have gone up. It is given as a percentage of what prices were in 1967.

1967 100  
1969 109.8  
1971 121.3  
1973 133.1  
1975 161.2  
1977 181.5  
1979 229.9  
Feb. 1980 236.4

This means that \$1 in 1967 was equivalent to \$0.42 at the end of February 1980.

Using the same base of the 1967 dollar, the following list shows the change in spendable weekly pay for a married worker with three dependents:

1961 \$83.13  
1963 85.67

1965 91.67  
1967 90.86  
1969 91.07  
1971 92.69  
1973 95.70  
1975 90.35  
1977 93.63  
1979 87.55  
Feb. 1980 84.85

In other words, in terms of what our money can buy, a worker today is worse off than any time since 1963.

Comparing these real wages with inflated wages shows how easy it is to be fooled into thinking you are now better off. In current-dollar wages, the worker who made \$78.56 a week in 1963 went up to \$199.27 by the end of 1979. But rising prices got it all. (All figures from Bureau of Labor Statistics)



# W.Va. mine strike protests union-busting

By Pat O'Brien

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Three United Mine Workers locals in northern West Virginia's District 31 have voted to conduct a sympathy strike for members of UMW Local 4060, the victims of punitive firings by Consolidation Coal Company.

These three Consol locals, representing 1,200 miners, were already honoring Local 4060 picket lines. The solidarity votes mean that miners will stay off the job even if there are no pickets at the portals.

Consol goons have assaulted pickets at several locations here. At the Purse Glove mine, a Consol supervisor recently pulled a gun on peaceful pickets.

The dispute, centered on Local 4060 at the Four States mine, began in February when Consol provoked a short strike there over job assignments. Then the company blamed local president Mike Zemonick for the walkout and fired him. That provoked another week-long job action joined by nearly all District 31's 6,000 members.

When the miners returned to work

under the threat of heavy court fines, Consol dug in deeper, firing twelve more miners. The latest walkout began when an arbitrator upheld four of those firings. In all, 3,500 Consol miners have been off the job since March 19.

"The company looks at it this way," said a coal miner at Consol's Love-ridge mine. "You're supposed to work. You're not supposed to think."

Consol's opinions aside, there is a lot of thinking going on.

The miners are angry about provocative firings of union activists and attacks on union officers by the hard-line coal giants. They're also mad about unfair rulings by arbitrators and back-to-work orders with fines imposed by federal Judge Robert Maxwell.

One Consol miner told the *Militant*, "You won't find a judge around here who can see the miners' side. Consol tries to break the union every day. If you don't go along, the judge fines you. But did you ever hear of the company being fined in a strike?"

The news media in this area have consistently refused to report the miners' side despite repeated efforts by the miners and the Local 4060 Women's Auxiliary to tell their story.

You would never know from reading the daily papers here that it is Consol's violations of the UMW contract and the company's efforts to intimidate union officers and activists that have forced the shutdown.

One thing is becoming increasingly clear to many miners here—their union is under serious attack.

Tom Moriarty, a coal miner and Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of West Virginia, told the *Militant*, "A lot is at stake. Not just for the miners but for the entire labor movement."

"The only thing the big corporations and the government have to offer us working people is, as Carter called it in his economic speech last month, 'discipline and pain.' To enforce discipline and impose pain, they are taking aim at the unions."

"In 1977 they chose the UMW as the first major union in thirty years to be the target in an outright union-busting assault. They failed. But these new attacks on the union, on safety, and on environmental laws show clearly that the coal barons won't be satisfied until they have broken the spirit of the miners and tamed the union," Moriarty said.

Consol is owned by Conoco, one of the giant oil companies that has manipulated the energy crisis to ensure huge profits. In 1979, Conoco raked in \$815 million in profits, up a whopping 81 percent from the year before.

"This strike in northern West Virginia," Moriarty points out, "may not directly involve huge numbers of miners. But Consol's, and Conoco's, target is big—the entire UMW. National contract talks are about to begin, and Consol, which just rejoined the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, wants to soften up the miners."

"Working people need to know the truth about this strike. When they do, they'll support it all the way."

## Solidarity key to victory for K.C. fire fighters

By Kirk Fowler

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Striking fire fighters here won a major victory for all labor when they 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 jailed unionists were also released 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. After 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 firings of fire fighters dismissed last December for refusing overtime in a job action.

Faced with a solid strike, the city sent cops to take over the fire stations. Gov. Joseph Teasdale brought in the National Guard.

The city officials gave strikers a deadline to return to work or be fired. Not one showed up.

The next move was the jailings. Seventy-one fire fighters were sentenced to twenty days, plus \$300 fines. Plus \$10 a day for room and board!

The union fought back. Nightly public rallies were held at the hall of Local 42 of the International Association of Fire Fighters. At these meetings, the community could find out what was really going on.

The fire fighters were in a militant mood. One said, "They did it in Chicago and we can do it here."

A Black striker said, "The Black community knows who suffers in these crises and who is responsible. They're behind us 100 percent."

The strikers also created "flying squads" of crews to help fight fires where lives were in danger. This helped counter the city's cry that the fire fighters were jeopardizing safety.

Community support for the strikers was growing. More than 500 people came to the steps of city hall March 19 to show 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, railworkers, and many others were calling for support for the fire fighters. Many union brothers and sisters began helping on the picket line.

By week's end, the city council agreed to reinstate the forty-two and a pardon from the governor was granted to the jailed 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 wanted. This was to be their 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 defeated a state "right to work" ballot proposition in November 1978.

While the crowd waited Sunday for the jailed fire fighters to be released, *Solidarity Forever*, *Roll the Union on*, and other songs were sung.

Louie Wright, general vice-president of Local 42 and one of the released prisoners, addressed the crowd. What he said summed up the stand that assured victory. "A true union will not sacrifice one to save a majority. But the majority will sacrifice to save one."

## UAW 'jihad' forces Harvester to yield on overtime

By John Studer

CHICAGO—"On Wednesday, March 19th every executive board and shop committee in the Harvester chain met at the Radisson Hotel in downtown Chicago to discuss a tentative agreement. It was the unanimous decision of the members that this agreement fell short in several crucial areas and it was rejected overwhelmingly."

This is how the *Union Voice*, bulletin of Local 6 of the United Auto Workers

in Melrose Park, Illinois, described the decision of the Harvester council. The council voted to maintain the longest national strike in the history of the union. Harvester's 35,000 UAW workers have been out since November 1, 1979.

The unity and determination of the strikers forced Harvester to give in on a number of their take-away demands which provoked the walkout. Most importantly, the company conceded on the central issue of forced overtime.

In the offer rejected March 19, the company backed off from their mandatory-overtime demands. Instead, they proposed soliciting a voluntary pool of workers from which they can request Saturday work.

Suspicion of any company proposal for overtime was prevalent on the picket lines. One picketer at Harvester's West Pullman Works voiced this sentiment, "They can propose any old pool they want—then they can go swim in it."

Ted Stacey, a steward at the Hinsdale plant, told the *Militant*: "This pool is just face saving language for the company, it is a victory for our strike."

Two central issues remain. First is the demand for "mutual acceptance" of the union in new plants opened by the company. Harvester is planning to open six new plants, mostly in "right-to-work" states. Given the company's anti-union offensive during these negotiations, the strikers are demanding union rights in the new plants.

The company will open a new truck plant in Wagner, Oklahoma, on June 1. John Truffa, president of UAW Local 1307 in West Pullman, told the *Militant*, "Our members working at the Truck plant in Fort Wayne, Indiana, could be the victims of this new plant. We want them to have the right to transfer to the Oklahoma plant if they are laid off. We want to make sure that the union can get into these new plants to protect uniform wages and working conditions."

The second outstanding major issue is the company's effort to force piece-

workers to take lower paying jobs when their machines are down. This would eliminate the traditional right of these workers to refuse forced transfers.

The strikers are determined to stay out until they have beaten back all the company's take-away attempts.

Cletus Williams, chair of the union bargaining committee in Canton, Illinois, told the *Chicago Sun-Times*, "This here's a jihad. Isn't that what they call those holy wars over there in Iran, jihads. That's what this is." Strikers carry this clipping in their pockets. They aim to win this "holy war."

No new negotiations are planned. Local union officers in the Chicago area have heard rumors that the company plans to use the financial strains produced by five months on the picket line to spawn a "back-to-work" effort.

Any such effort will meet powerful opposition from the vast majority of strikers. On March 23, UAW Local 1307 voted unanimously to support President Truffa's stand against the company offer.

The Local 6 *Union Voice* ends its March 20 issue, "This strike is not over yet, and we will enforce our picket lines vigilantly until the members of this local vote to ratify, and accept a new contract."

Unionists and strike supporters everywhere can make a difference in keeping the strike strong. Contributions can be sent to: Region 4 Strike Assistance Fund, 5132 W. Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60644.

### New title

## American Railroads: the case for nationalization by Dick Roberts

Railroads are a public necessity. They are essential to millions of commuters. Hundreds of factories receive vital supplies and ship finished products by rail. But service is being cut, and equipment and roadbeds are deteriorating at an alarming rate. Why are the railroads dying?

This book explains the crisis in rail today by examining the history and economics of the industry: Who owns the railroads? What are their interests? How do they operate?

What have rail workers accomplished in past struggles? How can they defend their jobs and improve their conditions today? And how can the railroads be reorganized to meet the needs of the majority they serve—the farmers, small businesses, and workers?

An important reference for people who want to understand the decline of a vital utility. 109 pp. \$2.45 paper, \$9 cloth. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include \$.75 postage)



# Ky. unionists protest cutbacks for disabled



By Tom Swetland

FRANKFORT, Ky.—A sea of hard hats converged on the state capitol here March 19 as 12,000 angry workers came to protest threatened cutbacks in state benefits for victims of industrial injuries.

Gov. John Brown, whose campaign slogan was "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.

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.

Thus a twenty-five-year-old worker who is found to have a permanent 20 percent disability would be eligible for only thirty-three dollars a week for a maximum of six years. Even with a 90 percent disability the worker would receive no benefits after age fifty-two.

Workers from West Virginia, Indiana, and as far away as Texas and Michigan joined the solemn march. A half-mile funeral procession, symbolizing the fate of working people if the bill passes, was led by union officials flanking a casket.

This march met thousands of cheering unionists on the capitol lawn. The capitol steps were jammed with workers demanding to meet with the governor.

In a disciplined fashion, thousands of workers poured into the entrance area of the capitol. Every statue was topped with a hardhat.

Chants of "We want Brown" echoed through the hallways. The governor

refused to face the crowd but agreed to meet with a select group of union leaders.

According to the March 20 Louisville *Courier-Journal*, United Mine Workers international president, Sam Church, "was visibly upset with Brown after he and other UMW officials met privately with the governor.

"We're very unhappy," Church said. "I'm disappointed. The governor is adamant. He's going to proceed with the bill."

"The UMW would consider passage of the bill 'a giant step backward,' Church said."

Building-trades workers represented a large portion of the crowd. An estimated 2,000 miners from UMW District 30 also took part. Many coal mines and construction sites were shut down for the day's protest.

Signs such as "How many politicians are killed in a mine accident?" expressed the crowd's anger.

Betty Sullivan, whose son was injured in a fifty-foot fall on a construction job, declared, "When these politicians fall, the farthest they can fall is off a chair onto a plush carpet."

"Stop the 'right to work'" and "Cut prices not wages" were also popular slogans.

While the main focus of the action was on safeguarding injured workers' compensation, unionists were also outraged by legislation to restrict unemployment compensation and to reduce the number of workers covered by prevailing-wage laws.

Faced with this antilabor backstabbing by Democrats and Republicans alike, it's not surprising that demonstrators were receptive to the idea of workers running independently of the two parties. One of my supporters collected more than 100 signatures on petitions supporting my right to be placed on the ballot as Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate.

## Militant gets warm welcome from strikers

By Peter Seidman

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

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance kicked off their spring 1980 circulation drive by making special efforts to get the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to this important audience.

During the ten-week drive, 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-gate and on-the-job sales at the nearly 17 percent level achieved during last fall's campaign.

In Houston, SWP and YSA members sold eighteen papers at meetings of the Arco, Crown, and Charter groups in Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227. "We're getting some regular readers of the paper now," they report. "Some workers even came out of the meetings to buy the *Militant* after seeing others read it inside."

Sales teams from Houston also went to talk with strikers in the refinery towns of Beaumont and Texas City.

New Orleans socialists went to outlying refinery areas in Good Hope, Chalmette, and Belle Chasse. They visited strike headquarters, sold outside union meetings, and met with residents threatened by the dangers of refineries operated by scab labor.

Morgantown, West Virginia socialists have "redoubled our sales in Fairmont," SWP organizer Pat Hayes reports. Fairmont is the center of a militant miners' strike.

"We're also distributing a statement supporting the strike by our gubernatorial candidate Tom Moriarty," Hayes added. Moriarty, is a coal miner and a member of United Mine Workers Local 1949. "A frequent response," Hayes

explains, "is, 'It's about time a miner ran for office.'"

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.

"Glad to see you down 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 three papers while campaigning at firehouses in Chicago.

Despite these important strike sales, however, the scoreboard shows that we fell short of our overall goal during the first week of the drive.

Several areas are petitioning to put the SWP on the ballot. They may be temporarily unable to make their goals.

Other areas were concentrating during the kickoff week on organizing buses or local support activities for the March 22 antidraft demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Such actions will continue all during the drive. It will be important for our supporters to pay special attention to organizing sales so as to make their goals in the other busy weeks of this spring when they're not petitioning.

This will be a central way socialists can win people to our ideas and our movement as political discussions and struggles multiply against the bosses' offensive.

## Sales scoreboard

Branch	Militant		PM		Totals			Ttl.	Subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	%	% Ind.	Goal	Sold
Miami	70	128	10	9	80	137	171.2	5.4	15	4
Philadelphia	135	208	25	51	160	259	161.8	8.7	60	5
Iron Range	70	110	0	0	70	110	157.1	9.7	35	5
Phoenix	100	152	25	37	125	189	151.2	10.6	25	7
N.Y. Brooklyn	80	94	10	30	90	124	137.7	12.6	25	3
Albuquerque	105	147	25	30	130	177	136.1	11.5	30	6
N.Y. Lower Manh.	60	94	40	33	100	127	127.0	3.7	30	1
St. Louis	80	93	0	0	80	93	116.2	7.6	20	3
Morgantown	80	91	0	0	80	91	113.7	**	30	1
Indianapolis	75	84	0	0	75	84	112.0	**	15	2
Seattle	140	156	5	5	145	161	111.0	17.9	30	2
Denver	86	84	14	23	100	107	107.0	6.7	20	1
Kansas City	100	108	7	5	107	113	105.6	19.5	35	3
Houston	80	84	10	10	90	94	104.4	3.5	25	2
Dallas	80	80	20	23	100	103	103.0	**	25	2
Salt Lake City	110	110	7	10	117	120	102.5	.7	20	1
Los Angeles	275	230	0	51	275	281	102.1	18.3	70	6
New Orleans	75	76	5	0	80	76	95.0	20.6	40	0
San Diego	120	116	20	16	140	132	94.2	23.7	40	6
Piedmont	90	84	0	0	90	84	93.3	11.6	20	5
Baltimore	90	82	0	0	90	82	91.1	14.0	35	8
N.Y. Upper Manh.	95	68	30	37	125	106	84.8	38.6	40	1
San Antonio	60	42	25	24	85	66	77.6	4.5	25	0
Detroit	210	160	10	10	220	170	77.2	23.1	100	7
Birmingham	115	87	0	0	115	87	75.6	12.6	30	4
Milwaukee	90	65	10	10	100	75	75.0	**	35	2
Atlanta	100	67	0	0	100	67	67.0	1.3	25	2
Washington, D.C.	100	85	50	11	150	96	64.0	6.2	25	0
Portland	85	50	0	0	85	50	58.8	12.0	20	1
Toledo	60	34	0	0	60	34	56.7	**	15	0
Twin Cities	175	92	0	5	175	97	55.4	8.0	80	4
Cleveland	70	38	0	0	70	38	54.3	14.0	15	6
Newark*	140	83	20	4	160	87	54.3	12.8	30	3
Albany	73	35	2	0	75	35	46.6	**	25	2
Chicago	215	107	35	0	250	107	42.8	24.3	50	3
Pittsburgh	185	72	0	0	185	72	38.9	21.6	50	1
Boston	150	30	0	0	150	30	20.0	**	40	2
Louisville*	80	1	0	0	80	1	1.2	0.0	25	1
Cincinnati*	80		0		80		0	0	15	3
Oakland/East Bay	**	22	**	4	**	26		23.0	**	1
Misc.										17
TOTALS	4524	3370	415	438	4939	3988	80.8	11.3	1385	133

NOT REPORTING: Gary, San Francisco, San Jose, Tacoma, Tidewater.

\*Petitioning to put SWP on the ballot.

\*\*Information not available.

Ttl. % Ind. indicates percentage of Militant and PM sales reported at plantgates and to co-workers on the job.

Covers sales of issue ten of the *Militant* and the first week of sales of issue five of *Perspectiva Mundial*.



## Gov't attacks contract terms

# Oil company reprisals delay strike settlement

By Stu Singer

Many of the 60,000 oil refinery workers who went on strike 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 above the 5 percent due 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 \$18.50 a month this year and \$18 next year for workers with families and \$6 a month each year for families and \$4 a month for 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 these strikers is an important example for union members everywhere.

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

The same day figures were released showing February inflation remaining at the 18 percent level of January, the *Wall Street Journal* quoted a "high government official who requested anonymity" as attacking the oil workers contract as "unacceptable."

The anonymous official said, "We can't regard that [10.5 percent a year increase] as acceptable. It's clearly bad for the country. . . . We can't remain silent."

This is the same government that remained silent as the oil companies reported profit increases of over 100 percent in the last year. And it is the government which allowed the unsafe scab operation of the refineries during the strike.

## 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, California, was 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 to stop trying to get along with the bosses. Whenever we do this we go backwards. We have to get rid of the idea we can build a partnership with management. They are our enemies."

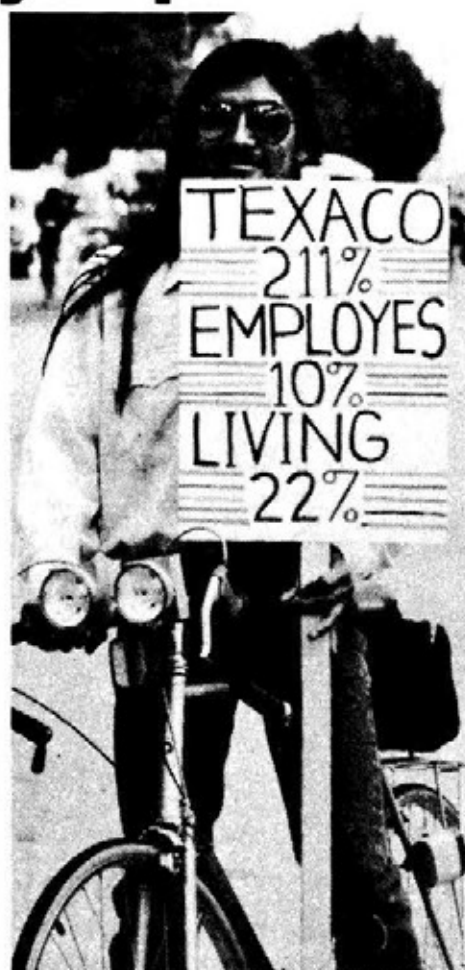
"We have to develop a total adversary position on every level. We have to recognize the fact that the politicians are in bed with the rich who run this country."

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

Membership approval of these settlements was expected since the locally negotiated agreements excluded any reprisals against striking oil workers.

Not all Bay Area oil workers will be returning to work, however. Management at the Tosco refinery in Martinez is still trying to fire ten OCAW members and suspend another seven.

Chevron refinery workers at the Richmond plant are refusing to bend to



Militant/Walter Lippmann  
OCAW demonstrator at March 1 Los Angeles Harbor strike support march.

company demands for a no-strike clause in their contract and a provision which would force Chevron workers to cross picket lines of other striking unionists in the future.

OCAW members at Chevron's credit card center in Concord are also without a contract and face a management intent on eliminating the union outright.

John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO, also spoke at the solidarity rally. When he called for nationalization of the entire oil industry, he was met with a thunderous ovation. "The oil companies' strike-busting efforts have given us the greatest arguments in favor of their nationalization," he said.

Henning's remarks also set the tone on another subject, which is more and more discussed by unionists, the need for a labor party.

Henning told the rally: "The California State Council of Carpenters, representing 80,000 workers in the state, went on record unanimously last week to begin the work of forging a labor party."

Henning also reported that similar positions had been recently taken by the Orange County Central Labor Council and the Alameda County Building and Construction Trades Council.

Jack Weintraub, president of Teamsters Local 85, told the rally, "Jack Henning will find out as this labor party discussion continues that Teamster members are looking for just such a vehicle to express themselves in the political field."

The rally was chaired by Walter Johnson, president of the Department Store Employees Local 1100 and co-chair of the solidarity committee.

Andrea Teper, president of San Francisco National Organization for Women, linked the struggle for the Equal Rights Amendment to the cause of working people in general.

George Davis, secretary-treasurer of the Office and Professional Employees Union Local 3 in San Francisco, explained the issues involved in the current strike against KRON-TV in San Francisco. Members of OPEIU, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and American Federation of Television and Radio Artists have been striking this NBC affiliate for several weeks now.

The oil workers, in a gesture of solidarity, opened their platform to the striking KRON workers.

Enthusiastic solidarity greetings to the OCAW rally were also given by Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers union; Bud Dougherty, regional director of Citizens Labor Energy Coalition; Reeva Olson, Coalition of Labor Union Women; John Maher, Delancey Street Foundation; and Dr. Jane Whittes, representing a local health group which presented a check for \$1,200 to striking OCAW workers.

## Houston: 'We all go back together'

By Jana Pellusch

HOUSTON—Both the oil industry and top union officials expected that a March 14 contract proposal from Gulf Oil would lead to an industry-wide settlement. Gulf made the offer to Port Arthur, Texas, Local 4-23, the largest OCAW local in the country.

But at a local union meeting on March 18 the membership made a unanimous decision not to vote on the proposal until Gulf agrees not to take reprisals against twelve strikers who have been targeted by the company. Two had been sent letters of termination and others were informed they would face suspensions after returning to work.

Houston newspapers quoted Gulf spokesman Kirk Vogeley as saying the company is "hopeful that the union membership separates the issue of disciplinary cases from the issue of contract terms by ratifying the contract and returning to work."

In response, OCAW District Director H. J. McClain stated, "We feel strongly that this issue of disciplining the workers be cleared up before a contract is ratified."

Gulf maintains that workers must use the grievance procedure to seek redress after returning to work. So far, the Gulf strikers are firm in their determination that all 1,500 of them go back to work without reprisals from management.

The reprisals issue has stalled negotiations being held in Kansas City between Atlantic Richfield (Arco) and negotiators for the 1,100-member Arco group of Local 4-227 in Houston.

Early in the strike, twenty-three strikers, including myself, received letters from Arco stating we were charged with "undisciplined acts." Shortly after, the Arco group membership voted not to accept any contract settlement without a written "no retri-

sals" agreement. It is unclear just what the alleged "acts" involved or what evidence Arco believes it has against us.

A recorded message on the Arco refinery's strike hot line told callers on March 23 that Arco had informed the union that possible disciplinary measures did not include any firings. This shows that the solidarity among the ranks has had an impact on the company's assessment of how far to push their retaliations against union activists.

Meanwhile, OCAW members at the Amoco refinery in Texas City, also refused to consider a new company offer without a no-reprisals clause.

Crown Central Petroleum has not yet made an offer to OCAW. Crown has threatened disciplinary action against strikers and has fired one striker for allegedly slashing a tire.

The Crown group of Local 4-227 voted unanimously not to consider any company offer 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 recognized by the company but have been unable to win a contract. They voted to go on strike along with the refinery workers.

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

On March 21, approximately 1,000 members of Local 4-367 at Shell Oil in Houston met to consider a new company offer. The meeting hall was filled beyond capacity.

The union president of 4-367 read each item of the proposal and took questions and discussion.

The wages and benefits in the Shell offer were similar to Gulf's proposal. In addition, the company demanded disciplinary action against six strikers. The final decision is to be settled through the grievance procedure.

The company said the maximum penalties would be: for two strikers, ten days suspension; for three strikers, five days suspension; and for one, a warning letter.

Some workers voiced disapproval of accepting any disciplinary action against union members. Most felt that the penalties involved were not severe enough to warrant rejection of the offer.

The general attitude was that the union had won most of what it had fought for. In a standing vote, the meeting decided overwhelmingly to accept the offer and return to work.

The stance of the oil workers—everybody goes back or nobody goes back—is a new sound in the labor movement here. OCAW strikers can only gain from the continued commitment to returning to work as a unit.



Strike supporter pickets gate of ARCO refinery in Houston

Militant/Andrea Lubrano



## 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-old 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. Wrap-up negotiations started March 24. They are supposed to be settled by April 14.

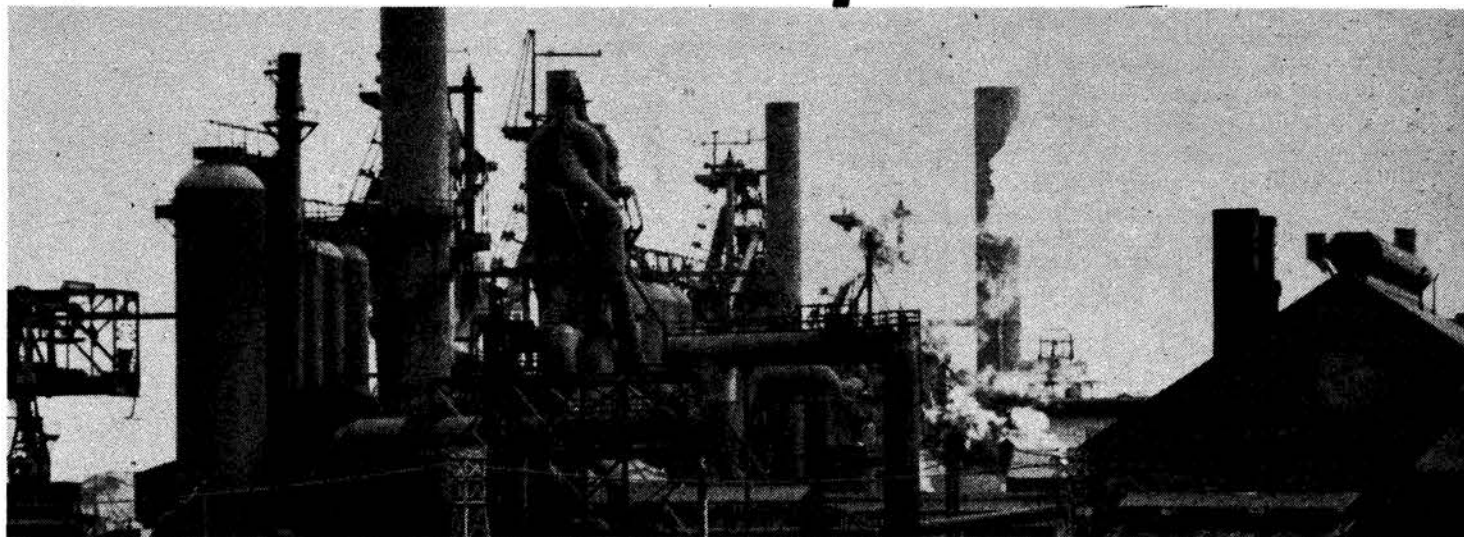
The trigger price, a minimum price for steel imports, was established in late 1977. It was supposedly calculated on production costs in Japan.

### 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 their prices and may increase shipments to make up for the withdrawal of European steel. And the American steel companies will have less competition to worry about as they go ahead with their planned price hike of over 5 percent on March 30 . . . for starters.

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

If the U.S. government raises the trade barriers as U.S. Steel demands, European business and government officials have threatened to retaliate against U.S. exports. For example,



Youngstown, Ohio, steel mill. Decision to shut it down is made in U.S.A.

Militant/Stu Singer

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 17.8 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 steelmaking capacity. They closed mills in Youngstown, Ohio; Johnstown, Pennsylvania; Lackawanna, New York; and other cities, throwing thousands of workers onto 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 produce steel for the country's needs. Still less is their aim to provide jobs for steelworkers. Their sole aim is to make the highest profits.

Import restrictions help the U.S. corporations protect their monopoly-rigged prices. Meanwhile, they are paring down their own steelmaking operations to the most productive and profitable core, while demanding speed-up and wage concessions from their work force.

And from the government they demand more tax breaks and exemption from pollution controls, so that the

entire working population can help pay for their higher profits.

The union officialdom supports import barriers, claiming they save American jobs. But more jobs in steel have been eliminated under the trade barriers. 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 the steel industry is pushing for.

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

Opposing imports does not help workers in other countries, as union officials sometimes claim. If half the energy wasted by the union on the anti-import drive went into supporting the striking steelworkers in Britain, it would be a giant step forward for all steelworkers. For example, the Steelworkers 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 to 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 no 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 holding the employers responsible for wages, benefits, and working conditions, the union helps them blame a scapegoat, foreign steel.

The companies use the propaganda slogan, "The threat is real from foreign steel." Members of the United Steelworkers 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 three 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 26.

Nearly 8,000 workers heard an explanation of the contract at a union meeting on March 23 from union lawyers and USWA chief economist Ed Ayoub.

The economic package calls for an average wage increase of \$2.25 an hour over the life of the forty-two-month contract, or roughly a 35 percent increase. Much of the increase comes early in the contract, so that most workers can look forward to an immediate raise of \$.80 to \$1.00 an hour.

Workers cheered a section of the agreement that abolishes the hated merit system, which tied periodic wage increases solely to supervisor recommendations.

Replacing this practice is "automatic progression," which creates general wage increases for helpers and handypersons every 1,384 paid hours, or roughly every eight months. Increases will range from seventeen to twenty-one cents an hour per increase. This will immediately benefit 1,700 of the

yard's lowest-paid workers.

Progression for mechanics and specialists, however, is not guaranteed. Supervisor recommendation is needed for promotion, subject to grievance, after 4,152 paid hours, or two years.

The agreement eliminates a number of rate classifications, which kept wages low.

The proposed settlement also includes improvements in health, pension, retirement, and fringe benefits. But most of these don't go into effect until 1981 and 1982, a delay which has not been popular with many workers.

The contract refers to two separate dime adjustments as "Mid-year Economic Protection Wage Increases." The USWA contract summary defines these as "cost of living increases."

These 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 ends 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 contains a no-strike pledge. The announcement of this at the union meeting caused an undercurrent of grumbling, according

to Steelworkers who talked with the *Militant* later.

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

Steelworkers I talked with took this to mean there would be no discussion or debate. A brief question-and-answer period wound up the meeting in the presence of about 1,000 Steelworkers.

The sentiment at the meeting was for the contract.

As Local 8888 members left the Hampton Coliseum, many stayed around in groups to talk about the contract.

"It's a start, it's ok," was the most common remark.

"We didn't get everything we want," a middle-aged Black Steelworker told me, "but this is just the beginning. We got Tenneco to the table, and we got a contract. I'm voting for it."

"I don't mind waiting for the benefits that much," a young worker told me, "but there isn't enough money. Look at inflation. We're going to be way behind when this is over. There's no way I'm voting for it," he said.

Worker after worker favorably contrasted the proposed agreement with past deals hatched by the shipyard

and the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the ousted company union.

"There's no way the PSA could have got this for us," an older white worker said. A Black worker repeated that sentiment, "Every contract they got, they took things away."

Virtually all of the Steelworkers left the meeting with copies of the full 125-page contract agreement. "The PSA would never let us see the contract, let alone read it before we voted on it," a middle-aged worker said.

A number of unionists told the *Militant*, "I'm going to study this before I make up my mind."

"People said we'd never get a contract from Tenneco," a shop steward told me, "and what we got isn't bad. It isn't great either, and it could be better. But we beat those bastards who tried to drive us out. We could stand more, but hell, there's thorns in every rose bush."

The biggest thorn in Tenneco's profit rose bush now is Local 8888, whose establishment as the huge shipyard's union is a big blow to southern union-busting and an inspiration to organizing drives throughout the "right to work" Sunbelt.

"Tenneco," a young white worker said with a smile, "is the giant. It lost, we won, and they know it."



# Socialists campaign in Iranian elections

By Suzanne Haig

The first round of elections for Iran's new national 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 Shahrabi and Mustafa Gorgzadeh.

In Gilan province in the north, Jalil Vatandoust was the HKE candidate from the port city of Bandar-e Enzeli. Hadi Adib-Moradi and Hooshang Sepehri ran from the city of Rasht. Hooshang Sepehri's four brothers died fighting the shah.

Shahrabi, Gorgzadeh, and Adib-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



HKE candidates from Tehran (from left) Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh, Shohreh Amin, and Babak Zahraie

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.)

And (3): for creating an army of twenty million (as proposed last year by Khomeini) 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 Kurdish, Azerbaijani, Baluchi, Arab, 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 the

balloting 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.

## 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 defendant were among the new signers of the appeal being circulated for two women socialists imprisoned in Iran.

The two women, Mahsa 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 Abolhassan 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

"If I could afford it, I'd send more. Your work is direly needed. And 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—over 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 hundreds of 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:

"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.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
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City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
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Union/School/Org. \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to:  
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 and is available for purchase from 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



# Pulley tours southern California

(The following article is based on reports from Militant correspondents Steven Warshell 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 ninety people at 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 Lodge 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 area'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 \$30 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 News and View-*

point, and the San Diego High School newspaper.

The Los Angeles SWP campaign sponsored a rally March 16 featuring Pulley, SWP senatorial candidate George Johnson, and SWP congressional candidate Robbie Scherr.

More than 120 people attended, and \$3400 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 Ohio ballot March 20 on a technicality.

Secretary of State Anthony J. Celebrezze, 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. In addition, Nagin's request that the petitions be returned for refiling was denied.

In a telegram protesting the state's action, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate John E. Powers stated: "The Socialist Workers Party strongly protests the blatantly undemocratic decision to rule Communist

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 Celebrezze 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 the 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 29; 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.

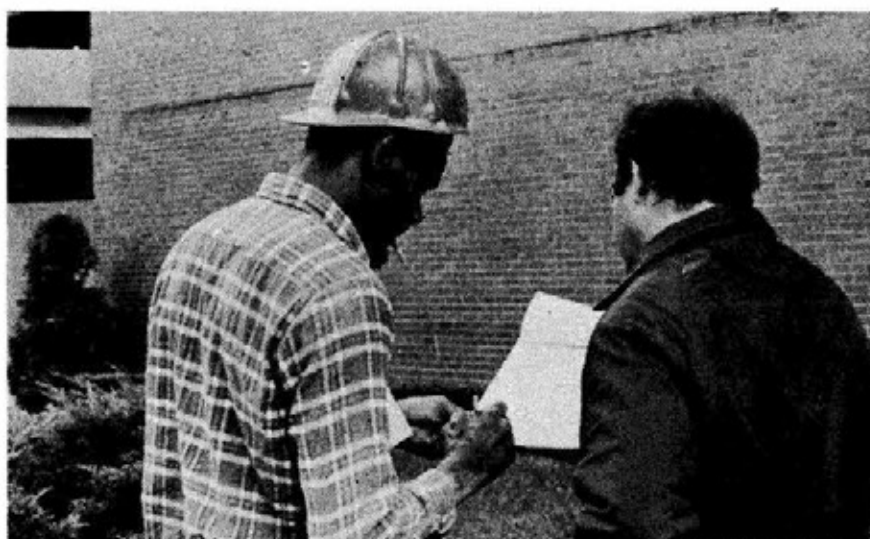
Parties, barbecues, and other social events will be held for friends of the SWP campaign every weekend.

To volunteer, call 617-262-4621 in

Boston, or 413-253-3387 in the Springfield-Amherst area.

The Massachusetts Petitioning

Center is located at 510 Commonwealth Ave., fourth floor, Boston, Mass. 02215.



Militant/L. Paltrineri

## 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 Vietnams. 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"—3¢ a copy.
- ☐ 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, D.C.

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

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

**Join the YSA!**



Hear the  
Socialist  
Workers  
candidates



### SALT LAKE CITY Socialist Campaign Rally

Speaker:  
Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate  
for president  
Saturday, April 5  
6:30 p.m. dinner  
8 p.m. rally  
Admission: \$6 dinner and rally  
\$2 rally alone  
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: \$3  
For more information call  
(206) 627-0432

### ST. LOUIS Socialist Campaign Rally

Speaker:  
Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate  
for vice-president  
Sunday, March 30  
7 p.m. rally  
5223 Delmar Street  
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: \$5  
Rally only: \$2.50  
For more information call  
(414) 445-2076

**Pulley &  
Zimmermann  
in 1980!**



By Suzanne Haig

The March 8 International Women's Day actions this year reflected the developing alliance between the labor and women's movements, an alliance with the potential to wage the strongest fight for women's rights this country has ever seen.

As part of that struggle, the March 8 actions in many cities launched the build-up for the May 10 national march and rally in Chicago for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Called by the National Organization for Women, the May 10 demonstration has broad support from the powerful steel, auto, and other unions in the Chicago area and throughout the Midwest. It will be preceded by a labor conference for the ERA on April 26, hosted by the Illinois AFL-CIO.

Under the impact of millions of women entering the work force and standing up for their rights, the unions are becoming champions of women's equality. At the same time, women's organizations are seeking to involve unions in their activities and are devoting more attention to the struggles of women workers.

This convergence received its biggest boost recently with the Labor for Equal Rights Now campaign for ERA ratification in Virginia, which culminated in a march and rally of 5,000 in Richmond on January 13.

Women and men, Black and white, from many states marched in union contingents; "Ratify the ERA—labor leads the way!" was a popular chant.

The momentum and optimism of that action pushed forward the fight for ERA nationally.

### Minneapolis

One good example was the Minneapolis International Women's Day rally, attended by 250 people, which focused on the ERA and women in the labor force.

Militant correspondent Gillian Furst reports that this event was sponsored by six Twin Cities NOW chapters and endorsed by the Minnesota AFL-CIO and nearly twenty union locals, along with prominent community groups and individuals.

Barbara Merrill, a Black union activist, was a featured speaker. She is vice-president of the Illinois Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and Midwest organizer of the J.P. Stevens boycott for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. The theme of her talk was "A woman's place is in her union."

Also speaking were Mimi Pichey from the women's committee of United Auto Workers Local 879; Bill Smith, vice-president, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1504; Dorothy Strand, executive board member of Teamsters Local 1145; and Elizabeth Kilanowski, representing United Steelworkers Local 1938 on the Mesabi Iron Range.

The high point of the rally came when Virginia Watkins, Midwest regional coordinator for NOW, announced the May 10 national march in Chicago.

"Start organizing the buses," Watkins urged, to loud applause. "We must put on our marching shoes."

Watkins also declared her opposition to registration and the draft "for both women and men."

### Chicago

The Chicago March 8 event had a similar theme. According to *Militant* correspondent Mary Selvas, nearly 250 women and men gathered at the Packinghouse Workers Hall for a program sponsored by Chicago CLUW and focused on winning ERA in Illinois.

Alice Peurala, president of USWA Local 65, called for a big turnout at the April 26 labor conference.

Representatives of the UAW, USWA, United Food and Commercial Workers, United Electrical Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers, and others also addressed the rally.

Juanita Lilly, president of the women's committee of UAW Local 6 at International Harvester, also spoke. Her committee has been active in the

# March 8 actions: women and labor join forces



Militant/Jean Vertheim

union's long strike against forced overtime. She said this was the first women's rights program that she and the other eight women from Local 6 had ever attended.

Iberia Hampton from Local 7507 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers was one of the guests honored at the meeting. Active in her union for nearly twenty years, she is the mother of Fred Hampton, the Black Panther leader slain by Chicago cops in 1969.

The support shown March 8 for UAW and OCAW strikers points to

another side of the emerging labor-women's alliance. The women's movement is learning that the outcome of these union battles directly affects the fight for women's rights. The issues at stake—higher wages to keep up with inflation, opposition to layoffs, safety on the job, union recognition—are top concerns of women.

### New York

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 to the site of the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire, where 140 workers, nearly all women, died in the infamous 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 commemorative banner bearing the words of Joe Hill—"Don't mourn, organize"—the contingent then proceeded to the UAW District 65 headquarters. There, 500 people attended a program of speakers, dance, 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 program on Cuba 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 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 lack of childcare, 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 deep-going sentiment for women's equality that arose in the 1960s and '70s emboldens working women to tackle these problems—and 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 200 unionists met in Washington, D.C., January 24 for a conference on organizing women workers, co-sponsored by CLUW and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

The impact of 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 and a minority representative . . . as vacancies arise.

This spring, the labor-women's alliance can take a big step forward toward the Illinois ERA ratification campaign. The May 10 actions can attract and mobilize scores of unions and thousands of working women. They can strengthen NOW and CLUW.

This campaign, going forward from the LERN and March 8 actions, shows the kind of movement that can win ERA and that can become one of the most electrifying forces for change in this country.

## Calif. CLUW discusses May 10 ERA march

By Zella Horseman

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 unions.

Gwen Marshall, chairperson of the women's committee of United Auto Workers Local 148, suggested that building the Chicago march be combined with building the California Conference of UAW Women scheduled for April 20. She said the conference will open with a forum on the ERA and the draft.

Local 148 represents 14,000 McDonnell-Douglas workers at the Long Beach plant, 4,000 of whom are women.

Robert Johnson, civil rights coordinator of United Steelworkers District 38, addressed an equal rights workshop of seventy people. "There was a time when women were supposed to be seen and not heard, produce children and not inquire," he said.

"Today women are saying, 'I want equal rights,' and men are backing up their demands. Today's women, Black and white, are moving to speed up the automobile of equality. The Steelworkers are 100 percent behind you," Johnson pledged.

When a resolution against the draft was read, participants in the workshop burst into applause. A woman from the postal workers' union told the workshop that the antidraft resolution would be taken to her union's next national convention. Referring to Carter'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 lines, since the war would be waged for Exxon, Mobil, and other giant oil monopolies.

Twenty-five new members joined CLUW at the conference.





Militant/Lou Howort

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 marchers from colleges, 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 action 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 Socialist* as well.

At a Pathfinder Press literature table, the runaway best seller was the new pamphlet, *The 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 protester 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 nation's 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 on support for Democratic or Republican candidates.

Carter, of course, was roundly assailed. But aside from a few none-too-enthusiastic plugs by several of the speakers, there was little visible support for Kennedy, who tries to project himself as the antidraft alternative.

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 putting down rightful revolts in Africa or Latin America or, god help us, even in our own country."

The present movement begins, so to speak, on the political shoulders of the antiwar movement.

As the marchers poured onto the Capitol grounds, many grouped near the entrance to watch the rest come in.

There was a groundswell of applause and cheers as a group of Vietnam Veterans Against the War approached with a big banner that declared: "We won't be fooled again."

Links to key international issues were made in such signs as "I re-

member Vietnam. I won't fight in Afghanistan."

A group of supporters of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador insisted: "No draft, no war. No Vietnam in El Salvador!"

Another slogan tied in the fight against racism at home: "Fight the Ku Klux Klan, not the people of Iran and Afghanistan."

Dozens of college campuses were represented. An impressive number of marchers—perhaps 20 percent—were high school students.

One New York teenage activist got together with several friends, went to a peace office and got out a leaflet. From their high school and two neighboring schools, they brought down three busloads.

### Media coverage

The political import of this initial action against the draft was reflected in the extensive media coverage.

All three major TV networks gave the march prominent coverage as did both wire services and such papers as the *Washington Star* and *Post*, the *New York Times* and *Daily News*, the *Los Angeles Times* and *Boston Globe*.

The significance of the action was also recognized by right-wing forces. The anticommunist followers of Rev. Sun Myung Moon tried to disrupt the rally.

Mouthright right-wing slogans about Moscow opposing the draft, a well-organized group of about seventy-five of them tried to maneuver into positions where they could rush the speakers platform.

The police assumed a studied "hands off" posture as the "moonies," led by beefy goon types, tried to press through the crowd to the platform.

The organized marshals were successful in holding them back because some two dozen Vietnam veterans saw what was happening and joined in the defense effort.

Equally decisive, several hundred young people, mainly high school students, responded to an emergency plea and locked arms with the marshals to hold back the right-wingers.

The ready response of those who joined in defending the rally emphasized the seriousness of purpose that prevailed.

### 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 deter-

mined to stamp out the anti-imperialist rebellions that are now spreading on all continents. And the American capitalists are equally determined to put 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 weighing 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 rich have every reason for fear and foreboding. And, by the same token, partisans of peace and social progress have every reason to be encouraged.

## Feminists: 'No draft, no way!'

By Suzanne Haig

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"ERA, yes. Draft, no. Inequality's got to go!"

"No draft, no way. Ratify the ERA!"

"Childcare, not warfare!"

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 women.

Norma Becker of the War Resisters League told a cheering crowd, "We absolutely and totally reject the notion that equal rights for women means that females, along with males, must become killers and cannon fodder for the greater glory and profits of corporate America."

Former congressperson Bella Abzug voiced the sentiment of the demonstrators when she turned Carter's equality of sacrifice argument on its head. "If we're talking about equal rights," she said, "then young men have an equal right with young women not to sacrifice their lives for Exxon."

"If Congress were to enact capital punishment for men only, that doesn't mean feminists have an obligation to

Continued on next page



Continued from preceding page  
run around insisting that they be included.

"Our obligation is to make sure that no one is required to register for a draft."

Judy Goldsmith, national vice-president of the National Organization for Women, pointed out that women "don't need to go to the Middle East. We need to stay in this country and straighten it out. We need, after 204 years, to finally include women of this nation in its constitution through passage of the Equal Rights Amendment."

Leaflets for the NOW sponsored national march for ERA on May 10 in Chicago were well received.

The antidraft march included a special contingent of some 250 women carrying women's equality flags. They were organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Prior to the march, they as-

sembled across from the White House to hear speakers on women and the draft.

Anita Anand from India, stressed what many women's rights supporters are realizing. "As feminists," she said, "we have to be concerned about what this country is projecting for the entire world."

Pointing to Carter's budget cuts, she said they would come "from all the areas that we as women and we as oppressed minorities are affected by. They will come from existing programs of childcare, of medicaid, of poor people's programs, of welfare rights, of food stamp programs, and of women and infant care programs."

Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president of the United States, received hearty applause when she slammed Carter's attempts to pass the draft off as a victory for women's rights.

## Rally speakers reflected militant mood

By Priscilla Schenk

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The rally on the grounds of the capitol was spirited and militant. Cheers and chants punctuated the speakers as they praised the thousands who showed up to demonstrate their opposition to Carter's attempts to impose a new draft and a new imperialist war.

Bella Abzug, former Congress member, warned about the "new gimmick" of the Carter administration to try to convince people to accept registration. "This time they want to send young women as well as young men out to die. . . . We'll refuse to fall into that trap."

"Let's not kid ourselves," said Barry Lynn, chair of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), "when the administration tells us that the draft this time will be fair and equitable. It is impossible to create a fair and equitable draft system."

The demonstrators, many too young to have participated in the antiwar marches of the 1960s, cheered with pride as speakers compared this march to those of ten and fifteen years ago.

Alan Canfora was a student who was wounded at Ohio's Kent State University when National Guardsmen killed four student protesters there in 1970. To loud applause he explained that "the legacy of our fine antiwar tradition clearly remains with us today, here in Washington, D.C. In the 1980s we must continue on with the same spirit of resistance. Jimmy Carter and his rich friends are hoping that the American people will forget our proud history of resistance to war and injustice. But we will not forget."

Dave Dellinger, a longtime antiwar activist, said this movement is "stronger in spirit and in understanding. We are stronger because of the women's movement, the gay movement, the antinuclear movement, the affirmative action movement."

The rally program reflected this strength: there were feminists, Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano activists. Vietnam veterans, gay activists, students, labor leaders. And antinuclear fighters who encouraged everyone to come back to Washington on April 26 to demand an end to nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

Among the speakers were Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; Frank Jackalone, president of the U.S. Students Association; Rep. Ted Weiss, Democrat from New York; and Maggie Kuhn, president of the Gray Panthers.

The 1980s antidraft movement is "standing on the shoulders" of these earlier protests, as Andrea Lubrano Gonzalez of Washington CARD said. Because of this it is more aware of what lies behind this new draft call: the drive by the multi-billion-dollar



BEN CHAVIS

Militant/Lou Howort

corporations to maintain their hold on the colonial world.

"They are telling us that the people of Cuba, Nicaragua, Iran, and Afghanistan are our enemies," said Lubrano Gonzalez. "They are not our enemies. They are workers and students like ourselves. And they are trying to fight for a better life, just like we are."

"If they would be able to draft our young men and women, what would they fight for?" asked Kevin Lynch, representing United Auto Workers District 65. "Look at South America. On whose side would we fight? We practically installed that rotten regime in Chile. And they're digging trade union leaders out of mines today."

Several speakers linked the antidraft movement with the fight of workers and students in the colonial world to throw out their oppressors. Stokely Carmichael of the All African Peoples' Revolutionary Party declared, "Those of you who are marching today are just joining thousands and hundreds of thousands of people who have been marching all over the world for justice and will never stop until they get it."

Hilda Mason, a Black D.C. city council member, pointed to the people in the "corporate board rooms of Wall Street." These are the people who "profit from killing people around the world. If the corporation heads want to fight, let them fight!" The protesters cheered their agreement.

Rev. Ben Chavis, the recently released Wilmington Ten defendant, was warmly welcomed. In the weeks before the march he spoke throughout the Washington, D.C., Black community encouraging people to turn out for the antidraft protest.

When he spoke, he expressed the deep sentiments of the crowd: "In the 1980s we're going to rebuild the peace movement before the war starts. We're going to prevent the war from starting."

"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 against repression, against ignorance, against poverty."

Women gathering in Lafayette Park told the *Militant* what they thought about women's equality and the draft.

"ERA has nothing to do with the draft," said Amy Brewstein, a Philadelphia teacher. "This argument is a convenient tool of the anti-ERA forces."

Mary Walker from Binghamton, New York, came to the march with her campus 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 being picked up faster today than during the Vietnam days," she said. "People recognize what's really going on. They see news reports and piece things together. What they hear from the government is not credible."

"Look at the 60 Minutes TV program on Iran," she explained, referring to the recent exposé 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,' as though 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 Porter High School near Niagara 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 her sister, was skeptical about 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 Sharon from Howard University, told the *Militant* why they were marching. Sharon 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 Iran was "totally absurd. They showed solidarity to us by freeing Black and 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!" she said.

Alex Gillespie from Haverford College in Pennsylvania told the *Militant* he opposes U.S. intervention in Afghanistan. "Our national interests are dubious," he said. "Nothing is threatened 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.

## 4,000 in Bay Area protest

By Louise Armstrong

SAN FRANCISCO—Four thousand people joined a march and rally against draft registration here March 22.

Speakers at the rally included Jake Jacobs, secretary-treasurer Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-5; Rev.



# won't fight Texaco!



Militant photos by Lou Howort, Jon Hillson, Suzanne Haig

Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial Church; Rep. John Burton; Andrea Teper, president of San Francisco NOW; Dr. Carleton Goodlett, publisher of the Black weekly, the *Sun-Reporter*; Harry Britt, San Francisco board of supervisors member; Maria Esther Reyes, CASA Nicaragua; SWP presidential candidate, Andrew Pulley; Daniel Ellsberg of the Pentagon Papers case; and Jim Elliot, of the International Association of Machinists.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers had a table at the rally.

Gretchen Mackler, president of the Alameda County Federation of Teachers, was a cochair of the rally.

## 2,000 rally in Los Angeles

By Joanne Tortorici  
and Mercy Calman

LOS ANGELES—Some 2,000 people rallied here March 22 against the proposed draft registration.

Speakers included: Shelly Mandel, president of Los Angeles NOW; Paul Perlin, executive board member, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union; Rev. James Lawson, president of SCLC-West; Rosalio Muñoz, leader of the Chicano Morato-

rium during the Vietnam war.

Also speaking was Ron Kovic, the paraplegic Vietnam veteran and noted antiwar fighter; Jaime Jovel, of the El Salvadorian Solidarity Group; Andrew Muchechetere, representative of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union); and others.

Confined to a wheel chair, Ron Kovic drew cheers, chants and a standing ovation.

"How does it feel," he asked, "after all these years that they would have the nerve to try to do it again? That they would send another generation to be killed and wounded and paralyzed like myself?"

"Are you going to fight back?"

The crowd responded with a thundering "Yes!"

## 500 march in San Diego

By Judy White

SAN DIEGO—More than 500 anti-draft protesters marched through downtown San Diego March 22.

The predominantly youthful crowd also chanted to sympathetic bystanders who lined the street: "Hell no, we won't go. We won't die for Texaco!"

The rally that followed was co-

chaired by Bill Roe, local leader of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), and Larry Schwartz, a member of the American Federation of Teachers at San Diego City College.

An array of speakers from sponsoring organizations voiced their opposition to the draft. Several of the speakers were veterans of the movement against the Vietnam war and they compared the new antidraft movement to that one.

"In 1965, we didn't have many high school students in the antiwar movement," one observed. "Their parents wouldn't let them. Today they are here and their parents are here."

A big response was given Antigona Martinez, a high school student leader of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft and member of the Young Socialist Alliance, when she declared: "High school students have no interest in fighting another one of Carter's wars abroad. We have an interest in fighting for a better future here at home."

## Minnesotans rally at capitol

By Greg Cornell

TWIN CITIES, Minnesota—More than 300 protesters marched through snow to the state capitol in St. Paul March 22 where they heard an array of speakers denounce the draft.

Some passers-by cheered as the demonstrators marched through St. Paul's downtown area, and some joined the protest.

A group of Cub Scouts watching the demonstration raised their fists and applauded.

Addressing the capitol rally were representatives of the American Indian Movement; NOW; Chicanos for Political Action; Socialist Workers Party; Farmer-Labor Association; Libertarian Party; as well as representatives from labor, antiwar and gay groups.



Militant/Greg Cornell  
Twin Cities, Minnesota, rally

## 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 Elaine 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.

## Carter'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 prowar 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 Afghanistan but, 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 demonstration hold 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 shunned 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 antidraft rally in San Francisco, the only speaker to counter Carter's demagoguery 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.



# ...socialist coal miner speaks out

Continued from back page

if we shut down all nuclear plants?

There is an answer: coal.

Today, 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, and thousands more throughout the coal fields who need jobs.

Nuclear plants under construction could easily be converted to coal-fired facilities. Workers employed in constructing the nuclear plants would have jobs

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.

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 coal is the one energy source 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. We are 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

As 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.

But even the dirtiest coal is better than the dangers of nuclear power.

There is no known equipment and no amount of union control over job conditions that can eliminate the dangers of generating electricity with nuclear power.

Even short of a nuclear accident, nuclear power is a crucial health and safety issue for many workers—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 peril—only the profit needs of the energy corporations, 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 strikebreaking weapon because it served as an alternative for coal-fired electricity.

But miners put up a fight, blocking the industry's union-busting effort. 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 "tame" the UMWA and gut 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 Iranian revolution. But the fact is that the transportation, allocation, refining, and marketing of "OPEC oil" remain firmly in the hands of the giant U.S. oil companies.

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

Most young people don't buy it. "We won't die for Exxon!" has become a popular slogan in antidraft demonstrations across the country.

## Nationalize energy industry

The public is kept in the dark about energy supplies and profits, just as we are 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 coverups 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 hours, pace of work, 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 fuel.

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 board that meets 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 public.

## Labor and the antinuclear fight

The fight to shut down nuclear power plants is a fight against these same profiteering 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

## Harrisburg

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

Matilde Zimmerman, for vice-president  
Tom Moriarty, 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

opposition and called for converting Three Mile Island, if possible, so that it can burn anthracite coal, abundant in that part of Pennsylvania.

Both the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists have called for a moratorium on nuclear plant construction.

District 31 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 fight 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



Harrisburg, April 1979

backing nuclear power 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 the 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 antilabor.

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—wealth created by the labor of millions—is concentrated in the hands of a 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.

## Pamphlet on nuclear power

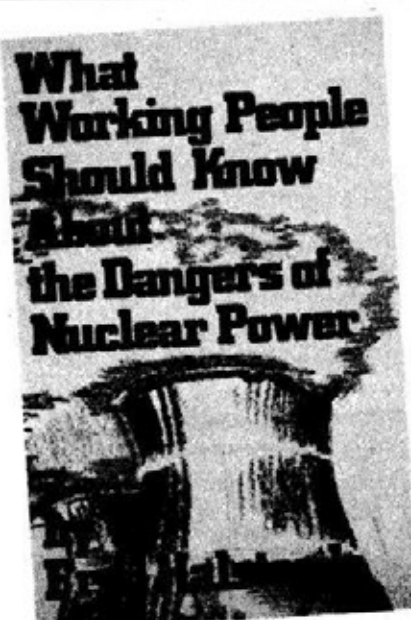
What are the dangers of nuclear radiation? What caused the Three Mile Island nuclear accident? What are the alternatives to nuclear power? This pamphlet answers these and other questions about the problems and dangers of nuclear power.

Also included is a statement 'What We Can Do To End Nuclear Power' by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

40 pp., \$.95

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

Enclose \$.75 for postage.





# 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 23 coordinating committee meeting of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World (CNNW) held in Washington, D.C.

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

Labor endorsers of the action now include William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists; Charlie Grimm, international field representative for UMW District 6 (Ohio); Tom Nowel, assistant regional director, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 8 (northwestern Ohio); Baldemar Velásquez, president, Farm Labor Organizing Committee; and Herb Green, international representative, United Auto Workers (Georgia).

Also endorsing are Del Castler, executive board, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Robert Comeau, Winn-Dixie Boycott Coordinator and United Food and Commercial Workers Union; Emil Drlik, president, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-346 (Ohio); Willie Williams, president, American Postal Workers Union Local 170 (Ohio); and others.

Several local unions have also voted to support the action, including AFSCME locals 1930 (New York) and 2027 (Washington, D.C.), United Steelworkers Local 1010 (Indiana), as well as United Food and Commercial Workers District 2, Region 4.

CNNW Region 8 (Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and northern Kentucky) representative Mike Ferner reported at the March 23 meeting that antinuclear forces in Indianapolis are presenting a slide show on nuclear power to International Harvester strikers, members of the UAW. Thus far, 400 strikers have seen the show.

Region 8, Ferner said, has been concentrating on labor outreach. They are aiming not just for endorsements, but for union commitments to bring bus loads of their members to the April 26 march.



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Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World 413 8th Street SE Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 544-5228 - 544-5550 Eastern Market Metro Station	Local Contact:	

Poster for national march can be ordered from Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World Region 8, 2307 Fulton St., Apt. 5, Toledo, Ohio 43620 (419) 242-1313.

Region 8 recently printed more than 21,000 April 26 posters and are distributing 13,000 of them to other regions.

Geri Bell from New England Region 9 reported that the Boston antinuclear coalition has rented an entire Amtrak train with 915 seats for the action. They also have twenty-five buses reserved.

The national staff of the coalition explained that mailings had recently gone out to women's centers and bookstores and to 4,000 campuses.

For materials and more information, contact the coalition at 413 Eighth Street SE, Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 544-5228.

## 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 18.7 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 referendums as a choice between nuclear power or austerity.

Sweden has virtually no coal or oil reserves and is the largest per capita importer of oil in Europe. The country 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 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 keeping the government's share at 80 percent. The Social Democratic proposal did, however, try to divide the antinuclear vote by promising to phase out the plants by 2010 and to build no new ones.

An antinuclear group was set up within the Social Democratic Party and it campaigned against the official pronuclear stand of the party and trade-union leadership.

Under the circumstances, the near 40 percent vote against nuclear power was a significant showing for the antinuclear forces.

## ...Middletown

Continued from back page

garette 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 hisses and boos from the entire room, "We're all gonna die sooner or later."

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

A woman who breeds champion dogs and lives "in the shadow of the cooling towers" told the horror of a puppy born with no eye sockets.

A farmer, Jane Lee, who lives inside the five-mile radius of the plant told of the spontaneous abortions and still births among her farm animals. One

calf that lived was blind and unable to stand or walk.

"These things never happened until the accident," she said. "What is happening to the animals is going to happen to us. You have to close the nuclear plants."

Anger was not reserved only for the NRC but for officials right up to President Carter.

Ann Sessa, a mother of five, said, "Jimmy Carter flew in and looked good in front of the cameras then disappeared and did nothing." The room erupted into cat calls and jeers at the mention of Carter.

Barbara Heibly said, "I've lost faith in the system."

Michelle Siewert, who is five months pregnant and lives two miles from the reactor, said, "I resent having a handful of people making decisions that affect thousands. We will never forgive or forget what you . . . are putting us through."

"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 pay for the 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. "You have earned our contempt," he belted, "There shall be no peace in Middletown, Pennsylvania, if you vent that gas!"

The crowd jumped to their feet and applauded this final warning. They meant business.

## 500 at Philadelphia teach-in

By Walt Joseph

PHILADELPHIA—The controversy over venting radioactive krypton gas at Three Mile Island is making people in Philadelphia—100 miles east of the damaged nuclear reactor—aware that "the accident is not over."

On March 15, 500 people attended a teach-in on nuclear power here sponsored by the Keystone Alliance. One of the speakers was Dr. Irv Stillman, who was called in last year 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 that it settles 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 liquid form, made into concrete blocks, and disposed of as "regular" nuclear waste. His advice was rejected as time-consuming and too expensive.

Giving further evidence that the NRC 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.

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

On March 18, seventy-five people joined an emergency picket line at the Philadelphia Electric Company to protest the planned krypton re-



Militant/Joel Walters  
**March 18 picket at Philadelphia Electric Company.**

lease in the Harrisburg area. Philadelphia Electric is constructing a nuclear plant in Limerick, about twenty miles from there.

The picket was sponsored by the Philadelphia Anti-Nuclear Coalition and the Keystone Alliance.

Public outrage over the TMI "clean-up" even prompted the *Philadelphia Inquirer* to editorialize against the krypton venting March 17. "The potential for harm to the residents of the area around Three Mile Island, and the health threat such a release poses to their offspring is too great to permit that to happen," the *Inquirer* said.

"Despite claims by NRC officials that the levels of radiation to be vented are within federal safety limits, it is a scientific fact that all exposure to radiation poses potential harm to present and future generations."



Militant  
**Middletown resident at March 19 hearing**



## 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.

In contrast to psychiatric hospitals in the United States, I was immediately struck by the absence of patients just sitting, lying down, or pacing restlessly and aimlessly—people with nothing to do for days and even years on end.

During our morning visit, most of the wards were empty except for an occasional individual. People were either doing useful work or involved in recreation and sports.

Nor did we have to pass through endless locked doors. The hospital has gone beyond an "open door" policy by simply removing dormitory doors.

The roomy one-story bungalows were almost spotless and the windows were open, the breeze adding to the sense of openness.

### Before the revolution

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.

Dra. 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 was then that the hospital changed its name from the one it had been given at its founding in 1857: *Casa Dementes* (House of the Demented.)

The hospital now has a modern sports stadium and a variety of gymnastic and sports equipment. There is no secret cure at the hospital. All that is



Militant/Harry Ring



Militant/Harry Ring

**Psychiatric Hospital of Havana.** Top, patients put on professional-quality musical performance for visitors. Below, occupational therapy in sunny, well-ventilated workshops.

practiced here are techniques known to modern psychiatry and used to different degrees around the world—such as chemotherapy and group and individual psychotherapy.

### Patients: part of society

The vital difference is that at this hospital, the patients are seen as an integral part of society. Every effort is made to remove barriers to their participation and reintegration into society as a whole.

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

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

An outstanding example of the meaningful work performed is the agricultural activity. The hospital boasts a chicken farm with a capacity of 10,000 chickens. Except for a veterinarian and an administrator, it is staffed by patients.

The skill with which they perform their work is seen in the statistics on bird deaths. The rate at the hospital farm is one-third the national average.

A good-sized area is devoted to growing Black Prince roses. These are sold nationally, as well as used in landscaping the hospital grounds.

According to the director, the hospital products produce a revenue of three million pesos [about \$4 million] a year.

Patients are paid for their work, permitting them to contribute to the needs of their families. Their activity gives them the dignity and pride that comes with contributing to society.

### Literacy drive

One indication that the Cuban government takes seriously the concept that the mentally ill are a part of society was offered during the 1961 drive against illiteracy. Hospital patients who could not read or write were systematically included in the drive.

That tradition is continued today with daily classes to raise the educational level of the patients.

There are other activities as well. Works of art by patients have been exhibited throughout Cuba and internationally. U.S. hospitals are cruelly understaffed. Here there is a staff of 1,700—a ratio of better than one staff person to three patients.

Each patient can be carefully followed, so that no one remains overlooked or on a dosage of medicine that makes them unduly drowsy or nonfunctional.

Cuba is a very poor country. Yet it allots for this one hospital six million pesos a year, or four pesos, seventy five centavos per patient a day.

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.

## SWP Leadership School Fund



**'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 \$48,300—only \$1,700 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 \$1,000, Atlanta \$585, Dallas \$600, Seattle \$1,460, Gary \$800, Salt Lake City \$320, and Portland \$485. 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.

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

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# World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events



Soldiers and working people hail overthrow of Daud in April 1978.

cuba internacional

## 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. The masses have taken their first steps toward political mobilization.

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: stiff 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 Annapolis, Maryland, 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 new economic aid and reduce from \$20 million to \$13 million the aid that had previously been pledged for 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, monarchists, 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 Islamic religious figures did go over to the counterrevolution, but they did so for reasons of politics and social class, not because of any 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 significant 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 killed outright, others 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 PDPA members and their families were massacred. Smaller armed actions have been carried out in Kabul itself.

### Bases in Pakistan

Counterrevolutionary attacks have been reported throughout much of Afghanistan, but the most sustained activity is in the provinces of Paktia, Nangarhar, Kunar, and Badakhshan. 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 camps, 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. In-

stead, 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 28 *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 Afghanistan 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 Nassry, a key spokesman for the group, met with American State Department officials in March 1979. Nassry 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 on next page*



Continued from preceding page

social and economic development—a legacy of 140 years of imperialist domination—is another major restraint hampering the implementation of the social reforms.

Afghanistan is a predominantly agricultural country, in which the vast majority of the population is employed in tilling the land or herding livestock. Very little industry was developed under previous regimes. The country does not have 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 to underwrite the needed programs; it must look abroad for aid. Ultimately, economic modernization in a country such 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 begin combating 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—is very small, numbering 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 was kept in utter ignorance. Between 90 and 95 percent of all Afghans could not read and write.

All but a few women were barred from the limited educational opportunities that existed, and women 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 cleavages tended to divide the oppressed from each other. They gave the khans (tribal chiefs and landlords) a continued social and political influence over large sectors of the rural populace. The counterrevolution sought 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. There, a popular revolution in 1974 led to the overthrow of the Ethiopian monarchy and the implementation of a sweeping land reform in a country 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 also similar to those in neighboring Iran.

So far, however, the Afghan revolution has not been of the same popular scope or depth as either the Ethiopian or Iranian revolutions. In the latter two countries, huge independent mobilizations of the workers, urban masses, and—particularly in Ethiopia—the peasants developed for months before the overthrow of the monarchies. In the process, the masses became highly politicized and gained confidence in their own strength and ability.

In Afghanistan the overthrow of the Daud regime was preceded by only ten days of relatively modest demonstrations, numbering in the tens of thousands at most, and confined almost entirely to Kabul. The insurrection was carried out by a section of the military under PDPA influence.

The country lacked trade unions, peasant associations, or other mass organizations at the time of the upheav-



Kabul



Merchant sells carrots in Kabul bazaar. Regime has tried to win support from businessmen and small traders.

val. 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, Babrak Karmal, Hafizullah Amin, and others—were Stalinists 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 alliances with “patriotic” merchants and “national” capitalists. One wing of the PDPA—the Parcham (Flag) faction of Babrak Karmal—initially supported Mohammad Daud and was rewarded with four posts in his regime. It was caught unawares when the “progressive” Daud then turned 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 crackdown on the PDPA leadership) and partly under pressure from its supporters 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 carefully, under strict party supervision, for fear that the actions 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 moderately. 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 constraints—was one of the greatest weaknesses of the Afghan revolution.

## Fruits of Bureaucratism

Coupled with the Afghan leadership's hesitancy to call out the masses was its over-reliance on the state apparatus to try to carry through the reform program. Since the civil service, police, and army had only been purged following Daud's overthrow—not dissolved and replaced with new mass-based, revolutionary institutions—they were far from reliable instruments. Under the pressures of the counterrevolution and the sharpening class struggle, fissures developed. Some army units mutinied and some defected to the enemy (although the extent of defections has been greatly exaggerated in the capitalist press).

The party's bureaucratic approach—without the self-correcting feedback from mass participation and involvement in decision-making—also left the leadership more prone to error and misjudgment.

Under the literacy campaign, for example, the PDPA activists who went out into the villages to organize classes immediately attempted to introduce coeducation, without regard to the problems of doing so in areas where women were still commonly segregated from men in public life. Rather than carefully and patiently trying to overcome conservative prejudices against women's emancipation, they sought to force the process.

When the regime cancelled the debts of poor peasants in 1978, it failed to

make adequate provision for alternate sources of financing for the peasants.

Similarly in carrying out the land reform, insufficient attention was paid to organizing the provision of agricultural assistance to the new peasant proprietors, who had previously relied on the landlords for seed, fertilizer, farm implements, and access to sources of water. An effective land reform requires careful organization and political preparation. Its results must be immediately tangible, easing the burdens on the peasantry; otherwise, the dispossessed landlords can play on discontent.

In dealing with the counterrevolution, the regime's response was likewise bureaucratic and arbitrary. Its basic answer to all opposition was repressive force. Since it was carried out with an army that had been formed under the monarchy, there were undoubtedly excesses, tarnishing the revolution's image in the countryside and making it more difficult to defeat the counterrevolution politically.

Repression, moreover, was not just used against the right. Any political dissent, even from supporters of the revolution and party members, was met with dismissal, imprisonment, or execution. The Aqsa (Agency for the Preservation of the Interests of Afghanistan), a secret police force assisted by Soviet advisers, was set up to deal with such opposition.

The absence of basic democratic rights for the toilers, combined with the regime's bureaucratic methods, gave the counterrevolution openings that could be exploited. The reactionaries were able to play on the uncertainty, confusion, and doubts that existed among sectors of the Afghan population. The conservative tribal chiefs were able to retain a degree of influence in some rural areas.

Besides restricting the revolution's base of support within the country through its methods, the PDPA regime also helped isolate the revolution abroad by adopting a sectarian stance toward the struggles of the Iranian masses. In a speech before party members in Paktia province on April 20, 1979, Taraki hailed the overthrow of the shah, but added that the Iranian masses had simply jumped “out of the frying pan into the fire” (as paraphrased in a Tass news agency dispatch).

The political weaknesses of the Afghan leadership were further magnified by sharp factional disputes.

The reunification of the PDPA's Khalq (Masses) and Parcham factions in 1977 had been an uneasy one. Within months of the PDPA's coming to power, the old disputes and rivalries erupted once again, with renewed vigor. If there were clear political disagreements involved, they were not made public.

Karmal's Parcham wing has often been termed in the bourgeois press as more “pro-Moscow” than the Khalq, but the evidence is not clear. Moscow itself has not consistently lined up behind either faction against the other. When Karmal attempted to win Soviet backing against the Khalq during the factional fights of 1978, he failed to get it.

Parcham lost the first round. In June and July 1978, Karmal, Anahita Ratebzad, and other Parcham leaders were removed from key positions of authority and “reassigned” as ambassadors abroad.

In August, Abdul Qadir and two Parcham members of the cabinet were arrested and accused of plotting to overthrow the Taraki regime. Qadir was a popular military figure who had played a key role in the April insurrection (as well as the overthrow of King Zahir Shah in 1973); although he was originally a Parcham member, he was not now closely identified with either faction.



"Confessions" were extracted from Qadir and the others, and they were tried and sentenced. Taraki claimed that Karmal and other Parcham leaders were also implicated in the alleged plot and expelled them from the party. When he called them back from their ambassadorial posts abroad, they prudently declined to return.

A few Parcham leaders survived the purge, but the bulk—accounting for a sizable minority of the party leadership—ended up in prison or in exile. Among the ranks, hundreds of Parcham supporters were dismissed from their posts or detained.

In 1979, as the growth of the imperialist-backed counterrevolution put greater strains on the regime, new rifts appeared within the Khalq faction itself.

As the year progressed, Hafizullah Amin steadily consolidated his position within the regime and party. In March he took over as prime minister from Taraki (who retained the post of president). In July he acquired the Defense Ministry, nudging aside Col. Aslam Watanjar, another central figure of the April 1978 insurrection. On September 14, after a shoot-out at the presidential palace, Amin emerged as head of state. Radio Kabul later announced that Taraki was dead, having succumbed to an unnamed "illness."

### September coup

The circumstances of the September coup are murky. But on the basis of the scraps of evidence available (including an internal party memorandum by Amin supporters), it appears that Taraki, with Soviet backing, had attempted to remove Amin from the government as a prelude to a possible reconciliation with the Parcham. Just days before the fighting in Kabul, Taraki had visited Moscow, where he received a warm public welcome from Brezhnev and reportedly met with Karmal. The plan to dump Amin backfired, however.

After Amin seized power, the strains with Moscow were evident. Amin's foreign minister, Shah Wali, virtually accused Moscow of having sided with Taraki. Under pressure from Amin, the Soviet ambassador in Kabul was replaced. Substantial ties with Moscow remained, however, and Soviet economic and military aid continued to pour in.

The change in government did not result in any basic shifts in policy, although Amin did put greater emphasis on the use of military force and repression. Aqsa, the secret police branch under Taraki, was disbanded and replaced by the KAM (Workers Intelligence Institute), headed by Amin's cousin, Assadullah Amin. Some political prisoners were released, only to be replaced by others.

A new wave of purges swept the government and party, further undermining their base of support. Colonel Watanjar and several other top military figures, under the threat of impending arrest, took refuge in the Soviet embassy. Suleiman Laiq, a long-time leader of the PDPA and one of the few Parcham figures still around, was expelled from the Central Committee.

In November 1979, the president of the Workers Union of Afghanistan, the central trade-union federation, was replaced by Hassangul Wafa Kargar, a new Amin appointee to the PDPA Central Committee. When he was presented before an assembly of workers, it was secret police chief Assadullah Amin who introduced him.

The sectarian attacks against the Iranian revolution became even more virulent. Each month, the *Kabul Times* carried at least one editorial devoted to condemning the "tyranny and despotism" of the "reactionary and fanatic regime of Iran, led by Khomeini."

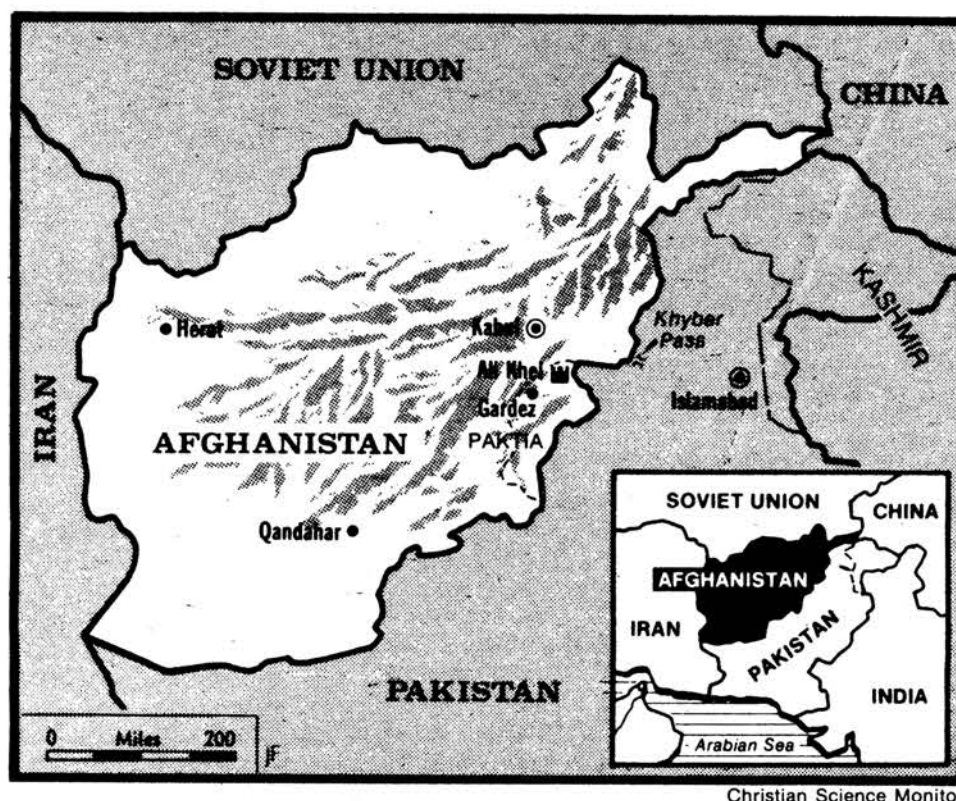
Amin's efforts to contain the coun-

terrevolution through armed might were unsuccessful. A major Afghan army offensive in Paktia in October inflicted heavy casualties on the guerrilla bands, but within weeks the rightists began to filter back.

The continual purges and the mounting pressures of the war weakened the regime. In October, troops mutinied at Rishkur, Kabul's largest infantry garrison. The tank corps at Pul-i Charkhi failed to come to Amin's assistance, although he managed to put the mutiny down without it.

### Moscow Forced to Intervene

The danger that the regime in Kabul might eventually succumb to the counterrevolution was growing. If the guerrilla armies had managed to oust the PDPA and march into Kabul, all the social gains of the Afghan revolution would have been in jeopardy. The workers and peasants would have faced severe repression. Imperialism's stranglehold over the country would have been reasserted and immeasura-



bly strengthened.

Moscow watched the developments in Afghanistan with anxiety. It feared the possible establishment of an openly proimperialist regime right on its southern border—in a country that had previously served as a military "buffer" state.

Although that danger had been growing for some time, the conservative bureaucrats in the Kremlin hesitated for as long as they could. The regime in Kabul had requested greater Soviet military assistance ever since December 1978. But it was only a year later that Moscow finally decided to act decisively.

To bolster the Afghan regime's fight against the counterrevolution, tens of thousands of Soviet combat troops began pouring into Afghanistan during the last days of 1979. It was a stunning blow to the reactionary bands, who have so far been incapable of putting up much resistance.

In the process of striking against the counterrevolution, however, Moscow also helped overthrow Amin and bring Karmal, the exiled Parcham leader, to power. Amin was promptly executed, along with Assadullah Amin and several others. They were then posthumously accused of having been "CIA agents."

There was little sign of mourning in Kabul for Amin's passing. But the bureaucratic way in which he was overthrown hindered the defense of the Afghan revolution. It made it much easier for the imperialists to launch an international propaganda campaign against Moscow and the new Afghan regime, to try to politically isolate them.

Inside Afghanistan, what was needed were not scapegoats, branded as "imperialist agents," but honest explanations of the difficulties facing the revolution—and sober assessments of past errors in dealing with them.

Despite Moscow's bureaucratic methods, the dispatch of troops to Afghanistan was an important aid to the revolutionary process. It was not directed at the social gains of the workers and peasants, but against those who want to overturn them. Objectively, it leaves open the door to further revolutionary advances by the Afghan masses.

### Continuity and Change

From the outset, Karmal's new government made it clear that it was basing itself on the program of the April revolution. It promised to defend the social gains that had been achieved.

According to Deputy Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand, the slogans of the regime are "Work for the jobless,"

the factional rifts that had torn apart the PDPA. Half of the posts in the new twenty-member cabinet were filled by party leaders who had been in Taraki's initial cabinet of April 1978, before the purges. Ministers were drawn from both factions, including three who had served under Amin. Abdul Qadir and Aslam Watanjar, the two leaders of the April insurrection, were named to the Presidium of the new fifty-seven-member Revolutionary Council.

Concurrently, as part of Karmal's attempts to reassure business circles, three nonparty figures were also appointed to the cabinet for the first time since the beginning of the revolution. One, Mohammad Khan Jalal, had been commerce minister under the Daud regime.

More significant, however, were the regime's efforts to rebuild and expand the revolution's base of support among the workers and peasants. A key aspect of that has been a campaign to convince the population that arbitrary arrests, detentions, and executions were a thing of the past.

Amin's secret police, the KAM, was abolished. A general amnesty was declared and thousands of political prisoners were released, many of them PDPA members. Karmal announced that a new constitution would be drafted and that other political parties that supported the revolution would be free to form. Freedom of religion was reaffirmed and stressed.

Together with these steps have been pledges to continue the social reforms begun in April 1978, minus at least some of the bureaucratic mistakes that had previously been committed. Coeducation, for instance, is now being introduced in a more experimental manner, not as a mandatory requirement for participation in the literacy classes. The new land reform drive announced by Karmal may help overcome some of the difficulties that accompanied the earlier one.

New resources will be made available for social programs and economic development. The initial draft of the first five-year plan, originally released in 1979, is being revised and expanded to include a substantial increase in Soviet assistance. Moscow had pledged to provide electricity, help set up the first oil refinery, and aid the development of Afghanistan's copper, coal, natural gas, and oil resources.

The sectarian stance of the Taraki and Amin regimes toward Iran has been dropped. Karmal issued various statements in support of the Iranian revolution and in a letter to Khomeini proposed that the two countries work together against "international imperialism."

To securely safeguard the revolution—and to definitively defeat the U.S.-backed counterrevolution—much more needs to be done. Above all, the workers and peasants will have to be mobilized and organized to advance their class interests against those of imperialism and the local exploiters.

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## 'Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW'

Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW. By August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, Oxford University Press. New York, Oxford, 1979. 289 pages. \$15.00.

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 the "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 struggles of the 1930s to organize the auto industry. It



Ford strikers confront goons and scabs at gate of River Rouge plant in April 1941



Drive Organizers, Black UAW staffers: (seated from left to right) Joe Billups, Walter Hardin, Veal Clough, Leon Bates, John Conyers, (standing) Christopher C. Alston, William Bowman.

"... the only real and potent ally that the Negro has in the struggle for survival in industry is the organized labor movement."

Horace Sheffield

## Books

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 accord and organizational ties with the UAW bureaucracy during the war years.

It proved to be a mutually beneficial relationship.

In the 1920s, Detroit enjoyed the distinction of having the largest chapters of both the NAACP and the National 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 unions.

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 empires were 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 helped change the political outlook and the traditional organizations in Detroit's Black community. This included the Urban League, the NAACP, even the "Negro church."

### Young Black leaders

The authors describe the activities of Paul Kirk, Walter Hardin, Horace Sheffield, William Nowell, Joseph Billups, Frank Evans, Shelton Tappes, Horace White, Christopher Alston, Coleman Young, Leon Bates, William Oliver, Oscar Noble, Gloster 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, onetime 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 1939, 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 1957, Sheffield and his colleagues formed the Trade Union Leadership Conference to upgrade Black workers in the plants and the unions.

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 Sojourner Truth Housing Project in February 1942. Black youth fought a pitched battle with white bigots and police.

In the aftermath, white UAW members joined 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 urgent need 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 Packard Local 190 union officials pulled the Black workers 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 Inter-Racial 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 25,000 workers, was finally settled in June when UAW President R. 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 how these wartime struggles for Black rights developed in Detroit, how Black working class leaders were repeatedly thwarted by the top UAW officialdom, how the hopes of Black people were frustrated.

Here is recorded for the first time the story of how completely the white leadership of 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 hewed to 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.

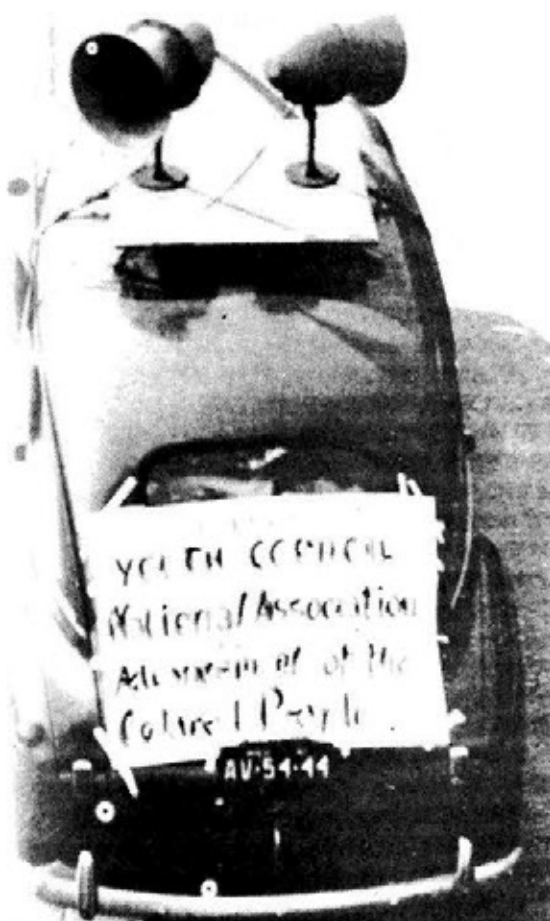
Another example is the well-known effort of Blacks in the UAW, almost from the founding of the union, to win a post on the International Executive Board. How this effort was constantly turned aside shows up more clearly in this description of it.

### 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



Battle of Overpass, River Rouge plant, May 1937: UAW leafleter pursued by members of Ford's Service Department, 'notorious for its regimentation and intimidation' of workers. Ford hired a few Black personnel managers in attempt to further divide workers.



Sound car driven by Horace Sheffield, NAACP Youth Council leader and trade union activist, in 1941 Ford strike.



UAW president R.J. Thomas and his Black staff, late 1944. From left to right: Horace Sheffield, William Bowman, Walter Hardin, Leon Bates, Arto Johnson, Oscar Noble, William Lattimore, George Crockett, William Fowler, Wesley Thompson, John Conyers.

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 raise further questions. How have petty bourgeois Blacks—preachers, doctors, lawyers, insurance brokers, real estate agents—managed to manipulate the Black community for their own selfish purposes? With the wealth of talent in the Black working class, why have Black workers not gained recognition and leadership?

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 do 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 resurgence of the 1960s, expressed through 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 discoveries, 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. Their bibliographical essay, explaining their sources, will be useful to other scholars who seek answers to the unresolved questions.

Their final chapter—"The Image and the Reality: An Epilogue"—is especially provocative and challenging, and should prompt further discussion 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 . . . "however, 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 Stalinists 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 Stalinist 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. 538 pp. \$7.95.

*A political biography of Walter Reuther: the record of an opportunist*, by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pp. \$40.

*Workers in the Changing South: the Impact of the Civil Rights Movement*, by Nelson Blackstock. 30 pp. \$95.

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



# Abu Ein fights extradition B'ham killer cop reinstated

By Bill Arth

DETROIT—Ziad Abu Ein, a nineteen-year-old Palestinian, has been held without bail in a Chicago jail since August 1979. He faces extradition to Israel, where he has been charged in a bombing in Tiberias last May.

The evidence produced by Israeli authorities consists only of a confession written in Hebrew and signed in Arabic by a Palestinian in an Israeli jail.

Jamal Yassin, the Palestinian prisoner who signed the confession naming Abu Ein, has since repudiated it in a sworn affidavit. Yassin does not know Hebrew.

In addition, fourteen affidavits have been collected from witnesses who state that Abu Ein was working in the family store in his home town of Ramallah at the time of the bombing. Ramallah is seventy-five miles from Tiberias.

More than 100 supporters attended a meeting to defend Ziad Abu Ein March 9. The meeting, conducted in English and Arabic, was held at the Beit Hanina Social Club in Dearborn, Michigan.

Speakers at the meeting included Sami Esmail, a Palestinian-American and former political prisoner in Israel; Abdeen Jabara, Abu Ein's attorney and a prominent defender of Palestinian human rights; and Fayez Khozindar of the Ziad Abu Ein Defense Committee in Chicago.

Supporters of Abu Ein's case are urged to send letters demanding his release to Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State; U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C. 20520 and to Benjamin Civiletti, Attorney General; U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM—More than one hundred cars filed through the streets of this city March 19 in memory of Bonita Carter and to protest the return to duty of George Sands, the cop who shot and killed the young Black woman last summer.

The motorcade assembled at Jerry's Seven-Eleven, site of the slaying. The procession then drove to the center of town, where it circled city hall before proceeding to the cemetery where Bonita Carter is buried.

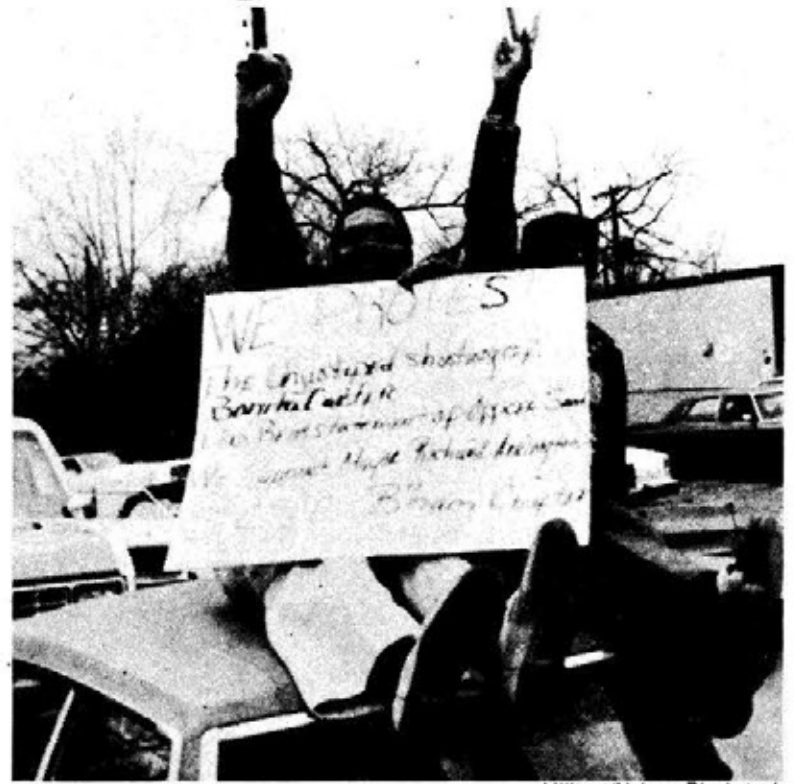
Speakers at the graveside included Rev. Abraham Woods, president of this city's Southern Christian Leadership Conference chapter, which organized the protest, and Mayor Richard Arrington.

Woods condemned the return of Sands to the police force. At the same time he praised Arrington, even though it was Arrington's decision not to appeal a state court ruling the previous week that cleared the way for Sands to return to work.

The outrage among Blacks was clear on the faces of the youth in Bonita Carter's neighborhood, where the demonstration began. They waved signs at passing cars urging them to join the motorcade.

The killing of Bonita Carter last summer set off a wave of protests. In the wake came the eclipse of the political career of liberal white Mayor David Vann, who refused to fire Sands, and the election of Arrington, Birmingham's first Black mayor.

Sands had been on leave



Motorcade through Birmingham protests reinstatement of George Sands.

since right after the killing. At one time he said that he wanted to kill himself and everybody who had "persecuted" him.

Police Chief Bill Meyers announced last month that Sands was returning to duty as a guard at the airport. Arrington vetoed the move, saying he wanted Sands to work as a fire fighter instead. A state court soon ruled that Arrington had no power to block Sand's return, a decision the mayor refused to appeal.

On March 12, the day Sands returned to duty, some 200 angry Blacks turned out to a

meeting called by SCLC. There Woods announced plans for the motorcade and for a boycott of white-owned businesses. Plans for the boycott remain tentative.

Woods also said that SCLC attorneys will go into federal court to get Sands barred from the force.

Meanwhile, Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in last fall's election, said: "Sands is a cold-blooded killer. He should be arrested and prosecuted for murder. The only job he needs is pressing license plates in the state prison."

## Peltier trial victim freed

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES—A federal judge said here March 10 that substantiation of the charges of an FBI plot to assassinate American Indian activist Leonard Peltier would signify "Gestapo techniques . . . [that] should not be tolerated."

Judge Robert Takasugi suggested that a commission be set up to investigate sworn charges of an FBI plot to kill Peltier in prison.

Takasugi made this statement at the sentencing hearing of Roque Orlando Duenas, also active in the Native American movement.

Duenas had been tried earlier before U.S. District Judge Lawrence Lydick, along with Peltier and Bobby Garcia, for aiding Peltier's escape from prison last year.

Peltier had stated that he escaped because he feared for his life. But Judge Lydick refused to permit evidence to

support this charge at the trial.

Peltier and Garcia were convicted of prison escape December 22. A mistrial was declared for Duenas and the case transferred to Judge Takasugi.

Following the transfer, Duenas pleaded guilty to the charge of aiding the escape. Takasugi, however, took into consideration the sworn statement of Robert Wilson, a prisoner with Peltier, testifying that a prison official and a stranger offered him assistance and favors "if I would cooperate in 'neutralizing' Leonard Peltier."

Takasugi limited Duenas's sentence to the eight months he had served while awaiting trial. He was released after the hearing.

Duenas told the *Militant*, "It is a rare time when a federal judge has taken such a strong and proper position. He was saying something is wrong here and we should clear it up."

## N. Mex. warden: ex-CIA

The man appointed to take charge of the New Mexico State Penitentiary spent most of his career working for the U.S. Office of Public Safety (OPS), which earned international notoriety for training Latin American police in torture techniques.

Adolph B. Saenz was appointed New Mexico's Secretary of Criminal Justice on January 31, two days before intolerable conditions at the prison led to the most explosive prison rebellion since Attica in 1971.

Revelations about Saenz's background were disclosed in a story by Roger Morris in the *Santa Fe Reporter*, and reprinted in the *Dallas Times Herald*, March 6.

Saenz worked for OPS in several Latin American countries, including Uruguay from 1965-1969. He denied the torture charges, claiming he was involved only in "technical assistance to improve the administration and training" of local police.

But during that period, according to a report issued later by the Uruguayan National Senate, torture by police had

become "normal, frequent, and habitual."

Even in his denial of involvement, Saenz revealed his cavalier attitude toward torture of prisoners. "They," he said, referring to Latin American police, "don't need our help for that kind of stuff."

James Abourezk, who led a fight in the U.S. Senate to abolish OPS in 1975, said, "The OPS was a CIA operation, basically not to deal with ordinary crime, but to help Latin dictators hold their own people down."

Others who have condemned the OPS for torture training are Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and the Catholic Church in the United States.

Saenz says that the individuals and groups making such charges have been "duped by Marxist propaganda."

In appointing Saenz to his new post, New Mexico Gov. Bruce King said that his background had been "thoroughly checked," and that Saenz was a person of "excellent quality and expert experience."

Saenz will be in charge of reimposing discipline in the New Mexico prison system.

## St. Louis told to desegregate schools

By Marty Anderson

ST. LOUIS—In a unanimous decision March 3, the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the board of education here to desegregate public schools.

The board has sixty days to submit a plan that includes busing for the 1980-81 school year.

A line running east to west through St. Louis divides the school system into predominantly Black northern and white southern halves. Schools were segregated by law until the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court *Brown* decision outlawing segregation.

Since then, the board has instituted several "desegregation" plans, all of which resulted in greater segregation.

In 1974, the NAACP, Concerned Parents of North St. Louis, and other groups filed suit against the board.

On April 12, 1979, U.S. District Court Judge James H. Meredith ruled against the suit, claiming the segregation was not intentional. It was Meredith's ruling the appeals court overturned.

In spite of continued resistance by the school board, the city, and the local antibusing group—Concerned Parents for Neighborhood Schools—the appellate court ruling is clear.

The ruling states that segregation "has been sustained and strengthened by the actions of the board in the years since [1954]."

The ruling recommends several plans that would be acceptable, including inter-district, and city-county student transfer. This proposal has been sharply opposed by county school officials.

Pro-desegregation forces hailed the court's decision. Dr. James DeClue, education com-

mittee chairperson of the St. Louis NAACP, called the ruling "a case of simple justice."

"It vindicates everything we have said all along," he said. "The schools are merely being asked to do something they should have done a long time ago. There are no losers in this decision, and the biggest winners will be the kids." DeClue also challenged the district's contention that sixty days was not enough time to draw up a plan.

A prime mover of the desegregation fight is the Concerned Parents of North St. Louis. Minnie Liddell, the group's president, said, "If we are to make an equitable education accessible to all children, we cannot do it in a segregated system. The taxpayers should know that they [the school board] have wasted millions of dollars already" fighting desegregation.

## Electricians strike Burlington Northern

By Bernie Senter

DENVER—Electricians on the Burlington Northern railroad walked off their jobs March 10. The strike lasted four hours and affected railroad operations in 13 states.

The strikers were defending certain electricians' jobs that the company had turned over to non-union employees.

The walkout started in Lincoln, Nebraska, where the job

abolishments took place, according to an International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union official in Chicago. It spread to roundhouses and many freightyards across the Burlington Northern system, one of the largest in the country.

The walkout was organized by the IBEW.

The strike came as a complete surprise to thousands of BN employees who came to

work that morning. The long-standing tradition not to cross a picket line was honored. In Denver, hundreds of workers milled around outside the roundhouse assisting the IBEW strikers.

The strike ended when the company agreed to reinstate the electricians. As one picketing IBEW member said, "It's necessary to flex your muscles sometimes, so the company doesn't get out of line."





**Life can be wonderful**—Miss Piggy, Kermit the Frog, and other Muppets are selling briskly as stuffed toys at \$9 to \$13 apiece. They are turned out at twin border plants in Brownsville, Texas, and Matamoros, Mexico. Women in Matamoros do the assembly and, according to the plant manager, simply adore the Muppets. "These people walk out of here happy and smiling every day," he said. They work a forty-eight-hour week and get less than \$40.

**Skeptics**—The companies that insure nuclear reactors seem unpersuaded by the safety assurances of their clients. Since Three Mile Island, nuclear property insurance rates have been hiked 63 percent.

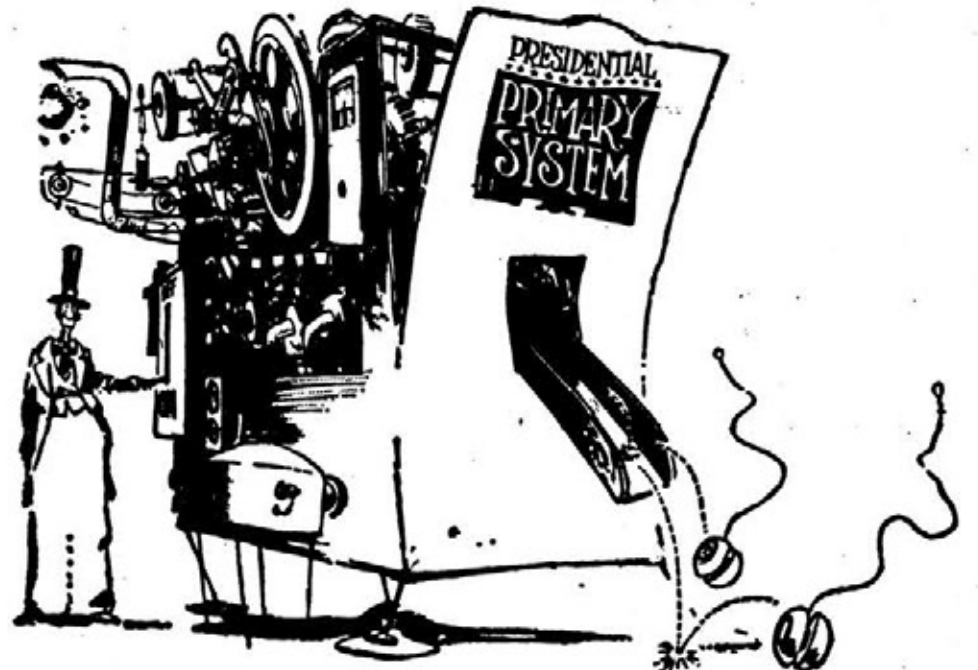
**With bedpans and everything**—According to Reagan, Medicaid patients spend five times as long in the hospital as private patients. "You and I in the hospital," he said, "we're figuring costs. We begin to say to the doctor, 'When can I go home?' But they never had a servant. They're laying there being waited on."

**Defending the American Way**—The CIA once planned to get a diseased diving suit to Fidel Castro.

**Political philosophy dep't**—"The organization is still alive. It's still the strongest in this city. But the deliverable vote is just not as deliverable as it use to be."—A Chicago alderman on the setback suffered by Mayor Jane Byrne's machine in the Democratic primaries.

**Favors system**—The head of the Los Angeles Civil Service Commission draws \$170 a day for conducting hearings. In 1979, he knocked down \$40,000 for such hearings, including a number of days when he drew double per diem. This, he explains, is when he conducted a hearing and wrote a report the same day. "I'm a workaholic," he confides. "Not everyone is as committed as me. But somebody needs to see that the system works."

**A steal**—The price of silver has dropped 60 percent since January's peak, so, Tiffany's and Cartier's are passing on the savings. Both are reducing silver products a fast 15 percent. For example, a silver baby's cup that cost \$70 two years ago is now marked down to \$350.



Wright/Miami News

## Reading From Left to Right

### Gus Horowitz



## 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 reading on the same subject, turn to the liberal weekly, the *Nation*, one of the few publications that has largely stood apart from the anti-Iran hysteria permeating the media here.

In the March 1 issue, Carl Kaplan and Fred Halliday 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 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 source was that "Iranian officers, Savak agents and Savak Internal Security Division members (the squad responsible for domestic repression and torture) received training at the International Police 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 Sean McBride, 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 shah.

McBride 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 McBride 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 Reza 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.

## What's Going On

### CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**WHY UNION MEMBERS SHOULD OPPOSE NUCLEAR POWER.** A panel discussion. Speakers: Pete Beltran, president, United Auto Workers, Local 645; Iris Edinger, United Teachers of Los Angeles; Mike Linfield, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; Steve Piccola, member, Butchers Local 563 and Alliance for Survival Labor Task Force; Stan Schecter, member, UAW Local 887, Atomics International. Fri., March 28, 7:30 p.m. United Teachers of Los Angeles Hall, 2511 W. 3rd St. Ausp: Labor Task Force, Alliance for Survival. For more information call (213) 738-1041.

### SAN DIEGO

**NO NUCLEAR POWER.** A film showing with a speaker from the Los Angeles Alliance for Survival. Tues., April 8, 7 p.m. San Diego State University, Aztec Center, Room C. For more information call (714) 272-8459.

### COLORADO BOULDER

**AFGHANISTAN, PERSIAN GULF, AND THE U.S. WAR DRIVE.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Mon., April 7, 8 p.m. Univ. Memorial Center Ballroom, Univ. of Colo. Ausp: World Affairs Conference, Univ. of Colo. For more information call (303) 534-8330.

### DENVER

**RALLY FOR ANDREW PULLEY.** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Silvia Zapata, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Carol Sudmeyer, SWP candidate for Congress, District 1; others. Tues., April 8, 7:30 p.m. Capitol Hill Community Center, 1290 Williams. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (303) 534-8330.

### NEW YORK

**LOWER MANHATTAN**  
**PUERTO RICO: PARADISE INVADIED.** Films for Activists series. Directed by Alfonso Beato. Spanish

dialogue with English subtitles/en español. 30 minutes, color. Thurs., April 10, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor (one-half block east of Union Square). Donation \$2. Ausp: New York Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

### OHIO CINCINNATI

**AN EVENING WITH THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES.** Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president; Scott Breen, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. Buffet dinner party. Sat., April 5, 6:30 p.m. 2805 Euclid. Donation: \$5. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (513) 751-3623.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**HEALTH HAZARDS ON THE JOB.** Speakers: Rick Finnell, research teratologist, Univ. of Oregon; Dr. David Linder, professor of pathology, Univ. of

Oregon; Tony Barsotti, local trade unionist involved in health and safety on the job. Sun., April 6, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### TEXAS SAN ANTONIO

**THE KICKBACK SCANDAL AT SAN ANTONIO COLLEGE.** Speaker: Rick Casey, editor, F.A. Magazine. Fri., April 4, 8 p.m. 1406 N. Flores. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

### UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; Utah socialist candidates. Sat., April 5, dinner 6:30 p.m. (RSVP); rally 8 p.m. 37 W. 1700 South. Donation: Dinner and rally \$6; rally only \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (801) 355-1124 or 364-3514.



## Our Revolutionary Heritage

### 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 is what Leon Trotsky, then living in exile from tsarism in New York City, wrote about the Commune on March 17, 1917. Trotsky 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 \$1.05 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 troops of Hohenzollern [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 self-same workers they had been prior to the war. The Parisian proletarians refused to let the weapons 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 before the onslaught of bourgeois cohorts. Then ensued weeks and months of bloody reprisals upon the participants in the proletarian revolution.

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



19th century English tribute to French Commune.

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, pulled down the Column of Vendôme [a monument to the military victories of Napoleon I], transferred all duties and posts to genuine servants 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" Bismarck [chancellor of Germany]—who immediately became its class ally—drowned in blood the uprising of its real enemy: the working class. The plans and tasks of the Commune did not find their realization. But instead they found their way into the hearts of the best sons of the proletariat in the entire world. They became the revolutionary covenants of our struggles.

And today, on March 18, 1917, the image of the Commune appears before us more clearly than ever before; for, after a great lapse of time, we have once again entered into the epoch of great revolutionary battles.

### Profit monster

It sounds so neat and simple in the Jones and Laughlin employee newsletter, *Up Date*: "Operations at the cold finished bar facilities at Pittsburgh Works were cut back in January . . . About 125 employees . . . were affected."

Affected? You bet we were. Management turned off our machines and locked us out of our jobs!

All the orders are now being sent to J&L's other three "more efficient facilities . . . which have been operating at less than full capacity."

How many steelworkers are paying with their jobs for companies that find it more profitable to let old facilities rot away? J&L says the shutdown is "temporary."

If the other plants boost operations to three full shifts, and if there is still a spill-over of orders, then we'll catch them. That's a lot of ifs to live on.

Pittsburgh Works management told USWA Local 1843 that a big reason for the shutdown is that "costs per ton of steel per manhour have doubled." When the local asked for proof of this, the company drew us a graph. But nobody was impressed by a little diagonal line that doesn't even give us a clue of what their costs are based on or what profits they've been making off us all these years.

Workers are suspicious of the company's game. Some think they might be out to pull an "Ambridge job" on the workers at the other three facilities: demand that they separate from the Basic Steel agreement or they'll get closed down too.

Others think they may come back to us and promise to reopen our mill if we take an incentive cut like the Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers in nearby Allentown.

Lots of us think the timing of our shutdown is part of the bosses' strategy during contract talks: scare the union so bad that workers will be glad if they walk away from the negotiations just holding onto their jobs.

We're all left in the dark about what's happening and how we can fight back as long as companies can keep secret the real record of their costs and profits. Don't we have a right to know? We made their money, and it's our livelihoods at stake.

LTV, J&L's parent company, is a hungry conglomerate. It chews us up and spits us out if we don't satisfy this monster's taste for profits.

A J&L production worker  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

### Reviewer replies

Joseph Auciello (February 22 *Militant*) and Barbara Mutnick (March 21 *Militant*) both complain that my review of Joseph Heller's *Good As Gold* didn't do the book justice. Specifically, they are concerned with my comment that Heller seems to tolerate the imbecility of capitalist politics as something relatively harmless.

Mutnick points out that Heller attacks Henry Kissinger

as the personification of the evil of capitalist politics. I don't dispute that Kissinger is treated as a real threat to humanity. In fact, I make that point in the review.

I also wrote, however, that Heller *doesn't* make a connection between Kissinger and administration bureaucrats like presidential aid Ralph Newsome.

Auciello says Newsome is a comic figure like Milo Minderbinder in *Catch-22*. It's true that Newsome and Milo are comic. But Milo Minderbinder's actions throughout *Catch-22* show the real destructive power of war profiteering (for example, when Milo contracts with the Germans to have American planes bomb their own base). In the case of Ralph Newsome, we never see that sort of thing. He's simply a bland voice on the other end of the phone.

One of the myths of capitalist politics is that functionaries like Ralph Newsome (or Jody Powell, or Hamilton Jordan, or even Jimmy Carter) are somehow removed from the world of CIA coups, firebombings of villages, and other terrorist actions.

In *Catch-22* Heller showed with terrible intensity the connection between "businessmen just trying to make a profit" and the stark effects of war.

*Good As Gold* doesn't do that. Politicians are divided into bad (Kissinger) and crazy (Ralph). That's a false division and in my opinion it seriously detracts from the overall impact of the book.

Peter Archer  
Toledo, Ohio

### Crisis at Attica prison

A crisis situation now prevails at Attica. A riot almost erupted here on January 27 and did in fact explode on January 30. Not one accurate account has filtered back here to the slaves, being held practically incommunicado and suffering the most offensive atrocities since September 1971.

The racist and oppressive administration has purposely lied and deceived the public. The established press has grossly misrepresented events. The reasons given by "authorities" and their lackey press varies from overcrowded, trouble-makers, religious animosities, etc.

Not once have they even come close to expressing the real reasons the guards were attacked on the 27th and 30th. Inmates are simply fed up with the degradation, humiliation, oppression, dehumanization, and suppression that we suffer daily at their hands.

The state spends, at the very least, \$100,000 to put a man in prison. Heaven knows what that type of money could do for the wretched soul, from some depressed community, who will take my place on his sixteenth birthday or even sooner now.

Forget the thought of it, far too many parasites would lose their privilege. So the pillage continues. But the opposition is growing. And when all other alternatives have been exhausted, violence will erupt. For the contradictions that exist in the present order will

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initiate it. The people are slowly awakening from a 500-year stupor. We no longer vent our rage upon each other.

They will euphemistically call this type of education "troublemaking," but we choose to be more explicit, conscious raising!

The Attikka administration has vowed to rid itself of the "troublemakers." We know better, not one guard will be removed!

A prisoner  
Attica, New York

## On selective breeding

I just read the article on selective breeding of humans (*Militant*, March 14) and I agreed with all specific points in it. However, it also struck me as an out-of-hand rejection of human selective breeding, which I think is a serious mistake.

The ultimate goal of socialism is to improve the human condition and selective breeding could do much to further that goal. Inherited disease such as diabetes and sickle-cell anemia could be eliminated. And, yes, human intelligence could be improved by encouraging the breeding of obvious geniuses and, with their consent, sterilizing retardates who weren't made that way by specific non-genetic causes.

Of course individual freedom and the right to control one's own body must always be preserved. No one should be sterilized without their consent.  
Roger Bailey  
Charleston, West Virginia

## Correction

In the March 28 *Militant*, the article entitled "Young workers build antidraft movement" reported that "an emergency resolution opposing reinstitution of the draft was passed" during a meeting of United Steelworkers Local 4333 at Cleveland Crane in Cleveland, Ohio. No resolution was passed. However, a presentation on why labor should oppose the draft and support the March 22 demonstration was made and an antidraft petition has been circulated in the plant.  
George Chalmers  
Cleveland Ohio.

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

## 'Bureaucratic despotism' or workers state?

A piece I wrote on the Soviet Union in this column (March 14) drew a response from Robert Nordlander, a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, a small group claiming descent from the great early American socialist Daniel De Leon.

Nordlander 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 can one logically refer to the Soviet Union as a 'workers state'?"

The alternative proposed by Nordlander (and the SLP) is that the Soviet Union is a "bureaucratic despotism" since "the country is run despotically through a secret police force (KGB) and a gigantic military apparatus."

As I made clear, the *Militant* agrees that the Soviet Union is governed despotically by a bureaucratic caste. The bureaucrats repress the working masses in order to protect their own material privileges.

Nordlander and the SLP 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 won through the Russian revolution?" For the underlying social and economic structure determines the character of the state.

The term "bureaucratic despotism" tells us nothing about this. The Soviet Union today is hardly the first "bureaucratic despotism" in history.

From the Roman empire, to the France of Louis XIV, to that of Napoleon Bonaparte after the French Revolution, down to Hitler and Mussolini, governmental tyranny resting on "a secret police force and a gigantic military apparatus" has appeared on many different economic foundations.

Nor is the Soviet bureaucracy the first to use its position of political power to accumulate great material wealth. In every one of these cases, the bureaucrats used despotic political authority to rip off a substantial part of the social product. (Indeed, this phenomenon isn't unknown—to put it mildly—among bureaucrats under more democratic governments).

But in none of these societies was the bureaucracy the ruling class. The bureaucracy 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).

In Rome, the imperial officialdom guarded the big landowners in their ownership of a vast population of slaves. Under Louis XIV, feudal relations were defended against the rising capitalists and restive serfs. Napoleon, on the other hand, was obliged to guard the progressive economic conquests of the French Revolution of 1789—capitalist property relations—against feudalists, in addition to suppressing the exploited masses. And Hitler and Mussolini upheld the reactionary interests of the capitalists of Germany and Italy, against the working people and also against rival imperialist powers.

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 inherited, 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 wrest political power away from 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 greedy accumulation of consumer goods, could they assert personal ownership over the factories, mines, railroads, 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 anarchy of capitalist production for profit. For the Soviet workers, they have 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 of humanity—the abolition of production for profit in favor of planned, cooperative production to meet human needs.

That's why we defend the Soviet Union against all attempts to reintroduce the old, reactionary, outmoded social order of capitalism.

Nordlander'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 masses of Soviet workers who are ready to defend these conquests with their lives (as World War II demonstrated).

In my columns, I made a comparison between the bureaucratically misruled Soviet Union and the bureaucratically led unions in this country.

The SLP has historically taken the same attitude toward the unions as it does toward the Soviet Union. For decades it rejected the unions because they were run by antidemocratic and class-collaborationist officials. SLP members were urged not to join unions, and not to support strikes. Fortunately, this reactionary position has been modified recently.

The *Militant* on 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 in order to effectively defend workers the unions must be transformed through the building of a mass, class-struggle left wing in the labor movement.

And we think the Soviet workers state needs an antibureaucratic revolution so that the workers and farmers can do away with the antidemocratic practices, corruption, mismanagement, and class-collaborationism of the ruling bureaucrats.  
—Fred Feldman

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.  
**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.  
**CALIFORNIA:** East Bay: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.  
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**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.  
**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.  
**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.  
**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.  
**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.  
**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.  
**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Oberlin: YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box 679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0084. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.  
**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.  
**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.  
**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Tom Dynia, 2024 Goodrich Ave. #110. Zip: 78704. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.  
**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.  
**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.  
**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.  
**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4888 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.  
**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.  
**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



# THE MILITANT

## 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 "cleaning 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 Elizabethtown 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 Bar-noski, 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 ci-

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### 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?

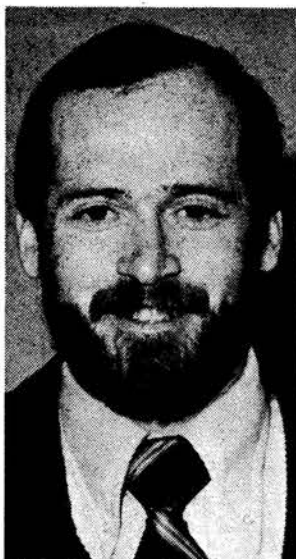
The "purge" alternative, the NRC report admits, "results in the greatest environmental impact in terms of public dose during normal operations, even though such doses are well within applicable regulations."

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, Socialist 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.



MORIARTY

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. Unless nuclear power is stopped. Now.

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 in 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

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