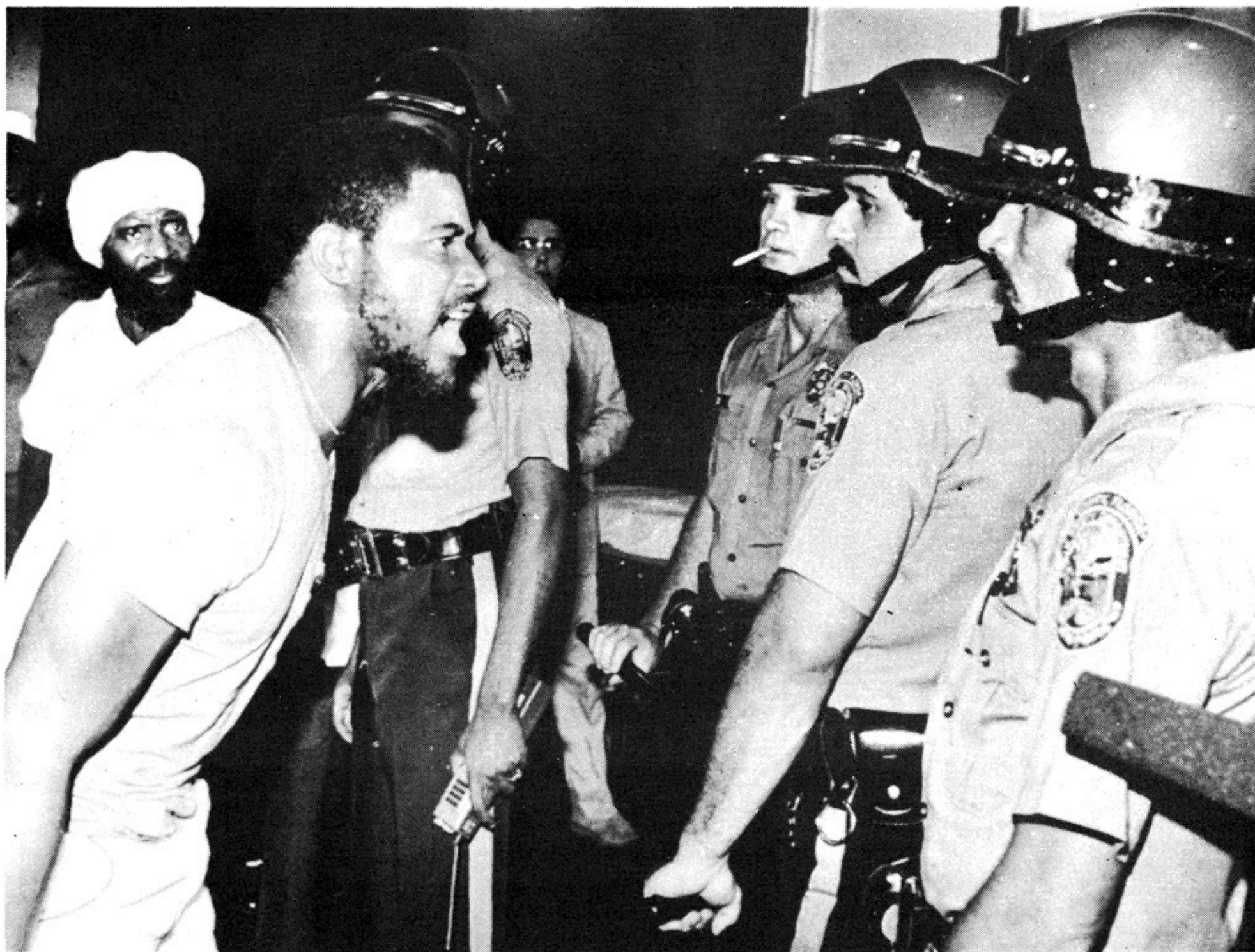


THE MILITANT

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

Why Miami exploded 'We want to be treated like human beings'



At Miami hospital, resident condemns cops for refusing to let ambulance pick up his cousin, wounded in rebellion. Miami Blacks speak out—pages 4-6.

By Harry Ring

MIAMI, May 21—About 3,600 National Guard troops and an equal number of cops have occupied this city's Black community for four days.

Some sixteen people, almost all Black, have been killed.

About 300 have been wounded, about 1,000 have been arrested.

The news media have tried to portray the rebellion here as a racist outbreak by Blacks intent on killing whites.

But so far the only confirmed death of a white in the area of the rebellion is a cop who dropped dead of a heart

attack. Six cops were reportedly wounded by gunfire, none critically. One white was dragged from his car, beaten, and then reportedly run over.

People in the area told a Black reporter that the man's car was stopped after he and a passenger had fired at people.

Officials confirm thirteen deaths of Blacks. They died at the hands of cops and racist killers in civilian garb who sped by the edges of Black areas.

Cops killed two Black men as suspected "looters." They gunned down a Haitian man they asserted had tried to run over a cop.

Two cops shot a man who approached a National Guard checkpoint on a bicycle and supposedly voiced his opinion of the occupiers. The cops approached him and, they say, he lunged at one with a knife. They pumped a half dozen pistol and rifle shells into his body. Witnesses insist they saw no knife.

The Miami authorities ruled within twenty-four hours that the cops had acted within department "deadly force" guidelines. They were returned to the street.

A private security guard killed a man allegedly trying to loot a food

market.

A fourteen-year-old Black was killed when a white-driven pickup sped by and the driver put two bullets in his head.

A thirty-four-year-old man died when another pickup went by a group of Blacks and fired into the crowd.

Two other Black men were seriously wounded when four whites in a pickup raced by and fired at them.

Many people in the community are convinced that these shootings have been by out-of-uniform cops.

The savagery of the police occupiers

Continued on page 5

'Fire next door'

In the last several months, much has been made in the big-business press of what the *New York Times* calls "the fire next door."

That means the growing popular struggles in Central America and the Caribbean to oust U.S.-supported tyrants who have hindered the region's development and murdered its people for far too long.

The fear that Nicaragua will become another Cuba, that El Salvador will become another Nicaragua, that Guatemala will become another El Salvador has prompted some fancy footwork in Washington.

Efforts to contain the revolutionary fires include first and foremost an escalation of U.S. military presence in the region, reinforced by this month's naval maneuvers in the Caribbean.

U.S. political and military support continues unabated to El Salvador's military regime, enabling it to slaughter workers and peasants at will in response to the mass struggle there. Reuters reports that 100 "left-wing guerrillas" were killed in a clash with soldiers on May 18 alone.

Neighboring Nicaragua offers more complications for Washington because the Sandinista-led government there, with overwhelming backing from the Nicaraguan people, is moving toward an economy based on human needs instead of private profits.

Despite pressure from Washington and local capitalists, this government is systematically preparing and mobilizing the working people to become the rulers of society.

Nicaragua was devastated during the civil war that dethroned Washington's crony Somoza. So the U.S. has tried starving the revolution by refusing to aid the reconstruction effort in any way.

That is the meaning of the \$75 million aid bill for Nicaragua that has languished in Congress since last year. Congress has attached every string conceivable to this pitifully inadequate bill—and it's still not passed.

The latest stall involved waiting for the governing junta in Nicaragua to replace its two capitalist representatives, one of whom resigned last month in protest of moves that made the new Council of State more representative of workers and peasants.

After two new business representatives were

named to the junta May 19, the Senate finally approved the House's version of the aid bill. Now it must work its way through Congress again as an appropriations bill!

The bill as it stands is chock-full of outrageous conditions that target Nicaragua's ties with revolutionary Cuba and its solidarity with other struggles in the region.

Sixty percent of the aid must go to the private sector in Nicaragua, and all funds must be used for the purchase of goods or services of U.S. origin.

Perhaps most cynically, the bill requires that \$750,000 of the aid be spent on propaganda to let the people of Nicaragua know the "extent" of U.S. aid.

Enough of this blackmail and sabotage! The U.S. government should immediately allocate the necessary funds—condition-free—to put Nicaragua on the road to economic recovery.

The people of the Caribbean and Central America should be left free from U.S. threats, military and economic, to decide their futures for themselves.

Love Canal

Federal officials released a study May 16 showing chromosome damage in 30 percent of a group of Love Canal residents tested earlier this year.

These abnormalities signal probable cancer and severe birth defects. They result from the 21,800 tons of pesticides, cleaning solutions, and other highly toxic chemicals that were wantonly dumped into the canal near Niagara Falls, New York, from 1947 to 1952 by Hooker Chemical Corporation.

Homes and even a school were built over the contaminated landfill.

The Hooker company knew as early as 1958 that toxic chemicals were seeping into the area and poisoning the air but refused to inform residents because of the financial consequences.

As a result, the residents have suffered cancer, miscarriages, kidney failures, infections, rashes, and birth defects. Some have already died.

Although 239 families have been evacuated, more than 700 remain. They desperately want to leave but need money to start new lives elsewhere.

The state and federal governments have

joined in Hooker's cover-up. They continue to stall, bickering over who is going to pay the bill.

They want to keep the nightmare of Love Canal as quiet as possible. It is, after all, only the first nationally prominent case. The American people will want to know where the 50,000 other hazardous waste sites are located. What about moving and compensating those families?

But the people of Love Canal won't stay silent.

Upon learning of the test results, angry and frustrated homeowners locked up two federal Environmental Protection Agency officials for five hours on May 19 to press their demands for immediate evacuation.

As a forty-four-year-old forklift operator put it, after burning his mortgage papers in front of the office, "We are sick of the lies they are telling us. We paid for our house all our lives, and now we don't have anything."

There is only one just course of action for the government to take:

- Immediate evacuation, total compensation, and full medical coverage for life for the Love Canal residents and their descendants.
- Indict and prosecute owners of the Hooker Chemical Company.
- Open the records of all chemical and waste disposal companies to public inspection. Let the American people know what poisons are buried around them and what cold-blooded actions have been taken to ensure company profits.
- Nationalize the chemical industry. End their production for profits, which will only lead to more Love Canals.

New editors named

The publishers of the *Militant* have announced that Cindy Jaquith and Andy Rose will serve as the paper's editors. Steve Clark, who had been *Militant* editor since February 1979, has been selected as managing editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

Jaquith, who joined the *Militant* staff in 1972, and Rose, a staff writer since 1973, have been associate editors during the past year. Jaquith, a member of the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee, is presently participating in the SWP Leadership School.

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If You Like This Paper . . .

California Campaign '80



Socialists gear up for petitioning

Preparations are being completed for huge socialist campaign effort that includes signing up more than 100,000 Californians to put Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot. **Page 11.**

Unions discuss labor party

Growing numbers of unionists in nation's most populous state think that supporting Democratic and Republican politicians has led labor to a dead end. **Page 11.**



Rohr Industries targets socialists

SWP charges illegal disruption in firing of San Diego campaign chairperson Jay Fisher by Rohr. And workers are angered by company threats to fire SWP congressional candidate Kathryn Crowder (left) if she continues to campaign. **Page 14.**



The Militant

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Cuba's fighting people defy U.S. threats

By José G. Pérez

HAVANA—"Jimmy Carter, you rat, remember the Bay of Pigs!" "Cuba, sí! Yankee, no!" "Fidel, the people are with you!"

These were among the most popular chants as well over 1 million people marched here in front of the U.S. Interests Section May 17 to protest the Carter administration's attacks on the Cuban revolution.

Simultaneous demonstrations were held in cities throughout Cuba. Radio reports here said some 5 million people—out of a total population of 10 million—took part in this nationwide revolutionary mobilization, the "March of the Fighting People."

This makes it the largest demonstration ever held in Latin America.

Protest 'practice invasion'

The demonstrations were initially called to protest the planned U.S. military's practice invasion of Cuba, which was to have been carried out at Guantánamo Naval Base, on Cuban territory occupied by the U.S. government against the will of the Cuban people. The practice invasion, as President Fidel Castro has labeled it, was to have been part of the "Solid Shield 80" U.S. naval maneuvers in the Caribbean.

Following protests by the Cuban government and people, and the scheduling of countermoves by Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces, the Guantánamo aspect of "Solid Shield 80" was cancelled.

But President Castro told the 1.5 million Cubans who rallied here in Havana on May Day that "The March of the Fighting People will still take place! Because the march was not simply against the maneuvers, but also against the blockade, against the base at Guantánamo, and against the SR-71 spy flights. . . ."

Following the giant May Day rally,



Millions of marchers in Havana and across Cuba expressed support for Castro government and called for end to U.S. blockade of the island.

U.S. diplomatic personnel here in Havana staged a provocation. They invited to the U.S. Interests Section hundreds of Cuban ex-prisoners, who had been convicted of bombings, assassination attempts, and other counterrevolutionary actions.

Washington had promised to admit these persons when they were released from prison in 1978-79, but it has stalled on doing so. Falsely telling the Cubans that Castro was blocking their departure, the U.S. officials provoked them to begin a counterrevolutionary demonstration. They clashed violently with Cubans who support the revolution. Several hundred of the ex-prisoners then broke into the Interests Section and remain holed up there.

Many chants and banners at the Havana demonstration dealt with the counterrevolutionary elements inside

the Interests Section. Posters depicting counterrevolutionaries with their pockets stuffed with dollars were a common sight.

Spirited & combative

The march past the Interests Section lasted more than eight hours in blistering 95 degree heat. I have participated in quite a few large demonstrations in the United States and other countries, but never in one this spirited and combative.

At the head of the march was a contingent of several hundred farmers carrying a huge banner that said "On a day like today, we expropriated 1,209,015 hectares (1 hectare=2.47 acres) of land from Yankee imperialism."

The reference was to the promulga-

tion of Cuba's first agrarian reform law exactly twenty-one years ago on May 17, 1959.

There was never a moment of silence during the eight-hour march. Among the most popular chants were: "Fidel pitch, because Carter can't bat!" "Down with the Guantánamo base!" "Down with war games!" "Down with spy flights!" "Fidel, for sure, hit the Yankees hard!" "Because we are right, we will be victorious as at Girón [the Bay of Pigs]" and "For whatever it may be and wherever, the commander in chief's orders!"

Many marchers carried posters that had been used to build the demonstration, such as ones with a picture of Fidel and the quotation from his May Day speech: "We will never surrender!"

But the vast majority of posters were hand-lettered. There were also effigies of Carter and of counterrevolutionaries.

Solidarity

Many signs expressed solidarity with the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua. One said, "Stop the Yankee genocide in El Salvador." Another, "Like Cuba, Vietnam, and Nicaragua—El Salvador will win."

One huge poster had a drawing of Che Guevara and one word—"Presente!"

Cuban radio said that solidarity demonstrations were held in Laos, Vietnam, Grenada, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Peru, Mexico, Jamaica, Panama, Colombia, India, France, the Soviet Union, Poland, and East Germany.

The March of the Fighting People was proof positive, if any more were needed, that the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people support the revolution and are willing to fight to the death to defend it.

From Perspectiva Mundial

Carter seeks to deport 7,000 Cubans

By Harry Ring

MIAMI—The Carter administration is going beyond closing the doors to Cuban emigres. It intends to get rid of many of those who have already arrived here.

On the heels of the administration announcement of stiff penalties against those bringing emigres from the Cuban port of Mariel, it was disclosed that several countries had agreed to take 7,000 of the exiles.

These people had assumed they had found a home in the United States. It will be, the State Department conceded, the first time Washington has deported people after they have been accepted here as refugees.

An official piously assured, "We have no plans to force people to go to other countries."

It was announced here May 19 that the plan to deport Cubans had been agreed to in early May at a Costa Rica

conference of twenty-two countries called by the U.S.

There, after much arm-wrenching, some of the countries reluctantly agreed to take a portion of those who had left Cuba for the U.S. The largest single total will apparently be taken by Peru.

The State Department insists it will make the refugee issue an "international one," that the U.S. does not intend to keep on taking people simply because they want to come here.

That's the way Carter's "open heart and open arms" declaration about Cuban emigres went out the window.

Actually, that lying promise by Carter was made only under the strongest pressure. When Cuba opened the port of Mariel to all those who wanted to leave for the U.S., Washington initially tried to discourage the flow. But as Cubans in the U.S. ignored the threats and penalties and set out to bring

relatives from Mariel, Carter was compelled to "open his arms."

In a few weeks some 60,000 people arrived here. Washington determined to slam shut the door—except as an exit for those it can get rid of.

Meanwhile, there are still a reported 1,000 boats at the port in Mariel. It remains to be seen how far Carter is ready to go in provoking protests from the Cuban community by carrying through the threatened crackdown against those now arriving.

Carter's attempt to stop the flow of emigres into the country and to deport those already here was sharply protested here by Socialist Workers presidential nominee Andrew Pulley and by Rose Ogden, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Florida.

"Cuba," they said, "declared that its revolution is voluntary and that those who don't want to participate are free to leave."

"The Cuban government's open-door policy and its bold action in opening the port of Mariel have exposed Carter's hypocrisy all around," the socialist candidates said.

"He incites Cubans to leave their country, seeks to exploit them for anti-Castro propaganda, and then bars the door to them. First Washington hailed the emigres as 'fleeing to freedom'; now it tries to whip up racist hatred of them as 'criminals,' 'diseased,' and 'retarded.'"

"By exposing Carter's racist double standard, Cuba has also struck a blow for the 13,000 Black Haitians who have fled to this country and who are denied asylum by Washington."

Pulley and Ogden urge strong protests against any attempt to deport the Cubans or any other refugees here. They are demanding:

No deportations—open the doors!
End the boycott against Cuba!

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Miami Blacks speak out

'We want to be treated like human beings'

By Baxter Smith

MIAMI—"Nothing," Andrew Pulley mused to a campaign supporter, "seems to work in the Black community."

The Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate had just tried to use a quarter pay phone whose slot would not accept a twenty-five-cent piece.

The feeling that nothing works is common among Blacks around here.

It was felt by those who took to the streets over the past few days because a white jury wouldn't convict four killer cops.

And it was experienced by the 1,000 Blacks who got beaten by police or arrested or otherwise twisted around by a judicial process that's supposed to make things work.

Wherever Pulley and a team of *Militant* reporters and Socialist Workers candidates from other states campaigned in the Black community we got the same reaction.

It came from Maggie Glover and from George Symonette. From Jackie Gross and James Smith. Those feelings of frustration and rage bred by unkept promises and broken dreams. Those feelings that translated themselves into front-page stories and television news the world over.

Coconut Grove

Symonette, a thirty-seven-year-old barber, tried ten years ago to get a Small Business Administration loan to set up a barber shop in a Black section of Coconut Grove. SBA officials wouldn't even let him fill out an application. He feels it was because he is Black.

Just last year, Symonette told Pulley, the federal government allocated \$1 million for improvement of the white section of Coconut Grove. An adjoining Black area got only \$50,000.

Coconut Grove, Symonette explained, is one place the tourists don't want to miss. It is bohemian, with small elegant shops and a local color that one compares to New York's Greenwich Village.

Often, according to Symonette, tour-



Andrew Pulley, right, talks with Miami resident

Militant/Harry Ring

ists stop outside his place to ask directions to the grove—the White Grove.

Not just McDuffie

It's not just the McDuffie case that has set people into motion. Persons interviewed cited instances of police brutality and economic and social problems.

"There were several things behind it," explained John McKinnon, a World War II veteran. "The McDuffie thing just lit the fuse."

McKinnon, who retired from the army, was interviewed inside a Black American Legion post. He articulated a point of view held by nearly every Black adult over thirty.

"Our young people are not afraid of dying," he said. "They've listened to us older negroes too long and they want some action. I can understand them."

"They showed it on the television how they busted his [McDuffie's] skull and all. So why did they free these officers?"

Maggie Glover, who has lived in Miami for five years, asked: "Where did the money for CETA [jobs] go? Now they're cutting back on food stamps."

A nurse, Glover expressed a deep resentment against a system that "won't give us anything." Her hus-

band was shot in the face by a cop on the first night of the protest.

"I don't blame the white people for what's going on," she warned. "But if they don't bring in a guilty verdict there's going to be more trouble."

Liberty City

Most of the protests, police shootings, and arrests occurred in a Black section of Miami called Liberty City. The only liberty there is the liberty with which the vise of impoverishment holds nearly everyone.

It is deprivation in capital letters. A Black community where diseases virtually eliminated from the rest of the United States turn up. Where a ninth-grade education is like a college degree. A movie about an underdeveloped Caribbean country could be filmed in Liberty City and one would need only add chickens and goats around some of the peeling wood houses.

Pulley and a team of *Militant* reporters visited Liberty City May 19. We encountered burned-out buildings and cars, and cut and stitched-up protesters. Many people were anxious to discuss political ideas and courses of action.

The National Guard and a score of other police agencies stood in groups at nearly every major intersection. The

beat of police helicopters was heard above.

Many of the businesses that had been hit were the large operations, those seen in the eyes of residents as the big profiteers of the community.

One resident explained: "It was the rich crackers who got hit, not the small ones and not the Blacks."

A white slumlord in the area had his junkyard burned down. Residents spoke bitterly about other realtors in the area.

Attitudes of youth

Some of the most vocal in the streets during the day and the most active at night have been the teenagers and pre-teens.

There is no fear among these youth, and some speak openly of doing anything to remove the troubles they see on the faces of their parents and families.

One young woman, who identified herself as Shorty, said of the acquitted cops:

"If we'd have done what they did, they'd have put us in the electric chair."

Lee Clark, a Liberty City resident, explained, "We just want to be treated like human beings. We just want to live and let live. Let us have what we earned."

Michael Gantt, twenty-four, had the tires of his Buick bayoneted by National Guardsmen.

He and friends had been stopped on their way to work early Monday morning before the curfew was lifted. The cops, according to Gantt, made the men lie on the ground on their stomachs. They took away Gantt's car keys and even bayoneted the spare in his trunk.

"They ain't got no buses to take us to work and then they flatten your tires," Gantt protested.

He spoke about the dual system of justice that allows South Miami whites to sit on their porches with guns, yet permits Blacks to be rousted.

James Smith became a police victim in another way. He was arrested for violating the curfew.

Smith was minding his own business when police stopped him at ten o'clock the day the curfew was beginning and hauled him to jail. They put him in a tank with about two hundred others, gave him a bedsheet and a concrete slab to lie on.

Smith observed a middle-aged man get arrested, punched in the face, and hustled into a cop car, also for nothing. He said the cops felt they could arrest anyone or do anything and not have to be accountable to anyone.

Black leaders

Jackie Gross, a Coconut Grove resident, articulated a commonly held belief when he told Pulley that many who are dubbed "leaders" by the white media do not speak for the Black community.

"Where were these leaders when McDuffie was arrested, when the trial was moved to Tampa?" he asked. "They only show up when things get hot—to cool things down. We're tired of this kind of false Black leadership. We want for-real Black leaders."

Discussions about Black leadership, courses of action, independent politics, and other subjects have been an aspect of nearly every interview the *Militant* conducted.

"People are beginning to learn some things," Pulley explained to one man on the street. "We need to organize our frustrations into a political expression that can win. Registering to vote for the Democrats and Republicans will not do it. We need to change the system, this capitalist system that's responsible for our situation. And we need leaders with the kind of fighting spirit that's been shown here in Miami."

Socialist candidates demand:

'Justice for Arthur McDuffie! Cops out of Black community'

By John Hawkins

MIAMI—As the Black rebellion erupted in this city, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign gathered May 18 to hear Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president, and Rose Ogden, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, denounce the acquittals of the cops who killed Arthur McDuffie.

"The outrageous verdicts handed down in this case," said Ogden, "legalize what cops in this city call 'street justice'—the brutal beatings and even summary executions of those they consider suspicious or guilty."

Pulley branded the McDuffie verdict, "Jim Crow justice."

"This is U.S. capitalism's welcome," Pulley said, "to the Cubans who have recently arrived here. They have been led to believe that abundance and freedom exist for American workers. Nothing could be further from the truth. That's what the Cuban emigres are fast learning."

In a statement issued to the media May 20, Ogden and Pulley blasted the occupation of the Black community and the murder of Blacks by cops and National Guardsmen.

"We join the Black community here,"



Rose Ogden, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Florida

Militant/Harry Ring

said the two socialist candidates, "in demanding:

• That police and national guard be withdrawn from Black neighborhoods and the racist curfew be lifted;

• Federal indictment, under civil rights legislation, of all twelve cops known to be present at the murder and all other cops involved in the cover-up;

• The firing of State's Attorney Janet Reno and public safety director Bobby Jones;

• Amnesty for Blacks rounded up

by the cops during the rebellion and the dropping of all charges;

• "Arrest and conviction of cops responsible for brutalizing and killing Blacks."

"The police violence against the Black community is a threat to every worker and unemployed person in Miami," said Ogden. "The killer-cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie, and who continue to harass and brutalize the Black community, are the same cops the government uses to try to break our unions and attack picket lines. They're the same uniformed killers used against any group of workers who stand up and fight for our rights."

"The attempt to crush the Black community here is part of the rulers' overall attempt to crush the aspirations of Miami workers."

"That is why it is so critical for the labor movement to recognize its stake in supporting the Black community's demands. Through a united campaign by Black, Haitian, and Cuban community organizations, labor unions, and other supporters of civil liberties, justice can be won."

"The Socialist Workers Party pledges our unconditional support to such a campaign."

McDuffie killing—racist justice in Miami

By Harry Ring

MIAMI—The exoneration of the cops who killed Arthur McDuffie was final proof that there is no justice for Black people in Miami.

That's what triggered the rebellion here.

The McDuffie case was one in a series of recent police murders and brutalities that have been condoned by Dade County and Miami city authorities.

Arthur McDuffie, a successful Black insurance sales executive, died in a coma last December 21. He had been bludgeoned four days previous by a pack of Dade County cops.

He was riding his motorcycle when cops set after him. McDuffie tried unsuccessfully to out-distance them.

The cops caught him, threw him to the ground, cut off his crash helmet, and clubbed him to death.

They smashed up his motorcycle and filed a report that he died in a crash trying to escape.

Responding to public anger, officials had five cops indicted for second-degree murder and conspiracy.

Four finally went to trial. But not in Miami. Officials permitted the case to be transferred to Tampa.

There, after a forty-eight-day trial, an all-white, all-male jury deliberated only two hours and forty-four minutes

before they pronounced the cops "not guilty."

For the Black community here it was the proverbial last straw.

On January 24, 1979, there had been an outburst of rock-throwing anger in "Liberty City," Miami's principal impoverished Black community.

It was sparked when cops savagely kicked and clubbed a man after he was handcuffed. One of the cops was Alex Marrero.

And Alex Marrero delivered the final death blows to Arthur McDuffie.

Then, on February 12, Nathaniel LaFleur, a Black schoolteacher, heard a knock at his door. Opening it, he saw a Dade County cop with a shotgun in hand.

LaFleur slammed the door shut. Cops smashed it in. LaFleur suffered two fractured ribs and skull lacerations. His son was beaten and the house ransacked.

Why? The cops said they had gone to the wrong house on a drug bust.

Police review officials and State's Attorney Janet Reno agreed that while the cops had been "negligent," they had broken no law.

Then an eleven-year-old Black girl was sexually molested by a white cop. He got three years' probation.

In September, Randy Heath, a

twenty-two year old Black man, was shot in the back by an off-duty cop working as a plant guard.

The killer-cop said that Heath had tried to burglarize the place and that he had shot him during a struggle.

Heath's sister, who was present, said her brother had stopped to urinate and had done nothing more.

Seven months later, the cop changed his story. An expert marksman, he said his gun had discharged "accidentally." A grand jury had ruled it was a "negligent," but not criminal act.

Meanwhile, Dade County School Superintendent Johnny Jones, Miami's top Black officeholder, was charged with using school funds to buy plumbing for personal use.

Here, the law moves swiftly. Jones was tried in a matter of weeks. Like the exonerated cops in the McDuffie case, Jones was tried by an all-white jury. They found him guilty.

All of these things and more fueled the Black anger here.

The McDuffie decision had a particularly deep impact because Florida is one of the states where trials can be televised. People heard the testimony on how McDuffie died.

Officer Marrero testified that he had brought his heavy-duty flashlight down on McDuffie's skull "as hard as I could."

A medical officer agreed. He said the force used to crush McDuffie's skull was equivalent to falling four stories onto concrete.

A crime lab chief testified there was no evidence that McDuffie's motorcycle had been in a moving accident.

Three of the cops involved, who agreed to testify if they got immunity, agreed. They said nightsticks had been used to smash up the cycle to make it look like it had crashed.

They testified that McDuffie could not have tried to seize Marrero's gun, as the cop has asserted. McDuffie, they swore, was already handcuffed when Marrero brought down his flashlight with sledgehammer force.

Dade County's head cop, Bobby Jones, responded to the "not guilty" verdict philosophically. "That's the American system," he observed. "And that's the way it is."

Even a Black patrolman, standing nearby, was moved to respond. "Yeah, I guess he's right. That's right. That's the way the American system works."

Dorothy McDuffie, sister of the victim, said of the verdict:

"I feel like I'm nobody. I feel like my family's nobody. I feel like my people are nobody."

She added: "We despise the verdict. We hate it. And it hurts us to our hearts."

...Miami

Continued from front page

was indicated Sunday night when city cops assigned to guard a shopping center in the Black community systematically vandalized fourteen cars parked there. They slashed tires and upholstery and smashed in windshields. Then they spray painted "looter" and "thief" on the sides of the cars.

The city promised that there would be an investigation and that the owners of the cars would be compensated.

The rebellion began Saturday after an all-white Tampa jury freed the cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie. The verdict came in at 2:36 p.m. Youth poured into the streets immediately.

At eight o'clock that night, in response to a call by the NAACP, some 7,000 people gathered at the County "Justice" Building for a protest demonstration.

The outraged crowd carried placards that declared "Justice in America is a Damn Lie" and "Where is Justice for the Black Man in America?"

NAACP leaders had not planned through the hastily called rally. There was no public address system and speakers tried to address the throng with a small bullhorn.

There were no proposals for action.

From the "Justice" Building people marched to the nearby Dade County Public Safety Building. It had been Dade County cops who murdered McDuffie and many others.

Police in the area seemed intent on provoking the crowd.

Rose Ogden, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, says she saw several squad cars deliberately drive through the crowd. Later it was reported that a Black girl had her foot



Cops and out-of-uniform racists have killed at least thirteen Blacks during the rebellion

Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

run over by a squad car that witnesses said came through "like a bat out of hell."

People smashed in the plate glass window of the police building.

Squads of SWAT cops appeared from behind. They charged in with clubs, tear gas, and attack dogs.

Miami's rebellion was on.

Fires raged through the sprawling Black community for three nights. On Sunday night alone, officials reported forty-two major fires.

Residents responded to police gunfire.

The fires were clearly aimed at white-owned businesses. Community businesspeople say that the only Black businesses that suffered were adjacent to white-owned ones.

All of Miami was affected. At its peak, the curfew area covered half the city of Miami.

Bus service was suspended.

Schools were shut down for three days.

Many businesses had to shut down early so their Black employees could get home before the curfew.

Damage was estimated at more than \$100 million. The tourist industry reported large-scale cancellation of hotel reservations. Yesterday morning county officials demanded that armed National Guard troops be withdrawn from the front of the "Justice" Building. It was, they advised, bad for the

city's image.

Officials—local, state, and federal—suddenly changed their tune about this city's quarter of a million Blacks, who suffer grinding poverty in the midst of the gaudiest opulence.

The governor went on TV to assert that he had marched during the civil rights demonstrations of the '60s.

Mayor Maurice Ferre suddenly discovered there is a shortage of justice, jobs, and housing in the Black community. He also confided to reporters: "We've got Vietnam veterans out there. Ten thousand guardsmen may not be enough."

At the Dade County Jail in nearby Florida City, prisoners refused to work and staged a protest after officials tried to deny them the right to watch TV coverage of the rebellion. One prisoner displayed a placard that read, "Let us support our people outside and improve our conditions inside."

Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti flew to Miami from Washington on Monday. He went on the air to assure, "All serious allegations involving civil rights and brutality will be investigated."

A federal grand jury was slated to convene here today. It will, assertedly, consider indicting the killer-cops under the federal Civil Rights Act. Such a process will take weeks, officials say.

Meanwhile, they hope the promise of a possible indictment will help cool

things down. What they will then do about the killer-cops remains to be seen. The same is true, of course, about the various pledges of new-found concern for the problems of the Black community.

Major national figures of the civil rights movement also converged here. Former United Nations envoy Andrew Young was shouted down at a community rally when he started advising the victims of cop brutality that "violence is not productive."

U.S. Reps. Mickey Leland and John Conyers came in yesterday. The Black Congress members called for withdrawal of police and troops from the Black community and an end to the curfew.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference President Joseph Lowery also got at some of the root of the matter when he declared, "President Carter should come to Miami. I think the crisis is in America, not in Afghanistan." Instead of worrying about Afghanistan and Iran and trying to boycott the Olympics, he added, "we should be boycotting the Klan, racism, and unemployment."

When the rulers of this area decided to exonerate the killer cops, they apparently thought they were going to teach the Black community a hard lesson.

As of now, it's turning out the other way around.

New York

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'What's done to them is a crime'

How Miami Cubans view Black rebellion

By José G. Pérez

MIAMI—Antonio Maceo Mini Park on Southwest Eighth Street and Fifteenth Avenue is the heart of Miami's Little Havana. The park is named after Antonio Maceo, the Black hero of Cuba's war for independence.

There are a half dozen stone tables and benches with big shade trees over them. Cuban men, unemployed or retired, come to spend time playing dominoes and discussing politics.

I asked to play. I explained I was visiting from New York and asked what had been going with these riots.

"It's those damn *niches*," said one, using the Cuban word closest to nigger. "They're animals. They don't know what they have here. They should. . . ."

"If they're animals," another interrupted, "these white police are ten times animals for what they did to that poor salesman."

What happened? I asked.

"Six police shamelessly beat him until he was dead. Then they took the police to Tampa for trial and just let them off. Not even a fine. Not even 'I'm sorry, it was a mistake.'"

"The Blacks are making themselves be respected," said the fourth player, silent until now. "What is done to them is a crime. They're making themselves be respected. McDuffie wasn't the first one."

"I'll tell you one thing. They do that to us, I wouldn't wait for the fourth or

fifth one. I'd get out there and start trouble. I'd go out to Miami Beach and burn their hotels."

'Americans asked for it'

The conversation spread to other tables and to the dozen or so onlookers. Only two defended the McDuffie verdict and the police. For the rest, opinions ranged from "the Blacks have a justified grievance—but rioting is no way to express it," to wholehearted sympathy for the rebellion.

"The Americans asked for it, that's the only way they understand."

"If they treat Blacks outside the law, then the Blacks are right to respond outside the law."

On the outskirts of the crowd, I noticed one Black listening quietly. He was dressed in new jogging sneakers, blue jeans, a T-shirt with "Florida" written on it, a little hat, and a face that said, *How in hell did I wind up here?*

He started to walk away and I followed him. I invited him to have a cup of coffee.

He was just in from Mariel, Cuba, a couple of weeks ago. His relatives had gone down with a boat and picked him up.

He is a skilled mechanic: "Cars, trucks, jeeps, motorcycles—if it rolls, I can fix it." But he had been unable to find a job here in his trade.

"They tell me I don't know American cars, or I don't know how to deal with customers in English, or just 'no.' I

went to a job agency, but it's not like in Cuba. They wanted \$200. I can't give them that money."

"Last week I washed dishes. They paid me a pittance. They said it would be so much, but it turned out that was before taxes, Social Security, I don't know what. They have a million things to take your salary."

"Then I went to take an apartment. The landlord was an old North American lady. She told me she didn't want any reds"—he used the Spanish word *colorado*—"but she didn't speak Spanish and I don't speak English. I couldn't explain to her I wasn't a communist."

"What word did she use?"

"Co-lo-red," he said. "I imagine it means the same as *colorado*."

I told him it was another term for *niche*.

'So much racism'

He sat silently for awhile.

"There is much racism here, too much racism here. The Cubans themselves look down at you as if you weren't Cuban too."

He spoke quietly, his eyes darting around. When the waiter came by he was silent.

Then, leaning over: "You know this would never happen in Cuba. Never. If the government finds out someone did something to you because you are Black—denied you a job or anything—that person is going to jail. Just like that."

Was there police brutality in Cuba?

"Not really, you know, because they treat you with dignity there. The problems over there are different."

He explained why he decided to leave Cuba. He had just gotten a divorce. He wanted to have a cassette player, nice clothes, a car, a Sony color TV.

I asked if he had ever been politically persecuted. He responded by asking if I would put this in my paper. I told him I wouldn't use his name.

"Actually, no. Everybody comes here and says they were persecuted, but that is so we can stay. They tell us on the boats, when we get here, that if you are a political refugee you can stay, if not. . . ."

"So everybody is a political refugee. The most incredible stories. I laugh when I see these interviews in the newspaper. I saw one guy I used to work with him, says he just got out of prison. He made it up."

I asked if he was sorry he came to the United States and he said no.

Earlier, he had told me he was supposed to arrange to have his mother picked up at Mariel. I asked when he would do it. He said he didn't know.

"She's old, not like me. I'm young, I can learn English, I can take the blows, I can fight back. But if she had to take what I have taken this last couple of weeks, she would die heartbroken thinking of what she left behind."

White workers agree: 'the cops were guilty'

By Harry Ring

MIAMI—All indications point to wide sympathy among white workers here for the participants in the Black rebellion.

Many recognize that the verdict in the McDuffie case was a travesty of justice and that Blacks have a long string of other just grievances.

This solidarity was expressed in a number of ways.

One TV station reported that it had interviewed people at a shopping center in a white working-class area. They couldn't find one person who thought the McDuffie verdict was justified.

This was confirmed when Andrew Pulley appeared on a two-hour talk show with a mainly white audience.

As people called in, the show host polled them on what they thought of the McDuffie verdict.

It was eighteen to two that the verdict was unfair. Of the two, one was a retired cop.

But sentiment among white workers was perhaps best revealed by accounts of conversations on the job reported by socialist workers.

A city bus driver said one white co-worker told her he thought the cops

had started the battle in the Black community. He noted that cops had driven their cars through the initial protest demonstration downtown. He also pointed to the news accounts of cops vandalizing cars in the Black community.

"The Miami cops are crazy," he said. "If they get away with this," the white worker added, "we'll be next."

A print shop worker said there had been much discussion on the job. The general sentiment was, "What did you expect, letting those cops go free?"

One worker said, "It wasn't just the McDuffie case, the Blacks here in Miami have been at the boiling point for years . . . the unemployment, crummy housing."

Another added, "Remember, this is the South, people here are angry."

He referred to a Black co-worker and said, "You know, he used to have to sit at the back of the bus. They didn't end discrimination here so long ago. People don't forget so easily."

An aerospace worker reported there seemed to be "a new respect" for the Black workers in the shop. Several of the whites made a point of shaking hands with Black co-workers.

One man, about fifty-five was outraged by the verdict. "Those dirty bums," he said. "I couldn't sleep all night. . . . I'm behind the Blacks 100 percent."

Another older man agreed, "They

were guilty, those cops. There's no doubt. They were guilty, and I don't blame the Blacks."

A Black worker joined in: "You ain't seen nothing yet. This is going to spread all over the country."

A sheet metal worker described the situation in her shop. A number of the Black workers had been absent. Two young women had been jailed during the first days of the rebellion. Another had an injured foot.

The company was threatening to write them up for "absenteeism." Three such letters and you can be fired.

Then the problem of compulsory overtime came up.

Because the schools were closed and bus service ended with the curfew, many Blacks and Cuban workers didn't want to work overtime. They, too, were threatened with warning letters.

Several Cuban workers had gone through the same hassle earlier when they took time off to go to Mariel to get relatives. The union had gone to bat for them.

So when the issue came up of those who didn't want to work overtime, the stewards called an emergency lunch meeting. After discussion, it was agreed in order to block victimization of Black workers, everybody would refuse to work overtime.

With the exception of three probationary workers, everyone did.



'We are fighting for recognition as human beings. We are fighting for the right to live as free humans in this society. In fact, we are actually fighting for rights that are even greater than civil rights and this is human rights. . . .'

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Solidarity from Seattle workers

Workers on the second shift at Boeing's plant No. 2 in Seattle were so outraged by the cover-up of police brutality in Miami that they decided to do something about it.

More than twenty workers fired off a telegram May 20 to Miami Mayor Maurice Ferre, denouncing the acquittal of the four cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie.

It was "only the latest in a series of gross violations of human and civil rights of Black people in Florida," they said.

The Boeing workers demanded "that the police and National Guard be removed from the Black community, that the curfew be lifted from the Black community, [and] that the killer cops be prosecuted to the fullest."



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt
Miami burns. Socialists report 'new respect' for Blacks among many white workers.

U.S.-backed generals launch crackdown

South Korean masses challenge dictatorship

By David Frankel

Will the kind of popular revolution that toppled the shah of Iran and the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua also overtake the U.S.-backed generals in South Korea?

"We're keeping our fingers crossed," one worried Western diplomat told *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Mike Tharp.

"A lot of banks are watching Korea pretty carefully these days," says Chemical Bank Vice-president James Whitely.

By taking to the streets in powerful mass demonstrations, South Korean students have dramatically revealed the underlying weakness and instability of the Seoul regime.

"The size and ferocity of the protests are reminiscent of the student riots that brought down President Syngman Rhee's government in 1960," Tharp reported May 15.

Troops occupy campuses

Hoping to avoid the fate of Rhee, the U.S.-appointed dictator who had himself named president for life in 1954, the regime cracked down on May 18. It closed all universities and sent military units to occupy them; political gatherings and labor strikes were banned; rigid press censorship was imposed; and martial law was extended to the entire country.

As police arrested opposition leaders, the U.S.-backed dictatorship blamed alleged provocations from North Korea, and events in Afghanistan and Iran for creating the "grave crisis" that it faces.

The truth, of course, is that the regime's strong-arm measures are aimed at the workers, peasants, and students of South Korea—not at any alleged foreign threat.

Last October, workers and students took to the streets in antigovernment demonstrations in the industrial cities of Pusan and Masan. These actions then spread to Seoul, Taegu, and Chongju. Former dictator Park Chung Hee was forced to declare martial law



Riot cops assault young demonstrators with tear gas (above) and billy clubs (right) in South Korean capital of Seoul.

and call out the army to contain the protests.

Divisions within the regime over how to meet the crisis led to Park's assassination. An open power struggle within the military hierarchy following Park's death further weakened the grip of the dictatorship and fanned expectations of democratic reforms.

Workers' struggles

Although strikes are illegal in South Korea, workers took advantage of the

situation to press their demands. The country has been hard hit by the world economic crisis. Inflation and unemployment are increasing sharply, and resentment against government-appointed union officials has been growing.

During the first four months of 1980, there were nearly seven times as many labor actions as in all of 1979. The example of coal miners who took over the city of Sabuk in April, noted Shim Jae Hoon in the May 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "now threatens to inspire similar troubles in the major industrial cities of Seoul, Pusan and Masan."

Inspired by the struggles of the workers, the students stepped up their campaign for democratic rights. They took their demonstrations, which had been previously confined to the campuses, onto the streets.

Reports in the media said that more than 50,000 marched in Seoul on May 14 and 15. In addition, tens of thousands demonstrated in other cities, including Taegu, Kwangju, Chonju, Suwon, and Incheon.

Troops with automatic rifles and armored personnel carriers sealed off much of Seoul, and the downtown area was paralyzed by the protests.

Apparently fearful of provoking even wider opposition, the police did not open fire on the demonstrations. However, hundreds of students were seriously injured due to savage beatings by riot police, and hundreds more were arrested.

Student demands

Student demands include the lifting of martial law; freedom of the press; the elimination of the Yushin Constitution imposed by Park; free elections; dismissal of professors who had maintained ties with the Park government; and support for the demands of industrial workers.

The resignation of Lieut. Gen. Chon Too Hwan, head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency and of the powerful Defense Security Command, has also been demanded by the protesters. Chon is the dominant military figure in the regime.

In the past, Washington has attempted to give the appearance of support-

ing democratic reforms in South Korea. That is the U.S. government's stance wherever it is helping to prop up dictators. Such an approach is essential for public relations abroad and for deceiving the American workers at home.

But during the last struggle, there has been a studied silence from the State Department, the White House, and the U.S. Embassy in Seoul. Apparently U.S. policymakers are afraid that even the mildest claims of support to democratic rights might backfire and encourage further mobilizations. Gen. John Wickham Jr., commander of the nearly 40,000 U.S. troops in South Korea, was sent hurrying back to Seoul from a trip to Washington.

Joint command

General Wickham not only commands the U.S. forces in South Korea—he is also the head of the joint command, which includes Korea's armed forces.

The one thing that bothers Washington about Chon is not his attacks on democratic rights. It is that when he moved his troops into Seoul to take control of the government last December, he "broke a long-standing agreement that U.S. authorization must be sought to move any substantial number of South Korean troops." (*Washington Post*, April 30.)

Government leaders have attempted to defuse the opposition movement with promises that despite the new crackdown, there will be progress toward democratic rights. The only condition that the rulers insist on is that the South Korean workers and peasants make no use of the promised rights to fight for improvements in their social status.

As President Choi Kyu Hah expressed it May 18, "There can be no political development without public safety and social stability."

But the aspiration for democratic rights and social progress, and the hatred of Park's dictatorial legacy, is too deep and too widespread to be so easily sidetracked. Already, on the first day of the new crackdown, students in Kwangju have defied the regime and battled police and soldiers who tried to break up their protests.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

South African students hit by new repression

In an effort to crush a month-long student strike against the racist system of segregated education, South African police arrested more than 175 Black students in Eastern Cape Province on May 16.

According to a United Press International dispatch, thirty-two Blacks, including twenty-nine students, were arrested in a police dragnet following the death of Alfredo Soya in Port Elizabeth. Soya was a member of a "peacemaker civil group" set up to stop the strike.

The strike marked the end of a two-year lull in Black student protests in South Africa.

The call for the nationwide student strike was issued on April 19 by a meeting of student representatives from more than sixty Black schools in the Cape Town area.

By the time the call was issued, some 25,000 students were already boycotting classes. By April 22, the number had reached more than 100,000, and the strike had spread from Cape Town to Johannesburg, Durban, Pretoria, Kimberley, Bloemfontein, and other cities. Most of the students were between thirteen and eighteen years old, but some universities and teacher training colleges were also affected by the boycotts.

The bulk of the protesters were Coloureds (of mixed ancestry), who are concentrated for the most part in Cape

Province. The protests, however, also involved students from the African and Indian populations, the other two components of South Africa's Black majority.

In an effort to build stronger unity among the three sectors of the Black population, Coloured student leaders have appealed for greater African involvement in the boycott. At a rally of 5,000 students in a Coloured township outside Johannesburg, one student leader said, "We should stand together and we therefore call upon you [Africans] to support our liberation cause."

Another student declared, "We must tell the Government that we want to determine our own destiny. The Government has done everything to humiliate us by giving us inferior education."

Fearing that a sharp crackdown on the student protest might simply aggravate the ferment—possibly leading to a repetition of the mass youth revolts of 1976 and 1977—the regime has ordered police to maintain a low profile.

However, police have on several occasions attacked student marches. On April 22, they fired tear gas into a crowd of 8,000 demonstrators in Cape Town and the following day used tear gas and clubs to break up similar marches in Johannesburg and Durban.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

'Unemployment no natural disaster'

Pulley takes SWP jobs proposals to marchers

By Nan Bailey

WASHINGTON—A young woman at the May 17 march for jobs was curious when she saw a Black man shaking the hands of other protesters at the rally site. She went up to him to get a handshake for herself and said, "How are you doing. What's your name?"

"Pulley, Andrew Pulley," he answered. "I'm running for president."

"You're kidding," she said. "How come I never heard of you?"

"That's because they lie when they only list Carter, Reagan, Bush, Kennedy, and Anderson," said Pulley. "They don't want people to know I'm running. They don't want people to know that there's an alternative to the capitalist politicians."

Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers presidential and vice-presidential candidates, interrupted their national campaign tours to join protesters in Washington, D.C., that day.

After the jobs march arrived at the Capitol, Zimmermann and a group of campaign supporters joined another demonstration at the White House, protesting the U.S. Navy's occupation of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

Pulley and six other SWP candidates from around the country campaigned among the job protesters.

"Carter and Reagan, that's a dog," said one young man as he exchanged a leaflet he was handing out to publicize a May 24 African Liberation Day march for a copy of Pulley's campaign brochure.

"I agree," said Pulley. "The Democrats and Republicans are the very ones causing unemployment. Every one of Carter's policies is designed to increase unemployment. We have a simple solution: reduce the workweek with no cut in pay."

Pulley walked over to introduce himself to three auto workers from the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York.

"This is a waste of time, isn't it?" one auto worker asked Pulley. The crowd of 5,000-plus didn't meet up to his expectations of what the size of the protest would be.

More demonstrations

"It's not a waste of time," said Pulley. "It will help get people to think about acting on the problem of unemployment."

...jobs

Continued from back page

PPG worker told the *Militant*. "I'm glad I came."

About 100 elementary and high school students organized their own march to the rally from the southeastern Washington Black community of Anacostia. They got a friendly response as they walked through the residential sections, led by the Burney Elementary School Band.

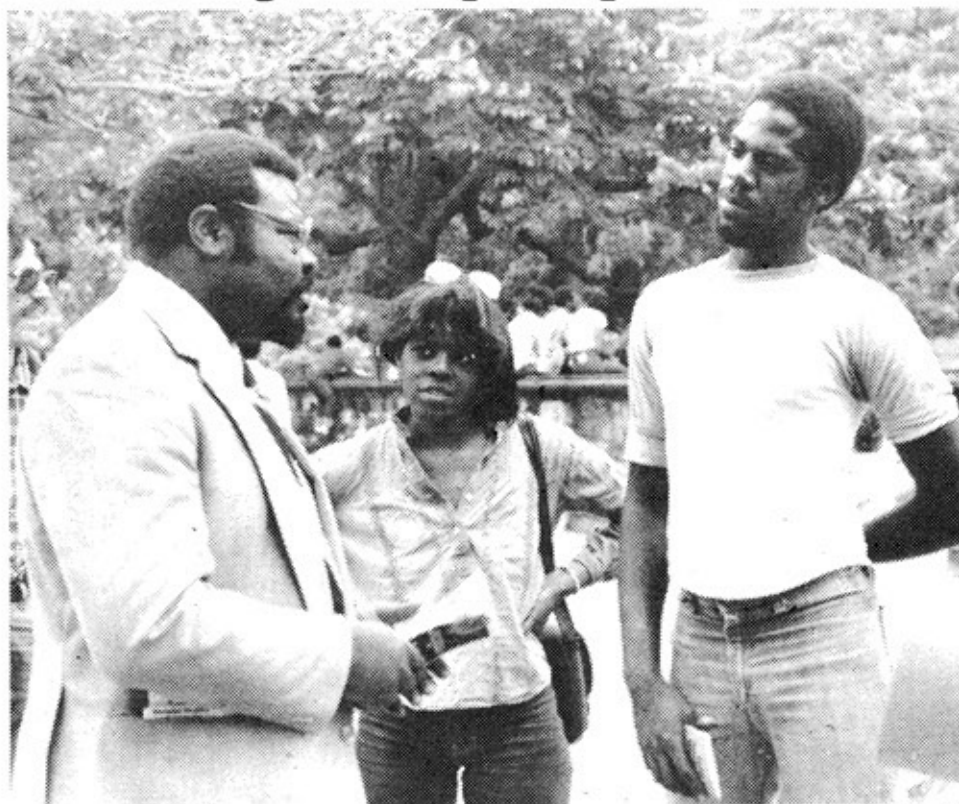
"We want our jobs" and "We want a J-O-B so we can E-A-T," they chanted to drumbeats as they entered the capitol grounds.

Seventeen students came from Fayetteville State University in North Carolina after Jesse Jackson had spoken at their commencement activities the week before, urging participation in the march.

Three of the four I talked with were graduating seniors. When asked what they were going to do now, they laughed and held up their signs: "Jobs now" and "Stop inflation."

"We've put in a lot of applications, but there are no jobs yet," answered Raymond Donnell.

The junior among them, Robert White, pointed out that there were no summer jobs available to earn money for his next semester.



Militant/Salm Kollis

"We have a simple solution—reduce the workweek with no cut in pay," said Andrew Pulley (on left).

employment. We need more demonstrations. It's the kind of thing that's needed to put pressure on the government—but we also have to do more. Workers have to organize our own political party—a labor party—in order to effectively fight for jobs.

"Unemployment is no natural disaster," Pulley continued. "You know, in Cuba, there is no unemployment. None of the capitalist countries, even during an economic boom, can claim that."

"What're your chances of winning?" Pulley was asked by a man from Baltimore.

"The majority of people don't even know we're running. The government talks about democratic elections. Nothing about this election is democratic."

"We won't make it by November," Pulley said. "But our campaign is building a movement to try to change that in the end. I want you to support me and be part of that change."

An older Black man walked up to Pulley and shook his hand. "Mr. Pulley, I'm proud to meet you. I can't believe a Black man is running for president."

Carter's efforts to "balance the budget" by cutting back on social services and increasing military spending came under heavy fire by marchers and speakers alike.

"Our federal treasury which just 130 days ago was so broke it could not afford an extra million for social programs is now suddenly so rich with untold billions for new warships and new armored divisions," Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher told the rally.

"What is at stake in the world is not our honor," Hatcher continued, "it is not the superiority of our nuclear arsenal. If the sabers are rattled and the buttons are pushed, everybody will lose. The presence of Soviet tanks in Afghanistan is no more frightening nor any greater threat to world peace than the fact that South Africa has a nuclear bomb."

Tyrone Crider, president of the student body at Moorehouse College in Atlanta, declared, "We're here this afternoon, not because students hold Americans hostage in Iran, but because Carter and Congress have chosen to hold students hostage in America."

"We're here not because of Soviet aggression against the people of Afghanistan, but because of Senate and House aggression against the people of America."

Proposed solutions to the jobs crisis

Said Pulley, "I think one reason it's hard to believe is that you'd never see the racist capitalist parties running a Black man for president."

"Why is it that more people don't go for Kennedy?" another protester asked Pulley.

"Because Kennedy lies to them just like the other capitalist politicians," Pulley answered. "Kennedy talks now about how we have to be sensitive to our responsibilities to the poor and oppressed of other countries, but he was over in Iran kissing the hand of the shah two years before the shah was overthrown."

"I didn't know about that," said the man. "But I can tell you Carter is a mess."

TV coverage

One woman asked why Pulley didn't get on television so that more people could know about his campaign.

"We try," said Pulley, "and sometimes we are able to appear on television. But even though we fight to get more coverage, we only get a fraction of the TV and other media coverage that the capitalist candidates get. They

don't want our ideas heard."

"What are your ideas?" the woman asked.

"Working people should run this country," said Pulley. "We think working people should organize our own party based on the unions. We're saying you can't represent the interests of both the slaves and the slave masters at the same time."

"Right now," Pulley continued, "my supporters are petitioning to get the Socialist Workers presidential ticket on the ballot. We're aiming to get on the ballot in thirty states. But even the ballot requirements are steeper for us than they are for the Democratic and Republican politicians."

A protester wearing an "Anderson for President" button stepped forward to join the conversation. "The reason Anderson has fewer requirements in a lot of states is that at least he has a chance of winning. You don't have a chance. That's why you've got to do more to get on the ballot. Most people don't want your socialist ideas."

Pulley answered him, "Most people don't even know we're a choice."

"They never heard of you," added a young woman, looking at Pulley. "They don't give y'all a chance to speak out."

42 sign up for YSPZ

By the end of the day of campaigning, forty-two demonstrators had signed up as Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. Nearly 5,000 pieces of campaign literature were passed out. About 240 copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspaper were sold.

After the rally, fifty people attended a campaign rally where Glenn White, a Metro transit worker in Washington and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, announced his campaign for city council on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

"Mr. Pulley," one of the marchers had asked during the day, "would you mind if I ask you about your education?"

"No, not at all," said Pulley. "I was kicked out of high school when I helped to organize a protest against the murder of Martin Luther King. That was the end of my formal education. The rest of my education came from my experience in the class struggle. In that I have a Ph.D."



Militant/Nancy Cole

Students from Fayetteville State University joined jobs march

were varied. Jim Hall, president of the Chicago Dr. King-Malcolm X Westside Coalition, told the *Militant* he thought the government should "create jobs—to fix up abandoned buildings, to get rid of the rats, to build new schools."

But several speakers, and many signs in the UAW contingent, proposed restricting imports as the solution to unemployment. This pitting of American workers against foreign workers was in contradiction to the note of

international solidarity struck with greetings to the rally by a Haitian refugee and a South African freedom fighter.

Jesse Jackson called for a \$25 billion federal economic stimulant program. He urged a continuation of the fight to win jobs, pledging that protesters would next be present at the Republican convention in Detroit and the Democratic convention in New York City.

Protest demands: 'U.S. Navy out of Vieques!'

By Roberto Flores

WASHINGTON—"Vieques yes, navy no—U.S. Navy has to go!"

This was the spirited chant of more than 1,500 demonstrators who marched on the White House May 17.

The action drew people from East Coast cities, including Philadelphia, Boston, Hartford, New York, and Jersey City. It protested the brutal occupation of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques by the U.S. government. The use of the island for target practice by the navy has endangered the lives and livelihoods of its 8,000 residents, especially the fishermen.

The combative resistance of the people of Vieques has generated a growing international solidarity movement. The march here was sponsored by a broad coalition of Puerto Rican, Latino, student, political, labor, and civil rights organizations.

Larry Thomas of the Boston Support Network Committee told the *Militant* that one of the objectives of the demonstration was to "show the fishermen of Vieques and the people of Puerto Rico that people in the U.S. support their cause."

Thomas described the Boston committee's outreach program that built participation in the protest. Supporters there showed slides and spoke before student, church, and community groups.

"We went to antinuclear groups and talked about the nuclear weapons that the navy stores there," he added. They also showed slides on Vieques to workers from the Quincy General Dynamic Shipyards, where many Puerto Ricans are employed.

The march here included Salvadoran and Nicaraguan contingents, as well as one representing the Venceremos



Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Yáñez

'Their cannons have not been able to stop our struggle,' said Orlando Cruz.

Brigade with a banner reading, "Cuba and Puerto Rico united will win."

A group from Local 1199 of the hospital workers union in New York City joined the demonstration.

Josephine Butler of the D.C. Statehood Party welcomed the marchers to the rally at Lafayette Park across from the White House. She compared the

struggle of the people of Washington, D.C., for statehood to that of Puerto Ricans for independence.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, who was leading a march for jobs and against war just a few blocks away, sent greetings to the Vieques rally.

New York City Council member Gilberto Gerena-Valentín pointed to a new solidarity development. "The la-

bor movement is beginning to support the struggle of the Viequenses," he said, referring to several resolutions recently passed by unions on Vieques. "The American people, the Blacks, and the workers are beginning to realize that as long as human rights are being violated in Vieques, their own rights here aren't worth very much."

Oscar Collazo, one of the recently freed Puerto Rican nationalists, drew the greatest round of applause. Collazo demanded not only that the navy pull out and halt its campaign of terror against the people of Vieques, but that the U.S. get out of Puerto Rico altogether.

Collazo pointed to the march contingents from Central American countries who are battling imperialism. "First it was Cuba years ago," he said. "Then a few months ago it was the heroic Nicaragua. Today it is El Salvador, and tomorrow we can be sure it will be Puerto Rico."

Collazo added that the goal for any country under the control of the United States must be for economic as well as political independence. "As long as a country is economically dependent on imperialism, it cannot be politically independent. This is why we advocate genuine independence: Independence first. And second, socialism that will truly make us free."

Orlando Cruz, a Viequense, vowed that the people of Vieques would continue their struggle. "Their cannons have not been able to stop our struggle," he said.

Cheers and chants greeted the announcement that hundreds of Puerto Ricans living in the United States would travel to Vieques within the next few months to join a demonstration there.

Laurel strikers describe 'plantation' conditions

By Rashaad Ali and Ron Repps

LAUREL, Miss.—"Try Miss Goldy Chickens, and try a little tenderness." That's a little jingle that Sanderson Farms uses to sell its chickens.

What they don't tell you is that 200 members of International Chemical Workers Union Local 882 have been on strike against the Sanderson Farms chicken processing plant here since February 27, 1979.

After talking with some of the strikers on a Saturday in early May, we had a better idea of what Sanderson's idea of "tenderness" really is.

Owner Joe Sanderson, Jr., runs the place like a plantation, strikers say, and they were forced to walk off the job more than a year ago to win simple

human dignity.

Laurel is a city of 25,000; 45 percent Black. In 1964, a bond issue was passed that paid half the cost of building and equipping Sanderson's plant. It wasn't too much of a surprise that we found the plant located on Sanderson Drive.

Sanderson Farms is one of the biggest poultry firms in the South, where the poultry industry is big business. There are two other Sanderson poultry processing plants besides the one in Laurel, which by itself puts out between 65,000-80,000 chickens a day.

The first striker we spoke to was Sarah Wright, a line captain. We talked in a wooden hut built by the strikers. "This is not a shack, this is our union house," said Wright.

"The reason we went out was for better working conditions, better treatment," she explained. "If you were five minutes late or you overslept, they would call you into the office, and if they felt like it, they'd send you back home for two or three days. If you were late three days, they'd fire you."

Wright went into detail about the degrading treatment Sanderson workers are subjected to. "Some of the ladies would need to go to the bathroom before break time, but they wouldn't let them go. And if they went anyway, they just mark them absent for the whole day. If you wanted to go to the bathroom, you would have to tell them exactly what you wanted to go to the restroom for!"

Most of the foremen and supervisors inside the plant are white males. Since the strike, a few Black men have been given supervisory work.

"I know of some ladies that worked in there twelve or thirteen years, and they wanted a higher position. They would give it to someone they had to train when those ladies were already qualified," Wright said.

The work on the line is dirty and dangerous. The birds are killed and hung on conveyer racks. And just as an automobile is assembled as it goes

along the line, the chickens are disassembled. One of the more difficult jobs is in the front where they "pull" the chickens—cut out the neck and intestines.

"You have a certain amount you are supposed to pull in a minute," said one striker, "and then if you don't pull them in that amount of time, they take you to the office. If you drop a neck in the water, and they see it in the drain, they talk to you about it. If you drop another neck, they send you home for three days or a week—for just one chicken neck!"

The jobs are segregated, the women explain. The hardest and most dangerous jobs at the front are done almost entirely by Black workers. In the back, it is mostly white.

The plant is constantly covered with blood and chicken intestines, and strikers recall only one federal inspection. "The one time the inspector came in here was the last time they really cleaned up," a woman said.

Other issues include wages (just over minimum wage), company cheating ("you have to keep good track of your time"), sexual harassment, irregular hours, and irregular vacations ("if they're short of help, you don't get your vacation").

Personal leaves from the plant for any amount of time are virtually prohibited. "My grandbaby was sick with pneumonia," recalls Alice Musgrove. "My daughter called for me to come take the baby to the hospital. They didn't tell me she had called until my break. When I said I wanted to leave, they said that since the baby wasn't mine I couldn't go."

"Then I said that I was going to take the baby to the hospital whether they let me or not because I lost a baby on a job similar to this when I was very young, and I never will forget that."

The company has maintained production by hiring scabs.

Although they've been out a long time, the strikers have managed to keep their spirits up. They spoke of

support coming in from as far away as California, and of the talk shows in the area that are now interviewing striking workers. They hold weekly strike meetings and were all very much in favor of the national May 17 march here in support of the strike.

Their struggle has come to symbolize the fight of the entire Black community in Laurel.

Strikers also urge their supporters to join the national boycott against Sanderson's chickens—marketed under the brand names of Miss Goldy and Southern Beauty.

"We're going to keep on, not just for ourselves, but for those who come after us," said Sarah Wright.

...strike

Continued from back page

tion of Black Trade Unionists; Joyce Miller, president, Coalition of Labor Union Women; William Winpisinger, president, International Association of Machinists; and Frank Drozak, president, Seafarers International Union.

The coalition is also supported by Benjamin Hooks, executive director, NAACP; Eleanor Smeal, president, National Organization for Women; Coretta Scott King.

This coalition of unions and the "natural allies of labor," as ICWU President Martino described it, was a theme of the rally speeches.

Chaired by Rev. C.T. Vivian, the rally heard from Howard Samuel, president of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO; Willie Rudd from the striking furniture workers in Memphis; civil rights activist Anne Braden; Susan Holleran from the National Organization for Women; and others.

Members of striking Local 882 led the crowd in singing "Solidarity Forever." Everyone seemed to leave the rally with a common thought expressed by Reverend Vivian: "Unionism is coming to the South."

Help bring victory to Laurel strikers

The Committee for Justice in Mississippi suggests the following activities for supporters of International Chemical Workers Union Local 882:

- Invite a Laurel striker to speak before your union or group.
- Send strike support messages to the union with copies to Joe Sanderson, c/o Sanderson Farms, Industrial Park, Laurel 39440 and to Mayor W.L. Patrick, Jr., City Hall, Laurel 39440.
- Organize plant-gate collections and benefit events to raise money for the strike fund.
- Boycott Miss Goldy and Southern Beauty chickens.

For more information contact the Committee for Justice in Mississippi, c/o International Chemical Workers Union, 1655 West Market Street, Akron, Ohio 44313, telephone (216) 867-2444 or Local 882, 226-D Ellisville Boulevard, Laurel, Mississippi 39440, telephone (601) 649-8836.

STOP THE SECRECY, ENERGETICLY OPEN THE BOOKS
NATIONALIZE THE ENERGY INDUSTRY!



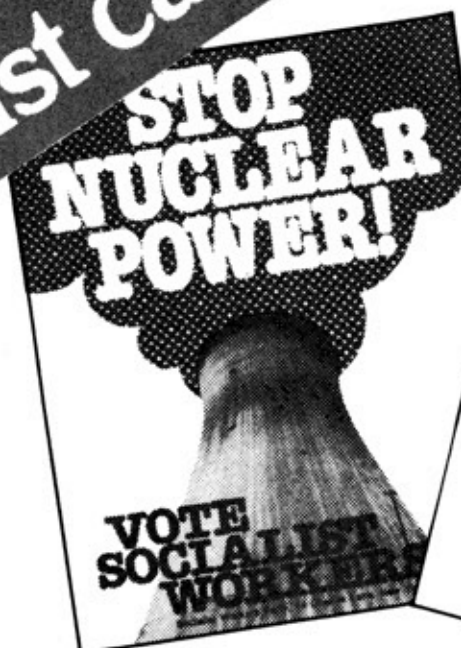
What the Socialist
Workers candidates
propose...



Young
Socialists for
Pulley and
Zimmermann



Pulley and Zimmermann need your help
to keep the socialist campaign rolling!



Los candidatos del
Socialist Workers Party
dicen:

"El pueblo trabajador
debe gobernar
el país"



By Nan Bailey

With three weeks to go before the June 15 deadline, the 1980 campaign fund drive aims to collect \$50,000 to keep the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president in high gear.

To date the fund has received contributions totalling \$18,000.

Money pledged but not yet received totals \$32,702.

The campaign now faces a big challenge. We need your help in order to close that gap and meet the \$50,000 goal.

The pledges were made at Socialist Workers campaign rallies over the course of the fundraising drive. These events were highlights of the campaign stops made by Pulley and Zimmermann as they crisscrossed the country.

The pledges signify an enthusiastic response from campaign supporters who want to see a working-class viewpoint put forward in the 1980 presidential race.

Campaign rallies held in Chicago and in the Piedmont area of North Carolina were typical. The rally in Chicago, Pulley's home town, raised \$3,500 in pledges, while supporters of the campaign in the Piedmont area pledged \$1,200.

These contributions are absolutely vital to the Socialist Workers Party's efforts to get on the ballot in thirty states this year. The costs of full-time petitioning teams, coordination of the drive, and legal expenses involved in fighting undemocratic attempts to keep socialists off the ballot are the largest expenses the socialist campaign has today.

And these costs will be boosted even more by the biggest challenge yet: the drive to collect well over 100,000 signatures to put Pulley and Zimmermann on the California ballot is about to begin.

The eagerness of a growing number of working people to contribute to the socialist campaign shows mounting anger at the antilabor policies of Republican and Demo-

cratic politicians. Held hostage to the energy trusts, threatened with unemployment, and faced with the danger of U.S. military moves in Iran, El Salvador, the Caribbean, and elsewhere—working people are looking for an alternative.

The Pulley-Zimmermann campaign will be using the massive task of petitioning to get on the ballot to appeal to these sentiments. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets in English and Spanish, summarizing the SWP program, will soon be printed, sent free of charge to SWP campaign committees, and distributed as part of the petitioning effort. For example, about 300,000 will be distributed in California, and 65,000 in Pennsylvania.

Massive quantities of campaign literature have already been distributed. About 40,000 brochures explaining the socialist campaign have been handed out at the various national demonstrations held this winter and spring.

Thousands received socialist campaign literature at the February 2 rally against the Klan in Greensboro, N. Carolina; the anti-draft demonstration in Washington on March 22; the march in the nation's capital against nuclear power on April 26; and at the May 10 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago.

But all this costs money; printing and other bills must be paid.

Not only do the Democratic and Republican politicians get automatic ballot status without the petition requirements imposed on socialists; they also benefit from millions of dollars in government handouts.

The federal government recently announced it has already given more than \$22 million—filched from our tax dollars—to Democratic and Republican presidential candidates in the 1980 race. The Socialist Workers Party candidates don't get a cent of this booty, nor do we get funds from the big-business interests that own and control the two capitalist parties.

We depend on the working people who support the socialist alternative—people like you—to finance our campaign.

L. Paltrineri, coordinator of the fund drive, states, "The 1980 campaign fund is making it possible to keep touring our candidates, and printing more of their statements in both English and Spanish. In this

way hundreds of thousands of people who are fed up with the Democrats and Republicans will be introduced to a workers' campaign. By helping us get on the ballot in as many states as possible, the fund means that these workers will have an alternative to support in 1980."

But, Paltrineri explained, the fund drive faces a problem. "A big gap exists between the money that's been pledged to date and the amount that campaign committees and other supporters have actually sent in to the national campaign office."

"The amount of pledges shows that we can meet and even surpass our goal. But we must step up the collection of this money in order to be able to use it for the ballot drive and other needs."

"This is a challenge we face and one that every local campaign committee must organize to meet immediately."

"This means organizing the collection and sending in these pledges now," Paltrineri concluded, "at the same time that we're getting out press releases on the campaign, organizing tours for the presidential or vice-presidential candidate, or organizing special campaign activities for local Socialist Workers candidates."

If the response to tours by Pulley and Zimmermann and to the drive to get hundreds of thousands of signatures on nominating petitions is any indication, the goals of the campaign fund can and will be met.

Socialist Workers Campaign \$50,000 Fund

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Union/School/Org. _____

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

Huge drive will bring socialist message to California workers

By Larry Seigle

SAN DIEGO—Leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party gathered here May 17 for a day-long conference to work out final plans for the drive to put the SWP on the ballot in California.

The mobilization will be launched with rallies in the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, and San Diego on June 7 and 8, featuring Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential candidate.

The first day of petitioning will be Monday, June 9.

Plans call for winding up the massive drive in time for celebrations on the July 4 weekend.

Sara Gates, the SWP California campaign coordinator, outlined three goals of the month-long effort to the meeting of YSA and SWP leaders from throughout the state.

Young Socialist Alliance

The first objective of the drive, she said, is to sign up as many new members to the Young Socialist Alliance as possible. Young people will be attracted to an active, exciting, and spirited effort to put the socialist alternative on the ballot.

With careful attention to recruiting these activists into the YSA, significant steps can be taken toward strengthening the socialist youth organization in California.

The second goal of the huge undertaking is to increase the visibility and public face of the Socialist Workers Party in California. Hundreds of socialist campaigners will be out on the streets, at political events, and in the plants "talking socialism" and signing up supporters of socialists' right to be on the ballot.

In addition, there will be expanded opportunities for news coverage. And an ambitious program of political events, classes, and recreational activities is scheduled throughout the petition drive.

In all these ways, the party and its campaign will be brought to the attention of hundreds of thousands of working people throughout the state.

The third objective of the drive will be, of course, to collect well over the 101,000 signatures required on each of two petitions: one to place the presidential slate on the ballot, and the other to qualify George Johnson, SWP senatorial candidate, for a ballot spot.

Nationwide effort needed

The California drive will be by far the biggest of the state efforts undertaken by the YSA and the SWP to get the socialist candidates on the ballot. The scope of the campaign, and the national importance attached to it, are shown by plans to recruit fifty full-time volunteers from around the country to

go to California and help with the ballot effort.

Volunteers are now being signed up to join the migration west. They are planning to arrive for the kick-off rallies on the weekend of June 7-8. Special funds are being raised to cover transportation costs for those who need it.

A boost to the volunteer organizing is the offer of free trips to revolutionary Cuba to the two petitioners who collect the most signatures. "We couldn't think of a more fitting way to acknowledge the individual efforts to help win a ballot spot for our party, which is campaigning vigorously in defense of the Cuban revolution," said senatorial candidate George Johnson.

Statewide tours

A highlight of the month's activities will be a nine-day tour of California by Pedro Camejo. He will speak on Nicaragua, Cuba, and the advancing revolutionary struggle in the Caribbean and Central America. Camejo, the 1976 presidential candidate of the SWP, has just returned from an extended stay in Nicaragua, where he has been writing about the progress of the Sandinista revolution for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Camejo will join Andrew Pulley, Matilde Zimmermann, and George Johnson, who will all tour the state

during the drive. They will pitch in on the petitioning effort, appear at street rallies and at plant gates, and meet with campaign activists and supporters.

The statewide leadership meeting here included a separate report and discussion on the new opportunities within the labor movement for getting a hearing for the key political proposal of the SWP campaign: that labor should organize its own party. Plans were made for participation of socialist workers in the series of upcoming meetings sponsored by labor organizations to discuss labor's political strategy.

YSA in forefront

A major point on the agenda of the meeting here was a report by George Sayad, Bay Area district organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance, on the opportunities for recruitment of young people to the YSA.

"The entire California YSA is turning its attention to this drive," Sayad said. "This campaign is the YSA's campaign."

Sayad outlined a series of specific plans. These include:

- sending full-time petition teams to work with YSA groups and supporters outside the major cities where the SWP and YSA are already well established;

Continued on next page

More unions join labor party discussion

By Jeff Mackler

OAKLAND, Calif.—On June 5 the California Federation of Labor will host a special statewide conference "for an intensive review of labor's existing political programs and ways to meet what has been labor's increasing problem with two-party conservatism." The meeting is scheduled for two days after the California primary.

The 1.7 million-member federation represents the AFL-CIO unions in California.

The conference, to be held in Los Angeles, follows by nine months the Labor Day address of federation Executive Secretary-Treasurer John Henning, in which he said "labor must consider the advantages of a separate political party."

New problems

On May 16 I interviewed Richard Groulx for the *Militant*. Groulx [pronounced Grew] is secretary-treasurer of the 55,000-member Alameda County Central Labor Council. Alameda County, which includes Oakland, is on the east side of San Francisco Bay.

Groulx made it clear that he is not in favor of launching a labor party now but thinks it is important that it be discussed. He pointed to a number of new problems the labor movement in California is facing: "We really are not making any progress on benefits for the labor movement. . . . We are not completely better off under a Democratic administration than we were under Reagan. . . . I think a lot of our fighting is just to protect what we have."

In addition to the statewide meeting June 5, Groulx told the *Militant* that



California auto workers go to state capitol to protest plant shutdown. Government backing to employers' antilabor assault highlights need for unions to elect their own representatives to public office.

there will definitely be an Alameda County meeting in August to discuss the labor party proposal. That meeting will be sponsored by the county Federation of Labor, the Building and Construction Trades Council, Teamsters Local 70, and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 6.

'Four viewpoints'

Groulx explained that at the August meeting, "We want to hear four viewpoints. One is to stay with the Demo-

cratic Party, try and improve our relationship with it. This is not one that I feel is hopeful. Another is to form some kind of coalition within the Democratic Party which will produce candidates in primaries.

"A third is to join with other coalitions in a third party movement. And the last is to form a labor party, probably inviting other people to come in. Any one of the latter three may be something we can do."

Socialist Workers Party senatorial

candidate George Johnson, a forty-four-year old auto worker at the Fremont General Motors plant, says he welcomes the labor party discussion in the unions. In all his campaign talks, he advocates formation of an independent labor party.

"Now that the labor party idea is raised by top union officials in the state, it takes on a much more realistic perspective. It seems more practical," Johnson says.

Continued on next page

...ballot drive

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- signing up new supporters during the petitioning itself, using the Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann volunteer cards;
- making special efforts starting immediately to involve antidraft, anti-nuclear, and Equal Rights Amendment activists in the campaign; and
- making sure that the YSA is a prominent part of all the petitioning events.

"If we take the time to work closely with the young people who are attracted to the socialist alternative, and convince them that our movement is their movement, we can finish this drive with a stronger and larger YSA in this state," he said.

Leaflets inviting volunteers to help out will be widely distributed in the weeks remaining before June 9. Several areas reported that young people, especially high school students, are already calling up and volunteering to participate in the campaign.

Public face of SWP

Party and youth leaders from throughout the state stressed the opportunity the petition drive presents to strengthen the range of public party activities that can attract new people to the socialist movement.

Emphasis was placed on the need to spruce up the SWP and YSA headquarters, making them visible, accessible, and attractive election campaign organizing centers.

A quarter of a million copies of a special campaign leaflet, in English and Spanish, are being printed for wide distribution by petitioners.

The need for an appealing headquarters with well-stocked bookstores, regular forums, classes, and other public activities was put forward most insistently by socialist workers in industry.

"Many people on the job are in agreement with our ideas," explained one member of the International Association of Machinists. "If we are going to convince some of them to join our party or the YSA, they have to see our movement as more than just a grouping of individuals in their plant. They have to see us as an organization, part of a nationwide, and international, movement."

Classes

"We have to be able to bring them to forums, to a class, to campaign events, to picnics and parties, to our bookstores. The SWP and the YSA are dynamic and exciting organizations to



Winning activist youth to Young Socialist Alliance will be top priority in California campaign drive.

Militant/Nancy Cole

belong to. We have to show people that is the case."

In line with these sentiments, an ambitious program of activities is planned for the three and a half weeks of the petition drive. In addition to the visits by the candidates and by Camejo, SWP leaders are preparing a series of popular classes on working-class politics.

Among the teachers will be: Fred Halstead, 1968 SWP presidential candidate and the author of *Out Now!* and *What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power*; Dick Roberts, author of the recently published *American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization and Capitalism in Crisis*; Catarino Garza, editor of *Puerto Ricans in the United States*; and Roberta Scherr, candidate for Congress in California's 25th Congressional District.

Classes will be available for petitioners and others campaign volunteers several nights a week. There will also be informal dinners and get-togethers.

Arlene Rubinstein, SWP Bay Area District Organizer, summed up the mood of the statewide meeting. "These plans are already paying off," she said. "Throughout the state, more

phone calls are coming in from people who have heard about what we will be doing. More people are in our headquarters as our ballot drive machinery gets cranked up. More co-workers are being involved in campaign activities.

"A couple of people have already joined the YSA because of the excitement this campaign is generating. And all of us feel even greater confidence in ourselves and in the YSA and the SWP."

Join us in



Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president



Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

California petitioning centers:

East Bay: 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Tel: (415) 763-3792.

Los Angeles: 2211 N. Broadway. Tel: (213) 225-3126.

San Diego: 1053 15th St., Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Francisco: 3284 23rd St., Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Jose: 201 N. 9th St., Tel: (408) 998-4007.

We will be in C helping to bring the to working people state, and petitioning for the Socialist W

To make this ca we need your help tion—for a few hou or for the whole m with us. If you can't nia, please send a c pay the way for so Every dollar will

...labor party discussion

Continued from preceding page

The chronology of important union statements and meetings on the labor party in California since last summer makes an impressive list:

July 1979—In a speech to the national convention of the American Federation of Teachers held in San Francisco, Henning gives a damning indictment of the two capitalist parties.

August 30—Henning's Labor Day statement is issued, urging a discussion in the unions in the next year on the labor party question.

September 6—The Executive Council of the California Labor Federation unanimously approves a motion by Richard Groulx authorizing Henning, "to call a conference . . . to reassess our political activity and to give serious consideration to the feasibility of establishing a Labor Party."

September 29-30—The state executive board of the 10,000-member Social Services Union Local 535 passes a motion urging members to "become involved in local labor councils regarding the labor party issue."

November 16—Local 535 sponsors a panel discussion in Los Angeles

called "Labor and Political Action in the 1980s." Speakers include California Federation of Teachers President Raoul Tielhet and other labor officials who speak for or against the labor party idea.

December 6-8—Meeting of CFL Executive Council continues the labor party discussion and plans future meetings.

February 19, 1980—Rally at the state capitol in Sacramento protests the closing of the Pico Rivera Ford plant in Los Angeles. George Manos, chairman of the stewards committee of United Auto Workers Local 1364 at General Motors Fremont, calls for labor to send its own representatives to the legislature.

March 1—March and rally of 4,000 in Los Angeles harbor area supports oil workers' strike. This significant display of labor solidarity sets an encouraging example for labor party proponents.

March 21—California AFL-CIO News reports that resolutions supporting "the idea of examining feasibility of setting up a Labor Party" have been passed by the Central Labor Councils in the counties of Alameda, Marin, San

Mateo, and Orange, plus "numerous local unions."

March—Convention of the California State Council of Carpenters, representing 100,000 union carpenters, passes a resolution "to cooperate with other labor organizations in support of the concept of a Labor Party that would be in the interest of and beneficial to the labor movement."

Around the same time, Anthony Mazzocchi, health and safety director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, speaks at a national AFL-CIO conference in San Francisco and urges the formation of a labor party.

March 22—At a labor solidarity rally in San Francisco in support of the oil workers' strike, support for the labor party idea is voiced by Henning, Teamsters Local 85 President Jack Weintraub, Department Store Employees Local 1100 President Walter Johnson, OCAW Local 1-5 Secretary-Treasurer Jake Jacobs, and others.

May 2—Interviewed by the *Los Angeles Times* about the 1980 presidential campaign, Henning says that workers and their unions are "prisoners of a two-party system that is now a uni-party that more and more reflects the

Nationalize oil, socialist candidate urges

By Jim West

LOS ANGELES—Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate, is urging the labor movement in California to "begin a fight for the nationalization of the oil companies."

"The vise-grip these energy barons hold on the lives of working people has become unbearable," the socialist candidate declared in a statement issued May 20.

Scherr, a railroad worker and member of the United Transportation Union, is the SWP candidate in the 25th Congressional District of California.

"I hope that the proposal for nationalization of the energy industry will be discussed in every local union, and that it gets serious consideration at the upcoming labor meetings in California called to discuss political strategy," she said.

"There is no more compelling argument for labor launching our own political party than the urgent need to get the oil barons' boots off our necks and their greedy hands out of our pocketbooks. The labor movement can't do this as long as we subordinate our needs to support for the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of Big Oil."

Soaring prices

"The soaring price of gasoline," Scherr said, "makes it difficult for us even to travel to work, let alone enjoy a social life or take a vacation. Espe-

cially in areas like southern California, where there is no decent mass transit, workers are at the total mercy of these profit gougers.

"Heating a home, let alone owning one, has become a struggle for most of us. And the energy industry is moving ahead with nuclear power plants, playing Russian roulette with our lives and the lives of our children.

"And for what? To boost the profits of Big Oil still further!"

Scherr said working people are incensed at the recently reported first-quarter profit figures of the oil giants. Exxon smashed through all previous records with reported profits of \$1.9 billion in just the first three months of the year. The Los Angeles-based Occidental Petroleum Corporation raked in \$227 million, an increase of 236 percent.

"These profits come right out of our pockets," the socialist said. "Yet the oil companies refuse to open their books to public inspection so that we can learn the truth about their stockpiles, production, and hidden profits.

"Instead, they thrive on secrecy. Behind their wall of secrecy they create phony shortages, manipulate supplies, and conceal the world's real energy reserves."

Die for Exxon?

"And to top it all off, these robbers, with the full support of the Democratic and Republican parties, are pushing through steps to restart the draft and trying to convince American working

people we should be ready to fight and die overseas to protect their investments and profits.

"Labor cannot sit by and allow this to continue.

"We are losing jobs.

"We are losing the fight against inflation.

"We are losing our right to a safe and healthy environment.

"And we are going to lose our youth to another foreign war if the oil barons have their way."

The only reasonable solution, Scherr said, "is for the government to take the energy industry, so vital to our lives and welfare, out of the hands of the profiteers and place it in the hands of an elected board, operating totally in the open, closely watched by union and consumer groups."

Instead of campaigning for this course, however, officials of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, are campaigning for a ballot proposition that would impose a 10 percent additional tax on the reported profits of oil companies in California. This measure, known as Proposition 11, will appear on the California ballot June 3.

Proposition 11

"Television ads promote Proposition 11 as a way to 'stick it to big oil,'" said Scherr. "Unfortunately, it isn't. It offers no effective answer to this crucial problem.

"First off, a 10 percent surtax on California profits is a drop in the bucket for giant oil companies.

"But Proposition 11 provides for half this surtax to be returned to the companies if they invest in California. So we're down to 5 percent.

"And even that will simply be passed along at the gas pump to consumers. So it won't cost the oil companies a penny. Sure, the measure says that it will be illegal to pass along the tax, but how can that be enforced? Their books, their profits, their real costs, will still be top secret."

Among the major backers of the Proposition 11 are Gov. Jerry Brown and other Democratic Party liberals, including San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein.

The director of the campaign for Proposition 11 is Bill Press, who was recently released from his post in the Brown administration to conduct the drive.

Scherr noted that the funds from the surtax are supposed to go toward increased public transportation. "As a railroad worker, I seriously doubt that



Militant/Marc Lichtman

any increased transportation would result. First off, the money involved is tiny compared to the needs throughout the state. Second, the privately owned transportation companies like the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe railroads will fight tooth and nail to prevent the addition of passenger trains.

"Even when government funds are allocated, such as the commuter trains in the San Francisco Bay Area, or the proposed additional service from San Diego to Los Angeles, the railroads have tried to shut down the service because passenger runs are not profitable."

'Reasonable profits'?

In a statement distributed to California voters, Governor Brown, Mayor Feinstein, and Proposition 11 director Press motivate a fight for the measure with the slogan, "Reasonable profits, yes. Greed, no."

"But what are 'reasonable profits'?" Scherr asked. "This fake measure doesn't put a dent in the billions these giants are raking in. What's reasonable about letting them continue to hold us hostage to their ruthless scramble for profits?"

"Instead of campaigning for this proposition, the labor movement ought to launch a campaign for nationalization of big oil. Now.

"Such a campaign would get an enthusiastic response from the union ranks and from all working people."

California...



George Johnson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate



Pedro Camejo, SWP leader just returned from Nicaragua

California in June, socialist program throughout the for a ballot spot kers Party.

aign a success, If you can peti- for a few days, th—get in touch make it to Califor- tribution to help eone who can. alp.

- ☐ Yes, I want to petition in California. Send me details.
- ☐ Yes, I can contribute \$_____ to help win a place on the ballot for the SWP.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Clip and send to:
Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Tel. (212) 675-3820.

aspirations of the corporate structure of this country."

Austerity fuels discussion

The recession and antilabor actions of both private employers and government are pushing forward the labor party discussion. "I think we're in for a longer and deeper recession than most people think," Groulx told the *Militant*. "I assume that is going to change the attitudes of the unions. I think we're going to have to develop different approaches and a tougher stance."

There have been a number of hard-fought strikes in California in the past

few years. Every one has met fierce resistance from the employers and a united front of opposition from the two-party politicians.

"Every union on our executive board is under attack," Groulx explained. "The private employers are trying to cut down the benefits either by automation or breaking down work rules. The public employers, of course, they don't want to spend any money."

No friend of labor

Socialist Workers candidate George Johnson's opponent in the November election for U.S. Senate is an example

of the dead end the labor movement has reached in supporting the two capitalist parties. Democratic incumbent Alan Cranston is a sponsor of a bill in Congress to gut a federal law on occupational safety and health. Cranston's bill is opposed by the entire labor movement. But he was recently endorsed once again by the CFL.

I asked Groulx about this.

"We have Cranston with an excellent voting record! Excellent! He voted for the deregulation of trucking, which will knock hell out of the Teamsters. He's an author of the bill on OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration]. He can stand before you and just blatantly say, 'I know how to take care of you.'"

"That's the old liberal bull when they know how to take care of the poor working people. We don't need that kind of politician anymore. But who the hell are we going to vote for? Yorty or Gann?"

Dilemmas like this one are fueling the labor party discussion.

Sentiment in ranks

I also asked Groulx how he thinks union members view the labor party idea.

"I think there is sentiment among

the membership," he replied. "I think the vast majority of our members, especially older members, just think in terms of the Democratic Party-labor-minority coalition. But I think we will have a strong sentiment among the most active members for a labor party."

"In order to put a labor party together it takes the top leadership of the international unions because they have the facilities, the people, the money to put it together. It would get a very good response from the membership."

George Johnson termed the deepening opposition to the policy of relying on the Democrats and Republicans "one of the most important developments in the union movement in decades. The question of labor's entry into the political arena to fight for its own interests is urgently on the agenda."

The socialist candidate pledged that "everywhere I go in California, every audience I speak to, I plan to promote this discussion and explain why an independent labor party is an immediately needed step for all working people—Black, white, and Latino; women and men; unemployed and unorganized as well as union members—if we are to defend ourselves against the corporate onslaught."

Attack on rights of all workers

SWP campaigner fired by aerospace corp.

By Mark Friedman

SAN DIEGO, Calif.—Rohr Industries, the second biggest employer in the San Diego area, has launched a broadside attack aimed at disrupting the Socialist Workers Party's presidential campaign.

The attack threatens the right of every worker to express his or her political views.

Rohr employs more than 8,000 workers in nearby Chula Vista. It produces airplane parts.

On April 15 Rohr fired Jay Fisher, a machine operator who has worked there for two years. The grounds: "Possession with intent to distribute" socialist campaign leaflets and copies of the *Militant*.

Fisher is chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party campaign committee in San Diego for the party's presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, and George Johnson for U.S. Senator from California.

The committee is also organizing the campaign of Kathryn Crowder, a Rohr worker who is the SWP candidate for Congress from California's forty-second district, which includes the Rohr plant.

"Company officials came up to my machine," Fisher told the *Militant*. "They took the campaign leaflets and newspapers out of my toolbox—materials which were not being distributed on company time. And then they proceeded to walk me out of the plant."

The firing of Fisher was followed by moves aimed at intimidating candidate Crowder.

Candidate threatened

D.A. Bronson, a Rohr official, sent a letter to the SWP campaign committee stating in part, "It is also our position that running for political office is considered the same as seeking employment elsewhere."

The company's barely veiled threat to fire Crowder unless she gave up her campaign is also a warning to any other worker who might consider seeking public office.

The next day Crowder was called in by Rohr officials. The company men confiscated all her campaign materials. Bronson threatened that if she or any of her supporters were caught with



Above, SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann talks with workers outside General Dynamics plant in San Diego. As part of general antilabor crackdown, Rohr Industries fired SWP campaign chairperson Jay Fisher and is threatening candidate Kathryn Crowder (inset photos).



more than their personal copy of any socialist newspaper or leaflet, they would be fired immediately.

Bronson then repeated the threat in front of company guards, stressing that it applied to any worker who brought socialist campaign material into the plant.

On April 24 two people who were leafletting for the SWP campaign in front of the Rohr plant were threatened with arrest. Police officers told them, "Rohr called us to get this campaign material out of here and get them off the property."

The Chula Vista city attorney later confirmed that anyone had the right to leaflet there as the sidewalk was public property.

Rohr upped the ante further by intervening to block Fisher from receiving unemployment compensation.

Fisher was ruled "not eligible" by the State of California Employment and Development Department because "You were breaking a known company rule: having political material on the premises. . . . You were discharged for following a course of action detrimental to your employers' interests."

Fisher told the *Militant* this is "a clear pattern of disruption aimed at the Socialist Workers campaign. Rohr's harassment violates federal laws against interference with election campaigns."

Furthermore, he added, "The implication that workers' political activities must conform to their 'employers' interests' is a good summary of the point Rohr is trying to establish. It's a violation of every constitutional right workers have as citizens."

Rohr workers under attack

The attack on the Socialist Workers campaign is not an isolated incident of harassment at Rohr. And the supporters of the SWP ticket aren't the only targets.

Management has launched a general crackdown against the rights of the workforce. It intends to create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation in preparation for a tough round of contract negotiations between the company and International Association of Machinists Local 755.

The crackdown has included:

- an unprecedented ban on distributing material concerning union elections or other union business inside the plant;
- the firing of a worker because he

brought two copies of *Playboy* magazine into the plant (the company claimed he must have been planning to sell or give away one);

- the firing of a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party because he gave his copy of the RCP's newspaper to a co-worker;

- suspending a parts dispatcher for leaving his assigned area; and

- preventing workers from drinking coffee or eating at their machines.

Rohr's arbitrary firings and suspensions, aimed at putting union members in their place, have made a lot of people angry.

All are new management restrictions, challenging rights that Rohr workers have exercised for years.

After the company's move to ban coffee drinking, Rohr workers decided to express their displeasure by refusing overtime one weekend.

And Local 755 is pressing a grievance demanding that Fisher be given his job back.

Company's double standard

Sixteen Rohr workers came to a meeting after work April 24 at which Fisher explained the facts about his firing and the efforts of the union to win his job back. Crowder spoke about the violations of her civil liberties and the issues in the SWP campaign.

Some workers were angry about the attempts to keep them from being able to see literature about Crowder's campaign. One worker pointed to Rohr's double standard.

"Here Rohr is trying to prevent Kathryn from campaigning for office," he said, "but I can remember when Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and Jerry Brown campaigned in this plant. They even held rallies inside and set up literature tables."

These rallies were held on company time, that is, workers were paid for listening to the Democratic and Republican candidates.

"No, they don't mind campaigning in the plant, as long as it's for their candidates," said Crowder. "But if a candidate like me and the other SWP candidates is for the unions organizing a labor party to run against their candidates, the Republicans and Democrats—well, that's when they start making up rules to stop it."

"It's their way of making sure that workers never hear about an alternative. It's their way of telling us how to vote."

She explained that the SWP's fight to get on the ballot in California, in the

face of undemocratic ballot requirements, was a part of the fight for the right of all workers to participate in politics.

A number of the workers at the meeting volunteered to help collect the more than 100,000 signatures needed to put the SWP on the California ballot.

Encouraged by the support of co-workers for her rights, Crowder has not bowed to company intimidation and has continued to campaign energetically.

Since the firings and threats, she has spoken on campuses, received extensive newspaper and radio coverage, and blanketed the plant with campaign materials and newspapers.

What SWP stands for

The San Diego edition of the *Los Angeles Times* carried a big spread May 6 on Crowder's campaign. In addition to describing the harassment she and Fisher have received from Rohr management, correspondent Mark Forster presented a summary of the SWP's election platform; it helps explain why the SWP campaign has become one of Rohr management's prime targets:

"The program is to build a labor party based on the trade unions. . . .

"The SWP opposes resumption of the draft and supports the Equal Rights Amendment. It supports open borders. It opposes nuclear power and supports nationalization of oil and utility companies.

"The party urges full employment and cost-of-living adjustments in labor contracts equal to inflation. It calls for slashing the military budget in favor of social programs.

"Crowder says her first act, if elected, would be to propose a national strike fund for striking workers."

Rohr has issued a broad challenge to the right of socialist workers to campaign for office—and to the right of all workers to be active in their unions, participate in elections, bring literature of their choice to work, campaign for candidates they support, and read the literature distributed by different political campaigns.

The company is moving step by step, trying to re-establish the kind of arbitrary power over employees that used to exist before the unions.

The fight to compel Rohr to reinstate Jay Fisher and stop harassment of Kathryn Crowder is a fight for the basic democratic rights of every working person.

SWP leaders hit campaign disruption

The following message was sent to Rohr Industries in San Diego May 21.

Your harassment of Kathryn Crowder, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 42nd District, and firing of Jay Fisher, SWP campaign chairperson in San Diego, violate fundamental constitutional rights.

We demand that you cease your efforts to disrupt our campaign and to intimidate Rohr workers who may want to support our candidates or simply hear what we have to say.

We demand that you immediately reinstate Jay Fisher and end all harassment of Kathryn Crowder.

Your disagreement with our opinions does not give you the right to tell Rohr employees what to read, what to think, or who to vote for. Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

George Johnson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California

Candidate backs school desegregation

Mo. SWP files petitions, demands ballot rights

By Jim Garrison

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—Over 26,000 signatures were filed at the state capitol here May 14 to place Socialist Workers Party candidates on the Missouri ballot. The filing followed a three-week drive by SWP campaign supporters to collect well over the 18,000 signatures required by the state.

In addition to the presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the Missouri SWP is running Martha Pettit, a laid-off auto worker from Kansas City, for U.S. Senate, and Martin Anderson, a St. Louis steelworker, for governor.

At a capitol news conference, Pettit said, "We found the response to our petition drive overwhelming. Many who signed the petitions went on to sign campaign endorser cards and several came to meetings and open houses organized during the course of the petition drive."

The news conference was attended by five television stations, two radio stations, two newspapers, Associated Press, and United Press International.

Gubernatorial candidate Anderson stated, "In 1980, working people are more than ever showing their desire for a real choice. Most new voters are registering 'independent' rather than aligning themselves with either the Democrats or Republicans; others simply drop out of the electoral process in disgust."

"At the same time," Anderson said, "more than 26,000 Missouri voters signed petitions to place the SWP ticket on the November ballot. They think we have a right to run and to explain our ideas."

Anderson went on to explain that millions of working people already share many of the positions of the socialist campaign, including support for the Equal Rights Amendment, for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to create jobs, and opposition to the draft and Washington's war moves.

At the news conference, Anderson called on the federal, state, and local governments to take all the necessary steps to institute an effective desegregation program for St. Louis public schools.

School desegregation is a central issue facing the St. Louis Black community. A federal court recently gave tentative approval to a desegregation program submitted by the St. Louis school board. The plan leaves the majority of Black high schools unaffected and is limited to the city of St. Louis. It has been denounced by the local NAACP as ineffective.

The socialist candidates pointed out that the SWP was undemocratically ruled off the Missouri ballot in 1974 and 1976. In both those years, the SWP filed signatures whose total far surpassed the state requirement.

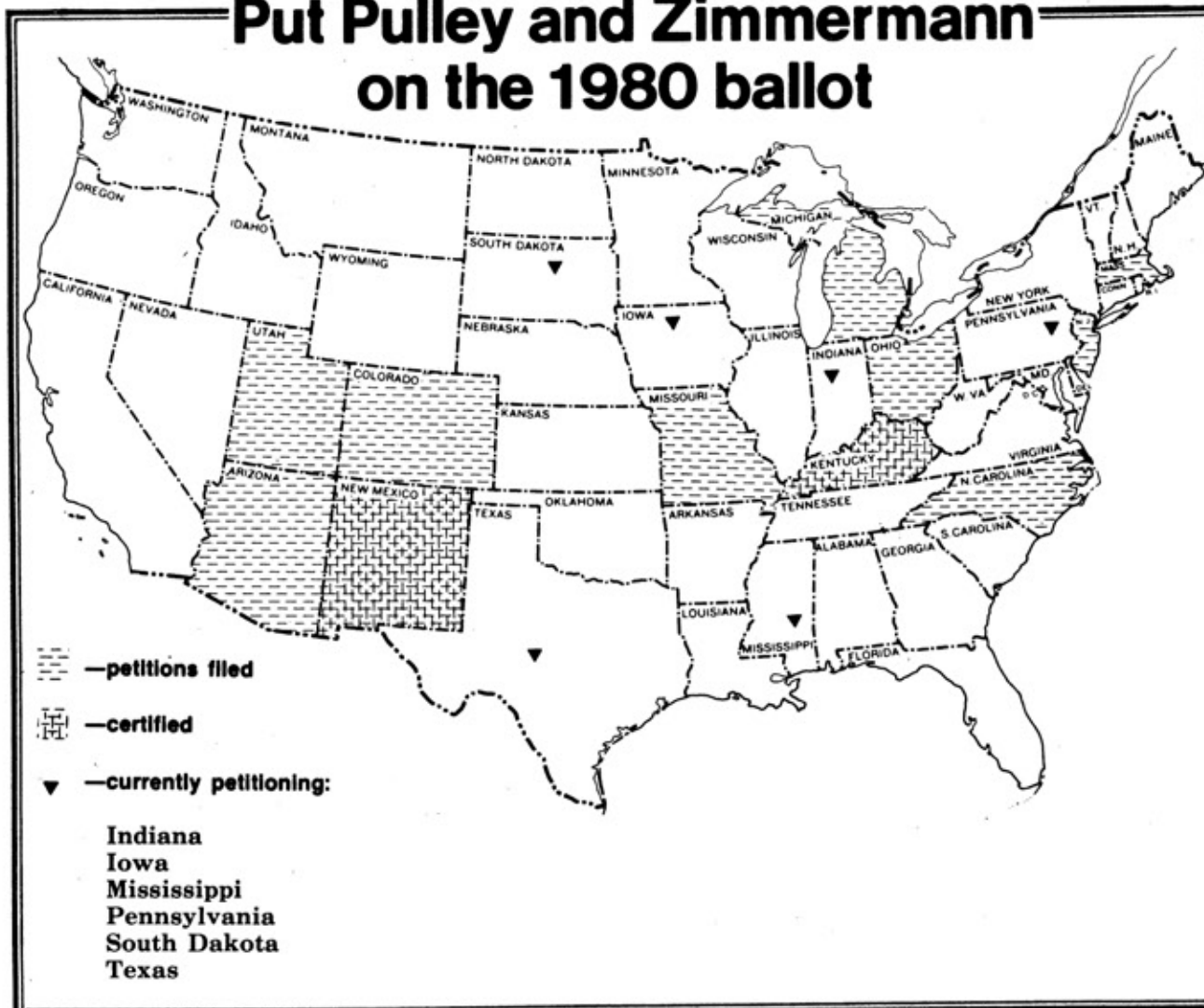
In spite of this, the Missouri secretary of state ruled that the signatures were "inadequate" and refused to put the SWP on the state ballot.

Supporters of the SWP's right to appear on the 1980 ballot include the *Kansas City Times*, the Kansas City chapter of the National Organization for Women, and Earl Graham, vice-president of Branch 30 of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

In a May 18 editorial, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* added its support:

"A test of how well Missouri is prepared to implement the democratic process was initiated the other day when members of the Socialist Workers Party filed petitions with the secretary of state in

Put Pulley and Zimmermann on the 1980 ballot



Jefferson City to put SWP candidates for the U.S. Senate and the governorship of Missouri on the November state ballot," the editorial said.

"One need not agree with the platform of the Socialist Workers Party, or any other minor party, to say that such parties should not be arbitrarily ruled off the ballot. Nearly twenty other states have simpler requirements for getting on the ballot than Missouri does."

The editorial concluded, "In the interest of giving Missourians a wider political choice, the rules for entry on the ballot here should be made less onerous. But even if that is not done, the secretary of state should at least make every effort to see that the law is applied fairly to minority parties."

Meanwhile, other Socialist Workers ballot drives are making progress. The Texas petition drive is on schedule with over 22,000 signatures collected so far. Texas socialists are aiming to far exceed the state requirement of 24,000 signatures.

One socialist petitioner in Houston met two enthusiastic campaign supporters when she went out to petition last week. The two signed the petition and then signed up on Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann cards so that they could be kept informed of campaign activities.

Then they both helped to petition—each collecting twenty signatures to help get the socialist candidates on the Texas ballot.

The Pennsylvania drive is ahead of schedule. With some 8,600 signatures collected so far toward their goal of well over the state requirement of 48,000 signatures, Pennsylvania campaign supporters are getting a good response to the new campaign leaflet they are distributing. The leaflet summarizes the program of the Socialist Workers candidates.

One petition signer remarked that it was the best program he'd seen. "It actually talks about the issues," he said.

The Indiana drive to collect over 7,000 signatures required by the state is underway. Socialist Workers campaign supporters in Indianapolis and Gary organized their first statewide petitioning mobilization on May 17. Over 5,300 signatures have been collected so far.

One petition team went to the plant gate at U.S. Steel Gary Works during a shift change. They got an enthusiastic response, collecting over fifty signatures and selling nine copies of the *Militant* in just under an hour.

Bobbie Bagel, one of the petitioning organizers, reports that many of the people approached by petitioners in South Bend recognized Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley's name from his 1979 campaign for mayor of Chicago.

Zimmermann hits N. Carolina's 'right to work'

By Kate Daher

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Everywhere she went in a two-day tour of the Piedmont area, Matilde Zimmermann voiced support for the organizing drives by the Teamsters and other unions, and opposition to the state's union-busting 'right-to-work' law.

"The 'right to work' is a deceptive name for a law that tramples on the rights of working people," said the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. "In reality, this backward law is a tool used by big business to keep the wages, working conditions, and standard of living in North Carolina among the lowest in the country."

Another theme of Zimmermann's tour was the right of socialists to appear on the North Carolina ballot. At a round of news conferences in

Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and Greensboro, she publicized the suit filed by the SWP against the state requirement that the socialists pay five cents for every one of the 18,000 signatures they collected in order to win ballot status.

Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from North Carolina, told reporters, "North Carolina officials have sent a message to working people in the state with this undemocratic requirement. If you are not rich, then you can't participate in the political process."

(On May 14, a federal court in Winston-Salem ruled against the SWP's request to be exempted from the fee requirement, having waited until two days prior to the deadline for paying the fee to rule on the request. In order not to jeopardize the party's ballot status, the North Carolina SWP was

forced to borrow \$900 to pay the fee for the 18,000 signatures it collected.

(A hearing on the SWP's challenge to the constitutionality of the fee requirement is still pending.)

At the April 29 campaign rally in Winston-Salem, Zimmermann showed slides of her recent visit to Cuba, and pointed to the gains in education, health, housing, and job security since the revolution. "The overwhelming majority of Cuba's ten million people are workers and farmers like most of us," said Zimmermann. "But unlike us, they've won the real right to work—the right of every person to a job. You see, even though Cuba is a much poorer country than the United States, the government there is run by and for working people."

"This fact, and the solidarity Cuba extends to workers and farmers in

Nicaragua, El Salvador, and elsewhere, explains why Cuba is a prime target of the U.S. government's drive to stop the spread of revolution."

"The Cuban revolution should be an inspiration to workers in North Carolina, where working people are waging a bitter fight for unions and against this state's 'right to work' law. We are up against the same enemy as the Cubans—the billionaires who run the U.S. government and the government of this state."

Zimmermann and Finch also spoke at an informal gathering of workers from the Bahnson Company in Winston-Salem where SWP gubernatorial candidate Douglas Cooper is employed.

North Carolina campaign supporters contributed \$1200 to the Socialist Workers campaign during Zimmermann's tour here.

ERA marchers meet socialist candidates

'No choice between Democrats & Republicans'

By Carol Ann Margiadiano

CHICAGO—Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, were known and recognized by a good number of marchers for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago on May 10.

As the two candidates moved through the swelling crowd while waiting for the Socialist Workers contingent to step off into the march, Cindy Burgess of San Francisco walked up to shake Pulley's hand.

"I attended his presidential campaign speech at the First Unitarian Church," she told the *Militant* afterwards, "and I was very impressed. I felt I really belonged there. I've been a worker. I worked my way through college in an automobile factory and I really feel alliance with the Socialist Workers."

How did she get interested in socialism? "I guess mainly I just got frustrated, like everybody else is. And then I began to read some Marxist writings."

A young woman from Cedar Falls, Iowa, also made a point of shaking Pulley's hand.

"Why did you want to meet Pulley," I asked her.

"My father-in-law told me to be sure to shake his hand because he tells people he's going to vote for Andrew Pulley. He doesn't like any of the other candidates."

"Are there many socialists out there in Cedar Falls?"

"Yup, quite a few. We've got a new YSA chapter there. I'm not a member yet but I'm thinking about joining."

'Just what we need'

As people gathered for the rally after marching down Columbus Avenue through Grant Park, Pulley and Zimmermann moved among the ERA supporters, introducing themselves and talking about the campaign.

The discussions that resulted gave a flavor of how quite a few demonstrators viewed U.S. politics today.

Kate Rousmaniere from Oberlin College said she thought there would be no real choice between the Democratic and Republican nominees and that "someone like Matilde Zimmermann would be dynamite, just what we need."

Asked if there was much enthusiasm at her school for any of the Democratic or Republican candidates, she replied, "The general reaction people would like to express is 'none of the above.'"



SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, with daughter Aislinn in stroller, and vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann (center, beside Pulley) led their contingent on May 10.

Charlene Czerak, a high school student from Chrysalis Learning Community in Chicago, heard of the Socialist Workers alternative for the first time at the march.

Her attitude toward the elections was: "There's nobody I want."

What did she think of Anderson, who says he is "independent"?

"I hear he's for the neutron bomb," she said, "so I can't support him either. And also I'm worried about what he means when he says 'no draft at this time.'"

Mick Wilson, 25, is a member of the Labor Party of Australia. He is in this country visiting a friend, and came from St. Paul, Minn., to attend the demonstration.

He told Zimmermann it was hard for him to understand why "everybody here votes for the Democrats and Republicans even though there's not really much difference between them."

He agreed with Zimmermann that this country needs a labor party, based on the trade unions, that can fight for the needs of working people.

"How has the fact that Australia has a Labor Party helped the people of Australia?" Zimmermann asked him.

What Labor Party meant

"Well," he explained, "the whole transportation system and the telephone company are nationalized. They are low-cost, and owned by the public, not private companies. Medicine is pretty well nationalized. When the Labor Party administration got in in 1972, it brought in a really good medical plan. Visits to doctors were free, or would cost only a dollar or so. And they also increased the pensions. Pensioners were having to live on practically nothing. My parents are on pension, and it was so bad my mother had to work, and she's an old woman, sixty years old."

"But many of these steps forward are being demolished by the Conservative government that's been in for the last five years," he told Zimmermann.

The socialist campaign reached thousands of others at the demonstration. Ten thousand campaign brochures were distributed, and more than 750 people bought "ERA NOW" but-

tons distributed by the Socialist Workers Party Presidential campaign.

About 2,800 people signed petitions to put Pulley and Zimmermann on the ballot in Illinois.

And more than 1,000 copies of campaign newspapers—the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist*—were sold.

After the rally, more than 150 marchers, including Pulley and Zimmermann, relaxed at a party at the SWP campaign headquarters. Among them was a young woman who was recently laid off from her job at U.S. Steel's Edgar Thomson works in Braddock, Pa.

Matilde Zimmermann had recently campaigned at the gates of her plant.

A member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1219, she was basically disgusted with the capitalist election circus.

"They [the Democratic and Republican candidates] all say the same things but in different ways. They all sleep with business. They spend an outrageous amount of money for an election, and what for? For political power. They get it all back and much more in kickbacks, in giving jobs to their buddies, in bribes, and so forth. You know, how they get government contracts for different companies, and then let them get away with using a cheaper grade of materials—anything goes."

In tune with mood

Organizers of the march had invited the Republican, Democratic, and Citizens Party candidates to participate as "guests of honor" in the march and rally. John Anderson turned up briefly. Edward Kennedy's campaign sent Kathleen Kennedy; Eleanor Holmes Norton brought greetings from Carter; and Citizens Party vice-presidential candidate La Donna Harris spoke.

Although Pulley and Zimmermann were denied equal treatment with non-socialist candidates by the march organizers, they felt that their socialist campaign was the most in tune with the radical mood of the majority of the marchers.

As Pulley said in his greetings to those who came to the campaign headquarters following the march, "The fact that this demonstration took place during an election year shows in and of itself that the American people feel that the capitalist party candidates can't be trusted to fight for their needs. They're right about that. It is going to take a militant, mass movement, based on the power of the labor movement, and that's what the Socialist Workers campaign is all about."

Youth show fighting spirit at May 10 march

By Carol Ann Margiadiano

CHICAGO—The fighting spirit of the pro-ERA demonstrators here was indicated by the response to



Militant/Rich Robohm

the Young Socialist Alliance.

The YSA had a contingent in the march and set up a literature table at the rally site.

I talked to three young women—ten to twelve years of age—who were carrying a YSA banner calling for ratification of the ERA.

I asked them why ERA was important to them. "It might raise my mom's pay," said one.

"My mom and dad are divorced," explained another, "so she's all on her own except for child support. The ERA would make it easier for her."

They all supported the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket and were interested in socialism.

Another young woman named Abra told me she supported Pulley and Zimmermann, too. "I don't believe what Carter is doing is helping the country at all, and we

would be better off under Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann. Carter is ruining this country and every other country he can get his hands on."

She said ERA "will give us the opportunity for better jobs when we grow up. It just means that you can be whatever you want to be, and you will get equal pay, equal hours."

A youth, wearing a red bandana around his forehead, came with two friends to look at the YSA literature table. He said he had come to the march out of "curiosity" and because "I'm for the ERA, for equal rights for everybody."

"I'm a Marxist," he told me. His friends said they were Marxists too.

"How did you get interested in Marxism?" I asked.

"Well, I heard people talking about him. They're talking about

him everywhere. I read in Rius's book [*Marx for Beginners*] that two-thirds of the world practices Marxism while the other one-third is arguing about it, so I started reading about it."

Mark Jacobson, 31, of the newly formed YSA chapter in Cedar Falls, Iowa, helped organize a contingent to come to the demonstration.

He described how the chapter was formed. "We started a Nicaragua solidarity coalition last fall after we saw Fred Halstead's slide show on Nicaragua in Iowa City. We got real involved in the anti-draft movement, and began reading Marx and Engels. Then five of us went to hear Andrew Pulley in Des Moines. After he spoke, we had a talk with him and decided to form a chapter."

If the spirit of the May 10 action was an indicator, there will be many more like them.

Big success for SWP leadership school fund

By Fred Feldman

The drive to raise \$50,000 to launch the Socialist Workers Party leadership school has been a complete success.

A total of \$54,282 has been pledged to the fund, and \$47,074 of this has been paid. Organizers of the fund-raising project hope to collect the \$7,208 in outstanding pledges over the next few weeks.

The big advance represented by the opening of the school, and its establishment as a basic institution of the Socialist Workers Party, has been made possible by generous contributions from hundreds of members and supporters.

As Betsey Stone, director of education for the SWP, explained at a February 23 fund-raising party in New York, the students are "party leaders who have assumed very big responsibilities but who never had much of a chance up to now to carry out a systematic study of the fundamentals of Marxism."

The participants, she continued, "will be able to step back for a while, to look at the sweep of history, to study what revolutionists have done

before us, and to see where we stand now in the movement of history."

The curriculum has centered around the political writings of Marx and Engels, beginning with the Communist Manifesto and the 1848 revolutions.

The curriculum also includes some of Lenin's works: on imperialism and war, the roots of fascism and the oppression of nationalities, and the Bolshevik contributions on women's rights.

The students are also learning Spanish.

They are getting a different perspective on Marxism and its significance. All too often, socialists fall into the habit of thinking of Marxism as a set of correct ideas thought up by very intelligent individuals—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky.

But Marxism is really the political and theoretical expression of the interests of the most productive and progressive social class—the working class. Marxism arose out of the emergence, rise, and initial struggles of this class.

Marxism summarizes the lessons of the history and experiences of working people. It shows the

logic of the working class struggle, its line of march toward the taking of power, the elimination of capitalism, and the building of socialism.

By representing the future of the movement in its present, to paraphrase Marx's words in the *Communist Manifesto*, Marxism provides a vital tool for all working people in determining the next steps to be taken in defending their rights and advancing their interests.

By pausing for study and reflection, the students are becoming more effective working-class fighters and leaders of the revolutionary workers party.

As Betsey Stone explained, this is only the first group of students. "After a while, there will have been dozens and dozens who will have gone through the school. Think of the enormous impact this will have on the party."

"The spirit and understanding engendered by the school," she predicted, "will spread through the party, and give the whole party confidence that we can be successful in the big struggles ahead."

How N.C. cops let KKK-Nazi gunmen kill five

By Craig Stevens

GREENSBORO—Greensboro and North Carolina authorities are continuing their efforts to pin the blame for the November 3 murder of five anti-Klan demonstrators by a Klan-Nazi hit squad on the demonstrators themselves.

They have indicted six anti-Klan demonstrators on felony charges while a number of racists who publicly admit participating in the attack have not been indicted.

But the facts are giving officials trouble.

The Greensboro Police Department's own report, issued three weeks after the murder, clearly points to their responsibility for allowing the massacre to occur.

The report, meant to whitewash the role of the police, proves that the cops had more than adequate warning that armed Klanners were preparing an attack.

The report says that police had an informer in the KKK group as it assembled early that morning. The informer reported to police that the group was armed and intended to heckle the marchers.

The cops did not stop them as they approached the demonstration despite the fact that they were carrying concealed weapons and intended to disrupt the march.

Only one policeman was on the scene until almost a minute after the shooting began. The report attempts to excuse this failure by pointing out that the Klan moved earlier than they anticipated.

But a police detective followed the racists' caravan to the location in the Black community where the march

was assembling, making continual reports on its location. The detective and other cops were aware of the caravan's destination from the moment it set out.

Ten minutes passed between the time the Klan and Nazis set out and the time the first shots were fired. When the officer commanding the tactical units heard that the caravan was only about six blocks from the assembly point, he radioed his men, who were eating lunch, that they had fourteen minutes to be in place.

The cops also attempt to blame the anti-Klan group for creating confusion by having demonstrators at two locations at the same time. This alleged confusion was generally accepted in local press reports as the reason police were not at the scene.

Again, the report itself gives the lie to this excuse. Police cars were directed to the wrong assembly site, but not because of any confusion as to where the shooting was going on. Instead, the lieutenant in charge advised available cars not to go to the place of the shooting!

Here is the official version of his directions to the squad cars immediately after the Klan opened fire. "Lt. Spoon further advised, 'Don't all come to the area, I'll advise further when I arrive on the scene.' Lt. Spoon indicated he was fully aware the problem was at Everitt and Carver Drive, but he directed the police units to the Windsor Community Center area [eight blocks away] as he did not want a large number of vehicles to respond to Everitt and Carver Drive unless they were needed."

This was the police department's approach when they knew nine car-

loads of armed right-wingers had just opened fire on at least fifty unarmed demonstrators in the heart of the Black community.

The official police version provides enough information to expose complicity with the murderers, but still it leaves more questions.

The identity and role of the police informer among the Klan-Nazi attackers is still a secret.

Police informers were actively involved in the Birmingham, Alabama, church bombing that killed four Black children in 1963, and in the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo in Alabama in 1965.

What part did the Greensboro in-

former play in planning the murderous attack of November 3?

In 1961, racist thugs beat up freedom riders in a Birmingham bus depot, after arranging with the local police to be given fifteen minutes without police intervention.

Was some similar arrangement made in Greensboro?

Despite the fact that the police informer in Greensboro did nothing to prevent the murders, Gov. James Hunt's proposal for "preventing" similar attacks is increased use of police informers. He suggested that not only the Klan and Nazi, but "communist" and antinuclear groups should be subjected to such infiltration.

Ben Chavis, Anne Braden say 'Free anti-racists!'

Rev. Ben Chavis and Anne Braden, veteran activists in the southern civil rights movement, have denounced the indictment on riot charges of six anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The charges stem from the November 3 anti-Klan rally that was attacked by Klan-Nazi gunmen.

Chavis and Braden called the charges "a disgrace to Greensboro, to North Carolina, to the nation, and to humanity."

"We are outraged anew," they continued, "at the efforts of offi-

cials to blame the victims for the crime that occurred in Greensboro last November 3."

Five of the six people indicted are members of the Communist Workers Party, which staged the anti-Klan rally. Five CWP members were killed when Klan and Nazi gunmen opened fire.

Braden and Chavis said the attack on the anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro is "an attack on the entire people's movement in this country—just at a moment when the spirit that activated the civil rights movement is having a revival all across our land."

Iron Range SWP campaign office vandalized

VIRGINIA, Minn.—Supporters of democratic rights on the Mesabi Iron Range are strongly protesting attacks against the newly opened campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party here.

These attacks began the day after Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential candidate, ended a tour of northern Minnesota.

A rock was thrown through the storefront windows of the headquarters on May 16.

At 4:30 the next morning, racist epithets and threats were spray painted on the back door.

Neighbors saw the vandal and called police, who arrested Rodney Dale Ericson before he could leave the scene.

Ericson has been in jail many times. The charges ranged from rape to

breaking into the home of an Indian family and beating up several people.

The following day, SWP congressional candidate Ilona Gersh received two telephone threats. "We know how to take care of nigger lovers like you," the first caller stated, "and you're easy to find because we know where you live, where you work, and where your office is."

Ericson was arraigned May 19 and pleaded not guilty.

A number of prominent individuals on the Iron Range issued a joint statement denouncing the attacks on the SWP.

"We do not want racist violence to spread to the Iron Range," the statement declared. "We feel certain that the people of our community will con-



SWP congressional candidate Ilona Gersh points to rock-damaged storefront window of campaign office.

tinue to take a strong stand against those who carry out such acts."

The statement asked for "full prosecution for these acts of vandalism" and called on "the city authorities to ensure that the Socialist Workers Party's right to participate in the elections

without harassment is guaranteed."

Signers included Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; Ann Wognum, editor of the *Ely Echo*, a daily newspaper published in the nearby town of Ely; and Louise Grahms of the Virginia School Board.

Discussion needed on how to fight back

Steel contract sidesteps company attacks

By Stu Singer

Steel companies and top United Steelworkers officials are overjoyed about the new three-year basic steel contract signed April 17. The Carter administration joined the celebration by immediately certifying it as within the federal wage guidelines.

Local union presidents voted overwhelmingly in favor, 333-42.

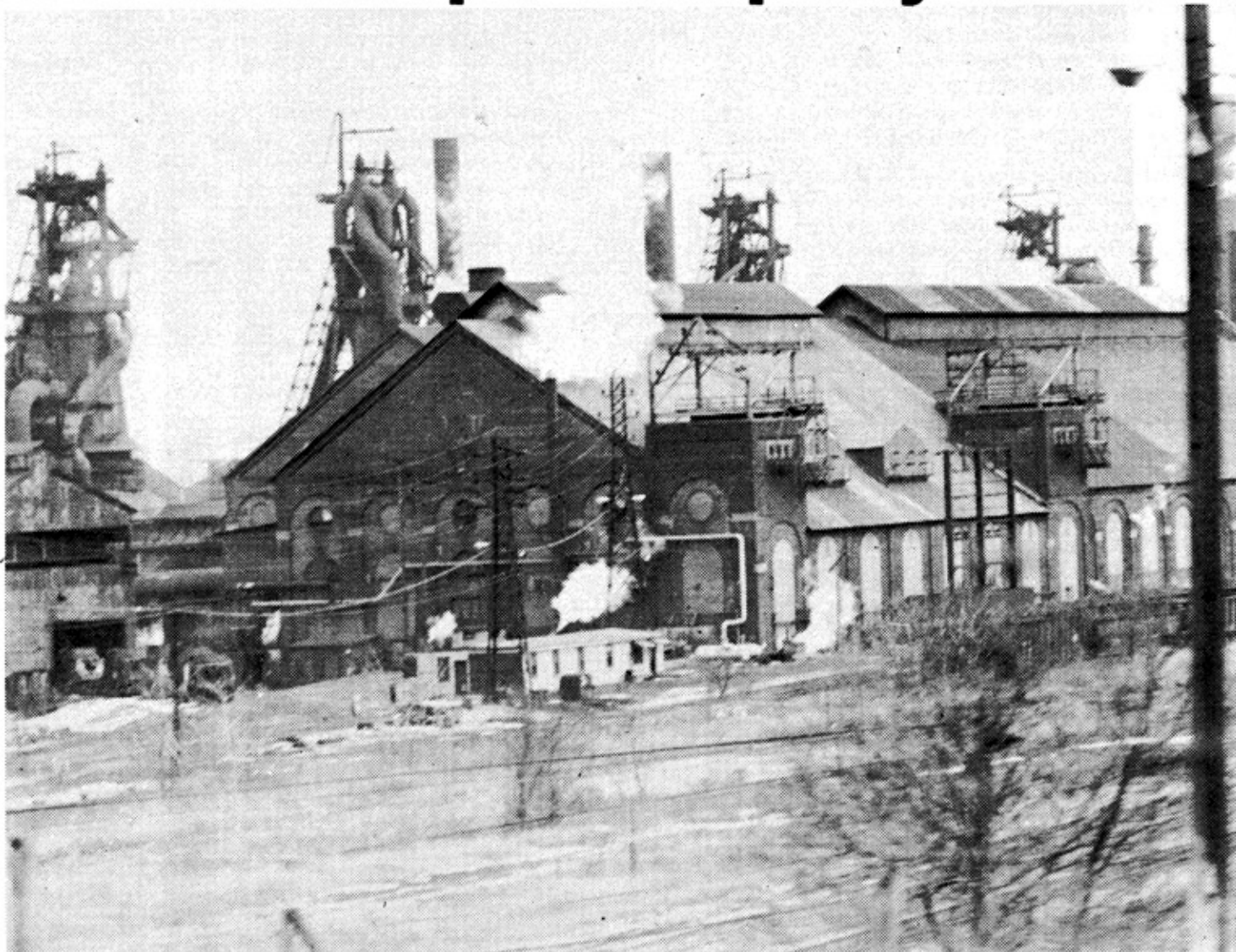
What is this new contract like? How does it compare with previous basic steel pacts in 1977 and 1974?

The basic steel contract has remained about the same since 1974. Comparing the 1980 version with the earlier ones, there are a few pluses and minuses, but no substantial change.

If the contract has not changed much, other things have. Steelworkers are facing 18 percent inflation so far in 1980 following 13 percent in 1979. Plant shutdowns and job eliminations have reduced the number of workers at the nine companies directly covered under the contract by as much as 100,000 in ten years. Tens of thousands more are on layoff.

At the moment this contract was approved, new layoff notices were being issued for steelworkers at the giant Bethlehem mill at Sparrows Point near Baltimore. Just in the month since the contract was signed there have been additional layoffs at the Gary Works and South Works of U.S. Steel and at Jones and Laughlin, Republic, and Armco mills.

A stronger contract is needed for the problems of 1980. Steelworkers did not get it.



Youngstown steel mill. New contract does not deal with epidemic of layoffs and shutdowns.

Militant/Stu Singer

COLA and pensions

A good example is the cost-of-living adjustment. Many steelworkers consider this the best thing in the contract. The COLA increases every three months keep bread on the table.

But union figures show real wages of steelworkers declined in the first nine months of 1979. The union proposed a

needed improvement in the COLA formula. But this was not won.

Probably the best contract improvement since 1977 is an increase in some pensions, both for future retirees and the 140,000 already on pensions.

But the money for the modest increase does not come from the companies. It is paid by working union

members, who did not receive their May 1 COLA raise of thirty-two cents.

Although the pension changes are definitely an improvement for workers already retired, the new pension formula is actually worse than the old one for some workers who are ready to retire. Union activists in Cleveland and Youngstown found in computing the complicated formula that a few workers would get as much as sixty dollars a month more under the old formula than the new one.

Other changes in the contract are uneven. The only clear addition from 1977 is cheap: two forty-dollar payments for work shoes over the three-year life of the contract.

This does not compare well with the additional paid holiday won in the last contract. There are no new holidays or sick days this time.

The contract contains increases in insurance coverage, but this is balanced by increased deductible amounts. In other words, more money will have to be paid by the worker for initial medical costs before the improved insurance program comes into effect.

No right to vote or strike

When the Experimental Negotiating Agreement governing the basic steel contract was signed in 1973, it was met with effusive praise by the steel companies and the big-business press.

Under ENA the union gives up its right to strike over basic contract issues in exchange for company guarantees of 3 percent minimum annual raises, a cost-of-living escalator, and a \$150 bribe to each steelworker paid every three years when the contract is signed.

The contract ratification procedure excludes the membership. Steelworkers cannot vote on their contract. The basic contract is approved by the presidents of the locals. This weakens the union's bargaining strength.

Opposition to ENA and support to membership ratification of contracts are two central issues of the opposition forces in the steelworkers union.

The opposition has been strongest in the Chicago-Gary area, District 31, and

among the iron ore miners in northern Minnesota, District 33.

This opposition came together around the campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the union in 1977. Sadlowski had been elected District 31 director in a hotly contested campaign in 1974. In the 1977 election, Sadlowski was defeated by Lloyd McBride, who was supported by the incumbent "official family," by a three-to-two margin.

But Sadlowski actually won a majority of the votes from the iron ore miners and basic steel workers, indicating support for the right to vote and strike and for a more aggressive fight by the union against the companies.

There was speculation about the future of ENA before the 1980 contract was signed. Steel industry spokesmen suggested that the ENA guarantees too large wage hikes as the price of a no-strike pledge. Most union officials want ENA to continue. No decision has yet been reached.

Negotiations on the future of ENA will take place prior to the 1983 contract. Most likely the companies want to see if there will be any local issues strikes this year. They want to use the threat of taking away ENA to pressure union leaders to prevent local strikes.

Local issues

The ENA permits local strikes over issues not covered in the basic contract. Under this provision 15,500 iron ore miners struck for up to 138 days in 1977 over health, safety, and working conditions and also to win incentive pay like the rest of the steelworkers under the basic contract.

The companies claimed the strike violated the ENA. But they finally caved in after four and a half months without their main supply of ore.

In the 1980 negotiations one of the company goals was to prevent a repeat of the 1977 strike. They got agreement that incentive pay is not a local issue. But they agreed to equalize incentive rates in the mines and the steel mills.

It is still possible there will be strikes by some locals. For example, Local 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill voted overwhelmingly to authorize a strike if local issues there

\$10,000 from each worker

Steelworkers are supposed to be "responsible" in their demands. The employers, the press, and the government say that it would be terribly unfair, for instance, to ask the corporations to pay for modest increases in the pensions of retirees. No, the workers have to "share the burden."

When you look at how the steel barons are doing, you can understand why providing a few dollars for the retirees would be more than they could bear.

The 1979 salaries and bonuses of some top steel industry executives were:

Armco, chief executive officer H. Holiday, Jr.—\$459,000, up \$119,000 from 1978; chairman C. William Verity, Jr.—\$525,000, up \$47,000.

Bethlehem, chairman Lewis Foy—\$460,000, up \$86,000; vice-chairman Frederick West, Jr.—\$289,000, up \$37,000.

Inland, chairman Frederick Jaicks—\$448,000, up \$31,000; vice-chairman Raymond Carlen—\$252,000, up \$10,000.

U.S. Steel, chairman David Roderick—\$360,000, up \$47,000; president William Roesch—\$285,000, up \$74,000.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh, chairman Dennis Carney—\$355,000, up \$95,000; vice-president George Esler—\$178,000, up \$37,000.

Note that nearly every one of these "steelmen," as they like to call themselves, got a pay raise last year larger than the total yearly pay of any steelworker.

But don't worry. The nine basic steel companies did not forget their shareholders, who divided \$424,595,000 of loot among themselves.

Below is a list of the operating profits for 1979 of the big nine steel companies. One thing to keep in mind about these figures concerns poor U.S. Steel.

Poor U.S. Steel's operating profits declined by \$750,000,000 from 1978 to '79 because of shutting down fifteen plants. But while figures don't lie, management, accountants and other liars still know how to figure.

And after they figure out all the tax breaks they can get and equipment they can cannibalize and workers they can cheat out of pensions and other benefits, we'll see how much poor U.S. Steel lost by closing those plants.

1979 operating profits:
U.S. Steel—\$129,500,000
Bethlehem Steel—\$826,000,000
Jones and Laughlin (LTV)—\$449,903,000
Armco—\$530,022,000
National—\$408,636,000
Republic—\$281,771,000
Inland—\$341,431,000
Allegheny Ludlum—\$143,027,000
Wheeling-Pittsburgh—\$108,237,000

That comes to a total of \$3.218 billion, which equals a contribution of \$10,000 from the labor of each steelworker employed by these companies.

cannot be resolved by the August 1 deadline. Those issues include health, safety, and a number of women's rights issues.

A local strike is also possible at the largest basic steel local, 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana. One of the key issues there is that the company clean up the coke ovens, which are ruining the health and shortening the lives of Inland workers.

The basic contract does not take up coke oven safety at all. The only improvement on safety issues is its call for a study of carbon monoxide dangers.

With an average of four steelworkers killed by the companies every month, a real fight is needed on job safety.

Affirmative action

The contract calls on the federal judge who supervises the Basic Steel Consent Decree to slightly weaken its provisions. The consent decree, signed in 1974, provides for affirmative action in hiring and advancement for Black, Latino, and women workers.

The proposed change to limit job transfer rights sets a dangerous precedent. This contract provision is being challenged by Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago.

The contract does not address the problem that Inland Steel, one of the nine companies under the contract, is not a party to the consent decree.

For the other eight companies, the consent decree remains in effect. But the layoffs and plant closings are gutting its intent. The job gains of low seniority women and minorities are being lost as they are the first ones pushed out of work.

In reporting back to their locals on the contract, some steelworker officials who are leaders of the right-to-organize forces said they voted in favor of the contract. They explained their opinion that voting it down would only mean it would go to arbitration, where they felt it would get worse.

But USWA Vice-president for Administration Joseph Odorcich, who led the negotiations after President Lloyd McBride was hospitalized, was quoted in the *Wall Street Journal*: "We didn't push the companies all the way. If we had gone to arbitration, we probably would have done better."

According to the industry magazine *Iron Age*, Odorcich said: "We didn't push for what we thought we were entitled to. . . . To have a union you have to have a company. And that company has to make bucks."

The contract summary given the local presidents explains: "It was not possible to convince the Companies, in their present economic condition, to absorb the full cost of the substantial gains for active employees achieved in

these negotiations plus the full cost of substantial pension improvements for already retired employees."

The majority of steelworker local presidents seem to have been convinced to worry about the profit concerns of management in formulating a "responsible" contract.

This approach is irresponsible to the membership. It will never win a stronger contract.

The union has to look beyond the "present economic conditions of the companies." The starting point is the needs of the membership.

Reactions

The most common reaction *Militant* correspondents report from other steelworkers around the country is relief the contract is not worse. For example, there was fear the entire three-year cost-of-living allowance would be given up.

Excluding the membership from decision making contributes to cynicism about the union in general. The basic union idea of steadily improving the working conditions and standard of living of the members seems to have been abandoned.



Alice Peurala, president of Local 65: 'I voted NO on the contract. I am for the raise for pensioners, but I believe it's the responsibility of the corporation to pay for it. They can afford it. Steelworkers suffering from the worst inflation in years cannot.'

There is strong opposition among steelworkers to the no-strike pledge and the denial of membership ratification.

These democratic goals are not ends in themselves. The right to vote and the right to strike can be powerful weapons in the hands of the workers against the companies. With these rights the union would be in a stronger position to win genuine improvements in pay and working conditions.

The union leaders who voted to

support this contract thought it was the best that could be obtained. But it was really the least that could be offered without sparking a revolt within the union.

There is enough in the contract to buy the companies a little more time.

In 1977, when the local presidents were first presented with the contract, they voted it down. It took browbeating and threats from outgoing president I.W. Abel to get it passed on a revote.

In 1980, with basically the same contract presented under much worse economic conditions, only forty-two local presidents voted against it.

Is the union becoming more conservative?

No. But the logic of mistaken positions in the past is starting to catch up with the union. For years steelworker leaders subordinated the needs of the members and workers in general to the profit needs of the companies. But these interests are incompatible. If the union helps company profits by fighting competition from imports, then the union is expected to help company profits by supporting the closing of outdated plants.

If the union allows a relatively small number of its members to win wages and benefits several times better than other members of the same union—not to mention members of weaker unions and the unorganized—the end result is that the weight of those on the bottom drags down those at the top.

Discussion needed

The whole approach of the union needs to be discussed and evaluated. Union activists have to overcome the helplessness many steelworkers feel under the attacks from the company and initiate discussions on how the union can use its strength to fight back.

Many of the biggest problems the union faces go beyond contract negotiations. They are political problems: safety and health, pension rights, affirmative action, plant closings, the shorter workweek with no cut in pay. These all require government action in addition to contract language and the day-to-day fights to enforce the contract.

To make any real progress in winning and extending these demands requires independent union political action: a labor party.

The labor party fight is tied in to a more aggressive fight for contract provisions. It is tied in to the fights local unions will conduct against company efforts at productivity drives and the continuing battles for job safety.

Supporting Democrats and Republicans, the political parties run by the companies, is playing the same game as basing contract demands on the supposed "economic health" of those

companies.

When the membership of the steelworkers has been able to flex its muscles big gains have been won. Look at the organizing victory at the Newport News shipyard, the 1977 iron miners' strike, the affirmative-action victory in the Brian Weber case.

These victories did not start by determining whether or not they would hurt company profits. The union could not have been organized in the first place with that approach.



Joseph Odorcich, USWA vice-president: 'To have a union you have to have a company, and that company has to make bucks.'

The discussion in the union can start from discussions the companies have already held. Their position is clear. They intend to push productivity to get more work from fewer workers. They hope to get union help based on the contract provision for joint productivity committees.

Industry goals

The steel industry program was spelled out in the American Iron and Steel Institute report last January called *Steel at the Crossroads*.

They want better tax rates from the government. Lower company taxes mean higher taxes for steelworkers.

They want government environmental controls dropped. That represents more health risks for workers at the plants and everyone who lives near them.

And they want more import restrictions in order to raise their own prices and push inflation higher. That means cutting our standard of living even more.

The union needs discussions on how to fight against the companies, not more campaigns to support them.

For example, what can be done to stop plant closings? The union could demand to examine company books. If management does not want to run a plant, nationalize it. Union members in the mines and mills are highly skilled people. They know they can do their jobs with or without the presence of management.

What can be done to protect and extend safety rules?

How can full pay for all workers hit by layoffs and plant closings be guaranteed?

What about more pension raises and adding escalator clauses to them?

Is it possible to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay to create more jobs?

The conditions of work and everyday life bring up these questions. The discussions around them now will lead to the actions needed for their achievement.

The words written on the pieces of paper that make up the 1980 steelworkers contract do not settle the question of what conditions steelworkers will face for the next three years. The union, and workers in general, can get whatever we are big enough to fight for.

Steelworkers in particular are big enough to put up quite a fight.

Steel shutdowns, layoffs...more to come

The owners of the steel industry have a litany of villains to blame for the industry's problems—anybody, in fact, except themselves.

But there is one victim who always pays a price: the steelworker.

Over 20,000 have been thrown out of work in the last few months. U.S. Steel chairman David Roderick predicted in Birmingham that the workforce would decline at least seven percent more in the next period.

Where they don't eliminate jobs outright, the industry forces workers to accept cuts in real wages. Even those under the basic steel contract face a productivity drive to combine crafts, use more outside contractors, and squeeze more work from fewer workers.

Below is a partial list of recent steel industry cutbacks:

U.S. Steel announced in late 1979 closing all or parts of fifteen plants, eliminating 12,500 jobs. This included stopping operations in Youngstown, Ohio.

Prior to the closing, U.S. Steel got one of its Youngstown mills to compete in a profitability contest, promising to keep it open if it made a profit. It did. Then U.S. Steel closed it anyway—pocketing the extra profit.

U.S. Steel demanded that workers at three American Bridge plants choose either an inferior contract or the shutdown of the plants. Two agreed to the worse contract, the other is scheduled for closing.

Jones and Laughlin (owned by LTV) announced closing of two former Youngstown Sheet and Tube plants in Youngstown. When it bought them a few years earlier, J&L claimed it would be able to keep the plants operating.

J&L is now talking about buying Kaiser Steel in Fontana, California—again claiming this will save the mill.

Wisconsin Steel (owned by Envirodyne), a Chicago steel mill whose 4,100 workers were in an independ-

ent union, shut down completely, and without warning March 28. Paychecks bounced and pension funds are in jeopardy.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh got a \$100 million federal loan guarantee to build a rail mill and announced a special \$1 a share dividend for stockholders. It called meetings of steelworkers to threaten to close its Allenport mill near Pittsburgh unless they agreed to a reduction in incentive pay rates. The company got what it wanted, and gave no promise to keep the mill open.

By mid-May, blaming drastic reductions in automobile production, the steel companies cut production further. The blast furnaces which produce raw iron are being shut down around the country. For example, U.S. Steel shut six of its twenty-two furnaces; National, three of its ten, running the others at reduced output; Republic has shut two of its eleven blast furnaces; and J&L shut one in Cleveland.

More shutdowns are planned.

By William Gottlieb

(fourth of a series)

John Maynard Keynes and his followers argued that depressions in the capitalist business cycle could be solved by increasing the total spending power in the economy. After all, the problem in a depression is that supply exceeds demand, with cutbacks in production and employment following each other in a downward spiral.

The Keynesians therefore recommended that when economic depression threatened, the government follow an expansionary fiscal policy and an easy monetary policy.

Fiscal policy refers to the government's taxing and spending. *Monetary policy* refers to the government's banking operations.

Expansionary fiscal policy means deficit spending. That is, the government spends more than it takes in in taxes. In this way the government makes a net contribution to total demand.

When the government runs a deficit it has to somehow raise the extra money not covered by tax receipts. Just like an individual who wants to spend more than his or her immediate income, the government borrows the difference. It borrows by issuing bonds—pieces of paper with a promise to repay, at a given rate of interest, by a certain date. A small example is a U.S. Savings Bond. Much more of the government's debt is in large-denomination bonds that yield much higher rates of interest. These bonds are bought and sold by big investors, rich individuals as well as banks and corporations. This is where monetary policy comes in.

Federal Reserve Board

Monetary policy is carried out by the institution known as the central bank. In the United States the central bank is the Federal Reserve Bank. It represents a fusion between the privately owned commercial banks (which own the Federal Reserve) and the government (the president appoints the top officials, subject to approval by the senate).

The basic function of the Federal Reserve Board, and central banks in other capitalist countries, is to serve as banker for the commercial banks and the government.

The large commercial banks keep a certain



amount of their funds on deposit in the Federal Reserve. The U.S. Treasury does likewise.

The Federal Reserve issues currency. Look at a dollar bill—it says "Federal Reserve Note." And the Federal Reserve tries to regulate the money supply, which is made up largely of checking accounts rather than actual currency.

It can do this in various ways. The most important is known as "open market" operations. In open market operations the Federal Reserve buys or sells government bonds. When it buys a government bond from a private capitalist, the amount of money in the banking system is increased. When the Federal Reserve sells a bond, the amount of money in the banking system is decreased.

Another less important tool is called "discounting." This means the Federal Reserve either buys short-term commercial paper (IOUs issued by corporations to raise cash) or makes loans to the banks. These operations increase the amount of money in the banking system until these short-term debts are repaid.

A third tool is changing the reserve requirements of the banks. The Federal Reserve can change the amount of money that the commercial banks or other lenders have to keep on deposit with it. If the Federal Reserve wants to increase the amount of money available for loans, it can decrease the reserve requirements. If it wants to reduce the amount of loans it can increase reserve requirements.

Easy money

The Keynesians urged that deficit spending be accompanied by central policies to increase the amount of money in the banking system available for loans. That means a so-called easy monetary policy. Otherwise, government borrowing would simply increase the demand for the existing supply of loanable funds. That would tend to push up interest rates. And a rise in interest rates discourages borrowing and spending, which would defeat

Can government 'fine tune' economy?



'Sorry, but I hope you'll try us again sometime when you don't need it quite so badly.'

the purpose of government deficit spending.

If, however, the Federal Reserve increases the amount of funds available for lending, interest rates will fall, Keynesians argued. So a combination of an easy monetary policy and government deficit spending would increase demand, thus ending a depression.

Many of the more traditionalist economists and conservative politicians opposed the Keynesians on the grounds that deficit spending and easy money policies were inflationary. The Keynesians had what seemed to be a logical response.

During depressions, they argued, when supply exceeds demand, it's absurd to worry about inflation. Prices tend to *fall* in a depression. As long as production is significantly below the physical capacity to produce, there could be little or no inflation. Only during periods of extreme boom—or during wartime, when demand exceeds supply by a significant margin—could serious inflation develop.

Their medicine might cause a slight rise in prices as demand increased. But the Keynesians said this was preferable to depression. And, they added, gradual inflation would have the further advantage of eroding real wages. This is true because it always takes time for workers to realize they are losing purchasing power to inflation, and more time to win higher wages to make up. (This latter argument was, of course, ignored by the defenders of Keynesian methods within the labor movement.)

Historical experience

The Keynesians also had historical experience to point to. Prices always fell during depressions, and quite sharply during the 1930s. Until recent times, it was only during booms that prices rose much. And the really serious inflations were nearly always associated with wars or their immediate aftermath.

The Keynesians proclaimed that governments could regulate the economy and prevent serious economic crises. If depression threatened, the government should simply run a deficit and the central bank should follow an easy monetary policy.

If inflation developed, the government should do the opposite. That is, it should run budget surpluses and the central bank should follow a tighter monetary policy, reducing the amount of loanable funds and allowing interest rates to rise. This would reduce demand back to the limits of supply, ending the inflation. The government and central bank would then reverse course—"reflate"—before serious recession developed.

The Keynesians generally admitted that perfect results could not be obtained. There were limits to how much demand could be "fine tuned." Anyway, the employers like an occasional recession to cool wage demands by workers. Surely, they argued, it was better to put up with slight inflation and occasional recession rather than take the leap into

the unknown of social revolution.

In the years after the end of the Great Depression, that's how most working people felt as well.

The years that followed the 1930s seemed to prove the Keynesian case. The huge deficits and extremely easy monetary policies needed to finance World War II caused demand to soar past the economy's ability to produce, leading to serious inflation while unemployment disappeared.

Serious inflation continued to 1948 since there was a great pent-up demand for goods unavailable during the war. The Truman administration took measures to curb demand in 1948 and inflation was ended. A recession followed, but the administration moved once again to increase demand and the economy recovered.

The Korean War brought a renewed burst of inflation, but measures to curb demand ended the inflation even before the war ended. Under Eisenhower the economy experienced a series of recessions. But even this administration intervened promptly to increase demand when recession hit.

Under Kennedy and Johnson the government again pushed to increase demand. Production increased rapidly and unemployment fell. Since there was much spare productive capacity and considerable unemployment left over from the Eisenhower recessions, the increase in demand did not exceed the ability of the economy to produce and there was little inflation.

Only during the Vietnam War did inflation begin to seriously rise. But this inflation was much less severe than during and right after World War II or the Korean War, since the much larger U.S. economy of the 1960s could cope more easily with the pressure of wartime demand.

The capitalists and their spokespeople were convinced the U.S. economy was now immune to serious recessions. In celebration *Time* magazine put Keynes's picture on the front cover of one issue in the mid-1960s. (Keynes died in 1946).

Today Keynesianism is in shambles. The U.S. economy has entered its third recession in ten years. The slump of 1974-75 was quite severe and the one we are now entering may be worse. Yet inflation soars on.

Far from following a Keynesian policy against depression, the Carter administration is doing the reverse. It has sworn it will eliminate the budget deficit, and the Federal Reserve under Carter-appointed Paul Volcker has sworn to stick to a tight money policy.

Indeed, the administration moved to make money even tighter in March, when the recession was already deepening and layoffs were escalating fast. And this in an election year! Conservative Republican Ronald Reagan is rubbing his hands at the prospect of running against a reborn Herbert Hoover. So what is wrong with Keynesian economics? Watch for our next article.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Pot calls kettle brown—The North Carolina Textile Manufacturers Association ran ads asserting it was unfair to link brown lung disease with cotton dust. "Doctors know," they said, "that the majority of lung diseases are related to smoking." R.J. Reynolds Tobacco responded that the ads were "erroneous and inflammatory."

Name of the game—Arthur Burns, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, says he's pleased to see UAW president Doug Fraser on the Chrysler board of directors. He said Fraser will "learn something about the company's needs and problems and especially its need for profits."

Things are tough all over—Last year only nine corporate executives "earned" more than a million dollars, as compared to thirteen the year previous. Apparently for his doggedness

in coping with the oil shortage, top pay went to the chairman of Mobil, \$3.6 million.

Stiff proposition—Entrepreneurs who charge up to \$60,000 to freeze corpses were criticized by California authorities. The freezing is said to be in case future scientists find cures for the particular ailment that killed people. The criticism of the freezer companies was made by the state Cemetery Board.

Socialized medicine, anyone?—By 1990, the government estimates, there may be a surplus of 185,000 doctors. Does that mean more medical care? Of course not. The added doctors will be mainly specialists concentrated in major cities. "If things go as in the past," a medical official explained, "we will continue to get more surgeons and more unnecessary surgery."



Shopping tip—If you have trouble getting your glove on over that bulky watch, try the new Omega slimline. Less than a sixteenth of an inch thick,

\$9,000. Better yet, Concord's Delirium IV. Four one-hundredths thick, \$15,000.

Women in Revolt

'Death of a Princess'

Mobil ran an ad in the *New York Times* denouncing it.

The State Department didn't want it aired.

Some cities banned it.

You can see why "Death of a Princess," a film on the 1977 execution of Saudi Arabian Princess Misha and her student lover, was the most watched TV program in the time segment in New York. It's quite unusual for a public television program to be so popular.

Some commentators dubbed it anti-Arab, and a representative of the Saudi monarchy called it "offensive to the entire Islamic world."

Are these really the reasons that the State Department and Mobil objected? I don't think so.

Since when has the U.S. government been concerned about opposing racism toward the Arabs or Islam? Our news media screams daily about the Iranians, called them crazed religious fanatics. And that's the way they portrayed the thousands who challenged the Saudi monarchy by seizing the Mosque in Mecca and demonstrating in the oil fields last fall.

What is "Death of a Princess" really about?

The film, a dramatized documentary, takes the form of a series of interviews by a journalist named Christopher Rider who attempts to find out the truth about the executions.

It shows a backward, patriarchal society kept that way by the cruel dictatorship of an oil-rich, parasitic royal family—the Saud family, one of Washington's most loyal allies in the Middle East.

It examines the inferior status assigned to women by the Saudi regime and depicts the tension between old and new in Saudi society.

My favorite scene is one in which Rider visits a modern women's college. A woman teacher tells him about the segregation of women. All the teachers are women. A visiting male teacher must lecture in one room while the female students watch over closed circuit TV in another. "They have phones at their desks to converse with him," she says smiling. A political chaperon from the Ministry of Information who is accompanying Rider watches furtively from the back of the room and fingers his worry beads.

One sees the incredible hypocrisy of this regime. The princess is executed for committing adultery. But her grandfather, the powerful elder brother of the king and the one who orders the execution of the princess and her lover without a trial, is a notorious playboy.

The princesses are depicted as bored women kept in isolated splendor. They are enormously wealthy. Squads of servants do everything for them in palatial mansions, while the princesses remain uneducated and are denied any rights to a life of their own. The greatest joy of one princess, Rider is told, is to drive at night to the Hotel Continental and sit in the back seat of her limousine, unseen, watching the people come and go.

Their only outlets are complicated sexual liaisons including cruising in their limousines for men in the desert.

Suzanne Haig



The film also asks the question, "who is responsible for maintaining such a backward regime?" and some of the characters suggest an answer—one that is not anti-Arab but anti-imperialist.

Several Palestinians—who are treated sympathetically in the film—tell Rider that the very Arab rulers who controlled the princess's life also refuse to fight for the Palestinians.

They see the princess as a "kindred spirit" imprisoned "like we are in the camps, deprived of our homeland."

A woman teacher is more explicit. "This regime is your responsibility," she says. "The West took over after the Turks, and you always side with the enemies of progress, because you want to control us as you do in Iran." (The action of the film takes place before the shah was ousted.)

These actions against women by the monarchy are "deliberate colonial acts used to keep the people down," she explains, and the execution was meant as an example to intimidate anyone who tries to defy it.

The executions were followed by two laws limiting women's freedom to travel and curtailing their right to work.

But the film shows that people are questioning this repressive monarchy, and it is clear that it will not be able to stem the struggle for freedom forever.

You can see why King Khalid and the State Department are nervous.

The princess rebelled in her way.
The masses will rebel in theirs.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

EL SALVADOR VIDEO: "This is the BPR," a one-hour documentary. Sun., June 1, barbeque and chicken dinner 6 p.m., program with speakers and music 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5/\$2.50 program only. 362 Capp St.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

CUBA AND NICARAGUA—THE LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION TODAY. Speakers: John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio, with slide show on Nicaragua; Russell Pelle, SWP. Sat., May 31, 7 p.m. 131 W. Main. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

MIAMI: THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE. Eyewitness report by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Sat., May 24, 8 p.m. PS 41, 116 W. 11th St. (at 6th Ave.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA. Speakers: Steve Craine, Socialist Workers Party, visited Cuba in 1970 and 1979; representative of Young Socialist Alliance, Slide Show. Sun., June 1, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

UNION VICTORY AT NEWPORT NEWS.

Speaker: Eli Green, member of United Steelworkers Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 8, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO TOLEDO

CUBA: A FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT. Speaker: Jon Olmsted, Socialist Workers Party, recently visited Cuba. Fri., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON PORTLAND

PACIFIC NORTHWEST LABOR HISTORY. Speaker: Jerry Lembcke, humanities coordinator of Pacific Northwest Labor College, vice-president of Oregon Federation of Teachers. Sun., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA. Speakers to be announced. Sun., June 1, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Malcolm X

Malcolm X, born May 19, 1925, was one of the most slandered public figures of his day. He was denounced by the propaganda machine of the racist rulers in this country as a "racist," a "hate-monger," and a "terrorist."

He was none of those things. Malcolm X was an honest and fearless leader of the fight for Black emancipation. He was unique among leaders of the oppressed in his day because of his global outlook.

Malcolm X was gunned down on February 22, 1965. Newspapers like the *New York Times* all but openly hailed his murder, presenting it as just retribution for "preaching hatred."

The evidence that has accumulated since then provides a better explanation for Malcolm X's death. As in the case of Martin Luther King, the government systematically suppressed facts about Malcolm's murder—a murder in which the CIA and FBI, which shadowed and harassed him continuously in his last months, may well have been implicated.

Malcolm X was killed because he was an uncompromising fighter for the liberation of Black people.

His speeches and interviews are a rich mine of ideas about the Black struggle in the United States. He understood the power of the solidarity of the oppressed in the United States and around the world. He explained why nothing would be gained by supporting the U.S. government's attacks on peoples in other countries.

In a January 28, 1965, interview, he said this about Washington's intervention in Vietnam, at a time when few spoke out publicly against it:

"It's a problem anytime the United States can come up with so many alibis not to get involved in Mississippi and to get involved in the Congo and involved in Asia and in South Vietnam. Why that, right there, should show our people that the government is incapable of taking the kind of action necessary to solve the problem of Black people in this country. But at the same time she has her nose stuck into the problems of others everywhere else.

"We see where the problem of Vietnam is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in the Congo is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in Mississippi and Alabama and New York is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressed people all over the world have the same problems and it is only now that they're becoming sufficiently sophisticated to see that all they have to do to get

the oppressor off their back is to unite and realize that it is one problem—that our problems are inseparable. Our action will be one of unity, and in the unity of oppressed people is actually the strength, and the best strength of the oppressed people."

In an earlier speech on May 29, 1964, given under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum in New York, Malcolm declared:

"The people of China grew tired of their oppressors and the people rose up against their oppressors. It was easy to say that the odds were against them but eleven of them started out and today those eleven control 800 million. They would have been told back then that the odds were against them. As the oppressor always points out to the oppressed, 'the odds are against you.'

"When Castro was up in the mountains of Cuba they told him the odds were against him. Today he's sitting in Havana and all the power this country has can't remove him.

"They told the Algerians the same thing—What do you have to fight with? . . . Time is on the side of the oppressed today. It's against the oppressor. Truth is on the side of the oppressed. It's against the oppressor. You don't need anything else."

Malcolm X explained why Blacks were attracted to the revolutionary struggles like those the Cuban, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Algerian peoples had waged.

He explained that people were starting to realize "that it's impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg—even though they both belong to the same family of fowl, a chicken just doesn't have within its system to produce a duck egg. It can't do it. . . .

"The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system, this system, period. It's impossible for this system as it stands to produce freedom right now for the Black man in this country.

"And if ever a chicken did produce a duck egg I'm certain you would say it was certainly a revolutionary chicken."

The above excerpts are taken from *Two Speeches by Malcolm X*, available for \$.75 from Pathfinder Press or the offices listed on the facing page.

The truth about Malcolm X's murder is examined in *The Assassination of Malcolm X*, written by George Breitman and others. It is available for \$1.95 from the same sources.

Church vs. ERA

A practical example of the ability of a well-financed Equal Rights Amendment opponent to miseducate working people was displayed in the May 11 edition of the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

The weekly Utah poll, which reflects attitudes in a Mormon Church stronghold, found that 65 percent of Utahns opposed the ERA, when it was so identified. When the same group of Utahns was asked if they supported a phrase, which was the TEXT of the ERA, 58 percent expressed support.

Church spokespeople have been able to misstate what effect ratification of a law would have on the day-to-day lives of their subjects. These spurious arguments center on imminent destruction of the family by ERA ratification. The family is an institution which, it appears to this outsider, the church has done an absolutely pregnant job of promoting. But the church has not been able to counter the effects of the women's movement on society as a whole, including the firmly held support of average Mormons for female equality.

The educational task of garnering support for the ERA in Utah is incumbent upon the feminist and labor movements. The results of this poll, and the occurrence of the largest women's rights action in Utah on a rainy Saturday, May 10, illustrate the potential for successfully driving another nail into the coffin of the Mormon Church.

Sara Smith
Salt Lake City, Utah

Disservice to Iran?

I think you people who get out and [demand] "Send back the shah!" are doing a great disservice to Iran. There is no way the U.S. can legally send back the shah—s.o.b. that he was—even if he was in the U.S.

By yelling "Send back the shah!" you people are endorsing the seizure of the embassy and the holding of hostages. Your actions only give the Iranians the false impression that the longer they hold the hostages the better chance they have to get back the shah!

It is tragic that a whole nation is so bent on killing one person that they are willing to commit suicide to do it. That's what's happening.

Not only that, but the stupid actions of the Iranian "militants" is provoking a counterreaction in the U.S. that strengthens the forces of militarism and reaction in the U.S.

Actually I think Iran has a good case against the U.S., but its current actions make it impossible for Americans to hear them. The TV films of people marching in the streets screaming "Death to America" doesn't exactly endear their grievances to the average American. And burning the flag doesn't help either.

You are no friends of the Iranian people—rather, you are like the friends of the alcoholic who are constantly giving him booze to laugh at his drunken antics.

I favor a new foreign and military policy of nonintervention in the affairs of other nations and a peaceful foreign policy of trade and

Brutal conditions of Illinois prison

In late April I accompanied Illinois Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, Lee Artz, on a campaign tour around the state. We went to Pontiac Prison to meet with several prisoners who are readers of the *Militant*.

In 1920 a boys' reform school housing 1,000 people in single cells was turned into Pontiac Prison which now has 1,788 people with two to a cell.

Little opportunity exists there for prisoners to learn needed work skills. At the prison are college-level and GED courses although only 650 can attend at one time.

Eighty prisoners work in the sign shop making road signs for thirty-five to fifty-five cents an hour. We were told that workers will be laid off after they finish the current order.

On our tour of the prison we visited the segregated area where so-called hard to handle prisoners are put for punishment. They have no school or work rights and

very little exercise rights. Prisoners there told us that they were being forced to dig holes.

When we went to the cells to meet with some *Militant* readers, water had started to cover the floors in that area. It was so deep that we had to turn back and use an office to talk.

We learned that the prisoners in that area had turned the water on in their cells to protest the intolerable heat. It was ninety-two degrees outside and more than a hundred in the cell because the heat was still on. Prison officials told us it couldn't be cut off until May 1 because it was steam heat.

Some prisoners told of beatings they and other prisoners received by three or more guards while their hands were cuffed behind them.

Some prisoners are currently involved in prison reform groups and a law suit has been filed against the prison.

David Tucker
Chicago, Illinois

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THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party

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Learning About Socialism

Should workers buy steel mills?

The steel corporations are shutting down almost all the steel mills in Youngstown.

They are devastating a local economy that has revolved around steel since the turn of the century.

Youngstown steelworkers, facing unemployment, have been getting a lot of advice from liberal lawyers, ministers, and professors.

The advice involves a scheme for steelworkers and other citizens of Youngstown to become their own bosses.

The proposal is to buy one or more of the closed steel mills, modernize it, and produce steel. The mill would be run by a "community-worker-investor" board.

No matter what percentage of workers there are on the board, it would have to obey the rules of capitalism. The same rules that victimized Youngstown in the first place.

U.S. Steel opposes the worker-community plant on principle. They do not like competition.

The anti-company sentiments of Youngstown steelworkers lead many to feel that if the company is against it, it must be a good thing. The sentiment is healthy, but the attempt to become worker-capitalists is a dead end.

Would the community-owned mill maintain the wages and working conditions steelworkers have won over the years?

How would "community" steel management view the extra costs of affirmative action and pollution control?

What will the "community" mill do during recessions? Cut production and lay off workers? Or will they cut the workweek with no cut in pay to preserve jobs? After all, the purpose of buying the mill is supposed to be to save jobs.

But could they compete in the capitalist market paying forty hours wages for thirty hours work when other companies pay forty for forty and discard workers in downturns?

Should all the unemployed buy factories and become their own bosses? That is the old myth of capitalism. Anybody can make it. Anybody can be a Rockefeller or Carnegie or Kennedy. Sure. And Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny will pay your mortgage.

Some people in Youngstown argue, "Even if we make less than union scale, at least we will be working."

That argument has always been used against unions. It is used against strikes. "Work for what the bosses offer, or don't work."

The worker-community-investor capitalists in Youngstown cannot be better or more humane than the capitalists who are closing the mills. Not if they want to stay in business in capitalist America.

The proposal is not a new idea.

In the 1890s a German Socialist named Edward Bernstein won over part of the workers movement in Germany to this approach.

Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish revolutionary, answered Bernstein in the pamphlet *Reform and Revolution* written in 1898 and 1899.

Bernstein saw producers cooperatives in industry—joint ownership of industry by the employees—as a means by which workers might share in the wealth of society. Luxemburg replied:

"Cooperatives, especially cooperatives in the field of production, constitute a hybrid form in the midst of capitalism."

"But in capitalist economy exchange dominates production (that is, production depends to a large extent on market possibilities). As a result of competition, the complete domination of the process of production by the interests of capital—that is, pitiless exploitation—becomes a condition for the survival of each enterprise. The domination of capital over the process of production expresses itself in the following ways. Labor is intensified. The work day is lengthened or shortened, according to the situation of the market."

"And depending on requirements of the market, labor is either employed or thrown back into the street. In other words use is made of all methods that enable an enterprise to stand up against its competitors in the market."

"The workers forming a cooperative in the field of production are thus faced with the contradictory necessity of governing themselves with the utmost absolutism. They are obliged to take toward themselves the role of the capitalist entrepreneur—a contradiction that accounts for the failure of productive cooperatives, which either become pure capitalist enterprises, or, if the workers interests continue to predominate, end by dissolving."

Steelworkers can put up a real fight to save their jobs and preserve their living standards—if they insist on putting their own needs above the dictates of the profit system.

Since the company says it can't keep the plants open, the United Steelworkers and the entire labor movement should demand that this industry be nationalized and that the plants be kept open under public ownership.

Just like oil, steel is a necessity for modern society. Its production is too important to be left in the hands of people making decisions based on profit.

The result of steel production for profit is artificially high prices, layoffs, plant shutdowns, and increasingly dangerous working conditions.

Steelworkers can fight for their right to control working conditions, health, and safety on the job in the plants.

And they can fight for the creation of an elected public board to manage the nationalized industry—with all its proceedings open to the public.

Since this approach puts the needs of working people ahead of profits, it will be opposed by the steel barons, and by the Republican and Democratic parties.

Workers had to overcome resistance from the same forces to build their unions. They can do it again.

The discussion among union activists in Youngstown about running local president Ed Mann for congress against the Republicans and Democrats is a sign that steelworkers want to fight back effectively.

A genuinely independent effort by a respected Youngstown labor leader like Ed Mann would be a step forward, in contrast to the trap of worker-capitalism.

—Stu Singer



'Something for you, too.'

mutual cooperation. I want a foreign (and domestic) policy in the interests of the average American. People like you, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Workers Party, and the other kooks are a roadblock to intelligent social change with your silly tactics.

Kindly remove my name from your list at once.

Robert Hayes
Martin, Tennessee

On apology to Iran

In reply to your write up in the May 9 *Militant* concerning "Why don't we apologize [to Iran]?" Carter could not or cannot apologize, for the simple reason he knew that Iran will want a war, just by his admission of guilt concerning the matter.

I'd say you, and the people with the power to do this, should have people write to Iran and send "our" apologies! Because all this is showing is a destruction of the lives of people because of just a few. A prisoner
Virginia

Wouldn't miss an issue

Enclosed is my tenth consecutive one-year subscription to the *Militant*. I don't always agree with your stands, but I wouldn't miss an issue for all the up-to-date information on what's really going on in the world.

Roland Rhoades
Rochester, New Hampshire

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.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

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INDIANA: Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149. **Gary:** SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Stephen Bloodworth, 2715 Hiawatha. Zip: 50613.

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LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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203 E. Cashin, U. of Mass. Zip: 01003. Tel: (413) 546-5942. **Boston:** SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

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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, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

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.

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THE MILITANT

Thousands demand: 'Jobs, not war!'

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—More than 5,000 demonstrators—the majority of them Black youth—marched past the White House to the Capitol May 17 chanting, "Jobs, not war!"

The action was called by Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH and endorsed by a broad coalition of civil rights, labor and women's organizations. It was seen by many here as a step toward the united fight needed to win the demonstration's trilogy of demands: jobs, peace, and justice.

With official unemployment now at 7 percent and the rate for Black youth 30 percent, the need for urgent action was all too apparent. Protesters also carried signs and chanted against Carter's proposal for draft registration, which is moving forward in Congress.

"We must return to the streets," declared former Wilmington 10 defendant Ben Chavis, representing the National Anti-Klan Network. "We must march. We must keep on marching. We put too much faith in the White House as if it was a 'dark house.' Ain't no president going to free us!"

Other speakers echoed the marching theme. "We're going to have to come back again and again and again—50,000, 100,000, 200,000, a half million, a million mean Black folks," said U.S. Rep. Parren Mitchell.

"They're going to tell you it's too late to change the budget," he went on. "Well, they told us it was too late to stop the war in Vietnam, but the people stopped it!"

National Organization for Women President Eleanor Smeal explained that the same coalition of forces had marched in Chicago for the Equal Rights Amendment the week before. "Established interests would like us to fight, to be divided, to be conquered. But those of us in the have-not category must stand united."



Carter's efforts to 'balance the budget' at expense of Black youth came under heavy fire at May 17 protest

Militant/Nancy Cole

Smeal concluded, "I'm glad that the 1980s has started with people marching for human rights, for justice, for jobs, for eliminating racism and sexism."

Demonstrators included PUSH contingents from Chicago, Baltimore, Jersey City, and other cities. There were several contingents, as well as speakers, from Black college sororities.

Thirty-eight high school and college students came from Indianapolis on a bus organized by Indiana Black Expo in conjunction with PUSH. They all wore green T-shirts.

Asked what the march's slogans meant to them, about ten students simultaneously rattled off their ideas:

"Peace among ourselves when we're all treated equally."

"Justice for Black people."

"Justice means equal rights."

"We need jobs but the programs to get Black youth jobs are being cut."

"We are the youth, and we make up this nation!" a man defiantly responded.

"We're here to tell President Carter that we're going to stand up for ourselves!" declared a young woman.

The march was lively with almost every demonstrator carrying a sign or banner:

"Fund human needs, not war."

"For jobs, not jail."

"Promote education, demote incarceration."

The chants were spirited:

"One, two, three, four, five. We want jobs and that's no jive."

"We want jobs—not peanuts!"

"Hell no, we won't go for Texaco!"

Two busloads came from United Auto Workers Local 1250 at Ford's

Brook Park plant in Cleveland. Joyce Hutson and Kathy Evans, with four and three years seniority respectively, said they are laid off from the plant. "We're here not just because we don't have jobs, but to support all UAW members," said Hutson.

UAW Vice-president Marc Stepp spoke at the rally.

Six workers from the PPG Industries plant in Lexington, North Carolina, met at the Teamsters headquarters here early in the morning and marched over to the assembly point. Despite a Teamster representation victory in July 1978, PPG continues to stall in contract negotiations.

"I'm here because of our issue, but also because I had never been to anything like this before," a young white

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March backs Miss. strike for dignity

By Rashaad Ali and Ron Repps

LAUREL, Miss.—Chanting, "Fired up, can't take it no more," nearly 2,000 supporters of striking members of the International Chemical Workers Union Local 882 marched here May 17.

It was a march for dignity and justice.

Marchers were overwhelmingly unionists and about three-fourths were Black. They came from Cincinnati,

the gate of the struck Sanderson Farms poultry processing plant for a brief rally, and then on to the fairgrounds for the main rally.

It was led by strikers, ICWU Presi-

dent Frank Martino, and Rev. Joseph Lowery and Rev. C.T. Vivian, leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"Freedom yes, slavery no. Joe Sand-

erson's got to go," the marchers chanted.

"Even Little Joe has to go more than three times a week," mocked a sign, referring to the restrictions on workers going to the bathroom while on the line.

Signs and T-shirts declared, "I'm proud to be a union member."

Banners said, "A victory for Laurel is a victory for all of us."

A Ku Klux Klan march rumored for the day before had failed to materialize.

Helmeted riot-equipped police along the march route did not deter some of those standing by from joining the pro-union demonstration.

The march here was called by the Committee for Justice in Mississippi, formed by the International Chemical Workers Union. It is backed by an extremely broad list of organizations.

Prominent labor endorsers include: Douglas Fraser, president, United Auto Workers; Fred Kroll, president, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; William Lucy, president, Coali-

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Women at Laurel poultry plant describe 'plantation' conditions that forced them out on strike. Page 9.

Louisville, Atlanta, New Orleans, Birmingham, and places in Texas.

Strikers elsewhere in the South joined the demonstration—from the United Furniture Workers in Memphis and the ICWU in Huntsville, Alabama, as well as textile workers from North Carolina.

The six-mile march assembled at a church in Laurel, went from there to



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