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Transit strikers: 'We're not slaves' All workers have stake in their fight

By Stu Singer
and August Nimtz

NEW YORK, April 2—After six years of setbacks, givebacks, concessions, and defeats for working people, this city is seeing a serious labor fight-back against the austerity drive.

Since around 2 a.m. on April 1, the biggest mass transit system in the country has been shut down tight. The vital transportation arteries that usually carry 5.6 million people a day to work in the financial heart of world capitalism are paralyzed.

The transit workers, 33,000 strong, are seeking wage increases to begin to make up for inflation. They're tired of hearing about how they have to sacrifice to "save the city." Especially after six years of seeing the wealthy bondholders get paid off while workers get laid off. Of seeing bank contracts guaranteed by the federal government, while union contracts are ripped up by city and state boards with emergency powers. Of seeing business taxes lowered, while taxes on working people go up.

The angry and determined mood was apparent when 10,000 transit workers and their supporters, mostly other city workers, surrounded city hall for a noon demonstration on March 27. The rally to support the demands of the transit workers was backed by the

New York Central Labor Council. Signs declared:

"We gave, we gave, we gave. No more!"

"Our children have to eat, too!"

"We're being burned by inflation."

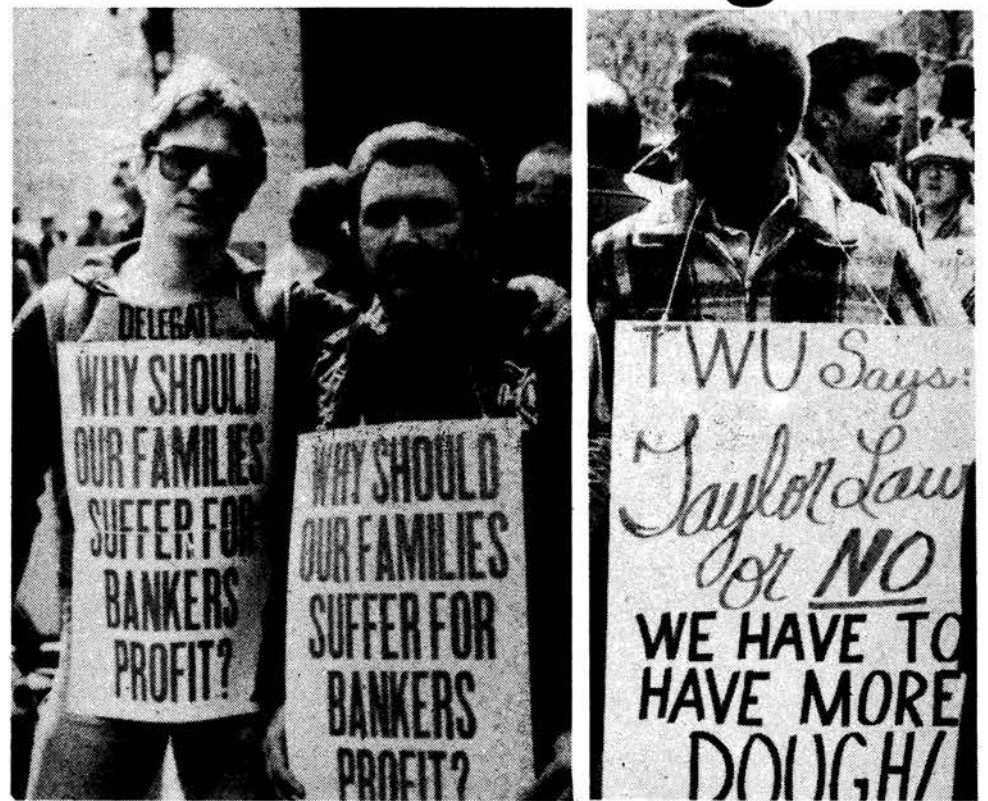
"Why should our families suffer for bankers profit?"

From city hall to the White House, Democratic and Republican politicians are united in their determination to smash this example of militant struggle. They know the fight of the New York transit workers could inspire other workers across the country—both public employees and in private industry—who face the same austerity demands from their employers.

The transit strikers are being slandered in the news media as irresponsible fanatics, just like the Iranians demonstrating against Carter and the shah. And just as the U.S. government pretends the militants holding the U.S. Embassy are extremists not supported by other Iranians, they pretend the transit strike was forced by a small group of dissident union members pushing around union president John Lawe and the "thousands of decent transit workers," as the April 2 *Daily News* put it.

The capitalist politicians and news media are trying to isolate and discredit the strikers. The union demands

Continued on page 4



Militant photos by Stu Singer

NEW YORK—10,000 transit workers and supporters surrounded city hall March 27 to show solidarity behind demands for decent wages. At left are two fire fighters. Their contract expires June 30. State's anti-union Taylor Law prohibits public worker strikes.

1 year of a nuclear nightmare



Harrisburg
residents
speak out

—PAGES 6-9

HARRISBURG, March 29—Thousands rallied near Three Mile Island nuclear plant. Helium-filled balloons printed with names of radioactive gases were released to dramatize perils of planned krypton release.

Militant/Nancy Cole

The issue in Iran

For five months the Iranian people have been making a simple and clear demand on the Carter administration.

They have asked for the return of the shah and some sign of recognition that Washington wronged Iran by imposing his regime in 1953 and upholding it for a quarter century.

If the Carter administration had simply allowed the shah to be brought to justice in Iran—as Nazi war criminals have been extradited and tried on many occasions since World War II—the hostages would have been home within hours.

Carter provoked the crisis when he brought the shah to the United States in a visible demonstration of continued U.S. support to the former tyrant, who still claims to be Iran's rightful ruler.

And Carter has stretched out the crisis by a policy of threats and maneuvers at the expense of the American people, the Iranian people, and the hostages in the U.S. Embassy.

Their interests are being subordinated to Washington's desire to show the reactionary dictators of the world that it is a reliable friend.

Conciliatory moves by Iranian officials like President Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr have been met by threats of renewed sanctions against Iran, combined with contradictory U.S. messages to different Iranian leaders.

Bani-Sadr suggested April 1 that the government might take control of the hostages if the U.S. government at least dropped all threats and provocations against Iran. He stressed that the U.S. personnel are not being mistreated in the embassy.

Carter responded with a belligerent speech to officials of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Council.

"No one in the government of the United States has apologized to anyone in the govern-

ment of Iran because we have nothing for which to apologize," he said.

The CIA engineered a military coup to restore the shah to the throne after the Iranian people overthrew him in 1953. It built up his brutal secret police agency, Savak, and trained its personnel in "interrogation techniques." It covered up evidence of mass killings, torture and corruption. It sent 40,000 advisers and technicians to build up his army. And it backed his bloody regime right to the end with arms shipments and statements of public support to the shah, even as thousands of peaceful protesters were being gunned down.

Nothing to apologize for? Carter should come off it.

Adopting a threatening tone, Carter declared that "patience is not endless." He's right about that. Working people in the United States and all over the world are getting tired of Carter's threats and stalling tactics. They are losing patience with his claims to be concerned about the hostages when his real concern is Washington's "commitment" to a mass murderer and torturer.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini summed up the way millions of Iranians see the conflict in an April 1 message to a Tehran demonstration of 200,000 people. Carter "must realize," Khomeini declared, "that his support of the deposed shah after so many crimes and great betrayals as well as so much plundering do not leave room for a so-called honorable solution of the issue."

Carter should end the hostage crisis now! Send back the shah!

Stop the assassins!

Omega 7, the Cuban exile killers, have declared they still intend to murder Raúl Roa, Cuban ambassador to the United Nations.

Authorities continue to shrug their shoulders.

Roa escaped death March 25 when a bomb planted under his car fell off before it detonated.

Responsibility for the assassination attempt was taken by Omega 7, the terrorist arm of publicly functioning ultraright Cuban exiles.

Following that attempt, the April 1 *El Diario*, a New York Spanish-language daily, reported it had received a "communique" from Omega 7 declaring it had "sentenced to death the ambassador of Communist Cuba to the United Nations."

The threat is ominous. According to New York police the bomb planted under Roa's car was powerful enough to blow up a city block.

Omega 7 has a string of murders and bombings to its credit. It is part of a counterrevolutionary exile operation known intimately to U.S. authorities. The failure to stop these killers confirms that they have Washington's sanction. The situation demands the strongest protests.

Aid W.Va. miners!

Miners in northern West Virginia, fighting punitive firings by Consolidation Coal Company, are engaged in the biggest coal strike since the 1977-78 national contract strike.

It began in February with a walkout by members of United Mine Workers Local 4060 over job assignments. The conflict quickly took on larger importance when the company fired local president Mike Zemonick. Nearly all of the 6,000 miners in UMW District 31 then joined a week-long solidarity strike.

Consol's answer was to fire twelve more. When arbitration rulings began upholding those firings, 3,500 Consol miners walked out again.

The company has not relented, and the courts have backed it up. Federal judge Robert Maxwell has now ordered the strikers of Local 4060 to be individually fined \$25 for each shift missed.

The pro-company judge has also prohibited miners from speaking about or distributing literature "relating to the strike."

The miners will not allow these attacks on their right to strike and to free speech to go unchallenged. But they need all the solidarity they can get. The stakes are high. The outcome of the strike will affect the union's bargaining position in the national contract talks that are coming up soon.

Solidarity with the coal miners of Local 4060!

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International Socialist Review



El Salvador: Roots of the Freedom Struggle

What is the history of the fight for independence? Why has the 'moderate' junta incurred the hatred of the Salvadoran people? Why was Archbishop Romero killed? Is the U.S. heading for another Vietnam in El Salvador? Page 14.

Youngstown: The Fight to Save Steel Jobs

Since the turn of the century Youngstown, Ohio, was a center of the steel industry. Now the jobs of thousands, some of them fourth-generation steelworkers, are being eliminated. Why? What can be done about it? *Militant* reporter Stu Singer and Socialist Workers Party candidate John Powers went there to find out. Page 13.



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Steel, auto workers back Ill. ERA fight

By Andrea Morell

With twenty-four months left before the deadline for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, the National Organization for Women and the labor movement have launched a spring offensive. The target is Illinois, one of fifteen states that have not ratified the proposed Constitutional amendment. Thirty-five have done so and thirty-eight are needed.

The United Steelworkers of America and the United Auto Workers are among the unions backing two powerful actions that have been called. The first is the Illinois Labor Conference for ERA on April 26, and the second is the National ERA March, May 10. Both are in Chicago.

Referring to these actions, Frank Mont, UAW civil rights director, said: "We hope that all our members will be able to participate in the April 26 conference and the May 10 ERA march. The steelworkers feel ERA is the bottom line for equality of all women in this country."

"Labor has always been in the forefront of struggles for social change, for equal rights and civil rights for all people. A victory in Illinois can lead to success in the two other states needed."

The Virginia labor movement—in the forefront of forging a fighting alliance of the labor and women's movements for ERA—has already gotten behind the Illinois campaign. Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), which built the January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia, backs the actions and intends to help build support for them in Virginia.

Suzanne Kelly, LERN co-coordinator with Jerry Gordon pointed to their significance in a phone interview: "Illinois is the next important state in the struggle for ratification of ERA. If we are going to achieve fairness and social justice for women and the elimination of sexual discrimination for women and men, we must be willing to demonstrate our commitment clearly."

"As trade unionists and other ERA supporters from other states joined

Front page of April 'National NOW Times' and Illinois labor conference brochure (insert).

Virginia on January 13, so Virginians will join the Illinois effort on May 10."

The labor conference will be held at Chicago's Plumbers Hall. Its conveners are Robert Gibson, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; Robert Johnston, director of Region 4, UAW; William Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor; Muriel Tuteur, president of the Chicago chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Kenneth Dawes, president of

District 12, United Mine Workers; Louis Peick, president of Joint Council 25 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Keynote speakers include the heads of the major labor organizations and NOW: Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO; Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW; Douglas Fraser, UAW president; Joyce Miller, national president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Charles Hayes, national vice-president of

the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Ray Schoessling, general secretary treasurer of the Teamsters; Addie Wyatt, national vice-president of CLUW; and Sam Church, UMW president. This platform represents virtually the entire American labor movement.

The April *National NOW Times* likens May 10 to the July 9, 1978, march for ERA extension in Washington, D.C., which drew some 100,000 people. It points to the building already occurring:

"NOW chapters and state organizations have already been notified of initial plans for the march and have begun to organize the buses, carpools, vans, charter flights and trains which will bring the thousands to the city. Other organizations have also begun to mobilize their membership to make the march a huge success."

An impressive brochure on the conference has been prepared by UAW National CAP Department and UAW Region 4. In it, Robert Gibson, Illinois Federation of Labor president, writes: "It is no accident that the majority of the non-ratified states are 'right-to-work' states."

"The labor movement and the women's movement have a common enemy—multinational corporate power and the right wing forces intent on 'keeping women in their place' as a profitable source of cheap labor."

"WILL THIS INDUSTRIAL STATE OF OURS CONTINUE TO SAY TO THE NATION THAT 'EQUALITY OF RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW SHALL BE DENIED?' The Illinois labor movement can no longer permit that assertion under any circumstances. . . .

"The entire labor movement of Illinois declares that ratification of ERA is a national priority, and we call for ratification in Illinois without delay."

Here is a clear mandate for labor and women's organizations across the country to join forces to build a movement in Illinois that can win. "Ratify the ERA!" "Make Illinois number 36 in 1980!"

NOW-N.J. declares 'All out May 10!'

By Chris Hildebrand

"We must make May 10 the largest march ever for the ERA!" Nancy Stultz, state coordinator for NOW-NJ said as she issued a challenge to NOW units in all other states on the East Coast to try to out-mobilize NOW-New Jersey for the Chicago march for the Equal Rights Amendment. Stultz was speaking to the NOW members gathered at their annual state conference on March 23.

Delegates had already passed an ERA priority resolution which urged all state task forces to focus their attention on the critical Illinois ratification effort this spring. Members of the task force on women against nuclear power stated that they intended to prepare a special leaflet to be distributed at the April 26 antinuclear rally,

urging activists to join the ERA march in Chicago two weeks later.

Stultz announced that an ERA Freedom Train, sponsored by NOW, will leave New York for a whistle stop journey across New Jersey and Pennsylvania, picking up ERA supporters in all three states. The cost of a train ticket will be no more than \$99.00 round trip. It will depart from New York at 5:00 p.m. on Friday May 9 and return at noon on Sunday, May 11. (For tickets, contact the NOW chapter in your area.)

NOW-NJ members unfortunately could not participate in the antidraft march in Washington because it occurred simultaneously with our March 22-23 conference. But we did spend a lot of time discussing the draft.

The workshop on the draft heard a

panel of women including a NOW member currently in the service and a recent veteran. All workshop panelists and participants condemned Carter's proposed draft registration and his intention to extend it to women. Several chapter leaders discussed the difficulties they were having with news reporters and ERA foes who continuously linked the ERA to the draft.

Mariana Hernández, one of the panelists, suggested that participation in the draft and combat would not improve women's status. She pointed out that when Chicanos and Blacks were drafted in the last war, they died at a disproportionate rate. Yet their status in society continues to deteriorate relative to whites.

After extended debate and discussion the plenary adopted two resolu-

tions proposed by the workshop. The first resolved that "should the draft be reinstated for any segment of the population, NOW will continue to oppose the draft, working actively for its repeal; and that in our battle for the ERA, NOW-NJ unequivocally states that the forceful conscription of women into the military has nothing to do with equal rights."

The second resolved that NOW-NJ "opposes a draft and compulsory registration at this time as sexist and racist and further as incompatible with the spirit of peaceful cooperation with other nations."

Other resolutions adopted included ones on abortion rights, labor, and support to the April 26 antinuclear action.

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...transit strike

Continued from front page

will mean a big fare hike, they threaten. They want the transit workers to doubt their ability to convince other working people that their demands are reasonable.

What do the transit workers want?

Let the workers themselves explain it. *Militant* reporters have been all over the city, at the demonstrations and in

Interviews for this article were contributed by New York City *Militant* correspondents Robert Dees, Gina March, and Marilyn Vogt.

the terminals and transit barns before the strike, on the picket lines and in the bars and coffee shops that are the union headquarters all over town since the strike began. Here are some of their reports:

A union picket at Broadway and 207th Street in Manhattan said: "Tell people how much money we make instead of just printing five names of

guys who made \$50,000 a year by working seven days a week, fourteen hours a day, like the *Daily News* did. Tell them that a conductor takes home \$175 if he's lucky."

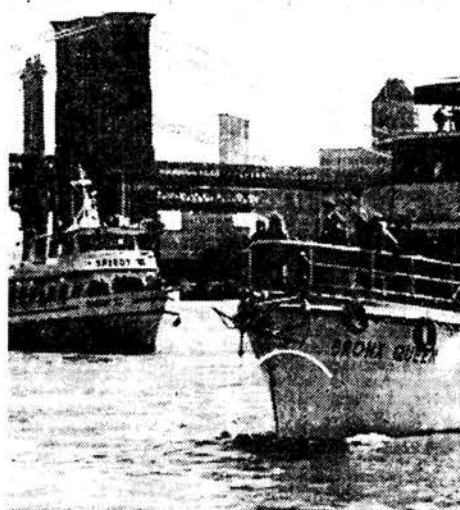
The union demand for a 30 percent wage increase "is just to catch up after the rotten contract we got two years ago," explained a group of motormen and conductors at a subway terminal in Harlem on the eve of the strike.

"Our pay went up 4.5 percent and prices over 13 percent. Now inflation is at 18 percent. We need that cost-of-living [escalator clause] to keep our wages going up every time prices go up.

"The mayor took his pay hike. City council gave one to themselves. But we are worse off than before."

A twenty-eight-year-old conductor who has been working on the subway since last May said he was especially mad about the pay cut for new employees in the last contract.

"I get ninety-one cents an hour less



Chartered boats bring commuters to Manhattan. Corporations are spending millions to break strike.

than people who do exactly the same job but have worked here over two years. That's not right. I have the same expenses as them."

The union is demanding that this gap be closed.

At the bus barn at Fifteenth and West Street along the Hudson River, the afternoon before the strike, a driver explained: "We're not slaves. Our wages should not depend on productivity increases. Striking is our only weapon. We're the lowest-paid drivers in ten major cities."

The second day of the strike there were about seventy-five pickets at a maintenance shop near Atlantic Avenue and Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn. Some of them talked about Richard Ravitch, head of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority.

"I don't think Mr. Ravitch or the mediators are impartial. We need decent wages, decent working conditions. Ravitch, with his millionaire status, he can't relate to me. I'm struggling with my mortgage payments, paying tuition, buying groceries. How can he relate to that?"

What about the threatened fare increase?

Jack Sharp, a picket captain at the

transit barn at 212th Street and Tenth Avenue, said: "We don't want to see an increase in the fare. We'd rather see the public ride free. We'd rather see the corporations take the brunt."

"The only ones making money in this city are the corporations. They don't give a damn about the public, about the unions, or about anyone else. All they want is their profit coming in. Let them be taxed to subsidize the riding public of New York City."

What about the Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by public employees?

"It's an infringement on my constitutional rights," Sharp replied, "against my right to demonstrate, to show my opinion on a controversy."

At the city hall demonstration March 27, a Queens bus driver explained that "the working conditions are terrible. We're driving unsafe equipment. They don't give the mechanics the tools, parts, or the time to keep the buses running right."

Ironically, a broken city bus was sitting in the middle of the street as the demonstrators marched past.

"The politicians have the money," the bus driver said. "Where do all our taxes go? The transit fares are just more taxes. Our union, the Amalgamated [Transit Union], calls for free transit. We already pay enough taxes."

About 200 transit workers demonstrated near the Sheraton Center, where negotiations were taking place, the day before the strike. It was cold, with a hard rain coming down. Dozens of cops were around.

The protest was organized by Transit Workers for a Good Contract. Activists said this was a coalition of candidates who had run against John Lawe for president of the Transport Workers Union local. They won a lot of seats on the executive board.

These were the famous "dissidents" who are being blamed for the strike. Their chants and signs called for winning the official union demands. There were also calls for "John Lawe, don't sell us out."

Newspaper accounts of the negotiations all that night at the hotel talked more about the supposed fights within the union than about the unacceptable proposals coming from management.

New title

American Railroads: the case for nationalization by Dick Roberts

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

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

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

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

Confrontation forced by gov't austerity drive

By August Nimitz

NEW YORK, April 2—The New York transit strike was provoked by the city and state governments and their Wall Street bosses.

The shutdown, affecting more than one-third of the mass transit users in the country, is a confrontation of national significance.

The capitalists aim to hand a crushing defeat to Transport Workers Local 100, which represents 31,000 bus and subway workers, and to the Amalgamated Transit Union, which represents bus drivers and mechanics in Queens and Staten Island.

The transit workers are not the largest unions in the city, but they are the strongest. If they can be defeated it will be a big setback to all working people.

The central issue is wage increases to keep up with inflation.

To make up for the drop in their buying power since 1974, the unions began negotiations demanding a 30 percent wage hike.

One day before the March 31 deadline, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority made its first offer—an insulting 3.5 percent raise each year of a thirty-four-month contract.

Half an hour before the midnight deadline the forty-six-member TWU executive board voted unanimously to reject the MTA's "final offer—6 percent a year in a two-year contract.

By then the union had reportedly lowered its demands to 15 percent in the first year and 10 percent the second.

Shortly after the midnight deadline



Transit workers protest at city hall

Militant/Stu Singer

250 union representatives unanimously rejected another "final offer"—8 percent a year for two years.

Operating workers for the Long Island Railroad, which carries tens of thousands of commuters into the city each day, also went on strike April 1, but have since returned to their jobs.

According to the financial weekly *Barron's*, the city is expected to have a \$300 million cash surplus next year. But Mayor Edward Koch, Gov. Hugh Carey, and MTA head Richard Ravitch all insist there is "no money."

Koch is campaigning throughout the

city trying to whip up feeling against the transit workers. "We will never give in to unreasonable demands," he said. "New Yorkers are best in adversity."

The big banks, insurance companies, stock brokerage houses, and other major employers have spent millions to organize alternative transportation for their employees. They hope this spell of "adversity" will break the unions.

The rulers are bringing into play the state Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by public employees. Workers can be docked two day's pay for every

day on strike. The union can be denied dues checkoff after a strike. Union officials can be jailed.

Governor Carey declared that the penalties are "automatic and must be applied."

Behind the city and state union-busters stands the Carter administration. Carter's new budget raises military spending at the expense of aid to cities and states. Federal mass transit funds were cut \$265 million.

Any settlement that meets the transit workers' needs is sure to be denounced by Washington as in violation of the wage guidelines. Carter is likely to threaten the existing federal "bail-out" program for New York.

Government and business officials at every level are worried that a victory for the strike will embolden other city workers, whose contracts expire June 30.

None other than David Rockefeller, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, issued a statement urging the MTA negotiators to stand fast "against any demands for a settlement 'at any price.'"

The *New York Times* advises, "The most effective legal sanction in this strike will be fining the strikers two days' pay for every day of strike." It advises New Yorkers to show "courage and tenacity" and not to "force a premature settlement."

The bankers and capitalist politicians are right to be worried. The eyes of the nation are on New York. A victory for the transit workers will strike a blow against the rulers' austerity drive.

But the fact remains that when Lawe officially announced the strike around 2 a.m., he spoke with the unanimous recommendation of the 250 union representatives assembled.

The news media are trying to turn the people of New York against the strikers. They emphasize that workers and the poor are being hurt most by the strike. Here's the response of one subway user.

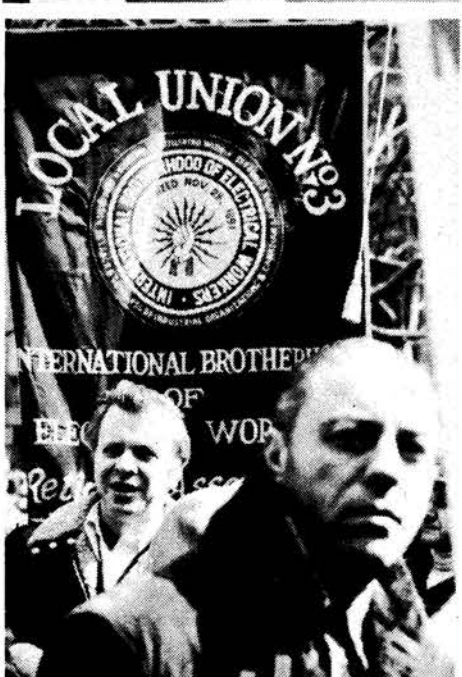
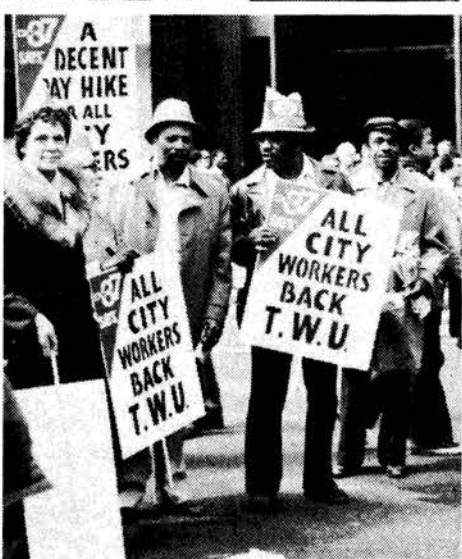
Jenny, sixty-four, is originally from the South but has lived in New York since the 1940s. She would have a hard time getting to her job at Western Union if there's a strike, she said, but "the transit workers should get what they want. If you don't fight, you don't get anything. How can people in New York live with the little money they have?"

"I don't think you should start nothing unless you're going to finish it. The transit workers want 30 percent, they should fight until they get it."

"Martin Luther King was fighting for rights when he died."

"You have as much right to live as the big man. But it's getting to be like in Hoover's time."

"Things can change if you fight."



Signs show solidarity from other unions at New York City Hall rally.

Public transit: Who should pay?

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—In the legendary days of the great train robberies, the bandits would swoop down without warning.

But not the bandits who control the New York transit system.

They're already publicizing the new, higher priced subway token. The only thing left to be announced is the extent of the ripoff. Will the fare go from fifty cents to sixty? Or will it be seventy-five?

Why the new fare hike? Obvious, says Mayor Koch. The workers are striking for more money.

But the minimum projected fare increase will be 20 percent, and the seventy-five cent fare would mean a 50 percent boost. Is that what they're offering the workers? And weren't they already planning to raise fares long before the strike?

Well, the subways and buses are losing money anyway, argues the Transit Authority.

For New York's strap-hangers, the subway system is a loser for sure. Millions of working people—particularly the lowest paid—are totally dependent on public transit.

The city has us by the throat. The fare is expensive. The trains and buses are unsafe, overcrowded, noisy, dirty outrages against human health and dignity.

But not everyone's a loser.

Like, for instance, the bankers who organized the sale of the BMT and IRT subways to the city forty years ago. For the first decades of this century, private owners had made a fortune from the subways. But they began to lose money.

So the banks obligingly loaned the city \$310 million—a lot of bucks in those days—to buy the subways.

We'll reportedly be making the final payment this June. With forty years of steady interest we've paid those original bonds several times over.

Over the years the banks obligingly made more loans at higher interest rates so the old ones could be repaid. And as fares went up, service declined, and much-needed maintenance was ignored, the banks and bondholders have gotten their interest payments as regular as clockwork. It still runs more than \$11 million a year, according to the Transit Authority. In earlier years it was even more.



Militant/Stu Singer

But that's only a relatively small part of the con game. The real swindle goes under the name of "self-sufficiency." That is, the argument that those who ride the subways should pay for them.

Why? The public school system isn't "self-sufficient." Neither are the city parks, or the libraries, or the fire department. Why the transit system?

True, there are people who never set foot on a subway. But it's their life line.

For instance, take the sweatshop operators in the garment district. Their profits depend on the labor of tens of thousands of workers who live in all five boroughs. Without the transit system the industry would fold.

The same goes for virtually all the other big employers in the city.

Not to speak of the restaurant industry, the department stores, Wall Street firms, and lots more.

Yet the owners of these corporations, whose profits are so dependent on the transit system, don't pay a dime. Unless, perish the thought, it's the chauffeur's day off and they can't get a cab.

Put an end to that incredible tax evasion and the transit system will stop "losing money" overnight.

Clock the people coming out of the subways at Herald Square headed for Macy's. Do a census of the people spilling out into the garment district,

or down on Wall Street. Then tax the profits of all the business beneficiaries of the transit system.

With that kind of a fiscal approach, you could—as the Transport Workers Union recommends—abolish the subway fare.

Sounds utopian? It probably is—so long as the Democrats and Republicans are in city hall. They're direct accomplices in the great train robbery, and all the other crimes perpetrated against the working people of this city by big business.

But let powerful unions like the Transport Workers and others join in building a labor party. They could drive the bandits out of city hall.

A labor administration could run the city in the interests of the great majority, not the tiny clique of bankers, business executives, and slumlords.

A labor party in New York could lead a national fight to end the waste of billions of tax dollars on Washington's arms budget and get those funds used to rebuild and improve mass transit and all social services.

A labor administration could see to it that the people who run and ride the subways and buses controlled the Transit Authority.

With that kind of management, it could be a pleasure to ride the transit system. You could even learn to love the Big Apple.

Socialists urge solidarity with N.Y. strikers

The four branches of the Socialist Workers Party in New York City and northern New Jersey are actively supporting the transit workers.

Thousands of leaflets are being distributed throughout the city with a statement by SWP senatorial candidate Victor Nieto, himself a rail worker, explaining the issues of the strike.

An emergency forum on "Why all working people have a stake in a TWU victory," by Militant staff writer Harry Ring, was set for April 3 in the Union Square area of lower Manhattan.

Socialist Workers are organizing solidarity activity in their unions with the transit strikers.

The transit workers themselves and the ten million people living in the area are flooded with anti-union propaganda. Every effort to get out the truth is a real support to the strike and to workers everywhere.

As part of this solidarity campaign, a statement was released April 1 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president. The text follows:

* * *

The transit workers of New York City deserve the support of all working people in their fight for wage

increases and a decent contract.

Every municipal worker, every unionist—every working person trying to fight back against inflation—has a stake in the outcome.

The wealthy rulers of this country, their Democratic and Republican Party politicians, their government agencies, and their newspapers, radio and TV stations are doing all they can to isolate the transit workers, to blame them for the inconvenience caused by the strike.

The facts are clearly on the side of the transit workers.

Their demand for a 30 percent wage increase and a full cost-of-living escalator is necessary to begin to catch up and keep up with inflation.

New York Democratic Mayor Koch and Governor Carey are conducting a war against the transit workers. The anti-labor Taylor Law is being invoked to jail strike leaders, fine the members, and break the union.

The attack on the New York transit workers fits in with the "pain and discipline" austerity plan of Democratic President Carter.

The politicians and their mouthpieces claim there is no money. They say \$1 billion is needed to meet the transit workers' demands. Two and a half days worth of Carter's \$150 billion war budget would cover this. But Carter is cutting funds for mass transit as he raised the war budget.

The capitalists and their parties put profits and the war machine first, the needs of workers last.

This shows again the need for a labor party. The unions should act in the political arena to put workers' interests first.

The politicians fighting the transit workers were elected with union support. It is said these are the best politicians money can buy. A different standard must be set for the unions in politics.

Throughout the country workers are standing their ground against the "pain and discipline" drive of the bosses. Sixteen thousand steelworkers at Newport News Shipyard just won their first contract. Auto workers at International Harvester stopped company takeback demands with a five-month strike. Fire fighters in Chicago and Kansas City faced down union-busting city governments.

The New York workers on the subways and buses and the Long Island Railroad can come out on top also. Their victory will be a victory for every worker fighting to keep up with inflation, for every cutback victim fighting to defend social services.

We urge the broadest possible effort throughout the country to get out the truth about the New York transit situation and to organize support for this strike.

Three Mile Island a year later:

By Nancy Cole

HARRISBURG—"Free the TMI hostages!"

Hung from the state capitol March 29 as thousands rallied nearby, the banner captured a widespread sentiment here one year after the Three Mile Island nuclear accident began.

"There are not fifty of us, but a million—the central Pennsylvania hostages," Kathy McCaughin declared the day before at a speakout outside of Middletown across from the nuclear plant.

"And no one is even negotiating for our release. We are on our own because we can't trust the government."

During two days of protest activities here March 28-29, the "hostages" had their say.

They charged Metropolitan Edison, owner of the plant, and its parent

ON TO APRIL 26!

Actions in some fifty cities commemorated the first anniversary of the accident at Three Mile Island and urged participation in the next national antinuclear mobilization, the April 26 March on Washington. For more information contact the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, 413 Eighth Street SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Telephone (202) 544-5228.

company, General Public Utilities, with total indifference to human suffering.

They condemned the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, along with Democratic and Republican politicians at every level, for their complicity with the industry's lies.

They described the fear and fury that have become an inseparable part of their lives during the last year.

And they vowed never to allow the Three Mile Island monster to open again!

The vigil

The actions began at 4 a.m. Friday, March 28, to mark the exact moment that a series of pumps in the Unit 2 reactor malfunctioned a year ago, beginning the accident the industry had said could never happen. Of course, neighbors of the nuclear plant didn't learn there had been a radioactive release until many hours later, long after their children had already stood outside in the fallout waiting for school buses.

The accident's yet unknown effect on children, who are more susceptible to radiation than adults, is the most tragic aspect of this nuclear crime. The first nine months of the accident saw a five-fold increase in congenital hypothyroidism in new-born babies.

Met Ed's plan to immediately vent 57,000 curies of radioactive krypton gas as the cheapest and fastest way to begin the plant "clean-up" has sparked rage.

"They lied to us before, and they're lying to us now," Edith Althouse from nearby Oberlin told me at the vigil.

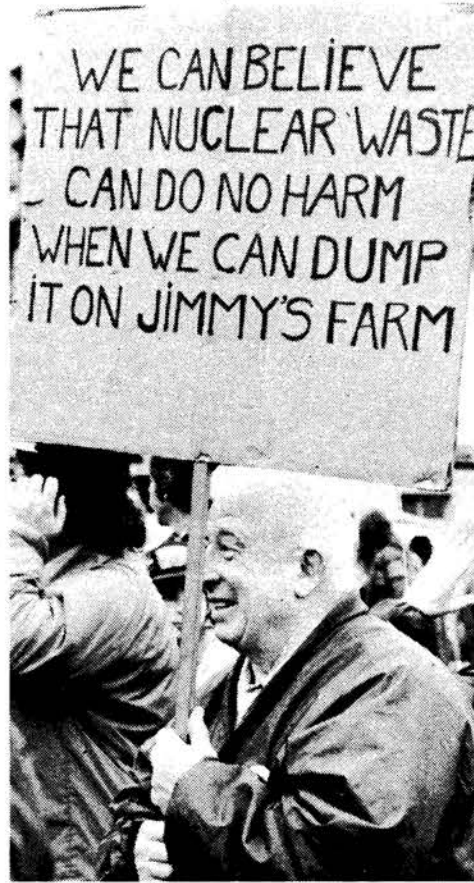
Althouse, who was holding a lighted candle in one hand and a picket sign in the other, said she was protesting in behalf of her seven grandchildren. "I want them to have a full life like I've had."

Met Ed, she went on, "is only thinking about the almighty dollar."

Althouse's sign read, "What to Discuss? Nuclear Power or Us."

It was her fourth antinuclear demonstration since the accident.

Between 4:30 and 5 a.m., the vigil grew to 300 or more, as people stopped by the vacant lot on their way to work. Blinking red lights on the giant cooling towers across the river were a constant reminder that we were only a couple of miles from the contaminated reactor.



March 29 rally in Harrisburg

Militant photos by Nancy Cole and Kay Lewis

Two mothers from Middletown, Diane Eberly and Molly Bowie, were here out of concern for the future of their children. "You can't believe them," Eberly said of Met Ed and the NRC. "I think they're going to try to open up the plant again."

The speakout

At 9:30 a.m. the speak-out began. By then the crowd had thinned out, but with the daylight and warmer temperature came an angry defiance.

With the towers as the backdrop to a makeshift stage, resident after resident got up to sound off.

"The last year of my life has been a disaster," began a woman. "I'm sick and tired of being lied to. I feel like a hostage in my own hometown. And I intend to fight. I'm going to stay, I'm going to work with groups. I'll do anything in my power."

Eleven-year-old Caitlin Patterson from Harrisburg spoke of the mental damage the accident would likely inflict on children. "We don't want to

grow up thinking we might get cancer," she said. "If everyone would join together, we could stop nuclear power."

"They can take that plant," said Chuck Hrobar, gesturing toward the towers, "and make it a retirement village for all the NRC, GPU, and Met Ed officials!"

Beverly Gorman expressed a common disgust with news media efforts to portray opposition to the krypton gas release as hysterical, emotional, even certifiably crazy.

"I have gone through every emotion conceivable during the last week," said Gorman. "Right now I'm depressed."

"But we're no different emotionally than anyone else in any other place. What we all have is common sense!"

"I've asked over and over again," she went on, "for anyone to assure me that my children are in the same physical condition as they were on March 27 one year ago. If they would guarantee that, I would say, 'Go ahead and vent.'"

"But no one can say that."

A man living right across from the plant warned, "I'd like to say to those people: they can't snow the people of the United States any longer. People are a lot smarter than they were a year ago."

Fran Cain raises toy poodles. She explained how last year had been the first year she had finally developed a champion breed. Then the accident happened. "One of my dogs got lymphoid cancer. Then a puppy was born without eye sockets. There has been abnormal bleeding." And the story went on.

Mary Ann Mettern described how in one moment last year she had "lost control" of her life.

"I don't like not allowing my twelve-year-old daughter to drink milk from this area. I don't like telling my father we can't eat vegetables from his garden."

A year after the accident, she went on, "I still feel fear, rage, and confusion, but I also have hope."

"I know we're not alone. Many, many people, not just here, but throughout the United States feel the same way. We can work together and shut down nuclear power plants all across the country."

The speakout was followed by a news conference with prominent antinuclear experts.

"The people who brought us the accident are the same ones now in charge of the clean-up," said Robert Pollard from the Union of Concerned Scientists.

"The same morons," muttered a woman behind me.

"It must be cleaned up," Pollard continued, "but whether it has the urgency that they say, I still have serious questions about." In his opinion, Pollard said, "part of the choice involves the cost of the choices."

Thousands vs. millions

The immediate venting is supposed to cost only \$75,000. Estimates for alternative methods, which would take time to develop, go as high as \$160 million.

Pollard suggested an "outside citizens advisory committee" to oversee the clean-up.

Author Barry Commoner, who recently announced his candidacy for the Citizens Party presidential nomination, blasted the utility for paying out \$100 million in dividends to its stockholders and then trying to save money with the cheapest clean-up method.

"The decontamination process," he said, "should be taken out of the hands of the utilities and the NRC."

He proposed instead a federally funded crash scientific program to solve the clean-up problem.

Commoner followed this with the unfortunate declaration that such an effort would inevitably lead to a tax hike, but that was the way it had to be. It is an unappealing prospect for over-taxed working people, who have already paid plenty to subsidize the nuclear industry.

The federal government plans to use \$150 billion of our tax dollars for the military budget this year. There—not in workers' pockets—is the place to look for funds for TMI decontamination, along with compensation and medical expenses for Harrisburg residents.

Betsy Taylor, executive director of the Nuclear Information and Resource Service, announced the formation of a new coalition of all antinuclear groups in central Pennsylvania, the TMI Public Interest Resource Center.

The news conference over, local residents resumed their speak-out.

The rally

Friday night, nearly 500 people attended an antinuclear interfaith church service in Harrisburg, followed

the nuclear accident goes on



Sue Sullivan and Tony Topolski. Their lives will never be the same.

Militant photos by Nancy Cole

by a candlelight march in pouring rain to the Forum auditorium for the televised debate on nuclear power (see accompanying story).

It was still raining the next day as protesters began gathering at the state capitol for the rally. Prominent musicians—Linda Ronstadt, Pete Seeger, Stephan Stills—shared the platform with mostly local speakers. But contrary to disparaging comments in the press, few of the thousands who stood through the drizzle came for a rock concert. They came to protest TMI and nuclear power.

The crowd, with many coming and going during the five-hour program, numbered at least 8,000. Rally organizers estimated it closer to 15,000.

Buses had come from Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, but the majority of demonstrators were from the central Pennsylvania area.

A state worker I talked with was one of the few at the rally who had not made up his mind about nuclear power. "I have a little girl," he said. "The accident last year scared me. I don't know a lot about nuclear energy, that's why I'm here. But I do know that Met Ed lied to us."

As for using coal instead of nuclear, he answered, "Well, we certainly have enough of it around here."

That's a standard response in central Pennsylvania to the proposal for coal as the immediate alternative to nuclear power. Not everyone agrees, of course. But the pro-nuclear argument about how dangerous mining and burning coal is compared with nuclear power just doesn't float in Harrisburg,

Pennsylvania—the "city of fear," as one sign here dubbed it.

'Coal stove in every room'

"All of a sudden you hear about coal plants emitting radiation," says Newberry Town resident Tony Topolski. "Why, I was born and raised in the coalfields. We had a coal stove in every room. Nobody died from radiation. It's just a sophisticated plan to rip the American people off."

Besides, he adds, "they can burn coal cleanly. They just don't want to put the money into it."

Although official labor participation in the events here was scant, there were a lot of individual unionists present. Topolski, a truck driver and member of the Teamsters, was one of them. He said he had distributed anti-nuclear petitions at work and signed up about 80 percent of the people where he works. Several were at the demonstration.

There were also steelworkers from the Bethlehem Steel plant in Steelton, auto workers from the Fruehauf plant in Middletown, public employees, and others.

On the speakers platform were Ed Clinch, president of the York-Adams County International Association of Machinists, and Paul Garver, service representative of the Service Employees International Union.

"There are many, many in the labor movement, including my boss, [IAM President] Bill Winpisinger, who believe the same way you do," said Clinch. "We're going to fight with you."

There is a striking difference between the mood I observed here one year ago and that of today.

Last year the unthinkable accident had just happened. Thousands had been evacuated from their homes. The conspiracy between Met Ed and the government agency entrusted with protecting the public was becoming painfully evident.

Fear was the prevailing sentiment, along with helplessness in the face of such powerful adversaries.

The fear is still here, as it should be considering the unpredictable nuclear monster still inside the Unit 2 reactor.

But the people here genuinely believe they will win out over Met Ed and the government.

The accident has transformed housewives into full-time movement organizers. Apolitical fathers into antinuclear activists. Grandmothers into traveling demonstrators.

* * *

Thirty-nine-year-old Teamster Tony Topolski had never been to a protest in his life before last year. On March 28 of this year he took off from work, despite a threat he would be fired, to work on the set-up for Saturday's rally.

In the past year he has been to Washington, D.C., to demonstrate against nuclear power, as well as to Reading, Pennsylvania, Met Ed's headquarters. His whole family—wife and three kids—will be in D.C. again on April 26 for the national march on Washington.

He wears a small "Praise the Lord" button above a large one that says "Shut Them Down!" He believes more "militant" action is needed to end nuclear power once and for all.

* * *

Sue Sullivan lives three miles from the plant. She has three daughters, ages four, six, and eight.

"After the accident, it was a long time before I could even look in their faces and wonder what they were going to grow up like," she told me at the speakout.

"I'm not an organizer," she says. But she has drawn up a petition she hopes to get circulated throughout the area. It requests a written affidavit from Met Ed, the NRC, and the U.S. government



Militant/Nancy Cole

Mrs. Hisako Odoriba, survivor of the U.S. atomic bomb attack on Hiroshima, and Tetsuen Nakajima, a Buddhist monk from Obama, Japan, joined the antinuclear events in Harrisburg March 28-29. "I have come to ask your help in creating a non-nuclear world," said Odoriba.

swearing that her children and others within twenty miles of the plant have not been affected by the accident and will not be during the clean-up.

The affidavit must state that it will be up to Met Ed and the government, she told the speakout, "to prove illnesses that arise are not TMI related. It must also be good for forty years." It must guarantee all medical expenses, child care services, and other related costs.

"If the accident and the future ventings are as harmless as you want us to believe, there is no reason for this request to be denied," her petition says.

* * *

Pat Smith describes herself as an "irate homemaker." She spoke at the March 29 rally.

She never thought about nuclear power when she sat on her patio and watched them building the Three Mile Island plant.

"But Wednesday, March 28, 1979, was the beginning of a drastic change in my life, my attitude, and my emotional well-being," she told the rally. "When I returned from the evacuation, I vowed I would do everything in my power to close down Three Mile Island as a nuclear facility."

She went on, "I've been called a 'radical,' I'm 'overreacting,' I'm 'emotional,' but the best one of all is I'm an 'environmental extremist.'"

"I took a vote in Middletown two weeks ago [at the NRC hearing] about releasing the krypton, and I have a feeling some of those government officials didn't think those 500 people were a good representation. Now we have thousands here today and I'm going to take the vote again."

Silence followed her call for those in favor of venting. Cheers erupted when she asked for those opposed, and then chants of, "No nukes, no nukes, no nukes!"

"Do you think Governor Thornburgh heard that vote?" she asked the crowd. "President Jimmy Carter, did you hear it?"

—N.C.

The National Nuclear Debate

HARRISBURG—Although it was never intended that way by its producers, the National Nuclear Debate televised live from here March 28 became part of the weekend's anti-nuclear protests.

The debate was sponsored by WITF-TV in Hershey and broadcast on public television stations across the country.

As late as the afternoon of March 28, the TV station was telling those requesting tickets that they had all been distributed. But outside the auditorium right before the debate began, scores of tickets were available for the taking.

Inside I learned that Metropolitan Edison, to assure a "balanced" audience, had given out blocs of tickets to its employees. It had obviously generated little enthusiasm.

Of about 2,000 seats, 1,500 were filled. Audience reaction later showed about 1,300 of those to be antinuclear. Hundreds more antinuclear residents didn't come because they thought they couldn't get tickets.

Moderator Jim Lehrer warned the audience before going on air that they were to sit quietly and refrain from reacting to the debate.

That lasted until Dr. Henry Ken-

dall, from the Union of Concerned Scientists, noted the fragile nature of nuclear technology, saying, "I do not think it is presently worthwhile to make a laboratory out of the United States." Prolonged cheers and applause broke out.

Besides Kendall, antinuclear panelists were Dr. Helen Caldicott, Dr. Vince Taylor, and Massachusetts Congressperson Edward Markey.

Pronuclear debaters included Dr. Norman Rasmussen, Dr. Roger Linnemann, Dr. A. David Rossin, and Illinois Congressperson Tom Corcoran.

"The world is just radioactive," said Linnemann, who is a nuclear industry executive. "It has been radioactive for millions of years."

One of the most popular pronuclear arguments, if you can call it that, was that coal is riskier than nuclear power.

Kendall responded: "I'm no apologist for the way coal has been used in the United States. But we've had two serious [nuclear] near misses. Can we stand to have another accident like Three Mile Island?"

Caldicott laid out the facts of a nuclear meltdown: 1.5 million short- and long-term deaths. "According to the NRC reports," she said, "the

TMI reactor was thirty to sixty minutes from a meltdown."

She explained that the industry is allowed to say no one died at Three Mile Island because cancer might not develop for five to fifty years. Genetic defects could remain dormant for up to fifty generations.

Nuclear power is necessary, the pronuclear panelists said, to help solve the serious energy crisis and end U.S. "dependence on OPEC oil."

To a loud chorus of boos, U.S. Representative Corcoran posed it as a choice between nuclear power or sending "young men and women over to the Persian Gulf to protect the oilfields."

Taylor exposed the nukes-or-oil dilemma as a hoax. Nuclear power is used only for electricity, he said, and electricity accounts for some 10 percent of total energy consumption. Since a little over 10 percent of electricity is generated by nuclear power, it works out that only 1.5 percent of our energy is produced by nuclear power. It's totally irrelevant to oil imports, he said.

"If we don't build nuclear plants, we'll build coal plants, and we have enough coal in this country for 200 years."

Zimmermann in Harrisburg: 'Shut them

By Nancy Cole

HARRISBURG—The terrifying realization that government regulatory agencies, Democratic and Republican politicians, and Metropolitan Edison are conspiring to hide the truth about the nuclear danger here has forever changed the lives and minds of central Pennsylvanians.

One way it was evident during the commemorative activities March 28-29 was the openness to candidates who stand for abolishing the secrecy and ending nuclear power—candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

"I'm Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. We're for shutting down all nuclear power plants now and using

'A Socialist Coal Miner Speaks Out Against Nuclear Power,' reprinted as a folded brochure from the April 4 'Militant,' is available for four cents each from the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

coal as the immediate replacement," Zimmermann would usually begin.

From the 4 a.m. vigil on March 28 to the rally the next day, Zimmermann spoke with hundreds of central Pennsylvanians.

Three other SWP candidates also joined the March 29 capitol rally here—Tom Moriarty, running for governor of West Virginia; Linda Mohrbacher, for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania; and Tory Dunn, for Pennsylvania state treasurer.

Mohrbacher, a Pittsburgh steelworker, and Dunn, a Philadelphia rail worker, had announced their campaigns just a few days before. Opposition to nuclear power will be one of the central issues they campaign around.

Five thousand brochures with the socialists' proposal for nationalizing the energy industry were passed out here during the two days.

Successful campaigning

In addition, hundreds of copies of the *Militant* were sold featuring a statement by Moriarty, who is a West Virginia coal miner, on why coal



Socialist vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann talks with Pennsylvanians during speakout across from Three Mile Island.

should be used right now as the alternative to nuclear power plants. (See page 22.)

Nearly 200 copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper were also sold.

Sixty people came to a socialist campaign reception after the rally, about a dozen of them from the Harrisburg area.

All in all, it was a successful two days of campaigning for candidates who stand 100 percent with the people of Harrisburg and who can now take what they learned from Three Mile Island's neighbors and help get out the truth.

While people here appreciated the socialists' antinuclear stance and were eager for news of antinuclear activities elsewhere, they were also curious about where the SWP candidates stand on other issues.

One popular topic among the many young people present was the draft. At the Friday vigil a college student from Hershey, Pennsylvania, agreed with Zimmermann that it was no question of equality for women to be drafted

along with men. "That's not what we're fighting for," the young woman said.

At the rally the next day, three high school students from York, Pennsylvania, stopped by the campaign table. The first said he worked with the Students for a Libertarian Society. Although, he quickly added, he didn't agree with everything they stood for. "They're a little too capitalist for me," he said.

"They're more than a little capitalist," said Zimmermann, "they're very capitalist." She went on to explain that the Libertarian Party stands firmly behind what they like to call the "free market," which is none other than the profits-before-human-needs capitalist system.

Libertarian representatives were present at all the antinuclear events here gathering signatures to put their presidential slate on the 1980 ballot. Their stand on nuclear power, however, is ambiguous at best.

Because they pin all the blame for the problems of working people on too

much government "meddling," their proposed solution to the energy crisis boils down to lifting government price controls and ending government regulation of any kind. It follows that they oppose regulation of the nuclear industry, particularly a government-imposed shutdown of Three Mile Island.

Zimmermann and the three students moved on to discuss the draft. She explained her stand by way of El Salvador, where the U.S. is sending arms and "advisers," and would like to send more, to back the repressive military government there—a government that is responsible for the massacre of hundreds of workers and farmers this year alone. That is the purpose of the U.S. military, she said. The sole reason for reinstituting the draft would be to strengthen U.S. options for intervening in other countries.

"The U.S. has no business fighting against people who are just trying to better their own lives by getting rid of dictators," said Zimmermann.

'Like the shah'

"Right, like the shah," chimed in the first student.

This led to a discussion of Iran and the taking of the hostages, which, Zimmermann explained, came about because Carter let the shah into the U.S.

But the shah was sick, objected the second student.

The first interrupted, "I think there's good grounds to believe that the whole thing was planned."

"But how could the shah get a fair trial in Iran," the second student persisted in response to Zimmermann's call for sending back the shah. "You couldn't find ten people in Iran who like the shah!"

"Doesn't that tell you all you have to know?" laughed Zimmermann.

The third student, wearing a "Question Authority" button, spoke for the first time, asking about Afghanistan.

"A lot of what you hear about what is happening there is a lie," Zimmermann began. "The same people who lie to you about Three Mile Island are lying about Afghanistan." She went on to tell how the revolution in Afghanistan had brought land reform,

Help us fight the nuclear danger

By Harry Ring

Like many people, I used to consider Harrisburg a pretty average American town.

Not anymore.

As Nancy Cole reports on this page, the horrifying experience of Three Mile Island has brought a profound change in the thinking of many residents of that city. They now realize the old answers don't stand up and they're open to considering new ones. Including socialist answers.

That kind of political rethinking is spreading in this country.

That gives added importance to the Socialist Workers election campaign. A steadily growing number of working people are ready to consider socialist ideas.

To reach a maximum number of them requires added campaign efforts—and money.

That's a real problem. The cost of campaigning escalates as fast as the political opportunities.

In our last issue, we printed a statement by Tom Moriarty, a coal miner running for governor of West Virginia on the SWP ticket. Moriarty calls for shutting down the nukes and substituting readily available coal.

His statement was well received in Harrisburg. We're now making it available nationally.

An initial 50,000 copies of Moriarty's statement have already been printed. Printing and shipping them to campaigners around the country will cost about \$2,000. That one item should give you an idea of why money is needed, as well as the good uses to which it's put.

The Pulley-Zimmermann campaign committee is currently working to raise a spring fund of \$50,000. The initial response has been encouraging.

SWP campaign committees around the country have sent in \$1,755 of contributions at election rallies.

So far, eighty-four people have sent contributions directly to the campaign committee. These total a gratifying \$5,500.

But there's still a good distance to go in completing the \$50,000 fund.

More than ever, each dollar really counts in getting out the socialist message.

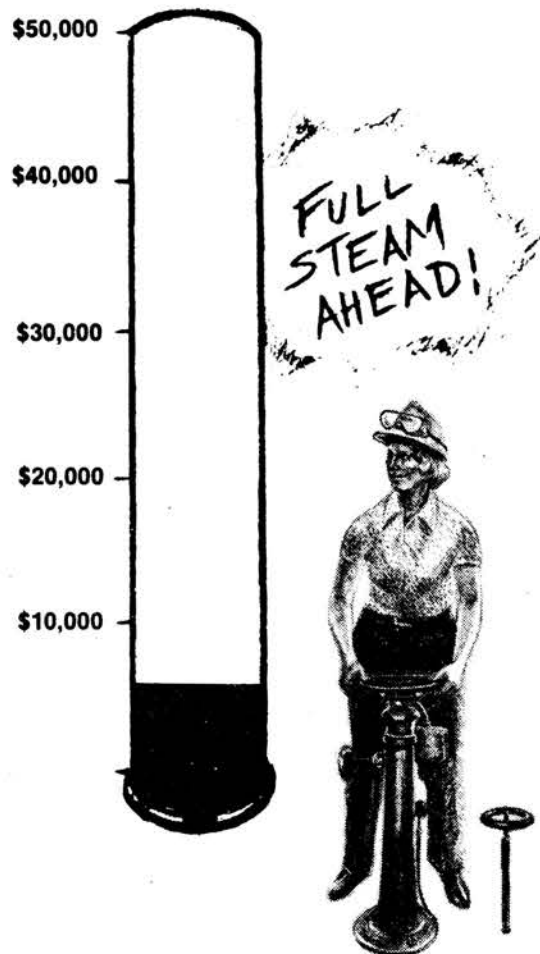
Have you sent your contribution? If not, please, do it now.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____
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Make checks payable to:
Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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

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



down now, use coal instead!

women's rights, and a literacy campaign. The U.S.-backed Afghan guerrillas, many of whom are former big landlords, are fighting to reverse this progress, she said.

"Yeah, you just hear one side of the story from the media," the first student patiently explained to his friend.

By the end of the conversation, the first student, the one who started out as a lukewarm Libertarian supporter, signed up to help get the socialist candidates on the Pennsylvania ballot.

A long discussion with a protester sporting a Kennedy button failed to bring such immediate results, but it raised a lot of questions in his mind.

A worker from the Bethlehem Steel plant in nearby Steelton stopped to talk with Zimmermann after buying a *Militant*. He was with his wife and two young children, one of whom was born a month after the nuclear accident last year. "We're watching her very carefully," he said.

They talked about the state of the labor movement and what it could do to take on the growing employer attacks, as did Zimmermann and Teamster Tony Topolski. Topolski commented that the corporations were trying to "take so much away from workers, there won't be anything left."

Zimmermann pointed to the imminent battle between transit workers and New York City authorities as an example of working people standing up to this antilabor assault.

The discussion moved on to politicians and Pennsylvania Republican governor Richard Thornburgh. "He's nothing but a corporate governor," Topolski said.

That's an opinion shared by a lot of people around here about Thornburgh and the rest of the pack of Democratic and Republican politicians—right up to President Carter.

At the Friday morning vigil, I overheard Carol Simmons, an antinuclear

activist from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, muttering about Carter after she spotted a sign calling on the president to shut Three Mile Island. "He's prostituted himself for the industry," she told me, and Thornburgh is "waffling."

There's not one Democratic or Republican politician who will say shut TMI down now forever, she continued, "because money is involved."

As if to prove her right, Thornburgh gave United Press International an interview coinciding with the one-year TMI anniversary. He practically waffled off the page. He didn't know if he would take a position on the proposed venting of radioactive krypton gas. He didn't know whether nuclear power plants were safety-proof yet.

He *did* know that he opposes holding any kind of referendum on Three Mile Island or nuclear power in general. Granted, such a referendum would allow more direct public participation in the decisions about nuclear power, he said. But he opposed it because it might result in a shutdown of the entire nuclear power system!

"It's up to our national and state leadership to assume responsibility for these decisions and to carry them out," he said.

Bowing to industry

That's precisely the problem here: Democratic and Republican politicians ignoring the public's opinions and carrying out the industry's wishes. Everybody here knows that now, having had one solid year of real-life education on how "democracy" works.

That's why Zimmermann's call for an end to the secrecy, for an immediate shutdown of all nuclear plants, and for the nationalization of the energy industry to take it out of the hands of the profit-hungry corporations was so well received.

When the socialists say, "The future of humanity depends on the working class taking power away from the capitalists," it rings all too true in central Pennsylvania.



March 29 Harrisburg rally. Protesters were interested in what socialists had to say on wide range of issues. Militant/Nancy Cole

Pulley backs Nicaragua literacy drive

By Mary Ann R. Kellogg

TACOMA, Wash.—Support to the Nicaraguan revolution was a big part of the four-day tour in this area by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley.

On March 30, Pulley marched with about 100 people in an eight-mile "Walkathon for Literacy in Nicaragua" organized to raise money for the drive to eliminate illiteracy in Nicaragua. Also participating in the march was Jim Levitt, SWP candidate for Senator from Washington.

Spirits were high among the participants, and many wore scarves in the red and black colors of the Sandinista movement.

As part of the fund-raising effort, SWP campaign supporters pledged donations for every mile Pulley and Levitt walked. One hundred and ninety-four dollars was raised in this way. The march as a whole brought in \$2,000 for education in Nicaragua.

The night before, Pulley was the keynote speaker at an enthusiastic rally for the local SWP campaign attended by about 100 people.

The meeting was opened by Teresa Alexander, a Nicaraguan living here who is active in the Committee for Humanitarian Aid to Nicaragua. "I am very grateful to the Socialist Workers Party since it is a party that supports the Nicaraguan revolution," she said. "I know the Nicaraguan people would agree with that. Viva Pulley, Zimmermann, Bockman, and Levitt!" Mary Nell Bockman, a twenty-one-year old shipfitter, is the SWP's candidate for governor of Washington.

Speaking to the rally Bockman ex-

pressed the anger of young Americans forced to contemplate facing a future of "unemployment lines in this country and trenches in Afghanistan or Iran." When she denounced Carter's moves to reinstate the draft, the audience responded with chants of "Hell no, we won't die for Texaco!"

Pulley opened fire on Carter's so-called anti-inflation program: "Far from lowering the cost of living, Carter's program will raise it. The only thing this is aimed at holding down is wages."

Pulley stressed the need for a working-class alternative to the Republicans and Democrats. "It makes no sense to strike for a decent contract, march for the Equal Rights Amend-

ment, protest the draft and then go to the polls to vote for the parties and politicians who you struck, marched, and protested against." Pulley called for the unions to form their own labor party.

Pulley's other activities in the Puget Sound area included a news conference on March 28. His remarks were picked up by two local television and several radio stations, and reported in the *Seattle Times*.

A high point for Pulley was an informal meeting with thirty-five workers from Boeing Aircraft. It was held at a local restaurant after the second shift. Many workers bought buttons supporting Pulley's campaign.



Andrew Pulley joins eight-mile walkathon for aid to Nicaragua. Militant/Rita Lee



Hear the
Socialist
Workers
candidates



TOLEDO

Rally for
Socialist Candidates

Speakers:
Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president
Toby Emmerich, SWP candidate for Congress, 9th C.D.
Saturday, April 12
7 p.m. reception 8 p.m. rally
2120 Dorr Street
Donation: \$2
For more information call
(419) 536-0383

KANSAS CITY

Socialist Campaign Rally
to launch
Missouri Petition Drive

Speakers:
Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president
Martha Pettit, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate
Martin Anderson, SWP candidate for governor
Sunday, April 13
6:30 p.m. reception and dinner
8 p.m. rally
Wornall Plaza Center
8247 Wornall Road
Tickets: \$5.50, \$2 rally only
For more information call
(816) 753-0404

Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

April 4-5	Salt Lake City
April 6-8	Denver
April 11-13	Kansas City
April 17-19	Louisville

Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

April 5, 7-8	Cincinnati
April 11-12	Toledo
April 13-15	Cleveland
April 18-19	Morgantown, W. Va.

For more information, call the SWP branch nearest you. See the directory on page 27 for phone numbers and addresses.

Pulley &
Zimmermann
in 1980!

Ariz. socialists start campaign, petitioning

By Nancy Berry and Dan Fein

PHOENIX—"The Democrats want the government to run business. The Republicans want business to run government. The Socialist Workers Party wants working people to run both."

That's how Channel 12 newscaster Gene McLane put it on the 6 p.m. news March 22.

The SWP is in the process of collecting the nearly 11,000 signatures needed to obtain a place on the Arizona ballot.

In the first nine days of petitioning it obtained more than 8,000 signatures.

The party intends to gather well above the minimum number to ensure that it qualifies.

In addition to the SWP presidential ticket, the party nominated Rob Roper

for Congress in District 1 here.

On the opening day of petitioning, Roper held a campaign headquarters press conference which was covered by the local ABC, NBC, and CBS affiliates.

Roper denounced the Arizona law requiring third parties to collect so many signatures just to get what the Republicans and Democrats get automatically.

However, Roper predicted, Arizonans would be glad to sign the socialist petitions.

Roper, twenty-five, is a laborer at Midland-Ross, Capitol Casting Division in nearby Tempe and a member of the United Steelworkers Local 4102.

He is running against the incumbent, John Rhodes, the Republican House Minority leader who has been in Washington since 1950.

SWP ticket on Ky. ballot

Socialist Workers Party candidates were certified March 31 to appear on the ballot by the Kentucky Board of Elections. In addition to the presidential slate, the SWP is running Tom Swetland, a member of Local 761 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, for U.S. Senate against the incumbent Wendell Ford. Swetland works at General Electric's Appliance Park in Louisville.

Campaign supporters collected 14,000 signatures to assure the candidates a place on the No-

vember ballot.

SWP Organizer Chris Rayson described the response to the petitioning effort as excellent. "Many people like the idea of a worker running against Ford, who represents the coal interests here," he explained.

"Two people whom we met while petitioning joined the Young Socialist Alliance. Another became a provisional member of the party. And several are working with us to help build Andrew Pulley's upcoming tour here."

Texas free speech fight gains

DALLAS, March 31—Pressure is growing on the administration of the University of Texas in nearby Arlington to drop charges against two socialists, Floyce White and Chris Horner. They were arrested on charges of criminal trespass March 6 while distributing and selling literature supporting candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the campus.

On March 19 White was a featured speaker at UT Arlington at a student-sponsored debate on the draft. White used the occasion of the debate to denounce the university administration's role in his arrest and to explain the importance of the fight he and Horner were waging for free speech.

The debate was covered by one television station and received prominent coverage in the next morning's issue of the campus newspaper, the *Strothorn*.

The paper also interviewed Judith Time, president of the Dallas American Civil Liberties Union who said, "It certainly is a pretty clear First Amendment issue and a pretty significant one."

The Dallas ACLU has agreed to take on the legal defense of White and Horner. ACLU member John Albach is acting as their attorney.

In the aftermath of the draft debate, a Free Speech Committee with fifteen members has been formed at the Arlington campus. The members are distributing petitions demanding that the university stop prosecuting the two socialists. Three UTA professors have signed the petitions.

The trial is presently scheduled for April 10, but is likely to be delayed. Attorney Albach is demanding a jury trial for White and Horner.

Rally protests Ala. cutbacks

By Patricia Hefner

MONTGOMERY, AL.—On March 18, more than 400 people came out to protest cutbacks in social services proposed by Alabama Gov. Fob James.

The state's Medicaid program may run out of money in June. This would mean that many poor and working people could no longer afford health care. Many in nursing homes would be thrown out with no place to go.

The governor has also proposed cutbacks in the state Department of Pensions and Security. James claims there is not enough money for the financially troubled social programs.

The demonstrators were out to show they don't believe the governor's lies. They know he is pushing for construction of new prisons, and they believe that this money could be better used for social services.

They also know that Alabama has the most regressive tax structure in the country. Some demonstrators carried

signs saying "Alabama—1st in football, 50th in fair taxation."

Since Gov. James is a multimillionaire who amassed his fortune from the labor of non-union workers in his sports-equipment factory, Diversified Inc., they know he is going along with other corporate giants who don't want to pay their share of taxes.

A rally following a march to the State Capitol steps heard Bill Edwards of the Alabama Coalition Against Hunger.

Also speaking was Rev. Joseph Lowery, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He said that Alabama can and should lead the fight against "the tide that is growing all over the nation to cut back the programs for poor people."

State troopers guarded the entrance to the Capitol. No one was allowed inside to present any grievances to the Legislature.

However, two Black legislators came out to address the crowd.

Mass. SWP ballot push signs up 15,000

By Suzanne Haig

BOSTON—The campaign to place the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates on the ballot in Massachusetts was launched with tremendous success on Saturday, March 30.

Adding to an initial 5,000 signatures gathered during the week, 132 petitioners collected 10,000 signatures—making a total of 15,000. Well over 40,000 signatures are needed to insure a spot on the ballot.

The Massachusetts ballot drive is one of the biggest for the SWP candidates in this election year. National campaign organizers hope that the drive—consisting of four Saturday mobilizations coupled with weekly teams—will set the pace for the big petitioning efforts in other states.

Petitioners reported a very favorable response to putting the SWP candidates on the ballot. People supported their right to run and often agreed with much of their program—especially opposition to the draft and nationalizing the oil industry.

The petitioners fanned out all over Boston and adjoining towns. A Three Mile Island anniversary demonstration of several thousand people on the Boston Commons provided an excellent petitioning location.

The team petitioning in the Black sections of Roxbury and Dorchester reported that the overwhelming majority of people they asked signed their petitions.

On an MTA trolley the team passed out Pulley's brochure on how to fight the draft. Soon the entire carload of Black and Hispanic youth was reading the pamphlet and discussing the draft.

Many teams went to working class districts in Boston and the suburbs. An older unionist, a printer, told one petitioner in Newton that he was "glad to see a working man running for a change." He said he was "sick and tired of Democrats messing things up," and asked why we have a Democratic congress that's doing nothing for working people.

"It will be the young people who will have to turn this country around," he said.

Teams reported excellent results in the many campus areas. One petitioner at Harvard Square in Cambridge col-

lected 110 signatures, sold his anti-draft button, and met someone interested in helping the campaign.

Another petitioner, a teamster, went to a nearby college during the week and collected 180 signatures in one day. "People were standing in line to sign," he told the *Militant*. One woman he talked to wanted to join the Young Socialist Alliance. People especially wanted to sign after learning that Pulley, unlike Carter and Kennedy, was not a millionaire and worked for a living.

Many petitioners reported that people knew of the candidates and the SWP.

The initial success of the drive is attributable both to the response of Massachusetts voters and excellent organization.

Petitioners participating in the Saturday mobilization this weekend were impressed with the well organized functioning of the petition effort. Breakfast was available for them while they listened to instructions. Petitioning team captains had already been selected and given the necessary materials. Teams were quickly dispatched.

One entire group was sent out to suburban towns and then another large group was dispatched to Boston. Permits had been obtained for petitioning in the MTA stations.

After petitioning for five hours, the volunteers relaxed at a party. Those coming in to petition on Sunday had the opportunity to attend a forum where SWP leader Barry Sheppard spoke on revolutionary advances around the world.

The mammoth job of petition paperwork is also well-planned here.

In order for the drive to end on schedule the momentum generated on Saturday needs to be maintained. Petitioners, full- or part-time team members, office workers, drivers, childcare helpers, financial contributions, and housing volunteers are still urgently needed.

If you are interested, call (617) 262-4621 in Boston or (413) 253-3387 in the Springfield-Amherst area.

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

Gonzalez scores arms budget

BOSTON—Page one of the *Peabody Times* heralded Nelson Gonzalez as "the first announced candidate for representative for the 6th Congressional District." The article was titled, "Congressional hopeful offers 'alternatives.'" The *Lynn Item* headlined their article, "Socialist candidate will seek 6th district seat in Congress."

This publicity for the Socialist Workers Party candidate followed a March 24 news conference held at city hall in Lynn, Massachusetts, an industrial city north of here.

When candidate Gonzalez—a member of Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers—went to work the next day, fellow machinists at the Lynn Gen-

eral Electric plant seemed impressed.

A twenty-two-year-old woman who started working at GE when she was sixteen told him, "It's about time we got some young people." After reading some literature she said, "I guess I'm a socialist too. Where do I sign up?"

Another worker said, "I'm really proud of you. I don't agree with everything but at least you're trying to change things."

A press aide to incumbent Democratic Rep. Nicholas Mavroules seemed a little taken aback when the *Peabody Times* asked him about Gonzalez's proposal to combat inflation by eliminating the war budget. "Nick isn't one of the big spenders, generally speaking, on the Armed Services Committee," he said. The aid admitted that the congressman voted for a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, but only after his advocacy of a "more conventional" craft met defeat in the House.

Gonzalez believes he can convince many voters in the Sixth District that the Democratic Party—like its Republican counterpart—is a party of war, inflation and nuclear disasters.

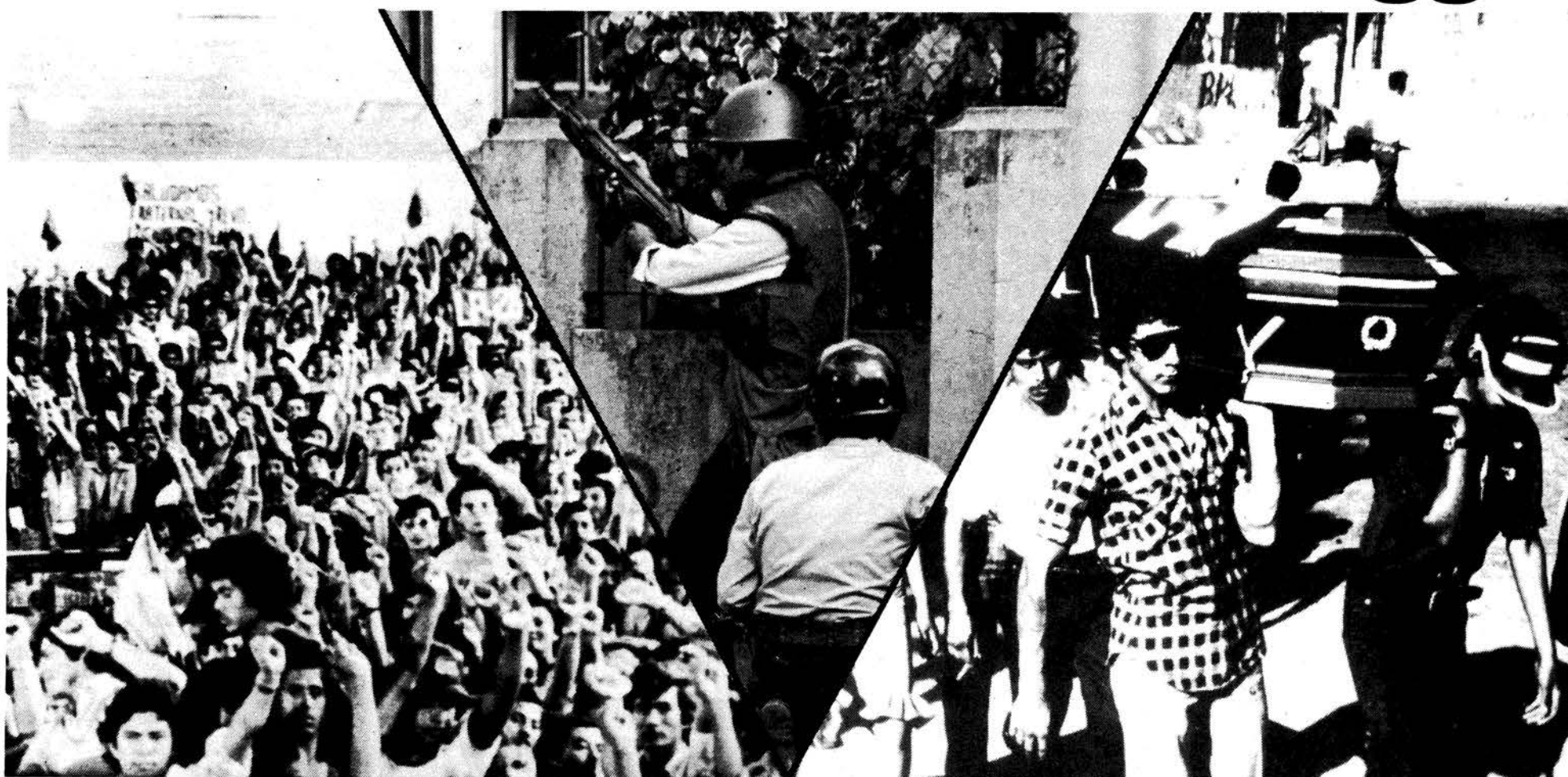


NELSON GONZALEZ

Militant

international **socialist** review

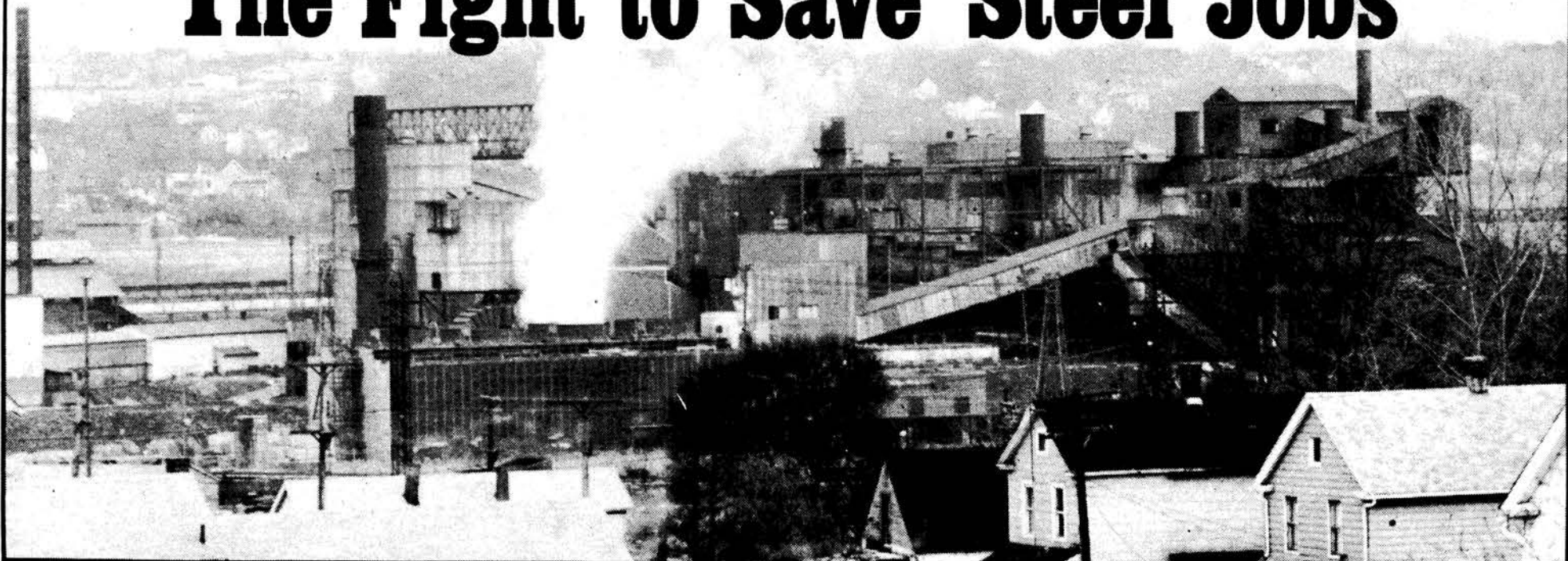
El Salvador: Roots of the Freedom Struggle



Left to right: mass meeting to oppose junta; government troops fire on January 22 peaceful demonstration; burial of victims of January 22 massacre

Militant photos

Youngstown The Fight to Save Steel Jobs



Militant/Stu Singer

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Voters' Volatility & Rising Class Battles

Voters have surprised polltakers and media commentators with rapid shifts from one contender to another in the presidential primaries—as in Carter's big win over Kennedy in Illinois followed by a Kennedy landslide over Carter in New York a week later. "Volatility" is the media buzz word for the voters' mood.

The source of this volatility is opposition to ruling-class policies—and deep distrust of all the contenders.

Carter's credibility with working people is dropping fast. More see that it isn't "the country" that he defends but the interests of a small minority—the owners of the big banks and corporations.

But they are far from sure that the other Democratic and Republican candidates would do any better.

That's why working people are demonstrating more and striking more in 1980 than in any recent presidential election year. The idea that inflation, unemployment, poverty, and the danger of war can be eliminated by supporting one capitalist party or candidate over another is less and less believable.

Thousands marched against Ku Klux Klan violence in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 2. Nobody could convince them that justice would be dealt out to KKK murderers without mass protest.

On March 22, more than 20,000 young people protested the draft in Washington, D.C. They don't trust Carter and Congress to decide this issue in their interests. Their slogan told how they read government policies: "We won't die for Exxon."

On March 29 thousands, primarily from central Pennsylvania, gathered in Harrisburg to protest the ongoing danger of Three Mile Island and to demand that all nuclear power plants be shut down permanently. A national outpouring of antinuclear protesters will converge on Washington April 26.

The fight for the Equal Rights Amendment, which Carter tried to sink with his proposal to draft women, is benefiting from the growing desire to fight back. The May 10 march in Chicago for the Equal Rights Amendment, called by the National Organization for Women, has won unprecedented union support.

The unions know the labor movement will be weakened if ERA is defeated. They also know that they can't trust Democratic and Republican legislators—including the "friends of labor"—to fight for it.

Union members' resistance to the drive against wages and working conditions is picking up. The Department of Labor reported that "working days lost due to strikes in January" were the highest for any month since 1972 (except for the months of the 1977-78 miners' strike).

There has been no slackening of the pace of struggles since January.

These struggles are responses to the increasingly brutal attempts by the government and the employers to force down wages, undermine safety and other working conditions, and weaken or break unions.

The Carter administration's guidelines—limiting increases to 7.5-9.5 percent—are a major weapon in this attack. Adhering to the guidelines would mean a massive cut in real wages in a year of 18 percent inflation.

The present wave of union struggles hasn't stopped the decline in workers' living standards. But where the unions have fought back, they have been able to push back the most savage attacks.

These battles include the strikes by fire fighters in Chicago and Kansas City that defeated union-busting drives by city governments; the strike of United Auto Workers members at International Harvester—longest national strike in UAW history—that has forced the company to drop its demand for forced overtime; the oil refinery workers' fight for a living wage; the strike by West Virginia mine workers against the firing of union leaders; the successful fight by Newport News shipyard workers to force Tenneco to recognize their union and sign a contract; and the current strike by New York City transit and Long Island Railroad workers against wage-gouging austerity.

It's not only strikes. Some 12,000 miners and construction workers marched on the Kentucky state capitol last month in a militant protest against antilabor legislation being rammed through by Democratic and Republican officials.

For the great majority of Americans who work for a living, these are the real battles against inflation: the fight to protect working people's living standards, health, and safety.

These battles are showing workers that solidarity among all union members—and with the unemployed, the organized, Blacks, women, and other oppressed people—is a key to victory.

Workers are more and more linking the union fightback on immediate issues of wages and conditions to other social and political struggles. Leaders of striking oil workers, California machinists, West Coast longshore workers, and other unions have spoken out against the draft, reflecting deep-going opposition in the ranks. Coal miners, steelworkers, and rail workers have joined in protesting nuclear power. And labor's championing of the Equal Rights Amendment is perhaps the most dramatic indication of this new mood.

At the same time, working people also feel a need to express opposition to big-business policies in the electoral arena. They see that our battle to defend living standards is at a big disadvantage because the employers

always bring the power of government to bear on their side.

That explains some of the shifts in primary voting. In Chicago, Mayor Byrne—a Kennedy backer—won the hatred of working people because of her attempt to break the fire-fighters union. When she led the St. Patrick's Day parade this year, she was vigorously booed as Kennedy trailed behind her. Her kiss of death dragged Kennedy to a massive defeat in the Illinois primary.

In New York, Carter's austerity policies got the attention. The votes of working people who went to the polls went overwhelmingly to Kennedy. This was more a vote of no confidence in Carter than an endorsement of Kennedy.

His program is as antilabor as Carter's. Kennedy's proposal for mandatory wage-price controls would do nothing to control prices, while providing legal cover for even stronger government attacks on the unions.

As an out candidate trying to get in, Kennedy can criticize some pro-business policies that Carter carries out. In office, Kennedy would press the antilabor drive just as vigorously.

More union members are beginning to think about the need to challenge the employers' two-party hammerlock on governmental power. Experience is teaching the necessity of creating a united political expression of all the varied struggles of working people—from the fight against nuclear power to the struggle against forced overtime.

A growing number are thinking about the desirability of a party that runs working people for office, defends the interest of working people, is controlled by working people, and fights for a working people's government—a labor party based on the unions.

John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO, broached the subject of a labor party when he called last Labor Day for meetings to discuss the idea of forming one. The matter didn't stop there.

A front-page article in the March 21 *California AFL-CIO News* reported that a resolution adopted by the California State Council of Carpenters "calls on the Carpenters organization to cooperate with other labor organizations in supporting the concept of a Labor Party that would be in the interest of and beneficial to the labor movement."

The union paper reported that similar stands have been taken by the Central Labor Councils of Orange County, Marin County, and San Mateo County, and by the Alameda County Building Trades Council.

Jack Weintraub, president of Teamsters Local 85, told a rally in support of striking oil workers March 22 that "Jack Henning will find out as this labor party discussion continues that Teamster members are looking for just such a vehicle to express themselves in the political field."

The attack on working people inevitably inspires this growing resistance. And resistance is leading to the opening of the deepest and most important discussion of political strategy that has ever taken place in the American labor movement.

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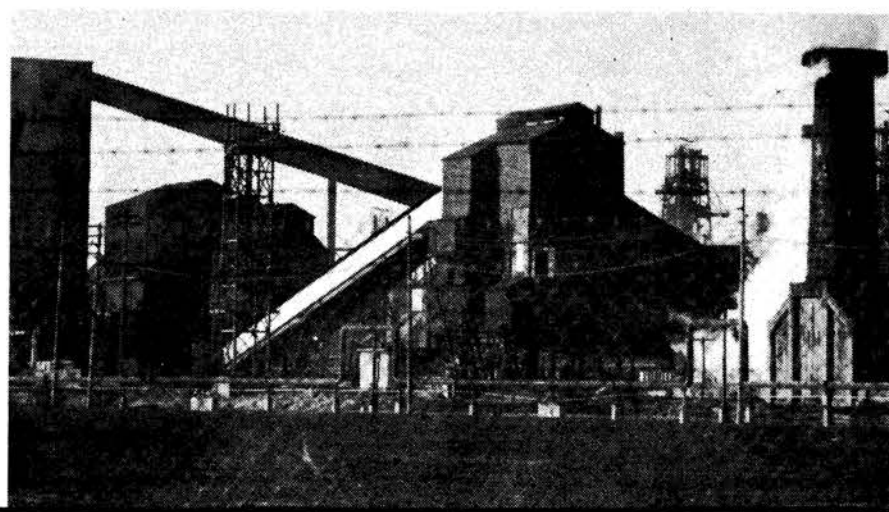
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Youngstown

The Fight to Save Steel Jobs



By Stu Singer

Youngstown, Ohio, steelworkers suffered another blow last month in their long struggle to save jobs. On March 21 a federal judge ruled that U.S. Steel Corporation was not obliged to keep its two Youngstown plants open. The judge rejected a lawsuit by four locals of the United Steelworkers and many individual union members. They said the company had pledged to keep the plants running if they could be made profitable.

The judge sided with the company. It said it hadn't promised anything and, besides, the plants were not profitable.

In another part of their suit, the Youngstown steelworkers charged U.S. Steel with violating antitrust laws by refusing to sell the plant to a group of employees. The judge told both sides to submit more information, and delayed the plant closings another sixty days until he rules on this issue.

Youngstown has focused national attention on the plight of thousands of workers whose lives have been shattered by plant closings. From the auto assembly lines of Detroit, to the steel mills of Pittsburgh, to electrical plants in Massachusetts, workers wonder—are we next? Nor is the Sunbelt immune, as Ford and General Motors recently announced shutdowns of auto plants in California.

Efforts by Youngstown workers to stop the closings have ranged from lawsuits to angry demonstrations to highly publicized bids to purchase and operate the steel mills themselves. Why have these failed? What can workers do?

Socialist Campaign

John Powers, a Cleveland auto worker who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, is campaigning against the plant shutdowns. "Ohio workers are especially hard hit," he points out. "Firestone just announced it is closing six plants, including three in Ohio, and eliminating nearly 9,000 jobs. That's on top of closings by Uniroyal, Goodyear, Armstrong Rubber, and Mansfield Tire. Ford is threatening big cuts at its engine plant in Brook Park, just outside Cleveland."

Powers finds that Ohio workers are angry about the threat to their jobs and looking for ways to fight back.

"But you simply cannot tackle this problem," he asserts, "without making the fundamental decision that human needs must come before capitalist profits."

The day after he announced his campaign for Senate last December, Powers and I visited Youngstown. We talked with union leaders and activists, attended a big union protest meeting, and learned about the background to the present crisis.

Youngstown is located in the Mahoning River Valley in eastern Ohio. It was one of the first and largest steelmaking centers in the United States. As in Pittsburgh, seventy-five miles southeast, the steel industry in Youngstown was built up around the turn of the century. It was central to industrial development in this country.

For eighty years, generation after generation of workers in Youngstown produced steel—and wealth—for the mills' owners. By 1980 the workers are getting their reward: the steel industry is closing down, their jobs eliminated.

"It's a hell of a thing to see the so-called free enterprise system at work in such a naked way,"

Stu Singer, currently a staff writer for the 'Militant,' worked at Inland Steel's Minorca Mine in Virginia, Minnesota, on the Mesabi Iron Range. He was a member of Local 6115 of the United Steelworkers of America.

Powers remarks. "The companies ran these mills into the ground. They're discarding the workers like so much slag from the furnace."

Two Companies that Ruled

For years the steel industry in Youngstown was dominated by two companies, U.S. Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube, each with two large plants stretching along the river. Republic Steel also has a mill there. U.S. Steel's plants are McDonald Works in the village of McDonald, just north of Youngstown, and Ohio Works in the city itself. Youngstown Sheet and Tube's plants are Campbell Works in Campbell, on the southeast edge of Youngstown, and Brier Hill Works in the middle of town, right across the river from Ohio Works.

These have been some of the longest-operating steel mills in the United States. Since the 1930s little has been done to modernize them, and the steps that were taken were haphazard and partial. For instance, the main steelmaking process remained the old open-hearth method. Instead of putting in new furnaces, U.S. Steel added oxygen lances to the open hearths. This increased productivity, but is still inefficient.

Air and water pollution were among the worst of any mills in the country.

The work force is highly skilled. They learned

to get the most out of outdated equipment. Their impressive skills were wasted for years operating antiques.

The location of Youngstown as a steelmaking center originally made sense. But not today. For instance, the iron ore used in these mills is shipped down from Lake Erie in trucks. That is the most inefficient way possible to move the heavy pellets. There is no way to compete with the efficiency of steel mills located right on the Great Lakes, which can get ore right off the huge lake freighters coming down from the mines off Lake Superior and from the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Mergers & Looting

The effects of age and inefficiency were compounded by outright capitalist looting. John Greenman, a staff writer for the Warren, Ohio *Tribune*, wrote a six-part article on the business maneuverings involving some of the Youngstown mills. These articles lift a small corner of the curtain on how decisions affecting tens of thousands of people are made.

In 1969, Youngstown Sheet and Tube merged with the New Orleans-based Lykes Corporation, primarily a steamship company. From 1969 to 1976, Youngstown Sheet and Tube's annual

Continued on page ISR/6

Socialist Demands: Stop Shutdowns

John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio, is an active member of United Auto Workers Local 451 at Baker Material Handling in Cleveland.

In his campaign he is promoting the idea of the unions forming a labor party now to defend the interests of working people in the political arena.

Powers calls for the following emergency measures to deal with the Youngstown steel plant shutdowns:

- Full compensation for all victims of layoffs and plant closings.

As an elementary first step in this crisis, the government should provide compensation at union-scale wages for every worker victimized by company shutdowns—for the full time they are out of work, regardless of seniority.

- Open the books of the steel trust.

All the steel companies' financial books, records, and minutes should be opened to public scrutiny. What are their real profits? The real costs of cleaning up and modernizing the mills?

How much money have the companies extracted from the labor of Youngstown workers over the years? What tax breaks and hidden subsidies do they receive from the government?

What are their hidden plans for restructuring the industry, eliminating jobs, and imposing speedup?

Steelworkers have a right to know the truth.

- Nationalize the steel industry.

Any companies that shut down plants, that use threats of job loss to blackmail workers or to demand government handouts, or that refuse to clean up air and water they pollute should be nationalized. The government should take the plants out of the hands of the private owners and run them to provide steel for society's needs.

Steelworkers, through their union, should control production, with veto power over hours



John Powers (right), Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio, campaigns in Youngstown.

and schedules, working conditions, and all questions affecting safety.

The industry should be managed by a publicly elected board, whose meetings, records, and decisions should be open to full public scrutiny.

- Public works.

Use the \$150 billion now squandered every year on war spending to establish a massive public works program to construct bridges, mass transit, housing, schools, and hospitals.

- Shorter workweek.

To eliminate unemployment throughout the economy, the SWP candidate is calling for legislation to prohibit forced overtime and to shorten the workweek to thirty hours with no cut in pay.

- Full protection against rising prices.

Against company and government demands for wage restrictions, the SWP candidate supports the fight of steelworkers for cost-of-living escalator provisions that raise wages to match every rise in the cost of living. No wage controls, no wage "guidelines." Repeal Taft-Hartley and all laws that restrict labor's right to organize, bargain, and strike.

By Aníbal Yáñez

Events in El Salvador must be understood in the context of Central America today.

And the pivot of Central American politics is the Nicaraguan revolution. The July 19 victory of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) inspired all the oppressed people of the region—and the gains won since then by the workers and poor farmers have deepened the impact.

In overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship, the worker and peasant masses of Nicaragua dealt a blow to the common enemy of all the oppressed and exploited of the Americas: the U.S. imperialist ruling class. This small minority of the people of the United States is the creator and main bulwark of the military dictatorships in Central America and throughout our hemisphere. These multimillionaires are the chief beneficiaries of the misery of the peoples of Central America.

The Nicaraguan masses wounded the monster. But the North American ruling class is combining guile and force to combat the liberation struggles.

It is trying to sabotage the Nicaraguan revolution through economic and political blackmail, and to contain it by shoring up the neighboring dictatorships in Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador.

That was the reason for the October 15, 1979, coup in El Salvador. It was an attempt to give Washington's domination a new mask, to replace the discredited and bloody mask of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero.

But since then, more than 900 workers and farmers have been killed by the police and army. The new junta has suspended the rights of free speech, assembly, and travel. Its much-touted land reform is proving to be nothing but a pretext for military occupation of the countryside.

In spite of all this—more accurately, because of all this—the Carter administration and the U.S. Congress readily supplies the Salvadoran police and army with equipment and training for repression.

Why They Revolt

What are the conditions that Salvadorans rebel against? El Salvador is the most densely populated country in the Western hemisphere, with about 5 million inhabitants living in its 8,260 square miles.

The average yearly income is \$450, but even this miserly sum is misleading. The population is divided between a tiny number of very wealthy people and a vast mass of impoverished working people—with very few in between.

Hunger stalks El Salvador. Recent studies rank it as among the Western Hemisphere countries most severely affected by malnutrition. At least 74 percent of the children under five years old show signs of protein calorie malnutrition.

About half the infants in El Salvador die of malnutrition or related ailments before their first birthday.

There are fewer than three doctors for every 10,000 inhabitants.

Illiteracy runs to 40 percent in the cities, and 60 percent in the countryside.

Salvadoran workers and farmers want to put an end to these conditions—as happened in Cuba, and as is being done today in Nicaragua.

Some may wonder why upheavals in Central America cause the Carter administration so much concern. After all, aren't these just tiny countries—a bunch of "banana republics" ruled by operetta dictators? Aren't they only a few dispensable chips in the imperialists' game?

Central America as a whole has an annual product of more than \$12 billion and a population of about 18 million people. Its total production places it seventh in Latin America (after Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia, and Chile).

Central America is the third biggest exporter of coffee and sugar to the U.S. market, and the number one exporter of bananas.

U.S. private investment in Central America came to \$734 million in 1977, of which \$248 million was invested in industry. These investments gave the U.S. capitalists a rate of return of more than 17 percent.

The misery of the common people of El Salva-

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El Salvador Roots of the Freedom



Clockwise from top left: Leaders of left groups proclaimed unity January 11; Agustín Farabundo Martí, a leader of the 1932 uprisings of peasants, Indians, and agricultural workers; Archbishop Oscar Romero, murdered because he opposed the 'moderate' junta's repression; buses bringing peasants and agricultural workers to San Salvador for January 22 demonstration of 300,000; victim of government attack on that demonstration; and armored car on San Salvador street. It is U.S. weapons and advisers that make reactionary massacres possible.



dor, and of Central America in general, dates from the Spanish conquest, with its brutal subjugation of the Indians. Along with this came a history of Indian resistance.

In 1833 a Nonualco Indian named Anastasio Aquino led a rebellion against white domination which was brutally suppressed. "El Salvador's Spartacus" is what Salvadoran poet Roque Dalton called him. But the present condition of the masses in that country took shape with the growth of modern imperialism in the late nineteenth century.

By 1880 about one-sixth of the world's coffee production came from Salvadoran plantations. English buyers were succeeded by Germans and Americans. And they promoted a layer of native coffee capitalists.

The one-crop economy led to a fever of appropriation of land and labor. Today's latifundia in El Salvador were born under the banner of free trade in goods and human beings.

Enormous tracts of the best land became the property of big landowners so that coffee could be produced. Ancient Indian communities were brutally uprooted. Their lands (about 25 percent of the total surface of the country) were stolen and the native people were turned into a work force not much better off than slaves.

It was all done quite legally, of course. An 1881 law decreed the extinction of Indian communities, and an 1882 law abolished *ejidos*—a form of communal landholding. The result was the creation of a great mass of seasonal, agricultural wage-workers.

Whereas before these Indian communities had been largely self-sufficient in food, now there were chronic shortages of rice, beans, corn, wheat, and meat. A miserable subsistence agriculture barely survived in the highlands, the

corner that the Indians were driven into by the spreading latifundia.

A century later the situation on the land has not changed much. About 2 percent of the population owns 60 percent of the cultivable land. Enormous tracts exist side by side with tiny plots, the complementary poles of a system based on a cruel exploitation of the labor force.

And hunger now hovers around every worker and poor farmer in a country which once produced enough to feed its people.

But this development of large-scale agriculture for the world capitalist market began to give rise to a class with the interests and power to fight capitalism. The painful birth of an agricultural proletariat gave rise to organizations to lead struggles of the toiling masses of El Salvador.

In 1924 there arose the Federación Regional de Trabajadores Salvadoreños (FRTS—Regional Federation of Salvadoran Workers). It forged ties with other working-class organizations in Central America, notably the Confederación Obrera Centroamericana (Central American Workers Confederation).

In 1929 these organizations linked up with the Latin American Trade Union Federation, which included communists inspired by the Russian revolution.

A key feature of these early workers organizations was their anticapitalist and anti-imperialist consciousness; not surprisingly, since U.S. interventions in Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic during the 1920s had done much to antagonize the working people of the region.

A small Communist Party was formed clandestinely in El Salvador in 1925. By May Day of 1930 it was able to organize a demonstration of 80,000 people through the capital of San Salva-

Struggle



dor. Their slogan: "We want work, we don't have enough to live on!"

Probably the biggest and most influential workers organization in El Salvador in this period was the Socorro Rojo Internacional; the International Red Aid, led by Agustín Farabundo Martí.

Martí had fought with Augusto César Sandino's army of workers and farmers in Nicaragua. Although he had differences with Sandino, he called him the "greatest patriot in the world."

San Salvador had been hit hard by the world capitalist depression. Coffee prices plummeted, along with sales on the world market. Unemployment overwhelmed the countryside and the cities.

Civil War and Military Rule

Elections were held in 1930 in an atmosphere of growing working-class unrest. Dr. Arturo Araujo, candidate of the Labor Party, was elected president. The Labor Party was a capitalist party which promised reforms.

Araujo initiated some reforms, but he also arrested Martí and other Communist leaders.

Unrest continued to spread. In December 1931 the army, led by Gen. Maximiliano Hernández Martínez (the vice-president), overthrew the Araujo government.

Martí tried to woo the Communists and allowed them to run in municipal and congressional elections in January 1932. The Communists claimed to have won the elections, but the government denied it.

Led by the activists of the Red Aid, including Farabundo Martí, a massive peasant insurrection took place in western El Salvador in 1932.

The predominantly Indian fighters attacked the towns, armed only with machetes. They targeted military posts, stores owned by local landowners, and government offices. Their cries

were "Death to the bosses!" "Death to the rich!" "Long live the Red Aid!" and "Long live the Soviet republic!"

In the town of Juayúa, Chico Sánchez—an Indian and an FRTS activist—led an attack on the army barracks, won the support of some rank-and-file soldiers, and proclaimed the first workers, peasants, and soldiers soviet of the Americas.

A large landholder wrote at the time that "there was not a single Indian that was not infected by devastating communism. . . . We should never have granted them rights as citizens."

But peasants' machetes were no match for the army's machine guns, and the uprising lasted only a few days. The landowners and the government unleashed a massacre of 30,000 people. The main leaders of the uprising—including Martí and the students Alfonso Luna and Mario Zapata—were executed.

Ever since, El Salvador has suffered under a succession of military regimes.

But the further development of the economy laid the basis for struggles on a higher level.

Urban Workers

In the 1950s and 1960s there was significant industrial development, related to the establishment of a Central American Common Market. This slowed down considerably in the late 1960s.

The economy still revolves around the export of coffee, cotton, and sugar cane, which together account for 60 percent of foreign earnings. Industry and services make up the remainder. Most industry is foreign-owned, with U.S. investors predominating.

The result has been the growth of a strong trade-union movement, based on an urban as well as a rural working class. (Industrial workers now make up 8 percent of El Salvador's labor force.)

There are more than 80,000 trade-union members. Many smaller unions have tended to unify as class consciousness has risen.

The power of these workers was impressively demonstrated in March 1979, when a coordinated strike was called by several unions in different electrical industries, especially those owned by the state.

By shutting off a few switches, the electrical workers cut off the flow of electrical energy to the whole country for forty-eight hours.

Not a single factory ran. There was no transportation, because electricity is needed to operate the gasoline pumps. Elevators in office buildings didn't work.

The government had to give in to the workers' demands—a big blow to the ruling oligarchy.

Struggles have multiplied in the context of a constant lowering of the masses' standard of living, a consequence of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis that began to take hold in the mid-1970s, and of massive repression against the workers and popular movements. This led to the rise of new militant mass organizations, and to armed struggle in the cities and countryside.

In the recent period, El Salvador has gone through tremendous class confrontations. Strikes and factory takeovers to demand a rise in wages and a halt to repression against the workers movement occur one after the other, as do street demonstrations, occupations of churches, and other actions in support of democratic rights—in particular freedom for political prisoners.

In the countryside the masses are organizing to resist the terrorist activities of right-wing bands hired by the landowners and aided and abetted by the government.

Throughout El Salvador the repressive forces on one side and popular mobilizations on the other have brought the country to the brink of civil war. Despite the repression, the masses show no sign of drawing back.

The Salvadoran workers and peasants—in revolutionary organizations, unions, and peasant federations—have been standing up to the official and extraofficial armed forces in the service of the landowners and U.S. imperialism, and drawing revolutionary conclusions about what is needed to change their country. Massacres and brutal repression are meeting a combative, organized response on the part of the masses.

Unity on Left

An increasingly united response, also. Three revolutionary organizations have moved toward fusing their forces, inspired by and understanding the effectiveness that the Sandinista-led struggle gained when the FSLN in Nicaragua healed a split among its three tendencies.

The three Salvadoran organizations are the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the February

28 People's Leagues (LP-28), and the United Front for Popular Action (FAPU). Each one of these is a mass organization with its own collective leadership, and they are made up of trade unions, peasant organizations, teachers unions, high school and university students associations, and slum-dwellers and market vendors organizations. They also each have an armed wing. The Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP) is identified with the LP-28, the Farabundo Martí Popular Liberation Forces (FPL) with the BPR, and the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) with the FAPU.

Initially, the pro-Moscow Communist Party of El Salvador supported the junta that replaced General Romero, and its members even joined the cabinet. But the rising mass struggle, the repression, and the pressure of the revolutionary organizations led them to withdraw.

Now the Communist Party, through its legal expression, the Democratic Nationalist Union (UDN), has been drawn into a front with the revolutionists. This is the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses.

Mass Action and Mass Murder

On January 22 of this year, 300,000 people marched through the streets of San Salvador to protest repression and to support the economic and social demands of the workers and farmers.

The demonstration, one of the largest in the country's history, was called by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses.

Workers, peasants, teachers, students, slum-dwellers, market vendors, and many others participated, marching in disciplined contingents.

This united mobilization was met with reactionary terror. When the march approached the Metropolitan Cathedral of San Salvador, police and paramilitary sharpshooters opened fire on the peaceful demonstrators from adjoining buildings, leaving more than 300 wounded and 200 dead.

But this did not stop the struggle of the masses. Strikes, occupations, and takeovers continued throughout February. And on March 17, the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses called a twenty-four-hour general strike to protest the junta's avowed policy of "reforms with repression" and to denounce U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The strike totally paralyzed economic activity for one day.

Once again the government resorted to mass murder. More than 150 people were killed as the army and right-wing terrorists bombed and machine-gunned factories and attacked peasants in the countryside. Workers who had taken over factories and farms were lined up and shot.

The National University, where many of the left groups have organizing centers, was a special target. Witnesses say that it was even bombed from an airplane.

And the government forces reportedly had new helpers in carrying out this bloodbath—U.S. Marine "advisers"!

This measure was aimed primarily against the agricultural and industrial workers, rather than against the armed left-wing guerrillas. The government's aim is to paralyze the mass movement with terror in order to then take on the armed struggle organizations in strictly military confrontations, in which the army's fire power and logistic support systems would be far superior to those of the guerrilla groups.

U.S. Intervention Grows

This policy has the full backing of the Carter administration, despite its claims to be supporting a peaceable "moderate" government that is trying to implement reforms. Carter's slogan is "No More Nicaraguas—at any price."

In January, two days after the massacre against the march of 300,000, Carter sent Assistant Secretary of State William Bowdler to El Salvador. He loudly reiterated Washington's support to the murderous junta.

This is a continuation of nearly fifty years of U.S. government backing to brutal military regimes in that country.

According to a report by the Institute for Policy Studies, "Security assistance from the United States to El Salvador between Fiscal Year 1950 and Fiscal Year 1979 has totalled . . . \$16.72 million. The United States has trained a total of 1,971 Salvadoran officers, including at least 17 in Urban Counterinsurgency, 14 in Military Intelligence, 108 in Basic Combat and Counterinsurgency, and 124 in Basic Officer Preparation."

For 1980-81, proposed U.S. military assistance to El Salvador is a total of \$10.3 million, according to IPS, "or 62% of all military assistance

Continued on next page

...Steel

Continued from page ISR/3

profits ranged from \$8.7 million to \$96.4 million. Virtually all this money, \$180 million, was siphoned off to Lykes stockholders. Not to modernize the steel mills.

Chester Ferguson, head of Lykes, began to fear the profits were drying up in early 1977. He hired William Roesch, former president of Jones and Laughlin Steel and currently president of U.S. Steel. Roesch proposed closing the Campbell Works in Youngstown and shifting company investment to their Indiana Harbor mill in East Chicago, Indiana, on Lake Michigan. (The Indiana plant was recently the scene of six deaths from a blast furnace gas leak. The leak was caused by the company's failure to invest enough in maintenance, safety equipment, and training.)

The closing of Campbell Works, with a work force of 4,100, was announced September 19, 1977. The day is known as "Black Monday."

Then another merger was proposed for the remains of Youngstown Sheet and Tube. This time it was for Lykes to be taken over by the Dallas-based conglomerate LTV Corporation. LTV, a major military contractor, had taken over Pittsburgh-based Jones and Laughlin Steel a few years earlier. The new merger created the third-largest steel company in the country, under the name Jones and Laughlin, subsidiary of LTV.

The Lykes-LTV merger was in clear violation of federal antitrust rules, but it was approved by Carter's attorney general, Griffin Bell. It has since come to light that some possible reasons for Bell's approval included the payment of at least \$20,000 by LTV to the Democratic Party National Committee; the purchase of influence from Clark Clifford, former Defense Secretary and now merger lawyer and government troubleshooter; and family friendships between Bell and Chester Ferguson, head of Lykes.

The main legal argument put forward in favor of the merger was that Lykes was a "failing company," threatened with bankruptcy unless the merger was approved.

'Worker-Owned Plant'?

A month after Lykes announced the closing of Campbell Works in September 1977, a group called the Ecumenical Coalition was formed in the Youngstown area. This group of 212 clergy proposed to buy Campbell Works and run it as a "community/worker-owned" steel plant.



Union protest meeting in Youngstown hears plans for lawsuit against U.S. Steel, December 1979. Militant/Stu Singer

The coalition at first opposed the Lykes-LTV merger, but then came out in favor as Lykes emphasized the threat of more plant closings if it went bankrupt. Once the merger was approved, Jones and Laughlin promptly announced it would close all its operations around Youngstown.

The proposal of the Ecumenical Coalition to buy Campbell Works is still floating around, but it no longer seems to be viewed with much hope. The high points of that effort included the opening of "Save Our Valley" accounts in local banks. Individuals, unions, and church groups deposited \$1.2 million to show support.

Prominent in the effort to buy Campbell Works are local attorney Staughton Lynd and Gar Alperovitz of the Washington, D.C., National Center for Economic Alternatives. According to Alperovitz, there are more than 1,000 companies in the United States owned entirely or mostly by the workers. But nothing on the scale of a large steel mill like Campbell Works.

Writing in the December 12, 1979, *New York Times*, Alperovitz and Jeff Faux said, "An innovative demonstration project with potential for major increased productivity was put forward

with major steelworker concessions last year by Youngstown, Ohio, civic and religious leaders, but was turned down by Administration officials, who showed little interest in its productivity features."

The "major steelworker concessions" were not spelled out. Evidently the "community/worker-owned" mill would run under working conditions inferior to what the union had won under the capitalist owners.

The money needed to buy the plant was estimated at \$473 million to \$657 million. To raise that amount of money would require backing from the federal government.

But Washington rejected the plan. Although the amount is far less than loan guarantees granted to Chrysler and Lockheed, the purpose is different. Those bailouts were intended not to save jobs but to protect banks with holdings in the companies. In Youngstown the banks have organized the plant closings. And the steel industry is adamantly opposed to federal funding of a new competitor.

Washington's refusal to come through surprised some people in Youngstown. The mayor pointed out that the Youngstown congressional

'Closing plants will wipe out this community'

When socialist candidate John Powers and I visited Youngstown last December, we went to the Steelworkers Local 1462 hall to talk with union President Ed Mann.

On the door of the building and on most of the cars and trucks parked outside were bumper stickers: "Keep Brier Hill Open." But the plant was scheduled to be almost totally shut down by New Year's.

Mann said: "Our local will go from over 1,400 members down to 60. There is some apathy. The plant closes, the union gives you a benefit book and says it can't do anything about the closing."

"We've been under attack for a long time. It's been a slow retreat. These mills won't reopen."

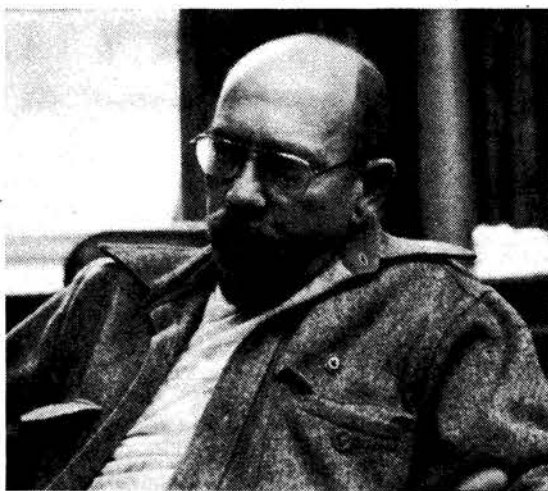
"It took twenty years to get in office here. I was elected recording secretary in 1968, first elected president six years ago. It meant some change in the local when we came in. The members had more opportunity to express themselves. There were reviews in the meetings of the grievance procedures."

"After the Vietnam War many of us hoped a new generation of young people would come in and change the unions. It didn't happen."

When we talked, Mann was on full time staff for the local. But when the work force is cut down to sixty, he will go back to work as a laborer in the cold drawn bar mill. The large and modern union hall will have to be sold, and there will be no more wages for union staff.

Ed Mann is fifty-two years old. He has worked at Youngstown Sheet and Tube for twenty-eight years.

Why are they closing down Youngstown?



Militant/John Powers
Ed Mann, president of Steelworkers Local 1462.

"Imports has nothing to do with it. They don't even import seamless pipe into this country. We make good quality pipe here. It's in great demand for oil wells. But this plant has been outdated since 1935."

"Defense spending is killing Youngstown. The cost of one nuclear submarine, one billion dollars, could modernize the plants."

"Youngstown Sheet and Tube built these plants in 1903. By 1920 they paid off the equipment. It's been a gold mine for them since then."

"Gov. Rhodes blames the closings on the EPA [Environmental Protection Agency]. But that's not right. In the first place we have a right to clean air. And then the companies spent more money fighting EPA than in

cleaning up. They wouldn't invest in the plants. It's their greed."

We discussed the effort to buy the plant.

"I think it's a good idea. Closing these plants will wipe out this community. We have to try to do something. At the Basic Steel Conference [a meeting of steelworker local presidents last December to approve contract demands], plant closings were not made a priority. [USWA President Lloyd] McBride hasn't been here to talk about the plant closings since 1977."

Mann is head of the American Civil Liberties Union in the Youngstown area. He is proud that he spoke out against the Vietnam War. And he is not shy about opposing U.S. government policy in Iran.

"I look at Iran and see what the shah did. There is a revolutionary government there now. They don't go according to all the rules. The U.S. should send back the shah. This story about the shah being sick is ridiculous. What if Hitler got the clap at the end of World War II? Would we have sent him back?"

"There's a danger of war. They're always preparing for war. But what we need is a Marshall Plan for communities like Youngstown. Not another war."

We discussed the idea of a labor party. It's not a new idea to Ed Mann. But he is not optimistic about it.

"It has to be run from the bottom up. You can't have a labor party run by McBride, run from the top down. When you talk about independent labor candidates it shakes up the other politicians, makes them nervous. But it's coming."

—Stu Singer

district carried the highest percentage of votes in Ohio, and the third-highest in the country, for Carter's 1976 campaign. Mayor J. Phillip Richley confidently said that Carter "knows where Youngstown is."

But if Carter does know where Youngstown is located, much less what is happening to working people there, he has not let anybody know about it.

Concessions to U.S. Steel

The closing of the U.S. Steel mills in Youngstown has followed a somewhat different course.

When John Powers and I were there last December we attended a union meeting at the Steelworkers Local 1330 hall, just up the hill from Ohio Works. About 400 steelworkers, plus a few community members and relatives, turned out to hear the announcement of the lawsuit against U.S. Steel—the suit that was lost three months later in federal court.

The suit explained that in late 1977—right when Youngstown was panicked by the closing of Campbell Works—U.S. Steel repeatedly promised that its Ohio and McDonald Works would be kept open so long as they were profitable. In return for this promise, United Steelworkers locals 1330 and 1307 (representing production and maintenance workers at the two mills) and 3072 and 3073 (representing office and technical employees) agreed to a series of company proposals on work practices. By giving up safety and working conditions for the company profit drive, they were retreating after forty years of union-improvements.

The suit said the union locals would never have agreed to these proposals except for the company pledge to save jobs. It further pointed out that union members gave up the opportunity to look for other work and many committed themselves to such long-term expenditures as the purchase of homes in Youngstown.

The workers carried out their side of the bargain. In fact, in 1978 they won a company contest by exceeding—with the antiquated equipment in Youngstown—the productivity and profitability of U.S. Steel's much newer mill in Baytown, Texas, which makes similar products.

As late as September 1979, company superintendent William Kirwan told the steelworkers, "You have saved your jobs."

During the trial on the steelworkers' lawsuit, attorneys for U.S. Steel conceded that Ohio and McDonald Works had turned a profit during the first ten months of 1979. But they attributed this to skill on the part of local management. They also said, according to the March 24 *Wall Street Journal*, that "former U.S. Steel Chairman Edgar Speer's sentimental attachment to the plant, which is where he began his career with U.S. Steel, was partially responsible for the two-year reprieve."

Workers Protest Betrayal

Steel companies don't run on sentiment. Just after last Thanksgiving, U.S. Steel announced the closing of its Youngstown plants along with a dozen other facilities around the country. Altogether the company wiped out 13,000 jobs.

Youngstown workers were outraged at what they saw as a betrayal. The night after the company announcement, more than 1,000 people jammed into Local 1330's hall for an angry meeting. The next day 300 steelworkers boarded buses to Pittsburgh to protest the closings.

They were joined by 100 to 200 more steelworkers from U.S. Steel's Homestead and Edgar Thompson Works near Pittsburgh. The *Brier Hill Unionist*, newspaper of Local 1462 in Youngstown, described how the workers picketed outside the corporate headquarters in the cold, chanting, "We want jobs!"

Then somebody shouted, "Let's go inside," and the demonstrators stormed into the building. The security guards couldn't keep them out. But by shutting down all elevators and escalators in the sixty-two-story building they confined the steelworkers to the first two floors.

Bob Vasquez, president of Local 1330, demanded a meeting with David Roderick, the new chairman of U.S. Steel. No company officials appeared. After about an hour the workers left.

"This is just the beginning," Vasquez said. "We will take whatever action necessary to force U.S. Steel to invest money in their Mahoning Valley plants to keep steelmaking jobs in the valley."

Another action by the Youngstown steelworkers took place January 28. After a meeting of 700 at the Local 1330 union hall, several hundred marched down the hill to the U.S. Steel

'We don't need "trade-offs." We need jobs. We need steel. We need clean air and water. We need decent wages. We need safety on the job. And we're only going to get them through fighting for working-class answers to the steel crisis: nationalization of the industry, a shorter workweek, no givebacks, no union concessions.'



Youngstown steelworkers protest in Pittsburgh against plant closings, November 30, 1979.

office building in Ohio Works. They occupied the building for six hours until company officials agreed to meet with them.

Two paintings of steel mills were removed by the workers. One was raised to the roof "to show the world what our ancestors built and what we are going to have taken from us."

Another worker was quoted as saying, "They won't save our jobs, but they're getting ready to send us to fight another war."

Despite the militant protests, it seems certain that both U.S. Steel and Jones and Laughlin will move ahead this year to complete their Youngstown shutdowns.

Profits vs. Human Needs

I talked with Powers about the lessons of the Youngstown tragedy.

"The state and federal governments, the courts, and the companies all ganged up against the workers' attempts to save jobs," he pointed out. "Despite the odds, the workers were ready to fight. They've showed that time after time."

"I firmly believe that the union movement has the power to stop the U.S. Steels of this country from wreaking such devastation on our jobs and our communities. The steelworkers, auto workers, Teamsters, rubber workers, and other organized workers in Ohio and throughout the country—we have tremendous potential power."

"But the labor movement faces a basic choice. Do we agree that unions have to look out for the profits of the companies? Do we accept that we can have jobs only if it is profitable for the capitalists to hire us? Do we limit our demands for wages and better conditions to what the employers say they can afford?"

"Or do we say that the interests of the workers must come first, no matter what the effect on capitalist profits? And try to build the strongest possible labor movement to fight—from the shop floor to the political arena—against the profit demands of the capitalists."

"Youngstown poses this question sharply," Powers explained, "because what we see in Youngstown is simply the logic of capitalism."

"Capitalism means production for profit. Period. Steel mills in Youngstown were not built to produce steel or provide jobs. They were built to produce profits for the owners. Now Youngstown doesn't fit into the profit plans of the steel

companies, so they're just shutting it down and walking away.

"Of course, the companies try to cover themselves. They claim there is too much steel, that the industry has overcapacity. But just look around Youngstown. People have bumper stickers, 'Save our Bridges.' When you drive around town you run into dead ends with signs, 'Bridge out, follow detour.' This is becoming an epidemic. Bridges are closed. And many of the ones that are open ought to be closed—they're not safe."

"The main material you need for bridges—and for a lot of other worthwhile construction—is steel. So right here in Youngstown and the rest of Ohio there is actually a shortage of steel. And plenty of out-of-work steelworkers ready and willing to produce it."

"So the Socialist Workers Party says that the government should nationalize the steel plants—take them over and run them as public utilities that will produce steel, provide jobs, and pay decent wages."

Realistic Answers

Powers acknowledged that "some people will insist this is not a 'realistic' proposal for labor to fight for. First and foremost, the steel companies won't like it. In their eyes, the only 'realistic' plans are ones where the workers sacrifice to keep profits high."

For the unions to accept this corporate framework, Powers said, leads to a complete dead end.

"For example," he said, "you find that many Youngstown steelworkers feel the international leadership of the United Steelworkers has abandoned them. [USWA President Lloyd] McBride has made it clear many times that he accepts the plant closings as necessary."

The socialist candidate pulled out an interview with McBride that appeared in *American Metal Market*, an industry newspaper, July 19, 1978. It had been reproduced by the union and distributed at the last USWA convention. It quoted McBride as saying that "for steelworkers, the bottom line is to be employed by an industry that is profitable and competitive."

McBride went on to say that the industry's productivity drive might cause "temporary inconveniences" for some workers, but would lead to "long-term job security and solid wage benefits." He said the union should work with the companies to fight imports and avoid strikes.

Powers noted that McBride's version of a "realistic" program had been carried out for many years. The result has been the elimination of nearly 200,000 production and maintenance jobs in basic steel from 1950 to 1977. While jobs went down 35 percent in that period, American steel production rose. So those jobs weren't lost to imports. They were lost to the industry's productivity drive.

Who benefited? The union reports that from 1960 to 1974, productivity rose nearly twice as fast as the buying power of steelworkers' wages. (All figures from *Officers' Report*, 1978 United Steelworkers convention.)

Industry's Master Plan

Powers asserted that "the steel corporations have a master plan for restructuring and modernizing the industry on their own terms, to make it more profitable and more competitive on world markets. It's no secret, at least not the broad outlines. They write about it in magazines like *Iron Age* and *Business Week*." The key elements of the plan are:

- shutting down less productive plants, like those in Youngstown, thereby reducing total steelmaking capacity and increasing operating rates and profits at the more efficient plants;
- obtain more government tax breaks in the form of faster depreciation of plant and equipment;
- roll back pollution regulations and safety laws;
- restrict steel imports so the U.S. monopolies are free to raise prices;
- increase productivity drastically through speedup, job combinations, and crackdowns on attendance; and
- cut real wages by holding wage increases below the inflation rate and by forcing more workers out of the basic steel agreement into substandard contracts.

"None of this plan is in the interests of workers," Powers emphasized. "None of it aims to save jobs. That's a fraud."

"It's a program to increase profits by slashing jobs and wages. It's a program to gouge consumers through monopoly prices. It's a program for

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...Steel

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dirtier air and water, and for more steelworker deaths on the job.

"Support to any part of the industry program weakens the union movement," he went on. "It tells workers to look at the companies—which are the real threat to jobs and wages—as allies. And it tells workers to look to their real potential allies—such as environmentalists, or workers of other countries—as enemies."

Road to Disaster

"That kind of 'realistic' support to company profiteering is the road to disaster," Powers declared. "More and more companies are putting on that sad face and crying about low profits and calling for worker concessions to 'save jobs.' Well, the whole labor movement needs to wake up to what the Youngstown workers and now the Chrysler workers have learned the hard way.

"The choice isn't a wage cut or a layoff. First comes the wage cut, then the layoff slip.

"The choice isn't to give back working conditions or face a plant closing. First comes the giveback, then the plant closing.

"We don't need 'tradeoffs.' We need jobs. We need steel. We need clean air and water. We need decent wages. We need safety on the job.

"And we're only going to get them through fighting against the industry plan and for working-class answers to the steel crisis: nationalization of the industry, a shorter workweek, no givebacks, no union concessions."

The desperate plan for workers to buy the Youngstown steel mills, although it is supported by many steelworkers seeking to fight the companies' callousness, points in the wrong direction, Powers said. It fails to break out of the trap of making jobs depend on profits.

"If you try to make these mills competitive, profitable operations in the capitalist market—which is what the Ecumenical Coalition said it wanted to do—you can only do it the same way the steel companies planned to: by forcing concessions out of the workers on wages, safety, and working conditions.

"In fact," Powers said, "the authors of the plan boast about the workers' willingness to make so-called productivity concessions. They tell workers to sink their life savings into buying these mills so they can be exploited even worse than before.

"This scheme didn't challenge the capitalists—it tried to go them one better.

"The workers feel that they can run the mills a lot better than the capitalist owners," the socialist candidate continued. "They're right. I say the workers should control production in order to make conditions better, not worse. To improve safety. To curb pollution. To eliminate overtime and grueling shift schedules.

"That's why the industry should be nationalized. Planning production for social needs, and eliminating the waste of private management, would lead to increased productivity. But the benefits should go to the workers through shorter hours and to society as a whole through cheaper steel."

Every aspect of this fight is political, Powers noted. It involves government action. "But this is where labor is the weakest today. The unions are still tied to the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of the capitalists. To carry out a political fight for the needs of steelworkers or any other workers, we need our own party—an independent labor party based on the unions."

In times of crisis and struggle, Powers said, the results of labor's subservience to capitalist politics become the clearest.

Little Steel Strike

In this regard it is worth looking back at Ohio's rich history of union struggle, he suggested. In Toledo in 1934, auto workers fought pitched battles with the companies, cops, and National Guard. Their victory helped pave the way for the rise of the United Auto Workers and the entire CIO industrial union movement.

On May 26, 1937, most of the 35,000 steelworkers in the Mahoning Valley went on strike for union recognition. U.S. Steel, the industry giant, had just recognized the union. But the five "Little Steel" companies—Republic, Youngstown, Bethlehem, Inland, and Weirton—refused.

An interesting article on the strike appeared in the September 4, 1937, issue of *Socialist Appeal*, the name of the *Militant* at that time. Signed by "Progressive Steel Workers Group, Youngstown, Ohio," it reported that "in a community where the entire population depends for its existence directly or indirectly on the steel mills, no regular strike bulletin was issued. Nothing, no bulletin, no mass meetings outside of those at picket lines, no parades, nothing to spike the vicious lies of the company-controlled press.

"The answer cannot lie in the talk about no funds for it is well known that the CIO treasury is ample to cover the cost of a strike bulletin. The answer lies in the fact that the whole policy of the union was on the basis of maneuvering with Roosevelt instead of concentrating on the workers themselves."

Art Preis, a veteran of the Toledo 1934 strike, explained in *Labor's Giant Step*, his history of the CIO, what happened in Youngstown during the Little Steel strike:

"In Youngstown, two strikers were killed by deputies who claimed that the strikers' wives had called them names. The National Guard finished the job. Every organizer was arrested. Hundreds of union men were held in 'technical custody,' jailed without charges or bail. Union headquarters were raided repeatedly. After the strikers . . . had welcomed the guardsmen as heroes, Governor Davey [a "New Deal" Democrat and colleague of President Franklin Roosevelt] had

announced that the 'right to work is no less sacred than the right to strike.' This meant keeping the plants open and protecting the scabs. Morale was gradually broken and the strike caved in."

The Little Steel strike was the biggest defeat suffered during the great union organizing drives of the 1930s. Steelworkers at those five companies did not succeed in winning union contracts until 1942.

Powers said: "The underlying problem today is not so different from what the group of Youngstown steelworkers pointed to in 1937.

"Where are the 'friends of labor' politicians when the livelihoods of Youngstown steelworkers are going down the tubes?"

"At that union meeting we attended, the local congressman, Lyle Williams, a Republican, spoke. I think people were glad he was there. He said he's against the plant closings and he was even a plaintiff in the suit against U.S. Steel. But he takes the company side. He claims the problem is the government has allowed in cheap imports and enforced pollution rules that are too strict.

"The idea of a labor party is for working people to have a voice in politics. We don't have that now. It wouldn't be a so-called 'third party.' It would show that the Democrats and Republicans are just two faces of one party, the money party, the big-business party. And a labor party could fight for the interests of everybody who is victimized by big business, by capitalism. With a solid power base in the unions, it could also win the support of unorganized workers, the unemployed, and farmers.

"It could be a real peace party, against the draft and against the attempts to get us to accept new Vietnams where young workers die to protect business profits.

"A labor party could fight to smash the Ku Klux Klan and every aspect of racist discrimination. Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, who won't even pass the Equal Rights Amendment, it could champion the fight for women's equality.

"Sure, a labor party is a radical idea. It means a whole new strategy for labor. But Youngstown shows how much we need a new strategy.

"I'm going to talk about Youngstown everywhere I go during this campaign," Powers concluded. "I want workers all over Ohio and the whole country to know about Youngstown. How these workers put their sweat and blood and lives into producing the steel that built this country. How, after all the profits the companies squeezed out of these workers, they went back for one last drink of their blood. How U.S. Steel pushed through that final speedup and profit drive, and now is kicking them aside.

"The lesson of Youngstown is that capitalism doesn't work. Many people will learn that lesson."

...El Salvador

Continued from page ISR/5

El Salvador has received since 1950." (emphasis in original).

What of the reforms the Carter administration points to as justification for its support to the junta? The late Archbishop of El Salvador Oscar Arnulfo Romero (no relation to General Romero) sharply criticized the reforms before he was murdered. He noted that the "reforms" had to be seen "in the context of death and annihilation," and that they were a project "supported by the North Americans" which included "massive repression."

In February, when the Carter administration announced its most recent military aid package to El Salvador, which included millions of dollars for arms and several teams of U.S. military "advisers," Archbishop Romero wrote a letter to President Carter in which he said that if Carter "really wanted to defend human rights" in El Salvador, he should not send military aid to the junta, and that he should guarantee that the U.S. would "not intervene directly or indirectly with military, economic, or diplomatic pressures" to determine the destiny of the Salvadoran people.

The archbishop added that U.S. aid to the junta would doubtless "sharpen injustice and repression against the organized people who are struggling in defense of their most fundamental human rights."

On March 23, during his Sunday mass, Romero

called upon rank-and-file soldiers in the army to refuse to carry out the orders of their superiors if they were aimed at repressing the people. "Remember," he said, "that the dead peasants are also your brothers. No soldier has to carry out an order if it goes against his conscience."

On March 24, Archbishop Romero was assassinated by four gunmen as he was giving a mass.

The government, the rightist murder squads, and their supporters in the White House and the CIA could not tolerate this kind of principled stand, especially from one of Romero's prestige.

While the murder was carried out by "unidentified" right-wing terrorists, the blood of Romero is on the hands of the military junta, which seeks to maintain the system of exploitation, misery, and oppression in El Salvador, as well as on the hands of the Carter administration, which backs this policy.

The capitalist press and the Salvadoran junta have tried to lay the blame for Romero's murder on the left organizations. José Napoleón Duarte, a Christian Democratic member of the junta declared that the crime "could have been committed by any one of the two extremes, the right or the left. It's in the interest of both to have a state of violence. With that they create martyrs, they justify their purposes."

But Héctor Dada Hirezi, another Christian Democrat who resigned in protest from the junta (and whom Duarte replaced), declared from exile in Mexico, "Any attempt to blame the far left for the assassination, with the pretext that it wants

to create martyrs, is cynicism. This type of action can only benefit the right wing."

The Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses blamed the crime on "the oligarchy, the right-wing sectors of Christian Democracy, the sectors of the armed forces committed to reaction and imperialism."

What will happen in the aftermath of Romero's murder remains to be seen. A general strike was called for March 28 or 29. And a manifesto issued by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses at the time of its formation declared:

"No one should be confused: the only real alternative and effective solution to the national crisis in the interests of the people is the armed people's revolution, whose forces are rapidly maturing among the people. This revolution will not be an act of vengeance, but of justice and liberating transformation. . . .

"The heroic struggle of the Nicaraguan people, victoriously led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is another source of inspiration to our unity and readiness to fight until victory. The Sandinista victory has opened an era of revolution in the Central American isthmus; we are enriched by its experience and will know how to take advantage of it, adapting it to our situation and problems. . . .

"We see the revolution in El Salvador as a part of the revolution in Central America, and as a special contribution of our people to the struggle for the liberation of all the peoples on the continent. . . ."

Local teach-ins, rallies continue antidraft fight

By Osborne Hart

In the wake of the March 22 national demonstration against Carter's proposed draft registration, local antidraft rallies and teach-ins are planned throughout the spring.

At Kent State University in Ohio, students are organizing a May 4 "Remember Kent State" rally. The demonstration will commemorate the 1970 slaying of four antiwar students by National Guard troops.

George Wald, Dave Dellinger, and William Kunstler will be among the speakers. Organizers are publicizing the action throughout the Midwest. For more information contact: May 4th Task Force, P.O. Box 533, Kent, Ohio, (216) 673-2936.

Students at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, plan an April 18 conference against the draft.

A "Northwest Student Conference Against the Draft" April 12-13 is set for Reed College in Portland, Oregon.

Organized by the Reed Students Against the Draft, the conference will feature a rally and workshops.

While thousands of antidraft demonstrators marched in Washington, D.C., and several California cities March 22, coalitions in other cities organized actions to coincide with the national protest.

In Kansas City, Missouri, more than 200 people—including many high school students—participated in a spirited rally sponsored by the Greater Kansas City Committee to oppose the Draft. Among the speakers were Rev. Fuzzy Thompson, Martin Luther King Urban Center; Carol Coe, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Norman Forer, University of Kansas professor, and Martha Pettit, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate.

The San Antonio Coalition Against the Draft drew 125 people to a march and rally in the downtown area.



Militant/Joan Yow

San Antonio protest, March 22

Speakers included representatives of the American Friends Service Committee, National Organization for Women, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Catholic Clergy, Socialist Workers Party, and the United Auto Workers.

Prior to the March 22 national mobilization protests, *Militant* correspondent Pat Silverthorn reported that 1,200 people rallied against the draft in Boulder, Colorado, March 18.

In Salt Lake City, Utah, 100 protesters gathered for an anti-draft demonstration at the Federal Building. Vietnam Veterans, representatives of the Chicano community, and Socialist Workers Party candidates Pam Burchett for U.S. Senate and Bill Hoyle for governor were among the speakers addressing the rally.

A picket line sponsored by the Cincinnati Committee Against Registration and the Draft at the Government Building March 15 attracted 150 people.

Iron Range students say no to draft

The March 16 *Mesabi Daily News* published a student opinion poll from Gilbert High School in Gilbert, Minnesota, a small mining town on the Iron Range. Most of the students are the children of iron ore miners.

They were asked fifteen questions about their views on the draft and other issues.

Of the 141 students who responded, 69 are women and 72 are men. Their ages range from 16-19. Below are the complete results:

1. Do you think registration should be put back into effect?
Yes: 18% No: 69% No opinion: 13%
2. At what age do you think you

should have to register?

18-19: 22% 20-21: 33% 21-over: 45%

3. Do you think women should be drafted?

I agree: 58% I disagree: 33% No opinion: 9%

4. If women are drafted, should they fight at the front?

Yes: 44% No: 48% No opinion: 8%

5. If there was a war and no draft, would you enlist?

Yes: 17% No: 69% No opinion: 14%

6. If you are drafted, would you leave the country?

Yes: 21% No: 58% No opinion: 21%

7. Do you feel that those who declare war should have to serve in the military during the war? Con-

gress declares war.

Yes: 75% No: 13% No opinion: 12%

8. If Russia takes the Persian Gulf, we should go to war over oil.

I agree: 20% I disagree: 45% No opinion: 35%

9. Do you think more money should be spent on increasing the military?

Yes: 28% No: 56% No opinion: 16%

10. Do you feel Russia and the U.S. should destroy all nuclear weapons?

Yes: 52% No: 28% No opinion: 20%

11. Do you think we should drop out of the summer Olympics in Moscow because of the Afghanistan crisis?

Yes: 13% No: 76% No opinion: 11%

12. Do you think the athletes should decide themselves if they want to boycott the summer Olympics?

Yes: 80% No: 15% No opinion: 5%

13. Do you feel the drinking age should be raised to 21 in Minnesota?

Yes: 16% No: 79% No opinion: 5%

14. Do you feel 18-year-olds are mature and responsible enough to vote?

Yes: 78% No: 14% No opinion: 8%

15. Do you feel 18-year-olds are mature and responsible enough to go to war?

Yes: 38% No: 49% No opinion: 13%

Canada: marches back women workers in struggle

By Joanne Murphy

The demands of working women rang out across Quebec and English Canada March 7 and 8 as thousands marked International Women's Day with teach-ins, rallies, and marches.

On March 7, 4,500 marched through Montreal, including 200 members of the Communications Workers of Canada, on strike against Bell Canada. The strikers sold buttons and passed out leaflets explaining their struggle.

Striking Montreal blue-collar city workers also had a contingent in the demonstration, which was organized by the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), Quebec Teachers Union (CEQ), and Montreal Labor Council (CTM).

"March 8, May 1, Solidarity!" and "Cols Bleus, Femmes Solidarite" (Blue Collar Workers, Women Solidarity) were popular chants, along with slogans and banners for equal pay, day care, maternity leaves, and abortion and contraception rights.

An all day teach-in March 8 at the University of Quebec featured discussion on how the women's and labor movements can work together.

Among the displays and literature tables was an information kiosk on the defense campaign of three women unjustly fired in November by Pratt & Whitney Aircraft in Montreal.

The three women—Suzanne Chabot, Katy LeRougetel, and Wendy Stevenson—are active feminists and supporters of Quebec independence. They are members of the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Workers League.

Their union, United Auto Workers Local 510, is backing their demand to be rehired.

The company claimed to have too many workers, even though it had advertisements in the papers for the same job the three women worked.

The defense campaign has won the support of the striking CWC in Quebec, which sent out a letter on the case to its local presidents.

During the teach-in, the defense committee collected over 500 signatures on petitions to demand that Pratt rehire the three women.

Support for the striking Bell workers was the heart of the March 8 demonstration in Toronto.

The march stopped in front of the main offices of Bell Canada in Toronto to hear a fiery speech by CWC local president Janice McCullen. A cardboard replica of the Bell corporate symbol was set aflame before the march proceeded.

Union contingents made up about a third of the march. Besides the Bell strikers, there were women who have been on strike since September against Radio Shack, which refuses to sign a contract with the Steelworkers union.

More than forty organizations participated in the coalition that organized the march, including the Ontario Federation of Labor, the Women's Committee of the Ontario New Democratic Party (the labor party in Canada), and many women's groups.

The broad labor endorsement meant that many more Ontario workers heard about March 8 this year than in years past.

One plant that had a contingent in the demonstration for the first time was the McDonnell-Douglas Canada aerospace plant in Toronto, where more than 5,000 workers turn out

wings for DC-9 and DC-10 airplanes.

Though only about sixty of those workers are women, UAW Local 1967, which organizes the plant, bought 200 March 8 buttons to build the action, at the suggestion of the Women's Committee.

Only about twenty women in the plant work in assembly jobs, and they are mostly concentrated in one department. The foremen consciously try to keep women separate, claiming "fraternization" is prohibited.

The March 8 buttons and leaflets that made their way around the plant helped foster an attitude of solidarity with the women, marchers said.

Wendy Johnston, secretary of the

Local 1967 Women's Committee, spoke to a Stewards Council meeting about the demonstration. The local chair, who heard her speak there, turned up for the march.

The local union newsletter carried an article on the march with the headline "Fight for Equality of Women in Industry."

"This is a first for this local," Naomi Joliffe, a member of the local and an RWL/LOR candidate in the recent parliamentary elections, said about the Local 1967 contingent.

UAW support for the march, from the provincial level on down, had been important in building the demonstration, she pointed out.

'Women into Stelco'

By Etta Ettlinger

More than 400 people attended an International Women's Day rally March 7 in Hamilton, Ontario. The rally was organized by the "Women Back Into Stelco Campaign," which has been working to force the Steel Company of Canada, the largest steel producer in the country, to hire women.

Many women worked there during World War II, but most were pushed out after the war. Since 1961 the company has refused to hire women at all for production jobs.

Speakers at the Hamilton rally included: Judy Wasylcia-Leis, New Democratic Party Women's

Advisor; Genevieve Heinz, vice-president of the Hamilton local of the Communications Workers of Canada, speaking on behalf of the Bell strikers; Gaye Lamb and Donna Cadogan, organizers of the United Steelworkers local trying to win its first contract with Radio Shack; Cec Taylor, president of the 13,000-member Steelworkers Local 1005 at Stelco's Hilton Works in Hamilton; and Olive Richer, one of the first women to be allowed to work in the smelter at the Inco nickel mine in Sudbury. Marcia Zakowski from the Civil Rights Department of the United Steelworkers union sent a message to the rally.

Va. shipyard workers approve union contract

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—By a vote of 4,939 to 1,646, members of United Steelworkers Local 8888 ratified their first contract with Newport News Shipbuilding.

The March 25-26 voting climaxed an organizing drive sparked by the initial efforts of five shipyard workers in the summer of 1976. It grew into a struggle that finally brought union recognition and a contract to the world's largest privately owned shipyard, once a fortress of the open-shop "right to work" South.

This victory, USWA President Lloyd McBride stated, was a rejection of the notion that "southern working people are anti-union and unwilling to fight for recognition and contracts."

After the ratification, the USWA announced in the local *Daily Press* that it has targeted the Avondale Shipyard in New Orleans as its next major national organizing effort. Avondale employs 10,000 workers.

"For a first agreement, it's rather historic," USWA District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher, told the *Militant*. He noted that the impact of the Newport News success "would be helpful" to organizing drives in the six-state Steelworker district.

The most common reason given by shipyard workers who voted for the contract was that it was "a beginning," "a start," "a foundation," and "a foot in the door."

The agreement represents a significant improvement over the sweetheart, takeaway deals negotiated by the shipyard and the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the old company union.

This advance, however, left much to be desired, according to dozens of Steelworkers I talked to who voted for the contract.

The most repeated criticism of the package is that it lacks a cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) clause, which would provide regular wage hikes pegged to rises in the soaring Consumer Price Index.

Despite a wage increase of up to 17 percent in the first year of the contract, the agreement calls for only about an 18 percent hike over the remaining two and a half years of the contract.

Helpers and handymen made an important gain with the elimination of the merit system, which chained wage increases to company favoritism. These lowest-paid workers can look forward to additional automatic wage increases roughly every eight months.

Mechanics and specialists, however, receive such wage adjustments through management review, and only after every two years. For the first time, though, there exists a standard union grievance procedure which these workers can use if they fail to receive wage increases.

"We are going to be hurting before the year is out," a pipefitter told the *Militant*, "but I voted for it [the contract] because it was the best we could get."

Tight-fisted company negotiators put off most gains in benefits until 1981 and 1982. Small retirement increases prompted many older workers to vote yes with their teeth clenched, or to vote against the contract.

Union members had hoped for a catch-up hike for the last fifteen months. During that time there had been no general wage increase, and inflation had gone up more than 17 percent. Tenneco said no.

Shipyard President Edward Campbell noted that the contract recognized "the need for our yard to remain competitive in the shipbuilding industry."

D. Thomas Savas, the yard's chief negotiator, told the media as he signed the contract on March 31 that the agreement "fully complies with the president's anti-inflation program."

The contract was presented to nearly 8,000 union members at a local meet-

ing March 23. For the first time in the yard's history, workers received the full text of the proposed agreement prior to the vote. This democratic gain sets an example for other workers in the USWA and throughout the labor movement.

However, many workers—regardless of which way they voted—expressed concern that the meeting did not set aside time for discussion on the proposal.

The absence of such discussion made it unclear what a "no" vote would mean in practice, or what course of action the union would be committed to should the contract have been voted down.

Despite this uncertainty, 1,646 workers voted no. But 55 to 60 percent of the union voted in the election.

No one here is under the illusion that, because Local 8888 has been established, Tenneco's union-hating bosses are going to change their stripes.

"We're going to have to make them stick to the letter of the contract," a mechanic told the *Militant*. "But we've got a contract and a grievance procedure, and a union, and that's the difference."

A big difference.

And an inspiration to push forward labor's unfinished business of organizing millions of southern workers who hunger for union power and protection, and who—as USWA President McBride pointed out—are ready to fight for them.

The Steelworkers' defeat of Tenneco's union-busting drive against Local 8888 is a giant stride toward such a goal.



Militant/Jon Hillson
Members of Steelworkers Local 8888 vote on their first contract at Newport News shipyard.



British steelworkers at Caldicot plant in Bristol try to stop scab truck.

Settlement announced in British steel strike

By Gus Horowitz

The executive committees of the two largest British steel unions voted April 1 to accept a wage settlement proposed by a three-member arbitration committee, and to ask the 100,000 striking steelworkers to return to work.

The steelworkers had been on strike against the government-owned British Steel Corporation for more than 13 weeks. It was the longest nationwide strike in Britain since the end of World War II, and was marked by militancy and labor solidarity.

According to the *New York Times*, the settlement included a wage raise of 15.5 percent, with additional benefits bringing the package to about 17 percent. This was below the 20 percent demanded by the strikers, who face an inflation rate of 19 percent and need a big raise just to catch up.

But the company plan to slash 52,000 jobs, a third of the total work force, was an even more important issue.

The company still intends to go ahead with the cuts.

Dissatisfaction with the settlement was reflected in the 41-27 vote in the executive committee of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, the main union in the strike. It is considered probable that some strikes will continue at the local level.

Union militants labeled the pact "a shabby compromise," and furious strikers waiting in the union hall during the vote shouted "Sellout, sellout!" as the union officials filed past afterwards. It was even reported that a fistfight ensued.

Most of the angry pickets came from Yorkshire and South Wales, where the company's plan to cut jobs is most serious.

The Wales Trades Union Congress, for example, estimates that the

planned cut of 20,000 steel jobs in Wales would lead to the loss there of 80,000 jobs altogether, including 16,000 in coal. Faced with this threat, 200,000 workers in Wales had carried out a solidarity strike January 28.

Workers in other areas and industries also came to the defense of the steelworkers during the strike.

On March 21, dockworkers in Liverpool began refusing to handle steel, and called for a similar response by their fellow dockworkers throughout Britain.

Solidarity actions had to contend with the authorities, however. Earlier in March the High Court ruled that railway workers could not refuse to handle steel that they had let pile up at railway depots.

Other court rulings tried to prevent the spread of the strike to privately owned steel companies. And militant solidarity demonstrations or mass strike pickets came up against police violence.

The steel strike was becoming a real test of strength between the British workers and the Conservative Party government.

The militancy and solidarity required to win in this situation would have been far more than is usually practiced by the steel unions' leadership.

The turn in the strike came on March 21, when the union leaders agreed to ask the government to set up a committee of inquiry to arbitrate the conflict: one member to be named by the unions, one by the company, and one by the Tory government.

Reporting on this proposal in its March 24 issue, the *Wall Street Journal* called it "a major breakthrough," pointing out that "the company has sought all along" to refer the issues to arbitration, "but the unions have resisted."

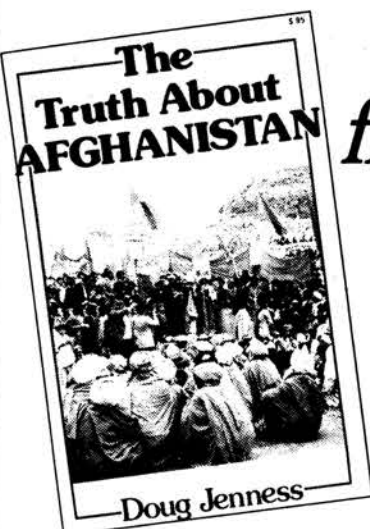
The decision to arbitrate over wages, said the *Journal*, "was a setback of sorts for the unions, which had also wanted the inquiry committee to consider the corporation's plans to close plants and lay off some 52,000 workers by midsummer."

The final composition of the arbitration committee was not exactly as proposed by the company, but the *Wall Street Journal's* assessment—shared by its British ruling class counterparts—was obviously based on the knowledge that the third member of the panel would be responsible to the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Thatcher, leader of the Conservative Party, is notorious for her antilabor policies.

The Thatcher government's hard line stance during the steel strike indicates that the British working class as a whole faces a tough battle to maintain its standard of living in face of inflation and a government austerity drive.

The similarity with the rising class struggle in the United States is striking.



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Milwaukee Blacks rally to save high school

By Norbert Francis

MILWAUKEE—More than 350 people rallied here March 24 at the Community Missionary Baptist Church to demand that the Milwaukee School Board stop the closing of North Division High School as an area school serving the Black community. The meeting was sponsored by the Coalition to Save North Division.

Under cover of a "voluntary integration" plan, Milwaukee officials are carrying out a vindictive campaign against educational institutions in the Black community. The "voluntary" plan was developed after a federal judge found that the Milwaukee Board of Education had deliberately established and maintained a segregated school system that provided inferior education to Blacks.

The overwhelming majority of the children who were bused were Black. And predominantly Black schools began to be systematically shut down. Ten elementary schools and two junior high schools in the Black community were closed.

Two predominantly Black high schools have been reopened as city-wide specialty (magnet) schools, which few Blacks from the neighborhood could attend.

At the same time the administration

did nothing to meet the needs of transferred Black students who faced racist abuse, including violence by racist hooligans in the newly desegregated schools.

In May the school board moved to transform North Division High School into a specialty school, which involved forcing all of North Division's students to transfer to other schools. This would leave only one high school primarily

servicing the Black community.

(While magnet schools in white neighborhoods are also open to students from the neighborhood who are not taking the specialty, this is not true of specialty schools in the Black community.)

This sparked student protests and walkouts. Student and community protests led to the formation of the Coalition to Save North Division and Opera-

tion Moses, the student arm of the coalition.

The intensity of feeling around the issue is heightened by the fact that it took a long struggle by the community to force the construction of a new North Division, a modern \$23 million building with some of the best educational facilities in the city.

The March 24 rally was endorsed by a wide range of community groups and by leaders in the Milwaukee labor movement. Endorsers included the Milwaukee NAACP, Urban League, Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union, Directly Affiliated Labor Union (AFL-CIO) Local 19806, Socialist Workers Party, and Milwaukee Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

The issue is the Milwaukee school board's racist campaign to sabotage desegregation and cut back educational facilities in the Black community in the name of desegregation. As student leader James Scott wrote in *The Devil's Dispatch*, the North Division High School paper:

"Black students and their parents are not against integration, but they are against the unfair and racist methods that the Board is utilizing to achieve its ends. Until the Board changes its ways, the Black community says, 'ENOUGH IS ENOUGH.'"



One of many community protests to keep racist school board from closing North Division High

Racist justice, cop murders abound in Miami

By Rose Ogden

MIAMI—Cop murders and beatings of Blacks, and attacks on prominent Black officials have exposed the racist character of justice in Dade County, Florida, and have provoked outrage among Black Miamians.

The most recent case broke about a month ago when Dade County School Superintendent Johnny Jones, a Black man, was accused of planning to use \$9,000 of school funds to buy expensive plumbing fixtures for his own use. Also indicted was Solomon Barnes, a Black principal.

Although only circumstantial evidence backs the charge, the media sensationalized the case, and quickly labelled them "guilty."

Similarly, county authorities moved speedily against Jones, indicting him for second-degree theft and suspending him without pay.

Jones maintains he is innocent and is appealing the school board's decision to suspend him. A defense fund has been set up by prominent Blacks.

Whether Jones is innocent or guilty is unclear—all the facts are not in. But this is not the issue. What is the issue is that Jones is being treated the way he is because he is Black.

Jones provoked racist opposition

with a school rezoning plan that called for busing students from predominantly white and Cuban schools into inner-city, predominantly Black schools with empty space. The first move of the acting superintendent who replaced Jones was to scrap this plan.

Jones' position as superintendent of the fifth largest school system in the country placed him at the highest level that any Black has reached in government here.

Therefore the Black community reacted angrily to see the media and the county move so speedily and vigorously against Jones, and to see the school board treat him as if he had already been convicted.

In the *Miami Times*, a local Black newsweekly, columnist Dora Lee wrote: "Being a native Dade Countian I have seen numerous white officials accused of all kinds of skulduggery. I have seen them indicted but never on Saturday. I have seen them suspended but never on Sunday. I have seen very few of them permanently damaged by their indictments, in fact a number of the names and faces I recall are still doing business at the same old stands."

Furthermore, the swift action against Jones stands in sharp contrast

to the way cases are dealt with when Blacks are the victims. Several stand out glaringly.

• *The McDuffie Case.* This past December, Arthur McDuffie, a Black, thirty-three-year-old insurance executive, was beaten to death by a gang of cops who then tried to cover-up the beating by faking evidence to maintain that his injuries were from a collision.

After dragging their heels, the county finally issued manslaughter charges against five cops. Only after protests were organized by the Black community did the state attorney's office reluctantly up the charge against one cop to second-degree murder.

• *The LaFleur Case.* Last February cops broke down the door of the home of Nathaniel LaFleur, a Black school teacher, and beat him and roughed up his son and a friend. The cops claimed they were on a drug raid and mistakenly entered the wrong home. The cops were exonerated. LaFleur has filed a \$3-million damage suit. The county wants the trial moved because, as the county's attorney remarked, Dade County and its cops "have become odious" to Dade residents.

• *The Randy Heath Case.* "A would-

be burglar ended his career of crime when he attempted to enter a Hialeah business that was staked out by police," claimed a Hialeah police press release concerning the murder of Black, twenty-one-year-old Randy Heath. (Hialeah is one of the municipalities that make up Dade County.)

What really happened to Heath, according to his sister—the only witness—was that he stopped to urinate against the wall of a warehouse when an off-duty cop working as a security guard there shot him in the back of his neck. The killer cop, Larry Shockley, turned to his buddies on the force who helped him make the incident look like a burglary attempt. Six months after the killing and three months after a circuit court ruled there was probable cause for manslaughter, the state attorney still couldn't decide to prosecute, but did finally ask the grand jury to investigate.

Meanwhile the cop, who has not been suspended and has in fact received a pay increase since the killing, has changed his story. He admits Heath did not struggle and that he did shoot him but asserts it was an accident. His lawyer explains, "I don't have any idea why the gun went off. Nobody knows. That was the problem my client had. We just don't know."

Calif. KKK launches brutal attack as cops watch

By Hayden Perry

LOS ANGELES—While the police stood by and watched, Ku Klux Klanners made a violent attack on people in a park in Oceanside.

North of San Diego, Oceanside is the site of a big Marine base where the KKK has worked at recruiting whites for several years. Black marines have been victimized for opposing the Klan.

The March 15 KKK attack occurred when about thirty of them waded into a crowd of hostile observers. The KKKers wielded baseball bats and chains.

Some carried guns and led vicious Doberman attack dogs. They wore helmets and carried shields.

Bruce Kala, of the Revolutionary Socialist League, was singled out for especially brutal treatment. He was clubbed so badly that 200 stitches were required.

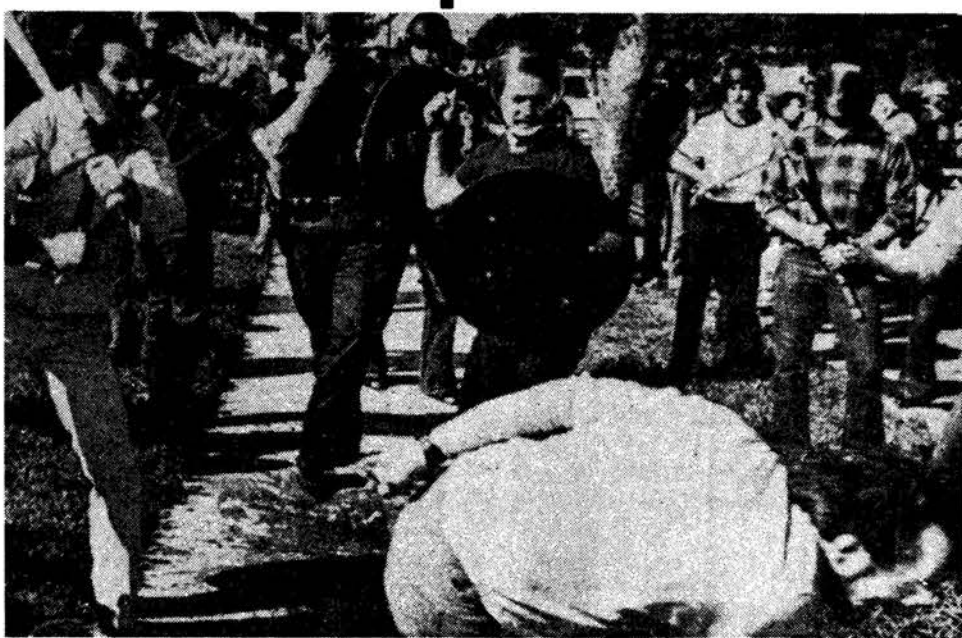
Assembled police watched from the sidelines while this was going on. They were moved to action when one of the Dobermans went for a cop. They shot the dog dead.

Finally the cops declared the Klan attack an "unlawful assembly" and chased the thugs down the street to their cars.

None were arrested.

The Oceanside police chief said there had been a small delay between the time the Klan attack was declared an illegal gathering and when the cops moved in to disperse it. This, he explained, was the result of a "communications gap."

Earlier in the day, about 100 people marched and held a rally in Oceanside in opposition to the Klan, denouncing the racist outfit. The action was initiated by a Los Angeles coalition, the Anti-Klan Network.



Armed, helmeted Klansmen beat victim. Cops look on, but make no arrests.

Militant makes a hit at Pa. antinuclear actions

By Peter Seidman

It's no surprise that working people in the Harrisburg area are mad as hell.

Met Ed is driving ahead with its plans to vent more radioactive poison on their homes and farms from its crippled nuclear power plant at Three Mile Island.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Carter administration are helping the nuclear profiteers cover up the facts about the real dangers involved.

The big-business media are also in on this cover-up. The papers are adding insult to injury by asserting that area foes of nuclear power are simply suffering from psychological delusions.

But what is most striking to those who have been to Harrisburg recently is how people there are radicalizing in face of the catastrophe threatening their families.

This was dramatically evident at the antinuclear protests there March 28-29.

Member after member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who sold at the demonstrations repeated the same observations: "This was the most receptive group of people I've ever sold to."

The facts speak for themselves. Des-

pite misting rain and threatening storms during much of the day, the more than 8,000 demonstrators bought:

- 569 copies of the *Militant* (61 of these were sold at related protests the day before). In addition, 41 demonstrators took advantage of a special three-week subscription offer.

- 206 copies of the *Young Socialist*.

- 101 copies of Fred Halstead's pamphlet, *What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power*.

- And nearly 400 "Stop Nuclear Power" buttons distributed by the YSA.

These sales are almost equal to those at the far-larger antidraft protest held in Washington, D.C., a week earlier!

What does this mean? The nuclear crisis in Harrisburg has given working people there a cram course in the nature of capitalist society. That's why they turned so eagerly to the *Militant* and other socialist literature last Saturday.

Introducing radicalizing workers like these to the ideas of socialism is one of the central goals of our eight-week drive to build the circulation of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Hundreds of residents of Middletown, Pennsylvania, and nearby towns bought the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* at March 28-29 actions. Living every day with the threat posed by Three Mile Island, they are open to radical answers.

As this week's scoreboard shows, we made real progress in the second week of the drive. Sales rose to 91.5 percent of the goal. But, at 11.7 percent, industrial sales are still lagging below our objective of maintaining last fall's rate

of nearly 17 percent.

Subscription sales are also below what we need to make the goal.

Let's be inspired by the warm response we got in Harrisburg to close this gap in the near future.

Sales scoreboard

	MILITANT		PM		TOTALS			YS		Ttl.	Subscriptions	
Branch	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	% Ind.	Goal	Sold
Morgantown	80	143	0	0	80	143	178.7	75	65	**	30	1
N.Y. Lower Manh.	60	109	40	67	100	176	176.0	145	63	1.0	30	1
Cleveland	70	93	0	11	70	104	148.5	30	10	5.5	15	6
Iron Range	70	103	0	0	70	103	147.1	75	75	9.6	35	8
Atlanta	100	134	0	0	100	134	134.0	60	60	4.4	25	2
Toledo	60	79	0	0	60	79	131.6	50	39	**	15	0
San Diego	120	141	20	34	140	175	125.0	150	127	16.2	40	6
Baltimore	90	112	0	0	90	112	124.4	60	86	9.5	35	10
Portland	85	104	0	0	85	104	122.3	30	13	.9	20	2
San Jose	90	107	0	0	90	107	118.8	70	85	12.9	25	3
Twin Cities	175	207	0	1	175	208	118.8	125	67	4.9	80	7
St. Louis	80	92	0	0	80	92	115.0	75	55	6.0	20	4
Birmingham	115	132	0	0	115	132	114.7	80	120	8.3	30	4
Newark	140	166	20	14	160	180	112.5	100	90	9.1	30	3
Detroit	210	235	10	11	220	246	111.8	75	50	15.0	100	11
Los Angeles	275	270	0	37	275	307	111.6	100	139	13.3	70	9
N.Y. Brooklyn	80	99	10	1	90	100	111.1	140	62	5.8	25	4
Piedmont	90	99	0	0	90	99	110.0	85	86	11.5	20	6
Indianapolis	75	82	0	0	75	82	109.3	100	91	23.2	15	3
Seattle	140	150	5	3	145	153	105.5	130	147	14.5	30	8
Salt Lake City*	60	69	7	1	67	70	104.4	30	41	20.7	20	2
Houston	80	76	10	17	90	93	103.3	40	29	18.2	25	3
Philadelphia	135	160	25	1	160	161	100.6	100	68	14.7	60	11
Dallas	80	70	20	27	100	97	97.0	115	100	5.1	25	2
New Orleans	75	75	5	0	80	75	93.7	100	65	30.9	40	5
San Francisco	150	107	30	56	180	163	90.6	150	130	1.6	**	3
Tacoma	80	71	0	1	80	72	90.0	65	50	15.3	20	0
Albuquerque	105	99	25	15	130	114	87.6	80	39	7.9	30	6
Tidewater	80	69	0	0	80	69	86.2	100	60	50.7	25	1
Kansas City	100	85	7	1	107	86	80.3	60	35	29.6	35	3
Denver	86	79	14	0	100	79	79.0	75	75	10.0	20	2
San Antonio	60	49	25	16	85	65	76.4	50	40	5.7	25	0
Miami	70	58	10	1	80	59	73.7	75	66	13.5	15	4
N.Y. Upper Man.	95	73	30	18	125	91	72.8	140	62	21.8	40	5
Chicago	215	151	35	9	250	160	64.0	125	65	37.5	50	6
Gary	90	56	10	8	100	64	64.0	60	24	**	25	1
Albany	73	45	2	0	75	45	60.0	50	26	**	25	3
Pittsburgh	185	75	0	0	185	75	40.5	100	85	8.8	50	5
Cincinnati*	80	30	0	0	80	30	37.5	40	50	**	15	4
Washington, D.C.	100	52	50	3	150	55	36.6	150	**	27.2	25	4
Louisville*	80	13	0	1	80	14	17.5	25	11	19.2	25	1
Boston*	150	0	0	0	150	0	.0	75	55	.0	40	15
Oakland/East Bay	**	62	**	2	**	64	**	100	60	**	**	2
Phoenix*	100	0	25	0	125	0	.0	100	63	.0	25	9
Misc.									271		12	
TOTALS	4624	4281	445	356	5069	4637	91.5	3500	3100	11.7	1385	211

NOT REPORTING: Milwaukee.

*Petitioning to put SWP on the ballot.

**Information not available.

*Ttl. % Ind. indicates week's percentage of Militant, PM, and Young Socialist sales reported at plant gates and to co-workers on the job.

Covers sales of issue eleven of the *Militant*, the second week of sales of issue five of PM, and the last week of sales for the March YS.

Opposition grows to Israel's West Bank moves

By David Frankel

Events over the past few weeks should have shattered any remaining illusions that the Camp David accords can bring peace to the Middle East or justice to the Palestinian people.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin reasserted his attitude March 10 by appointing Yitzhak Shamir as foreign minister. Shamir, a former assassin for the Zionist Stern Gang, refused to back the Camp David treaty because he felt it gave up too much!

The following day, Begin's regime expropriated 1,000 acres of Arab land in occupied East Jerusalem and announced that it would build a Jewish colony with 10,000 housing units on the stolen land.

And on March 23, in the most brazen move yet, the Israeli cabinet voted to build a \$2.5 million complex intended as the first step in the Zionist colonization of Hebron. Until now, Zionist colonies in the occupied territories have been established outside Arab towns and cities. But the latest project will be situated in the center of Hebron, which is the home of more than 50,000 Palestinians.

Protest rallies in the occupied territories were organized immediately after

the decision on Hebron became known. A dispatch in the March 26 *New York Times* reported that Palestinians "closed businesses and schools and suspended public transportation in East Jerusalem and throughout the West Bank" to protest the new land grab.

Begin's decision to push ahead with new settlements in East Jerusalem and Hebron came despite pressure from Washington. In three separate meetings with Begin, special U.S. Ambassador Sol Linowitz had advised a moratorium on Israeli settlements until May 26, when an agreement on Palestinian autonomy is supposed to be reached, according to the Camp David accords.

Although U.S. policymakers are just as opposed as Begin to any independent Palestinian state, they badly need the appearance of progress in the autonomy talks. This is both because they are still hoping to draw King Hussein of Jordan into the Camp David framework, and because they want to take some of the pressure from the rest of the Arab world off Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat.

With the Iranian revolution still shaking the Middle East, the State

Department is clearly afraid that the whole Camp David framework may come apart unless Begin treads more carefully. Protests against the Shah of Iran's presence in Egypt were a warning sign for U.S. officials. As the editors of the *New York Times* commented March 25:

The former Shah of Iran and Prime Minister Begin have landed in the wrong places at the wrong time, for both Egypt and the United States. The Camp David accords were fragile enough without the Shah in Cairo and the Israelis in Hebron—adding to the inflammations of the Moslem world. . . .

In the confusion, altogether too many American burdens are being heaped on the shoulders of Mr. Sadat. The sturdiness that may be foolhardy in him would be admirable in the United States. As it is, we are reduced to admiring him, with fingers crossed.

King Hussein gave his estimate of the future of Sadat and Camp David March 26 by publicly declining an invitation to visit Washington.

Meanwhile, the Egyptian workers are not the only ones worrying U.S. policymakers. Inflation in Israel is running at a rate of more than 140 percent; outlays for education and social welfare in the 1981 budget were

cut from 8.2 percent to 5.6 percent; and unemployment is expected to rise by about 50 percent over the coming months.

Begin's following has plummeted to 17 percent in some polls, and the settlement program is becoming more and more unpopular among Israeli Jews. Some 20,000 Israeli farmers recently demonstrated outside the Israeli parliament, demanding that the government spend less money on settlements and more on agriculture.

The international isolation of the Israeli state, the pressure from the workers and peasants of the Middle East—with the Iranian masses and the Palestinian freedom fighters in the vanguard—and the developing class struggle within Israel itself, are all making themselves felt.

During a recent debate in the Israeli cabinet, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman reportedly declared: "We can't go on like this. We're just making everyone sick of Israel."

Weizman's assessment is a good summary of what has been happening in regard to the Israeli state since the October 1973 Middle East war. The past few weeks have seen some further steps in this process.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Why workers need their own press

How media lied about Chi. fire fighters

By Harry Ring

"Chicago firemen return without contract"—Headline in *New York Times*.

"Fierce struggle ends in victory for Byrne"—Headline in *Chicago Tribune*.

"Chicago fire fighters win union victory"—Headline in the *Militant*.

These headlines marked the end of the Chicago fire fighters strike March 8.

Did the fire fighters win or lose? If you read the capitalist press you got one answer. If you read the *Militant* the answer was the opposite.

For instance, the *Los Angeles Times* reported:

"CHICAGO—Firefighters and paramedics returned to work here Saturday, twenty-four days after they went on strike. . . .

"Although they were granted partial amnesty in exchange for returning to work, the 4,350 firefighters had little else to show for their bitter walkout.

"The contract they were seeking when they left their jobs on Valentine's Day still eluded them."

Fire fighters' victory

The report in the *Militant* said:

"CHICAGO—Jubilant fire fighters returned to work here March 8 with a union victory. Their stubborn twenty-three-day strike dealt a major setback to the Democratic Party administration of Mayor Jane Byrne, which had tried to smash their union.

"The fire fighters won because they stood unshaken in the face of an all-out attack, and because they won important support from powerful industrial unions and the Black community."

Why such flatly contradictory reporting?

The answer, in a nutshell, is that the capitalist press was lying through its teeth about the strike, from the time it began until it ended.

Not just the ultraconservative, openly antilabor *Chicago Tribune*, or its morning counterpart, the *Sun-Times*.

But "moderate," "objective" papers like the *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times*.

From day one of the strike, the function of the capitalist media in Chicago was to inflame people against the union and help force the strikers back without a contract.

Nationally, the job of the capitalist media was to persuade working people that the Chicago fire fighters were into a losing strategy and not a good example for unionists elsewhere to follow.

Some of the anti-union propaganda bordered on the ridiculous.

Not paid for striking

For instance, in detailing why the union "lost" the strike, the *Chicago Sun-Times* and *Tribune* and the *New York Times* all emphasized that the strikers would not be paid for the time they were on strike.

A pretty heavy argument. Short of a revolution when the workers are in the process of taking power, it's a rare day when any strikers get paid for the time they're out.

Some of the lies about the strike were a bit harder to spot, if you had no other source of information.

For example, the *Chicago Tribune* article declaring Mayor Byrne the winner advised that the city beat the union because, "the mayor sapped the resolve of the strikers, who became disheartened as the strike stretched on for more than three weeks and the prospect of empty bank accounts and pantries became grim realities."

That calculated lie was written less than seventy-two hours after a mass union meeting (with full media attendance) of nearly 3,000 "disheartened" strikers and their families who stomped and cheered for calls by their leadership to stay out until they won.



THEY'RE LYING IN NEW YORK, TOO. Above, transit workers protest 'Daily News' lies about their demand for decent wage increase. 'News' claimed transit workers make \$50,000 a year, when actual average is \$17,000.

That meeting had before it a "settlement" offer from the mayor that gave nothing.

A motion to reject that back-to-work offer was carried with a thunderous "aye" vote. A literal handful voted "no."

Distorting Jackson's role

The papers also tried to poison relations between Black and white fire fighters and between the union and Chicago's Black community.

Reporting on the settlement the *Tribune* quoted a nameless "union negotiator" as saying that they were forced back because "Jackson turned against us. We had no choice."

Again, a bald-faced lie.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, perhaps Chicago's most influential Black leader, did play a key role in the final settlement—on the side of the union.

As a facesaver, Mayor Byrne said Jackson had entered the picture as a neutral "mediator."

But Jackson addressed that union rally and urged the fire fighters to stand by their demand for a contract. And the next morning he led them on a march through downtown Chicago chanting, "We want a contract!"

This reporter attended that union meeting and demonstration.

When Jesse Jackson appeared on the union platform he received as tumultuous an ovation from those mainly white fire fighters as I have seen in a long time.

And as they marched through Chicago's loop the next morning it was plain to any honest reporter that they were visibly proud to have an important Black leader at the head of their ranks.

What about the actual settlement?

Both the *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times* insisted the union lost because it did not get its key demand—a union contract.

Is that true?

A signed contract

The *Chicago Tribune*, which also insisted the union lost, did report this fact:

"On the other hand, however, the Chicago Fire Fighters Union managed to get the written and signed contract they demanded in the first place, even though Mayor Byrne called it an 'agreement.'" (Emphasis added.)

But, says the *New York Times*, a "city negotiator" assured them that the union "agreed to every proposal" made by Mayor Byrne before the strike began.

Did the union go back on terms proposed by the mayor before the walk-out?

The day they went out, according to the same *New York Times*, the "key issue" was that "Mayor Byrne has said she will not accept a contract that does not contain a perpetual no-strike clause."

But the written agreement signed by the mayor includes a rather important clause which the *Times* settlement article neglected to report.

Namely that if the arbitration process doesn't work, the union, on ten

days notice, can go on strike.

An odd "perpetual no-strike clause."

Why did the capitalist press lie so much about the fire fighters' strike and its outcome?

One clue is offered in the *Los Angeles Times* article previously cited.

In explaining why the union was "defeated," the article, while acknowledging that Byrne backed off on her vow to fire the strikers, asserts, "she succeeded in getting the men back to work without a contract. And she proved to any other municipal union that might think about striking that they are in for a tough fight." [Emphasis added.]

That's what the big anti-union lie campaign was all about. To persuade city workers not to follow the fire fighters' example.

And, it could be added, to dampen the militancy of organized labor in general.

Fighting city hall

All those lies were consciously aimed at achieving that one simple, reactionary purpose. To persuade working people that you can't fight city hall.

But the fire fighters union proved you can fight city hall—and win.

It did win a contract.

It did win increased truck and engine crews.

It did win the right to strike.

It did win an affirmative-action program for Blacks and Hispanics.

It did establish important ties—"a new coalition," one union leader called it—with the Black community.

It won significant support from the steelworkers, packinghouse workers, shoe workers, teachers and more in the labor movement.

And the working-class consciousness of the embattled strikers was deepened.

Walking out of that big, militant strike meeting, one union executive board member was heard to say to another: "You know, when this started, I was a conservative Republican. Now I'm a radical."

All in all, a gratifying victory for all working people. One with a lot of lessons to it.

Including the fact that the capitalist press is exactly that. It is owned, operated, and published in the interests of the capitalist class and there is no lie it will not stoop to in the interests of the class it serves so faithfully.

That applies to strikes and it applies to the struggles of exploited and oppressed people everywhere from El Salvador to Afghanistan.

That's why you have to read the capitalist press with an extremely careful eye.

And that's why working people need their own press.

Help get out the truth

Don't you get angry when the media call working people "greedy" when we ask for decent wage increases to keep up with inflation; or "hysterical" when we get upset because nuclear power plants are radiating our backyards; or "cowardly" because we don't want to be drafted for Iran or Afghanistan.

Working people need a paper that tells the truth about our lives and struggles. That's the *Militant*.

Help spread the truth by selling

the *Militant* to your friends, neighbors, and co-workers.

You can get a bundle of five or more *Militants* sent to you for just 35¢ per copy. We'll bill you at the end of each month.

Why not join our campaign to get out the truth? Just fill in the coupon below and send it to: Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

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Union/School/Organization _____

Labor should be in driver's seat

The following two articles are reprinted from the March issue of *Voice of Local 1938*, the monthly paper of Steelworkers Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac mine in Mountain Iron, Minnesota.

In "Labor Takes a Back Seat," the "Black Box" refers to the management office building at the Minntac mine. Cliff Niemi is general superintendent at the mine. In the "Legislative Report," DFL stands for the Democratic Farmer Labor Party, the name of the Democratic Party in Minnesota. The Independent Republicans is the name the Republican Party uses there.

Like workers everywhere, the iron ore miners have had plenty of bad experiences with Democratic and Republican politicians. These politicians waited until the 1977 iron ore strike was over before trying to remind workers that they were "friends of labor." The real friends of labor during the strike were the unions throughout the country that contributed tens of thousands of dollars and tons of food. The two-party politicians contributed nothing.

In the picture, from left to right, are Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich, U.S. Sen. Wendell Anderson, and U.S. Rep. James Oberstar. They are shown at the December 17, 1977, union rally in Hibbing, after the strike was settled. None of them took the side of the union against the companies during the four-and-a-half-month fight.

A spokesperson for Oberstar said the congressman flew back from a winter vacation in Puerto Rico just to speak at the post-strike rally. The miners and their families he spoke to had lived on thirty dollars a week strike pay for the first part of that Iron Range winter.

These articles from the union paper reflect the frustration with labor's support to the capitalist parties. As experiences like these pile up there will be more sentiment for the unions to launch a labor party. It was a sign of things to come that one of the most militant picket captains from Local 1938 came to the Hibbing rally with a few signs he had made up on his own. They read: "For a peoples union labor party."

—Stu Singer



Militant/Stu Singer
Democratic Party politicians show up at end of 1977 Steelworkers' strike.

bor, the undersecretary of M.S.H.A., the district representative of M.S.H.A., the staff representative for USWA, a representative from the Duluth building trades, a representative of the Iron Range Assembly, and myself were present for the tour. The labor representatives literally took the back seat of the van for the tour!

Throughout the tour, Mr. Niemi and Secretary Marshall would discuss operations off by themselves. During the tour, I saw Secretary Marshall talk to one brother working in the control room. All of his questions related to how this person got that kind of job.

The tour was through the best parts of Minntac. When I commented to the District 33 staff representative that some of the less desirable places at Minntac be toured, he had no comment.

What was most disturbing was that Secretary Marshall, supposedly a representative for national labor, didn't give the time or make an effort to meet and talk to more than one steelworker. When the media later interviewed Secretary Marshall and asked if he had talked to steelworkers, he said yes, and then spoke as though he had talked to them about job safety and how Minntac was training its people.

After the tour and media interviews, Secretary

Marshall had more phone calls. At this point the staff representative asked me how I liked the tour. I told him I felt it was a crock, that Secretary Marshall had no interest in the laboring people at Minntac, and that I would let the rank and file know the way it really was by publishing this article. The staff representative said he would talk to the Secretary about my feelings and would get back to me at the Kahler where we were to have lunch. As I was leaving for Hibbing, the Regional Representative from the Department of Labor, Ms. Fran Ryan, tried to impress upon me that this was the first time a Labor Secretary has visited this region and that he had met with eight steelworkers. I can honestly say that I saw him talk to only one steelworker and the others he talked to were department superintendents.

Finally at the Kahler for lunch I got to meet Mr. Marshall. During his speech, he talked about how his administration works with the steelworkers and mineworkers to avoid contract and import problems. I got the feeling from his speech and actions that he was on a political trip and touched all the bases. He was a friend of big business when with business leaders and a friend of labor when he was with labor people.

I had hoped for bigger and better things from Secretary Marshall and his administration.

* * *

Legislative report

By Ron Hautala

The AFL-CIO Legislative Convention began with speakers from both parties giving talks on how they were helping labor. The DFL speakers reported on the gains the DFL party made during the last ten years while they were in the majority.

The Independent Republicans representatives noted their interest in labor and how they were looking out for our interests.

It seems like we have no worries about our labor interests. It remains puzzling to me that we still have to lobby and fight just to keep anti-labor bills from passing.

When we met with our area legislators in the afternoon to find out their feelings on labor issues, we were happy to hear that most of them agreed with us on the major issues. These are unemployment benefits for strikers, no mandatory overtime, no taxation of unemployment benefits, and our stand against initiative and referendum. With all of these people agreeing with us, I asked myself, "Why can't we get these bills passed?"

It is a mystery to me.

We also found that one of our friends is not for us when it comes to strikers receiving unemployment benefits. This person is Lona Minne. Ask her why, before you vote in the primary.

Labor takes a back seat

By Terry Johnson

I was asked to represent Local 1938 when Secretary of Labor, Ray Marshall, toured Minntac on February 8, 1980.

When we met at the Black Box, Secretary Marshall was greeted by Cliff Niemi, shook hands with three or four others and then made a phone call. Cliff Niemi, Russ Dahl, Secretary Marshall, the regional representative for the Department of La-

Their Government

Budget-cutter steps down

As Carter and Congress moved to gut public services from mail deliveries to food stamps in order, they said, to balance the 1981 budget, we were told that this was in response to overwhelming popular demand.

"The vast majority of Congressmen are in a defensive mood," wrote Hedrick Smith in the March 25 *New York Times*, "anxious not to face voters in the fall without having tried to balance the budget."

Rep. Robert Giaimo, the Connecticut Democrat who heads the House Budget Committee, was spotlighted for his role in putting together a bill calling for \$16 billion in spending reductions (non-military, of course).

This made Giaimo a favorite with the folks back home and a shoo-in for re-election, right? Wrong.

On March 24 Giaimo announced that he wouldn't seek a twelfth term.

The decision had nothing to do with his re-election prospects, he claimed. "I always promised myself that I never wanted to become an old man in Congress," explained the sixty-year-old Giaimo. "I look around and see people here who have no place to go back to. It's tragic."

A heart-rending image! Picture, if you will, the ancient legislator hobbling through the halls of Congress with no means of support but \$60,000 a year, plus expense account junkets around the world, virtually free meals in the Congressional dining hall, guaranteed medical care, free mailing privileges, plush office space, and well-paid staff jobs for friends and relatives. And no place to go except perhaps a town house in the D.C. suburbs, a beachfront vacation villa, and an estate back home.

Not even annual retainers from oil companies and "campaign contributions" from military contractors can compensate for so bleak an existence.

Giaimo's concern for the plight of elderly Congresspeople is not matched by any consideration for millions who live on Social Security or disability payments. They are targets of the congressional budget-cutters.

A *New York Times* correspondent, realizing that readers might doubt Giaimo's stated reasons for stepping down, added:

"Residents and officials of New Haven in Mr. Giaimo's home district expressed disenchantment with him last week amid expressions of concern

Fred Feldman



over how they would manage should Federal budget cuts suggested by him be enacted."

The portrayal of American working class people as demanding massive cuts in public services is a complete fraud. Carter and Congress are flying in the face of our sentiments by sacrificing the most elementary human needs—food, housing, medical care, education—to the ever-expanding war budget.

Big business demands that we pay this price, and Democrats and Republicans alike heed the employers' call to arms—even if it means some lose their seats. As Giaimo said, "There are unique times in this country when parties coalesce. . . . This is one of those times."

Unlike their constituents, Giaimo and his colleagues don't have to worry about how they will manage if they lose their jobs.

Giaimo noted that President Carter had called to "thank me for the job I did on the budget."

But Republican and Democratic politicians prefer their thanks in more tangible form. It's a safe bet that the employers and their government will see that Giaimo is well taken care of as he glides into his golden years.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Give it a try—The ex-shah of Iran confided to reporters that the present Iranian government doesn't really want him returned because the people would come out and demonstrate in his support.

Sounds consistent—Workers are removing soil from around a nuclear power plant in Forked River, New Jersey. The soil was contaminated by a leakage of radioactive water. Officials said they didn't know how much soil would have to be removed, or how long it would take. But, they assured, there is no safety threat to the workers or public.

Or maybe even less—"It's difficult to predict the behavior of any material over a period of 100,000 years."—One

of the researchers grappling with how to develop a safe way to store nuclear waste.

Political philosophy dep't—"The trouble with being a leader today is that you can't tell whether people are following you or chasing you."—A Miami politician commenting on voter rejection of a proposition to hike the pay of county commissioners.

Spiritual view—An antinuclear sermon by Rev. Dan Berrigan drew an irate letter in the *Oakland Catholic Voice*, asserting the need for a "deterrent" and adding, "But... why should good practical Christians be afraid of death in any form? We kill thousands every year on our highways, with our eating and smoking

habits, and in our abortion mills. Why all the static about nuclear problems?"

Hollow staff?—We stopped eating packaged white bread when we read they preserved it by removing all the nutrition so insects would ignore it. Apparently we weren't alone. Sales have dropped steadily and the industry is taking action. How? Leave some nutrients in the flour? Nope. An ad campaign. The slogan: "It's not called the staff of life for nothing."

Like kick-the-can—"It used to be a sport for wealthy men, but it's getting more popular. A lot of guys in the \$40,000 to \$50,000 a year bracket are buying horses for club polo."—A New York banker and polo enthusiast.

-24

+54*

We lose on every gallon of gasoline we sell—but we make up for it in volume.

Thanks for listening.

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* 80% increase over 1975 prices (average).

By Any Means Necessary

N.C. massacre—'media martyrdom'?

The news media campaign to justify the Klan-Nazi murder of five anti-Klan demonstrators last November 3 in Greensboro reached a new low with the March issue of *Harper's* magazine. The prestigious monthly published one of the slimiest efforts yet to shift the blame from the racists onto the victims.

Written by poet Robert Watson, the piece is entitled "Media Martyrdom." Watson's argument is that the five Communist Workers Party members "died in an event rigged for self-destruction" in order to attract media attention for their organization. "Everything that they hoped for had come true," he writes of the cold-blooded murders.

Watson would have us believe that the Klan was simply being used by the CWP.

The CWP "knew that those in the Klan, mostly poorly educated, country-boy fanatics, don't like their bravery questioned, especially by the people they consider the chief menace to our nation, 'a racially mixed bunch of Commies.'"

In other words, those good old boys are not to be blamed. They were just being themselves.

Having absolved the Klan, Watson tries to convince us that since four of the five CWPers murdered were white (actually three whites, one Cuban, and one Black), there was no racial significance to the killings.

Furthermore, since both groups are minute and on the extremes of the political spectrum, there was no political import to the killings.

As far as Watson is concerned, that's all there

was to the five murders. The media, he argues, got duped for giving it so much play.

To make his case, Watson has to misrepresent the facts. To cite just one example, he claims that the police were not present to prevent the murder because the CWP changed the assembly point of the march and "the police were not told about the new assembly point." (his emphasis).

Not only did the police know about the new assembly location, but, as widely acknowledged by the local press, cops had been at the site and withdrew shortly before the massacre.

To portray the police as helpless suckers of the CWP media plans, Watson also covers up the admission by the cops since the massacre that 1) two days before the rally, they showed a copy of the rally permit, including the precise location, to a Klansman; and 2) they had an informer among the gang of killers.

Watson's crude falsifications are intended to distract the reader from the central issue: that a group of Klansmen and Nazis went into a Greensboro Black community and deliberately murdered five antiracist demonstrators. No amount of excuse-making and blaming the victim will make that brutal fact go away.

For Watson to try to white wash the Klan murders with a "boys-will-be-boys" argument is particularly galling. Who gave the Klan the right to blow out people's brains because they don't like what they say?

Watson's key point is his claim that the murders

have no political significance. But it's no coincidence that the murders occurred in North Carolina, scene of an active unionization drive. North Carolina employers know that union success depends on cooperation between Black and white workers. Anything that impedes this unity hurts unionization efforts. This is where the Klan comes in. That is how its activities serve the interests of the ruling class.

The killings aimed to foster an atmosphere of intimidation for labor organizing and in the Black community.

For beating and killing Blacks and busting unions, the bosses use both official, legal squads (the cops) and unofficial, illegal ones (the Klan and similar outfits). As in Greensboro, the two are invariably found to be working hand in hand.

And, it might be added, the bosses' news media—with *Harper's* trying to be second to none—do their best to cover up for both.

The CWP murders were most political. That's why 7,000 demonstrators, in spite of government harassment, took to the streets of Greensboro on February 2 to protest Klan violence. Blacks, who made up more than half of the demonstrators, were well aware of the racial significance of November 3.

In the same spirit of February 2, it is most important, given the media campaign to absolve the Klan, for all progressive forces to press for full prosecution of the Klan murderers and to demand dropping the charges against the CWP defendants.

August Nimtz



What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

U.S. ECONOMY IN CRISIS. CARTER'S AUSTERITY PROGRAM, THE DRAFT, AND U.S. WAR DRIVE. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party National Organization Secretary. Fri., April 11, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway, Lincoln Heights Area. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

SAN DIEGO

REVOLUTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. Speakers: Roberto Alfaro, Solidarity with Salvadoran People committee in Los Angeles; Selva Nebbia, just returned from Solidarity Conference for the Reconstruction of Nicaragua held in San Francisco. Fri., March 21, 7 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

COLORADO DENVER

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE. Speakers to be announced. Sun., April 13, 7 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8330.

INDIANA INDIANAPOLIS

ROOTS OF THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE. Speakers: Reja-e Busaillah, Palestinian teacher; Randy Short, Socialist Workers Party; representative of Palestine Solidarity Committee. Sat., April 12, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

MICHIGAN SOCIALIST WORKERS 1980 CAMPAIGN DINNER & RALLY. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president; Bill Arth and Martha Dowling, SWP candidates for U.S. Congress; Andrew Walden, SWP candidate for school board; greetings from Michael Moore, Russ Bellant. Sun., April 20, dinner 5:30 p.m.; rally 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave., 2 blocks south of Grand Blvd. Donation: \$2 rally only; \$4 dinner and rally. Ausp: Michigan SWP Campaign. For more information call (313) 841-7332.

NEW YORK

LOWER MANHATTAN

PUERTO RICO: PARADISE INVADED. Films for Activists series. Directed by Alfonso Beato. Spanish

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

NEW YORK CITY

PLAYS ON NORTHERN IRELAND AND INTERVIEWS WITH H-BLOCK PRISONERS AND ANTI-REPRESSION ACTIVISTS. Fri., April 4, beginning at 6 p.m. and running for thirty hours. 135 W. 4th, Washington Square Church. Donation: \$5 to National Smash H-Block Committee in Ireland. Ausp: Mobilization for Survival, New Cycle Theater, War Resisters League, and Win Magazine. For more information call (212) 777-2528.

OHIO TOLEDO

STOP THE DRAFT! LESSONS FROM THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. A one-day conference, Sat., April 12, 10 a.m. registration; noon, National Perspectives Report; Rick Reaves, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee; 2:30 p.m., Lessons from the Antiwar Movement; Debby Bustin Tarnapol, former chairperson, Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; 3 p.m., Students and the Draft; Andrew Walden, YSA; the

Role of the Labor Movement; Al Duncan, antidraft activist; The Role of Minorities; Kurt Landefeld, YSA.

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally with vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. 7 p.m. Ausp: YSA. All events at 2120 Dorr St. Registration fee: \$2.50. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON PORTLAND

LESSONS OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT FOR TODAY. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 13, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

WHAT WORKING PEOPLE NEED TO KNOW ABOUT NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Linda Mohrbacher, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Tory Dunn, SWP candidate for state treasurer. Slide show: "Nuclear Power: Miracle or Menace." Sat., April 12, 6:30 p.m. refreshments; 7:30 p.m. program. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP 1980 Campaign. For more information call (215) 927-4748.

1966 N.Y. transit strike



In January 1966, the Transport Workers Union was forced into a thirteen-day strike that halted virtually all mass public transportation in New York City. Following are excerpts from an article by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party leader, who assessed the significance of the strike in the January 3, 1966, issue of the 'Militant.'

Young people today have had little chance to perceive the inherent social power of the working class. All their lives they have seen the unions dominated by a gang of bureaucrats who truckle to the capitalist class. These misleaders of labor support the brutal imperialist foreign policy of the ruling class. They give only lip service to the Freedom Now struggle of the Negro people, the vast majority of whom are workers.

At the point of production the bureaucrats act to cripple the union power, usurping workers' democracy to impose their own dictatorial rule over the union membership. They keep labor tied to capitalist politics, leaving the governmental power in the hands of greedy banks and corporations.

Detractors of labor point to statistics about a relative decline of industrial workers in proportion to the population as a whole. Like a con man short-changing his victim, they juggle these figures around in an effort to show that history is rendering unionism impotent. Again, and once again, the Marxist view of the revolutionary potential of the working class is proclaimed obsolete.

Some 36,000 strikers tied up public transportation in a city of eight million and the powers-that-be couldn't move a single train or bus in public service during the walkout. Clearly it was not the sheer weight of numbers that gave the transit workers this impressive strength. The decisive factor was the key functions they perform within the city's economic structure.

Similarly in national terms, it is not the relative numerical weight of the workers in terms of the population as a whole that determines their strength as a social force. It is their strategic role in the total economic complex, plus their distinctive characteristics as a relatively homogeneous social class.

Numerical strength has primary importance in terms of class solidarity among the workers involved in a given struggle, rather than in the relative size of the embattled force. The problem of solidarity begins with the strikers themselves, and it extends from there to a quest for broader labor support according to the needs of the fight. As we shall see, it was in the broader union sphere, especially among the top AFL-CIO bureaucrats, that class solidarity with the transit workers was criminally violated.

Within the Transport Workers Union the ranks stood solid throughout the strike. Not a peep came from inside the TWU that Republican Mayor Lindsay, or his Democratic collaborators at City Hall, could use to smear the strike. It was a case of aroused workers who fought for just demands and who stood united in their common needs as class brothers.

This time the TWU officials didn't capitulate without a fight as they have done before. Instead of making a deal for a union contract on City Hall's terms, they fought at least until the union had won a partial victory.

While giving them due credit for the way they stood up to City Hall, it is important to recognize the real reason why they did so. Like everybody else in the line of fire, the TWU officials were up against an aroused membership that wasn't about to hold still for a fast shuffle from anybody, either inside or outside the union. They had to fight, or else.

What a fight the transit workers made! They brushed aside a court injunction based on an antilabor state law and went on strike in defiance of the judge and the whole City Hall gang. When their top negotiators were jailed as "law breakers," a second team stepped in to speak for the union. The strikers remained solid in the face of court proceedings intended to impose massive fines on the union. They stood up against savage smear propaganda in the capitalist news media and against a rising capitalist clamor to call out the National Guard against them.

At a crucial point in the strike the TWU ranks met the capitalist attack by demonstrating their solidarity and fighting spirit through a mass picket line at City Hall. Significant bodies of workers from other unions supported the demonstration.

Unable to break the strike with injunctions, jailings and threats of fines, Lindsay appealed to "responsible" top officials of the AFL-CIO for help in stopping the strike.

George Meany responded by approving the jailing of the TWU leaders with the remark that Mike Quill "wanted to go to jail." As though that scabby comment wasn't criminal enough, he added that Mayor Lindsay, who was trying to break the strike, was "handling himself very well."

After the strike Walter Reuther proved his "respectability" with a statement that "society can't tolerate stoppages" like the transit strike.

Despite all obstacles the transit workers won a partial victory by forcing concessions from City Hall that it hadn't intended to make. The fact remains, however, that the settlement fell far short of the workers' just demands and they remain victims of gross wage inequities.

Unmoved by the serious economic problems still plaguing the TWU ranks, President Johnson denounced the gains they did win as a violation of his wage "guidelines." Johnson followed through with a call for further anti-strike laws.

Both the Republican Mayor and the Democratic President proved themselves enemies of the transit workers. The strikers got nothing they didn't fight for and even then the lackeys of capitalism cheated them out of a just settlement. The workers will get only what they can win through militant use of the union power at the job level and through mobilization of their class political strength in an independent labor party.

Labor's inherent capacity to take that road is demonstrated by the transit strike, as is the workers' growing desire to do so.

Orioles in Nicaragua

A couple of weeks ago the 1979 American League Champion Baltimore Orioles went to Nicaragua for a pair of exhibition games.

Many on the team were broken up by what they discovered.

Coach Cal Ripken explained that "the hospitality was outstanding." But, he added, "the talk about the war and about the bombs that had been dropped and some of the sights we saw really affected our guys."

"It was tough to visualize what [Managua] must have been like," said Phil Itzoe, the Orioles' secretary. "It looked like acres and acres of vacant lots."

Outfielder John Lowenstein was bitter over the war ravages and the situation that provoked it: "All the money our country sent must have funneled into Somoza's hands and his bank account."

Second baseman Rich Dauer seemed humbled:

"The trip was only for two days, but I learned a lot about foreign affairs. If we would give them some kind of aid, any kind of aid, they would be our friends for life."

Yet even while Dauer was speaking the U.S. Senate was putting a freeze on a \$75 million aid package.

The shock of what they encountered, needless to say, took some fire out of the Birds' performance. They tied one and lost one.

But that won't stop them from recovering the world title that was sticky-fingered from them last fall.

Ain't that right, Pittsburgh.
Baxter Smith
Baltimore, Maryland

Protest oil rip-off

The membership of International Association of

Machinists Lodge 1525 in Salt Lake City voted March 13 to try to organize a labor-sponsored day of protests against the oil monopolies. A resolution adopted by our lodge, which will now be submitted to other union locals in Utah, reads in part:

"Whereas skyrocketing fuel costs are slashing the standard of living of every worker, and . . . the only way working people can defend ourselves against this rip-off is by bringing to bear the united power of organized labor; therefore be it resolved that Lodge 1525 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers urges every union local in Utah to join in creating a coalition to organize a statewide day of protests to be held in the early spring. . . ."

The idea for this resolution grew out of a discussion among workers on the day shift at Eimco Mining Machinery. A draft of the resolution was typed up and circulated in the plant as a petition. By the time of our lodge meeting, more than sixty workers had signed it.

After several minutes of discussion, the thirty-five union members at the meeting voted unanimously in favor of the resolution, and several volunteered to serve on a committee to try to get other unions involved in building a day of protests.

Bill Hoyle
IAM Lodge 1525
Salt Lake City, Utah

Defend Iranian students

On March 5, pro-shah Iranians from off campus, who had leafleted the San Diego State University student center in support of the shah the day before, returned to the campus and attacked SDSU Iranian

Draft poll at Kaiser

I wore an antidraft button to work at Kaiser Aluminum and it caused immediate controversy. I happened to be working with an all-white crew that night (graveyard shift) and they were all pro-draft. Their motivation was "national defense, we've got to have an army."

Everyone agreed that Vietnam was a mistake. "It was a war for big business." But now "the Russians must be stopped." None of the workers on that crew was in danger of being drafted. They were all too old.

We argued all night. When the sun came up, we were standing outside our line lunchroom still arguing, as dozens of workers on day shift filed in. We decided to poll the day-shift workers as they passed. "Are you for or against the draft?"

The first three people were against the draft. This bothered the ringleaders of the prodraft sentiment so they started polling each other to get more points. This tactic temporarily made the poll lopsided, eight pro and three against.

But I chose all the young

workers to poll as they came in. Their sentiment was definitely antidraft. Soon it was ten prodraft and eight against, with two "I don't know." This was too close for the prodrafters so they quickly polled the foremen and mechanics crew. Our final poll when the whistle blew was sixteen prodraft and ten against. But the crew was amazed. "I didn't think there were so many against, I'm surprised." Also significant was the fact that all the Black workers polled were against it.

As the days go by more antidraft sentiment is becoming noticeable. Discussions seem to center around Vietnam vets. Horror stories, real hair-raisers.

One worker commented, "They killed my brother in Vietnam, but they won't get me." And from a Black worker who initiated a big antidraft discussion on his own accord, "I'm not going to die for a country that won't give me what's mine to begin with."

Greg Nelson
Steelworkers Local 13000
Chalmette, Louisiana

Lenin's pamphlet on imperialism

students who support the revolution.

Campus police found a rifle in the car of one of the attackers. After questioning, the five right-wingers who had been detained by the police were released.

The campus incidents culminated in a demonstration by sixty SDSU Iranian students on March 6 to protest the arrest of three prorevolution Iranian students. A sit-down demonstration was held in front of campus police headquarters.

The determination of the Iranian students, who chanted such slogans as "American people: Join us!" and "Let them go, we won't go," resulted in the release of the three prorevolution students.

It was reported, however, that the university will consider disciplinary action against the Iranian demonstrators, which could result in their deportation. The San Diego city police also have charges pending against some Iranian students.

The San Diego Socialist Workers Party supports the demands of the SDSU Iranian students regarding the reactionary attacks: More police protection for the Iranian students and the prosecution of those who physically attacked SDSU students.

In the light of continued racist attacks against Iranians in this country, culminating recently here in San Diego with the still-unsolved murder of two young Iranians, we further demand that the victimization of Iranians in the U.S. be stopped and that the charges against the SDSU Iranian students and those students demonstrating in their defense be dropped.

Daniela Dixon
San Diego, California

Keep up good work

I have recently moved to Minnesota from Kansas and would like to resume a subscription for ten weeks.

Your newspaper serves an especially important function now, in an election year, when so much of the press coverage in the capitalist media is one-sided and simply omits the information which is of most import to me as an unemployed working person.

To hear the capitalist "front runners" tell it, I do not exist. Somebody is deciding that voters want massive tax cuts in social programs while increasing the already astronomical defense budget. I don't know who or how.

The idea of a labor party is a valid and necessary one. Keep up the good work in endorsing it.

Richard Stoecher
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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.

Last summer Socialist Workers Party branches began a campaign to study basic ideas of Marxism. Since then, many branches completed classes on *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels; Engels' *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*; and Marx's *Wage-Labor and Capital* and *Value Price and Profit*.

The SWP's National Education Department is now recommending Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* as basic reading for the next round of classes.

Lenin wrote *Imperialism* in response to a deep crisis that exploded in the working-class movement of the world at the beginning of World War I.

Since its founding in 1889 the Second International—the world organization of socialist parties in those years—had taken the position that workers should oppose any war launched by the big capitalist powers.

But when war came, the parliamentary representatives of the German Social Democrats—the strongest party in the international—voted war credits for the imperialist government. Leaders of workers parties in France, Russia, and elsewhere supported their governments. Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia and Wilhelm Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany were outstanding exceptions.

This turn of events shocked revolutionary-minded workers all over the world. Lenin's *Imperialism* was written to expose the arguments of the prowar "socialists" in favor of the imperialist slaughter.

They tried to justify themselves by pointing to cases where Marx and Engels supported one side in nineteenth century wars, such as when they backed the United States against the slaveholders' Confederacy during the Civil War.

Using what he called "irrefutable data" on the economic development of the great powers, Lenin showed why they never again would wage such progressive wars.

He showed how capitalism, inexorably reflecting its own internal laws, had been transformed from its early stage of free competition into modern monopoly capitalism. Having established a world market, the big capitalist powers had swept over Asia, Africa, and Latin America and divided the world among themselves.

But the drive of each imperialist power to seek new markets for capital and goods led to frenzied competition among them. The resulting wars have been fought to redivide the world, not to rid it of reactionary institutions such as slavery.

Imperialist superprofits had enabled the ruling classes to forge a bond with the privileged officialdom in the trade unions and Socialist parties of the major capitalist countries. These officials' positions and high living standard depended on imperialist prosperity. They had a stake in lining up workers behind "their" imperialist rulers in the bloody competition for world domination.

The prodraft stance adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council is a current example of this phenomenon.

A special target of Lenin was Karl Kautsky, who had been the chief authority on Marxism in the Second International. During the war, Kautsky took an in-between position, basically defending the pro-imperialist Socialist officials.

Lenin wanted to say more about the political implications

of imperialism, but he did not enjoy the freedom to do so. He points out, "This pamphlet was written with an eye to the tsarist censorship. . . ."

"We shall not be able to deal with non-economic [i.e. political] aspects of the question [of imperialism] however they deserve to be dealt with."

Lenin's basic tenets were tested again in World War II. This time Kautsky's heirs all over the world assigned the progressive task of uprooting fascism and guaranteeing democracy and progress to the United States and its allies. The Stalinists also opposed all forms of the class struggle against imperialist governments that allied with Stalin against Hitler.

Only the Socialist Workers Party and other supporters of the Fourth International recognized the true character of the war. They stressed that the Soviet Union's fight against Hitler was in the vital interests of working people. But they explained that the fight between the U.S. and German imperialists was not over fascism but over who was to plunder the world. Far from being able to prevent fascism and war, the continued dominance of imperialism would make a recurrence of such horrors inevitable.

One example of how Trotsky and the Fourth International viewed this is provided in the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution" adopted at the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International held in New York, May 1940, (printed in *Writings of Leon Trotsky 1939-40*, Pathfinder Press, \$5.45).

The Manifesto called for a "class struggle against imperialism." It states: "Only revolution could prevent the American bourgeoisie from intervening in the second imperialist war or beginning the third imperialist war."

The conclusion of World War II showed the fallacy of believing that "democratic" imperialist governments were guardians of peace and human rights. The war ended with the atom bombing of Japanese civilians by the Truman administration.

In the years after World War II, U.S. imperialism attempted to use the dominant position it had won to prepare a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Growing militarization and attacks on democratic rights became facts of life in the "free world."

The spread of fascist-type dictatorships and a catastrophic world war have been blocked by the struggle of workers and oppressed people against the imperialists—the victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, and its consequences; the spread of anti-imperialist struggle in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; and the class-struggle capacity and antiwar convictions of workers in the United States and Europe.

With Carter trying to reinstitute the draft and sending "advisers" to El Salvador, working people will find Lenin's *Imperialism* a valuable key to today's events.

A study guide on *Imperialism* has been prepared by the National Education Department and is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Lenin's *Imperialism* is also available from Pathfinder Press and at the offices listed below.

—Paul Montauk

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ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: East Bay: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union. Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rick Drozd, 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.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, 4120 Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Oberlin: YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box

679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0084. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Tom Dynia, 2024 Goodrich Ave. #110 Zip: 78704. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 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.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

Tacoma: SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

U.S., Salvadoran gov'ts lie about funeral massacre

Eyewitnesses: 'Troops slaughtered Romero mourners'

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA, April 2—The death toll from the "Palm Sunday Massacre" in San Salvador is still rising. Reports reaching here today indicate that between 50 and 100 persons were killed when elements of the Salvadoran armed forces and right-wing paramilitary groups attacked a crowd of half a million persons who had gathered outside the Metropolitan Cathedral on March 30 for the funeral of slain Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

Salvadoran hospitals are treating some 650 people for gunshot wounds or injuries suffered when the crowd stampeded for cover. At least 147 of them are in grave or serious condition. Numerous eyewitnesses coincide in declaring that the massacre began at 11:40 a.m. when a grenade or bomb was thrown from a balcony of the National Palace, adjacent to the large plaza outside the cathedral.

Several more bombs went off almost immediately. Snipers in uniform or civilian dress fired from the upper floors of the National Palace and other surrounding buildings. Panic swept the crowd, which was made up mostly of workers and peasants who had traveled from all parts of El Salvador to pay their last respects to the religious leader who had given voice to their demands.

As firing continued, thousands sought refuge in the cathedral while others fled down side streets. Many were trampled underfoot.

The shooting went on for more than four hours. Hundreds of religious figures, journalists, and members of official delegations from many countries were trapped inside the cathedral. They were finally able to walk out cautiously, in single file, with their hands above their heads.

Later in the afternoon the military-civilian junta that rules El Salvador issued a statement claiming that all its armed units had remained in their barracks. The junta placed responsibility for the bloody events on the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM), and further accused the CRM of plotting to steal Archbishop Romero's body. It said the CRM had forcibly held the religious dignitaries inside the cathedral.

U.S. Ambassador Robert Whyte offered a similar version of the massacre and its aftermath to journalists. And it was lent credibility by major U.S. news media such as the *New York Times* and the *Voice of America*.

Within hours, twenty-six Catholic bishops from various countries and a number of other religious figures and laymen issued a statement in San Salvador denouncing the "grave falsehoods" in the junta's statement. "At no time did anyone try to carry off Msgr. Romero's cadaver," the bishops said. "The Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses [which had organized a demonstration of some 80,000 people before the funeral] entered the Plaza Barrios outside the cathedral in a peaceful, respectful, and orderly way."

The bishops affirmed that the attack was launched from the National Palace and that government security forces were present "from the early hours of the morning . . . in the streets of San Salvador and at the approaches to the city."

The statement concluded: "We who came to honor Msgr. Romero have been able to experience the truth of his words when he untiringly fought the repression against the Salvadoran people."

At a March 31 news conference the junta tried to back up its version of the previous day's events with television film and photographs allegedly showing armed CRM activists in the cathedral plaza. But the tables were turned when American reporters from ABC News, the Associated Press, and United Press International rose to denounce the regime's security forces for stealing the film from their hotel rooms.

Two Dutch journalists were among those who pressed the junta on its lies at the March 31 news conference. The next day they were machine gunned in



Government troops fired into crowd of thousands at funeral of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, slain because of his outspoken criticism of Salvadoran junta. Men, women, and children were shot, and many were trampled to death as they ran for cover.

San Salvador by unidentified assailants and were gravely wounded. Other foreign journalists received death threats. Most are leaving the country.

After the "Palm Sunday Massacre" the Salvadoran armed forces stepped up their campaign of terror. At least 200 people were reported killed in the forty-eight hours after the attack on Romero's funeral.

Repression in the countryside is so intense that thousands of peasants are reportedly fleeing across the Guatemalan and Honduran borders. Refugees have also begun to arrive in Nicaragua.

Actions are urgently needed to expose the junta's crimes and the Carter administration's complicity in them.

Halt the repression!
U.S. hands off El Salvador!

Second assassination of Romero?

The U.S. government armed the forces that killed Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero and many other Salvadorans.

Now a second assassination of Romero is being carried out—the butchery of his ideas. Reporting his funeral March 31, the *New York Times* asserted that the archbishop "had criticized both the extreme right and the extreme left for widespread killing and torture."

Not so. Romero's denunciations were aimed at the "moderate" junta and its paramilitary arms.

Far from blaming revolutionaries for repression, Romero stated, "In a moment when all roads are closed . . . the people have only the road of legitimate insurrection—legitimate because years of crimes and suffering, of injustice and oppression lay behind it."

For Romero's real views, see this month's *International Socialist Review*. It's in this issue of the *Militant*.

Appeal for world labor solidarity

MANAGUA—Leaders of the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM), which unites the four main organizations of Salvadoran workers and peasants, held a news conference in San Salvador on April 1 to respond to the ruling junta's slander against the CRM regarding the March 30 massacre and to issue a special call for international solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador.

According to a report in the April 1 issue of the Sandinista National

Liberation Front daily *Barricada* here, the call for solidarity included the following:

"• The coordinating committee has decided to ask the world's democratic and progressive governments—including the Vatican—to break all diplomatic and other relations with El Salvador.

"• Also the coordinating committee has resolved to call on the international working class to boycott arms shipments and any other

aid directed to the Salvadoran junta.

"• To request the popular and trade-union organizations of the United States to put pressure on their government to halt the economic and military aid that it plans to give [the Salvadoran] government.

"• To ask the peoples of Venezuela and Puerto Rico to pressure their respective governments not to allow themselves to be used by imperialism in its attempts to intervene militarily [in El Salvador]."