

Socialist Worker

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International Women's Day. See page 3

MARCH 1980



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STOP THE DRAFT!

Anti-draft activists are planning a national mobilization against registration and the draft.

The National Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD) has set March 22 as the date, and is predicting a massive turnout for the Washington, D.C., march and rally.

MARCH

According to march organizers, tens of thousands are expected to "march from the Ellipse, past the White House to a rally on the Capitol steps to demand: no registration, no draft, no war."

There are also regional demonstrations planned for March 22, including West Coast demonstrations.

We urge everyone to support and participate in these demonstrations.

The Washington, D.C., march can focus national attention on the draft and be an important first step in building a movement that can stop the next war.

ALL OUT

All out for March 22. Stop registration! Stop the draft! Stop the war!

Zimbabwe: the struggle must continue

Robert Mugabe won a landslide victory in Zimbabwe's elections. His party, ZANU-PF, has won a majority in the new government—55 of the 80 Black seats in the 100 member parliament.

In all probability, Mugabe will become Zimbabwe's prime minister.

ZANU-PF bore the brunt of the guerilla war and has a more radical program than the other Black parties, laying great stress on equal distribution of land. Its popularity was reaffirmed by the election results which also shows the intense hatred of white minority rule.

VICTORY

But the election victory was by no means easy. During the last two months, Mugabe's forces have been subject to systematic harassment.

A puppet candidate, Bishop Abel Muzorewa was financed to the hilt by South Africa, Rhodesian whites and the West. He carried out an anti-Mugabe campaign and his "auxiliary forces" intimidated ZANU-PF supporters.

The Security Forces who policed the elections were openly pro-Muzorewa. ZANU-PF members were arrested on trumped up charges and others were attacked. Two were killed only a week ago and there had been two assassination attempts on Mugabe.

And the threat against Mugabe is by no means over. His victory at the polls could be short lived. The Rhodesian Security Forces remain intact. South African troops are still in the country.

by AHMED SHAWKI

The whites still control the state—the civil service and the government apparatus. Lord Soames, the British governor, makes no secret of his anti-Mugabe bias.

So the struggle for an independent Zimbabwe is by no means over. But Mugabe has been trying to moderate his image. In a TV broadcast after the elections he announced that his would be a government of conciliation.

But such assurances might not be enough for the whites. Ian Smith and others have made numerous statements hinting at a military coup. The possibility of a preemptive strike against the guerilla assembly points is a real one.

THREAT

Only when the white neo-colonial state is destroyed, the Rhodesian forces dismantled and the South Africans driven out of the country will this threat be destroyed. The example of Chile in 1973, where the democratically elected president, Allende, was savagely overthrown, must not be forgotten.



WILD-CAT STRIKE HITS PACIFIC N.W. BELL

SEATTLE, WA—Several thousand telephone workers from Seattle to Portland struck for safety on Thursday, February 21.

The wildcat strikers demanded that the practice of having two cable splicers on each underground job be continued.

Pacific Northwest Bell changed the old practice by requiring only one splicer per job in Renton, just outside Seattle, earlier this year.

TEST

After eighty years of having two splicers per job the company called this job "feather-bedding." They decided to test the new practice on a small local before forcing it in Seattle and Portland.

When one woman was suspended for twice refusing to go in to a hole alone, the wildcat started in Renton. The company was caught off guard when within a day the strike spread to surrounding areas and even as far as Portland, Oregon, 170 miles away.

Friday night a meeting of the Seattle local of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) supported the strike, though the officers left the meeting so as to make it unofficial. In Portland, the officials formally endorsed the strike.

Besides the safety issue, the strikers demanded amnesty and pay while on strike. Almost all splicers, most installers and many other crafts including operators struck. Altogether 3,000 to 4,000 people were out.

Injunctions were issued on locals involved in the strike and by Saturday afternoon the officers of the striking locals conferred on the phone and agreed to call off the strike. The settlement included all strikers receiving amnesty—but no pay while on strike—leaving the safety issue up to OSHA—the government's Occupational Health and Safety Administration. Later in the day meetings of the strikers agreed to the settlement.

FIRST

In Seattle militants were exhilarated by the first wildcat in years. Many new people were involved and the possibilities for future actions look good.

But many people were also concerned about leaving the issue to OSHA. There was talk about going back out if OSHA gave the wrong result.

by STEVE LEIGH



People from hundreds of civil rights, trade union and left-wing organizations, including the ISO, marched in Greensboro, on February 2.

7,000 IN ANTI-KLAN MARCH

On February 2, 7,000 people marched through the streets of Greensboro, North Carolina, in a powerful answer to the "new" Ku Klux Klan.

The demonstration represented hundreds of civil rights, trade union, and left organizations. They came from cities and states across the country to counter the Klan and protest the killing of five anti-Klan activists in Greensboro in November, last year.

The demonstration was an important show of strength. Hopefully it will be just the beginning of a new, militant movement, aimed at driving the racist Klan from the streets, factories, cities and towns of this country. □



WHIRLPOOL WORKERS WIN FIGHT FOR SAFETY

MARION, OH—Workers have the right, under certain circumstances, to refuse unsafe work—so ruled the Supreme Court February 26.

This ruling is a victory for all working people who must fight daily against unsafe working conditions. But it is a particularly important victory for the workers at the Whirlpool Corporation in Marion, Ohio, where the suit originated.

DEATH

In July 1974, George Cowgill, a 62 year old employee, was ordered by his supervisor to go up on a wire mesh screen to remove objects. He fell to his death.

One week later, Thomas

Cornwell and Virgil Deemer were ordered to do the same thing. They refused, touching off a six year court battle involving Whirlpool, the Labor Board, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

REFUSED

Cornwell explained, "Deemer and I were the two lowest grade maintenance men. When we were ordered up on the screen after the death, we refused. We went to the foreman, then the safety director, and then we called OSHA in Columbus.

"We called OSHA because we don't have a union here. But OSHA told us they could do nothing until we were

punished for refusing to do the job.

"Well, we were fired. I had already fallen through the screen before and ended up with a fractured wrist. If we hadn't refused to go up there, and if we hadn't been fired and fought this case, Whirlpool wouldn't even have been cited for the death.

HELP

"It's a shame it took someone's death to get rid of the hazardous conditions here," Cornwell stated, "but this whole thing has helped our plant. Everybody here realizes the significance of the court ruling, and it will hopefully help all over the U.S."

by ANNE MACKIE

NEW V.P. IN UMWA

WASHINGTON, D.C.—United Mine Workers president Sam Church has named a new vice-president, Wilbert Killion, the member of the union's International Executive Board from Indiana.

Church won the right to appoint his vice-president at the recent UMWA special constitutional convention in Denver, in December, after a stormy debate with opponents.

Previously the union's constitution ruled that all top union positions be filled by elected officers.

Killion has been on the Executive Board since 1956. He is expected to be a loyal supporter of Church.

SLATE

In 1972, Killion ran unsuccessfully for secretary treasurer of the union—on a slate headed by Tony Boyle—against Arnold Miller and the Miners for Democracy.

Many rank and file miners argued at the Denver convention that Church had to be given the benefit of the doubt, hoping that Church would use his new powers to make the union more effective.

Killion's appointment proves just the opposite. Church is using his new powers to build up a reactionary apparatus. □

Pamphlets from Hera on women

REVOLUTIONARY FEMINISM

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available from Hera Press, Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118

International Women's Day

March 8 is International Women's Day, a very important day in the history of the struggle for women's rights.

It began back in 1908 when 20,000 women garment workers in New York City took to the streets demanding equal pay, child care, the right to vote, and an end to sweatshop conditions.

The women garment workers were pioneers in the fight for women's rights. They were also pioneers in the history of industrial unions.

HONOR

March 8 became an international day of protest and celebration in 1911, when Clara Zetkin, the leader of the women's section of the German socialist party, urged that the Second Socialist International proclaim the day as a holiday in honor of working women everywhere.

More importantly, International Women's Day was stamped in history six years later when women textile workers in St. Petersburg, Russia, sparked the 1917 revolution.

"The socialist circles," wrote Trotsky, "had intended to mark this day in a general manner with meetings, speeches, leaflets."

"It had not occurred to anyone that it might be the first day of the revolution... On the following morning, in spite of all directives, the women textile workers in several factories went on strike and sent delegates to the metal workers with an appeal for support..."

BELOW

"Thus the fact that the February Revolution was begun from below, overcoming the resistance of its own revolutionary organization, the initiative being taken of their own accord by the most oppressed and down-

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WHAT WE THINK

trodden of the proletariat—the women textile workers, among them, no doubt, many soldiers wives..."

VICTIM

International Women's Day, unfortunately, suffered the same fate as the Russian Revolution. It fell victim to Stalin, and today it is the Russian equivalent of Mothers Day.

But the day was revived in its true sense half a century later, here in the United States, with the rebirth of the women's liberation movement, a movement which was itself inspired by the struggle of Vietnamese women, half-way round the world.

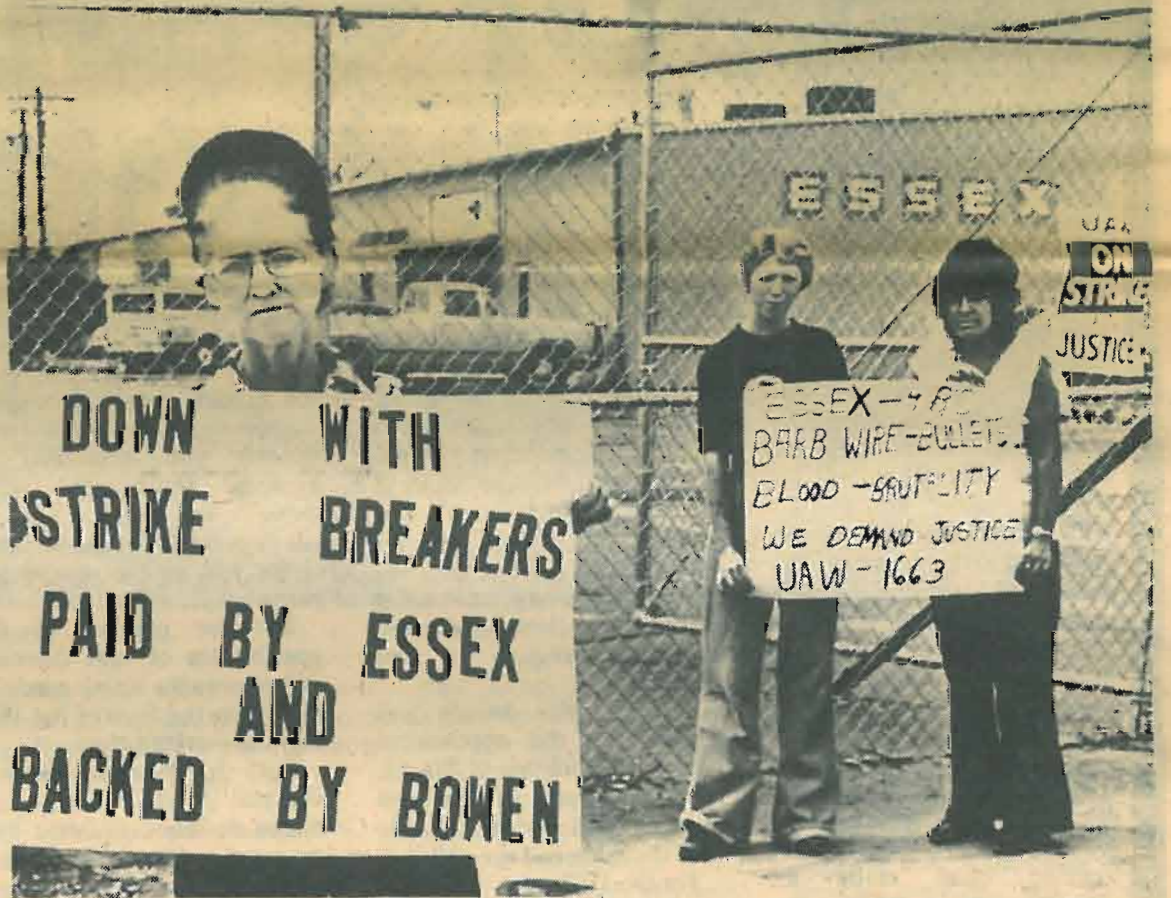
And last year, in Tehran, Iran, women again took to the streets in their thousands, this time demanding that the Iranian revolution include women. "How can half of humanity be free," they chanted, "when the other half is in chains."

These Iranian women took the first step in demanding that Khomeini not be allowed to stop the revolution half-way—a revolution which still leaves the vast majority of Iranians exploited and powerless.

We will celebrate International Women's Day, 1980, then, in honor of working women and as internationalists. More importantly, we will celebrate it because women still receive unequal pay, have no child care, and are exploited in sweatshops, in many cases, in conditions as terrible as those in 1908.

Today women earn only 57¢ for every dollar a man earns. Women face double the

Working women, then and now. Right, trade union delegates in 1886. Below, strikers at Essex Wire in Elwood, Indiana, 1977



unemployment of men. Black women face double the unemployment of white women. The job market is as segregated today as it was seventy years ago. And families headed by single women are

on the top of the poverty statistics.

Moreover there is an attack on the rights of working women, not only the attack which takes the form of inflation, the stagnation and decline of real wages, the cuts in social services, but also an attack on women's reproductive rights and sterilization abuse. Today 33% of all Puerto Rican women have been sterilized and 35% of all Native American women—most often without their knowledge or after coercion.

SOLIDARITY

The fight for women's rights, therefore, is far from over. We must continue the struggle of the New York City garment workers, of the textile workers of St. Petersburg, we must stand in solidarity with our Iranian sisters.

And we must remember that we can only win our liberation if we take it ourselves. And we can only take it ourselves as the majority of women, the working and oppressed women of this world—and as part of the working class struggle for socialism. We still have two worlds to win. □

FIGHTING WORDS

In my thinking, if the students in this country forgot the analysis that has been presented to them, and they went into a huddle and began to research this problem of racism for themselves, independent of politicians and independent of all the foundations (which are part of the power structure), and did it themselves, then some of their findings would be shocking.

But they would see that they would never be able to bring about a solution to racism in this country as long as they're relying on the government to do it. The federal government itself is just as racist as the government in Mississippi and is more guilty of perpetuating the racist system.

Malcolm X
January, 1965



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FBI TIED TO KLAN MURDERS

Former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover got advance notice of planned attacks by the Ku Klux Klan and the Birmingham police on anti-racist Freedom Riders in the early 1960s and did nothing to prevent them.

This and other evidence of

high-level FBI complicity with the Klan have been exposed by the Rowe Task Force of the U.S. Justice Department and were made public last month.

The new information confirms the long-standing charges that the FBI and its

leaders worked for years through local police and the Klan to undermine the Civil Rights Movement. It also bolsters the suspicion that the police were involved in last fall's murder of five anti-Klan activists in Greensboro.

The attacks in the 1960s

on Freedom Riders sometimes resulted in death, as when Viola Liuzza, a Detroit woman, was slain in 1965.

EVIDENCE

Much of the new evidence focuses on the work of Gary Rowe Jr., the former Alabama

FBI informer who was a Klan leader.

Rowe actively participated in many acts of violence against Blacks and is believed to have played a key role in the Liuzza murder.

BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA BY TONY BOGUES

In 1974, the Sixth Pan African Congress was held in Africa, the first one to be held there. There was, however, a difference with the Fifth Congress. The 5th laid the basis for independence movements in Africa.

The 6th was a meeting ground of the neo-colonial governments in Africa and the Caribbean. The main organizing committee was composed of Afro-Americans—the moderate wing of the movement. The governments attempted to ban revolutionary socialists from participation in the Congress.

The Congress signaled that a new phase had been reached in the Black Liberation struggle internationally. No longer could the movement be concerned about countries under colonialism, even though there were still countries dominated in a colonial relationship.

The majority of countries and peoples who participated suffered from a neo-colonial relationship with imperialism. Political Independence had not guaranteed economic development, social progress and the liberation of the masses.

The Independence movement had stripped away illusions. The nation was/is divided into classes. The question was/is which class could make the aspirations of independence a reality.

STRENGTH

For the first time in years a district political tendency representing the interest of the working class made its strength felt in Africa, the Caribbean and elsewhere. In January 1975, 12,000 Black workers struck at Vaal Reefs Gold Mine in South Africa.

The strike was a prelude to "76 Soweto." In Botswana, July, 1975 at the Copper Nickel Mine in Selebi Pikne, workers brought the corrupt regime to its knees.

In 1971 in Namibia 6,000 workers went on strike in Windhoek to protest against contract labor system. In Tanzania, students and workers joined in struggles against corruption in the government. In the Caribbean a general strike brought down the corrupt regime in Dominica of Patrick John in 1979.

In 1970, in Trinidad and Tobago, students brought the regime to its knees—workers decided to join in to give the final push—and American

END OF THE DECADE: II



imperialism intervened to bolster the government of Eric Williams.

In other words the Black working class came to the forefront. In the Caribbean in the '70's the revolutionary nationalist trend went over to socialism. In 1979, in Grenada the revolutionary nationalist organization New Jewel overthrew the regime of Eric Gairy.

In U.K. the decade was marked by the appearance into British politics of Blacks. In particular unemployed Blacks waged a running battle with the State and the police.

For the U.K., the "chickens came home." The first capitalist colonial power, the country now faces the anger of the oppressed ex-colonial in its very heart.

Again, on the African Continent, there was the success of national liberation struggles. In Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

In response to these successes, South Africa developed its nuclear potential and had a testing site in the Kalahari desert. It is estimated that by this year they would have developed their atomic bomb.

RELATIONSHIP

The nature of the relationship between struggles not only of Blacks but of all peoples was confirmed in Portugal in '74.

There the national liberation struggle of the then

Portuguese colonies created conditions for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The Portuguese revolution witnessed the explosion of workers' self-activity many thought was buried. The revolution was aborted because of the lack of a revolutionary party.

But the glimpse of the possibilities of real freedom will remain the spark ready to transform the lives of the Portuguese working class.

Back in America towards the end of the decade, the Bakke decision signalled that the small gains made by Black struggle were being eroded. Economic recession plagued the American and world capitalist economy.

STAGNATION

In real terms, in 1960's the average growth rate of the American economy was 4.6%. In the '70's it was 2.8%. In 1974-75 there was stagnation in the economy. The bourgeois economists coined a new word stagflation—stagnation plus inflation.

Today the new word is slumpflation—the stagnation has turned into a slump. The cause is the decline in rate of profit. Between 1960-73 the U.S. average growth of business investment was 4.9%. Between 1973-78 it was 0.7%.

All of this hits Blacks the worst. In 1975-78, the number of unemployed whites dropped by 28%. Yet for Blacks the figure remains the same

as in the 1975 recession. In terms of earnings, Black men still earn 74% of average white male worker earnings.

At the same time by the end of the '70's Blacks were an urban people. 81.3% of Blacks in U.S. live in urban areas as compared to 72.4% of Whites. Blacks were also predominantly workers.

DIGGERS

Capitalism has organized its own revolutionary grave diggers. So in the U.S. like elsewhere in the diaspora—Blacks were becoming members of the working class. This single factor will shape

the coming conflagrations of the '80's.

As the world moves from one crisis to the next, the class that can reconstruct society on humane lines is the working class—the class that is most consistently revolutionary, by virtue of having nothing to lose but its chains. Nothing else now can reshape our lives but transformation of this system.

The rich have ruled—they have made a mess. The workers and oppressed can reconstruct society. In that process we will not only take the courageous spirit of the '70s—but the lessons also.

Soweto explodes!



Nicaragua: towards a socialist reconstruction?

On July 19th last year, the Sandinistas returned triumphantly to Managua after overthrowing the dictatorial regime of Anastasio Somoza.

Supported militarily by the U.S. for the last 47 years, this was one of the most brutal dictatorships in Latin America.

The Sandinista victory came after a long, brave, bitter, necessary struggle that cost many lives.

RECONSTRUCTION

Today nearly eight months later, the character of the Sandinista revolution is becoming clear. Following the ideology of Sandinismo, it is a nationalist revolution dominated by the social democratic faction of the FSLN (Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional). And it is dedicated to "National Reconstruction."

The Government of Reconstruction, installed by the Sandinistas, is a broad class coalition of bourgeois professionals and intellectuals together with workers and campesinos. Although this government has made fundamental changes to specific parts of the Nicaraguan state apparatus, it has not fundamentally challenged the class basis of that state.

Indeed, it is encouraging the private capitalist sector to take a leading role in the "reconstruction." The FSLN promises the bourgeoisie that it can continue owning its own business so long as it assists the reconstruction.

The question is, of course, reconstruction for whom? The Sandinistas (particularly the social democratic Tercerista faction) insist that the workers are as yet insufficiently educated to control their factories and to determine the broader direction of the revolution. Accordingly, they say, there must be a first stage of reconstruction combined with workers' education before the Sandinista revolution can become a socialist one.

NECESSITY

But although social democratic policies direct the Nicaraguan government today, it is by no means the accepted line among Nicaraguan workers.

Among many workers there is an understanding of the necessity of setting up independent working class organizations to defend and fight for the rights and needs of workers. No government, even one that calls itself socialist (which the Nicaraguan government doesn't even do) can "give" the workers socialism.

During the anti-Somoza struggle, a number of workers' organizations arose in the cities and were active in that struggle—CDS's (Sandinista Defence Committees) and the CST's (Sandinista Unions).

A look at the Sandinista revolution by Les Field, just returned from three weeks in Nicaragua.



Victorious Sandinista freedom fighters.

Today these organizations are active in the reconstruction effort. They serve to carry out government policies on the local level, but are not encouraged to influence these policies. A massive government bureaucracy already separates them from the source of political power.

The attitude of the FSLN government is that independent workers' organizations (other than what already exists—the CDS's and CST's) are unnecessary and may even obstruct the reconstruction effort.

THREAT

Thus Moses Hassan, an FSLN member of the ruling junta, declares that the "ultra left," not the bourgeoisie, "poses the main threat to the Revolution." The FSLN, once it achieved power, declared itself the workers' revolutionary party in an attempt to stifle independent workers' organization from below.

The largest of the workers' organizations, Frente Obrero (Workers' Front), was also active in the anti-Somoza struggle. Since Somoza's defeat they have been harassed

by the FSLN and the government, and at one point their newspaper, *El Pueblo*, was shut down.

Finally, just last month, *El Pueblo* was closed down permanently by the government, its editors were arrested and accused of "counter revolutionary activity" and weapons charges, and were sentenced to jail.

El Pueblo argued that the Nicaraguan people cannot reconstruct the country using the capitalist class without at the same time reconstructing the political power of the capitalists. With the suppression of Frente Obrero, the FSLN promise of "socialist pluralism" has faded. While the capitalist class is strengthened in reconstruction, the working class is weakened.

SOCIALISM?

If socialism is to come to Nicaragua with the FSLN in power, it is clear that it will be socialism from above and not from below. And that, as we have seen in Cuba and elsewhere, is not socialism.

So what went wrong in Nicaragua? The answer is, nothing.

The present strategy was hatched well before the defeat of Somoza. The Tercerista faction of the Sandinistas, a mixed but essentially social democratic group who are strongly influenced by Castro's Cuba, were the militarily dominant faction in the final offensive against Somoza. It is their strategy that dominates today.

Consistent with this strategy, the Government of Reconstruction is courting international aid from the European and other social democracies, as well as from their previous oppressor, the U.S.

If socialism were really part of their vision for Nicaragua's future, their "internationalism" might have taken a different focus—alliance with the brewing revolutions in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras rather than with the western bourgeoisie.

CONTINUOUS

Despite the defeats, the struggle for socialism continues in Nicaragua, but it is



WORLD IN STRUGGLE

not being led by the FSLN. The smaller factions in the FSLN (the GPP and Proletarios) make up the left wing of the Sandinistas and are the only section of the government capable of opposing the present policies. But they have taken a back seat to the Terceristas, forming a "loyal opposition" that will go along with the class compromise for reconstruction.

Already, however, there is rising discontent among some sections of the working class over food and resource distribution, jobs, back pay, and there have been numerous small but angry demonstrations.

HOPE

The hope for socialism in Nicaragua depends primarily upon these small scattered movements being able to coalesce into a wider independent workers' organization that has sufficient mass membership and support to challenge the reformist majority within the FSLN. Only the organization of the working class in pursuit of its own interests can lead to socialism. □

Graffiti

by Patricia Goldsmith

Workers of all Galaxies unite

The Rand Corporation of Santa Monica, California has issued a study called "The Economics of Strikes and Revolts During Early Space Colonization."

According to a brochure, the study deals with such topics as "how such occurrences as strikes and revolts might arise, the likely direction they will take, and what steps might be undertaken in the space industrialization planning stage to minimize the danger of catastrophic economic and social disruption." □

And another historic compromise . . .

Italy's Communist Party, worried by its electoral losses, is now negotiating a second "historic compromise," this time with... big business!

Party leaders are asking the government to use state funds to aid private industry and are taking steps themselves to encourage worker productivity.

They are also attacking union leaders for demanding big pay increases. "A general increase in wages would be contrary to the interests not only of the entire nation but of the working class itself," says Senator Gerardo Chiaromonte, the head of the Communists' economics department.

"There would be an unstoppable race between salary increases and inflation." Humm. Sounds like Jimmy Carter. □

Our man in Singapore

Former South Dakota Governor Richard Kneip, is the present US ambassador to Singapore.

Not long after he arrived at his post in Southeast Asia he asked one staff member, "What is this 'gang of four' everybody's talking about?"

On another occasion he asked, "Did you say there are two Korean governments? How come?"

At a meeting of the US envoys, he asked "What's Islam?" Kneip had never heard of Ghandi, Sukarno, Giscard d'Estaing and Deng Xiaoping.

He invited friends from home to watch highly classified embassy work. Once, while touring a US warship, he slipped away from the foreign VIPs to be with his family and had his house-boy stand-in. I guess no one knew the difference. □

Harvester workers rally support

CHICAGO, IL—International Harvester and the United Auto Workers resumed talks here in February after more than two months. And at the end of the month the two sides imposed a news blackout on the negotiations.

35,000 Harvester workers have been on strike across the

country since November 1, closing down almost all the domestic plants operated by Harvester, the giant manufacturer of trucks and farm and construction equipment.

OVERTIME

Reports are that many demands, both from the union

and the company remain unsettled, but the chief obstacle to a settlement continues to be the company's demand for the right to impose mandatory overtime work.

Harvester workers are the only workers among the major producers of agricultural and

construction equipment to have maintained the right to voluntary overtime.

In Chicago and Ft. Wayne, workers have organized support rallies. The Ft. Wayne rally drew workers from dozens of local factories and unions. □

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

"Patriotism and militarism are part of capitalism."

Marxists really shouldn't be surprised or dismayed by the growing threats of war. The present atmosphere of patriotism and militarism will ebb and flow as long as capitalism exists. We should face it so we can fight it.

But to tell the truth, I was a little dismayed when it became clear the U.S. rulers are ready and willing to re-impose the draft as soon as possible—that they would dare to do it so soon after Vietnam. First will come registration, then the draft, and then war.

Having lived through the Vietnam war, the bitterest thing about this time for me is to see the government closing in again on the young.

Every period of relative peace under capitalism is followed by years of war and slaughter. And even the years of "peace" are scarred by "police actions," "small scale" invasions, right-wing coups, and the imposition of martial law in country after country.

WATCHWORDS

No ruling class ever sent people to war under the slogan: "For the Glory and Honor of the Ruling Class." The watchwords are always abstractions which have been sold to the majority: God, honor, defense, freedom, democracy, and a "war to end all wars."

The current war talk began with the revolution in Iran, which was blamed for the energy crisis. But with the oil companies reporting record profits, it was difficult for the government to whip up sufficient hysteria among the people. Few of us would willingly fight and die for the Texaco Star or the Exxon Tiger.

POWER

Then the embassy takeover occurred, and things got easier for Carter. "Our honor" was at stake. Never mind that the 1953 coup d'etat that brought the Shah to power over a popular government was planned in the basement of this embassy.

Never mind that the U.S. backed the Shah for thirty years with billions in arms and helped build SAVAK. Never mind that the U.S. govern-

ment thumbed its nose at a democratic revolution by bringing the Shah to this country.

But when you are on a winning streak, sometimes your luck holds. For Carter this was the case in December when the Russians invaded Afghanistan. American imperialism can now hide its intentions behind a mask of outraged innocence and point its finger at Soviet imperialism.

MUSCLE

The U.S. is portrayed by politicians and the mass media as the underdog in a fight with the giant Russian bear. And the dog needs more muscle. In real terms, this means Carter wants young Americans to make themselves pawns in the imperialist game—to become the murderers and victims of their own class and their own generation.

Also in real terms, Carter is engineering a huge build-up of the American military apparatus, which was already capable of destroying every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth. Of course, Russia will have to increase its already staggering capacity to do the same. And the allies of both will increase their arms spending accordingly.

In a world caught in the grip of economic crisis, the ruling classes—East and West—are compelled by their mutual competition to organize production on a scale that includes the whole world. No one should think all this is happening for the first time.

Imperialist countries have scrambled for power throughout this century and millions upon millions of ordinary human beings have died. Unprecedented slaughter and suffering have marked the wars that carved up the world in the interests of a handful of billionaires and bureaucrats.

"For the glory and honor of the ruling class"



A victim of Vietnam: a boy injured in the last year of the war who has shrapnel wounds, a spine injury and damaged nerves, walks on the banks of a canal dike 12 miles from Saigon

We must do our utmost to resist the pressures for patriotism and war. This means standing up against attempts to create popular enthusiasm for the U.S. as the "greatest country in the world," with all that means. One important way to do that right now is to join in the growing fight against the draft.

HIDE

If we were in Russia, we would be fighting against the invasion of Afghanistan, as we fought against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. But we're America, not Russia.

Here, revolution in Iran and Russian imperialism are being used to hide American imperialism, to whip up war hysteria and make people willing to pay for more weapons of destruction.

As socialists, we need to make clear that the fundamental division in the world is not between East and West, but between workers and their bosses, between oppressed and oppressors.

Capitalist competition dominates the world today as it did in 1918 when Eugene Debs, spoke out against the First World War, a speech for which he was himself sent to federal prison:

"They have always taught and trained you to believe it to be your patriotic duty to go to war and to have yourselves slaughtered at their command. But in all the history of the world you, the people, have never had a voice in declaring war . . .

"The working class who fight all the battles, the working class who make the supreme sacrifices, the working class who freely shed their blood and furnish the corpses, have never yet had a voice in either declaring war or making peace. It is the ruling class that invariably does both.

*Yours not to reason why,
Yours but to do and die.*

"That is their motto and we object on the part of the awakening workers of this nation." □

Special Supplement

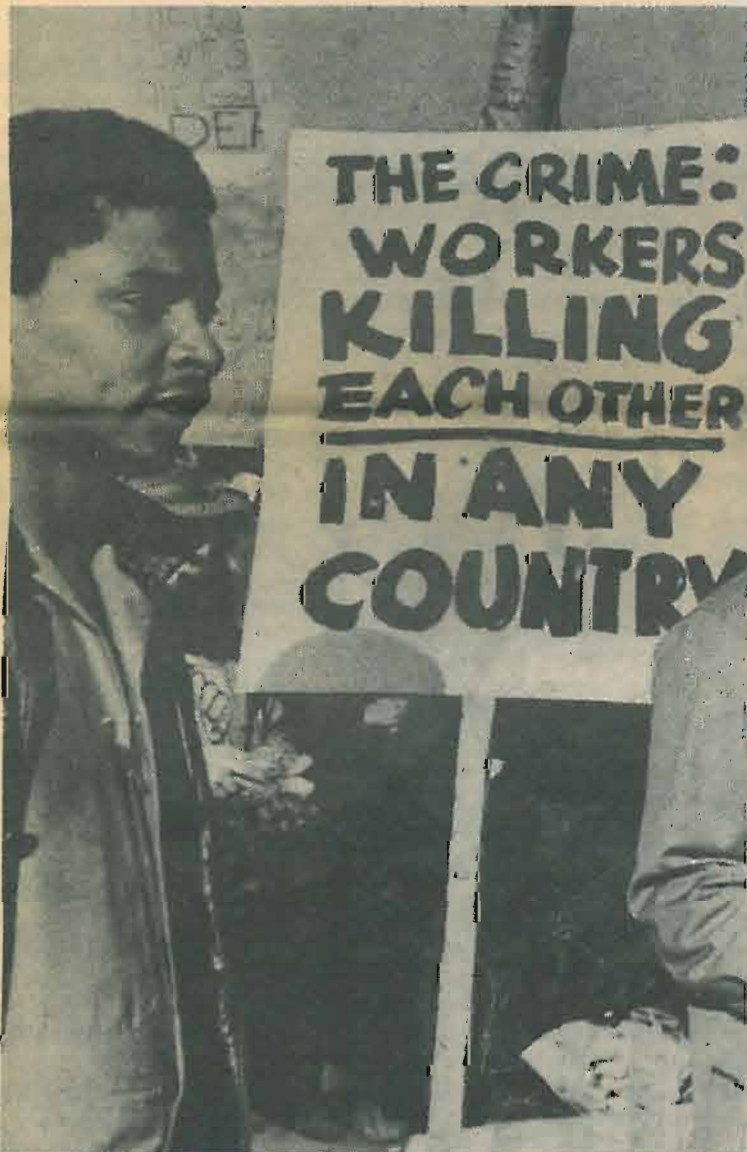
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THE DRAFT AND THE NEW COLD WAR



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So the draft is not simply a question of civil liberties, of individuals being forced to serve against their wills. It is inextricably connected to the new cold war, one key component in Carter's new arsenal. It will be reinstated to be used—whether in the Persian Gulf, in Central America or in Southern Africa—and it can only be effectively fought in this light.

STRENGTH

How soon the draft is reinstated, whether or not women are included, these questions are still to be decided. The answers depend, in part, on the strength of the resistance.

But the new draft will come, and we must oppose it. We must support all forms of resistance to the draft, but we must also say that the most effective means of opposing the draft is building a new mass movement not only against conscription but also against the wars for which it will be used. Stop the draft! No registration! No more Vietnams! □

"Sorry Jimmy, We're not going"

Maggie Levenstein, a Columbia University student and a member of the ISO, gave the following speech at the New York City demonstration against the draft in February.

“ Last week we had a demonstration at Columbia where 800 of us made it clear that we'd fight registration and the draft all the way.

Here, today, next to the recruiting station, there are many more of us and our message is even stronger. If Carter continues with his plans, in a few weeks, there will be thousands of us clogging the streets across the nation.

Carter says we're going to have to register. Why should we? What good is it going to do the young people in the United States? What will it do for this country?

MILITARIZE

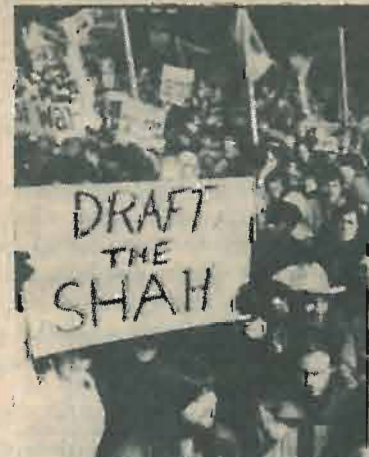
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Every dollar spent on the war machine is one less dollar spent to meet human need.

Every dollar spent to buy more tanks and missiles will make our already severe inflation problems even worse. Every life wasted on killing and destruction, is one less human life devoted to creating a more just world.

The race to militarize society will destroy the very democracy we are told registration and the draft are to protect.

In a rush to be "more patriotic than thou" civil liberties will fall by the wayside, those



in power will attempt to crush all dissent by labelling it unpatriotic or un-American.

The powers that be will use their induced war hysteria to further the attack on popular progressive movements like those fighting for safe energy, lesbian and gay rights, jobs and better working conditions, Native American rights and racial equality.

Carter wants to draft women. But this country won't even pass the Equal Rights Amendment, let alone work for substantive equality between the sexes.

BRUNT

Draft proponents say it will divide the military burden equally between the races, but just as Blacks and Hispanics have been forced into the volunteer army by poverty and the systematic inequality of this society, so they will bear the brunt of any draft. Those in power won't draft their own kids.

So why this call for registration? In whose interest is a draft?

It is certainly not meant to support the struggle for self-determination of the Afghan people, or to strengthen democracy in the Persian Gulf and around the world.

The massive infusion of military aid to Pakistan, a country where public floggings of political opponents and journalists are standard practice, will not help build freedom.

Carter wants to protect "our oil" in the Persian Gulf. Not only is it not our oil, but the people who Carter would send to die for it would be dying only to preserve corporate profits.

Do you really think that dying half-way round the world will lower your family's fuel bill?

But maybe it won't even stop at the Persian Gulf.

SORRY

Maybe Carter and those in power intend to rebuild American "prestige" by sending troops to Latin America or even Southern Africa. Carter's plans for intervention abroad and repression at home go hand in hand.

But sorry Jimmy, we're not going to let you get away with it.

We'll fight registration and the draft all the way. We'll organize and educate. We'll take to the streets. We'll shut the whole damn country if necessary. But there will be no draft! ”

And what about the Russians?

There are now some 100,000 Russian soldiers in Afghanistan.

These soldiers are engaged in an increasingly savage war—a war of repression against the Islamic rebels, the religious minorities, in fact, it now seems quite clear, against the great majority of the workers and peasants of this desperately poor nation.

Why? Jimmy Carter would like us to believe that the Russians have embarked upon a new drive for "world hegemony," that they have "a global strategic plan," that they intend to "overrun Iran" and establish a "warm-water port" on the Gulf.

After all, runs this argument, they "took Angola, Ethiopia, Vietnam and Cambodia," and so on.

GAINS

This is all easy enough to discount. There have been Russian gains, but they were made in the seventies, in the period of decline for U.S. power, following the defeat in Vietnam.

The "gains" have been highly unstable, however, (Ethiopia) and often remote (Angola).

More importantly, much of Carter's case is simply silly. Why, for example, would the Russians invade Afghanistan to get at the Gulf? They already have a 2,000 mile flat border with Iran.

And why, in an age of air power and inter-continental ballistic missiles, would it be necessary for the Russians to risk nuclear war for a base on the Gulf?

But they did invade. And they were certainly not invited in by the Afghani people. If there is any doubt, just consider the February rising in Kabul, and the fact that the rebels still control massive parts of the country.

The real story of the Russian invasion is this. In a period of world economic crisis and intensified imperialist competition, the Russians reacted defensively in Afghanistan.

This is not to excuse them. The United States intervened defensively in Vietnam, that is, to defend western domination of Southeast Asia.

DOMINATE

The Russians have dominated Afghanistan for a decade, but with great difficulty. There has been permanent political instability in Kabul, and declining success in controlling the mountainous provinces of the North and East.

The Russians intervened militarily in December, because they feared the victory of pro-Western rebels. They feared their loss would be U.S. gain—just as the U.S. now fears its disadvantage in Iran will be to Russia's advantage.

The Russian invasion, however, is far from a sign of new Russian power. Far from it, the invasion has been a disaster. There is now every reason to believe that the war to

defeat the rebels will be protracted, that it will lead to internal difficulties, that it will indeed become "Russia's Vietnam."

The invasion has also been a political fiasco. It has provided the U.S. with the perfect excuse to step up its renewed drive for world political and economic authority—especially for Carter, in the midst of the presidential campaign.

The invasion has restored Zia's shaky position in Pakistan, it has drowned the issue of the hostages in Iran, it has made the Russians the number one target of the Muslims—from the Saudis, all the way, no doubt, to Tehran.

It has clinched the new military alliance between the U.S. and China.

DISGUISE

Here in the United States, the Russian invasion has helped to disguise the impact of the economic slump in the upsurge of patriotic unity. It has added fuel to the right-wing shift in American politics—at a time when cuts in social services, plant closings, anti-union drives, and the attacks on women, Blacks, and minorities, demand a response from the left.

It follows from all of this, therefore, that we must oppose all the anti-Russian hysteria—from the Olympic boycott to the reimposition of the draft—not because we support the Russians, but because the hysteria is the prelude to renewed U.S. intervention.

In fact we oppose the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. Our opposition is the same as our opposition to the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the Czech revolt of 1968—regardless of the nature of the Afghani rebels, many of whom are pro-West. We are opposed to imperialism—East and West!

Our chief task, however, is here in the United States. For it is here that we must expose the hypocrisy of "human rights"—from a government that ravaged Vietnam for a decade, that engineered the bloody Pinochet coup in Chile, and is waiting for the opportunity to return to Iran.

RIGHT

The Russian invasion is indeed imperialism, it is identical to the U.S. invasion of Vietnam. But only those who opposed that invasion, and those who categorically oppose U.S. intervention in the Gulf—in Nicaragua, or Chile, or South Africa—only those people have any right to condemn the Russians. □

"U.S.A., U.S.A., We're number one!" The outburst of patriotism at the Lake Placid Winter Games was unprecedented, certainly since the 1950s at least, since the hey days of the Cold War.

Unfortunately, the competition—between the United States and Russia—involves far more than a championship in ice hockey, or the decision whether or not to compete in the Moscow summer games.

There is indeed a new Cold War, and suddenly, the world is a far more dangerous, far more unstable place to live.

BUDGET

Jimmy Carter's cold war preparations are awesome. He is asking congress for a war budget of nearly \$160 billion in 1981, up nearly \$30 billion from the 1980 budget. And he wants increases over that of 5% per year.

SALT II has been scrapped. A new generation of missiles has already been deployed in Western Europe. The fleet is on manoeuvres in the Arabian Sea. And now Carter wants the reimposition of the draft.

In addition, plans are under way for a new "Rapid Deployment Force," 100,000 soldiers capable of landing anywhere in the world within days. And there are plans for permanent new bases—in Egypt, Kenya, Oman, Pakistan, Israel: anywhere there is a dictator to protect them.

Carter and the Pentagon would like us to blame the Russians for all this. They would like us to see the new U.S. policy as a response to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan—as a response, ultimately, in defense of "human rights."

The reality of course is not quite so simple. There is a crisis in relations between the United States and Russia—the two superpowers—but this crisis predates Afghanistan and in fact goes far beyond the conflicts in and around the Persian Gulf.

CARTER'S NEW

U.S. POLICY

AND THE

OF IMPERIALISM

Detente itself, the winding down of the Cold War of the 1950s, was based on the division of the world into spheres of influence—spheres mutually accepted in Washington and Moscow, in particular in the 1970s. The Russians were free to deal with Eastern Europe as they please. Africa was for the West.

BALANCE

But the balance never really worked, and in fact it has been cracking for some fifteen to twenty years. Sizeable chunks of the West's old colonial empire, for example, declared themselves "neutral." Egypt moved from the Western to the Eastern camp. China moved into hostility to the Russians. Europe was unwilling to bear the burden of maintaining U.S. hegemony in Vietnam, and Rumania fell out with Moscow and prepared its troops to repel a Czechoslovak-type invasion.

The Portuguese empire collapsed and that meant that Southern Africa was a new area of instability for the U.S. Egypt's rulers reacted against Russian pressures by swinging back into the U.S. camp. The U.S. showed its power by imposing an Israeli-Egyptian peace. The Iranian revolution suddenly pulled the plug out

of the network of U.S. allies on Russia's southern borders.

The cumulative effect of these changes was not facile pro-Western communitarianism, to shift the balance of forces in a Russian direction. Rather what did was to make it unclear exactly what the balance was.

How, for example, do we weigh the loss of Iran and Angola to the U.S. against the gain of the alliance with China? How do you measure the advance of Russia against its losses in Somalia and Egypt? The uncertainty itself is a destabilizing factor, feeding illusions to those both sides who think they can gain from military manoeuvres.

CRISES

All this might not have mattered so much, were it not for the way in which, in 1973, the regimes of both East and the West stumbled into repeated economic crises they don't understand and cannot begin to cope with.

The economic crises themselves bring new political instability to new areas of the world. The 1973 recession spelled the end of the regime in Ethiopia and Portugal, spilt over into rioting in E



Russian soldiers on the road to Kabul: "fighting for democracy."

COLD WAR

ICY CRISIS RIALISM

and Poland. The present round of crises has already seen upheavals in Central America and in certain Caribbean islands, together with Iran. It is producing signs of discontent in some of Russia's European satellites which point to the malaise that probably stretches into Russia itself.

The invasion of Afghanistan in December was part of this world crisis, but not the cause of the new instability, just as the overthrow of the Shah was tied to international inflation and the anarchy of world oil production.

The instinctive response of all ruling classes in such situations is to reach for the guns. But this has been made more difficult in the United States by the legacy of Vietnam, the virtual disintegration of the army in the seventies, and the unpopularity of military intervention following the defeat in Southeast Asia. Thus the U.S. passed by interfering in Angola.

PROTECT

Afghanistan, however, has revived the U.S. military establishment, which is now exaggerating the threat to U.S. domination and drawing attention to the key sectors of the economy so that they will be protected from the recession by a new burst of arms spending. Chrysler, for example, is producing its first new line of tanks in twenty years at its Lima, Ohio plant, tanks which cost \$1 million each and operate on one mile per gallon of gas.

OIL

The central immediate concern for the Pentagon and the state department is the Persian Gulf, through which flows the oil that fuels the Western economies and makes fantastic fortunes for oil monopolies. Clark Clifford was only being blunt when he said in New Delhi: "We will go to war for the Persian Gulf."

But there is much more involved than the Persian Gulf, for the crisis exists on a world scale. Considerably before the Afghanistan invasion, for example, Carter created a Caribbean Joint Task Force to police that region and Central America.

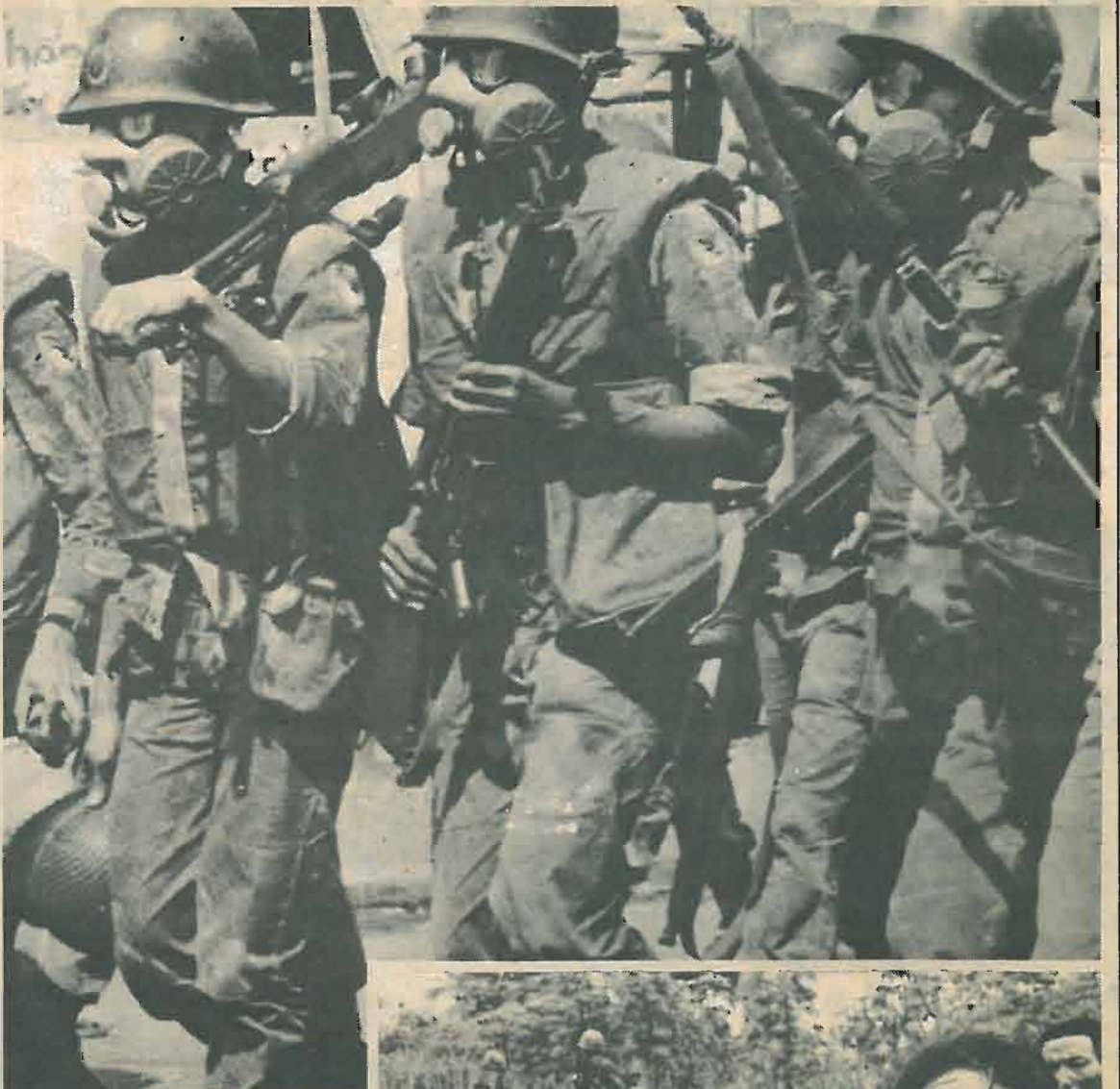
"I am establishing," he said on October 2, last year, "a permanent, full-time Caribbean Joint Task Force Headquarters at Key West, Florida. I will assign to this headquarters forces from all the military services responsible for expanding and conducting exercises. This headquarters will employ designated forces for action if required."

TARGETS

The targets for these forces are plentiful: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Jamaica, Grenada. With the memory of Vietnam receding, the preparations for new Vietnams are being made. The days of "non-intervention" are over, and the talk of "human rights" is becoming a pretext for wars to come. Carter, Brzezinski, and Kissinger care nothing for the "human rights" of the Afghans. They were all supporters and personal friends of the Shah.

A more genuine American opinion on "human rights" was expressed by the manager of Goodyear's new \$34 million plant in Chile: "I don't think we spent five minutes talking about human rights when the board made the decision to invest in Chile." And by Anaconda's president, also referring to investments: "We have come back to Chile not only because of mining prospects, but because the government has created a climate of confidence for investment."

All the rulers of this world will see in the economic crisis, in the new instability which has led to one upheaval after another, a welcome opportunity to divert attention from burdens of the advancing recession. General Zia will



Above: American soldiers in Vietnam
Below: "securing" a Vietnamese village

have a new lease on life. The feudal kings of the Gulf will be armed to the teeth. Jimmy Carter may well be reelected. The threat of war and war itself will become more and more commonplace.

The movement to oppose all this, to oppose the draft, the new patriotism, the new militarism therefore is fantastically important, for ultimately the stake is survival. The weapons, the nuclear arsenals, are already poised, ready, at any moment to annihilate humanity. There is always the possibility that even "small wars" will not be contained, that they will spread and become nuclear wars.

OPPORTUNITY

We must also take this opportunity to expose the obscenity of a world dominated by war and the threats



of war, by imperialism and imperialist competition. And doing this we have to say that we will not choose between the two imperialist superpowers—we will fight against war and imperialism, East and West. We have to insist: All imperialist hands off Asia. No arms to the hangmen of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Stop the threats to Iran. Remove the

U.S. fleet from the Gulf. And Russia out of Afghanistan.

We also have to remember that we live in here in the United States, in the heartland of imperialism. We live where the chains of world capitalism are forged. Our enemy—as Eugene Debs, the great American socialist was so fond of saying—our enemy is at home. □

The Socialist Alternative

- There is an alternative to the barbarism of war and the threat of nuclear annihilation.
- Socialism—real socialism—is the alternative, and we must begin today to build for it. Socialism means freedom—self-reliance, organization and uncompromising solidarity. Solidarity with all who are oppressed, and all who fight oppression.
- Socialism means workers' control—control of society by the majority, the people who produce everything of value, the people without whom society would not survive. It means a better life for the majority in a society based on human needs not on profit margins.
- Today there are no socialist countries—no nations to inspire our vision of the future society. Russia, China and the countries of Eastern Europe are not socialist countries, but state capitalist.
- The ISO stands for workers' control, revolution—not reform, a workers' democratic government, solidarity with the oppressed, unions controlled by the rank and file, internationalism and a revolutionary party.
- Join us. Help us today to build for the future.

Help us build it



Special Supplement

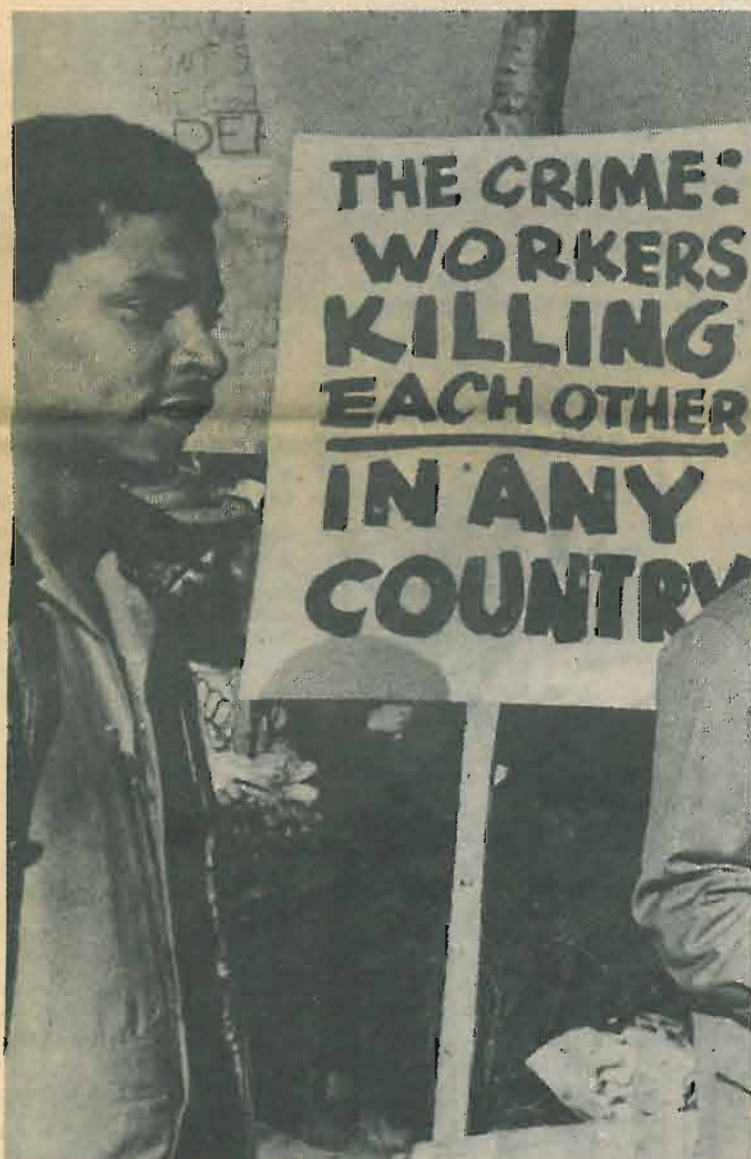
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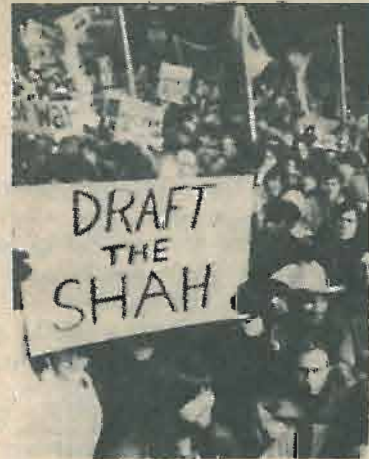
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"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



The rising of the sharecroppers

In the summer of 1917 poor sharecroppers of Oklahoma rose in what became one of the most courageous rebellions against the draft in the history of the United States.

The sharecroppers were among the poorest of Oklahoma's poor. They were both Black and white, and they scraped the barest existence off the plains of southern Oklahoma.

They knew nearly nothing of the slaughter then raging in Europe—and they cared less about the empires of the Kings and Kaisers.

The sharecroppers were members of the Working Class Union, an organization affiliated to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Some of them were socialists, participants in a unique chapter in the history of rural America.

1917: The Green Corn Rebellion against conscription and war

The United States declared war on Germany and the Axis powers on April 6, 1917, instituted massive conscription and at the same time declared all out war to crush widespread opposition on the home

front to this imperialist slaughter.

All the legal and extra-legal agencies of the government were unleashed in a wave of atrocities against anyone who defied the war hysteria.

By July, 1917, there had been a series of anti-draft demonstrations in south-central Oklahoma. The bankers and businessmen in Wewoka, Oklahoma, demanded that the movement be crushed. They called in the Seminole County sheriff, who organized a posse, and headed to put down the rebellion.

SURPRISE

But the sheriff was met with a surprise—armed Black sharecroppers—and before the sheriff had completed his retreat there was one dead deputy.

By August, the sharecroppers were preparing to resist induction by force. The Working Class Union held a mass meeting on the banks of the South Canadian River.

They planned to destroy a railroad bridge and cut down the telegraph lines into the area to prevent the military



Pictures: the people of the southern plains

from enforcing enlistment.

But their main objective was to organize an army of Black and white workers and small farmers to march on Washington to force the government to stop conscription.

SURVIVE

The Working Class Union hoped that they would be joined en route by thousands of other draft resisters. The name "Green Corn Rebellion" came from the fact that they intended to survive the march by eating green corn along the way.

On August 3, the members of the Working Class Union assembled at "Old Man Spears" farm. They were caught by surprise, however, by the authorities who attacked them in force.

After considerable fighting, some 450 sharecroppers and tenant farmers were arrested.

The reprisals were savage. The prisoners were brutally beaten by the patriotic guards at the McAlester Prison, men whipped up to a frenzy by the local ruling class. Newspaper editorials were demanding hanging for resisters.

The sharecroppers, most of whom would never see \$500 in a lifetime, had bail set from \$500 to \$10,000. The prosecutors announced that they

would charge treason and demand the death penalty.

In the end, some of the sharecroppers were released, but most received sentences of from three years to ten in federal prisons.

The Oklahoma sharecroppers were desperately poor people. They were despised as ignorant by their rulers, often looked down upon as if they were animals.

Yet they had no difficulty in understanding the connection between the rich bankers and businessmen and the patriotism that they preached to the poor. The sharecroppers came to hate patriotism.

RESIST

And they were neither cowards nor were they ignorant. They resisted the racism of their bosses and united in defiance of the recruiters.

And they fought, but not in the interests of the robber barons of this country nor the royalty of Europe.

The "Green Corn Rebellion" was crushed, but it should not be forgotten. It is perhaps little more than an incident in history, but still a very important example of how to carry on the fight to put an end to this system which creates war after war after war. □



WHERE WE STAND



• Workers' Control

Workers create all the wealth under capitalism. A socialist society can only be built when workers collectively seize control of that wealth and democratically plan its production and distribution according to human needs instead of profit.

The working class is the key to the fight for socialism. Freedom and liberation will only be achieved through the struggles of workers themselves, organizing and fighting for real workers' power.

• Revolution Not Reform

The capitalist system cannot be patched up or reformed as some union leaders and liberal politicians say. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of workers. No reforms can do away with this exploitation. The only way workers can come to control society and create a system based on freedom and a decent life for all is by overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with revolutionary, democratic socialism.

• A Workers' Government

The present state apparatus (federal and state governments, the courts, army and police) was developed to maintain the capitalist system. This apparatus cannot be taken over as it stands and converted to serve workers. The working class needs an entirely different kind of state based upon mass democratic councils of workers' delegates.

Supporting the present state apparatus is a vast network of propaganda — newspapers, radio, television, movies, the education system. Workers are bombarded daily from all directions with capitalism's point of view. The working class needs its own sources of information. To help meet this need, we are dedicated to building a newspaper that the working class can trust and use in the fight against the present system.

• Fight Oppression

Capitalism divides the working class — pitting men against women, whites against blacks. Capitalism fosters and uses these divisions to block the unity necessary for its destruction. As capitalism moves into crisis, oppressed groups — blacks, women, latins, Native Americans, gays, youth — suffer most. We support the struggles of these oppressed groups.

We oppose racism in all its forms. We fight segregation in the schools and housing, and against racist firings and harassment. We demand freedom for all political prisoners.

We fight for women's liberation, supporting equal pay for all women workers. We fight for free abortion and an end to forced sterilization. There should be free quality child care for all who need it. We fight for equal hiring opportunities for women and an end to sexual harassment and firings. Discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities must be fought.

We support the independent organization and struggles of oppressed people to strengthen the working class struggle for socialism.

• Rank and File Organization

The unions today are largely business machines that long ago stopped truly fighting for the interests of the working class. Business union leaders act either as brakes on workers' struggles, or as cops, delivering workers into the hands of the bosses. We fight in the unions to put an end to this.

To make the unions fight for workers' interests, workers must organize their power on the shop floor. This can only happen if the rank and file organize themselves independently of the union bureaucrats. We work to build rank and file organizations in unions and companies wherever we are employed.

• Internationalism

The working class has no nation. Capitalism is international, so the struggle for socialism must be world-wide. A socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation.

We champion workers' struggles in all countries, from Portugal and Spain to Chile and Puerto Rico — from Palestine and Eastern Europe to China and India. We support all genuine national liberation struggles. We call for victory of the black freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and South Africa. We oppose all forms of imperialism and oppose sending U.S. troops anywhere in the world to impose U.S. interests.

Russia, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe are not socialist countries. They are state capitalist and part of one world capitalist system. We support the struggles of workers in these countries against the bureaucratic ruling class.

• Revolutionary Party

The activity of the ISO is directed at taking the initial steps toward building a revolutionary party in a working class fragmented and cut off from socialist ideas. Revolutionaries must be involved in the daily struggles of workers and oppressed groups at the workplace, in the unions and in the communities. We build every struggle that strengthens the self-confidence, organization and socialist consciousness of workers and the oppressed.

As the working class movement gathers strength, the need for revolutionary leadership becomes crucial. We are part of the long process of building a democratic revolutionary party rooted in the working class. Those who agree with our stand and are prepared to help us build toward revolutionary socialism are urged to join us now.

Join the International Socialist Organization

For more information about the International Socialist Organization (ISO), please write to Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118.

ISO NEWS

What's ON

BALTIMORE

Les Field on **Nicaragua, Which way the revolution?** March 16, 7:30 pm, call 235-9630 for details.

Glenn Perusek on **The Russian Revolution**, March 22, 7:30 pm, call 235-9630 for details.

BLOOMINGTON

Women's Conference on Reproductive Freedom. Talks, panels and workshops on subjects including abortion, sterilization abuse, rape, gay rights. March 15, all day starting at 10 am. University of Indiana, Ballantine 103.

BOSTON

Imperialism, Energy and the Draft, March 30, 7:00 pm, call 661-8765.

CHICAGO

Study series. March 9, **Crisis in Day Care**; March 16, **The Law and the Labor Movement**, 6:30 call 477-7363 for details.

CINCINNATI

Kathy Stewart and Connie Coker on **Women's Health Care**, March 29, 7:30 pm, call 871-1371 for details.

CLEVELAND

The film, **"Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang,"** March 28, 7:30 pm, call 321-6143 for details.

NEW YORK

Dave Luban on **Is China Socialist?** March 2, 8:30 pm, 150 Thompson.

Mitra Behroozi on **The U.S./Iran and Imperialism**. March 16, 8:30 pm, 150 Thompson.

Kent Worcester on **Marxism and the Party**, March 30, 8:30 pm, 150 Thompson.

PROVIDENCE

Black Nationalism and Socialism, March 13, 8:00 pm, 101 Wilson, Brown University.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY



CELEBRATE WITH US

BALTIMORE

Barbara Winslow on **Revolutionary Feminism**, March 1, 8:00 pm, Johns Hopkins.

BLOOMINGTON

Women's activities fair: music, films, workshops. March 1, 1 to 5 pm, Old Library, 6th and Washington.

BOSTON

Celia Petty on **Women and Revolution**, March 8, 7 pm, call 661-8765 for information.

CINCINNATI

Anne Mackie on **Working Women in the Eighties**, plus the film "Working for Your Life," March 8, 8 pm. 402 T.U.C. University of Cincinnati.

CLEVELAND

Georgia Ellis and Faith Simon on the **Fight for Women's Rights**, plus the film "Working for Your Life," March 7, 7:30 pm, Unitarian Center, 2728 Lancaster (Potluck dinner 6:30 pm).

KENT

Georgia Ellis and Faith Simon on the **Fight for Women's Rights**, March 7, 12 noon, Student Center.

NORTHAMPTON

Celia Petty on **International Women's Day**, March 9, 2 pm. Hampshire College.

PROVIDENCE

Celia Petty and Ruth Buckley on **International Women's Day**, March 7, 8 pm, 101 Wilson, Brown Univ.

SEATTLE

Gretchen Engle, Jackie Siegel, and Lisa Siegel on **Women and the Arts**, March 1, 7:30 pm, Friends Center, 4001 9th N.E.



"The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it."

— Karl Marx

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reviews

ALEKSANDRA KOLLONTAI: BOLSHEVIK FEMINIST



“It was, in the end,
a wonderful time.
We were hungry and had
many sleepless nights. There were
many difficulties, misfortunes and
chances of defeat. The feeling that
helped us was that all we pro-
duced, even if it was no more than
a decree, would come to be a
historical example and help others
move ahead. We worked for that
time and for the future.”

Never before in history was there so much, consciously and concretely, accomplished towards the emancipation of women.

Because the Bolsheviks briefly held power, they had the opportunity to turn theories and resolutions into actual programs and services.

**BOLSHEVIK FEMINIST:
THE LIFE OF ALEXSANDRA
KOLLONTAI** by Barbara
Evans Clements, Indiana Uni-
versity Press, 1979.

Aleksandra Kollontai, writer, speaker, organizer and internationalist, took the lead in ensuring that the rights of women and reforms to pave the way for the liberation of women were an important part of Bolshevik party programs.

INITIATE

After the 1917 Revolution, Kollontai was appointed Minister of Social Welfare. She had to deal immediately with a boycott of the former professional employees while attempting to piece together relief programs in an impoverished war-wrecked country.

At the same time, she worked to initiate her program of reforms for women: child

care, improved free maternity care, civil marriage and divorce, healthy working conditions.

In addition she, “established orphanages for war orphans, discontinued state funding for the church... granted students a voice in school administration, instituted self-government in old-age homes, planned homes for the handicapped, abolished the classification of children as legitimate or illegitimate, and organized a department to deal with aid to minorities.”

Even with the Revolution, it wasn't easy to be a woman Bolshevik. Kollontai made enemies among the upper class women (who were part of a well-organized opposition to the revolution) who had formerly run charity services that were now part of the emerging state's responsibilities. A fire was set that destroyed a model maternity facility she had planned.

When Kollontai became the lover of and then married a leader of the revolutionary sailor's movement who was 17 years younger than she, she flew in the face of con-

ventional moralities about sex and had to ignore not only sniping from the international press but gossip among her own comrades.

DRAWN

Barbara Evans Clements' book is fascinating because it puts these activities and ideas in the context of what was happening in Russia and in the Bolshevik party.

Kollontai was drawn to the Bolsheviks just before the outbreak of World War I when the European Social Democrats collapsed under the wave of patriotism that swept through the continent and one by one gave support to their country's participation in the War.

A long-time internationalist, she felt disgusted and betrayed that the European revolutionary movement could support such an obviously imperialist war.

Although her opposition was initially somewhat pacifist, it was over this issue, in 1915, that Kollontai joined Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

Active in working women's struggles since the 1890's, Aleksandra Kollontai fought

against party apathy, against the backwardness of Russian men and the hesitation of Russian women to bring women's politics into the Russian working class movement.

She made an important contribution to the debates about female emancipation by arguing that not only was the participation of women necessary for a successful revolution, but women's participation and women's freedom were a woman's right.

She wrote pamphlets, articles, speeches and stories on sexual relations and on what she called the “new morality,” on the need for women's economic and emotional independence. And more, she was a fighter, an activist, a woman who understood that only women, working together could win women's liberation.

With the isolation and eventual destruction of the revolution in Russia, Kollontai lived through the reversal of the original gains made by women, but the bulk of this new work by Barbara Evans Clements emphasizes, as it should, Kollontai's tremen-

dous, consistent struggle to make women's issues and a program for women's liberation an integral part of the working class socialist movement and an important part of the revolutionary reforms that changed conditions and consciousness and inspired the international revolutionary movements in 1917 and 1918.

We may be appalled that later in her life, demoralized by what was going on in Russia under Stalin, Kollontai failed to take up the fight against him, and while privately criticizing his policies, she continued to publicly support the regime, accepted exile and watched her former comrades jailed and executed.

INSPIRATION

But the bulk of her life and work is an inspiration to revolutionary feminists today, who have many of the same issues to deal with and difficulties to face as did Kollontai in Russia in the early 1900's.

Barbara Evans Clements' account of Kollontai's life and work is exciting, readable and, unfortunately, expensive (these aren't the kind of books Dell Paperbacks will publish for \$1.95). Branches, study groups and women's caucuses will want to buy a copy or two to read and share. □

Review by Celia Petty



Teamsters Hoffa and Fitzsimmons

Why the AFL-CIO wants the Teamsters

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Official negotiating committees are discussing it. Everyone from AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland to William Winpisinger of the Machinists is for it.

But, as the AFL-CIO moves closer to reconciliation with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), troubling questions remain: What makes the IBT fit to be part of the AFL-CIO?

Are the Teamsters any less tainted today than they were

in 1957 when the federation expelled them for being "dominated by corrupt influences?"

The answer, unfortunately, is they are not. Very little has changed in the Teamsters in the last 23 years. It remains the most corrupt, gangster-ridden union in the country.

FLOURISH

Illicit practices continue to flourish in the IBT. These practices include taking kick-

backs from employers, extorting money from them for "labor peace," stealing membership dues money, milking union benefit funds, using violence against oppositionists, and engaging in criminal activities unrelated to union business (such as bank fraud, murder, gambling, loan-sharking, etc.).

CRIMES

During one recent 24-month period in 1977-79 (when I was associated with the Teamster reform movement and thus able to keep count), over 50 officials and employees of the Teamsters were indicted or convicted of these crimes.

Among them were four past or present International Orga-

nizers, an ex-International Vice-President, several Teamster lawyers, two joint council presidents, and numerous presidents of prominent locals.

KILLED

During the same period, four Teamster business agents and an accountant for locals in New York, New Jersey, Cleveland, and Kansas City were killed in widely publicized gangland slayings.

Prior to their demise, the leading Mob murder victim in the union had been its former International President, James Hoffa—eliminated in 1975 as he prepared to challenge incumbent president Frank Fitzsimmons at the union's national convention the following year.

Fitzsimmons' own son, Richard, is the latest Teamster-felon; he was fined and sentenced to jail February 15 for taking employer kickbacks while an official of his father's old local in Detroit.

This string of violent deaths, indictments, trials, and convictions is only part of the continuing story of Teamster corruption. There are active federal criminal investigations involving Teamster locals from one end of the country to the other.

Teamster benefit funds are embroiled in a half dozen government law suits alleging serious violations of the 1974 pension reform law. The U.S. Department of Labor is still trying to collect millions of dollars squandered by Fitzsimmons and other top officials when they served as trustees of the notorious Teamsters Central States Pension Fund.

Fitzsimmons' likely successor as president of the union, Kansas City Teamster chief Roy Williams, was also a Central States trustee and is a key figure in a major federal investigation of organized crime in Kansas City, Chicago and Las Vegas.

LINK

That investigation, according to a February 24 *New York Times* report, involves "the murder of union officials and others, racketeering, skimming of Las Vegas casino revenues, union pension fund fraud and kickbacks, bribery of public officials, and the misapplication of union funds."

Williams has long been linked to Kansas City Mafia boss Nick Civella and was instrumental in getting Civella's nephew, George Chiavola, appointed to a position with the Teamsters Central Conference, which Williams directs. Chiavola was recently identified in court papers filed by the Justice Department in Chicago as a courier in the casino skimming plot the government is investigating.

Why is AFL-CIO President Kirkland so eager to embrace the Teamster mess and what does he propose to do about the union's corruption problem? Kirkland wants the Teamsters back because of their money—the enormous per capita payments that would be made to the AFL-CIO by the IBT on behalf of its 1.8 million members.

GOVERNMENT

He plans to leave corruption probes to the government, saying he has "the greatest respect for the constabulary of this country."

Like the IBT officials he is welcoming back into the federation, he apparently believes the labor movement has neither the ability nor the responsibility to police its own member organizations. □

by STEVE EARLY

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

EDUCATION FOR THE EMPLOYERS

For more than twenty years, Wayne State University, the University of Michigan, Michigan State University and other institutions of higher learning in the Detroit area have been conducting classes for union members.

These classes in Labor and Industrial Relations are supposed to improve the workers functioning in their union. What have been the results of these classes?

Have any of these students used what they have learned to improve conditions in the plants? Has attendance at union meetings improved as a result of workers attending these classes? Have these students written anything for the local union papers as a result of what they have learned? Have they become more critical of the UAW bureaucracy? Has their political thinking changed as a result of what they have learned?

ATTITUDE

To get a partial answer to these questions one might ask, what is the attitude of the UAW leadership and the employers toward these classes. They give their support to them. Why? Because they know nothing is being taught that will generate militancy in the workers or reduce the employers' and the bureaucracy's control over the workers. The philosophy of this education is in support of capitalism. It is in no way critical of the UAW bureaucracy or its politics. The in-

structors present no alternative to the two party system. It gives its approval to the ideas of greater productivity, even when such ideas puts a greater burden on the worker and increases unemployment.

Having attended some of these classes and talked with the students I have found them more interested in their own advancement than in advancing the interests of the workers. Some workers have told me their only interest in taking the class was earning a few easy credits toward a college degree.

The May and Walter Reuther Educational Center at Black Lake has little to do with worker education. Thousands of UAW members are sent there every year, at the expense of the locals, as a reward for supporting the clique in office. The Center is used by the International, the Regions, and by the Locals to build their political machines.

EXPERIENCE

In speaking to a former director of the Center, he told me of the following experience he had at the camp. One time when he was asked to teach a group of local union presidents he asked them to write out what they thought was their most important problem. It was almost unanimous that their most important problem was getting reelected to office. Another time he asked a local president why he



John Anderson is a lifelong militant and socialist. He was formerly president of UAW local 15 in Detroit.

didn't organize some classes in his local. The answer he received was: "What in hell do you think, I want to train someone to take my job?"

I have spoken to many of the workers who have gone to Black Lake. When I ask them what they have learned, some of them say, "nothing." The Center is in fact a place where workers learn to accept corruption as part of the union movement. They learn to practice unprincipled politics to be used to advance their careers.

PLANNED

The UAW educational program is planned so as to serve the interests of the UAW bureaucracy and the employers. Instead of teaching solidarity and the class struggle, the workers are taught class collaboration and divisive ideas. This failure to educate the workers leaves them helpless to deal with the present crisis in the union and the industry.

The lack of an organized opposition with a program to deal with the workers' problems means nothing will be done to solve these problems at the coming June 1980 UAW Convention. □



**W.VA.
MINES
SHUT
DOWN**

MORGANTOWN, W.VA.—Roving pickets wearing ski masks have shut down fourteen mines in Northern West Virginia, taking more than 5,000 miners off their jobs.

The strike is the biggest walkout in two years, and local leaders think it is just a prelude to an all-out fight in this year's national contract negotiations.

ASSIGNMENTS

The strike began at Consolidated Coal's Four States mine near Fairmont. In late February, the miners there walked out in a dispute involving job assignments.

Consol, the nation's second largest coal producer and a hard-liner in the coal industry, responded by firing the local union president, Mike Zemonick, and two mine committeemen, Willard Blair and Gary Riggs.

Miners then spread the strike, shutting down seven of West Virginia's ten largest mines, seven smaller mines, and cutting off 14% of the state's coal production.

On February 29, federal Judge Robert Maxwell of Wheeling ordered the strikers back, threatening fines of \$3,000 a day against the local, but the strikers stayed out.

Sam Church, the new president of the UMWA has denounced the strike, saying the local officers "didn't use the grievance procedure."

Meanwhile, there have been strikes at three big Consol mines in the Ohio Valley, also in late February. Miners at Consol's Ireland, Shoemaker, and McElroy mines are fighting a new company policy on absenteeism.

1,300 District 6 miners walked out against company efforts to impose a new punitive absentee policy, a policy that would give Consol greatly extended powers to fire miners for "unexcused absences."

The District 6 miners see their strikes as connected with the Fairmont miners' fight against Consol, and expect the company to continue its hard line. Consol left the national coal bargaining unit (BCOA) last year and only returned after it was guaranteed a stronger position for hard-liners on the unit.

STAGE

The stage is now being set, it now seems certain, for another major battle between coal miners and the coal industry. In 1978 coal miners stayed out 111 days before accepting a national contract. □

Chicago's firefighters: a fight for all city workers



Firefighters rally in downtown Chicago.

CHICAGO, IL—"First it was the transit workers, then it was the teachers and now it's us. The only way we're going to get a contract is by sticking together and staying out," said one of Chicago's striking firefighters.

The same determination has been shown by 95% of the firefighting force in the last two weeks on the picket lines, in union meetings and at demonstrations.

CONTRACT

Less than a year after Jane Byrne was elected mayor, the firefighters are out on strike to get the contract promised them in that election. The basic issues are a signed contract, increased staffing on the firetrucks and the right to strike when the contract expires (as opposed to the perpetual no-strike clause proposed by the city).

The strikers have maintained their militance and their solidarity in the face of increasing pressure from the city, the media and the labor bureaucrats outside their union.

The firefighters were totally isolated by other unions in

by **BOB GOLDMAN**

the city until Byrne threatened to hire strikebreakers. Then, "respectable union leaders" such as Al Shanker (AFT), Louis Peick (Teamsters) and Bill Lee (president of the Chicago Federation of Labor-CFL) became involved because their own fiefdoms were threatened.

These bureaucrats did produce some results. They started negotiations again and tried to force the firefighters to accept an unenforceable agreement in place of a contract. They stood by while the president of the firefighters local was arrested for contempt of court.

PRESSURE

When the union executive board, under pressure from the rank and file, rejected that proposal the bureaucrats pulled out.

The union was left with one option: they asked the CFL to authorize the other city workers to honor their picket lines if they set them up at city buildings. This was a realization that the firefighters' struggle was critical to all

other workers in the city, both public and private.

The CFL has not yet answered but is making noises of rejection.

If the firefighters are broken then no union in Chicago is safe. Jane Byrne and the banks want to insure that the banks get their due, just as in New York City.

In the last six months, Chicago has gone from "The City that Works" to a city in crisis.

The illusion of stability evaporated when Jane Byrne was elected mayor. Even though she was a "reform" candidate, the financial situation and the banks have forced her to try and make city workers bear the brunt of the budget cuts. One of her first and least-publicized moves after the election was retaining an anti-labor law firm (Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather and Geraldson) who also bust unions for Whirlpool Corporation.

CUTS

The new administration has laid off hundreds of workers

and trimmed hundreds if not thousands of positions from the city budget. Some city services such as day care are being decimated.

Under this attack the unions have been forced to fight back. The city has been so unyielding that union bureaucrats, eager to settle, have had no choice but to support strikes.

The transit workers struck to maintain their 28-year old cost of living clause. They lost this round. The teachers went on strike to save 2200 jobs and saved only 350.

The firefighters are fighting for their contract. They are the best organized and most militant union of city workers. Most importantly, the rank and file have had considerable control and input into decision-making in their strike and their union.

SUPPORT

They need our support now. They are slowly being isolated and that isolation will defeat them. Only with the support of other city workers can the strike succeed. The banks cannot be allowed to sacrifice more workers to their profits. □

Victory at Biltmore

PROVIDENCE, R.I.—Workers at the Biltmore Plaza Hotel have won their 11 week strike.

The strike was not easily won. But the strikers held out and forced the city to intervene.

Important gains were made, including adequate steward representation, job classifications and wage increases.

The Biltmore workers took on Rhode Island's biggest corporations. Their victory will be an inspiration to others. □



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Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

THREE MILE ISLAND: ONE YEAR LATER

It is extremely difficult for those of us who live near Three Mile Island to think in terms of one year.

For us the fear, the anxiety and anger generated by the March 28, 1979, accident at Three Mile Island is measured in the reality of having survived one more day in the incompetent, deceitful hands of the government and the nuclear industry.

An objective reporting of "Three Mile Island: one year later" is probably an impossible task for a local resident.

However, I will try to show what has happened by looking at each of the actors in our drama, and the roles they've played.

I will start with the least important actors working up to the most important—the citizens of Central Pennsylvania.

MEDIA

The first actor is Jimmy Carter.

After Jimmy's dramatic media event at the plant on April 1, 1979, he retreated to the safety of the White House where he has done the following things:

One: He congratulated the governor of Pennsylvania for not calling an evacuation.

Two: appointed a commission to investigate the accident, then called a press conference and announced that he would listen to their findings only if they were reasonable, and did not impact heavily on the nuclear industry.

Three: proposed that the licensing procedure for nuclear reactors be speeded up.



Almost a year has passed now since Three Mile Island shook the world. Yet the nuclear madness continues.

At Florida's Crystal River nuclear plant, yet another Babcock and Wilcox cooling system has failed. Nevertheless, the Nuclear Regulatory Agency has agreed to let new plants go into operation.

Kathy McCaughin, a member of Harrisburg's Three Mile Island Alert, has written this special report on the first anniversary of the Three Mile Island disaster.

Four: restated his support of nuclear power's role in meeting our energy needs.

In short, Jimmy has forgotten the million plus hostages that Metropolitan Edison has been holding for 338 days in Central Pennsylvania.

The second actor, Congress,

did the following.

One: they gave speeches.

Two: they held investigations.

Three: they gave more speeches. Four: they cheered the Kemeny Commission.

Five: they did nothing.

The third actor, Governor Thornberg, began his role by

first saying all the right things on national television.

Two, he appointed one of Pennsylvania's strongest advocates of nuclear power to the public utility commission.

Three, after the defeat of his first nominee to the public utility commission, he appointed a democratic political hack, a republican political hack, and an ex-lobbyist for the Westinghouse nuclear division.

All were confirmed. Four, appointed a Three Mile Island commission, which this week, supported Metropolitan Edison's position, that the Krypton 85 held in the containment building, should be released into the atmosphere.

The NRC's, the fourth actor, accomplishments do not even deserve to be numbered. They have done what they always do—nothing.

The fifth actor, Metropolitan Edison, has also performed consistently over the last year.

NUMEROUS

On March 28, 1979, they almost killed us. They have spent the past year continuing their effort.

Their accomplishments are so numerous space will only allow me to hit the high points.

First, they thought it would be a good idea to dump roughly one million gallons of radioactive water in the Susquehanna River, which is the drinking water source for many communities down river and winds up in the Chesapeake Bay.

Two, they thought it was a good idea to open TMI reactor number one before unit number two is cleaned up.

Three, they thought it was an excellent idea to vent Krypton 85 in the containment building for 52 straight days.

Four, they continued to have leaks and accidents which we hear about days later.

The final actors are the people of Central Pennsylvania.

Despite everything our elected representatives and the nuclear power industry have done to us, we've held together and fought.

One, we defeated one nominee to the public utility commission.

Two, the radioactive water is still on the island, not in the river.

Three, the Krypton 85 is still in the containment building.

Four, the clean up costs have been passed on to the consumer.

Five, unit one has not been restarted.

DREAM

All of our victories are short term and each can be reversed.

The real story of "Three Mile Island: one year later" is that we are still alive and able to fight.

Our dream is to write the next story: "Three Mile Island: two years later," in which our short term victories become permanent and the people have defeated the corporate giant and its political protectors.

We will not give up the fight until total victory is ours. □

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