

Socialist Worker

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Reverse the Bakke Decision



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NUMBER 7

NEW CRISIS IN STEEL

THE DEATH OF TWO OHIO TOWNS



CAMPBELL, OH—They call it Steel Valley, a steep-sided trench cut by the Mahoning River on Youngstown's east-side.

For 75 years, the people of the valley have made steel, built up the mills and spread cities like Youngstown, Struthers, and Campbell over the surrounding hills.

On Sept. 20, corporate officials of Youngstown Sheet and Tube announce

ed they were closing Campbell works.

FIRED

"I was washing up," said Robert Evans, a Campbell worker with 25 years seniority, when a guy on the next turn said "You heard the news? We're going to be fired."

The shut down of Campbell Works will cost 5,000 their jobs. For the towns of Campbell and

Struthers the price will be even higher. The shutdown will deprive them of 89% of current tax revenues.

About 3,000 families in Struthers and Campbell will be directly effected. The total loss in jobs as the effects of the shutdown trickle through the local economy could be 20,000.

CRY

"I just took out a

mortgage on a new house," said Leo Fehrenbaugh who has 18 years in at the plant, "I can't even look at my wife without her starting to cry."

"This town is going to dry up and blow away," said a high school student at the Campbell MacDonalds.

"I guess it's going to be Rust Valley" said a retired steelworker waiting for a paper at a

newstand. "The company is just taking the money and running."

Profits are why we are here, says the Youngstown Corporation. These mills are no longer profitable.

by Pat Morgan

THE CAUSE OF THE CRISIS

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SPECIAL ISSUE

60th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution



96,000 Jobs Will Be Lost Before Steel Is "Rational"

Plant closings and layoffs, foreign competition, environmental restrictions, sagging profits, over capacity, protectionism.

What's this all about? It's what's happening today in the steel industry.

TROUBLE

The steel industry is in trouble. Alan Wood Steel is bankrupt. Youngstown Sheet and Tube is closing Campbell Works. Bethlehem Steel claims losses of 75 million in the first half of this year.

Expansion plans are being cancelled and layoffs are occurring at all of the steel companies.

The steel corporations are naming Japan, Europe and the EPA as the villains. They claim that the steel crisis is the result of foreign producers "dumping" steel on the U.S. market while environmental regulations have increased costs to the point where U.S. made steel is non-competitive.

What the U.S. steel industry wants is tariffs and quotas to protect their markets and exemptions from pollution regulations.

ROOTS

Actually, the roots of the steel crisis are much deeper. Worldwide the market for steel is smaller than the amount of steel that could be produced. This excess capacity kills

by Pat Morgan

Unfair foreign competition takes jobs from American steelworkers

Last year, American steelmakers shipped 14.3 million tons of steel to other countries. That's more than we produce in this country... we export 10 million tons of steel. And all that imported steel could have been made in America.

Imported steel is cheaper than American steel. Why? Because American steelmakers have to pay for environmental protection and other things that foreign steelmakers don't have to pay for.



Most foreign steel companies are either national or subsidized financial institutions. They don't have the same pressure to do better than their competitors.

Unfair competition. The fact is that much of the steel imported into the U.S. is from abroad. That's why it's so hard to get a job in the steel industry.



Imported steel means exported jobs.

During periods of slack demand at home, foreign steelmakers profit from our high production rates and high employment. Result: a worldwide glut of steel.

Needed: fair rules. Bethlehem and the American steel industry are not protected. We are not looking for permanent trade barriers against foreign steel coming into our home markets.

Washington must help. We urge the U.S. Government to insist on fair trading practices in steel, especially that steel imports be priced so that they do not cover their full costs of production and sale. We are looking for prompt temporary relief from the current excessive flow of steel imports and to press for international governmental negotiations leading to an effective international agreement on steel trade.

A free folder, "Foreign Steel, Unfair Competition" explains our answer to that question. Write: Public Affairs Dept., Box 474 MT, Bethlehem Steel Corp., Bethlehem, PA 18016.

Bethlehem

Protectionist advertisement

profits and leads to competition between steel producers for markets.

The excess steel capacity is the result of world economic stagnation. The "recovery" from the '74-'75 crash was only partial. There has been very little investment in new

factories and machines.

Roughly 70% of the steel market depends on this kind of investment. Consequently economic stagnation has edged towards crisis in steel.

The competition for the world steel market is organized on national lines. The major

contestants are Europe, Japan, and the U.S.

COST

The winner in this kind of economic conflict is usually the country that can produce at the lowest cost and sell at the lowest price.

The cost of production is

related to technology. It is higher than U.S. steel producers at a disadvantage. They haven't kept up and reinvested profits as fast as the competition.

The result is that many mills are old, obsolete, and inefficient.

No country is willing to let its steel industry go under. Steel is too vital to national defense and too great a source of economic power for governments to allow this to happen.

Instead everyone cheats. Japanese steel gets vast loans from its government. European countries form cartels to divide the European market among themselves. And the U.S. steel corporations lobby for protectionist tariffs and quotas.

None of this, however, solves the problem of too much steel capacity for the world market. In fact, protectionist measures can lead to tariff wars in other industries which shrink world trade further and pull the economic system into a world depression.

RISK

This is the risk that U.S. steel corporations are willing to take. Their strategy is to protect current profits with tariffs while "rationalizing" the industry by closing obsolete mills.

One industry estimate is that 96,000 jobs will be lost before the U.S. steel industry considers itself "rational."

Playing games with a world depression, planning to add 96,000 more to the ranks of the unemployed, cutting back production when most of the people of the world suffer from deprivation—this is rational?



Workers leaving Sheet and Tube.

MEANWHILE...

The United States is Becoming a Scab Country

Union membership has been declining steadily since the 1974 recession. The last time union membership declined over a long period was during the depression years prior to 1933. Employers are tougher in lean periods, and unless unions match them with muscle they lose membership. The most recent period of significant decline, prior to the 1974 recession, was the recession of 1960-1961.

AFL-CIO president George Meany is still fiddling the same tune: "Where workers don't need unions, you don't have unions. So I don't see why we should concentrate trying to organize people who don't want to be organized..."

OFFENSIVE

Why then are there fewer union members in lean times? Is it simply because, as Meany's do-nothing position suggests, workers need unions less in lean times? In times when there are more layoffs and when wages don't keep up with the cost of living, and when plant discipline gets un-



Depression years of the '30's

bearable? Clearly not. There is one reason union membership has dropped from 20.2 million to 19.4 million in the past several years. It is that the unions have done nothing to halt the offensive the employers have mounted to overcome the decline in rates of profit in this decade.

Employers have busted unions in shop after shop. Employers have poured millions into defeating unions in representation elections.

The reform of labor law is not enough to turn this tide. In the absence of tangible support from the internationals, locals, and especially small locals,

are vulnerable.

Solidarity through mass picketing is going to be an indispensable means of turning the tide. Existing labor leadership is unwilling to take such measures and has thus joined in partnership with the employers to make the US a scab country. □

The Issue Is Not 'Qualification,' It Is Racism and Sexism

By PATRICIA GILMAN

In 1974, Allen Bakke charged the University of California at Davis Medical School with "reverse discrimination." Bakke contends his application for admission to the medical school was rejected because he is white, whereas "less qualified" Black and Chicano applicants were accepted under the school's quota system.

Bakke was upheld by the California Supreme Court. Last month the U.S. Justice Department filed a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court giving limited support to affirmative action admissions programs. The Court is expected to rule on the Bakke case in November.



Allen Bakke



California students demonstrating

IMPORTANT

Bakke's case is one of the most important civil rights cases in years. If the Supreme Court rules in favor of Bakke, women and minorities will be set back not only in the universities, but in jobs and housing.

The idea of "reverse discrimination" will become prevalent, and everything from job programs for minorities to open housing projects could be eliminated.

Already, on the strength of the 1976 California ruling, the New Jersey State Supreme Court has ruled that state and local governments could not pass over whites who scored higher on employment tests in order to hire previously excluded Blacks.

Affirmative action laws were won through militant struggle. In 1966, when San Francisco County Hospital workers struck, one demand was increased minority enrollment at the University of California San Francisco Medical School.

Black physicians in Newark boycotted a hospital as the hospital workers fought against

layoffs, and the community demonstrated against the firing of a patient advocate.

It is clear that unless there are quotas, there will be little or no recruitment of Blacks and women to professional schools. Affirmative action means no longer relying on companies and schools not to discriminate. It means requiring companies or universities to recruit, hire or admit and pay equal wages to qualified minority and women applicants.

DECREASED

Only 1% of all California lawyers are minorities today. Minority admission to medical schools have decreased in the last few years as the economic crunch has worsened. Of the 40 schools that once had aggressive recruitment and admissions policies for minority students, 25 have abandoned these programs.

With Black teenage unemployment near 50%, little money given to schools in minority areas, shrinking financial aid programs, along with sexist and racist hiring prac-

tices, the only way Latinos, women, Asians and Blacks are going to get decent jobs or into professional schools is through a quota system.

The question is not one of qualification, as some people are claiming, saying that affirmative admission will guarantee fewer qualified doctors or lawyers. Thousands of qualified minorities and women have been kept out of jobs, schools and decent housing for years.

Supporters don't mention that there are already hiring quotas in federal and private jobs. The government gives preference to veterans in hiring. Many private universities give extra admissions points to children of alumni or large contributors.

Suddenly administrators and government officials are concerned about "reverse discrimination" in schools and jobs, after being silent while minorities were excluded from these same positions only a short time ago.

25 MILLION

Federally enforced equal opportunity regulations affect at least 25 million Americans, and

even with the help of laws, the pattern of discrimination has hardly been touched. Even where there have been pressures to comply with the laws, companies seldom face any penalties when they fail to comply. Since 1965, only fifteen of nearly 40,000 businesses, and not a single university, have lost a federal contract because they have been guilty of discrimination.

Blacks, Latins, Native Americans, women and other minorities have been the victims of racist and sexist oppression for hundreds of years. In an economic system that deliberately restricts the level of employment in order to bring down wages, there are indeed limited places available in schools and jobs, and racism and sexism will be used as the primary technique in distributing these scarce opportunities.

So long as discrimination continues, minorities and women will fight back against it. They must be supported, whether their fight is in the streets, the factories or in the courts. □

Quotas

Here Are the Facts

By KAREN WOODS

The ratio of white doctors to the white population in the U.S. is about 1/700. The ratio of minority doctors to minority populations is as follows: Black—1/3,800; Native American—1/20,000; Latino—1/30,000. In California 25% of the populations are minorities; 1% of lawyers are minorities.

Although in 1970 the AAMC (Association of American Medical Colleges) set a goal of 12% first year minority admissions by 1975, in 1976, New York City's medical schools enrolled only 6.9% minority students. In fact, there were fewer minority students enrolled than in 1971.

With the exclusion of Cornell (12.9%) the remaining medical schools' first year enrollment is only 5.6%. In other words, voluntary programs and goals don't work.

Medical school education can be seen as primarily a privilege of the privileged. 24% of the U.S. labor force hold managerial, professional, proprietorial jobs. 64% of medical school admissions in 1973 came from those families.

Two thirds of medical school admissions in 1975 came from families with incomes over \$15,000 a year, 40% had family incomes over \$25,000. (14.1% of U.S. families earned \$25,000 or more. 14% of medical school admissions in 1973 had physicians for fathers.)

In a great many instances admission to medical school depends on financial contributions by their parents to the school, or letters from political figures (especially those involved in influencing health policy).

U.C. Davis (the medical school being sued in the Bakke case) has a private admissions program for the sons and daughters of influential Californians. Dr. C. John Tupper, the school's dean, has justified this stating that U.S. Davis is a new school and it needs political support in California. □

What We Think

Socialist Worker

US Out of Panama!

The Panama Canal Treaty debate hides more than it reveals. The real issue is American imperialism which is in need of a "new look" following its tarnished image in Southeast Asia.

Unfortunately, the debate is not about ending imperialism in Panama, but about the kind of face to present.

The "new look" imperialists favor the negotiated treaty signed Sept. 7, by President Carter. The treaty, which is being hailed as a "new commitment to fairness in our dealings with the nations of the world," calls for 23 more years of direct military occupation of the Canal Zone. It also guarantees permanent intervention rights at any time the Canal's status is threatened after 1999.

Also in favor of the "new look" is Panama's strongman, General Torrijos. Facing a growing movement among Panamanians for the ouster of the U.S., Torrijos is selling the new treaty as a "victory" against the U.S. This victory will have at least a 23 year wait for celebration, however.

UP-FRONT

The "old look" opponents of the treaty, led by Ronald Regan, are more up-front about their imperialism. They demand a continued presence of the U.S. military at all times to insure that we keep "our" canal.

The real losers are the Panamanian workers and peasants. Their right to self-determination is not guaranteed by the treaty at any time. The treaty is an agreement among

thieves.

Self-determination for the Panamanians is our demand. U.S. out of Panama now! □

Bakke Decision

On October 12, the U.S. Supreme Court will be hearing arguments in what is possibly the most important civil rights case since the 1954 Brown vs. the Board of Education decision which outlawed school segregation.

The Bakke decision represents the major challenge to the gains won by Blacks, Chicanos, and women in the 1950's, 60's and 70's on the issue of affirmative action.

Because of the seriousness of this case, an emergency campaign of teach-ins, rallies and demonstrations has been called by supporters of equal rights for women and oppressed nationalities.

Socialist Worker supports these actions and urges you to help build these demonstrations on the campuses, in your community, and in the work place.

Right now there is a general assault by the court and the state on women, youth and oppressed nationalities. This attack can be stopped, but only if a mass campaign is started.

Reverse the Bakke Decision! Help build the rallies and teach-ins and demonstrations. And build a movement to fight for real equality and liberation for women and oppressed nationalities. □

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Support the L.A. Alltrans Workers!

By
Duncan
West

LOS ANGELES—Sept. 22 was a big day for the Alltrans/Acme Teamsters who lost their jobs over Labor Day weekend.

After three weeks of picketing at Acme's new Los Angeles terminal, a temporary restraining order limiting picketing to three people in front of the facility was lifted, and a solidarity rally in the evening produced a 75 person picket line.

Even though Acme didn't expect the picket line to last more than two weeks, they were still getting kicked in the shorts on the third week.

Their freight has been bottled up in the yard because other Teamsters are refusing to cross the picket line.

LOST

Acme has lost several million

dollar accounts because they have been unable to deliver more than about 15% of their inbound freight. On Thursday of the third week of picketing, when Intermodal Container Service (Acme's new carrier) went to court to get their temporary restraining order made into a permanent injunction, they lost.

They walked out with no

restraints on picketing, because they were unable to prove a connection between the individuals they had named and the acts of violence they had alleged. Even though the judge openly sympathized with the company attorney, he reluctantly dropped the restraining order because of legal technicalities.

Freight teamsters in LA have seen Signal, Griley, Borrego,

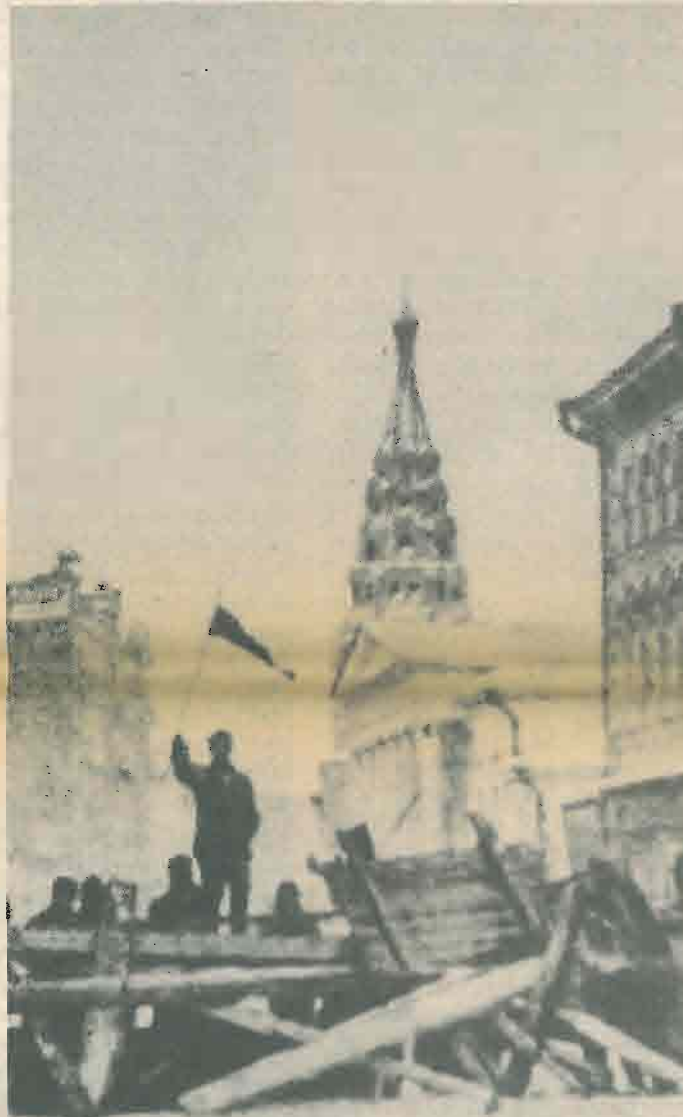
Associated and Ringsby all try to go out of business, non-union or substandard in the last two years. We fought back successfully at Associated and are still fighting at Ringsby.

The Alltrans/Acme teamsters have said that we would not let our jobs go substandard and other teamsters have responded. Even though the picket line is not sanctioned by the union, roving pickets have shut down the Sante Fe, Union Pacific, and Southern Pacific railroads' piggyback yards, as well as the Sears Roebuck major distribution warehouse because Teamsters have honored the lines.

Talking about socialism...

MARXISM MADE EASY

The State, the Party, and the Revolution



Barricades in Moscow

The lesson of the Paris Commune, wrote Marx and Lenin, was that the capitalist state had to be destroyed. "One thing especially was proved by the Commune that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready made state machine for its own purposes." It must "smash the bureaucratic-military machine." Chile is the best and most recent proof of the truth of this position.

Neither Marx nor Lenin saw revolution—or smashing the state—as a conspiratorial coup led by a small group seizing state offices and running things independently of the political majority—a mature working class.

A policy tending toward that can only lead to disaster for the existing organizations of the workers, despite any heroic qualities.

What a revolutionary political party can do, however, is to prepare itself and large sections of the class for a revolutionary situation in which its actions can be decisive. We cannot produce the situation, that depends on the breakdown of production and distribution of goods, growing unemployment, and all the kinds of things that characterize a mammoth economic crisis.

People also have to lose their faith in the ruling class to organize society. This includes the ruling class losing its prestige in the eyes of most workers, a growing sense that "anything could happen" in the near future, and the increasing unreliability of administrative agencies.

To all this must be added spontaneous outbreaks such as strikes, demonstrations and even riots. A revolutionary situation is chaotic. The attempt to seize power will be seen as bringing a new order out of the confusion. This new order must be based on the real majority—on working class power and democracy.

The revolutionary party doesn't make the revolutionary situation or the revolution by itself. It organizes and leads it.

There is no doubt that the cost of social revolution may be high, but it will be far less than the chronic costs of capitalism. □

by Scott Winslow

In taking up the question of how to change society—the question of reform or revolution—the key place to begin is with the organization of our present society—the state.

How socialists view the state determines the view on our revolutionary strategy.

In 1917, Lenin summed this up in *State and Revolution*. "The state is an organ of class rule, an organ of the oppression of one class by another; it is the creation of "order," which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between the classes."

GOVERNMENT

Government then is the administrative means by which these class needs are controlled and furthered. The more primitive the society, the more modest the form of govern-

ment. It can be one tribal chief, or, as in the United States today, a complicated institution with duties ranging from pet control to missile production.

The government serves the state in numerous ways. Some people combine social or administrative work with repressive methods of the state in one job. A policeman who gives out information and directs traffic, or a teacher who explains math to children, are workers who perform a valuable service.

Yet, the same policemen will beat up strikers on a picket line or shoot black militants and the teachers will fill young people with racism. They are acting as servants of the state. Whenever the state exists it distorts the administrative functions of the government and maintains its rule.

The state also has the openly repressive institutions—the police, army, secret police—the CIA, FBI, SAVAK, Gestapo or GPU. These institutions do not attempt to hide the fact that when there is conflict against those attempting changes.

The nature of the state is directly related to political practice. It is impossible to gradually change the government in the hope of reforming the state. The Carter government followed a Ford administration but no changes took place in the U.S. regarding power relationships.

In Chile, under Allende, the government was changed radically, but the State was not fundamentally altered. The army, navy, courts and secret police weren't changed.

SUPPORT

So far, we have received over \$1200 in contribution from union members through barn collections and a large donation from Teamster Local 208.

A steward in 208 has asked other stewards to get \$2 per week pledges from people in their barns. Stewards and militants in many barns in the LA area have been very helpful in convincing members from their barns to honor our lines.

This kind of support and solidarity is essential to win any strike, but it is especially important in our situation, since we have no official sanction.

The LA chapter of Teamsters for a Democratic Union is helping by producing and distributing weekly news bulletins.

We have learned that Intermodal Container Service signed a contract with Teamster local 986 two weeks before they started handling the Acme freight. This sweetheart contract permits ICS to pay their dock crew \$4.60 an hour and pay their owner/operators drivers \$1.75 per 100 pounds to deliver freight.

Our dockworkers and drivers were making over \$8.65 an hour. The ICS contract put more dues into the coffers of Local 986, which already has 17,000 members and gives ICS a "valid" Teamster contract. This legally prohibits other Teamster locals from striking them while the contract is in effect.

LONG

Local 986 which has a long record of signing substandard sweetheart contracts is headed by Mike Riley and Andy Anderson, the director of the Western Conference of Teamsters and vice president of the international union.

This kind of back stabbing business unionism, which puts dues dollars ahead of defending and raising the conditions of members, is what the Alltrans/Acme teamsters are up against. We have kept our line strong for three weeks and plan to continue. We have organized ourselves based upon the strength of rank and file solidarity. With this strength our chances of getting our jobs back are greatly improved. □

"ESSEX WILL STOP AT NOTHING"

by Kathy Whalen

The Essex strike continues. Now the workers have rejected the company's latest offer.

On Saturday, September 24, they voted 80-48 to stay on strike. They came stomping out of the union hall singing "We shall overcome."

Marilyn Shultz, one of the strikers, said, "The company is dragging this strike on and on, by not giving us decent wages and benefits."

The strike began April 6, and it has been bitter.

Pickers have faced police harassment. At one point, there was so much shooting on the picket lines, that workers compared it to Vietnam.

One picket, Carol Frye was shot. Today she is partially paralyzed with a bullet embedded in her spine—impossible to remove.

"Essex is trying to take away everything we fought for and won over the past nine years," says Shultz. They have "gutted the contract. They have taken everything away from us."

"Now we only get one water break in the morning. To go to the bathroom you have to hold your hand like in a classroom to get permission."



Shirley Nuding



Georgia Ellis

These women are fighting a battle against guns, goons, and a billion dollar boss

Shultz also said that the company was trying to limit the rights of the union. "They took away the right for the union to investigate grievances." They want to limit grievance writing procedures to 20 minutes."

The strike began when the 220 employees of the Elwood plant, represented by UAW 1663, demanded better pay and benefits in their 3 year contract. The workers, 85% women, refused the company's offer of 62¢ over three years and set up picket lines.

Currently, the Elwood workers make \$2.76 an hour, yet at another Essex plant, just 50 miles away in Marion, workers make more than \$5.00 an hour.

Essex makes plastic parts for automobile electrical systems.

SCABS

According to another striker, Georgia Ellis, "The company has brought in scab workers so that they could do business as usual, while we're on strike and suffering personal hardships. Our picket line can have only a few people."

"But the company has no limit on the number of scabs



or out of state detectives, security guards and goons they can bring in against the strikers."

But the strikers have not given up. They recently went to Detroit to Solidarity House, the UAW national headquarters. They wanted, in Georgia Ellis' words, "to let the union know how we feel."

"It sounds real good to be a member of the UAW, but when you get out on the limb, you're just 200 people on the line, and if they decide to cut the limb off behind you, there's nothing you can do."

The strikers are asking for support. They deserve it.

Sunday, Oct. 16, they are organizing a Strike Rally and Caravan. Supporters are urged to attend—and bring donations: food, clothing, money.

Messages of support can be sent to the Elwood Women's Strike Support Committee, 318 E. Smith, Bloomington, IN. 47401. □



Ciela Buttler speaking in Bloomington.

Support Rally Held

BLOOMINGTON, IN—On Thursday, September 8, there was a rally here in support of the Essex strikers. Over one hundred people came to hear several women strikers tell their story and to show solidarity.

The meeting was organized by women activists, including

members of the Bloomington branch of the ISO. Afterwards a collection was taken and the women received a standing ovation.

The film "Union Maids," the story of union organizing drives in the 30's, was also shown. □

Essex Thrives on Violence

Essex International has 10 factories throughout the state of Indiana.

Surrounded with barbed wire, many of these factories look like concentration camps. Essex International Wire Corporation has over 155 plants throughout the country and is owned in turn by United Technologies, a huge multinational conglomerate.

United Technologies also owns Otis Elevator, Pratt-Whitney Aircraft, Sikorsky Aircraft, Hamilton Standard, and Norden & Chemical Systems/ This is not by any means an exhaustive list of United Technologies' world-wide, profit-making empire.

RECORD

Earnings and sales for United Technologies rose to a record

level in 1976 according to *Business Newsweek* (May 23, 1977, p. 48). The president of United Technologies has the highest total of compensation of any executive.

President Harry J. Gray gets \$1,662,000 per annum. On a 40-hour work week that figures out to \$800 per hour!

The women from Elwood are earning \$2.76 an hour. They are being offered a pay raise of 62¢ over three years. That's \$3.38 by 1980.

The women have no pension plan. They are provided with a \$35 a week sick pay program but due to redtape, payment is delayed up to 6 weeks.

Yet Harry Gray has some of the fanciest fringe benefits of any executive in the world. Recently Harry Gray let it be known that he was grateful to

his employees for their contributions to United Technologies' rising profits. But it's hard for his workers to survive on mere gratitude.

SHOCKING

The safety and health conditions in Essex factories are shocking. This is not a problem just in the Elwood, Indiana plant. An Essex plant in Kittanning, PA (northeast of Pittsburgh) recently experienced a mysterious illness which forced the closing of that plant because 242 of 289 workers were hospitalized.

Ovens exploded frequently during the manufacture of plastic molded parts producing hazardous fumes. Nonetheless, the illness was described as "mysterious."

Essex International has

several other factories where the workers are currently on strike against their unhealthy working conditions, lack of health and pension benefits, and lack of a living wage after a full week's work.

In Canada, Royal Mounted Police were recently called in by Essex to break up picket lines at their plant in Dunnville, Ontario. Other strikes against Essex exploitation of workers are in progress in North Carolina and in Great Britain.

SMALL TOWNS

Essex usually chooses small towns with little or no employment opportunities for their newest and most up-to-date factory constructions. They generally recruit women workers.

Essex has an established pat-

tern and history of strike and union-busting as well as an incredible indifference to employee safety and health.

It is this inhumane indifference that has allowed their parent company, United Technologies, to rake in record profits and pay their president the biggest salary in the world.

Violence is also part of the Essex pattern of strike-breaking and union-busting. About 10 years ago, Essex International was the focus of an especially violent strike in Logansport, Indiana, when the company brought in scabs from out-of-state. When the strike was over the scabs were dumped on the Logansport city welfare roles. □

By JOANN UNDERWOOD

All in Defence of the Free World

ITT, one of the giants of the free enterprise system, not only continued during the Second World War to operate factories in Germany that built bombers for the German

Air Force, but subsequently collected \$27 million indemnity from the American people because the American Air Force bombed ITT's German factories. □

Is your boss a wimp?

Is your boss a wimp? Not pushy enough? Do you feel left out when you see co-workers harassed constantly?

Here's an offer that could solve your problems. For a mere \$490, your boss can take a course in Assertiveness Training for Managers, offered by American Management Associations. You might notice an improvement.

But some employers have had the course backfire on them. One east coast organization hired a consultant to teach its women supervisors to be more assertive. It worked too well because some of the women began insisting on promotions and accused the organization of sex discrimination when they didn't get them. Their course was quickly dropped. □

The Connors Creek Businessmen's Association had a great idea this summer for cleaning up East Detroit, without shelling out any money for it. They said they would pay any children or teen-agers 25 cents for every bag full of trash that was cleaned up off the streets.

Since the unemployment situation was so bad this summer for teen-agers, they got away with it, as kids were eager to get any money they could. And of course it's a lot cheaper than paying decent wages to keep the streets clean and creating more jobs. □



"We used to have unions that were called strike-happy. That is no longer true. The unions are just as anxious to keep their people working as the employer is to keep his business going."

—George Meany
September 4, 1977

Billy Beer

Not content with agreeing to guest on the TV show "Hee Haw," Billy Carter is determined to make it big in advertizing—with the help of his favorite pastime, drinking.

After introducing a peanut liquer, Peanut Lolita, Billy now has new plans. A Kentucky brewery is going to start producing a beer called "Billy." Billy Light? The Brother of beers? □

Anyway, winter's coming

In Washington, word has it that, as a gesture of good faith for his energy conservation program, President Carter made Amy take the air conditioning out of her tree-house. □

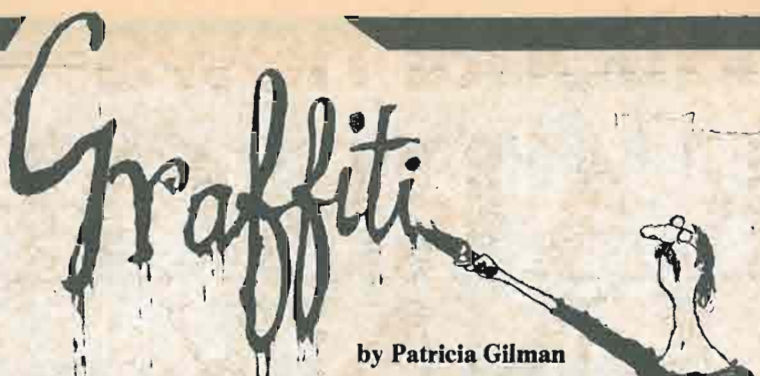
It's Ms. Typhoid Mary

According to a recent TV interview with Phyllis Schlafly, head of the stop-ERA forces, there is a terrible disease attacking American women in their middle years of 40 and 50. The disease is women's liberation.

"Women's libbers operate as typhoid Marys," causing dissatisfaction among "previously happily" married women.

How this evil spreads is very interesting. The educational system is one channel. "The worst thing they (middle aged women) can do is go back to school and take a Women's Studies courses." These courses are "psychological red light districts."

There are additional horrors. Schlafly claims that she herself is an example of the fact that "women can do anything they want in this great and wonderful country, if they want it badly enough." Really Phyllis. □



by Patricia Gilman

GOODBYE, LOAN RANGER



A triumph for the system

First there was the pet rock at around \$5 a shot. Then the pet rock cemetery to bury the deceased Rocky.

Now the free enterprise system has (ta-da) Fossil Water. □

Six dollars gets you 2 ounces of water taken from deep inside coal mines at which point the rock (no doubt related to old Rocky) and the water trapped within the layers is estimated to be several million years old. □

WE PAY TAXES

And Them That's Got Gets

In 1975, the nation's 14 largest corporations paid \$20 billion in taxes to foreign governments and only \$1 billion to the U.S. government.

The eight largest banks in the nation all showed a profit for the year, but none paid taxes.

Ford Motor Co., by taking advantage of foreign tax credits and investment tax credits, not only was able to avoid paying U.S. income tax for 1974 and 1975, but actually received a \$189 million refund for those years at the taxpayers' expense.

These 11 major corporations paid no federal income taxes in the U.S. in 1975.

1. Ford Motor Co.
2. Delta Airlines, Inc.
3. Northwest Airlines, Inc.
4. Chemical New York Corp.
5. Manufacturers Hanover
6. Western Electric Co.
7. Bethlehem Steel Corp.
8. Lockheed Aircraft Corp.
9. National Steel Corp.
10. Phelps Dodge Corp.
11. Freemont Minerals Co.

(Thanks to The Book of Lists.)



ACCUMULATE - THAT IS MOSES AND THE PROPHETS

"People's" China has called on its people to help raise "enormous funds" to build a "modern socialist state," though it insists that this is "entirely different" from capitalism.

The call to "increase accumulation for the state" came in

an editorial in the People's Daily newspaper of Peking, and it is more evidence that China's "pragmatic" leadership does not intend to let anything get in the way of economic growth.

The Communist Party newspaper did not use the word 'capital' but clearly indicated

that that is what the Chinese economy needs.

China's economic problems are increasing. Peking had a trade deficit of about \$1.5 billion in 1973-1975 and more than \$200 million last year. Now it is increasingly desperate for western loans. □

international news

25 YEARS OF TYRANNY

Twenty-five years ago, the Shah of Iran came back to power through a coup.

He was backed by none other than the CIA and in the interests of the multi-million, multinational oil companies. The CIA spent about \$10 million to organize the coup. It also built the notorious Iranian secret police SAVAK—in its own image.

Since then, this dictatorship has ensured the highest possible profits for Iranian and foreign capitalists—at the expense of Iranian workers. There is massive jailing, torturing and murdering of workers and students who demand the most basic democratic rights and decent living standards.

The CIA sometimes calls the Shah a "megalomaniac." But despite the rhetoric, it continues to love and support him.

Over the past twenty-five years, the biggest area of trade between the U.S. and Iran has been in the military field. In 1975 alone, total exports from the U.S. to Iran were 3.2 billion dollars, of which a cool \$603

THE SHAH'S IRAN



millions are announced as military sales. The real figures are of course much higher.

CONTRACT

Recently, the Shah has made a contract to buy \$10 billions worth of weapons from the U.S. over the next four years. There are now 24,000 American civilian and military personnel in

Iran, supervising their delivery. The Shah has announced that he is prepared to spend up to \$50 billion if the U.S. will sell what Iran wants to buy.

Carter and his administration have said that they are worried about the arms sales to Iran, because they have been "out of control." But after Vance's visit to Iran, he announced that Carter's "human rights" campaign will not affect the U.S. arms sales to Iran. Why? Because the U.S. ruling class cannot afford to lose such a good "megalomaniac" customer and tyrant.

Iran's defense expenditure last year was \$8.1 billion—equivalent to 27% of the national budget. This year it will be \$7.95 billion—or 23% of the budget.

OIL

Iran is the second largest oil exporter in the world. The major increase in oil revenue between 1972 and 1974 raised per capita income to 1,360 dollars a year, which gave Iran some chance of making its way into the international league of industrialized economies.

This boomlet did not last long. By the end of 1975, the fall off in oil demand in the West led to a severe cash flow problem that forced Iran to turn to international borrowing.

This was made worse by the lack of skilled workers in many industries, and by the massive scale of corruption and bureaucratization of the regime.

The oil boom has meant greater wealth and profit for the Iranian ruling class and the ever growing army of foreign businessmen and advisors; but for Iranian workers and peasants, the oil boom has meant a high rate of inflation running between 20 and 40%,

shortages of food and other basic necessities, and a very serious housing crisis.

Although industrial wages have gone up, up to 75% of workers' wages can go to paying the rent in what are miserable and unfurnished rooms in one of the many slum areas of Iran.

Food prices are about the same as in Europe and in the U.S., but the quality is much poorer, and the money available to workers much smaller.

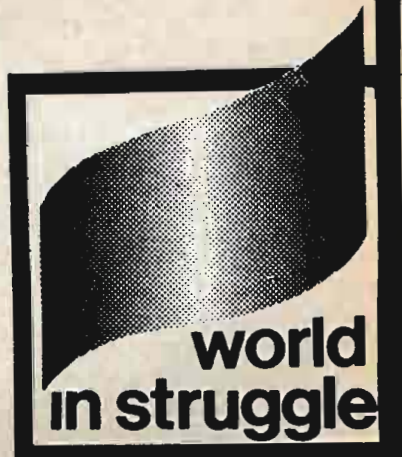
For workers, industrial safety and health does not exist, except in a few isolated cases which are used as advertisement, as gloss for the regime.

STRIKES

Yet, despite the Shah's claim that "...there is not even one minute's strike in Iran..." the last few years have seen an increasing number of strikes in different industries.

When workers go on strike in Iran, they risk their lives, imprisonment and torture.

In last year's miners strike for example, workers blackened their faces in order to avoid being identified by SAVAK agents. The demands of the 4,000 striking miners were better conditions and wages. No amount of threats could shake their determination. The management finally agreed to their demands. But after the strike, about 50-70 workers were sent to jail and tortured, as SAVAK tried to find out who



the ringleaders were.

The present struggle for basic rights in Iran is part of that for workers' power, for despotism cannot be 'reformed.' Central to this fight is the building of a mass organization of the working class. A party based in and on the struggle of the Iranian working class—where the real possibilities for revolutionary change lie. With the perspective and with the likelihood of the economy passing into a deep crisis, great possibilities do exist in Iran. Revolutionaries the world over, but particularly in the U.S., which in many ways has played the key role of supporter for the Shah, must be prepared to join with the Iranian students and other groups in solidarity actions. □

By ELI POVEY and AHMED SHAWKI

Building the Party



Three excerpts from the first volume of Tony Cliff's biography of Lenin published for the first time in farsi (Iranian). \$.60.

Also a translation in Iranian of Chris Harman's pamphlet Russia: How the Revolution Was Lost. \$.50.

Both pamphlets are now available from the ISO.

PO Box 18037
Cleveland, OH. 44118.

This Is 'White Civilization'

This was Noah Chirema, aged 19, a few hours after being tortured by the white Rhodesian police.

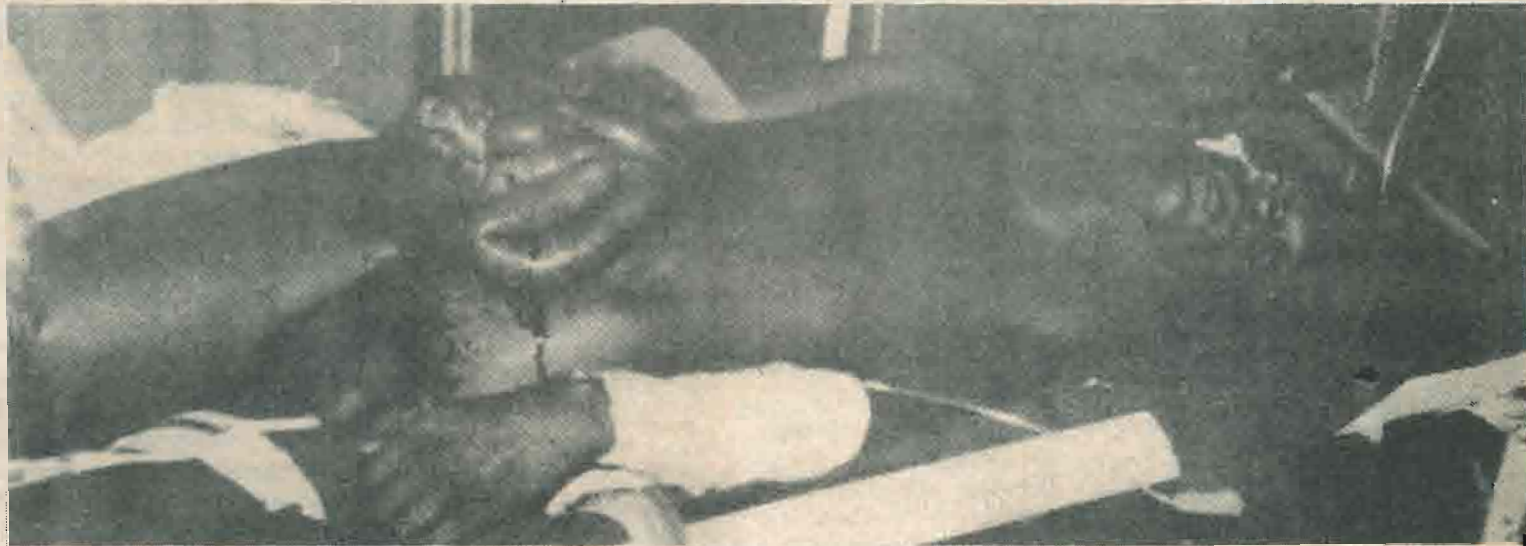
Noah was mentally defective. Last December, he and a friend were out herding cattle when a Security Patrol stopped.

Noah was questioned and severely beaten. He was then shot with a high velocity shell in the right buttock. He died five days later.

Noah Chirema is just one of the cases of torture practiced in Ian Smith's white Rhodesia by the security forces. This and many other cases are documented in a report by the Roman Catholic Justice and Peace Commission.

Four of the report's authors have now been arrested by the Smith regime.

Another case investigated concerns a 21-year-old black, named in the report as F.S. He was arrested and taken to Chisasike military camp. He



RHODESIA: A RACIST CAMP IN AFRICA

was beaten senseless with a rubber fan belt and made up stories to get released.

The most common method of torture used in Rhodesia involves covering the victim with a towel and squirting water into his mouth and eyes.

This creates the experience of drowning.

In another case, P.M. was working on his land with his wife and children when an Army patrol arrived.

The soldiers boiled some beer and poured it over P.M.'s

head, more over his shoulders, and countless cups over his feet.

His wife was taken by other soldiers and severely beaten. P.M. spent nine weeks in the hospital and was still receiving treatment six months later.

The report says: "A policy of systematic torture is pursued by the Rhodesian Army..."

"Talk of a possible settlement only seems to have intensified the army's resolve to harass and terrorize innocent civilians." □

SIXTY YEARS AGO

Red October



Lenin and Trotsky

By BARBARA WINSLOW

"The basic question of every revolution," wrote Lenin in 1917, "is that of state power . . . The highly remarkable feature of our revolution is that it has brought about dual power."

The February revolution in Russia overthrew the Tsar and the Russian aristocracy. In its place a provisional government was established. At the same time, however, the workers had developed their own governing bodies—the soviets—hence, dual power.

It was as if the Paris Commune of 1871 and a centralized capitalist government existed side by side. But such a situation is highly unstable. One side or the other must give way or be smashed. The question was, which one?

The provisional government was a weak 'liberal' government trying to strengthen the state machinery, especially the army and the police. On the other hand the soviets, which at that time were dominated by the Mensheviks (social democrats today) and the Socialist Revolutionaries—the Peasant Party, which Lenin said had already "surrendered and is surrendering its position to the bourgeoisie."

Against the provisional government was the Bolshevik Party. It stood for, in Lenin's words, "Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic would be a retrograde step—but a republic of soviets of Workers, Agricultural Laborers, and Peasants."

WIN

The task for the Bolsheviks was how to win a majority in the soviets, "to become a power the class-conscious workers must win a majority to their side. We are not Blanquists, we

do not stand for the seizure of power by a minority."

Blanqui was a 19th century French revolutionary who advocated the capture of power by a small group of conspirators.

In the meantime, the provisional government, aided by the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries, adopted more and more reactionary measures in order to save Russian capitalism and continue Russian participation in the war.

The First World War, in which millions were slaughtered and Russia was devastated, "must go on," declared the Mensheviks. In order to continue the war effort, the old officer corps, the strongest bastion of reaction had to be re-established. Strictest military discipline had to be enforced.

ARMY

The Bolsheviks knew if the officer corps was strengthened, the counter-revolution would triumph. The old army had to be smashed. After April, the Bolsheviks called for the election of all officers subject to recall, fraternization with the 'enemy,' and for peace.

There was no other way. The Mensheviks and the SR's called for greater authority of employers in the factories. The Bolsheviks demanded workers' control.

The Mensheviks and SR's asked the peasants to wait until a constituent assembly was called for the land question to be settled. The Bolsheviks called upon the immediate land seizure by the peasants.

Again, the SR's and Mensheviks demanded that the non-Great Russian peoples (51% of the population) give up their struggle for national self-determination, until some future assembly debated the issue.

The Bolsheviks, champions of the oppressed nationalities, called for immediate recognition of national rights up to and including secession from Russia.

DIFFERENCES

These differences had never seemed that great until the Mensheviks and SR's had the opportunity to serve in a capitalist government. But once in the government they acted to defend capitalist power. Gradually they lost support.

In June at the first Congress of the Soviets, the Menshevik-S.R. bloc still held a large majority. But at the same time at a huge anti-war demonstration, workers were carrying Bolshevik slogans on their banners.

In July even larger demonstration demanded "all power to the soviets" and led to even bloodier clashes and nearly an insurrection in Petrograd.

MAJORITY

In this case, the Bolshevik leaders tried to check the movement. Even though they were badly received, they knew that Russia was not yet ready for insurrection. The Bolsheviks did not yet have the majority in the soviets. Not all cities were as revolutionary as Petrograd.

After the July Days, there was a period of reaction, and the provisional government struck hard at the Bolsheviks. They accused them of taking gold from the Kaiser, and jailed Trotsky and Lunacharsky for treason. Lenin and Zinoviev had to go into hiding.

But this effort was short lived. The situation continued to deteriorate. More soldiers were deserting. Peasants were seizing the land.

The right-wing Commander Kornilov planned a military coup. Late in August his troops began to march on Petrograd. Some of the provisional government ministers were supporting him.

Bolsheviks threw all their weight into a temporary defence of the provisional government against Kornilov, and as a result the right wing coup was smashed.

A tremendous swing to the left followed. On August 31 the Bolsheviks won a majority in the Petrograd soviet. Moscow followed. Menshevik support melted away.

The army was growing more and more radical. The regime was rapidly deteriorating. An armed insurrection was being planned by the Petrograd soviet.

Amid rumors of another right wing coup, detachments of soldiers and workers took over Petrograd on the 25th of October in the name of soviet power. There was almost no resistance. Only the Winter Palace was defended for Kerensky.

The Second Soviet Congress—the most democratic of all parliaments in the history of the world—assembled at the Smolny Institute.

Lenin, speaking to thousands of workers, stated, "We shall now begin to proceed to construct the socialist order."

The first workers' state on a national scale had been born.

It lasted only a few short years. Isolated internationally and devastated by years of war, famine and then civil war, the revolution was defeated and Stalin set out to build his terrible tyranny based on a growing bureaucracy and the vicious exploitation of the peasants and workers.

Nevertheless, it had been done. The workers of Russia had taken power. It will be done again. □

SEATTLE: 1917

The Year We

by Harvey O'Connor

March and October, the two revolutions in Russia were greeted with enthusiasm by working people.

You have to remember that in 1917-18 the shipyards were the thing. Many people went into the shipyards as a kind of draft shelter—people preferred to build ships than to die in the war. Seattle therefore attracted many radical and anti-war people.

At first, we didn't know a damn thing about it. Then some news seeped out of Russia. All the newspapers were against it. They didn't mind seeing the Tsar overthrown in March, but the Bolsheviks!

The fact that the capitalists were opposed to it made workers support them. A resolution was passed in the Seattle Central Labor Council hailing the Russian Revolution. It was in response to that that Lenin wrote his "Letter to American Workers."

The Shilka, a Russian Ship, arrived with the letter. They had left Russia with the captain in control, but the sailors staged a mutiny. They told the captain that they were taking control of the ship, and that he should simply go on navigating.

The letter was published in the Seattle Union Record by the Seattle Central Labor Council. The Seattle Union Record was their daily.

When the crew of the shilka came in, the newspapers reported that it was filled with Russian gold to start a revolution in the U.S. In fact, they had a rather non-descript cargo. They had no gold, I can assure you that.

They wouldn't permit the crew of the boat on shore leave. Now this angered us. Pressure was mounted on the government and they finally got permission.

There was a march from the dockside to the Wobbly hall. All the comrades and the workers together. We didn't understand any Russian, they didn't understand any English but everyone seemed to get along pretty well.

It was a march of several thousand. It was quite an impromptu thing, you know. We didn't have that much time to organize it.

The Seattle Central Labor Council set up a Russian Labor Bureau under the supervision of Anna Louise Strong who was associate editor of the paper. It was the first time that the letter was published in English, and I daresay the issue of the paper would be worth something now.

At the time, I was on the Seattle Union Record—I was labor editor and then city editor. I stayed there until 1924.

I should mention another incident that happened then. The

Harvey O'Connor about the effects of the Seattle labor movement. Harvey O'Connor member of the Seattle Workers of the World newspapers, notably the Union Record," and the Socialist Party

Here he is pictured as an American Activist socialist, he refused

International Socialist Party Organ- enthusiastically for the viks. It had considerable influence there.

I remember there of revolution all over In Hungary, in Germany Italy workers were factories—all hell was loose. I looked for the head print and wrote front page: "Capital- taring."

The Justice De came down on us and up. They put a padlock door. We tottered, no- ism. Since then, I've been tical about people nounce that capitalis- taring.

The Seattle General 1919 was in support of yard workers who had strike for a long time out on Thursday, Feb 1919.

The strike had mu- with Wobbly [Workers of the Wor- ence. It followed the Wobbly theory of Strike"—there was o-

International Socialism

Monthly Journal of the Socialist Workers Party
September 77
Number 101

- South Africa
- Portugal
- Eurocommunism
- Lewisham

For American Workers Came Revolution



National guardsmen called up during the Seattle General Strike.

...or of many books, including *Memoir* talks to Ahmed Shawki... Russian Revolution on the... between 1917 and 1919. Journalist and active socialist, Party and of the Industrial... worked on and edited several... the Seattle Daily Call," "The International Weekly," organ of... tifying before the House Un-... mittee in 1953. A life-long... operate.

SOLIDARITY

"In October, 1919, a trainload of 50 freight cars brought to the port of Seattle a shipment labeled 'sewing machines,' destination Vladivostock. A longshore crew, wondering why a country engaged in civil war would be importing sewing machines, 'accidentally' dropped a crate on the dock. The clatter that ensued came not from bobbins, shuttles, and wheels, but from rifles. They were being sent, in a government chartered ship, from Remington Arms to the counter-revolutionist Kolchak. The longshoremen's union refused to load the cargo and notified other ports of their action. The Central Labor Council backed up the longshoremen."

From *Revolution in Seattle*
By Harvey O'Connor



A report of the General Strike



Harvey O'Connor in 1918 pictured on his seaman's card

with the theory, because capitalist bellies last longer than workers' bellies. It is only a short term political tool. A very good tool, but only a short term political tool.

It was a great show of solidarity, but there was one problem—the war was over. The bosses no longer needed ships and didn't mind having workers on strike.

Looking back, it was a psychological thing. After the repression of the war years, the pent-up anger, the fall in wages, it had to explode. But the fact was Uncle Sam didn't need you any more, so to hell with you.

During the General Strike, they mobilised the U.S. Army. There was going to be a real riot if the Army could provoke it. They had ordered everyone to stay in so as not to give them a chance to provoke one.

You see, there was no picketing because we shut her down. The army trucks would roll down the streets with nobody looking on. They finally withdrew the troops. There were

fewer arrests then, then there were at any other time.

The whole city was shut down, even the prostitutes were with us and they shut down. We organized restaurants and food lines to feed people. They were under the supervision of the Strike Committee. We had medical services and milk deliveries to homes for children.

It lasted for four days. We organized a council of workers, soldiers and sailors deputies, like the Russian soviets, and they had a meeting at a hall.

As I remember it was like a theatre, you know with seats going up. It looked like some pictures of the Smolny Institute—the Bolshevik headquarters—that I had seen.

The soviets were the memorable thing about it. There were several such soviets organized in West Coast cities.

That Seattle story if a good story. It's one of the best stories.

People look back on it and say it couldn't have happened that way—but it did. It was a show of solidarity. It was beautiful

but doomed. But it shows it can be done. It scared the living jimminy out of the ruling class. The story speaks for itself. □

An American In Petrograd

I went back to Petrograd riding on the front seat of an auto truck, driven by a workman and filled with Red Guards. We had no kerosene, so our lights were not burning. The road was crowded with the proletarian army going home, and new reserves pouring out to take their places. Immense trucks like ours, columns of artillery, wagons, loomed up in the night, without lights, as we were. We hurtled furiously on, wrenched right and left to avoid collisions that seemed inevitable, scraping wheels, followed by the epithets of pedestrians.

Across the horizon spread the glittering lights of the capital, immeasurably more splendid by night than by day, like a dike of jewels heaped on the barren plain.

The old workman who drove held the wheel in one hand, while with the other he swept the far-gleaming capital in an exultant gesture.

"Mine!" he cried, his face all alight. "All mine now! My Petrograd!"



John Reed was one of the first American socialists to visit revolutionary Russia.

He wrote the classic account of the October Revolution, *Ten Days that Shook the World*, from which the accompanying passage is taken. □

Now They Blame the Wives

Dear Socialist Worker,

The New Hampshire Commission on the Status Of Women has rejected any plans to help battered wives, calling any such programs "an invasion of privacy."

The commission not only has condoned assault-and-battery by a husband on a wife, but lays the blame for the crime on women! According to it, "wife-beating is caused by the rise of feminism."

Commissioner Gloria Belzil of Nashua has stated, "Some women libbers irritate the hell out of their husbands."

They have also condemned the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion, and the television show, "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman." But they did vote to retain the "ladybug" as the state insect, though the cockroach would be more appropriate.

The commission members were hand-picked by the "law-and-order" governor of New Hampshire, Meldrim Thomson.

This should come as no surprise to anyone who knows anything of Thomson's record as governor.

He and his cronies have constantly supported every right-wing cause, most times to the level of neo-fascist absurdity. Obviously he chose commission members that would do his bidding.

Feminist organizations from around the state are protesting this flagrant and dangerous attack on women's rights. A group of women and men have banded together to eliminate the commission and make sure that the money for the commission is not in the state budget. This is a beginning.

They should move next to eliminate the real criminals—Meldrim Thomson and his kind who support such violent sexist crimes.

Wayne Standly
Northampton, Mass.

And I thought UPS was bad!

Dear Socialist Worker,

Hello! Just thought I'd drop you a note to let you know what's going on with the former UPSurge radical.

Out of all the places to work in Kansas City, I got on at this warehouse that makes the productivity requirements at UPS seem like nothing at all. You would not believe this place.

My initial interview consisted of a lecture detailing all the things I could be fired for. Get this — ANY absence in the first 60 days (the probationary period) results in termination. No excuse is acceptable. Even

UPS is not that hard line.

If I didn't know better, I'd think that all the workers in this warehouse were wearing roller skates. The productivity is ridiculous.

The stupidvisors at this place has all the workers (except for myself and the one other I have found) intimidated to the max. Most of the people seem scared to death of being fired or are brown nosers looking for that tie in the sky.

This one forklift operator in particular is unreal. I was told by the other unintimidated that the guy was very disappointed when he didn't

make supervisor a while back. Frankly, I don't see how he could have kept from making it. He drives the forklift like a maniac with everyone within reach of his mean machine in danger of life and limb. As you probably expect, I've been harassed almost daily.

It seems my productivity needs to double if I am going to be permitted the "privilege" of working for this lousy outfit.

From what I understand, the workers in the UPS local have great representation compared to the workers here. From what I've been able to gather, the company suspends

and fires the workers at will. If the workers want justice they must take this company to court themselves.

Really though, what makes this place so bad is the fact that I've found only one worker that has any guts and doesn't put up with this bullshit. Just before I came to work here, the contract was renegotiated with less that a \$1 increase over three years and in exchange for that, they lost the cost of living clause.

Sincerely,
Randy L. Stanard
Kansas City, KS

Letters

Write to Letters,
Socialist Worker
P.O. Box 18037
Cleveland, OH 44118

West Virginia Report

September 9, 1977

Dear Socialist Worker,

I was in West Virginia all last week and it was clear that the strike was drawing to a close, which I guess it has by now.

It was also very clear that this was the most popular strike at least since I've been down there. I didn't hear anyone say "It was dumb, we should never have come out in the first place," which usually you hear quite a bit and everyone also expressed a willingness to stay out—this being all across the spectrums of my acquaintances and also the first time everyone has been unanimous.

Another good indication—people said there were more pickets this time than ever, and the roving pickets, D.C. demonstration, etc., were funded in some cases by local union treasuries—e.g., the Bethlehem Twilight local.

I'd say that the mass sentiment was pro strike and this was reflected by larger than usual layer of activists, active support on a secondary (local) union level and to some degree even district.

Firstly, people are aware how



85,000 coal miners struck this summer over health and benefit cuts.

very important the issue is, both politically and in monetary terms.

The health card is like the touchstone of the UMWA—they pioneered it, they fought for years for it and it was the best in the country and people were real proud of it. To let the companies get away with it like that without any response was just too much and if no one else was going to do it, District 17 was.

Secondly, maybe for those miners who don't strike as much or something, it's not as

important financially, but the extra burden seems quite a bit to folks I know—it means not going to the doctor in a bunch of cases.

Another example, a good friend of mine is pregnant and their share now of the bill for that will be \$250 (instead of \$0). That's a week's pay on top of all the other bills that have accumulated.

I think, too, this is why the guys from Kentucky have been so hot on the thing from the jump. From my experience the health card is about the biggest argument in favor of the UMWA down there—does that jibe with your observations?

Violence was a big issue, there were several instances of bosses being shot at and at least one case of a pumper (who theoretically has the right to work during a strike but usually has the sense to know when to quit—a union fireboss is in the same boat) having the shit knocked out of him and robbed, in fact. This guy apparently was bragging about working. They got him just after he took out close to \$10,000 out of the bank and told him it would be "donated to the strikers." Bethlehem even sent most of its bosses on vacation after they started getting too scared to

come to work.

The biggest incident and most important (and amusing) was last week. Miller told a bunch of guys in Pennsylvania that 17 wanted to go back but were being kept out by a small bunch of radicals and paid about 500 guys to escort them back to work. They got down to Cabin Creek and were met by about 300 miners, also armed and some shots were fired at which point the goons went home. One was quoted as saying, "I guess District 17 just isn't ready to go back to work."

Miller has come out of this absolutely hated by everyone, more for being totally incompetent than even for stuff like this. He hasn't done anything, except try and find a scapegoat to pin the strike on. First it's the communists, then hot-heads and not the District 17 leadership, when it is in fact the whole District.

Basically though the real core of the union, the principles of the average miner, remains intact to an amazing degree and though the companies may have won a battle, they're a long, long way from winning the war.

C.M.
Lemont, PA

- I want to join
- I want more information about

the International Socialist Organization

Name _____

Address _____

send to: ISO PO Box 18037 Cleveland, Ohio 44118

Dear Socialist Worker,

Anita Bryant has just written a book *The Anita Bryant Story: The Survival of Our Nation's Families and the Threat of Militant Homosexuality*. The right wing anti-gay movement hopes her book will help their reactionary cause.

There are going to be rallies and demonstrations against this movement and against the publicity Bryant will get out of her book.

I hope *Socialist Worker* will continue to expose this growing right wing movement.

Elaine Roesch
Washington, D.C.

ALLENDE'S CHILE

The "Peaceful" Road to Socialism

Four Years After Chile's Bloody Coup, Geoff Ellen Tells Why It Happened

Salvador Allende believed socialism could come peacefully, that the rich would set aside their wealth and their weapons if the votes of the poor insisted on it.

He changed his mind on the morning of September 11, 1973, as eight Sherman tanks pounded his Presidential palace from the street below and two Hawker jets strafed it from the sky above.

Allende and his aides held out long enough to broadcast these last words to their supporters throughout Chile:

"And they have the power, they can smash us, but... history is ours, and the people will make it."

Within hours, the generals who had murdered Allende were rounding up, torturing and executing thousands of socialists and trade unionists with a barbarity which still continues today, exactly four years after the coup.

And yet, tragically, it was all so predictable, so avoidable. "The people" were reined in and frustrated by their President from "making their own history."

For Allende was a man of the constitution, of the ballot box, of legality, of parliament.

And his supporters had to play by those rules, even if his enemies had long ago discarded them. It was a strategy for disaster.

NO DOUBTS

Even if Allende seriously believed that army generals and police commanders would help him steer Chile to socialism, those rich men in uniform never had any doubts.

In his three years in office, Allende faced six attempted military coups before the one that finally overthrew him. And yet he could say—and he repeated it endlessly—that the armed forces "did not constitute a danger factor."

They were a "special breed, not foreseen by Lenin in his books."

There seemed, in Allende's early days as President, a grain of truth in what he was saying. But he mistook the generals' initial caution for impartiality.

Unknown to him, they had worked out a rule of thumb guide with their advisers in the Pentagon, the United States war department.

It read, in part, "We, the armed forces, will have to wait and see what happens. The future will tell us whether we



The streets of Chile after the coup.

must intervene to put things back in their proper places, or whether Salvador Allende will keep his promise to 'guide' the people's restlessness and prevent the insurrection of the have-nots."

There was no doubt who the generals feared most. The view of the most powerful and most intelligent among them in these early days amounted to this:

"Our basic task is to prevent Communism from taking over Chile on the crest of a popular insurrection." With Allende as president, "Communism is still very far off."

Their real fear was "the assault of the masses...and a situation resembling that of the Bolsheviks in 1917. The essential thing is to gain time, and only Allende can give us this."

They needed a breathing space. And they used it to infiltrate the country's economic administration, its intelligence networks, its civil service, its political parties, its trade unions, its media.

But as the months wore on, and the leaders of the military elaborated their conspiracy, their friends in big business took fright at the growing militancy of the workers.

Their answer was economic sabotage. And when the workers resisted it, Allende—the man of the ballot box, the man the generals saw as the "fireman for the people's fire"—denounced them.

"We are," he said, "against all indiscriminate takeovers of rural properties, we are against the takeover of living quarters, we are against

workers' takeovers of small and medium-sized factories."

IMPULSE

"Expropriation and the requisitioning of business must follow a government plan and not the anarchy of the willful impulse of the few.

The rich were delighted. The generals were confirmed. The workers were confused.

And so it went on. Sandford tells how "in three years of government, neither Salvador Allende nor the leadership in the Communist and Socialist parties ever agreed to mobilise the masses fighting against the Chilean oligopolies and North American multinationals."

As the workers' momentum faltered, they fell prey to the propaganda of the television stations and newspapers, almost all in the hands of the rich.

The privileged and powerful became confident, some super-confident.

In the armed forces, some officers began to abandon caution. "We have the sonofabitch in the frying pan," General Canales confided to a colleague. He was talking about the President, of course.

Plotting and conspiring by big business and the military doubled and re-doubled. In October, 1972, the truck-owners organized a national bosses' strike.

The armed forces backed it, the media glorified it, the government appeased it—but the workers defeated it.

From below, came an explosion of working-class organization. The factories kept run-

ning—without the bosses.

Watching the spectacle of the country functioning without owners and managers, some senior army officers admitted, "The rabble can do it."

Here, once again, was the force that could not only defeat the plotters against Allende's government, but could run society.

Allende's response was to bring into his cabinet the commander in chief of the army and two other senior members of the armed forces.

But nonetheless, the masses were on the move again. And confidence was still high enough by March 1973 to give Allende an election triumph, the first time a Chilean president had increased his vote while in office.

LUNATICS

As the cordones, the rudimentary workers' councils that had grown out of the fight against the bosses' sabotage, met to discuss the way ahead, Allende repaid them with a campaign against "the lunatic fringe" who were playing into the enemies' hands.

Once again, the momentum faltered and began to wither away.

But by now the political lessons were becoming clear. And, in the heart of the working class, the movement for "popular power"—and the criticisms of Allende's path to socialism—began to grow.

Allende knew it. More importantly, the generals knew it. The time was coming when they would finally act.

Soldiers would be tensed up



to the "Marxist menace" with films of jungle warfare in Vietnam and lectures on "the worldwide communist threat to our wives, children and parents."

The press launched a campaign depicting Allende as a drunkard and asking Chileans to join the cry that "the best Marxist is a dead Marxist."

The fascist attacks, unhindered by the police or the military, increased: 115 in June, 1973, 128 in July, 300 in August.

Investment dried up. Prices rocketed.

And, on July 27, the truck owners launched their second national strike aimed at bringing down the government.

SIGNED

Allende, his days fast becoming numbered, now signed his own death warrant.

He ignored calls from workers' organizations to "solve the industrial stoppage with our own hands."

And, aware that his sympathetic naval chief had been murdered by conspiring leaders of the armed forces, he resolved amazingly to take four of those leaders of the armed forces into his cabinet.

He explained, in private, that if his supporters got to know what had happened to his naval chief, the workers and peasants "would assault the Navy and military police barracks to crush the conspirators."

That was unthinkable. So Allende decided to keep it quiet—and instead form a cabinet of "national unity" to find a solution to the truck owners' strike.

The chiefs of the army, navy and military police now knew that Allende had some idea of the all-embracing plot against him and his government. The time to act was at hand.

THE COUP

And so, on September 11, the coup that was known to be coming, came. It was led, of course, by the same generals and chiefs Allende had brought into his government and who he called a "special breed."

Only 700 of Chile's 100,000 soldiers, sailors and military police refused to join the bloody counterrevolution. The Junta rewarded them with imprisonment.

The rest it rewarded with a 5,000 escuda bonus, about \$35 for every person murdered in the first month of the coup.

Just before he was shot down, President Allende told his assembled aides:

"Just as no revolution can triumph if its leaders do not know how to assume their responsibilities at all times and to the bitter end, it is also true that useless deaths contribute in no way to the cause of the revolution."

Precisely. □

MILITANT STUDENTS WIN

RACIST STOCKS SOLD

Militant pressure by students and faculty at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst have forced the trustees of the college to sell its holdings in companies investing in South Africa.

The University's Board of Trustees voted September 14, 1977 to divest its holdings in nineteen companies operating in South Africa. Total worth of stocks held is \$680,000.

The decision to divest was made while a militant demonstration of about one hundred people called for this action on the part of the University. A petition with over 2,500 signatures was presented to the Board, and during the lunch hour trustees were shown the movie, "Last Grave at Dimbaza" which deals with conditions on South Africa's Bantustans.

By MIKE EGAN



Seattle Women's Conference is Step Forward

September 17 and 18 marked a step forward for the women's movement in Seattle. Over 300 women—activists in various projects and organizations—met at the Strong Women's Conference for several sessions of workshops, general talks, and an evening of women's songs, theater and poetry.

This was the first time in many years that women of differing political views have met for joint discussion. For several years now activist women here have worked in an isolated, almost fragmented, way, whether they were involved in women's health projects or workplace organizing, whether they worked in political organizations with both men and women or in groups of women only.

The planners of the conference sought to bring together women "who have a feminist consciousness and see a need for revolutionary change." Although this limited the scope to those who already were political activists, there

were varied views of how women could work toward changing the society.

Workshops reflected this variety of approaches, including socialism, anarchism, women's culture and revolutionary change, workplace organizing, and women in prison. ISO women held a discussion of women and the fight for socialism.

There were exchanges of information about specific work, as well as some discussion of different strategies and analyses of the oppression women face.

BILL HAMPTON SPEAKS IN NEW ENGLAND

Bill Hampton is continuing his campaign to publicize the truth behind the murder of his brother, Fred Hampton.

Fred Hampton, a Black Panther Party leader, was killed by Chicago police in December, 1969. Police attacked Hampton's apartment, firing more than 100 shots, killing Hampton, Mark Clark, and wounding four others.

On September 23, 24, and 25, Bill Hampton spoke to groups in Amherst, MA., Boston, MA, and New Haven, CN.

He also showed the film, "The Murder of Fred Hampton." The meetings were organized by the ISO.

new pamphlet

A brief history of revolutionary socialism in the United States

Hera Press
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78 pages

\$2.50

Milton Fisk

socialism
from
below
in the united states

The Origins of the
International Socialist Organization



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FOR 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

FIGHT OPPRESSION

Capitalism divides the working class. It pits men against women, whites against blacks. Capitalism fosters and uses these divisions to prevent the unity necessary for its destruction. As capitalism moves into crisis, oppressed groups—blacks, women, latins, native americans, youths, gays—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. We are for equal pay for all women workers. We fight for an end to forced sterilization and for free abortion. There should be free quality child care for all who need it. We fight for the opening up of jobs for women and an end to sexual harassment and

INTERNATIONALISM

The working class has no nation. Capitalism is international and that is why 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. These countries are not governed by workers' control but by a small bureaucratic class. A revolutionary movement must be built in these countries to achieve workers' control.

WHERE WE STAND

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.

FOR 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. 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 their fight against the present system.

firings. We are for an end to discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities.

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

FOR RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

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

To make the unions fight for workers' interests, power must be built 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.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The activity of the ISO is directed toward the initial steps of building a revolutionary party in a working class that is today fragmented and cut off from socialist ideas. Revolutionaries must be involved in the day-to-day struggles of workers and other oppressed groups at the work places, in the unions and in the communities. We build every struggle that will strengthen 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.

International Socialist Organization

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
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1917: How The Russian Workers Took Power

by
**Milton Fisk
and David Norris**

Here is a book that verifies the view long held by revolutionary socialists that the Russian revolution was an upheaval of the masses aimed at taking power into their own hands.

THE BOLSHEVIKS COME TO POWER: THE REVOLUTION OF 1917 IN PETROGRAD, by Alexander Rabinowitch, Norton, 393 pages, \$14.95.

Rabinowitch, who is not a socialist himself, presents facts that fully document this view of the Russian revolution. He refutes the view that the revolution was made by a small power-hungry group through manipulation of the masses. He also refutes the view that the revolution was independent of the will of the people who made it and was somehow historically inevitable.

COURSE

Starting with the unsuccessful mass uprising in Petrograd in early July of 1917, Rabinowitch traces the course of the revolution through the attempted military counter-revolution of General Kornilov in August to the formation of a soviet government in the wake of the successful insurrection in October by the Bolsheviks.

With the overthrow of the Tsar in February, 1917, organs of popular power were formed by the masses.

Most importantly, there were the soviets—delegate bodies from various groups of workers, of soldiers, and of peasants. Within the soviets several parties were vying for power. The control of the soviets by the other socialist parties—the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries—was in decline after the defeat of Kornilov. The Bolsheviks won a majority in the Petrograd and Moscow soviets in early September, an indication of the growing popularity of their program of "Peace, Land, Bread!"

The central question of Rabinowitch's book is how the Bolsheviks came to power. On this point he emphasizes "the party's internally relatively democratic, tolerant and decentralized structure and

method of operation, as well as its essentially open and mass character—in striking contrast to the traditional Leninist model."

This model, which Lenin had applied to earlier conditions, was one of a highly centralized, tightly disciplined leadership group. Rabinowitch gives numerous examples to justify this interpretation of the party in 1917, and it is well to cite some of them here.

There was rarely unanimity within the Bolshevik party on the major issues facing it. In mid-July, when the highest soviet bodies had been coopted by the Coalition Government the Central Committee of the party rejected Lenin's proposal to abandon the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"

DEBATE

The matter was then hotly debated in the Second City Conference of the Petrograd Bolsheviks, where reports on the mood of the people were made by Bolshevik representatives from various plants and districts.

Between September 15 and October 10, Lenin waged a battle within the party for adopting the perspective of immediate insurrection.

After being rebuffed by the Central Committee, Lenin went directly to the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the party to gain support. Even up to the time of the October insurrection, there was disagreement within the leadership on whether there should be an insurrection and when it should occur.

Despite his influence within the party, these debates show that the revolution was not the work of Lenin alone. Rather the party leadership from several levels functioned effectively within the revolutionary process, due to its ability to respond to different moods, at different times, and in different bodies, with the different tendencies that were locked in debate within it.

Rabinowitch drives home the idea that the Bolsheviks were responsive to the mood of the masses. He reports on the mood of the masses by record-



Inside a Petrograd factory

ing the words of representatives of district soviets.

CLOSER

The district soviets, which were never dominated by intellectuals, were closer to the masses than were higher bodies like the Petrograd Soviet and the All-Russian Executive Committees.

For example, even after the failure of the July uprising, reports from the district soviets at the Interdistrict Conference showed lack of confidence in the Kerensky government. Rabinowitch cites reports from factories and military

units, after the overthrow of Kornilov, that favor a revolutionary government responsible to the soviets.

Yet when at that time the Bolshevik Kamenev proposed such a government in the All-Russian Executive Committees, the other socialists rejected it.

This closeness of the Bolsheviks to the masses enabled them to take a leading role in unison with the masses in carrying the revolution to full power for the soviets. They supported the popular demand for a government responsible

to the soviets against physical attacks from the right.

And when Kerensky began taking repressive measures in October, the party's view that an insurrection was necessary if soviet power was to be achieved could only be opposed by those who were against soviet power.

The Kerensky government was overthrown on the eve of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets by a military operation engineered by the Bolsheviks. The Congress then elected the Bolsheviks to a dominant position in the first soviet government. □

What The Women Won

The Russian Revolution began when women took to the streets of St. Petersburg in February, 1917, demanding bread. In October, the basis for women's oppression was undermined by the workers' seizure of state power.

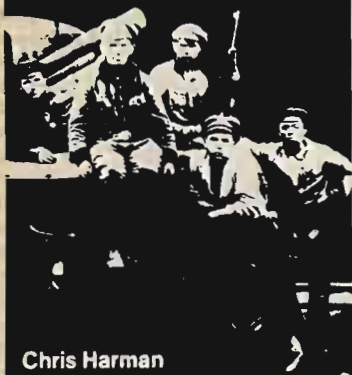
Thanks to a large revolutionary feminist movement, women won tremendous gains from the revolution, including free, legal birth control and abortion, equal pay, the right to divorce and child custody, equal education, free medical care, suffrage and communal child care, housework and eating facilities.

These gains were lost during the 1920's, when the Stalinist bureaucracy captured state power from the workers. Today, Russian women suffer much the same oppression and inequality as women around the world. □



A revolutionary soldier

RUSSIA
How the Revolution was lost



Chris Harman

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Franklin Teachers

The Union is at Stake

FRANKLIN MA—One thousand teachers and supporters gathered on a cold, rainy afternoon, September 25, in Franklin Massachusetts in a show of solidarity with the Franklin teachers' strike. People came from all over the state and from New Hampshire and Rhode Island as well.

Thirty-four Franklin teachers could not make it to the rally. They were in jail, but they sent solidarity greetings, which were read from the platform at the rally.

All together, 112 of the 265 members in the Franklin Education Association have been arrested while picketing. Each of the 34 still in jail were ordered by the court to pay \$150 per day.

The main issue at stake is the survival of the union itself. "This is the year that all school committees throughout the country decided to break the unions," said Joe Ferrari of the Franklin Education Association.

REFUSES

In Franklin, the proposals offered by the FEA differed little from those in the past, but the school committee refuses to negotiate. Ferrari said the teachers would return to teach if the school committee would agree to binding arbitration. The committee has refused to do so; in fact, this is refusing to recognize the union.

The strike has gotten the solidarity of the community and other workers in Franklin. Parents are refusing to send their children to school during the strike.

Of the 5,500 students, only 1,500 have been showing up.

The custodians, who have their own contract battle looming with the school committee, are honoring the strike, as are the cafeteria workers. □

by Peter Lowber.

SEPTEMBER, 24, 1977
KENT STATE

STOP THE GYM!



Alan Canfora, May 4th Coalition

William Kuntsler



Congress Hits Abortion Again

The House voted on Sept. 27 against federal funding of abortions by an even wider margin than the last time it voted on the question.

A Senate motion voted on earlier, allows abortions to be funded by Medicaid when the life of the mother is in danger and when a doctor considers an abortion medically "necessary." Federal funds for abortions will be provided in cases of rape or incest.

Now members of the House are demanding that the "medically necessary clause" be dropped. One Congressman,

Silvio Conte from Mass., argued that if the rape provision was left in, all these pregnant women would then just say they were raped.

While these Congressmen (and the few women) are busily

working out a "compromise" motion, a Planned Parenthood study was released which proved that if Medicaid funds are denied poor women, they will instead go to the backstreet abortionist, which would

result in 90 more deaths and thousands of injured women a year.

Not surprisingly, the main victims will be Black and Latin women. □

Gilcrest's Picketed

BOSTON, MA—There are pickets in front of Gilcrest's department store in downtown Boston.

The store, which is under renovation, is hiring all trades for \$3 an hour. Workers are being sent to the store by the state employment agency.

The picketing is being organized by local 223 of the Laborers, AFL-CIO. But work continues.

When 75 workers from throughout the Boston area showed up to stop the scab workforce, they were met by police who ushered the workers through the lines.

INJUNCTION

Now the company has an injunction limiting picketing to the back entrance. The situation is difficult but not hopeless.

As one worker said, "We could get somewhere with mass pickets. We could march right up to the state house and fight this injunction with numbers." □

by Kent Worcester

State Employees Fight "Discipline"

BOSTON, MA—On Sept. 3, the Metro District Commission (MDC) took disciplinary action against 70 employees, almost a third of whom have been taken off the payroll, in a continuing administrative crackdown against "poor work performance."

The MDC is a state agency with nearly 3,000 employees, providing police, water, sewer, park and recreation service. It encompasses 50 greater Boston communities.

Though disciplinary actions affected employees in all divisions within the MDC, the bulk centered on the sewer and parks departments.

BREAKDOWN

The breakdown of disciplinary actions taken against the 70 employees include: re-evaluation 9; forced transfer 1; verbal warning 6; written warning 30; step raise withheld 1; suspension 2; discharge 7; forced resignation 7; forced retirement 7.

An MDC administrator said the mass actions mark the first

time a state agency has conducted formal "evaluations" on its employees.

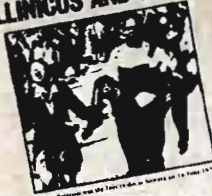
These disciplinary actions are a result of a new pilot program initiated this summer in which upper middle management employees were trained at Harvard University in Civil Service procedures and "the preparation and documentation of disciplinary actions."

"Discipline" is now a lot easier with the "management rights and productivity" clause written by the state negotiators and virtually unchallenged by the Alliance (AFSCME/SEIU, AFL-CIO) in the present 3-year contract.

Once again the state and city workers are being made to pay the price for the financial mismanagement of the state. It's time we fight back against the continual erosion of our rights and place the blame for Massachusetts' financial problems where it really belongs—in the laps of the politicians and bureaucrats who created it. □

Wayne Standley
Local #165 AFSCME

Southern Africa after Soweto
ALEX CALLINGOS AND JOHN ROGERS



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TDU Holds 2nd Convention

CLEVELAND, OH—The TDU (Teamsters for a Democratic Union) held its second national convention on September 24 and 25 in downtown Cleveland.

The TDU, which now claims 2,000 members in 35 states and has set its goal as reforming the giant Teamsters Union, was organized by rank and file Teamsters a year ago, following the national negotiations in the trucking industry.

The convention was attended by 300 people, mostly truck drivers and their wives. The two day agenda included a range of speakers, plus workshops on topics such as "organizing Teamster wives," "pension reform", and "running for office in the Teamsters Union."

Saturday night, Harry Patrick, the outgoing Secretary Treasurer of the Mineworkers spoke. He said today's labor leaders were "fat and unresponsive," and called "for a new American labor movement."

MEMBER

In return, he was made an honorary member of the TDU.

Doug Allen, a Los Angeles truck driver, led off the convention with a call to dump the Fitzsimmons leadership of the union.

"Fitzsimmons, we don't need to go to hell (responding to Fitzsimmons' advise to union dissidents). We are already in hell under your contract. But we're on our way back now and we won't stop until all our officials are elected."

The convention was considerably smaller than the TDU organizers had promised, and it showed that TDU is still not a national organization. It is concentrated in a few locals.

It also showed that TDU remains smaller than its rival, PROD, the Ralph Nader style organization originally founded by lawyer Arthur Fox, and which now includes a growing number of rank and file activists.

Still, the convention showed that TDU has made some important gains its first year. Most importantly, it includes in its membership a small, but significant number of rank and file Teamster men and women dedicated to changing the leadership and structure of the IBT.

The convention also revealed a number of important weak-



Jim Blomfield

nesses, however, and problems developed in the course of the convention. These include issues which should not be ignored by socialists and militants in the trade unions.

The convention, which began with high hopes and with an apparent strong sense of purpose, ended in disarray and a wrangle over procedure.

In the workshops dealing with women and black members of the IBT, there were discussions and resolutions about the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment), the possibility of a black caucus in the TDU, and a recommendation to endorse the movement to reverse the Bakke decision (see page 3).

FIRST

The Bakke decision deals with an affirmative action case in a California University, but it may well be the first step toward ending affirmative action programs in industry.

There were attempts to bring these issues to the convention floor in the final session, but it quickly became clear that the TDU leadership wanted no such discussions—nor discussions of anything which strayed far from strictly union issues.

They pressed on to a speedy adjournment.

There are few blacks and fewer women in the trucking industry. Of these, many won their jobs via affirmative action—quotas for blacks and women.

There are a tiny number of blacks in the TDU, even though

there are tens of thousands in the IBT. There is not one working woman Teamster on the new TDU steering committee. Yet there are 300,000 women in the IBT.

Why? In part, the answer is that the TDU leadership has adopted a strategy which makes its priority organizing the truck drivers—some 450,000 of the IBT's 2 million members.

These workers are certainly the most union conscious. They are the base both of the incumbent leadership and of the dissident groups.

They are the best paid and best organized members of the union. They also tend to be overwhelmingly white and male. They are also, on an average, older, and consequently they tend to be politically more conservative.

NARROW

They are indeed fertile ground for union reformers today.

Yet, what kind of a movement can be based on this narrow section of the union?

One which champions the rights and struggles of blacks and women—workers who in the IBT are concentrated in the rest of the union, outside trucking where low pay and sweetheart contracts prevail?

Certainly not without a struggle. Unfortunately the TDU leaders chose to opt out of the struggle. Worse, at times, they gave into it.

In one workshop, a TDU leader said it was "necessary to recruit racists"—in "order to convert them" of course. In the heated final session, a member of the new steering committee threatened that if a black caucus was organized he would organize a "white caucus." Rhetorical overstatements perhaps, but no reply was allowed.

There is an additional problem. Today the TDU is virtually indistinguishable from PROD—an organization which is out front about its liberal, reformist perspectives.

Yet, the TDU is led by socialists.

The TDU boosts programs to petition President Carter for pension reform, hopes to employ a lobbyist in Washington, has a national campaign to take the union to court in its efforts to win elected officers, and runs local election cam-

paigns on reform issues pure and simple.

At the same time, it increasingly orients to the liberals and reformists inside the trade union leadership—the bureaucracy.

The convention organizers had originally invited Ed Sadlowski to highlight the convention, despite the fact that since his defeat in the USW elections, Sadlowski has abandoned even his electoral efforts to reform his union.

It was a nice gesture on Harry Patrick's part to address the convention, and, true to form, he gave a tough, hard-hitting talk in praise of union reform.

Harry Patrick was once a militant miner. He was a wild-cat strike leader in Pennsylvania and he helped organize the Miners for Democracy (MFD), a movement based on a rank and file far more militant, class conscious and widespread than anything conceivable in the TDU today.

Yet, once in office, Patrick, with his ally Arnold Miller, the new President of the union, led the move to disband the MFD.

Worse, in the last years of his term, he sided with Miller in actually opposing massive wild-cat strike waves which have swept the coalfields for three years running.

The shift was no accident. The tendency under modern capitalism is for trade union leaders, best intentions aside, to be incorporated into the worlds of business and government.

NATURE

It is now part of the very nature of the trade union bureaucracy and that is why socialists have always argued that a genuine rank and file movement must be built independent of the bureaucracy—even of its reformist wing.

The alternative is what happened to the miners who changed the entire structure and leadership of their union. But today, they must wage a bitter struggle in the face of the opposition of their own union leadership.

Yet, the TDU models itself on the MFD.

These problems will not stop the efforts to change the Teamsters, for the offensive of the trucking employers, led by companies like UPS, insures there will be resistance, and we will continue to support groups like TDU and PROD.

We do not believe, however, that the movement can be successful if it sees reform as an end in itself. Union reform, the introduction of formal democracy into union procedures, is an important but incidental aspect of rank and file organizing.

The real purpose of a rank and file movement is to fight for workers' control in the workplaces, to press the struggle against the companies, to build a network of the most militant fighters, and to in-



Delfina Lozoya



Harry Patrick

crease the combativity, unity and confidence of the working class.

Dan Kablack, a Pepsi driver from Pittsburgh said, "We can't stop with dumping Fitz, those who pull his strings must go. We aren't just reformers. We have an idea of a better life."

We also have an idea of a better life, but we will not get it if we build a wall between the movement in the trade unions and the other social and political movements of the day—whether a struggle for the rights of the oppressed, or a movement to stop a war.

Building a rank and file movement remains a key task of socialists today, but there will be no short cuts. It cannot be built with a grand scheme—nor by a series of carefully orchestrated national campaigns, such as the 'Dump Fitz' campaign.

It must be built from the bottom up.

It must also be built with an uncompromising commitment to blacks, Latinos and women, the people who are today the majority of the workforce in the United States.

Without this commitment, the movement will remain divided. And divided we will be defeated.

by Anne Mackle and Cal Winslow



The politics of Lenin
Paul Gribors

60¢ from Hera Press

The Spirit Lives On

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KENT, OH—Five thousand students and supporters rallied at Kent State University, Saturday, September 24, to protest the building of a gymnasium where four students had been shot, and others wounded in 1970, protesting American imperialism in South East Asia.

The demonstration was led by the May Fourth Coalition and was the largest demonstration held so far at Kent State. Car loads and bus loads of students came from Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana—some even from California.

MEMORIAL

The May Fourth Coalition has repeatedly stated that the site of the proposed gymnasium should be set aside as a memorial to the Kent and Jackson State students who were murdered by National Guardsmen while protesting the war in Vietnam. They argue that the building of the gymnasium is symbolic of the coverup that has taken place over the past 7 years regarding the killings.

The Coalition had been able to prevent construction of the gym this summer, but last month, after all legal efforts failed, bulldozers razed the site on Monday September 19.

A rally was held, after which the students marched around the campus, where they dedicated four buildings to the murdered students. They then marched to the gym site where they tore down the fence.

CONTINUE

The rally ended with a statement by the May Fourth Coalition vowing to continue the struggle.

Two weeks ago, **Business Week**, one of the popular magazines for the ruling class, wrote that the student movement was dead. Saturday's demonstration proved them wrong.

The featured speaker, William Kunstler, the radical lawyer, said it this way.

"The newspapers are all saying the movement's dead. Mark Rudd's daddy says he's 30 now and too old.

"Well, I'm 58 and I'm still

struggling. The movement's not dead. It's growing. There are new people every day." □ (Kent State pictures see page 14)

STEVE BIKO

"He Was One of Our Greatest Leaders"

Steve Biko, a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, died in prison last month. He was 30. The South African authorities claimed he had died after a hunger strike.

A representative of the Soweto students, Majakathata Mokoena, 19, tells what he thought about Biko's death.

Steve Biko was one of the greatest and bravest of our leaders. He was a fighter for the freedom of our people.

He has been murdered by the white racists of South Africa.

Murdered just as surely as Abram Tiro, another of our black leaders who was killed when a parcel bomb blew up in his face.

Murdered just as surely as all our other brothers who have 'died by accident' in the racist prisons of Pretoria, Cape Town and Johannesburg.

They try to tell us he died of lack of food after an eight days hunger strike.

But everybody knows you can last much longer than that on a hunger strike. Steve would not go on hunger strike. He would never present the racists with an excuse for his death.

There are lots of ways they kill you in those prisons. They have all sorts of inhuman tortures which they carry out on black resistance fighters, sometimes for information, sometimes just for punishment.

The torturers get excited, and often go too far.

They can beat you to death with karate chops. They can electrocute you to death with their electric shock 'treatment.'

You can die in the 'invisible chair' in which you sit on a stick against the wall until the bones in your body begin to crack.

I don't know which torture



Majakathata Mokoena

they used on Steve. We can't find out. But I know he was murdered, and so does every black person in South Africa.

The racists are glad he is dead. At the all-white Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress the day after Steve died, the Minister of Justice, Kruger, said that the death had 'left him cold.'

CONGRATULATED

Chris Venter, a delegate, congratulated Kruger for being 'so democratic that those who wanted to starve themselves are allowed to do so.' The whole Congress laughed.

Yes, they laughed! These people are savages, worse than savages. When someone threatens them, they kill, and then they laugh about it.

Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement did threaten the racists.

After Sharpesville, a racist massacre of our people in 1960, the whites used all their brutal power to keep the black people down. It was the Black Consciousness Movement that restored black people's confidence and self-respect.

They taught us to stop feeling black in relation to white men, but to feel black on our own, and proud of being black on our own.



Steve Biko

It was the Black Consciousness Movement which taught us to rejoice at the victories of our brothers and sisters in Angola and Mozambique, and inspired the rising in Soweto last year.

That's why they killed Steve, and why they'll go on killing any of us they can get their hands on.

You ask whether it was wise of Steve to let his name be known. Shouldn't he have protected himself by staying anonymous, or working underground?

I don't think you understand. We are not trying any longer to protect ourselves. Thousands of us are pledged to serve, sacrifice and suffer until the racists are beaten in South Africa.

TORTURE

We know that they will torture and kill us if they find us.

At times some of us must say we are leaders. When Steve did that, he knew he would suffer for it.

Was that an unnecessary risk? Look. Every black man and woman in South Africa is at risk all the time.

A thousand of our people have been killed in Soweto alone since the rising last year. If we are always trying to protect ourselves, we will forget

about the need to struggle.

No. Steve Biko's courage is the courage of thousands of us all over my country.

And this is where the racists are wrong. They think they kill our spirit when they kill one of our bodies. But the opposite happens. People feel angrier, and braver.

Steve Biko's spirit is spreading all the time. The racists can't get away with what they used to get away with. Every killing, every eviction meets fiercer resistance than before.

Soweto has been turned into an armed camp, so frightened are the racists by our spirit. Steve Biko is dead. But the movement to avenge his death gets stronger every day.

I've said that the people who rule our country are savages, and worse. That's right. But they're not just savages.

They're watchdogs for their employers. Without their employers, they wouldn't have any teeth.

And their employers are here, in the United States and Britain, where rich men invest in my people's slavery.

We want them out. We want their money and their investments out. Because these keep the racists alive and confident.

If you get that money out, you can leave the South African racists to us. □

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