

# Socialist Worker

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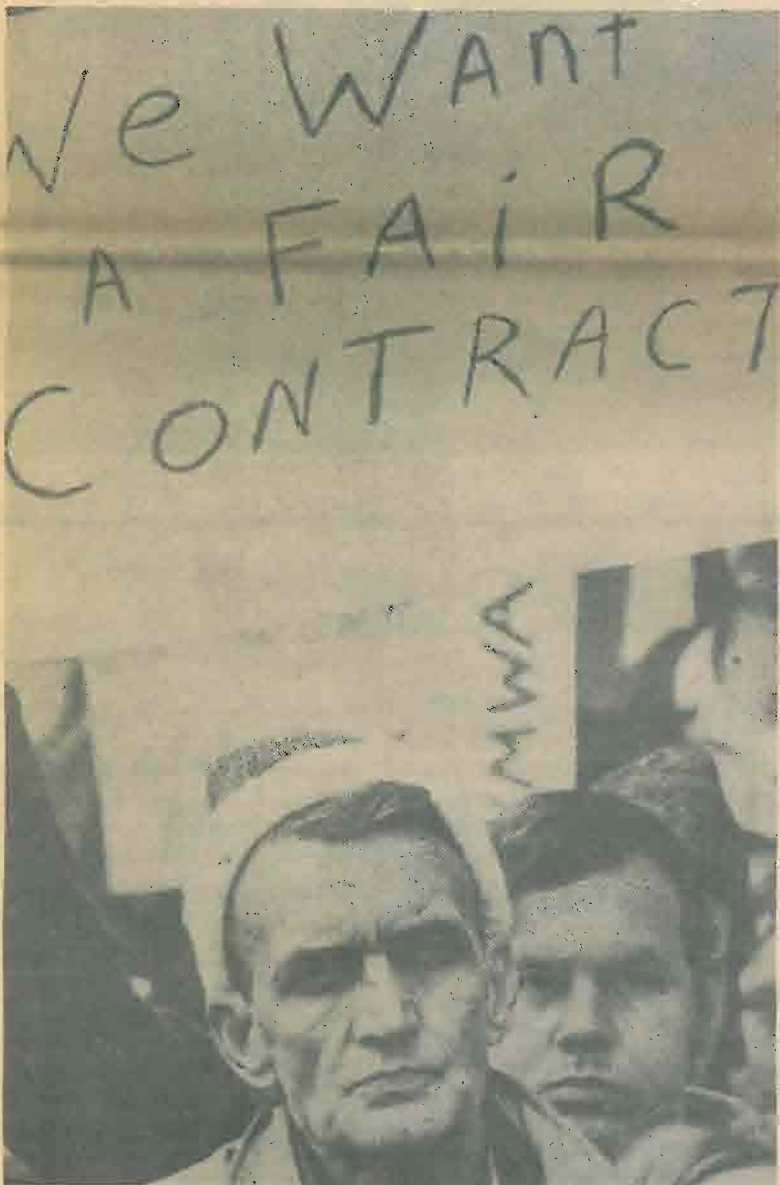
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY ISSUE

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## VICTORY TO THE MINERS' STRIKE



Angry miners in Charleston, W.VA

Rank and file miners are now fighting to reject the agreement between the United Mine Workers bargaining council and the coal operators.

The agreement is at best a minor improvement to the proposals that were rejected by the union earlier in the strike. The new contract would still force miners to pay part of their health and welfare.

And, most importantly, it still gives the companies the right to fire strikers.

Already, miners in Kansas, Missouri, and Western Kentucky have rejected by wide margins an independent settlement with the Pittsburg and Midway Coal Company, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil.

The miners have sacrificed far too much to go back now. They can reject this proposal, and they can still win a contract they can live with. But it will take a tremendous battle.

They deserve the unqualified support of every decent person and especially every worker in this country. Victory to the miners! □

## South Africa Movement Builds



Demonstrators in Bloomington, Indiana

by TIM KINGSTON

The campaign to stop investments in South Africa is growing. In February, there were national demonstrations, including the ones at the University of Chicago and the University of Indiana.

On February 4, in Bloomington, 150 marched to protest Indiana University's \$6 million in corporations involved in South Africa. They presented 2,300 signatures calling for divestiture to the Board of Trustees.

Now a major campaign is being planned in California. On March 17, thousands of students are preparing a demonstration at the meeting of the regents of the University of California.

The Campaign United Against Apartheid (CUAA) announced this campaign at a recent meeting in Santa Barbara. The CUAA is circulating a petition, and it is hoped 20,000 to 40,000 students, campus workers, and anti-apartheid people will sign it.

On Wednesday, March 15, there will be coordinated demonstrations on as many campuses as possible to precede and help build the main demonstration. Supporters of the United Farm Workers, as well as the movements against the Bakke Decision and the repression in Chile are helping build the demonstrations. We urge everyone to get involved. □



# What US rule means in Panama

General view Panama Canal

The United States stole the Panama Canal Zone from Colombia in 1903.

Today, it is a vast military apparatus, with more than \$5 billion invested in fourteen military bases. Between 10,000 and 20,000 U.S. troops are stationed there.

All this is to protect U.S. interests in Panama (which has never been militarily attacked) and to keep watch on the rest of Latin America.

The highly profitable canal (shown on right) could be enormously beneficial for the poor people of Panama, who live in shacks like those shown below, while the Americans of the Canal Zone live in luxury (right).

And this is why both Carter and the opponents of the proposed Canal treaty are desperately trying to maintain U.S. domination of the Canal. □



PHOTOS BY PHIL McCOWEN



Most Panamanians live in houses like these



Americans at the Washington Hotel in Cristobal

## Yvonne Wanrow needs your support

by GRETCHEN ENGLE

In August of 1972, Yvonne Wanrow, a Colville Indian, killed William Westler, a 62 year old white neighbor, in an effort to protect herself and her children.

In 1973 a Spokane, Washington jury convicted Yvonne, and she was later sentenced to 25 years in prison.

The Washington State Supreme Court reversed Yvonne's conviction in January, 1977. The Spokane Prosecutor, Donald Brockett, could have dropped the charges after Yvonne won her appeal, but instead he insisted on another trial.

The new trial has been postponed until after the Washington State Supreme Court hears appeals on the constitutionality of Yvonne's felony/murder charge. Under this charge the prosecutor only has to prove that she was in the process of committing the

FREE YVONNE WANROW



felony of assault on Westler, and that as a result of that assault, he died.

They do not have to prove that she had an intent to kill. Washington is one of the few states that still accepts the constitutionality of the felony/murder charge.

This appeal will be heard

on March 13th. Even if she wins this appeal, the prosecutor will have the option to recharge or dismiss the case.

Yvonne's conviction and her long struggle with the U.S. legal system result from her position as a Native American and a single mother in a society which is racist and

sexist.

Today many women are being forced to defend themselves against violent attacks. In defending themselves, women run the risk of prosecution by the state for a violent crime.

As a result women often find themselves facing two violent situations—the first being the physical assault, and the second, a legal assault leading to possible imprisonment.

Yvonne's case is similar to many other women's self-defense cases, such as those of Inez Garcia, Dessie Woods, Joan Little, Marlene Roan Eagle, Roxanne Gay and others.

### RACISM

In addition to sexism, racism has been present in this case.

Yvonne's trial took place during the government attack of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973, which heightened the racist tensions in the court.

As a poor single mother, raising two children, who

was unable to obtain police protection for herself and her children, Yvonne could not have acted in any other way than she did.

If Wesler had been a Native American and Yvonne had been white, the case would never have come to trial. The case is still being prosecuted because of racism and sexism, and Yvonne needs our support to win.

One way to help Yvonne is to send your financial support. Expenses are high for legal work, trial costs, travel, etc. Contributions should be sent to:

Yvonne Wanrow Defense Center for Constitutional Rights

853 Broadway, 14th Floor  
New York, New York 10003

For those who live in Washington, you can show your support by going to the hearing on March 13th in Olympia. A car caravan leaves Seattle at 7:30 AM from the Fred Meyer Parking Lot at 425 Broadway East. □



## REJECT THE CONTRACT

# THE STRIKE CAN BE WON!

### What We Think

The strike of 160,000 coal miners is now at its decisive point.

If the miners can organize a rejection of the latest contract proposal, they can continue their fight and possibly make a breakthrough in U.S. labor relations—the most important breakthrough in decades.

When the coal strike began in November, the press and the coal companies boasted of massive stockpiles of coal and bragged that “only the miners would suffer.”

#### CALCULATED

The operators were determined to “teach the miners a lesson” by forcing a strike of at least six weeks through the heart of winter. They calculated that the miners, with absolutely no leadership from the Miller administration, would crumble and return to work, taking with them a new contract that would set them back literally decades.

The exact opposite happened. The rank and file miners forced the bargaining council to reject the company’s “final offer” and they made it absolutely clear that Taft-Hartley would not work.

In the prefabricated hysteria drummed up about the power shortages, the Carter administration stepped in and “forced” the operators to “concede.”

But what did they concede? The truth is very little. The new proposal does not guarantee full health and hospitalization benefits, which miners have enjoyed since 1950. Instead it imposes deductibles of up to \$500 a family each year in hospital charges, \$150 in doctor’s fees, and \$50 for drugs.

#### FIRE

The new proposal drops the \$20 per day fine on miners who refuse to cross picket lines. But it gives the com-



West Virginia coal miners

panies the undisputed right to fire strike leaders or miners who “instigate” wildcat strikes—the only weapon miners now have to defend their rights.

The new proposal would raise wages \$2.40 an hour over three years, but it also includes a maximum 30 cent an hour annual cost of living allowance that doesn’t take effect until the second and third years of the contract. According to Arvil Sikes, the union’s executive board member from Virginia, “If you take away COLA, the wage increase hardly amounts to much.”

The strength of the miners is found in the level of rank and file activity and initiative. Miners daily scour the high-

ways of Appalachia and the coal producing areas of the midwest to stop scab coal. They have done this despite national guardsmen called out in Indiana, and despite constant police harassment. “If three of us get together, we get a helicopter swooping in on us,” an Indiana miner told a support rally in Bloomington.

In District 6 in Ohio, miners from Consol’s Shoemaker mine have been going up and down the Ohio River leaf-letting workers at steel mills and power plants in an effort to turn public opinion in their favor.

#### STOPPED

Coal barges have been effectively stopped from mov-

ing on the Ohio river, and many non-union coal companies in Southern Ohio have been closed down—including those who would only be stopped by force.

More than anything else, the miners strike shows the power of ordinary workers when they are determined and united. It shows in real life the validity of all the old labor and socialist adages. You can’t mine coal with bayonets. You can’t defeat workers if they are united and refuse to cross picket lines. You can’t trust the bureaucrats, rank and file workers can only rely on themselves.

The miners are not an exception in this. Other

workers in basic industry have the same potential. The economy is totally integrated, and there are many groups of workers who could stop the U.S. economy dead in its tracks—if they were united.

Rejecting this proposal will be very difficult indeed. There is in the coal miners union a large passive group of workers, as there is in every union, workers who will work in any conditions.

There are 80,000 pensioners who are receiving no pension as a result of the strike. There is the rapidly declining, but still significant, number of Arnold Miller loyalists.

Still, it can be done. The miners have overcome all the odds against them so far. They can still win more. It will be no small battle, however.

In the words of Dave Forms, Jr., the president of UMW Local 1759, “The worst hasn’t yet come. It will come when the government comes in. I’m willing to go to jail instead of going back to work under the Taft-Hartley Act if I know the union is behind me.”

So far, there have been few real power shortages and few lay-offs. Most of the talk of shortages has been primarily designed to create a crisis atmosphere so that an anti-coal miner sentiment can be built up.

#### SACRIFICE

But if the strike continues, there will be real shortages and lay-offs. Nevermind. The miners must be supported and the sacrifice will be worth it.

Winning the right to strike would be a fantastic victory—today few workers in America have an effective right to strike, and in some industries, including steel, the right to strike has been bargained away almost entirely.

A victory would also inspire other workers under attack and needing leadership.

As Cecil Roberts, the vice-president of West Virginia’s District 17, recently told a meeting of local union officers, “There is a well financed and growing right to work movement in the country. They’re out to break all unions. They’re just beginning with the UMW.” □

## INDIANA RALLY

**BLOOMINGTON, IN**—Ten miners from UMW District 11 in Indiana told a crowd of 225 at Indiana University that they were tired of being pushed around by state police during the current strike.

The benefit rally was organized by the American Federation of Teachers (local 2254).

\$400 was raised to be split between a memorial fund for the family of a slain Petersburg, IN striker, a fund to cover health expenses during the strike, and a defense fund

to protect strikers from state and company legal harassment.

The miners objected to Governor Otis Bowen’s use of troops to move scab coal to power companies.

The audience applauded enthusiastically when the miners attacked Bowen’s use of state police and troops as “alarmist” and said the strike was the fault of the operators.

They said they weren’t going back to work until they had a decent contract. □



Indiana guardsmen guard scab convoy

## STEARNS CHILDREN SUPPORT STRIKE

**STEARNS, KY**—In Stearns, miners’ children are playing an important role in strike support.

In the 18 months that the miners here have been on strike, the children have been

making strike support posters. Featuring pictures of the mines, the scabs, and the miners, the posters are head-lined with the key issues of the strike—safety, health and working conditions, and the

right to strike.

Louisville’s Strike Support Committee has made T-shirts featuring one of the children’s drawings, and recently held a contest to select the best poster.

On Sunday, February 26, a party was held for the children in Stearns. All 27 children were presented with certificates thanking them for their participation. □

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

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# Now it's son of S-1, a deadly bill

by ELLIS JACOBS

Remember Senate Bill 1—the revision of the entire federal criminal code that threatened to bring 1984 several years early?

That specific bill was killed by popular, organized, opposition. But now it's back in a slightly slicker version, with a new name—S.1437 and some "respectable" support ("liberal" Ted Kennedy is shep-

herding the bill through Congress).

We don't mean to scare you too badly but Son of S-1 (S.1437) is just as dangerous as its daddy and right now stands a damn good chance of becoming law.

The National Lawyers Guild newspaper has written that S.1437 is "The latest attempt in a 10 year ruling class effort

to produce sweeping repressive changes in federal criminal law in the guise of legal reform" and that it would give the government "the power to destroy the rights to political and working class organization, free press and free speech."

To cite just one specific clause from a bill chock full of equally dangerous ones—

S.1437 would make it a federal felony for a worker to threaten violence in a strike. Federal law does not now cover this situation and this clause would have the effect of giving the FBI a major role in policing the labor movement.

The bill is dangerous to its core—it can not be safely amended, it has to be outright

defeated.

The fact that someone like Ted Kennedy is pushing so hard for its passage shows that the ruling class with all its politicians, liberals, and conservatives alike, are united in wanting these laws that can be used to stop people's struggles. We have to be just as united in organizing to defeat S.1437. □

## Why you should be a socialist

# RIGHTS COME WITH PROPERTY

by KADI SPRENGLE

For all the fine talk about "god-given - inalienable rights," a 5 second glance at U.S. history shows us that no right is inalienable.

Since World War II we've seen Japanese Americans marched off to concentration camps, blacks denied the vote, strikers and demonstrators shot, young men forced to go to war, forced sterilization of women—the list goes on and on.

But most of us firmly believe that rights are as real as the Rocky Mountains. Whenever a group of demonstrators or strikers is hauled away by the police, at least one person shouts, "You can't do this to me, this is America and I have my rights."

There are women who fervently believe that when the Equal Rights Amendment passes, their lives will change. No more discrimination. Equal pay for equal work.

Some of these same women also fervently believed that the 1964 Civil Rights Act would change things.

So when Marxists ridicule the concept of "rights," most people get very suspicious. Is the Marxist trying to convince us that we don't have any "god-given rights" so that she can snatch our birthright from us?

No. Marxists maintain that with the country run by big business, universal human rights do not exist. To quote a dear friend of the left, in this society, "in order to have human rights, people need property rights." (Richard Nixon, 1968).

In fact, Marxists would argue that the more property you have, the more rights as well. Rights reflect the balance of power, the class divisions of America.



Brookside, KY miners' wives jailed for picketing

While its considered poor taste and irrelevant to mention the price tag of civil rights (after all, nobody said freedom was free) let's review some of our "freedoms" to see if Nixon and us reds are correct.

### PRESS

Freedom of the press applies only to those who own a press. When employees in 1976 took over the Portuguese newspaper, **Re-publica**, and began printing their version of events instead of the owners' version, civil libertarians in the U.S. were horrified.

Freedom of the press does not apply to people who

merely work on the press; only to those who own the press.

Even off the job, if your words advocate illegal activity, freedom of speech doesn't count. Draft counselors, abortion counselors, organizers of wildcat strikes or demonstrations can be and are arrested for what they say.

In fact, if a union official does not order the ranks to break a wildcat strike, the official can be jailed. These laws have a strange way of being enforced only against those who are effectively challenging the system. Kooks and right wingers seldom are arrested. Losing strikes are not enjoined.

Freedom of assembly is ours except on the job, or on private property you don't own, or on most public property. Freedom of assembly is ours except for no trespassing laws, disturbing the peace laws, anti-littering laws, parade permits, court injunctions, and Taft-Hartley.

Except for the cost of renting a hall. And the fact that the person sitting next to you at a meeting may well be a police spy (wages courtesy of your tax money).

"Money doesn't talk, it swears," said Bob Dylan. Even a concept like "innocent until proven guilty" reflects

class divisions. So you are fired for union organizing—a violation of your rights. Your boss is innocent until proven guilty, the union drive is effectively blocked, and you are out of work and scrambling for lawyer's fees and rent money until your case comes up in 18 months.

Examine your "universal god-given-inalienable ever-ready rights," and they begin to fade out on you. Only might makes rights. The rights of individuals have their source, not in the Constitution, but in the seesawing battle between big business and working people.

It took a massive civil rights movement to win a few legal changes. It took a huge women's movement to win women the vote. The Supreme Court "granted" rights when movements built up the strength to take the rights for themselves.

Today the movements are weak, and the Supreme Court is ruling against us.

### POWER

Which concept of justice, which rights are recognized in society depends not on an abstract sense of humanity or fair play, but on the balance of power between the classes in the system.

We have to decide on our own which rights we want and need. Then we have to organize until we have the strength to enforce those rights. We can't rely on god or country to tell us what is right or fair. We can't rely on the Constitution to create and protect our freedom. Instead we have to organize to take the law, and human rights, into our own hands. □



# "You can't stop a civil war"

The true face of the racist South Africa was made starkly clear to the many people who heard South African editor Donald Woods speak at Yale University in January.

Woods, the liberal white editor of South Africa's East London **Daily Dispatch**, was banned on October 19, 1977, along with another prominent editor, five churchmen, and dozens of black community leaders.

To be under a banning order in South Africa makes its subject virtually a nonperson. He is forbidden to leave his district for five years, confined to his home between the hours of 6 P.M. and 6 A.M., and required to report weekly to the police.

He cannot make speeches or be quoted in the news media, or even be in the company of more than one person at a time. The banning of Woods silenced one of the most influential anti-apartheid voices in South Africa.

After his dramatic escape with his family in early January, Woods is now in the U.S. He sees his role as one of continuing opposition to the Vorster regime, in an attempt to gain international support in the fight against apartheid. □

by Amy Tyson

**If the Nationalist government remains inflexible, what chances are there—militarily—of the black liberation movements becoming victorious?**

"I do expect, if the nationalist government remains intransigent, that the black liberation movements will eventually win a military victory.

"But it's going to take a long time, because they are outgunned, outsupplied, and because a lot of military hardware is now made within South Africa."

**Have you noticed any significant change in opinion among white South African students in recent months?**

"Yes, there have been two noticeable trends. Since military service has been made compulsory, there has been a tendency towards students becoming more conservative, even on the anti-government campuses.

"They come straight out of secondary schools into the army, and up on the border, they are given the most fantastic brainwashing.

"I've seen some of the military's lecture material, and everything that is anti-apartheid has got a big red arrow or hammer and sickle—the whole world's Communist if it doesn't like apartheid.

"A security policeman was found on the campus of Natal University. When students said to him, 'What are you looking for?' he said, 'Communists.'"

"And when they asked, 'What's a Communist?' he said, 'A man who wants whites and blacks to mix.' That's what we're up against.

"These lectures take place in the military establishment; whites then come out of the army and go into the university. So what used to be a very liberal student body is now having very conservative elements diffused through it.

"A further change, more recently—which also came with the death of Steve Biko—was a new sense of sassiness. So we may see a reversal of the trend."

**If disengagement on the part of the West happens to a sufficient degree, how will this help the situation?**

"First of all, disengagement might not itself deal lusty economic blows against a very wealthy country such as South Africa, but it will deal a firm psychological blow against the structure and the system of apartheid.

"The white government in South Africa is terribly conscious of world opinion—it affects not to be, but it is extremely conscious of it. The psychological impact of this alone would be very effective. Economically, British action would be much stronger because British involvement is much greater. But in turn, I think there would be an escalating effect, because the British would be more likely to divest if the lead comes from America, Germany, or France.



Donald Woods

"If I were asked to state publicly what I thought will happen in Southern Africa, I would have to say that the probability is that you can't stop a major racial civil war there.

"But—until that happens—I would hate to concede that it is pointless trying to stop it. One of the ways—probably the only way—is to try to marshal international opinion."

**Do you think that bringing the white government to the negotiating table and getting a settlement would be acceptable to the white population in South Africa?**

"The state controls all television, all radio stations, and the newspapers that are published in the Afrikaaner language, and therefore controls—for the good of the party and the good of the

people's minds—all thinking connected with apartheid.

"It's so conditioned that if the government agreed to anything, the people would support it. They may get mad as hell in a few weeks when people have realized what happened, but they would accept the initial negotiating results.

"I guess that blacks would hold out for a radical redistribution of wealth. There's nothing to suggest, in the past of South African blacks, that they are vengeful people. In fact, over seventy years of history, the African National Congress has shown no anti-whitism in their thinking, their speeches, or their constitution. I'm not going along entirely with the view that there will be no nastiness or no killing although one can't predict what kind of solutions may occur."

**What is the current state of the liberation movements?**

"I think what's going to happen now is that you're not going to get an identifiable leadership standing up and saying, 'I'm the general secretary' or 'I'm the treasurer.' You're going to get a low-profile maintained among the leaders. I think they will keep their identities known only within the townships.

"If you've wondered why it has taken so long, why it is so hard, for such a huge majority of blacks to mobilize effective overthrow of the government—we have a black township near where I live that has 200,000 people. Last year, they had only one telephone in this township. When you want to organize any form of activism, try doing it without a telephone. And try doing it in a community that has a network of informers at all levels.

"The state of the liberation movements today is that the acknowledged leaders are all detained, or banned, or imprisoned, or outside the country. The unacknowledged leaders have taken over, and will maintain a low profile."

**Who might speak for the majority of blacks? Who would take the seats at the negotiating table?**

"In answer to the first question, I really don't know now, in view of those who are in jail or dead. But in answer to the second, it would be easy to determine who would represent the blacks—let them have an election. It would be the first time the blacks would have a vote in three hundred years of South African history."

**Do you have a personal view as to how much time there is to get people to the negotiating table before massive violence erupts?**

"I have to say three years—partly because two years ago I said five years—and it very well could be less. In fact, I fear that if it is not done within a year to a year and a half, irreparable damage will be done there."

**Do you have any intention of returning to South Africa?**

"I have every intention of returning to South Africa. The only snag is that I have to wait until this government isn't there any more." □



Anti-apartheid demonstrators in Bloomington, Indiana

## Demonstrators greet Puerto Rican governor

**NEW YORK, NY**—Over 200 demonstrators gathered outside the Americana hotel on Saturday, February 18, to protest the visit of governor Carlos Romero Barcelo of Puerto Rico.

The demonstration was called by the local chapter of the Trade Union Com-

mittee Against Repression in Puerto Rico (TUCAR) in response to increased government attacks upon striking workers.

Some 6,200 workers of the Electrical Industry and Irrigation Workers Union (UTIER) have been on strike for a pay raise since December

27, 1977. The workers are employees of Puerto Rico's government owned electrical utilities company known as the Water Resource Administration (WRA).

Despite the fact that the union has reduced its original demands for \$1.69 per hour increase to \$1.41 the govern-

ment refuses to negotiate.

Clearly it intends to break the strike by the use of force and intimidation. The most recent example of the government's repressive tactics took place on February 16th when police used guns to break up a UTIER workers' picket outside the Puerto Nuevo

plant.

The order for the police attack came from Governor Barcelo, who is visiting New York as the honored guest of the American Friends of the New Progressive Party, the ruling party in Puerto Rico. □

by PETER COURT



# TAFT-HARTLEY: THE SLAVE LABOR LAW

by PAT MORGAN

The national miners' strike, now three months old, is already the most significant labor battle in the United States in decades.

The proposed agreement came only hours before Carter was scheduled to announce a federal strike breaking order under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

If the miners reject this agreement, as they are now trying to do, there is the almost certain likelihood of a renewed government intervention, including Taft-Hartley.

Since its passage in 1947, the Taft-Hartley Act has been known in the union movement as the Slave Labor Law.

Inspired by the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, the law deprived workers of many rights won in the battles of the thirties.

Outlawed by Taft-Hartley were secondary boycotts and sympathy strikes in support of other workers. The act limited the right to picket. It allowed management increased use of court injunctions against strikers and gave them the right to sue unions for wildcat strikes. The law weakened the closed shop and prevented unions from expelling company spies.

Taft-Hartley gives Carter the power to break a strike by ordering workers back on the job for eighty days. The most

infamous example is the 1959 steel strike which the government ended after 116 days. Unprepared to take on the government, steelworkers returned to their jobs and received a paltry 34 cents over three years in the settlement.

## UNPREPARED

Outraged as the union movement of the late '40's was by Taft-Hartley, labor was unprepared to fight back. Business used red-baiting to divide the movement. Over 200,000 trade union officials were forced by Taft-Hartley to take non-Communist oaths and union constitutions were amended to include anti-Communist clauses. The

objective of the witch hunt was to make opposition to Taft-Hartley appear unpatriotic.

The business strategy succeeded because the trade unions were already compromised. Labor compliance with the no-strike pledge of WWII disarmed the movement in the face of the patriotic demands of the Cold War. The political independence of the trade unions was buried in the Democratic Party.

## AIMS

In these conditions, direct action over Taft-Hartley would have been an embarrassment to the bureaucracy's legislative aims.

Taft-Hartley marks the line

which labor will have to cross. Many of the rights taken by Taft-Hartley are vital to a fighting union movement.

The miners strike, a courageous movement of 160,000 workers in the face of police harassment, threats of blackouts, massive layoffs, and the destruction of the miners' union is the first key test of the reactionary relationship of business, labor and government in years.

## WHERE DO YOU STAND?

by JOHN ANDERSON  
Former President  
UAW Local 15

The UAW was built by means of the class struggle by strike action. Since 1947 the UAW and Local 15 has followed a policy of "good labor relations." These are the ideas that divide the membership of Local 15 today.

It is true, some of the officers of Local 15 are granted favors for their practice of "good labor relations."

This means they remain silent about the worker's grievances for their own favored treatment by the Company. Isn't that selling out the workers?

## CONFLICT

Solidarity and "good labor relations" are ideas in conflict with each other. "Good labor relations" divides the workers and breeds contempt for the union by supervision.

The class struggle builds loyalty and solidarity as well as respect for the union.

Workers can't be united in support of such a policy. It has failed the workers during the past 30 years. It only serves the interests of those in office.

The leadership of Local 15 can no longer sit on the fence. Either they must declare themselves on the side of the workers in arguments with supervision or they should resign from office. They can only bring division in the ranks of the membership.

For too long the membership of Local 15 have listened to their leaders talk out of both sides of their mouth.

It is time every officer and committee member declare themselves in writing in the pages of the Fleetwood Organizer.

It is time to throw out the ads for furniture and fill that space with working class ideas; with facts concerning conditions in the plant and with answers to some of the workers' problems.

Now is the time—before local elections—to decide who is on the side of the Company and "good labor relations" and who is on the side of the workers in their struggle to regain the respect of the Company and the workers for Local 15 and the UAW.

A failure to face this issue will mean the continued decline in the effectiveness of the union. Where do you stand?

## Now I've heard everything

Here's one more reason to force the coal miners back to work.

According to John Henle, the chairman of the Ohio Arts Council, the strike is causing "a situation that could be catastrophic to the cultural future of Ohio, the nation, and the world."

How? According to Steven Rosen, curator at the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, the gallery's collection would "undoubtedly experience damage if mandated cutbacks in electrical power called for a sudden or abrupt drop in temperature and humidity."

At stake? A panel by Rembrandt, three canvases by Picasso, three or four Matisse's, and a "very large" Rubens.

Okay, coal miners... □

## 35 TIMES OVER

The new budget is out—and 23 cents of every dollar, or \$120 billion goes for defense—how to kill the world 35 times over.

Within that figure, one half billion goes just for advertising and convincing people to join the army. □



President Ceausescu, the Rumanian Communist Party leader, is taking credit for smashing the bitter strike of the Jiu Valley coal miners.

After promising the miners reforms, Ceausescu gave them repression and intimidation. Some 4,000 miners were rounded up and forced to leave the area. Over 2,000 secret police were sent in to spy on those remaining.

Now Russia is awarding Ceausescu the Order of Lenin on his sixtieth birthday. Lenin will undoubtedly be turning in his grave at considerable speed. □



## Reward for Lance

Burt Lance made his premier in January on television.

After being given the boot by the Carter administration, he is now paid \$50-60,000 yearly to deliver 90 minutes of wit and wisdom three times a week on an Atlanta station.

If only that was the reward for all of us who've bounced checks. □



In mid-January, Great Britain, one of the supposed cradles of democracy, was hauled before the European Court of Human Rights, accused of tolerating "degrading punishment."

On the Isle of Man, youths judged guilty of some crimes

can be whipped with a birch rod on bare buttocks.

For youths 14-20, the "maximum" number of strokes applied is 12. Now, future birchings will be "laid over ordinary cloth trousers." □



"That's Intensive Care, Dummy."

Who's to blame for the high cost of health insurance?

"The primary burden rests on the American public," says Donald Riordan, the president of Blue Cross of North-

east Ohio.

In a speech to the City Forum Club, Riordan says he thinks the only solution "is motivating people to take better care of themselves." □



# Ethiopia: Bring down the Derg



Most people now know that there is a large scale war going on in the north west of Africa.

## What is the war about?

There are two wars. The first is in Eritrea. Eritrea was an Italian colony which was handed over to Ethiopia in 1952. It is very important to Ethiopia because it contains the only ports, on the Red Sea.

It is also the most urban and industrialized area. For more than twenty years the Eritrean liberation forces have been fighting for independence from Ethiopia.

The second, in the South-east Ogaden region, is also a war of freedom from Ethiopian rule. The whole of the south part of present-day Ethiopia was conquered less than a hundred years ago and its inhabitants have suffered religious and national oppression ever since.

The population of the Ogaden fighting Ethiopian rule are led by the Western Somali Liberation Front, which is backed by Somalia.

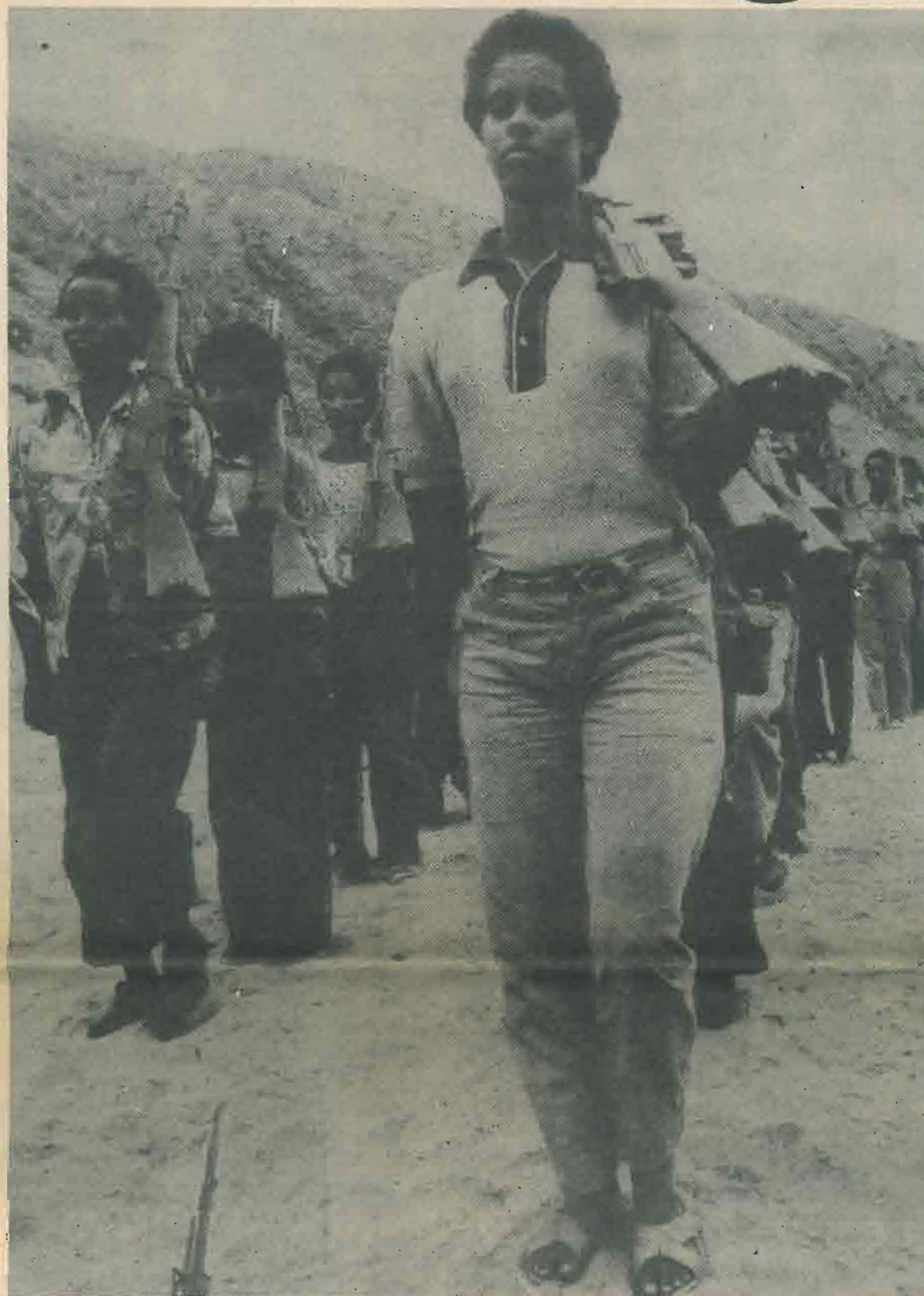
## What is the Derg?

The Derg is the name of the military junta which rules Ethiopia today. It took power after the revolution in 1974 which overthrew the feudal regime of Haile Selassie.

The revolution began as an army revolt—quite similar to what happened in Portugal at the same time—but it was the huge wave of strikes throughout the year, involving all groups of workers in the capital, Addis Ababa which finally got rid of Selassie. In the south there was a peasant rising. They took over the land and got their revenge on the landlords.

But the workers who had led the revolution did not take power. Instead the Derg took over. At first it carried out some reforms; the land was nationalized and so were the major foreign-owned companies. But the Derg couldn't solve the major problems in Ethiopia.

Workers continued to strike, and the peasants demanded the right to control their own land through land-committees. The Derg began to crack down. Free trade unions were suppressed and



Eritrean freedom fighters

puppet unions set up.

Thousands of workers and students have been shot and hundreds more jailed. The militant women's movement was disbanded. There were also bitter struggles inside the Derg itself.

The Derg has been hailed by the Russians as a socialist government. The Communist Party describes it as "progressive." It is neither. It has nothing at all in common with socialism.

## Why are the Russians Involved?

Foreign involvement in the Horn of Africa is nothing new. The Americans backed up Selassie—training and equipping his army and police, as well as investing heavily in the country. The reason is obvious—Ethiopia lies across the Red Sea from Saudi Arabia—the largest oil exporter in the world.

The Russians used to have a base in Somalia and supplied the Somali government with arms and money. The Somali regime isn't "Marxist" either although it was labelled so by

the Western press until the Russians were thrown out last year. (Somalia has its fair share of political prisoners too.)

The Somali government is trying to extend its territory.

The Russians were thrown out because they wanted a federation of Somalia, and Ethiopia, and that didn't fit in with the Somali Government's plans.

So the Russians concentrated on Ethiopia. They have provided enormous quantities of arms to help the Derg in the war against Eritrea. They have been shelling the east coast of Eritrea from warships and have supplied the napalm which is being dropped on Eritrean villages.

Russia and Cuba's role in Ethiopia is different to the role they played in the Angolan war. Then they were aiding a movement—the MPLA—which had the support of the Angolan people, against Portuguese colonialism. In Ethiopia they are propping up a vicious military junta and supplying it with arms to crush a struggle for national liberation.

Ethiopia is in full blown civil war. Almost every day workers and students are massacred in the cities. The repression has struck a heavy blow at their organizations but the strikes and the demonstrations continue.

The economy has only been held together over the last few years by the rise in the price of coffee, which is the main export. Military spending takes up huge amounts of the new regime's income and the forced mobilization of peasants to fight in the wars has badly disrupted agriculture.

The Derg will not survive unless it crushes all opposition in Ethiopia and wins the war in Eritrea. Even with its Russian and Cuban backers it looks likely to fail. Its own army doesn't want to fight. Soldiers are deserting and there have been a number of mutinies.

The sooner these mutineers join with the people of the Ogaden and Eritrea to bring down the Derg government the better for all the Ethiopian people. □

## ITALY:

# STATE CRISIS GROWS

by MILT FISK

The Italian state is cracking apart.

Programs for economic reform never get off paper. Political violence goes uncontrolled. The state budget is dictated from outside by the US controlled International Monetary Fund.

The unions have resisted a social contract that would exchange austerity for economic stability.

And now a governmental crisis has just been papered over by the ruling Christian Democrats without significant concessions to the challenging Communist Party.

Italy is virtually a society without a state. With the ruling class incapable of ruling, the possibility emerges of a government by the left parties. The Communist Party could have formed such a government of the left after the elections of 1976.

## SUPPORT

It would have had wide support in attempting to form such a government when the Christian Democratic cabinet fell on January 14. A government of the left could end the relative passivity of the Italian working class, which would renew its struggles for economic and social measures once a government of the left takes office.

But the CP has refused to form a government with other left parties.

Instead it has chosen the "historic compromise," which means working with the corrupt capitalist Christian Democratic Party.

The CP ranks have become impatient with the historic compromise: it has meant no improvement in the living standards of the working class. Unemployment has reached two million, and capital spending has dried up. Rather than showing responsiveness to this dissatisfaction the CP has pursued the compromise at its lowest level. It did not insist on entry into a new cabinet.

The CP actually appears more responsive to the US request that the Christian Democrats not allow it into a new government than it is to the working class.

All of this is part of a strategy on the part of the CP to play a "responsible" role in saving capitalism in Italy. □





SEVENTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE

# International Women's Day

By  
Deborah Roberts  
and  
Kathy Stewart



IWW organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

International Women's Day originated in New York City on March 8, 1908, when thousands of working women marched for an end to sweatshop conditions, equal pay, equal work, child care centers, and the right to vote.

The organizers of this demonstration were socialist women, most of them garment workers, who had been involved in a series of long, bitterly-fought strikes for decent working conditions and union recognition.

This New York demonstration inspired Clara Zetkin, a leader of the German Socialist Party and the international socialist movement, to propose that March 8 be established as the international working women's holiday.

International Women's Day was meant to involve the masses of working women in militant political activity. Women socialists throughout Europe and America called meetings and demonstrations and wrote and published pamphlets and newspapers to expose the plight of women under the tyranny of capitalism.

On March 8, 1917, women workers in Russia celebrated International Women's Day with massive demonstrations. It was these demonstrations that sparked the Russian Revolution. In November, 1917, the working class of Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party, seized state power.

International Women's Day is now celebrated not only as a tribute to the courageous women of the past, but as a call to all women to join together in the fight to end the oppression and degradation of capitalism.

## The women of Lawrence

For well over a century, women have been among the best organizers and most militant fighters for the workers' movement. Working women, like working men, have been forced to defend themselves against the organized strength of the employers.

In doing so, they have not only advanced the interests of the working class as a whole, but have pushed forward the fight for women's liberation at the same time. An especially inspiring event in the long struggle of working women was the 1912 strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, of 23,000 textile workers, the majority of them women and children.

Women textile workers in the many Lawrence mills were paid \$6 for 56 hours of hard labor per week. Men in the plants received somewhat more pay, children somewhat less. No one was paid more than a few cents an hour.

### REDUCE

The immediate cause of the strike was a new Massachusetts state law reducing women's and children's hours of work from 56 to 54 per

week. In response to the law, the owners immediately increased the speed of the machines, so they could get the same profits without hiring more people.

The owners also took this opportunity to cut wages for all workers in the mills. By applying the cut in hours and wages to everyone, they forced a united response from a workforce that included not only men, women, and children, but which also represented more than a dozen nationalities.

On January 11, 1912, when pay envelopes were passed out, women sat down at their machines and refused to work. Finally, they walked out with the children.

By night, 2,000 workers had abandoned their looms. Within a week, 23,000 workers were on strike and had joined the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, one of the first cross-craft industrial unions in the country.

This union was affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which sent in national organizers to aid the strike, including Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. IWW strike policy was that the running

of the strike was up to the strikers themselves, that every strike was a kind of workers' university. The women and children textile workers ran this strike.

The Lawrence strike used the tactic of mass picketing for the first time ever in America. At times, as many as 20,000 women, men and children stood on picket lines in a single day.

Within days, the workers organized picket lines, strike bulletins, kitchens, nurseries, and a strike fund. They eventually set up a mass transport of strikers' children to sympathetic workers' families in other cities.

All of this was accomplished by a group of women, most of whom could neither read nor write, who couldn't even speak the same language, many suffering from malnutrition and other diseases of overwork and poverty.

### SPIRIT

The most remarkable thing about the Lawrence strike was the spirit of the workers. This spirit is well represented by the song "Bread and Roses," which was inspired by this strike.

In the words of Mary Heaton Vorse, a journalist of the time: "It was a new kind of strike ... It was the spirit of the workers that seemed dangerous. They were confident, gay, released, and they sang. They were always marching and singing. The gray tired crowds perpetually ebbing out of and flowing into the mills had waked and opened their mouths

to sing."

The mill owners sensed the danger, and they used every form of violence and fraud to smash the strike. As the weeks passed, the National Guard was called out against the strikers, as were 22 companies of state militia.

The employers imported 50 thugs from a Boston detective agency who masqueraded as strikers, overturned trolleys







Garment workers demonstrating in New York City

## ed a new kind of strike

cars, smashed windows, and assaulted people on the street.

One night on the picket line, police shot a woman striker, Annie Lo Pizzo. Immediately, the strike leaders were arrested and charged with murder.

During the long weeks of the strike, hunger was the most pressing problem for the strikers. The children, especially, suffered from the lack of food.

Arrangements had been made for the children to be sent to New York; Philadelphia; Barre; Vermont; and other cities, for the duration of the strike. This was very bad publicity for the mill owners and the city of Lawrence.

### ASSAULT

Lawrence authorities announced that no more children would be allowed to leave the city. When the strike committee tried to send another group of hungry children out, Lawrence police led a brutal assault against the children and their mothers in the train station in Lawrence.

A witness of the attack related: "The station itself was surrounded by police and militia. When the time approached to depart, the children, with their parents near at hand, were about to make their way to the train when the police closed in with their clubs, beating right and left, with no thought of the children. The mothers and children were thus hurled in a mass and bodily dragged to a military truck."

This attack was the turning point of the strike. On March

14, the mill owners were forced by a combination of the workers' unity and public pressure to give in and settle with the strikers.

The wage increase of 5 to 20% won by the Lawrence workers was, as they demanded, made in inverse order of earnings. In other words, those who were lowest paid—women and children—received the biggest increase. This fact in itself shows the leading role women had played in the strike.

A meeting of 15,000 ratified the contract. This meeting ended with the singing of the Internationale, the revolutionary workers' anthem, in 12 different languages, one after the other.

Because of the Lawrence strike, a quarter of a million workers throughout the textile industry, the majority of them women, gained similar benefits.

### RECORD

There is much in the written record of the Lawrence strike that brings to mind the struggles of women and working people today. Sometimes, things seem not to have changed very much.

Only a few months ago, Carol Frye was gunned down by thugs while standing on a picket line at the Essex Wire plant in Elwood, Indiana. She was part of a majority female workforce on strike for a living wage.

Throughout the coal fields of Appalachia, women are organized into militant support groups, and they are

playing a key role in the long and bitter miners' strike.

What kept the women at the Essex plant going for nine long months, what keeps the Stearns Women's Club fighting, is the same thing that kept the women at Lawrence together. Since women start from further back under this system, we have that much more to fight for. □

## Bread and Roses

*As we come marching, marching, in the beauty of the day,  
A million darkened kitchens, a thousand mill lofts grey  
Are lit with all the radiance that a sudden sun discloses,  
And the people hear us singing, Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses!*

*As we come marching, marching, we battle too for men,  
For they are women's children, and we mother them again.  
Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes,  
Hearts starve as well as bodies, give us bread, but give us roses.*

*As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead  
Go crying through our singing their ancient cry for bread.  
Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew,  
So it is bread that we fight for, but we fight for roses, too.*

*As we come marching, marching, we bring the greater days,  
For the rising of the women is the rising of the race.  
No more the drudge and idler, ten who toil while one reposes,  
But a sharing of life's glories, bread and roses, bread and roses!*





# Letters

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

## Kampuchea, not Cambodia

Dear Socialist Worker,

Your article on the war between Vietnam and Kampuchea was very good. It got right to the basic causes of the war. But it had a couple of weaknesses.

"Cambodia" is now Kampuchea. Yet you continue to use the old, Western name, even calling it the "People's Republic of Cambodia." (Neither Vietnam nor Kampuchea calls itself a "People's Republic".)

The name change reflects the end of Western domination there. It's a result of the national liberation struggle. You also say that the

new regime cut consumption to what the country can produce, and that this created the refugees, black market and epidemics.

The first refugees were people who had supported or benefitted from the old regime. They left to avoid being shot. Then the cities were evacuated. They had to be. Otherwise they'd have starved.

But a lot of people died during the evacuation; some of those who survived blamed the hardships on the new regime and left for Thailand or Vietnam. The black market ran wild under Lon Nol.

Officials hoarded and speculated in rice, while 4/5 of the people in the cities were close to starving to death.

By all reports, rice is now rationed and there's little or no money in circulation. Where's the black market? Dysentery, malaria and cholera were epidemic long before the Communists took power. If anything, health care has gotten better, not worse.

These would be small points. But for the past two and a half years the newspapers, *Time*, *Reader's Digest* and the TV networks have been fabricating atrocity

stories about Kampuchea out of whole cloth or even just threads.

They're still trying to justify the U.S. war against Indochina and revive right-wing anti-communism. We need to be very careful about the facts and not imply that the Kampuchean workers and peasants are worse off now than under the old puppet regime.

Otherwise it sounds like national liberation is reactionary compared to U.S. imperialism.

Kirk Lambert  
Cleveland, OH

## No sign of the cash

Dear Socialist Worker,

In all the Christmas rush I know there are a lot worse stories than mine, but I wanted to pass this one along. I've been working in a wine shop in Boston for several months.

I worked 160 hours in the two weeks before Christmas, 80 hours of overtime. The people who worked at the store said not to worry, the previous year there had been Christmas bonuses of 2 weeks to 1 month's salary.

January arrives. No sign of the cash. Things are beginning to boil a bit as the staff becomes angry. Then, last Tuesday, the owners schedule "performance reviews."

I'm assured that mine will be favorable so I look forward to maybe even a raise. There are 4 full time people and 1 part timer. Two guys have worked there 3 years each. They had their reviews first and were fired.

Reason! To lop off top of salary scale and stem rising payroll costs. The owners needed to get a new line of credit at the bank and so prove that they've done something to cut costs.

Then they started bringing me coffee and saying how they needed a new manager and how they would be happy to interview me for the position.

I said I thought that someone who had put years into the business ought to have more to show for it, I wanted my overtime money, and gave them a month's notice.

Dennis O'Malley  
Boston, MA

Dear Socialist Worker,

One hundred students and staff picketed the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago on February 9 in protest at the University's refusal to divest its investments in corporations with South African operations.

The protest, called by the University of Chicago Action Committee on South Africa, took place outside the First National Bank of Chicago, where the Trustees have their offices, more than five miles from the campus, in the heart of the business community of Chicago.

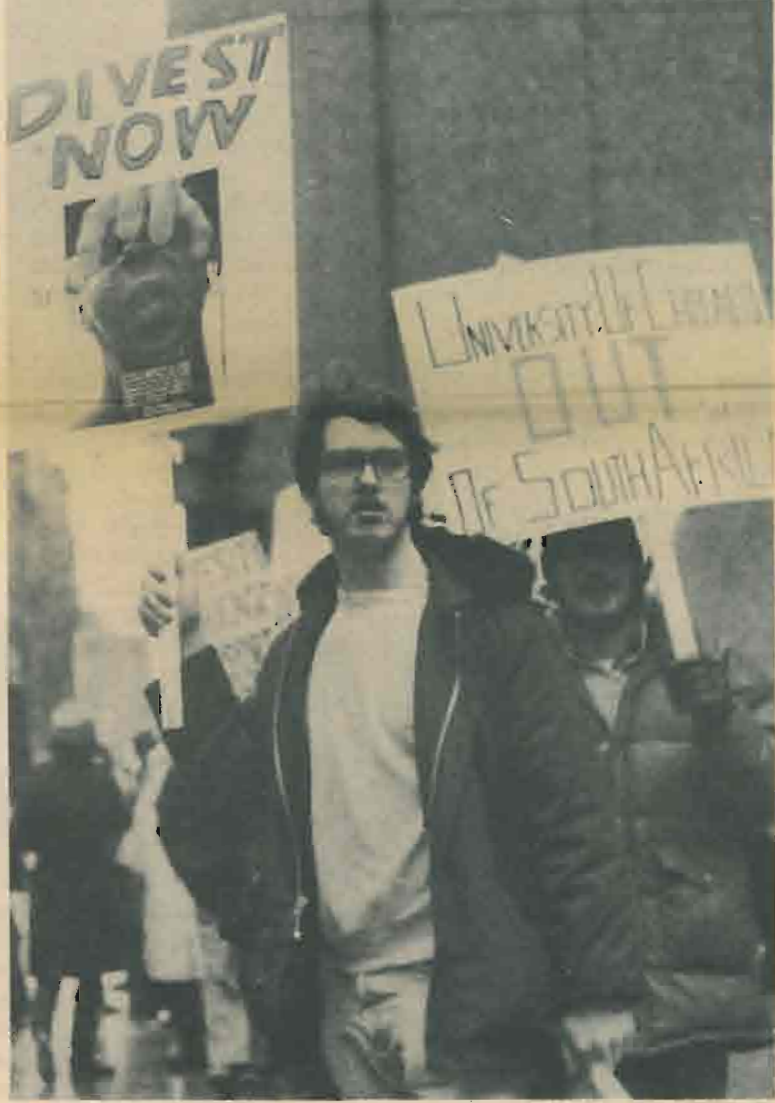
The trustees refused to hear a delegation from the students or to allow a reporter into the meeting, and they proceeded to vote unanimously to keep its South African holdings and instructed the Treasurer to oppose stockholders' resolutions that would curtail South African operations.

This attitude is hardly surprising. Despite its pretensions to be a "liberal" school, 10 of the 57 trustees are directors of banks that lend money to the South African government.

Two are Chairmen of Chicago banks that are among the biggest lenders to the apartheid regime, First National and Continental Illinois. Of 240 corporations in which the University has stocks, more than 60 have South African interests.

Trustee spokesman Alison Dunham has said that these investments will be maintained "no matter what happens in South Africa."

A revealing political justi-



Chicago demonstrators

fication for supporting American corporation operations in South Africa was given by University President John Wilson: "They keep the place from moving faster toward an open revolution." Of course he is actually right.

It is clear that the University trustees are not going to be persuaded by moral or economic arguments. However the growing movement

on the campus may yet force them to divest despite their support for apartheid.

So far more than 2,000 signatures have been collected on a divestment petition and the number of students involved has been more than for any issue since the height of the anti-Vietnam war movement.

Peter Moore  
Chicago, IL

## HIDDEN IN THE BACK PAGES

Dear Socialist Worker,

I'd like to hammer the final nail into the coffin concerning the unemployment decrease farce that the media so excitedly played up last month.

Hidden in the back pages of the *New York Daily News*

I recently read a short article in which the following was stated: "The decline in unemployment was largely the result of thousands of discouraged workers giving up the search for jobs."

In other words, people are

so fed up with not being able to get a job that they are simply dropping out of the labor market!

That's hardly an improvement in the situation.

P.D.  
New York City

## Karate-

# "I don't wince, I cheer"

Dear Socialist Worker,

I read the letter from New York about the Iranian students' play depicting women turning to martial arts as a solution to their oppressive situation.

Mr. Court says "Unfortunately I winced at the solution they resorted to. They all went to learn karate so that when their respective husbands tried to brutalize them they fought back by knocking them out."

I don't wince, I cheer! Court goes on to say that you can't fight the system by hitting out at the person next to you. He is correct—BUT husbands are not beside wives, they are above them, especially when wives' work is kept in the home.

Court says further that the women's militance could not solve the husbands' drug and booze problems or job harassment. He is wrong.

Once the woman has pushed the man off his "oppressed—oppressor" merry-go-round, it's up to him to solve his problems alongside her and his brothers, as an equal.

The women owe nothing to the men.

Court, you say in your letter that the men "brutalized" the women...yet you worry more about the men being "harassed"!

When a woman stands up and knocks an oppressive man down, even if he is not the capitalist in person, she is fighting a revolution.

This does not threaten the man who does not oppress his sisters, on the contrary it frees her to fight the "system" which has imbued all our relations with property and dominance.

This is like Willie Cole shooting Coppola over at American Bosch. I work in a neighboring factory, and the week of the shooting was tense. Everyone knew that Cole's act was, in itself, meaningless. One man shooting two others.

Yet a paper circulated which said "...maybe our foremen should pay attention..." and there were many incidents of workers finger-shooting at the backs of bosses.

The foremen are not the capitalists. They are barely one notch above workers. But they are the capitalists' goons.

I'm saying that the husband is also a goon for the system. The simple act of a woman karate-chopping a man is meaningless. But carried to its logical conclusion, it is revolutionary.

The women owe the men nothing, just as the workers owe the foremen nothing.

Denise Matteau  
Holyoke, MA





## KATHY ENNIS ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

# WOMEN AND SOCIALISM

There can be no doubt that the women's liberation movement has been a tremendously creative current in contemporary politics. It has brought the politics of the family and everyday life back into the revolutionary movement.

In order to liberate women, the division of labor between men and women in the family has to be broken down. Housework could be eliminated if a small fraction of the technology which can send men to the moon was to be applied to the household.

Cooking could be socialized instead of everyone doing their own. And new forms of social care for the young, the old and the sick, could leave women free to lead their own lives.

Looking after small children is important work, but there is no reason why one person (the mother) should have to do it all the time.

Changes along these lines in the home, and equal pay and equal job opportunities at work, would lay the material basis for women to cease being socially inferior human beings.

### THEORY

Now, in theory, capitalism could do without the family. It could turn the job of caring for the workers of today and rearing the workers of the future into an industry, employing wage workers.

In practice, however, this would require such fundamental changes in society, it is hard to imagine them ever being carried out. The family and woman's role have been so idealized that any attack on them would be seen as an attack on the very foundations of society.

Similarly, equal pay and the provision of nurseries could increase profits in the long term. But because capitalism is an irrational and competitive system, individual employers, thinking of their own immediate gains, will oppose such reforms whenever they can.

This is particularly true in times of recession in the economy when social services are the first cuts and wage restraint is the order of the day. Besides, even if these changes were to be implemented under capitalism they would only give women equal exploitation with men.

For these reasons, women's liberation can only be achieved in a socialist society where human need and not profit comes first.

This argument has been a central concern of the women's movement, and many have concluded that socialism is necessary.

Sheila Rowbotham, the well-known English socialist feminist, for example, has written extensively concerning the problems of creating socialist feminist consciousness. She shows how the post World War II Marxist tradition ignored the family and defined politics only in terms of the factory.

She argues that if Marxism is to prove useful as a revolutionary weapon for women, then it has to be extended to analyze their everyday experiences.

The problem is that Rowbotham and the women who argue for socialist feminism and an "autonomous" women's movement tend to see revolution primarily in terms of creating consciousness.

For them the primary purpose of a political organization is to make communication between women possible, and to create collectively a new female consciousness and new female culture.

### PROBLEMS

There are two major problems with this viewpoint. Firstly, working class men and women do not come into politics to try to understand themselves. They join an organization because struggles with their fellow workers and housewives have given them a sense of their collec-

tive power and the confidence that the working class can change society.

Secondly, an understanding of women's oppression can only develop in the practice of trying to fight it. And because the working class is the key to changing society, it has to be an understanding which is concrete and specific to the everyday life of working class women.

Consequently, a socialist feminist consciousness can only be created when there is a fighting organization which has real roots among women workers and housewives.

And this requires more than the independent organizations of women—women's caucuses, women's liberation groups, women's trade union organizations—essential as they are. The women's movement must consider the question of power in society, if it is to play a part in establishing socialism, and it must also face up to the argument for a revolutionary party.

An organization which has the taking of power as its aim, needs centralization and a unified politics. It also needs to be an organization which embraces both men and women. Because women's liberation can only be achieved by overthrowing capitalism, women's struggles against their oppression must be united with those of male workers.

### UNITY

This unity cannot be achieved by informal links between separate organizations representing men and women. For what is needed is that men and women fight around a common strategy at every stage in the class struggle.

Women must be members of a revolutionary party which covers the whole of the working class. The existence of such a party is vital for the achievement of women's liberation. But there is also another side to the coin

women members are vitally necessary for the party.

One of the deepest divisions in the working class is the division between men and women. As we have seen, women's situation in the home gives rise to an uneven level of class consciousness between men and women.

Even when women go out to work this unevenness still exists, as women workers see themselves primarily as housewives.

The employing class continually attempts to use women against the class as a whole. They will always exploit divisions in the class—black and white workers, skilled and unskilled workers, men and women—because they know that if we are fighting one another we cannot effectively fight them at the same time.

Women are also vitally necessary for the party because socialism cannot be achieved without women's liberation. Under capitalism

mission—to husband and boss—which characterizes so many women under capitalism. Above all else, socialism opens the possibility of a higher type of human relationship. And this must apply first and foremost to relations between men and women.

Women's liberation is a very real part of our traditions of the revolutionary movement. It is a part of our traditions which was lost with the domination of the world communist movement by Stalinism, and only brought back to life by the women's liberation movement.

It is our task to bring the ideas of women's liberation and their connection with revolutionary politics into the working class movement.

Our emphasis has to be on women workers. Their experience fighting the boss in the factory and office gives them a confidence and a sense of their own power which it



the family is a fundamental pillar of society.

It helps to ensure ruling class exploitation and ideological domination of each generation of the working class. Just as the bourgeois state has to be smashed, so does the bourgeois family.

### SOCIALISM

Under socialism, where workers collectively run society, there can be no place for the servility and sub-

is difficult for housewives to achieve.

At the same time, they are exploited at work, not only because they are workers but also because they are women. Consequently, they have to fight their exploitation as workers and their oppression as women at one and the same time.

These are mammoth tasks. But they are vital to the whole future of the working class movement in this country. □



# CINCINNATI WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

## Stearns women, Georgia Ellis to speak

The International Socialist Organization is sponsoring an International Women's Day Conference in Cincinnati, Ohio on March 4.

The featured speakers at the conference will be Georgia Ellis, a leader of the bloody eight month strike at Essex Wire in Elwood, Indiana, and women from the Stearns Miners Women's Club in Stearns, Kentucky.

Barbara Winslow will speak on the history and meaning of International Women's

Day. There will be workshops on subjects ranging from "Black Women in America" to "The Fight for Abortion Rights."

The film, "Blow for Blow," a ninety minute color film, which portrays the struggle of a group of garment workers who occupy their factory, will also be shown.

There will be childcare provided. For more information please contact the Cincinnati ISO. □



Georgia Ellis

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# WHERE WE STAND

### 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 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 work-

ing class can trust and use in their fight against the present system.

### 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 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.

### 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.

### 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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Amherst, MA 01002

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MALCOLM X: ASSASSINATED FEBRUARY 21, 1965

# The man the media wants to forget

by Marianne Hill

The television special on Martin Luther King, Jr. reminded me of the civil rights movement. But it also reminded me that the assassination of Malcolm X February 21, 1965 has been totally ignored by the media in a month otherwise known for its commemoration of national leaders.

Malcolm X, a product of the ghetto, was a symbol of the militant, uncompromising black across the country and was able to reach people no one else was reaching with the message of Black Revolution.

He spoke to blacks in slums, tenements, and all manners of life who learned from him dangerous ideas about themselves, their oppression and their own fight for a full and free humanity.

Though Malcolm began with an analysis of white racism as the enemy, by 1964 he no longer saw racism as inherent to the white man but

rather saw it as the product of a political, economic and social system that nourished it and depended upon it.

## MILITANT

If Martin Luther King was unacceptably militant to the establishment, how much more so Malcolm X. The energies of black people that he helped focus and the goals he articulated were not ones that could be diverted and bought off within the present system.

And the US was worried about other activities of his, for example as the *New York Times* reported in August, 1964:

"The State Department and the Justice Department have begun to take an interest in Malcolm's campaign to convince African states to raise the question of persecution of American Negroes at the United Nations..."

"Malcolm's eight-page memorandum to the heads of

state at the Cairo conference requesting their support became available here only recently.

"After studying it, officials said that if Malcolm succeeded in convincing just one African government to bring up the charge at the United Nations, the United States government would...find itself in the same category as South Africa..." a touchy situation.

However, the day before Malcolm was to address the UN, he was poisoned in the Cairo Hilton and would have died if his stomach had not been pumped immediately.

In a later incident, Malcolm was denied entry to France. A highly placed North African diplomat told journalist Eric Norden that his country's intelligence department had been informed by French intelligence that the CIA planned Malcolm's murder.

It was so informed because Malcolm might possibly have flown there after his expulsion from France and it might not have wanted his murder to be on its soil.

Many other facts, too numerous to mention, indi-

cate the complicity of US officials in his death. Some of the more important are these: one of the men arrested for Malcolm's murder after being identified at the scene was "lost" somewhere between the arrest and arrival at the police station.

Malcolm's New England representative, Leon Ameer, was found dead in March (1965) the morning after announcing he had documents and tapes to prove that Malcolm had been the victim of the "power structure" and that the killers weren't from Chicago but from Wash-

ington.

The King series reminds us, that's what it was like in the '60's—vicious repression by the government of individuals and groups threatening the survival of the system.

The opponents of the system were simply killed—Malcolm, the Panthers, King.

Now the repressive apparatus is being geared up to be used against the miners. This strike has already cost several their lives.

It's the same system, then and now. The black movement, the miners each show the potential to change it. □



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# THE UNIONS

## Nuclear workers face cancer threat

by PETER LOWBER

**BOSTON, MA**—A Boston Globe research team has disclosed the devastating effects to workers exposed to radiation at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyards in New Hampshire.

The shipyards have been repairing nuclear submarines since 1959.

In an article published by the *Globe* on February 19, 1978, the research team reported that an estimated 3,000 to 5,000 workers have been exposed to radiation since 1959. Between the ages of 60 to 69, nearly 60% of these workers exposed to radiation died of cancer.

For non-nuclear workers at the shipyard of the same age, the death rate was 26.1%

The cancer death rate in general for shipyard workers exposed to radiation is 38.4%, while the rate among non-exposed workers is 21.7%. The national cancer death rate for the general population is 18%.

### NAVY

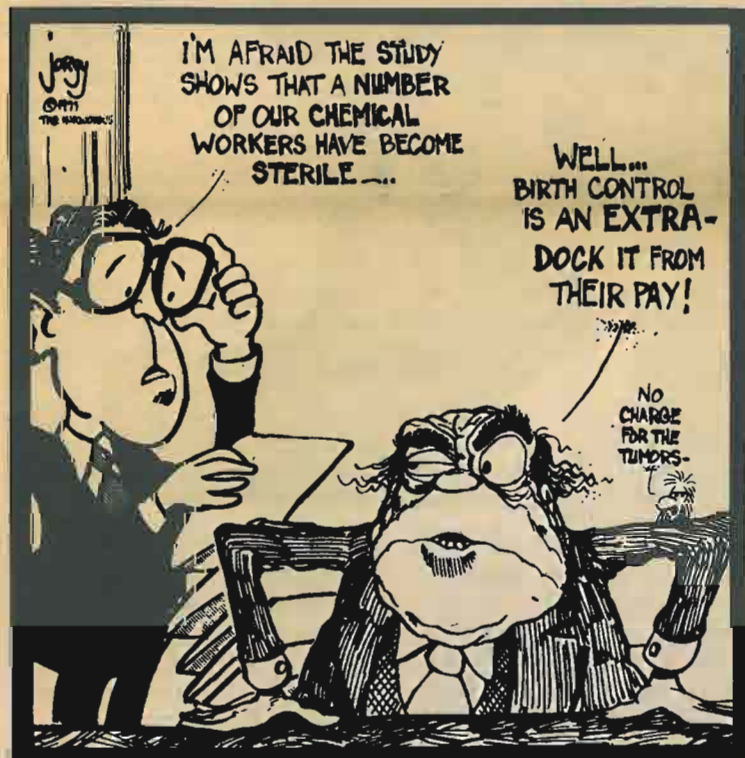
The research team also reported that the Navy was uncooperative. It turned down requests for information about its employees and contends that its exposure rates are safe.

It claims that no employee has ever died or had health problems due to its low level radiation.

The president of the local metal trades council says that safety precautions have been adopted, but that there is a growing appreciation among workers about the long range effects of exposure.

On February 10, the *Globe* reported that as a result of this research nuclear workers are demanding the right to get out of this work. But so far the union has no strategy for dealing with the demand and says not enough is known about the radiation.

There are eight other navy and private shipyards that do nuclear work from Groton, CN, to Pearl Harbor. □



## Holyoke safety fight

by DENISE MATTEAU

**HOLYOKE, MA**—As working people are facing harder times making ends meet (forget "getting ahead") and we find it necessary to band together in more and more militant fashion to defend our wages, conditions, and benefits, we find ourselves thinking more frequently in terms of "them" and "us." Traditionally "us" is us: machine operators, waitresses, common laborers, and "them" is the bosses, politicians, and landlords.

But what happens when a very important part of "us," our elected union officials, turns out to be indistinguishable from "them?" We get sold down the river, that's what happens. And we get sold in the most hateful way imaginable, with the bitter taste of our own gullibility to replace the crumbs for which we've been fighting.

Graphic Arts Workers Local 48B in Holyoke is a case in point. This local represents over 1,000 workers in National Blank Book, a subsidiary of Dennison Corporation which makes school and office supplies.

Several stewards have recently quit in disgust after losing track of too many grievances in the upper stages of negotiations. They were losing track of the grievances because once the fight is removed from the grasp of the particular worker and steward involved, there is no fight. Once it's in the hands of the union officials, it's in the company's hands, too.

(continued)

Here's an example of the officers of GAIU 48B in action, which appeared in an article titled "Brief History of the Union Safety Committee" written by a weary steward after a three and a half year struggle:

"The original complaint in which I was involved took place in July of 1974. Two other press operators and myself complained about two unguarded presses in Department 14. We notified our steward, the foreman, and, in September, the chief steward.

"At the October '74 union meeting I proposed that the union form a safety committee. The union (local) president said that we already had a safety committee, it just didn't have any members. He said that he would appoint three people, so I volunteered. I suggested that the union should look at all the presses in the shop to see if they were safe. A month later, a woman lost six fingers on a press in Department 24.

"The president eventually appointed one person to the 'safety committee.' That person accepted the post unwillingly and resigned without doing much. The president said he would appoint someone else. Again I volunteered and again I was turned down. The president appointed a seven-person committee headed by one of the chief stewards.

"The new committee met very infrequently, with management on company time. No one on the committee was given any training except the chief steward and the committee never met separately from the bosses. The principal actions taken by the committee were a poster campaign and a safety quiz contest.

"Meanwhile, serious accidents continued to mount. From January of '75 to December of '76 half a dozen people lost fingers in accidents at National Blank Book, several of them on the punch presses.

"In March of '75 we filed a complaint with OSHA about dangerous punch presses and other violations. The local president refused to sign the complaint, though several co-workers did sign it. OSHA backed the complaint with fifteen pages of violations and fined National Blank Book \$645. (They could have fined them at least \$25,000.)

"To this day, the union has never done a follow-up study to see if any of those violations were corrected!"

Anyone who tries to fight within the system of company/union politics finds their enemy so strong that they must soon exhaust their heart and soul. The only thing that can restore the union contract at National Blank Book is a rebirth of raw fighting solidarity on the shop floor.

### SPARKS

There have been sparks of this already. Two weeks ago management in the Metals Division decided to reverse a particular machine in such a way that a steel coil was set up to unwind from within a main entrance fire exit. The second shift steward and several workers were astounded when they came to work. The steward stood at the door and told incoming workers not to enter as first shift workers began shutting off machines about fifteen minutes before the bell. The steward had it out with management right then and there. Half an hour later the machine was dismantled, and, at this writing, remains idle.

This incident proves that only a willingness to fight here, now, and together will win. This willingness has to be backed up by the understanding that the profit-hunger of the capitalist is so overwhelming that common sense, never mind compassion, is totally lost (after all, management's offices are located in the very center of the same firetrap of a mill!) This understanding is the very basis of socialism, and socialism is the very basis of an effective shopfloor unity.

## Shipyard victory

**NEWPORT NEWS, VA**—On January 31, the 20,000 workers at the Tenneco shipyard voted in the United Steel Workers union (USW) by a 9093-7548 margin. It was one of the biggest organizing victories in 20 years and a significant inroad into the South.

About 10,000 of the workers at the yard are Black and they formed the backbone of the unionization drive, according to rank and file organizers. Tenneco, a Houston-based conglomerate that took over the shipyard in 1968, has a long history of racist treatment of Blacks at the yard. The company union that had represented the workers, the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA), had ignored discrimination complaints.

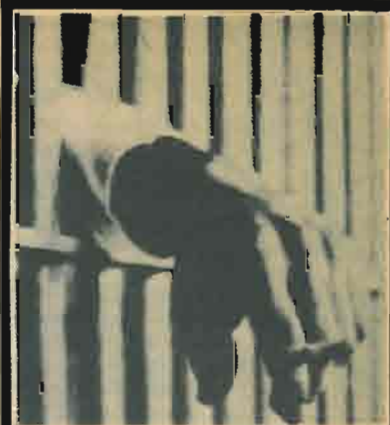
When Tenneco took over the yard it instituted cutbacks in both wages and benefits. The PSA, openly backed by Tenneco in the election, took little action to protect the rank and file.

### CUTBACKS

Among the cutbacks Tenneco introduced were: eliminating five days sick pay, ending the 20-minute lunch period, and terminating a bonus plan that had been in effect for 30 years.

In the last ten years, the PSA has filed only a handful of grievances, taking none of them to arbitration.

The union drive started two years ago when an initial committee of five workers contacted the USW. Staff organizers were then sent in, but a rank and file committee of 700 workers formed the core of the drive. □



## Political Prisoners USA



**NEW YORK, NY**—Joan Little was allowed to remain free on bail, pending her challenge to Governor Carey's order for her extradition to North Carolina.

Her lawyer, William Kunstler, branded Carey a racist and a coward and called for a "groundswell of support so that Carey reconsiders the decision he has made."

"The larger issue," said Kunstler, "is whether a state like North Carolina that has wrecked so many lives and has been the recent subject of so many people's attention because of the Wilmington 10 and other cases, whether they should be allowed to destroy another black victim, a black woman victim—that's the larger issue." □

## Evans dies

**COLUMBUS, OH**—Ahmed Evans, the black nationalist leader of the 1968 Glenville rebellion in Cleveland, Ohio, has died of cancer.

Evans was serving a life sentence in the Ohio Penitentiary in Columbus since 1969, when he was charged with killing three policemen and convicted on seven counts of first degree murder.

Evans was known in Cleveland for his dedication to bettering the lives of the poor blacks of the city's sprawling east side ghetto. □





## Framed by UPS

# ED WALKER WINS IN COURT

Ed Walker, framed last November by UPS on a gambling charge, won his court case February 23. The "not guilty" verdict was handed down by a jury after barely 30 minutes of deliberation.

One juror told **Socialist Worker**, "We were unanimous on the first round that the prosecution had failed to prove its case."

Walker told **Socialist Worker**, "The victory was rewarding, but it was the show of solidarity by UPS'ers and supporters from around the country that pleased me most."

"In struggle there is progress. I only wish all UPS'ers could have seen the supervisors squirm as their case crumbled in court. I want to thank all my backers, especially UPSurge and the International Socialist Organization (ISO)."



"Bad attitude" workers Cornella Rife, Kathleen Huey, Betty Rodecap, Rose Creme and Martha Mazzel

**AKRON, OH**—Twelve women in the air springs department at Goodyear Plant 2 are wearing specially designed T-shirts that label them "bad attitude workers."

They are doing this in reaction to Goodyear Chairman Charles Pilliod's claim that "bad worker attitude has led to elimination of thousands of production jobs at Goodyear in Akron."

"I resent the fact that Pilliod said this," said Betty Rodecap. "He can't say our attitude is poor. He's never come in here and seen us work."

Most of the women have more than 30 years' seniority at

Goodyear. Mrs. Rodecap received her 35 year pin earlier in the week.

"I wasn't proud of it," she said. "Now it don't mean nothing to me."

"We made this Goodyear," said Cornella Rife, also of Akron. "They made money off us, and now they're moving down South." She has worked in air springs for 37 years.

The women said the T-shirts were their own idea and that they were not sanctioned by the union, Local 2, United Rubber Workers.

# L. A. Teamster strike over

by MARY DEATON

**LOS ANGELES**—The ACME/Alltrans wildcat strike is dead.

In spite of the courageous support of hundreds of L.A. Teamsters and the determination of the strikers to fight back, slick company lawyers, the prejudiced National Labor Relations Board, and the strikers' chicken-shit Teamster officials succeeded in drowning the strike in a sea of injunctions, arrests, fines, charges, appeals, lawsuits and deadlocked grievances.

## FINAL

The final blows were thrown February 15. The Joint Western Area Grievance Committee handed down a decision favorable to the company. In the comfort of their carpeted, air conditioned meeting room at the exclusive and private Kona Kai Yacht Club in San Diego, the union-management committee upheld the company's right to close down without notice and deny the 53 employees of the L.A. ACME terminal the right to their jobs.

On February 17, the NLRB general counsel in Washington, D.C. informed the strikers, he was denying their appeal. Although he agreed with the charge that ACME/Alltrans had violated the law by failing to negotiate prior to closure of the terminal, he refused to penalize the company.

## GUILTY

On February 21, Superior Court Judge Dell of L.A.

found seven strikers guilty of 15 counts of contempt of court for violating picketing injunctions.

Doug Allan, Edward Duran, Duncan West, Alvarado Ochoa, Richard Nulth, Ernest Cantos, and John Robichaud were fined and placed on one year probation.

Not all the telling blows were dealt by the high muckity-mucks of the union and the legal system. Along the way Joint Council 42 refused to grant sanction to the strike.

Officials of Locals 208 and 357, lauded around Teamsterdom as the "most progressive and democratic in the union," repeatedly stabbed the strikers in the back. They waited 3 months before filing for strike sanction.

## RISKED

Day after day, rank and file Teamsters risked their jobs by refusing to cross the unsanctioned picket lines of the strikers.

Over \$6,000 in donations were received from freight terminals and individuals. Freight drivers kept a watchful eye for scab trucks and refused to work on the same docks with scab drivers. Dock workers refused to handle scab freight. For the first time since the 1970 wildcat strike in L.A., area Teamsters were beginning to unify and to fight back against a continuing erosion of their jobs. For 6 months the strikers

themselves continued to picket, issue leaflets, send flying pickets around the country and state and to harass the company and the scabs.

When push came to shove the conservative uptight policies of the union officials prevailed. Fearful of multi-million dollar lawsuits and of

unleashing a restless and discontented rank and file the union bureaucracy preferred to let the strikers remain isolated.

**AKRON, OHIO**—On February 11, 350 people marched through Akron demonstrating their support for a woman's right to choose and their opposition to a stringent anti-abortion ordinance being debated by the Akron City Council.

The ordinance, if passed, would be used to harass abortion clinics and women seeking abortions. It has been supported by the Akron "Right to Life" organization.

The march was sponsored by the Akron Pro-Choice Coalition. People came from Cleveland, Cincinnati, Kent, Columbus and Canton.

A featured speaker was Bill Baird, the founder of the Abortion Freedom League.

Baird told the crowd that the Right to Life Movement was using militant and terroristic tactics to defeat abortion reform. He said that 6 clinics have been raided and four fire-bombed since January 1978. He urged the meeting to meet the "Right to Life's" violence with resistance.



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# CLEVELAND ABORTION OUTRAGE

# Clinic

# fire bombed

**Socialist  
Worker**  
Paper of the International Socialist  
Organization 25¢ monthly

by BARBARA WINSLOW

CLEVELAND, OH—"On Friday, February 17, at 11:45 am, a woman was on the operating table at the Concerned Women's Clinic in Cleveland.

"She was in the process of having an abortion. A local anesthetic had been administered. A dialator had been placed inside her uterus.

"In the next room, four other women were waiting. They were dressed in paper surgical gowns.

"A man knocked on one of the clinic's doors, announcing he had a package to deliver.

"When an operating room technician opened the door (in the room next to the operating room), gasoline was thrown in her face. 'My eyes,' she cried, 'Oh my eyes, I am blind, I can't see.'

## SCREAMS

"Then there was the sound of two pops. More blood curdling screams. Black smoke began to envelope the clinic. The heat became intense."

This was how anti-abortionists attacked and destroyed the Concerned Women's Clinic, in the words of Susan Allen of New Orleans, a member of the National Abortion Rights Action League, who is in Cleveland, helping the women of the Concerned Women's Clinic.

Immediately, the doctors, operating room technicians, and receptionists started moving the patients out of the fire-bombed clinic.

The woman, who had been in the process of having an abortion, was rushed to a nearby hospital. Luckily, she had medical insurance; otherwise she would not have been admitted.

The other patients, dressed only in surgical gowns, were given hats and coats and taken



Remains of Concerned Womens Clinic. Insert, abortion counselor Susan Allen

out of the burning building.

Miraculously, no one was killed or badly hurt. None of the seven oxygen tanks in the clinic exploded.

## PATTERN

The fire-bombing of the Concerned Women's Clinic is not the first attack on an

abortion clinic. Since January this year, members of the Right to Life Association and other anti-abortionists have raided and vandalized six clinics.

In one case, the "right to lifers" chained themselves to an operating table—while a woman was having an abortion. Four clinics have been bombed in Ohio. The clinic in Columbus has been bombed twice.

Susan Allen says that women who work in abortion clinics now must live with regular threats and intimidation. The women at the Cleveland Concerned Clinic were afraid to have their names published, because they fear violence, either against themselves or their families.

Three weeks before the bombing, a man phoned and threatened to bomb the clinic. A week before the bombing, a woman called and said, "If you don't stop killing babies,

we're going to put you out of business."

The Wednesday before the bombing, the clinic was vandalized. The phone lines were cut, and betadine, a type of iodine which resembles dried blood, was thrown on the floors.

The police and fire departments have been less than cooperative. When the women phoned the fire department to report the firebombing, they were put on hold two times. One of the policemen told an abortion counselor, "What can you expect? People don't like people who kill babies."

The next day, a picketer with a right to life sign praising the bombing walked in front of the clinic. The women fearing more violence, called the police. Two and a half hours later the police arrived. The station is located directly across the street from the clinic.

Now all the clinics in the Cleveland area are doubling security.

## CLEAR

Bolted doors and double locks will not end the violence of the "right to life" movement, however. It is increasingly clear that these right wingers will use any means necessary to prevent a woman's right to choose to have an abortion.

If they can't win in the Supreme Court, in the Congress, and state and local governments, they are prepared to terrorize communities and cities, so that abortion clinics cannot exist.

The women's movement—and everyone who supports women's rights—must fight back, before it is too late. We have a right to have free, safe, legal abortions. But we will not have the opportunity, not if attacks like this one in Cleveland are allowed to continue. □

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