

# Socialist Worker

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MINERS TO MEET IN DENVER See page 15

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## NO DEPORTATIONS

# STOP THE WAR THREATS



The men who want war, clockwise from the top left: Jimmy Carter, David Rockefeller, the ex-Shah, and Henry Kissinger

Behind the hysteria over the hostages in Teheran, there is the very real danger of a new war.

And at stake in the war is not just the hostages, whether or not they are innocent victims.

### VAST

The issue is control over the vast oil riches of Iran, and those who have engineered this crisis have an enormous amount invested in the outcome.

David Rockefeller personally brought the Shah to this

country, well-knowing that act would produce a crisis in Iran.

But David Rockefeller has an interest in producing a crisis. He wants his oil back. Rockefeller is the Chairman of the Chase Manhattan bank. And he controls the Standard Oil trusts, three of which—Exxon, Standard of California, and Mobil—controlled 40 percent of Iran's oil before the revolution.

### RESCUE

Supporting Rockefeller are his foreign policy ministers,

including Henry Kissinger, the Chairman of Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission, a "think tank" set up in 1973 to rescue foreign policy after Vietnam. And Zbigniew Brzezinski, the former chairman of the Trilateral commission, and now Carter's Security Director.

These are not men who shed tears when innocent people are killed. They helped guide Nixon through one murderous adventure after another in Vietnam.

And neither is Carter an innocent bystander. He was

appalled by his helplessness during the last day's of the Shah, and he's an old friend of Rockefeller's as well. He was the only Democratic governor named to the Trilateral Commission in 1973, and twenty of his top aides are also members, including Cyrus Vance, the secretary of state and Harold Brown, the secretary of defense.

And the Shah, a man who says he is "no different than any American millionaire," the Shah could care less about fifty lives. He presided over murder and torture for

decades.

Ordinary Americans have nothing in common with these men, and ordinary Americans have nothing to gain from a war in Iran. Certainly not the young workers who will have to fight a new war.

### WAY

And that is why we must oppose Carter's war threats, and oppose the racist hysteria against Iranians. Anyway, there is a way to get the hostages back. Send the Shah back to Iran! □

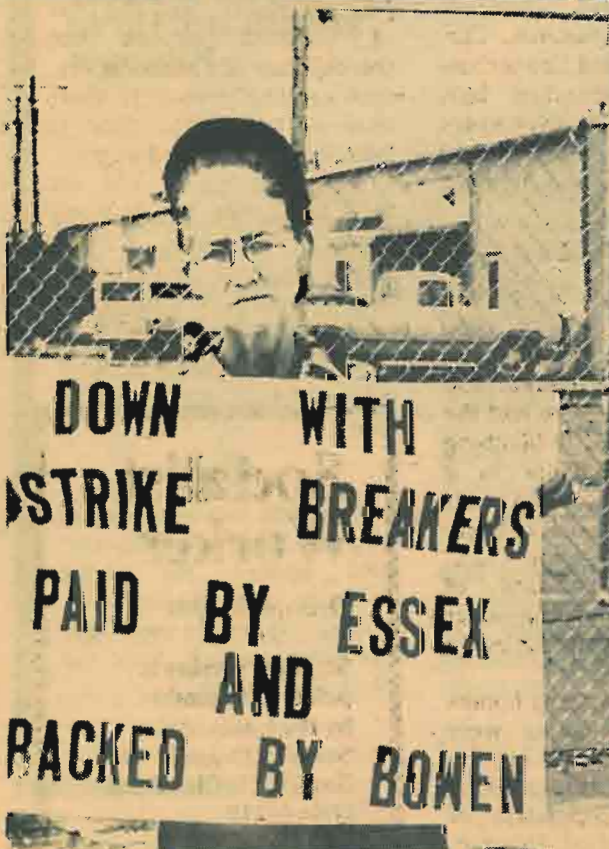
## SEND BACK THE SHAH



# THE 1970's

The decade in pictures, clockwise from the top left

1970—Four dead in Kent, Ohio	1975—7.8 million unemployed
1971—Attica prison uprising	1976—Racist anti-busing violence in Boston
1972—Napalm victim in Vietnam	1977—Bloody Essex strike in Elwood, IN
1973—Victory at Wounded Knee	1978—Miners vote down contract, continue strike
1974—Ex-president Nixon sent home	1979—First gas rebellion, Levittown, PA



# NOW FOR THE EIGHTIES

We will begin the eighties in the midst of a recession, the third recession in a dozen years.

Tens of thousands of auto-workers are already out of work. 13,000 steelworkers have now lost their jobs permanently. And at the same time, they continue to face double digit inflation, inflation that also eats away at the wages of those still working.

The Wall Street Journal says the picture is "generally distressing."

## CAMPAIGN

We also begin the eighties in the midst of a presidential election campaign. The campaign offers us a choice of reelecting Jimmy Carter, a president whose popularity was at an all time low before he was able to rally support with the threat of a new war.

And it offers Ronald Reagan, the Republican challenger who is sixty-eight years old and best-known for competing with John Wayne on the late night law-and-order shows. And Teddy Kennedy, a Democrat who must spend most of his time answering why he should not be morally disqualified from running in the first place.

One would hope that in circumstances such as these the left could take advantage. One would hope that in the crisis of the eighties, the left

## Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

could offer a clear, credible, working class socialist alternative to those for whom the present system offers only a continuing and deepening economic crisis—and corrupt, discredited and incompetent politicians.

All too obviously, this is not the case. The seventies have been difficult times for the left. The radicalization of the sixties came to an end as the war in Vietnam was winding down. The black movement was destroyed or coopted. The socialist organizations continued, but increasingly isolated, fragmented and defeated.

## IGNORED

At the same time, the difficulties of the seventies were not simply the product of circumstances. All too often, the socialists looked off to the third world for solutions, ignoring and sometimes even opposing the struggles of workers in this country.

Those who did turn to the working class here often tried to substitute themselves for the rank and file movement

that did not always exist, or for a new, militant leadership in the class. They did this ignoring the fundamental Marxist principle that the "emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

## ALTERNATIVE

There is no point in dwelling on the past, however. Whatever the difficulties, the point is that the central priority for socialists in the eighties still remains building a clear, credible socialist alternative for working people faced with practical problems and few political choices.

And there are such people; in fact, their numbers are growing. And socialist ideas and socialist solutions are increasingly relevant—to workers, to young people, to blacks, latinos, women.

It may well be that in any one place, such people only exist in one's and two's, but they must be won over all the same. Waiting for better days only succeeds in missing opportunities today.



U.S. Steel workers fight back

A socialist alternative, a socialist organization will only be built over time, brick by brick. The old adage remains as true today as ever. There

are no short cuts. But it can be done.

We ask our readers to join us in building a socialist alternative for the eighties. □

## STEELWORKERS: A SPARK IS NEEDED

The announcement that three more steel mills are to be shut down in Youngstown is nothing short of a disaster for the people of the Mahoning Valley in Northeastern Ohio.

Nevermind that the closures were predicted—advance warning does nothing to help the nearly 5,000 steelworkers and their families who now face the 1980's without jobs.

## CRISIS

But can something be done? Perhaps it is presumptuous to say yes, but we will venture to do so. The fact is that the traditional responses to this crisis have now all failed and new tactics must be considered.

Appeals to the state and national governments have achieved nothing. Carter is

committed to this recession and to restructuring the steel industry. 10,000 steel jobs have been lost in Youngstown since he was elected. A new president would do the same. The state government is powerless.

The corporations have responded to protests simply by threatening more closures—unless the United Steelworkers Union is prepared to follow the industry's every dictate.

The union has capitulated on every front. It has joined the corporations in blaming the crisis on foreign imports and pollution controls. It has bargained away the right to strike, and now it is considering wage freezes and substandard contracts as part of the new national contract.

Clearly then, the only hope for action lies with the rank and file, the only people who have a direct interest in defending steel jobs in Youngstown. And the only people with the capacity to fight back.

The proposals now being made by local leaders in Youngstown for a national steel strike in 1980—aimed at defending jobs and fighting off the new attacks—are good ones. But rank and file workers should consider going further.

## SPARK

There is no doubt that significant numbers of steelworkers are angry and prepared to take direct action. But a spark is needed, something that will rally the workers of Youngstown and capture the spirit and imagination of the tens of thousands of other steelworkers now under the gun.

The industrial unions of this country, including the steel unions of Youngstown, were born in confrontation, conflict, and mass action, mass action that included the occupation of the plants themselves. It's time, in our opinion, to return to such tactics. □

## 1979: THE YEAR OF HYPOCRISY

1979 has been the "Year of the Child." And nowhere has the hypocrisy of this designation been more obvious than in Cambodia.

The predictions are now that as many as three million people will die in Cambodia, the majority of them children. And as these children slowly starve, as they suffer through the diseases that will kill them, the governments of Southeast Asia fight over the petty spoils of the disaster.

Pol Pot, Chairman Hua, the Vietnamese, the Thais: who can say that there is one example of these men and regimes rising above the roles of a national gangster? Who can say that one of them has put the interests of the Cambodian children ahead of national interests?

And in the meantime, Carter quibbles about the technicalities of international law, endlessly haggling over every formality while delaying and denying the aid which might ease the suffering.

## RESOURCES

Yet the United States had no problem getting into Cambodia when it wanted to. In the early seventies, the United States airforce had the resources to fly 3630 bombing raids over Cambodia in a single year. In the three years after Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in 1970, the U.S. dropped 538,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia—over one hundred pounds for every inhabitant.

Three times as many bombs fell on Cambodia as were dropped on Japan in the entire second world war. One tenth of the population of Cambodia was killed. Destruc-

tion of animals and irrigation wrecked Cambodian agriculture. The main export product, rubber, was ruined.

## RECORD

And now we are told that we do not have the resources to help the people of Cambodia.

But surely a country with such a fantastic capacity for destruction could find a way of flying food into Cambodia and the refugee camps in Thailand. There was a record harvest this year. There are 400,000 tons of rice here in storage.

Surely the United States can offer more than seven million dollars in aid.

But no. Instead Carter sanctimoniously talks about "human rights" and the laws of "civilized" nations. And the children of Cambodia die. And a third of humanity, more than at any other time in human history, goes hungry.

A system which will not feed its people is a barbaric system. And there are few more sickening examples of the barbarity of world capitalism than the killing of the children of Cambodia. □

## FIGHTING WORDS

The earth was created by the assistance of the sun, and it should be left as it was... The country was made without lines of demarcation, and it is no man's business to divide it...

—Heinmot Tooyalaket  
(Chief Joseph)  
of the Nez Perces

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# TMI: THE DISASTER IS NOT OVER

**BALTIMORE, MD**—Metropolitan Edison, the company that brought us Three Mile Island (TMI) Mark I, is poised, ready to present Mark II.

The company opened the plant before it was finished to save \$20 million it would have to pay in taxes if the plant remained unopened. That was in December 1978. Three months later we were in the middle of the Three Mile Island disaster.

## SCHEME

Today, eight months after the near melt-down, the company is presenting us with another profit-making

scheme. Company officials want to dump 1,000,000 gallons of radioactive waste from TMI into the Susquehanna River.

Metropolitan Edison plans to dump the radioactive waste to save on its clean-up costs. The waste now fills a large containment vessel in Unit 1. Until it can be emptied, the nuke can't produce.

Of course, the company wants to process the waste—zap it into shape before feeding it to the Susquehanna. But their method of processing—the "Epicor II system" they call it—doesn't neutralize one of the main radioactive

elements in the TMI waste: tritium.

That is why over 600 people gathered in Baltimore (which is downriver from TMI on the Chesapeake Bay) to demand that no radioactive waste be dumped in the Susquehanna.

"The disaster is not over," according to Dr. Irving Stillman, who addressed the rally. In the first days of the disaster, Stillman called for the immediate evacuation of everyone from within 50 miles of Three Mile Island.

"The disaster will not be over until all the radioactive waste is disposed of," he continued. "For people in

Baltimore, on the Chesapeake, along the Susquehanna, the dangers are still very real."

The rally was organized by the Chesapeake Energy Alliance (CEA), and it emphasized the probable environmental consequences of dumping the radioactive waste. But the anti-nuke movement is as much a political movement as an environmental movement, because the capitalist class uses and produces the environment according to its own interests.

This was clear at TMI. One class develops nukes for sake of profit, and everyone

else has to bear the consequences—especially workers in nuclear plants, and the working class in general which is robbed of jobs by capital intensive nuclear technology.

Ultimately, the anti-nuke movement must take on the most powerful sectors of the capitalist class—Exxon, Westinghouse, Met Ed, General Electric, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

This is why the anti-nuclear struggle must be a class struggle, and why we must call for—Worker's Power Not Nuclear Power.

by NEIL SMIT

## BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA BY TONY BOGUES

"The Klan Rides Again" reads a headline in a recent issue of Time magazine. The sub-heading says, "Under a modern mask, old time racism and violence."

It is as if all of a sudden racism is rearing its ugly head again. But we know that the Klan has never stopped riding. Racism and violence still stalk the life of blacks.

Today as the crisis gets worse what seems dormant raises its head again. The press of the rulers begin to see the activities of those who represent the most backward solution to the problems that face the country.

According to the Time report, the Justice department has so far this year recorded forty-four Klan incidents. These include cross-burning, beatings and firebombings. The report also says that the membership of the Klan has grown in the past eighteen months by 25%.

### ENEMY

The Klan has always been the most dreaded enemy of blacks. The ultimate white supremacists, they have always been able to beat, kill and create havoc inside the black community.

So what we face as they begin to grow again is nothing new.

In the past we have stood up in the community and fought back. Today we can do the same. But things never remain the same, and there is a difference between yesterday and today.

The rise in Klan activity is connected to two things.

Firstly, many whites feel that whatever gains we had made in the period of the Civil Rights Movement are too much.

Secondly, there is a mood in America that calls for right-wing measures.

The feeling amongst the ruling circles is that great America is slipping in the world. Look how a little country like Iran can hold Americans hostage and there is nothing "we" can do about it.

It is with the same logic why the ruling class has formed an American task force

## THE KLAN:

## WE CAN STOP THEM

in the Caribbean.

Another difference between yesterday and today is that blacks are now a significant force inside the working class. In some of the major cities and industries, we constitute a large enough section of the working class to be able to shut down key sectors of the country. This is our most potent weapon.

Last year there began a fight back amongst the students inside the community for the maintenance of the rights we had fought for in the civil rights period.

### SMALL

In the communities there are small groupings of blacks that are trying to rekindle the spirit of the '60's.

The traditions that we have built in our struggles for Black Liberation need to come to the fore.

With the elections coming up, both parties and the Uncle Tom hangers-on will try and make promises about easing our condition.

What we want to know is how will the Klan be stopped. When will racial discrimination stop. When will our children be able to go to decent

schools without having to face young members of the Klan burning buses. What kind of houses will we live in.

Since none of the parties or their candidates will be able to do any of these things, as usual, we will have to rely on our own strength.

Every victory we have won has been by our own hands. That is our tradition.

Today, as we view the rise

of the Klan, our lives are becoming increasingly shackled by racism.

And with our strength inside the working class, we must turn to using the most potent weapon we have. We must also be clear that we will not run or hide from the Klan. We will fight back by any means that is necessary.

In other words freedom will be ours and if not this land will

be razed to the ground.

In this fight we will welcome all whose objective is the same—a classless and non-racist society.

In other words, today our fight is a part of the fight to change America to make the vast majority run the country.

It is a socialist fight. As our independent struggle part of that fight.



*The Klan in Washington, D.C. in the twenties*



**BLACK  
SLAVES  
TODAY**

# Prisons: the new plantations



The Southern plantation is alive and thriving in the U.S. prison system. Just as slave rebellions were brutally crushed years ago, today any attempts by prisoners to rise up against their oppression is likewise subject to massive retaliations by the power structure. Legal lynchings are the order of the day.

Perhaps the last time you read the 13th Amendment was in your high school American history class. When you get the chance, sit down and reread all of the anti-slavery law. There's a monumental comma in the amendment. What follows that comma is the qualification that the law of freedom from slavery does not apply to convicted inmates of prisons.

## PROTEST

In Pontiac, Illinois, 2,000 prisoners were confined in the state penitentiary designed to hold 600 people. Temperatures in the cell blocks on one hot summer day in 1978 reached 100 degrees. On July 22 of that year, the men, 88% of whom were black, rose up in a spontaneous act of protest against conditions described by the U.S. Department of Justice as "cruel and unusual punishment."

The prisoners righteously

by  
**COLLEEN MCGUIRE**

rebelled. Three guards were killed, three others were injured and four million dollars in damage to the facilities resulted.

The immediate response by authorities was a deadlock whereby the men were confined to their cells 24 hours a day. All family and attorney visits, phone calls, showers, recreation, work, school, commissary and medical care were suspended.

## DEADLOCK

All Pontiac prisoners endured this deadlock for eight months while officials interviewed all 2,000 men.

By the time winter came, temperatures in the cell houses were freezing because no attempt was made to repair the damage from the uprising.

Thirty-one prisoners were indicted and seventeen black brothers face the death sentence. The Pontiac struggle has become the largest mass death penalty trial in the U.S. in over 60 years. Pontiac is an eerie *deja-vu* of the days when slave masters were allowed to hang dozens of slaves for rebelling.

In 1962, the Marion Federal Prison in Marion, Illinois was built to replace Alcatraz as America's ultimate maximum-security human warehouse. Ten years later, in 1972, the long-term control unit was opened to break an inmate work stoppage, a strike motivated by the beating of a Chicano prisoner.

The control units are the devious designs of the power structure intent on destroying any revolutionary inclinations by prisoners. It is mostly activists (Marxists, Muslims, inmate leaders) who are condemned to this "prison inside a prison."

The control unit confines men to solitary in 9 x 12 cells, 23½ hours a day for an indefinite time period of two, three or four years and on the vaguest of charges.

This experimental model (planned for other prisons) did not break the Marion brothers. Instead, in 1972, these men brought a precedent-setting class action suit (*Bono v. Saxbe*) to close the unit and its export to other prisons. The case is presently being appealed in the Federal Circuit Court in Chicago after losing in the District Court of the Marion area.

## SUICIDE

The Bureau of Prisons has confessed that this incapacitation program has resulted in the highest suicide rate per capita for any prison. A U.S. Department of Justice inquiry in 1976 revealed that the men undergo countless beatings, tear-gassing and incidents where guards have thrown urine on the prisoners.

The notorious Behavior Modification program of the control unit portends an ominous future for prisoners struggling for decent conditions. The *Bono* suit, if won, would halt the implementation of future control units destined for other prisons.

On November 3rd, a demonstration in support of the Marion-Pontiac brothers was held in Chicago. Approximately 200 people marched down State Street to DePaul University chanting slogans like: "31 indicted, 17 may die, Governor Thompson's justice is a white man's lie."

Reactions from bystanders in the streets were not antagonistic; rather people stopped and read the handouts concerning the cases and responded with clenched fists.

Speakers at DePaul included Chokwe Lumumba, one of the lawyers, and the mother of one of the indicted Pontiac brothers.

Freedom is a constant struggle! □

## Shelton woodworkers strike for women's rights

SHELTON, WA—Toni Gilbertson needed a job. Like many in the town of Shelton, she went to the Simpson Timber Company to seek employment.

The Simpson Company employs over 1,400 members of local 338 of the International Woodworkers of America in the Shelton area. Shelton, with a population of 6,000, is a lumber products center on Puget Sound.

### QUESTIONS

During her interview, she was asked some unusual questions, at least she thought they were at the time.

First she was asked if she wore a bra. Next, they wanted to know what size it was. They were concerned for her safety, they said. They told her she was "too well endowed" and that she "might hurt herself."

Despite this, Toni Gilbertson was offered a job, accepted it, and went to work. The next day her supervisor began to harass her sexually.

She didn't choose to take it. She went to the union, and to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). She filed a sexual harassment charge.

Toni then began to be treated even more differently from the rest of the employees. She was closely monitored and was

by SCOTT WINSLOW

judged by different standards than others for her work.

In addition, there were management "job evaluation" meetings called to discuss her work and documentation was prepared to fire her. The meetings had never occurred before and the amount of "documentation" unheard of.

The company fired her for "not performing the work," after 26 working days on the job.

### STRIKE

On October 8, 1,400 woodworkers went on strike against Simpson over the grievance Toni Gilbertson filed.

The EEOC asked the federal court to order Simpson to rehire Gilbertson. The request

was filed before the investigation was completed. This unusual move by the federal agency was based on the contention that Toni's dismissal, the strike over it, and widespread publicity made others afraid to go to the EEOC for fear of retaliation.

The EEOC's motion argued that there was strong evidence that Simpson engaged in retaliatory action against Toni after she filed her complaint and that this would threaten the effectiveness of the agency in receiving complaints of sexual discrimination.

The agency, known for its tremendous backlog of cases, its bureaucratic slowness in decision making, and its failure to take meaningful action, had moved fast.

# Graffiti

by PATRICIA GILMAN

## Christmas List...

A must for your Christmas list is a \$25.30 cutting board...made from a piece of the genuine Filmore West dance floor. □

## "Meltdown"...

Here's a game for the holidays: "Meltdown," the board game that simulates "the peril and promise of nuclear energy."

Essentially, if the hazards you encounter (primary cooling system failures and the like) outweigh your safety equipment, your reactor melts down and you're out of the game.

Just like real life, but this game costs only \$8.00 □

## Still in court...

In Milwaukee, two men kidnapped a young girl in her mother's car. They raped the girl, then wrecked the car while trying to escape.

Now the woman has received a \$1,600 bill for the medical expenses of one of the men charged with rape—for injuries he suffered in the wreck.

And the state has informed her that she must post a \$2,300 security deposit because of the crash—or lose her driver's license.

Now the city wants \$1,260 for damages to a police car involved in the wreck with the thieves and rapists.

She is still in court. □

## Where there's a will, there's a way...

The Energy and Defense Departments have outlined a new joint project to power a vast missile-base complex with solar and wind power and other "renewable" energy sources.

Official sources say the project will give these fuel-free, environmentally benign energy sources the big, practical demonstration they need to persuade private industry to build and use them.

The Defense Department is proposing to base its planned new "MX" intercontinental missile in a network of road-linked hideouts, ranging across Nevada and into Utah.

To foil enemy targeting, the missiles will be shifted around from base to base within this complex.

But instead of buying electricity from a utility or building a moderate sized powerplant, the department proposes to power the system by solar heating, solar electricity, windmills, biologically-derived fuels, the earth's natural heat, and advanced energy storage devices.

The plan has been labeled with the acronym: "MX-RES Project;" RES standing for renewable energy systems and MX for Missile-X. □

# SUPPORT KEY IN PROFS' STRIKE

CINCINNATI, OH—The six day strike by members of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) at the University of Cincinnati ended on October 30.

A new two year contract has now been ratified. The strike was successful not so much in terms of the economic settlement, but rather as a defeat of the administration's non-economic proposals and because of the progress made in worker consciousness on campus.

This changed fearful and demoralized past attitudes into anger and outrage to do something.

The administration was intent on pushing us to use our weapon of last resort, the strike, hoping they could break the solidarity growing within the AAUP.

But everyone could see our strength. Everyone knew that legal measures invoked against striking public employees would be defied by the faculty.

The spirit on the 24-hour picket lines at all university entrances was terrific. Students could recognize the injustice and a few hundred organized and demonstrated their support.

Not all the changes we need in our working conditions were met in the contract. However, the strike undoubtedly improved our non-economic positions and bettered our standing, though we did not get the cost of living increase we deserve, so we end up subsidiz-

ing the administration's outrageous salaries.

We had support from many groups, but in particular the Cincinnati Teamsters and the public school teachers union.

It is important that the faculty do not forget this when these workers enter their critical struggles and that university teachers will reciprocate the support, such as the picket line support which we received.

by DAVID JAGGA

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

"What guarantee is there that socialism will bring women's liberation?"

# We can't win our fight separately.

"What guarantee is there that socialism will bring women's liberation?" In the first place, there isn't any guarantee, because women's liberation isn't something anyone can give us. Neither is socialism.

by DEBORAH ROBERTS

Both will come from ordinary people, women and men, acting collectively to take back what belongs to them and run society in their own interests.

As Eleanor Marx said more than a hundred years ago, "Women and the immediate producers must understand that their emancipation will come from themselves. Women will find allies in the better sort of men, as the laborers are finding allies among the philosophers, artists, poets. But the one has nothing to hope from man as a whole, and the other has nothing to hope from the middle class as a whole."

We will only get what we fight for. Still, what do socialism and feminism have to do with each other?

## SEPARATE

Just this: they can't be fought for separately, because the overwhelming majority of women are also members of the working class, and because more than half the working class is female.

Unlike socialism, capitalism does come with a guarantee: as long as it exists, women will be oppressed. Sexism is so profitable to capitalism in so many ways, both directly and indirectly, that women's freedom can't be gained without destroying it.

Sexism did not originate with capitalism. Engels put it succinctly a long time ago: "Woman was a slave before the slave existed." This subordination dates from the earliest division of society into controllers and controlled, owners and owned.

Technology has made this division unnecessary and indeed a hindrance to human life. Its present form is capitalism, which has taken the older forms of sexism, maintained and transformed them, and made them its own.

Though sexism predates capitalism, the two do not exist as separate entities

anywhere in the world. They are ultimately one system.

Even granting this much, some feminists still suspect that the I.S.O. wants them to help destroy capitalism and then at some later time work for women's liberation. We have to convince them that their suspicion is unfounded, but we also have to acknowledge its historical basis.

While socialist women and men have often worked consistently and even heroically for women's liberation, our movement has sometimes reflected the opposite tendency—to subordinate the struggles of women to "more important" matters. Socialists have sometimes produced mistaken theories to justify their lack of interest and involvement in the women's movement.

## SERIOUS

Women have often not been taken seriously, respected as equals in the movement. During the European revolution of 1848, Eugenie Niboyet angrily told male socialists who had baited her, "We don't want to act as playthings, or entertainment for anybody...Behind your cat-calls despotism is strengthened. You know very well that we don't want to lower you in any way, but you're afraid to see us rise."

Such anti-woman attitudes have their source in the oppressive society we live in. But they have no place in our movement, just as the racist and middle class attitudes that the feminist movement has sometimes reflected should be alien to it.

This means that within the I.S.O. women have a special responsibility to see that the needs of women are never forgotten, never passed over either inside our group or in our work outside. Men

can and must fight for women's liberation, but they can't know women's oppression from inside, as we know it.

The goal of every socialist must be a unified struggle with no one in second place. And you don't get that just by wanting it or knowing that it's necessary—you have to fight for it every day.

Most importantly, the I.S.O. doesn't put off fighting sexism and oppression until any later date. If we die, capitalism would never be destroyed.

Without the equal involvement of women in the struggle for socialism, there will never be a socialist revolution. An unless the fight for socialism is at every point a conscious fight for women's liberation, none of us will win.

In 1848, a revolutionary French paper called *The Voice of Women* put it like this:

*Sisters, don't say you can't do anything... No more lack of confidence No more hesitation. Let us ask ourselves clearly this question, What do we want? We want total and complete liberation.*

*Women reply to men who ask "What do you want? What are you trying to do?" "We want to reconstruct the world with you, where peace and truth will reign. We want justice in every spirit, and love in every heart."*

## MORE

Women and men have to fight for a chance to build this new world. The fight will be harder for women, and will demand more courage because oppression damages people. But it also means the want the victory more.



Pro-abortion demonstrators in Cincinnati, June, 1979

# Ireland: where there's oppression, there's resistance

The visit of Jack Lynch, Prime Minister of the Irish Free State, to the U.S. has received a great deal of attention in the media, both in the U.S. and here in Ireland.

His purpose in making the tour was twofold. First, he wanted to appeal to Americans who have, in the past, given (minimal) financial or moral support to the IRA to stop their activities. He called them "enemies of the Irish people" and asked the American government to take steps to see that such support was ended.

Secondly, Lynch's mission to the States was aimed at attracting new investment in Ireland from multinational corporations.

## CONNECTED

The two ideas are intimately connected, of course. Few corporations are willing to run the risk of investing in an unstable political situation.

Therefore, the "violence" (read: the struggle against imperialism) must be ended in order to create a "healthy" business climate. The government in the south is particularly hard-pressed to come up with a solution to high unemployment and leaping inflation, for although the ruling party was elected with the largest majority ever in the history of the southern state, their support is rapidly diminishing due partly to their inability to deal with the economic crisis.

Their answer to the crisis is contained in Jack Lynch's explanation of why American companies, now the number one source of foreign investment, are attracted to Ireland:

"They are attracted by our shared language, by a similarity of attitude to enterprise and profit, but also the financial incentives we offer . . . The return on American investment in Ireland is more than double the return on investment elsewhere in Europe."

## CRISIS

The Free State regime is also in a state of crisis over the situation in the north. They would very much like to have the whole problem resolved, for instability north of the border threatens their own position as rulers in the south. For

## A REPORT FROM BRIAN O'CEALLAIGH IN BELFAST

example, while Lynch was in the U.S. calling the IRA "terrorists" and their supporters in the States "enemies of the Irish people," a government survey revealed that, despite the propaganda campaign against the Republican Movement, some 43% of the population in the south supported the IRA and over 80% were opposed to any "internal settlement" in the north and favored a united Ireland.

## CLEAR

It becomes increasingly clear that the only class capable of resolving the national question in Ireland is the working class.

Ruling class sermons about "peace and reconciliation" make little sense to the Catholic population in the north who, along with all the social conditions that go along with poverty (decrepid housing, extremely high unemployment, low pay, lack of social services, etc.) suffer harassment and repression daily under the heel of the occupying British Army.

They realize better than most that violence is a part of the Northern Ireland state, a state whose institutions were created with the oppression of the Catholic minority in mind.

And they obviously know better than Jack Lynch or Jim-

my Carter that where there is oppression, there will be resistance.

## CONNECTIONS

The situation in the south guarantees that the ruling class will attempt to make workers the victims of the economic crisis by holding down wages, cutting back on social services, increasing productivity, etc.

If the connections are made between the national struggle and the struggle on the shop-floor, the result could be devastating for the ruling class, who James Connolly called "our national dishonor." □



## SOUTH AFRICAN FORD WORKERS FIRED

Over thirteen hundred black workers have been fired from Ford and General Tire and Rubber this month in Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

It all started at Ford's Staundale plant in the auto manufacturing center of Port Elizabeth. This was Ford's only plant with mostly black workers—in a country which is overwhelmingly black.

Thozamile Botha, an activist black foreman, was fired for missing work, apparently for political organizing. 700 black workers walked off the job for three days in support of Botha's reinstatement. The company backed down, re-

hired Botha and payed workers for lost time.

## FIRED

White workers at the plant denounced the company for "coddling" black workers and "capitulating" to their demands. A white foreman accused the black workers of "bad manners" and of dirtying the cafeteria. Black workers responded by boycotting the cafeterias and demanding the firing of the white foreman and an end to racist attacks. They backed their demands by walking off the job four times. Ford brought in the riot police and fired all 700 workers!

Sparked off by this, 625 General Tire and Rubber workers walked off the job demanding union recognition. After three days, the company fired all 625.

The multinationals enjoy trumpeting their image as liberal employers in South Africa. But they are in the forefront of smashing attempts to organize—they will use naked force in response to black workers. We should have no illusions in the role multinationals play in propping up the South African regime. □

by JOHN VAN RAALTE

## PRO-ABORTION DEMONSTRATIONS IN SPAIN

MADRID, SPAIN—The government plans to prosecute 13 women on criminal abortion charges this week, a month after nationwide feminist demonstrations forced postponement of an abortion trial in northern Spain.

Spaniards who favor legalized abortion plan new demonstrations today when eight of the 13 women go on trial here, said Cristina Alberdi, one of several defense attorneys. Five other women go on trial Thursday.

A key point in the defense will be "the right of women to

decide if they want to be mothers," Alberdi said.

Abortion is illegal in Spain and is opposed by both the moderate government of Premier Adolfo Suarez and the Roman Catholic Church, to which 95% of the Spanish population belong.

## SHOW

Last month, the government postponed the abortion trial of 11 women in Basauri after mass protests. Two of the defendants failed to show up, and no new date has been set for the proceedings.

The defendants claim contraceptive aids were not available from the state service. They say they are too poor to afford to have children.

## LAW

Under Spanish law, patients with a doctor's prescription may buy contraceptive pills and devices. Most physicians are reluctant to write such prescriptions, and women are forced to turn to the black market, where the prices are five times as high. The church does not approve of any contraceptive aids.

The eight women standing trial today include a 50-year-old mother of nine accused of performing abortions on her seven co-defendants. The government is seeking a 28-year prison term for the alleged abortionist and a one-year term for each of the other women.

Last month's demonstration was the first major feminist protest since the death of right-wing leader General Francisco Franco in 1975. □



**WORLD IN STRUGGLE**

**BOLIVIA: WORKERS' POWER**

Bolivia's working class, the toughest in Latin America, with the clearest tradition of socialist struggle, was issued with another challenge on November 1.

Four months after an inconclusive general election, an ambitious colonel by the name of Natusch Busch took power by force, overthrowing the military-backed civilian caretaker president, Walter Guevara Arze.

The Unions (COB) immediately responded by calling a general strike. In the capital, La Paz, workers, students and professional people took to the streets.

With just a few weapons and the cobble-stones beneath their feet, they faced the police and the army—sometimes from behind barricades.

The poor suburbs of the capital city are reported to be organizing the greatest resistance to Natusch's forces in the city despite heavy casualties.

## FIGHT

Organized and experienced revolutionaries attempted an assault of the presidential palace. It was unsuccessful, but at least five of the army died.

Meanwhile the miners in some of the largest tin mines in the world—Siglo, Potosi, Catavi—united with sectors of the peasantry and are reported to be holding out in the major industrial centers of the country.

There will be heavy casualties due to lack of arms, but the people will fight.

Two days after the coup there were indications that Natusch's supporters were not really happy about the prospect of another military government which was opposed by workers and bourgeois reformists alike.

## DEAL

The generals are united in one thing only: their opposition to Natusch.

Through a heavy barrage of press censorship one fact has trickled through. Natusch has invited the parliament and 'organized labor' to join the armed forces in a triumvirate to rule Bolivia.

The deal with parliament was stitched up, but on far less favorable terms than Natusch wanted. He had to step down for a civilian president. □

# International law: it never stopped the C.I.A.

Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran, the King of Kings, the Light of the Aryans, now the deposed ruler of Iran—Shah Pahlavi in power owed almost everything to friends in New York and Washington.

## POOR

In 1953, a nationalist reformer, Mohammed Mossedeg, was in command of Iran. The country, once the proud Persia, was desperately poor. 80 percent of the Iranian people lived on the land, nearly all of them at the subsistence level. 50 percent of the people suffered from trachoma and other diseases, three of every ten children died at birth.

Mossedeg concluded that there could be no progress without reform and no reform unless there was money. He nationalized the nation's oil resources, which until that time were owned, 100 percent by the British.

The United States had no direct interest in Iran, but Eisenhower and the Dulles brothers—John, the secretary of state, and Allen, the head of the CIA—worried that reform in Iran might become contagious.

They joined in the world boycott of Iranian petroleum, and then instructed the CIA to get rid of Mossedeg. They put Kermit Roosevelt, a grandson of Teddy Roosevelt, also a CIA specialist on the Middle East, in charge.

Roosevelt began operations in a Teheran basement, with half a dozen assistants and the help of Fazollah Zahedi, an Iranian general who had sympathized with the Nazis in World War II.

## SCHEME

The scheme soon turned to action, and the Shah joined in by ordering Mossedeg deposed. But when demonstrators supporting Mossedeg filled the streets, the Shah was forced to flee.

Roosevelt's money, however, brought counter demonstrations into the streets, and then the Iranian army.

The United States supplied the Iranian army with everything: "blankets, boots, electric generators, and medical supplies..." We created "the

atmosphere in which they could support the Shah...The guns that they had in their hands, the trucks that they rode in, the armored cars that they drove through the streets, and the radio communications that permitted their control, were all furnished through the military defense assistance program..." recalled General George Stewart, the director of the U.S. military mission.

Stewart went on to say that "had it not been for this program a government unfriendly to the United States probably would now be in power."

Kermit Roosevelt rode into Teheran on an American tank. Mossedeg was defeated and jailed. The Shah returned and oil was denationalized.

The United States was rewarded generously—in particular the personal friends of the Dulles brothers, the Rockefellers. Five corporations, four of them controlled by the Rockefellers—the Standard trusts in New Jersey, New York, Texas, and California—were given forty percent of the formerly British oil monopoly.

## FRIENDS

The Shah personally thanked his friends in the United States, including David Rockefeller, the Dulles brothers, and the CIA, to whom, he said, he owed everything.

Since that time, the Shah has been supported by every American president—Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and now Carter—all of whom lavished him with praise and military assistance. The Shah had 40,000 American military advisors. □



Mossedeg supporters in Teheran in 1953

# IRAN: BAZAARS EMBASSIES



# THE REVOLUTION IT WORTH

A year ago, giant demonstrations in Teheran marked the beginning of the end for the Shah, and, as Iranians called it at the time, "the dawn of freedom."

But today, despite the defeat of the Shah, the dismantling of SAVAK, and the opening of the prisons, there is new repression.

There are socialists in prison now, threatened with death because they distributed leaflets. Women are being driven back behind the veil. And there is an all-out war on the national minorities, people who make up half the population of Iran.

## DIFFICULT

Not surprisingly, many people have begun to ask: was the revolution worthwhile? Aren't things just as bad as they were before? And these are difficult questions, especially in an atmosphere increasingly dominated by anti-Khomeini and anti-Moslem hysteria.

We have to go back and look

again at the Iranian revolution, if we want to understand what is happening in Iran today.

There were two classes involved in that revolution. Much of the muscle of the revolution was provided by the workers. Their strikes caused the oil to stop flowing and cut the ground from underneath the Shah's seemingly all-powerful military machine.

But the revolution also involved the middle class of the cities—a mass of petty traders, shopkeepers, and small capitalists concentrated in the bazaars and hating the Shah, because the giant corporations he controlled were cutting into their profits and driving them out of business.

Khomeini and the priests, with their calls for a return

to the traditional religion of life, graphically expressed the desire of the class to turn to a society in which there were small capitalists and no big capitalists and no workers.

The workers were not to organize at all while the Shah remained in power. Unions and political parties were banned. But the clergy, by contrast, had a well-organized network through mosques for projecting views and organizing supporters.

It was easy for them to reject their leader, Khomeini, as the great, national hero, a man who could draw them from the vast anti-Shahian society.

## POLICY

So power fell into Khomeini's hands. But he found that there was no one, consistent policy that could satisfy all the demands that made the revolution.

The workers wanted better conditions, higher wages, shorter hours. Women wanted freedom. The national minorities wanted to be able to determine their own destinies. The slum dwellers wanted better housing, clean water and so on.

But the small capitalists wanted just the opposite: longer hours from the workers, higher rents, and continuing domination of the national minorities, especially the Farsi speakers, and so caught between a

## IN THE SHAH'S PRISONS

In 1953, the CIA recreated the monarch in Iran and set up SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, to defend it.

It is estimated that in the last twenty years of the Shah's regime, 300,000 political prisoners were in and out of Iran's prisons.

An average 1,500 were arrested every month.

In June, 1963 alone, 6,000 people were killed by SAVAK and the Iranian army—with

the aid of American advisors.

Tens of thousands were killed in the Shah's last days.

Amnesty International estimated that in 1975 there were 25,000 to 100,000 political prisoners in Iran.

## HISTORY

Martin Ennals, a spokesperson for Amnesty International, wrote, "The Shah of Iran retains his benevolent image despite the highest

rate of death penalties in the world, no valid system of civilian courts and a history of torture which is beyond belief."

The Shah's prisoners received unbelievable penalties.

A man was told that unless he confessed his thirteen year old daughter would be raped before his eyes. At the same time he was being beaten, his fingers were broken one at a time.

Prisoners were hung upside down, then beaten with clubs, jabbed with electrical prods on the chest and genitals, and then raped while still hanging.

Nails and teeth were torn from the prisoners; boiling water was pumped into their rectums; heavy weights were hung from their genitals.

Women were mutilated, their breasts cut off. Young girls were raped in front of their parents. □



# HIND THE Y CRISIS



## ON: WAS WHILE?

forces, Khomeini was unable to develop a consistent policy, and as the situation deteriorated—the economic situation worsened, the national minorities rebelled, poverty increased for the slum dwellers—he turned to religious ideology and repression to try to hold Iran together and maintain his power.

There is no doubt that in this situation, then, the seizure of the American embassy by the students offered Khomeini a way out, that it enabled him once again to rally the nation behind him, the masses of people who justly want revenge on the man who looted Iran and destroyed the best of its youth.

And it must be said that Khomeini and his advisors have skillfully done this, forcing the issue of the crimes of the Shah before not just Iran and the United States, but in fact the entire world.

But it would be a mistake to think that this situation can save Khomeini indefinitely. Whatever the outcome of the present crisis, Khomeini will face all the old problems, and more, as the massive mobilization of the population may hold the nation together, but it also continuously disrupts an already shattered economy.

### NEW

The probability then is that there will be new waves of social unrest, new explosions of discontent, possibly on an even more massive scale, be-

fore the story of the Iranian revolution is over.

It is useful to remember that all great revolutions in the past have had their dark days. Six months after the King was dethroned in Paris in 1789, repression forced Marat to flee to London. And within months of the February Revolution against the Czar in Russia, Lenin fled for his life to Finland.

But in both cases repression was unable indefinitely to hold back popular power and anger.

Any great revolution gives millions of people a fantastic sense of power, and it is even possible that today's confrontation with the United States can strengthen this sense. It takes years to destroy the feeling, much more than a few months of repression from a tottering religious government.

All this does not, of course, guarantee new advances for the left. All that is certain is continued turmoil. But it does mean that advance is still possible, even in the harsh circumstances of Iran today.

### SOLIDARITY

We have to offer the Iranian left our utmost solidarity, and today that means support for the demand of the Iranian people that the Shah be returned—and complete opposition to the attempts of Carter and the Rockefellers to reimpose the rule of imperialism. □

*Carter preaches about "Violations of international law" and "inhuman behavior."*

*Yet in 1953, the C.I.A. overthrew the legal government of Iran and installed the Shah.*

*Since then six U.S. presidents including Carter have lavished support on the Shah, despite the fact that he has slaughtered tens of thousands of Iranians, imprisoned hundreds of thousands, and boasted about his use of torture on opponents.*



## STOP THE WAR THREATS- STOP THE DEPORTATIONS



## Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

The task of opposing Carter's war threats and the attacks on the Iranians living in this country, particularly the students, becomes more urgent every day.

The United States is now closer to war than at any time since the end of the Vietnam war. There is a massive naval arsenal poised in the Arabian Sea. All special airborne troops have been mobilized. And who knows what other secret steps are being taken.

### ATTACKS

At the same time, Iranians are regularly attacked on American streets and on college and university campuses. They are fired from their jobs. They are threatened with deportation.

There are regular "patriotic" rallies, filled with racist hatred of Iranians, and disgusting calls to "nuke the Ayatullah" and "Turn Teheran into a Nagasaki."

There is also an opposition to all this, including by courageous Iranian students who have refused to be bludgeoned into silence. 1,200 black ministers meeting last month in Detroit called the Shah a "criminal" and urged that his stolen billions be returned to the Iranian people.

Muhammed Ali has called for the Shah to be sent back. And there have been anti-Shah demonstrations in dozens of American cities.

But this has not been enough. Despite claims to the contrary, the American public is far from "united" behind Carter. And this is why Edward Kennedy was willing to test the water of opinion with an anti-Shah statement.

### OPPOSE

There are millions who would oppose a new war—or an Israeli style "retaliation," whether against the oilfields or the people of Teheran. Many would agree with the statement of Sgt. William Quarles, one of the black marines released from the embassy.

"I'd like to, if I could," said Quarles, "tell the American government to re-evaluate their policies. A lot of them are terribly wrong, and a lot of people are suffering for a few people at the top." No wonder the government ordered the released hostages to remain silent!

We must help to organize this opposition and see that it grows and is vocal. We must see that Carter does not think that he has a free hand in Iran or on the Persian Gulf.

At our National Organizing Committee meeting in early November, the I.S.O. voted unanimously to make solidarity action with the Iranian students threatened with deportation a priority—and we pledged to play our full role in organizing opposition to the new threats of an imperialist war in Iran.

We have made a beginning but we must do more. There must be rallies and demonstrations, teach-ins on every college campus. We need to take the issue into the shops and the unions—especially to the young workers who will be forced to fight any new war.

### COUNTER

We need to publically oppose and counter the racist lies about Iran and the Iranians which now come daily from Carter, from the television networks, and from the newspapers.

We urge all Socialist Worker readers to join us in doing the same. We can stop Carter from making Iran another Vietnam—but only if we are prepared to act and act now. □

# Letters

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

## RENEWABLE RESOURCES

Dear Socialist Worker,

Activists in the environmental and anti-nuclear movements have been understandably wary of those (including socialists) who advocate the continued use of non-renewable and dangerous energy sources.

Oil and coal, at least that which can be obtained at reasonable human and environmental costs, will run out in the foreseeable future, however contrived the current shortages are.

And as with nuclear power, reliance on fossil fuels also poses the danger of irreparable environmental damage, not to mention the more direct costs in human life, resulting from the mining and burning of coal, oil slicks, etc.

These factors will clearly affect the possibilities available to us in a socialist future.

We are not advocating capitalist-owned and controlled means of energy production. It is hard to imagine that capitalism will develop these safe and efficient alternatives, given its underlying irrationality.

Nor do we deny the need for unionization of all mine workers. But we think that the fight for sane energy programs such as solar power must be built as part of the overall fight for a decent world under workers' control.

Fortunately the International Socialist Organization at its last convention adopted a resolution to this effect, emphasizing the immediate necessity for a struggle around conservation and the development of renewable energy sources—not for the sake of capitalists' profits, but against their rape of our environment.

Jim Hurd  
Cathy Crosson  
Bloomington ISO

## SOLAR SATELLITES

Dear Socialist Worker,

Solar energy sounds like a friendly alternative to nukes, but don't be too sure.

In November, the U.S. government approved \$25 million to speed up Energy Department research into solar energy. Not just any solar energy, however—solar satellites.

Though it may sound like science fiction, solar satellites are only too real. They are likely to be one of America's main energy sources before the end of the century.

These massive space satellites will collect solar power and beam it back to earth in the form of microwaves.

This centralized form of solar energy is precisely what the large companies want. They are pushing it because they want to retain their monopoly over the energy industry and protect their profits.

The anti-nuke movement only encourages the development of satellites, when it demands the development of solar energy now.

Neil Smith,  
Baltimore, MD

## Congratulations to comrades at Seabrook

Dear Socialist Worker,

Congratulations to the comrades at Seabrook. Jack Anderson said in his column on October 15, "Anti-nuke protesters, such as those who re-

cently stormed the barricades of the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear facility, have made clear they don't intend to forget the near-catastrophic fiasco at Three Mile Island, which held

the entire nation in frightened suspense for six days last March." This was no small victory we won!

Also there have been quite a few of John Anderson's arti-

cles on the bulletin boards at work. The truth eventually appears everywhere.

M.J. Myers  
Fort Wayne, IN

## Montana readers disagree



## Live without nuclear terror

Dear Socialist Worker,

I have read your article on the Seabrook Occupation, and I would like to voice my disappointment with the acts of the demonstrators.

If the goal of the demonstration is to occupy and shut-down the construction site, it seems silly to go about it in a fashion that the British Redcoats set upon to crush the American Revolution.

The goal is not to provoke a violent response from the police to give "legitimacy" to the movement. The goal is not to give every guardsman and policeman a revolutionary blackeye.

The goal is to shut-down Seabrook so that people can live lives without a nuclear terror in their backyard. At

the same time equating destruction of property or theft of a weapon with violence against people is also wrong.

Look to the people working against Trident in Bangor, Washington. They entered the sub base without violent con-

frontation with police and without sacrificing consensus. Let's learn from each other and always try to do better.

Yours,  
Mark Anderlik  
Missoula, MT

## DISARM OURSELVES

Dear Socialist Worker,

You should have called it off. No one action is worth the movement, is worth time-energy lost to divisionism, to digging up good process buried by ego and "our way."

Books have been written on the subject of "How-to-Crumble-a-Movement for Change." Other books have

been written on how to turn love, dedication, truth, conviction and knowledge into action.

The end is No Nukes—the means is the same—Disarm Ourselves.

With Love and Support  
for Our Growing Struggle,  
Nansea Rivecsea  
Missoula, MT

## IMMUNE

Dear Socialist Worker,

I have just read an article in the Socialist Worker entitled "A Small Victory." The recent direct action at Seabrook has taught us here in Montana a valuable lesson.

No one, whether Marxist, Christian or Non-violent, is immune from the disease of ideology. By ideology, I mean, a set of ideas which distort, darken or transcend reality...

Frankly, I always have expected the ideological violence of rhetorical stupidity to issue from the Marxist Left.

Ideology not empirical reality is the ordinary Marxist's stock and trade. But I am extremely disappointed in the self-proclaimed non-violent factions. I always had assumed non-violence was based not only in personal inclination but in a faith which apprehends its reasons.

Hopefully, we here will learn from the fiasco at Seabrook. We are no finer, only later.

Sincerely,  
David Host  
Missoula, MT

## Non-violence is not a tactic

Dear Socialist Worker,

I am very distressed as to how the weekend went from all sides. I consider myself a non-violent person who acts in symbolic ways against nuclear weapons. However I am ashamed at the futile conduct of the "non-violent" people as put out in the Socialist

Worker. People must believe in non-violence on solid reasons, not merely as a tactic. Not just so you can chant the right slogans.

As for militarist reason—I am morally against it. It is a means that will not achieve a "good" end, perhaps for awhile, but nothing certainly

very different. Also, if one takes a militarist stand, then take it, don't stand around in some grey zone and wonder what's going on...

In the Struggle,  
Lucinda Buren-Host  
Missoula, MT

## THE "RIGHT-TO-LIFE" CAN USE HIM

Dear Socialist Worker,

Mr. Ferrera writes of his pro-life stand against war, nuclear power, etc.

His pro-life morals apparently don't carry over to the women who lose their lives be-

cause they can't afford safe, legal abortions.

Ferrera also states that "human life shall not be tampered with for the sake of expediency." This implies that unwanted pregnancy is a mere

inconvenience, a myth the anti-abortionists like to perpetuate.

I suggest that Mr. Ferrera take his "hard-hitting letters" and high moral values and sign up at the nearest "Right-

to-Life" office. They can use him.

Kathy Stewart  
Cincinnati, OH

A PAGE FROM WORKING CLASS HISTORY

# "no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



## Pullman: the strike that shook America to the core

More than any other industrial conflict since the Civil War, the Pullman strike of 1894 shook the country to the core.

It brought to the surface the bitter fury of the American working class and exposed the federal government as an accomplice of ruthless industrialists in their drive to crush organized labor.

What started as a small strike of 5,500 railroad workers quickly became a national railway strike.

The strikers were fought by the Pullman Palace Car Company, the manufacturers of sleeping cars. Pullman was backed by the giant employers' association—the General Managers Association, the federal government, the courts and the army.

### CONTEST

The "revolutionary strike" of 1894 was a contest between labor and capital. It was symbolized on the one hand by Eugene Victor Debs, the president of the American Railway Union (ARU).

"There may have lived at some time, somewhere, a kindlier, gentler, more generous man than Eugene Debs, but I have never known him," wrote the famed civil liberties lawyer, Clarence Darrow.

Debs had a passionate affinity for the poor and oppressed. "Your honor," he told a court in 1918, "years ago I realized my kinship with all living things, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth."

"I said then and I say now, that while there is a lower class I am in it; while there is a criminal element I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

In 1893 Debs organized the American Railway Union because he believed that the only way forward for the American working class was through industrial unionism. He believed that unions must involve all workers regardless of skill, craft, or nationality. Black workers, however, to the discredit of the ARU and Debs, were still excluded from membership, a practice for which Debs later condemned himself.

On the eve of the Pullman strike, the ARU had 465 lodges and 150,000 members.



*"I was baptized in socialism in the roar of conflict..."*

—Eugene V. Debs

George Mortimer Pullman, a paranoid, paternalistic employer who made his millions developing the sleeping car train, opposed Debs and the railway workers.

Pullman lived in a \$350,000 mansion in Chicago and rode in a custom built \$38,000 railroad car. Like a feudal monarch, Pullman created a company town named after himself.

Every foot of ground, every house, church and store was owned by Pullman. The 8-hour day was banned. There were no saloons and no unions in Pullman.

Even the sewage from workers' homes was pumped to Pullman's truck farm for fertilizer.

One worker grimly commented, "We are born in the Pullman house, fed from the Pullman shop, taught in the Pullman school, catechized in the Pullman church, and when we die we shall be buried in the Pullman cemetery and go to the Pullman hell."

Wages at Pullman were 25-50% lower than at other railroad companies. Rents were higher. Workers were subjected to black listing, unemployment, favoritism and arbitrary dismissals.

In March and April, 1894, branches of the ARU were or-

ganized at Pullman, and in May a grievance committee met with officials. Pullman refused to make any concessions and three members of the grievance committee were fired.

At noon, May 11th, 4,000 workers went out on strike. Immediately Debs came to see the Pullman strikers, but while deeply sympathetic to their grievances, he was worried that the strike was too hastily called.

### OVERWHELMING

The strike at Pullman was a month old when the ARU held its first national convention. Debs still argued against a national strike, but the overwhelming sentiment was against him. Once outvoted, Debs threw all his energy and organizing ability into the Pullman boycott. Even he was amazed at the widespread and enthusiastic support for the strikers.

In a few days, the boycott covered all the central and western states: 125,000 railroad workers were out on strike. In another week, the number rose to 150,000. All railroads coming in and out of Chicago were paralyzed.

On July 2nd, John Egan, spokesperson for the General Managers Association, admit-

ted that the railroads had been "fought to a standstill." Still he declared that, "It is the government's duty to take this matter in hand."

The government did. Richard Olney, a railroad lawyer and Attorney General to the Democratic President Grover Cleveland, came immediately to the call of Egan, Pullman and the other railroad managers.

Olney issued a sweeping injunction which forbade any kind of strike activity. The ARU executive decided to ignore the injunction. Debs and others were arrested. Olney decided to send in Federal troops.

### WARN

The strike had been peaceful until the military was sent in. Debs warned that the atmosphere would change if force was used. "The first shot fired by the regular soldiers, at the mob will be the signal for a civil war."

Debs was right. 10,000 demonstrators met the troops in Chicago. They turned over box cars, threw switches and blocked tracks.

Violence spread as the troops were deployed. In Trinidad, Colorado, a crowd captured and disarmed strike-breaking marshalls.

In Raton, New Mexico, 500 ARU members and 300 coal miners, aided by the local sheriff, ran troops out of town.

In the nearby town of Blassberg, hotel workers refused to wait on troops, and 1600 railroad cars were thrown on the tracks blocking future troops movement.

In Rawlins, Wyoming, strikers escorted troops out of town. In Helena, Montana the threat of a general strike prevented troops from coming in! Throughout the central and western states, ARU strikers and other sympathetic workers fought the troops.

### STRENGTH

In the end, however, the armed strength of the government proved too mighty for the ARU. Chicago was occupied by more than 14,000 troops. 25 workers were killed, 60 were seriously wounded.

Furthermore, an intense anti-communist campaign was used against the strikers. The newspapers portrayed Debs as a ruthless tyrant—the Chicago Tribune ran the headline "Thirst for Blood: Frenzied Mob Still Bent on Death and Destruction."

Even though Chicago newsboys threw most of the papers in the sewers, the campaign was successful in helping to isolate the ARU.

The strike was also beaten by Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor (AFL), who opposed industrial unionism. They scabbed on the strike and opposed a general strike in Chicago to defend the ARU.

On July 18th, two days after Debs and the other ARU leaders were jailed, the strike ended. Two days later federal troops left Chicago. The ARU never recovered from this defeat.

But out of the insurrectional labor upheaval came a development far more important than the immediate setback. Debs, and thousands of other workers became revolutionary socialists because of Pullman.

Writing from Woodstock prison, Debs proclaimed, "I was baptized in socialism in the roar of conflict... in the gleam of every bayonet and the clash of every rifle the class struggle was revealed... This was my first practical struggle in socialism."

# What's ON

**BOSTON**  
 "The Crisis in Iran,"  
 speaker Ahmed Shawki  
 Thursday, December  
 6, 7:30 pm. 595 Mass  
 Avenue, Cambridge

**CLEVELAND**  
 Marxist education  
 series, part 2, "Reform  
 or revolution,"

Friday, December 14,  
 7:30 pm. Call 932 -  
 6191 for details

**NORTHAMPTON**  
 "The Crisis in Iran,"  
 speaker Ahmed Shawki  
 Thursday, December 6,  
 4:00 pm, Hampshire  
 College

# WHERE WE STAND



## WORKERS' CONTROL

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

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

## REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

## A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

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

## 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 people to strengthen the working class struggle for socialism.

## 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 in the unions 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. They are state capitalist and part of one world capitalist system. We support the struggles of workers in these countries against the bureaucratic ruling class.

## REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The activity of the ISO is directed 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.

# Join the International Socialist Organization

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

## NATIONAL FUND APPEAL

*We've run out of money again, but we're not about to quit.*

*So the ISO national organizing committee voted at our November meeting to launch a national fund drive. We voted to try to raise \$4,000 the months of January and February, 1980.*

*We cannot escape inflation. Everything costs us more today, in particular Socialist Worker, but we are determined to keep our price within the range of a striker on the picket line.*

*We also want to maintain our activities. We have achieved many things in the past year, accomplishments we can be proud of. We helped organize the very successful march against the national "right-to-life" convention in Cincinnati in June. We published a special supplement to Socialist Worker for the national anti-nuke march in Washington, D.C.*

*We sponsored a speaking tour for Bernadette Devlin McAliskey in October, helping her to pay off an \$8,000 political debt. We paid her expenses. We have also published pamphlets on women, on United Parcel Service, and on the case for socialism.*

*We are determined to do*

*more, but we will need money to do so. And our own members cannot carry the entire load. So we are making a special appeal to all Socialist Worker readers to chip in.*

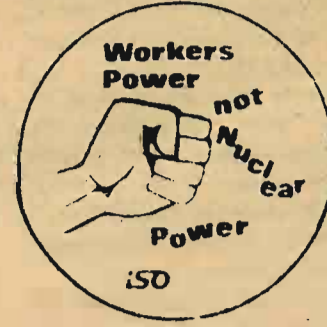
*Please make a generous contribution. And attend the ISO fund raiser in your area. We will put your money to good use, every penny of it. □*



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

**- Karl Marx**

If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us. There are ISO members and branches in the following places:

- |                  |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| BALTIMORE, MD    | CLEVELAND, OH    | NEW YORK, NY     |
| BERKELEY, CA     | DAYTON, OH       | NEW HAVEN, CT    |
| BLOOMINGTON, IN  | DETROIT, MI      | NORTHAMPTON, MA  |
| BOSTON, MA       | FT. WAYNE, IN    | PHILADELPHIA, PA |
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| CHICAGO, IL      | KENT, OH         | SEATTLE, WA      |
| CINCINNATI, OH   | LOS ANGELES, CA  | WASHINGTON, D.C. |

I.S.O. National Office, P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118

## NEW YORK'S LABOR THEATER

# Bringing the working class on stage

According to the traditional theater world, the working class does not exist.

Plays are about ruling and middle class interests and stories.

The working class never appears unless it's to do the dusting. And with ticket prices over \$10, they're not in the audience either.

There's also a rumor that art and politics don't mix.

### STAGE

The Labor Theater doesn't believe the rumor and they are out to bring the working class back on stage and back into the audience.

They are devoted to bringing plays about working class issues to working class audiences.

For the last six years they have spent their time touring, taking theater to where the people are, to inform and entertain.

Their shows cover many topics—from energy, "Power;" to the lives, work, joys and problems of working women, "I Just Wanted Someone to know;" to occupational health and safety, "The Health and Safety Show;" to the history of the working men and women who built America and then didn't share in its wealth, "200 RPM, Revolutions per Minute;" to a play about Jack London, an author of working class origins and perspective who became the most widely read writer in the world, "Jack London: The Man from Eden's Grove."

### SOCIALISM

Their latest play, "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists" (adapted by J. Bentley Campbell from Tressell's novel), is about housepainters and socialism in England in 1906.

Using songs, comedy, music hall cut-aways, and realistic action, the play shows how capitalism works.

Paid low wages to begin with, the painters are hired for one job at a time, laid off after it is done, and told to come back, maybe, in a couple of months. Between jobs they and their families starve.

Even the foreman, who

by **ALLYSON SMITH**

works the men to death in return for a small percentage of the profits, realizes that it is not enough, that the boss who does nothing gets everything.

One of the painters, Owen, is a socialist. Throughout the play, he tries to convince the other painters about socialism.

At one point he shows how profits are made in the Great Money Trick, explaining that all that is needed is money, raw material "which has been placed on the earth by God for everybody," but is owned by a few.

Owen says, "If it were possible to suck up all the air in the world into balloons, we'd have to work to get the money to buy air to breathe."

We'd also need workers to do the work for less money than the product is sold for.

It's perhaps the clearest explanation of exploitation that I've ever seen.

### BUST

Easton, another of the painters, is shown at home with his family, where money problems are busting up his marriage.

He can't afford a new alarm clock, so he can get to work on time in the morning. He can't afford a rug to keep the wind from coming through the floor and making them all ill.

There is also the story told of a man who killed his wife and children and then committed suicide, leaving a note saying, "It's not my crime but society's."

The man had been unem-



Top: Bette Craig plays a vicar. Below: the painters take a break on the job to discuss the merits of socialism. One is convinced.

ployed for a while and the family was starving to death.

And the story of Linden, one of the painters, who is fired for being too old and sent to the workhouse. Meanwhile the leading businessmen plan to lower wages.

Yet most of the painters don't listen to Owen. They believe the lies told to them by their bosses.

But in the end Alf understands. He tells Owen that if you're living in a house that's so drafty and run down that

everyone in it is ill and no amount of patching it up will help, then the only thing to do is to tear it down and build another.

"Ragged Trousered Philanthropists" should be seen by everyone who is interested in housepainters, socialism, entertainment, or has ever worked for a wage.

Besides showing what's wrong with capitalism, it is an entertaining play with lively music and a good performance by the cast.

The company includes Ken Alcorn, J. Bentley Campbell, Bette Craig, Michael Deep, M. Patrick Huges, Paul Ladenheim, Sally Logan, David Markay, Keith Walters, and C.R. Portz.

### TOUR

The Labor Theater will be touring the country this fall and winter. If they're not coming to your area and your union or other group would like to book them, you can call them at (212) 477-0993. □



on the picket line

# Cleveland teachers: "We're determined"

CLEVELAND, OH—As their strike enters its eighth week, Cleveland teachers remain solid.

For the first two weeks of the strike the school board kept the school "open" to make sure state funds kept coming in. But on election day the teachers had a 1,000 person picket line at the school board. The next day, with no fanfare, the schools officially closed.

On November 27th, 25 teachers picketed the school board headquarters for the second consecutive day. Angered by school officials' total disrespect for the picket line, they began making it very difficult for cars to pass. Three teachers were arrested. Their arraignments have been postponed for a month. The next

day 350 parents, teachers and students marched to the school board demanding a more serious attempt at negotiation. Two more teachers were arrested for blocking cars at the school board the following day.

## OFFER

The one issue of the strike is money. Out of the 35 school districts in Cuyahoga County, the Cleveland public system ranks 34 in teachers' wages.

According to Michael Charney, a Cleveland junior high school teacher, "People didn't really want to go out, but the offer was so bad, the teachers had no choice. If they had offered 6% to begin with, we probably wouldn't have gone out. Instead they offered 4% first and then immediately

raised it to 6% after the strike began. Then it was too late. Once we were out the feeling was, 'We're going to win this time. We can't make this an annual affair.'

"I don't think anything less than 10% will get the teachers back. The teachers are pretty solid. Something has to break though. The school board is afraid of losing its teachers, but there is no sentiment among state legislators for a bail-out. They just might invoke the Ferguson Act."

The Ferguson Act makes strikes by public employees, such as teachers, illegal.

From last year's experience, though, Charney says, "People learned you've got to be determined." □

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK



A striking teacher

## A STRIKE AGAINST OVERTIME

CHICAGO, IL—This Christmas season 35,000 workers at International Harvester will be spending most of their time trying to keep warm while walking picket lines around agricultural implements factories throughout the country.

### OVERTIME

The strike is aimed at keeping overtime voluntary, a right that has been in United Auto Workers contracts at Harvester for over 30 years.

The company's objective in forcing this strike was outlined in a letter dated November 10, and sent out to all employees. In it, Harvester management tried to justify a crackdown on absenteeism, limiting workers' rights to shift jobs and allowing 14 mandatory Saturdays of overtime a year.

The company claimed that these measures were necessary for the company to achieve the "higher profit levels" of "our strongest competitors" and therefore "provide continued job and income security" for its employees.

### RECORDS

In fact, according to the company's own "Third Quarter Report" for 1979, "New Records for sales and earnings were set for the first nine months of the fiscal year. Net income rose 95% over last year," meaning total profits for this period were approximately \$221,182,000.

In addition, "All groups set sales records" and the company currently has over \$3.5 billion in back orders.

As for "continued job and income security," International Harvester workers' real wages have fallen behind the recent inflation rate despite a cost of living clause and a regular 3% annual wage improvement factor, and at least at the Melrose Park tractor and engine plant outside Chicago, there are already rumors of layoffs when the strikers return to work.

### DEFEND

Despite these new attacks by Harvester management, the strikers are determined to defend the contract rights they have won in the past. As one worker on the Melrose Park picket line stated to Socialist Worker, "The company doesn't want to give us nothing," but "We're going to stay out as long as it takes." They deserve your support. □

by BEN BLAKE

## TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

# GM: A FREE REIGN ON THE SHOP FLOOR

For forty years the UAW has permitted General Motors to divide its workers. The GM worker is on probation for ninety days after being hired. Since all jobs on production can be mastered in a few hours or at most a few days, there is no justification for this long probationary period.

Its real purpose is to allow the Company to weed out dissenters—workers who refuse to be used to speedup production. Temporary workers are often told, "Meet the production standard or you are fired." This standard is often one seniority workers have refused to accept.

### CHANCE

The probationary period is also used to weed out potential union activists, including workers who have a record of union activity in another GM plant. These workers have little chance of establishing seniority in any of the Big Three plants. Anyone inquiring about the union or asking for a union representative may be discharged. Not being members of the Union they will get no representation.

The new female worker may not only be expected to meet production standards. To gain seniority she may be forced to accept the sexual harassment of members of supervision. This is all too common in GM plants.

Because they have been able to exclude potential leaders from the work force, today most UAW locals are sadly lacking in leadership. The officers of the locals are mere flunkys of the employers and the International Union. The workers are without a trained leadership.

The probationary period was first accepted by the UAW in GM contracts. Walter Reuther was willing to have the Corporation weed out the radicals and the militants. He could then take credit for running a democratic union. The opposition was eliminated by the employers. When he gained control of the UAW in 1947, it became his objective to have all UAW contracts modeled after that of GM. Other employers demanded the same concessions as the UAW had given GM.

### MODEL

Before Reuther's career was ended by his death in 1970, the GM contract had become the model for the industry. This included the clause protecting management's so-called "prerogatives," as well as the no strike clause.

There is good reason why Reuther became the darling of the ruling class in America. During his presidency of the UAW the auto industry and especially GM continued to make record profits, year after year.



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

During the nine years since Reuther's death there has been no suggestion by either Woodcock or Fraser that any basic changes be made in UAW contracts. They too have relied on the employers to eliminate any possible opposition leadership from developing in the locals. Even Fraser and others in the leadership have stated that when the present International officers retire there are no leaders in the locals to take their place.

### COLLUSION

This collusion between the employers and the UAW leadership has eroded the local unions to the point where management has free reign on the shop floor. Speedup and harassment are ever growing problems. The Chrysler contract has eroded the union to the point it is there in little more than name. Conditions in Ford and GM grow worse.

With the wide spread lay-offs taking place the speed-up has become worse. Without a leadership in the plants something has got to give. In time of struggle, a new leadership will soon develop. □



# MINERS MEET IN DENVER-NEW PRESIDENT RULES

DENVER, CO—A special ten day convention of the United Mine Workers (UMW) begins here on December 10, with delegates unsure of just what to expect.

The convention was called by Arnold Miller, the West Virginia coal miner who was swept into the union's top office in 1972 by the Miners for Democracy.

Miller, however, lost interest in reform, once in office, and most observers expected that this convention would be a bitter (possibly bloody) confrontation between him and rank and file delegates.

## RESIGNED

Now Miller will not even be at the convention. He is in a hospital in Charleston, W.VA. after two heart attacks. He has resigned as president of the UMW, and Sam Church, his vice president since 1977, will be running the show.

Church is a former Virginia miner, where he was a supporter of the late Tony Boyle, the UMW president who had his opponent, Jock Yablonski, murdered in 1969. He says he wants to bring "stability" back to the UMW, and he will be using this convention to appeal for support.

Miller organized the convention to double the \$12 dues of members. He also wanted to strengthen the international and weaken the ability of the districts to influence contracts. He had hired 135 "ushers" to help him do this.

Church wants the same thing, but he hopes he can convince the delegates. He has reduced the number of "ushers" to fifty and these will be chosen by the districts.

The coal companies are already quite delighted with the possibility of "stability" in the coalfields. By "stability" they mean no strikes. Church himself has already promised that he will be "reasonable" in the next national contract negotiations: "I don't throw them curves, and I don't consider them the enemy," he says of industry.



Sam Church, the new president of the UMW

The problems for the rank and file miners are many. They have all but lost the right to strike on local grievances; there are thousands of miners unemployed, in particular in the militant districts of southern West Virginia and Ohio; and the UMW's organizing drives have completely failed—UMW coal has now declined from 70% to less than 50% of the nation's production.

But oppositionists (and there are many) have rarely been able to agree on much more than their hatred of Arnold Miller. Despite the massive rank and file upsurge in the 1978 national coal strike, no significant rank and file organization was formed.

## TIME

Now is no time to quit, however. Sam Church is proud of his past ties to Tony Boyle, and he likes his reputation as a muscleman. He will be a far more difficult opponent than Arnold Miller. So the 1979 miners' convention might well mark the "end of reform in the UMW," as the companies are already gloating.

Unless, that is, the rank and file delegates fight to make it a new beginning. □

# TEACHER STRIKES HIT NEW RECORDS

Teachers' strikes seem sure to hit a record this school year.

There have been 199 teacher strikes in 18 states since the current school year began, according to the latest unpublished tally of the National Education Association, the largest teacher union. The record for an entire school year—set in 1975-76—is 203 strikes. "It's inconceivable that this year's total won't ex-

ceed 203," declares an NEA source.

Of the 199 strikes, 168 were by NEA affiliates, 25 by the American Federation of Teachers and six by the American Association of University Professors. Money was the key issue in most of the strikes. Student discipline, class size, preparation time and protection from student violence also played roles. □

# Teamster reformers merge in Michigan

YPSILANTI, MI—The two largest reform groups in the Teamsters Union, PROD (Professional Drivers Council) and the TDU (Teamsters for a Democratic Union) merged here on November 3, forming a new organization, still called TDU, with a combined membership of nearly 9,000.

The merger took place at the fourth annual TDU convention, and the new unity marks an important step forward for oppositionists in the two million strong Teamsters, where corruption and repression are most often the order of the day.

## SIMILAR

The two organizations have existed side by side in the Teamsters until now, despite increasingly similar activities and objectives.

The merger also took place after a difficult year for both PROD and TDU. PROD's membership declined in 1979, after several years of steady growth. The TDU has grown, but with a number of unanticipated difficulties.

A year ago, nearly 500 Teamsters gathered at the TDU Convention in Windsor, Ontario, where they set the goal of sending fifty delegates to the Teamsters' 1981 con-

vention to support their candidates for the union's top posts—Pete Camarata and Jack Vlahovic.

TDU members did in fact win a number of important local elections in the past year, but the majority of those elected soon repudiated their ties to the reform movement. As a result this year's convention, with some 350 Teamsters attending, was considerably more modest.

The concentration, once the merger was complete, was on workshops—including topics ranging from public speaking to winning grievances. "We have to do the practical work, if we're going to change this union," one activist told Socialist Worker. In almost every case, the workshops did show considerable experience and strength, and it is clear that the combined organization will be stronger than ever before.

Still, the concentration on "nuts and bolts," as the organizers called it, revealed

some problems. While there was more debate at this convention than past gatherings, there was still a marked reluctance to discuss anything controversial.

This was especially true in light of the fact that the organization has just concluded a year of considerable effort devoted to electoral activity in the union.

## MAJOR

It is even more true considering the fact that the past year has been marked by major industrial struggles in the Teamsters, including a strike over the National Master Freight Agreement, a national wildcat strike of steel haulers, and a bitter confrontation between car haulers and their employers in Youngstown, Ohio.

The organizers and the delegates chose to steer clear of these topics—topics very important to rank and file militants—and to concentrate on reforming the union. □

**"Thanks for the beautiful coverage"**

Dear Socialist Worker,  
The ex-strikers of Bailey Controls would like to thank the people of the paper, Socialist Worker, for giving us such beautiful coverage during our strike.

No one else had given more support and the truth during such a long and tiring time. Thank you again.

Ex-strikers of Bailey Controls



Strikers at Bailey Controls in Wickliffe, Ohio, fought Bailey, a subsidiary of the giant Babcock and Wilcox Corporation, to a standstill for five months. Twice they held onto their picket lines in the face of the tear gas and clubs of the local police.

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# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

## YOUNGSTOWN: 5,000 JOBS STOLEN

PITTSBURGH, PA—"This is our building. We built it with our sweat and blood."

These were the words of an angry steelworker, one of more than 400 who stormed into U.S. Steel's massive 62 story headquarters in downtown Pittsburgh on November 30.

The workers, nearly all of whom were from U.S. Steel's Ohio and McDonald works in Youngstown, chanted, "U.S. Steel Stole Our Jobs," as they marched through the lobbies of the skyscraper.

### DUTY

They demanded to see David Roderick, the chairman of U.S. Steel, but security guards, having already shut down the building's escalators and elevators, announced that there were no executives on duty.

At one point, several hundred demonstrators sat down on the escalators, an action

which would have effectively shut the building. But organizers soon put an end to the sit-down, unfortunately, and the picketing continued outside in the snow.

The Youngstown firings—and the workers insist they are firings, not lay-offs—are just the largest part of U.S. Steel's 13,000 firings, announced by Roderick on November 27. The giant steel maker announced eighteen shut-downs, in plants from Connecticut to California, and threatened

more to come.

Two days after the U.S. Steel announcement, Jones and Laughlin also announced its intention to close its Youngstown steelmaking and blooming mill facilities at Briar Hill. 1,400 workers will lose their jobs on December 28th.

These new closings all but bring to an end Youngstown's history as a steel producing center. Once second only to Pittsburgh in pouring steel, Youngstown has lost 10,000

jobs in basic steel in the last four years.

The demonstrators in Pittsburgh began a discussion of what to do next, and Ron Weisen, the president of Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead works, suggested they start by demanding "both Roderick and the Shah be sent back to Iran."

Staughton Lynd, a lawyer representing Youngstown steelworkers, said he thought the firings might be considered a lockout, and there-

fore a "violation of the union's no strike pledge." He said, if that were the case, the union could call a national strike on August 1, when the national agreement expires.

Ed Mann, the president of Local 1462 at Briar Hill, said he supported the demand for a national strike.

Ken Doran, a chemist from the Briar Hill works, blamed the international union for the situation. "They blame imports when they should be blaming the corporations."

### STANDARDS

U.S. Steel says its Youngstown mills are too old—and they are old, dating from the turn of the century. But, according to Doran, both the Environmental Protection Agency and the local unions relaxed standards to keep U.S. Steel going. "Now they shut them down anyway."

The steelworkers went back to Youngstown, saying they were determined to fight back. They also said they hoped others would learn their lesson.

"This is just the beginning. No one's job is safe now. This is an attack on us all," said a young worker from the Ohio works. "We'd better act now, there'll be no second chance." □



Ron Weisen, president, USW local 1397, Homestead, PA: "They should sent both the Shah and Roderick back to Iran."



400 angry steelworkers crowd into U.S. Steel headquarters in Pittsburgh



Ken Doran, USW local 1462, Youngstown, Ohio: "I'm 49 years old with 33 year of service, and I'm out of a job."

## MORE FIRINGS PROMISED

"This is no panacea," says David Roderick, the chairman of U.S. Steel, threatening more plant closures.

Roderick said this after announcing 18 plant closures and 13,000 jobs cut. He said that no plants are safe, not even the company's giant Gary works, where 20,000 steelworkers are employed.

Roderick officially blames imported steel and environmental standards for the closings, but the fact is he has another purpose. He wants blood in the 1980 negotiations with the United Steelworkers Union.

The industry has already insisted that the union grant below-pattern settlements in

fabrication plants now covered by the national agreement. This would mean a wage freeze for workers at plants such as those in the American Bridge Division.

Another industry spokesman put it this way: "The company is saying, in effect, that it is time for the steelworkers to ante-up some

productivity, and after this (the closures), the union better believe the company means business."

No wonder a worker from the Ohio works in Youngstown said, "Roderick has 13,000 hostages! He's using us to force even more concessions from the union in this contract." □