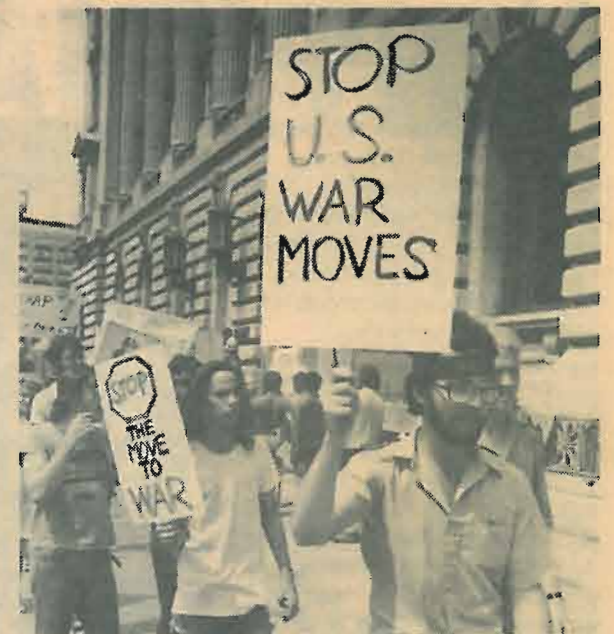


For Special Coverage of Poland Crisis

— See pages 2, 3, 8 & 9

Socialist Worker

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Stop the draft see page 10

SEPTEMBER 1980



NUMBER 41

POLAND: THE MASS STRIKE

Poland's mass strike rages on. At their center is the strike of thousands at the huge Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

Poland's workers are showing magnificent tenacity and courage in their fight against the oppressive regime of Gierek. It is an inspiration to us all—not only in the West, but in Eastern Europe and Russia itself.

Prompted by rising meat prices, the strikes have spread round the country. They have the overwhelming support of Poland's populace. The strikers have moved from making economic demands to raising basic political demands—such as the right to form independent trade unions, and an end to censorship.

The government initially tried to ignore the strikes. Then it tried to divide the strike movement by attempting to settle strikes individually.

But Poland's workers forced them to negotiate on their own terms. The government appeared to back down and fired its "hard liners," including the head of Poland's state run unions.

But as we go to press nothing is settled. The government refuses to budge on basic issues. And the Catholic church has come out—with a back to work call.

Initially the western media reported on the strikes sympathetically. But they are beginning to sense the potential of the strikes and have reverted back to form. The rulers in the West are just as worried as those in the East. They are rushing loans to the Polish regime as quickly as the Russians.

THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS' POWER AND REAL SOCIALISM!

The workers have threatened a general strike unless their demands are met.

The Polish workers are giving us an inspiring example. Workers struggle is workers struggle, East or West.

We can only hope the Polish workers take it farther—to workers' control and real socialism!



Lenin Shipyard workers on strike

Sweethearts!



United Parcel and the Teamsters see page 15



Dateline Gdansk: Socialist Worker Special Report

Poland's strikers are beginning to smell the scent of victory.

They have forced the country's rulers to start negotiating on their terms.

But that does not mean the strikers have yet won.

AGREE

At the end of last month, the Polish government climbed down a little. It agreed to talk to the Gdansk strike committee as the representative of hundreds of striking factories and to abandon its attempts to divide the factories by settling with each one in isolation with the other.

It threw out some of its own supposedly hard line mem-

**THIS
TIME
POLAND'S
WORKERS
CAN
WIN**

bers, including the Prime Minister and the head of state run unions.

It announced economic

changes and promised rising living standards to replace some of its capital accumulation programs. It talked about "free trade union elections."

But the terms offered were full of dangers to Polish workers. The sacrifice of a few government figures did not touch the real apparatus of power in Poland—an apparatus which has in the past made concessions to workers on strike or in the street, and taken them back a few months later.

In 1956 for instance, the weeks of turmoil that followed a virtual uprising in the city of Poznan led to the replacement of the hard line party leader, Beirut, by the supposed reformer Gomulka.

The Russian head of the Polish army was fired, the press was allowed much greater freedom than ever before.

Most that had taken part in the Poznan uprising were released from prison. The state run unions were reorganized with new leaders. Living standards were put up.

STANDARDS

The western press greeted with joy the Polish spring and October, and relatively free elections were held shortly afterwards.

Both the Catholic church and the American radio station, Radio Free Europe, urged support for the candidates nominated by Gomulka.

Yet within a year most of the gains made by the workers had been annulled.

The unions were once more part of the state, the press was once more subject to severe censorship. Armed police were breaking strikes and preventing the publication of any paper, like the left dissident paper, *Po Prostu*, which supported the workers.

The spring and October of 1956 could easily be reversed for it left untouched those who held real power in the factories and the state apparatus—a privileged ruling class whose living standards beyond the wildest dreams of workers, continued to decide what was produced in the factories, and to control vast numbers of police, para-military police and secret police.

OFFER

What has been offered by the Polish regime this time does not yet even go so far as what was granted in 1956.

Look for instance to the talk of secret elections to the unions. This formulation means that the joint strike committees will not be allowed to transform themselves into unions—in a genuinely independent sense. Instead, it allows the existing state run unions to elect new people to their leadership. This will lead to a state presence through the local factory managers to dragoon the more isolated and listless workers who have not been involved in the strike to vote for the state nominees.

The police, meanwhile, will continue to harass anyone who campaigns for any other candidate. The leaders of the dissident organization KOR have remained under arrest.

Fortunately the indications, as we go to press, are that the Polish workers are not going to be satisfied with such shabby compromises.

As one of the Gdansk strike committee leaders pointed out to western TV cameras in the yard: "Three times in the past the class struggle has forced the government to promise concessions. On each occasion things have not changed."

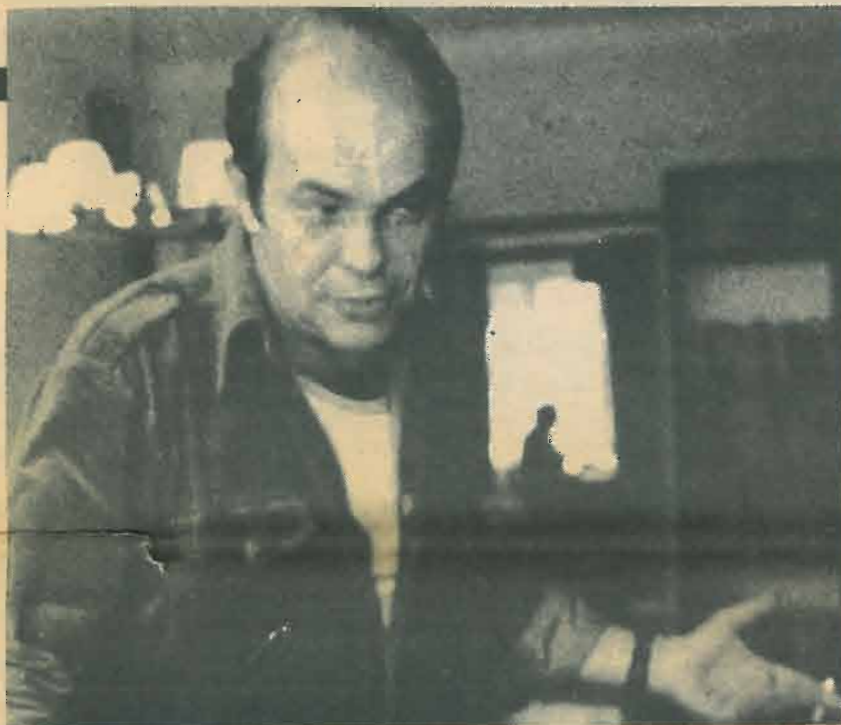
The Polish strikers have immense power. They have behind them hundreds, if not thousands of factories, they have the active sympathy of the country's peasants and intellectuals—even the Kremlin is wary about moving its mighty forces against them. It knows there is similar discontent and miserable living standards in Russia's own factories.

POWER

Gierek is trying to undermine their strength with concessions that do not touch the real power of the Polish state.

In this he has begun to enjoy the support of the country's powerful Catholic church, which, while claiming to sympathize with the workers, claimed that the strikes are counter-productive.

We must hope that Poland's workers continue to reject such maneuvers.



Jacek Kuron: a voice of opposition

Until the last few weeks the name of Jacek Kuron was little known in the United States, outside the ranks of revolutionaries and those who had a specialized interest in Eastern Europe.

But now his face is almost a nightly feature on our television screens. He has quite rightly been highlighted by the media in events of ominous importance.

For Kuron is the best known representative of KOR (Workers Defense Committee) which has systematically spread information about the current strike wave, both in Poland and to the outside world.

KOR was set up by Kuron and other dissident intellectuals in September, 1976, to campaign against the wave of repression and victimization that followed in the wake of the strikes that summer.

Despite constant harassment, including periodic arrests of its members and the smashing up of Kuron's apartment, it has continued to lead a semi-open existence. Although it probably only has a few hundred members it rapidly became the most important focus for workers' opposition in Poland.

Its paper, *Robotnik*,

meaning "Worker", with a circulation of tense thousands, is the most widely distributed clandestine publication in Eastern Europe. Strikers have eagerly sought advice and information from KOR members.

Kuron's oppositional activities goes back way before KOR—right back in fact to 1956. He was twice endured long prison sentences for his activity—three years imposed in 1965, and another three years after a brief period of liberty in 1968.

But it is not just as a dedicated and heroic activist for workers' rights that Kuron has deserved fame.

AUTHOR

It is also as the co-author of the remarkable "Open Letter" to the party which he wrote together with Karol Modzelewski in 1964.

The "Open Letter" couples a sophisticated and devastating analysis of Poland's society with a program of workers' revolution.

"The central political bureaucracy is a ruling class," wrote Kuron and Modzelewski. "It has at its exclusive command the basic means of production. It buys the labor of the

working class. It takes away from the working class by force and economic coercion, the surplus product and uses it for purposes that are alien and hostile to the worker, in order to strengthen and expand its rule over production and society."

DYNAMIC

They analyze the dynamic of this system of class rule and conclude: "Production relations based on bureaucratic ownership have become chains hampering the country's productive forces. With every day this continues the crisis deepens.

"Therefore, the solution to the economic crisis requires the overthrow of these productive relations and the elimination of the class rule of the bureaucracy. And the revolution which will overthrow the bureaucratic system will be a proletarian revolution."

This workers' revolution in Poland they saw as a necessary part of the international revolutionary movement—not only in Eastern Europe, but in the West and in the Third World.

It would establish a socialist democracy based on workers' councils and an armed working class, not a

parliamentary system where the working class—the whole of society—on the strength of their own vote are deprived of influence on the centers of power.

Today, Kuron no longer holds many of these views.

In 1964, in the "Open Letter," he devotes a whole chapter arguing against the view that revolution in Poland was impossible and would lead to Russian invasion.

But last year he wrote: "We are threatened with an explosion of popular anger. Such an explosion could easily become a national tragedy. In all probability the struggle would end with an eventual Soviet armed intervention.

"Attempts to smash the system right now, if we are not forced into it, I regard as adventurism."

REFORM

He still supports the need for workers' self-organization, but this he sees not as overthrowing the bureaucracy, but as gradually reforming it.

As he put it in an article this month, "We must defend ourselves, and bit by bit try to win some of the territory occupied by the system." □

POLAND'S CRISIS AND THE WORLD CRISIS



Chancellor Schmidt and Chairman of the Board Gierk

Magnificent! We are sure all Socialist Worker readers will agree with our feelings about the Polish workers strike.

But when we add that it is a magnificent struggle against capitalism, then we are sure there will be a few raised eyebrows.

Because most people on the left in the United States still believe that the kind of society that exists in Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe is somehow different from the capitalist West.

SOCIALIST

Not that many still believe it is actually socialist—after all it is only too obvious that there is no workers' democracy in Poland—and it is also pretty obvious that the Polish state and economy are controlled by a small privileged bureaucratic group.

Not only are the money incomes of these bureaucrats many times that of the average Polish worker, but the difference is made even greater by the privileged access to housing, luxury goods and so on.

By any common sense of use of the word, this group of top bureaucrats and managers are Poland's ruling class.

But what makes this ruling

class tick? That's where many people on the left start thinking that things in Eastern Europe are different, because, of course, the overwhelming bulk of industry in Poland and its neighbors is owned by the

state.

The economy is supposed to be planned. But, as we are all agreed, it is a small privileged group who control the state and therefore the economy.

And it is the same group

who do the planning—which by the way is generally pretty chaotic.

GOAL

What is the goal of this planning? The needs of the masses of the population? Hardly.

These are always being sacrificed to the needs of the plan, and only get satisfied as a by-product of it or to buy off discontent.

Is it simple desire of the rulers to line their own pockets? Well, of course, that is never far from their minds, but the desire to line your own

pockets doesn't necessarily lead to building steel mills or auto factories.

No, a ruling class only does that when it is forced to do so. What forces the Polish bureaucracy is the same thing that forces the huge capitalist monopolies of the West—the fact that they live in a world economy in which you accumulate or go under.

At first that necessity was imposed on the rulers of Eastern Europe mainly by military competition.

Now, increasingly, it is through direct economic competition.

And it is that necessity which makes the ruling classes of Eastern Europe capitalist, no more different than the managers of General Motors, than they are different from the 19th century mill owner.

And their plans for their own national economies are subordinated to the imperatives of the world economy, just as much as are the plans General Motors.

But along with capitalism goes crisis. The ups and downs of the Polish economy are being increasingly geared to the world economy.

WORLD

The crisis in Poland today is not something that's happening out there in the Eastern Bloc. It's the crisis of a capitalist regime in the face of a world recession.

That makes the magnificent strikes in Poland doubly relevant for us. □

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

CARTER STEPS UP PLANS FOR NUCLEAR WAR

"A prolonged, limited nuclear war"—the government is looking forward to it.

Today, the unthinkable is being seriously considered by the Carter administration.

RETARGET

On August 5 Presidential Directive 59 was issued, calling for the retargeting of many of the 11,000 active U.S. nuclear warheads. Aiming now for direct hits on Russian missile bases, the government thinks it possible to launch a nuclear first-strike without a devastating counterattack by Moscow.

But won't there be millions of American victims in any nuclear war? Of course, but the rulers have no intention of being among them. That is where Directive 58 comes in. It calls for the construction of special shelters for top government officials, generals, billionaires and the like.

Along with this goes continued outrageous spending

for arms. Carter fought hard to include the \$34 billion MX missile system in the Democratic Party platform. In fact, both presidential candidates are seeing just how far they can go to top the other in "national defense."

While Reagan babbles about blockading Cuba in response to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, Carter's ill-conceived invasion of Iran is an abysmal failure. Could the insane logic of this system be any clearer?

STRATEGY

Registration and the draft are part of the whole strategy. In response to the madness, we need to build an anti-draft movement that addresses itself to the competition between the imperialist powers.

And we must pose the only real alternative: the socialist transformation of society. □

by GLENN PERUSEK



Prague, 1968

FIGHTING WORDS

"The Polish workers movement for free independent trade unions is of course much bigger than in Russia.

"The Polish workers are undoubtedly the leadership of the Eastern European working class. They are undoubtedly an influence on our workers.

"We have received information of more strikes in Russia."

Vladimir Borisov

leader of the Free Trade Union Movement in Russia

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New trial possible for Gary Tyler

In 1974, 16-year-old Black Gary Tyler was framed for the shooting of a white teenager at an anti-busing demonstration in Destrehan, LA. Two days later the murder weapon, a .45 caliber pistol, was "discovered" on the seat of the bus Tyler was riding.

"LOST"

In 1975 an all-white jury convicted Tyler. Since the conviction, the prosecution's

sole witness has recanted her testimony. Also, the prosecution and police now say they have "lost" the alleged murder weapon.

Now it appears that Tyler may win a new trial. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that the judge's instructions to the jury "unconstitutionally violated the presumption of innocence." The judge, they say, "so infected they trial as to render it

fundamentally unfair."

Next, the district court must prove at a new hearing that Tyler's court appointed attorney's failure to object to the judge's instructions was unintentional.

PROVE

Only if the court fails to prove this will Tyler get a new trial. A date for the hearing has not been set.

BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA BY TONY BOGUES

Miami shocked and bewildered whites who could not understand the depths of rage coming from the Black community. Jesse Jackson described the Miami rebellion "as the most bitter and mean I've ever seen."

Overall damage varies between \$50 and \$100 million. Miami's gross fiscal loss will exceed \$250 million. Three thousand jobs were permanently lost, another three thousand lost temporarily. Over 400 people were injured, many of them seriously. Over 1250 people were arrested, almost all of whom were Black men.

Historically the Miami rebellion has been surpassed in its manifestation of social unrest only by the bloody Chicago race riot of 1919, and perhaps by the Watts and Detroit rebellions of the 60's.

FACADE

Miami's Black community, which is 15% of Dade county's 1.6 million people, was the first to shatter the calm facade which dominated Black political life in the 70's. Few people would have thought Miami would be the first city to blow. Surely, it should have been Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland or New York.

Part of this thinking came from the belief that while northern Florida was a bedrock of racism and conservatism, southern Florida, and in particular Dade county, was liberal—especially because of Miami's heavy Jewish and black population.

But recent developments have broken down the old north/south dichotomy. The civil rights movement which ended legal segregation, the booming tourist business of middle Florida, economic expansion of cities like Tampa and Jacksonville gave the state a more urban composition. Then, the immigration of anti-communist Cubans in the 60's and 70's made Miami more racist and conservative.

MIAMI: "BITTER UNREST"

The economics of racism always worked against Blacks. In the 1973-74 recession the percentage of Black men over age 16 in Miami who worked throughout the year was consistently lower than that of whites. Black unemployment was double that of white. Black women had an unemployment rate twice that of white women. And, Black women in Miami worked in the lower paying and low status jobs.

The income for all Miami Blacks regardless of education fell behind regional and national averages. The Urban League reported that the 1980 median income for Blacks in Liberty City, Overtown and Coconut Grove was \$5,600—scarcely above the federal government poverty index of \$5,500.

FACES

"Black faces used to be all you could see in service jobs at hotels here and on Miami beach," said Sonny Wright, a Black real estate executive. "If you go there now, you can hardly find a Black face." As Cubans moved in, because their skins were lighter, and no doubt because of their anti-communism, they were given

jobs once given to Blacks. In the view of Miami's Urban League Director, T. Willard Fair, "the Black community has made no significant progress in ten years and may even be regressing."

The influx of Cubans also hurt the aspiring Black middle class. According to the Bureau of Census the total receipts for all Dade County Black business in 1977 came to \$94,895,000 or approximately, \$44,200 per business per year. Not an amount to make the Bebe Rebozos of Miami Beach worry about competition.

Compounding the racism in wages and unemployment, came other economic fears. In May 1980, the Miami Times reported that the Federal government was going to slash food stamp allocations. Word of the pending food stamp cut spread quickly through Liberty City, Overtown and other inner city areas. One woman, Helen Varnedoe a resident of Liberty City Housing project was already supporting six children and three grandchildren on only \$347 per month in food stamps. Varnedoe declared that "me and my children will eat our meals in grocery stores before we go hungry because of a lack in food stamps."

Among the demands raised by Miami's Black community are many to ease the economics of racism. They included funds for Black businesses, schools, hospitals, food, medical care and phone services for the elderly; restitution for cars and property damaged by the national guard; a comprehensive jobs program for all Black people over 13 with a minimum living wage of \$15,000 per year; and the hiring of Black contractors to remove

burnt out buildings.

These demands were part of a greater program which included political, social and cultural changes as well as Miami's racist injustice is mirrored in every city and town in the United States. And new forms of resistance and political organizations are forming. As one sister in the struggle said, "Brother, we may lose this battle, but history is on our side."



Flint: the U.A.W. rewrites its history

JOHN ANDERSON ON FLINT'S REAL HISTORY

On July 17, 1980, historic markers were placed at the sites of the 1937 Flint sit-down strikes at Fisher Body plants #1 and 2 and at Chevrolet plant #4. The placing of these markers was initiated by Larry Jones, Bill Benske and other retirees who participated in those historic strikes.

The markers were sponsored by the Michigan Labor History Society, composed of labor bureaucrats, a few retirees loyal to the bureaucracy and a functionary of the Reuther Library at Wayne State University. They put out a brochure with photographs from the strike and copies of the markers placed at the sites.

Speakers at the ceremonies of the strikes were Victor Reuther, a participant in the strikes, Emil Mazey, retired Secretary Treasurer, and Douglas Fraser, president. After the ceremonies they spoke at a mass meeting in UAW Local 659 hall. I am told more than a thousand people attended.

HISTORY

I didn't go to Flint for the ceremonies, but seeing the pictorial brochure and reading the 16 page pamphlet put out for the occasion I wasn't surprised to learn the celebration was used to falsify labor history. The role of Roy and Walter Reuther in the strike was falsified and exaggerated. The roles of Wyndham Mortimer, Bob Travis and Kermit Johnson were given scant publicity.

As chairman of the Fleetwood Fisher Body strike committee in 1937, I attended the conferences in Flint preparing for the strike. I spent several days and nights in Fisher #1 and spoke to the sit-downers in Fisher #2. I was in the caravan that went to Flint from Detroit when Chevy plant #4 was taken. I attended the conference at which the first agreement was ratified.

Being well acquainted with the role of all the principal participants I know the strike was largely the result of the organizing activities of Wyndham Mortimer. It was Mortimer who insisted that GM negotiate on a national basis rather than plant by plant. He represented the UAW with John L. Lewis in national negotiations. He signed the first agreement for the UAW.

Bob Travis played a leading role in organizing the plants prior to the strike. As chairman of the strike committee he coordinated its activities.

When GM attempted to double cross the UAW by recognizing the company union, the Flint Alliance as a bargaining agent, it was Bob Travis who gave the sit-downers the opportunity to vote on whether or not they wanted to evacuate the plants before the UAW had won exclusive bargaining rights.

The strikers decision to remain in the plants until exclusive bargaining rights were won saved the strike from defeat.

NEGATIVE

Walter Reuther's role in the strike was a negative one. He had the sit-downers in Fleetwood and Cadillac evacuate those plants without giving us a vote or explaining how the company had tried to trick the UAW. He opposed the plan outlined by Kermit Johnson for the taking of Chevy plant #4.

Who planned the strategy for taking plant #4 has long been in dispute, but having read Johnson's article in Local 659 Search-



light as given in *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis and having read Genora Johnson's speech to the Radical History Caucus made to their convention in Los Angeles in 1970, I am convinced their version of the taking of the plant is the honest one.

Reuther was not a leader of the Cadillac plant as stated in the official pamphlet. None of us coming from Detroit entered the plant as falsely reported. Having rejected the plan that was to succeed, he wanted the credit for its success.

VICTORY

For the UAW to gain exclusive recognition for the plants on strike was an important victory. The Agreement had some serious shortcomings that have never been corrected. I had the unanimous support of the delegates to the ratification conference in opposing its ratification until Reuther, by misrepresenting what we had won and by making promises he never kept persuaded the delegates to accept the contract.

One of our demands was for a shop steward system. There was no reference to the steward system. The shop committees that were agreed upon were inadequate in number and their time to settle grievances was limited. The shop committee system served the company rather than the workers.

The following quotation from the marker at Fisher #1 does not tell the truth as GM workers know it. "This settlement led to complete unionization of the industry in ensuing years and added stability for the workers and company."

On the first day we returned to work following the strike management began violating the agreement. Supervision refused to call committeemen when workers asked for representation. The company reported there were 400 unauthorized strikes during the first two months of the agreement.

To put an end to these unauthorized strikes and work stoppages GM sent an ultimatum to the union—either end the strikes or

GM would cancel the agreement. Every member of the IEB signed a letter authorizing the company to discipline any worker participating in, advocating or interfering with production in any way. For 43 years the substance of that letter has been carried out by the company and authorized in UAW-GM contracts

SERVES

I have often heard it said by Fleetwood workers: "We don't have a union in Fleetwood." The union is ignored except so far as it serves the interests of management. In most GM plants the UAW is little more than a dues collecting agency.

With its southern strategy, the use of advanced technology, the recessions and depressions, stability for most auto workers is a myth. There are now 16,000 unemployed auto workers in Flint. Officially unemployment is at 25 per cent. Unofficially it is upwards of 40 per cent.

The pamphlet says nothing about the leaders of the strike—Mortimer, Travis, the Johnson's—being radicals—members of the Communist Party, The Socialist Party, the Industrial Workers of the World and the Proletarian Party. The UAW bureaucracy had falsified labor history to cover up their bankrupt policies.

It is regrettable they are able to use people who played a historic role in the sit-down strikes to give credibility to their falsification of this history.

CORRECT

We revolutionary socialists are obliged to reestablish an organization in Flint, Michigan. Only such a party will correct the wrong done in spreading false propaganda regarding the role of the leaders of the 1937 sit-down strike.

Such an organization will not only solve the problems of the workers, it will eventually lead the workers to taking power.

They will remove those markers and replace them with markers telling the true history of the class struggle of 1937 and the years that followed. □

SEXUAL PREFERENCE—NOT IN THE U.S. ARMED FORCES



The Norton Sound Courts-Martial

SAN DIEGO, CA—The armed forces have always been vicious against lesbians and gay men. Recently, three women, whom the Navy described as both lesbians and bi-sexuals were dismissed from Skaggs Island Naval Security Base in California.

Their crime? Their sexual preference. But, like all branches of the service, enforcement is selective.

"If I had to sit down and mark off people who smoked dope on this base and are gay—this includes lots of men, too—you wouldn't have a base," said Carole Schultze, one of the women who is being dismissed.

If you are dismissed from any of the services, you get a less than honorable discharge on your record.

This means it is all but impossible to get a job if your employers asks to see your service record.

Many women, and especially lesbians, join the armed forces because they are promised high paying jobs, and no sexist or homophobic discrimination. They soon meet reality.

In spite of the future problems, Schultze remains defiant and proud of her stand. At first she resisted her discharge, but now, "I'm glad. It's my life and I'll do as I please." □

Graffiti

by PATRICIA GOLDSMITH

Games people play...

Among microcomputer games offered for Christmas by the Avalon Hill Game Co. of Baltimore are "B-1 Nuclear Bomber," "an opportunity to be the pilot of a B-1 bomber on a mission over the Soviet Union," and "Nukewar," "a computer simulation of a nuclear confrontation between two hypothetical countries...very fast-paced and easy to learn, and can be enjoyed equally by game players of all ages." □

Defensive driving...

Charles Ewing, automotive editor of The Washington Star, explaining the virtues of a large car "as a survival vehicle in case of war": "The twenty five gallon tank of a large car...could move a family about 250 miles out of the path of an invading force or the same distance from the ground zero (center) of a nuclear attack.... If there is not enough warning time for a full tank's drive to a relocation site, or if traffic congestion shortens the exodus range, the car roof itself offers some protection from fallout...." □

Capitalist road...

The minimum group rate at Diao Yu Tai, the seventeen room Chinese state guest house where President Nixon stayed in 1972, has risen to \$3,850 a night. Lunch and dinner are extra, at \$32 per meal. □

A new, new, new Nixon...

Karma Construction, the firm that remodeled a kitchen and bathroom for former President Richard M. Nixon in the Federal Office Building in New York, says it painted mandalas and mantras in English, Tibetan and Sanskrit on the sheetrock before covering it with tile. Builder Barry Bryant explained to the Village Voice, "We wanted to give him a good karmic connection, to plant a seed so he can be reborn to help others." □

Suspended for ten days...

When Cleveland Greyhound bus driver, Wayne Thompson, used his CB radio to foil an attempted hijacking and save 32 passengers from possible harm, he may have thought of getting a little praise. Not so.

Greyhound forbids the use of CB's on its buses and suspended Wayne without pay for 10 days. □

ANTI-ABORTIONISTS FAIL TO STOP CLINICS

On August 10, anti-abortionists across the country had vowed to invade over 100 abortion clinics and "rescue" 300 fetuses.

In other words, they planned to intimidate and terrorize women seeking abortions.

Their attempt failed because of the mobilization by pro-abortion groups.

Anti-abortionists didn't dare come into New York City, rather they concentrated their efforts in Long Island. In Baltimore 25 anti-

abortionists showed up at a local clinic only to be met by 35 members of the Baltimore Abortion Rights Committee who followed them, chased them away from the clinics, and helped abortion patients enter the clinics unmo-lested.

In Cleveland, about 75 woman-haters demonstrated at Pre-term clinic carrying their usual repulsive anti-abortion signs.

While their spokesperson gave hypocritical speech defending all

living creatures, their Reagan buttons and bumper stickers gave them away.

Reagan of course is not only anti-abortion, he's for the death penalty, more nuclear arms and power plants, and for war.

ESCORT

The Cleveland Pro-Choice Action Committee organized 35 people to escort women into the clinic, to prevent the women from being hassled and to explain why

such a demonstration was taking place.

Joining PCAC activists were members of the National Lawyers Guild, Women Take Back the Night, the ISO and the Cleveland Abortion Rights Action League.

Demonstrations opposing the anti-abortionists and defending the clinics were held in Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, Iowa City and Los Angeles.

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Aren't people basically selfish?

One of the most common arguments against socialism is that people are too selfish for it to ever work.

Those who argue this way claim that socialists are utopian dreamers—that people are just too greedy to ever work together for the common good.

There seems to be a lot of evidence for this point of view. Many people do behave as if the key thing in life is to get what you can for yourself no matter how many people you have to step on.

Big business certainly

works this way. The Nestle Company promotes the sale of baby formula in underdeveloped countries in spite of evidence that this practice causes the death by starvation of literally thousands of babies per year.

When a particular pesticide, anti-biotic or I.U.D. is found to endanger human life and is then outlawed in this country (and this happens rarely enough), it is simply marketed in India or Mexico instead.

by DEBORAH ROBERTS

Greed: it's human nature

And working people are not immunized to the poison of competition either. In most workplaces there are people who try on a daily basis to ingratiate themselves with the boss at the expense of other workers.

But none of these examples, or others that we see all around us, are the result of some inner, unchangeable human nature. Even with the best will in the world, people are compelled by the structure of capitalism itself to look out for "Number One" first.

Capitalists can only survive if they compete more successfully than other capitalists. This means they have to get as much as possible out of their workers all the time, and look for legal and illegal ways to fool the consumer.

RESOURCES

They must do their utmost to prevent workers from fighting back. All the resources of human ingenuity are employed to turn one worker against another—to inflict the majority of the population with the same blind, vicious spirit of competition that prevails among the rival capitalists at the top.

The outlook would be pretty grim if that were all there is to say. It would be difficult to see how things could change enough for socialism to ever come about.

But even within capitalist society there is another side to human behavior. Capitalism doesn't just force people to compete. It also involves them in working alongside one another on a scale which never existed before in all of history.

In the modern factory, office, school or hospital, hundreds and even thousands of people work together. Without an element of genuine cooperation, without people often doing more than minimum necessary to keep within the rules, the factory system would not work.

This is shown by the way production suffers when workers fight back through a "work-to-rule" action. Even capitalism cannot do without

the cooperation and initiative of working people.

Workers often give such cooperation even when it is against their interests individually and as a class—choosing for example to take a pay cut to help out the firm.

COOPERATION

But at the same time working people show the same spirit of cooperation when they act in their own interests.

Look for example at the Sanderson's strikers in Mississippi, who have been fighting not only the inhuman working conditions at Sanderson's, but the Ku Klux Klan as well—for eighteen months now. They are not only united in common struggle—but they believe they are fighting for future generations as much as for themselves.

This is the most important way in which the present system makes people cooperate—when it drives them to fight back against it.

Fifty years ago industrial sociologists did experiments in electrical factories and what they discovered horrified the big businessmen who were bankrolling the study. Even in completely unorganized factories, workers instinctively cooperated to resist efforts of management to make one worker compete with the other.

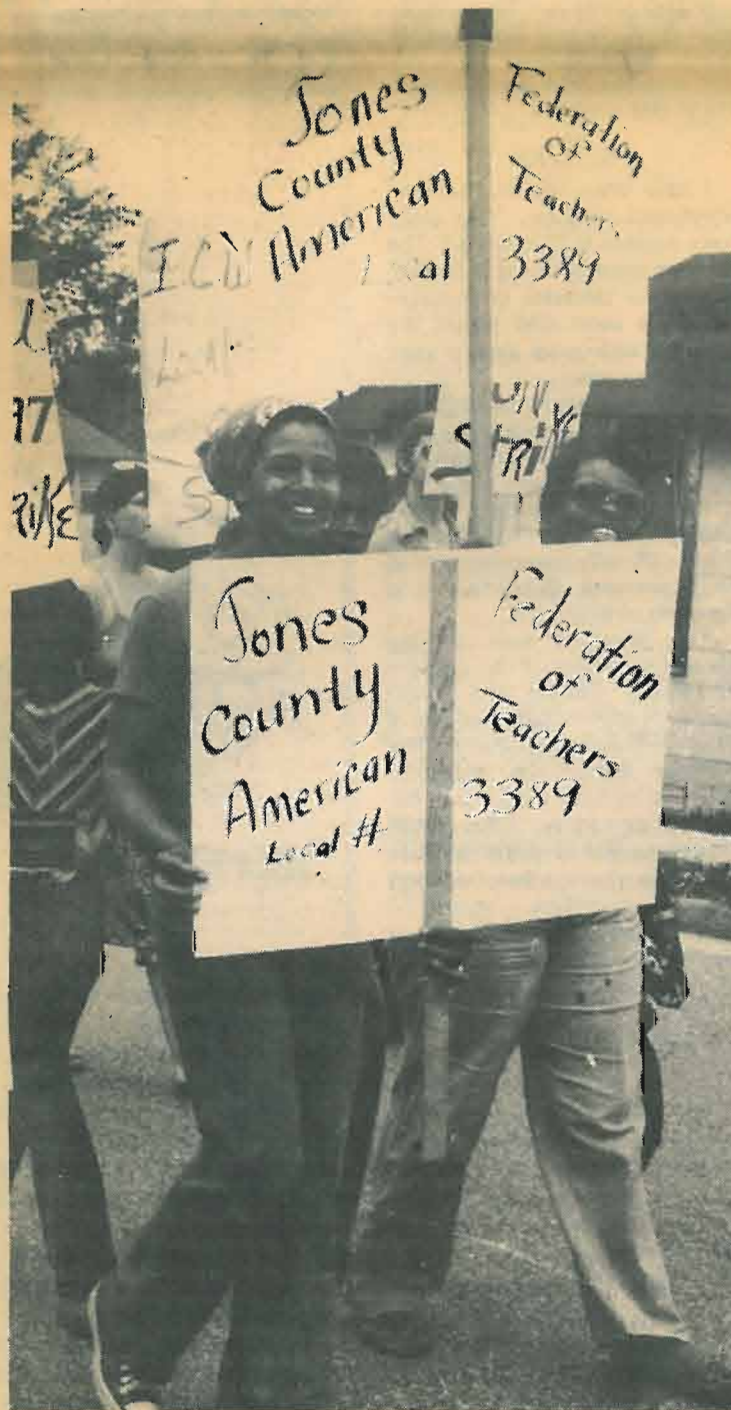
The most important thing to remember about the words "greedy" and "cooperative" is that they mean different things to different people.

The boss wants the worker to cooperate with him and not the other workers. In fact, workers who cooperate with each other instead of the boss are soon labeled "greedy and uncooperative."

MASTER

This situation reminds me of "Alice Through the Looking Glass:" "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less." "The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "who is to be master, that's all." □



Jones County teachers support Sanderson's strikers

WORLD IN STRUGGLE

Iranian workers: the fight is for the future

WORKER'S COUNCILS MUSHROOM

The announcement of the Shah's death has brought hardly any celebration in Iran.

He was already a half-forgotten bogey-man. For most workers he had been dead for one and a half years.

This is an indication that the issues which now dominate Iran are those of the post-revolution. What matters is the future not the past.

The real factors beginning to overshadow events in Iran is the economic collapse now confronting the whole country. The Western economic sanctions have had considerable impact.

TROUBLE

The US sanctions alone have cost Iran an extra \$2.5 billion dollars for imports—equivalent to a price increase of between 20-25 per cent. Along with the recession affecting the world generally Iran's economy is in deep trouble.

Meanwhile foreign businessmen have been able to squeeze the economy even further. Some banks have engaged in sanction busting. It is possible to buy backdated contracts stamped by the Chamber of Commerce with an extra three to five per cent on top as a commission.

All such orders have to be in what Iranians call the "Three In's"—"In cash, In advance, In Zurich."

The effect has been a massive outflow of money from Iran causing a severe cash-flow problem. It is likely that by the end of the year Iran will run out of spare cash.

In an effort to deal with the crisis the Khomeini government halved the recent budget. In the public sector there have been widespread lay-offs and wage reductions.

Meanwhile large sections of private industry are falling apart. The government owned steel industry has been forced to import finished and semi-finished steel due to the collapse of its own plants.

RESPONSE

Not surprisingly the impact of months of recession has forced up the unemployment rate to frightening levels. There are now between 2½ to 3 million people out of work. In the urban center a third of the population over the age of 15 are unemployed.

Inflation now hovers between 50-60 per cent.

In response the young Iranian working class has begun to rapidly organize. The struggle in the factories has led to the growth of quite powerful 'workers councils.'

Khomeini's government originally prompted the formation of 'Islamic Workers Councils' in a bid to control events in the mutinous workplaces. Yet they have now taken on a life of their own under the control of rank and file workers.

For example, recently the Islamic Republican Party lost control of the workers council at the gigantic rolling mill in the town of Ahwaz in the province of Kuzhestan.

In an effort to weaken its influence they set up an Islamic Association consisting of 12-20 people who acted as informers within the plant. Yet three weeks ago two members of the IA were expelled from the factory when it was proved that they had been former members of the old secret police, SAVAK.

A few days later they ejected Ayatollah Jannati, Head of the Revolutionary Court who attempted to intervene. In the past in Iran it was enough to bring in a mullah to quell a dispute. That powerful influence is now being slowly eroded.

EXAMPLE

In the same province lies the sprawling oil industry in which the government has also lost control over the 'Islamic' workers councils. Two days after a national meeting of 1,000 oil workers delegates, the Revolutionary Court ruled that the councils must be disbanded. Yet they have been unable to make their order effective.

In all major oil, steel and petro-chemical plants workers councils have mushroomed. Representatives are elected from each section of the plant—usually for a period of six months—at mass meetings.

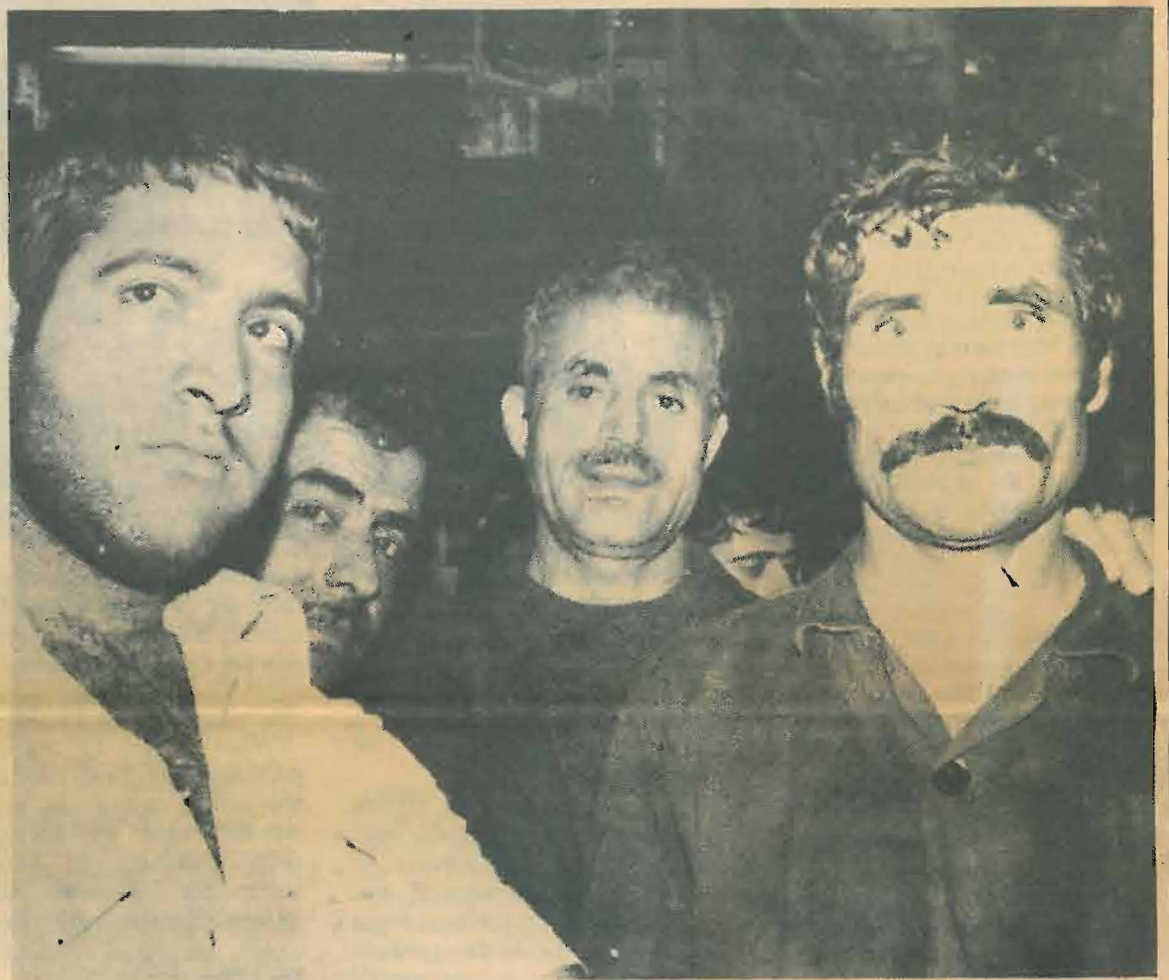
Even in less industrialized parts of Iran workers have begun to develop council organization.

In the town of Qasvii, just outside Tehran, there is an industrial park with about 100 small factories employing between 50-100 workers.

Recently the 40-odd workers councils came together to form an area coordinating council that spans the workshops and gives them an important and strong negotiating power.

The one area that Khomeini has been more successful in cracking down on has been amongst government workers—particularly women. A few weeks ago the women cleaners on the night shift at

Shirin Rani, an Iranian revolutionary, talks to Socialist Worker about the development of workers' councils in Iran



Tehran steelworkers

Tehran railway station were sacked so as to drive them back into the home.

SCHOOLS

More significant was the government's recent decision to close the schools between 12am-2pm, meaning that the children have to go home for lunch. This has been an important way of sifting women out of government offices.

The government has had less success among private sector workers where council organization is much more widespread.

Within the large plants in particular, disputes are endemic and continuous. The fundamental conflict is over who should take the decisions—the workers councils or the management.

For example, in the recent emergency budget two months ago it was announced that the workers allowances that topped up their monthly wage packets were to be reduced.

Among the waterworkers in Tehran it was suddenly discovered that wages had been almost halved. In response, 2,000 workers occupied the headquarters of the Water-

board in the middle of the night.

As dawn broke some 7,000 waterworkers were out on strike. When an irate manager was so bold as to enter the occupied building, he was beaten up and held hostage for three days.

Recognizing that nobody has any power in Iran except those people at the top, the waterworkers refused to negotiate with the local authorities and demanded to see the president himself. They successfully won all of their demands.

FORM

The last eighteen months has been a period in which Iranian workers have gone through numerous struggles. And so far the Islamic state has been incapable of pulling in the reins or inflicting a serious defeat.

The major problem is that the rise in working class activity has yet to be translated into an organized political form. There is a gigantic political vacuum as the guerilla groups and the fringe left groups struggle in their attempts to relate to the only force capable of destroying the regime. □

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS IN CHINA

Shuai Xiu Rong gave birth to a son in the Chegndu province of China. However, Shuai had committed a crime and will be fined \$200. Her son will be denied grain rations for many years.

Shuai was already the mother of a 4 year old girl. She wanted another child. She had to apply for permission to the local Communist Party to get pregnant.

They refused her request, but Shuai went ahead. She got pregnant and defied the Communist Party's demand that she have an abortion.

The Chinese government is embarking on such a repressive program against women, because it believes, like all other capitalist governments, that the cause of starvation is overpopulation, not unequal distribution of wealth.

"Married couples must stand in line," said one brigade leader, Fu Shao Rong, "and we consider who should have babies." Preference is given to older couples. "If women get pregnant outside of our plan, they must have an abortion."

THE RECORD

1956

Workers from the giant Zisto factory strike and march through Poznan demanding lower prices and higher wages.

Within hours the whole of the city is on the streets raising slogans like "Down with false Communism."

Police stations are taken over, but the uprising is crushed in bloody fighting. However the bureaucracy is shaken and a reformer called Gomulka is brought into leadership.

The Russians try and prevent this, but Gomulka threatens armed resistance and with the armed uprising in Hungary to deal with the Russians back down and confirm Gomulka as party secretary.

Despite a brief wave of liberalization, Gomulka gradually builds up a block opposing further changes including the Catholic Church.

After several months of being very cautious in dealing with strikes by the summer of 1957 he is complaining that security forces are not being hard enough in dealing with them.

By the autumn he is closing down the newspapers allowed during liberalization. By 1958 police repression is in full swing.



1968

Student demonstrators joined by young workers, but crushed by police repression in a wave of officially sponsored anti-semitism.

1970

Food prices put up twenty percent. Strikes and rioting in Gdansk and other Baltic towns.

Police machine gun strikers but the strikes continue.

Gierek ousts Gomulka and announces a two year freeze on food prices. Strikes still continue especially in the Szczecin shipyards. Gierek addresses the workers' delegates there and by a mixture of threats and promises gets them back to work.

Over the next few months victimizations follow.

Nevertheless, one month later a strike of textile workers in Lodz forces Gierek to rescind the December price increases.

1976

Again food price increases. Workers in the huge Ursus factory strike. They block the railway lines to Warsaw.

Strikes and riots threaten the rest of the country. Food price rises again rescinded.

POLAND: ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

Poland's workers have thrown up the biggest challenge to that country's rulers for years. The same workers who were instrumental in bringing down that country's last government—that of Gomulka in 1970.

After six weeks of strikes over economic demands from one end of the country to another, the movement was provided with a national focus in the huge Lenin shipyards in Gdansk.

That city was paralyzed by general strikes coordinated by a joint strike committee covering 21 factories. By Monday,

August 18, 100 delegates from factories in other parts of the country had sent delegates to join the Gdansk committee.

BIGGEST

What began as scattered protests over food shortages and rising prices has grown into the biggest workers action seen anywhere in Europe since the general strike against General De Gaulle which paralyzed France in May 1968.

Poland's ruler, Gierek, has immense apparent power. He has a large security force with guns and armored cars. He

has network of secret police that has often in the past made people afraid to express their real feelings—to even their closest friends. His prisons have swallowed up many opponents of his regime. Others including leaders of previous strikes have felt compelled to flee to exile.

Behind Gierek's own forces stand those of the second most powerful state in the world—the Russian army which battered Budapest in 1956, which silence Prague in 1968, which is currently ravaging Afghanistan.

Yet when he spoke on public

television Gierek could little more than plead workers to return to work, and, in a familiar tone, "sacrifices" in the national interest.

As we go to press it is early to tell whether Gierek will be successful in attempts to split the worker movement—buying off sections and threatening others with Russian intervention.

Polish workers are deeply skeptical of the promises of their rulers. They heard the same talk in 1956 and in

POLAND, INC: WILL THE WESTERN BANKS LET IT GO

The press in the West is speculating a lot about reaction in the Kremlin to the Polish strikes.

They are quite right in arguing that the Polish workers are sending shivers down Breshnev's spine.

The reaction of the rulers in the West is less publicized, but it is extremely revealing.

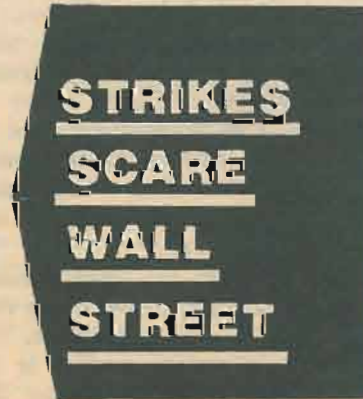
For Poland is massively in debt to Western bankers. At the end of 1979 its hard currency debt totalled \$16 billion.

Simply to pay off this year's installment with interest—what the economists call servicing the debt—would take seventy percent of all the hard currency earnings from exports which Poland is likely to make in 1980.

That doesn't leave much room for imports.

That is the one big reason why the Polish government is trying to cut the consumption of Polish workers—for instance by raising meat prices, the action which prompted the strike wave.

But the Polish government is also trying to borrow even more



money from Western banks just to service the already existing debts.

Its target is another \$6 billion a year.

It looks like Poland is getting it. Last week a consortium of West German banks put up \$370 million.

This, it was reported, "is particularly satisfying to Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany who is supposed to have a particularly high regard for Gierek, the Polish party leader.

The Germans are not the only western politicians and bankers with such a high regard.

The prestigious Financial Times of London is very open about it. In a remarkably frank editorial, the Times said: "In deciding his attitude to Poland, the prudent banker must take into account the consequences, possibly disastrous, of not bailing out the Poles.

"PRUDENT"

"Having to reschedule their debts would be the least of the evils that might ensue. The prudent banker would also take into account the determination of Gierek to put his own house in order.

"The determination of the authorities can be measured by their refusal to cancel price increases decreed last month.

"But whatever may be required in the short run one cannot go on lending hard currency unless it can eventually be repaid in hard currency."

It is just the same language

they would use if they were talking about Chrysler. Poland, Inc., in the eyes of Western bankers, is too important a company to be allowed to go bust in a whirlwind of world recession.

That is why they are prepared to bail it out but only if manager Gierek will screw the labor force by cutting wages, consumption and increasing productivity.

Now, as the Wall Street Journal, Chancellor Schmidt and Western bankers know pretty well, there is only one way Gierek can end up putting his house in order and that is by repression.

That is how he solved the problem in 1970-71.

MEANS

He who wills the end will mean.

Remember they urged the man of the Board, Gierek, you hear western politicians, the press shedding crocodile tears over freedom in Eastern Europe.





HOW THE WORKERS SPREAD THE STRIKE

The strike at Gdansk comes at the high point of a strike wave throughout Poland. Prompted by rising meat prices at the beginning of July—the same thing which triggered the strikes in 1970 and 1976—strikes for higher wages swept to virtually every industrial city in Poland in the last two months.

ESTIMATES

One report estimated over 800 separate strikes, and many of these have involved very large groups of workers. 16,000 in a helicopter factory in one town, the whole of the Warsaw bus and tram system, a general strike in Lublin, and so on.

At first the government left local managers to negotiate with the strikers and it was only in the sixth week of the strike that there was any report of repression against strike leaders. And that was a single case of a Warsaw garbage collector, detained for a few hours. Then the government moved in to arrest the KOR leaders.

In most cases, strikers have won wage increases of between 10 and 20 per cent in a few days and guarantees against victimization.

The strike at the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk started rather differently.

MILITANTS

Apparently young militants in the yard had tried and failed a month before to get a strike over the meat increases.

What eventually prompted the workers to come out was the firing of crane driver Anna Walentonowicz, a veteran militant in the yard, who was a member of the Committee of Free Trade Unions.

Her reinstatement was won on the first day of the strike.

Another rapidly won demand was the erection of a

memorial to those who were killed by the security forces in 1970.

The traditions of 1970 are living ones in Gdansk.

The leader of the present strike committee, Lech Walzsa in the Lenin yards, was a member of the strike committee in 1970.

Every year since 1976 there has been some sort of strike or demonstration around the yard to commemorate the events of 1970, and the area seems to have been the main center of ongoing organization for free trade unions.

DISBAND

Among their demands have been the disbandment of the official stooge trade unions, and their replacement by organizations elected and controlled by the workers, the end of censorship, parity of family allowances with the privileged police.

On wages the shipyard workers demanded, and rapidly won, increases of 12% approximately.

But by that time the strike had spread beyond the yards throughout Gdansk.

It was this that prompted occupying workers to immediately overturn their strike committee's recommendation to return to work and to stay out along with the other Gdansk workers, many of whom have not won wage increases.

Not only can committee decisions be overturned but the negotiations have been broadcast on a speaker system to the occupying strikers.

REPRESENTATIVES

After the overturn, a committee was formed including not only the Lenin shipyard workers, but representatives from at least 20 other plants covering a majority of 60,000 workers. □

and lived to see the return of falling living standards and crude repression.

The refusal of the shipyard workers to return to work two weekends ago, even after the strike committee recommended such a course of action, shows how deep their skepticism runs.

DEMANDS

Instead the workers moved on from making economic demands to raising other political issues—the right to form their own independent trade unions, the freeing of political prisoners, the ending of special shops for those with bureaucratic connections or wealth.

But none of this means that the Polish regime is bound to be destroyed. It takes a huge mental leap for any group of workers to pass through fighting for economic demands to understanding that they themselves can run society in its entirety. Such understanding comes usually at the end of bitter mass struggles and betrayals, not at the beginning.

The minds of many Polish workers are still befogged by the false ideologies preached by rulers—east and west.

For instance, the fact that the Pope's picture was hung from the walls of the occupied shipyards shows that many, probably most, workers still believe the church leaders to be on their side. Yet in the past the church has shown itself only too willing to offer support for the regime in return for privileges for itself.

In 1957 it went so far as to urge workers to vote for Gomulka's nominees in the relatively free elections of that year.

Again, the flying of the

Polish flag over the occupied factories shows how powerful nationalism is as a factor in workers minds. Nationalism is perhaps natural given the memory that workers have of domination by Germany and domination by Russia. But it has also been encouraged by some of the most vicious bureaucratic sections of the regime, as a way of getting workers to see all Poles—exploiters and exploited alike—as having a common interest. The nationalism today has the paradoxical effect of encouraging workers not to go "too far" for fear of Russian intervention.

It makes it difficult for them to understand that there are workers throughout Eastern Europe—in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and above all in Russia. Russian factories in Togliattigrad, Gorki and Parma River—themselves recently on strike—that face the same problems as the Polish workers.

POWER

There does not yet seem to be any dissident group that cuts right through these confusions, by insisting that workers must take power into their own hands for a social revolution. Instead the most known dissident group, the KOR, with its workers paper *Robotnik* (The Worker) urges a mere reform of the existing system.

The regime's room for manoeuvre is much less than in the past because of the economic crisis east and west. But it will try to play on the confusions of workers with nationalist talk, deals with the church, offers to allow selected workers on management committees—by opening the

taps of reform today in order to shut it all the more effectively later.

In all this it will be backed by the western states. The Russian bank loans keep Gierek afloat. Nor can it be ruled out that Brezhnev will, out of desperation, move his troops to crush the movement—despite the fact that this could destabilize the empire even more.

Yet even if many of the strikers do not fully realize it, they have already thrown one thing into clear relief—there is a power that can tear apart Poland's oppressive and exploitative regime. Workers' self-organization can turn the factories where exploitation takes place into citadels directed against exploitation.

SOLIDARITY

It is the duty of socialists and trade unionists everywhere to show solidarity with that power—against Gierek's manoeuvres, against the price rises he is imposing for the western bankers, and if necessary against the Kremlin's troops. □



Workers meet the bureaucrats

Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe

For twenty years the workers in Eastern Europe have fought, fallen back, and fought again - for food and workers' power. Their victory would shatter the oppressive regimes they live under and ignite revolution in Russia itself.

Chris Harman

Pluto Press

First published in 1974. 296 pp. Deals with the tumultuous events in Eastern Europe since the Second World War. Available from Hera Press, PO Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118. \$5.95.

SEXISM AND FASCISM

Dear Socialist Worker,
Christina Bergmark in her review of Colin Spark's book, *Never Again*, rightly asserts that fascism cannot be beaten "without a movement that reaches out beyond the confines of the organized left."
What both she and Colin Sparks neglect is a key

component of fascism. They rightly point to the central role of racism but do not discuss the important relationship between the growth of the far right and fascist movements and attacks, both ideological and physical, against women and gays.
In this country, any fascist

movement will make as a cornerstone of its politics opposition to the demands and issues raised by the women's movement.

Already we see the strong links between the far right and the anti-abortionists. What these right wingers seem to fear is any expression of

sexuality and independence on the part of women and gays.

They want a return to the most rigid and confining family structures.

Kent Worcester
Boston, MA

Letters

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

"NATURAL DISASTERS"

Dear Socialist Worker,
Lately we've been hearing a lot about the so-called natural disasters. There's been the drought in the southwest which killed over 2,000 people, the hurricane that ripped through Jamaica and Haiti before reaching Texas, the massive famine that is now beginning in northern Africa, and so on.

According to Walter Cronkite's nightly news, these are caused by accidents of nature. But that's a lie. Just as the economy's death rate goes up, as unemployment goes up, and comes down a bit when people go back to work, the number of lives lost in so-called natural disasters also increases as the economy goes into crisis. There is no such thing as a natural disaster.

Why? Well, it's pretty easy if you think about it, but obviously too hard for Walter Cronkite. In a crisis, workers are more vulnerable to extreme natural events, so more get killed. People don't have jobs, so they can't afford air conditioning, utility bills or medical bills, so they die of the heat.
But what Walter Cronkite doesn't understand is being quite easily discovered by the Guatemalan workers and peasants. In 1976 they had an earthquake, but after seeing who got the relief aid and who didn't, they stopped calling it an earthquake and started calling it a "class quake."

Phil O'Keefe
Worcester, MA

THE SPARK THAT LIT ORLANDO

Dear Socialist Worker,
The spark that lit the rebellion in Orlando went largely unreported in the press.

So did the fact that the policeman, Jack Frost, who started the trouble, was cleared of charges of brutality, according to Robert Eagan, Florida's State Attorney.

There were conflicting accounts of the incident, but the Blacks who were present agreed that the three nights of fighting began when Frost, after assaulting a Black woman—allegedly on suspicion of robbery—took a Black man hostage, held a gun to his temple, and used him as a shield in the face of an angry crowd of onlookers.

Sandra Williams
Miami, FL.

DIRECT ACTION NEEDED

Dear Socialist Worker,
I've just read the article in your August issue about the police murder of a 14-year-old Black youth in Boston.

This was the first I'd heard about this case, but I wasn't surprised.

Police attacks against Blacks seem to be on the rise all over the country. Blacks have always suffered at the hands of the police. It's one way the man keeps them down.

So, it's not a coincidence that this summer—when Black people across the nation are once again more militantly pushing their demands for jobs, justice and equality—the cops are more vicious in their repression.

In Cincinnati last year, it was the cops in action shooting down Blacks. This year it is cops inaction that keeps the sniper deaths of two young Black men unsolved. In 1979, the Cincinnati cops killed several Blacks without just cause within just a couple of months.

A mass grass roots cam-

paigned of marches downtown and demonstrations at City Council meetings, have made the cops more cautious about shooting Black people.

Only this method—direct action by a mass movement of the people—can slow down police terror.

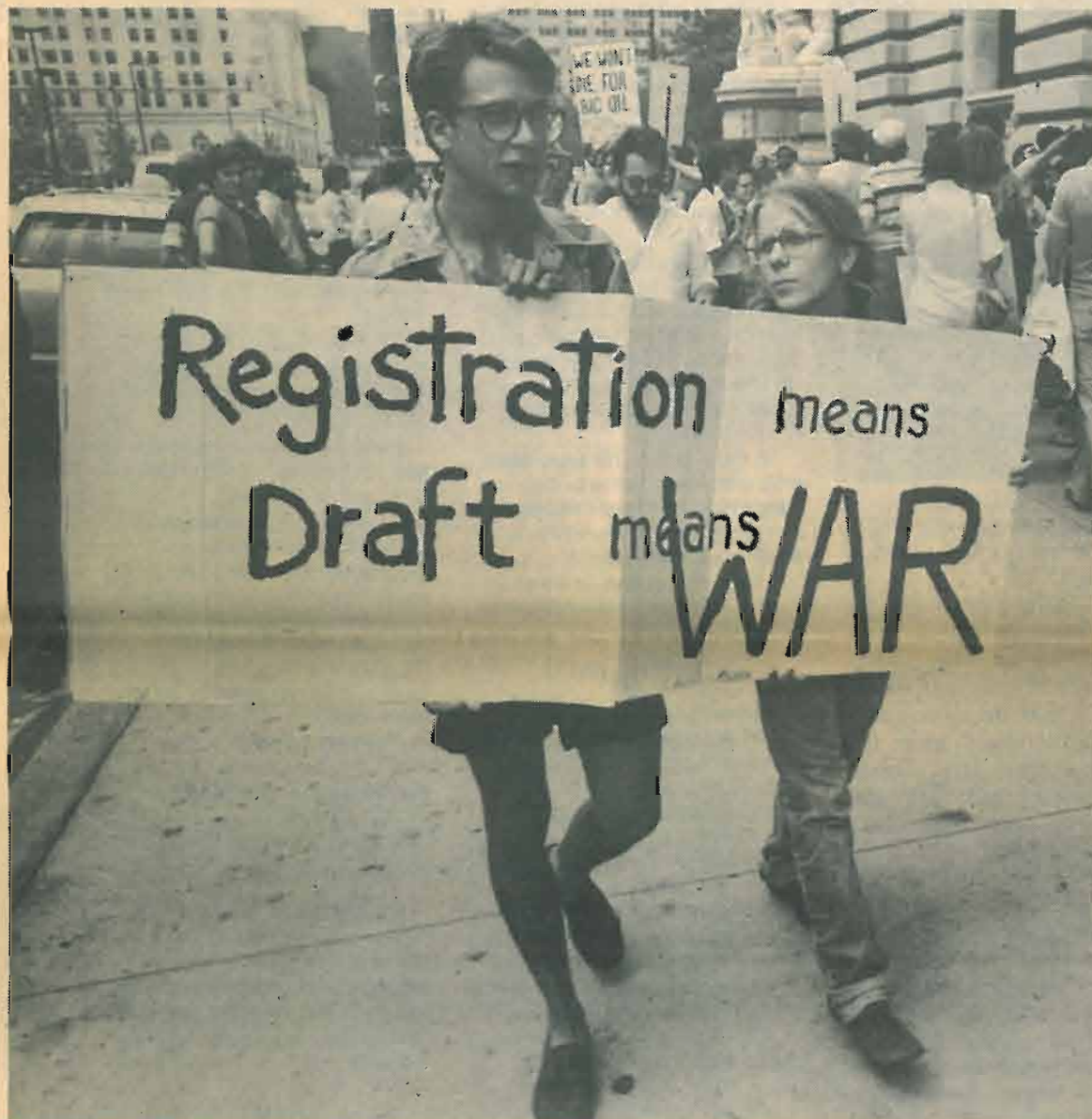
This is only a partial solution, of course. As long as there is a need for the racist repression of Blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities, there will be cop terror.

Capitalism uses racism to divide working people along racial lines. It uses Blacks and other minorities as an army of unemployed workers to threaten labor unions.

When Blacks do work, they get paid less. Racism—racist repression is one of the ways that capitalism keeps itself going.

To destroy racism and end cop terror is to destroy capitalism.

John Mason
Cincinnati, OH



The time to organize . . .

Dear Socialist Worker,
The resumption of the draft is clearly only a matter of time, as the crisis of U.S. world hegemony continues to deepen.

The government, blessed by the smokescreen of the so-called presidential elections, is introducing the mechanisms for the draft in small doses that they hope will be easily swallowed.

The time periods that will apparently occur between registration, physicals, classification and induction are planned in such a way as to lullaby us from one innocuous stage to the next.

Thus it becomes important for socialists and militants to consistently struggle against the draft. While the government's tactics appear transparent enough to the conscious, they are not aimed at us but the rest of the country.

During registration in Bloomington, we managed to stage a continuous picket line.

We had several mass pickets and a mill-in which consisted of crowding people into the room set aside for registration and staying there for an hour.

We convinced many people to register under protest and turned several away.

We also found that quite a few young "red necks" were also "red." So are older ones—a Vietnam vet who lost part of a leg in a helicopter crash, walked to join the picket line from Ellettsville, twelve miles away.

Our experience yields itself to two important generalizations, aside from the fact that most people who registered didn't want to.

First, most people squarely laid the blame for registration at the feet of the oil companies. Not only is the resistance movement more political, anti-racist and anti-imperialist, but so are the people who are frightened by the idea of being cannon fodder for the u.s.

Army.
Second, because the government is introducing the draft piece by piece, they appear reluctant to create a big stink by trying demonstrators that are arrested.

Five people here blocked the only door for half an hour and were only charged with disorderly conduct—and then even those charges were dropped.

Finally, though the government still argues that there will be no draft, the rates of registration have been very low. Officially in Bloomington only 70% registered. In Indianapolis only 65%. Considering the government threats—jail, fines, etc., this is a considerable victory already.

The youth of this country are braver and more conscious than Carter guessed. Now is the time to organize that militancy.

Ed Moor
Bloomington, IN

"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



"We're marching on the Capitol, 300,000 strong"

In May, 1893, the National Cordage Company failed. Only five months earlier it had declared a 100% stock dividend.

A stock market panic followed, and, in months, the United States plunged into a catastrophic depression.

Over 16,000 businesses closed. Hundreds of thousands of workers lost their jobs. One estimate said there were 2,757,000 people without any visible means of support.

Eugene V. Debs, the socialist, denounced the 1893 depression as one in which "... with millions unemployed, the capitalist class, like a devil fish, has grasped working men with its tentacles and is dragging them down to fathomless depths of degradation."

Debs, then just beginning to organize American railroad workers, was so appalled by the poverty that he gave away his best suit and seldom went anywhere without giving away whatever money he had.

RELIEF

Others organized as well. The newly organized American Federation of Labor (AFL) demanded public relief and public sponsored jobs—it also organized mass demonstrations of the unemployed. The demonstrators were met by soldiers and the police.

B.O. Flower, the editor of the radical magazine, *The Arena*, attacked the government and industry for their failure to respond—aside from with the repression—to the crisis: "Millions are spent for armories and for the military instruction of the young, but not one cent is spent to furnish employment to able-bodied

COXEY'S ARMY IN THE DEPRESSION OF '93

working men (and working women, of course! B.W.) in the struggle to escape the terrible alternative of starving or stealing."

Jacob Coxey planned his own protest—a march of thousands of workers on the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

Coxey, a well-to-do businessman from Masillon, Ohio, turned populist, organized a small army of depression victims and set out for Washington on Easter Sunday, 1894, to demand relief action by the federal government.

The "army" advocated the building of public roads and other public works projects as a means of providing jobs. Coxey was ridiculed as a "crackpot," and when he arrived in Washington, he was greeted with derision.

But the idea caught on and tens of thousands marched—converging on Washington from seventeen different points. The president of the Knights of Labor said the march was "likely to create a spirit such as that which John Brown brought to life at Harper's Ferry."

POLICE

The marchers were met by police, who denied them the right to carry banners or hold meetings. In defiance, 10,000 marched through Washington to rally on the Capitol steps. The police attacked the marchers. Coxey and two other leaders were imprisoned for "walking on the White House lawn."

The army made its point.

"Coxey and his tattered demagogic followers," journalist W.T. Stead reported, "are laughable enough no doubt to those who from the stalls of full-fed comfort can only see the ludicrous side of weltering misery; but to the masses who suffer it is not surprising that they should appear in another and much more serious light. For they are sandwichmen of poverty, the peripatetic Advertisers of Social Misery."

The labor movement cheered the march onwards, and protested their treatment by the federal government—which consistently refused to pay any attention to the misery which the "army" protested.

Edward Bellamy, the author of the bestselling book, "Looking Backward," wrote:

"The most significant feature of this industrial situation lies, not in the numbers of the marching bodies—which, of course, are trifling—but in the fact that it is evident that the laboring masses of people, the working classes, are deeply in sympathy with it.

"This has been shown, as of course every newspaper reader knows, by a series of demonstrations on the part of the working men—the poorer classes generally in the great cities, as well as the smaller districts along the side of the march.

"It is also evidenced by the sympathetic attitude of the Knights of Labor, the Federation of Labor, and the Railway Union in the west, and especially in their attempt to assist

the armies by threatening strikes if the latter's demands were refused.

"I have been much impressed by what the working men have said to me personally regarding their sympathy with the movement . . . while I was prepared for a surprise, it was even greater than I expected.

CAUSE

"They evidently think of their cause and believe that these armies are standing for

their interests."

The army, eventually, was disbanded. And while it did not win its immediate demands, it may have won far more.

The brutality and indifference of the government and the employers in the desperate years of the 'nineties turned tens of thousands of ordinary workers into socialists and revolutionaries.

Coxey's army helped begin the process.

"MARCHING ON THE CAPITOL"

*We are marching to the Capitol, three hundred thousand strong,
With live petitions in our boots to urge our cause along,
And when we kick our Congressmen, they'll feel there's something wrong,
As we go marching with Coxey*

CHORUS

*Hurrah! Hurrah! For the unemployed's appeal!
Hurrah! Hurrah! For the marching commonweal!
Drive the lobbies from the Senate,
Stop the trust and combine steal,
For we are marching with Coxey,*

*We are not tramps or vagabonds that's shirking honest toil,
But miners, clerks, skilled artisans, and tillers of the soil,
But forced to beg our brothers worms to give us leave to toil,
While we are marching with Coxey.*



Coxey in prison

WHERE WE STAND



Workers' Control

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

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

Revolution Not Reform

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

A Workers' Government

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

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

Fight Oppression

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

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

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

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

Rank and File Organization

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

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

Internationalism

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

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

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

Revolutionary Party

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

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

Join the International Socialist Organization

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

ISO NEWS

What's ON

Seattle Socialist Education Conference.

Labor Day Weekend in the North Cascades. Three days of speeches, films and recreation.

Call 367-5417 or 324-2302 for details.

BLOOMINGTON

Jack Bielasiak and Milton Fisk on **The Polish General Strike**. September 8, 7:30 pm at Ballantine Hall, University of Indiana.

Steve Jefferys on **Margaret Thatcher Vs. the British Working Class**. October 1. Call 334-2418 or 336-7354 for details.

BOSTON

Ahmed Shawki on **Poland: the Crisis of State Capitalism**. September 14, 7:30 pm at 595 Mass. Ave., Cambridge. Call 661-8765 for details.

Joe Allen and Peter Lowber on **The New Cold War**. September 28, 7:30 pm at 595 Mass. Ave., Cambridge.

ISO Study group on **Women and Revolution**, meets bi-weekly. Call 661-8765 for details.

CHICAGO

Steve Jefferys on **The History of American Socialism**. September 27. Call 769-6233 for details.

All-Ohio Conference Against The KLAN



Saturday, October 11 • 9:30 - 6 p.m. Party 9 - ?
Northend Community Center • 5 W. Northwood Columbus, Ohio
(Located off N. High St., 2 blocks north of Lane Avenue)
\$5 donation; \$2 for unemployed and students

SESSIONS ON:

- The economics of racism
- Rights-wing attacks on women and gays
- The Klan as an anti-labor force
- Tactics for fighting the Klan

CLEVELAND

Matt London on **Politics and Sports**. September 5, 7:30 pm. Call 371-7648 for details.

Steve Jefferys on **The Polish Mass Strike**. September 19, 7:30 pm. Call 371-7648 for details.

DETROIT RED TIDE

Steve Jefferys **The Polish Mass Strike**. September 27, 7:30 pm. Call 868-2932 for details.

YOUNGSTOWN

Steve Jefferys on **The Fight for Workers' Power**. September 21, 7:30 pm. Call 793-4840 for details.



buttons 50¢



Socialist Worker is now available from the Red Tide in Detroit, c/o 48 Elmhurst, 2-w, Highland Park, 48203.

Red Tide is a Detroit based revolutionary socialist organization.

"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 cities:

- Baltimore, MD
- Berkeley, CA
- Bloomington, IN
- Boston, MA
- Charleston, WV
- Chicago, IL
- Cincinnati, OH
- Cleveland, OH
- Dayton, OH
- Detroit, MI
- Fort Wayne, IN
- Indianapolis, IN
- Kent, OH
- Los Angeles, CA
- New York, NY
- New Haven, CT
- Northampton, MA
- Philadelphia, PA
- Providence, RI
- Rochester, NY
- San Diego, CA
- Seattle, WA
- Trenton, NJ
- Washington, DC

ISO National Office, P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118

Ten years ago Jimi Hendrix died a tragic and unnecessary death.

In the last ten years his ascension to legendary status has highlighted some of his legacies, obscured others.

The image of the flamboyant performer who burned the guitars and played them with his teeth eclipsed the fact that he was first and foremost a musician.

He was "discovered" playing devastating guitar in Greenwich Village by a British musician called Chas Chandler, who went on to become his manager.

In 1966 he went to England, where he formed his first and most well known band, The Jimi Hendrix Experience.

FAME

The Experience's concerts were overwhelmingly successful. Hendrix's outrageous stage antics, coupled with exciting guitar playing, astounded his audience.

His fame spread to both sides of the Atlantic after his performance at the Monterey Festival in 1967.

He gained a reputation as a showman but a lot of the music got lost in the shuffle.

His first album, *Are You Experienced*, contained some songs that were definitively raw (*Fire* and *Red House*) are two shining examples) and songs that were unusually sophisticated and inventive.

Third Stone From the Sun contained traces of mainstream jazz the likes of which had never before been heard in rock music. His music was diverse, containing elements of hard rock and roll, Delta Chicago blues, and the jazz of John Coltrane and Ornette Coleman.

He continued to record popular and catchy tunes, but simultaneously developed an approach to music that was experimental and unusual. He was one of the few rock artists to develop a massive following yet also earn the respect of jazz artists, including Gil Evans, Archie Shepp and Miles Davis.

BLUES

His guitar playing was explorative and dynamic. He could play bitter-sweet blues, or make his instrument scream like a banshee.

His rendition of *Star Spangled Banner* is a landmark in any kind of music, a political and artistic reflection of the times, that symbolized the disgust many people felt toward American imperialism and its patriotic overtones during the Vietnam war.

The contrast between that and the quiet blues piece that follows it on the Woodstock album demonstrates the variety of tones and moods he could achieve.

MATT BACKER REMEMBERS

JIMI HENDRIX

Hendrix played the blues with a depth of feeling that only someone who had lived it could convey.

He was Black, as was his music, and it is ironic that his following was, during his lifetime, largely among the white, middle classes.

As journalist John Burks put it, he "took on white rock and roll head on and won." But he was much more than a rock and roll performer.

Despite all of the wild clothes and antics, Hendrix was a reserved and shy person who began to get swallowed by his image and a world which was beyond his control.

"I don't want to be a clown anymore," he said in 1968.

"I don't want to be a rock and roll star."

Fractures developed between the Experience and their management, who wanted Hendrix to keep putting on a show.

In 1969 the Experience broke up and Hendrix retired to upstate New York where he played with a host of musicians ranging from blues guitarists to avant-guard composers.

He was regularly harassed by the police.

SKY-CHURCH

He made a few appearances in 1969, and when he did perform, he was much more subdued. He envisioned forming a larger, more diverse band performing what he called, for want of a better term, "sky-church music."

In one of his last interviews, he stated, "I want a big band . . . a big band full of competent musicians I can conduct and write for. And with the music we will paint pictures of the earth and sky so the listener can be taken somewhere."

But it wasn't to be. Although he had made plans to record with jazz arranger and composer Gil Evans, he died before they could be fulfilled.

His attempts to gain control over his life ended in a series of managerial and legal wrangles which troubled him till the end of his life.

The music business wanted a whacky show and Jimi wanted to be taken seriously. He went to London in September of 1970 to play at the Isle of Wight Festival and to negotiate with his management.

"Say Power To The People And Freedom To The Soul"



On September 18, he took an overdose of sleeping pills and died of inhalation of vomit caused by barbiturate intoxication.

A slew of outlandish theories about his death still abound. A favorite one is suicide. But Hendrix never seemed like a suicidal artist. The most probable cause of his death is tragic in its simplicity.

Hendrix's management problems had prevented him from sleeping well, and he had been negotiating with his management before he died.

PANTHERS

He probably took an exceptionally large dose of sleeping pills in order to get a good night's sleep. Barbituates didn't kill Jimi Hendrix.

Capitalism, a system which turns artists into commodities to be discarded when it has eeked its profits from them, killed Jimi Hendrix.

All because he wanted control of his own life.

He never felt himself to be political, considering politics to be a situation wherein anyone could "go around shaking babies by the hand and kissing the mothers and saying it was groovy."

But shortly before his death he was working with the Black Panthers and trying to set up an anti-ghetto project in Harlem. And his music certainly was political.

In a song called "Straight Ahead" released on the *Cry of Love*, his last album, he says:

*"Have you heard baby,
What the wind is blowing
down,
Have you heard baby,
A whole lot of people are
coming right on down,
Wake up and stand side by
side,
We've got to stand together
and organize,
They say power to the people
and freedom of the soul,
Pass it on, pass it on,
To the young and old."*

That still holds true today.

MARXISM AND BLACK LIBERATION

THREE ESSAYS
BY TONY BOGUES
AND C.L.R. JAMES

Available from Hera Press, PO Box
18037, Cleveland, OH 44118. \$1.50.
Also available, "Black Nationalism
and Socialism", \$1.50.





on the picket line

Church promises extension

CHARLESTON, W.VA.—The contract between the United Mineworkers (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) expires on March 27, 1981, but the UMW may be giving up its tradition of "no contract, no work."

Sam Church, the right-wing president of the UMW, says that he will keep miners on the job with a contract extension, if agreement "seems close" at the deadline.

Talks between the UMW and the BCOA begin in September, and both sides are pledging their determination to avoid a strike.

The Coal Field Defender, an independent paper which attempts to represent rank and file miners, disagrees. The heading of its August, 1980 issue reads, "No contract equals no work!"



Sam Church

TEAMSTERS HIRE RACIST CHICAGO COPS

CHICAGO, IL—Three Chicago police officers celebrated independence day this year in the Chicago police style. They beat up and killed Richard Ramey. Ramey's only crimes were smoking a cigarette on the "L" train, and being Black.

Several weeks later, on July 22, after protest in the Black community, a county grand jury indicted the cops for murder.

However, the cops were not without their supporters. Within a week of the indictment, Teamsters Local 714, which is trying to win a police union representation case

election in Chicago, placed two of the three officers in higher paying jobs at McCormack Place, Chicago's major convention hall.

APPEAL

The Teamsters are even providing lawyers for these and other suspended officers. These moves are clearly designed to appeal to the most racist and reactionary elements in the police department in hopes of winning the election.

There has been strong community reaction to the Teamsters Local's action. A coalition of Black organizations held a demonstration on August 2nd to denounce the officers and the support they have received from Local 714.

It has become a focal point of concern for the Black community.

Protests at the racist action of Local 714 have also arisen among the membership of other Teamster locals. The incidents drew protests from members of one of the bargaining units of Teamster Local 743. A group of stewards are circulating a petition denouncing the actions of Local 714.

That petition has received overwhelming support from the membership and stewards in the units, despite official hesitation and opposition to public criticism of another local. Through this issue several members of the unit, including some stewards, have become more aware of the broader purposes of the union besides workplace issues.

SOLIDARITY

Clay Martin, elected steward of Local 743 said, "The end of police brutality is a major demand of the Black community. The labor movement must take up that demand. Only through solidarity of Black and white workers can we build a strong and effective union."

by BOB GOLDMAN

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

U.A.W.: RETURN CONTROL TO THE MEMBERS

In reporting on the UAW convention earlier this summer in Anaheim, California, the press reported the newly elected officers as having been trained in the Walter Reuther school of philosophy. They praised the retiring officers as having been loyal to the teaching of Reuther. The new leaders were expected to follow in their footsteps.

PROFITS

What was it that Reuther did that so pleased the ruling class? Reuther's policies made possible the highest profits in the history of the auto industry. Reuther accepted wage and fringe benefits in exchange for control of the shop floor. Under Reuther the UAW became a highly bureaucratized union. Dissent was ruthlessly crushed. To the extent they were able the class struggle was suppressed.

Under Reuther's leadership the long term contract became institutionalized in the auto industry. Other unions followed the example of the UAW. This was done in spite of the fact the 1962 national bargaining convention passed a resolution calling for an end to such contracts.

Instead of fighting for a shorter work week, Reuther negotiated for Supplemental Unemployment Benefits. This led to forced overtime and more unemployment.

Instead of practicing the idealism he sometimes espoused, the UAW under Reuther's direction became a corrupt bureaucratic machine with little sensitivity for the needs of the membership. In 1947 when he gained control of the UAW he promised to initiate a move-

ment for a labor party. During the rest of his life he gave his support to every corrupt politician in the Democratic Party.

Not only was there no attempt to have the Taft-Hartley Act repealed, but the Reuther forces used its anti-communism affidavits to destroy the opposition. In the more than 30 years since Reuther gained power, the American labor movement has declined in its political influence.

DECLINE

Its membership has declined in relation to total US employment. As president of the UAW and as vice-president of the AFL-CIO and of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, Reuther bore a heavy responsibility for its failures.

Dissenters were denounced as communists and as disloyal to the union. Neither my Constitutional nor my legal rights were respected when I was suspended from membership in UAW in 1962.

How was Reuther able to maintain his own image and that of the UAW as the best example of progressive and honest unionism free from corruption? With the help of the employers, the press, the Attorney General of the US and the expenditure of millions of dollars on public relations. The opposition was destroyed and the image of Reuther and the UAW polished.

His red-baiting and support of American foreign policy won him support in the government. His attacks on "communism" won him the support of



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

millions of religious people, both Catholic and Protestant. His financial and political support for Israel made Reuther a hero to millions of Jews at home and abroad.

Comparing Reuther and the UAW to the corrupt and bureaucratic control of most AFL-CIO unions and the corrupt leadership of the teamsters, Reuther and the UAW appeared to be a model for all others to follow.

Reutherism in essence is one-man rule. The mediocrities he surrounded himself with would never challenge his decisions. He never hesitated to violate convention decisions or decisions of a national bargaining convention. There being no strong individuals among his heirs, the International Executive Board (IEB) now makes the decisions Reuther once made. The voice of the rank and file has not been heard since Reuther's death. It will not be heard until it is prepared to challenge the decisions of the IEB.

CONTROL

In the crisis of the 1980's the UAW and its leadership will be exposed as a bankrupt bureaucracy. If the problems of the workers are to be solved, control of the union must be returned to the membership. A new leadership must be trained and elected to office.

A personal history by a rank and file worker
THE DEPRESSION OF THE THIRTIES



BY JOHN ANDERSON

Available from Hera Press, PO Box 18037, Cleveland, 44118. 50¢.



A WOMAN JOINS THE TOP LABOR BUREAUCRATS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—With much fanfare, Lane Kirkland, the president of the AFL-CIO, has appointed a woman, Joyce Miller, to sit on the federation's top body, the executive council.

TRADITION

In doing this Kirkland breaks a long-standing tradition in the AFL-CIO—"men only"—at the top anyway. George Meany, Kirkland's predecessor, went so far as to say he didn't care whether or not women joined unions. And even on the "left," social democrat William Winpisinger of the machinists responded to the idea of a woman on the council with a sexist joke.

Still it happened. A victory for women's rights? Not quite.

It's always good to see the "men only" bastions fall, but Joyce Miller, vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, is a singularly bad choice for any position dealing with working women.

She has been a trusted and loyal bureaucrat almost all her adult life, beginning on the staff of the Amalgamated way back in 1952.

She achieved some notice when CLUW was founded, the Coalition of Labor Union Women—but a specific kind of notice.

As an officer of CLUW she did all she could to keep rank and file women workers out. She fought for and won an organization of women bureaucrats.

She used red-baiting and racism. She opposed a resolu-



Kirkland and Miller

tion that CLUW support the striking farmworkers in California.

She refused to allow members of the Brookside Women's Club address the CLUW convention. They wanted support for the Harlan County miner's strike in 1974.

In her own union, she has consistently fought to see that the organizing drives against both Farah and J.P. Stevens are tame, legal, devoid of any attempt to bring the rank and file into action.

Lane Kirkland says that bringing Miller on the board "symbolizes our interest and concern with the problems of women."

CONCERN

Concern? There are no women presidents of international unions in the United States. Women hold less than 5% of all positions in the union bureaucracy.

In 1976, 400,000 women's jobs were lost. But 30% of the AFL-CIO's members are women. Joyce Miller may be a woman. But she is a bureaucrat first. Rank and file women still have a job to do—if women are to be really represented in the labor movement. □

Sweethearts!

This item appeared in the Wall Street Journal, August 15, 1980. The Journal, praising United Parcel Service (UPS), the "Brown Giant," for its growth and profits, says:

"As it fights its cases around the country, UPS has a formidable ally, the Teamsters Union."

About 75,000 of UPS's 112,000 employees are Teamsters, making the company the largest single employer of that union's members.

"In 1978, according to a congressional aide, Teamsters went 'all out' to help UPS defeat a measure that would have allowed the post office to set parcel post rates without regard to cost.

"On the day of the House vote, Teamsters sat in the gallery."

"AGGRESSIVE"

UPS workers will not be surprised, but the Journal, calling UPS "aggressive on a grand scale," also notes that UPS grew to the third most profitable transportation company in 1979, with revenues of nearly \$3.4 billion. □



Labor leaders plan anti-nuke conference

PITTSBURGH, PA—A group of major U.S. labor leaders has called a national labor anti-nuke meeting.

Nine international unions are behind the meeting, a "National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Em-

ployment," to be held in Pittsburgh October 10 to 12.

The featured speakers at the meeting will be Sam Church, president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), and William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

The conference is intended to be a meeting of union members. There is also a plan to invite speakers from the Australian labor movement, where there is a significant labor anti-nuke movement.

Labor support for the anti-nuke movement is very important, and this conference can be a big step forward. But both anti-nuke activists and rank and file workers should be cautious in applauding this meeting.

After all, it's planned for the swank Hilton Hotel here—and its planned by and for top international union bureaucrats. □

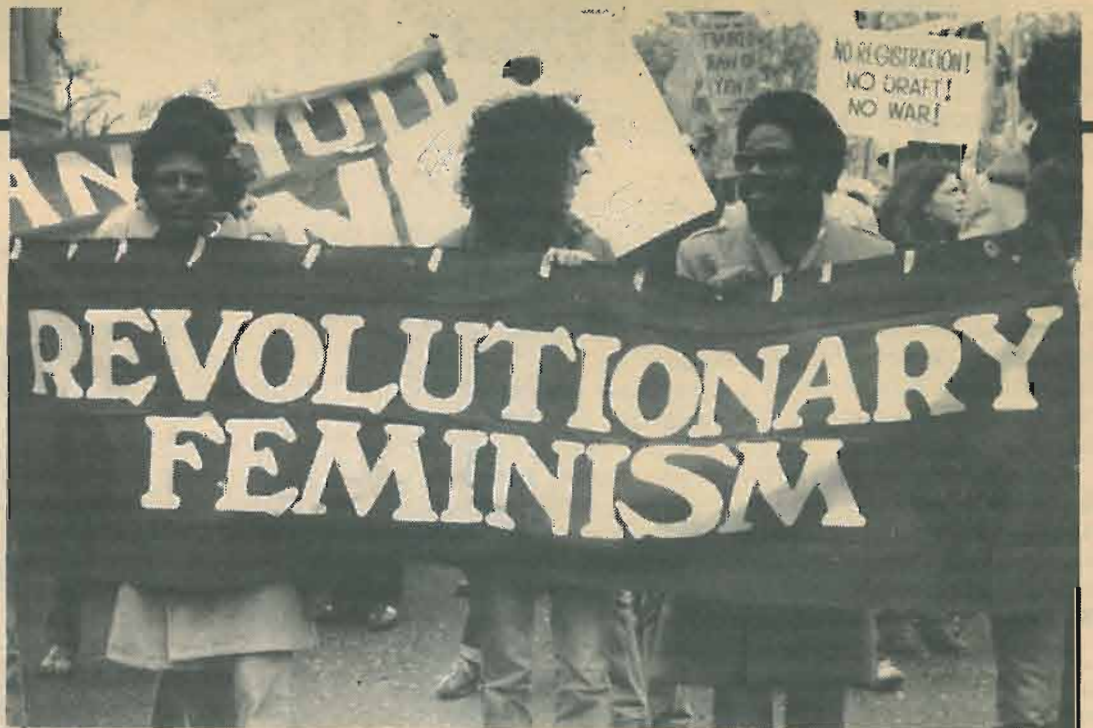
FLOC RALLIES

The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) has called for a mass demonstration and picket line on September 5 in Bowling Green, Ohio.

The rally and picket are being organized to support striking migrant farmworkers in Northwestern Ohio.

The rally on September 5 will follow an Ohio senate subcommittee hearing in Bowling Green on migrant conditions.

All trade unionists and socialists are urged to attend and show their support for the farmworkers. □



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Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

RACISM ON THE RISE

BOSTON, MA—The grand jury in the Levi Hart case has spoken. They claim there is not enough evidence to bring charges against Boston police officer Richard Bourque for the slaying of Levi Hart.

Hart, a fourteen year old Black youth was shot to death by Bourque in July.

Bourque chased Hart on foot, after Hart allegedly left a stolen car, on the night of July 15. Bourque testified that Hart grabbed his gun, and that the gun went off killing Hart.

SKULL

However, Suffolk County medical examiner, George Katsas testified that his autopsy findings showed Hart suffered a fractured skull before he fell to the ground.

A witness testified that he saw Bourque strike Hart. "I don't know what he (Bourque) had in his hand," said Harcourt Lewis, "but something was. Then we saw the gun go off."

According to other testimony, Levi Hart's hair was found on the gun. Tests made on Hart's hands did not reveal any traces of nitrate. But no similar tests were made on Bourque.

In other words, Bourque smashed Hart with his gun before shooting him to death.

Judge Banks, who submitted a report to the grand jury at a closed courtroom inquest, found ample cause to believe that Hart died as a result of "unlawful acts" on the part of Bourque.

So why did the grand jury absolve Bourque? To begin with, grand jurors come from conservative white backgrounds—in this case 15 of the 18 grand jurors were white.

Moreover, the grand jury meets in absolute secrecy with the D.A. controlling its proceedings.

In this case the D.A. was Newman Flanagan.



Fighting back: justice will be done

Flanagan has been the D.A. in Boston's most racist cases during the past several years. This includes the attempted frame-up of Black doctor Edelin for manslaughter in an abortion case. Edelin got off, but not before a huge hysteria was created by Flanagan.

It is also true of the Darryl Williams case. Williams, a Black high school youth, was shot by two white youths while playing football last year. His killers are up for parole this year.

Flanagan also presides over the Willy Sanders case. Sanders is presently being framed by the D.A.'s office for

four separate rapes of white women. He was found not guilty in the first case, but must suffer three more trials.

And last week another Black youth was murdered by two whites.

However, as Miami has shown, there is a point of no return. Blacks, other minorities and anti-racist whites will not permit this system to condone and support racist terror forever.

Levi Hart has not died in vain. His brutal murder is a symbol of the daily racism that pollutes the air in Boston. Justice will be done. □

'WE WILL FIGHT WHERE WE MUST'

DETROIT, MI—Once again progressive forces in the city of Detroit have defeated and thoroughly frustrated Nazi Bill Russell in his attempt to march along with Ku Klux Klan supporters through downtown Detroit.

Admitting he was afraid of being attacked by "Communists", Russell turned down a granted permit to rally in a downtown lot.

Admitting he was afraid of being attacked by "communists," Russell turned down a granted permit to rally in a downtown lot.

Instead, on August 23, community people and progressive organizations, including Red Tide and the ISO, gathered at the site of the proposed fascist rally and marched proudly to Kennedy Square.

The anti-Nazi/Klan march and rally was held not only to warn in Detroit, but also to call attention to the growing wave of Nazi/Klan activity in the Detroit area.

TARGET

On July 8, a crowd of whites encircled the home of Mrs. Colleen Howard, living in Detroit's Brightmoor community, a neighborhood targeted for recruitment by Nazi forces.

The whites demanded the whereabouts of a man suspected of shooting a young white earlier that day.

When some of the whites firebombed the house, Mrs. Howard's son and friends defended their porch with a rifle. The Black men were arrested.

Later that day the whites returned and burned a 6 foot cross on the lawn. The police were forced to arrest 13 whites carrying firebombs.

In the same Brightmoor community a group of 4 whites gathered in front of the home of Mrs. Nancy Hampton one night and began chanting racist slogans. One young white waved a pistol as a neighbor tried to drive them away. Mrs. Hampton reported that her home and family have been subjected to racist attacks in the past.

Again in late July, a mob of whites with guns drove a Black couple from their home in Detroit's east side. During that same week, 2 Black men were stabbed by 4 white men in a store across the river in Windsor, Ontario. One of the racists was wearing a KKK T-shirt.

On August 4, trouble broke out again in the Brightmoor community. A Black man was shot 3 times outside an all-white bar which he frequented. Later that night 24 shots were fired into the man's home by racist whites. Several days after the assault, the FBI arrested 7 men in connection

—BY—
RETHA HILL
RED TIDE

with the shooting and stumbled upon a well-supplied arsenal of guns including a fully-equipped automatic M-16. The guns were obtained in Texas by KKK members.

Not wishing to be outdone by racist street punks, the Republican Party has nominated an open Nazi and white supremacist, Gerald Carlson, from Michigan's 15th District Congressional seat. The District includes Detroit's west and southwestern suburbs.

Carlson ran on a campaign condemning affirmative action, restricting unions and blaming Blacks for inflation.

TESTIMONY

The fact that organized racists are on the move again in the majority Black and majority working class city of Detroit gives testimony to the worsening economic conditions in the ex-motor capital of the world.

As the deepening depression continues to engulf the city, like a sinister and eerie fog, it turns its victims against each other. Young whites, confused and frustrated with their own prospects for a future, fall easy prey to organized racist groups like the Klan and the Nazis.

They are told by these fascist groups that Blacks are responsible for their torn and inadequate lives. They are told that "Communist Jews" are conspiring against America, forcing this country into ruin and bankruptcy. The solution, as one Nazi leaflet read, is the white revolution. "The future belongs to the few of us still willing to get our hands dirty."

It is the duty of socialist groups and all progressive forces to compete for the hearts and minds of these young whites and attempt to unite them with all sections of the oppressed class in fighting racism.

RIGHTS

But until that happens socialists must defend the rights of Blacks to live where we choose, and walk where we want to and fight where we must. □

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