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The Struggle In Ireland see page 7

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Two million gallons of radioactive water dumped into Rio Puerco River

THE BIGGEST SPILL EVER

By STEVE LEIGH

The largest spill of radioactive wastes in U.S. history occurred July 16, in Gallup, New Mexico.

A dam at United Nuclear Corporation's Church Rock Mill broke, dumping 200 million gallons of radioactive water and 1,100 tons of uranium tailings into the Rio Puerco river.

HOT

The nearly dry river bed carried the "hot" water over 20 miles through New Mexico into Arizona leaving standing pools within reach of people, cattle, and sheep all along the way.

The water had an alpha count of 100,000 pico curies per liter. Government standards say anything above 15 per liter is hazardous.

Government and corporate officials declared that "there is no immediate health hazard." But they also advised residents not to drink from the river, touch it in any way, or let their livestock drink from it.

Most of the residents of the area get their water from wells near the river and state officials are not yet sure if the wells will be affected. As a precaution, United Nuclear is supplying fresh water to families with wells within 200 feet of the river. But those with wells beyond 200 feet are out of luck.

As well as direct health effects, the livelihood of the people in the area will be severely hurt, if not destroyed. They rely primarily on cattle and sheep.

The Rio Puerco runs through Navajo land in New Mexico and Arizona, and the Navajos are now protesting the company's policies. But the frightening thing is that the dam that broke passed all government licensing proce-

dures and was only 2 years old. The Army Corps of Engineers is not sure why the dam broke and is still investigating.

ENORMOUS

If this dam could break, any of hundreds more of the clay dams that hold back uranium tailings and water could as well. The threat to the lives of people and environment of the whole Southwest and other areas is enormous.

How many more "accidents" are necessary? Nukes must be stopped and now! □



COPS ATTACK BAILEY STRIKERS

SEE PAGE 15



Strikers at Bailey Controls

OUR PRESIDENT

THE OIL COMPANIES BEST FRIEND

Jimmy Carter has shown us time and again that he is the best friend the oil companies have ever had.

The most notable and costly example of this is the "gradual decontrol" of natural gas. This act will increase natural gas prices by \$75 billion by 1985 and will not increase natural gas reserves at all.

It will boost oil companies profits out of sight at the expense of the working class people. But this is nothing compared to Carter's synthetic oil program.

DOLE

Carter, in his new energy program, plans to create the Energy Security Corporation to dole-out \$88 billion to the oil companies over the next ten years to develop synthetic oil. But he ignores the fact that billions have already been given to the oil companies and nothing has been accomplished. The Energy Department has estimated that a crash program to develop synthetic oil beginning now will only supply the equivalent of 0.3 to 1.0 million barrels of oil daily out of a daily consumption of 60 million barrels by the year 2000.

Carter likes to use the example of the development of synthetic rubber during WWII to give credibility to his program. He calls the energy crisis the "moral equivalent of war," but he ignores the very important fact that during a real war the oil companies put their profits before the people.

During WWII, the U.S. government created the Rubber Reserve Corporation (RRC) to develop synthetic rubber because our rubber supply had been cut off by the Japanese in the South Pacific. The RRC loaned \$650 million to a group of companies controlled by Standard Oil of New Jersey to build manufacturing plants to produce synthetic rubber. Standard Oil claimed to have the secret to the manufacture of synthetic rubber. But in fact the secret was held by Standard Oil's cartel partner and Nazi Germany's IG Farben corporation.

AGREEMENT

Standard Oil had no intention of getting the secret from IG Farben because of a secret agreement between Standard Oil and IG Farben made before the war and renegotiated after the bombing of Pearl Harbor to last through the war. Standard Oil agreed not to develop synthetic rubber and IG Farben agreed not to compete in Standard Oil's oil markets. In this way both companies would protect their respective markets and profits.

Assistant Attorney General Thurmond Arnold testified be-

fore Congress in April 1942 that "We believe that the Standard Oil cartel agreement with Germany is the principal cause of the present rubber shortage." After Standard Oil's rip-off was exposed the federal government built the synthetic rubber plants itself.

EXPENSE

Standard Oil's agreement to develop synthetic rubber was a worthless ruse to maximize profits at the expense of the people.

Carter's synthetic oil program is the same thing: it will pass out tens of billions of dollars to the oil companies and accomplish nothing. The oil companies are not going to throw away the massive profits they get from the decontrol of natural gas and domestic oil; gasoline, heating and oil and uranium for the nukes. □

By JOE ALLEN

FLOC strike: tomatoes rotting in the fields

TOLEDO, OH—Ohio's tomato fields are the scene of a strike again this year, as members of FLOC (Farm Labor Organizing Committee) fight for a union contract.

FLOC is concentrating its efforts against mechanized harvesting in the tomato fields contracted out to Campbells Soup and Libby's Foods, and has called for a boycott to support the strike.

ARRESTED

On Sept. 1, farmworkers who surrounded a mechanical harvester were roughed up

and arrested by sheriff's deputies. The deputies muttered "Spic" and "let me have this one", as they hauled away 28 FLOC members to jail.

CONCRETE

Later that day, FLOC's lawyer, Jack Kilroy, was beaten when he came to the Sheriff's department to represent the farmworkers.

As he approached arrested FLOC members in the exercise yard, Sheriff Beutler, his deputies, and a 'concerned citizen' attacked Kilroy from

behind, pulled him down to the ground by his hair, and beat his head against the concrete.

Then they arrested him for resisting arrest and blocking a tomato field with his car. (Kilroy does not own a car.)

Last year FLOC called on farmworkers not to come back to Ohio unless they could afford to spend the season on the picket line.

FLOC president, Baldemar Velasquez, estimates that 250 strikers returned to Ohio (out of a FLOC membership of 2,000), and that the growers have been able to recruit only about another 250 strike-breakers.

Unusual rain has prevented the growers from using the mechanical pickers most days, so tomatoes are rotting in the fields. But every sunny day harvesters can run means more tomatoes reach Libby's or Campbell's.

SURROUNDED

That is why FLOC surrounded the mechanical harvester in the first place, and that is why the sheriff's deputies arrested the farmworkers. And that is why we must support the boycott.

Mechanical harvesters not only take away jobs from farmworkers, they also leave one third of the tomatoes behind to rot in the field. □



Floc supporters rally



NEW YORK—The lesbian and gay community in New York's Greenwich Village has been in the streets nightly. They have been protesting the filming of the movie "Cruisin." This movie is a violent sexual murder mystery in which murderer and victim are homosexual men. The gay community is outraged by the film's false portrayal of homosexuals as either victims or men only interested in sado/masochistic sex, linked to violence and death. It legitimizes violence against gays with the cop hero (Al Pacino) murdering gays because he is afraid of his own homosexuality.

After unsuccessfully attempting to persuade New York's Mayor Koch not to issue the filming permit, the community went to the streets. Hundreds surrounded the filming site

daily, risking police violence. The intent of the demonstrators was clear. They were angry and militantly defending themselves from these attacks.

All along Christopher Street the gay bars and establishments showed their support with signs in their windows ("This is not a movie set," "Say no to the movie, Cruisin"), and their refusal to deal with the movie makers.

The community was able to force delays in production and disrupt site choice. This cost the producers thousands of dollars. No doubt movie producers will think twice before they invade the gay community with their bigoted money making schemes again. □



Busing in Boston

BUSING: WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

After every conceivable delay, busing begins this fall in Cleveland.

The atmosphere is quite astounding. The School Board members have been issued flak jackets. There are daily public sermons from the media on violence—with images of Louisville and Boston always in the air.

The mayor, Dennis Kucinich, refuses to make a public statement in opposition to violence! The "people's mayor," it seems, is the white people's mayor.

OMINOUS

At the same time the Justice Department assures us all, ominously, that it can "handle" any trouble.

Now even the liberals are making violence the main issue—whatever happens, we must not have violence. Racists and anti-racists unite against violence.

Something seems to have been lost. Cleveland is perhaps the most segregated of all the major American cities.

On Judge Battisti's desk sits a file which shows thirty years of deliberate, planned,

conscious segregation in the Cleveland Public Schools. There is no such thing as equal education in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1979—no more than there was in Selma, Alabama, in 1963. So Judge Battisti ordered busing.

The Cleveland busing plan in fact is quite limited. A relatively small number of black students will be bused from the predominantly black East Side to the predominantly white West Side. And a small number of white students will be bused the other way. Out of approximately 100,000 students, 9,000 are being bused.

There will be no busing out to, or in from, the suburbs. And that of course is where the good schools are—and where the money is. There will be no new money poured into the Cleveland schools—aside from security expenses—to

ensure that the quality of education is improved. As it is only 37.4% of Cleveland students graduate. Only 4.4% go on to graduate from college.

FACT

Whatever the shortcomings of busing, and there are many, busing must be supported. Why? Because behind all the talk about violence, behind all the worry about the alleged damage done to children who ride buses, lies one fact.

Segregation. The Cleveland courts are trying to drag Cleveland one small step away from segregation—one pitifully small step. And the question is—which side are you on? Are you against racism? Or are you on the side of Kucinich and the white racists for whom even one inch is too much? □

CHRYSLER WORKERS TO PAY BIG PRICE

In saving the Chrysler Corporation from bankruptcy, Chrysler workers will be forced to pay a heavy price.

Unemployment, speedup, an end to SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) pay, even imprisonment.

There is talk of "deferred" wage payments, frozen pensions and using the workers pension fund as collateral for government guaranteed loans to Chrysler.

PRISON

Seven Chrysler workers who were involved in a wild cat strike, a strike caused by the extreme heat in August, 1978, have completed serving a seven day prison sentence in the Wayne County Jail.

They were sentenced to prison because they continued to picket the Chrysler engine plant in defiance of a court injunction. They were found guilty of contempt of court.

Mark Step, Vice President of the UAW and Director of the Chrysler Department commenting on their imprisonment, said, "They went to prison because of some bad advice they were given."

Workers have returned to work at Dodge Main. Instead of two lines running on two shifts as was done before the plant closed for model change there is only one line running on one shift.

They are on a four day week. The speedup is just as if there were no union. That pace could kill some of these older workers who once had the best working conditions in the industry.

There are now rumors that the plant may close in December rather than next August as previously announced.

Supplemental unemployment benefits are exhausted for workers with less than 10 years seniority. Those with from 10 to 20 years seniority will take a 20 percent cut. It is uncertain how long these and those with more than 20 years will be able to collect SUB.

Loss of SUB will mean a cut in weekly income of 50 percent; \$100 a week. There are nearly 26,000 Chrysler workers unemployed. A single worker receives \$97.00, a family \$137.00 a week in unemployment benefits. Dodge Local #3 is preparing to set up a welfare committee.

CUT

For its guarantee of Chrysler loans the government may require the workers to accept "deferred" wage payments. This may turn out to be a wage cut. It may demand the worker's pension fund be put up as collateral for the guarantee.

These blows against the Chrysler workers has resulted in severe depression among Chrysler workers—employed and unemployed.

UAW officials have been against the class struggle. They may be forced to change their position or prepare to take early retirement.

The experience of the Chrysler workers will have an effect on the General Motors and Ford workers. A struggle lies ahead. □

by JOHN ANDERSON

Andrew Young: no loss to Palestinians nor blacks

Andrew Young resigned as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Nominally, he was forced to resign because he misreported the details of a 15 minute meeting with Zehdi Labib Terzi of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

But the full story is still to be revealed. What is known is that Mossad—Israel's intelligence police—leaked the story of Young's meeting with Terzi to Newsweek magazine and started the chain of events that led to his resignation.

CBS announced that Young's New York apartment had been bugged by U.S. intelligence agencies. An allegation that was of course, immediately denied.

FUROR

But why, all the furor over a 15 minute meeting with a representative of the P.L.O.?

In 1975 the government pledged Israel not to recognize or negotiate with the P.L.O. until it recognizes Israel. Since then, however, there has been some disagreement within

ruling class circles on the best way to maintain and increase U.S. influence in the Middle East. Some, like Young, argue that a policy that totally excludes the P.L.O. would be fatal to U.S. interests in the region.

MEET

Indeed, Young is by no means the first U.S. official to meet with a P.L.O. representative. Most notably, Milton Wolf, U.S. ambassador in Austria, has met three times with P.L.O. representatives.

It should be clear that there is no disagreement on the aim of U.S. policy—the continued strength of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. The disagreement is on how best to do this.

The same reasoning is behind Young's approach to Southern Africa. He believes that to ignore the black freedom fighters is simply unrealistic.

But his full support of American policy in the Middle East is quite clear. In the 15 minute meeting with Terzi, Young was trying to convince him—and apparently through him some of the other Arab delegates to the United Nations—to postpone a Security Council debate on Palestinian rights.

Young was not forced to resign because of any sym-

pathy for Palestinians. He resigned because, as one Carter aide put it, he was "a political liability at a time when the President can't afford another liability."

"There are sharks smelling blood in the water," Young noted in his resignation speech, referring to those who wanted to see him go.

LOSS

Andrew Young's resignation is no loss to Palestinians—nor to black people in the U.S. In the Sixties during the civil rights movement he was known as the conciliator. Martin Luther King called him "Tom."

In the Seventies, in his post at the United Nations he put a liberal face on U.S. imperialism. □

FIGHTING WORDS

That is why people who pronounce themselves in favor of the method of legislative reform in place of and in contradistinction to the conquest of political power and social revolution, do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer and slower road to the same goal, but a different goal. Instead of taking a stand for the establishment of a new society they take a stand for surface modification of the old society.

—Rosa Luxemburg

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The boat people II: Haitians

At least six and probably eight Haitians drowned on August 13th off the coast of Florida.

They had paid \$550 per person to American pirates who were taking them on a yacht to the U.S.

As the yacht approached Florida, a coast guard cutter cruised nearby. The Americans forced the Haitians off the boat at gunpoint, and five Haitian children and their mother drowned. Two others

are missing.

Ten Haitians were rounded up by the police. They were returned to Haiti as "illegal aliens."

BRUTAL

Over the past ten years, tens of thousands of Haitians have fled the brutal, murderous regime of Duvalier.

Many have had to enter this country as "illegal aliens" because of tightening of immigration quotas and standards.

As such, Haitians who come here are subjected to low wages, unemployment and overall intimidation and harassment.

Returning to Haiti is not an alternative for most of them because of the intense political repression going on there. The threat of deportation is the equivalent of the threat of a death sentence, so that Haitians here are extremely vulnerable to exploitation by employers, and

threats by government agents.

Coverage by the American media of the Haitian boat people after this barbaric episode was brief and hypocritical.

DEATH

Duvalier and his murderous regime were not mentioned. No attempt was made to interview any Haitians. This is more than just a simple omission.

Haitians living here have all

experienced death of a relative or friend at the bloody hands of Duvalier. Why was this not mentioned?

Yet when covering the pathetic plight of the boat people from Vietnam, the American press hammers home the point about the repressive Vietnamese regime as if the American government's genocidal war there ten years ago was O.K. after all.

by PETER LOWBER



By Any Means Necessary

BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

RACISM AROSE OUT OF ECONOMIC NECESSITY

Blacks came to America as slaves. "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation." (Marx)

DIFFERENT

The slavery of blacks was therefore different from slavery in any previous mode of production.

It was the trade in slaves, the labor of the slaves in the Caribbean and America that created the wealth necessary for the "industrial revolution." A few examples will demonstrate. The steam engine was invented by James Watt. Watt was financed by Williams Deacons Bank whose owners were two slave traders. Lloyds, one of the largest insurance companies in Western Europe, began as a coffee house in the seaport of Liverpool, then insured the ships.

As a mode of production slavery was complex. One of the characteristic features of the capitalist mode of production is wage labor—the sale of labor power.

In slavery, slaves were the property of masters. However, production was production for

by TONY BOGUES

the market. There was the drive for the constant expansion of production and accumulation. I would argue that slavery was a backward mode of labor grafted onto an advanced system of commercial exploitation.

The system in America has been called "closed." Unlike slavery in the Caribbean the slaves were a minority in proportion to the white population. Secondly, the scope and range of the insurrectionary activity of the slaves was never successful as in the Caribbean, i.e. there were no successful slave revolts.

Thirdly, the dynamic of the process created a significant section of the American population who would not be granted access to bourgeois democratic rights.

WAR

The 1776 American War of Independence did not grant freedom to slaves. The Declaration of Independence had expunged from it Thomas Jefferson's clause against slavery, at the request of the Southern delegation.

Jefferson himself was a slave-owner. From that moment on the development of American capitalism has excluded blacks from minimal bourgeois democratic rights.

It started the irreversible process of the formation of a nationality who, by the collectivity of their oppression and social discrimination would

become a major social and political force against American capital. Racism developed as a justification for slavery. But slavery was a method of economic exploitation of labor.

Racism therefore arose out of economic necessity. Today it is an organic part of the capitalist mode of production.

With the invention of the cotton gin a new reason was found for the continuance of slavery.

1820-1830 marked the period of rapid development of industrial capitalism. Cotton was not only King in the South but was the basis of the textile industry in New England.

Marx puts it very clearly: "Whilst the cotton industry produced child slavery into England, it gave in the United States a stimulus to the transformation of the earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery, into a system of commercial exploitation."

In fact the veiled slavery of the wage-workers...needed for its pedestal slavery, pure and simple."

SLAVES

In other words, while the white working class was making an entrance into the system of wage-slavery, blacks were still chattel slaves. The latter created the basis for the former slavery continued for over 30 years longer in the USA than in the Caribbean.

It took the struggles of blacks in the Civil War to finish it.



Slavery created the wealth necessary for the Industrial Revolution

Vicki Denton is native American, born in Michigan, a member of the Oneida Tribe. Dan Petty interviewed Denton for Socialist Worker.



I thought I was different—being brought up differently than someone that had been brought up on a reservation, because we didn't really say we were Indian.

It was kind of a hidden thing that you just didn't talk about. And we were never taught our language. I think that really had to do with how my father was treated on the reservation and how he was treated by government people. Because they sink into your head that you aren't supposed to talk your language and you aren't supposed to do your religious ceremonies and things of that sort.

The reservation, well it isn't a reservation now, it's a corporation town that my parents are from now. Federally it's recognized as a reservation, though. But all the time the government is changing that and saying that the Indian people can buy up industrial parks and things of that sort so that they can sell their land to the government people.

You end up with a percentage of your land that is yours and a percentage that is the government's—as long as you keep it in the family. The minute it goes to somebody else it's the government's and you have no say so what happens to the land after that.

There's a real image of Indians being alcoholics. That's what they do. I think—what I really think is that the federal government has to find ways to break a race down and this is one way to do it. Therefore the more bars you have on a reservation the more people you're going to be getting in there and you're going to change their ideas.

The town I lived in had five bars on the reservation for. I would say 1,200 people. One little post office, one little grocery store, two gas stations. But I always thought there were just so many bars for that area.

DESERVE

After you've been told by so many people, your books, your teacher, other people, Indians are worthless. Indians are drunks, Indians don't deserve to be alive, after this gets drilled into so many people's heads, I think the parents tend to pass these vibes down to their kids.

WE HAVE TO RELY ON OURSELVES



Vicki Denton

Not consciously, but they sort of say, you can't do that, you can't go to college because you're not good enough, you don't have good enough grades to go to college. So they're pushing them down, pushing them down, and they don't have an out.

On the other hand there are Indian education programs that say you're a good person, it's good to be an Indian, you should be proud to be an Indian and then you go home and you say, oh gee Mom, I'm really glad that I'm Indian, and you know

what I learned about my culture today? I learned how to say "hello" today. And the mother says, so? and then you're right back where you started from. What good is that? You're still not worth anything.

The federal schools have a lot to do with keeping the Indian down, too. They're run just like any federal thing. It's like you're in the service. First you get up at this time, you go here, then you go there, everything is timed for you. In government schools you're not allowed to speak your language or you're not allowed a lot of times to talk with your friends in your language.

DIFFERENT

The punishments for breaking the rules were varied. You could have your head shaved, at one point you could be tied and even whipped. Or you were put in a place all by yourself.

And the education was so poor. Where I went to high school in the fall of '65 there were high school students there that didn't know how to subtract, they didn't know how to multiply or divide. And they graduated from high school. To me, I just couldn't understand that.

It really hit me hard. I thought, my god, what's happening? Why aren't these kids getting a good education? They're sent here to this training school for two years and then the government's going to put them out

into the white society. And I couldn't understand, if they didn't know how to add and subtract, how are they going to get along in the world.

We had to be in on the weekday by 7:00 and we had to stay in and study for an hour. And then we could go out at eight and we had to come in at ten. The curfew was 10:00, you had to be in by ten every night. You had to sign in and out every time you went in and out. It was like a prison. And then on weekends they would let you go. So it was like you were breaking out, you could do whatever you wanted.

They discouraged you to chum up with different Indian groups. You could really feel the hostility toward the Eskimos at school, because Eskimos are not "real" Indians. And Aleuts are not Indians. Anybody from Alaska was not considered Indian. and then you had the northern Indians against the southern Indians and the Pueblo Indians against the Navaho Indians. The school's attitude was like, "shh, don't say anything, and they'll break their own necks."

SUICIDE

The suicide rate among the Indian people is one of the highest. At the school I went to there was one or two attempts made, but no one ever went through with it. Slashed wrists and stuff. I think that even if you have an attempt, it's serious. But the school tried to cover it up. The person was alive, and don't get all shook up about it. I think that really says something. That the administration is saying, "shh, don't tell anybody this is happening."

Whenever I've met anyone who's discouraged about being in the white society and not being accepted at home I always tried to talk to them and try to make them realize that the parents, the grandparents are the ones who—how do I put it—you're not an enemy to them, just a product of what has happened. This is what happens when Indian people are taken from the reservations and put in white society.

I have tried to commit suicide, and I've had several of my sisters try too. I used to think that it was the reservation that did it to you, coming off the reservation. Because I didn't think that happens to urban Indians. It doesn't happen because I was brought up in the white society, so why should I have problems like that. After my sister committed suicide I realized it was the urban Indian too.

As far as an answer to the whole problem, I think first, I think the people ought to, Indian people should think of themselves as people first, to realize that they are human beings. And if they can recognize that, then they can group up with other people—people with the same kind of problems, people that have been through the same thing.

UNIQUE

The Indian people have uniquely been through something really difficult and hard to put together with another race. But we have to realize that other people have a lot of these problems. We have to get out some of these angers and frustrations and finally get back and realize that it's the federal government and the capitalists, the people that are pitting the Indian against the Indian, then the Indian against the white man—because I think it's important to say that not all whites are bad.

Internationalism: the only way

"For the creation on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, as well as for the success of the cause itself, it is necessary for men themselves to be changed on a large scale, and this change can only occur in a practical movement, in a revolution.

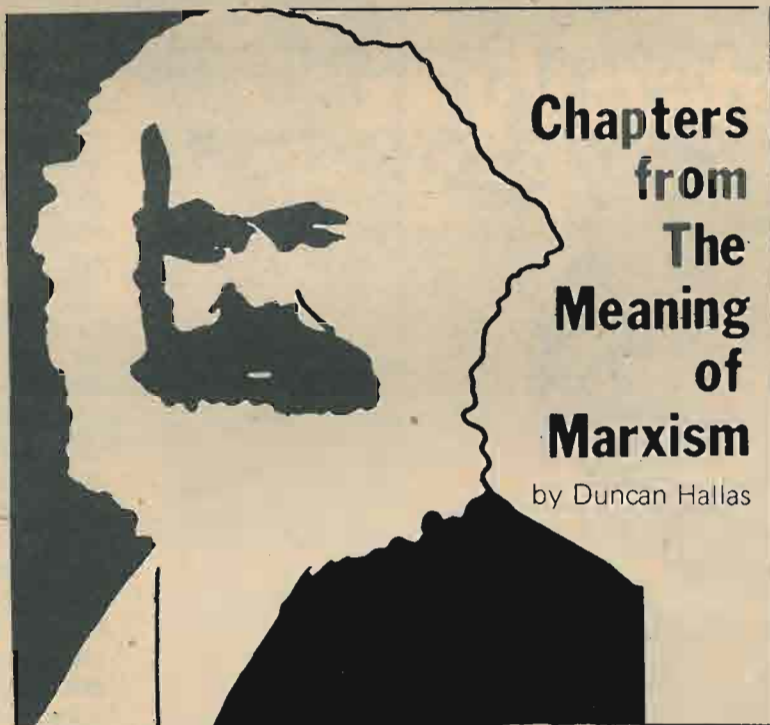
"Revolution is necessary not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because only in a revolution can the class which overthrows it rid itself of the accumulated rubbish of the past and become capable of reconstructing society."

—Marx

PROVED

This is the essential reason why "parliamentary roads to socialism" have always proved to be blind alleys.

In a capitalist society most of the power is in the hands of the big business bosses. They can't be talked or tricked into giving it up. It has to be taken from them. This can be done only by working people organized and



Chapters from The Meaning of Marxism

by Duncan Hallas

conscious of their position in society and determined to free themselves, and the rest of society, by taking power—

the power to decide about everything that affects their lives—into their own hands. And they can only become

capable of self-government in the course of fighting for it.

Participation in parliament may be a useful tactic. It can never be a substitute for direct action.

We have had quite a lot of experience of "parliamentary roadism."

EVILS

Social democratic parties have been in office, at one time or another, in most of the developed capitalist countries except Japan and the USA. The result is that the rich are richer than ever and all the evils of capitalism—intensified competition, meaningless work, head-fixing and manipulation of people, unemployment and increased productivity going hand in hand, growing wealth, growing waste, pollution and growing poverty—are increasing evils.

Racism is rampant. Women are still super-exploited. The U.S. Dept. of Labor reported in 1976 that women working take home 59% of what men earn.

We "cannot afford"—or so the bosses and their tame mass media tell us—a decent health service, decent housing or a decent educational service. In fact the greater the amount of output the less, apparently, can be afforded for basic social services.

So it is with all the social services. They are even trying to close libraries, museums and art galleries, something even the robber barons of the 19th Century managed to afford.

The truth is that we are going backwards in one field after another.

PROBLEM

It is no use blaming this on the "betrayals" of the liberals. Of course they are traitors but this is not the problem. There are rotten apples in every barrel. When practically the whole "democratic" barrel turns out to be rotten there are deeper causes.

Reformist policies could never at any time lead to socialism. They could, while the arms boom was flourishing, lead to some reforms.

Not anymore. All the modest gains of the last 30 years are now threatened and they are threatened because the fundamental tendencies of state monopoly capitalism are reasserting themselves.

Any government that tries to keep the system going and at the same time introduce real reforms is doomed. Either it goes out of office or the reforms are junked.

Of course reformism was always based on sectional, purely "national" policies. They were never realistic but they are less realistic today than ever.

We live in a world in which the techniques and resources to give everyone a decent life already exist and in which half the people are on the borderline of starvation. It is a violent world in which the two super-powers, Russian and America, have between them enough thermo-nuclear weapons to wipe out the whole population several times over.

It is a militaristic world in which the military coup leading to dictatorship is now the commonest way of changing a government.

It is a polluted world which national economic and military competition threaten to make less and less habitable.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the system that allows them to plunder the world's resources. There can be no real socialist organization that is not based on an international and therefore a revolutionary strategy.

LIFE

Ordinary people everywhere want peace, security, freedom from drudgery, human dignity, a decent life. Yet these things can only be had by the organization of working people into a decisive force on an international scale.

There are no short cuts. Years ago Marx wrote "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself." Today we can add that the whole future of humanity depends on its success.

The Assistant Energy Secretary just announced that there will be plenty of fuel for the winter. The problem, he went on to say, is that many people will have to choose between heating and eating—as the price of heating fuel has more than doubled.

NEVER MIND

In early 1977, engineers for Babcock & Wilcox warned their superiors of problems in design and operating procedures in the Three Mile Island reactor.

In May, 1979, the Tennessee Valley Authority warned B & W about its faulty water-level indicator in a safety analysis sent to the company 11 months before the accident.

B & W dismissed the defects as unimportant.



I need the excitement

When Prime Minister Abel T. Muzorewa stepped off a helicopter in Magunge, Zimbabwe Rhodesia, last week to be briefed on guerrilla activity, the first person to greet him was Joseph Columbus Smith of San Antonio, Texas.

Today, as Capt. Smith, he wears the green beret of the Rhodesian African Rifles. A

decade ago, as Lt. Smith, he wore the green beret of the U.S. Special Forces on duty in Vietnam.

"I need excitement," Smith said. "I can't have a nonexciting, normal life any more."

Smith, a former reporter for the Dayton (Ohio) Daily News, worked for a while for a public television station in

Washington, D.C. But three years ago, when U.S. editors rejected a series of freelance articles he had written that were sympathetic to Rhodesia, he traded his typewriter for a .357 Magnum pistol.

"It's a fun army, an enthusiastic army," he said. "There's a lot less waste than in Vietnam."

Richard Nixon was denied an apartment in the plush Madison Ave. co-op, in the face of dissension among tenants. After half the residents objected to his moving in, Nixon and the owner agreed to cancel the apartment contract.

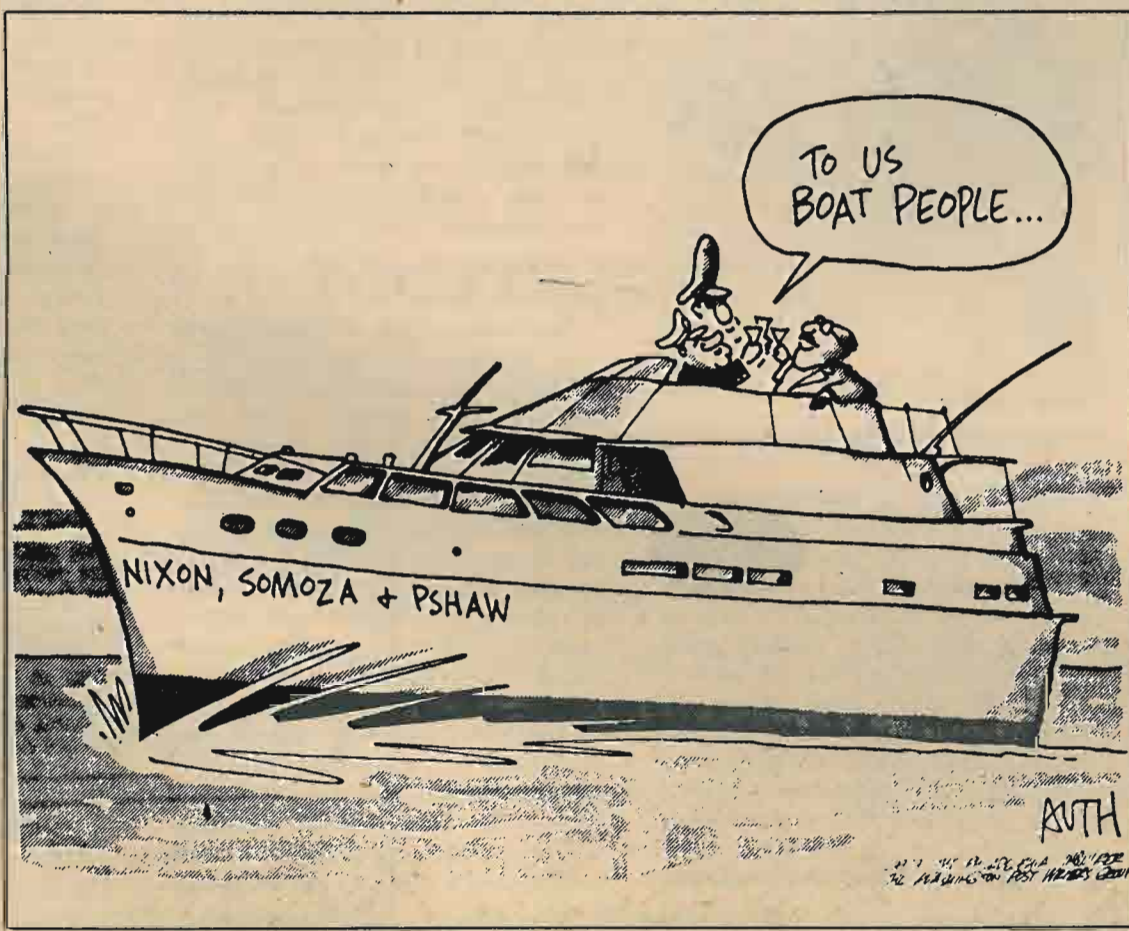
With a recession brewing and the chance increasing that you'll be out of work, why not consider the large display ads offering employment by—the CIA.

Ads offer "professional opportunities" for "special men and women who still have a spirit of adventure."

You are advised that you can "help us gather information and put together a meaningful picture of what's happening in the world—knowing you belong to a very small, very special group of people doing a vital, meaningful job."

The CIA might also consider putting out a list of favorite recipes.

New documents disclosed under a Freedom of Information Act say that the CIA once considered capturing an African crocodile and, with the help of a witch doctor's secret recipe (7 herbs and spices?) cooking the animal's gall bladder up into a special poison.





WORLD IN STRUGGLE

Release the Iranian socialists!

Twelve Iranian Trotskyists have been sentenced to death, and two more given life imprisonment after a secret trial in the oil town of Ahwaz in Southern Iran. They were all members of the Socialist Workers Party (HKS).

Hojabr Khosravi who was also arrested, but later released, explains to Socialist Worker the background to the trial:

"They accuse us of everything under the sun. Agents of imperialism, and so on. But what is the real reason behind the attack on the Fourth International in Iran?"

"We took the initiative for the first major demonstration against socially oppressive laws—those directed against women.

TORTURED

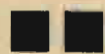
"To give you the most recent examples. During the fake elections to the 'Experts Councils' we were not even allowed to distribute our leaflets in a number of cities outside Tehran. In Isfahan our party headquarters were attacked by thugs. One of our comrades who was selling newspapers was abducted from the streets and tortured.

"The arrests which took place in Ahwaz in Khuzestan were related directly to our defense of the nationalities. The local headquarters of the HKS was attacked and nine comrades were arrested. Seven more comrades were arrested while they were distributing leaflets in support of the union.

"We sent two independent lawyers to Khuzestan to discover what the charges were against the 14. They were told that they were distributing leaflets defending the Arab population of Khuzestan, and since Khomeini charges the Arabs with getting arms from foreign agents our 'guilt' is that we are defending foreign agents!

"The trials were held in complete secret. We asked that they make it a public trial so that lawyers could attend. But they refused.

Release the imprisoned socialists in Iran!



Telegrams protesting the secret trials and demanding the immediate release of the imprisoned socialists, should be sent to: Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini, Qum, Iran. □

Mountbatten: the victim of his own work

"One of the greatest Englishmen of our time", "the uncrowned King", "giant in war and peace", "a gallant charming man". These were just a few of the praises heaped on Lord Mountbatten.

PROPORTION

A sense of proportion should remind us that Mountbatten was a professional soldier, a man for whom death was part and parcel of his career.

During the Second World War he sent many thousands of soldiers to their death—for example, the Canadian and British commandos who died during the disastrous raids on Dieppe and Saint Nazaire in 1942.

The Canadians lost 3,363 out of 5,000 men—and even today in Canada Mountbatten's name is reviled.

As supreme Allied commander in the Far East, Mountbatten's concern was not to destroy the menace of fascism, but to defend the interests of the British Empire—the rubber plantations of Malaya, the oilfields of Burma, and the jewel of the Imperial Crown, India.

KING

There he indeed ruled as an uncrowned king. According to the New York Times, "generals and admirals under his command resented the fact that even in wartime he maintained, in New Delhi, a lavish headquarters and a staff of 3,000, including a personal band of 30 musicians."

It was Mountbatten who, in 1945, restored French rule in Indo-China, using defeated Japanese troops for the purpose. The war he began only ended with the fall of Saigon in 1975.

Even Mountbatten's efforts could not, however restore British rule in India.

The Japanese victories in the early stages of the war had shown that the might of the British Empire was not invincible. The mass movement of Indian workers and peasants continued unabated. Then, in 1946, the base of British power, its military machine, cracked when the Indian navy mutinied.

The Labor government in Britain decided to send Mountbatten to India as Viceroy. His task was to hand over power to the Indian nationalist movement in such a way as to ensure that the economic interests of British capitalism would be unharmed.

He hit on that traditional device of British 'statesmanship'—divide and rule. India received independence in 1947—but as two separate states, India and Pakistan.

What a feat of statesmanship. Fighting Hindus and



British army terror in Northern Ireland

Moslems in the period leading up to the partition of India left hundreds of thousands dead. Since that time partition has led to two wars between India and Pakistan, and the

bloody suppression of the Bangladeshi independence movement in 1971.

The most recent victim of partition was Mountbatten himself. We shall not add to

the sickening chorus of praise for him. He was a loyal and efficient servant of the British state. It is appropriate that he should be a casualty in its last colonial war. □

British troops out of Ireland now!

The killing of Lord Mountbatten by the Irish Republican Army has received an amazing amount of press and TV coverage. This is because Mountbatten was wealthy, well-connected and successful. More importantly, it is an attempt to bolster support for continued British military intervention in Ireland. It is also an attempt to try and hide the real problem—the real terrorists in Ireland—the British army.

Mountbatten was a professional naval officer, a man whose chosen trade was the use of violence for political ends—that is why military forces exist. We have no reason to mourn his death.

Socialist Worker does not support the killing of promi-

nent individuals as a method of struggle. We reject it, as marxists have always rejected it, because it is ineffective. It tends to hinder the mobilization of the working class against its enemies. It substitutes for mass working class activity.

RIGHT

This in no way alters our unconditional support for the right of Irish men and women to fight to free all parts of Ireland from British rule—whether or not their tactics are our tactics.

There can be no end to killing and counter-killing, to repression and resistance, so long as British rule continues.

British Troops Out of Ireland Now! □



Lord Mountbatten

The first successful workers' revolution took place in Russia in 1917. Real freedom was tasted for the first time. Workers ran their jobs, the factories, their country.

Hopes and aspirations were raised for workers the world over. Yet poverty, civil war, and then the failure of the revolutions in the West, led the revolution to defeat, and then the development of Stalin's barbarous, state capitalist regime—a regime which exists, fundamentally unchanged, today.

Still the myth persists that Russia is socialist. The myth is perpetuated nowhere more vigorously than by the rulers of this country—and the rulers of the U.S.S.R. Why? The myth of Russian "socialism" is the single strongest argument against workers' power and international socialism. If Russia is socialist, who wants socialism!

Here Sharon Smith of Socialist Worker looks at the conditions of the Russian working class in depth. □

Workers against the Gulag

■ ■
"We are unemployed Soviet workers, who have come to Moscow from various cities and republics of the country. We have all been dismissed for exposing abuses or for speaking out against management of the enterprises where we worked. Among the issues raised were pilfering and dilutions of materials, bribery, a high rate of industrial acci-

dents, and flagrant violation of the Labor Code.

"All our attempts to get justice from government authorities have been in vain."

OPPOSITION

These are the words of the Free Trade Union Association (FTUA), the beginning of a new workers opposition in the

Soviet Union. The quote comes from *Workers Against the Gulag*, a collection of documents from the FTUA, edited by Victor Haynes and Olga Semyonova.

Workers Against the Gulag is the first book of its kind. It contains information not only on the poor working conditions and low living standards of Russian workers, but it docu-

ments in detail the formation in 1977 of the first independent workers' organization in the Soviet Union since the 1920's.

The FTUA is made up of over 200 workers—most of whom have lost their jobs, been imprisoned or put in mental hospitals for speaking out against illegal or unsafe working conditions.

The founder of the FTUA Vladimir Klebanov, a machinist from the Ukraine. Since 1958, he had been speaking out against the violation of the Labor Code (six hour working day and day work week), income wage payments and allocations of housing funds, concealment of industrial injuries.

In 1954, Klebanov received a face injury on the job. Management called it an "unlucky accident" and refused to pay any compensation. Although his sight had been impaired, Klebanov was forced to work underground as a mining foreman.

He took the case to court to get compensation for his injury. Meanwhile, management tried twice to fire him from the grounds that the injury was his fault. The court refused to get involved.

In 1965, Klebanov was given ten days to get out of his apartment. The police came and tried to throw him and his family on the street, but a group of miners from the underground forcefully prevented this happening.

Later that year, Klebanov was diagnosed as a "pathological" and "schizophrenic" by a psychiatrist who never laid eyes on him!

A whole squad of psychiatrists came in to force him into a psychiatric hospital, but a group of miners prevented the action.

NEWS

In 1968, Klebanov was arrested on a fabrication charge. For the next several years, he was transferred from prisons to mental hospitals and back again. His wife and children heard no news from him and decided he was dead.

Klebanov's family suffered such financial hardship that he was gone that they were forced to sell all of their belongings. Klebanov's name was told by State officials "Agree that your husband

A strike that shook the Kremlin

On June 1, 1962, the Soviet government announced sharp increases in the prices of meat and butter. A number of disturbances and protests occurred as a result in many parts of the U.S.S.R. The biggest of the June 1962 protests was apparently in Novocherkassk, a city near Rostov in the Kuban region of southeastern European Russia.

Workers at a large electric-locomotive plant outside Novocherkassk, whose pay rates were cut the same day the price rises were announced, began a spontaneous strike that lasted all day and through the night. Signs were

up on the factory walls: "Down with Krushchev!" "Use Krushchev for Sausages!" On the morning of June 2, the strike spread to other plants in the city; a demonstration of workers, with portraits of Lenin and posters with peaceful demands marched to the party headquarters in the central square.

TROOPS

The local authorities had fled. The population turned out in large numbers. Workers addressed the crowd from the second-story balcony of the abandoned party building. Meanwhile, the authorities

cordoned off the city and began a troop build-up inside it. Around noon, troops took over the party building, removing the workers. A line of submachine gunners pushed the crowd back from the building; they fired warning shots in the air.

But there were children in the trees, and they were hit. As they began to fall from the trees, the crowd grew angry. Tensions mounted.

MASSACRE

A massacre ensued, with at least 70-80 of the crowd killed, most by dum-dum bullets. During the afternoon, ferment continued. Word spread that

top party leaders had flown in from Moscow, including Frol Kozlov and Anastas Mikoyan, and a delegation of workers had gone to tell them about the massacre.

Towards evening a crowd reassembled in the central square larger than ever. The workers' delegation was allowed to speak to the crowd from the party-building balcony. They reported that the Central Committee members promised an investigation and punishment of the guilty. Still the mass meeting in front of the party headquarters did not disperse.

Only around midnight, after the crowd had slowly dwindled, was it finally broken up by pressure from tanks and troops firing in the air.

REPRESSION

On June 3 speeches by Mikoyan and Kozlov were broadcast on the local radio. They claimed that the events had been provoked by "enemies." Instead of punishing those who committed the massacre, the authorities arrested and deported to Siberia many of the participants and the families of those killed or wounded. A series of trials was held, both secret and "open" (to officials only). At least nine male defendants were sentenced to be shot and two women to 15-year prison terms. □



Russian factory workers, 1917

Workers
Against the
Gulag

By
Victor Haynes and
Olga Semyonova

\$3.95
from Hera Press
Box 18037,
Cleveland, OH 44118

Behind the propaganda: a bleak life with little hope

Today, the Soviet Union is the second industrial power in the world. Yet the standard of living for Soviet workers is substantially lower than for workers in the U.S. or Western Europe.

The average family in Russia earns an income of 220 roubles per month. A well-balanced diet costs 50-60 roubles per person per month. A survey of working class families in Leningrad (1961-1965) showed that 40 per cent fell below the official poverty level. In 1974, retired workers received an average of 40 roubles per month.

There are continuous mass shortages of consumer goods in the Soviet Union, particularly in the outlying areas. Meat, for example, can only be gotten in major cities like Moscow and Leningrad, all year round. In 1976, the government introduced an official "meatless day" of the week—Thursday.

BLEAK

The housing situation is just as bleak. A three bedroom apartment would generally house 3 to 4 families! Many families live with no modern comforts—no running water, no sewage system, and no central heating.

Most industrial jobs are paid by piece-rate, according to quotas. Once a worker reaches the quota, a new quota is introduced. Particular jobs and industrial projects must be completed by a given deadline. If it looks as if the job will not be done by the deadline, workers are forced to work double shifts and days off—with no overtime pay.

Women make up 51 per cent of the Soviet labor force. As in the United States, women workers in Russia are concentrated in the lowest paid jobs. Women are also mainly responsible for housework and child care. There are only enough nurseries and kindergartens for 1/3 of all pre-school children.

A final stab at workers' dignity is the "internal passport" which all workers must carry at all times. The passport contains details of the person's background, their employment history and a residence permit. The residence permit states the limited area in which the worker is allowed to live, and it is illegal to try to move anywhere else. All workers must also carry a "work book"—a detailed work record, including disciplinary offenses, kept by management.

RULERS

Life is quite different for the rulers of Soviet society, Communist Party officials and

government bureaucrats. Money and privileges abound for them. Consumer good shortages go scarcely noticed by this privileged group, who can afford to buy on the black market. They can also shop at "closed stores," not open to workers. In hospitals there are separate wards for bureaucrats; in Moscow, there are separate hospitals. Children of bureaucrats go to special schools, and so on. Equality and democracy is only in the propaganda of the government.

Strikes are not very frequent in the Soviet Union, although they have been more so in recent years. Most strikes have occurred in outlying areas, not in major cities. Outlying areas are hit harder by shortages, and also have fewer secret police. More common than strikes are work slow downs or factory sit ins.

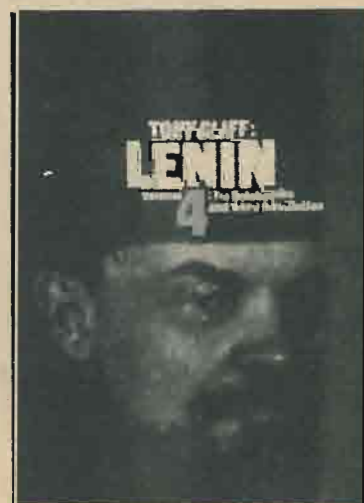
The most widespread working class outburst occurred in 1962, when the Soviet government announced that meat and dairy prices would be doubled. Protests, strikes, demonstrations and rioting spread across the Soviet Union, even to Moscow.

STRIKES

Since 1969, when Brezhnev lowered wages, strikes have been on the increase in the Soviet Union. Usually once a strike breaks out, the workers win their demands. When Kiev machine building workers struck for higher pay in 1973, within four hours they had won and management had been fired.

Once strikes are over, though, the strike organizers are often arrested or else they suddenly "disappear." All of a sudden, they become "psychotic," "misled," or "insane."

Because repression is often much more direct in Russia than it is in the U.S., the fight for workers' rights will be muted—almost underground—until cracks appear in the regime. But that fight is going on everyday. □



Cliff's final Lenin volume. \$7.95 from Hera Press.

10¹⁰ ПЯТИЛЕТКУ
ЗА 2,5 ГОДА!

Russian propaganda shows happy workers. Reality is a life of exploitation, shortages, oppression and the Gulag (prison).

"Don't tell me this isn't slavery"

"Your family starves—just you shut up about it; you're to work for nothing—don't you complain; you're forced to work overtime—just be pleased about it; or otherwise you'll be put behind bars. Our intelligensia may not be allowed freedom of creativity, freedom of thought or speech, but it's far worse for the workers—they don't have the freedom to work, to eat, to rest, to strike or to form their own trade unions. Don't tell me this isn't slavery."

(Excerpts from an open letter to "George Meany and American Workers," written by L. Sery, fishing port worker, FTUA member.)

mentally ill. If you don't do this, it's starvation and total destitution."

Although Klebanov was released in 1973, when the court ruled in his favor, management refused to pay his compensation or give him his job back. Since 1973, he has been unemployed. Agents have ransacked his apartment. He has been arrested several times on trumped up charges, and detained for months at a time in psychiatric hospitals.

The FTUA is made up of a growing number of others who have suffered abuses similar to Klebanov's.

COMPLAINTS

The FTUA was formed as an independent trade union because, as FTUA members can attest, there is no point in taking complaints to the official trade unions. The official All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) is

run by the government.

The last head of the trade unions, Aleksander Shelepin, was former head of the KGB—the secret police.

All management, as well as workers, are members of the AUCCTU. All chairmen of the trade union committees are appointed by management and Communist Party officials in rigged elections.

There is no right to strike or to demonstrate. Party-sponsored "mass demonstrations" in Red Square are by invitation only!

The men and women who formed the FTUA met in the waiting room of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, trying to make individual complaints to government officials.

The FTUA is the "union of the oppressed against the exploiters at the workplace." Any worker whose rights have been abused can join.

The FTUA has appealed to western trade unions for moral and financial support. So far they have received solidarity messages from the French labor movement and sections of the British trade union movement.

SHAM

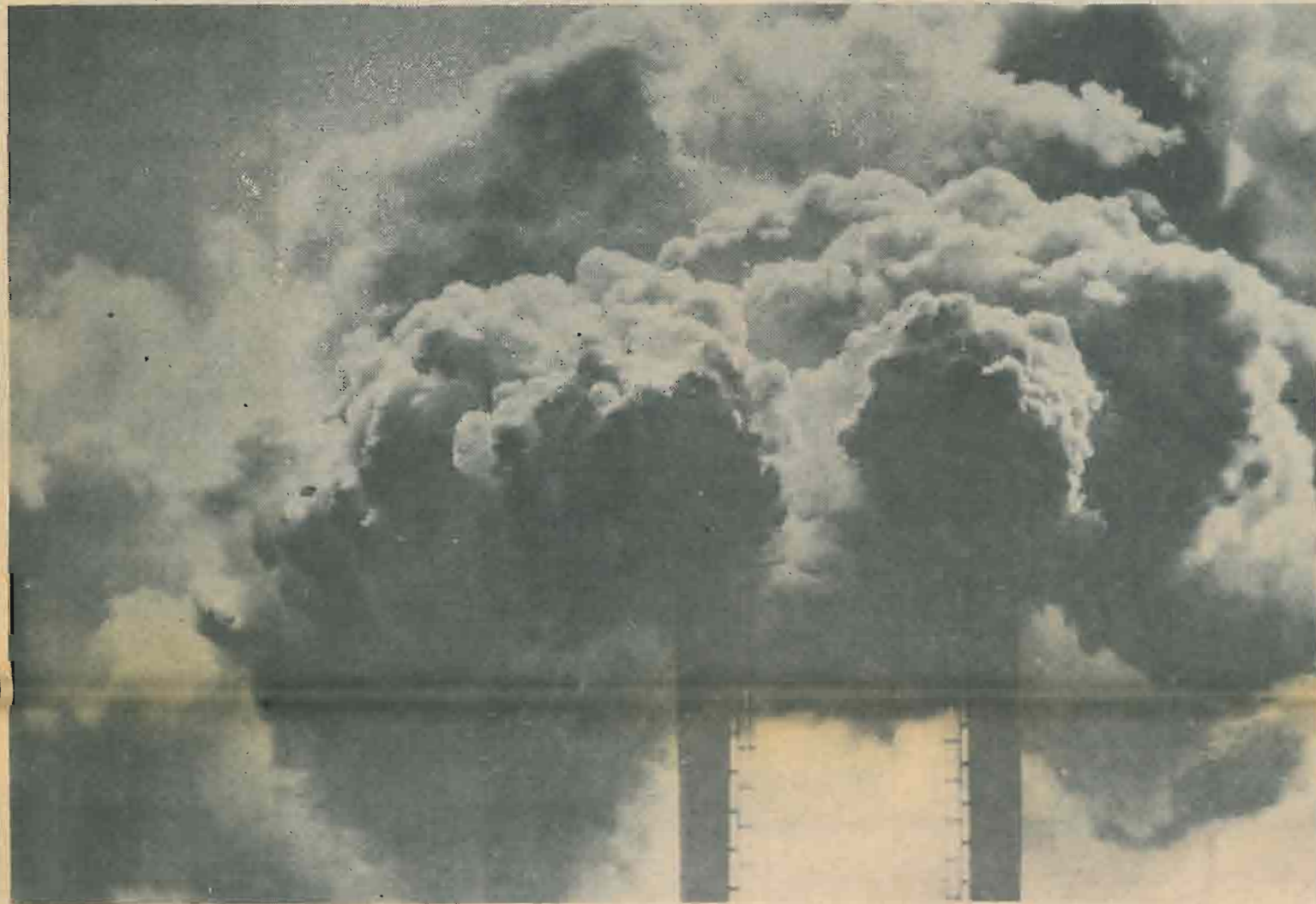
The Soviet government has issued a statement "against slanderous attacks on socialist countries" designed to discredit the FTUA. It claims that FTUA members are "renegades—dissidents who have absolutely no connection with the workers or trade unions in these countries."

But the documents of the FTUA presented in *Workers Against the Gulag* show different. In their own words, telling of their own struggles, these Russian workers show the Soviet Union's claim to socialism to be a total sham. □

Letters

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

It's wrong to imply that oil production is the answer



Coal and oil pollute the atmosphere

The editorial in the July Socialist Worker was misleading. It claimed that "there is plenty of oil."

There is plenty of oil now, but soon there won't be. In the next few years, or at most decades, oil production will probably peak and then turn downward. It is wrong, therefore, to imply that if we only ended capitalism, we could all use as much gas as we wanted forever.

No matter what economic system we have, oil will run out someday (unless we choose to construct it from other elements and this would take more energy than burning it produces).

SOLUTION

The longterm solution to the "energy crisis" is not to increase the use of oil until it runs out. The solution is to develop energy efficiency and renewable resources such as solar power and wind power.

The problem with oil, coal and uranium is not just that they will run out. The problem is that they are destructive of human life and the environment.

The dangers of nuclear power are obvious, but oil is

the biggest cause of air pollution through the car. It also fouls the oceans with nearly constant spills.

Coal destroys the lives of thousands of miners. Increased use of coal will mean large scale strip mining of the West.

In the longterm, continual burning of coal and oil will increase the amount of carbon dioxide in the air. This will raise the earth's temperature and alter the climate.

Another problem with non-renewable energy is the high price. The more coal and oil run out the more they cost to find and develop.

There are safer, cleaner and ultimately cheaper methods of energy production available.

Over 50% of all energy is wasted. Increased energy efficiency could save a large part of this. (This does not mean lowering thermostats or cutting people's travel. It means changing industrial processes and building design, providing insulation and increasing engine efficiency).

NEEDS

Even the Department of Energy, which supports nuclear power, admits that

within about two decades solar power could provide 15% of all our energy needs.

Another government study concluded that we could provide all our electricity through wind power. We could convert entirely to renewable resources over the next 50 years.

This is where the economic system fits in. The cleanest, safest, cheapest methods of energy production are not being used because they are not as profitable as non-renewable resources.

Sunlight and wind are harder to monopolize than oil or uranium. Large utility companies want to maintain centralized generation of electricity since 2/3 of energy costs and profits come from transmission.

Solar power is naturally decentralized and could undermine the utilities' control of energy (though most of the government sponsored solar research is going into the problem of how to centralize solar power).

Finally, banks want large construction projects that require large loans rather than the smaller projects that are typical of solar and wind power.

The government develops energy plans that meet these corporate interests, and therefore favor non-renewable resources because it is controlled by these corporations and sees guaranteeing their profits as its main concern.

The full development of renewable energy can only come in an economic system that eliminates the profit motive and institutes democratic planning for human needs.

BURDEN

Of course we should demand that there be no price increases and that the oil companies be required to supply sufficient gas and oil. Workers should not be made to bear the burden of the artificially induced energy crisis.

But in the long run this alone is no solution to the energy crisis. We shouldn't imply that more oil production is somehow a longterm answer. We should instead call for increased use of energy efficiency, solar and wind power. □

By STEVE LEIGH
Seattle, WA

Right off

Dear Socialist Worker,

Up till now I found your international coverage right on.

In the past three issues, however, your coverage of the boat people can only be called disgusting. Under the guise of "humanitarianism", Socialist Worker has joined ranks with the reactionaries who daily slander socialist Vietnam.

Why don't you wake up! The boat people are not the poor, persecuted people you make them out to be. They are members of the old ruling and middle classes who voluntarily want to leave a socialist Vietnam. No sympathy should be extended to them.

Erica Goldman,
New York

Solidarity

Dear Socialist Worker,

Solidarity with nuclear workers will first require the anti-nuclear movement to educate itself about their struggles.

Since many nuclear workers are in relatively well paid, skilled trades like construction unions and technicians; we will have to avoid any implications of moral superiority or super-exploitation of nuclear workers in general.

The Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union is involved in an attempt to lower the federal regulations on the yearly allowable radiation exposure to workers from 5 rems to 1/2 rem. Maybe some anti-nuke organizations and workers' health and safety groups can join with rank and filers of this union in some kind of coalition on this initial demand.

Here in Washington state, the Hanford Conversion Project is concentrating on outreach to the 26,000 workers at the federal government's Hanford Nuclear Reservation. Hanford has high-level waste storage tanks and is a candidate for location of a "permanent" waste repository, has two commercial power plants under construction plus an experimental breeder reactor called the Fast Flux Test Facility, and produced military plutonium for the Nagasaki bomb and later generation nuclear weapons up until the '60's.

This project to reach the Hanford workers with a radical anti-nuclear message will not be easy. In fact several hundred hard hats demonstrated against Ralph Nader when he came to Richland, the town closest to Hanford, in May.

Dave Moore
Seattle, WA

Found him

Dear Socialist Worker,

Your August Socialist Worker had a picture of the one-time Shah of Iran with Richard Nixon. The caption read: "Here's Anastasio (Somoza), now, Reza, let's find a fourth for Risk."

Well, they did. Henry Kissinger paid the Shah a friendly visit in Mexico during mid-August.

Neil Smith
Baltimore, MD

A PAGE FROM WORKING CLASS HISTORY

"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW

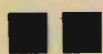


JOE HILL:

A member

of the fighting section of the working class

**His death
is celebrated
with songs of
revolt**



"What kind of man is this?" asked the reporter covering the funeral of Joe Hill, "whose death is celebrated with songs of revolt and who has at his bier more mourners than any prince or potentate?"

Jim Larkin, the Irish revolutionary and labor organizer, answered in a brief, impassioned eulogy.

"Joe Hill was shot to death because he was a member of the fighting section of the American working class, the IWW."

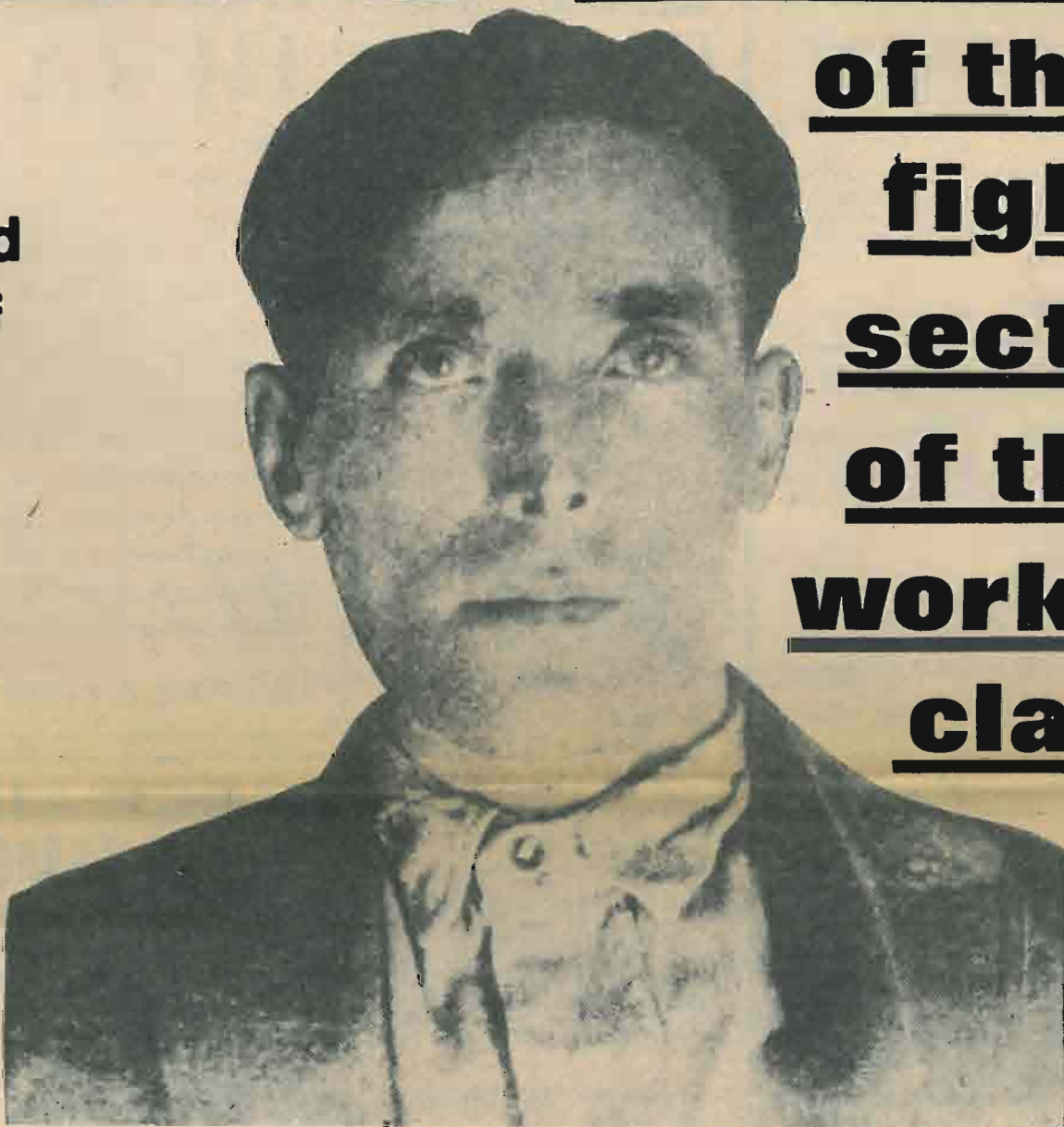
Bill Haywood, the IWW leader, read the last goodbye. "Goodby Joe, you will live long in the hearts of the working class. Your songs will be sung wherever workers toil, urging them to organize!"

REVOLUTIONARY

Joe Hill was the most accomplished and most famous songwriter of the American working class. He was a member of the revolutionary syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World, the IWW.

He was born Joel Hagglund in October, 1879, in Sweden. He emigrated to the U.S. in 1902. For ten years he worked whatever job he could. He stacked wheat, laid pipe, played the piano, dug copper, worked on docks and smelters, and cleaned spittoons. He wrote poems, songs and verse.

In 1910, he joined the IWW local in San Pedro, California. In 1912, he fought and was wounded on the side of the Mexican revolutionaries. In 1911, working on the docks in San Pedro, he wrote his first known song, "Casey Jones—the Union Scab." It was written to help workers on strike against the South Pacific line. It was about the scab who "got a wooden medal, for being good and faithful on the SP Line." The scab went to hell:



*The scab went to hell
"Casey Jones," the Devil
said "Oh Fine;"
"Casey Jones, get busy
shoveling sulphur;
That's what you get for
scabbing on the SP line!"*

The song was a great success. It helped keep the strike going, and today Casey Jones is the classic American song about a scab.

One of the best publications of the IWW was, "The Little Red Song Book." Joe Hill was its leading contributor, with—"The Rebel Girl," a tribute to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; "There's Power in the Union." Joe Hill's classic, "The Preacher and the Slave" is there too:

*Long haired preachers come
out every night
Try to tell you what's wrong
and what's right
But when asked 'bout some-
thing to eat;
They will answer in voices
so sweet:
(Chorus)
You will eat, bye and bye
In that glorious land above the
sky (way up high)
Work and pray, live on hay
You'll get pie in the sky when
you die (that's no lie)*

Joe Hill's songs were sung on picket lines, in free speech fights, and wherever the IWW organized. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn said, "Joe writes songs that sing, that lilt and laugh and sparkle, that kindle the fires of revolt in the most crushed spirit and quicken the desire for fuller life in the most humble slave."

In 1913 Joe Hill moved to Utah, the scene of bitter labor battles between the Western Federation of Miners, the IWW and the mining companies. The IWW was in the thick of it. Joe Hill went to work in one of the mines.

CHARGED

On January 10, 1914, two armed men robbed a grocery store and shot two of the grocery owners. Two weeks later, Joe Hill was charged with the murder. He pleaded not guilty to the charges and refused to provide himself with an alibi, claiming a woman's reputation was at stake.

A campaign to find Joe guilty began immediately. Yet no witness ever identified Hill as the murderer. No motive was introduced for the crime. No bullet could be found to

link Hill to the killer. No gun was ever found to connect Hill with the killings.

But in June 1914 a jury found Joe Hill guilty and sentenced him to die.

He was tried and convicted because he was a revolutionary, a labor organizer, a member of the IWW. During the next year and a half an international defense campaign was built to try and save Joe Hill. From Salt Lake City to San Francisco, New York to Stockholm, hundreds of thousands protested the verdict and demanded a pardon. The state of Utah was determined to murder Joe Hill. They killed him on

November 19, 1915—he was shot by a firing squad. But they could not kill what he represented. The night before he was shot, he sent a telegram to his friend, Bill Haywood, "Goodbye Bill. I will die like a blue rebel. Don't waste any time in mourning. Organize."

FURLED

Hundreds of thousands attended his funeral in Chicago. It was "unlike anything held in Chicago before," wrote one reporter. "The red flag furled unmolested at every turn."

On the day he died, Joe Hill wrote, "I die with a clear conscience. I die fighting, not like a coward. But mark my words, the day of my vindication is coming."

The words draped over his coffin read:

"In memoriam, Joe Hill. We never forget. Murdered by the authorities of the State of Utah, November 19, 1915." □

*My will is easy to decide,
For there is nothing to divide.
My kin don't need to fuss and moan—
"Moss does not cling to rolling stone."*

*My body? Ah, if I could choose,
I would to ashes it reduce,
And let the merry breezes blow
My dust to where some flowers grow.*

*Perhaps some fading flower then
Would come to life and bloom again.
This is my last and final will,
Good luck to all of you,*

**JOE
HILL'S
LAST
WILL**

WHERE WE STAND



WORKERS' CONTROL

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

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

FIGHT OPPRESSION

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

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

We fight for women's liberation. We are for equal pay for all women workers. We fight for an end to forced sterilization and for free abortion. There should be free quality child care for all who need it. We fight for the opening up of jobs for women and an end to sexual harassment and firings. We are for an end to discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities.

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

RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

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

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

INTERNATIONALISM

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

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

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

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

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

Join the International Socialist Organization

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

ISO NEWS

What's ON



Ireland: ten years of struggle

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey will be speaking for I.S.O. branches in October.

She will speak on: "Ireland: Ten Years of Struggle." Contact your local I.S.O. branch for details. □

BLOOMINGTON

ISO

REGIONAL

CONFERENCE

Place:
The Old Library
6th and Washington
Bloomington, IN

Date:
September 22 and 23

Time:
10:00 am to 5:30 pm
Saturday
10:00 am to 12:00 noon
Sunday

A conference for socialists and activists. There will be talks and workshops on subjects including:
the economic crisis;
the fight for women's liberation; black liberation; the no-nuke movement; and why we need socialism.

There will be a party Saturday night.

For more information please call:
(812) 339-4137, or
(812) 334-3321

BOOKS FROM HERA PRESS

<i>State Capitalism in Russia</i> , Tony Cliff.....	\$3.50
<i>Lenin, Vol. II</i> , Tony Cliff.....	7.95
<i>Lenin, Vol. IV</i> , Tony Cliff.....	7.95
<i>Labor and Monopoly Capitalism</i> , Harry Braverman..	5.95
<i>Marxism and the Party</i> , John Molyneux.....	5.95
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<i>Autobiography of Eugene Debs</i> , Ray Ginger.....	3.95
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BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM

A new pamphlet by Tony Bogue
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"The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it."

- Karl Marx

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

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

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



on the picket line

THREE STRIKES IN TRANSIT

CLEVELAND, OH.—Transit workers struck in three major cities in August—Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Cleveland.

BART (the Bay Area Rapid Transit) was shut down by its general manager, Keith Bernard, who said he halted trains until further notice because "of concern for public safety." He said 45 operators had called in sick.

Paul Varacalli, the executive secretary of the Public Employees Union Local 390, said that it was the first case he knew of "an employer calling a strike."

ISSUE

The main issue in the transit contract is the cost of living factor.

In Los Angeles, freeways were clogged as bus drivers shut the city down—also in a contract dispute.

In Cleveland, transit workers walked out on the Regional Transit Authority (RTA) with a wildcat strike, after weeks of no progress in negotiations.

The strikers only went back to work after union president Ronnie Jackson promised them there would be no victimization and no arbitration.

Then next week the workers got the news—binding arbitration. Jackson, who was elected president on a militant platform, worked long and hard to see that there was no strike.

PROMISE

He "prayed there would be no wildcat," he promised the workers almost anything. He brought in the union's past administration to argue that a strike would only hurt RTA workers. Then, when the judge ruled in favor of arbitration, he simply gave a sigh of relief.

Hopefully, rank and file militants will at least learn not to go back to work for a promise. There is no question but that they would have won—at minimum basic improvements—had they stayed out.

The RTA workers wanted 15% in wages. RTA offered 7%. RTA wants the right to introduce part time workers. They also want the right to dismiss workers for "excessive absenteeism". Their contract expired July 1.

In each of these strikes, the media has joined the transit managements in claiming that "only the public suffers when



Angry Cleveland bus drivers

bus drivers strike." In Cleveland, it was worse. Ronnie Jackson had the nerve to tell the strikers that the poor were suffering especially the poor blacks.

RESULT

Nothing could be further from the truth. The declining standards and deteriorating conditions of transit workers are a result of the crisis of the

public services, not the cause of it.

Good public transportation requires more drivers, not fewer. Good services requires better paid workers—not workers worn to the bone by overtime, split shifts, crummy equipment, and imbecilic management.

Support the transit workers. It's in your interest! □

Teachers strike into new year

OKLAHOMA CITY—1,000 teachers walked off their jobs here in defiance of a state law banning strikes by public employees.

The issue is money. The teachers want more. The city has responded by hiring substitutes at twice the normal pay.

In the first week of the new school year, thousands of other teachers are on strike as well: 2,000 in suburban New Orleans, 600 in Lorain, Ohio, and others in dozens of smaller systems.

MONEY

The issue in these strikes is also money. Teachers in Lorain, Ohio, start at \$10,050, and have received no increase in several years. They are demanding a starting salary of \$13,000.

These strikes may also be just the beginning. Predictions are that there will be about 160 teachers' strikes in this academic year—a twenty-fold jump over fifteen years ago. □



West Virginia miners wildcat

MORGANTOWN, W.VA.—More than two thousand miners struck in northern West Virginia in August. It was the largest wildcat strike in West Virginia in nearly two years.

The strike was in support of David Hunt. Hunt, his wife, and his children began picketing a nonunion strip mine operated by Keister Coal Co., near Audra State Park.

VOTE

Hunt said he had been permanently laid off in April because he was one of the men who voted for representation by the United Mine Workers Union.

The outcome of the election is still up in the air, because the company is challenging three of the 25 ballots cast. The company expects the case to be in the courts at least two years.

The strike was spread when several of Hunt's former co-workers walked out in sympathy. Then pickets began to appear at other mines in Barbour County. Other pickets shut down mines in Upshur County, including mines owned by the Bethlehem Steel Co., Republic Steel, Barbour Coal Co., and Badger Coal Co. □

An Opinion

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

Picnic for pioneers of the labor movement

On Saturday August 11, upwards of a hundred pioneer unionists who participated in the 1937 GM sitdown strike held a picnic at Flushing State Park, located in the city of Flushing, about eight miles west of Flint.

Some of these pioneers came from as far away as California. They came from Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, from Detroit and other Michigan cities. Some came from farms. There were about a dozen who participated in the 1930 Flint Fisher Body strike. Two of them, James A. Roland and Joe Ditzel from Toledo participated in the Toledo Auto Lite strike of 1934.

LEADERSHIP

Most of the leaders of the 1937 GM sitdown strike were either members of or sympathizers of the Socialist or the Communist Parties. I was told by several that without the leadership and participation of these radicals the would have been no 1937 GM sitdown strike.

Replying to my question about their present political thinking, they indicated their sympathies were still with

socialism. I believe I was the only one active in the socialist movement. I was invited to the picnic because of having been chairman of the Fleetwood Fisher Body strike committee during the '37 sitdown strike. I had also spent several days and nights with the sitdowners in Flint.

Several of these old timers complained of the degeneration of the UAW. One told me he didn't consider the International officers or the reps even union minded. He felt these people served the employers better than they did the workers.

CONDITIONS

Two or three of these pioneers had served the International as reps in the early days. They spoke of the low wages and difficult living conditions in that period. Some of the pioneers had been supporters of Homer Martin in the 1939 split convention. Most of them had worked in the plants 30 years or longer before they retired. One of them, Ken Malone had been put on trial and suspended from the UAW for his criticism of union policy.

The master of ceremonies, Larry Jones performed well as chairman of the meeting. He gave recognition to all who had participated in the strike. He praised the strikers for the important role they had played in building the UAW. He spoke in support of the national health insurance plan and for a program beneficial to all retirees.

Genora (Johnson) Dollinger coming from Los Angeles gave an inspiring talk on the activities of the Women's Emergency Brigade during the strike. She also spoke of the growing importance of women in society.

EMOTIONS

Bud Simmons, Chairman of the Fisher #1 strike committee, reflected the emotions of these pioneers in coming together. Some of us had not met since the days of the strike.

Al Rightley spoke as a representative of the UAW bureaucracy. He is Secretary of the National Council of Senior Citizens. Retiring after more than 30 years on the International payroll, he had nothing to say that these pioneers had not heard many times before. □



COPS RAMPAGE, COMPANY STALLS

Bailey strikers fight on

WICKLIFFE, OH—On the afternoon of August 13, 50 striking members of U.A.W. Local 1741 sat down in front of one of the main gates at Bailey Controls.

Others quickly joined them from the other gates. Soon there were about a hundred blocking the gate. They began to sing 'Solidarity Forever.'

MOVE

The 600 scabs working inside Bailey could not leave. And Bailey management got worried. The cops decided to move in.

A federal Marshall read out an injunction which limited pickets to three per gate, threatening arrests unless people cleared out. Nobody moved.

Seconds later, 5 cops charged the picket line, picked out one militant and dragged him off. Then, they came back for another. "Arrest us all why don't you," shouted a number of pickets.

And police did come back—this time a whole cordon of them. Batons out, riot helmets on, they shoved everyone out of the driveway and off the sidewalk into the street. Then tear gas was fired right into the crowd. More strikers were arrested.

The gate temporarily cleared, scabs started driving out. But the fight wasn't over. Rocks started flying in an attempt to stop the scabs. More tear gas was fired. The cops charged again, grabbing anyone they could. This went on for three hours.

At 10:00 o'clock, Wendy's and the Lawson's across the street were shut down—by "martial law." The police ordered everyone off the streets—under the threat of immediate arrest.

ARRESTED

In all, 25 people were arrested that night. Another 17 were later, on the basis of news film shot by local TV stations.

It was not a defeat for the strikers, however. If anything, they showed Bailey that they can fight every inch of the way if necessary.

The media blamed the violence on the strikers and on

**REPORT
BY
AHMED
SHAWKI**

"outside agitators." That is a lie. The violence was provoked by the police. It was the police who attacked the pickets. It was the police who set out to break the strike.

ESCORT

For almost a week after the police attack, between 150-200 police escorted the scabs and salaried personnel in and out of the plant. Lake county Commission President John Platz announced that he would call out the National Guard to put down the strike if need be.

In the meantime, Bailey refuses to talk—much less to up the offer. One striker, Armida Magri explained: "They scheduled a meeting for last week and they cancelled it. Then they called up the papers and said the union cancelled out."

Another striker, Kathi Magruder, told Socialist Worker: "We don't know anything. A lot of people are starting to hurt."

"We keep hearing the rumors. They're shutting down, they're doing this, they're doing that."

Harassment of strikers continues. Magri explained: "They've harassed me unmercilessly. I had a driver come at me with a billy club. I feel they've harassed me since day one. My foreman even hit me the first day. And it was deliberate."



"I'm through being a lady. I can be as rude and crude as the next person."

"The sheriff's car nearly ran us over," Magruder said, "we had to jump out of the way. They were laughing and giving us the finger. And we weren't in the driveway, we were on the sidewalk."

Despite the stalling by Bailey, the cop attack, the arrests and the harassment, the strikers are still confident. They were driven back, but certainly not defeated. Many have vowed to return to mass picketing to win this strike.

STRENGTH

"We've just got to keep our strength together," Ron Scott told Socialist Worker, "If you don't have the strength you might as well go back to work."

Another striker summed it all up: "I will stay out as long as it takes. My husband and I both work in there, and both of us will stay out. We won't go back for less than we came out for."

If there is a return to mass picketing, solidarity with the Bailey strikers will be essential. Bailey should be shut and forced to give in. There are tens of thousands of U.A.W. members in the Cleveland area—plus many more sympathetic unionists—not to mention those in the community who have already joined the picket lines.

↑
**First
the cops
tried this**

→
**Then
this**

↓
**And
then this**



But the strike continues. Kathi Magruder says, "We won't give up."



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Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

WHY THE KURDS MUST FIGHT

Khomeini's carnival of reaction continues. More than twenty opposition newspapers closed, including those of the Fedayin guerillas and the Tudeh (Communist) Party, the latter being the Tudeh's only reward for their shameful crawling before Khomeini.

But one target is increasingly becoming the focus of Khomeini's attacks—the Kurds. Nowhere was the overthrow of the Shah greeted more joyfully than in Kurdistan.

Kurdistan includes the most western province of Iran. Under the Shah's rule the

Kurds had been forbidden to use their own language or wear their own national dress. So they played their full part in the Shah's overthrow, and since then, while most of Iran has faced the mounting repression of Khomeini's Komitehs, Kurdistan has seen a new flowering of freedom.

UNVEILED

Left groups work unhampered. Mahabad is ruled, not by a Persian speaking Komiteh, but by a Kurdish Revolutionary Council. Kurdish women go unveiled. Alcohol is on sale on the streets of Sanandaj.

To the merchants, mullahs



Kurdish rebel

and capitalists for whom Khomeini speaks such freedoms are a frightening sight. They are an example to the other national minorities—Azerbaijanis, Baluchis, Turkomanis, Arabs—who together with the Kurds form over 50 per cent of the population. In the name of 'Islam', and like the Shah, in the name of 'national integrity', Khomeini is trampling on their rights.

WRATH

The Kurds are the strongest and best organized of the national groups. So Khomeini has turned his full wrath against them.

He has banned their largest

organization—the Kurdish Democratic Party. He has called for the arrest of its leaders and of the radical Kurdish cleric, Shaikh Izzedin Hussaini.

His 'revolutionary' guards have executed Kurdish militiamen. And now he calls for a full scale mobilization to crush the Kurds.

He may not find this task an easy one. The Kurds have thirty years experience of fighting their oppressors in Iraq and Turkey as well as in Iran.

The Kurdish Pesh Merga have proved their effectiveness as guerilla fighters. They now have huge quantities of modern light weapons in their hands. They will not give up their new found freedoms easily.

FUTURE

In the towns of central Iran Khomeini has effectively mobilized the mobs and his 'revolutionary' guards against the liberals and the left.

Socialists should give their full support to the struggle of the Kurds, not just for their own inviolable right to determine their own future. But for the future of all Iranian masses.

BOSTON U. WORKERS STRIKE FOR A DECENT CONTRACT

BOSTON, MA—Clerical and technical workers at Boston University (B.U.) voted to strike for a decent contract on September 6.

The UAW District 65 workers are fighting for an end to low pay, full medical coverage, COLA, an end to sexual harassment, a closed-shop, and an effective grievance procedure.

LOW

B.U. clericals are among the lowest paid in Boston. Terry Arzola, a library worker, said, "Our pay is incredibly low. The average worker takes home \$115 a week."

After a two and a half week strike last spring to get B.U. just to recognize the union, the administration promised swift and serious contract negotiations.

That was over four months ago. Since then the administration has stalled continuously.

The workers have been treated with disrespect. Last week, when a woman was passing out leaflets on campus concerning the strike action, she was ordered off the premises by a plainclothed cop.

Other workers were treated similarly. Terry Arzola told Socialist Worker, "The main thrust of the problem stems from their nasty tactics, such as threatening us with pay losses if we participate in a strike."

In solidarity with District 65 are the librarians (Local 925 SEIU) who are grieving over lack of work place control and pay which is \$1,000 less than the other librarians in Boston.

One librarian told Socialist Worker, "We are both strong in labor solidarity, we did it in the spring and we'll do it now."

CONFIDENCE

Members of District 65 express a similar confidence. As one steward said, "We're at a much more critical point this fall."

"Last spring, when we were on strike, everyone was going home. This year we're hitting the administration at registration week, and it's important for them that the clerical workers be at their jobs. I know people are confident."

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