

# Socialist Worker

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THE FIRST SOCIALISTS see page 11

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## THE WAR IN LEBANON



Lebanon is once again in flames, and the Middle East is on the brink of a new war.

But the press tells nothing of the victims of the fighting—the people like these Palestinian children in Damour, Lebanon—the people who bear the brunt of the Israeli arsenals.

See pages 8 and 9 of this issue for an eyewitness account of the real story of the fighting in Lebanon.

# THE RACIST IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Reagan's cuts will hurt all the poor, especially the young, the elderly, the minorities.

### DELIBERATE

But they will hurt Blacks the most. And they will hurt Blacks the most because of Reagan's deliberate policies. He feels he can politically afford to hurt Blacks—more so than veterans and social security recipients, for example.

The new cuts, will actually worsen the economic disparities between Blacks and whites.

Most people on welfare, of course, are not Black, and most Blacks are not on welfare.

### CHILDREN

But Blacks—because they are poor, and kept poor in this society—do make up one third of those people who receive food stamps, Medicaid, and who live in public housing. They are nearly half those who receive Aid to Dependent Children.

Spending on all these programs is being reduced in Reagan's budget—Aid to Dependent Children is being cut 11 per cent. Food stamps by nearly 25%.

BY CALVIN WILLIAMS

Nearly 300,000 Blacks hold CETA jobs, a program that Reagan plans to abolish.

Blacks will suffer in every way. Stores in poor neighborhoods, dependent on food stamps, will close. Hospitals will reduce services to the poor. Small Black colleges will not survive.

Is it wrong to call this racist? No. But if there is any doubt about Ronald Reagan, just add his foreign policy to his policy at home.

### HEAD

He wants Ernest W. Lefever to head his so-called "human rights program."

Ernest Lefever is a man who has denounced every hint of "human rights" legislation since 1974.

He is an advocate of alliances with right-wing dictatorships in every corner of the globe.

But his policies on Africa are the most blatantly racist.

He opposed the one-person one-vote elections in South Africa and Rhodesia.

He helped the Nestle company—which sells dangerous baby formula to poor nations—fight of a consumer boycott.

### APARTHEID

And he supports apartheid in South Africa.

In 1978 he wrote: "It would be impossible for sophisticated, industrialized white South Africa to integrate culturally and politically 10 million largely illiterate Bantu without catastrophic consequences for the economy and political stability."

Ronald Reagan is a racist. His whole policy is racist.

That's why he—and the whole racist system he represents—has got to go!



# A letter from Northern Ireland

## THE FIGHT FOR POLITICAL STATUS

May 4. Coalisland, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland.

The Catholic minority in Northern Ireland is faced with the might of 40,000 armed men.

Of these, 11,000 are crack British troops. The rest are Ulster police, military and paramilitary forces.

With a Catholic population of slightly more than half a million, there is one armed enemy man for every 12 Catholics.

Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine the outcome of civil war.

Bernadette McAliskey said, "An outbreak of general violence would not be a civil war; it would be genocide. We have little in the way of arms and they would kill us off in two or three days."

I met her on the last day of Bobby Sands' life. Among those she works with, she was advocating a political response to his inevitable death—a response in keeping with "his dignity and heroism."

### WORK

The little town of Coalisland, where Bernadette lives and where she works for the H-Block campaign out of a small store-front office, is a Catholic community.

The handful of factories that had provided employment were boarded up, and unemployment was estimated at 80 per cent.

The determination of the minority has, however, been deepened by conditions like this and by the armed repression.

"The people have been put off too many times," says Bernadette. "There was a time when an emissary from the Pope could have ended a hunger strike. But Msgr. Magee's attempt to appease the British was a failure."

Political prisoner status was ended for Northern Ireland by the British in 1976.

In Bernadette's view, "The special courts were set up to secure convictions. The only reason for them is political."

She warns the British that "by infringing the rights of Catholics in Northern Ireland, they will end by throwing away the civil rights of the English people."

When the McAliskey case comes to court, Bernadette will argue for political status for Smallwood, Watson, and Graham, the would-be assassins of her and her husband.

The brutal attempt on their lives in January, from which Bernadette has recovered sufficiently to get about the house without crutches, has not changed her attitude that the political struggle must be primary.

### FOCUS

The struggle for political status will go on.

The H-Block campaign remains the immediate focus of the struggle to get the British out and for a unified Ireland.

Bernadette sees the working class of both Ulster and the Republic as playing a greater role in the movement toward unity.

"I have little doubt how important it will be to give the struggle a political direction"



British troops on the rampage

"The British," she insists, "are now dealing with the Irish working class, where the new leadership of the republican movement is developing."

It is this leadership that can give the struggle a political thrust and avoid a disastrous civil war.

Across from the H-Block campaign store-front and commanding the streets lead-

ing into the center of Coalisland is an army barracks.

For a homemade milk-bottle firebomb to reach the barracks, it would have to clear 20 feet of wire fencing.

Guns in slits in the barracks could rake the whole central square. A camera used to photograph the barracks would be confiscated.

Bernadette got into her car

and drove toward home in full view of those slits.

As I saw her drive off I had little doubt how dangerous an escalation into civil war could be and how important her efforts to give the struggle a political direction based on the working class are.

Milton Fisk,  
Coalisland, Northern Ireland

## H-BLOCK CAMPAIGN GOES SOUTH

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, in a press conference on May 29 at the Abbey Hotel in Dublin, announced there will be nine candidates in the South's national elections—June 11—and all will be standing on the single issue—the prisoners' demands.

All the candidates are prisoners. One is a woman.

The campaign is being organized to build support for the prisoners in the South and to expose the fact that Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey has so far refused to take any steps to support the hunger strikers.

### CRUSH

McAliskey told *Socialist Worker*: "The main purpose in fielding the candidates is to show that the British political strategy is to crush all opposition in the North on the one hand, and to establish a political partnership with the South on the other.

"The government in the South is obviously quite happy with that strategy.

"We are fielding candidates to argue with the electorate in the South that they have a major role to play in the national struggle, in making it impossible for the government to collaborate with the British while prisoners are dying of hunger strike in the North." □



## Reproductive Rights:

# International Day of Action

Three thousand people chanting "A Woman's Life is a Human Life" marched in New York City.

The demonstration was part of the International Day of Action called by the London based International Contraception, Abortion and Sterilization Campaign (ICAS).

In the U.S. it was largely through the efforts of the Reproductive Rights National Network (r2N2) that activities in a number of cities were carried out.

New York had the largest demonstration. But 1,500 marched and rallied in Boston. In Chicago, mass leafletting against the Human Life Amendment (HLA) took place at shopping centers. This was organized by Chicago Women Organized for Reproductive Choice (WORC).

### CARAVAN

In Cleveland a car caravan was organized. Cars covered with anti-HLA and pro-choice balloons and posters circulated through the city honking horns and chanting "A woman's life is a human life." The caravan stopped at a number of shopping centers distributed 3,000 leaflets. The caravan was organized by the Pro-Choice Action Committee.



Car caravan in Cleveland



# MAY: A MONTH OF PROTEST

# Demonstration fever!

May was a month of demonstrations.

First there was the massive May 3 march on Washington, D.C.—demanding an end to military and economic support to Reagan's friends in the right-wing junta in El Salvador.

It was a huge display of opposition to the government. At a minimum, 75,000 people marched. The organizers put the figure at closer to 100,000.

## NEW

It was also the biggest demonstration of its kind in almost a decade, and most importantly, it included tens of thousands of young people, a new generation, hopefully, of political activists.

On May 25, 5,000 people, overwhelmingly Black, marched on Washington to demand action on Atlanta—where there are now 28 missing Black people, almost all children.

And on May 16, there were pro-abortion demonstrations in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Cincinnati—as part of the International Days of Action for reproductive rights for women.

There was also an El



## Socialist Worker

### WHAT WE THINK

Salvador demonstration in South Bend, Indiana, on May 17, when Reagan gave the commencement address at Notre Dame University. 2,000 marched.

And in Seattle and Los Angeles on May 3. And in Chicago on May 30—1,500 marched.

When Reagan's budget was approved in Congress there were protests in scores of cities. In Ohio alone, there were marches and rallies in Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Toledo.

Earlier, in late April, there were important mobilizations of workers. 20,000 rail workers

marched on Washington demanding an end to Reagan's Conrail cuts. Rail workers demonstrated in smaller numbers in many other cities as well.

2,500 coal miners demonstrated in Pittsburgh—on April 29—protesting against Consolidation Coal, the leading company in the coal negotiations, which has its headquarters in Pittsburgh.

### OPPOSE

Not bad! Not bad, especially after the long decline of the left and the protest movements during the seventies.

## GAY AND LESBIAN PRIDE WEEK

## BUILDS DESPITE INCREASING ATTACKS



Gay and lesbian pride marchers in Boston

As preparations get under way for this year's lesbian and gay pride events across the country, they do so in a climate of increased attacks on the rights and lives of lesbians and gays.

### SHOT

In the past year, four gay men were shot down in front of a popular bar in New York. Gays throughout the country have been murdered and attacked in increasing numbers.

Police have increased harassment of lesbians and gays, recently arresting 60 men and 12 women outside of bars in New Orleans.

### CASE

At the same time the Supreme Court refused to hear a lesbian custody case leaving the children with the father.

The Family Protection Act is meant to reinforce the right's view of the family. The act withdraws federal funding from any organization, school,

agency, etc., that questions traditional sex roles.

Under the act agencies are required to discriminate against lesbians and gays and welfare, food stamps and unemployment might be denied according to sexual preference.

Lesbians and Gays are one of the main targets of the right.

### FORGET

Reverend Dan Fore, the leader of New York's "moral majority" has said: "We'd better forget about all these civil rights which have done nothing but destroy society and create anarchy. They're really not rights at all, but lusts and wants."

But lesbians and gays are fighting back.

In Mexico, gays marched for the first time in the may day parade.

Lesbians and gays in New York are planning a demonstration June 5th against the church affiliated with the "moral majority" in the Village.

### SUPPORT

Lesbian-Gay Pride is the anniversary of the fight back of lesbians and gays after police raided the Stonewall Inn, which lasted several days.

It is important that during this week all those who support lesbian and gay pride are visible.

All out for Lesbian and Gay Pride!

by ALLYSON SMITH

There should be no doubt about the importance of all activity. It cannot help but give confidence and encouragement to all those people who oppose the government's policies—both here in the U.S. and in Central America.

But we should not forget that the movement is still very weak, and that it will still have its ups and downs.

We have a long way to go before we are in a position to seriously challenge Reagan on El Salvador.

And while the opposition to the budget is undoubtedly very widespread—we should remember that much of it is still made up of Carter supporters and Democrats who are looking for help to get back in office.

The point is quite simple. Whatever the Democrats are saying now, the fact is that the cuts in social services began under Carter. As did military aid to El Salvador. As did the recession. And so on.

We should also remember that demonstrations in themselves will not be enough.

We have to build a base for the movements in the working class—the Black community, the unions, the factories and offices—and in the colleges and schools.

We want a movement that will fight every day—not just parade once or twice a year.

### MINORITY

This will take steady, ongoing hard work, for we are still very much in the minority.

A key part of this work is building a revolutionary socialist organization, an organization that can begin to make the links between coal miners and students, welfare mothers and rail workers, the Black mothers of Atlanta and the teachers of Ohio.

For in the end, only a united movement can effectively challenge what is increasingly a general crisis in the society—and the world.

We in the ISO are trying to take the first steps in this direction. You should join us, for there is a great deal to do—and the possibilities are rapidly increasing.

In the meantime, the protests are continuing and should be enthusiastically and seriously built. On June 21, Ronald Reagan will be at the national governors' conference in Columbus, Ohio. See you there! □

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## FIGHTING WORDS

... While there is a lower class I am in it, while there is a criminal element I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison I am not free.

Eugene Debs, 1918



## BOSTON CUTS HIT BLACKS AND WOMEN FIRST

**BOSTON, MA**—This city, suffering the consequences of Proposition 2½, is feeling the crunch that could follow in other cities.

Before the full effect of Prop 2½, there have already been announced layoffs of 40% of Boston teachers, 25% of the Boston Fire Department, and 20% of the police force.

### TOTAL

These layoffs are hitting the whole working class of Boston. But for women and Blacks, and other minorities, the layoffs mean the total abolition of gains made through affirmative action over the last two decades.

For example, nearly 75% of the Black municipal workers will lose their jobs. Of Bos-

ton's 4,800 teachers, 980 are Black—but most of these were hired in the last six years, and through seniority rules, there will be almost no Black teachers after the layoffs.

Likewise, the police force and fire department will once again be all white.

The right wing backlash means a diminished city workforce, that will once again be virtually all white and male.

Since the layoffs were announced, there have been a series of actions throughout the city. These actions have included the following:

- blocking traffic at major arteries during rush hour.
- Seizing local police and fire stations that were closed by Mayor White.
- Demonstrations by

teachers, students, and parents protesting the cuts.

● The blocking of a Brink's truck carrying mass transit revenue by Carmen Union (the action was violently broken up by the State Police.)

So far, most of the community actions have originated in South Boston, Charlestown, and East Boston.

In South Boston and Charlestown, racist organizations like the South Boston Marshalls are filling the political vacuum.

And in East Boston, the political confusion was typified when community protesters demanded that \$9 million released by Governor King to prevent the school system from going bankrupt,

be used instead for rehiring laid off policemen.

Such a "solution" is like cutting off the head to save the body.

### SOLIDARITY

More encouraging, other areas of the city like Dorchester have had actions and mass meetings expressing solidarity among Blacks, whites, and other minorities.

At a recent meeting of over 300 people, a local AFSCME union president, who happened to be white and male, addressed the crowd, expressing his support for affirmative action for Blacks and women. □

by PETER LOWBER



## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

# Rebellion in the world's largest prison

Malcolm X

A prison revolt at Jackson prison, the world's largest walled detention facility, touched off similar rebellions at two other Michigan prisons.

The rebellion lasted 5 days, resulting in injuries of 45 inmates and 68 staff members, an estimated nine million dollars worth of damages, and the reopening of a longstanding debate over what to do with society's victims, misfits and social outcasts.

### SEETHE

Almost ten years after the great Attica revolt, September, 1971, American prisoners continue to seethe with discontent, anger, violence and rebellion.

On Friday, May 23rd, some 1,200 inmates broke out of two cell blocks in the massive Jackson prison in reaction to an attempt by guards to lock prisoners in their cells. Soon prisoners controlled the yard and several cell blocks.

News of the Jackson revolt spread quickly to the Ionia reformatory, a maximum security prison, about fifty miles from Jackson. There, 1,000 inmates seized control of the prison yard for seven hours until heavily armed squads of prison guards, backed by state police, began a sweep through the prison gates, using tear gas, to drive the inmates back into their cells.

Prison guards now admit that they fired at least thirty

live shells during the revolt at Ionia reformatory.

At Jackson prisoners met with warden Barry Mintzes, and presented him with a list of issues which included, among others, processing of inmate grievances and medical care.

When inmates demanded amnesty for inmates accused of starting Friday night's riot the warden stopped talking, feeling that people most worried about amnesty were the guilty parties.

For the second time in four days inmates overpowered guards and revolted.

Later that night, after the second Jackson uprising was subdued, inmates at Marquette, a maximum security prison located in the Upper Peninsula of the state, broke loose.

In moments five prison officials were assaulted and eight other guards were sent to the hospital.

### TRUTH

Telling the true tale of why nearly 2,500 prisoners revolted in three separate institutions over memorial weekend is not yet possible.

State and prison officials claim the reason is chronic overcrowding. Throughout the weekend, the news media continued to remind Michigan residents that they had a chance to vote to provide ad-

ditional prison space in last fall's election.

More emboldened politicians like Michigan's Oakland County prosecutor, L. Brooks Patterson, says inmates have been "coddled for too long" and advocates a "get tough" policy.

Prison guards complain that they are not allowed to discipline inmates and are not given proper training or equipment.

The truth lies somewhere among the ruin and rubble of Jackson, Ionia and Marquette.

What the officials, the

media and the guards fail to understand is there are no short term solutions to crime and the reformatory system under capitalism.

As long as the system is a system of racism, inequality and poverty, there will be crime.

As long as women are treated as secondary citizens there will be rape.

As long as people are forced to fight among themselves for a few crumbs allotted by the ruling class there will be murder and assaults.

As long as people have to

live in a society where there is no hope, there will be dope addicts and drug related crimes.

In short, as long as capitalism continues to ignore the needs of the poor and the disadvantaged, the prisons will continue to swell.

Prison reform will always be inadequate under capitalism. If society builds more prisons they will be quickly filled up again.

Hiring more guards will only heighten the tension behind America's walled institutions. A "get tough" approach will just cause more Atticas.

In the meantime prison revolts will continue to happen as the most despised and disadvantaged elements in society demand their rights as human beings.

The crooks like Richard Nixon, Bert Lance and the Abscam senators will continue to go free with just a light slap on the hand.

The uncaught thugs like Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter won't even experience that.

### CHANCE

What the prisoners of America need is a chance to live in a society where there are jobs and education opportunities, where all people are respected and can contribute to their community—where wealth is shared and there is plenty for all and where life is free as it is meant to be. □



Attica, 1971: Striking inmates who led the rebellion that rocked the country



## RANK AND FILE MINERS FORCE OPERATORS BACK

# New contract in coalfields

CHARLESTON, W.VA.—The negotiators for the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), the nation's soft coal producers, have reached a new agreement.

The announcement came on the 63rd day of the nationwide coal strike, and this time the union's bargaining council was unanimous, 41-0. Two members voted no, but then reversed their positions.

### PREDICTION

The prediction now is that the rank and file will almost certainly accept the agreement, and that work will begin again in the mines on June 7 or 8.

At the end of March, rank and file miners overwhelmingly rejected a similar agreement—voting against the union's top leadership by margins as wide as 11 to 1 in parts of this state.

The main issues then involved union jurisdiction and the processing and reselling of non-union coal by BCOA members.

The coal operators, led by Consolidation Coal, the leading employer of UMW members, were attempting to restrict the jurisdiction of the union in sub-contracting, in leasing, and in new operations.

### STRIKE SHOWS MINERS STRENGTH BUT MORE BATTLES LIE AHEAD

They were also demanding that the union agree to drop the \$1.90 royalty paid by companies processing non-union coal.

In addition, the first agreement put a 45 day probation period for new miners into the contract destroying the long tradition that all who work in a union mine be union members.

Sam Church, the president of the UMW, signed the agreement on hopes of avoiding a strike, thereby improving his position for next year's union elections. But the rank and file rebuffed him.

This time the companies have given in. The royalty clause is back in—the companies must pay \$2.23.6 per ton into the miners' health and benefit funds.

### LANGUAGE

The probation clause is out. And their is stronger language in the parts of the contract dealing with sub-contracting, leasing and new operations.

Opponents of the earlier agreement say there are still problems, but that there is an improvement.

The economic package remains the same—about 30% over 3 years. The top scale will

be \$113 a day when the contract expires in 40 months.

One of the few victories for the rank and file in the first agreement—the \$100 per month pension for widows under the 1950 pension plan—was weakened, apparently in an act of spite. The widows will now get \$95 a month. Previously the widows got nothing.

The rank and file might, of course, still turn this tentative agreement down—they have done so in the past.

And there is certainly reason to do so. Most important is the fact that while the hated Arbitration Review Board is abolished, all of its decisions remain, including the ones which ban strikes over local grievances and punish wildcat strikers.

Also, despite the talk about how much this package will cost the companies, in fact it is a less costly agreement than recent settlement in the auto and steel industries.

And the coal companies, of course, are owned by oil monopolies and the utilities—industries which have no shortage of money.

Still, at a time when unions everywhere are on the defensive, when workers are suffer-



Miners march in Harrisburg

ing defeat after defeat, the rank and file coal miners have shown that workers can fight back—and be successful.

They did force the companies back.

But while they hung on to what they had, they won very little. And this fact points out the weakness of rank and file miners.

Because the rank and file remained disorganized, with little communication from one

district to the next, there was little they could do to influence the negotiators in Washington, D.C.

### PICKETING

Militant picketing was carried out from the start of the strike, and in the course of the strike hundreds of miners were arrested, dozens shot—by company thugs.

But court injunctions stopped most rank and file activity and non-union coal was moved with ease even in the union's heartland—West Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

What was needed was rank and file action—such as picketing at power plants, steel mills and rail yards—both to widen the strike, and organize the power of miners at the rank and file level.

This was not done, and consequently the action remained in Washington, D.C.—at the negotiating table.

The settlement, then, was far from a defeat, but it was not the victory the miners need at a time when they are in desperate trouble.

They still face the possibility of losing their Black Lung benefits.

They still must watch the strength of their union steadily diminish with the growth of non-union coal production, both in the West and East.

And they still face employers who are determined to weaken the union in the mines themselves—particularly the miners' right to safe working conditions.

### URGENT

So however the rank and file miners vote, the battle in the coal fields is far from over. And the need for a rank and file miners' movement is all the more urgent—especially with the union's elections approaching. □

## Nazis routed in Southfield, Michigan

SOUTHFIELD, MI—On a rainy Sunday, May 10, a tense situation existed in Southfield, Michigan, a largely Jewish suburb of Detroit.

25 uniformed American Nazis, protected by hundreds of police, demonstrated against the Jewish community, chanting "Six million more" and "What do we want? White power."

### FOCUS

The focus of the Nazi mobilization was a Israel independence day parade of 1,500 people.

Several Detroit groups came out to demonstrate against the Nazis, despite political differences with the "Israel independence day" and the pouring rain.

### REPORT BY FRANK RUNNINGHORSE

It was correctly understood that we should never allow the Nazis to come out on the streets, without a militant opposition, regardless of who or what they are demonstrating against.

Never again will we allow the Nazis to divide and conquer. About 35 people marched under the "Coalition Against the Atlanta Murders" banner, including members of the I.S.O., Anti-Nazi League and Rock Against Racism.

We chanted "Nazis and the Klan are the scum of the land", "Nazis out of Southfield, Nazis out of the world" and "Jewish, Arab, Black and White, same struggle same fight."

During the passing of the parade the Nazi's were brought out of the police station, which is located right next to the Jewish Community Center. Under heavy police protection, they were allowed to squak their racist filth for about 15 minutes.

### PARADE

As the parade came to an end, many of the more militant and younger Jews started protesting with us against the Nazis, in spite of the encouragement by parade organizers to "ignore them and go inside (the center) for the rest of the program."

The police quickly hustled the Nazis into the basement of the community center.

As police chief Ritenour said "because it was getting too hot." Once this happened we rushed to the north side of the building and surrounded the Nazi's rented panel truck that was backed up to a loading dock.

Soon a good size crowd of about 300-400 people were their chanting militantly and throwing mud and spitting on the truck.

We held the Nazis captive in the basement underneath the Jewish Community Center for about an hour. The police came out and ordered the crowd to disperse.

This only caused the crowd to chant louder and drown out the public megaphone.

Finally 35 mounted Oakland County Sheriff's Deputies and 140 Southfield riot squad police began charging the crowd.

A few people were trampled by police horses—and several arrests were made. The crowd instantly joined in with out chant "Blue shirts, brown shirts, the same damn thing."

Finally the police charges and the heavy rain dispersed enough of the crowd, so that a Southfield cop could drive the Nazi's panel truck away without the Nazis in it.

### SNEAK

Meanwhile the police began sneaking the Nazis out the back way in police vans, unknown to the crowd.

Several miles away the panel truck rendezvoused with the Nazis and the Nazi scum limped back to their holes with their tails between their legs, like the dogs that they are. □





# Graffiti

by PATRICIA GOLDSMITH

## Birthday bash . . .

The Carpenters union will spend more than \$1 million to celebrate its 100th anniversary. Plans include: a two-volume study by a Cornell University economist, a 250-page "popular" history of the union and a "living newspaper" drama starring E.G. Marshall at the union's August convention. □

## Below average . . .

The Postal Service says the \$400-plus an hour it's paying Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher lawyers for help in its union dispute is "below the firm's normal billing rate." □

## Effective control . . .

San Jose, California. Hugh Rushin, 44, arrested by police, died of strangulation after officers taped a paper bag over his head in an attempt to subdue him.

A police report said the sack was used on Rushin in the belief it was effective in controlling persons under the influence of PCP.

No drugs were found in Rushin's blood, the autopsy showed. □

## Curtains . . .

"Obviously we're the wave of the future because we're the ones having the children. The birth rate is down among women who are opting for a career instead of a home. It's certainly curtains for their movement." Phyllis Schlafly. □

## Take a stand . . .

Thorne G. Auchter, the new head of OSHA, has ordered the destruction of more than 50,000 government booklets on cotton dust. He felt the cover photograph is too sympathetic to victims of brown lung disease.

He also ordered OSHA's 10 regional officers to suspend showing 3 films on cotton dust. Before ordering the recall Auchter had not read the booklets nor seen the films.

The booklets' cover shows a cotton worker who is "obviously ill" and the inside cover notes the worker died of brown lung disease.

Auchter believes government booklets "can take a stand on an issue but not on one side or the other." □

## Quote of the month . . .

Edwin Meese III, a Reagan advisor, has branded the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) a national "criminal's lobby." □

# THE UNITED STATES AGAINST THE WORLD

For a decade thousands of third world infants have died because of the marketing of processed powdered milk substitutes to mothers by European and American firms such as Nestles.

The processed formulas, mixed in with contaminated water or diluted too much cause infant malnutrition. Public health officials argue that breast feeding is healthier

for the child and more economical for the mother anyway.

Employees of these companies, dressed up as medical personnel, visit village after village promoting the products. New mothers are routinely given advertising brochures and free samples while still in the hospital.

When the World Health Organization drew up a volun-

tary code of conduct directed at these companies, only the U.S. delegate opposed the measure. It passed by a vote of 118 nations to one.

## WORD

"Restricting free trade," said the U.S. delegate, as the word came down from the White House to vote "no". *Time* magazine wrote: "The decision is consistent with the

Administration's zealous support for American business."

Opposition to the U.S. stand arose even within the Administration itself as Dr. Stephen Joseph, the top health official at the Agency for International Development, and Eugene Babb, the agency's top nutrition expert, resigned from their jobs in protest.

by KENT WORCESTER

## TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Will El Salvador become another Vietnam?

Once again, the U.S. government is sending military aid to prop up a government making war on its own people. Obvious parallels exist between the early stages of U.S. military intervention in Vietnam and the current state of affairs in El Salvador.

### MEMORY

In fact, it may be only the painful memory of the Vietnam war on the part of many Americans that has so far prevented Reagan and company from an outright invasion of El Salvador, especially as that memory shows itself in the organization of a new antiwar movement.

The special "White Paper" released in February by the State Department entitled "Communist infiltration in El Salvador" brings to mind the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1965, which the U.S. claimed was an unprovoked attack by North Vietnam on a U.S. destroyer.

The incident was used by the U.S. as a pretext for the first major escalation of the war.

Many bombs, bullets, and lives later, official government documents surfaced with the real truth about the Gulf of Tonkin: North Vietnam had fired only in response to heavy bombardment of its shore by the U.S. ship.

To put it simply, the Gulf of Tonkin incident had been a lie, a fabrication put out by the government to convince Americans to support an imperialist war.

The White Paper on El Salvador is also reminiscent of another 1965 artifact of the war in Vietnam, again a State Department White Paper, "Aggression from the North: the Record of North Vietnam's Campaign to Conquer South Vietnam."

Both White Papers are based on the domino theory, and both argue that the U.S. must get tough with "international communism."

As in the case of Vietnam, the American mass media tend to take State Department claims at face value. Only the left press seems to have noticed the glaring discrepancy between the charges of



Communist aggression and the background documents—purportedly captured from Salvadorean guerillas—which actually contradict the U.S. government's charge that the guerillas are being armed by the Soviet Union.

### ATTENTION

By blaming popular insurgency in El Salvador on "international communism," the administration hopes to draw attention from the real situation there. As in Vietnam, El Salvador is undergoing a genuine, home-grown war of national liberation.

And just as in Vietnam, the war is rooted in economic and social conditions of poverty and injustice.

Most important, the U.S. is in its familiar role of supporting reaction and repression because the status quo which is so miserable for the people of El Salvador is profitable for U.S. corporations.

But more than the methodology and the semantics of this intervention are familiar. Even some of the personnel are the same.

Take Dr. Roy Prosterman, for example. Prosterman is on the faculty of the University of Washington law school in

## El Salvador and the memory of Vietnam

BY DEBORAH ROBERTS

Seattle, but his real job is program designer and consultant for the CIA and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

His most recent government assignment was to design the land reform program for El Salvador, a job for which he is well qualified. He was, after all, architect of the so-called Land to the Tiller program in Vietnam.

Agrarian reform of the CIA-type was part of the overall "pacification" program in Vietnam, which also included search and destroy missions, secured-hamlet programs, and the CIA's Operation Phoenix.

A House of Representatives investigation estimated that Operation Phoenix alone was responsible for the deaths of 30,000 Vietnamese peasants in 1968.

Land reform of this kind will not work in El Salvador any more than it worked in Vietnam.

For all the similarities, there is also a major difference between military intervention today and fifteen years ago.

This time around, there won't be guns and butter, and every prop to the junta in El Salvador will be paid for by

cuts in social services at home.

Thus, every struggle against these cuts, against declining wages and the effects of economic crisis generally, will have the immediate potential of linking up with the antiwar movement.

### STRENGTH

The most important lesson for socialists is that the early strength of the movement against intervention in El Salvador can be attributed in large part to antiwar and anti-government sentiment that developed in the sixties and early seventies by the movement against the war in Vietnam.

The issues are the same now as then, and the reason we have to take a stand on them again is because we still live under capitalism, a system that requires war and imperialism in order to survive. A decisive victory against that system still lies in the future.

The movement against war is starting this round of protest at a much higher level than in the sixties, both politically and organizationally, because the memory of that earlier movement is still fresh. □





**WORLD IN STRUGGLE**

**BRIEFS: CENTRAL AMERICA**

**GUATEMALA**—In the next few weeks the Reagan Administration plans to resume military aid to the government of General Romeo Lucas Garcia in Guatemala.

The Lucas Garcia regime is one of the most repressive dictatorships in the world and has been responsible for the tortures and executions of over 5,000 persons since 1978.

In March and April of this year 1,500 persons were killed in Chimaltenango department alone.

**PROTEST**

The Guatemalan government refused military aid from the U.S. in 1977 to protest the Carter Administration's criticism of certain U.S. allies who were guilty of committing embarrassing human rights violations.

On May 4 Acting Assistant Secretary of State John Bushnell appeared before the Senate foreign Relations Committee claiming that the Lucas Garcia regime was threatened by an international Communist conspiracy.

A few days later General Vernon Walters, ex-deputy director of the CIA, was sent to Guatemala City to negotiate the resumption of military aid.

**EL SALVADOR**—A major government offensive against the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN) was met with firm resistance by the guerrillas.

On May 11 the FMLN succeeded in downing a UH1H "Huey" helicopter, one of ten given to the junta by the U.S. this year.

Many observers claim that the military situation has improved for the guerrillas.

Politically the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), under pressure from the Socialist International, offered to begin negotiations with both the U.S. and the junta.

The State Department and Duarte's government rejected the FDR's proposal for dialogue. □

# They were ordinary people

**Eamonn McCann**  
**on the lives of the hunger strikers**

Bobby Sands, 27, was once a vehicle builder. Francis Hughes, 25, was a painter and decorator. Raymond McCreesh, 24, was a milkman. Patsy O'Hara, 23, was an apprentice machinist.

They were very ordinary people. That's the amazing thing about them. Amazing because to die on hunger strike seems an extraordinary thing to do and yet they did it.

**OBSESSED**

And did it, apparently, because the alternative was to wear a prison uniform, do prison work, call wardens "Sir." Surely only someone obsessed would go through death's door for such small reasons.

And yet in the days when he was a teenager running around Derry, the only thing Patsy O'Hara was obsessed with was a groundless notion that he might make it as a rock star. He played rhythm guitar with his brother Tony's pick-up band.

Francis Hughes' mother told me that before he took to the hills as a guerilla, the only worry she ever had about him was when he was late home from dances. He was "mad keen" on dances.

And so on. Ordinary people with ordinary dreams. Yet each ended as a bundle of bones in a prison cell, blind and deaf.

They died, in the phrase, because they refused to conform. That's the whole of it. Young as they were they had had a lifetime's learning about what it meant to conform in the North.

It meant, if you were a Catholic worker, that you lived on the outside, looking in. That you were the last in the line for any job going. At the back of the line for a house. That you kept cool when you got kicked by a cop—lest you got kicked harder for answering back. You learned early not to be uppity.

**ACCEPT**

If you lived in a place where Catholics were in a massive majority, like in Derry, you learned to accept that even so—the Orange Order ruled the locality.

You might mutter about it when you clustered on the street corner in the evening, but you didn't do anything because, well, there was nothing to be done.



*The family of Bobby Sands*

You faced the future knowing that if you stayed in your own country it would be a struggle every day to tear some dignity out of life and that eventually you'd probably die amidst the same social squalor in which you first saw the light of day.

The four hunger strikers who are dead were among those who decided finally to take up arms to end all this. Sands, Hughes and McCreesh were in the Irish Republican Army. O'Hara was in the Irish National Liberation Army. And as such they have been duly denounced as mad bombers and murderous thugs.

And to be sure, even allowing for the grotesque distortions of the establishment press, there have been some mad things done in the North and in connection with the North.

It can be argued at one level that that's just the way with wars. Or, more specifically, the way with wars when the politics are not plain and the

participants are young, and urgent and avid for change—now.

Which is not to deny that there were other options: the politics of protest, long marches, demonstrations, strikes, rent strikes, sit-ins, even prayer meetings for the pious.

They were tried. All of them. A way back, in the beginning in the late sixties, the civil rights movement sought mild reform in a mild mannered way and was praised and patronized by pundits everywhere for its dignified bearing and stout refusal to be provoked.

Then the civil rights movement was met with was military might.

**KILLED**

The first half dozen people killed in the North's trouble were Catholics killed by the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B-specials.

When that didn't terrorize all the people off the streets and the cops couldn't handle

the trouble any more, the British army was brought in.

And despite the hopes which settled in many a moderate's heart at the time, within a year the army lined up with the RUC and the Orange State to keep the Catholics down.

That's the sort of thing which sets youth thinking about an alternative way of doing things. There wasn't going to be any reform, not while the state lasted. And it was going to last as long as Britain backed it, and battered us into the ground if we complained too loud about it.

That's what the war to end the northern State is about. Like thousands of others, Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Ray McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara came into it in their teens after 1972, after Bloody Sunday, at a time when the peaceful road had run out. When the option of mass politics, as opposed to military struggle, would have seemed to them no longer available.

**ISSUE**

We could argue the politics of the parties they joined but that's hardly the priority at this time. The point is, there was nothing weird or wicked, or even unexpected about what they decided to do. And certainly nothing criminal. Which is the point at issue in the prisons.

It is because the Catholic working class understands the links between the broad issue outside and the immediate struggle inside that the prisoners have mass support.

The 30,000 who voted for Bobby Sands in Fermanagh and South Tyrone, would have included some who'd go all the way with the IRA and some who would not.

Likewise with the 100,000 who marched behind Sands' coffin and the tens of thousands who turned out in tribute to the other three.

The point people were making by being there in those numbers was simply that what these men did was not from evil but in the struggle against evil.

And had it not been for the existence of that evil none of them would ever have seen the inside of a jail. Because in the ordinary course of events ordinary people don't—and they were ordinary people just like you and me. □



# The shooting of the Pope— is nothing sacred?

"The world is sick, sick, sick." So began an editorial last month in that normally most level headed of newspapers the New York Times.

Headlines in other papers screamed the same message in the wake of the attempt on Pope John Paul II's life: "Here was pure evil . . ." "This lust to spill blood."

One of the few who tried to explain the shooting on St Peter's Square was Anthony Burgess in the British *Daily Mail*. "Everybody these days thinks he has the right to be a star," he writes.

Murdering one of the great of this world is "the easy way to power," requiring neither knowledge nor responsibility but "the power solely to destroy." In other words, shoot John Lennon or the Pope and earn cheap immortality.

There is a grain of truth to this argument.

Ours is a mass society which has destroyed or undermined most of the institutions, the most important of which was the church, which gave people a sense of identity, their place in the world, however mean and limited that place might be.

## UNITS

Today individuals have become units of an anonymous civilization which treats them as expendable, replaceable—national insurance numbers, participants in an unemployment line, candidates earmarked for the mass graves into which the dead will be bundled after nuclear war.

Our picture of reality, and our values, are increasingly moulded by the mass media, and especially television, which turn every major assassination into a piece of theater.

The prototype was provided by the death of John Kennedy in November 1963—the man charged with shooting him, Lee Harvey Oswald, was even gunned down live on television.

Sometimes the media stage their own fictional assassinations. Was it such a surprise that John

## ALEX CALLINICOS EXAMINES THE BACKGROUND TO THE SHOOTING OF POPE JOHN PAUL II

Lennon was killed so soon after J.R. Ewing was shot to an enormous publicity fanfare—it was as if life was imitating TV.

Those involved in the American assassinations of the past two decades have almost all been zeroes—little men, failures in their personal and professional lives, more or less deranged, who have earned themselves an hour on the world's stage.

But this pattern, however much it may throw light on the void at the heart of capitalist society, does not provide an explanation for the growth of political violence.

Mehmet Ali Agca, the Pope's would-be assassin, is no zero, but according to his interrogators, a tough and intelligent operator.

There is a logic, a rationality, however warped, to his action—that of the 'strategy of tension' of both the Italian and the Turkish far right who see the use of terror as a means of weakening the structures of bourgeois democracy and thus laying the foundations of fascist dictatorship in these countries.

## ACTIONS

It is a little childish to mander about the 'pure evil' of these groups' actions.

Yes they are evil and should be destroyed—but it is far more important to understand their nature and objectives, to understand, indeed, that in certain circumstances they can and do receive the support of 'respectable' businessmen and of the state itself.

And bewailing the sins of the world serves to cover an openly ideological move—turning all acts of political violence, indeed, all acts of violence into expressions of the same madness.

Here is Anthony Burgess again:



John Paul II

*"The self-murder of a Bobby Sands is not at all that different from the assassination of a President or a Pope . . . It's no good preaching logic to the IRA, or the Red Brigades, to the Yorkshire Ripper or the would-be assassin of the Sovereign Pontiff."*

Now if Burgess (or any of the other writers pumping out the same message) were a pacifist, who believed that any use of violence was wrong and irrational, I might have some sympathy with this line of thought.

But there is not a whisper of criticism of the instruments of murder infinitely more destructive than the Browning automatic or the firebomb which our rulers steadily accumulate.

State violence, in other words, is OK.

Violence against the state, however, is quite another matter.

Unless you are a pacifist (in which case, I believe, you renounce any prospect of changing the world)—then you must accept that there are situations in which the use of violence is both necessary and justified.

The great wave of national liberation struggles in the third world, rebellions against centuries of oppression, poverty and injustice, provide the best example of such a situation.

Nor can anyone who knows the history of the Northern Ireland state, and the open or hidden war it has waged against the Catholic minority, deny the IRA the right to take up arms against the state and in defense of the minority.

Never mind that in Europe's colonial empires bombers were used against nomads and peasants armed with spears and muskets, and mutineers blown out of the mouths of cannons.

What has changed is that this civilization is in decay, disintegrating before our eyes.

How can a society now engaged in the greatest armaments buying spree in history, while welfare services collapse, unemployment lines double in the space of months and famine gnaw at hundreds of millions, while its former colonial slaves collect refuse while the racist right enjoys its greatest revival since Hitler's day, expect to sanitize itself from violence?

The gathering collapse is a source both of opportunity and of danger. We can either put an end to the violence forever or perish in its final paroxysm.



Mehmet Ali Agca

Nothing was heard of him until he turned up in Rome last month to make an attempt on Pope John Paul's life.

Why a Turkish fascist would want to kill the Pope is not very clear. Turkey is 99 per cent Muslim and the Pope has as much relevance in Turkey as Santa Claus.

However, anti-west and anti-Christian dogma is certainly part of the jumbled Turkish-Islamic chauvinism of the NAP.

The shooting of the Pope might be a propaganda victory much needed to raise the flagging morale of Turkish fascists.

# LEBANON

Saida, Lebanon. Monday, May 11. It is 8:00 p.m. A mile offshore, the lights from the Israeli gunboats announce their nightly visit. Red marker rockets shoot high then fall slowly over the town.

## KILL

We know what will come next. With a whistle and then a devastating crash Israeli gunners shell the town. Who will they kill tonight? They cannot tell, they do not care. This is just the usual treatment.

Already half a dozen times phantom jets have flown in high over the sea. This time they did not use their bombs and rockets. They content themselves with rattling every door and window as sonic bangs boom across the town.

But by 8:30 it is clear that tonight will be different.

At one of their many bases, Palestinian commandos wait for the night's events to unfold. The news did not disappoint them. Commandos race to the beach to take up their defensive positions. All available transport is mobilized. Heavy weapons are brought out and prepared.

## TROOPS

Israeli helicopters have landed troops in three places inside Lebanon. At one bay there is already heavy fighting.

By nine o'clock the Israelis are in five places. By ten o'clock they are in ten. Their nearest strike is only one and a half miles away.

"Ten o'clock now," says the commando. "That means they'll be in 20 places in half an hour, 50 places by midnight. We must assume that this is war."

His deputy laughs, "Good, our enemy is coming."

So it is for the commandos who operate the communications system in these troubled parts.

The town is silent. The streets empty. Only jeeps and trucks and fighters race to new positions.

Ears are straining for the sound of Israeli bombers. Or will it be helicopters carrying troops for the invasion?

For several hours we wait.

At three comes the sound of intense firing. Israeli boats try to enter the harbor. They are repelled. By four the raids are over, the helicopters gone.



Palestinians in a Lebanese refugee camp

THE MIDDLE EAST IS AGAIN IN FLAMES. THIS TIME ISRAEL AND SYRIA ARE ON THE BRINK AND LEBANON IS THE BATTLEGROUND. PHIL MARFLEE VISITED LEBANON AND SENT THIS REPORT TO SOCIALIST WORKERS

The next day we collected evidence. This has been the biggest Israeli operation in Lebanon since the war of 1967. There have been many helicopter landings but none have been successful. Everywhere the Israelis have been driven off.

What were the Israelis trying to achieve?

More of their 'soften up' operation? If so they failed, for everywhere Palestinian and Lebanese fighters are now on alert and confident they fought off at least this first test of their determination.

Palestinian commandos confer. Their new missile rocket launchers are prepared. "We will see if the Zionists are serious. Do they want war? We are ready. We see if they are."

That night volleys of rockets, in batches of ten at least, are dispatched from Haddadland—the area under the control of the Lebanese fascist Said Haddad, in which the Palestinians live. It is filled with Israeli troops and tanks.

The damage we know is enormous. In the West Bank one will hear of such attacks. No one will hear of the invasion which has just taken place—only the news of American Habib's "diplomatic shuttle."

This 24 hours of strike and counter strike make up the life of the people of Lebanon.

## APPOINTMENT

In Beirut, Saida, Nabatieh, Tyre there is no respite. At Saida and Tyre the boats have an evening appointment with the town.

At Nabatieh Israeli bombers and helicopters make regular raids. For this is a Palestinian base which Israel must bomb if it is to control the guerrilla forces in the South.

## AGCA: FASCIST KILLER

In 1979 the editor in chief of *Milliyet*, one of Turkey's most respected liberal newspapers was shot dead in the street in front of his house.

The assassination was part of a campaign of escalation waged by the Grey Wolves, the 'shock troops' of the fascist National Action Party (NAP), which included the murder of a former leader of the Turkish AFL-CIO, the Prosecutor General of Ankara, a number of eminent professors and writers and a police chief who had treated jailed fascists roughly.

Though few fascists were ever caught, in the face of national outrage, Mehmet Ali Agca, the editor's murderer, was found and jailed.

However he did not spend too much time in jail. After only a few months he escaped with the help of fascist sympathizers in the army and prison service.

The NAP, in close cooperation with German fascists, have for years been active in Germany, working on Turkish workers' defensive feelings of nationalism and revolt. (Something German trade unions have a lot to answer for.)

Agca was clearly provided with finance, a fake passport, accommodation and a cover in Germany.



# ON: THE STORY THE PRESS WON'T TELL



*Victory to the Palestinians!*

It is in Beirut where the pressure is most relentless. Here the Israelis are present though in a different form. They have armed the fascist militias of the Maronite community. The Kataeb of Pierre Gemayel who claims to represent the Christian community of Lebanon and "the destiny" of the Lebanese nation.

Their claim is feeble. The Maronite community is divided into warring sections. In the north of Lebanon other Maronites are meeting Lebanese leftists to form a front against the Kataeb.

In Beirute and the South as many as 50% of the fighters are themselves Lebanese. Many are Christians.

But for Israel it is important to maintain the illusion that Gemayel & his friends are the true representatives of an independent Lebanon and that the Zionist task is to defend the "genocidal" attacks of the "murderous" Palestinians and Lebanese left.

It is not so simple. For years the Israelis have armed the Kataeb. These fascists, who originated in the Phalange of the 1930s, based on the European models of Italy and Spain. They possess up to date, heavy weapons. They daily shell the Palestinian camps and the areas of West Beirut.

## PHOSPHEROUS

The fascists' favorite weapon is the phosphorous bomb. Illegal under the Geneva Convention, but legally supplied by Israel, it is flung into the streets of West Beirut where it

detonates and sprays phosphorous which, like napalm, adheres to and consumes all it touches.

On May the 18th the fascists for the first time shell the Palestinian district of Takani, "headquarters" of the Palestinian revolution. Their first bomb incinerates several cars. Four of the occupants were burned alive. Others ran screaming and burning, helpless to brush off the flames which consumed them. Friends looked on in terror. Then as they rushed forward to help the survivors, a carefully calculated second battery of shells fell within yards of the first explosion.

## WAIT

"What can we do?" asked a Palestinian doctor. "We tell the people 'do not go into the streets to pick up the injured. You must wait. It is terrible but you must wait.' Of course they never do. So more die. The fascists know exactly what they are doing."

There is a siren in the street outside. Commandos rush to their guns. "Surely the fascists are not here." It is a funeral. A commando has been killed in yesterday's attack. An ambulance carries his open coffin behind three Land Rovers with armed fighters and a jeep carrying a heavy machine gun and the red Party flag at the head.

The victim's mother and brother are beside themselves with grief. This is the fourth son, the fourth brother to be lost. The mother collapses. Friends hold down the young commando who is shaking

with anger and distress.

Even here, where death is expected, onlookers cry openly. Nobody can deserve four sons killed.

There is the sound of rocket launchers projecting their missiles a way to the East. We know what it means. The Palestinians are shooting back. The fascists in turn will reply. The attacks and counter-attacks go on.

At night no part of North-western Beirut is safe. The shells and rockets—hundreds of them—will whistle and crash along the front lines.

And in the month of May 300 are killed and a thousand injured in Beirut alone. Most casualties were in the West, but from the heights above Beirut at Aley, Palestinian and Syrian gunners can also create havoc in the Maronite areas.

The daily pressures in Lebanon are appalling. Everyone is under pressure. It is usual that the Palestinians will be under the most.

Since expelling them from Palestine in 1948, the Israelis have maintained a continuous offensive. Palestinian camps in the South are under permanent attack. In 1974, Israelis completely destroyed a camp at Nabatia. Twelve thousand were made homeless and hundreds were killed. The camp is an overgrown wreck, a graveyard for those whose bodies were never found. Everything in it has been smashed. At Rashidieh camp near the border with Israel, more than half of the 22,000 inhabitants have left since the Israeli invasion of

1978. Still the Israelis bomb the camp. On every street there are the remains of recently destroyed homes.

Just a few miles from Haddadland, Rashidieh is also under fascist shelling.

## CAMP

The camp is dotted with underground bunkers. "We spend half our lives down here," says a Palestinian. "But we're not going to go. Let them come here. We are waiting for them."

"They have been chasing us for sixty years, but we won't go, you know. We shall fight them, they took our land, we shall fight them."

The Israelis squeeze the Palestinians. Already they have restricted the Palestinian resistance to the South and West of Lebanon. Their overwhelming military force, their American weaponry, means that in direct confrontation they can in the end always beat down the Palestinian guerillas.

In Rashidieh, in Nabatia, in Beirut, the Palestinians do not give up. They are proud of their intransigence, proud of the ways in which in 1978 a few hundred fighters held off 33,000 invaders with their tanks and aircraft. To date the Israeli forces have been unable to smash the guerilla forces. Today the Palestinians are better armed, better trained.

Will Israel invade again? Are the Zionists prepared to accept the bloody battles, the many deaths which will result? Their main need to crush the Palestinians sug-

gests that sooner or later they will.

Will they go on, as Begin promises, to "eliminate" the Palestinians? This is the logic of their record of repression over sixty years.

Until now there is no war. But the raids continue. The gunboats and helicopters and the bombers are active each day and each night somewhere in Lebanon. Where the Israelis do not yet feel confident to reach, their friends in the Kataeb dutifully perform for them.

Still the Palestinians do not surrender their hope. Nor do they sink to the sorry racism of which the Israelis are guilty. "No, we have nothing against the Jewish people." The fighter at Rashidieh says. "Nothing."

## FIGHT

"We are not fighting Jews, though Begin wants the world to believe we are. We are fighting Zionism. That means we are fighting imperialism and the United States and its friends. Their obsession with controlling this part of the world, its oil, the Arab countries.

"I'm sorry for the Zionists. I'm sorry for the fascists. These fascists are nothing without Israeli guns behind them. Lebanon is not our country, but while we are here, the Lebanese people are our allies. We have something in common: as long as Israel exists we shall have to fight together."

Lights appear off the beach. The gunboats start their nightly patrol. □



# DANCING: SLIDE TOWARD IMMORALITY

Dear Socialist Worker,

Thought I'd let your readers know that "progressive" Washington State may have reached a new high with the latest legislative session that almost outstripped the Reagan Administration in budget cuts (without a military budget to plug the megabucks into).

But now a small town near the Canadian border, Lynden, Washington, has outlawed public dancing!

Apparently, the Mayor decided one incident of public

dancing last winter, the first time in 90 years, was too much—the beginning of the end.

He claims that the dangerous slide toward immorality "has got to stop somewhere."

"Hey," he continues, "you've got your co-eds at your colleges and you know there are married and unmarried people living in the same dorm."

Pockets of under-the-table dancers have been reported

and even the police are leery of spending their time spying on dancers.

No doubt, the issue will go to court and the law ruled unconstitutional, since it doesn't exist anywhere else.

Meanwhile, a new attack on Aldous Huxley's novel *Brave New World*, is being launched in the local high school in Lynden.

A nice irony, since it is one of the most vividly-written anti-totalitarian, anti-thought control books around.

Generally, it is seen as anti-Russia and anti-Nazi Germany, since it was written during the rise of Hitler and Stalin.

The book-burning, hyper-God, "moral" who's-its are showing their contradictions.

They don't really care about totalitarian rule, just about advocacy of drug use, "mocking of society," and "immorality." □

Diane Eggleston,  
Seattle, WA



## CAMPUS NEWS

**Swarthmore . . .**

The repercussions of the anti-apartheid divestment movement of three years ago continues to be felt as the private college Swarthmore in Pennsylvania divested itself of nearly \$2.4 million in stock from corporations that do business in South Africa.

The college board voted to divest itself of stock in Citicorp, the Newmont Mining Corporation and the Timken Company.

This first divestiture action was prompted by appeals from student and faculty members.

**Kent . . .**

And at Kent State University some 30 members of the Kent Women's Organization heckled a paltry five "right to lifers," as the anti-abortionists ran a film called "Assignment Life" on the Ohio campus.

A ratio of six pro-choice hecklers to one anti-abortionist should be the aim of every anti-"right to life" demonstration or picket.

**Boston . . .**

"Improper, unethical, immoral and unlawful," charge eight women of U. Mass Boston, who have filed a \$3.6 million sex discrimination suit against the university.

The women, former employees of the Health Education Center, were subjected to routine harassment from the program director, James Hoopes, PhD.

When they told university officials of these conditions, the response of the university was to lock them out of their office and fire them.

In their lawsuit they ask for \$1.4 million in punitive damages and \$2.2 million in compensation for financial losses, educational setbacks and emotional distress.

A lawsuit is an expensive undertaking, and financial and moral support are needed for the eight women. For more information, and to send messages of support, write to: W.A.N.T., 983 Dorchester Ave., Boston, MA 02125.

What's happening at your school? Send a report to "Campus News," c/o Socialist Worker, Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118. □

# Letters

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

## Secretary fired for anti-Klan work

Dear Socialist Worker,

On March 30, 1981, I was suspended from my job as secretary/bookkeeper at Manchester Middle School in Middletown, Ohio. I'm a member of Those United to Fight Fascism (TUFF).

Reasons cited for the suspension include that I used office equipment and supplies for non-work related purposes and that I entered school property during non-working hours (allegedly on a weekend).

When I was notified of these allegations by the Director of Personnel, Mr. Lewis Hill, he indicated that I had been under surveillance for my political affiliations since my attendance at a recent school board meeting where the KKK was also present.

I admitted to the initial charge of using the supplies and equipment for duplicating an anti-racist leaflet. The leaflet was to be distributed at a march held in Middletown

called to show sympathy and support for the families of the murdered Atlanta children.

It is common knowledge at this school and other schools in the system that these supplies have been extensively utilized in the past for a variety of non-work related purposes. For example, the duplication of recipes, private use of a laminating machine and even the use of the gym for an employee's private use on a non-school day.

Although not a proper excuse for my actions, the fact that it is a common practice does not justify the Board's drastic measure of a three months suspension.

At the public school board meeting held on April 14, 1981, Mrs. Mary Rice, a teacher at Manchester for 11 years, maintained that school machines "are used for non-school items all the time" and said she believes a warning to me would have been sufficient at this time.

Mrs. Rice called me a "good, valuable addition" to the staff and said I was "one of the most helpful persons, particularly to the children."

Mrs. Rice's statements about staff use of school machines were supported by Middletown Teacher's Association President Doug Alder. Alder said the matter has "far-reaching ramifications" since using school equipment for non-work is not uncommon. As to the second charge of entering the school facilities on a weekend, again no proof exists that this occurred.

Also this is a practice that has been allowed. (I had possession of keys to this building as part of my responsibility as secretary.)

The flyers I ran off were done on the Friday before March 30, 1981, during breaks in the work day.

It is clear from the trivial reasons cited that my suspension was politically motivated, based upon my opposition to racism in Middletown and my participation with TUFF.

Ironically this action comes at a time when the KKK openly speaks at school board meetings, rallies on tax-supported public property and boasts that Middletown is a Klan stronghold.

The chilling effect of this job suspension cannot be underestimated.

Beverly Burns,  
Middletown, Ohio

## Black workers and Ireland

When Bobby Sands died the normally apathetic Irish community of Detroit came together in the largest march and rally the city has seen this year.

The nearly 1,000 mourners were tearful yet angry and looking for information.

In less than two hours, three of our comrades sold 80 *Socialist Workers*. After the emotional memorial service, the marchers paraded through the community in a candle-lit vigil. Along the parade route they were applauded by several young Black workers at a White Castle fast food restaurant.

Later when I stopped in the burger emporium, the young workers were discussing the march and the Irish people's fight for independence.

The Black women, all wearing the symbolic green ribbons signifying their own struggle to end racist terror in this country, agreed that the British had no right to be in Ireland and that the prisoners had a right to wear their own clothes.

At the rally, the demonstrators listened to an hour of speeches denouncing the British presence in Ireland, demanding Irish independence and advocating the boycott of British Airways as a way to hurt the Thatcher government financially.



Burning the Union Jack in New York

The rally organizers pledged to start a movement in this country supporting Irish independence and urged

people to get involved. □

Retha Hill,  
Detroit, MI



A PAGE FROM WORKING CLASS HISTORY

# "no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



## 1901: The birth of American socialism "In the roar of conflict"

On July 29th, 1901, 100 women and men met in Indianapolis to found the Socialist Party of America.

After a heated debate on crucial issues, including Black liberation, working within trade unions and electoral politics, the delegates drew up a constitution, and, amidst cheers and songs, the historic convention adjourned.

### VOICE

For the next twenty years, the Socialist Party (SP) was a major force on American life—it was the main organized voice for socialism. And it represented a mass movement.

At its peak the SP had 120,000 members.

It produced 5 daily newspapers, and more than 300 periodicals.

By 1912, 1,200 socialists had been elected to public office, including Victor Berger, who became a congressman for Milwaukee.

Hundreds of socialists were elected mayors of American cities, such as Berkeley, California, Cleveland and Akron, Ohio, Schenectady and Rochester, NY, and Flint, Michigan.

In 1912, Eugene Debs polled almost a million votes when he ran as a socialist for president of the United States.

Along with Debs, membership in the Socialist Party included revolutionary organizers such as "Big" Bill Haywood, Mary "Mother" Jones, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Margaret Sanger, the pioneer in the struggle for reproductive rights; writers like Jack London, John Reed and Upton Sinclair; educator Helen Keller, scientist Charles Steinmetz and Black socialists A. Phillip Randolph and W.E.B. DuBois.

### JOINED

The Socialist Party brought together all the strands of American radicalism and socialism.

Many joined after the Populist movement collapsed into the Democratic Party after 1896. Hundreds joined

*Haywood brought the class fighters—the miners, lumberworkers, agricultural and garment workers—into the Socialist Party*

because of the party's support for women's rights, thousands joined as a result of the bloody industrial conflicts at Homestead and Pullman, in the coalfields of Idaho, Colorado and West Virginia, the lumber camps of Washington and Louisiana, and the garment sweatshops in New York and Chicago.

Not all members of the Socialist Party were revolutionaries.

Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit represented the right wing of the party—that group of people who believed in an electoral and reformist road to socialism.

But while not all members were revolutionaries, there was a strong revolutionary current within the party, represented by "Big" Bill Haywood, a founder and organizer of both the Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

Haywood brought the class



fighters—the miners, lumberworkers, agricultural and garment workers—into the SP.

The person who best represented American socialism in its first two decades was Eugene Victor Debs.

Like Haywood, Mother Jones and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Debs was part of the left wing of the party.

He became a socialist after his bloody defeat at Pullman.

"I was to be baptised in socialism in the roar of conflict . . . in the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle, the class struggle was revealed . . . This was my first practical struggle in socialism."

### ISSUES

The Socialist Party USA, like all the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties prior to the First World War cracked up on the crucial issues of war and revolution.

In the U.S., the right wingers, either left the party, or supported U.S. imperialism

*Top: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Bill Haywood. Bottom, the Debs "red special."*

in World War I and opposed the Russian revolution.

The revolutionaries continued the tradition of working class struggle, of support for industrial unionism, Black liberation and women's rights and for socialist internationalism.

That they had to do it in another organization, the newly formed Communist Party, is another story.

But for revolutionaries, the founding of the Socialist Party eighty years ago, marked a step forward in the workers' movement and the socialist movement.

Even though the socialist current is weak in the U.S. today, we are still stronger because of the men and women like Debs and Flynn, and because of the first genuine socialist party in this country. □





# WHERE WE STAND



## • Workers' Control

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

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

## • Revolution Not Reform

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

## • A Workers' Government

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

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

## • Fight Oppression

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

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

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

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

## • Rank and File Organization

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

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

## • Internationalism

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

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

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

## • Revolutionary Party

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

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

# Join the International Socialist Organization

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

## ISO NEWS

# What's ON

### BALTIMORE

Peter Bain on Ireland. June 25, 7:30 p.m. Bread and Roses.

Faith Simon and Curtis Price on Workers' struggle in the Health Care Industry. June 29, 7:30 p.m. Bread and Roses.

### BLOOMINGTON

Milt Fisk on The Struggle in Northern Ireland: An Eyewitness Account. June 30, 7:30 p.m. Call 334-2418 for details.

### BOSTON

Nanci MacLean on Women and Labor in the Garment Industry. June 14, 7:30 p.m.

Peter Bain on Why the Working Class. June 28, 7:00 p.m. Call 282-6711 for details.

### CHICAGO

Education Series. Trotsky's Marxism. June 7, 4:00 p.m.

Jeanne Smith, UMW member, on The Miners' Fight. June 10, 7:00 p.m.

Educational Series. Politics of Labor. June 21, 4:00 p.m. Call 248-1572 for details.

### CLEVELAND

Barbara Winslow on W.E.B. DuBois. 12 June, 7:30 p.m.

Ahmed Shawki on Marcus Garvey. 26 June, 7:30 p.m.

### KENT

Kent Worcester on C.L.R. James and Black Politics. June 3, 8:00 p.m. 239 E. College. Call 678-0633 for details.

### SEATTLE

Socialist History Series. Bi-weekly educationals. Call 324-2302 for details.

# I Want YOU



# at the Socialist Summer School II — Ohio

## July 3, 4, 5, 1980

Join us for two days of camping, sports, and socialist education and entertainment in the countryside of beautiful Northeastern Ohio.

Hear talks on James Connolly, C.L.R. James, Alexandra Kollontai, Frank Little — also the Coal Wars, Paris, May 1968, and South Africa today.

Please write Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118 for all the details. □

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

— Karl Marx

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

- |                   |                    |                   |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| • Baltimore, MD   | • Detroit, MI      | • Northampton, MA |
| • Bloomington, IN | • Durham, NC       | • Portland, OR    |
| • Boston, MA      | • Fort Wayne, IN   | • Providence, RI  |
| • Charleston, WV  | • Indianapolis, IN | • Rochester, NY   |
| • Chicago, IL     | • Kent, OH         | • Seattle, WA     |
| • Cincinnati, OH  | • Los Angeles, CA  | • Toledo, OH      |
| • Cleveland, OH   | • New York, NY     | • Trenton, NJ     |
| • Dayton, OH      | • New Haven, CT    | • Washington, DC  |

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



# Bob Marley: 1945 - 1981



Bob Marley is dead. The Reggae musician from Jamaica died in Miami on his way from Germany where he was being treated for lung cancer and a brain tumor.

His death was mourned by millions all over the world. Gone is the nasal voice that reflected the aspirations of oppressed people, particularly those of African descent.

## WORK

Marley was born in St. Ann in Jamaica of a Black peasant woman and an English army captain. Like many youths from rural Jamaica, he went to the capital city, Kingston, looking for work.

He lived in one of the worst ghettos in the city, Trench Town. Unable to find work Marley turned to the trade of welding.

While learning his trade he met two other young men,

## TONY BOGUES ON REGGAE MUSICIAN BOB MARLEY

Peter Tosh and Bunny Livingstone. The youths, like many today in the ghettos of the city, turned to singing as a means to escape the poverty and oppression that is the daily lot of unemployed and youths in the island.

Marley began to record in the '60's. His first songs were influenced by the music of Black America. By the mid-'60's, frustrated by the rip-off big producers, his first hit made No. 1 but he received only \$80. He migrated to Wilmington, Delaware with his mother.

There he worked in a Chrysler factory on the assembly line.

He lost his job after some time and applied for welfare. Instead he got drafted into the U.S. Army.

U.S. imperialism was fighting a war with the Vietnamese. Bob refused to go into the army and returned to Jamaica.

Back home he got together the Wailers outfit and went back into the recording business.

Again the songs were love songs, their direction aimless. But it was a searching Bob Marley.

In the late '60's Bob went to prison for possession of ganja. This experience seems to have been his turning point. Before he went to jail he was already being influenced by rastafarian religion.

The religion grew out of the colonial conditions of the rural poor. It was anti-colonialist and anti-racist in content.

Out of jail Marley's music began to reflect the life-style and language of the unemployed ghetto youths in Kingston. He became their spokesman.

His biggest hit of that period 'Trench Town Rock' ended with the words, "And only God knows why we're groovin' in Kingston 12."

In other words, in the face of all the oppression how did people still dance?

The song, as well as the musically perfect 'Small Axe,' with the words directed at the oppressor, "If you are a big tree we are a small axe ready to cut you down" established Bob Marley and the Wailers. After that hit followed hit, all speaking to the conditions of the oppressed in the ghettos of Kingston. For me the best songs of this period were two.

## CHAINS

The first is called 'Concrete Jungle.' To the background of a wailing harmonica, over the drum and bass, Marley sang, "No chains around my feet, But I am not free, No I know I am bound here in captivity, I never know what happiness is, I never know what sleepiness is."

The other is the title song of the LP 'Catch A Fire.' "Slave driver the table is turn so you can get burn, Every time I hear the crack of a whip my blood runs cold." Both songs showed that the Wailers understood contemporary Jamaica and the past of the majority of the Jamaican people.

When police brutality was on the rise in the city, Marley captured it with 'Road Block.' "This morning I woke up in a curfew, I was a prisoner too yeah, could not recognize the faces standing over me, they were all dressed in uniforms of brutality."

After the success of 'Catch A Fire' and the 'Natty Dread' LP's, Marley went international.

In the late '70's many said he had lost his commitment. He had bought a big house in the suburbs of Kingston and drove a BMW, standing for

Bob Marley and the Wailers.

But in 1976, when the CIA attempted to destabilize the Manley government, Marley wrote 'Rat Race,' the lyrics, "rasta don't work for CIA."

## ISSUES

And just before the general elections of the same year he agreed to do a public concert. He was shot days before the concert. But with a bandaged arm Marley went on stage and the Jamaican people rocked against oppression.

After the election Marley went to Europe and again to many he seems to have become directionless.

In particular he began to sing love songs again. However, it seems to me that every time Marley was seeking a new musical direction he reverted to love songs. Because no sooner had the critics said he was lost when he stormed back with three LP's, all taking reggae into new directions and all speaking to the oppressed.

One song on the 'Survival' LP called on Africans to liberate Zimbabwe and to leave the false revolutionaries.

Today the song is like the national anthem of that country.

## CELEBRATIONS

For this he was invited to sing at the Independence celebrations. His latest LP, 'Uprising,' again speaks to the conditions of the majority of the Jamaican people.

When I told my son about the death of Marley he said the poor had lost a friend and he had lost his best singer. It sums up what Marley was about.

Politically he was misdirected since rasta cannot liberate people—only socialism can do that. But misguided as he was he stood for justice.

Asked in 1975 about his album 'Kaya,' Marley said it really was not important, what is is the unity of Black people in fighting for justice.

That is what he wanted to contribute to. □

## The men with pink triangles

The author of this book was one of the 50,000 gay men rounded up and sent to concentration camps in Hitler's Germany.

**Book review: "The Men With the Pink Triangles" by Hans Helger (Alyson Press)**

The Nazis branded each class of prisoner with a symbol, in the form of a patch sewn on their jackets, that could make them more readily identifiable to their captors. For gays, it was the pink triangle, which also served to further stigmatize them within the prison population as a whole.

## BRUTALITY

Once in the camps, the gay prisoners were, as a rule, at the very bottom of the hierarchy and were brutally tormented by the guards.

The vast majority were murdered and their bodies left to fill up the unmarked mass graves that were the final destination for millions of prisoners in the concentration camp system.

by

CURTIS PRICE

As one of the few surviving documents of how gays were treated, this refutes the poisonous lie that somehow the Nazis were "soft" on gays.

It is also a moving story of one man's resistance to the extreme brutality and degradation around him.

Along with the many other personal accounts of concentration camp survivors, it reminds us that even in the worst of oppression it was possible to fight back, even in this case if it was an individual, with all the necessary limitations this implies.

Yet there are some important differences about 'The Men With the Pink Triangles' that deserve to be mentioned.

For one, after being freed, the author was shamefully denied even the token financial compensation offered by the Allied powers to survivors of the camps. □

This was done on the grounds that homosexuality was considered a criminal offense and therefore not subject to reparations.

Even more sadly, 20 years later he felt forced to tell his story anonymously (to a German writer whose name it actually appears under) out of fear of reprisals if it became known that he was once "a man of the Pink Triangle."

The bitter truth is that the law under which he was convicted was a law that Hitler merely carried over intact from the previous "democratic" government.

After the fall of Hitler, it still wasn't officially abolished until the early '70's.

## CIRCUMSTANCES

This set of circumstances alone speaks powerfully about the oppression of gays and why a movement has arisen to challenge these conditions, whether it be in the increasing moves to deny us basic rights under capitalism or being sent to work camps in the so-called socialist countries. □





## on the picket line

### Reformers lose USW elections

**PITTSBURGH, PA**—The reform movement in the United Steelworkers Union (USW) suffered a serious defeat in May.

Lloyd McBride, the incumbent president of the 1.4 million member USW, and four other top officers ran unopposed, but in five elections for district directors, reformers challenged the union's right-wing leadership. In each place they lost.

#### CHICAGO

James Balanoff, the only reformer on the union's board, lost in the Chicago area's District 31, the

union's largest. Jack Parton of Local 1014, U.S. Steel in Gary, will replace him.

Balanoff is the leading figure in the reform movement, and a close associate of Ed Sadlowski, who ran unsuccessfully against McBride four years ago.

In District 27, in Canton, Ohio, reformer Marvin Weinstock lost to incumbent Harry Mayfield. Ron Weisen, the president of the USW Homestead local, lost in District 15 near Pittsburgh.

And Joseph Samargia lost his bid for the director's post in District 33 in Duluth, Minn. □

### NEW TEAMSTER PRESIDENT POPULAR WITH BOSSES

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters opens its once every five years convention June 1st in Las Vegas, Nevada, need we mention a right-to-work state.

The top item at the convention will be Teamster vice-president Roy Lee Williams' election as president of the 2 million member union.

#### BLESSING

Williams has the blessing of the General Executive Board despite an indictment handed down by a Federal Grand Jury on charges of conspiracy to bribe Senator Howard Cannon of Nevada on trucking deregulation legislation.

The Senate is pushing for the Department of Labor to



Teamster bosses Fitzsimmons and Williams

remove Williams from his union post describing him as an "organized crime mole."

Williams is the prime candidate to fill the president's spot vacated by the death of Frank Fitzsimmons,

He'll have a tough act to follow.

It isn't easy to find a rank and file teamster who would have a good word to say about Fitzsimmons.

Famous for his "Rank and File go to Hell" speech at the 1976 IBT convention, Fitzsimmons oversaw the erosion of conditions, wages, and jobs as president of the Teamsters.

When not busy selling out the rank and file he was able to help the other Trustees of the Central States pension fund, including Roy Williams squander \$130 million on Vegas casinos and the Mafia health spa, Rancho La Costa in San Diego.

#### RAIDS

Money was also filtered to Nixon's Watergate slush fund, and used to hire Nazis in California to organize vigilante attacks on the United Farm Workers during the Teamster raids of 1973.

Meanwhile the media harps about Williams' organized crime connection and how awful it is that he gets the nod with the indictment hanging over his head.

Of course the bosses' press ignores Williams' sell-out unionism along with the rest of his IBT cronies.

As Chairman of the Freight Division, Williams oversees the enforcement of the National Master Freight Agreement, the so-called Teamster pattern setter.

Since 1964 when the IBT first inked the MFA, upwards of 200,000 Teamster jobs have been lost to productivity schemes, supplements, etc.

*Business Week* says Williams "is popular with Central Conference employers by condoning work rule changes that improve productivity."

In April, 1981, employers under the MFA refused wage increases guaranteed by the contract and Williams approved deals where Teamsters in Kansas City and St. Louis will receive \$3.50 below union scale.

#### POPULAR

No wonder Roy is popular with the bosses. He delivers the goods and keeps a lid on the genuine struggles of the rank and file teamsters. □

by BRIAN GIBBONS

### TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

## How the U.A.W. gave away its members' rights

### THE POWER OF THE AREA COUNCILS THREATENED REUTHER'S RULE

"General Motors has 139 plants operating in 25 states and 88 cities in the US, 13 plants in Canada and assembly, manufacturing, distribution or warehousing operations in 34 other countries, including equity interests in associated companies which conduct assembly, manufacturing or distribution operations in several countries. . . there are 32 operating divisions and subsidiaries serving the US and Canada.

"In the US and Canada there are ten car, truck, body, and assembly divisions; six electrical component divisions; eight mechanical component divisions; six power product divisions and two service parts organizations."

The above information is given in a GM 1980 Information Handbook.

#### ARRAY

With such an array of plants in the US and world-wide and with upwards of \$15 billion in capital assets, the UAW leadership fears the power of the corporation. Walter Reuther, once he gained control of the union, didn't want a repeat of the 1945-46 113 day strike.

Having adopted a "good labor relations policy" with the company he proceeded to disarm the workers.

The area GM councils that had functioned since 1939 were disbanded in 1951. These area councils had been meeting bi-monthly. The Detroit GM sub-council represented a dozen GM plants with a membership of upwards of 45,000 workers.

Plant workers ran the councils and

elected their own officers. We got regular reports on what was happening in the plants. We exchanged information and were in a position to take concerted action.

From 1947 when Reuther gained control of the union until the councils were disbanded we heard first hand how the power of the union was declining in the plants in the Detroit area. These area councils could have become a threat to Reuther's power.

#### CONTROL

By substituting GM divisional councils for the area councils Reuther took control of the councils out of the hands of the workers. Instead of meeting twice monthly like the area councils the divisional councils could only meet when called by the Director of the Department. He draws up the agenda for the meetings. Discussion is limited to that agenda.

These councils meet in cities far distant from the auto centers. Local union officers loyal to the bureaucracy dominate the meetings. A skilled tradesman from Fleetwood told me the skilled trades council meetings were a form of bribery to hold the loyalty of the leaders in the skilled trades.

The chairman of the shop committee at Fleetwood told me these council meetings reminded him of a Roman holiday. The delegates got drunk, gambled all night or had the company of call girls. Few of them attended the council meetings. These council meetings cost the locals tens of thousands of dollars every year. No reports of the



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

meetings were given the membership. The corrupt local leaders are beholden to the UAW bureaucracy and the plant managements.

The national conferences, drawing up demands and ratifying agreements at GM, Ford and Chrysler are the same people who attend the skilled trades and divisional council meetings. For thirty years they have been a rubber stamp for the top bureaucracy.

The long term contract, its no strike clause and its acceptance of "management's prerogatives" became the pattern not only for Chrysler and Ford but for the industry.

With the GM J car, the Chrysler K car and the Ford world car the UAW is confronted with global corporations. To stop the retreat the union has made at Chrysler the rank and file must fight to regain control of their union. They must start at the local level. They must form area caucuses in the principal auto centers. These must be expanded nationwide and internationally.

#### DIFFICULT

They should call for a special convention, to be held in Detroit to deal with the immediate problems of unemployment and the leadership's give-away policy. Time is of the essence. The longer this is delayed the more difficult the problem will become—the greater the suffering of the workers. □





# WASHINGTON STATE FERRY WORKERS FIGHT TO SAVE THEIR UNION

SEATTLE, WA—Since last fall's election, the Washington State legislature has launched a conservative legislative blitz—restricting abortion rights, eliminating busing, and now attacking the labor movement.

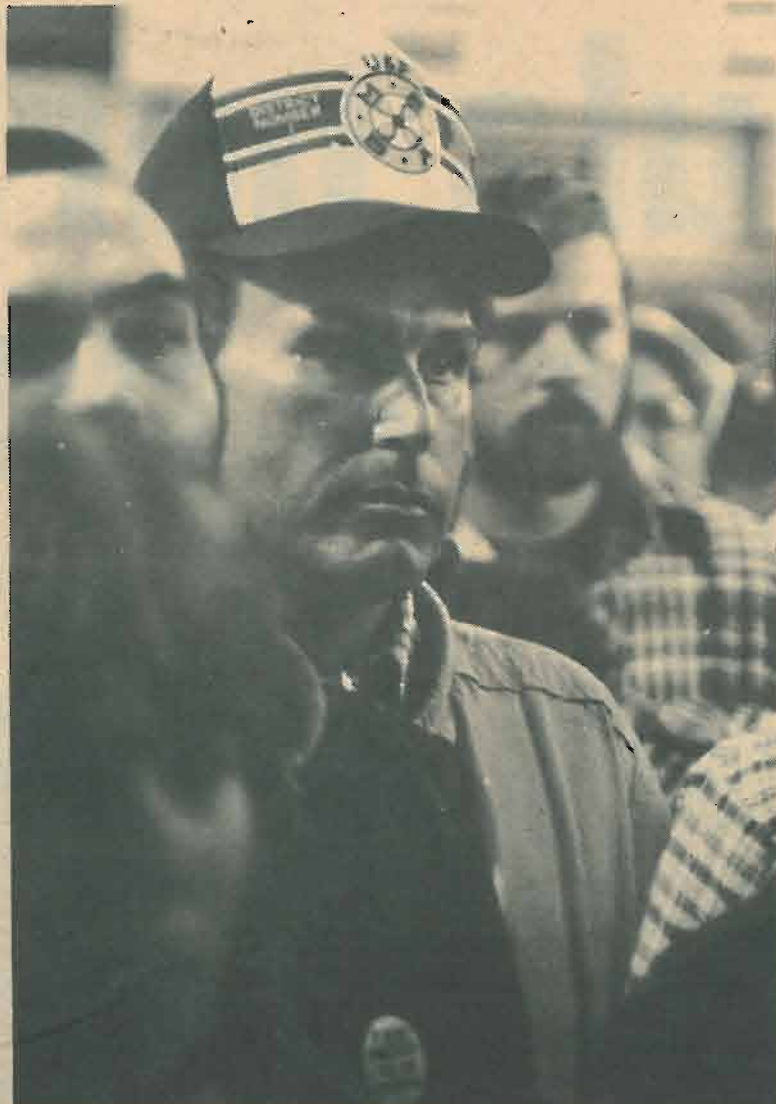
There have been bills restricting teachers' collective bargaining rights, which would allow private insurance companies to boost their profits through the state industrial insurance system, and which will put the state's ferry workers under civil service.

## LOSE

The ferry workers will lose their rights to strike and collective bargaining. The bill will allow possible \$5,000 a day fines for a union which violates a court injunction against striking. When current union contracts expire, salaries will be set by the legislature.

Just before the bill passed, ferry workers, led by the 140 member Marine Engineers Benevolent Association (MEBA) struck for twelve hours in protest.

The unions then were able to make an agreement with the governor, John Spellman, a Republican, to veto the bill and to send all disputes to binding arbitration.



Ferry workers listen

The governor then went back on his word and chose not to veto the bill.

This prompted the second strike in two months.

The strike began May 19 and lasted three days. MEBA began the strike again and it was honored by other ferry unions—there are fourteen in all—particularly the Inland Boatman's Union (IBU).

The engineers called in sick or simply left their boats when they heard the governor's decision. Patrick Hannigan, an engineer on the ferry boat "Walla Walla" said, "When a union loses its right to bargain and strike, then we have no power to achieve anything."

An estimated 40,000 commuters were affected. The media quickly focused on their plight. "Furious commuters fling insults at the strikers," said Seattle's *Post Intelligencer*.

## SPEAK

At a mass meeting held May 22 for all ferry workers, mostly MEBA and IBU, members heard Jim Herman, the head of the International Longshore Workers Union, which recently merged with the IBU, deliver a fiery attack on the ferry management.

He spoke of the San Francisco general strike and talked of the union's ultimate weapon.

He then proceeded to bait ferry workers who wished to continue their strike, none of whom were allowed to speak.

As an alternative to striking Herman and other union leaders have helped establish a commission to review the ferry problems.

This commission consists of thirteen people—two represent the states' management

Washington state labor council.

No ferry workers are represented. At the meeting, one ferry worker shouted, "We've been studied to death."

A long drawn out review of the system, with no revisions of the current union busting laws, is the fear of many ferry workers.

Another meeting is scheduled for July 5 to review the progress of the commission. This is the anniversary of the Bloody Thursday of the San Francisco General Strike of 1934.

A vote was then held in front of the entire press and various spectators regarding whether or not to return to work. The voice vote carried and the strike was over.

Later the same day MEBA members met again with the same decision.

All public employees need to be aware of the precedent set in the ferry workers' dispute. The same sort of action could be used against other workers.

## RALLY

Earlier this year a mass rally of 8,000 workers at the state capital helped defeat the attempt by insurance companies to cash in on industrial insurance.

The ferry workers bill will take even more to beat.

The unions need to work together to end the wave of union busting.

No commission will solve the problems of the ferry system, or end the union busting. □

by STEVE MCFADDEN & SCOTT WINSLOW

## POLITICS

Puget Sound ferry workers have been organized since the 1930's when the system was owned by the notorious "Black Ball" Line. Wages and conditions have improved steadily since that time.

When the state took over the operation in 1952 it was agreed that maritime workers would retain their independent status, with hiring and negotiations for wages and benefits to be conducted by the established unions.

Today ferry workers enjoy much better wages, health and welfare benefits and pensions than those received by state workers under civil service.

## DEMOCRAT

Significantly, plans to bust the ferry unions were initiated under a Democratic Party legislature and governor.

The State Department of Transportation's director for marine transportation is Fred Peil, a professional union buster, whose last "job" was to try to break the San Francisco Bay Area Transit Union.

He was brought to Seattle for this purpose by Dixy Lee Ray the former (Democratic) governor. □

by Phillip Hellesto  
IBU member and oiler on  
the ferry Yakima

## RELUCTANT REFORMERS

Jerry Wurf, AFSCME president and a leader of the liberal wing of the AFL-CIO, "sends a chauffeured auto to bring his favorite French hair stylist to him." The haircut costs \$30 a clipping, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

The Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) held its May meeting on "Safety in the home." The speakers... two Cleveland cops.

Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) is campaigning for "New Directions for the 80's" at this month's IBT convention in Las Vegas.

One TDU demand is a ceiling on officers salaries. TDU wants to restrict the general president's pay to a mere \$100,000 a year.

In *These Times*, a newspaper of "independent socialism", is sponsoring tours to Europe, including one to England where "you'll observe the pomp and ceremony of Prince Charles' wedding."

You can call (312) 489-4444 collect to secure an immediate reservation with your VISA or Mastercard. Fourteen days \$1,850.00.

And what about Lady Diana? □



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# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

## Ashtabula nurses strike for a union

ASHTABULA, OH—Ashtabula General Hospital received a rude shock last month. In a decisive 79 to 13 vote on May 9, striking nurses turned down the hospital's latest offer.

"I was thrilled to death when everybody turned down this final offer. And I have a good feeling that things are going to start going our way," says Kathy Keller, a striker and member of the negotiating committee.

### ACHIEVEMENT

"We made it through the winter, which was a fantastic achievement.

"We made it through all the depressing holidays and everything like that, and they thought we would break, they thought the cold weather, the rain, the snow, the sleet, the thunderstorms, whatever, they thought 'they're going to come crawling back'.

"And we didn't. So I kind of feel really good."

The strike began on July 21, 1980, and the overwhelming rejection of the hospital's latest offer shows that the determination and spirit of the strikers has not waned.

The issues at stake in the dispute involve job security, working conditions, the administration of health care, input on the part of the nurses, the right to a union shop and issues relating to wages and health and benefit plans.

Since the first days of the strike the hospital has refused to bargain in "good faith"—if bargain at all.

The hospital's latest offer was a calculated and cynical move to try and undermine the determination of the strikers by offering them a considerable wage hike, without budgeting on any of the other issues at stake in the strike.

Tom Wagner, also a negotiating committee member, explained: "We were asking

### THE LONGEST NURSES STRIKE IN HISTORY. REPORT BY AHMED SHAWKI

for a starting wage of \$7.40 an hour. They had been telling us throughout the whole strike that we were just completely out in left field.

"To our surprise what they came up with from our asking \$7.40 to start, they came up with \$8.10 to start, which means a raise of \$1.65 from what we were making when we went out on strike.

"It was a buy-out situation. It was very apparent that this would be a situation where they just bought us off."

### FLAG

"They were really positive that if they waved this red flag of money in front of us we all, like a bunch of mindless fools, would forget everything we went out for," added David Cunningham, another striker and member of the negotiating committee.

The hospital had clearly underestimated the resolve of the nurses. When the negotiating committee agreed to put the offer to a mass meeting for a vote, the hospital assumed it was over.

"They started preparing just as fast as they could.

"They had maintenance men working twelve hour shifts, they had housekeeping working 8 to 12 hour shifts, they had schedules made up in the nursing office, schedules were made out for that following Monday after our meeting May 9," explains Keller. "They even had the floors painted" says Cunningham with a chuckle.

"If we can go out on July 21 and have 24-hour picketing out here—and to think that



Striking nurses at Ashtabula General

we're that dumb to be bought out," says Keller incredulously.

But then again, the Board of Ashtabula General Hospital is not known for its perceptiveness. Nor its interest in health care.

The Hospital's Board includes some of Ashtabula's most prominent businessmen. "I feel that they're really interested in their black and red.

"They've been in the black since the beginning of time and they've done that by cutting corners, by not innovating, and I don't think they've done a whole lot about really

looking out for their patients," says Cunningham.

The strikers maintain that one of the key issues in their strike revolves around just that—their ability to provide quality health care.

The nurses had endured a situation where they had no voice whatsoever in the way the hospital was run and yet took all the blame for anything that went wrong.

### UNION

That is also why the issue of union membership has become such an important issue in the strike.

"If we as a group are strong, they will listen to us," says Keller. "And that's why they don't want a union.

"It's always been, you're right underneath their thumb and if you don't do what they say you're out of a job.

"See it goes right back to job security. They don't want us to be strong, they don't want us to have a good contract. They want us right underneath their thumbs."

But the Ashtabula strikers are determined to win, and go back to work with a good contract, in a position of strength.

Hazel Lehtinen summed up her feeling of the 10½ month strike: "I want to go back to work, but I won't go back without a good contract."

To win, the strikers need all the support they can get.

Support letters and money are needed.

The longest nurses strike in U.S. history is a struggle for all hospital workers and trade unionists.

As Keller put it: "A lot of townspeople kept saying 'Boy, you guys bit off more than you can chew, this is a powerful group', you know, and some people said 'you're never going to make it.'"

But Keller says "we'll do whatever we have to do to win this, because we know this isn't for us. I've received letters from all over the United States. Everybody says 'You guys have got to hang in there, because you're not only doing it for yourselves.'"

### SUPPORT

Support the Ashtabula nurses! Send messages of support and contributions to Ashtabula General Nurses Association, 2190 S. Ridge Rd., Ashtabula, Ohio 44004. □

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