



WEIRTON WORKERS TO BUY PLANT

SEE PAGE 5



REAGAN'S NICARAGUA MOVES

SEE PAGE 3

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Protectionism see pages 8 & 9

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Some recovery NO JOBS!



NURSES ON STRIKE
SEE PAGE 15

HOT SPRINGS, VA—Top corporate executives and senior government officials held a high level closed door conference here on May 14 to discuss the Federal budget deficit and the budget for the year 1984.

Government officials included Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger and Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan, as well as David A. Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Martin S. Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Business leaders included executives from such huge companies as American Telephone and Telegraph, General Motors, Ford, General Electric and Du Pont—companies which employ the bulk of the country's private industry workers.

AGREED

These men spent very little time of the subject of unemployment, but they were agreed on one thing.

They have no intention of rehiring many of their laid-off workers and they believe that unemployment will stay about 10 percent for the next decade or two.

James H. Evans, chairman of the board of the Union Pacific Corporation, the giant transportation company, was asked if any of his company's 6,000 laid off workers would be called back, said, "The answer is probably not."

"We're running 40 percent more freight tonnage than we did 20 years ago—with half as many employees."

Edward G. Jefferson, chairman of E.I. du

REPORT BY
MARY JOHNSON

Pont de Nemours and Company, the nation's biggest producer of chemicals, said its capacity for producing synthetic fibers is double what it was in 1973, but manpower to operate it is "up only 4 or 5 percent because of modernization and robotics."

William Butcher, the chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank expressed the opinion of the executives toward the unemployed, "O.K., let's say we won't modernize and raise our productivity. Then you'll have no employment at all."

ELIMINATE

The fact is that these millionaires are just as happy to see recession—they can use it to eliminate competition and reduce their own labor costs.

Too bad for the ten million workers who have no jobs and face losing their unemployment benefits—they will just have to pay the price for progress. Too bad for the millions of others who make poverty wages.

This is how the system works—profits first. Human needs last.

The economic recovery will be a business recovery only—the recession will continue for the working class. Unless we begin to fight to change the system and put human needs first. □

This land is not your land -and it's not my land

Every school child learns this great Woddy Guthrie song.

It is more popular than the national anthem.

But while it may be a great song to sing, this land is not "made for you and me."

There are 2.3 billion acres of land in the USA, enough for ten acres for every woman, man and child.

But the ownership of land in the U.S. falls into the hands of a few people.

It is ownership and the economics of the ownership of land that determine whether or not land is farmed, paved, strip mined, polluted, preserved or reclaimed.

Ownership of land determines where people live and work.

DETERMINES

In short, ownership of land determines who is rich and who is poor, who is exploited and who is exploiter.

The federal government is the biggest landlord, owning about one third, or 762 million acres of land. Most of this land is in the West and Alaska.

Seven percent is owned by state and local governments.

*This land is your land
This land is my land
From California to the New
York Island
From the Redwood Forest
To the Gulf Stream waters
This land was made for you
and me.*

Indian "trust" lands account for 52 million acres. This leaves 1.3 billion acres or 60% in private hands.

According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), about 3% of the population (7 to 8 million people) own 55% of the total land and a full 95% of the 1.3 billion acres of privately owned land.

568 corporations control—through ownership or indirect control such as leasing, mineral or surface rights—more than 300 million acres of U.S. land, or 23% of all privately held U.S. land.

Eight U.S. oil companies own 65 million acres of U.S. territorial land.

In the state of Maine, timber and paper interests control



America's land is owned by the few

37% of the state's total land.

In effect seven large absentee landlords own one third of the state of Maine.

In Texas, 11 landowners own a total of 5.8 million acres, an area equal in size to New Hampshire.

In California, the top ten private landowners control 11% of the state's total acreage.

In some rural California counties the 20 leading companies are engaged in agribusiness, but for others like Boeing, Goodyear and Standard Oil, agribusiness is just a small part of their total business.

A detailed survey of some Appalachian counties, an area rich in coal, timber and gas, showed that 40% of the land and 70% of the mineral rights are owned by corporations.

84% of the corporate held land is owned by absentee corporations.

In Andirondack Park, which comprises a fifth of all the land in New York State, one percent of the landowners hold more than one half of the private land.

In 1910, there were 890,000 farms operated by non-whites, principally Blacks.

Of that number, they owned or partially owned 218,000 farms and 617,000 were run by tenant farmers.

In short, in spite of racist hostility, Blacks managed to own or partly own 15 million acres of land, mainly in the South.

In 1969, when the Black population had doubled, the number of Black-operated farms dropped 90% to 79,000.

CONCENTRATION

The growing concentration of landownership, increasing absentee landlordism, combined with the tax benefits these corporations receive is a major factor behind the growing impoverishment of sections of the United States.

Men who make millions on death

What would you think of a group of men who were making hundreds of millions of dollars selling a product which doesn't do any of the things it is advertised to do?

In fact, this product is associated with 340,000 premature deaths a year.

It causes lung cancer, emphysema, and chronic bronchitis.

Women on birth control pills who use it have a ten times higher rate of heart attacks.

If pregnant women use it, the growth of the fetus slows down.

These men spend millions of dollars encouraging people to use a dangerous, addictive drug that is supposed to make people look sexier.

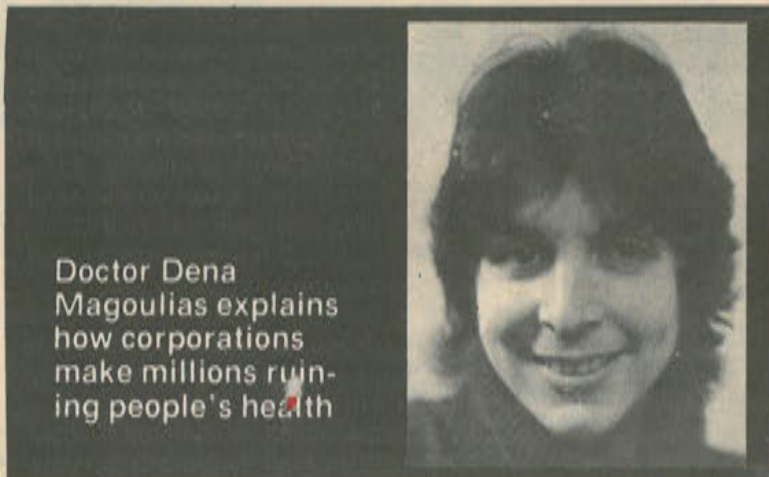
MASS

One might think these people should be arrested as mass murderers or drug pushers, and be put in jail.

Instead, these men, who are leaders of the tobacco industry, are millionaires and are pillars of their communities.

They are even entertained at the White House.

Tobacco companies know what people would like to be like and through adver-



Doctor Dena Magoulis explains how corporations make millions ruining people's health

tisements make it look like cigarettes will make you sexy, glamorous, and successful.

DIFFERENT

There are different billboards for different communities and different groups of people.

One example, is ads aimed toward women.

In 1917, Lucky Strike, a new brand of cigarettes, wanted to get in on the action.

They urged women to smoke to lose weight.

So effective were their ads that they became the number one cigarette sellers.

In 1968, the Phillip Morris Co., maker of Marlboros, capitalized on the women's liberation

movement by introducing Virginia Slims "You've come a long way, baby" cigarettes.

Now, thanks to their efforts, lung cancer, once rare in women, is moving to be the number one cancer killer.

When clear links between cigarette smoking and lung cancer came out in 1953, the cigarette industry had to come out with a new gimmick.

Winston made filter cigarettes and advertised them as what doctors ordered.

Camels came out with an ad saying that "more doctors smoke Camels than any other brand".

When the dangers of cigarettes began to be broadcast in the media, the

tobacco industries retaliated.

The Phillip Morris company spent millions defeating measures to curtail smoking in public places.

In 1979, 113 measures were introduced in various states and only 8 were enacted.

This is how the government and big business work together to ensure corporate profits continue while we suffer.

DUMP

Corporations have shown they are not interested in health in many ways.

They continue to dump wastes and pollute the environment because they would lose money to clean it up.

They expose their workers to hazards on the job instead of spending money to make jobs safer.

And they produce unsafe products like cigarettes and encourage people to use them through ads.

The Phillip Morris Company sells \$6.1 billion worth of cigarettes a year.

They are going to continue to encourage you to "come to Marlboro country".

The question is—are you going to listen? □

STOP REAGAN'S WARS IN CENTRAL AMERICA!



U.S. trained counter-revolutionaries

WILLIAMSBURG: THE DESPERATE SUMMIT

Why all the fuss on TV and in the papers about the seven nation economic conference at Williamsburg?

Basically, it's because the governments of these countries are desperate.

Throughout the 1970s, the economies of Europe, North America, and eventually Japan moved into increasingly severe economic crisis.

Unemployment in Europe is over 14%, while the official estimate here is 10.2%

HALF

All of these economies are running at half-speed.

Together they have loaned out over \$700 billion to underdeveloped nations which will never be able to repay them.

The world economy is a house of cards, growing higher by the day and more vulnerable at the base.

Then comes Reagan's so-called recovery.

The leaders of the other economies—West Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Canada, and Japan—are looking to the U.S. to lead the world economy out of crisis.

There can be no isolated recovery in one country.

Only the recovery of the U.S. economy can stimulate

by NEIL SMITH

trade and capital investment worldwide, they believe.

But this will only happen if U.S. interest rates are brought down, and the world money system strengthened.

European leaders know that the economic situation is desperate.

Hence the Williamsburg summit.

But a U.S. economic recovery is merely wishful thinking.

Sure, there will be a year, maybe two, of economic growth.

But not even Reagan's economic advisors expect this to bring down the unemployment rates.

Nor do they expect the economy will begin to produce at anything like full capacity.

ATTACKS

As the Williamsburg conference and others like it fail to produce any real results, the Reagan's, Thatchers, and Mitterand's of the world will mount more brutal attacks on workers' living standards and on workers themselves.

That's why we need to organize now. □

The Reagan administration now proudly proclaims that its intention is to overthrow popular Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

CIA Director William J. Casey has told the house intelligence committee that he thinks that the U.S. backed anti-government guerrillas in Nicaragua can achieve a military victory—possibly by the end of this year.

There is no limit to the arrogance of these people—the Reagan's, Kirkpatrick's, Weinbergers and Caseys. They are the Lyndon Johnsons of the eighties.

VICTORY

It should be remembered, of course, that the CIA predicted a quick victory in Vietnam as well—and they made that prediction well before the massive introduction of U.S. combat troops.

And it should be remembered that the U.S. went into Vietnam on behalf of men that John F. Kennedy called "freedom fighters"—the brutal, corrupt rulers of the old South Vietnamese regime—most of whom are now living in villas in the South of France, or in Washington suburbs.

Ronald Reagan's "freedom fighters" operating now on two fronts against Nicaragua are primarily the dregs of Anastasio Somoza's brutal national guardsmen—pro-

fessional killers driven from Nicaragua by the popular revolution.

Reagan is also continuing to try to win the war in El Salvador—despite military setback after military setback. The latest revelations now expose secret flights by the CIA's top spy planes.

LEGALITY

There is no more pretense about legality. Reagan clearly doesn't care whether the Congress or the American people approve of his anti-Communist crusade in Central America.

And what are the facts? There have been reports of

repression from Nicaragua—reports that possibly as many as 100 civilians may have been killed by soldiers since the revolution.

In El Salvador, the country run by military butchers, run by military butchers Reagan praises as freedom loving, 35,000 noncombatants have been killed by government soldiers since 1979. The killings continue at 100 per week.

There have been reports of priests unable to use the government radio in Nicaragua. In El Salvador, Archbishop Romero was murdered by government killers at the altar.

Four American churchwomen were raped and murdered by government soldiers and no one has been brought to justice.

ISSUE

The issue in Central America is clear.

Reagan, the CIA, and the U.S. corporations want Central America to be their private backyard—whatever the cost to the people who live there. And every step they take is moving us closer to the introduction of U.S. combat soldiers.

We have to stop them. No more Vietnams! U.S. hands off Nicaragua and El Salvador! □

Support gay and lesbian liberation

by GERI D'ANNIBALLE

to protect "child molesters and rapists".

In Joplin, Missouri, hysteria was built over a "show kids we care—stop perversion" campaign in which twenty gay men were arrested—in public or at their workplaces—for allegedly having sex with minors.

Though many of the men were released, three were given seven year sentences, and two, only nineteen years old, were committed to an institution for the criminally insane.

In Leavenworth, Kansas, an Air Force Lieutenant is presently serving a six year sentence for having a lesbian relationship.

Lesbians and gay men face being fired from their jobs, having their children taken away, being beaten in the streets, and having bars and clubs raided by police—all for the "crime of loving someone of the same sex.

The fight for lesbian and gay liberation takes on one of capitalism's most important institutions, the family.

As the crisis deepens, emphasis on the family in providing education, childcare

and health care becomes greater.

Therefore, the state's attack on anyone who challenges the family also increases.

This is clear in the attack on reproductive rights as well as in attacks on lesbians and gays.

It is necessary to fight these attacks at their source—a system which exploits and oppresses the majority of people for the privilege of a few.

Lesbian and gay liberation, or any liberation, will not happen under capitalism.

NEW

We must build a new world where people are not defined by their sex, race, or sexual preference—and where the wealth of the world is shared equally by all.

Support Gay Pride in your city.

Fight for lesbian and gay rights in your union.

The struggle belongs to all of us—because none of us is free until we all are. □

FIGHTING WORDS

A woman worker is not only a member of the working class but at the same time she is a representative of one half of the human race. As opposed to the feminists, the socialists demanding equal rights for women in state and society do not shut their eyes to the fact that women's responsibilities toward the collective society will always be somewhat different than men's. The woman is not only an independent worker and citizen—at the same time she is a mother, a bearer of the future. This gives rise to a whole series of special demands in areas such as women's labor protection, security for maternity and childhood, help with the problems of the child's upbringing, and so on.

—Alexandra Kollontai

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Chicago marchers protest nuclear arms race

Chicago, Ill.—The message from the Chicago marchers was clear: Stop the Arms Race now.

Despite bitterly cold winds, 9,000 people—Black and white workers, students and professionals, marched on a Mothers Day march for Peace on May 8.

Walking through the heart of Chicago's business district, the Loop, many chanted "Jobs not Bombs".

The importance of that slogan was not lost on a demonstrator who wore a button that read "unemployed".

"This is my first demonstration," he said, "it won't be my last."

It won't be the last peace demonstration either.

All over the United States and around the world, masses of people are rejecting the arms race between the U.S.

by LEE SUSTAR

and state capitalist Soviet Union.

Faced with the threat of nuclear holocaust, tens of thousands of people have already marched on European capitals this spring demanding nuclear disarmament.

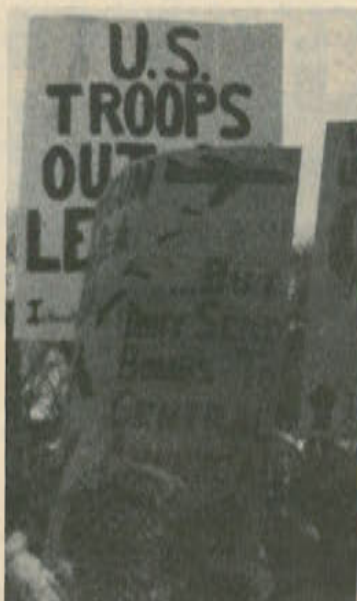
Protesters in Great Britain plan to occupy missile sites this fall.

HARASSMENT

Outlawed East German peace activists demonstrate despite police harassment.

The Chicago marchers were just one part of a worldwide movement.

But, unfortunately, the peace movement in Chicago—as in the rest of the U.S.—has lost much of its momentum.



Chicago marchers

In 1982, over 30,000 people marched in Chicago against the Reagan military buildup. Over one million marched

on the United Nations in New York City to demand nuclear disarmament.

Anti-war demonstrations have been much smaller this year, as the leaders of the peace movement have directed their efforts away from mass protest and into the halls of Congress, where legislators give lip service to a non-binding resolution calling for a nuclear freeze.

A large section of the peace movement now looks to the leadership of the Democratic Party—the Party that pushed the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust in the showdown with Russia over missiles in Cuba in 1962.

TROOPS

The party that sent hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops to die in Vietnam. The party that, under president

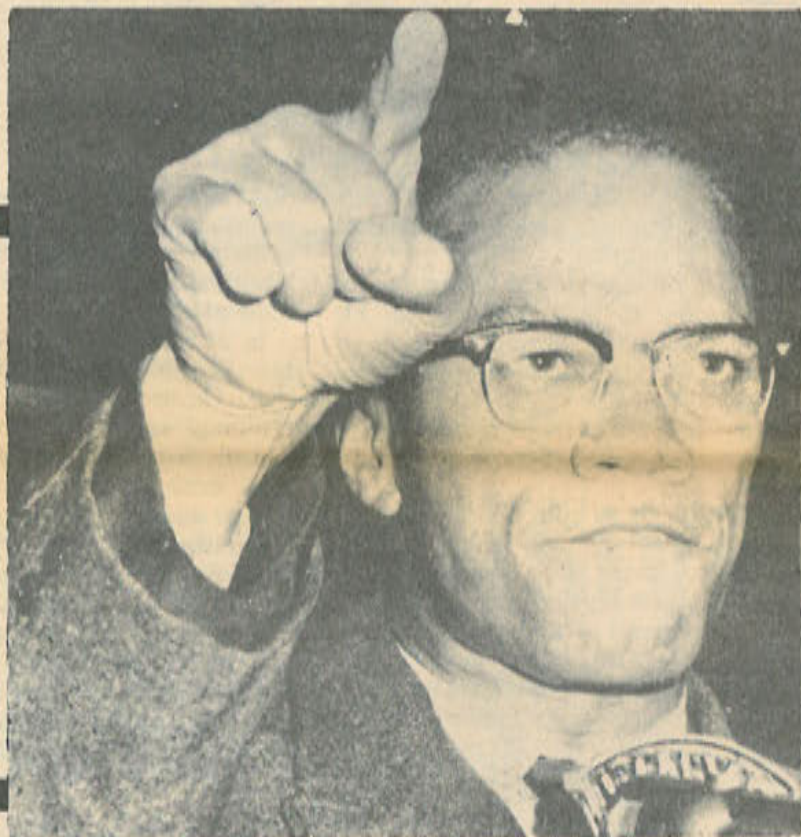
Jimmy Carter, began the current wave of massive cuts in social spending and pushed for a massive military buildup.

In Chicago, the new darling of the Democratic Party, Mayor Harold Washington, was scheduled to speak to the peace marchers. He didn't bother to show up.

RELYING

By relying on the Democrats the nuclear disarmament movement has failed to link itself with other movements, such as unemployment and the U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

These issues are all related. They are all a result of capitalism and a world system based on economic—and ultimately military—competition, and the only way to end the arms race is to end the system that produces it. □



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

SHE WOKE UP AND DISCOVERED SHE WAS BLACK

Malcolm X

When Susie Guillory Phipps applied for a passport five years ago, she got the shock of her life.

She found out she was Black.

A-a-h-h-h!!! A fate worse than death. Phipps burst into tears, went home devastated, and became physically ill.

"If you had been raised (white) and you are 48 years old, and they tell you you have a Black ancestor, that's shocking," she lamented. (Especially if you're raised to be a racist).

SLAVE

Phipps discovered on that life-shattering day that the state of Louisiana listed her as Black at birth, because of her great-great-great-grandmother, a Black slave named Margarita, who was raped by a white planter from Mobile.

Her response was to sue to be reclassified as white. Last month, however, Phipps lost the case.

She is still by Louisiana law an Afro-American.

Before our subject does anything drastic, like commit suicide, let us explore some of

by RETHA HILL

the ramifications of suddenly being shoved across the color line.

Although there are numerous positive aspects of being an Afro-American, as any non-racist knows, the bottom line, as Phipps realized that fateful day, is that being declared Black in America can be a pretty horrible experience.

It's not so much the color thing either.

It's not that dark skin is ugly—Phipps, who is as white as they come, would probably have welcomed in her life a mysterious olive-based complexion to offset her wavy Black hair.

If it was just color, and not the knowledge of being 1/32nd Negro, she and friends would have considered a darker hue exotic.

And it's not just the thought of discovering you are partly a member of another race.

Millions of white Americans gloat of a Native American ancestor or Spanish American ties. How quaint.

But Black is, well, a bit more heavy.

To be Black is to be regulated to third-class citizenship by prospective employers, school administrations, or customs officials who will eye you and

your birth certificate with hatred.

Being Black is to suddenly have your history stripped away.

No more identifying with Kings and Queens, Miss



Identifying with slaves and sharecroppers

Phipps, but slaves and sharecroppers, according to the history writers.

To be Black is to be discriminated against by employers, judges, voters, law makers, teachers, policemen, presidents.

What will you do Ms. Phipps?

Will you forge documents and try to change your identity?

Will you move to another state and hope people will forget?

Will you flinch when your husband in anger shouts, "You Never . . .", "You Need . . .", because you thought he was going to let fly with "You Nigger."

RESPECT

Or will you embrace your 30 million brothers and sisters and cherish their history of struggle to overthrow a system, where the criterion of who is treated fairly and with respect is based on race.

Join us, Ms. Phipps. Join us.

And let's overthrow this racist system together. □

Weirton steelworkers fight for survival

The steelworks in Weirton, W. VA is the largest employer in the state of West Virginia, though there are now only 7,000 workers—down from 12,000 when the mill operated at its peak.

Still, if publically sold, the Weirton mill, part of National Steel, would rank among the 300 largest industrial corporations in the nation, with more than \$1 billion in sales.

But Weirton Steel may become, perhaps this month, the largest "worker-owned" corporation in the country.

The steel workers are voting—probably in June—on a plan to buy the plant from National Steel—at a cost of \$181 million.

Needless to say, this is big business.

Lazard Freres and Co., the Wall Street firm that reorganized New York, Cleveland and Detroit—is handling the negotiations—for a fee of \$1 million.

Lazard Freres is known as the embodiment of high finance. It specializes in high risk, controversial areas—places where most banks are afraid to go.

The workers will pay a high price in this deal—at least 18.9% in wage and benefit concessions, a figure that is actually down from the original proposals, but a figure which may also mask further costs.

The workers will also have to accept a permanent reduction in the workforce—probably down to a maximum of 5,000, plus plans to increase the productivity—to make the mill more "competitive".

There is, as might be expected, much frustration and a good deal of bitterness among the workers of Weirton, who, nevertheless, are expected to approve the deal, possibly overwhelmingly.

The problem is that there seems to be no alternative to the ESOP—the Employee Stock Ownership Plan, as the scheme is called.

FEAR

Weirton has been a one industry, company town for decades. Now there is a depression in the steel industry, and West Virginia has the highest unemployment in the country.

National Steel says it will no longer invest in the Weirton works, that, at most, it would keep Weirton on as a finishing mill.

But the older workers are afraid that they will lose their pensions and health and welfare benefits in the process of reorganizing the works.

And the younger workers are afraid that the mill will be reduced anyway.

There has also been a good deal of coercion involved in the campaign to get the workers to vote 'yes' on the ESOP.

The press has tried to por-

WORKERS TO VOTE ON BUYING MILL REPORT BY CAL WINSLOW

tray a small town (25,000), united in a fight to save itself.

But the reality is a little different.

Pete Love, the Chairman of the Board of National Steel, told the workers that they have one chance—and one chance only.

Vote "yes" or the mill will be a finishing mill employing perhaps 1,500 workers!

"There's a lot of mistrust," says Steve Bauman, a member of the Rank and File Committee, which has been fighting to get the facts out on this agreement—most are still secret.

A disclosure document may be published this month.

"But people are just scared shitless."

There is good reason for the mistrust.

While the city fathers are promising Weirton a long and prosperous future with the ESOP, National Steel has been busy reorganizing itself—into National Intergroup and NSC.

Corporation steel assets will be separated from all non-steel subsidiaries—that is the profitable ones. But steel will keep the liabilities.

MERGE

The corporations are supposed to be merged, but the boards of directors of each will retain the right to withdraw from the merger.

The workers in the Rank and File Committee are afraid that there may be no real merger, and that the plan is to bankrupt National Steel.

That would be a disaster for the new Weirton steel, for National will still hold millions in notes and liabilities—including pensions and health and welfare benefits, plus contracts for data processing, raw materials, etc.



Main Street, Weirton, West Virginia



Steve Bauman

"National tries to give the impression it has washed its hands of Weirton," says Bauman, "but really it hasn't. In some ways very little will change here."

TROUBLE

There is a fear that even the reductions in concession demands (originally set at 32%), forced by legal action by the Rank and File Committee, may mean future trouble for the workers.

"The mill is being run down



Tony Gilliam

now, millions will be needed to redo it, but the company may not be able to borrow enough to do the job," says another worker. "Weirton may end up a finishing mill regardless."

Tony Gilliam, a leader of the Rank and File Committee, is critical of the whole way the ESOP has been handled in Weirton, especially by the company union, the Independent Steelworkers Union (ISU).

"There may be ways workers can get some participation with ESOP, but I don't think that's going to happen here."

Steve Bauman agrees. "There have been very few successful ESOP's so far. This one is perhaps the biggest fiasco."

"I think we're seeing that ESOP is just giving big capital a chance to get out from under liabilities."

Eugene Keilin, a senior vice-president with Lazard Freres, puts it more positively: "ESOPs will provide an attractive way to restructure firms' finances"—not only through selling off unprofitable plant, but also through massive tax benefits.

One political problem in all this has been the promotion of the idea that an ESOP can be a step toward "workers control"—an idea promoted even by some socialists.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Keilin puts it quite bluntly.

"This is not socialism, it's worker capitalism."

And Keilin expects that the ESOP offers the opportunity for increased exploitation—with one added benefit. The workers will do it themselves.

Walter Bish, an official of the ISU, says, "If there is going to be one steel company alive in this country, we intend it to be in Weirton."

In other words, the Weirton workers will drive themselves in the competition for profits in steel—a recipe for disaster.

The workers in the Rank and File Committee have carried on an important struggle in Weirton—and they may have saved the workers some money and some jobs—in the short term.

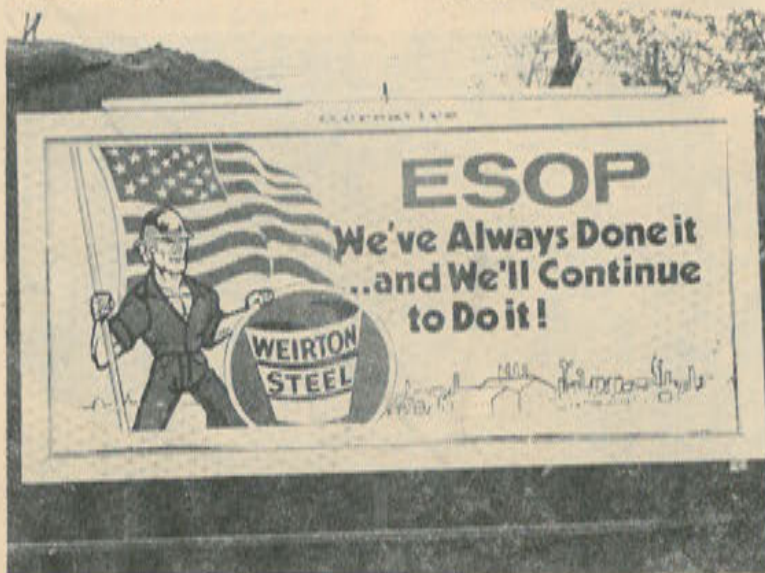
Hopefully they can make a long term contribution as well—and that is the understanding, that ESOPs and worker ownership schemes are not the way forward for industrial workers, even now, when the alternatives seem so bleak.

BLOCK

ESOPs will only lead to self-exploitation, they will provide a road block to workers solidarity, putting workers in one mill in competition with another, where, as in steel, the problem is clearly international in scope.

More, the workers involved in such schemes will not be able to raise the demand that they have a right to a job.

Instead, they have to accept as law that jobs depend on profits—and the odds, in this time of economic crisis, are all against them. □



Campaigning for the ESOP

Graffiti

by KENT WORCESTER

European Sports...

During a congressional debate on a resolution urging the U.S. to snare soccer's World Cup, Jack Kemp, ex-quarterback and Republican, leapt to the microphone to snipe at the game.

"I think it is important for all those young out there, who some day hope to play real football, where you throw it and kick it and run with it and put it in your hands, a distinction should be made that football is democratic, capitalist, whereas soccer is a European socialist..."

At this point Kemp froze. "I'm going to have to revise and extend my remarks," he said, realizing that he had placed his foot firmly in his mouth. □

Reality...

Bill Hollowell, a member of the Texas legislature, has introduced a bill that would authorize former lawmakers to serve in place of state senators and representatives killed in a nuclear attack. "We have to deal with reality," he explained. □

Reagan on Vetoes...

This comes to us from an April press conference: "I have always, kind of, held to a rule that until it is—I will talk about vetoes in general principle.

"But until it actually gets to my desk, I have always said that in the legislative process sometimes an orange becomes an apple.

"And I will wait and make that decision." □

Not Rain, Nor Sleet...

"What would you do if someone came rattling your mailbox at 2:00 am?"

That's what a postal worker in Houston, Texas, asked after supervisors sent probationary carriers after dark.

The carriers were given direct instructions to not come back until finished.

Among postal supervisors, Houston is known as a city where management runs the show. □

We're in the Money...

Former United Mine Workers Union chief Sam Church goes back on the payroll next month as a \$28,000 a year field rep. □

Screaming Yahoos...

In defense of hiring conservative faculty, a Political Scientist at Stanford asked if anyone has "ever seen Milton Friedman lead an army of screaming yahoos in an attack on the president's office?" □

COUNSELOR FIRED IN DEPO PROVERA CASE

CINCINNATI, OH—Cathy Freese was a counsellor at a group home for troubled and neglected teen-age girls in Cincinnati, when she discovered that the Children's Hospital Adolescent Clinic planned to prescribe Depo-Provera for one of the young women at the home.

Cathy, who was the teenagers' case worker, questioned the clinic about the drug's safety.

She wasn't satisfied by the glib reassurances she got, so she and a co-worker, David Hill, contacted the Alliance for Reproductive Rights (ARC).

Together they compiled information on the risks associated with Depo-Provera

use (including a high incidence of menstrual chaos, depression and a possibility of cancer).

They also discovered that Depo was being used routinely by the clinic on young women who were judged "not suitable" for other birth control methods—mostly poor, neglected or retarded teenagers.

Dr. Joseph Rauh, director of the Adolescent Clinic, demanded that the group home

REPORT
BY
CELIA PETTY

fire Freese and Hill and even threatened to withdraw services from residents at the home if the two weren't dismissed for "interfering with the doctor/patient relationship."

After ARC held a meeting to publicize the dangers of the drug—which was widely reported in the Cincinnati media—Cathy Freese was fired.

REASON

Her supervisor refused to state in writing the reason for the dismissal, but admitted to Cathy that the publicity about Depo-Provera was the cause—even though the name of the group home and the

teen-ager had been carefully protected.

Cathy, a single mother, knew from the start she was risking her job of five years to protect the young women she worked with.

DENIED

She's being denied unemployment benefits, but she still plans to fight for reinstatement with back pay.

She deserves support. ARC is sponsoring a fundraising party and raffle to raise money for Cathy's legal expenses.

Donations and letters of support should be addressed to: ARC Defense Fund, 134 Kensey Avenue, Cincinnati 45219.

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

What are conditions like for the workers in Russia?

Sixty-five years after the October revolution and fifty-five years after the Stalinist counter-revolution, the condition of the Russian working class remains at best unknown, at worst mystified.

The restriction of information by the Soviet government since 1928 has not made it any easier for socialists to examine the claim of "workers' state."

But as Russia was forced more and more to deal with the world order, information became available to examine.

BASIC

If you believe that Russia is some kind of 'socialist' state, or 'workers' state, or 'transitional' society, then it should be possible to see a fundamental difference in the basic relations of production in the Soviet Union.

If, on the other hand, the investigation of data shows that the basic productive relations are the same as elsewhere, then Russia must be a variant of capitalism.

Last month we discussed some of the more brutal aspects of exploitation and oppression used by the bureaucracy in the early development of Russian state capitalism in the 1930s.

Crude compulsion became incompatible with continued development.

Since the death of Stalin, important changes in the conditions of the Russian working class have taken place.

In order to increase productivity and to improve the political base of the regime, living standards were raised and overt repression declined.

Under state capitalism, the government has the power to determine wages and personal consumption in a more direct way than under private capitalism.

In the 1930s real wages in Russia were forced down between 30 and 45 percent. By 1950 they were still only

marginally higher than in 1928.

The standard of living had to be raised—wages, more consumer goods—in order to push production ahead.

Real wages have gone up—at least through the early 1970s, and consumption has doubled.

Still, Russian workers are no better off than a Spanish worker today, and earn only about 40 percent of what a West German worker makes and 55 percent of an American worker.

These are average figures. Many are worse off.

The minimum wage is half the industrial wage average. At the other end of the scale income distribution approximates that in the west.

Another quality of life measurement which is startling but confirmed by the demographic section of the State Planning Committee, is the increase in the infant mortality rate from 24 per thousand in 1960 to 30 per thousand in 1970.

Russian steel workers



Competition with the West drives Russian economy

In the same period life expectancy declined from 70 to 69 years.

During the period of industrialization, as we noted last month, working class organization was systematically destroyed or subverted to the needs of the bureaucracy.

The 1971 Labor Codes, while less harsh than in Stalin's day, are in essence the same.

Workers are told their interests are the same as managers even though they do not control managers or share their benefits. The common interest is defined as uninterrupted productivity.

In many ways the new Codes resemble the productivity schemes being introduced in the West with worker-management committees that in essence plan the best way to exploit labor.

But in Russia it's worse because the existence of independent unions is prohibited.

CRIMINAL

All attempts at independent working class activity are resisted by the state. Prohibition of strikes is found in the Criminal Code not the Labor Code.

Printing is strictly con-

trolled by the state. Typewriters are licensed.

All international mail is subject to censorship and internal mail is selectively censored.

Since the state in the Soviet Union is the owner of the overwhelming proportion of industry and the largest employer, then the extent to which the working class controls the state is decisive in evaluating the claim of a workers' state.

While there are elections in the Soviet Union, both absence of choice and irrelevance of authority in real decision-making, leaves the power of the state in the hands of a few.

The Supreme Soviet, constitutionally the chief legislative body, merely passes on laws handed-down from the Central Committee. Initiative from below does not happen.

The same features that we find in the west are to be found in "socialist" Russia—alienation, wildcat strikes, pollution, unemployment, racism.

These features are bound to proliferate as competition with the West becomes more acute and the Russian ruling class is forced to drive its working class harder.

Socialism, if it means anything, means workers consciously in control of their own destiny.

Class consciousness is as much needed in Russia as in the U.S.

EMBRYONIC

The inspiration behind the slogan "all power to the Soviets" raised by Ukrainian workers as they smashed the KGB and Party offices in 1972 suggests an embryonic class consciousness.

Its growth will come with internationalism as workers around the world see their common interests separate from their ruling classes. □

PUERTO RICO: AN AMERICAN COLONY

Puerto Rico is a Caribbean and Latin American nation—taken as a prize of war 84 years ago.

It is the most important colony of the most powerful capitalist nation of the world: the United States.

Long touted as the "showcase of democracy" in the Caribbean, this small island of over 2 million people faces one of the worst crisis in its history.

CONTROL

When the "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico" was first inaugurated 30 years ago with "Operation Bootstrap", an ambitious and optimistic plan for rapid industrial develop-

DANIEL DEL VALLE ANALYZES THE HISTORY AND FUTURE OF PUERTO RICO

ment, the stage was set for U.S. corporate control over the island's economy.

Although this pattern began after the invasion of Puerto Rico in 1898, when U.S. based agribusiness corporations paid paltry sums for large plots of fertile land, forcing large numbers of agricultural work-

ers from the countryside to the cities of Puerto Rico, the influx of U.S. corporations with "Operation Bootstrap" set up light manufacturing industries.

Later during the 1950's, heavy industrial capital was invested in high-technological industries such as refineries.

This included a deliberate government-corporate policy of immigration, where over two million Puerto Rican workers left the island to come to the mainland to occupy some of the lowest paying jobs in the U.S.

The impact of this "progress" is now being felt in all sectors of society, except the corporate big-wigs and their servants who seem to thrive on the misfortunes of the Puerto Rican people.

Puerto Rico is in fact a classic example of an underdeveloped country, producing what it does not consume and consuming what it does not produce.

The veneer of a "consumer society", where \$1.70 is spent for every dollar produced, cannot hide an economy unable to produce for its own internal market.

Of all the food consumed, 80% is imported.

Unemployment is officially tagged at 25%, but is closer to 50% counting "hidden" unemployment, that is those poor souls who have given up looking for a job and which the official statisticians refuse to acknowledge.

This also overlooks the increasing uprootment of the working class who leave looking for jobs on the mainland. And although the inflationary rate is comparable to the U.S., salaries are less than half the average income per capita of the poorest state of the U.S.: Mississippi.

An average of about 50% of the population is presently supporting itself with food coupons or other federal assistance, which is the backbone of the colonial economy's efforts to avoid bankruptcy and social unrest, however Reagan's cuts have hurt many who have no other choice.

DEPENDENT

In Reality, Puerto Rico is more dependent now than it was 30 years ago when the "Commonwealth" status was implemented to stave off



Puerto Ricans march in New York

growing nationalist efforts for independence.

This also included brutal repression of the independence fighters through the years.

Finally, the implications of this crisis in Uncle Sam's oldest colony are ominous not only for Puerto Ricans, be they on the mainland or the island, but also for all those who are fighting for freedom and democracy in Central America.

The United States has a vital interest in maintaining its domination over Puerto Rico, especially Reagan's plans for the region.

The possible absorption of Puerto Rico into the United States via annexation as a state, a la Hawaii, would convert the U.S. into a Caribbean nation.

It would have, therefore, the rationale it has long wanted for imperialist intervention in the region, for then Latin America, and especially Central America, would truly be in "our backyard".

It would be just a matter of calling out the national guard.

As it is today, Puerto Rico is the main military bastion of the United States in the Caribbean, Central and South America.

Troops from Puerto Rico were used to quell the rebel-

lion in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

The necessity for the internationalization of Puerto Rico's status should be a top priority of all those who oppose political, economic and cultural assimilation and who fight for freedom and justice in Central America and the Caribbean.

LIBERATION

Needless to say, the crux of the matter comes down to the national liberation movement in Puerto Rico.

That is the relation of the fight for socialism and the national liberation movement.

A relationship which is closely linked for any "independence" which does not fundamentally change the Puerto Rican workers' position in society would be a sham.

To paraphrase James Connolly, the great Irish revolutionary:

If you remove the American army tomorrow and hoist the solitary star of the Puerto Rican flag over La Fortaleza, unless you set about the organization of a socialist republic, your efforts would be in vain. The United States would still rule you through her capitalists, through her financiers, through her whole array of commercial and individual institutions she has planted in this country.

CHILEANS CHALLENGE GENERAL PINOCHET

Chile saw its first large scale demonstrations for nearly ten years last week. Thousands of people took to the streets to protest at the policies of General Pinochet, who seized power in 1973, murdering the elected president Allende and slaughtering 30,000 left wing opponents.

BARRICADES

In the working class suburbs, people built burning barricades out of rubber tires to keep the police away from their rallies.

In the middle class streets, women joined in the protests by banging saucepans.

The police wreaked revenge by shooting down two workers and then, two nights later, by seizing some 2,000 people, grabbing people virtually at random in working class districts.

But this could not prevent the demonstrations showing how weak the Pinochet regime has suddenly become.

The past strength of the military regime came not only from its arms, soldiers, and police, but also from the widespread backing it had among the middle classes.

It could rely on the support of employers' associations, lawyers, doctors, sections of students, self-employed groups like the truck drivers.

The regime even had backing from some trade union leaders, like those of the copper miners, whose members had seen their strike crushed under the Allende government.

This support has collapsed over the last year.

Pinochet believed he could get an economic revival in Chile by following monetarist policies very similar to those that enthused Ronald Reagan.

But after a brief boom in the

by JUAN GONZALEZ

late 1970s, these policies produced a huge slump last year.

Unemployment rose to 30 percent, the country's foreign debt reached record proportions, even the middle classes could no longer afford basic goods.

In January eight of the biggest banks went bust.

This was too much for big business, both at home and abroad.

The international banks insisted Pinochet nationalize five of the banks' concerns to protect their loans to them.

In Chile itself, business organizations turned against the government.

They encouraged the old political parties to organize, while the press began for the first time to criticize the government openly.

The aim was not to get rid of Pinochet's dictatorship, but to make him follow a policy more suited to business needs.

But in the new atmosphere of open political argument, it has been possible for working class organizations to begin to make an impact of their own.

Significantly, it was the miners' union that called for last week's demonstrations.

KEY

The key question now will be whether the workers build genuinely independent organizations of their own, or whether they follow their own political leaders.

But one thing is already clear. However strong any regime might be in the world today, it cannot be immune to the world economic crisis—and that can very rapidly throw it into political crisis. □

The working class and the case

DON'T BUY

'BUY AMERICAN'

With 11 million workers in the U.S. officially unemployed, protectionism is gaining ground.

"Buy American", "Save American Jobs", "Hungry?—Eat Your Import" and U.S.A. Number 1" are only a few of the slogans adorning car bumpers.

Demands to curb imports of steel, automobiles, machine tools, are made daily.

The Japanese are especially singled out for blame. "Predatory", "illegal", "discriminatory", "infamous" are only a few of the epithets used by both industry and unions to describe Japanese trade practices.

The UAW, which banned foreign cars from its parking lots some years ago, is putting all its energy into an Import Content Bill.

Under the bill, auto manufacturers with sales of over 900,000 units will have to contain 90% of American manufactured parts by 1986.

CASE

The United Steelworkers argued a similar case.

Last month, Lloyd McBride, president of the USW, took out a full page ad in the dailies to protest U.S. Steel's plan to buy finished steel slabs from Britain.

Foreign steel, he argued, is the cause of the profound crisis of the steel industry.

"Buy American" is the only way to reverse the trend.

Other examples of the same theme are heard every day—unfair foreign competition is strangling U.S. industry and is a major cause of unemployment—especially in auto, steel, and machine parts.

Therefore, curb imports and American industry will regain its feet.

After all, runs the argument, America is the freest market in the world—it allows other countries to "dump" goods here, while they erect trade barriers to U.S. goods.

As William Brock, Reagan's Trade Representative, put it: "This country is the biggest most open market in the world...the U.S. is the least sinful of any country I have ever dealt with".

PROTECTIONISM WILL NOT SAVE JOBS, BUT IT WILL INCREASE PRICES AND INCREASE THE THREAT OF WAR AHMED SHAWKI EXPLAINS

Support for import plans is not difficult to explain.

After all, there is a crisis in American industry.

In 1982, auto production hit lows not seen in 30 years.

More than 30 plants of the Big Three automakers alone have been closed in the last two years.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) lost 300,000 members between 1978-1982.

And what is true for auto is true for steel. Steel production is at its lowest since the great depression.

Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Gary are grim, impoverished, depressed towns.

More than a third of the 400,000 workers employed in steel have been laid off.

The USW once numbered as many as 1.3 million in 1981—today it can count only 700,000 members.

And rhetoric aside, American workers can see Japanese and European cars on the streets.

In 1982, imported cars took 27% of the U.S. market, steel 24%.

The solution seems easy and straight forward—stop the imports and American workers will be put back to work.

PROBLEM

The problem, however, is that protectionism does not work—import controls will not create jobs.

Moreover, they are reactionary and utopian—they divert the anger and frustrations of workers in each country from those actually responsible for the crisis—the bosses and their system.

They must be completely opposed by socialists and trade unionists.

Supporters of import controls start with the premise that the U.S. market is "free"—an open, friendly, unprotected market.

This is simply an out and out lie.

The U.S., like other countries, tries to gain advantages in trade through a whole myriad of quotas, subsidies, and tariffs.

It is estimated that close to 48% of world trade is in this sense "controlled".

And the U.S. market, though the biggest, is among the most controlled—an estimated 34%—as opposed to 21% in Britain, 10% in Canada, 7% in Japan.

The argument "imports lead to recession", is simply not supported by any facts.

Imports into the U.S. have increased in the last twenty years.

But fundamentally this is Protectionist rally in Kentucky

because the world capitalist economy is more and more integrated, more and more international—every country is more and more interdependent.

And U.S. exports are dependent on imports. A study produced by the Organization of Economic Development and Cooperation—the club of industrial countries—estimates that 1 in every 5 jobs depends on exports.

Cut imports from Japan or Western Europe to the U.S. and they will do the same—leaving hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed.

In other words, the world economy is integrated and interdependent like never before—and each country depends on exports.

Throw up tariffs and quotas and unemployment will increase and the recession will deepen.

In such an internationalized system, the notion that national states can escape the world market is utopian—and dangerous.

And since the economy is international it is increasingly difficult to tell what is a foreign import and what is not.

Take auto imports from Japan—the protectionists favorite target.

General Motors owns 34.2% of Isuzu, the Japanese auto manufacturer, and 5.2% of Suzuki. Ford owns 25% of Toyo Kogyo, the makers of Mazda, Chrysler owns 15% of Mitsubishi.

Even cars actually assembled in the U.S. are not in any real sense American products.

They are assembled here, but the parts are imported from Big Three plants located abroad. There are an estimated 604 American owned auto plants in Mexico which supply engines, transaxles, ball joints and transmissions.

The auto companies are international.

They produce cars wherever profits are highest—not on any consideration of the nationality of the workforce.

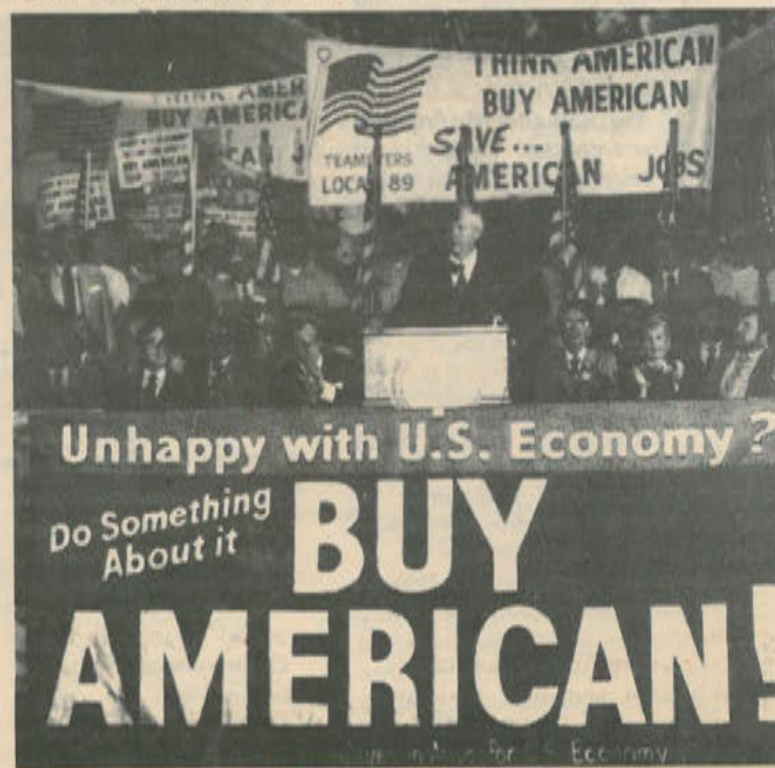
In the all too honest words of one Ford vice-president: "We don't consider ourselves basically an American company. We carry a lot of flags."

Anyway, as unemployment has skyrocketed in the auto industry, the actual number of imported cars has not.

What has happened is that imports are taking up a larger share of a smaller market for cars.

And import controls will only further shrink the market by raising the price of cars sold in the U.S.

In this way import controls



against protectionism



do not save jobs but they actually lower the living standards of workers in the U.S. by raising the price of products.

The same is true for steel imports—despite what Lloyd McBride and David Roderick say about Japan.

In 1978, America imported 21.135 million tons of steel. In 1981, 19.898 million tons.

While imports actually dropped, 75,580 steelworkers lost their jobs in the same period—an estimated 16.5% of the total workforce!

SHIFTS

And while protection of a given industry may temporarily protect jobs in that sector, it shifts unemployment to another sector, depressing the economy and affecting the "protected" industry.

Take steel. The U.S. steel industry has been protected for twenty years.

The result was not more jobs, but more profits for the steel companies.

And the high price of U.S. steel contributed to the increased cost of cars and the slump in the auto industry.

If in doubt, look at what happened when import controls were adopted on a large scale during the depression of the thirties.

In June, 1930, president Hoover signed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Bill.

Under the terms of the new law, tariffs were raised 50%.

Canada, the U.S.'s largest trading partner, retaliated with its own tariff laws.

And in 1931, Britain did the same, and so on.

Far from saving jobs or slowing the depression, the tariff war had the opposite effect.

Between 1929 and 1933 world unemployment quadrupled and world production dropped by one-third—46.2% in the U.S. alone.

The only thing that ended the depression was World War II.

Today, a trade war would be even more disastrous for workers and their living standards, as the world is more integrated than in the thirties.

Imports, then, are not the cause of the crisis.

At best, import penetration in the U.S. market is a reflection of the severity of the crisis—a crisis of capitalism, a crisis in profits.

It is this crisis in profitability which is behind the crisis of the working class—for closures, for the introduction of labor saving technology, for unemployment.

PROFITS

In their relentless search for profits, the bosses do anything.

That is why U.S. Steel, a leading proponent of protection, is planning to buy slabs of steel from Britain.

Or, in the case of its subsidiary, why American Bridge bought 16,000 tons of structural steel from Korea and Japan for a downtown Seattle building.

Or why Roger Smith, head of GM, threatened to buy imported steel if the steelworkers union didn't accept massive concessions.

U.S. Steel, like G.M. and Ford are international corporations.

They will blame imports for unemployment to justify concessions—but will import what they want and invest where profits are highest.

U.S. Steel is interested in making money—not making steel or creating jobs. Indeed, in 1982, only 28% of its total revenue came from making steel!

To accept import controls is to accept somehow that the interests of the corporations is the same as that of workers.

They are patently not.

It is the employers' policies and their system which is responsible for our crisis.

Today, bosses in the U.S., Britain, Japan, Germany, are all blaming workers in other countries for the crisis—and laying off more workers because profits aren't high enough.

Meanwhile the need for steel and other products has grown, not decreased.

Accepting the import controls argument leads inevitably to giving up the struggle for workers living standards and interests.

They disarm unions.

Owen Bieber, the UAW's new president, says, "I don't want to suggest that you will never see a strike again by this union in the United States, but on the whole you are going to see a lot more cooperation than ten years ago."

Sweet words to the ears of General Motors.

Worse, import are also racist.

They blame foreign workers for our problems—claims to the contrary aside.

In a "left" defense of import controls Michael Harrington and *In These Times* have argued that the Domestic Content Bill is not really a protectionist measure, but an attempt to establish "democratic control over corporate decisions."

Michael Harrington writes: "Couldn't the bill also lend itself to chauvinist, even racist interpretations?"

"Of course. It does. Understandably, angry American workers could assume that their enemy is the foreign worker—or worse, the "yellow" worker—rather than the multinationals playing workers of the world against one another.

"The UAW, chief advocate of the bill, has been quite

forthright in fighting this reactionary interpretation of it."

Rubbish. The UAW has banned foreign cars from its lots, organized smash-ups of Japanese cars, appealed to patriotic flag waving, and has been overtly racist toward the Japanese.

And the results of such policies can only divide workers and increase racism.

Last month, an unemployed auto worker were slapped on the hand by a Detroit court for beating to death a Chinese man outside a bar—they thought he was Japanese.

MOVE

Instead of fighting to unite workers and raise wages for all, such protectionism can only lead to lower wages here and abroad.

So long as capital is international it will move where profits are highest and wages lowest.

Wages on a world scale must be raised—or wages in the U.S. will be forced down.

Talk of "democratic control of corporate decisions" by encouraging protectionist measures is simply a sham—and is reactionary.

"Democratic control" over corporate decisions within the structure of a world capitalist economy is reformist nonsense—be it Doug Fraser on the board of Chrysler or Michael Harrington, or anyone else. The imperatives of competing in a world economy is the core of the problem—not the personnel heading GM or U.S. Steel.

The Import Content Bill will not lower unemployment but raise it (with layoffs in other sectors), raise car prices and fuel racism.

Anyway, import controls will be evaded and they will only increase competition in other countries where U.S.

auto makers are dominant.

And racism against the Japanese, or other foreign workers, is not the end of the story.

Because the logic applies to the U.S. itself—for example, blaming Mexican workers inside the U.S.

Is it surprising that the AFL-CIO is in the forefront of efforts to curb "illegal" immigrants?

The logic of the argument also applies to divisions within the U.S. working class—Blacks are paid less than whites therefore they are an enemy.

Or women in the workforce. Or Southern workers.

Instead of organizing "illegals", or southern workers, or women, and raising the slave wages that the bosses pay, the result is to lower all wages.

INTERNATIONAL

So we must oppose import controls.

But in doing so we shouldn't fall into idealizing "free trade" either.

Free trade got us into the mess we are in, import controls will only make things worse, is the way to look at the problem.

Further, in the same way as the corporations fight workers internationally, so too the workers' movement must be international.

The slogans "United we stand, divided we fall," and "Solidarity" have to become more than slogans.

They have to become the practice of the international workers' movement.

A workers' movement which sees the unity of the working class against our common exploiters—as the only and necessary prerequisite for survival.

Imports are not the problem. The international capitalist economy is. □

HE WANTS TO BURY THE BEATLES

Dear Socialist Worker,

Wake up! It's the eighties. Once again you've sent Matt Backer to write about yet another group of the sixties—this time those darlings of corporate rock, the Beatles.

Only leftovers and nostalgic hippies would write about bands that last rocked out in 1965. Put away the beads, O.K.?

How about writing about the new bands—the Red Rockers, Rank & File, or even U2? And get Backer out of your paper.

A true fan of rock and roll,
Ben Smith,
Roanoke, VA.



Dear Socialist Worker,

Sometimes I have to apologize to my friends for this, but I think that the Beatles were the greatest.

While some of the new music is good, most of it is just a reworking of what John Lennon did in the studio 15 years ago. Punk came and went, but the Beatles have lasted.

In Los Angeles, there is an AM station that plays Beatles songs every ten minutes or so. A lot of its listeners are young people.

Cynthia Beal,
Los Angeles, CA



HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

BY MATT FILSINGER

June. Hot fun in the summertime?

For millions of workers June means the first hot weather of the year—and heat stress.

Hot working conditions can cause a variety of health problems, even death.

This is especially dangerous with the first hot spell of the year. People's bodies aren't acclimated to (or used to) the heat.

You don't sweat as efficiently, and sweating is the main way people keep a steady body temperature.

STRESS

When your body can't cool off fast enough, heat stress occurs. This is more likely to happen to people who are older, who have a pre-existing heart problem, or are overweight.

The first signs of heat stress are weakness, irritability, headache, and dizziness.

At this point one should immediately go to a cool place, drink lots of fluid, and take some salt tablets.

If this is not done, the effects can be severe. Rapid shallow breathing and cold clammy pale skin are just some of the signs. Heat strokes can occur.

This involves passing out, or sometimes convulsions. It can even be fatal.

The body temperature must be lowered immediately and the person should be taken to a hospital.

To prevent problems from heat stress or stroke, a few precautions should be followed:

- Allow 4-6 days to become gradually acclimated to the heat.
- Take at least one break every hour.
- Make sure drinking water and salt tablets are accessible.
- Have good ventilation.
- Don't work overtime.
- Have extra workers if the job is heavy or strenuous.

In most workplaces, these are not things that workers can do individually (without getting fired).

They should be fundamental demands that are organized around, and won from the bosses. Your health is at stake! □

Letters

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

THE CONCEPTS OF A WORKERS' PARTY

Dear Socialist Worker,

I have been rereading a copy of your outstanding paper, *Socialist Worker*, and fortifying the concepts of a workers' party in this country that I must believe to be inevitable.

Too often I have heard from others their belief in our idealism—that patronizing attitude that our convictions are unattainable—and, frankly, I find such a simplistic dismissal of our power to be a devastatingly harmful viewpoint as we attempt to display our cause as, indeed, the only workable

solution as regards the future.

Socialist Worker is a well written, informative source of news in a format that states goals and objectives in as clear a way as I have ever seen.

I am, at this time, unemployed, although I will undoubtedly be driven to sell my labor in the uncaring capitalist marketplace—should I be "fortunate" enough to find such a machine lacking a "cog"—to a boss who seeks to exploit his or her workers for the sake of living out his/her own life in resplendent comfort.

Let that not be the fate of the next generation!

I am, most regrettedly, unable to contribute to your fine organization at this time but would like to request all information that you are able to send, including party membership news.

The world must thank you for your unselfish work.

With Strength,
F. Wolfson,
Chicago, IL



Dear Socialist Worker,

I've enclosed a picture of the largest demonstration held in the Pacific Northwest in many years.

Over 60,000 people gathered and marched for over three hours in Vancouver, British Columbia to protest the nuclear weapons buildup of the United States.

Despite the size and pur-

pose of the march, the two Seattle newspapers, the TV and radio stations ignored it.

Six of us from Seattle drove up to attend the march and to help the Vancouver branch of the International Socialists distribute newspapers and buttons.

Scott Winslow,
Seattle, WA

UPS HELPS US SELL PAPERS

Dear Socialist Worker,

I enjoyed your story on UPS last month—especially because I have been selling the paper at the Cleveland Hub for six years now.

There was one factual error. Last month UPS sent four not two stupidvisors out to harass the drivers.

We went out today, and after selling two papers to the first two drivers who walked in, UPS sent two stupidvisors out.

One was sent to stand right next to us. He had a pad and pen, no doubt to write down the names of drivers who buy the paper.

UPS's plan didn't completely work, though. We sold more papers than we did last week, and enjoyed being nasty to the snoops.

Keep up the good work.
BW and BV,
Cleveland, OH

Buy It, Read It, Sell It!

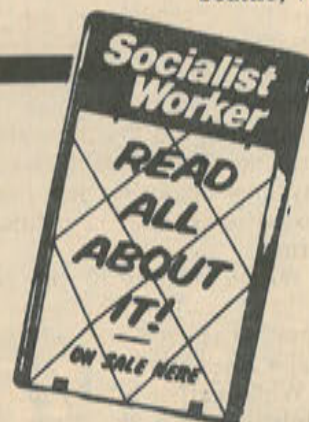
It's a lot easier to sell *Socialist Worker* in the summer, so members should get it together.

Here in the Cleveland area we're having good luck selling the paper to strikers—at Akron General Hospital and to school bus drivers, also, on the street in the Black community.

We're planning to expand sales at the unem-

ployment offices. There is no doubt that unemployment is going to be a major problem—recovery or no recovery.

Student members should see that their friends and contacts get the paper when they go away for the summer. We offer three month subs for just a dollar to students.



Send reports of your sales to Socialist Worker:
Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118.

AHMED SHAWKI

"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



Stonewall-the rebellion that launched gay liberation

The events in June, 1969, known as the Stonewall Rebellion are pivotal in the history of the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movement.

The riots that took place at the Stonewall Inn launched a pattern of gay activism that continues today.

Since 1969, lesbians and gay men have been attracted in increasingly large numbers and greater militancy to break the chains of their oppression.

On the evening of June 27, 1969, eight officers from the Public Morals Section of the First Division of the New York City Police Department set out to close the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village.

Upon arrival, they announced that all employees would be arrested and the manager charged with operating without a liquor license.

As the police pushed their way into the Stonewall and began emptying the bar of its patrons, a crowd of gay supporters gathered outside.

The cops stood at the door and checked patrons as they filed out. Those who could not produce identification were told to step aside to be taken in for questioning.

CROWD

Tension mounted as the police began to harass the patrons, and when they dragged five men off to a paddy wagon, the crowd began to protest.

People began beating on the wagon, ignoring threats by the cops if they did not clear the area.

Someone threw a can or stone and cracked a window. The crowd suddenly let loose—cans, bottles, rocks and garbage were hurled at the cops and at the windows of the bar.

Cheers went up with cries of "Riot pigs!"

The police, fleeing for their lives, were forced to seek refuge within the bar, as the rioters continued to throw whatever they could get their hands on, including a parking meter which they used to bash in the door.

Someone lit a trashcan on fire and tossed it through a window, igniting flames inside the bar.

The police, cowering inside, grabbed a fire extinguisher

SUSAN ARNOTT ON THE ROOTS OF LESBIAN AND GAY LIBERATION

and turned the hose on the crowd outside. Sirens wailed.

When thirty or more riot cops appeared to disperse the crowds, the protesters, now numbering over 1,000, fled the scene.

The uprising was subdued, only to be reignited the following night when a rally spontaneously turned into a riot, repeating the pattern of the previous night.

The disturbances which ensued over the next several nights came to be known as the Stonewall Riots.

Police raids on gay bars were not new—the only thing different about the Stonewall raid was that gays were fed up with police harassment.

As one Stonewall employee put it, "Gay people were getting tired of being pushed around. All it needed was one little spark to set it off..."

JUSTIFY

The New York City Police attempted to justify the raid by claiming that the bar was operating without a liquor license.

What they failed to mention was that the New York State Liquor Authority refused to grant licenses to gay bars.

In fact, the license application specifically asked whether the applicant intended to serve homosexuals!

The Stonewall Inn was closed immediately, but the events surrounding its closing were to launch the beginnings of the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movement.

This was the first time that large numbers of lesbians and gay men began to view their sexual orientation in political terms.

Within months of the rebellion, gay liberation groups were organized in all the major cities in the U.S.

While earlier efforts to organize around the issue of homosexuality had leaned in the direction of gaining civil rights and respectability for gays, Stonewall represented a revolt against respectability,



against working through the system.

Lesbians and gay men would no longer be satisfied to fight against "anti-gay prejudice". For many gay people, the struggle now became one against the entire political and economic system that controls and regulates sexuality, reproduction and relations between the sexes.

They began to see that homosexuality was not simply a "lifestyle" that needed validation.

The end to gay oppression would not come through a respected gay presence in existing institutions, for it is these same institutions which are at the root of our oppression.

Many gains have been made as a direct result of the growth of the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movement.

A viable and identifiable lesbian and gay culture has flourished since Stonewall.

Thousands of lesbians and gay men have "come out of the closet".

We are less likely to be committed to psychiatric hospitals and subjected to shock treatments on the basis of our sexual orientation.

And we can be more open about our homosexuality in many areas of our lives.

And yet, despite these important gains, attacks on gays and lesbians have been rapidly escalating in recent years.

Gay bars are still raided periodically.

Lesbians and gay men are fired from their jobs because of their sexual orientation; offices of gay newspapers and bookstores are raided and even burned.

CUSTODY

And both lesbians and gay men face hostile battles over legal custody of their children.

Why, in the face of greater resistance on the part of gay people, are we witnessing a vehement anti-gay backlash and increasing harassment in all areas of our lives?

Because we are in a period of economic crisis.

Welfare and social services are slashed. Unemployment soars.

In periods of economic crisis, emphasis on the family as an economic and moral unit increases.

Cutbacks in childcare, and attacks on women's reproductive freedom are causing women to leave the workforce and return to their roles as wives and mothers in the home.

The attacks on gays are part

Gay people were getting tired of being pushed around. All it needed was one little spark to set it off...

of a general attack on women, Blacks, workers and the unemployed.

Homosexuality, like abortion rights and women's increasing presence in the workforce, poses a direct threat to the institution of the family and therefore to the supply of new generations of workers needed by the capitalist system.

As the economic crisis worsens, and jobs become more scarce, gays are less likely to be open about their homosexuality for fear of losing their jobs.

Gays become more and more isolated and less able to organize to fight their oppression.

Moreover, the same tactics that are used to isolate gay people—the spread of anti-gay, anti-worker, racist and sexist ideas—divide all oppressed peoples and make it harder for us to fight the capitalist system which oppresses and exploits us.

There are still many people in the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movement who believe that gay liberation means winning legal reforms and legal equality.

But as we have recently witnessed, even the gains made since the Stonewall Riots of 1969 are gradually being taken away as we face increased harassment in all areas of our lives.

CONTROL

While winning reforms is important, it is not enough. As long as we are denied reproductive freedom and control at the workplace, we lack control over our lives.

As lesbians, we face the double oppression as homosexuals and as women. We will not be free of this oppression until we win the fight for women's liberation.

The right to freely choose who we will love will only come with the overthrow of the source of all oppression—the capitalist system itself. □

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, Latinos, Native Americans, gays, youth—suffer the most. We support the struggles and independent organizations of oppressed people to strengthen the working class struggle for socialism.

BLACK LIBERATION

Our support for the struggle against racism is unconditional, and we oppose any attempt to subordinate this fight. We fight racism in all its forms, from institutionalized "legal" racism to the activities of groups such as the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan.

We fight segregation in the schools and in housing, we support affirmative action, and we oppose racist firings and harassment. We support armed self-defense in the face of racist attacks. We support independent self-organization and the right to self-determination of the Black community. We demand freedom for all political prisoners.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

We fight for women's liberation. We support equal pay and equal job opportunities for all women. We demand free abortion and an end to forced sterilization, and quality child care. We oppose all forms of violence against women including sexual harassment at work. Under capitalism the state intervenes to maintain women's subordination within the family, to maintain oppressive sex roles and her exploitation at work.

We support lesbian and gay liberation. We demand quality sex education in the schools; we are for lesbian and gay custody rights and the right to be open lesbians and gays at work, home and in school.

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 Poland to Puerto Rico, from Palestine to El Salvador. We support all genuine national liberation struggles. We call for victory of the Black freedom fighters in South Africa and Namibia. 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 those 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.

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



What's ON

Socialist Summer School IV -OHIO



BALTIMORE
Neil Smith on *The Myth of Reskilling*. June 5, 7:30.

Branch educational series: **Marxism and Black Liberation**, call 235-4620 for times and places.

BLOOMINGTON
Day School: Glenn Perusek on *The Politics of the ISO*, Christina Bergmark on *Women's Liberation and Socialism*, Bill Roberts on *State Capitalism in Russia*. June 4, 10 am on. Dinner and party to follow. Call 332-6682.

BOSTON
Barbara Winslow on *The Paris Commune*, June 3, 7:00pm.

Susan Arnott on *The Stone-wall Rebellion and Gay and Lesbian Liberation*, June 26, call 427-7087.

CHICAGO
Bob Ginsburg on *Cuba*, July 8, 7:30 pm, call 288-7572.

CINCINNATI
Branch education series: **Introduction to Marxism**, Thursdays, June 2, 9, and 16, 7:30 pm, call 561-8567.

CLEVELAND
Film: *Eugene Debs and the American Movement*, with speaker Faith Simon, June 7, 8:00 pm, New Mayfield Repertory Theatre.

Nancy MacLean on *The Knights of Labor, the AFL and Industrial America*, June 24, call 371-2370 or 371-7648.

Join us for three days of Marxist education, recreation and entertainment.

- This year's talks include—
- Christina Bergmark on the *Theory of Permanent Revolution*
 - Neil Smith on *Space Technology and Reagan's Star Wars*
 - Dena Magoulias on *Health Care and the Medicaid Cuts*
 - Peter Cogan on *Castro and Cuba*
 - Lance Selfa on *Gramsci*
 - Nanci MacLean on *Women Workers in World War II*

There will be good food, comfortable accomodation, swimming, games, quality childcare for the kids.

June 16, 17, 18, 19, 1983

For more information write: Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118

DETROIT
Ahmed Shawkil on *The American Revolution*, June 4, 7:00 pm, call 883-0621 or 527-2180.

Dan Caplin on *The French Revolution*, June 25, 7:00 pm.

KENT
Eugene Debs and the American Movement, June 15, Kent Student Center, 12:00 noon and 8:00 pm.

ROCHESTER
Mike Ondrusek on *the Black Panther Party*, June 6, 7:30 pm.

Brian Erway on *Kwame Nkrumah*, June 20th, 7:30 pm, call 235-3049.

SANTA BARBARA
Film: *REDS*, May 27 & 29, Thursday and Saturday,

4:00, 7:00 and 10:00, Cambell Hall.

SAN FRANCISCO
Jim Swann on *The Roots of Militarism*, June 1, 7:30 pm.

Branch educational: *The Origins of the ISO*, June 4, 3:00 pm.

Cal Winslow on *The American Working Class in the Eighties*. June 4, 7:30 p.m.

Carol Siddle on *South Africa*, June 15th, 7:30 pm.

John Fowler on *Gay Politics* June 29, 7:30 pm, call 285-1908.

SEATTLE
Cal Winslow on *The American Working Class in the Eighties*, June 5, 6:00 pm, call 525 0434.

"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
- Bloomington, IN
- Boston, MA
- Charleston, WV
- Chicago, IL
- Cincinnati, OH
- Cleveland, OH
- Detroit, MI
- Fort Wayne, IN
- Indianapolis, IN
- Kent, OH
- Los Angeles, CA
- Madison, WI
- Minneapolis, MN
- Muncie, IN
- New York, NY
- Northampton, MA
- Philadelphia, PA
- Portland, OR
- Rochester, NY
- San Francisco, CA
- Seattle, WA
- Toledo, OH
- Washington, DC

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

A book that will make you like ballet

Some people hate ballet—for them it's people dressed up in silly tutu's flitting across the stage.

For others, ballet conjures visions of superplums, swans or princesses, who float across the stage taking us with them.

Very few remember that Lenin wept when he saw Isadora Duncan dance in Petrograd.

I love the ballet. The first one I ever saw, of course, the Nutcracker Suite.

I still try and see it every Christmas. I can't wait until I can take my children to see it.

I hope they will do to me what I did as a young girl—pester them to see others—Swan Lake, Giselle, Sleeping Beauty.

But what on earth does this have to do with socialism? Or the class struggle?

Suzanne Gordon, a journalist and editor of *Working Papers* has written *Off Balance, The Real World of Ballet*, which gives us more than a clue.

BUSINESS

Ballet is more than excitement and fantasy.

It is a business, and the dancers are workers.

Workers who are underpaid, overworked, and face dangerous working conditions.

Gordon shows us that the ballet reflects class society, including the class struggle.

Ballet is a booming industry.

In 1981 the estimated ballet audience in the U.S. exceeded 20 million—7 million more than went to NFL football games!

And millions more watch ballet on television.

A few ballet figures are superstars like Michail Baryshnikov, director and dancer for the American Ballet Theater, who earn millions,

BARBARA WINSLOW REVIEWS

THE REAL WORLD OF BALLET

BY SUZANNE GORDON

star in movies, and jet-set around.

Others like Margot Fonteyn live a life of minks, Dior dresses, champagne, trips on yachts and marriages to multimillionaires.

But most dancers earn very little.

Soloists and corps de ballet earn less than musicians and stagehands who move the props.

Dancers have no job security and can be fired at the whim of a director.

They receive little or no pension and have no vacation pay. Their careers end at age 30-35.

A dancer is prone to injury. Like professional football players, they are forced to dance when they are tired or injured.

And dancing places tremendous strains on muscles, joints and bones.

Dancing on a strained knee can grind the knee cap. Leaping across hard floors can cause inflamed and chronic tendonitis.

Feet in toe shoes become arthritic.

RISK

In order to promote ballet, more athletic tricks are demanded—feats which are even more exhausting, dangerous and demanding on the body.

Female dancers are placed at a greater risk.

Choreographers and company directors, overwhelmingly male, are shaping women into their feminine ideal that



Dancers at the American Ballet Theater

equate beauty and grace with thinness and youth.

Young girls aged 13 or 14 will starve themselves in order to please a Baryshnikov or Balanchine.

Anorexia nervosa has been called, "the relentless pursuit of excessive thinness."

Many female dancers are anorectics.

They diet, binge, vomit, take laxatives and diuretics until they become malnourished.

A malnourished body cannot stand up to the strains ballet imposes.

Worse, the mortality rate for anorectics is 15-17%.

In the fall of 1979, the dancers from the American Ballet Theater fought back.

The Theater claimed it could not give the dancers a pay increase of more than 5%. That would cost them \$150,000.

But soon afterward the Theater rushed to offer Russian defector Alexander Godunov a yearly salary of \$150,000.

That was too much. The dancers rejected the pay offer.

The Theater locked out the dancers and cancelled the winter season.

The dancers embarked on a contract fight, just like the automobile workers, nurses, or any other locked out workers.

DEMANDS

Their demands included a significant pay increase, better pensions and job tenure provisions.

They also wanted to be addressed as "ladies" and "gentlemen" not "boys" and "girls."



And in their fight the dancers picketed, wrote leaflets and went on demonstrations.

When they settled, they won significant improvements.

In 1982 the American Ballet Theater dancers led the New York City Labor Day parade.

Suzanne Gordon's book is about dedicated workers who are struggling to find a voice.

It is about art and the struggle of artists to control their work.

Even for someone who thinks they are a hardened anti-ballet person it may change their mind about ballet! This is a wonderful book.

Adding to the value of the

book are beautiful photographs by the well known labor photographer, Earl Dotter.

Oh yes. A post script.

After reading this book I came across an article in the *New York Times*.

Gelsey Kirkland, a leading dancer who had been fired from the American Ballet Theater by Baryshnikov was dancing in the ballet *Giselle* with him.

At some time during the performance, according to the *Times*, she kicked him in the rear end.

Who says the class struggle doesn't take place on the ballet stage? □

A tiny revolution

It was a surrealist who said that "our jobs are jokes, and our jokes are jobs."

Certainly finding a laugh in the comic pages is hard work. Most of the funnies aren't.

Bloom County, by Berke Breathed, Little Brown, \$5.95, 148 pages.

Fortunately, "Doonesbury" inspired younger artists to experiment—and convinced the dailies to carry higher quality strips.

"Sally Forth", "Duffy", and "Bloom County" were the result. Of these, "Bloom County"—although uneven—is the best.

POSITIONS

Milo, Opus, and the other characters are ironic and wise. They hate hypocrisy, politicians, commercialism, and adopt left-of-center positions.

Most importantly, they can produce a good laugh. And as Orwell said: "Every laugh is a tiny revolution." □

by KENT WORCESTER



School bus drivers want safety

CLEVELAND, OH—450 school bus drivers, members of Local 718 of the Ohio Association of Public School Employees, went on strike on May 11.

They want better wages and working conditions, and many drivers are especially concerned about the bad condition of the buses they drive.

The drivers transport 30,000 Cleveland school children, as part of the city's desegregation plan.

REPORT
BY
JOHN WILLIAMS

the busing, a tactic the union calls "union busting." The board is also trying to get the Ferguson Act (Ohio's anti-public employee strike law) evoked.

FUMES

One driver said that she was not allowed to bring in a bus that was full of exhaust fumes. Another complained the buses were never cleaned nor properly repaired.

The Board of Education is threatening to subcontract out

SCHOOL

The Cleveland media blames the drivers for the fact that children are missing school. But who wants children riding unsafe buses driven by underpaid and over-worked drivers.

Support the school bus drivers!



Striking bus drivers

**COPAZ
STRIKERS
TAKE ON
MEAT
PACKING
INDUSTRY**



CINCINNATI, OH—Walking a picket line can be dangerous.

"I had to literally dive out of the way of a scab who tried his best to run over me," said "Red" Fields.

Fields and 350 other members of Local 7A, United Food and Commercial Workers, continue on strike against the Copaz meat company in Cincinnati.

Another striker was taken to the hospital after he was intentionally hit by a van owned and operated by Metropolitan Security Services, an out-of-state union-busting outfit.

To no one's surprise, the court injunction against mass picketing has been made permanent—leaving the four pickets at the gate vulnerable to attack and injury.

They are even restricted, by court order, from insulting the scabs who cross the picket lines to steal their jobs.

RESOLVE

All these things, designed to break the strike, have only strengthened the resolve of the strikers to fight for a no-cut contract.

After two months on the picket line, not a single striker has gone back inside.

Local 7A is asking that no one buy Thriftway, IGA, Partridge or Kroger products bearing the Copaz Manufacturing Company Est. No. 296.

But it will take more than a boycott to end the nationwide union busting in the meat packing industry.

It will take solidarity from a revitalized workers' movement, nationally and internationally.

Donations and messages of support can be sent to: UCW Local 7A, 1150 West 8 Street, Cincinnati, Ohio 45203.

by JOE DENTON

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

UAW MEET: AN EXPENSIVE RUBBER STAMP

At a cost of \$5 million, the UAW convention in Dallas, Texas, has produced a carbon copy of the leadership we have had over the last thirty-five years—a bureaucracy that puts its faith in the Democratic Party, rather than the power of the workers.

They promote international rivalry among workers, rather than international solidarity.

Prior to the convention, most of the delegates enjoyed junkets to New Orleans, El Paso, Texas, and other pleasure spots far from the auto centers. Given an additional ten cents of the dues dollar was enough to buy the support of 90% of the delegates. Many of the small locals, unable to pay delegate expenses, appealed to the International for help. One local president told me the International agreed to help provided they could name the delegate and tell her how to vote.

LIGHT

The press has done its best to present the new president, Owen Bieber, in a favorable light. Pledging to carry on the tradition of Reuther, Woodcock and Fraser, there is no doubt that he will put the profits of the corporations before the interests of workers. He is wedded to the Democratic Party. Speaking to a news conference, Bieber said: "The style will be different, but the main thrust of the union will not

change." The "social activism" of the UAW was demonstrated in Dallas. Included in the kit of instructions was a card warning delegates to avoid a section of Dallas inhabited by Blacks and Chicanos. The labor bureaucrats, who live in wealthy suburbs are openly racist.

The new vice president, Bill Castevens of Ohio, has long been a part of the bureaucracy. The six new board members are more of the same. They have been paid functionaries of the union for 20 years or longer.

Frank Reynolds, having served 7 terms as president of Local 22, will replace Bard Young as director of District 1E. Of all the local presidents I have met, he is the most arrogant. He has been indicted twice for alleged illegal acts, his yeoman service to Cadillac management may have influenced government prosecutors.

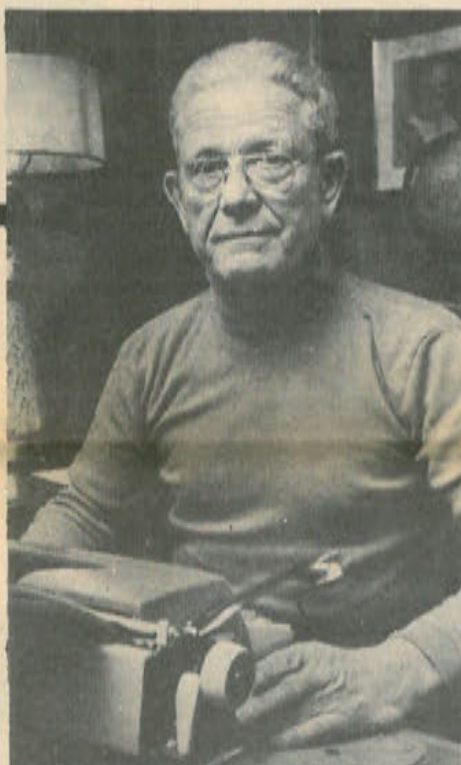
The convention cost Local 15 nearly \$20,000 to rubber stamp decisions made by the IEB before the convention.

WEAKNESS

The May 1-15 issue of *Solidarity* exposes the weakness of the UAW by its handling of the situation of the Caterpillar strike up to the 205 day strike.

The article says:

"Throughout 1982 Caterpillar Tractor prepared for the record strike, it fully intended to force on 21,000 active



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

and 15,000 layed off UAW members. It worked people up to 16 hours a day, shipped out over \$300 million in parts to its dealers, built up months of inventory in heavy equipment and laid off thousands of workers. Conditions got worse as the contract expiration date approached. 'Caterpillar squeezed us hard,' says Joe Hodge, a multiple drill operator. "We had speed-up disciplinary actions, firings, double-up of jobs, farming people out all over. All to build up a strike inventory!"

The question must be asked why didn't the UAW call a strike as soon as the company started its union busting policy.

1984 will be termination date for all major UAW contracts. It is also a presidential year.

PRIMARY

The UAW has set as its primary goal the defeat of Ronald Reagan and the election of a Democrat. During the last forty years the UAW has refused to authorize a nationwide strike against GM in an election year. They put the election of L.B.J. in 1964 before the interests of the workers. General Motors officials are aware of this UAW policy. They will use it to their advantage in the 1984 negotiations.



NURSES STRIKE IN BUFFALO AND AKRON

BUFFALO: THEY DIDN'T THINK WE'D DO IT

BUFFALO, NY—On May 1, 800 RN's at Buffalo General Hospital (BGH) and its Deaconess Division went out on strike.

The nurses are members of Nurses United, Local 1168 of the Communications Workers of America.

Since last June, when they voted in their union, they have been trying to secure their first contract.

The hospital, however, deliberately dragged its feet in negotiations for nine months.

It became evident that the hospital wanted to prolong the inaction till June, and then push for a decertification vote.

"They could turn around in June and say, Hey, you've had a union for a year now, and what good has it done you?" striking nurse Pat Grant told *Socialist Worker*. They're really out to break the union."

DISRUPT

With this in mind, the hospital last January hired a notorious union-busting lawyer named Krause as its bargaining chairman.

"He's there to disrupt bargaining. He's rude, abrasive and continually interrupts," remarked Nurses United President Debora Banyl.

Whereas the previous bargaining chairman had submitted no counter-proposals to the union, Krause put forward proposals which were actually repressive.

For example, all Buffalo General nurses would receive a cut in their vacation time, and certain categories would lose all paid holiday time and be denied accrual of vacation time beyond 48 hours.

Faced with this attitude from the hospital, the nurses mounted a public information campaign with radio and newspaper ads (portions of which were "edited" by the Buffalo News), and leafletting

by BRIAN ERWAY

and informational pickets at the hospitals.

Nurses voted overwhelmingly in favor of a strike.

But the BGH Corporation—the private corporation that runs both the hospitals—wouldn't budge.

"They really didn't believe that we would strike," said Pat Grant.

One May 1st, the nurses set up pickets at Buffalo General and Deaconess Hospital.

Support among the membership was strong. Fewer than 50 nurses out of 800 crossed the lines.

Construction workers on the hospital's building expansion site also honored the pickets in the first days.

Within two days the hospital was advertising for permanent replacements for the nurses—starting at higher wages than the strikers made.

This action enraged the nurses, and a lot of other people, too.

Support from throughout the community and from other unions came pouring in, culminating in a big rally on May 6th.

"The support has been tremendous," one nurse told *Socialist Worker*. "Even though we'd been warned that public opinion is often hostile to nurses on strike."

"I think the hospital's ads helped turn it around."

At last count there were only 7 or 8 scabs in the orientation class at the hospital.

Far from breaking the strike, nursing students are walking the picket lines with the striking nurses, and at their graduation ceremonies many students wore "Nurses United" buttons in solidarity.

SEVERE

Buffalo is an industrial city severely hit by the economic crisis, and unemployment stands at 16%.

Sympathy for the striking nurses is strong.

On May 17, Buffalo city council passed a resolution supporting the nurses and noted that the hospital is not bargaining in good faith.

"We know they're hurting from the strike," said one nurse, "and we'll see what happens, but so far the support has been great."

Contributions and messages of support may be sent to: NURSES UNITED, 433 Franklin St., Buffalo, NY, 14203. □

AKRON: WE'RE STARTING FROM THE BOTTOM UP



Akron General ONA members

AKRON, OH—The 400 nurses at Akron General Hospital are now in their third month on strike.

They struck the hospital on March 23 over issues of wages and union security.

As Kathy Cash (chair of the negotiating committee) puts it: "The main issue is saving the unit. The hospital is determined to try and break us, but we're staying strong."

Without any end to the strike in sight, the hospital has threatened to permanently replace all the nurses with scabs.

The management informed the nurses either they come back in now or they will have no say over where they will

by FAITH SIMON

work after the strike—what shifts, divisions, etc.

But the nurses aren't buying it: "With 80% out they don't have a chance of running a hospital without us."

While the hospital says it's business as usual, the truth is they've laid off about 130 workers, aides, orderlies, clericals and housekeeping.

These workers are represented by the United Rubber Workers (URW)—once a powerful force in the Akron labor movement.

The URW gives verbal support to the Ohio Nurses Asso-

ciation strikers, but so far no real solidarity.

The nurses are seeking support.

They went to the Akron Central Labor Council asking for a boycott of the hospital, but the council refused.

BOTTOM

So now the strikers are appealing to other workers, friends and neighbors.

"We tried getting support from the top down but it doesn't work, we're going to do it from the bottom up," said Kathy Cash.

Support the striking Akron nurses. Send donations to Kathy Cash, 109 Forest Hill, Munroe Falls, OH 44262. □

WORKERS RALLY AT HARVARD

CAMBRIDGE, MA—On May 5, 500 people rallied here in support of Harvard University's food service workers.

The workers, represented by Local 26, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, are fighting for a decent contract.

Harvard's chief negotiator, Ed Powers, known as "King Edward", says, "I couldn't live on what these workers are making, but we have priorities."



Join Us

- I want to join
- I want more information about the International Socialist Organization

Name _____
address _____

ISO PO Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

NAZI PRO-REAGAN RALLY WASHED OUT

REPORT
BY
JOE DENTON

"Back to the bunker", echoed off the Federal Building in downtown Cleveland, April 30th.

Outside the government building 16 or so uniformed Nazis were demonstrating in support of the United States' policies in Central America.

HATRED

The shouts came from counter-demonstrators who were there to express displeasure over—Ronald Reagan, facism, racism, cuts in social services to buy arms for the butchers of Central America, the use of federal property as a podium for race hatred and death threats against all people of color—not to mention the use of more horses and mounts to protect the right of fascism than there were fascists.

Not only were there 20 horses with cops atop, there was a S.W.A.T. team, forty or so helmeted street cops, with guns and clubs at the ready.

Then there were six guys in civilian clothes who stood



Nazis pose in Cleveland

out like sore thumbs because they were look-alike, cheap seethrough rain suits and usually stood behind the

counter-demonstrators.

Along with the tax paid defenders of bigotry came the volunteer help.

Hanging around the outskirts and around the hecklers were would-be fascists, states' righters, hanger-on loonies, and leathered bikers who splashed through the puddles to try to intimidate the crowd.

The Nazis, at the last minute, moved the demonstration to a new location in front of the Federal Building on the pretext that it was more supportive of Reagan.

I think that logistics were key. This new location put 50 yards between the Nazis and anti-Nazis with a police

phalanx at the outer perimeter.

Even the small turnout of anti-Nazis would have overpowered the swastikaed punks, taken their shields and clubs away from them and sent them home with their tails between their legs.

SIZE

Consistently, throughout the country, where the Klan-and-or-Nazis have dared to march anti-fascists have outnumbered them by 4, 5, and 6 times their size.

But, always there in heavy number and fire power are the cops, provided by the city, county, state, and federal government. □

DETROIT TEST FOR THE UAW

DETROIT, MI—The Standard Tube strike, under the leadership of UAW Local 851, may go down in history as a testing ground for UAW policy.

The company's refusal to talk to the UAW representatives and its open recruitment of strikebreakers indicates a long hard struggle.

I was told they produce tubing for TNR, a conglomerate.

Wage rates offered the strikebreakers range from a

minimum of \$3.50 an hour for unskilled to \$6 an hour for skilled labor.

MASS

This morning, the 25th of May, there was mass picketing and no scabs were seen entering.

The entire labor movement must be alerted to this attempt at strike breaking and union busting. □

by JOHN ANDERSON

BRIEFS

BEL CANTOS

SOMERVILLE, MA—Seventeen commissary workers at Bel Cantos Italian Foods want union recognition.

They want to be members of Local 26 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers union.

Henry Patterson—their boss—an EST-liberal, first tried pleading with the workers to give up on the union.

But when that failed he went for a high-powered union-busting law firm—Widette, Slater and Goldman—in the process, spending far more money than it would cost him to give the workers a decent contract.

ZAYRES

WARRENSVILLE TOWNSHIP, OH—Since May 4th, employees at Zayres, the discount store, have been on strike.

The workers are out on a range of demands, but a major one is higher wages.

Another issue in the strike is racism.

Local 880 of the Retail Clerks began organizing Zayres in 1977.

Zayres accused the union of racial discrimination.

It charged that the union had complained that Zayres practised race discrimination.

These charges held up the NLRB's authorization of Local 880 until 1982!

According to a union organizer, the issue of racism remains.

The strikers are mainly Black, mainly women. Most of the people who stayed in are white. Zayres is bringing in Black scabs.

One Black woman who had worked at Zayres for twenty years, got sick, was fired and then replaced with a white woman earning more than the Black women.

PATTERN

This pattern is not uncommon.

The strikers face a number of problems. One is delivery trucks are not honoring picket lines.

UPS honored the strike for a week and is now scabbing. So are the out of state trucks.

Most inner city delivery trucks won't scab.

The other problem is that while there are seven Zayres stores in the Cleveland area, only one is being struck. The best way to hurt Zayres is to shut down all the stores.

The picketers are determined to stick it out. □

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