

Ashtabula nurses strike in fifteenth month

see pages 4 and 5



Socialist Worker

Paper of the International Socialist Organization 25¢ monthly



CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST see pages 8 & 9

NOVEMBER 1981



NUMBER 55

STOP THE MISSILE MADNESS

REAGAN PLANS TO SPEND \$180 BILLION FOR FIRST STRIKE FORCE

Ronald Reagan and his generals want to spend \$180 billion to give the United States nuclear first strike capability against the Russians.

That is what is behind all the talk about "the window of vulnerability." Reagan wants the MX's, the Trident 2's, and the Cruise missiles in Europe so that the U.S. will be "invulnerable."

But the idea of "invulnerability" is madness, when the weapons themselves are all untested—and when the Russians are themselves desperately attempting to match the U.S.—missile for missile.

There is no such thing as a limited nuclear war—Ronald Reagan's fantasies to the contrary. Any nuclear war will inevi-

tably lead to total war.

This is why more than 1,000,000 Europeans demonstrated last month against the deployment of nuclear missiles across Europe. This is why there is the fantastic movement there for unilateral disarmament.

LEAD

We should follow their lead and fight Reagan's war plans—and his missile madness—here in America. The slogan "Jobs not Bombs" makes good sense here—with unemployment now reaching the eight million mark and no relief in sight.

Jobs not Bombs. Fight the missile madness!



SEE PAGE 2 FOR MORE ON MISSILES

ABORTION AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

see page 3

Reagan administration strives for first strike nuclear capacity

The U.S. nuclear arsenal will be drastically changed by the new additions proposed by Reagan on October 2.

The cost of the proposed additions is staggering. The new program is justified as the only means for preventing the USSR from becoming militarily superior.

SYSTEMS

The arms proposal covers all three "legs" of the nuclear arsenal. The ground system will be strengthened by the addition of 100 MX missiles in reinforced Titan and Minuteman silos.

The air system will be strengthened by 100 B-1 bombers fitted to carry cruise missiles. And the sea system will be strengthened by replacing the Trident submarine's present missiles with more accurate and powerful ones.

The new weaponry will be coming on stream by 1986 after the public will have paid \$180 billion for it.

This is 15% of all military expenditures for that period. There hasn't been a comparable jump in spending on nuclear weapons in relation to the overall military outlay since the days when Kennedy pulled out all the stops to close the mythical missile gap.

It is the weapons first produced in those years that will be replaced by Reagan's efforts to close an equally mythical missile gap.

The Reagan proposal has been judged moderate by both Republicans and Democrats.

It calls for fewer MXs than Carter had called for. It takes the environmental issue of the track for MXs away from the Mountain States. And it calls for fewer B-1s than had been called for by the plan Carter scrapped.

BRIGHT

The plan's political prospects are therefore quite bright. After all, the \$30 billion it will cost each year is covered by the \$40 billion saved each year by welfare cuts started this year.

There is in fact little moderate about the Reagan plan.

The tip-off is that the heated issue of the "window of vulnerability"—which the track for MXs in Nevada was to close has been forgotten by the Reagan plan.

The hardened silos of the plan are vulnerable to direct hits by Russian warheads. The reason it has been forgotten by the plan is that the plan aims at attaining first-strike capability.

Chrysler workers protest harassment

TWINSBURG, OH—Auto-workers at Chrysler's stamping plant here walked off the job on October 19 in a one day protest against deteriorating conditions in the plant.

All three shifts took part in the protest. There were no picket lines, but workers reported that 95% of the second shift stayed home. 80%

REPORT
BY
MILT FISK

It does not attempt to significantly improve chances of surviving a Russian attack on the US arsenal.

The key factors in regard to first-strike capability are the improved accuracy of the MXs over the older generation of ICBMs and of the Trident 2 over the Trident 1 missiles.

Since the U.S. fleet of nuclear-weapon carrying submarines is presently invulnerable, a Soviet first strike would be followed by retaliation that would destroy its arsenal and its cities.

With a position of invulnerability achieved, Reagan is advancing toward an assured first-strike capability.

The fired General Robert Schweitzer made the mistake of saying that the USSR has "strategic superiority."

This implied that until the U.S. can regain "superiority," closing the "window of vulnerability" would be an essential first step.

With its cooler assessment of the relations of power, the administration has rejected this defensive position to move on to a first-strike position.

GENERAL

Reagan's new arms plan is part of the more general plan devised by previous administrations.

Another part of that more general plan is the placing of a new generation of weapons in NATO countries in Europe.

They will not be there to counter new Soviet weapons, such as the SS-20 missiles.

For, the earlier SS-4 and SS-5 were already capable of devastating Western Europe. The new Cruise and Pershing II missiles to be placed in NATO countries have the accuracy needed for an effective first-strike counterforce attack.

The Reagan proposal gives a specific target to the growing anti-nuclear weapons movement in the U.S.

This movement needs to attack the proposal as leading to the possibility of nuclear attack by the U.S. that would kill millions around the globe.

The ruling class will support the Reagan proposal on the grounds that it will give its own state deadly superiority.

The movement against the arms race cannot, then, ignore the necessity of eliminating the capitalist class. □

stayed off the day shift and 60% off the night shift.

The workers say they are tired of company harassment, of hi-lows that are unsafe, of standing in oil—of many things—and they feel that they will have to make a show of force if they are to get anywhere with Chrysler. □

ONE MILLION MARCH IN EUROPE'S CAPITALS



The anti-nuclear movement in Europe has exploded.

In October, over one million people took to the streets of Europe to demonstrate against the bomb!

A quarter of a million people marched in London, perhaps the biggest demonstration the city has ever seen.

300,000 marched in Rome. 200,000 in Brussels. Earlier 250,000 marched in Bonn. A French public opinion poll shows that 42 percent now back unilateral disarmament.

BEYOND

No longer is the nuclear disarmament movement trying to regain the impetus of the sixties. It has gone far beyond the level achieved the last time around.

Reagan and his cronies are already worried. Caspar Weinberger, the Secretary of Defense, declared in Europe:

"I think the CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) should be taken seriously. It is completely understandable, but is the wrong way to get the result we want—no war."

Weinberger's solution. Wipe out Europe. No wonder the movement is growing.

Where to go next? The Socialist Workers Party, the sister group of the International Socialist Organization, argues that the CND must win the active participation of rank and

file workers, organized through their unions, in the struggle against the bomb.

"But," according to Socialist Worker in Britain, "official backing in itself won't deliver a million workers with their union banners onto a demonstration—only regular CND work round the local factories will do that."

"The Jobs not Bombs slogan is perfect for this type of work but for CND to reach millions of rank and file workers it has to become more than a slogan."

"Jobs not Bombs means CND activists backing workers in their day to day fight. . .

"If we do this it will enable us to turn the massive but still largely passive sympathy for CND into one thing that will win more than gestures from Weinberger, Thatcher and Co—industrial action against the bomb."

FEAR

There is a great fear of the United States growing in Europe—and rightly so. Our job in the United States is to show that there is opposition to the bomb here as well. We can help make the European campaign for nuclear disarmament a truly international movement.

We have to stop Reagan and Weinberger right here. □

KENT STATE PRESSURES UNION WORKERS

by SKIP HOLLAND

KENT, OH—Kent State University and AFSCME Local 153 entered into an agreement effective February 14, 1980, outlining the procedures of behaviour toward each other.

POLICY

Since that time, as well as long before it, the university has pursued a policy that can only be described as union breaking tactics.

AFSCME Local 153 consists of 200 full time custodial, maintenance and food service employees.

These workers are low paid and hold low skilled positions.

The union has filed repeated grievances against

university violations. Several of these have resulted in court cases won by the union—one of improper layoff and recall, another concerning a malicious firing of an outspoken union steward.

The latest inflammatory action was the posting of a new schedule which included Sunday hours for union employees. This was in defiance of a verbal agreement made by the university in late August.

When the local vice president went to investigate this

informal grievance, she was told to leave and the police were called. Both of their grievances are going to arbitration.

But court cases are no better than holding actions.

The university, like all employers of civil service employees, holds the trump card—the Ferguson Act which forbids all civil service workers from striking, is still in effect in Ohio.

The university is systematically pressuring all union employees to the point of striking or quitting.

If they strike they are fired, and if union members quit, the union erodes away.

Abortion and the fight for women's rights



The symbol of the pro-choice movement is the coat-hanger with the words *Never Again!* printed across it.

Now we may have to change the symbol to a shotgun.

18 year old Lorrie Gray was six months pregnant. She tried to get an abortion but was told incorrectly that it was too late.

In desperation she shot herself in the abdomen to terminate her pregnancy.

Now, a Cook County grand jury has indicted Lorrie Gray on a 1975 Illinois law which prohibits abortions outside a hospital after the first three months of pregnancy.

Lorrie Gray faces a possible 14 years in prison.

OUTLAWED

This is what happens to women when abortions are outlawed.

A 16 year old girl, a tenth grader at East High School in Cleveland, Ohio is now being questioned by homicide detectives about the death of her newborn son.

The young girl told the police that she woke up at 4 am with stomach cramps. She tried pacing to rid herself of

the pain. She then wandered outside to a vacant lot, squatted down and gave birth.

She says she didn't even know she was pregnant.

When she went home, she started hemorrhaging and was sent to the hospital.

A younger brother found the baby in the lot at 6:45 am. The baby was dead. The teenager may be charged with homicide.

This is what happens when teenagers are denied access to sex education and contraception. This is also what happens when abortions are outlawed.

Women are forced to give birth to unwanted children. Women mutilate themselves. Women risk their lives. Women die.

More and more women are beginning to experience what

life is going to be like when or if abortions are outlawed. And the Reagan administration and congress are continuing their relentless attack on a woman's right to choose.

Orrin Hatch, a good friend of Ronald Reagan's, has introduced a piece of legislation that would in effect overturn the 1973 Supreme Court decision which legalized abortions.

The Hatch amendment states that "a right to abortion is not secured by this constitution. Congress and several states shall have the concurrent power to restrict abortion provided that the state which is more restrictive than a law of Congress shall govern."

If this proposed constitutional amendment fails, no doubt other pieces of anti-abortion legislation will be introduced.

A "right-to-life" judge forces a raped 11 year old to have child

Violence against women and the attacks on women's rights escalate each day. This month, in Kalamazoo, Michigan, Judge Donald Halstead ruled that an 11 year old girl, a victim of rape, could not obtain an abortion.

Last summer this child was repeatedly raped by her mother's boyfriend. The girl became pregnant and was judged a ward of the court.

The father, who lives in Grand Rapids, attempted to gain custody over the child so that she could not obtain an abortion.

Failing that, he tried to get a guardian who could also obtain an abortion for his daughter. Initially, the child also wanted an abortion.

But Donald Halstead is a Catholic, "right-to-lifer" who signed a Mother's Day anti-abortion advertisement in the *Kalamazoo Gazette* last May.

When the case first came to him, he ruled that he had no authority to order an abortion. His position was upheld by a County Circuit Judge.

US District Judge, Benjamin Gibson, ruled that Halstead had to make a decision.

All these judicial proceedings did, was waste time. The young girl was 23½ weeks pregnant when Halstead made his final anti-abortion ruling.

On October 24th he ruled out abortion for the young girl. He stated that abortion was not "in the best interest of the child."

It was "in the best interest of the child," however, to send her back to live with the mother who allowed her daughter to be sexually attacked.

The Kalamazoo "Right-to-Life" organization hailed Halstead's ruling as a great victory.

And, it should be said that Judge Halstead is a model "right-to-lifer."

By denying the right for this young girl, he has ensured that her rape will last a lifetime. □

In the meantime, states and cities are still introducing restrictive abortion ordinances and abortion clinics are still being attacked by anti-abortionists, patients are still being harassed and intimidated.

REAWAKENING

On the other hand there has been a gradual reawakening of the reproductive rights forces.

800 people rallied in Philadelphia to protest a restrictive state wide ordinance. 1,500 marched in Dayton, Ohio, against the so-called "Right-to-Life" organization.

Pro-choice groups are organizing in cities and on the college campuses. All of this is promising.

It is essential that we build a visible, militant reproductive rights movement now.

A small minority in this country opposes abortion. But they are not only well financed, they are well organized. 75% of people in this country favor legalized abortion. We must organize our support.

To be successful, we have to organize on the understanding that abortion is inextricably linked to other issues of reproductive rights and women's liberation.

Our enemies—the so-called "right-to-life" have a horrifying program for women and women are to have no independent identity. Women are put on this earth to be the baby making servants and appendages to men. The "Right-to-Lifers'" vision is of an all white, middle class, heterosexual, monogamous world. It is a fantasy, but a very cruel one for the majority of women.

The anti-abortionists tie up their struggle to other right wing issues.

They are also vehemently anti-union, racist, homophobic. They are for the death penalty and committed to the arms race and U.S. imperialism.

This month the Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2) is meeting in San Francisco.

NETWORK

R2N2 is a small but promising network of reproductive rights groups, feminist health clinics, lesbian organizations, third world women's organi-

zations, national political groups and student groups.

Its purpose is to fight for the totality of women's reproductive rights—abortion, an end to sterilization abuse, for lesbian liberation, for full reproductive rights in the workplace and community.

Our ability to successfully defeat the anti-abortionists and rebuild the women's liberation movement is very important. The growth and activity of R2N2 can be a key in that struggle.

We can learn from our mistakes in the past as well as from our enemies.

The "Right-to-Life" organization decided from its beginning to fight every battle—win or lose. For they knew that in the struggle, they could build a movement.

We in the Reproductive Rights National Network must do the same. We have to build local groups which fight for any and all issues—defending local abortion clinics, fighting restrictive anti-abortion ordinances, or taking part in demonstrations and rallies to defeat Human Life Bills or other right wing measures.

Furthermore, we have to build on the ideas of reproductive freedom.

We not only want to counter the right wing's anti-woman ideology, but also argue for the ideas of women's liberation. Women's liberation in the context of a society whose priorities are not for individual profit, but for the full realization of all human potential.

SUCCESS

We wish the Reproductive Rights National Network a successful convention and pledge our effort to building R2N2 and carrying on the fight for reproductive rights. □

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

FIGHTING WORDS

"The master class has always declared the war; the subject class has always fought the battles."

—Eugene Debs, 1918

Socialist Worker

November, 1981

Socialist Worker is published monthly by the International Socialist Organization, Box 18037, Cleveland Ohio 44118

RACISM, THE KLAN AND THE TEACHERS' UNIONS

Alarmed by increasing evidence of Ku Klux Klan activity in the public schools, the National Education Association (NEA) has decided to take on the racists in the classrooms.

"This is not in every district, but KKK people are handing out flyers to children on the edge of school campuses and in supermarket parking lots," says Lin Stafford, a spokesperson for the NEA.

The NEA says that although the Klan is not active everywhere, the news media regularly acquaints young people with the Klan and that, consequently, even in areas where there is no recruiting, teachers should have tools to counter the publicity.

WEAPON

The major weapon in the NEA program is a 72 page booklet for teachers which explains the Klan's background and its goals, in addition to suggestion lessons and discussions.

About 10,000 copies of "Violence, the Ku Klux Klan and the struggle for equality," were printed and released last month by the NEA, the Council for Interracial Books for Children, and the Connecticut Education Association.

NEA spokespeople say they hope the \$4.95 kit will "help students better understand the history, nature and role of the Klan."

"There is a lot of what the Klan talks about to white youths and white adults that on the surface could be somewhat appealing to them if they had no sense of what the Klan is actually about," they say.

"The Klan is basically a white terrorist organization."

At a time when the Klan is gaining influence and attention, the NEA's program should be enthusiastically welcomed. And hopefully, the kits will be gotten to all NEA teachers—as well as to other interested people.

But already there is a controversy about the booklet, and opposition to its distribution. Where is the opposition coming from? The right?

No. It's coming from, among others, Albert Shanker, the head of the NEA's rival, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

In an article in the *New York Times* entitled "How Not to Teach about the KKK" Shanker points out just what he objects to.

The NEA, says Shanker, wants "teachers to tell their students that, 'The violent nature of the Klan feeds on a climate of general social acceptance of racism.'"

Shanker calls for withdrawing the pamphlet. The public schools, he argues "should not be used to propagandize for one particular ideology. Of course, it is difficult, if not impossible, to be completely objective on controversial issues. But that doesn't relieve the teacher of the effort of fairness."

"No doubt there are areas in which Blacks have made little or no progress. There's no reason to hide these facts. But there are areas where



A Klan cross burning

great progress has been made."

Fairness? To the Klan? Well, this is not quite what Shanker is arguing. But what he is saying is almost as bad:

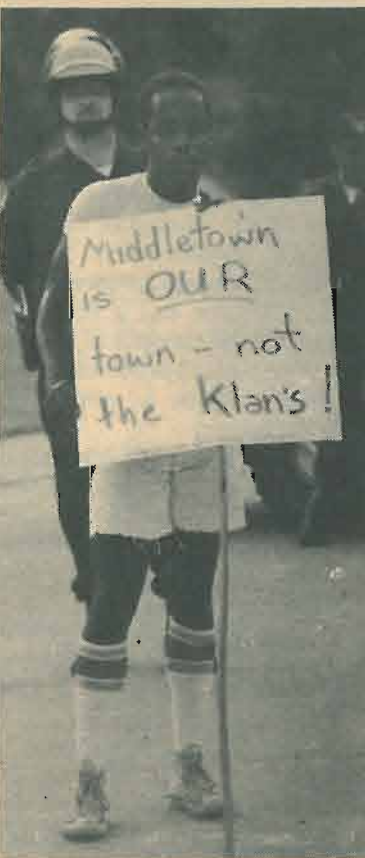
"The truth is that the United States, like most other countries, from time to time treated its minorities badly. But our country is almost unique in its persistent efforts to do better, to right past wrongs, to make a life fuller for all citizens. Schools have an obligation to tell the truth..."

And how do we oppose the Klan? Shanker says nothing.

Shocking! Shanker also disagrees with the NEA's contention that "a variety of social and economic indicators demonstrate that the gap between whites and Blacks was widened not lessened" and that Blacks have made only "limited progress" and that claims of progress have been "exaggerated."

RETREAT

We are living in a period, says the NEA, where "The Supreme Court hastens white society's retreat from these advances in decisions such as the Bakke case."



Opposing the Klan

Scandalous exaggerations? So Shanker thinks. But what makes him maddest is the NEA's conclusion: "It is important to remember that the Klan is only the tip of the iceberg, the most visible and obvious manifestation of the entrenched racism in our society."

But that should not be surprising.

Shanker in fact opposes almost every measure designed to overcome the effects of racism in the United States—especially affirmative action programs for minorities. He supported the Bakke decisions—a case which put an end to affirmative action for Blacks in California medical schools.

STRIKE

And as far back as 1968, Shanker actually led a strike of teachers against attempts by Blacks to end total white domination of the schools in New York City.

That would be bad enough, but Shanker is actually supported by the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in his campaign to stop the NEA's anti-Klan program.

Right now teachers are under attack from coast to coast. How are they going to defend themselves?

It seems obvious that they must ally with the other victims of Reagan's cuts, and first and foremost with the minorities and poor of the cities.

But this will never be possible with racists like Shanker in charge of the AFT. Therefore it should be clear that the fight against racism will have to be part of the fight against the attacks on teachers.

Rank and file members of the AFT should make getting rid of Albert Shanker a first step.

They should also get the AFT to follow the lead of the NEA in the fight against racism in the schools.

That would be a good start toward uniting teachers against all the Ronald Reagans who want to destroy both public education and the teachers' unions. □

The

NURSES PLAN WALKATHON AND SUPPORT RALLY

ASHTABULA, OH—After fifteen months on the picket line, the nurses at Ashtabula General Hospital have few illusions left.

They've learned that meeting the community's health care needs isn't a priority for the hospital.

They've learned that non-profit hospitals do make profits. They've learned that the myth of "professionalism" is just that.

But most importantly, they've learned that the way to fight back is to organize.

RECORD

In late 1979 the nurses decided it was time to fight back. They decided they wanted representation by the Ohio Nurses Association (ONA) and in a record organizational drive, over 80% of the RN's signed cards in less than three weeks.

By March the AGH nurses were an ONA bargaining unit.

Negotiations for the first contract began in April and lasted three months before it became clear that the hospital had no intention of budging on any of the nurses' demands.

The final insult came just six hours before the strike deadline when the hospital came back with a "final offer" that was one cent less than the previous offer.

The nurses had taken enough. On July 21 they walked out and closed Ashtabula General Hospital down.

In early September the hospital was able to open a few beds to treat "minor medical problems". The staff was made up of supervisors and retired RN's.

Many of them hadn't actually taken care of a patient in five, ten, even twenty-five years. Currently only 90 of the original 250 are operating.

CLOSED

Interestingly the emergency room was kept closed through last winter even though the hospital had enough nurses to staff it.

Ashtabula General is the biggest hospital in the area and had a very busy emergency room.

The lack of emergency services imposed a real hardship on the community.

Last April in a meeting with Kathy Keller (who was then the president of the negotiating committee), the president of the board of trustees said, "The best thing you nurses did was to go on strike. It allowed us to close the ER. It was always a money loser."

INTERVIEWS BY SHARON SMITH
STORY BY FAITH SIMON

Ashtabula General Hospital never "bargained in good faith."

Every attempt by the nurses at honest negotiation was met with a slap in the face from the hospital board.

They've refused not only factfinding and binding arbitration but virtually every concession offered by the nurses.

In September the federal mediator made a recommendation that the nurses give up all their remaining demands in return for complete amnesty, a return for all strikers to their pre-strike positions, shift units, and hours.

The mediator had been led to believe in a long-sought meeting with the board that they would ratify the agreement.

Reluctantly and by a slim margin the nurses voted to ratify.

The board then turned around and unanimously rejected the recommendation. The mediator walked out in disgust and negotiations have completely broken off.

HEALTH

It is clear that the board is not interested in ending the strike or in meeting the health care needs of the community.

There is only one thing that can get into its members' minds, breaking the strike and keeping the union out.

The hospital is their business and the priority is the profits in the long run.

The auditor of the hospital books has reported that each year the hospital has reported more income than expenses—profits clear and simple.

There are reasons why the board of trustees is willing to lose money in order to break the strike.

There can be no precedent of organized labor winning in Ashtabula County.

The board members are influential in the business community. One is chairman of the board of the First National Bank. Another owns a construction company.

The local newspaper is owned by a board member. The last thing these men want is for other workers to get any ideas about organizing.

But the nurses are determined. For fifteen months they have kept up twenty-four hour pickets in front of the hospital. □

longest nurses' strike in history

Ashtabula nurses speak out



"We're setting a precedent for nursing as a whole. Now's the time that nurses and women should stand up and be recognized and respected. We're tired of being suppressed and we want to be recognized for our intelligence and be treated as professionals."

"We should be able to make decisions that affect our working lives and the people around us. We're tired of letting the bureaucrats make all these decisions for us."

"As far as negotiations go, we're back to square one. Without a strong union security clause, our fight would be all in vain."

—Debbie Boyle,
Vice-President, ONA



"This is the test. They're in a situation where they're willing to pay anything or do anything to get rid of us as an organization so that we can't represent ourselves."

"In Ashtabula you sometimes really get the feeling that you're on your own and your fighting everybody else. The biggest thing is to see other people—other labor organizations—who aren't directly concerned, go out of their way to help us, and it's really inspiring to me."

"Then you get the feeling that maybe what you're doing is not just for you and a few nurses, but for everybody."

—Tom Wagner,
ONA Negotiating Committee



"You need to come to show that we're not fighting this battle all by ourselves. If we stand together we're going to make it—if we don't we're not going to make anything at all."

"If nothing else we're finding out that the longer we stay together, the stronger we get. You're not going to get anything by yourself at all."

"This rally is important, just like the last rally we had. It made all of us feel really good to think that there were people out there that were behind us."

"We're not going to let them beat us, we're not going to crawl back—which is what they've wanted us to do for ages and ages. Over my dead body will I crawl back into that place."

—Kathy Keller,
ONA Negotiating Committee



"This is certainly a women's problem because the nursing profession has been very much that you just do what you're told and stand up when the doctor walks in the room. You're basically supposed to act as handmaidens and servants."

"We have to make a living too. And we have life and death decisions to make on the job—we ought to be respected for that."

"We've compromised on almost all of our major issues along the way, until it came down to the point where we realize even more now how important the issue of union membership really is. If we don't have this membership clause they're going to get us sooner or later."

"The saying goes 'Either we hang together or we hang separately.' And it certainly is long past time that we hung together."

—Mary Runyan,
President, ONA



"We want to see you in Ashtabula on November 14, because we really need to demonstrate that the union movement in this country is alive and that we do not like what is going on here in Ashtabula and in this state, and in this country today against the union movement."

"This is very well evidenced by the head administrator of our country all the way down to this board of directors at Ashtabula General Hospital."

—Dave Cunningham,
ONA Negotiating Committee

SUPPORT THE NURSES! RALLY NOVEMBER 14

The Ashtabula nurses are fighting against all the odds.

But the community is behind the nurses. Telephone workers refused to cross the picket line and lost time and money. A local locksmith was willing to risk his contract with the hospital rather than cross the line.

FUND

The nurses have no strike fund. Through fundraisers they have raised over \$25,000 and have been able to help

each other through hard times.

But the nurses need help to continue their struggle.

Last January, in the dead of winter, four strikers walked from Youngstown to Ashtabula, a two day trek, to raise money and support for the strike.

The nurses are calling for the second annual walkathon to take place on November 12-14.

Pledges should be sent to: ONA, c/o Mary Runyan, 2190

South Ridge East, Ashtabula, Ohio 44004.

On Saturday, November 14 there will be a rally at North Park in downtown Ashtabula.

Supporters from all over Northeastern Ohio will gather in Solidarity with the nurses.

Speakers will include Ashtabula nurses, a PATCO speaker, a member of the 'Willmar 8', and striking steelworkers' and nursing home workers.

Victory to the Ashtabula nurses! □

**PATCO:
"NOT
DEAD
YET"**

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The air traffic controllers are still on strike, and the official line of the union, PATCO, is "We're not dead yet."

TOKEN

But things are going very badly for the strikers. The union was decertified by the federal workers labor board on

October 22, and now the labor movement is dropping even the token support it offered when the controllers went on strike on August 3.

Lane Kirkland, the president of the AFL-CIO has all but proclaimed the strike over. He has called for Reagan to show mercy and rehire the strikers, thereby implying that

the strikers should return to work with no gains.

Douglas Fraser, the president of the U.A.W. called the strike "hopeless" and said the best the strikers can hope for is "amnesty."

A spokesman for the machinists union put the I.A.M. position this way: "The administration has waged

all-out war and has won the war. It should now win the peace with reason and tolerance."

The strike is not over, of course, and it may well continue despite the wishes of the nation's entire labor bureaucracy. One of the reasons why is that Reagan shows no sign at all of being merciful. □



"We stand on our own dignity. We will not go back into that place. They don't recognize us."

"We can't sacrifice any nurses at all. This is really not for Ashtabula General anymore. It's for nurses everywhere. If we don't win this thing and stand on our two feet, we will lose, and we will lose for nurses everywhere."

—Dolly Waddle,
ONA Negotiating Committee

TIMKEN: "WE DICTATE TO THE UNION"

CANTON, OH—Steelworkers from the Timken Company have agreed to conditions that all but do away with union representation for the next decade.

Timken Steel makes tapered roller bearings, percussion rock bit and alloy steel. The company has three plants in Ohio and has its headquarters in Canton.

CONCESSIONS

Timken told the workers that unless they agreed to sweeping concessions to the company, it would build a \$500 million new plant in Tennessee or Kentucky, not in Canton.

In early October, the workers rejected an agreement based on the company's demands which the local and regional officers of the United Steelworkers (USW) approved.

Since then the union and the company joined together in a big push to overturn the workers decision. Timken advertised in the local papers and set up a telephone hotline.

They were successful. On October 31, the workers accepted the agreement, 3,446 to 334.

The USW members agreed to:

- Prohibit strikes at the new plant for 11 years after the first day of construction.

- An 11 year moratorium on bringing grievances affecting transfer and seniority rights in the new plant.

- A 20% reduction in starting wages for any Timken employee for the first 120 days of employment.

- Allow the company to select workers at the new mill instead of permitting senior workers to bump their way into new jobs.

Harry Mayfield, the director of District 27 of the USW, praised the agreement and said, "People are attempting to overstate the modifications that are here."

DICTATE

But Stanley Berger, an analyst from a Cleveland based investment firm, was more candid: "The union's don't dictate to Timken," Mr. Berger said, "Timken dictates to the union. They run the show."

The new plant, according to company advertisements will bring 800 new jobs in Canton. Canton has 10% unemployment. □

Public workers protest cuts and layoffs

SEATTLE, WA—On Saturday October 17, 80 public employees and supporters gathered to protest the elimination of public services due to budget cuts, layoffs of thousands of public employees in Washington state, and the attacks on public employees' collective bargaining rights.

The rally was organized by a new coalition of public employees and unions called PESOS (Public Employees to Save Our Services.)

Members of over a dozen public employees unions attended and heard Sonja Jolly

of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, Roger Yockey of the United Food and Commercial Workers, and Janet Hews of PESOS, describe the current situation of public employees and their efforts to save their jobs and unions.

WORK

Alice Frame of the social service agency, Neighborhood House, explained what it the cuts mean to the poor and minorities and stressed the

need for public employees and recipients of social services to work together.

Three singing groups provided entertainment between speakers. The event was the first of its kind in the Northwest, and will be followed by two more public employees' events in November.

On November 11, PESOS will sponsor a forum in conjunction with the "Images of Labor" art exhibit, at the Museum of History and Industry.

The forum begins at 7:30 pm.

On November 21 and 22, PESOS, PATCO, X-Change, a political artists group, will bring Portland's Labor Players to Seattle to perform their new play, "Seasons of Silence." The play is about Oregon textile workers.

SHOW

The November 21 showing will be at the union hall, 1829 Boren Street, at 8:00 pm. The November 22 show will begin at 2 pm at the Museum of History and Industry. □

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

But the workers don't want socialism do they?

We depend on winning the majority

"The workers don't want socialism. All they're interested in is the Sunday football game."

How often have you heard that? Even people who have given a lifetime of service to the struggle for socialism can become depressed and demoralized.

Pessimism is not new from socialists. Any socialist battling against the stream knows how difficult it is to win even one person in a hundred to our beliefs.

Yet a socialist revolution depends on us winning the majority.

EASY

Today, looking back, the Russian revolution seems to have been easy, the climax of a continual upward movement of the Russian people.

But it did not seem like that in the 20 or 30 years of struggle needed to build a revolutionary movement in Russia.

Listen to Lenin describing the period before the first revolution in 1905: "The revolutionary party of Russia consisted of a small group of people and the reformists of those days derisively called us a 'sect'."

"Several hundred revolutionary organizers, several thousand members in local organizations, half a dozen revolutionary papers appearing not more frequently than once a month . . . such were the revolutionary parties in Russia."

"This circumstance gave the narrow-minded and overbearing reformists justification for their claim that there was not yet a revolutionary people in Russia."

And who said this of Russia: "We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of the coming revolution." It was Lenin, on January 9, 1917.

Six weeks later the great Russian revolution began.

The great German and Polish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg was so depressed when she saw workers rushing to support the world war in 1914 that she briefly contemplated suicide.

More recently, the left in France was just as pessimistic in April 1968.

No-one forecast that within weeks the biggest general strike in history would be paralyzing the country. One writer, Andre Gorz, even said a general strike was "impossible."

REVOLUTION

In Portugal in March 1974, no-one predicted the revolution that took place a month later.

In Russia in 1917, in France in 1968, in Portugal in 1974, the majority of workers did not begin with revolutionary ideas.

Many were as reactionary as anyone you might meet down your street or argue with in a bar.

Yet revolutionary change followed soon afterwards. Why?

Because workers found themselves facing immense problems that they could only deal with by taking actions that shook their own preconceived ideas.

You don't have to look far to find how workers' ideas can be transformed once they are involved in major struggles.

A few months ago the air traffic controllers were supporting Ronald Reagan.

They thought he would support their demand for shorter hours, higher pay, and better equipment.

Now they are fired and PATCO has been decertified. But they have also changed in the process—and a few have been radicalized by picketing, searching for support, marching.

They have to see that more is involved in their struggle than just wages or conditions. They see that they are fighting for a principle vital to millions of other trade unionists.

The transformation has taken place despite the lies in the newspapers and TV, despite the insults, despite the half-hearted and often treacherous leadership from their AFL-CIO leadership.

There is no reason why the change that happened to some of the air traffic controllers should not happen to a million or for that matter many million other workers. □



Eamonn McCann reports on the decision to call off the hunger strike

BRITAIN HAS WON THE BATTLE BUT NOT THE WAR IN IRELAND

British prime minister Margaret Thatcher won.

Whatever way you add it up, the fact that the hunger strikers called off their fast without winning the five demands amounts to a victory for the conservatives.

It is however a victory for which they may eventually pay dearly. This has not been a struggle from which the defeated side emerges weakened and demoralized. Far from it.

DEATH

The main factor in the end was that pressure on the prisoners' relatives had become intolerable.

As each prisoner inched towards death the ordeal became worse for the families which followed. Every death was a dress rehearsal for the agony which they knew they would soon be asked to endure.

Added to that in the past month has been relentless public pressure from leading Catholic politicians and clergymen who spun the line that families who intervened were 'loving' families—the implication being that any who did not were coldly uncaring.

That allegation coming publicly, and particularly from priests, can carry enormous

weight with already distraught people in Catholic Ireland.

So last month the families of the six remaining hunger strikers announced that as soon as their sons became unconscious they would sanction medical treatment and intravenous feeding.

With control of the strike taken effectively from them, the prisoners had little option but to end it. And Thatcher was wakened half a world away in Australia so that some flunkey could whisper in her ear that it was over.

QUICK

It was reported that she perked up immediately. Quite possibly she'll have to perk down again just as quick.

The hunger strike has had a number of widely reported side effects.

It has increased recruitment to the Republican groups and caused funds to flow in a torrent. It has carried the Provos onto the center of the political stage, helped elect Bobby Sands and Owen Carron to Westminster and put two prisoners into Parliament in the South.

No doubt that tide will subside now. But it will not

ebb to the previous low water mark.

The Republicans emerge from the hunger strike much stronger. By the same token middle of the road groups like John Hume's SDLP are weaker and much less sure of themselves.

This is a reflection of the fact that Catholic workers are more alienated from the Northern state and more deeply opposed to the British presence in Ireland than at any time since the Partition settlement sixty years ago.

REGIME

The image of prisoners pitching frail bodies against the massive might of the British security regime and finally being crushed by it, far from reconciling Catholic workers to continue British rule has boosted the bitterness with which they oppose it.

And that will make it more difficult for Northern Ireland Secretary Prior to conjure or cajole a settlement which would secure British interests in the North.

This central fact seems not to have occurred to editorial writers in the British papers and other exalted places who have been speculating that the end of the hunger strike provides a welcome opportunity

for Prior to 'take the initiative' and go forward towards an overall 'solution.'

Nor should we assume that the prison issue itself is resolved. Prior has indicated that there will now be changes and the first indications are that these will go some substantial way to meeting the prisoners' demands. 'Magnanimous' has become somewhat of a vogue word in leaks from the Northern Ireland office.

But even if this is his intention—and it would be a clever thing to do—Prior might find that in the North it's one thing to announce 'reforms', quite another to put them into practice.

The North's prison service is part of the Orange State machine, deep dyed in its bigotry and obdurately resistant to change.

It may well obstruct any scheme Prior devised—as it successfully obstructed changes which were agreed to last December and which ended the first hunger strike.

The track record of British ministers in the North suggests that if this happens Prior will back off.

The British backing off in the face of Orange bigotry is after all what created the Northern state in the first place.

WHAT WENT WRONG?

Hunger strike supporters are now discussing what went wrong. Might a different strategy have worked better?

The hunger strike tactic is a very difficult one. It requires a high degree of courage and commitment beyond all normal human resource, and this came in full measure from the men in Long Kesh. The ten who died emerge from the last decade as the best and bravest of us all.

And therein lies one of the problems. Once under way, the hunger strike depends crucially on the will of the participants rather than on their political judgement or the judgement of parties outside.

Moreover, of its nature a hunger strike becomes more desperately urgent as each day passes. This—as well as the political instincts of the Republicans—had much to do with the shape of the National H-Block Committee's strategy, which was to win the support of 'people with clout' by humanitarian arguments rather than build politically on broad grass roots support which already existed.

This meant that in the South for example the campaign was kept relatively low key, both in its slogans and in the type of activity which was sanctioned, lest people with clout (the prime minister and the leader of the opposition) be alienated.

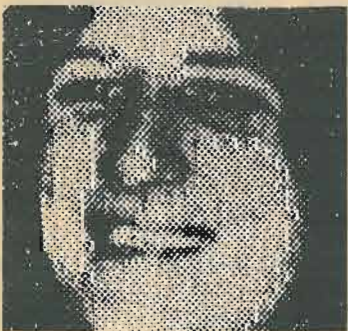
North and South Roman Catholic churchmen were repeatedly invited, even begged, to come out in support of the five demands. Such pleas served only to give credibility to elements who were certain to be revealed in the end as the enemies of the prisoners.

Working class Republicans should maybe ponder more closely the name of their own party 'Sinn Fein'—Ourselves Alone.

The last decade shows that when we have sought allies outside our own class we have met only treachery. The struggle in the prison like the broad struggle outside, can only be won by workers moving into action on their own account.

When people with clout get involved it is always our side which gets clouted.

THE TEN WHO DIED



BOBBY SANDS



FRANCIS HUGHES



R MCCREECH



PATSY O'HARA



JOE McDONNELL



MARTIN HURSTON



KEVIN LYNCH



KIERAN DOCHERTY



THOMAS McELWEE



MICHAEL DEVINE

The Middle East:

Reagan's plan to defend oil profits

Ronald Reagan's response to Anwar Sadat's assassination has been to sharply escalate an already massive arms build-up in the Middle East.

This escalation is justified and directed at Libya's Muammar Qaddafi, who, Reagan would have us believe, is a dangerous and immediate threat to the Sudan and to the Middle East as a whole.

FORCE

As *Newsweek* put it last month, "The Reagan administration's response was to flaunt its readiness to sponsor the use of firepower in the Middle East . . . The administration's show of force had the look of old-fashioned gunboat diplomacy."

Plans include a large scale military exercise called "Operation Bright Star," planned for this month, involving both American and Egyptian troops.

B-52's will make live bombing runs in the desert Northwest of Cairo, and U.S. marines will make a mock amphibious landing in Oman. AWACS planes are already in Egypt and will direct the exercise. A Rapid Deployment Force of 200,000 is said to be on the alert.

Increased military aid to the "moderate" Arab regimes of the area is also part of the program. Sudan, for instance, is to be rushed an additional \$110 million in arms this year. Egypt's arms shipments will be accelerated.

National Security Adviser, Richard V. Allen has stated that the U.S. will defend the entire region by force if necessary. And aside from the danger allegedly posed by Qaddafi, the Russians, it is also claimed, have plots of their own.

In a joint statement last month, the State and Defense Department told the congressional joint economic committee: "We intend to tailor our forces, using those forces in the region plus reinforcement units from the U.S. to meet an evolving threat . . . The most dangerous potential threat to U.S. interests in the region would be a Soviet attack."

This is nothing short of lunatic hysteria. Neither assertion about Libya or Russia holds up.

COLLAPSE

President Nimeiry of Sudan is indeed facing considerable opposition in his country. But this has little to do with Qaddafi, and is the result of the virtual collapse of the Sudanese economy, repressive policies that resulted in an arrest sweep of 17,000 last month, and the abolition of the national assembly.

President Nimeiry is lucky to have survived over half a dozen attempts to overthrow him. Even the *New York Times* had to concede that "Nimeiry has been deliberately exaggerating the dangers of an invasion by Libyan forces."

The Reagan administration is prepared to go to war to preserve U.S. power in the Middle East. Ahmed Shawki explains why.

The claims about Russia are just as ludicrous. In fact, there is no indication whatsoever that the Russian army is about to invade the Middle East. In any case, they are preoccupied with Poland and Afghanistan.

The claims about Russian and Libyan threats are clearly only a cover, and only a thinly disguised one at that, to justify increased U.S. military presence in the area.

But there is a crisis in the Middle East—only not the sort of crisis that Reagan imagines. And the reasons behind the crisis are not those the administration would have us believe.

To begin with the obvious, the strategic location of the Middle East and its vast oil reserves make it especially important to the stability of U.S. capitalism and of the

world system as a whole.

And there is, of course, competition between United States and Russia—two major powers of the world—both militarily, economically, over sphere of influence and domain.

But it is neither Qaddafi's increased Soviet influence in the area that is at the heart of the crisis.

Indeed, during the sev-

SADAT: WHY THE U.S. MOURNS

On October 6, Anwar Sadat, the president of Egypt, was assassinated in a bloody spectacle outside Cairo.

He was announced dead at Maadi hospital in Cairo—ironically, the same hospital where the former dictator of Iran, Shah Reza Pahlavi, died last year.

Ronald Reagan called the killing "an act of infamy." Menachem Begin of Israel lamented the loss of a good "friend and ally." The press and media mourned the death of a "great man of peace."

FEW

But in Egypt, noticeably, few mourned. In several Arab countries there was jubilation at the news of his death. The only Arab head of state to attend his funeral was president Nimeiry of Sudan.

Why? The answer is simple.

Anwar Sadat was never a "man of peace". He died at the head of a repressive, undemocratic and brutal regime, at odds with the entire Arab world, and bitterly hated by the impoverished masses of his own country.

Sadat joined the military at age 18. Soon after, he



Sadat

met Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Along with eight other young officers, they formed the Free Officers' Movement—an organization dedicated to ridding Egypt of British domination—the dominant colonial power at the time.

In 1952, the Free Officers movement overthrew the Egyptian monarchy. Nasser became Egypt's first president.

But Sadat was never anti-imperialist. While some nationalists moved toward the left, Sadat embraced

Nazi Germany as an alternative.

During the Second World War, in 1942, he was jailed on charges of collaborating with the Nazis. Sadat was a member of two right-wing nationalist organizations—Misr al Fatat (Young Egypt), an openly fascist organization, and the Moslem Brotherhood.

From the mid-fifties until Nasser's death in September 1970, Sadat played a nominal role in Egyptian politics. He was known as "Nasser's poodle" and worse. But Nasser had made him one of two vice-presidents, and in the power struggle after his death, Sadat came out victorious.

In 1971, he jailed all remnants of opposition to his rule.

Sadat immediately set out to bring Egypt back into the fold of American imperialism.

In 1972 he kicked out Russian advisers that had been in Egypt, and in 1973, launched the Yom Kippur war against Israel—the purpose of which was to raise his standing in the Arab world and place himself in a better negotiating position.

It was also in 1973 that he introduced the "Open Door" policy—an attempt to make Egypt a source of cheap, docile labor for multinationals.

In 1974, president Nixon visited Sadat, and he returned the visit in 1975.

But the economic crisis dented his plans. Investments were not coming his way, and anyway, there were more stable regimes such as the Shah's in Iran for multinationals to invest in.

The effect on the mass of the Egyptian population was severe. An already high unemployment rate doubled, food production dropped, and prices rose.

In January 1977, when Sadat announced price hikes in all basic commodities, he faced the biggest riots Egypt had seen in years—for two days the country was brought to a standstill.

It is in this context that Sadat made his "historic" trip to Jerusalem and started the "peace process."

It was the act of a desperate man, isolated at home, trying to divert attention from internal woes, and trying to prove to the U.S. that he was dependable and trustworthy.

But the "peace" talks did not bring peace at all. Instead they were a sign to Begin and the U.S. that Egypt would be an ally in their plans to dominate and control the Middle East.

Shortly after Sadat's trip to Israel, Begin bombed Beirut with impunity—a policy that has continued this day.

Hostility to Sadat continued to grow. He responded with the only weapon he had—more repression. Only a month ago, he ordered 1,500 arrested—leading political opponents, Muslims and Coptics. By late September, the figure had reached 5,000.

DOMINATION

No, Sadat was no man of peace. He lived in conspicuous luxury, while most Egyptians live in abject poverty.

To the American ruling class he was a friend because he went out of his way to support imperialist domination over the area.

So it is not surprising that those who mourned loudest included some of the most reactionary warmongers the world has ever seen—Reagan, Haig, Nixon, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, to name but a few.

QADDAFI: A SCAPEGOAT FOR THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

The Reagan administration claims that Libya's Qaddafi is the world's "most dangerous terrorist," a threat to democracy and freedom in the Middle East—especially in Sudan and Egypt.

Vice-president Bush called him an "egomaniac who would trigger World War III to make the headlines." Henry Kissinger declared that if only Qaddafi had been "taken care of", Anwar Sadat might still be alive, and Jimmy Carter, apparently without consulting his brother, dubbed him "sub-human."

TRUTH

The truth is quite different.

There has been a program of destabilization, of threats, but it has been directed against Libya by the U.S. and its allies.

In August the press reported, in some detail, a project—which of course the White House later denied—to set up a "large scale operation" to topple the Libyan regime involving the assassination of Qaddafi.

Only a few days later, the U.S. Sixth Fleet downed two of Qaddafi's planes in what was an open provocation.

The stories of imminent invasion of Sudan and Egypt are pure fabrication: for one thing Egypt's army alone is 7 times that of Libya's.

And the talk of democracy and freedom is nothing but hypocrisy. While busily condemning Qaddafi, the U.S. is arming Israel to the teeth.

Arms which have been used to bomb an Iraqi nuclear reactor, bomb civilian neighborhoods in Beirut—including the use of napalm—and deny the Palestinians their basic right to self-determination.

How does Qaddafi compare to the reactionary and feudal regime of Saudi Arabia which rules with an iron fist, periodically beheading its opponents?

Or the former Shah of Iran, whose atrocities against the Iranian population have been documented in hundreds of cases?

The attacks on Qaddafi from Washington are nothing but a sham, designed to excuse their arming and defending of right-wing, repressive dictatorships.

Not that Qaddafi himself is a knight in shining armor. He came to power in 1969 at the head of a group of young officers backed by the United States.

Over the last twelve years, Qaddafi has embarked on an ambitious program of development and social reform.



Qaddafi

He has changed the face of what was until then a monarchical, sparsely populated, semi-nomadic country. He committed himself to following a path of "positive neutralism"—hostile to both American and Russian power—and for an "Islamic people's republic."

Qaddafi was able to finance these plans with the vast sums of money accrued from Libya's oil.

But like Nasser, Qaddafi is proving unable to break the hold of the world system on the Libyan economy.

Despite its massive wealth, Libya remains underdeveloped.

And this year has been a particularly bad one for the regime. The world oil glut, as well as reports that some oil firms will not renew their contracts to buy Libyan crude, has compelled Libya to lower its output from 1.6 million barrels a day to 600,000.

The enormous drop in revenue threatens to sink the new 1981-85 economic five-year plan.

In a major speech last month, Qaddafi called on Libyan workers to "tighten their belts". This will almost certainly fuel his internal opposition. No fewer than 3,000 Libyans were arrested on political grounds last year. Qaddafi does, of course, rule Libya as a total dictator.

A faltering economy and stepped up U.S. pressure are forcing Qaddafi to reverse his attempt at "positive neutralism". In that sense, Qaddafi is being forced into the Russian camp—in much the same way as Castro was 20 years ago.

SCAPEGOAT

Nevertheless, it is clear that the Reagan administration is using Qaddafi as a scapegoat for the crisis in the Middle East, and any intervention in Libya must be opposed. □

ties, the U.S. increased its influence over the area vis a vis Russia—in Egypt, Oman, Somalia, Jordan, Morocco, the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia.

Even though Iran is in one sense "out of it", Khomeini effectively remains pro-West and the administration supports him against the left.

POLICY

U.S. policy in the region in the seventies was two pronged: while relying on Israel as the watchdog over the area, the U.S. was bringing several important states into its network of allies.

Saudi Arabia and Iran, the most important oil producers in the area, were key to this policy. Iran militarily protected the Gulf, and Saudi Arabia towed the line, held down the price of oil in OPEC and used its financial strength to influence Arab states. The third state was Egypt.

At the time of Sadat's accession to power in 1970, Egypt had reached an impasse.

Nasser had a policy of juggling between the superpowers, playing them off against each other, trying to reap whatever he could.

But like other less developed countries dominated by powerful imperialism, he was unable to break out of underdevelopment.

Despite a growth in industry, in 1970, 45% of all Egyptian exports remained cotton. Its dependence and integration into the world market was not broken. There was a huge balance of payments deficit and capital was badly needed.

After Sadat had crushed the remnants of the Nasserist opposition in 1971, the door was opened to an improvement in U.S.-Egyptian relations.

The Russians had declined Sadat's pleas for more arms and aid, and insisted on the repayment of loans made to him.

In June 1971, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia made his first official visit to post-Nasser

Egypt on his way back from the U.S. He encouraged Sadat to break the already straining relations with Russia. Saudi Arabia agreed to help finance a tattered Egyptian economy, as well as arms purchases—if they were made in the West. Sadat jumped at the opportunity.

By the late seventies, the U.S. had a network of allied states in the region, all committed to serve and defend its interests.

The U.S. then successfully imposed a "peace" upon Egypt and Israel.

The net effect of the "peace" was to divide Egypt from the rest of the Arab states, deepen divisions within the Arab camp, and although Saudi Arabia was reticent about Sadat's break with the rest of the Arab world they agreed with the overall strategy.

The "peace" also left Israel free to hammer and harass the Palestinians.

But the onset of the world economic crisis had quite a devastating effect on this carefully nurtured and propped up set of allies.

OPPOSITION

It destabilized the whole region. Internal opposition to the rule of every one of the regimes in the Middle East posed a greater threat.

Inflation, economic contraction, unemployment, all led to rebellion.

In Egypt in 1977, there were huge anti-Sadat riots. The crisis fuelled the Lebanese civil War.

In Iran, in 1978, inflation and unemployment had reached astronomical proportions—25-30%. The real rate of economic growth slumped to 2.8% (from a claimed 41.6% rate in 1974-75.) What had up until then been considered as the most stable regime collapsed.

It is in this context that Carter reimposed draft registration in the U.S. and proclaimed the "Carter doc-

trine"—U.S. defense of the Gulf by any means, including force.

But instability breeds more instability. Nine months later, in November 1979, the Saudi royal family was shaken by the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca by a well organized group of fundamentalists.

It became clear to the American ruling class that not only beefed up aid, but intervention had become necessary to defend these regimes.

The threat was not from Libya or Russia, but grew out of the impact of the economic crisis on each of the regimes.

Reagan's plans to sell AWACS to Saudi Arabia should also be seen in this context. In defending the proposed sale last month he announced: "Saudi Arabia we will not permit to be an Iran."

If the regimes could not defend themselves from the anger of their workers and peasants, Reagan would prop them up.

The alarm over Sadat's death is the fear that Egypt will indeed become another Iran—or Saudi Arabia for that matter.

This was clearly on Sadat's mind also. Before his visit to Washington last August, Sadat announced that "When I see president Reagan I shall say to him that I will give the United States every facility so they can reach any Arab country in the Gulf, so they can reach any Islamic country anywhere."

WAR

Reagan has made clear his intention to go to war to defend oil profits and the U.S. "spheres of influence." The U.S. government is dedicated to maintaining control of the Middle East at any cost—including war.

The threat to peace, therefore, is not in Tripoli, and not even in Moscow. Russia's guns are pointed at Poland and Afghanistan. The threat to peace in the Middle East is in Washington, D.C. □

Cry for justice answered with bullets

Dear Socialist Worker,

Days are passing and every day an average of 50 to 70 revolutionaries get executed by Khomeini's regime. A regime that after almost three years of rule has not brought anything to the heroic people of Iran, but misery, disunity and many more plagues. A regime that is savagely executing, torturing and massacring people. A regime that is making shameful deals—like the \$2.8 billion deal to buy arms from Israel.

At this time more than fif-

teen thousand revolutionaries are in Khomeini's prison, in addition, more than three thousand political prisoners have been put before a firing squad since June 20, 1981.

Khomeini has answered the cry for justice and freedom with bullets. He has issued an order that anyone arrested for protesting on the street will be executed on the spot. At the same time, for the first time, the regime has officially announced that even twelve year olds who are arrested on the charge of opposing Khomeini

will be executed. They said "age does not matter."

The regime has started a new wave of mass executions of its opponents.

But the Iranian people will not remain silent. They will follow the path of armed struggle until real democracy and independence is achieved.

It is the responsibility of all freedom loving and progressive people to protest the atrocities committed by Khomeini's regime, expose and condemn Khomeini's crimes by any means possible, and

support the armed and just resistance of the Iranian people, under the guidance of the National Council of Resistance, with the leadership of the Mojahedin organization of Iran.

Death to Khomeini! Long live freedom! Victory to NCR!

An Iranian student
Supporter of the People's
Mojahedin Organization of
Iran

Detroit, MI



CAMPUS NEWS

Seattle...

Hundreds of students, staff and faculty at the University of Washington, chanting "Get off your butts, stop the cuts!", demonstrated on October 16 against a proposed 10.1% budget cut.

The cuts would wipe out whole departments and lay-off nearly 1,000 faculty and staff. It would result in a 4-5,000 student drop in enrollment—the virtual elimination of next year's freshman class.

The Coalition to Stop the Cuts, made up of staff, faculty and students, and several groups including the ISO, demanded the following: Stop all budget cuts; don't play off one program against another; tax the rich and corporations not ordinary people; transfer money from the military to education.

The budget cut at the university is only part of a proposed 10.1% cut in state spending. This would also attack primary/secondary education, welfare, health programs, etc., while the state continues to spend \$24 billion on 5 unneeded nuclear plants. □

Kent...

"You can't help but to think of May 4, 1970. We have once again been attacked."

The Kent Gay/Lesbian Foundation (KGLF) ninth annual Halloween dance was the victim of an attack on Thursday, October 29.

An army surplus teargas can was thrown from the balcony of the Kent University ballroom where the dance was held. Eight people were taken to hospital, two with serious injuries. One man went into cardiac arrest.

Unfortunately, the homophobic assailants escaped.

The attack on the KGLF dance is part of a right wing attempt to force gays back into the closet by preventing them from holding public events.

KGLF is planning to hold another dance in December to show that they will not be intimidated.

"We will rise above this attack and continue to provide programming and educational services to the KSU community. We are not downed by this malicious incident," said the steering committee of the KGLF. □

Letters

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

ZAPS PLEDGE TO FIGHT ON

Dear Socialist Worker,

Now that our trial is over we want to thank you for the support that you've given to the Women's Liberation Zap Action Brigade.

It was your financial contributions that enabled us to fight our case through the legal system and you have our deep appreciation.

On September 30, after a five day trial, we were convicted of "Disruption of Congress" and fined \$100 each. Financial support came from feminists from all over the U.S. and some European countries.

This support has indicated to us that you understand how these attacks on abortion are aimed at negating any attempt by women to control our lives. Bills such as the "Human Life" Amendment and the Family Protection Act and other pieces of repressive legislation are efforts by the state to control women.

Rape, battering, and increased media violence against women are efforts by individuals and industry to control women's lives.

It is our belief that militant actions such as ours are crucial messages to those in power that women will not hide our anger any longer.

We will not be intimidated by their contention that women are "criminals" for defending our rights—for being lesbians, for having abortions. We encourage you to get involved in your local reproductive rights group and to organize ZAP actions on your own.

Finally, we will continue our political work based on the vision that abortion is not a single

issue but part of the larger feminist ideal of women's autonomy.

This means we need a politics of all women's right to control their lives, not dominated by the perspective of one kind of woman. The needs of poor women, women of color, lesbians, women in prison must be as primary to our work as the demand for abortion.

In order for safe, accessible birth control, sex information, abortion, freedom from coercive sterilization and an end to compulsory heterosexuality—women must have the resources that enable us to exercise those rights.

This means that all women need safe jobs at a decent wage, good housing, demystified health care and quality child care. We must be free from physical violence.

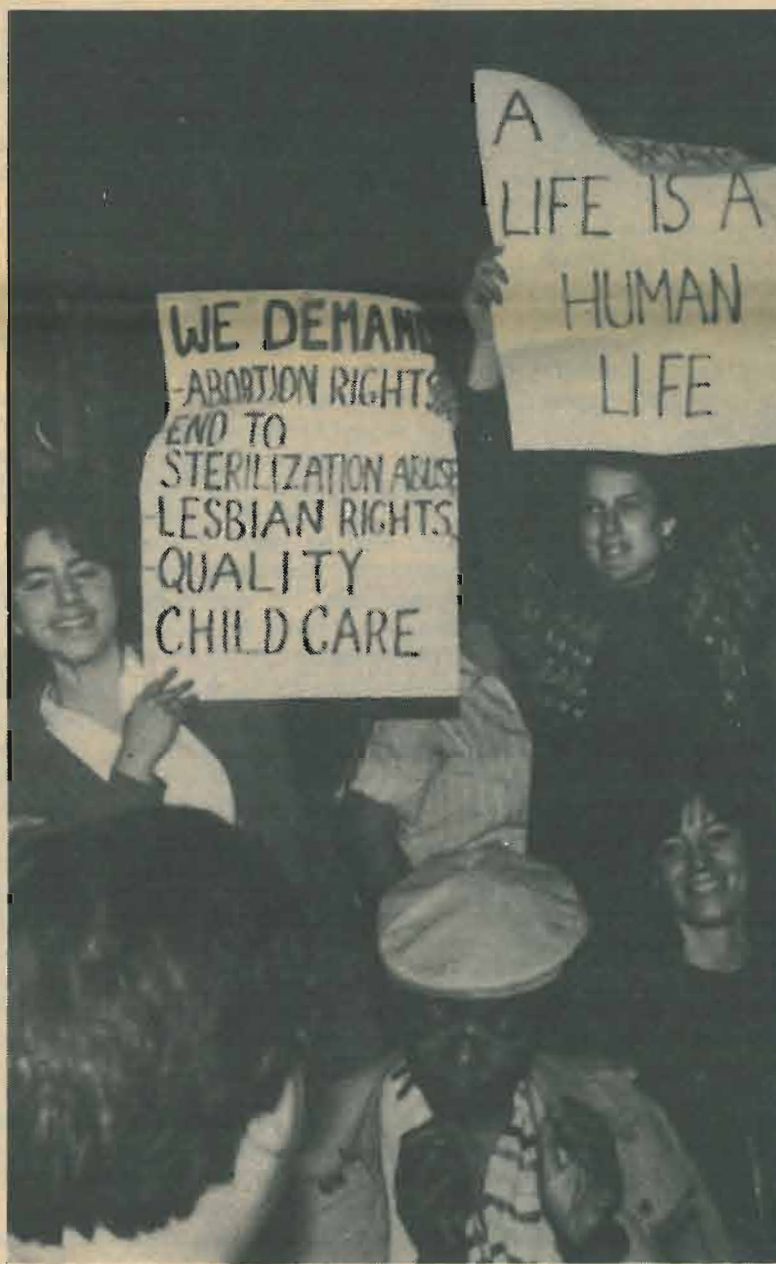
Because this is the political vision of the ZAPS, we have decided to donate the remaining funds to women's legal cases, especially those concerning battered women's self defense and lesbian custody.

We are also donating \$1,000 to Save Our Sisters battered women's shelter in Washington, D.C. in honor of our wonderful lawyers Lois Yankowski and Claudia Wayne.

The next few years are going to be hard ones for women. Again, we thank you for your support and urge you to keep on.

In struggle, love
and sisterhood,

Tacie Dejanikus, Maureen
Angelos, Libby Smith, Karen
Zimmerman, Stephanie Roth
and Sarah Schulman
The ZAPS



ZAP fined for "disrupting Congress"

3,000 DEMONSTRATORS GREET BUSH IN BOSTON

Dear Socialist Worker,

As George Bush spoke to a group of 350 financial backers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on October 30, some 3,000 protesters demonstrated against the Reagan administration's policies of war abroad and social service cuts at home.

A diverse group of speakers

including a school bus driver and a welfare mother linked up the budget cuts and increased military spending.

Inside the meeting Bush attacked the anti-war demonstrators in Europe for not "understanding the real needs of Europe."

Kent Worcester,
Boston, MA

Dear Socialist Worker,

I enjoy your paper, but please try to avoid the sensationalism.

We get enough of that in the straight press.

I'd also like to see more

coverage on what's going on inside the unions. Will there be a revolt against Kirkland, etc.

Jim Weathers,
Columbus, OH

"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



The 1934 textile strike: "it was a mighty crusade"

No greater story of heroic struggle has been written than the battle waged in 1934 by over 450,000 textile workers.

This strike was the most extensive conflict in the early years of the development of the CIO in the 1930's.

The base of this upsurge was in the deep South, where the most exploited and oppressed rose up to fight for unionization, as if it were a mighty crusade.

DEPRESSION

The great depression hit the textile industry long before the rest of society, and by 1929 the mill towns were seething with discontent.

The major grievance was the "stretch-out"—a form of speed-up.

At one mill in Monroe, North Carolina, spinners were required to work 12, as opposed to eight spindles. Four doffers did the work of five. Crews of four carders were reduced to three.

Southern workers were defeated in earlier attempts at unionization and were the poorest paid of all textile workers.

The legacy of slavery and racism kept the workforce divided—all to the benefit of the cotton mill owners.

With the passage of the National Recovery Act (NRA) in 1933, textile workers flocked to the United Textile Workers Union.

Its membership rose from 27,500 in 1932 to 270,000 in 1934.

The NRA attempted to set codes for the industry, but this made textile workers even more angry.

The NRA set a minimum wage of \$12 a week in the South, \$13 a week in the North. But it did nothing to prevent the stretch out or victimization of textile workers who joined a union. Furthermore, in order to prevent overproduction, the NRA then ordered a cutback in wages by 35%.

WALKED

Textile workers were furious, and on Labor Day, September, 1934, 65,000 mill workers in North Carolina walked off their jobs. That day the National Guard was called



450,000 workers fought a bloody battle against the textile bosses

in to prevent workers in three mills in South Carolina from striking.

The workers not only quit their jobs, but immediately formed flying pickets which moved from town to town, shutting down the mills.

Most of the picketers were women. They showed tremendous bravery as well as imagination.

TACTIC

One tactic was to sit down on plant railroads preventing the movement of trains carrying finished goods.

Mass demonstrations were held in the South—1,000 in Charlotte, and 5,000 in Gastonia, North Carolina, to show the union's strength.

The strike spread to the northeast. 325,000 workers were out by September 6th. Northern textile workers used the flying squadrons, shutting down mill after mill. The strike was so successful that the *New York Times* ominously warned that "the growing mass character of the picketing operations is rapidly assuming the appearance of military efficiency and preci-

sion. It is something entirely new in the history of American labor struggles."

The state and employers were not long in mounting violent opposition.

In South Carolina the governor declared that "a state of insurrection" existed and declared partial martial law.

In North Carolina, National Guardsmen were given orders to shoot-to-kill flying picketers.

In battles in North and South, national guardsmen fired on strikers.

In Trion, Georgia, police shot three pickets. One died. In Honea Path, South Carolina, sheriffs and armed strike breakers fired into a group of picketers killing seven. In all, 16 strikers were killed.

As a result, violent conflict spread through New England as well as the South. After a striker had been shot in Saylesville, Rhode Island, a crowd of 4,000 imprisoned a group of scabs working in a mill. As the shift ended the crowd attacked the mill, pulled up a fire hydrant, and almost took possession of the mill itself. The National Guard

stopped the crowd, which had grown to over 5,000 people.

By September 12th, the National Guardsmen were on duty in every New England state save Vermont and New Hampshire.

The governor of Rhode Island declared a state of insurrection and requested federal troops.

While the industry was centered in New England, the strike spread to the Middle Atlantic states as well.

VIOLENT

But it was in the South where the strike was most violent. On September 17th, an army of 10,000 National Guardsmen augmented by 15,000 armed deputies, met in Greenville, NC, to break the picket lines and start the movement back into the mills. The effort failed.

On September 18th, the Associated Press reported that 421,000 workers were out on strike, 20,000 more than the week before.

A final push was made to break the strike. In Georgia, governor Talmadge declared martial law. There were mass arrests of union activists.

Organizers were beaten and arrested. The death toll in the South rose to 13.

As happens so often in labor history, the workers were not beaten by the owners and the police.

On September 20th, the Board of Inquiry for the Cotton Textile Industry issued a report including the creation of a Textile Labor Board which would mediate labor relations. The union officials, over the loud protests of the members, agreed to end the strike.

Textile workers were forced back to work bitterly hating their employers and the government, and distrusting their union officials.

The greatest single industrial conflict in labor history had ended. Over 450,000 workers had been involved; 16 were killed. The defeat of the workers set back Southern labor even up to this very day.

HAVEN

The South still provides a haven for runaway shops and cheap non-union labor.

But in spite of the treachery of the government and the union leaders the labor movement responded throughout the 30's with continuing strikes and struggles for unionization. □

WHERE WE STAND



• Workers' Control

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

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

• Revolution Not Reform

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

• A Workers' Government

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

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

• Fight Oppression

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

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

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

• 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 of self-determination of the black community. We demand freedom for all political prisoners.

• 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 these countries against the bureaucratic ruling class.

• Revolutionary Party

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

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

International Socialist Organization

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

ISO NEWS

What's ON

AMHERST

Neil Smith on **Reaganomics**. November 3, 7:30 pm. U Mass. Amherst Student Union.

BALTIMORE

Elliot Simons, Baltimore PATCO President on **The PATCO Strike**. November 4, 7:30 pm, Levering Hall, Johns Hopkins. Cosponsored by PSU and ISO.

Allyson Smith, Nancy Langer and Kathy Ogren on **Who Will the Family Protection Act Really Protect**. November 12, 8:15 pm, Ames 325, Johns Hopkins. Call 235-4620 for details.

BOSTON

Neil Smith on **The Housing Crisis**. November 1, 7:30 pm, 595 Mass. Ave., Cambridge.

Neil Smith on **Reaganomics**. November 2, 2:30 pm, U. Mass. Boston. Call 282-6711 for details.

CHICAGO

Glenn Perusek on **The Black Panthers**. November 8, 7:30 pm.

Kent Worcester on **C.L.R. James**. November 19, 7:30 pm. Call 288-7572 for details.

CINCINNATI

Film: **Union Maids**. November 14, University of Cincinnati, 7:30 pm. Call 871-1371 for details.

HERA PRESS

RUSSIA

How the Revolution was lost



Chris Harman

\$1.00

Available from
Hera Press,
Box 18037,
Cleveland, Ohio
44118

Southern Africa after Soweto

ALEX CALLINICOS AND JOHN ROGERS



\$5.95

MALCOLM X on Afro-American History



\$2.25

MARXISM AND BLACK LIBERATION

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



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



Buttons, 50¢

"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
- Dayton, OH
- Detroit, MI
- Durham, NC
- Fort Wayne, IN
- Indianapolis, IN
- Kent, OH
- Los Angeles, CA
- New York, NY
- New Haven, CT
- Northampton, MA
- Portland, OR
- Rochester, NY
- San Francisco, CA
- Seattle, WA
- Toledo, OH
- Trenton, NJ
- Washington, DC

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

reviews

"All we want is what is fair"

In December of 1977, eight women, bank employees in Willmar, Minnesota, decided they'd had enough—enough low pay, enough of being by-passed for promotions they deserved, enough of watching men get those promotions—enough to form the Willmar Bank Employees Association and go out on strike against the First National Citizens Bank of Willmar.

They marched in picket lines in front of that bank in a small town that hadn't seen a strike in forty years. They stayed on strike for fifteen months. *The Willmar 8* is a film about their struggle.

WINTER

Set against the backdrop of a frigid Minnesota winter, *The Willmar 8* looks at the strike—the effect it had on the lives of the women who made the strike, and the effect it had on the town.

Willmar, Minnesota, with a population of just over 18,000, is a small conservative mid-western town. Women, at best, were seen as second wage earners—not as workers deserving equal pay. In the words of Citizens Bank president, Leo Pirsch, "We are not all equal."

This progressive and insightful statement was made when Pirsch was confronted by the women bank employees over an issue they had faced before. The women had been asked to train a man for a managerial position—train him, whose base pay was \$750 a month—for promotions they deserved, then sit back and be happy with their pay, which averaged \$450-550 a month.

For the women, this was the final straw. Lunch hour grumbling turned into union organizing.

They filed charges of unfair labor practice against Citizens Bank with the National Labor Relations Board and went out on strike.

Being on strike is not easy—as all trade unionists know. But striking in a small town that hadn't seen a strike in for-

**Geri
D'Anniballe
reviews,
The
Willmar 8,
A film
about the
heroic
fight of
eight women
for their rights.**

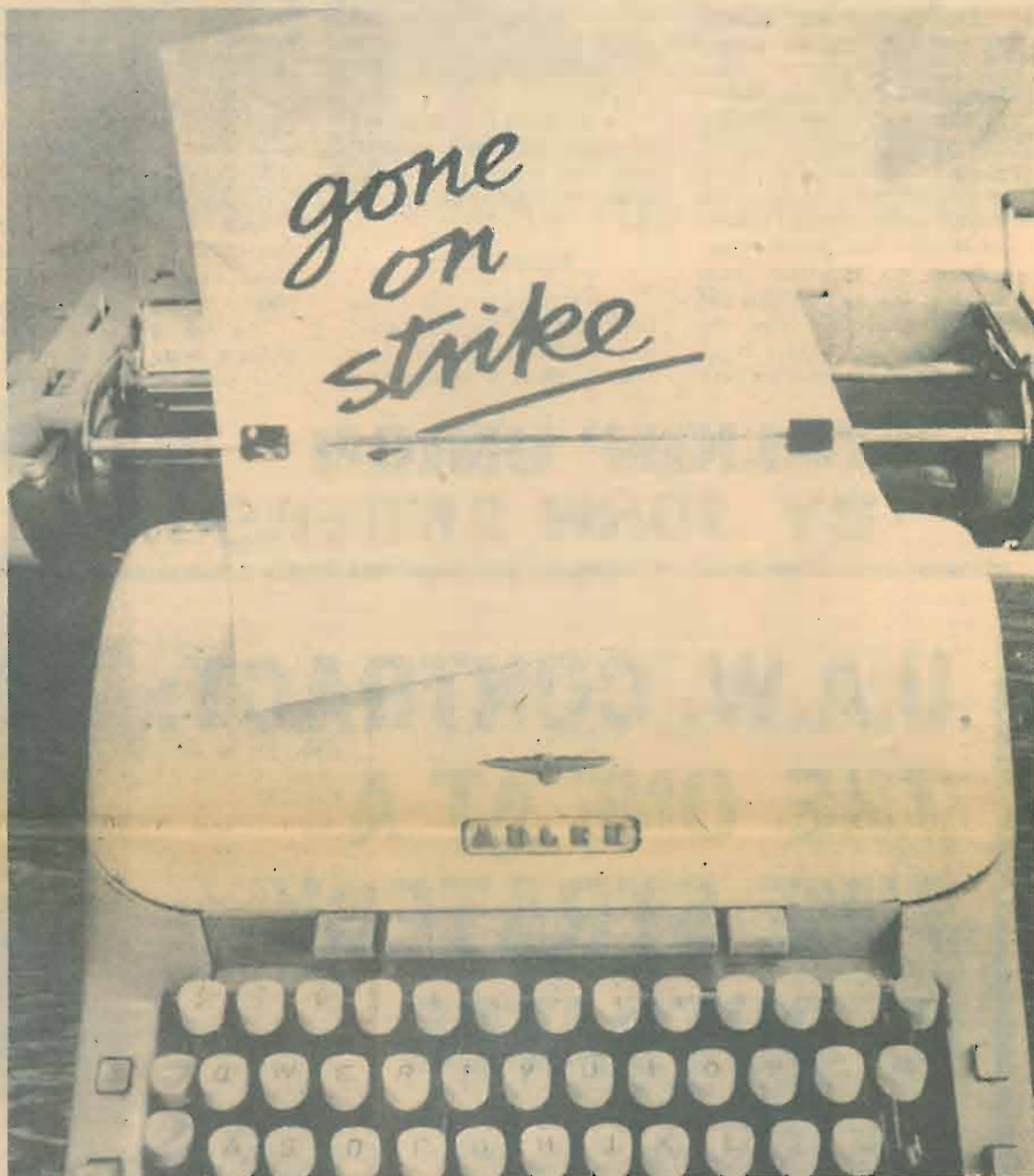
ty years, when there are only eight in the union, and all eight are women, certainly didn't stack the cards in their favor.

The Willmar 8 learned this over the long hard fifteen months of their strike. They picketed daily—all eight of them every day—in cold that the biting winds made even more unbearable.

The wind chill once reached -70 degrees fahrenheit, and they picketed in layers of clothes covered with thermal ski or snowmobile suits. They asked townspeople to picket with them, but received little response, except for the occasional picket support by the Willmar branch of the National Organization of Women.

ATTENTION

But as the strike wore on, month after month, the Willmar 8 began to receive national attention. Articles ap-



peared in the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*.

The strike was covered in several magazines, and strikers were interviewed on the Phil Donahue Show.

They also received increasing labor support. Minnesota UAW members drove up to 100 miles to hold a demonstration of support for the strikers.

Two of the women spoke at the AFL-CIO national convention. They received letters and small contributions from around the country.

While this support was encouraging, it did little to ease the material hardship the workers experienced. There was no strike fund and fund-raising money was low.

Part time jobs became mysteriously unavailable in Willmar—positions suddenly "filled" when one of the strikers called to apply. To take a full time job or a job outside Willmar would divide them—and they were all each other had.

So they gave the most money to those who were most desperate—families got by on half of what they were used to, and they carried on, waiting for the NLRB ruling.

Finally, 15 months after the strike had begun, the ruling from the NLRB came. It ruled that Citizens Bank had committed an unfair labor practice, but that it had not been cause to strike.

Citizens Bank was required to post a notice stating it would not discriminate against union members. The bank did not have to give back pay to the strikers, it did not have to give them back their jobs—the strike was lost.

The 8 women of Willmar—after a heroic 15 months struggle under the slogan "All we want is what is fair" went out to look for jobs.

Some got them, some joined the unemployed.

All eight joined a larger group—whether they realized it or not. They joined the 100

women who struck against Essex Wire in Indiana in 1978 and lost, the women of Laurel, Mississippi who lost a long and bitter strike to Sanderson Farms, the nurses in Ashtabula, Ohio who've been on strike for 15 months, and remain on strike for a first contract.

They joined a group of women who had the courage to stand up for their rights.

They were beaten, not because they were not strong, not willing to fight or not well organized, but because the system they are fighting is vicious enough to smash even the smallest union rather than grant concessions—unless it is forced to.

ORGANIZE

Women workers have shown a spirit and power to organize, the system continues to show its brutality. The film *The Willmar 8* shows both—in a clear and sympathetic portrait of women workers fighting for their rights. □

A SHORT HISTORY OF
WOMEN'S LIBERATION
BY BARBARA WINSLOW



REVOLUTIONARY
FEMINISM

\$2.00 from
Hera Press,
Box 18037,
Cleveland, Ohio
44118



on the picket line

On strike against low wages

CINCINNATI, OH—Members of IAM-WA Local 162 who were certified in December 1980, yet still have no contract, finally went out on strike against Keco Manufacturing Company.

Keco Industries, Inc., a refrigeration and heating parts supplier for the U.S. Defense Department, is notorious for low wages and poor working conditions.

The average wage is \$4.00 an hour, and all the women are paid less than the men. One woman who has worked at Keco for 13 years makes only \$3.90 an hour.

Dave Husted, a union member of the contract negotiating committee told *Socialist Worker* that the company refused to negotiate until building damages (graffiti and broken windows) were repaired by the union. Now, even though the windows have



been replaced and the graffiti removed, the company is demanding \$7,500 in damages before it will resume contract talks.

REPUTATION

This stalling tactic is consistent with Keco's union-busting reputation. They have hired Nuckols & Associates, a

"property protection" agency in an attempt to intimidate strikers and escort scabs across the picket lines.

Such tactics have been successful in ousting 3 previous unions at this Keco plant.

The strikers know they are in for a long, hard strike but they also know they are not

alone. Other union members and friends are beginning to help with picket duty and workers from a nearby factory brought firewood and encouragement to the strikers. With continued support and increased militancy, union members are determined to win this strike. □

by KATHY STEWART

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

U.A.W. CONTRACT: THE ONE AT A TIME STRATEGY IS OUTDATED

In the 1982 negotiations, the Big Three auto companies will pit plant against plant, state against state, the sunbelt against the the North, the Canadian worker against those in the U.S.

All of these will be competing against foreign subsidiaries and foreign imports. This competition will involve cars and parts. Unorganized supplier plants and those with substandard wages and benefits will be competing for the jobs of workers in the Big Three. These facts should make it obvious the old strike strategy of one-at-a-time is out-dated.

RESOLUTION

On April 6, 1975, the Independent Skilled Trades Council, UAW, adopted a resolution containing the following points:

1. The Big 3 is our major enemy. No good general liked to fight a battle with divided forces. Use of the entire UAW membership in an industry-wide strike is more likely to bring quick, decisive victory than piecemeal actions against individual auto plants and corporations using limited forces.

2. The idea that a large strike fund must be maintained to win a strike helps create back-to-work sentiments when strike benefits are exhausted, deliberately withheld or limited.

3. Some of our strongest unions do not have strike funds! The one-at-a-time concept causes demoralization.

Those who are out on strike suffer to create a "pattern" which will be received by the members who are not on strike. The so-called "pattern" as we have seen, is itself limited because the strike has been limited.

4. Only the power generated by an industry-wide strike can win our urgent demands.

5. That the UAW should abandon the strike breaking, self-defeating tactics of a one-at-a-time struggle and educate, organize and mobilize the membership for industry-wide strikes.

6. Industry is united at the top in a government which they own and control. This government co-ordinates the employers' attack against the interests of labor by passing repressive labor laws, wage freezes, depressing real wages with inflationary measures and using the military and the police to herd scabs and break strikes.

7. . . . the UAW must unite not only our membership but all of our natural allies around a struggle that goes far beyond the narrow issues of the bargaining table. We must unite the vast sections of the American people who are often apathetic and even hostile to what they consider selfish union demands. . . .

8. Strike struggles in the past have never seriously challenged the establishment. They have only resulted in minor gains which the large corpora-



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

tions ultimately recover on the political level where we have offered little opposition.

9. The UAW should adopt the general strike strategy and begin a program to educate, organize and mobilize the membership for such a policy. The UAW should initiate discussions with other unions with a view toward uniting them around the general strike policy.

BARGAIN

The 1936 UAW South Bend convention authorized the use of the general strike should the employers refuse to bargain. The nearest the UAW has come to its use was on April 24, 1947, when the International Executive Board authorized the closing of all its plants in the Detroit area at 2 p.m., an hour before quitting time. This was a violation of the Big Three contracts.

This closing of the plants brought out a mass of 250,000 workers and their families. They were protesting the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act.

If the general strike was authorized in 1936 and 1947 how much more appropriate it is to adopt this policy in 1981. Without it the 1982 negotiations will be a disaster for the labor movement. □

FIRST STEP AGAINST CUTS

BALTIMORE, MD—Meatcutters at the Esskay plant in Baltimore have taken a crucial first step in protecting workers' gains against employ takebacks.

Over the weekend of October 10, 80 members of Local 117 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union staged a wildcat strike that shut the plant down tight for two straight days.

They walked out in protest of an "agreement" that had been negotiated during the summer that had called for a wage and benefit cut of nearly \$2 per hour, a loss of an upcoming 69 cent an hour raise and forfeiting all breaks except for lunch.

PRECEDENT

The take-backs had already set a terrible precedent for how much Baltimore workers would have ripped-off from them to bail an employer out of their own alleged economic problems.

Once Esskay workers gave in, other local companies, sniffing blood, started demanding a renegotiation of contracts in recent months.

It is unclear at this point just how the situation will develop. Management is taking a hard line, threatening to fire anyone involved in future walkouts and refusing to open up talks on the cuts.

At a union meeting attended by less than half the workforce, union officials told people they would have to try to live with the terms of the agreement. The only other action coming forth from union officials was a promise to monitor Esskay's profits something that the company's board of directors is probably doing quite well already.

As a result of the walkout management has discovered that eliminating breaks is in violation of basic federal labor laws and has been forced to reinstate them; a small, but concrete victory.

Yet worker dissatisfaction still remains high. Despite company threats, already there are talks of new walkouts if a change doesn't come soon.

ACTION

Only when people demonstrate the confidence to take direct action in defense of their basic rights and living standards does the possibility of winning open up for a workers. Esskay workers have taken an important step in fighting back and already workers at Domino Sugar have followed the example by walking out themselves two days later. □

by CURTIS PRICE



PHILADELPHIA TEACHERS: "WE'RE BACK WHERE WE STARTED"

PHILADELPHIA, PA—It looked like it would be the greatest show of labor support since Solidarity Day in September.

In fact when the Philadelphia AFL-CIO called a general strike for October 28th, it looked like being the first general strike in the U.S. since the 30s. Not since 1910 had Philadelphia seen a general strike.

The same day, a general strike was planned in Poland. Over 10 million workers downed their tools for an hour, in defiance of government threats.

But in Philadelphia, just hours before a deluge of workers were to besiege City Hall, a "settlement" was reached and the strike was called off by union leaders.

HONOR

The strike was called by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) and supported by the local AFL-CIO. The teachers had been on strike since September 18th, when the board of education refused to honor their contract.

The contract had been negotiated in 1980, following a militant three week strike. It wasn't due to expire until September 1982.

But the school board broke the contract. They refused to give a scheduled 10% pay raise. And they laid off 3,500 teachers out of the 22,000 strong union. So the teachers walked.

They'd walked before—five times since 1973. And in that year too it took the threat of a general strike to make the city settle.

Although Philadelphia's teachers have always had to struggle for reasonable wages and conditions, the fight this year was sharpened due to Reagan's budget cuts.

Mayor Green, dubbed "Mayor Reagan" at a mass support rally for teachers on October 18th, decided that the teachers were the ones who had to pay for the school system's growing deficit, currently \$223 million.

But it was never just money at stake. When, on October 6th, Mayor Green told labor leaders that he would "never" permit pay raises this year, despite the agreement in the contract, it was clear that he wanted blood as well as money. He was out to bust the union.

SACRIFICE

And he was prepared to sacrifice the education of 213,000 working class kids in Philly.

With 3,500 teachers laid off, class size would have risen from an average of 33 to 36, and 53 special programs would have been cut. These would include desegregation and bilingual programs.

And as a result of Green's attack on the teachers and their union, students have lost 50 days of school. So it was as parents as well as fellow workers that members of the AFL-CIO supported the teachers' call for a general strike.



The teachers ignored one court order to return to work, but several weeks later, a second injunction was made.

The union issued a back to work order on October 27th. The second injunction ordered the board of education to rehire fired teachers, but left the pay raise open to negotiation.

From the beginning the strike was hard fought. The notorious Philadelphia police roughed up pickets and protected the scabs.

One non-striking teacher attacked pickets with a club while carrying a revolver in his bag. And School Superintendent Marcuse attempted to make the strike seem racist. The few schools that could be opened during the strike were mainly in Black neighborhoods, but had predominantly white teachers.

THREATS

But the teachers remained strong and organized. Even after threats that they would lose their jobs, no less than 94% (12,400 out of the 13,100 PFT members in public schools) of the union teachers stayed on strike.

Picket lines were militant, and support grew as the strike continued. On October 9th, with the help of 15 other unions, several thousand workers brought City Hall to a standstill.

Parents also gave support. One morning, 500 parents disrupted a City Council meeting. And students were also supportive. Said one senior: "They're ripping off the teachers. When they rip the teachers off, they're ripping us off."

On the 18th of October, at a rally of 3,500 teachers, John Murray (President of the PFT) announced the general strike. He was supported by 350 local unions covering 250,000 workers.

The day before the strike the mood was militant.

Workers were preparing to meet at 6 different locations then converge on City Hall. Among rank and file teachers, expectations were high.

Murray was exuberant, saying there was no way now that the strike could be averted. "We will close the city down," he promised.

So when, with only hours to go, he called off the strike, claiming that the court ruling was a victory, many teachers were not convinced.

Instead of marching that day in solidarity with other workers, preventing the take-backs, they were back at work with no guarantee the contract would be respected.

This is no victory for the teachers, and it's no victory

for students and parents either.

The teachers will have to fight for their scheduled 10% pay raise, and students face likelihood that Mayor "Reagan" Green will once again sacrifice them to prevent the teachers' pay raise.

As one teacher put it, on his way up the steps to school, "we're back where we started. We're still fighting for the pay raise we won last year and won't give up."

by **STEPHEN CROSS & NEIL SMITH**

"HEARTS AND MINDS NOT BUMPS AND GRINDS"

KENT, OH—The Dallas Cowboy cheerleaders made an appearance at the Kent State University homecoming on October 10.

Invited by the Alumni Association, their visit was opposed by the Kent Women's Organization (KWO).

As the cheerleaders were paraded down Main Street, the KWO passed out leaflets and carried signs saying "Hearts and Minds, not Bumps and Grinds," and "KSU—Education for men, Sexploitation for women."

The reception to the protest was mixed. The press played up the leering men, but many people supported the KWO, and the organization is now much more widely known in the area.

According to KWO member, Linda Byrnett, "we've nothing against the cheerleaders themselves as individuals. We're opposed to the university making a buck off women's bodies."



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

COUNTERATTACK AGAINST POLAND'S SOLIDARITY

The workers of Poland continue to challenge the Polish parliament, and the new prime minister, Jaruzelski.

At the end of October, 250,000 workers were on wild-cat strike—that is on strikes not only in the face of government threats, but also against the directives of Solidarity's National Commission.

The strikes show the strength of the Polish workers—and the best hope for the future. But most of the recent news from Poland has made grim reading.

Last month the Communist Party's leader, Kania, was forced to resign and Poland's number two, General Jaruzelski, was moved up to take his place.

It is the beginning of a hard-line counter attack against the workers' union, Solidarity.

ATTACK

Also last month, police attacked union members passing out leaflets in Katowice. The local Solidarity there has been involved in a month long struggle over the freedom to publish its own material.

Fifty printers have been locked out by management, and workers have been searched for copies of the union paper as they left work.

The latest incident involved tear gas used by police to disperse a crowd of several thousand and the arrest of three members, two of whom managed to escape and get into the confusion.

A similar attack was staged by police in Wroclaw. They seized leaflets, silenced the union's loudspeaker van and arrested six union members. About fifteen hundred people assembled outside the police station. Solidarity officials rushed to the scene, not to lead the demonstration, but to head off the assembled crowd and appeal for calm.

The government brought in troops to suppress street demonstrations and to scab on any transportation strike which have in the past proven

The confused and anguished response of Solidarity to the present attacks is the result of two major factors.

BY EWA BARKER

effective Solidarity weapons.

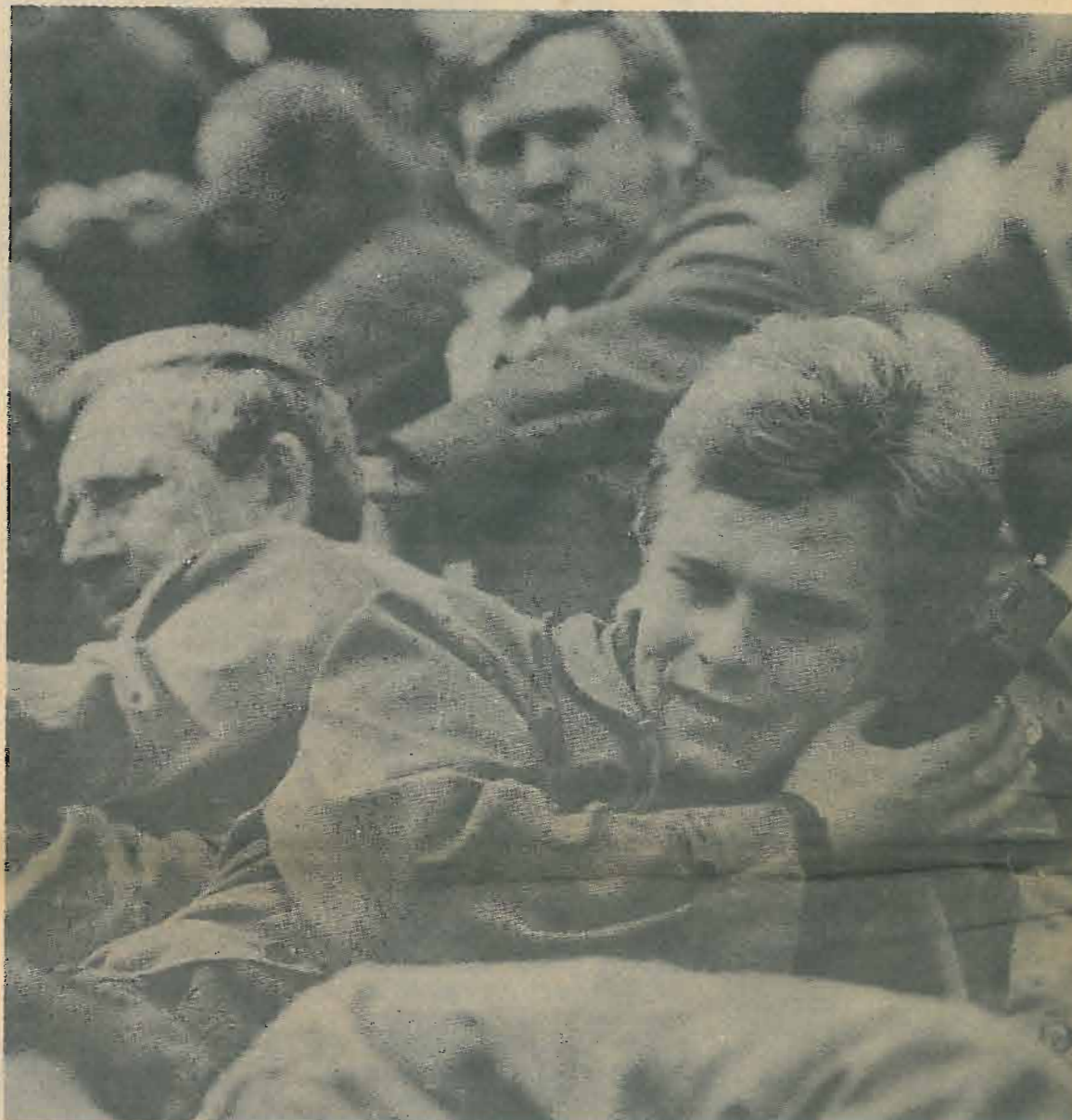
Conscription has been extended for soldiers who were about to be discharged from the army.

The response of Solidarity has so far been totally inadequate. The general strike was successful on October 28, but it only lasted one hour.

Solidarity developed the short strike as a tactic of warning the government.

As a response to deliberate attacks on activities regarded as normal for the passed eighteen months, a one hour strike looks much more like a token than a warning.

Just under a year ago, Solidarity circulated a set of in-



Gdansk, August 1980: listening to good news

structions to all its major workplaces.

They constituted a plan of action for a number of possible emergencies. It was a battle plan involving anything up to a total national occupation strike for an indefinite period, together with civil disturbances in the streets.

WITNESS

Written in the afterglow of the 1980 victories, it gave witness the workers' determination and courage.

But much has changed. The confused and anguished response of Solidarity to the present attacks is a result of two major factors.

The first is the chaos of the economic crisis and the incredible hardships that the Polish people face. Women occupying textile factories in Warsaw were weeping openly because they had no food for their children.

The crisis itself is real enough, but there is mounting evidence that the acute chaos and shortages of the last year have been provoked and intensified by deliberate government policy.

August 1980 transformed the Poles into a hopeful and stronger people. The government found the hunger, chaos and hours of waiting destroyed their hope better than anything else they could do.

The second factor which undermined their solidarity is eighteen months of reformist illusions about "national renewal" engineered by workers in concert with their state capitalist bosses.

Solidarity's leadership has thrown itself into discussions of joint management schemes and made enthusiastic speeches about creating social control over the nationalized economy.

It has also retreated on every serious threat and confrontation.

It sees its job as protecting Poland from violence and maintaining its open door to cooperation with the government.

Having placed all its hopes on a joint solution with the government, it is now fighting on a battleground not of its own choosing.

We cannot be certain of the outcome. The recent congress and the wave of strikes shows there is still a militant spirit in the provinces.

The National Commission have threatened an active strike if food supplies don't improve. In an active strike workers carry on working but take control of both production and distribution of food and coal. This should not be a threat for the future, but an immediate plan for action now.

PROVOKE

It would certainly provoke a fight, but it would be a battleground that the union is choosing on an issue that gave them universal support.

Jaruzelski has bided his time before launching his present attack, no doubt waiting till the Poles are sufficiently softened after taking a beating. Let's hope he's overplayed his hand. □

Socialist Worker

Have Socialist Worker delivered to your door every month. Just fill in the form below and enclose \$5 for a one year (12 issues) subscription, \$10 for a supporting subscription, and \$10 for an institutional subscription.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: Socialist Worker, Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118

Subscribe!