

# Socialist Worker

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NUMBER 1

APRIL, 1977

## LABOR'S BIG YEAR

# WHAT A FRAUD!

**"1977 will be the year for organized labor."**

That's what George Meany, permanent president of the AFL - CIO, recently told the assembled chieftains of the labor movement. But now, little more than one month

In early March, at the AFL - CIO's winter palace in Bal Harbor, Florida, he announced his plans for "the biggest lobbying effort in the history of the labor movement."

### He said he would win:

\*Passage of the Common Situs picketing bill—the law that would give construction workers the right to chose entire sites in disputes that involved the various building trades.

\*Increasing the minimum wage by tying it to the average industrial wage, to \$3 an hour.

\*Repeal the law that gives states the right to enact "right-to-work" laws—section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law which gives states the power to ban the closed shop.

\*New amendments that would speed up the process of union representation elections.

\*Legislation that would allow public employees the right to organize, bargain and strike.

### CARTER'S PAL?

He said all this was possible because he had a "special relationship" with Jimmy Carter. Apparently, he believed that the fact that Carter is a Democrat, plus the fact that the Democrats control two-thirds of the Congress would guarantee him success.

So much for wishful thinking. Meany has been clobbered twice.

Since March, Congress has already turned down the Common Situs bill, and Jimmy Carter has proposed a minimum wage of only \$2.50 an hour.

The only really surprising thing about this, however, is that Meany may have actually believed that Congress would come through.

Still, it's a tragedy for the country's working people.

### CONDITIONS

Consider this: four million workers are paid the minimum wage. This adds up to a yearly income of \$4784 each. That's less than the government set poverty level for the urban family of four.

Nevermind that only 70% of all workers are even covered by this law. And forget that the employers regularly side-step, or even openly defy it.

It's an appalling disgrace. Adding 20¢ an hour is only adding insult to injury.

And so is the fact that millions of public workers are not allowed the right to have unions. And the fact that construction workers have their right to strike restricted. And the fact that a campaign to win union recognition can be tied up for years.

The fact is that all these reforms are needed. They will not, however, be handed over on a silver platter, no matter how much praise Meany and his fellow labor statesmen heap on Jimmy Carter.

It takes a fight to win anything, and it always has. Anyone who has been on a single picket line knows this much. The Democrats are not more generous than the Republicans, they just say they are. The truth is that the two parties represent the same thing — business, bureaucracy and big money.

The catch in Meany's big plans is that he just doesn't like to fight. And he never has. He still brags that he's "never been on a picket line."

He prefers, he says, "stability." On his salary, who wouldn't.

# Why the CIA Wants Philip Agee

## Dead an interview with Angela Agee page 7



Who Will Organize the South?  
see center pages



Sept. 1976. Police attack striking FLOC members in Warren, Ind.

# FLOC: Fighting For Farm Workers

In the spring of every year, an invisible army of workers comes to the Midwest.

A family of five earns less than \$3,000 a year. They suffer ill health because of the conditions under which they are forced to work and live. Infant mortality is two and a half times higher than the national average. They are much more prone to anemia, diabetes, tuberculosis, and all other infectious diseases.

Few ever complete junior high school, as education is a luxury they have been unable to afford.

Who are they? They are the migrant farm workers, predominantly Mexican-Americans, who for generations have come here to work the fields. They are invisible, because until recently, they have had no way to fight back.

The UFW efforts in California are well known, but few people have heard of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in the Midwest. FLOC is a grass roots community organization

of 1400 members and an independent farm labor union based in Toledo.

It began nearly ten years ago in the northwest part of Ohio, where the tomato and pickle industry is very strong. Companies like Stokely-Van Camp, Libbys, Campbell Soup, Heinz and Vlasic dot the map with their enormous canning facilities.

Behind many of these factories are rows of one-room houses enclosed in 8-foot high chain-link fences. As many as ten people may occupy a space of 200 square feet or less. Sanitation facilities are often nonexistent.

Nearly 30,000 workers come every spring to this part of Ohio. Their labor is contracted by a crew leader who brings them up in the spring. The crew leader makes a contract with a farmer who in turn has made a contract with a cannery for so many acres of tomatoes or pickles.

The farmers are usually small and unable to do anything but accept the price dictated to them by the canning corporation. The workers are exploited by the farmer, the company, and sometimes the crew leader, but the corporation lies at the root of the problem.

Within the piecework system the workers are at the mercy of the foremen who cheat them when weighing or counting the produce "hampers"—33-pound baskets. There is no grievance procedure, so workers have no recourse but to accept what is given them.

## OCCUPY AND WIN

Farm workers are not even afforded the right to form a union. When the National Labor Relations Act was passed in 1935, agricultural workers were specifically excluded from its jurisdiction. Subsequently, farm workers, unlike other workers, could be fired for union activities.

Under the present law, agricultural workers are not workers. Last September, migrant workers at the Morgan Packing Company in Warren, Indiana proved otherwise. They threw out the bosses and occupied the factory for a week. Their demands included jobs, an end to over-recruitment, mattresses for their beds, a grievance procedure, and the removal of the ammonia smell from their camp.

They erected a barricade of cans, crates, pallets, wire and old rusty farm machinery at the only entrance to the plant, across which FLOC and the workers negotiated with federal marshalls. Despite two injunctions, the workers' demands were eventually met.

FLOC faces many obstacles. Since most of the workers live in Florida and Texas during the winter months, FLOC organizers have a limited time with the workers.

Organizers make trips south throughout the winter, but frequent changes of address make ongoing contact with the workers very difficult. Organizers also face hostile farmers who frequently run them out of the migrant camps. A federal law suit filed by FLOC, alleging the violation of the workers' constitutional right to receive visitors, will set an important precedent for "access" and for Ohio organizing.

Another organizing difficulty is the present status of undocumented workers in this country. Workers in Mexico are paid even lower wages than their brothers and sisters who are U.S. citizens. Often times they may be working for the same company, only on opposite sides of the border.

The Mexican workers, seeking a better life, come into this country "illegally". They live in constant fear of being found out and deported. Many workers are subjected to harassment and even physical abuses by immigration and law enforcement officials.

by Jean Walbridge  
H.E. Locke

**"In a factory, or in the fields, it's the same thing." - Baldemar Velasquez**

I don't see the difference between the leadership of the big unions and the patrones (owners). They sit together in the back rooms and make their little deals, preserve the status quo and smash anyone who tries to fight for anything decent. That's it. Maybe a little cost of living allowance and a little padding of this or that.

Ya' know, when I was in school we studied the history of the labor movement -- guys like Bill Haywood, Eugene Debs, the Reuther brothers in the 30's. I can remember thinking of those guys as fictional characters when compared to the

present labor leadership.

I once helped a woman who worked in a television factory. The company had an antiquated machine that would grab your hair, no safety devices or anything. The damn thing nearly killed several people. All anyone could do was file a grievance which might be settled in arbitration eight months later.

You can't gain justice in arbitration. Where is the justice if someone is killed? Whether you're in a factory or in the fields, it's the same thing. To me, a union has to be

more than something that represents you at work. It has to be a community thing, a way of life. The same patrones who own the factories and the fields also run the school board, the church, and all the other institutions. A union is a vehicle for political power as well as economic power.

There have been times when FLOC has had contracts and times when we haven't. But we've always had a community of organized people. Mechanization will eventually eliminate all farm labor. But FLOC will always be around.



Baldemar Velasquez:  
FLOC Organizer

## UPS' Believe It or Not!

When you've got to go, you've got to go! For most people, taking a leak during work hours is a normal, human function. But at United Parcel, where things are other than normal, you can get fired for such a thing.

The company calls it "stealing time" and "unauthorized breaks." Believe it or not, that's exactly why Lexington, Kentucky UPS driver David Ely was fired.

Ely, like many other UPS road drivers, was expected to last for hours bouncing up and down in his truck—bladder full of coffee—without a piss break. He filed a suit against UPS through the National Labor Relations Board and won his job back, but you can believe the company has appealed the decision.

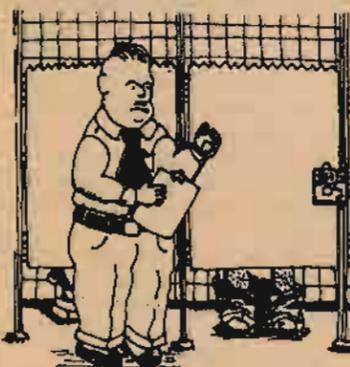
Not only will UPS fire you for supposedly "stealing" time, but in Los Angeles, they've hung up "Wanted" posters for anyone caught "stealing energy!" In the company's

campaign to conserve energy, employees are not only being blamed for wasting energy. They are being told to turn in fellow workers. Their poster reads:

**"WANTED:  
Information to the whereabouts and apprehension of any employee wasting energy. They should be considered dangerous to the future of UPS and our jobs. Contact your local energy committee or write District Energy Conservation Coordinator. REWARD: Jobs and Payrolls will continue."**

You can believe that UPS hasn't stopped washing its precious brown trucks every day, even though California is suffering one of the worst droughts in history.

Keeping those trucks shiny clean is all part of maintaining the UPS "clean cut and dependable" image. Believe it or not, drivers' personal appearance regulations are stricter than the US army: hair can extend only half-way down the



ear, not to be longer than the shirt collar, and moustaches cannot extend below the corner of the mouth. Sound old fashioned? Not at UPS, where the military look is in and regimentation is managements' technique for high production.

Not only does UPS remind you of the army, but in some cases it actually is! In Cleveland, Ohio, one of the company's top brass—Ray Srp—was a commander of the National Guard which shot four students to death at Kent State University in 1970.

Not all the tales at UPS are a joke. Industrial accidents are rising right along with the company's effort to raise production and profits.

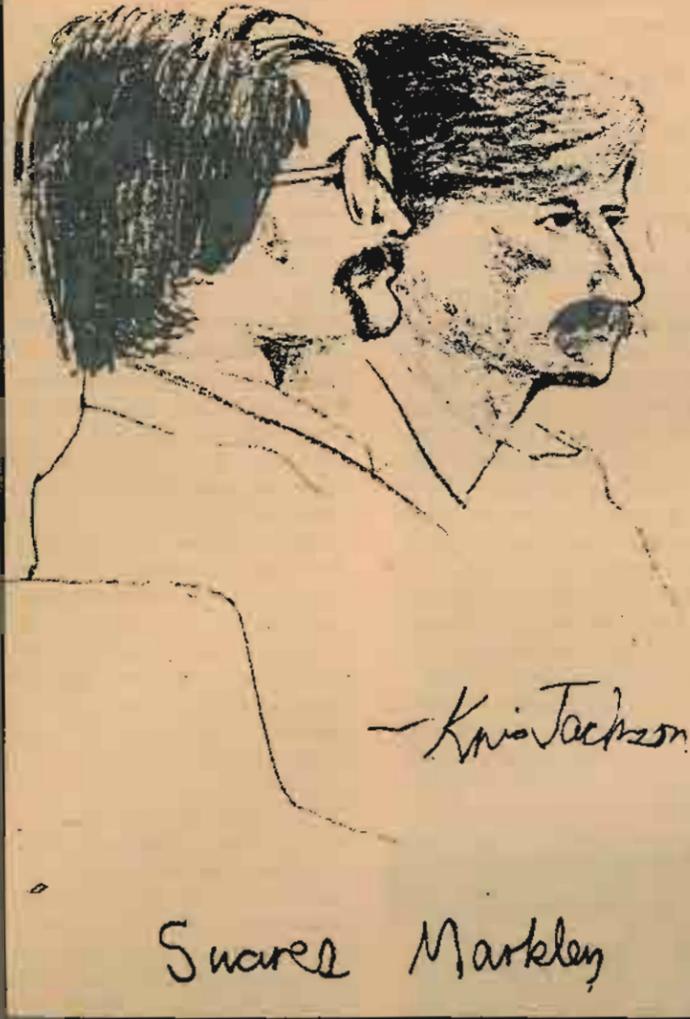
### UPS CHEATS SAFETY

In 1975, UPS was the top money maker in the trucking industry, clearing \$90 million. You'd think only the best equipment would be on the road with an outfit like this, but believe it or not, some of their trucks are over 20 years old. What's shiny on the outside is not always so hot on the inside, and employees are frequently required to drive trucks without proper heaters, broken springs on tractors are not repaired, and blow-outs on bald tires have ended in deadly accidents.

UPS cuts costs at the expense of safety. The profits of UPS go into stupidvisors stock dividends instead of buying and maintaining safe equipment. Believe it or not, that's the "free enterprise system."

by Anne Mackie

# FEDS FRAME UNION ORGANIZERS



Suarez Markley

In the fall of 1975, Alex Markley and Tony Suarez were set up by the government. The alleged crime took place in the aftermath of a strike at the Worthington Compressor plant in Holyoke, Mass.

The strikers were out for equal pay—another Worthington plant was paying higher wages for similar work.

Markley and Suarez were United Electrical Workers (UE) union organizers with the reputation of some success in organizing electrical workers in Massachusetts. They must have been getting too good.

The government stepped in. Through the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Commission (ATF) they sent an agent, Thomas O'Reilly, to encourage Markley to provide some bombs to help the strike along.

Referring to scab trucks

crossing the picket line, O'Reilly said to Markley, "I hear you have some trucks you want taken care of," and proceeded to try and get Markley to sell him some explosives, supposedly to blow up the trucks.

Nothing ever came of it. Later, when the strike was over, Agent O'Reilly approached Markley again with a story about a job in Boston requiring bombs.

What Markley is said to have eventually sold to O'Reilly were toilet paper tube "devices" with parafin on either end and a firecracker fuse. Testimony at the trial showed that detonation of these "devices" would only blow the parafin plug out without even harming the cardboard tube—not much of a weapon against tractor-trailers.

Judge Frank Friedman, in

Springfield court, dropped the first count of conspiracy, since the actions charged occurred long before the strike ended, as shown even by the government's transcripts of the recordings made by agent O'Reilly. Suarez was involved only because he was supposedly in the same car with Markley and O'Reilly at the time Markley is charged with having sold O'Reilly the "bombs."

Yet on Friday, March 19, both Markley and Suarez were found guilty on the charge of owning and transferring a destructive device; the sentence is yet to be set.

**These union organizers should be supported by every trade unionist and rank and file activist in their fight. In the government's eyes, their real crime was organizing.**

## Rats and Roaches—A Rent Strike

Seattle WA — Imagine this situation:

- You pay \$145 a month for a one-bedroom apartment that holds you and your family.
- Your utilities bill is enormous because there is no proper insulation.
- The neighbors upstairs flush their toilet and water runs down your wall.
- You flip on the light in your kitchen and the TV in the living room goes off.
- The basement reeks of gas, windows are broken, the locks on the doors are old and useless.

This is the situation at the Buckingham Apartments in Seattle's Central District. The landlord there has been negligent and has refused to make repairs. The tenants of the Buckingham Apartments have responded by going on strike—they have withheld their rent since January. Now they have organized themselves and have elected a manager their building, Joann Kellum.

### CODES NOT ENFORCED

For three years the city building inspector has made long lists of safety and health hazards, and the repairs that needed to be made to bring the building up to code.

In each report the problems are the same and it is obvious that the landlord has done nothing about them. Still, the city has done nothing. It does not enforce its own housing code.

### PICKETS

The Buckingham tenants have also picketed their building. Once the people in the

apartments next door came out and asked if the picket could be around their building too.

The tenants are getting advice and legal help from the Seattle Tenants Union. They have picketed the downtown offices of their landlords, held a community forum and have been covered by the local press and television.

In the words of Walter Smith, Jr., one of the tenants active in the strike, "These landlords don't care if you have to sit by a roach to eat or if a rat watches TV with you. The ones in poverty, those are the ones who make it possible for them to live in the suburbs."

Charles Cook said, "When we thought we were taking on three people, we didn't know what was happening. Then we thought it was six people. Then we found out it was a whole corporation."

### ENEMY WEARS MANY HATS

The tenants have plans to do more picketing of the owners and are meeting regularly to decide what to do next. They have a big fight. They are faced with a severe housing shortage.

In fact it is this shortage which is causing people to start doing something about their living conditions—rather than simply moving to a new place. If there is anyplace better to live in their community, it is either too expensive, or already taken.

They are also fighting a large corporation as well as the state which has acted to cover up the whole affair. One of the fears of the tenants is that when the case comes to court, the judge may be the landlord.

## Nursing Homes: Rotten Conditions for All

By Ben Blake

"There is nothing happening here; nothing to report; only a small minority are on the picket lines; standard operating procedure. We have patients to care for, and we can't—we will not—let the union stand in our way."

This is how an executive of Medical Services, owners of the West Side Nursing Home in Gary, Indiana, characterized the strike of Local 1460 of the Retail Clerks Union.

In reality, the "small minority" of strikers is well over half the workforce. The picket line is a solid line every day, with about 25 of the 130 workers crossing the lines.

The nursing home's "standard operating procedure" referred to by the executive, who was flown in from Baltimore to deal with the situation, is chaos. Hallways are crowded with patients. One visitor found that a relative hadn't been dressed by 3:00 in the afternoon.

The management is forcing the working employees to double up and perform jobs like the area and crafts director doing patient care.

### SAFETY HAZARDS

Two weeks before the strike, state inspectors found 25 health and safety violations at the nursing home, including overcrowding and an inadequate fire alarm system. The inspectors threatened to close the home down in two weeks if corrections aren't made.

The nurses are treated even worse. They receive no insurance, no pension, no paid sick leaves and only selected leaves of absence - in short, virtually no benefits at all.

The average wage is below \$3 an hour. One worker with more than 8 years seniority is paid \$2.75 an hour. Many receive the minimum wage of \$2.20 an hour.

### THE FIGHT BACK

The fightback against these conditions started last year. In August, the union won an election to represent the nurses by a 62-51 margin. Negotiations began and management conceded little and didn't budge after December. In the middle of March, the management refused outright to negotiate, forcing a strike.

To top it off, they have threatened to fire all the strikers. As a result, the union has filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board.

With management taking a union-busting stance and some of the employees continuing to work, the fight for union recognition and better wages and working conditions may be long and bitter, but the strikers are determined to win a better life.



# "We Will Not Starve!"

by Ahmed Shawki

On January 18th and 19th, Egyptian workers showed their tremendous capacity and will to fight. They made it absolutely clear that they would not pay for the country's economic crisis. The massive demonstrations and uprisings held over those two days, forced the government to cancel its announced price increases.

## BEHIND THE UPRISING

Egypt has a huge trade debt of \$16 billion. Near subsistence is part of every working family's life. The amount of food grown per Egyptian has severely declined. Population keeps increasing, and malnutrition is widespread.

President Sadat's "Infitah" ("open door policy")—an attempt to make Egypt an attractive investment spot for multinational corporations by supplying cheap labor and high profits—has failed miserably.

In an attempt to stabilize the economy, and as a precondition

for a loan, the International Monetary Fund ordered Sadat to hike prices. The price of butane, an essential product for thousands of Egyptian households was to be raised by 46%; gasoline by 31%; cigarettes by 12%; and rice and sugar by 16% and 3.3% respectively.

## WORKERS RESPOND

Sadat's attempt to further bleed workers and peasants was met with an immediate and well co-ordinated response. Workers and peasants all over the country showed their opposition to the price increases and to the regime.

In Shubra el-Kheima, an industrial area north of Cairo, workers staged a sit-in strike halting all production. In Alexandria, Egypt's major port, six thousand longshoremen led the storming and burning of government offices.

In Helwan, an industrial district 20 miles south of the capital, protests were led by the

steel and armaments workers who marched from Helwan to Cairo.

Nightclubs, boutiques and cars—all signs of wealth in Egypt—were targeted by the demonstrators. Government buildings and newspapers were guarded by tanks. Sadat's house was also guarded by a tank and soldiers with orders to shoot to kill.

## GOVERNMENT RESISTED

Outside the People's Assembly (congress), demonstrators shouted down the Speaker of the Assembly who had come to address them. Referring to government officials, they chanted: "You are the thieves."

In "Liberation" Square—the main square in downtown Cairo—a huge picture of President Sadat was stoned and eventually torn down. The demonstrators chanted: "Down with Sadat—Nasser, Nasser." To smash the uprisings, Sadat

had to call on specially trained crack troops.

## BUREAUCRATIC RULE

The crowds chanted for Nasser. Gamal Abdel Nasser—Egypt's ruler from 1952 until his death in 1970—called his reforms and nationalizations of industry, "socialism." In fact, socialism never existed in Egypt. Workers never took power or controlled society.

At the same time Nasser claimed to have achieved socialism, strikes were outlawed and any opposition to the regime was savagely put down. The prisons were crammed with socialists and communists. Egypt today not only represents world capitalism in crisis, but also the failures of Nasser's brand of "socialism"—the blind alley of state capitalism.

Sadat's regime has descended on any opposition, and repression has been stepped up. Since the events in January, four to five thousand have been

arrested.

Sadat has called the riots "counter-revolution" and has blamed them on "foreign agitators" and "communists." He has claimed that 99% of the Egyptian voters approved a decree ordering life imprisonment for strikers. Egyptian papers have carried headlines claiming that "the rioters have confessed" to their crimes.

No one is fooled by Sadat and his regime's gymnastics. In deed, Kamadeddine Hussein vice president under Nasser was expelled from the Assembly three days after he stated that the vote would be fixed and that the blame for the uprisings lay not on "communists" or "outside agitators" but on the governments' "irrational policies."

Sadat's regime is barely surviving. Despite the massive wave of repression and imprisonments, opposition to the regime is still being shown. On February 12, over 12,000 students from the University of Cairo defied the new laws. Workers self-confidence must surely have been boosted by their recent victory.

Moreover, none of the problems that led to the confrontations with the government have been resolved. Although both President Carter and the Saudi Arabian government have promised more financial backing, these sums are nowhere near what Sadat needs. As Egypt slips more and more out of his hands, the possibilities of the army attempting a coup to even more brutally deal with the uprisings are clearly in the cards.

## LEADERSHIP NEEDED

Sadat's "open door policy" is rapidly slamming in his face. Only the Egyptian working class can present the alternative to the army and the decaying system itself. Yet at this point, there is no mass revolutionary party capable of leading that working class to take power.

The task now facing Egyptian workers is to organize and build such a party. In the past few months, they have not only shown their industrial muscle and their ability to confront the regime squarely, but have made it clear that they are the force that can smash Egyptian capitalism. Whether the army attempts a coup or not, we can expect massive struggles ahead.

## Southern Africa - U.S.A.

# Their Struggle is Our Struggle

### CLEVELAND

Cleveland, Oh— "It's hard to get our people to come out and demonstrate for freedom these days. Some say they're too busy, some say they're too educated, some say they're too religious. But unless we fight against this system of imperialism and capitalism, none of us will be free," Rufus Sims told sixty demonstrators at Cleveland's Public Square on Saturday, March 15th.

The demonstration was called by the Cleveland Coalition Against Racism and Oppression to commemorate the 1960 deaths of 69 unarmed protestors at the hands of South African police in Sharpesville.

The massacre set of a spark of outrage and protest among South African blacks. Major strikes and demonstrations were staged in response to the killings. The ruthless oppression of peaceful protest was able to beat the movement for a time, and eventually forced South African blacks to begin to wage guerilla war against the white regime.

This past spring in Soweto, large numbers of black youths again rose up in revolt. The theme of the Cleveland demonstration was "From Sharpesville to Soweto, from Montgomery to Cleveland — the Struggle Continues," and was called not only to commemorate these deaths, but to illustrate that the germ of the South African regime — racism — must be fought vigorously in this country as well.

### NEW HAVEN

New Haven, Ct—As the situation in South Africa be-

comes explosive, business and government leaders are becoming nervous.

Heads of American corporations with interests in South Africa and white South African leaders met at Yale University on March 16th for a conference co-sponsored by the University and the League of Women Voters. They understatedly called the conference, "The South African Tinderbox." A look at the conference shows that they are increasingly afraid that the tinderbox is exploding in their faces.

Allegedly they proposed to discuss "how Americans can exert their influence to help South Africa resolve their differences peacefully." What they really mean is, how can they calm things down enough so they can keep making profits at the expense of black South African workers. As one businessman put it, wage raises for blacks would mean a 14% loss of profits.

The information sheet at the conference described the businessman's South Africa: a beautiful country, rich in natural resources and "a vast supply of black and brown labor." Their so called "black and brown labor" are families who are torn apart, women and children who die of malnutrition in the bantustans, people who can't live on below poverty wages and under extreme, violent repression.

The South African Solidarity Committee of New Haven leafletted outside the blatantly white imperialist conference, protesting against white leaders who deliberately ignored their role as the real perpetrators of injustice in South Africa.

### PROVIDENCE

Providence, RI — "Stop The Kruggerand, US Out of South Africa" was one of the slogans chanted by 70 demonstrators outside of the Rhode Island Hospital Trust National

Bank in downtown Providence on Monday, March 21. The demonstration was called by the Southern Africa Solidarity Committee to protest the bank's selling of South African gold coins—Kruggerands.

Rhode Island Hospital Trust is the main seller of the Kruggerand in Rhode Island. These coins, which are sold as gifts and investments, have been described in one advertisement as "an ounce of love." In fact, they represent the oppression of blacks in South Africa. The gold for these coins is through the brutal exploitation of black miners. Miners who work in extremely dangerous conditions are paid as little as 54¢ an hour. In South Africa, strikes by black workers are illegal, and their unions go unrecognized by employer or state.

The selling of the Kruggerand is a means of financial support for the South African regime. It must be stopped.



# The International Socialist Organization

With this, the first issue of **Socialist Worker**, we announce the formation of the International Socialist Organization — the ISO.

We are a new organization, less than a month old. And we are small. But we are more than confident that we can be successful.

A revolutionary socialist organization is not only possible to build in the United States today, but it is a necessity. Every day it is clearer that the economic crisis which is developing here is just the beginning of a prolonged period of stagnation and decline. Already this crisis is responsible for an attack on the wages and living standards of the American working class, for massive cuts in the social services, and for doubling the suffering of the millions of poor people in this country.

The social and political crisis which exploded the the 1960's also continues to fester. There is no equality for black people. There is no liberation for women. Watergate has been followed by one scandal after another. And American imperialism, having recovered from the defeat in Vietnam, is at work in almost every country — from Chile to Southern Africa.

We are committed to fighting back, on all these fronts, and in every way that we can.

We begin with the traditions of international socialism, as developed in this country and by revolutionaries internationally. This means that we stand for international socialism — for complete workers' democracy, the direct control and management of society by

the working class. We believe that only the working class can achieve socialism, and that socialism cannot succeed in one country. It must be spread to every country.

Therefore, we are opposed to the "social democracies" of Europe — the welfare states. And we are opposed to the bureaucratic class societies of Eastern Europe and Russia.

We also believe that the key to socialist revolution, both in the United States and in every country, is the building of genuine revolutionary socialist workers' parties, parties that represent the actual organized leadership of the entire working class.

We are still a very long way from having such a party, but we must begin now. The road ahead of us will be long and uncharted. Still, the alternative is worse, for if there is no resistance, if we do not fight back, we face a future of nothing but more exploitation, more oppressions, more war.

The biggest problem for revolutionaries in the U.S today is isolation — isolation from the traditions and struggles of the working class. We still carry the legacy of Joseph McCarthy, the anti-communism that drove socialists out of the labor movement for a period of almost twenty five years.

### OVERCOME

More than anything else socialists today must overcome this isolation. They must be willing to involve themselves in the day to day struggles of the workers, and they must be prepared to learn from these —

wherever and at whatever level they take place.

There is a fantastic history of struggle here in the United States. The centuries long resistance to slavery and the years of struggle for equality and liberation. The women's movements. The working class movement — the fight for the basic rights of workers. A job. Better working conditions. Trade Unions.

The task of socialists today is once again to make the connections between this history, the politics of revolutionary socialism, and the actual issues of the day. There is now the first stirrings of a rank and file movement. There is the feminist movement and the black movement, as well as all the movements of the oppressed.

Revolutionary socialists must turn to all these and begin developing a socialist current in the working class here in America, and at the same time building a revolutionary organization.

Our tasks will be difficult. But we are young, we are black and white, we include men and women, workers and students. And the times are changing. Anyone who believes that the struggle is hopeless, that the obstacles are insurmountable, needs only to look to the courage and determination of the school children of Soweto. It can be done.

So join us. We have a world to win.

## Fraternal Greetings

### Socialist Worker

Warmest fraternal greetings to the International

Socialist Organization and its newspaper from the Socialist Workers Party in Britain and its paper the

**Socialist Worker**. We wish you the very best in your

struggle to build a real working class socialist paper in

America, the very heart of the beast that enslaves us

all.

Corbridge Works  
Corbridge Crescent London E2  
Telephone Editorial 01-739 9043 Business 01-739 2639

### Workers' Action

Greetings to **Socialist Worker** and the International

Socialist Organization from **Workers' Action** and the

International Socialists of Canada. Together we can

build a real international fight against the corporations

that oppress workers in both Canada and the United

States.

Box 339, Station E, Toronto.

## Nigel Harris to Speak on "World Crisis"

Nigel Harris, a Marxist authority on the struggles for national self-determination and workers' power in the third world, will be visiting the US and Canada this month. He will speak for ISO branches, and for the Canadian International Socialists in Toronto.

Harris will speak on "The World Crisis." He will discuss the world economic crisis and the working class response, in particular the effect of the crisis on the nations of Africa and southern Asia.

Since the 1960's, the economic crisis, which is just now hitting Europe and North America, has had a catastrophic impact on the countries of the third world. In Bangla Desh and the Sub-Sahara, it has led to famine and mass starvation. In Indonesia, India, Ethiopia and Chile, it has resulted in repression and dictatorship.

At the same time, however, the economic crisis has led to a working class revolt and the strengthening of working class

consciousness. Harris will discuss these developments in detail, as it effects such countries as Thailand, Bangla Desh, Zimbabwe, South Africa and China.

Harris will also discuss the meaning of these developments for revolutionary socialists in US, Canada and Europe.

Nigel Harris has travelled extensively in most countries in Asia, including China. He has lived in Japan and India. He is a member of the Socialist Workers Party of Britain (formerly

the International Socialists). He is a past editor of the **International Socialism Journal**, and has written several books including: **India-China—Underdevelopment and Revolution** (1974); **Beliefs In Society** (1972); **The Struggle For Bangla Desh** (pamphlet, 1971). He is currently writing a book on China.

Harris will speak in the following places. For more information, contact your local ISO.



Nigel Harris

Providence, RI April 15  
Boston, MA April 15  
Amherst, MA April 16

Cleveland, OH April 17  
Toronto, ON April 18  
Cincinnati, OH April 19

Dayton, OH April 19  
Bloomington, IN April 20  
Chicago, IL April 21

Portland, OR April 22  
Seattle, WA April 23  
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By BARBARA WINSLOW

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# Teamster Rebels Expelled

Pete Camarata and Al Ferdnace, two leading rank and file militants in Detroit Local 299 are expelled from the Teamsters Union. That was the verdict given in a letter dated March 25 after a hearing on March 4. The two were then charged with "conduct unbecoming to a union member." The expulsion takes effect April 1.

The charges stem from a wildcat strike by Flint, Detroit and Cincinnati car haulers last August.

The union had pushed through a contract, despite the fact that the membership had voted it down. Al Ferdnace was one of the leaders of the wildcat; in his words he helped to "orchestrate and conduct the strike."

## BLACKLISTED

Bob Lins, President of Local 299, claims the Detroit men had agreed to go back to work after being out for three days when Camarata showed up on the picket line and convinced them to stay out—although they still went back that evening. Seven months later, 52 car haulers are

still looking for work and some have been blacklisted from getting jobs in Detroit.

Camarata is a shop steward at an eastside terminal and was the only rank and file delegate at the 1976 IBT national convention in Las Vegas. He spoke against pay raises for union bureaucrats and about the lack of democracy in the union.

The expulsion means that Ferdnace and Camarata can attend no union meetings, can pay no dues, and Camarata can no longer be a shop steward. Neither can run for union office.

## POLITICAL EXPULSION

"It's a political expulsion, that's clear", Camarata said. "The latest government figures say that \$400 million is missing from the pension fund. And yet Frank Fitzsimmons is a member in good standing. Dickie Fitzsimmons is indicted for embezzlement and his conduct is still becoming to a union member. They're afraid of what we're doing in Local 299."

By getting rid of Ferdnace and Camarata, the Local 299



officials are trying to get rid of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). Detroit is the strongest chapter of TDU and there is a local by-laws reform campaign underway that is

gathering support. Rank and file action is the real issue in the expulsions. Rank and file action is the best defense for Camarata and Ferdnace.

by Patricia Gilman

## COKE STRIKE:

# It's the real thing

On March 23, 1976, Vaughn Rice, owner of the Bloomington, Indiana, Coca-Cola Company, locked out 23 Teamster workers for what he called "economic reasons." He was demanding that the outside help take what amounted to a 25% wage cut for the next three years.

The union, Teamster local #135, offered to accept a 12% wage cut for the outside help, but management refused.

While negotiations were still in progress, management locked out the union workers and hired scabs to fill their vacancies. When this happened (last July) the union withdrew all their offers and negotiations ended.

## Locked Out

Since the lockout occurred, it's been a toss-up as to which side the union leaders are on—the workers' side, or management's. The workers were locked out a month before the Union gave them the nod to go on strike.

The area mouthpiece for local #135's President Robbins, Business Agent "Big" Bill Martin, (better known as "Fats"), has gained a reputation as a loud-mouth and a do-nothing, whose advice usually turns out bad.

Big Bill had told the strikers not to have anything to do with the student groups offering support from nearby Indiana University. But by November,

the strikers had had enough of their B.A.'s B.S. and accepted the students' help.

Students began by holding support rallies every Friday night at the picket line. Within a few weeks they held a support rally of 150 people including a representative of the local labor council.

They launched a Coca-Cola boycott on campus. They pressured the Student Council to endorse it, and one dorm, in a referendum, voted the Coke machines out. Plans are to get other dorms to follow.

"It seemed like nobody cared one way or another until you

students came along," said one of the strikers. In addition to the boycott, students began publicizing the strike to the larger community.

## The Hard Way

The Coke strikers have had to learn their lessons the hard way, since at every step of their fight they have been confronted by evasions, lies, half-truths, bureaucratic red-tape and frame-ups.

Not only is there a question of whose side the union officials are on, the strikers have to deal with hostility from the news

media, the university administration, the courts and the National Labor Relations Board.

As Vaughn Rice sits back and rakes in bigger profits than ever on his scab labor, 21 workers with an average of 16 years seniority are entering their 11th month on strike. The economic burden on these people and their families is tremendous, but they are determined to see this strike through. Please send all contributions to Bloomington Boycott Committee, 900 N. Smith Road, Box 38X, Bloomington, Indiana.



## NO COMMENT

### Butter Mountain

● Butter being sold to British families at 95 cents to \$1.29 a pound is now being sold to Russian families at 39 cents a pound. According to Forbes magazine, "some 245,000 tons of unwanted butter is in the freezers of the common market." Storage cost is now running \$111,000 a day for the "butter mountain" and the officials approved a 75,000 ton sale to the USSR at bargain prices. Unwanted butter?

### Only \$168,834,615

● From the desk of the New York Times:

"An appraisal filed in court here today contended that Howard R. Hughes, who was almost invariably identified as Howard R. Hughes, the billionaire, was worth only \$168,834,615 when he died last April 5."

### Allis-Chalmers

● Over 2,000 gathered outside the Allis-Chalmers plant in Independence, Mo., in response to the announcement of 28 openings. Many spent the night in sleeping bags and blankets to be sure of getting a place near the head of the line.

### Gone

● In the early 1970's, General Foods opened a plant designed to be run with a minimum of supervision. Workers would make job assignments, hire new employees. Now the program is gone. "The problem has not been that the workers could not manage their own affairs. Some management saw their positions threatened because the workers performed almost too well. Personnel managers were objecting because workers made hiring decisions."

### Price Fixing

● David M. Roderick, president of U.S. Steel, gave an interesting insight into the "free enterprise" system. "If you start whittling away at prices, you aren't going to be in business very long. Besides, cutting prices doesn't create demand." The only way out of this terrible dilemma seems to be for all the steel companies to increase prices together—price fixing.

# There's More Than One "Wild Man" In This World

By Michael Long

Uganda is now in the news almost everyday, and Idi Amin has become the favorite tyrant of the American press.

*Time Magazine* called him "the wild man of Africa" and did a feature of racist diatribes and caricatures. Why all the special attention? The answer is easy enough.

A good horror story from Uganda is a great way to cover up the atrocities of the white rulers in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Or the slaughter of the students in Soweto.

## RACIST

It is also a calculated attempt to discredit the struggle for black power and national liberation in southern Africa. It is racist to the core.

Amin has been president of Uganda since 1971, when he overthrew the mildly left-wing Milton Obote in a military coup—and became a hero in CIA circles. He is in fact a petty tyrant, who will stop at nothing to maintain his power. He is known for murder, torture, you name it.

However, is he more brutal than Ian Smith of Rhodesia? Or Vorster in South Africa? Hardly. These white-ruled regimes are among the most murderous that the world has known. And they are backed by American military—and business.

They are also the focal point for the struggle for liberation today. In Zimbabwe, the guerrilla war has numbered the days of white rule.

## UPRISINGS

In South Africa, the uprisings in the working class centers of Soweto and the shanty towns of Capetown have involved hundreds of thousands of black South Africans.

So why not some nice *Time Magazine* articles on "Vorster—the Nazi of South Africa," or "Ian Smith—Africa's Number One Racist"? Obviously, it's a racist double standard.

The same is true of the whole "human rights campaign" farce. It's a political ploy to convince people that blacks are not fit to rule and to defend the outposts of US imperialism.

This hypocrisy is not limited to Southern Africa. Nor to Russia and Eastern Europe, where everyone knows there is no freedom.

Here are some examples:

**\*SPAIN**—The US supported the fascist dictatorship in Spain with money and arms, beginning with the victory of the fascist Franco in 1939. The Spanish regime is responsible for murdering thousands of political oppositionists, and only very recently, under mass pressure, have any political rights existed.

**\*PHILIPPINES**—Martial law has existed in this country for years now. It allows completely arbitrary action by the government. The President, Marcos, is

backed and supported by the US, which also has many military bases in the Philippines.

**\*CHILE**—The US government, through the CIA and IT&T, financed the opponents of former President Allende. In 1973, his

government was overthrown by the right-wing military, also with US support. This resulted in the immediate deaths of 40,000 to 50,000 trade unionists and socialists, and the imprisonment of countless others,

who face unspeakable tortures. There are no political rights in Chile today. Trade unions are not allowed. However, the US is a major backer of Chile's ruler, General Pinochet.

**\*IRAN**—This is one of the US government's best friends in the Middle East, along with Israel. Iran is best known for extreme anti-communism, as well as its total repression of individual freedom and political rights. It is also one of the best armed countries in the world, despite the fact that most of its people live in terrible poverty. These arms are provided by the

US. The Iranian secret police (SAVAK) is allowed to function in this country (the US) to identify and mark for punishment Iranian students who oppose the regime.

The point is that there's more than one "wild man" in this world. There are many, and they are necessary, at least as long as capitalism and US imperialism exist. Sure, Idi Amin will have to be overthrown. But remember, it does no good to go after the pushers on the street if you don't go after their bosses.

**in black and white**

By Angela Agee

## Why My Husband Is Being Deported

Just over four years ago we first came to Britain. Phil started working on his book. He was doing exactly the same sorts of things then as he is doing now. But now, four years later, there is a Labour Government. When he came there was a Tory Government. So why is Philip being deported? Why by a Labor Government? The answer is because his work is effective. Because he is talking to people and because people are listening to what he has to say. Because now other journalists are doing exactly the same kind of investigations.

In the last four years people have come to know much, much more about the CIA. And that is why he is being deported—because he is effective. We are very, very happy that if Philip has to go there will be plenty of other people carrying on the work here as in other countries. The work against the CIA is not going to stop.

Why is that work against the CIA so important? For many people it's not quite clear. I want to talk about my country Brazil and what the CIA did there. Perhaps that will help to explain.

### CIA IN BRAZIL

I started university in 1968 just four years after the coup in Brazil. The coup took place because the multinationals needed this coup, because inflation was much too high, because we had a very weak labor government, because the workers were united. They were fighting for more demands, better pay. The multinationals and the Brazilian capitalists couldn't stand it any longer.

The workers were led by very peaceful people. They were led to believe that a peaceful way to socialism was at hand. They had been fighting for twenty years to get more bit by bit and they were not prepared when the coup came. Just before the coup, the CIA



set up its front organization in Brazil. It was a carbon copy of the National Association for Freedom recently set up in Britain. It was an organization which ranged from a scab union into parliament and the government bureaucracy. It played on the fears of the middle classes, their anxiety over inflation, their fear of communism.

### THE COUP

When the military took power the leaders of the working class

had to flee to other countries, go into hiding or face jail. Since then the situation in Brazil has continually worsened. Real wages are now just 60 per cent of what they were in 1964. Brazil has the worst accident at work rate anywhere. There is so much unemployment that the multinationals can keep wages very, very low.

Ordinary people just cannot provide for themselves anymore. Labor is cheap. The employers know that if a worker dies they can always get another. And this is the land

where so much American capital is invested so profitably.

To stop the people from bursting through the terrible poverty and bringing down the government, there is a very sophisticated sort of apparatus of repression. People who organize any kind of change know that they face jail, torture and the rest.

When I was arrested in Brazil I saw all this at first hand. A dear friend of mine was killed and I know of many others who were killed.

The situation now for us is very, very difficult. We don't have many people working for us. We have made many, many mistakes. We thought the struggle was going to be easier than it turned out to be. And we are still paying for the mistakes we made.

### IT'S NECESSARY

Phillip will tell you how he worked in Latin America to establish this kind of dictatorship. He'll tell you that it's not that the CIA wants this kind of dictatorship out of some sort of sadism. It's because this is the best way to extract profits. They'd much rather not have it because it's so unpopular. But they need to have it, it's structurally necessary. And so is the CIA.

You cannot simply transpose realities. But you can learn from what has happened in Brazil and other places. In Brazil they worked by red-baiting, by separating the workers one from the other into camps called moderate and left wing. They worked through all sorts of front organizations to spread propaganda and confuse public opinion. I just hope that our mistakes in Brazil will help our brothers and sisters elsewhere. Because times are going to get harder and harder. But it is not impossible to win, as Vietnam and Angola. They are not all-powerful.

# Organize the South

The Meany plan for labor in 1977 includes a proposal to organize the South.

This is part of the reason he is campaigning for the repeal of Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartly Bill - the section that allows states to enact "right to work" laws.

Some 20 states, mostly in the South, have enacted "right to work" laws.

The growing industrialization in the South, the increasing numbers of industries that have moved south, or will move in the near future, is also behind the plan.

Meany, and the AFL-CIO leadership, also hope that they can boost union membership with the drive - and perhaps their sagging images as well.

For decades the South has

been economically poor and politically conservative, in relation to the North. This is still true today.

While per capita incomes are rising, they are still only 90% of the national average.

The southern worker earns on the average \$3.60 an hour. The northern worker \$4.40. The average per capita income in Mississippi is \$1645 below the national average.

These statistics, and the poverty that they represent, are tied to the fact that there is no tradition of strong unions in the South.

The last big drive to organize southern workers, the CIO drive in the 30's, was abandoned when World War II began. That was the CIO's gesture of patriotism.

In the 50's and 60's, in the midst of the post war economic

boom, the AFL-CIO all gave up organizing activities.

The one exception to this was the result not of the labor movement, but of the civil rights movement. The fight for civil rights is part and parcel of the struggle for human rights so there were sporadic attempts to organize black workers.

The workers organized were primarily public workers: sanitation workers, teachers

**J. P. STEVENS**

## The First Big Target

The textile industry dominates the southern economy. Today, one worker in every five is employed in textiles.

The JP Stevens Corporation is a giant of the textile manufacturers, second in size only to the Burlington Mills.

Now, Stevens is the target of the major union organizing drive in the South.

JP Stevens stands for unbridled exploitation. Last year the company boasted record sales: \$1.4 billion. Its profits exceeded \$41 million.

Needless to say, this company, and its executives, dominate the social and political life of big chunks of the South—in particular, the Carolinas.

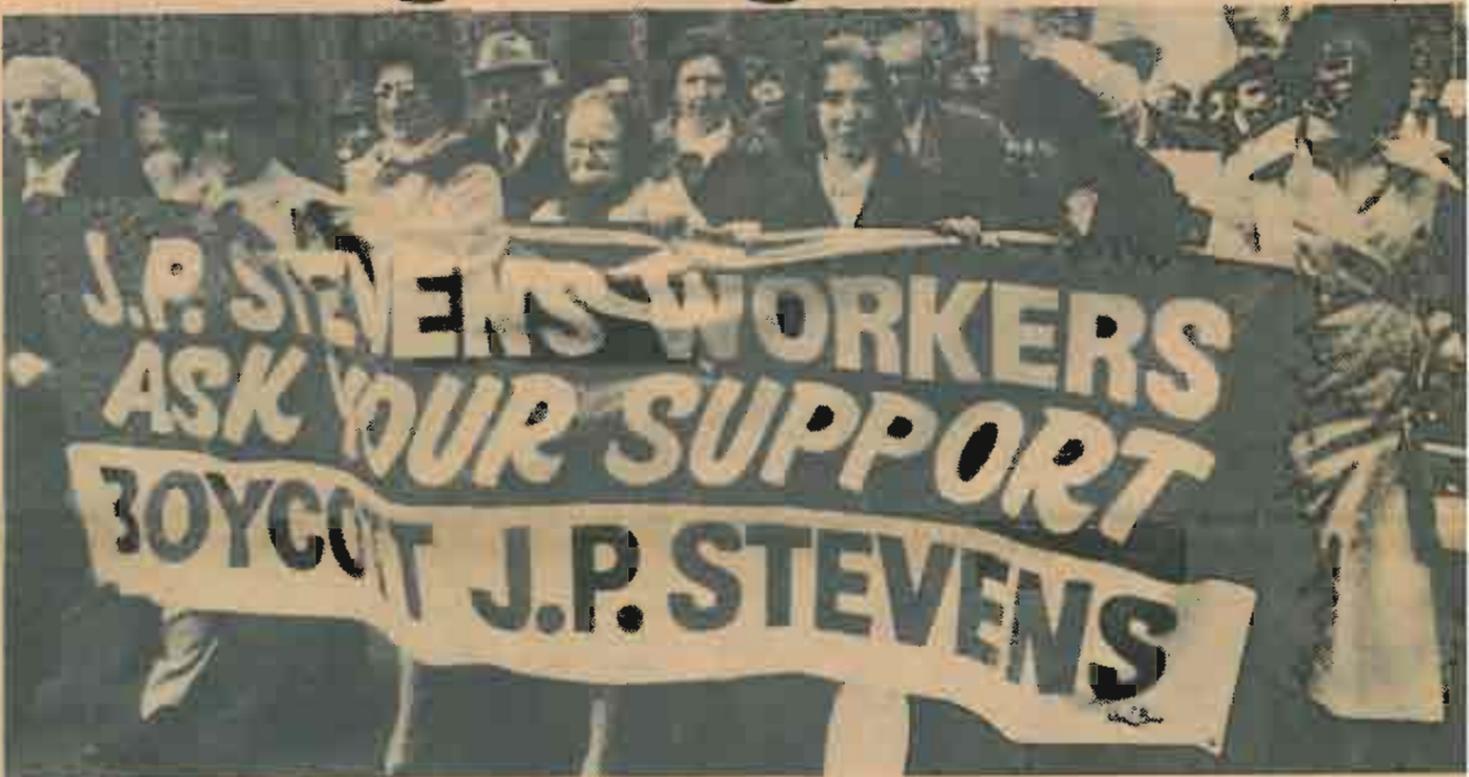
James D. Finlay, the Chairman of the corporation's board, received \$378,305 in salary and incentive commission last year.

The people who work for Finlay earn less. They average \$3.64 an hour, the lowest wage in the manufacturing industry.

Stevens' executives retire with a pension of \$75,000. An hourly employee of the company may receive as little as \$10 a month.

Stevens also thrives on racism. Black workers comprise 20% of the work force. Yet they hold just 3% of the white collar jobs. While blacks represent 23% of the blue collar workforce, they have only 7% of the skilled jobs.

Stevens sets the pattern for discrimination against women. 97% of all the company's



J.P. Stevens strikers called a boycott of these labels — Towels: Fine Arts, Taste Maker, Utica; Blankets: Forst Mann, Utica; Sheets and pillow cases: Beauti-Blend, Utica and Mohawk, Fine Arts.

women are in semi-skilled and unskilled categories.

### LAWBREAKER

JP Stevens has been cited by the courts on a whole range of violations, including race and sex discrimination, violations of the occupational health and safety regulations, violence against union organizers, tax evasion and violations of the company pension plan.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union is

leading the drive to organize Stevens. This union is the result of the recent merger of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Textile Workers Union of America.

In 1972-74, the Amalgamated won the fight, with a strike and boycott, to unionize the Farah Manufacturing Company. It was a bitter struggle, involving primarily Chicana textile workers in the Southwest. This victory proved that battles can be won, though Farah responded by shutting down sev-

eral of the newly organized plants.

The Textile Workers Union also won a recent victory in organizing the knitting mills at Oneita in South Carolina.

### MORE DIFFICULT

JP Stevens will be more difficult. It is far larger than Farah and Oneita. More importantly, a victory at JP Stevens would have far reaching repercussions in the South. A victory would open the door to unionism

throughout the South.

The problem is that the unions underestimate what will take to win against Stevens. They believe, with Meany at the AFL-CIO, that they can win by finding friends in Congress by appealing to "liberal stockholders," and by organizing consumer boycott.

Victory, of course, will be far more than this. But nonetheless, Southern labor is beginning to stir, and it is possible that even the smallest spark may start a real explosion.

## Cleveland Plant Closes

The Westinghouse outdoor lighting plant in Cleveland is threatened with a complete closure. Three hundred workers face the prospect of unemployment.

To the 1100 Westinghouse employees in Jersey City, NJ or the workers in Bellville NJ whose plants were closed down, this may sound familiar. Now the Cleveland plant is on the chopping block. Todd Smith, President of Local 777, International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (I.U.E.) told this paper, "Four locals were told that they

wouldn't be long for this world."

Westinghouse is in economic trouble. It is presently one-half the size of its prime competitor General Electric, and falling fast. It has made some monumental investment mistakes.

The workers of the Cleveland plant are pawns in Westinghouse's desperate attempts to consolidate its resources and capital. Facing a depressed construction market and the company's blunders, the outdoor lighting plant will more than likely go the route the indoor plant went in 1953. Piece

by piece down to Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Todd Smith, attempting to fight the closure, said, "The management study indicated a move to Vicksburg. A larger return on Westinghouse's money is promised."

So who suffers from the inevitable mistakes and mismanagement of the top Westinghouse officials? There will be 300 newly unemployed in Cleveland who can tell you quite clearly.

by Dan Pearson



th

# The Bloody Battle of Gastonia

Barbara Winslow

**shoulder to shoulder**



National Guardsmen attacked "mill girls who didn't act like ladies."

hours it was only 5 nights, "that gives us two nights to catch up on our cleaning."

### COURAGEOUS WOMEN

The courage of the women was an outstanding feature of the strike. Ella May Wiggins, a legendary figure in American working class history, was one of the strike leaders. She was a 29 year old textile worker and mother of 5 from nearby Bessemer City who was on every picket line and demonstration. She gave her life for the strike.

Wiggins was one of the first labor organizers to challenge segregation in southern unions; she travelled to neighboring textile towns, organizing Black workers into the National Textile Workers Union. She also was a poet and song writer. Today, her songs are sung on picket lines of textile workers.

Ella May Wiggins was only the most famous of the women. The majority of union organizers during the strike were women. In April and May, only women and children were battling on the picket lines.

The bosses and police, therefore, lashed out against the women. Cleo Tessnair, an organizer, was kidnapped and beaten by local sheriff's deputies. Ella May Wiggins was shot through the heart while leading a demonstration.

The strike was finally broken

during the summer reign of terror against the strikers. Seventy-one were arrested, 16 on first degree murder charges. Strikers and sympathizers were beaten, starved, their homes burned and looted, their families terrorized.

The National Textile Workers Union tried to spread the strike to nearby textile mills in Pineville, Elizabethtown, and Bessemer City. They called upon other unions to help them organize.

But the small, weak union was no match for the armed force of the state and the wealth of the textile manufacturers. The Gastonia workers lost this strike, but the defeat was not total.

### NOT LOST

Vera Buch, one of the organizers of the Gastonia strike, reflected on its importance: "...a lost strike is not really lost; if it is conducted militantly, honestly and effectively, it lays the basis for future battles. If no resistance is attempted against such ferocious exploitation as those textile masters enforced, and still do, only hopeless slavery can result. I feel we contributed our bit to the long struggle for freedom."

The Loray plant still operates in Gaston County. There are 130 textile plants there which now employ 30,000 people. Yet today, only one tiny factory is organized.

government and hospital workers.

These black workers were real exceptions, however. In the textile industry, only ten percent of the workforce in the South is unionized.

The primary reason for the low percentage of unionized workers is still the apathy of the organized labor movement.

The anti-union sentiments of the Democratic Party in the South is nearly as important, however. The Mayor of Atlanta, for example, a liberal black politician, paraded as representing "the new South", is opposed to public employees' unions.

The industries which have thrived on non-union labor also remain firmly opposed to organizing. In fact, when unions move into southern industry, the manufacturers are likely to move out.

Spring Mills, for example, closed its mills in York and Laurenceberg, N.C. rather than deal with unions. Burlington Mills closed plants in Gaston, Alamance, and Oxford, North Carolina; Dillon, South Carolina; and South Hill, Virginia.

"The closing of southern textile plants is now so common," says one executive from Burlington Mills, "that some firms are setting up check lists to see who's working."

These are the facts, then, at least some of them, of the situation of southern labor. And they are listed for a reason.

George Meany and his colleagues in the AFL-CIO's palace in Washington, D.C. say they want to organize the South. But what do they propose to do?

### SHAM

They propose to ask Congress and Jimmy Carter, the peanut plantationist from Plains, to pave the way. They think that the South will be organized through Congress — without a struggle.

It will never happen. It still takes a small shooting war to maintain a picket line in front of a non-union mine in Kentucky. The United Mine Workers had to throw its whole weight behind the Brookside strikers in 1974, just to win 100 new members. And coal miners have a very strong union tradition.

There is no way that Meany's new plan will help southern workers.

Organizing the South will take what was begun, and then abandoned in the 'thirties; a mass campaign, backed by the power of the organized workers in the North.

It will involve head-on confrontations with the government, including the new liberals of the southern Democratic Party, but also with the small town county sheriffs, the backwoods racists judges, and the wealth of the Northern industrialists. They still run the show.

The struggle will no doubt be bloody, but that is the way it has always been. Still, it must be done — for the workers will not stay silent forever.

On April 1, 1929, the textile workers at the Loray Mill in Gaston County, North Carolina went on strike — a strike that was one of the bloodiest in American labor history.

The Loray textile workers were battling the most powerful and reactionary elements in the South — those who wanted to keep the South free from communism, free from unionism, free from women's rights and free from racial equality.

The strikers were fighting against a southern aristocracy that wanted to keep the South pure — for Burlington Mills, Cone knitting and the other northern giants of the textile industry.

## General Motors Moves South

In the past two years, General Motors, the world's largest manufacturer, has begun to head south in search of profits.

The giant corporation will soon have six plants in operation, just one is a union shop, the Monroe, La., headlight plant.

The company has some 140 bargaining units, however, and only its Southern plants are non-union. These include the wiring harness plant in Clinton, Mass., the batteries plant in Fitzgerald, Ga., the steering gear plant in Athens, Ga., and will include plants in Shreveport, La. (ignition components) and Meridian, Miss. (starting motors).

### GM WILL SAVE

The move is small for GM, but the savings will be real. At the Clinton plant, the average wage is \$5.50 an hour. This is double the average wage for Mississippi workers. But it is considerably less than the Northern equivalent—\$6.65 doing the same job.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) is bitter about the GM move. Irving Bluestone, the vice president for the GM division of the union, says that it represents "a threat to our mature relationship, built up over 40 years."

The fact is that only 2,000 of GM's hourly employees are in the South, so that the threat is small to the UAW.

The point, however, is that if the UAW used the fantastic potential power it has, it could easily defeat GM and organize southern auto workers.

Yet, the union is more concerned about its relationship with the company.

It is precisely this attitude, a view shared by nearly all major unions, which has allowed the employers of the South to keep unions out, and maintain the situation which contrasts the South to the rest of the country.

In order to keep unionism out of the South, the state of North Carolina used all the force and violence it could gather to break the strike. The local newspaper headlines: "Communism in the South! Kill it!" "Would you belong to a Union that Opposes White Supremacy?"

Two weeks after the strike began, 800 national guardsmen attacked the strikers. A mob of masked vigilantes burned down the union headquarters. National guardsmen, sheriff's deputies, and local police waged gun battles with strikers and their families.

In the 1920's, Gaston County, North Carolina, was a showpiece of "The New South." The Chamber of Commerce boasted that it was the "Combed Yarn Center of the South."

"The New South" of the 1920's, like the "New South" of the 1970's, was a haven for Northern manufacturers who had relocated there because of abundance of plentiful, cheap, non-union labor. Southern textile towns were characterized by low wages, extensive child labor, long hours and night work. Northern manufacturers were promised a high return on their investment.

### 100% AMERICAN

In order to attract Northern business, the Southern businessmen bragged that "their workers," known as "lint heads," were not as militant as Northern workers. Southern textile workers, they said, were highly individualistic, "100%" American, straight from the mountains and not susceptible to unionism or communism.

In reality, however, southern textile workers were ready for unionization. They had suffered under the long hours, brown lung and horrible working conditions. The immediate issue of the strike was a form of speed-up called "the stretch out."

Weavers were "stretched out" to work from 24 to 48 looms, then from 48 to 96, with an actual decrease in pay.

The women who dominated the work force at the Loray Mill said that "you need roller skates to run from one side of the mill to the other, you cover so many looms." The women preferred to work nights. Even though they had to work 12

# The Issue Is Rank and File Control

The election for president of the United Mine Workers Union will be held June 1.

It will be the first election since Arnold Miller and the reform movement, the Miners for Democracy, won the government supervised elections in 1972.

Miller is campaigning on the fact that his administration has succeeded in making the union the most democratic of this country's major unions.

He also points to the last miners' national contract, when he helped win increases of 56% over three years. Miners' wages have gone up from an average of \$41 a day in 1974 to \$61 today.

His chief opponent is Harry Patrick, the union's secretary treasurer and Miller's former ally. Patrick is posing as the militant, while implying that Miller has betrayed the principles of the old reform movement.

The third candidate is Lee Roy Patterson, the executive board member from Western Kentucky. Patterson, who is relatively unknown to the rank and file, represents the union's right wing. He was part of the old corruption, the Tony Boyle dictatorship.



Miners demonstrate in Harlan, Ky.

Miller's popularity is about at an all-time low. Patrick charges that he "is out of touch" and that he "has lost control." Both charges are true.

Miller has fired, or been abandoned by, most of his staff. Last year his other major ally, Mike Trbovich, the UMWA vice president, broke with him, joined the right wing, and then denounced him at the Cincinnati convention.

Increasingly, Miller avoids the rank and file. He received hostile receptions in the past two summers, when he ventured into West Virginia in attempts to get wildcat strikers

back to work.

Patrick is promising to take a hard stand in this year's contract negotiations. It expires December 5, and Patrick says, "I would say there is a 100% chance of a strike."

Patrick, at this point, is no doubt the best of the candidates. The point is, however, that in office he will face all the problems that destroyed Arnold Miller. He will be forced, by the very nature of the job, to try to control the rank and file.

Patrick will be caught in the same trap, for when it comes down to it, he is against wildcat strikes. He is against breaking the law. He will remain loyal to the established institutions of this country—the courts, the Democratic Party, the profit system—even at the expense of the rank and file miners.

## RIGHT TO STRIKE

The key issue in the miners' union remains the right of miners to strike over local issues. Both candidates say they favor this, but both have actively attempted to stop the rank and file strike waves that actually fought for the right to strike.

Patrick boasts that he will be more effective in dealing with strikers. And he takes credit for ending the recent strikes which led 15,000 miners out in central West Virginia. The truth is he got the exhausted strikers back on the job, giving the company—in this case Eastern—everything it wanted.

There is a tendency toward apathy in the rank and file. Most militants would prefer to ignore the international union and deal with the coal companies on the local level.

There are always dangers in this. For one thing, some rank and file miners might actually support Patterson, since he is the anti-leadership candidate. There is no question, however, that the return of the Boyle forces would be an utter disaster.

Second, the right to strike will not be won without at least winning the union officially to fighting for it. Ignoring the international also involves leaving the national contracts to them, a very risky proposition.

## DEMOCRACY NOT PROBLEM

It's popular now in Washington, DC to say that the problem in the UMWA is that it is too democratic. Hardly. It's not democratic enough. The real issue in this criticism—the one that comes from government press and the coal bosses—is that the union can't control the membership. In fact, that is the issue, though it will not be resolved in this election.

Therefore, the elections are very important. The UMWA is still the only major union in which the rank and file has a significant influence—yet this is slipping away.

## Steelworkers Elections

# Tough Enough?

On February 8, some of the 1.4 million members of the United Steel Workers of America turned up at the polling places to pick international officers. The election pitted Ed Sadlowski, rebel District 31 director, against Lloyd McBride, director of District 31 and official successor to incumbent president I.W. Abel. The official teller's report is not due until May 1 but the USW bureaucracy is claiming a McBride victory by a 58 to 48% margin of the 560,000 votes cast.

For the employers and the labor bureaucracy, the big question of the election was—could Ed Sadlowski touch off a rank and file revolt in steel?

## REVOLT IN STEEL

The conditions for a revolt in steel were there, particularly in the mills. The legacy of twelve years of the Abel administration was to drop steelworkers from the top two or three highest-paid workers down to fourteenth. In the union's core, basic steel, over a hundred thousand jobs in the mills were lost, while steel output increased, because of the union's productivity deals with the steel companies.

If this wasn't enough, in 1973 Abel signed the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) which sold the right of workers in basic steel to strike for the sum of \$150 a head.

A year ago, Sadlowski appeared to have many of the qualifications for leading a revolt. He was known in the union as a rebel. He became director of Chicago-Gary District 31 by fighting the Abel machine. The first election against machine candidate Sam Evett was stolen, but in a



Labor Department sponsored re-run in 1974, Sadlowski beat Evett 2-1.

In the district election, Sadlowski sang a militant tune—his slogan was "the time to fight is now" and the backbone of his campaign were rank and file volunteers. Sadlowski beat the machine because steelworkers wanted a district director who would clean up the union and fight the companies.

So what happened? The media was quick to conclude that steelworkers liked the Abel machine. The Sadlowski campaign organization, "Steel Workers Fight Back," is claiming Sadlowski is the victim of vote fraud. The election results tell a different story.

## POOR TURNOUT

The basic fact of this election is that the majority of steelworkers, 60%, didn't bother to vote. Many steelworkers saw this election not as a chance to turn the USW against the steel companies, but as a rhetorical conflict between two politicians.

The Sadlowski campaign, far from being a rank and file revolt, was from the beginning a conventional electoral effort. Sadlowski's ambitions for the USW presidency predate even the election for District 31 director. The word in Steel Workers Fight Back after the 1974 victory was that "Eddie" would take a shot at the top spot.

Sadlowski's first move was to put Fight Back on ice. In spite of grumbling from his rank and file supporters, who were having trouble back in the plants explaining why Eddie didn't do anything, Fight Back was dormant for a year when unemployment among steelworkers in the district soared to 20% levels.

Fight Back was revived for the local elections in the Spring of 1976. Showing its strength as a vote-getting machine, Fight Back slates captured 80% of the locals in the district.

The next landmark in the campaign was the USW convention late last summer. Sadlowski chose to pass up the chance to confront the assembled bureaucrats. The Fight Back forces at the convention sat most of it out after being told by Sadlowski to "cool it."

## BUREAUCRATS

Apathy towards the bureaucracy turned to active courtship when Sadlowski made his slate choice. After failing to win over any other district directors, Sadlowski chose staffers from the fringes of the "official family."

The most notorious of them was Andrew Kmec. In the 1965 Abel-McDonald presidential election, Kmec organized a union for USW staffers in an attempt to win staff muscle for the incumbent "tuxedo unionist" McDonald.



Sadlowski

Nor did Sadlowski's campaigning do much to heat up the election. In his literature and media appearances, Sadlowski hedged. Instead of opposition to the ENA, Sadlowski's leaflets bravely declared that the members ought to vote on it. In a *Penthouse* interview on the topic of job losses, Sadlowski suggested that as jobs in steel were dirty and dangerous, steel workers were better off being eliminated by technology.

## WEAK STAND ON ISSUES

In spite of the expiration of the basic steel contract this year, Sadlowski failed to take a stand, promising only to be a "tough bargainer." The only sharpness in the election was over the internal issues of union democracy, particularly McBride's use of staffers and staff money for his campaign. The best indicator of the character of the campaign was its slogan. The cry of the 1974 district election, "The Time To Fight Is Now," was replaced with "Tough Enough To Make A Difference."

There is no doubt that Sad-

lowski's toned-down approach cost him votes. In his home district, the largest in the union with 10% of the membership the hard core pro-administration vote was the same as in 1974. Sadlowski, in spite of his much stronger campaign organization fell 6,000 votes short of his district total. In the basic steel section, where he concentrated most of his effort, Sadlowski won by a 2-1 margin. But the low election turnout prevented Sadlowski from overcoming McBride's lead in the other sections of the USW.

The Sadlowski campaign passed over most steelworkers like a ripple on a pond—it left the bottom undisturbed. Even if this election was stolen, the fact remains that the majority of the union didn't think there was anything to get excited about. Sadlowski wanted to reform the USW. He thought that he was "tough enough to make a difference," so he organized an election campaign to change things from the top.

The real job is to build a movement from the bottom. The real rank and file revolt in steel lies ahead.

# "The Power Of Women"

**NOT SERVANTS, NOT MACHINES** by Jean Tepperman. Beacon Press, \$2.95, 176 pages.

Several months ago in Chicago, a legal secretary was fired for refusing to make coffee for her bosses. Outrageous, of course, but it happens all the time. Is your job considered a "women's job"? Can't a man do it?

Jean Tepperman wrote *Not Servants, Not Machines* as a forum for office workers to speak out and tell about the growing consciousness that "women's work" is important. And about the growing determination to change the degrading character of that work, to have more input into their jobs, to get paid decent wages.

The story used to be that secretaries weren't really "workers," but saw themselves as part of management rather than just another hourly employee. A secretary might side with her boss, the way a wife would side with her husband. They either didn't care about unions or were only in for a short time anyway, to make money for luxuries, so why bother trying to organize them?

Clericals were ignored by union organizers and dismissed by socialists. But the last 50 years has shown the office to be more akin to the production line. Huge typing pools, low wages, boredom, harassment, all dehumanize clerical jobs.

## ONE HAPPY FAMILY?

Tepperman's interviews with secretaries are the background for a discussion of the economics and structure of office work—and how women are changing these structures. She takes on the myths of office

work—"we're one big happy family," "you can't get hurt on the job," and "it helps to be black these days" and shows why these lies are used to keep women down.

The sheer numbers of office workers make this growing challenge to job conditions and low pay significant. One third of all working women are clerical workers. In the past, women were brought up to expect less

workers receive. One woman reported that when one lawyer interviewed her, he asked her "to get up and walk across the room, so he could inspect her legs. They'll ask you what kind of birth control you use and if it's effective so you won't get pregnant and quit." Another secretary reports, "My bosses' expense account for the office is \$30,000. That includes a car, the rent, and my salary, among

## ORGANIZE

The book was written with a lot of help from the organizers of "9-5", a rank and file group of office workers in Boston. The women tell how they formed the group, the problems of organizing, and the successes. Also interviewed are members of Union WAGE in the Bay Area, Women Office Workers, and Women Em-

views, women were asked how they would change their office. Almost all answered that they would get rid of management and none expressed doubt that they could run the business better.

Women office workers are also realizing that they have to emphasize winning better conditions for women as a group. This emphasis has led them to



because they supposedly deserved less. They were women, and they weren't supposed to be working anyway. That was taking away a man's job. Now they are organizing and encountering tremendous resistance. They know, "as some working women begin to win improvements, it becomes harder for all employers to get away with poor treatment of women workers."

## BEAUTY SHOW

Those not familiar with the clerical world might be surprised at the treatment office

other things. If I spend 25 cents I must get a receipt and attach it to the petty cash slip. He can spend up to \$25 without having to show anything. It's this whole thing of putting down rules for one class as against another class."

The women's movement in late '60's gave rise to the first stirrings of anger. Now we can see the start of rank and file organizations. And in the future, that 34% of working women, that 18% of the entire American workforce, can be expected to be even more vocal.

ployed. Members of women's caucuses in Polaroid and AT&T tell about their experiences. There are caucuses in over 100 companies. They have taken on the bosses and in many cases, the unions.

"Traudi says that she used to cry at her desk when her boss would yell at her. Now she is a leader of her union group, and when her boss tried to harass her out of her job, she said 'No'...You can see yourself be part of an impact, making changes for working women. It's really seeing yourself as part of history."

Many times during the inter-

support the efforts of other working women. Union WAGE members have participated in the campaign for laws giving more rights to household workers. The "9-5" newsletter supports the Boston restaurant workers union.

The message is that a movement for women's rights has to benefit all working women, not just help a few get to the top.

by Patricia Gilman

# Sharecropper, Organizer, Leader



Fannie Lou Hamer

Fannie Lou Hamer, a leader of the fight for black liberation for the past 15 years, died of cancer last month in Mississippi. She was 60 years old.

In 1962, Mrs. Hamer, her husband and children were sharecropping on a Mississippi Delta cotton plantation. She began attending civil rights rallies in Ruleville, Miss.

A few months later, she became a field worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, an activist civil rights group. Immediately, she was ordered out of the shack she and her family lived in on the Milo plantation near Ruleville. She left the plantation rather than give up her work for black voter registration.

In the years that followed, Fannie Lou Hamer became known throughout the South—and the whole country—for the lead she gave in the struggle for black equality. Along with voter registration, she was active in struggles to unionize

black workers and form sharecroppers' farm cooperatives in the South.

She helped to found the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which challenged the racist regular party for seats at the National Democratic Party Convention in 1964. The challenge failed, exposing the hypocrisy of the northern liberal Democrats and the racist

foundations of the whole party.

Fannie Lou Hamer's life, her courage and perseverance, are a continuing inspiration. In spite of life-long poverty, in spite of evictions, beatings, arrests and attempts on her life, she carried on the fight for freedom. In 1962, she said, "They kicked me off the plantation, they set me free. It's the best thing that could happen. Now I can work for my people."

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# North American Appeal

Here's why the courts in Britain have just fined the Socialist Workers party there \$17,000 and why the total damages against Socialist Worker are expected to be \$40,000 to \$50,000.

The SWP (formerly the International Socialists) is the largest group on the revolutionary left in Britain.

Over the last year, they have played a key role in building a national campaign against unemployment. They led the fight against a rising tide of racism.

They fought two elections for parliament. One out of every twenty Labor Party voters voted for them.

In January, they set the following targets:

- To strengthen their trade union work (they are currently running SWP members for national positions in Britain's two biggest trade unions.)
- To continue to contest Labor-held Parliamentary seats in by-elections. (Paul Foot is now running for the seat at Stechford) to help create a socialist alternative to the Labor Party.
- To maintain the fight against racism and the Nazis.
- To build the beginnings of a Women's Rights Campaign.
- To push resources back into the printshop to enable them to handle the massive expansion of rank and file organizations and papers.

We in the ISO urge all Socialist Worker readers to make a contribution - anything from \$10 to \$10,000. It can help stop this desperate attack on the British left.

## DEFEND THE LEFT PRESS IN BRITAIN

March 28, 1977

From: Philip Agee Stanley Aronowitz  
 Noam Chomsky William Kunstler  
 James Weinstein Stan Weir

Dear Friend,

We are writing to draw your attention to a new wave of attacks on civil liberties now taking place in Britain. Among the victims is a signatory to this letter, Philip Agee. Another is *Socialist Worker*, Britain's largest circulation weekly socialist newspaper (30,000 per week).

In the first of four libel actions being taken against it by leading trade union officials, on February 28th, 1977, *Socialist Worker* was fined \$17,000—the equivalent of a year's wages for the entire *Socialist Worker* staff. The offending article was a satirical attack on a union for encouraging its members to take cheap vacations in General Franco's Spain. The *London Times* newspaper reprinted part of this article and was also approached by the union's lawyers. Its refusal to settle, however, was not taken any further. Instead the attack was mounted exclusively on *Socialist Worker*.

Other libel actions coming up deal with articles on the firing of a woman who had just had an abortion, on discrimination against hiring black workers, and with an advertisement for an allegedly libellous rank and file pamphlet not even printed by *Socialist Worker* that attacked the undemocratic character of another big union.

Hal Draper writes:

"The utilization of libel actions, brought on specious grounds with the aim of breaking a socialist group financially, is a vicious threat to civil liberties anywhere, whether in Britain or in the United States. At this time the victim is the British *Socialist Worker*. But Americans too should raise their voices in protest and do what they can to aid the defense of that paper against this sort of attack, regardless of political differences."

We would like to urge you to act to defend the left press in Britain. The total damages against *Socialist Worker* are expected to be \$40,000-\$50,000, easily enough to close it down. Help prevent this happening.

Send checks to the North American SW Defense Appeal  
635 Sixth Avenue, 2nd Floor  
New York, N.Y. 10011

Donations will be acknowledged.

This is our first issue of *Socialist Worker*. It's just a beginning. We have a long way to go.

But we are completely convinced that a real revolutionary socialist workers' newspaper is an absolute necessity in the US today.

We have the people to produce such a paper. We have the commitment. Unfortunately, we are desperately short of money. Therefore, we are asking for your help.

We pledge that *Socialist Worker* will tell the truth. We also pledge that *Socialist Worker* will support the struggles of workers wherever they take place—here in the US in the third world, and in the bureaucratic regimes of the eastern blocs.

We will not compromise on the hard issues, whether this means telling the real story on aspiring labor leaders, or exposing the so-called friends of the working people, the Democrats in Washington, DC

We will attempt to tell the story of every victory for our cause, because each of these gives others confidence to carry on. But we will also strive to tell the truth, even when it involves explaining the weakness of our movement, and our mistakes.

We pledge ourselves to complete support for equality and we will oppose any kind of elitism. We are totally committed to black and womens' liberation.

So again, we ask for your help. Today, the cost of every aspect of producing a newspaper is soaring—the printing, the pictures, the supplies.

This is double hard for us, because we must start from scratch. We are a small group, and there are no millionaires of foundations bankrolling us. Please help.

Send your contributions to:

Socialist Worker Fund  
PO Box 18037  
Cleveland, Oh. 44118

### FOR 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

### FIGHT OPPRESSION

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

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

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

### INTERNATIONALISM

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

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

Russia, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe are not socialist countries. These countries are not governed by workers' control but by a small bureaucratic class. A revolutionary movement must be built in these countries to achieve workers' control.

## WHERE WE STAND

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.

### FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

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

firings. We are for an end to discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities.

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

### FOR RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

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

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

### REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

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

\*\*\*\*\*

## ISO

National Office	P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland OH 44118
Atlanta	P.O. Box 1943, Decatur GA 30032
Amherst	P.O. Box 446, Amherst MA 01002
Bloomington	P.O. Box 29, Bloomington IN 47401
Chicago	2111 N. Kenmore, Chicago IL 60614
Cincinnati	P.O. Box 8909, Cincinnati OH 45208
Cleveland	P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland OH 44118
Dayton	617 Salem, Dayton OH 45406
Detroit	P.O. Box 19105, Detroit MI 48219
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Seattle	P.O. Box 9056, Seattle WA 98109
Toledo	P.O. Box 4023, Station E, Toledo OH 43609

## Socialist Worker Exclusive

# Russian Workers - The Unknown Dissidents

You don't often hear about what is an increasingly common feature of life in Russia today - workers fighting to defend their living standards and striking in opposition to the day to day tyranny of the bosses.

You don't hear about it because the newspapers are usually interested in the Solzhenitsyns of this world.

This may well explain why **Socialist Worker** is the first newspaper in the US to carry details of four political prisoners in Russia who are every bit as important as any four intellectuals in jail. In a sense very much more important, since they represent the one social force capable of smashing Russia's revolting tyranny and replacing it with socialism.

The four working class political prisoners are Serge Ivanovich Frolov, aged 31, Janis Kristapovitch Varna, aged 28, Mikhail Stepanovitch Lartchenkov, aged 38 and Andres Petrovitch Goldberg, aged 41. All four men are longshoremen in the Latvian port and capital city of Riga.

They were imprisoned for their part in a hitherto unknown dockers' strike in the port.

This important strike took place during the month of May last year, even before the events in Poland when workers took to the streets over price rises and forced the government to backtrack.

### STRIKE ACTION

According to the information on the strike collected by the group of Soviet dissidents who are campaigning for solidarity

action with the four, the strike took place in the middle or towards the end of May.

The discontent that led to the longshoremen taking action stemmed from the withdrawal of meat from the public canteens and restaurants and its replacement for a number of weeks by 'Fish Days'.

The longshoremen's action might well have been prompted

from their having definite knowledge - since they would load and unload meat - that party higher ups and members of the red bourgeoisie were getting plenty during the shortages.

The four men went on trial in August. Their trial was rather less fair than the sort of trial Hurricane Carter would get from an all-white

jury in Mississippi. They faced charges of 'slandorous fabrications defaming the Soviet State and social system'.

Predictably all four were found guilty and sentenced to from one and a half to three years in prison camps in Latvia. Serge Frolov, who has two children aged three and five, got three years. So did Janis Varna, who is the father of two children aged two and four. So did Mikhail Lartchenkov, who has one thirteen year child. Andres Goldberg, who has three children aged eight, twelve and fifteen, got eighteen months.

### APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY

The Moscow dissidents who have made public this important information are making particular appeals for working class solidarity in Europe and North America. It is hoped that all readers of **Socialist Worker** will send telegrams of protest themselves to the addresses indicated at the bottom of this article and raise the issue with their workmates.

While the prison camps were claiming the freedom of the four Riga longshoremen, the Russian equivalent of the CIA, the KGB, were once again threatening another important working class oppositionist in the USSR. This man is Vladimir Borissov, a Leningrad electrician, neo-marxist and socialist.

On Sunday, March 20, Borissov, who was only freed from three months of internment in a psychiatric 'hospital' on March 5 this year, was taken in by the police. He was

taken to the militia station near the Leningrad Hospital Number Three where he has been held before.

But according to his close friend and comrade-in-arms Victor Fainberg, who now lives in London, the KGB were too frightened of the international outcry to detain him for more than a few hours. So he was set free.

Vladimir Borissov is one of the most indomitable of Russian oppositionists. Previous to his recent incarceration he has spent a total of nine years in the psychiatric prisons and hospitals that the KGB use to intern people they do not wish to put on public trial.

### CLASS OPPOSITION

Borissov according to Victor Fainberg has always dreamed of helping to organize a working class opposition to the tyranny. He believes that there is no other way to change the system in any fundamental sense.

He started out trying to do this when he was eighteen years old. He helped to organize a strike in one of the USSR's far eastern ports.

After this, he was in the navy for a while. Then as a worker in Leningrad he was actively involved in organizing a group of young working class oppositionists who unfortunately were soon captured. For this crime he was interned in a psychiatric prison.

When he was released he became an electrical worker at the Kalinin Experimental Toolmaking Shops in Leningrad. He met the famous marxist dissident General Grigorenko in the psychiatric prison and on his release joined his circle.

### FELLOW WORKERS

Borissov's activity differed from that of many dissidents in that he oriented himself toward his fellow workers. This involvement of factory workers is what the KGB fear the most, since the working class does, as the recent events in Poland prove, have the power to change the system.

For the moment the KGB is frightened to incarcerate Borissov again. Only widespread trade union solidarity will keep him free and lead to the release of the jailed longshoremen of Riga. Send your telegrams of protest to the following address:

SSSR: g MOCBA  
Leninski Prospekt 42  
All Union Central Council  
for Trade Unions  
Chairman Mr. A. Shibayev

Shibayev is the George Meany of the USSR's puppet unions. But it's a good idea to let bastards like him know that ordinary working people the world over care about their incarcerated brothers and sisters from Riga and Leningrad.

by Cal Winslow



## Ashby Leach Takes The Stand

# "I broke the law, but the law ain't right"

**Cleveland**— The trial of Ashby Leach is now in full swing. He is one of thousands of Vietnam veterans who returned to this country looking for work. Recruited from high school, he served a full year on the front lines as a medic. Now he is being charged with kidnapping, extortion, felonious assault and possession of criminal tools.

After returning to the US, he found a job with Chessie Systems, in their "apprenticeship" program as a machinist. Chessie Systems is a railroad company, and like most other railroad companies, relies directly or indirectly on federal funding to stay alive. It is organized by the International Brotherhood of Railroad Workers (IBRW).

When Ashby left the service, the GI Bill allowed veterans who became part of a training program like this to receive from the government the difference between an appren-

tice's and a journeyman's wages. In Leach's case, the difference came to \$5,500 per year. The only requirement the company is asked to fulfill is to register their program with the government so the veterans can receive the extra wages. Chessie promised Leach their program would be registered.

Chessie Systems didn't register their program. They sat on their hands and claimed it would involve too much red tape. The IBRW wasn't seen mounting any great defense either. Ashby kept on them but was given the run around month after month. Unfortunately, the company's whining about red tape didn't help pay his bills or buy his groceries.

So on August 16, 1976, after every other channel had been exhausted, he occupied the office of the Chessie Systems in Cleveland, taking 15 people hostage. There was no one hurt nor was there any intention to

hurt anyone, although the prosecutors will attempt to prove otherwise.

Leach's demands were simple: that the minimum benefits

due him under the GI Bill be honored, and that the apprenticeship program he was working under be certified.



# 'Don't Drink the Water, Don't Breathe the Air'

"I'm not drinking city water," said a government water testing scientist, in Cincinnati. This statement was made after the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) had monitored a particularly large slug of carbon tetrachloride in the Ohio River.

The information wasn't made public, however, until three days too late.

## RESPONSIBLE

The poison was already in the city water system. This happened in February, but Cincinnatians are now wondering about the other times they were not told about their poisoned water.

City and EPA officials scur-

ried about to find an explanation. Blaming each other for the blunder, it became clear that neither the city nor the federal agency had responsibility for monitoring the water quality. The EPA, however, was aware of abnormally high levels of the pollutant in the water 9 days before the public was alerted. When questioned as to why a public alert was not given, an EPA water specialist, Gordon Robeck, replied that his agency did not want to be "precipitously scaring everybody over a small amount of the chemical." When further questioned, he admitted that he and other EPA men weren't drinking city water without boiling it.

## POISONED

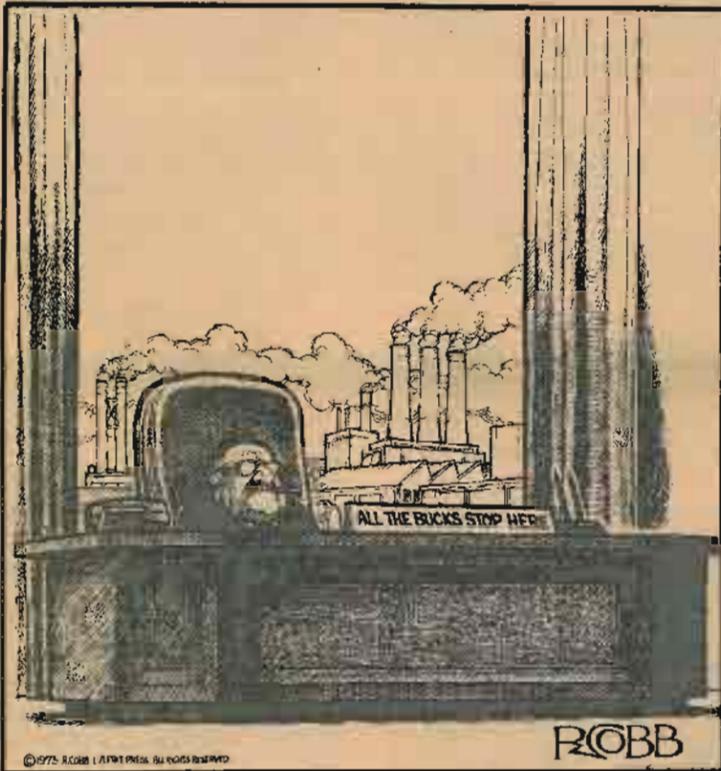
Scientists believe that carbon tet is toxic to humans, even in small doses. It is known to cause liver and kidney damage, and is a direct cause of cancer. This recent incident, unfortunately, was not unusual for Cincinnati. Cincinnati water has carried extremely harmful pollutants dumped into the Ohio River by industry since 1946.

In 1974, the Washington Environmental Defense Fund declared that there was a "significant relationship" between the area's high cancer death rate and its polluted drinking water. The EPA explains that the situation hasn't improved because there simply isn't money to monitor and filter the drinking water. The cost of carbon filtration is \$4 per person annually. Most people assume that government agencies such as EPA regulate industrial pollution. But this and thousands of other incidents like it point out that the health of the population is insignificant compared with corporate profits.

## HONOR AMONG THIEVES

The EPA's method of monitoring the emission of poisonous chemicals produced by large chemical plants on the Ohio River has been through an "honor system" whereby the offending industry is to monitor itself. When one of the largest offenders, FMC of Charleston, W. Va., was forced to open its books, the EPA's "honor system" was proved a farce.

After several horrifying stud-



# BOSTON - 1,000 SAY NO TO CUTS

## Boston—

Nearly 1,000 students and faculty members of the Massachusetts state college system turned out to protest the cutbacks in funding proposed by the state legislature.

Speakers at the March 22nd demonstrations at the State House in Boston decried the budget, which may cause the

dismissal of 600-700 professional staff and deny admission to 9,000 students.

The demonstration appears to have had an impact already. The State Senate president said at the rally that \$8 million for higher education was being added to the budget. This of course, bears no relation to the question of whether more jobs will be available for the graduates of these colleges in a state where unemployment is significantly above the national average.

Working class families with average incomes of around \$10,000 are those who make most use of these colleges and who are being made to bear the brunt of these and other cutbacks in state programs.

Problems of budget squeezes and poor quality education can only be solved once those in control want to solve them—and you can be sure that the representatives of big business that now control the state and the nation aren't the ones for the job.

ies, indignant outcries on the part of government officials, and the temporary closing of FMC, the EPA signed an out-of-court agreement with FMC in March which, again, leaves the chemical company responsible for monitoring its own carbon tet discharge. Moreover, this agreement relieves the company of responsibility for discharges "beyond its control".

City officials gave no explanation for this agreement which permits industry to continue to poison our water.

# Busses Don't Roll in Indy

**Indianapolis—** The issue of busing is still undecided in Indianapolis.

On January 25, the US Supreme Court sent back to the 7th US Court of Appeals Judge S. Hugh Dillin's plan to bus over 9,000 black Indianapolis Public Schools pupils to eight Marion County township school systems. The Appeals Court must review the plan in light of the recent Supreme Court ruling that specific discriminatory acts must be shown to

prove discrimination.

In his original busing plan, Judge Dillin cites ample evidence of specific discrimination. Despite this evidence the Supreme Court once again avoided making a clear ruling on cross-district busing in their method of handling this case.

Normally, the court would have voted on whether or not to hear the case. Had it refused the case, Dillin's ruling would have stood. Otherwise, a hearing would have been granted.

There is sufficient proof that Indianapolis school systems have discriminated against blacks and therefore a hearing would most likely have ended in a ruling to support Dillin's busing plan. This legal maneuvering means that the divided school system will continue for at least another year.

Evidence has been presented in previous hearings before Dillin that suburban Marion County units of government, including the county defendant

school corporations, have consistently resisted the movement of black citizens or black pupils into their neighborhoods.

County school districts have also resisted the erection of public housing projects outside of the Indianapolis Public School District and have refused to cooperate with HUD on the location of such projects. Actions of both officials and inhabitants has been to discourage blacks from buying or renting in suburban Marion County.

Busing will not automatically lead to better education for students, though this is a possibility. Support of busing, however, is a statement against racist situations like the one in Indianapolis which keeps people—black and white—from organizing to fight for their common interests.

Why has the Supreme Court been so reluctant to force a cross-county busing plan? Suburbia remains majority white while blacks and other minorities are kept in large decaying

cities. A ruling in favor of cross-county busing would threaten this division by race.

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## GAY TEACHER FIRED

**Tacoma, WA—** On January 20, the Washington State Supreme Court struck a severe blow at gay rights. It ruled that schools can fire teachers for being gay.

In this case, James Gaylord had taught for the Tacoma School District for over twelve years. He was considered an excellent teacher—until the vice-principal found out he was gay. The school district then

fired him, publicized his homosexuality, and used this publicity as a reason to keep him fired. The court allowed the school district to use its own act as an excuse to fire Gaylord.

The court said that homosexuality is immoral and immorality is a sufficient reason to fire a teacher. The school district didn't claim that his homosexuality had affected his teaching, only that it would in

the future.

This decision is alarming for several reasons. It implies that any "immorality" is a sufficient cause for dismissing a teacher. It gives school districts one more way to discipline teachers who want to rock the boat. It undermines the right to privacy. Most importantly, it severely limits gay rights and sexual freedom for all people.

## SCABS ON TEACHERS

Los Angeles— Claiming the separation of church and state gives them license for union busting, the Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles has refused to negotiate a contract with the recently formed teachers union.

The teachers went on strike March 10th. Nuns and priests, prohibited from unionizing by church rules, and threatened with expulsion from religious orders, kept the schools open with the help of substitute teachers.

March 18, the day after the St. Patrick's Day holiday, the teachers succeeded in closing the schools for the first time. Many older students have joined the teachers on the lines. However, school rules state pupils who miss more than 18 days in a year must repeat the entire year.

When the unionizing drive began, the church resisted by firing organizers, prohibiting distribution of literature and kicking union reps off the grounds.

When the union took them to the National Labor Relations Board, the church argued they should be exempt from federal laws under the doctrine of separation of church and state. However, the Board upheld the union.

The church now says they'll pay more under one condition. The government will have to give parochial schools federal funds.

Lay teachers salaries averaged \$9,000 to \$9,500 per year compared to public school salaries of \$11,000 and up.

Imperial Wizard says:

# 'There is going to have to be a violent struggle, and we're getting ready.'

"Every area in the U.S. is ripe for the Klan. The only criteria is that you have a leader who will stand up in public," proclaimed Klan Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkenson in a recruiting tour to the Greater Cincinnati area.

The Ku Klux Klan is working hard at drumming up publicity for its "new look." But beneath the new packaging—three-piece suits and public recruiting drives—lies the same rotten garbage: racism and Gestapo tactics.

To back up his big ideas to build a "white Christian army to battle Jews and blacks," Wilkinson talks about going international in the recruitment drive. "We are beginning a major offensive to recruit members in Great Britain," he claims.

### THE VICTIMS

In times of economic crisis, groups like the KKK find willing ears for their inhuman howls. It's the old scapegoat approach to what are the real problems—jobs, housing, schools. Instead of identifying the real source of these problems—production for profit instead of human needs—the KKK and their ilk blame the victims of the system.

And blaming the victims doesn't stop at burning crosses and terrorizing blacks and

Jews. Like the Nazis of Germany, the Klan hates and fights against whites who stand up for their rights as workers. They are against strikes and union organizing and they defend the rights of employers and the "free enterprise system."

So, unemployment, according to the Klan, is the result of "too many blacks." In fact it's the inevitable product of capitalism. The result is that white workers who buy this junk abandon the only effective fight—the struggle against wage cutting and job losses; the larger struggle for rights and human dignity.

### DISUNITY

But the list of victims grows as the economy gets worse. Just when we need stronger organizations of working people, working together to deal with the blows of the crisis, the Klan promotes disunity and business as usual.

"We don't want a revolution as such. People get hurt in revolutions and the economy of the country will get hurt," Wilkinson said in Cincinnati. But, he went on to say, "There is going to have to be a violent struggle, and we're getting ready." In other words, the KKK is preparing to strike first. "We won't burn crosses on people's lawns at this time, but we'll continue to do it at rallies. It can



be very inspirational."

There is a response that working people can make to groups like the KKK. We can organize ourselves into a more

powerful force. In Britain today, racist groups like the Klan are being confronted wherever they raise their ugly heads, by an organized and growing anti-racist force.

The racists must be shown they are unwanted wherever they go. They must not be allowed to gain a foothold in our unions and communities. The best response is an organized response.

We need to begin today to put together the kind of movement that can beat the likes of the KKK wherever they show up. The ISO is committed to helping build such a movement.

## Women Workers

# LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED

Of the 3,277 people currently on unemployment in the Pioneer Valley, which represents most of Western Mass., nearly half—1,513, are women. This sharp rise in the number of women on unemployment results from both a rise of women in the workforce as well as the continued employer practice of last hired and first fired.

The backlog of affirmative action suits in the courts, estimated to be three years worth, means there is no immediate end to illegal hiring practices on the basis of sex. What this results in is a situation which strongly discourages women from filing discrimination suits.

The depression which has driven most industry out of New England, limits the opportunities of diversified employment for women even more. In the last three months, 1,463 job applications came into the Northampton Unemployment office; 517 were women. And of those 1,463, a total 398 were placed. 163 were women.

Over 50 percent of the jobs available are service jobs—waitress, kitchen help, work in hotels, in educational institutions, and unskilled hospital



work. And of course, the reason there are so many jobs available in these areas is due to the high turnover rate due to poor working conditions and wages.

Traditionally, unions have been slow or "inefficient" at organizing women. But this situation is finally changing. The current economic crisis has hit women workers the hardest,

and the various rank and file groups that have sprung up across the country clearly show this. Recently, there has been increased activity in the field of organizing waitresses.

In Greenfield, Mass., clerical workers at the town hall waged a successful drive to unionize and are presently negotiating a contract. The clerical workers

are organized by the UE (United Electrical Workers). But it wasn't because the union saw the need; it was because those women workers knew that their only chance for a real fight back against the growing attacks by employers was through union organizing so they fought for it themselves and finally won union representation.

## Louisville Women Support Prisoners

Louisville, Ky.—On March 8 International Women's Day, members of the Louisville Women's Union made their first visit to the local women's prison. In a gesture of solidarity and sisterhood, the women's union donated feminist literature and other books to the prison library and gave cookies to the women prisoners.

What began as a symbol of sisterhood has become a weekly event. Members of the Louisville Women's Union have been given passes to visit the prison when they wish. At least two women go each week with cigarettes, and magazines or other literature.

# "IT'S LIKE A WAR HERE"

Stearns, Ky., March 16— "It's like a war here," according to Joe Perry, the McCreary County sheriff. He was describing the picket lines at the Stearns Justus mine.

In early march, the 200 strikers were told by Frank C. Thomas, the President of

Stearns Mining Co., that unless they returned to work, replacements would be hired.

Then, the following Saturday, the Stearns security guards were escorted through the picket lines by state troopers in riot gear.

It was after this that the real

shooting started. Luther Spradlin lives on the hilltop just above the mine fan, the place where the guards are concentrated. He says that's the major source of the shooting.

"I came out of my door the other day and stepped into the yard. That's when I heard the

first shot. It came down from the fan.

"There must have been 50 or 60 shots in all, coming as fast as I could count them. You could hear them plinking through the trees."

The strikers on the picket lines have put up sand bags. There are sand bags on the picket side of the road, according to Sheriff Perry, "because there's been so much shooting." He says he's counted 21 bullet holes in the union hall.

One of the strikers said he was one of the targets. "I was

sitting right there on the picket line yesterday around noon, when suddenly they cut loose. It was just like a turkey shoot for 15 to 20 minutes. If you put your head up above the sandbags, you were fair game."

The guards have sandbags too. Perry says he has counted 50 bullet holes in their building.

Now, he says, "Anything could happen. If other men try to come in to work in this mine, there's going to be a confrontation. I don't think these men are going to let somebody come in and take their jobs."

**"Stearns Mining has been scabbing here since the UMWA was beat back in 1953. Blue Diamond took it over more recently, but on unions and safety, they're just as bad. The way I look at it, they killed 26 men over there at Scotia and got away with it. So they figure it's no big deal if they get another bunch over here."**

— A Stearns miner

## Non-union Mine

The strike at the Stearns Mining Company Justus Mine is now eight months old. It began as a struggle for union recognition. The miners there voted 126 to 57 to be represented by the United Mine Workers. In July, 1976, they walked off the job.

The Stearns Company is a subsidiary of the Blue Diamond Coal Company, a Tennessee company that operates a number of mines in Eastern Kentucky. It is the same company that owns the Scotia mine. The

Scotia mine is also non-union. It was the scene of last years disaster, an explosion in which 26 men were killed.

The UMWA bargained with Blue Diamond until January 28, but company consistently refused to accept the union's demands on safety, wages, and other fringe benefits. The key issue is safety.

The Stearns miners voted to join the UMWA just two weeks after the explosions at Scotia.

## Troopers Intervene

Monday, March 14, the wives and widows of the Stearns miners picketed the McCreary County Courthouse in Whitley.

They said the real trouble began Saturday, March 12, when heavily armed state police were used to escort the strikebreaking security guards across the union lines.

They reported that three carloads of troopers, all wearing flak jackets and full riot gear crossed the lines with a group

of seven hired guards. They also arrested and jailed two of the strikers.

The troopers intervention came just at the exact time that Frank Thomas, the Stearns President, was ordering the strikers back to work.

"I think these men have a right to picket and a right to a union contract that guarantees them safety," said one of the women, the widow of a McCreary miner, and the mother

of two Stearns miners.

"These security guards are trying to mow our men down like dogs," said Loretta Ball, the wife of another Stearns striker. "They've made a sifter out of the miners' building out there on the picket line with all their shooting."

"Now the state police have been sent in to help them. That's why I'm here with my sign."



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