



**POLISH
SOCIALIST
JAILED**

see page 7

**KISSINGER
IN THE
WHITE HOUSE**

see page 13



Socialist Worker

**Paper of the International Socialist
Organization**

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March on Washington
See page 3

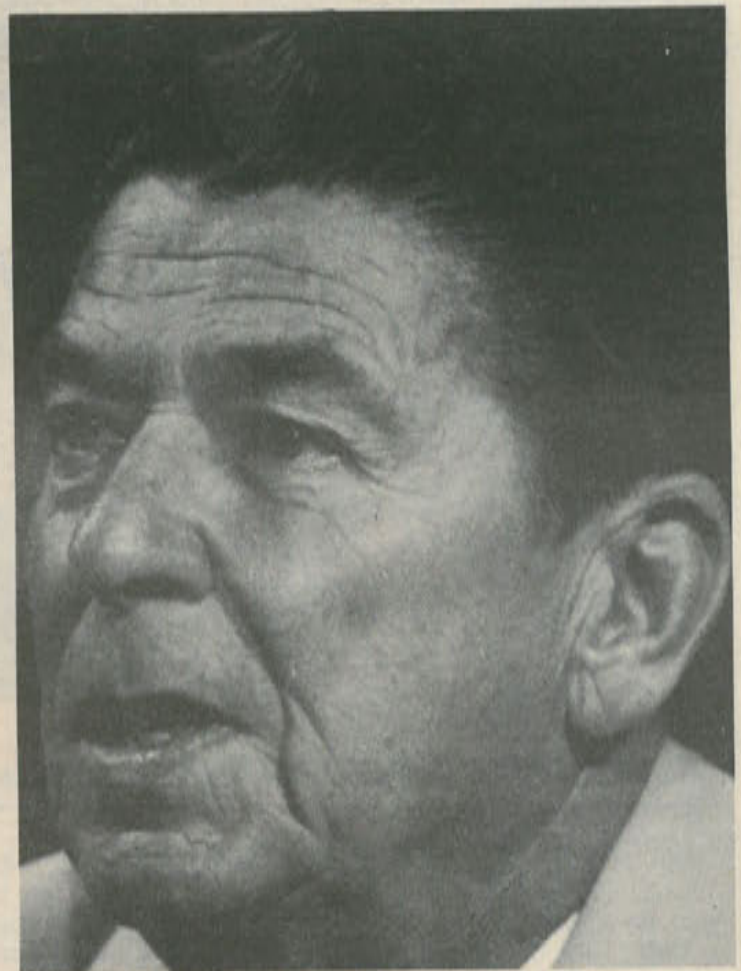
NUMBER 76



AUGUST 1983

STOP THE WARS IN CENTRAL AMERICA!

Reagan's deadly games



PAGES 8 AND 9

Abortion available- if you get past the goons

Maureen McDonnell was a little shocked at her first clinic defense.

"I knew all the things they did," McDonnell said, "but when I heard it said to me, like 'If it was legal, I would kill you,' I was stunned. It's scary."

And it's made all the more scary by McDonnell's foes in the weekly clinic defense at Concord Medical Center in

Alan Maass reports on the fight for abortion rights in Chicago

Chicago—the Pro-Life Action League, led by Darth Vader look-alike Joseph Scheidler.

Scheidler gathered together his collection of fundamentalist Christians and veteran

right-wingers several years ago when he split from the national Right-to-Life organization, arguing that pro-lifers needed to be more militant.

He's stuck to his word on

this point, steadily raising the stakes for the Pro-Life Action League.

His group has been linked with the certifiably insane Army of God who claimed responsibility for the kidnaping of a couple running a Wisconsin abortion clinic.

Last month, Scheidler told a Florida Right-to-Life audience that recent pro-choice victories in the court showed the need for more militant pro-life

activity and that "violence if necessary" would be used.

His words were translated into action that very night when a group of six young thugs—all men, according to an eyewitness—tried to break into the Concord clinic.

Only their ineptitude with explosives prevented them gaining entrance into the clinic, said a guard.

OPPOSITION

But Scheidler's Chicago thugs don't have it so easy any more—mainly because the opposition organized by McDonnell and fellow activist Anne Sturgeon, both members of the Northwestern University Pro-Choice Coalition.

McDonnell, Sturgeon and various activists from around the city got a clinic defense started in early April and are squaring off against the Right-to-Lifers several times a month.

"It's like having a verbal and intellectual commitment, but then you realize there's something you can do," said Sturgeon, explaining the origins of the weekly defense. "You realize you can actually help someone."

McDonnell and Sturgeon see themselves and their supporters in the defense filling an important hole in the process a woman must go through to get an abortion.

"The laws are there to allow women to have an abortion—if you are at a certain economic level, of course," Sturgeon said. "Obviously it's not all there with the Hyde Amendment, for instance."

The Hyde Amendment cut off Medicaid funds for abortions for poor women.

The problem, they say, comes with the protection of both the clinic and the women themselves from thugs like the Pro-Life Action League.

"The protection is there for the business itself," McDonnell said. "If pro-lifers harass the clinic, they can get a court injunction against them."

But the women themselves have no protection from pro-lifers until they actually get into the clinic.

ROLE

Filling this role has kept McDonnell and Sturgeon busy every Saturday morning for the last few months.

It's not easy to keep coming back week after week, they admit.

They've seen a number of others involved in the defense burn out in the face of constant harassment from pro-lifers.

But McDonnell said, "Every once in a while, when somebody hugs you and walks inside, then you know you did something." □

Puerto Rico: half the people qualify for food stamps

Heralded since World War II as the beacon of U.S.-promoted economic development and political democracy, the gilded showcase of Puerto Rico is rusting.

Puerto Rico has the strongest economy in Central America, and was the site of the greatest regional economic growth in the postwar period. Yet today, per capita income on the island is half that of Mississippi—the poorest state in the U.S.

America's colony is now reeling from three years of recession. "We have experienced the most severe economic problem since the 1930's," according to Carlos Barcelo, the island's governor.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Official unemployment has risen from an average of 10% in the 1960s to 15% in the 1970s to 23% today.

These figures would be doubled if they included those too discouraged to look for work or those needing full time work but forced to accept part time work.

Across the board, economic activity is declining on the island. Construction is down 59% from last year, agricultural production down 25%, manufacturing down 24%, service industries down 19%, and public jobs down 14.9%.

Over half the island's population is poor enough to qualify for U.S. food stamps. Yet the Reagan administration cut the program by 25% and has frozen expenditures indefinitely. □

Anaconda copper shuts down "the richest hill on earth"

BY MICHELLE WALKER



Butte, Montana was built on top of "the richest hill on earth."

The Anaconda copper company was founded in Butte in 1880, and since that year copper miners have taken more than 18 billion tons out of Butte's mines.

There were times when as many as 20,000 miners worked 150 mines beneath the streets of Butte.

Now it is all over. On July 1st, the last of the

giant trucks used to haul copper ore for Anaconda Minerals was parked.

Atlantic Richfield, which owns Anaconda, is calling the shutdown a "suspension," but workers in Butte, 700 of whom worked for Anaconda in the city's best-paid jobs, don't believe it.

ANGER

Anger permeates Butte now.

Although the unions agreed

with the company not to comment on the shutdown, many workers are quite open about their feelings.

"Where are we going to get a job?" asks Joe Maynard, president of a local union.

"A lot of us are in our 50's. Our lungs, our hearing, our eyesight is shot from working in the mines.

"There's no way we could ever pass a physical.

"The company has been so damn deceitful for so long." □

REAGAN'S "SPARKLING" ECONOMIC RECOVERY

by NEIL SMITH

Ronald Reagan told us last month that the economy was "sparkling."

And how right he was—as long as you look at profits and production figures, not unemployment.

In the second quarter of 1983, the economy expanded at a rapid 8.7%.

Most sectors of the economy showed higher profits, with even the auto industry recovering from month after month of losses. Chrysler made \$310 million in the second quarter.

Reagan and the bosses are delighted that higher profits are again returning to the corporate coffers.

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But they are also worried, because they fear this recovery will only be short term and partial.

New orders for machine tools have risen only slightly, and there has been no appreciable rise in capital investment since Reagan revised his estimates downward, which he did several months ago.

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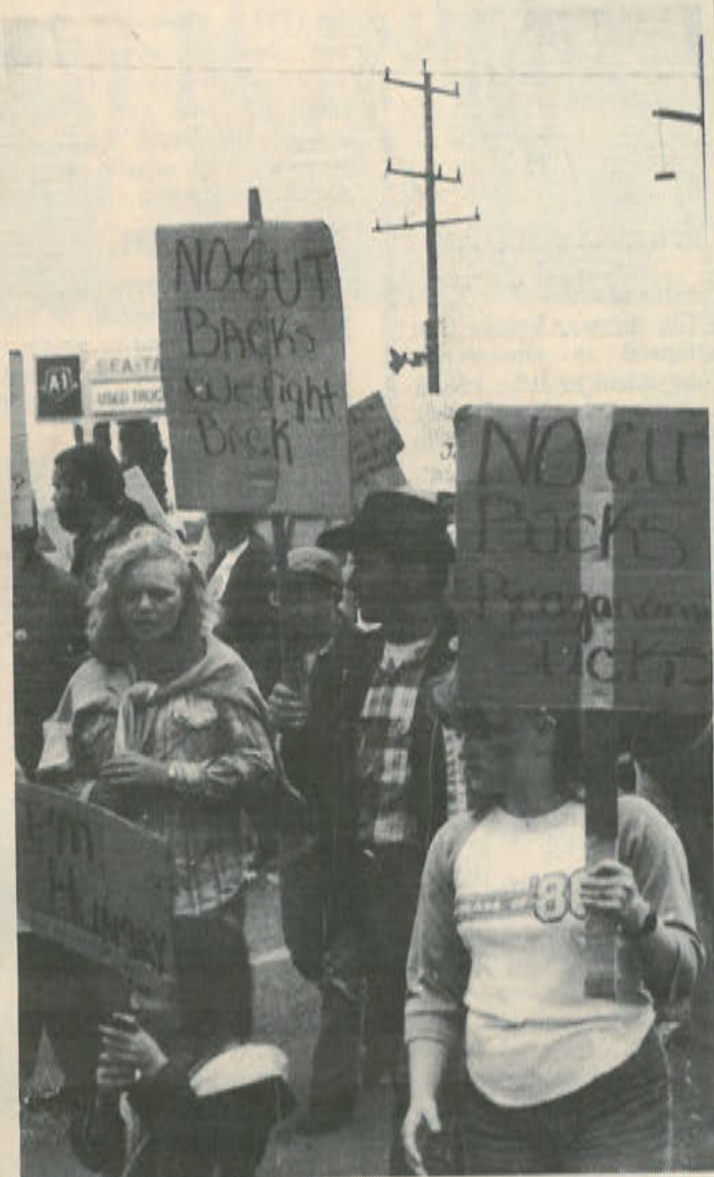
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And there won't be either. It's a selective recovery. □



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This collection of diseases occur as the result of the breakdown of the body immune system.

As a result, diseases such as a rare form of pneumonia and Kaposi's Sarcoma (KS) attack the body.

Gay men account for the vast majority of cases, with Haitian immigrants and drug users who use needles making up most of the other cases.

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Because the syndrome is newly identified and many medical questions remain unanswered, people have used AIDS as an excuse for stirring up hatred.

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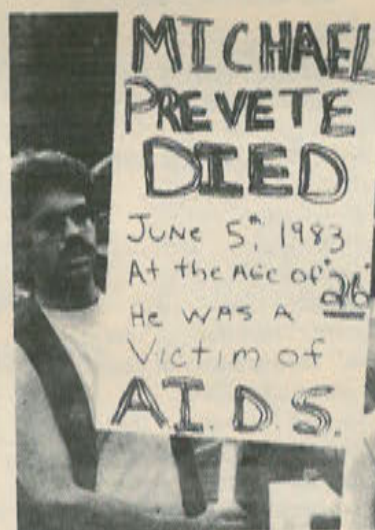
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Ludmila Kafanova, a Russian emigre, describes the speech one woman gave at a recent International Women's Day celebration in Russia:

"I want to thank the Soviet government for the opportunities that women enjoy today," the woman who opened the festivities began.

"At work, we find that we are no longer discriminated against. After work, we are permitted to run from store to store, looking for food for our families.

"In our leisure time, we are allowed to cook, wash dishes, do the laundry and take care of our children.

"So we count ourselves among the freest and happiest in the world."

"The audience," Kafanova adds, "laughed, particularly the men. Only a few I think, detected the bitterness behind the words . . ."

SEATTLE WOMEN CAMP AGAINST CRUISE

SEATTLE, WA—On Saturday, June 25, approximately 25 women began an encampment of tents and shelters across the road from the Boeing Cruise missile plant in Kent, Washington.

PROTEST

They have gathered there to protest the production of the Cruise missile and to encourage conversion to peaceful production in the Puget Sound region.

The Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp was inspired by the women of Greenham Common, England, who in 1981, began camping around the Greenham Common Royal Airbase, the first site where the Cruise will be deployed.

Since Greenham Common, women's camps have been established in Japan and the United States.

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scheduled for deployment in Western Europe this fall.

The main purpose of the camp, according to organizers, is to protest and educate area residents and the public at large about the missiles deployment in Europe.

There are from 100 to 200 women of all ages and from throughout the U.S. at the site at any given time. □

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TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Why do workers often accept the most reactionary ideas?

The most obvious obstacle to the socialist transformation of society is the simple fact that most workers are not socialists.

Indeed most workers accept capitalism, believe it can't be changed and view socialists who do want to change it as, at best, starry-eyed idealists, or at worst, wild-eyed troublemakers.

So what does marxism have to say about this crucial problem?

Why do workers so often accept reactionary ideas and how can this change?

It is one of the basic propositions of marxism that it is not ideas that shape the state of society but the state of society that shapes ideas.

Thus, at a most general level, feudal society will produce ideas that reflect feudalism.

INEVITABLE

People will for instance tend to think the division of society into lords and serfs is inevitable.

Capitalist society will produce ideas appropriate to capitalism (e.g. the necessity of the profit motive.)

This in turn means that "the ruling ideas of any age will be the ideas of the ruling class."

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How ideas change in struggle

ing class. It must be the act of the working class itself.

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The spread of socialist ideas on a mass scale must itself have a material base.

Here it is necessary to clear up a widespread confusion.

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But if this were so the revolution would have happened long ago.

BASIS

It is not suffering but the experience of fighting against suffering that forms the material basis for socialist consciousness.

If the level of struggle is low, and consists mostly of defeats, then workers will tend to lack confidence.

Their own experience is that society as it exists can't be changed. They therefore become more and more susceptible to the media and bourgeois ideas.

If the level of struggle is high and workers notch up victory after victory then workers' confidence rises and they become more able to see alternatives to capitalism.

When it reaches the state of actually threatening the existence of the bourgeois state then socialist ideas can spread like wildfire.

None of this means that socialist propaganda is irrelevant or unnecessary.

Workers do not have to be conscious socialists *before* they engage in battles that challenge the ruling class.

But their ability to win those battles is closely linked to their political consciousness.

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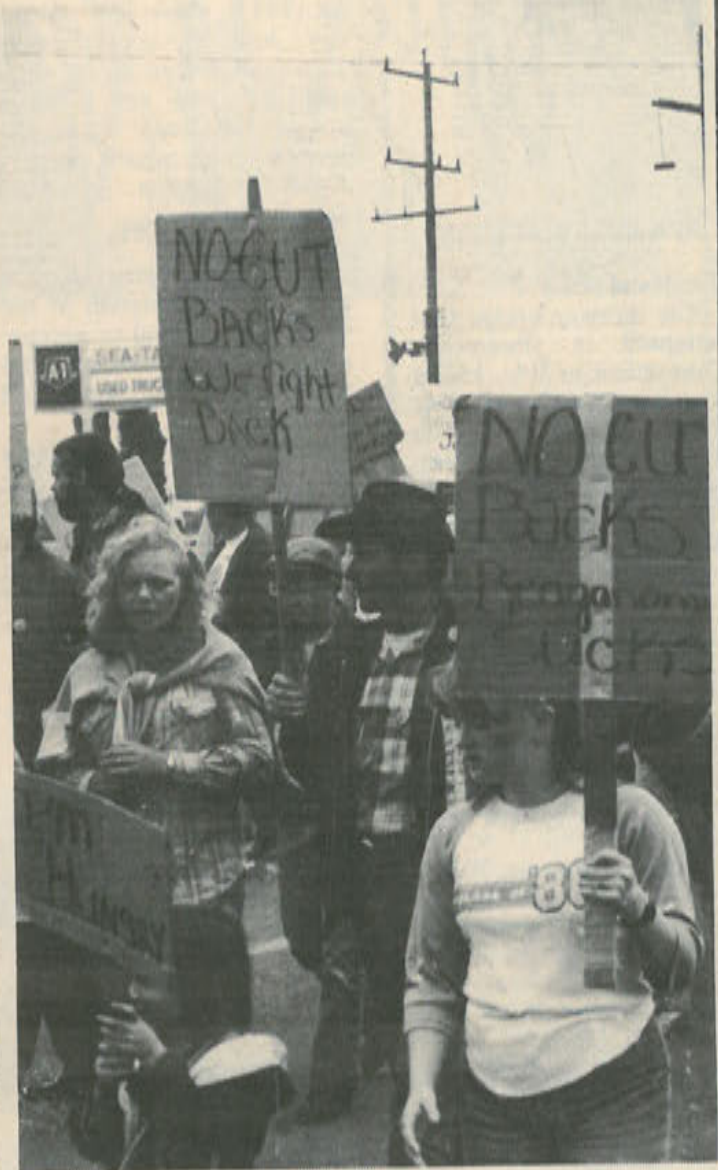
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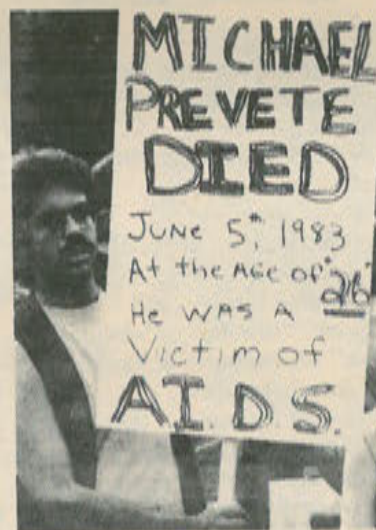
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He argued for working class power

SOCIALIST WORKER APPEAL

The real effect of the Pope's visit to Poland can be judged by what's happening to Edmund Baluka.

Last month a Warsaw court sentenced him to five years in prison—the penalty for "anti-state activities."

"CRIMES"

These "crimes" include calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, "insulting and ridiculing the leading organs of the Polish People's Republic," and presenting a false picture of Polish-Soviet relations.

Edmund Baluka has been in prison since military law was imposed last December.

His trial began in March but was twice suspended, once during the Pope's visit itself.

In 1971 Edmund Baluka was the president of the strike committee elected when 8,000 workers at the Warski shipyard in the Polish port of Szczecin occupied their yard.

They demanded a free press, free trade union elections and no increase in food prices.

CONTRAST

The rank and file organization of the strike committee stood in marked contrast to the "official" trade unions which did not represent workers' interests but existed solely to implement management policy on the shop floor.

The democratically elected collective leadership of the strike was an important devel-

opment in the independent workers' movement in Poland.

It served as a model for the way that Solidarity organized ten years later.

But few of the Szczecin strike committee survived to see Solidarity.

After their strike ended, some disappeared, others died in mysterious circumstances.

Edmund Baluka left Poland and came to Britain where he campaigned among socialists and trade unionists to gain support for free trade unions in Poland.

After Solidarity was founded Edmund Baluka returned to Poland.

The government would not give him official leave to return, so he used forged papers.

He worked within Solidarity and, independently, tried to organize a socialist workers' party in the Szczecin area.

In his speeches to the military court Edmund remained uncompromising about his belief that Poland is not socialist.

DEPRIVED

"When the tanks were brought out into the streets and the state of war declared, we were faced with the fundamental question: how can a socialist government, a socialist society, carry on a dialogue using such methods?"

He concluded that: "The state of war was imposed to repress the entire Polish people who were trying to alter the way in which power was used."

He asserted that Polish workers would have to build their own socialism from below.

Edmund Baluka's radical brand of socialism won't endear him to the priests and nationalists who admire the Pope's attempts to become the "real" leadership of Solidarity.

He needs the help of trade union activists like himself.

Get your local union branch to pass this resolution:

"We oppose all government attacks on independent trade unionism. We condemn the imprisonment in Poland of the trade union activist Edmund Baluka and call for his immediate release. We call on our union to support this cause through all available channels."

Send a copy to: The Polish Ambassador, 2640 16th St N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

DENNIS BRUTUS, APARTHEID OPPONENT, FIGHTS DEPORTATION

CHICAGO, IL—The message from the witnesses who testified was clear.

Dennis Brutus will face likely assassination at the hands of the South African government if the U.S. deports him to Zimbabwe.

Brutus, the 59 year old South African anti-apartheid activist, Northwestern University teacher and poet, has been locked in a two year fight with the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) for political asylum in the United States.

From July 18 to the 22, a series of activists and experts told a Chicago INS court that Brutus' life would be in danger.

by LANCE SELFA

"Mr. Brutus has a well-founded fear of persecution in South Africa, Zimbabwe, or for that matter any other part of Southern Africa," Milford Arnold, a deputy assistant secretary of state in the Carter administration, testified July 22.

"Any opponent of the South African regime is likely to be in jeopardy in Southern Africa. I'm not so sure he's not in jeopardy here."

The reason for the "jeopardy" is South Africa's stepped up campaign against organizations and individuals who oppose the country's apartheid system: legally forced segregation in which whites, less than 20% of the population, control the lives of the majority—Black and mixed race people.

The South African military has launched raids against the Black majority government of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and secret police details have killed anti-apartheid activists throughout Southern Africa.

In August 1981, Brutus' friend, Joe Quabi, a member of the African National Congress, a leading anti-apartheid organization outlawed in South Africa, was assassinated in Zimbabwe.



Northwestern University professor Dennis Brutus

Two weeks before Quabi's death, American anti-apartheid activist, Randall Robinson, saw "defense intelligence summaries" revealing South Africa was assembling assassination squads, Robinson testified July 18.

Brutus must wait for at least eight months for Judge Irving Schwartz' ruling.

Before Schwartz rules, however, the INS will make its case, using documents only the judge and the government can see.

"This proceeding against me has a political thrust that I am not able to refute," Brutus

told the courtroom audience July 22.

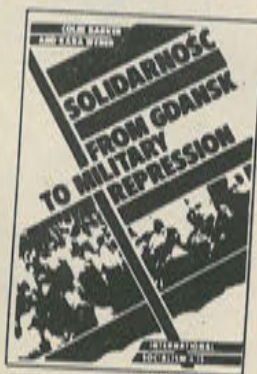
The secret documents—alleging Brutus' connection to "a type of organization" according to Judge Schwartz—came to the INS from the U.S. State Department in January.

UNABLE

Brutus' lawyers so far have been unable to see the documents.

No date has been set for the next hearing.

But Brutus' supporters are continuing to organize on his behalf. New demonstrations are planned for when the hearing date is set. □



\$4.95

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The bloody r



Reagan: "No stability if Sandinistas exist . . ."



Kirkpatrick: "Communism can be overthrown . . ."



Kissinger: "Stop arguing about democracy . . ."

REAGAN'S GAMES ARE STEPS TOWARD FULL-SCALE WAR

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So deep, in fact, that Reagan has now drastically escalated U.S. military activity in the region—setting the stage for actual, full scale war, involving American soldiers and the whole weight of the armed forces.

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DENY

Reagan went before a press conference the following week to deny that he intends to go to war with Nicaragua—but at the same time his aides were snickering about "gunboat diplomacy."

One senior official—a "hot head" according to New York Times reporters—proposed that this could set the stage for the first victory over "the commies" since the Berlin airlift.

The sheer size of the Naval Task Force is awesome.

It is led by the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Ranger, which carries 70 fighters and is backed up by a cruiser, three destroyers and an oiler.

It will be stationed 150 miles off the Pacific coast of Nicaragua.

The U.S.S. Corral Sea will lead a force to Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

The battleship New Jersey is now heading for the Panama Canal, from there to rendezvous with the Corral Sea.

In Honduras, 4,000 U.S. soldiers will join 5,000 Honduran troops for exercises on the Nicaraguan border.

They will build airstrips, stockpile military supplies and build a permanent base.

The official line is still that "we will not Americanize this war," but another top aide told reporters that "everything we're doing for the purpose of this military exercise, we'd also be doing if the aim were to overthrow the Nicaraguan government."

The charge against Nicaragua, of course, is that the popular regime there, which overthrew Anastasio Somoza's bloody U.S. backed dictator-

ship four years ago, is "exporting revolution."

In particular, Reagan's cold war advisors claim that the war in El Salvador would be won, were it not for Nicaraguan arms—and some support of the Cubans and Russians.

Nicaragua does support El Salvador's rebels, as do the Cubans.

But the Reagan administration has yet to produce any evidence of serious Cuban involvement in El Salvador.

The vast majority of Cubans in Nicaragua itself are civilians—teachers, doctors and engineers.

The charge is a little silly, in any case.

The United States considers all of Central America to be its private backyard, and has intervened militarily in the region scores of times in this century.

Marines overthrew the reformist Arbenz government in 1954. They invaded Nicaragua in the twenties.

United Nations ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick stresses that communism "can be overturned."

In the meantime, the not-so-secret covert war against Nicaragua has been escalated as well. Managua itself is crawling with CIA agents.

The remnants of Somoza's national guard are signing up the dregs of half a dozen countries to fill up the ranks of the contras' (counterrevolutionary) armies.

MERCENARIES

These mercenaries—bought and trained by the CIA—operate on both Nicaraguan frontiers, but chiefly in Honduras, where they are supported by the Honduran army.

They regularly launch attacks on Nicaraguan villages—when they aren't fighting with each other.

The vying contra groups, according to the *Wall Street Journal* haggle over money, jam each other's radio transmissions, and woo each others' soldiers—with virtually

Joe Allen reports on the crisis in Central America

unlimited money, supplied by the CIA.

The CIA wants to double these forces, which now number at least 5,000.

Nicaragua has captured the headlines, but the real reason for Reagan's desperation is the fact that he is losing his war in El Salvador.

There, the guerilla forces seem unstoppable.

LOSE

Only days before Reagan's most recent escalation, a national security document leaked to the press called the situation in El Salvador "critical," and a Reagan official said "on the present course we will lose."

The El Salvadorean guerillas control more than a third of the country, and their numbers are growing.

They can mount high level offensives and are capable of taking and holding sizeable towns and key military installations.

By contrast, the U.S. backed government forces are demoralized, losing numbers to the guerillas—and are increasingly aware they have no hope for victory.

Right now Reagan wants to double the number of U.S. "advisors" in El Salvador—to 120—but no one seriously believes that such a move could significantly improve the U.S. position in El Salvador.

El Salvadoran rebels



oad to war



U.S. advisors in Honduras

In related moves, Reagan wants to increase military aid to El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica by at least 40%.

Honduras and Guatemala, of course, are run by brutal military cliques—despite Honduras' recent election of a so-called civilian government.

Power in reality is held by the army, led by strongman General Gustavo Alvarez, the chief of staff.

Guatemala is run by Rios Montt, a member of a protestant evangelical church.

Human rights groups estimate that his security forces have killed 10,000 civilians in the last 12 months, including in the countryside thousands of peasants and Indians.

Tortured and murdered bodies regularly are found on rural roads and pathways.

In El Salvador itself, the estimate is that the right-wing butchers who run the military have murdered 40,000 civilians in the past four years—chiefly with their death squads, private armies that terrorize the impoverished civilian population.

Ronald Reagan's interest in Central America, therefore, has absolutely nothing to do with freedom and democracy.

Henry Kissinger, the man Reagan has now appointed to the much publicized bi-partisan panel on Central America put it bluntly: "It's time we stopped arguing about how much democracy there is in El Salvador and began to understand America's strategic interests are at stake."

Kissinger helped organize the brutal military coup in Chile ten years ago this summer. The coup brought general Pinochet to power and led to the murder of tens of thousands of Chile's finest trade unionists and socialists.

Kissinger will be joined on the panel by Kirkpatrick, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, who says his views on international issues "are to the right of Reagan's"—as well as by various right-wingers.

Their job is to convince the American people that U.S. military intervention is justified.

Right now 70% of the people still oppose sending U.S. combat soldiers to El Salvador.

Kissinger, of course, cares nothing about the opinion of the American people.

After all, as Nixon's secretary of state, he ordered the secret bombings of Cambodia, the Christmas bombings of Hanoi, and the secret support of the racist regime in South Africa.

Still Reagan is worried about popular opposition to a wider war, and there are reports of widespread concern in the armed forces themselves that the military might be propelled into a new Vietnam—that is, an unpopular and unwinnable war.

Nevertheless, Kissinger and Reagan have every intention of leading the United States, step by step, into war in Central America.

They believe that El Salvador and Nicaragua are in fact different than Vietnam—they believe they will win.

PROPERTY

So, of course, did Kennedy, then Johnson, and of course Nixon—in Vietnam.

Reagan considers Central America to be U.S. property—"our backyard," just as Rus-

sia considers Afghanistan its "backyard."

The Nicaraguans, and the Cubans for that matter, have in fact done precious little to export revolution to El Salvador.

They have, however, stood up to the United States, and that no American president will tolerate—whatever the cost.

Reagan must be stopped. On August 27th, a massive march for "Jobs, Peace, and Freedom," is planned for Washington.

DEMAND

We must see that the demonstration is not only a demand for civil rights and jobs for Blacks, but also that it opposes the Central American wars.

Blacks, workers, socialists must support the rebels of Central America against U.S. imperialism—for their sake as well as our own.

We will never achieve peace and freedom here—not if Reagan is allowed to continue to grind the millions in Central America under the heel of the U.S. army—and its bloody puppets throughout the world.



YOU MISSED

THE POINT

Dear Socialist Worker,

Your article on 'deindustrialization' didn't really take up the main point.

The economy is in crisis, and industry is contracting.

This is not 'deindustrialization,' however.

Industry will continue though in different forms, and on a different scale.

Make this clear or you open yourselves to the idea that the United States is somehow becoming a consumer and service society—a serious mistake.

Ben Lewis,
Indianapolis, IN

"The chickens come home to roost"

Dear Socialist Worker,

Welcome white America to the uncontrolled fury of your Frankenstein-capitalism and its multi-national twin imperialism.

You, who spoke nary a mumbling word as ultraviciousness manifested in slavery, colonialism and unabashed international gangsterism, grew fat and sedentary off the world's resources and life's blood.

You who had genocide breakfast (the murder of the Redman), who lunched on the slave trade in which one hundred and fifty million (150,000,000) Afrikans died just on the way over and who enjoyed a supper

replete with numerous right-winged, puppet regimes spiced with obscenely profitable wars in Afrika, Asia, and the Americas, are now the victims of your own callousness . . . capitalism.

Capitalism has two major biases: (1) capital intensive strategies over labor intensive ones and (2) perverse growth—the focusing of industrial development in major transportation and communication centers to the detriment of overall development.

Let us deal with the implications of these biases.

The capital intensive

approach simply means that capitalists would rather invest huge sums of money into ventures rather than to hire people to accomplish the same economic goal.

Thus the advent of high technology plays right into this bias as computers, robots and word processors call for heavy initial cash outlays with a resultant unemployment factor.

In effect the United States has been reduced to mere units (things) on a flow chart labelled labor cost versus capital investment costs.

This dehumanization of

U.S. labor was crudely manifested in slavery and presently U.S. labor units find themselves being displaced by other labor units in South Africa (Azania), Japan, Taiwan and various other satellite colonies.

White America is not saying let's stop reducing countries to peonage for profit.

All that white America requests is that U.S. workers not be treated like Africans, Asians, Central and Latin Americans.

Yet their creation now is making no more distinctions and the horror long visited on the rest of the world is now being felt by its long time benefactors—white Americans.

The second bias—perverse growth focusing industrial development to major transportation and communication centers to the detriment of overall development—requires a huge military buildup to maintain control over foreign financial centers.

The domestic results of this buildup are painfully clear to all.

The multi-national corporations businesses in an effort to fortify their foreign financial centers cannot be (bothered) hindered by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Occupational Safety (OSHA), and the NHTSA even though the agencies protect the beneficiaries of capitalism—white Americans.

Now the inhumanity of U.S. based multi-nationals is now being felt at home in the toxic waste and hazardous chemicals fiasco, the Watt-inspired rape of natural resources and the untold death of thousands of car operators due to cost cutting designs.

As Malcolm X prophetically stated pursuant to the capitalist inspired assassination of John Kennedy "the chickens have come home to roost."

Thus Wall Street thrives while the poor and the nouveau poor are strangled.

U.S. corporations breathe lustily without government constraints while all America chokes on polluted air, flounders in contaminated water, and shudders in unsafe work environments which produced unsafe products.

Business with its capital intensive bias is now showing its true color to those whose color insulated the vast majority of them from the historical and world-wide degradation of capitalism.

Perhaps the previously sheltered benefactors of capitalism will now join the world-wide revolution to defeat this vampiric system now that they are finally being served the multi-faceted death which their tacit and conscious consent has unleashed upon the world.

Connie Mason,
Detroit, MI

Letters

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

Dear Socialist Worker,

Congratulations to Milt Fisk for his excellent article on the economic crisis in Mexico.

It's imperative that workers here understand the crisis in Mexico.

Mexico is, after all, our immediate neighbor.

More, there are millions of people of Mexican origin in this country.

If international solidarity doesn't begin with Mexico, it will probably never happen.

Mike Morgan,
Los Angeles, CA

■ ■

Dear Socialist Worker,

Here's \$25 for my subscription and a contribution to your fund appeal.

Keep up the good work.

Nina Martin,
Atlanta, GA

■ ■

Dear Socialist Worker,

One doesn't have to look far to see the depression amidst Reagan's "recovery."

Count how many more alcoholics you see lying on the pavement dying, this year over a few years ago.

Count how many more "bag ladies" you see.

Count how many more unemployed you see rumaging through downtown trash cans for food and aluminium cans. These scenes are becoming commonplace in major cities.

But these barbarities don't have to exist. An estimated 24,000 Chicagoans don't have to go homeless each night.

In whatever small ways we can, we must build a revolutionary socialist movement based on the working class. The only alternative to such a movement is more of the same.

Andy Thayer,
Chicago, IL

1199 is the staff nurses' union



Seattle group health hospital nurses

Dear Socialist Worker,

I always enjoy reading *Socialist Worker*, especially your coverage of the strikes of nurses and other hospital workers.

But I wonder why you seem to cover only the strikes of the professional organizations—the state nurses organizations.

I am a nurse and a member of the National Hospital Union, 1199.

We are now building a coast to coast health care union, and already we are 150,000 strong.

We recently won an important victory in Seattle, Washington, where 1,200 RNs, formerly represented by the Washington State Nurses Association, voted overwhelmingly to affiliate with the National Hospital Union.

We feel that the American Nurses Association's state affiliates have failed to lead nurses forward, and we plan to make our union the union for staff nurses.

We are also a very progress-

ive union, taking stands on important issues from civil rights to El Salvador.

You should pay more attention.

B.G.
Philadelphia, PA

Apathy is just part

Dear Socialist Worker,

I read "Talking About Socialism," and usually find it useful.

But I think that your analysis of American working class apathy is shallow.

In the sixties and seventies there were important working class struggles—the miners rank and file movement, the Teamsters wildcat strikes, the

organization of government and service workers.

Yet these did not lead to the significant development of working class consciousness, let alone socialist organization.

Why not? It's not enough to point to Chile and Poland.

Sandra Allenson,
Albany, NY

the bloody road

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"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn:

"MY FIRST SPEECH"

"Woman's place" was a subject of considerable debate.

Women were denied the right to vote and deprived of all legal rights over their children, homes or property.

Many schools, leading colleges and professions were practically closed to them.

Only a few succeeded in overcoming these barriers and they were denied appointments and advancement in their chosen fields. The "career girl" was discouraged.

Women working in industry were overworked and miserably underpaid in the jobs open to them—and always paid less than men on the same level.

They were denied opportunities to enter skilled trades and had little protection from labor organizations.

UNIONIZATION

The unionization of women, even in occupations like the needle trades, where they predominated, had scarcely yet begun.

Equal opportunities, equal pay, and the right to be organized, were the crying needs of women wage earners then and unfortunately these demands remain with us today.

Many union leaders, like Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, did not consider women workers organizable or dependable.

"They only work for pin money!" was the usual complaint.

An outside job was considered by the woman worker herself as a temporary necessary evil—a stop-gap between her father's home and her husband's home.

Fathers and husbands collected women's wages, sometimes right at the company office. Women did not have a legal right to their own earnings.

There was no consideration for the special needs and problems of working, though they were numerous and pressing.

Even the clothes of women hampered them—the long skirts that touched the ground, the big unwieldy sleeves, the enormous hats.

You were still "a girl" if your skirt was above your shoe tops.

The struggle for the right of women to vote was nationwide and growing.

It had started with the first

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the outstanding leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World, made her first speech in 1906 on the subject, "Woman's Place."

In her autobiography, "I Speak My Own Piece," she remembers speaking to about seventy-five people at the Harlem Socialist Club.

This is her account of the speech, written fifty years later.



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in Paterson, NJ

equal rights convention, at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, which was addressed Frederick Douglass, the great Black leader.

The suffragists had been ridiculed, assaulted by mobs, refused halls, arrested for attempting to vote, disowned by their families.

By 1904, groups of working women, especially Socialist women, were banding together to join in the demand for the vote, not on property or taxation issues but on labor issues.

Two years later, International Women's Day was born on the East Side of New York, at the initiative of these

women demonstrating for suffrage.

It spread around the world and is universally celebrated today, while here it is deprecated as "a foreign holiday."

The Suffrage movement was growing more militant and figures like Maude Malone appeared.

She organized the Harlem Equal Rights League in 1905.

She interrupted Theodore Roosevelt at a meeting of 3,000 people to demand where he stood on woman suffrage.

She walked up and down Broadway, at the same time we were holding our street meetings there, with signs front and back, like a sandwich man, demanding "Votes

for Women," and lost her post as a librarian in consequence.

Once she was speaking at 125th Street and a heckler asked: "How would you like to be a man?" She answered: "Not much. How would you?"

(Maude Malone died at 78 in 1951. She had been librarian at the *Daily Worker* office for four and a half years.)

Suffragist speakers on streetcorners were invariably told: "Go home and wash your dishes," or, regardless of their age: "Who's taking care of your children?"

Others said: "imagine a pregnant woman running for office," or "How could women serve on juries and be locked up with men jurors?"

There was a prevalent concept that "woman's work" was confined to the domestic scene.

"Woman's place is in the home" was the cry. Women were constantly accused of taking "men's jobs."

I spoke in my first speech of the drudgery and monotony of women's unpaid labor in the millions of American kitchens, of primitive handicraft jobs done by women at home and hangovers from a time when the home was the center of hand manufacture.

With the advent of power-operated machinery many tasks which traditionally belonged to women had been taken out of the home into mass production industry, such as spinning, weaving, sewing, baking, soap-making, food-preserving, making dairy products.

Women were forced to follow their jobs into the outside world, there to be accused of taking away "men's" jobs.

I stressed the possibility, at least under socialism, of industrializing all the domestic tasks by collective kitchens and dining places, nurseries, laundries, etc.

FIRE

I said then and am still convinced, that the full opportunity for women to become free and equal citizens with access to all spheres of human endeavor, cannot come under capitalism, although many demands have been won by organized struggle.

I referred to August Bebel's views of a socialist society, like those of all of us, as speculative and prophetic—"the personal opinion of the author himself," he said.

He foresaw the abolition of prostitution and of loveless, arranged marriages, the establishment of economic independence of women and the freedom of mothers from dependence on individual men, the social care of children, the right of every woman to an education, to work and to participate in government; to be a wife, mother, worker and citizen; to enter the arts and sciences and all the professions.

I was fired with determination to fight for all this. □

WHERE WE STAND

WORKERS' CONTROL

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

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

FIGHT OPPRESSION

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

BLACK LIBERATION

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

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

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

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

RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

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

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

INTERNATIONALISM

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

We champion workers' struggles in all countries, from Poland to Puerto Rico, from Palestine to El Salvador. We support all genuine national liberation struggles. We call for victory of the Black freedom fighters in South Africa and Namibia. We oppose all forms of imperialism and oppose sending U.S. troops anywhere in the world to impose U.S. interests.

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

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

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

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



What's ON

BALTIMORE
Cal Winslow on **Protectionism**. August 4, 8:00 p.m.

Educational: **Marxism and Black Liberation**. August 21 and 25, 8:00 p.m. Call 235-4620 for details.

BOSTON
Cal Winslow on **The Coal Wars**. July 31, 7:30 p.m. Call 522-1672 for details.

Joe Allen on **Latin America in Crisis**. Aug. 21, 7:30 pm.

CHICAGO
Sharon Smith on **Women Under Capitalism**. August 6, 7:30 p.m. Call 288-7572 for details.

CINCINNATI
Study Series: **Socialism and the State**. August 24, 134 Kinsey, 7:30 p.m.

DETROIT
Cal Winslow on **The Case for an American Revolution**. August 6, 7:30 p.m. Call 527-2180 for details.

KENT
Marxism Study Group. 7:00 p.m.

Ahmed Shawki on **The Crisis in Central America**. Kent Student Center, 7:30 p.m. Call 673-1710 for details.

NEW YORK
Ian Birchall and Norah Carlin on **The Crisis in European Social Democracy**. August 10, 7:30 p.m. Call 316-0569 for details.

ROCHESTER
Greg Chambers on **Fredrick Douglass**. 6:00 p.m.

John Kelsey on **The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee**. 6:00 p.m. Call 235-3049 for details.

ISO NATIONAL CONVENTION CLEVELAND, OHIO AUGUST 12, 13 AND 14

Sessions include:

- International Perspectives
- The Central American Revolutions
- Why we Need a Revolutionary Party
- The Economic Crisis
- The Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement

There will also be solidarity greetings, workshops and educational sessions.

Observers welcome. Please write ISO, Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio, 44118 for details.



SAN FRANCISCO
Jim Swan on **Chile: Ten Years After**. August 3, 7:30 p.m.

Sandy Hiott on **Convention Report**. August 17, 7:30 p.m.

Larry Bradshaw on **Protectionism**. August 31, 7:30 p.m. Call 285-1908 for details.



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

— Karl Marx

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

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

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

Kissinger: a servant of the system

Henry Kissinger was dubbed by Reagan and the "new right" as the man "who loses countries for us."

Now he is being welcomed back into the fold.

Reagan has appointed him to head the new bipartisan commission on Central America.

The appointment comes a month after the publication of Seymour Hersh's book, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the White House*.

It examines Kissinger's tenure at the White House.

If you can get through this very long book you will be convinced we have a great deal to worry about with Kissinger back in the White House.

POWER

In Hersh's view, Kissinger was always a power-hungry, immoral man, willing to cheat, lie and maneuver, in order to get to the top.

One senior advisor remarked during the Middle East negotiations that, "Henry adores power, absolutely adores it."

Hersh also sets out to prove that Kissinger's foreign policy was not in the best interest of the U.S., that it did not result in successes, as the media has argued, and that his foreign policy was based upon a millenarian anti-communism.

Hersh reports that Kissinger gave the secrets from the Paris peace talks to both the Nixon and Humphrey camps during the 1968 elections.

In this way, he hoped, regardless of who won, his prestige would rise.

When Nixon became president, and appointed Kissinger head of the NSC, Kissinger and Nixon together consolidated executive power, directing foreign policy without the knowledge of Congress.

Kissinger, as National Security Advisor, gave intellectual cover for Nixon.

OBSESSED

Kissinger was obsessed with anti-communism and "winning the war" as was Nixon.

Kissinger was responsible for planning the secret bombing of Cambodia and keeping it secret for 5 years.

Over a 14-month period, Kissinger and Nixon authorized 3,630 flights over Cambodia, dropping 100,000 tons of bombs.

When asked about the bombings, Kissinger denied any knowledge. "I think it's deplorable," he lied to Hersh and the *New York Times* when questioned in 1973.

He was also responsible for the secret war in Laos.

Barbara Winslow reviews Seymour Hersh's new book, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the White House*, and concludes that "we have a good deal to worry about with Kissinger back . . ."

In 1969 and 1970, fighter bomber missions over Laos escalated by 50%—to more than 4,000, nearly six a day.

Kissinger got away with lying to the press about this as well.

Hersh proves that the secret bombings didn't bring the war's end, but simply resulted in more death and destruction.

One group of specially trained Green Berets, originally excited about going on B-52 bombings of Cambodia, were so repulsed at the results, that when asked to go a second time, they replied, "fuck you." The mission didn't take place.

In the years he served in the White House, Kissinger was always a hawk.

He blamed "eastern liberals," congress and intellectuals for not allowing the army to "win the war."

He argued for a "savage decisive blow" against Vietnam, to bring it to its knees and allow the U.S. to "win" the war.

The plan was behind the Christmas bombing in the last months of the negotiations to end the war in 1972.

Infuriated by the negotiations process, Nixon and Kissinger ordered the savage bombing of the North during December/January 1972-73.

CHARGE

Kissinger is being put in charge of the presidential commission dealing with Central America at a critical time.

His only experience with Central America, however, is his role in helping overthrow the Allende government in Chile in 1973.



Henry Kissinger

Kissinger's position was simple:

"In a major Latin American country you have a Communist government joining, for example, Argentina, which is already deeply divided, along a long frontier, joining Peru.

"I don't think we should delude ourselves that an Allende takeover in Chile would not present problems for the democratic forces in Latin America and indeed for the whole western hemisphere."

The domino theory. More than \$3.5 million was spent by Kissinger and Nixon on CIA activities in Chile in 1971.

By 1973, when Allende was killed in a violent right wing military coup d'etat, the CIA had officially reported spending \$8 million on anti-Allende plotting. Kissinger denied involvement.

Kissinger believes no action to stop "international communism" is immoral.

Listen to what he has been saying about Central America:

"If we cannot manage Central America, it will be impossible to convince threatened nations in the Persian Gulf and in other places that we know how to manage the global equilibrium."

The book argues that moral decay existed in the White House.

Nixon, the anti-semitic, racist who was drunk most of the time, created the atmosphere, but Kissinger, always eager to ingratiate himself, went along with it.

RACIST

Kissinger was a racist, and did little to disguise it.

When the State Department appointed C. Clyde Ferguson, a Black law professor from Rutgers University, as special coordinator during the Nigerian Civil War, Kissinger asked, "Do you think he'll understand the cables?"

Another time, on their way to a party honoring Black ambassadors, Kissinger asked William Fulbright, then chairman of the foreign relations committee, "I wonder what the dining room is going to smell like."

Roger Morris, a Kissinger aide, described the rot: "It's a constant barrage. You go around taking it for granted that Nixon's nuts."

"Henry and others go around wringing their hands for the president and saying Rogers (William Rogers, then Secretary of State) is a fag."

"After a while you lose all perspective."

"You don't feel a sense of outrage. All the things that you think later—the drunkenness, the wiretapping—you've

become inured to it while in the White House.

"It isn't a matter of constant moral torment when you're there."

Hersh makes one point unintentionally.

U.S. foreign policy has always been bi-partisan.

Kissinger served 6 presidents: Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Reagan.

Lawrence Eagleburger, who worked for Kissinger under Nixon, was ambassador to Yugoslavia under Carter and was given a state department position under Reagan.

Edward M. Korry, ambassador to Chile under Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, was always virulently anti-communist and anti-Allende.

HAIG

Alexander Haig, the "I'm in charge here," former secretary of state, was a staff aide to the Kennedy administration.

He served as a Pentagon representative on a highly classified Cuban unit called, "The Committee on Subversion."

Haig began as Kissinger's loyal lieutenant, then Nixon's trusted aide, then joined the Reagan administration.

The people in the book who plot to overthrow governments, who write and carry out directives that result in the deaths of thousands of people, are both Republicans and Democrats.

It doesn't really matter what their political affiliation is because, aside from minor differences, they are strongly united—to maintain and extend U.S. power throughout the world.

The main failing in Hersh's book is that he misses the forest, seeing one tree.

No doubt Kissinger is a megalomaniac, obsessed with the thirst for personal power, as well as U.S. power throughout the world.

But Hersh's book only proves that—in order to carry out U.S. foreign policy—plotting, intrigue, assassinations, and lying are endemic to the administrations regardless of the personal qualities of the individuals involved.

SYSTEM

Hersh's book reveals the true Kissinger.

It adds much to what we need to know about the sordidness of the U.S. ruling class.

But if we want to get rid of the rot, we have to get rid of the whole system. □



Lynn nurses return, claim moral victory

LYNN, MA—Nurses in Lynn, Massachusetts ended their five week strike against Lynn Hospital on July 12.

COMPROMISE

Denise Sullivan, of the Massachusetts Association of Nurses said the contract is "a compromise. Neither side can claim clear victory."

The thirty month contract provides an 18.5% pay raise.

The nurses initially struck for a 12 month contract with a

by GERI D'ANNIBALLE

ten percent pay raise, against the hospital's 24 month, 5 percent raise offer.

Other issues which striking nurses considered the most important, such as staffing and a "right to know" clause protecting nurses dealing with hazardous chemicals, were left out or given weak enough

language to make them unenforceable.

The nurses did, however, win the right to not have their shifts rotated more than one time per pay period.

STRENGTH

They felt strengthened by the experience.

Says Sullivan, "The nurses went out on strike together, and they returned from the strike victorious. It was a moral victory." □



Lynn, Massachusetts nurses: We went out together and we returned together.



HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

BY MATT FILSINGER

A coal mine explodes in Virginia, a Dupont chemical plant explodes in Louisiana, a grain elevator explodes in Texas—all these recent "accidents" have resulted in dead and maimed workers.

MAINTENANCE

The last few years have seen a decrease in the upkeep of many plants.

Dangerous equipment is not repaired, and routine maintenance is not performed.

According to Anthony Mazzochi, former health and safety director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), the result of this neglect is often disastrous—witness the recent fatal explosions.

Meanwhile OSHA has extended a program which exempts 835,000 companies in 7 states from regular inspections.

It has plans to offer the program nationwide.

In fact OSHA has approved the participation of Dupont's plant in DeLisle, Mississippi in the Star program.

This allows the company to monitor its own health and safety conditions, with no fear of government inspections.

Meanwhile in the dangerous grain handling industry, no standard at all exists for grain elevators, where dust explosions are a common occurrence.

OSHA promised a standard by last January, but Thorne Auchter, OSHA's head, says that "the standard was lost or misplaced in the agency's bureaucracy for about three months."

STANDARDS

In the mining industry where standards do exist, things have gotten worse.

The reason for this can be seen at the Virginia mine that exploded.

Other miners had recently died there. Government inspections found many violations. But because the typical penalty was a \$50 fine, the company found it cheaper to ignore the violations.

And a major disaster resulted. □

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

Let's close ranks for the 1984 auto contract

I received an invitation from plant manager Tom Clifford to attend a 75th anniversary celebration of Fisher Body on August 3 this year. Why this celebration? This is part of a public relations campaign on the part of General Motors to soften up the union in preparation for the 1984 contract negotiations.

DIVIDE

GM wants to divide its workers by division and plant. They want us to forget Fisher Body became part of GM in 1924. They don't want us to think we are part of a company that is the largest manufacturing corporation in the world. It has assembly plants in twenty five countries. It is a global corporation.

I first went to work for Fisher Body in 1929. From 1936 to 1966, I spent 30 years at Fleetwood Fisher Body. I was chairman of the 1937 sitdown strike committee. After the strike, I became chairman of the shop committee. I was founder of the *Fleetwood Organizer* and president of Local 15 from 1947 to 1949.

My experience with the company and reading of that of others has convinced me GM is one of the worst exploiters of labor in the world today. Before 1937 it used a spy system to prevent their employees from organizing. Since then it has done everything in its power to subvert the UAW into a company union. It has used the shop rules and the bargaining procedure to support their favorite candidate for officers of the local and shop committee members.

Because I refused to be indoctrinated with the company's ideas of union-

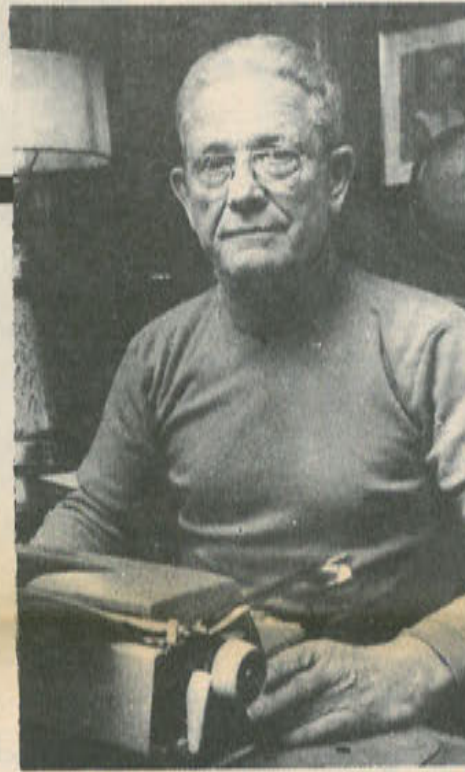
ism it spread the word I was a communist. During my 50 years in the labor movement I have never spoken written in support of what is called communism in the USSR and its satellite countries. They have slandered me. Not being a supporter of World War II, they refused to give me a deferment from military service in 1943, when I was 37 years of age. All others in the skilled trades were given deferments. In 1938 management refused to give me the sick leave necessary for me to recover from a severe condition of hypertension.

OVERTIME

During a ten day heat wave in 1936 when the temperature went over 100 degrees a dozen auto workers died from the heat. Hundreds were taken to hospitals overcome by heat. Regardless of the heat, GM never closed a plant because of it. Many times they would force the workers to put in overtime on the hottest days of the year.

General Motors is largely responsible for the problems of the industry today. It led the industry to build big gas guzzling cars of poor quality. It was responsible for the dismantling of the mass transportation system.

In most Fisher Body plants, including Fleetwood, no Blacks were employed until June 1942 when they were ordered to do so by a President's Order. Those first employed were given jobs at common labor although some of them had been trained as skilled welders. As chairman of the shop committee I saw to it that they were put on the jobs they were trained to do.



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

GM's policy of forced overtime, double shifts and speed-up caused the early death of thousands of its workers. It has forced the early retirement of many workers because of overtime and bad working conditions. This has reduced pensions and social security for these retirees.

Because of the necessity for a worker to devote so much of their time and energy to earning a living it is difficult for most workers to make a good adjustment in retirement. They have learned no activity but work.

The average life of a Fleetwood worker after retirement is 9 years. Because I never became indoctrinated with the company's ideas and because of my union and political activities I have been able to enjoy seventeen years of activity in retirement. My health is better than when I retired from Fleetwood in 1966.

APPEAL

I want to appeal to Fleetwood retirees and those of other Fisher Body plants not to let management divide us from other GM plants or from the workers in the plants and the unemployed. Only the workers in the plants can protect our future pensions. It is they who provide the funds for our social security checks. It would be a serious violation of union solidarity should Fleetwood retirees attend that indoctrination film on August 3. Let's close ranks for the 1984 contract negotiations. □



Buffalo nurses win first union contract

BUFFALO, NY—After twelve weeks on strike, over 700 nurses have won their first contract from Buffalo General Hospital in a vote held on July 19.

The members of Nurses United, CWA Local 1168 accepted the proposed settlement by a 405 to 131 margin.

It was apparent when the nurses walked out on May 1 that the hospital tried to break the union—or at least weaken it at the workplace.

by BRIAN ERWAY

A union busting lawyer headed the hospital bargaining team and their strategy consisted of obstructing any progress while at the same time harassing the strikers in order to wear them down.

When, after 49 days, the nurses became eligible for New York State unemployment compensation, it was delayed when the hospital refused to give the Department of Labor information on hours and workdays.

By early July, the hospital was continuing to stall and was successfully hiring among other graduate nurses and scabs.

One striker told *Socialist Worker*: "I couldn't believe it, some of the nurses I trained on my floor are crossing the picket line. If only I'd known then."

The hospital also tried to use the courts and the threat of an injunction against the nurses.

The union agreed out of court to limit the number of pickets to five per site, but because there are so many sites at BGH and its Deaconess Division, the overall impact was to extend picket coverage to sites which had been neglected.

The hospital's delay tactics were wasting time, but without significantly weakening the strike.

Under pressure from the board of trustees, management reached an agreement with the union.

The two year contract contains a number of weaknesses.

The nurses failed to get additional personal days, and increases in differentials for evening and night shifts are insignificant. Nurses who work day to day as the hospital needs them must cover more weekends without any benefits.

And as Nurses United president Debora Banyi stated: "We are not happy with the financial package, which gives seven percent the first year, and 6 percent the second."

"On the other hand the hospital has guaranteed all the nurses their original jobs back within four weeks. And there is strong contract language concerning grievance procedure and shop representation.

SELECT

"Far from breaking the union, the hospital was unable to punish the nurses for striking by selecting who would return to work."

According to Nurses United the hospital spent nearly \$200 per hour trying to defeat the strike.

It was support from the community, but most of all the dedication and solidarity of the nurses themselves which won the strike for the union. □

HARVARD WORKERS CELEBRATE VICTORY

CAMBRIDGE, MA—Food service workers, represented by Local 26 of the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders Union, celebrated a sweeping victory in the halls of Harvard on July 7 as they overwhelmingly ratified a new three year contract with the university.

The union won virtually all its demands. In addition to a series of wage hikes amounting to a 21% increase over the next three years, the new contract contains several new job security and anti-discrimination clauses.

PROVISIONS

Included in the contract are provisions to update job descriptions, to grant workers the right to grieve their workloads, to offer English classes to workers for whom English is a second language, and to give permanent workers priority for extra hours. (So Harvard cannot continue to unload these hours onto temporary staff at lower wages.)

In addition, the university has agreed to a provision that no Harvard workers will lose their jobs if the university decides to contract out to private catering firms.

The workers attributed this success to the activism and militancy of the once dormant union.

Other Harvard workers have reached much less favorable agreements. The Building and Grounds workers ratified a new one year contract with the university in early July—even though the jobs of some of these workers are in jeopardy due to the university's plans to contract out some of the maintenance work. □

by SUSAN ARNOTT

BESSEMER BANISHES UNION ACTIVIST

by JOE DENTON

BESSEMER, PA—Harry Van Tassel is not greedy.

He and the other workers at Bessemer Cement Company were willing to negotiate when the owners pleaded poverty and asked for one million dollars in concessions on their USWA contract.

But when the union reps asked for job security for ten years, or at least to the end of the contract (August '83) Harry Van Tassel recalls they were told, "I won't give you five god-damn minutes."

The workers refused to take the \$5.22 per hour cut. So, Bessemer claimed bankruptcy and closed the plant.

It was then reopened under new management—and a new name—SME Bessemer Cement Company.

READY

"There were 3,200 people in line ready to walk over me for my job," says Nick Bartlome, about the long line of applicants for the 150 jobs.

Working at the plant is a family tradition for Bartlome.

His grandfather and father retired from Bessemer and his brother and brother-in-law both worked there until the shutdown.

Van Tassel worked for Bessemer for 37 years and Bartlome for 21, but neither one even got an interview with SME.

They were union activists. "No one who was active in the union works in there now," said Van Tassel.

Without a union, working conditions are much worse



Harry Van Tassel

and firings a normal form of discipline. Van Tassel says the company has "no scruples, no god-damn scruples at all."

MORE

"I've heard," said Van Tassel, "now this could be bullshit, but some guys are working for \$3.50 an hour and others for \$6.00 on the same job, but I do know that they have dumped more work on them."

It is hard for Harry to get information from the inside now, because his best buddy who went back to work no longer comes around, and won't even return his calls.

Still, Van Tassel is angry at the company, not his old friends.

"He can't help it, he has no pension coming."

Then he said slowly and thoughtfully, "But it's hard on me. It's hard on him, he's got three kids at home."

The company's callous greed for profits has given a new meaning to the word neighbor. Bartlome lives within rock throwing distance of Van Tassel and all his relatives who worked for the plant, and even closer to one of the people who walked over him to take his job.

"Am I supposed to treat him like a neighbor after he moved all the way down here from Toledo to take my Job?," Bartlome asked of a young man who lives on the next street directly behind his house.

LOSE

Like Van Tassel, Bartlome's anger is reserved for the company. "I don't care if the plant runs or shuts down."

"It wouldn't bother me a bit, because I'm going to lose my house either way unless I find another job."

P.S. The kid that lives in the trailer behind Bartlome's place asked for two days off and was told "If you don't show up on Monday, don't show up!" □



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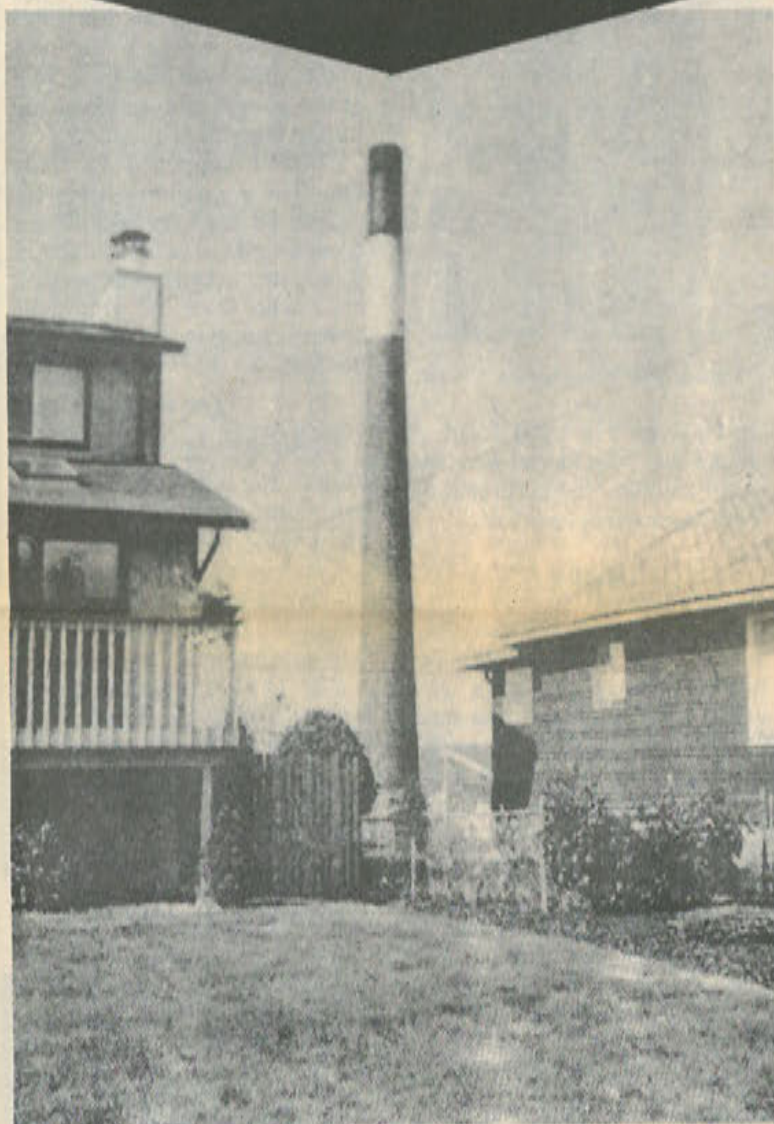
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The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has given the people of Tacoma, Washington this choice:

Allow the Asarco Corporation, a giant, multinational which smelts copper at its Tacoma mill, to continue to spew arsenic into the air.

Or, face the probability that Asarco will close the smelter, at the cost of nearly 600 jobs.

William Ruckelshaus, the new administrator of the agency, has proposed that the "people decide."

RESPONSIBILITY

He says he cannot take responsibility for enforcing the agency's clean air standards.

"For me to sit here in Washington, D.C. and tell the people of Tacoma what is an acceptable risk would be at best arrogant and at worst inexcusable," says Ruckelshaus.

So he is planning public hearings. The final decision will still be his, though he says he will give the "citizens heavy weight."

It is an incredible proposal.

In fact, even the *New York Times* has compared it to the practice of the "Roman Caesars (who) would ask the amphitheater crowd to signal with thumbs up or down whether a defeated gladiator should live or die."

In effect, Ruckelshaus is asking people whether or not they will accept a 5 percent extra cancer rate.

The workers in the Tacoma mill have long known that the arsenic was dangerous.

They are regularly subject to painful lesions, open sores that do not heal.

They are also prone to lung cancer.

The issue of arsenic in the air really exploded nearly a decade ago, however, when children living in the neighborhood of the smelter were found to be endangered.

EPA ASKS PEOPLE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN JOBS AND CANCER

The Ruston elementary school, for example, is located just 300 yards from the west border of the plant.

Children there were found to have four times more arsenic in their urine than children who go to school eight miles away.

The children were also found to have large quantities of arsenic in their hair.

At that same time, Dr. Samuel Milham Jr., then a specialist for the Washington State Health Department, concluded, "I know this plant is making cancer in people."

His study reported that in the years 1950 to 1971, 40 Tacoma smelter workers died of lung cancer—twice the number considered to be normal.

Many of the Asarco workers, unfortunately, are prepared to accept the risk. They feel they have no choice—there is 12 percent unemployment in Tacoma, an industrial city on Puget Sound, hard hit by the depression in the lumber industry.

Maurice Wassman, a 42-year smelter employee says the plant "is no health resort, but neither is anywhere else people work."

TASTE

But Julie Holden, who remembers that as a little girl playing outside her home near the smelter she could sometimes taste in the air the chemicals emitted from Asarco's 571-foot smokestack, disagrees.

Holden, 24, now a clerk in a nearby gift shop wants the plant closed.

"I'm concerned about getting lung cancer."

And she should be. As an air pollutant, arsenic, a deadly poison, is a carcinogen for which no safe level can be established.

Asarco admits arsenic emission averaging 189 tons a year.

There should be another alternative.

The EPA should force Asarco to clean up its act, and it should force them to keep the plant open—or find acceptable alternative employment for the workers.

But this will not happen.

Ruckelshaus recently came to the EPA to replace Anne Gorsuch, the Reagan administrator who was caught allowing corporations to get away with uncontrolled dumping of hazardous wastes.

Ruckelshaus came from the Weyerhaeuser Corporation, which also has its headquarters in Tacoma.

MONEY

Weyerhaeuser is well-known in the Northwest for raping the mountains and forests of Western Washington—and for making lots of money.

So no wonder Ruckelshaus is content to sit back and "let the people decide."

Whatever the outcome, Asarco's profits will not be threatened.

And the slaughter will continue.

Each year, 100,000 men and women are killed on their jobs in the United States alone, including those who die at the Tacoma smelter.

They are sacrificed for one reason. Profit.

In this system profits come first.