



**THREE YEARS SINCE
GDANSK: EYEWITNESS
REPORT FROM POLAND**
See pages 8 & 9



**ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER
ATTACK: THE FIGHT FOR
REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM**
See page 5

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STOP THE MISSILES
See page 2

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FROM LEBANON TO CENTRAL AMERICA

REAGAN RAISES THE STAKES



The current term for the U.S. role in Lebanon is "peacekeeping." But make no mistake: American troops are in a war.

Faced with an Israeli withdrawal from Beirut, the U.S. has assumed Israel's role. U.S. and Israeli support enables the Lebanese Phalangist government to protect a tiny ruling minority at gunpoint.

The response of Congress has been to squabble with Reagan over what to call the conflict. Both parties agree on the bottom line: continued U.S. military presence in Lebanon.

"When we came into office, one of our primary missions was to get Americans out of the 'Vietnam syndrome' and get them accustomed again to the idea that protecting power overseas can help the cause of peace," said an administration official.

"Well, it worked. There's a consensus on Capitol Hill in favor of keeping American troops in a battle zone."

Lebanon is but one of the U.S. battle zones. Reagan continues to support a gang of Central American dictators. The march to war has quickened.

The biggest difference between Lebanon and Vietnam is that the United States, like the rest of the world, is mired in recession. Such global economic crisis creates political instability that sends governments reaching for their guns—no matter what the human toll.

There is an alternative to the bosses' madness: workers' power. No more Vietnams! U.S. Hands Off Lebanon! □

ACT NOW TO STOP THE MISSILES

Protests against the Euro-missiles are being organized for numerous cities in the U.S. from October 21 through 24.

The protests in the U.S. will be in conjunction with protests in the countries where the missiles are to be deployed.

In accord with a decision reached by the NATO ministers in 1979, the U.S. will begin putting 108 Pershing II and 464 cruise missiles into Western Europe in December. Talks between the U.S. and the USSR in Geneva hold little promise of stopping the deployment of the Euromissiles.

CLIMATE

The political climate has become more and more favorable for the U.S. to put the 572 missiles in place. In West Germany, the new Kohl government had a pro-missile plank in its election platform. Thatcher was reelected in Britain while taking a strong anti-Soviet stance that included support for Euromissiles.

And at the same time the Reagan rearmament program came up in the U.S. Congress, the Soviets gave him just what

by MILT FISK

he needed in order to get his program through by shooting down Korean Air Lines #007.

In the week of September 15, both the House and the Senate authorized his \$187.5 billion military bill.

The authorization bill includes \$407.7 million for 95 Pershing II missiles for deployment in Western Europe. The bill was approved 83-8 in the Senate and 266-152 in the House.

The House voted 256-161 against nerve gas production several months ago. The Senate split 49-49 on nerve gas production, with vice-president Bush casting the tie-breaking vote favoring it.

This indicates a sizeable shift of votes in the wake of KAL 007, since money for nerve gas production is provided for in the authorization bill that won handily in both chambers.

EFFECT

In this atmosphere, all res-



Protesting the Trident

ervations about the destabilizing effects of the Euromissiles have been swept aside in Congress.

Legislators have short memories in regard to what liars administrators are when they wish to drum up support for militarism. When the Lusitania was sunk by a German submarine in 1915, both the U.S. and the British governments denied that it was carrying munitions. In fact its hold was full of ammunition.

When the Johnson administration wanted to get support for U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war, it claimed an unprovoked attack on a U.S. ship in the Tonkin Gulf. In fact the ship had been spying near the Vietnamese coast.

LIES

Without asking whether Reagan is lying or not about KAL 007, Congress has passed a bill that provides \$1.84 billion for 840 M-1 tanks, \$4.8 billion to produce the first 21 MX missiles, \$5.6 billion for 10 B-1 bombers, and money for an active armed force of 2,135,900, and a National Guard of 1,035,600.

The Democratic dominated House has, then, made official its joining the Reagan militarist camp.

Talk of electing a Congress and a president in 1984 who will stop the arms race seems idle. If we are seriously interested in stopping the arms race, we must build a movement which Congress cannot ignore.

This is the lesson of the success of the anti-war movement

during the Vietnam war. The time to start is with the upcoming protests against the Euromissiles.

The disarmament movement has no cause to hang its head because of KAL 007. Such incidents show why neither the U.S. nor the USSR should be armed with weapons that can destroy human life on the globe.

FIGHT

Rather, it is time to come out fighting in order to be able to take advantage of the shift in climate that will result when the propaganda victory over KAL 007 grows stale.

It will grow stale when people look at the consequences of paying for rearmament. Welfare will be deferred, interest rates will continue high, and inflation will be reignited.

And what are the consequences of the Soviet counteractions to Euromissiles and the MX going to be? Whatever they are, they will be the basis for another call to rearm. And so the arms race will go on, unless we act to stop it now. □

BRUTUS WINS ASYLUM

CHICAGO, IL—Dennis Brutus, a world-renowned poet and outspoken opponent of South Africa's racist apartheid system, won political asylum on September 6—after a 2 year battle with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

TARGET

Judge Irving Schwartz, stating that "brutus is a prime target" of the South African government, and that "Zimbabwe is unable to provide protection," ruled against the U.S. government's attempts to deport him to Zimbabwe.

For Brutus' supporters and for anti-apartheid activists throughout the country, the ruling represents victory after two years of demonstrations, education and fundraising campaigns on Brutus' behalf.

Brutus, a professor at Northwestern University, who had worked in the U.S. since 1971, was ordered by the INS to leave the country in June, 1981, allegedly over a technicality in his application for visa extension.

After the ruling, Brutus stated, "I am delighted and grateful for the support I received. I think it's an important political statement because it supports my position as an opponent of apartheid." □

Asbestos: the killer dust

This spring an office building was demolished in downtown Cleveland to make way for the new SOHIO headquarters.

Thousands of people watched as the building toppled to the ground sending dust everywhere. Months later evidence was released by the city that dust samples from the demolition contained asbestos fibers.

SOHIO maintained that the building had not been insulated with asbestos and dust they sampled showed no fibers.

The truth may never be known but if asbestos was released into the air those people who observed the demolition are at risk of developing lung disease and cancer. This is just another example of a corporation endangering lives and then refusing to acknowledge guilt.

CANCER

In the mid sixties a report was published which linked asbestos with the development of lung disease (asbestosis), lung cancer, and mesothelioma (a cancer of the lung and abdomen lining). However, asbestos continued to be used as insulation material until 1981 and today many people are breathing in fibers at work and school from peeling insulation.

It has also been used in things such as auto brake linings, fireproofing,



DR. DENA MAGOULIAS REPORTS ON THE DEADLY EFFECTS OF ASBESTOS

hair dryers, and at least one hundred other products. 27.5 million workers in the U.S. have inhaled asbestos over the past forty years, and their family members were exposed through them.

Compensation suits are now being filed but many people do not live to see their compensation trial get through the courts. One third of widows have to wait more than two years to get any money to support themselves and their children.

Lawyers' fees eat up forty percent of the money. workers who file claims find that they are getting the runaround from workman's compensation and disability because no one wants to foot the bill.

As one woman put it, "I always thought workman's compensation was the law, but the way it came down we expended

a lot of time and effort, but still can't get it. I'm not saying we won't get it, but so far we haven't. It's a lot of psychological pressure."

Many workers are not aware that their diseases are related to their work, or that they can even file a claim. Even among men who worked continuously with asbestos and who became totally disabled only 29 percent applied for workers compensation.

Also, many times the doctor will not explore occupational history to find out if the disease is related to the job. If the physician does realize that the patient's problem is related, he may side with the company and not inform their workers. In the Manville Corporation knew about the medical complications of asbestos; for years but did not inform

their workers. In 1982 they filed bankruptcy to avoid paying money out on lawsuits.

The industry is currently seeking to have legislation passed through Congress which would set up a state compensation board to settle claims. If this bill passes, the government would pay for half the settlement, and the worker will not be able to sue the asbestos manufacturers for any money above that set by the state.

GUILTY

Industries should not be bailed out by the government when they are guilty of not trying to prevent occupationally caused disease. Working environments should be safe and if health hazards are found a worker deserves to be notified and promptly compensated for any problems which arise.

People who work in buildings with asbestos insulation should demand that the building be inspected for release of asbestos fibers, and asbestos removed if necessary. Unions are a good place to bring up such issues.

Now, with the economic situation what it is, workers are often afraid to bring up questions of safety for fear of losing their jobs. If united, however, the fight for a safe workplace will be won. □

U.S. HANDS OFF LEBANON!

A year ago last month marked the first anniversary of the three days of slaughter of Palestinians in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla by Christian Phalangists.

While Israeli soldiers stood by, 2,000 people—mainly women, children and the elderly—were savagely massacred. These same forces now stand as the officially recognized government of Lebanon.

TROOPS

Reagan marked this anniversary by sending U.S. forces into Beirut to back up the perpetrators of this massacre.

He did this despite the danger of a wider war with Syria.

To back up their side in Lebanon, U.S. forces began shelling villages in the hills surrounding Beirut.

Lebanon's government—led by Amin Gemayel—is typical of the right-wing governments the U.S. supports throughout the world.

Its power is based on the privileged minority position of the Maronite Christians who have dominated the country for forty years—to the exclusion of a majority of the population, whether Moslem Druse or Palestinians.

Since Israel is not able to dominate the region through intimidation and terror, the U.S. and its allies have come to their aid, with what is ironically called a "peace-keeping force."

PLAN

In the late 1970s, the CIA devised a plan to crush the Palestinian resistance.

The Israelis would sweep north into Lebanon. Meanwhile, the Phalange would attack from the north and push them toward the advancing Israeli army. The Palestinians would be caught in trap.

The CIA calculated, despite the anti-Israeli rhetoric from Syria, that they would not risk war.

In 1980-81, Israel made major incursions into Lebanon. The Palestinians fought back. But it was clear the Syrians would do nothing.

In 1977 President Carter promised Syria it would be a part of a regional settlement, and that the U.S. would put pressure on Israel

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

to give back part of the Golan Heights. In return Syria would allow Israel to "settle" the Palestinian problem.

Last year Reagan gave the Israelis the green light to mount a full scale invasion. Everybody thought the matter would be settled in a few weeks.

It started according to plan. The Syrians withdrew most of their forces, put up a weak show around their own borders, and the PLO was swept back in Beirut with several thousand PLO fighters forced to leave Lebanon altogether. Then Israel allowed the slaughter at Sabra and Shatilla.

FADE

But Israel found its hope in the Maronites fading as they were divided and unable to control more than a small area of Beirut. Israeli casualties mounted and pressure to bring them home forced a withdrawal to the south.

As Moshe Arens, Israel's defense minister put it, "Our first consideration is the protection of Israeli lives. We don't have to be in Beirut to defend Galilee."

In their place came American, French and Italian troops. Officially they came to keep the peace. In reality they were there to reorganize and support the Lebanese army—dominated by the Maronites.

The Lebanese army tried to take positions held by the Druse and other Moslem groups. The Druse fought back, using equipment left by the PLO and Syrians.

When it looked like they might stop the Lebanese army, the U.S. and French unleashed their ships and aircraft.

President Gemayel openly admits that the western armies are all that prop up his government.

MARINES

This is not the first time

the U.S. government has rushed to the aid of a minority Lebanese government. In 1957 President Eisenhower sent the Marines to Lebanon.

Today it is the USS Eisenhower with its 84 combat aircraft that stands by with a host of accompanying war machines to insure an American settlement.

The legal hassle between Congress and the President is simply a smokescreen designed to confuse the real issues in the Middle East. As a Reagan aide put it, "The irony of this (hassle) is that Congress wants the troops to stay."

The Druse are not fighting for a socialist state. Instead,



Sabra refugee camp after last year's massacre

they are looking to other Arab states and have said they are prepared to make a deal with the Americans and the Phalange.

The press has painted the situation as one of a multiple of religious sects fighting it out. They give no answer for a settlement except to help make Gemayel's position stronger.

In fact, the factions there are created by American,

French and British interests. They have created and propped up the Maronite-controlled state.

The mass of workers and peasants have been reduced to the status of second class citizens. The west is not there to keep peace.

We must call for the removal of western troops from Beirut. And an end to Reagan's war! U.S. out of Lebanon!

South Korean airliner incident: Reagan heats up the cold war

On September 1, 269 people suffered a terrible fate in what is now referred to as the "Flight 007 tragedy."

Responsibility for the massacre lies in the first instance with Russia's rulers, who's jet fighters shot down the South Korean jumbo jet.

HYPOCRISY

But the brutality with which the Russians acted has been matched by the hypocrisy of Ronald Reagan's response.

Reagan has been quick to denounce the shooting down of the Korean airliner as "a barbaric, cold blooded murder." But his only interest in the affair is to use it as an opportunity to increase support for his war policy.

Reagan at first denounced reports that there was an American spy plane in the area as a "pack of lies." It was later proven to be true.

And despite Reagan's huffing and puffing, many in the U.S. military were not surprised at the shooting down of the airliner.

General George Cagen (retired air force intelligence officer) said, "I've never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet air space. What happened . . .

they invited."

HOSTILE

Incidents like this are absolutely inevitable in a world divided by hostile armed camps. The creation on each side of enormous military complexes creates mutual suspicion and paranoia. In such an atmosphere civilians are only too likely to be the victims of the trigger-happy generals.

And the Russians are not the first to have shot down a civilian airliner.

The Israelis blasted an airliner bound from Libya out of the sky in 1973, when it refused to follow their orders to land. There was no outraged response from Washington, even though 104 civilians were killed.

Then there was the "mystery" of the Italian DC-9 which disappeared in June, 1980.

An inquiry concluded that the airliner was hit by a missile fired from the American Sixth Fleet on exercises in the area.

The U.S. government ignored the findings. Yet two years later another Italian plane narrowly avoided the same fate when flying too close to NATO exercises.

It has now been revealed

that the American spy plane, the RC 135, which was over the Sea of Japan the night of the shooting of the Korean jumbo jet could have radioed the pilots that they were in danger. But they did nothing.

The spy plane carried equipment which was capable of jamming radio transmissions. So it could have actually prevented the Russian fighter pilot from getting through to the Korean airliner.

WAR

But Reagan isn't concerned with facts. He has stepped up the march toward war—in Central America and now in Lebanon.

The Korean shooting provided him a marvellous opportunity to do just that.

Those 269 people died unnecessarily on the Korean jumbo jet. If the arms race is allowed to continue undaunted millions will perish in a nuclear holocaust.

The only way to prevent this from happening is to oppose the cold warriors both east and west.

This means challenging the entire system that has created a world rushing headlong towards mass destruction. □

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FIGHTING WORDS

You are either a victim or a rebel.

—Richard Wright

Chicago Hispanics demand jobs

CHICAGO, IL—For the nineteenth time in less than a month, 300 demonstrators protested the city's failure to enforce its own affirmative action program.

Before 7 a.m. on September 19, the Latin American Task Force picketed, blocked traffic and prohibited entrance to the construction site at the Presidential Towers, a near west side housing complex.

Protestors pelted police with mud and clay when the cops tried to end the blockade, injuring two. Five demonstrators were arrested.

PARTICIPATION

Most of the remaining demonstrators continued their protest downtown outside of City Hall until noon.

Presidential Towers is a

by **CHRISTINA BERGMARK**

\$200 million public housing complex being constructed on a six acre site in a mostly Hispanic area of the city. Since construction began a month ago, Hispanic leaders were demanding 50% minority participation in terms of construction jobs and hiring of minority sub-contractors.

This 50% ratio was approved by representatives of James McHugh Construction Company, the general contractor. It was also approved by HUD, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which is providing a federal mortgage guarantee for the project.

The city, which is sponsor-

ing the project, never agreed to the 50% figure, but it did agree that one-third of the jobs would go to minority applicants. James LaRocque, the secretary for McHugh, claims that the one-third hiring requirement has been met.

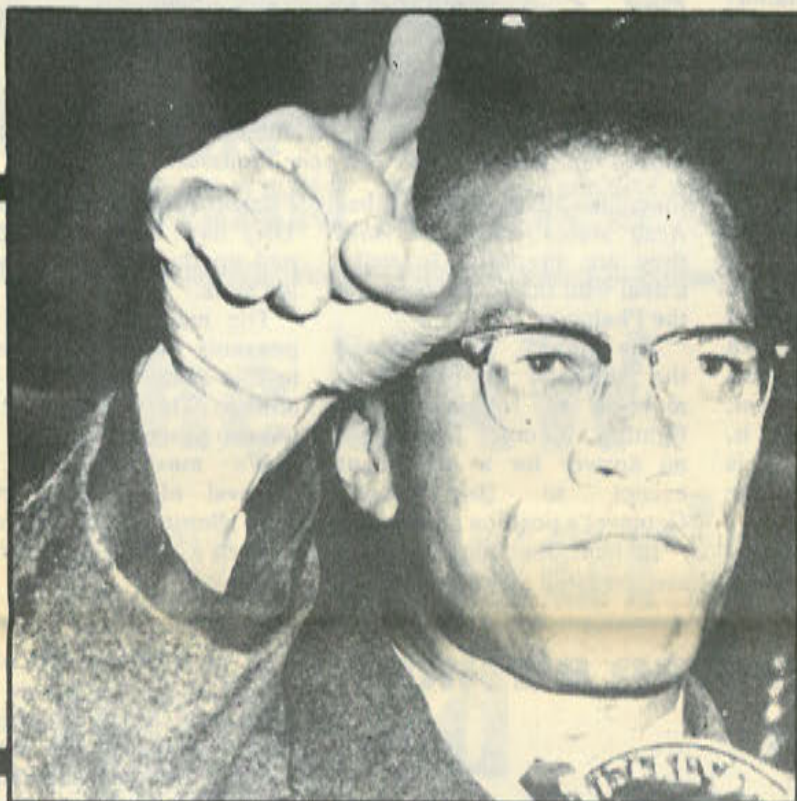
However, there is no way of verifying that claim since no one is supervising the company's affirmative action program. A quick visit to the construction site is enough to confirm that minority hiring has been far less than one-third.

Between 200 and 500 demonstrators have picketed City Hall demanding jobs and justice. They are determined to win their demands. □



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

August 27: we need a fighting movement



Malcolm X

More than anything else, the recent march on Washington, August 27, symbolized one giant question mark.

The same question mark has hung over the country since Ronald Reagan took over the White House in January 1981—and in 12 months dismantled what twenty years of

demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts, riots and street battles with the police had accomplished.

What can we do and where do we go from here?

ALTERNATIVE

Since the beginning of the 1970s there has been no clear

by **AZAR HANIF**

alternative—accepted or embraced by the masses—to the two party system of the capitalists.

Back and forth the country has reeled from the Republicans to the Democrats and back to the Republicans. The established civil rights and labor heads, like the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks and labor's Lane Kirkland, have done little to further the cause than to urge the masses to vote Democratic again.

In 1980 however, Blacks failed to vote and many blue collar workers voted Republican.

The revolutionary left, on

the other hand, was unable to build a credible alternative. It posed no serious threat to anyone, let alone the capitalist system.

But the march on Washington as first proposed last year was to be the debut of a new "coalition of conscience" activists, involving Blacks, Hispanics, women's organizations, labor and peace groups that could effectively challenge Reaganomics.

The march was to bring together hundreds of thousands to demand jobs, peace and freedom.

PROBLEMS

Just months before the march there were serious problems.

Several liberal Jewish groups pulled out because they feared that the march would be anti-Israel.

The labor heads called for a day of protest, not on August 27, but the following week—on Labor Day—therefore weakening labor's contingent in the march.

Still, 250,000 to 400,000 people attended. Many were angry and most wanted to know what is to be done.

The march was good in that hundreds of thousands of people expressed dissatisfaction with Reagan's policies. And the march brought out a large number of Blacks.

But the answers given to those hundreds of thousands was the same one put forward umpteen times before by the liberal leadership—vote and vote Democratic.

MOVEMENT

This strategy has proved to be ineffective throughout the history of the Black struggle. We cannot fall for it again. The march on Washington should be seen as a beginning of a new movement, one that will get more militant with time.

The only way Black people have won anything is by militantly fighting for it, not by casting a vote for a ruling party. □

Marching August 27



ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK

Building the struggle for reproductive freedom

R2N2 MEETS

On October 7-9 the Reproductive Rights National Network will bring together representatives from dozens of local women's groups for a national conference on reproductive freedom.

Member groups have initiated and participated in demonstrations and rallies in support of abortion rights and lesbian liberation, and have campaigned against sterilization abuse and against the use of the dangerous contraceptive, Depo-Provera—a drug which can have severe and debilitating effects, and which is suspected of causing cancer.

Reproductive rights activists will have to be more visible and more militant than ever in order to attract new women to the struggle for women's liberation. The defeat of the ERA proved once again that women cannot rely on politicians' promises.

In spite of the Democratic Party's gleeful rhetoric about Reagan's "gender gap," voting records show that few Democrats stand up for women's rights when it counts. Worse, some leading Democrats are actively pushing anti-abortion legislation.

The 1984 election will provide opportunities for rallies, demonstrations, and speaking out on issues crucial to women. But we will have to argue against any change from an activist strategy to an electoral one. Our job is to build a fighting women's movement to challenge the system—not to patch it up.

The Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2) Annual Conference takes place this year at Barnard College, 117th St. and Broadway, New York City. For registration information, call (212) 964-1350. □



Carrying cardboard babies and shouting "Murderer!" at women seeking abortions, so-called "pro-lifers" picketed hospitals and abortion clinics around the country during their annual "Day of Rescue," September 17.

A hundred anti-abortion demonstrators threatened women entering Newark, NJ City Hospital. At Preterm clinic in Cleveland, Ohio, fifty right-to-lifers harassed women getting off the city bus on their way to the clinic.

A small but aggressive group of anti-abortionists surrounded patients' cars at Women for Women clinic in Cincinnati, Ohio, screaming, "Don't kill your baby."

In these and other cities, the anti-women demonstrators were met by determined abortion rights activists. They carried banners and signs and chanted in support of women's right to safe and legal abortion.

Last spring, a Supreme Court ruling upheld women's right to abortion, in a decision that defeated the attempts of right to life groups to restrict access to abortion. At the same time, however, the court did rule to allow states to restrict teenage women's rights by requiring parental or court approval for minors seeking abortions.

Since the anti-abortionists were defeated by the courts, clinics around the country have reported increased anti-abortion picketing. Abortion

foes are more hostile and aggressive, bullying women coming into clinics and threatening activists who show up to support and protect them.

Angry pickets are not the only barrier to abortion rights. The average cost for an abortion is \$285. That is \$44 more than the average monthly welfare check for a family on AFDC.

In 1976, Congress passed the Hyde amendment cutting off federal Medicaid funds for abortions.

Although 14 states still provide state-level funding, the publicity given to the federal cut-offs has meant that even where state money is available, many women on welfare are unaware that state funds will cover the cost of abortions.

RESPONSIBILITY

Women have the main responsibility for bearing and raising children in our society. Yet, courts and legislatures insist on restricting women's access to jobs and services that could provide them a decent living.

The women's liberation movement raised the expectations of women at every level of society.

But as the economic crisis continues, the impoverishment of women increases. 70 percent of female-headed households now live below the poverty level. And single women account for most of the growth in female poverty.

Today 85 percent of U.S. women can expect to have to support themselves—and possibly their children—at some time in their lives.

With the rise in divorce and single motherhood, women are increasingly forced to raise children on their own. This is in spite of the hardships imposed by a shrinking job market, the recent 25 percent cut in federal child-care subsidies, and a barrage of cuts in housing subsidies and in food programs.

Black women have even fewer options—they are twice as likely to be unemployed and are paid less when they do have jobs.

Infant mortality in many U.S. Black communities is higher than that of the Third World.

Reproductive freedom—which starts with the ability to decide when and if to bear children—is a necessary condition for the independence, equality and liberation of women. Women must organize to defend reproductive rights against the right wing attacks on clinics, and against the efforts of courts and congressmen to make women pay for the economic crisis. □

**CELIA PETTY
REPORTS ON THE
STRUGGLE FOR
REPRODUCTIVE
RIGHTS AND THE
UPCOMING R2N2
CONFERENCE**



Graffiti

Plenty of sleep . . .

Ronald Reagan should have no trouble getting many hours of pampered, restful sleep on his Asian tour, scheduled for November.

Presidential aides have scheduled no more than three evening events for the president during the entire two-week, 5 nation tour, to ensure that the 72 year old head of state presents a well-rested public image throughout his trip.

No more office gossip . . .

In an effort to maximize white collar productivity, TRW corporation has recently completed an experiment with their software design team in Redondo Beach, California.

They took 35 designers and placed them in "solitary confinement"—in small, private, windowless offices wired with state-of-the-art computer equipment.

The result? An anticipated 39% increase in the department's productivity in the first year of the experiment.

One programmer, Dennis Hacker, describes his reaction to his new work surroundings: "I'd close the door and grind away at my work, and the next thing I knew it was 6:00 and I'd worked right through the day . . ."

Some psychologists have warned about the long-term effects of such changes in the quality of people's work lives.

But Hacker states that he has learned to prefer a conference call on a computer screen to a casual chat in the corridor.

Career opportunities . . .

"Careers with new horizons" at the CIA, were offered in a September New York Times ad.

In part it reads: "We need individuals who are innovative in social and official circumstances, can think on their feet, and can solve problems on the spot . . ."

We bet they do too.

Quote of the month . . .

"The top end won't get the short end of the stick," says a White House statement last month.

Get 'em while they're young . . .

An asbestos inspection survey found that up to 3.2 million U.S. children may be exposed to dangerous levels of the substance in their schools. As the survey's sponsor, the Service Employee's International Union (SEIU) said, this problem is not being addressed by the government. □

UAW-GM Fremont pact: some "victory"

What do you call it when: the company closes a plant, lays off 4,000 workers, then re-opens the plant with a promise to re-hire only 2,500, at lower wages, with fewer positions?

If you're United Auto Workers president Owen Bieber, you call it a "substantial victory."

Even in an era when union bureaucrats stumble over one another in an effort to give back hard-won gains, such a comment is questionable, if not ridiculous.

AGREEMENT

But that's the way Bieber described the UAW's agreement with the General Motors-Toyota proposed joint production venture at the GM

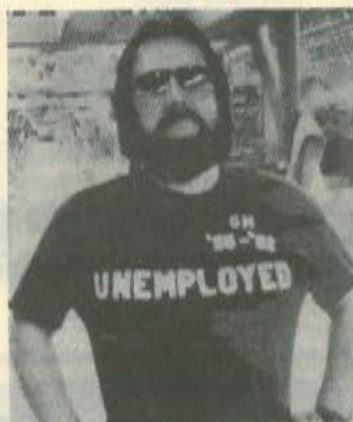
plant in Fremont, California.

The union agreed to several concessions, such as far fewer job classifications compared to those in other domestic auto contracts. That means a wage cut.

RECOGNIZE

The UAW also recognized the GM-Toyota operation as a "new" company. Thus, GM-Toyota will not be required to re-hire the laid-off workers on the seniority basis stipulated in the UAW-GM agreement. The new GM-Toyota outfit promised only to make the laid-off GM workers a "primary source" of employees and to consider "experience" in hiring decisions.

Further details will be negotiated by the time the



Laid off Fremont worker.

plant begins full-scale production in 1985. Toyota will hire a few dozen workers in the next few months and train them in Japan.

That's Bieber's "substantial victory."

Bieber made this conquest without consulting the Fre-

mont GM local, which the UAW bureaucracy dissolved. Thus, laid-off workers had no chance to ratify the agreement between the UAW and GM-Toyota.

SUIT

Some 13 rank and file laid-off Fremont GM workers and their local officials resisted the agreement, filing suit against GM and the UAW on September 2. The suit was dismissed two weeks later.

The 13 workers were right to fight the UAW bureaucrats' contract shenanigans with GM-Toyota. But courtroom battles are no substitute for shop-floor organizing.

The UAW was born in massive strikes—and only such actions can win real substantial victories. □

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

BUT ISN'T SOCIALISM TOTALITARIAN?

The ideas of economic equality go back a long way—at least as far as the ancient Greeks.

But it was Karl Marx who combined the ideas about economic equality and political democracy just as the industrial revolution was making socialism a material possibility for the first time in history.

DEMOCRACY

The first principle of Marxism is the self-emancipation of the working class, or the fusion of revolutionary socialism with revolutionary democracy. As Frederick Engels said, "This is the law, all the rest is commentary."

Marx developed the ideas of socialism from below following his own fight for freedom of speech and the press in autocratic Germany. As a newspaper editor in the Rhineland, he argued for full democracy, and an end to state censorship.

Like many of the liberals of his day, Marx believed that the new Kaiser, Wilhelm IV, would listen to a reasoned argument. He was wrong. He was forced off the paper by the government and went into exile.

During this time he was also becoming acquainted with the ideas of socialism coming out of France.

But these were the ideas of socialism from above. Utopians like Cabet, Fourier and Owen saw socialism as something to be brought to the masses by an intellectual elite.

Democracy was not part of their new world. At best, mass movements were to be mani-

by BILL ROBERTS

pulated. And they were always to be feared.

Marx was able to put together the ideas of wealth-sharing with the ideas of democracy, and thus move beyond what he referred to as "crude communism."

In a piece written for the German Democratic Communists, Engels said, "In our time democracy and communism are one."

ELITISM

In America, Ralph Bellamy exemplified the elitist wing of socialism. In his novel, *Looking Backward*, Bellamy described his socialist world as a model army structured on the order of a beehive.

The rulers would be the technocrats. Society would be run by wise men, thereby ensuring a friction-free system beneficial to all.

Eugene Debs stands out as the most powerful voice for the ideas of socialism from below in this country.

He often paraphrased Marx's "first principle": "The great discovery the modern slaves have made is that they themselves their freedom must achieve."

Again in Debs's famous speech at Canton, Ohio, during World War I, he illustrated the essential meaning of this principle:

"Too long have the workers of the world waited for some Moses to lead them out of bondage. He has not come, he

Democracy: socialists' first principle



Miner voting down contract

will never come.

"I would not lead you out if I could—for if you could be led out, you could be led back again. I would have you make up your minds that there is nothing you cannot do for yourselves."

Socialists must stand on this "first principle." Unfortunately, most people and institutions calling themselves "socialist" do not.

Thus, when the Polish workers rose up and challenged their "socialist" government, "socialist" Cuba denounced them and "socialist" Russia threatened to invade and crush them.

Not understanding this basic principle made it possible to disarm the Chilean working class in 1973. The result was a disastrous dicta-

torship over the workers.

In this country it led to conspiracy theories as the primary reason for the Chilean defeat—suggesting that the fight for socialism is hopeless because of the CIA and the FBI.

MAJORITY

The principle of working class self-emancipation—the democratic core of socialism—was Marx's greatest contribution. Understanding that there is a social majority which has an objective vested interest to change the present system, takes the ideas of socialism out of the sky and places them firmly on the ground.

Socialism from below is the only route to follow. Any other route is illusory and dangerous. □

CHILE: Months of protest rock the regime



by GLENN PERUSEK

September was the fourth month in a row to witness demonstrations in Chile. They again rocked the regime of dictator Augusto Pinochet.

The confrontations between police and demonstrators were called the most violent in ten years. On September 7 over 1,000 demonstrators pelted the police with rocks in Santiago. The police responded with tear gas, water canons and clubs. Dozens were injured and hundreds arrested.

A group of 200 protestors were beaten after they sat down and sang the national anthem in a shopping mall.

When they were beaten by the police, shopkeepers shouted, 'Disgrace!' and 'Murderers!' at the police.

Similar demonstrations in August led Pinochet to order 18,000 soldiers onto the streets. As a result more than thirty people were killed.

General Pinochet, who has held the country in an iron grip for ten years, shows no signs of loosening his stranglehold. In a speech commemorating the anniversary of his rise to power he characterized the opposition to his brutal regime as 'agents of violence.' He said his military government has created 'a new system, full of humanism and with a clear democratic character.'

DICTATOR

No wonder the trade unionist Rodolfo Seguel, head of the National Copper Workers Confederation, has called Pinochet an 'absurd and fanatical dictator.'

Pinochet's regime has tortured and killed thousands and exiled thousands more since coming to power in 1973. The military government is the agent of violence in Chile, not the opposition.

Pinochet lives in that upside down world where military governments are democratic and opponents of dictatorship are 'tyrants.'

When Pinochet came to power in 1973 he brought in monetarist economists from the U.S. to advise him. The essence of their policy was to open the country up to foreign (mostly American) business, and to slash the living standards of workers in order to push economic growth.

The world economic recession brought an end to the monetarist experiment. With over 30% unemployment, the monetarists were kicked out. Rising political unrest has forced Pinochet to begin allowing exiles back into the country.

The demonstrations, the police reaction, and the figures on dead and arrested get big headlines. They show that the ground beneath the feet of the Latin American dictator will not support him for long.

There are many sections of Chilean society that want to see an end to dictatorship. Sections of the bourgeoisie want a tamer form of capitalism. They identify such a transition with their own economic well-being. They also would have more direct political control of the country if the military would step aside.

TRANSITION

Reform-oriented labor leaders also seek democratization. Unfortunately, their organizations have been atomized during the ten years of dictatorship. They seek a relatively slow process of transition.

This would allow them time to take control of stable working class organizations. These would serve to dampen the struggle of the working class.

The capitalists support such a snail's pace path to democracy.

It is actually argued by some in the Latin American left that perhaps the best way for democracy to be achieved is for the working class demands to be stifled entirely until after the transition. They argue the following: Under capitalist democracy capitalists are the ruling class. They are threatened by working class insurgency.

If they are sufficiently threatened they will turn back to the military. So no demo-



Santiago demonstration against Pinochet

cracy will be forthcoming.

Capitalists and reformists are thus united in their desire to hinder independent working class activity against the dictatorship.

Revolutionaries must make a different argument.

Democracy is never guaranteed under capitalism. A struggle is necessary to insure it. In such a struggle, the working class will find allies who oppose the military government, but not the system that goes along with it.

It is necessary for the working class to start now to create their own organizations. They need trade unions dominated by the rank and file (not bureaucrats) and they need a revolutionary political party.

STRIKES

The politicians will put themselves at the head of the huge demonstrations.

But it is necessary for

working class militants to foster a fighting spirit among the working class as a whole. Small strikes are every bit as important as the large demonstrations. It is in industrial struggles that the working class learns to organize itself.

Strikes go beyond the limits of capitalist democracy. They are the beginning of working class democracy. The only future for the Chilean working class is in working class action—for itself. □

MARCOS: A RUTHLESS DICTATOR

Massive street protests, riots and guerilla fighting in the Philippines have forced rightist dictator Ferdinand Marcos to reach for his U.S. supplied guns to maintain his bloody regime.

Such a strategy is nothing new to Marcos.

During his 18-year rule, at least 60,000 Filipinos were murdered or have "disappeared" at the hands of the government.

The latest Filipino rebellions were sparked by apparent government involvement in the assassination of Benigno Aquino, a long-time Marcos opponent, who was killed at the Manila airport upon his return from exile in the United States.

FUNERAL

A huge turnout for Aquino's funeral led to widespread demonstrations of up to 500,000 in the

following weeks.

The government, which U.S. vice-president Bush claimed to "love" for its "adherence to democratic principle and democratic processes," may be on the verge of collapse.

And U.S. officials are worried that its two Philippines military complexes, its largest overseas bases, may be threatened as a result.

Reagan administration officials told reporters last month that "regardless of whether or not the Philippine authorities had a role in the Aquino killing, the U.S. must try to insure that it retains air and naval bases in the Philippines and that the Philippine government must not be overthrown by the Communist insurgency."

DISTINGUISHED

Marcos has distinguished him-

by LEE SUSTAR

self as one of the most excessive dictators of our time, living lavishly while outlawing virtually all opposition. With the support of the U.S., Marcos ruled with absolute martial law from 1972 to 1981, and the new "civilian" government retains the right to jail anyone who "threatens" the regime.

During the September riots, Marcos threatened to renew the military crackdown.

With the onslaught of global economic crisis, conditions for Filipinos became unbearable.

CONDITIONS

In 1981, the *New York Times* reported that "Marxists would say that the 'objective conditions'

for revolution in the Philippines exist in abundance."

Only five million to six million Filipinos hold regular jobs out of a labor force of over 18 million.

Most workers hire themselves out for day labor at what is one of the lowest wage rates in Asia.

One diplomat estimates that 60 percent of the workforce is unemployed. Housing is primitive—malnutrition is widespread.

Early this year, Marcos slashed what little government spending on social programs by 18 percent.

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund demanded this cut if the Marcos government was to qualify for loans. Profits are priorities in the Philippines—people are not.

We must support those fighting to depose Marcos—and call for U.S. withdrawal from the Philippines. □

Solidarity

I expected a state of martial law, and I found it, except it wasn't the type I thought it would be.

I was expecting a Turkish or Chilean state of martial law, and it turned out to be something else—a "Polish" state of martial law!

The situation is that there are police and soldiers everywhere with submachine guns, small personnel tanks and so on.

Getting off the plane the first people to greet you on the asphalt are armed soldiers. They give you the feeling that you've come to a state under military rule.

But you soon discover that things aren't what they seem, that the soldiers themselves aren't in sympathy with the regime. I'll give you an example. I didn't register with the police while I was there, as I was supposed to.

I had no less than four different soldiers check my passport when I left Poland. None of them noticed. One of them checked my passport against a computer which didn't work!

The regime have the streets because of their guns, but they don't have a social base which supports them.

A very highly placed manager told me that most of the managers don't support Jaruzelski, that they wanted a deal with Solidarity, that the only people in the population of 36 million who support the state of martial law are of very limited numbers.

His calculations were about 100,000 in the state apparatus plus half a million others—the ZOMO riot police, the secret police, and their agents. They

The military cracks down, December, 1981



Last month saw the third anniversary of the Gdansk agreement. This ended the great occupation of the Polish shipyards, and brought recognition of the independent union, Solidarity. That right was taken away by the military coup of December, 1981. Victor Haynes recently visited Poland. He spoke to Socialist Worker about Poland today.

never really used the army to enforce martial law.

EQUIPPED

It's been essentially 70,000 ZOMO flying around, very mobile, very well equipped and about 400,000 secret policemen and informers who do the regime's work.

The regime very carefully prepared for martial law. Throughout the whole period of 1980-81, they carefully marked out who were the activists in Solidarity, where the printing presses were and so on, and on the night of Saturday, December 12 1981, when they arrested all the delegates at the Solidarity conference, they at the same time arrested all the activists throughout the country.

They were able to do it because the secret police structure was so large.

Very few activists got away. Many of those who did were soon caught. The regime let go a lot of activists at the end of March 1982, but continued to watch them. So the people who went underground had to start from scratch.

They had to move very carefully, and could not organize openly, for fear of the secret police. Any mistake they make, they get arrested.

There always was a gap between the committed activists and the majority of workers.

On the first day of martial law the activists had no way of organizing the mass of workers, and most of them were arrested. Most people stayed at home. They were afraid—it was a shock to them.

In addition to that, the Church played an opportunistic role. It came in as a savior, saying: "This is a terrible time. We must not confront the government. We must obey martial law, and must try to find some form of reconciliation with the state."

So the activists who weren't arrested found themselves very isolated after martial law was proclaimed.

LIMITED

The situation still prevails, but since December 1981, reconnections have been made. You can only organize in the factories on a limited scale—like Walesa getting 500 people to walk out of the shipyards on the anniversary of the Gdansk strike, and going to the monument, which is at the exit.

At the workplace, you have not only an army officer in charge of the factory, but on top of that you have secret police agents everywhere among the workforce. When they find an activist, they beat him up, kick him out, although they don't necessarily even arrest him.

And on the few occasions—holidays, anniversaries—when Solidarity has taken to the streets, the forces of repression really hit hard. Many people find it's just not possible to fight a mobile, heavily armed, organized paramilitary police.

The ending of martial law has not changed things. All the things you can't do—you can't strike, you can't have meetings without government permission, you can't have demonstrations without government permission—have been made into law.

Yet the regime has been terribly unsuccessful at recruiting workers to their own unions. And those unions have a lot to offer—holidays for selected workers, extra bonuses, positions of power on the shopfloor.

But people are not taking them. So the situation is a stalemate. There's no Solidarity, and there's no official trade unions. There is nothing.

The Church is seen as the last refuge of public discussion. It's the only place in Poland, before Solidarity and now, where sometimes you can hear a priest saying that martial law is wrong and that the state has to make peace with the population. From that point of view, it is seen as a strength for the Polish workers.

But in every succeeding crisis from 1956 to the present, the Church has played a highly opportunistic role. It doesn't initiate anything. It basically cares about its institutional structures and how to expand them.

It plays the role of a refugee camp. And it takes advantage of movements like Solidarity to build itself.

The Pope and Glemp have more or less said publicly that Solidarity is over, that the only way to continue the fight against the regime is through Catholicism.

Furthermore, the Church is now diverting the struggle in Poland by saying that you can do nothing here until Christianity has won in the



Soviet Union itself!

INFLUENCE

As the Church has strengthened itself in Poland it's been able to influence large sections of the population in the Soviet Union itself which have a Catholic background—in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Western Ukraine.

It is using its ability to demobilize the mass movement inside Poland to increase its institutional influence in the rest of the Eastern bloc. The Vatican has a very interesting strategy—to use the setback of Polish workers as a way of increasing its own credibility.

However, none of this means the regime is solving its problems. The workers have no enthusiasm, and the result is that the economy is stagnating.

Coupled with this is the fact that the factories need spare parts and equipment that can only be imported from the West, and the regime doesn't have the money to import them because it doesn't have the credit. So the regime lacks both material and human resources.

The problem for Solidarity activists is to find a way round the paramilitary police and the secret police.

In the past Polish workers have found a way round—in 1956, 1970, 1976, and 1980. I'm sure they will again.

THREE YEARS AFTER GDANSK

POLISH WORKERS' STRUGGLE: NO SHORT CUTS TO VICTORY



The Polish regime boasted last month it was winning the battle to crush Solidarnosc once and for all.

It pointed to the lack of impact of the slow-down called by the underground union to mark the third anniversary. And its television showed Wladyslaw Hardek, previously a member of the underground leadership, urging an end to resistance.

But its boasts detract from the continuing impact of the great victory Polish workers achieved three years ago—an impact which ensures a continuing struggle against the regime today.

The strike wave which swept the country in July and August 1980 showed just how powerful a modern working class is once it gets moving.

At first it was a question of small groups of workers fighting for wages to keep up with price increases. But their success then inspired other workers to raise political demands as well.

A momentum built up which the regime's police and troops, with their tanks, their flame-throwers, their teargas, their machine guns, their water cannon, could not stop.

The head of the armed forces, Jaruzelski, knew that if he turned the army against the workers in the summer of 1980, the army might well fall apart.

Indeed, even when he did move against the union in December 1981, it was not his own power that was most important. His success depended upon one fatal mistake made by Solidarnosc's leaders.

NEGOTIATE

They believed they could negotiate a peaceful outcome to the problems of Polish society with the leaders of the existing regime. And so they discouraged workers from taking action which, it was said, would make negotiations difficult.

Leaders like Lech Walesa were going round discouraging workers from taking strike

BY CHRIS HARMAN

action by the spring of 1981. And almost all the activists believed there had to be a "self-limiting" revolution—one which left untouched the power of the regime over the army and police.

As a result, the workers' movement began to lose some of its momentum late in 1981. It no longer went from strength to strength.

It no longer seemed to offer an answer to all the problems of Polish society. It began to lose its attractive power over the rank and file in the armed forces.

So in December 1981, it was finally possible for Jaruzelski to move against the union without fear of his own forces mutinying.

Once the military coup had taken place, the majority of the union's supporters were afraid to engage in open resistance. The threat of victimization was too great.

Only a minority remained active. They had much more passive support than the regime itself—but this was not enough for them to crack the regime apart.

In such situations, the easiest thing in the world is for the active minority to look for shortcuts.

One sort of short cut is to call, off the cuff, for mass workers' protests—without understanding most workers will not join a strike or slow-down unless they feel, in advance, it stands a fair chance of winning.

The other sort of short cut is to look to some sort of agreement with the regime through "negotiations."

The Solidarity leaders have tended to combine the two sorts of mistakes. They have breathed fire—and then have called for conciliation.

Such calls have not been able to break down the lack of confidence of workers in victory, and so have resulted in flops which have weakened the resistance.

After a major defeat for a workers' movement, it always takes some time for the scars to heal. It is only their own experience, often of very small struggles resulting in minor victories, that rebuilds the feeling of the mass of workers that they can win.

And they will not engage in big battles, however important the issues, without this confidence.

ADJUST

Activists in such periods have to learn to adjust to the real, low level of the movement, without abandoning their ultimate goal of smashing the enemy.

This was how it was, for instance, in South Africa in the gloomy years after the Sharpeville massacre. Calls for national "stay-at-homes" by Black leaders were invariably ignored and many activists thought the situation hopeless.

But then, in the mid-1970s a new spirit of resistance grew up, culminating in the Soweto uprising and the formation of mass, effective, Black trade unions.

Similarly, in Spain in the late 1950s and early 1960s the underground Communist Party regularly issued calls for "pacific one day strikes" to achieve "national reconciliation"—and just as regularly the calls were ignored.

Real resistance to Franco's fascism grew, not out of these set piece calls, but from the struggles that blew up unexpectedly out of the problems of particular sections of workers.

So it will be in Poland. There is no way the long process by which workers learn new confidence can be short circuited.

What activists can do, however, is to ensure that information about local struggles circulates, feeding into each struggle the experience of the previous ones, and above all, generalizing the struggles so that workers see each fight as part of a total fight to smash the existing system. □

Major corporations slash health benefits



HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

by MATT FILSINGER

Employment for lawyers

\$600 million has been spent to date by asbestos manufacturers and their insurance companies in connection with asbestos suits. It seems like a lot of money going to the victims of the asbestos industry.

Looks can be deceiving, however. \$400 million of that money, in fact, has gone to the lawyers involved. Thus, each victim has received only about \$35,000—not a lot of money for someone who has cancer, or who can barely breathe with asbestosis. □

★★

The nation's slumlord

General Services Administration inspectors have found 1,300 fire and safety violations in Federal government buildings in the Washington, D.C. area alone. As one of the inspectors, Bertrand Berube said, "We are the equivalent of the nation's slumlord."

After Berube and others made these violations known to their bosses more than a year ago, nothing was done to correct things.

In fact, the only real action taken was that Berube was given a demotion. □

★★

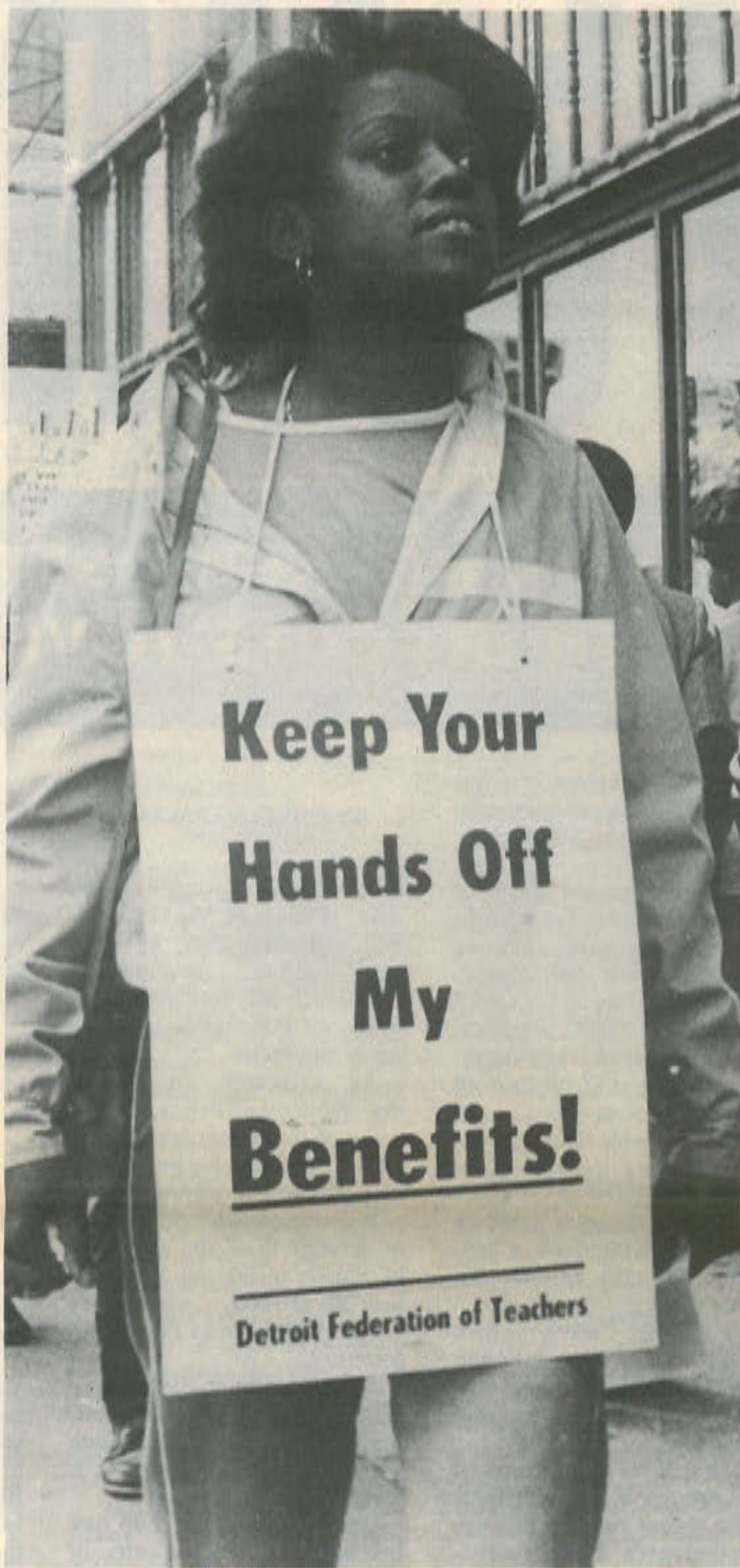
The Pentagon kills us slowly too

For more than 20 years, an Air Force missile plant in Tucson, Arizona, routinely dumped thousands of tons of toxic heavy metals and poisonous solvents into shallow, unlined pits. Now Tucson's sole source of drinking water is becoming increasingly contaminated.

Since 1950, the Energy Department's Oak Ridge laboratory in Tennessee has allowed 2.4 million pounds of toxic mercury to leak into the ground and water supply. This mercury was used in the production of nuclear weapons.

Hundreds of federal facilities around the country spew out toxic wastes every day. The armed forces alone produce 800,000,000 pounds of liquid waste each year.

Isn't it nice to have Uncle Sam looking out for our health? □



Many of the nation's largest corporations are cutting—or are trying to cut—employee health benefits.

This summer five major corporations—A.T.T., Ford, Chrysler, W. R. Grace and Citibank—led the way in demanding that workers pay a larger share of their health insurance premiums.

Dozens of smaller companies have followed their lead and the Wall Street power-brokers are saying that cutting these hard-won benefits is the latest technique to revive profits and revitalize the economy.

Employee health benefits came out of the union struggles of the 1930s when workers forced companies to pay for health care they could no longer afford.

Today, 97 percent of American workers are on health insurance plans through work. The companies pick up 80 percent or more of the costs according to the U.S. Labor Department.

But health care costs have been spiraling up at nearly three times the rate of inflation since January 1982. The average company is now paying about \$2,000 a year per employee for health insurance, a 60 percent increase since 1977, according to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

CUTS

With management desperately trying to cut back on anything but profits, employee health is the next item on the corporate chopping block.

"Suddenly, chief executives of corporations have begun to realize that the cost of health insurance is having an impact on their bottom

by ALAN MAASS

line," said Lesley Ralson, a senior vice-president for Prudential Insurance.

And under this system, the bottom line comes before health.

Many of these changes have been forced on non-union white collar workers.

At Ford, Citibank and W. R. Grace, management forced the new policy on their non-union, white-collar employees without a struggle.

But at Chrysler and A.T.T., the corporate demands for this new form of take-back met with strong opposition from the unions.

In fact, A.T.T.'s demand that workers start paying up to 25 percent of their physician and hospital expenses became a central rallying point in the recent Bell strike. A.T.T. was forced to back down.

EXPENSES

There is no telling right now how widespread this new take-back epidemic is, but some insurance company executives say that as many as one-third of the nation's companies are revamping their health benefit programs to force workers to pay more out of their own pockets.

And the take-backs are hefty—the non-union workers at Ford will pay as much as \$1,000 in health expenses each year that they did not pay before.

Both Citibank and Quaker Oats of Chicago have doubled health insurance premiums for their workers.

But Quaker has an incentive program: workers can get up to \$300 tax free if they visit the doctor less often.

Some choice—get sick less or else!

SOUTH KOREAN AIRLINES SHOOTING WARMS HEARTS ON WALL STREET

by LANCE SELFA

The Soviet destruction of a South Korean jetliner September 1, gave new heat to the superpower arms race. That heat warms many a heart on Wall Street.

In fact, the jetliner incident triggered a near-boom on the military stock market following a generally sluggish summer for bomb builders.

In the language of stock analysts, "The Korean jetliner incident provided the spark for a more positive reappraisal of the industry, and virtually all defense stocks have gone up."

In 10 days, Lockheed's stock gained almost \$11 per share, up to \$118. Litton Industries' shares increased by \$6 to \$63.50 in the same period. And Loral Corporation, an electronic warfare concern, pulled in more than \$6 more per share 10 days after the jetliner crashed into the Japan Sea.

The surge in arms stocks reversed a two-month slide.

The Standard and Poor's aerospace index, a composite of the top eight aerospace firms, dropped 19.5 percent between June 22 and August 24, the *New York Times* reported. At the same time, Standard and Poor's general market index fell only 6 percent.

SMILING

It is no wonder that military contractors are smiling. As one arms industry analyst told the *New York Times*, "It's a knee-jerk reaction on the part of some analysts to think that now we'll build up our defense and never talk to the Russians again."

For fiscal year 1983, about \$105 billion of the \$241 billion the military will spend will find its way into arms industry coffers.

That kind of money represents a huge government sub-

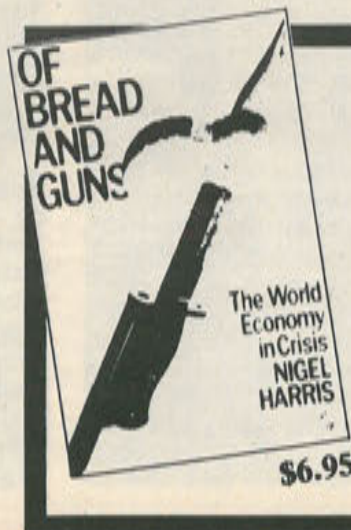
sidy to a small number of U.S. companies—a subsidy which grows as the government cuts back health and nutrition programs.

In 1980, one-third of all military contracts went to six major arms manufacturers. Three of them—General Dynamics Corporation, Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas Cor-

poration—make 80 to 100 percent of their earnings from military production.

Whatever the short-term impact of the jetliner incident on the arms market, it is clear that the arms industry is a good investment.

In the never-ending arms race, the industry is never short of cash. □



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"no power greater"

BY KATHY OGREN



Lucy Parsons: "More feared than a thousand rioters"

On November 11, 1887, Lucy Parsons and her children were stripped naked and confined to sit in a cold Chicago jail cell. Their crime? They were the family of condemned Haymarket martyr, Albert Parsons, and were locked up so they could not see his execution.

DANGEROUS

The authorities considered Lucy a dangerous woman.

She had earned the hatred of the Chicago ruling class, through her effectiveness as a militant speaker and writer. One officer said, "That woman is more to be feared than a thousand rioters."

Lucy Parsons knew well the brutality of the capitalist system. A Black woman from Waco, Texas, she and Albert had been forced to leave the state because of his editorship of the Radical Republican newspaper, *The Spectator*.

Lucy and Albert moved to Chicago in 1873.

The depression there had left thousands unemployed. The Parsons's joined the Workingmen's Party of the United States and became activists in local labor movement.

Lucy had worked hard in socialist and anarchist circles: She published many articles in the radical press. She joined the Knights of Labor but criticized the leadership for being reformist.

One of her most famous articles was addressed to the Chicago unemployed, whom the capitalist press called tramps.

FIGHT

She urged them to fight back, not merely against the individual bosses, but against the industrial system itself:

"Awaken them from their wanton sports at your expense! Send forth your petition and let them read it by the red glare of destruction . . .

"You can be assured that you have spoken to the robbers in the only language

"There is an idea prevalent that capital can produce anything. What nonsense! Labor only can produce wealth."



which they have ever been able to understand, for they have never yet deigned to notice any petition from their slaves that they were not compelled to read by the red glare bursting from the cannon's mouth."

The poverty and misery Lucy saw in the rural South and the Chicago slums convinced her of the violence inherent to capitalist society.

Parsons rejected the idea that peaceful reform could change class society.

She subscribed to the anarchist idea that violent means themselves could inspire workers to action and bring down the ruling class.

In her early years as an activist she did not see the importance of an organized fight back or revolutionary organization to lead the struggle against capitalism.

Lucy eventually learned, however, that there is no substitution for the organized self activity of workers and the oppressed.

STRIKE

She helped organize many fightbacks. She and other seamstresses joined the Work-

ing Women's Union of Chicago and organized the first strike of Chicago sewing girls. Most seamstresses worked in sweatshops where they earned as little as \$1.50 a week.

During these struggles, Lucy earned a reputation as a militant fighter. Best known for her speeches, she inspired many audiences with her passion and wit.

An opponent once asked her, how much capital it required to produce a bushel of wheat. She replied:

"If you are asking how many dollars it will require to raise a bushel of wheat, why, it would seem that the most feasible plan of finding that out would be to cover a certain amount of land . . . with dollars and see how long it would take to grow it."

Lucy concluded: "There is an idea prevalent that capital can produce anything. What nonsense! Labor only can produce wealth."

After the Haymarket indictments, Lucy headed the drive to appeal the case. She spoke all over the country and her meetings were frequently stopped by the police. Often she was jailed.

SOCIALIST

She continued to fight in many labor and socialist organizations. She was a founding member of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905, sitting on the platform with Eugene Debs, Big Bill Haywood and Mother Jones.

She also joined the Socialist Party and later the Communist Party.

Wherever Lucy went she led the struggle for free speech. The Chicago police broke her meetings up for many years.

She spoke in the free speech fight led by the IWW in Seattle, Washington in 1913, and in the unemployment demonstrations in San Francisco a year later.

When she was locked out of a hall, she moved her meetings to the streets. In 1914, she was arrested for leading a hunger demonstration in Chicago.

Lucy saw not only the importance of workers' struggles, but also the necessity for changing the conditions for women.

At the founding meeting of the IWW she lobbied for low dues so that women workers would not be excluded from

membership.

She also favored liberalized divorce laws and the right of women to birth control information.

Lucy believed that marriage should be based on love not economic necessity: "No woman should be obliged to live with a man she does not love, in order to get bread, clothes and shelter."

Lucy knew first hand the effects of racism. She and Albert had been driven out of Texas by the Ku Klux Klan. She encouraged Blacks to "join those who are striving for economic freedom."

She also advised the friends of lynch victims to defend themselves.

Her experience in the south led her to denounce the racism of Southern Democrats following the civil war: "I have seen the KKK in the South myself. I know something about them, and they were every one Democrats. The Negroes of the South are no longer in physical slavery, but the Democrats of the South intend to keep them in economic slavery."

As Albert Parsons waited in his jail cell, he wrote to his wife, "I have one request to make of you: Commit no rash act when I am gone, but take up the great cause of socialism where I am compelled to lay it down."

TIRELESSLY

Albert didn't have to worry. Lucy Parsons struggled tirelessly after his death to defend the poor and oppressed and to fight for a militant working class movement.

Lucy once criticized capitalist history, because it dealt only with "the course of wars, the outcome of battles, political changes, the rise and fall of dynasties and other similar movements, leaving the lives of those whose labor has built the world in contemptuous silence."

For over 50 years Lucy Parsons raised her voice to break that silence.

When she died in 1943, the Chicago police, removed all of her papers from her study and refused to relinquish them to friends.

They feared her in death as they had in life. But her militant spirit could not be quieted. □

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

Joe Allen on **Central America**. October 21 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620 for more information.

Halloween Fundraising Party. October 29. For details call 235-4620

BOSTON

Paula Carey on **The Fight for Reproductive Rights**. Sunday, October 9 at 7:30 p.m.

Christina Bergmark on **Black Democrats and the Elections**. October 23 at 7:30 p.m. Call 427-7987 for details.

CHICAGO

Christina Bergmark on **Women and the Family**. October 15, 7:30 p.m. Call 248-9756 for more information.

Lee Sustar on **Marxism and the Party**. October 29, 7:30 p.m. Call 288-7572 for details.

ISO Fundraising Party. October 8, 9:00 p.m. Call 288-7572 for rides and information.

CINCINNATI

Milt Fisk on **Mexico and the Revolution in Central America**. October 22 at 7:30 p.m. University of Cincinnati, TUC 414. Call 871-1371 for details.

NEW YORK

Eleanor Trawick and Barbara Winslow on **Revolutionary Feminism**. Thursday, October 6, 7:30 p.m. For more information call 316-0569.

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

MARXISM AND BLACK LIBERATION

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THE BRIGGS STRIKE

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY EDITION BY JOHN ANDERSON

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ROCHESTER
Jack Porcello on **Chile: 1970-1973**. October 16 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-3049 for details.

SAN FRANCISCO
John Fowler on **The Civil Rights Movement: Twenty Years On**. October 12 at 7:30 p.m.

Study Series: **The Ideas of Karl Marx**. October 26 at 7:30 p.m. Call 285-1908 for details.

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

— Karl Marx

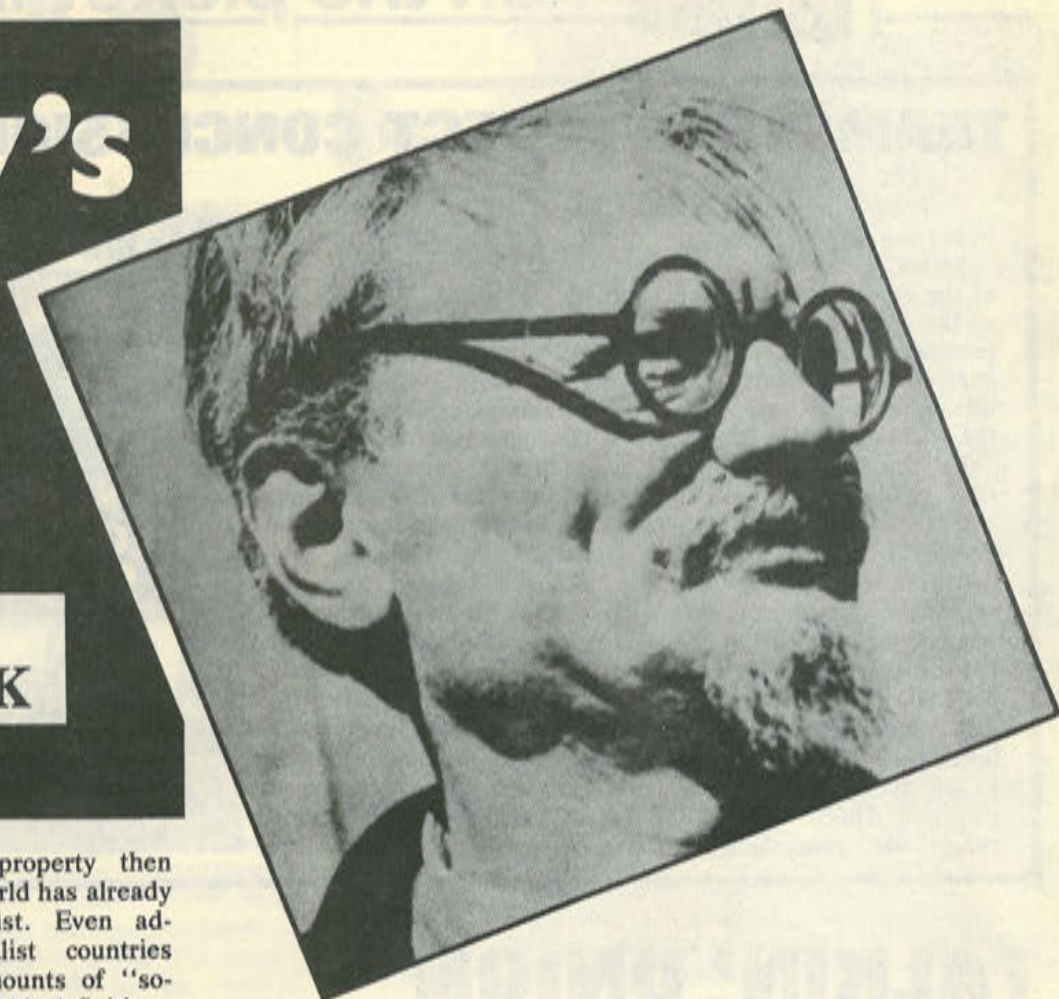
If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us. There are ISO members and branches in the following cities:

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- New York, NY
- Bloomington, IN
- Kent, OH
- Northampton, MA
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Leon Trotsky's theory of Revolution

KENT WORCESTER REVIEWS
JOHN MOLYNEUX'S NEW BOOK



Top: Trotsky; Above: Workers meeting in Russia in 1917; Below: Trotsky, Lenin and Kamenev.



There are a lot of books available on Leon Trotsky.

Leader of Russia's aborted 1905 revolution, organizer of the Red Army, historian of the 1917 revolution, theorist of and hunted opponent of Stalin's bureaucracy until his murder in 1940—Trotsky is an obvious subject for the biographer.

IMPORTANT

Trotsky made important contributions to marxist theory, as well. It was he who developed the idea of permanent revolution—that socialist revolutions are possible even in countries where the working class is only a minority of the population.

In the case of Russia he argued that the victorious Russian working class would have to be supported by the working classes of the more developed countries of Europe. Otherwise, the Russian workers would become isolated and defeated.

It was this occurrence—the failure of the working class revolutions in Europe after the Russian revolution of 1917—which gave occasion for another of Trotsky's important contributions: his sustained attempt at a materialist analysis of Stalinism and the new ruling order in Russia.

Molyneux acknowledges Trotsky's positive contributions, but finds a problematic thread running through other parts of his thought. He wants to try to unravel that thread, so as to separate it from the positive contributions.

Molyneux opens with an introduction placing Trotsky within the theoretical framework of the politics of the Second International. Trotsky, according to Molyneux, was deeply influenced by the rather determinist politics of the major socialist parties of the early twentieth century.

Determinism in this context means that Trotsky adopted a view of history as something that happens to people and that progresses in a linear fashion.

AIMS

The problem is that, as

Marx said, "History is nothing but the activity of man pursuing his aims."

"History" does nothing on its own.

What was the effect of determinism on the young Trotsky?

Molyneux shows first Trotsky's rhetorical reliance on "history" to prove his points for him. Determinism also led Trotsky to develop mechanical theories that fitted pieces of the revolutionary struggle together in all too easy bow ties.

Many revolutionaries would agree that the early Trotsky had a certain determinism. But Molyneux goes much further, by arguing that even after participating in the Russian revolution, Trotsky never broke from that determinism.

Molyneux has two striking pieces of evidence for this.

Trotsky, Molyneux argues, took a number of ambiguous positions during the degeneration of the revolution, among them, support for the "militarization of labor"—the regulation of labor to the discipline of an army. And he proclaimed that the party had a "revolutionary historical birthright," and was therefore infallible.

Molyneux's second piece of evidence is Trotsky's theory of Russia as a degenerated workers' state. He argued Stalinism was reactionary, but that Russia was still in some way superior to capitalism.

Traditionally, those who have argued that Russia is a class society—state capitalist—say that Trotsky held this theory because of his own inability to break with his past.

PROPERTY

Molyneux suggests that the real basis for the degenerated workers' state thesis lay in Trotsky's identification of socialism with collectivized state property, rather than workers' power. This identification, says Molyneux, is a mechanical application of marxism.

If socialism requires only

state owned property then much of the world has already become socialist. Even advanced capitalist countries have large amounts of "socialism" under this definition.

But certainly socialism must be something more than state owned property. For the question remains: who controls production and political life?

The marxist tradition rests on the conception of socialism as the control of society by workers. For workers to control society they must have their own institutions through which to rule. Historically, they have created democratic bodies through which to make decisions collectively (in the Paris Commune, for example).

CENTRAL

Unfortunately, many self-proclaimed "marxists," including many followers of Trotsky, appear to have "forgotten" this central theme of marxism.

Molyneux shows that part of the reason for this is Trotsky's own ambiguity on the conception of socialism. Molyneux wants to rescue the Trotsky who made important contributions—such as the theory of permanent revolution—from those who would debase all of his theory.

Molyneux's book is critical and thought-provoking. It is well worth reading. □



on the picket line

TEAMSTERS REJECT CONCESSIONS

In Teamster politics, ballot boxes don't count for much.

Secret backroom meetings of the executive board—such as the one that elected union president Jackie Presser this year—are the norm. The membership had no say in the selection of their leader.

But the trucking industry's rank and file finally had a chance to comment on Presser's policies with its overwhelming 7 to 1 rejection of the union president's givebacks.

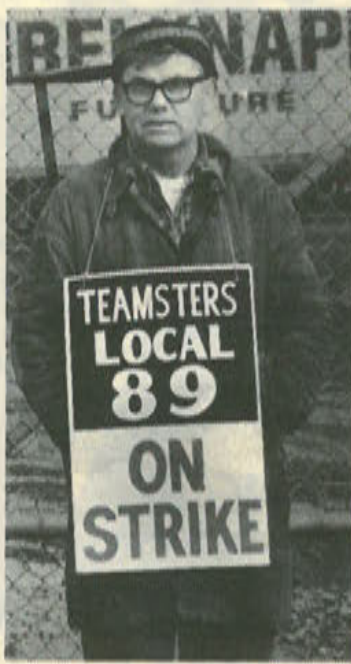
Presser—who is paid \$500,000 a year by the union—had asked 300,000 trucking industry Teamsters to agree to an astounding 32 percent pay cut. This "modest and reasonable" concession could

induce the trucking industry to rehire 100,000 Teamsters, Presser explained.

CHANGE

All over the country, firms are ignoring the contract they have signed, establishing non-union operations and signing agreements with Teamster locals for far less in wages and benefits than the national contract calls for.

But the membership's rejection of Presser's givebacks suggests a willingness to fight the Teamsters' notoriously corrupt leadership. With groups like Teamsters for a Democratic Union and other dissidents, there is a chance for a rank and file rebellion in the union. □



MACHINISTS STRIKE ON HEALTH AND WAGES

by KATHY STEWART

CINCINNATI, OH—LaBlonde Makino, a machine tool company, has finally pushed its employees too far.

The company demanded so many concessions at contract time that the Independent Employees Organization, a company union, took a vote, resulting in the first strike here since 1939.

The solidarity of the strikers was evident from the beginning.

Almost all of the 235 union members showed up daily for mass picketing. On the

third day of the strike, a foreman hit five workers with his car while trying to drive through the picket line.

The picketers, who up to that point had only been slowing incoming traffic, stopped traffic through the plant gate.

Soon after that, the company obtained an injunction limiting the number of pickets at each gate.

This has not limited the determination of the strikers, however. As one told Socialist Worker, "This is the first strike for most of us, but we're learning fast. And we're going to stick together and win this thing."

BENEFITS

Two of the main issues in the strike are the cuts in wages and health benefits.

After a month of negotiations, the company produced a contract with a proposed cut in insurance coverage.

This could mean that workers would pay the first \$1,000 of medical expenses per year. As one striker put it, "We might as well not have any insurance."

The other main issue is an interesting twist on wage cuts. Under the company plan there would be a 5 percent pay cut for 8 months, then a 4 percent increase, then beginning in 1985, a 2 percent increase.

What all this mathematical maneuvering amounts to is an 8 month pay cut, then an average raise of 7 cents per hour, over a two year period.

CUTS

The proposed cut was one part of a continued attempt by LaBlonde to make workers bear the brunt of the economic crisis. Over the past three and one half years almost half of the shop floor workers have been laid off.

Under a "Workshare" program introduced in December, 1981, workers alternated between 2 and 3 day weeks.

This meant that the company did not have to pay unemployment benefits, but the workers have to struggle on less money than if they had been laid off.

In August, 1982, the company flatly refused to pay a 7 percent raise stipulated in the contract. The union finally won both cases but only after a long series of grievances that ended in arbitration.

The strikers know they may be in for a long, hard struggle. But many of them feel they were left with no choice.

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

The UAW gives workers no lead

Several events involving the UAW during the month of September were the product of class collaboration. With such a policy the workers cannot win.

On September 5, the Labor Day parade was held in Detroit. The same day Chrysler officials and those of the UAW agreed to a new two year contract. On September 16 the Ford Motor Company announced it would close its steel mill because of the failure of UAW Local 600 to agree to a further wage concession of \$5.00 per hour.

The Labor Day parade was organized by the labor bureaucrats with the full support of the press. The placards carried by the marchers were "non-controversial": "Jobs-Jobs-Jobs," "Solidarity III," for a "domestic content law." Such slogans have become meaningless. They inspired no one.

When two union members tried to enter the parade with a sign saying: "Victory to the Freedom Fighters," they were not only ejected from the parade but were arrested by the Detroit police. Their bail was set at \$100.

Most UAW delegations were so small they marched under the banner of their region rather than under their local banners. The marchers were subdued, without any spirit, with little discipline. They were in no mood to sing labor songs.

Gathering their forces from as far north as Saginaw and as far south as Flat Rock, the entire parade of the

AFL-CIO and the Teamsters numbered no more than 25,000. Figures given by the police and the press were from 70,000 to 100,000. This was to cover up the failure of the press and the labor bureaucrats to influence the workers.

CHRYSLER

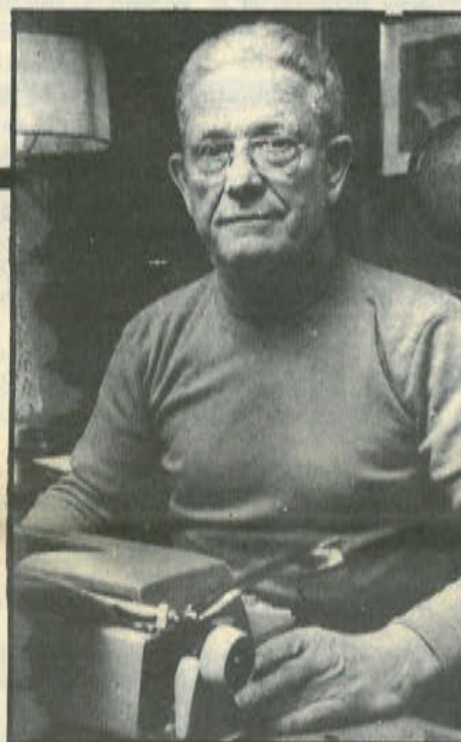
The same day Chrysler and UAW officials met and came to an agreement that would raise Chrysler workers' wages to those of GM and Ford until the 1984 negotiations. The Chrysler agreement runs to 1985.

That the cost of the Chrysler recovery was on the backs of the workers should be clear to all. The banks and the government were paid in full with interest. Lee Iacocca and other Chrysler officials were given millions of dollars in stock options. Along with other stockholders, they were able to sell their shares for double the amount they paid for them.

The billions in wages and fringe benefits the workers made in concessions will never be recovered. What is worse is the fact that work rules have been changed so the workers have no control over their conditions. The contract was ratified by a two to one margin, not the four to one predicted by the company.

FORD

On September 6 Ford announced that the failure of the workers in its steel mill to accept a further cut of \$5.00 an hour would result in the



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

closing of the steel complex in the next year. This announcement brought the company and officials of Local 600 to the bargaining table again.

The union made the necessary concessions to make the steel plant profitable. How many jobs will be left when the plant is modernized no one seems to know.

If this were not enough, the union itself was under internal suspicion. For the first time in the history of the UAW, financial corruption is making front page headlines. It is centered around former Region 1-A Director "Buddy" Battle.

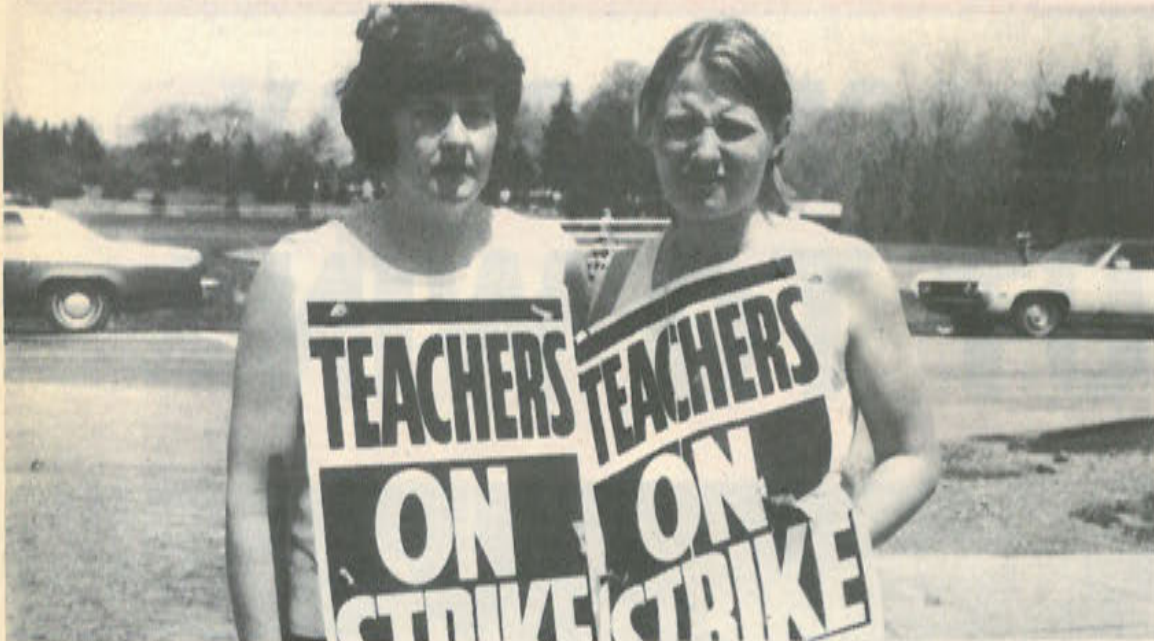
The misused "convention funds" have been used since the founding of the UAW by those in power. These funds used to finance supporters and to buy votes and delegates has long been an established practice in the UAW. Audits of the various funds has been used as a cover-up for those in power.

The UAW Public Review Board (PRB) since it was established in 1958 has been no more than window dressing for public relations purposes. In 1962 when I was suspended from Local 15 for three years and fined \$100 for raising the question of finances in my Local, the PRB refused to give me a hearing. They did not want a public record of corruption in the UAW.



Teachers walk out across the country

5,000 teachers are out on strike this fall



AFSCME DISSOLVES UC LOCALS

SAN FRANCISCO, CA— Shortly after winning union representation at the University of California (UC), workers were given two-weeks notice of the loss of their union locals.

The International of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) announced in mid-August that the 10 existing UC locals would be dissolved and replaced.

These locals were democratic organizations that had aggressively represented UC workers for many years. Even in the absence of collective-bargaining contracts, workers had organized representation.

The International's actions came just two months after UC workers had given AFSCME victories in representation elections covering over 29,000 workers in three bargaining units statewide. The dissolved locals had been instrumental in the success of this union drive, in which AFSCME's slogan had been "one big union."

On each of the nine UC campuses, there is the possibility of a separate local for each bargaining unit. As a result, AFSCME members, who all formerly belonged to one campus-wide local (two at UC Berkeley), will now be split up into three to seven locals per campus.

A local can be established for a bargaining unit with as few as 10 campus members, but not for a unit with fewer members—workers in such

by **JIM SWAN**

units will have no AFSCME local.

DUES

The new locals were not given a district council. In AFSCME, district councils employ business agents, provide facilities, and perform other services for their member locals, and in return receive much of the dues money.

In the case of UC, these monies will go to the AFSCME International, leaving the UC locals without the services of a district council, and with less than 20% of the dues per member formerly received by UC locals.

The new structure is one of underfunded "unionettes", with little potential for power, and with much potential for infighting between workers from different bargaining units—not "one big union."

Negotiations with UC management will be overseen, and the contract negotiating team chosen, by a statewide Policy Board elected by the membership. It remains to be seen how much power over contract negotiations workers will have through this board.

UPSET

AFSCME members and other UC workers were upset by the International's actions. They organized a petition campaign and sent representatives to an International Executive Board meeting to

protest the changes. These efforts were of no avail, and attention has now shifted to the new union structures, with elections to all boards taking place at the end of September.

Union activists hope to establish campus-wide communications committees, linking together the new locals.

They also need to keep up their intercampus communication, especially regarding negotiations. For this purpose, they are seeking to maintain the statewide organization of the old UC locals—the Council of University of California Employees (CUCE). CUCE was never recognized by the International, so it was outside the scope of the dissolution edict.

DESTROY

It was not at all surprising that a union international would attempt to destroy existing local leadership, weaken local autonomy, and create obstacles to effective local democracy.

What was surprising was the fragmented structure chosen by AFSCME. That the International made this choice can be taken as an indication of its fears of the workers' organizations in existence at UC.

The hope of UC workers is that they will become active and militant enough to effectively fight for their interests, including control over their own unions, in spite of the obstacles created by the AFSCME International. □

It's October and the familiar signs of Autumn are upon us. Leaves are turning colors, football games abound—and teachers are walking picket lines.

In the face of union busting and givebacks by the labor bureaucracy, teachers are organizing to demand better pay, benefits, and working conditions. Walkouts have been the main weapons, although many states outlaw teachers' strikes. But the strikers regularly ignore court injunctions and go to jail, both in small local school districts and in major cities.

SPREAD

As many as 20 teachers strikes, involving more than 5,000 teachers have spread through Michigan. Smaller strikes closed schools in Chicago suburbs, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Missouri and Washington. Lay teachers struck against New York Catholic schools.

In Chicago, 92 percent of rank and file teachers voted to strike October 3 if the school board fails to meet demands for wage increases and job protection.

And if the teachers walk out, they will be joined by school janitors and other maintenance workers whose unions authorized strikes for early October.

The Chicago Teachers Union is seeking a 5 to 7 percent wage increase. The Chicago School Board is offering about a 1.5 percent increase.

"We took a wage freeze last year," said CTU spokesperson Chuck Burdeen. "We've made a whole raft of sacrifices."

"The board's statements are very clear. They want to spend money on other priorities than their employees. Well, we don't agree with their priorities."

The September 15 strike vote, 21,714 to 1,829, made that message very clear.

An entry level teaching position in the Chicago schools pays \$13,700. Teachers with 12 years experience make an average of \$25,500. At the same, Chicago school superintendent Ruth Love makes \$120,000—more than the mayor or the Illinois governor. In fact, 60 school bureaucrats

by **LEE SUSTAR and LANCE SELFA**

make more than the Chicago mayor Harold Washington, who earns \$48,000.

But wages are only one part of the teachers' demands. The union is fighting a board plan that would give principals in certain schools the authority to appoint their own teachers, granting appointees "super-seniority."

The plan will "turn teachers against each other," said Don Smith, a union delegate and staff member of Substitutes United for Better Schools, an organization of substitute teachers.

"The plan will demoralize those which don't get the seniority," said Smith. "And others will get laid off."

This and other "merit pay" schemes are recommended by the Reagan administration and like-minded local officials as a solution to the "tide of mediocrity" they claim is sweeping across public education. And, as Smith points out, such school board tactics are designed to promote individual rivalries among teachers and undermine their solidarity.

BLAME

Who is to blame for this crisis in education, anyway?

Reaganites and Democrats alike have made teachers scapegoats. A national commission reported:

"For the first time in the history of our country, the education skills of one generation will not surpass, will not equal, will not even approach, those of their parents."

Merit pay is supposed to weep "inadequate" teachers out of public education.

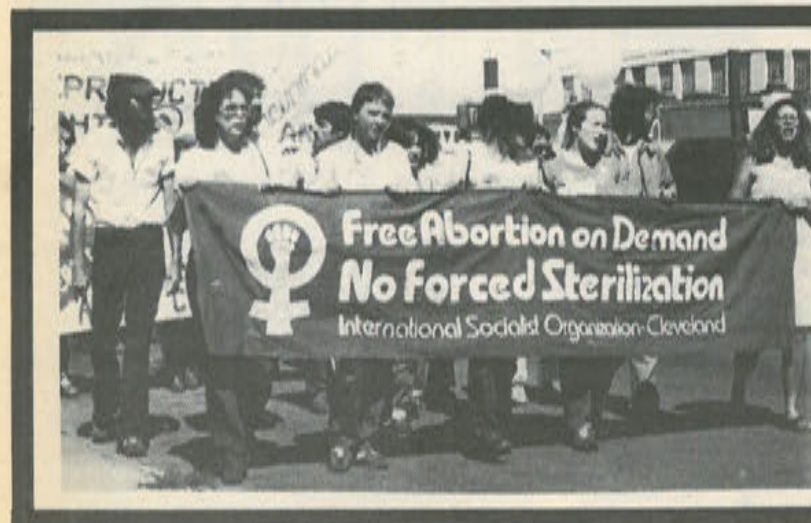
But these "inadequate" teachers have long endured low pay, poor working conditions, and racially segregated schools, all of which have worsened as right-wing "tax revolts" threaten school finances.

DISMANTLE

Despite Reagan's pro-education rhetoric, the administration has attempted to dismantle the federal Education Department and supports tuition tax credits that penalize free public education.

For decades, teachers saw themselves as an elite group of professionals who could better their jobs through individual performances. But in recent years they have turned to collective strategies to combat what government officials admit is a crisis in public education.

Any improvements in public education will be the result of teachers' own struggles. With strong organization and the resolve to strike when necessary, teachers have both improved conditions for themselves and students, and have set important, militant examples for other workers. □



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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

ESSKAY MEATPACKERS SAY: "WE'RE OUT TO WIN"

Workers at Baltimore's Esskay meatpacking plant have had enough.

At midnight, on September 19, the overwhelming majority of Esskay's thousand-strong workforce walked off the job.

The issue: concessions. Two years ago, Esskay slashed wages and benefits by over \$2.00 an hour, thus swelling the company coffers with an extra \$6.5 million.

This year, despite "restoring profitability," hiring over 100 new employees, and buying new equipment, the company is up to its same old game.

The measly contract Esskay offered would raise wages only 20 cents an hour, twice a year, over a three year contract. In other words, in 1986—five years after the concessions—Esskay workers would still receive less pay than before giving up concessions.

Besides the money issues, work conditions and job security have also degenerated. At the same time, the company drove workers to slave up to sixty-five hours a week and layoffs struck at every level. For example, a young Black woman complained of having been given a two-week "leave of absence" which lasted over seven months!

STRIKE

Tension had brewed in the plant ever since the 1981 concessions, which passed only with the con-

by TY MILLER

ivance of the union bureaucracy, and only after the failure of a two week wildcat strike. This latest slap in the face by the company, however, brought the tension to its breaking point.

When United Food and Commercial Workers Union bureaucrats urged acceptance of the company offer, workers shouted and jeered them down. All that could be heard in the Local 27 union hall that night were the resounding calls of Strike! Strike! Strike!

The company, of course, is scared. But so far their response has been nothing but threats and intransigence.

A company spokesperson said, "Obviously, one possibility is closing. Hiring people to replace the strikers is always a legal alternative."

But company threats did not seem to impress many workers. Dennis Ellenberger, for instance, scoffed, "I think it's one big con to scare us to take what they're giving us."

EXPERIENCE

An overwhelming sense of optimism pervades the picket line. Again and again, strikers told Socialist Worker, "We're out here 'til we win!"

And the experience gained in the wildcat strike of two years ago will help them win. "Last time," a picket explained, "we had to strike, but the company had the



upper hand. This time we're ready."

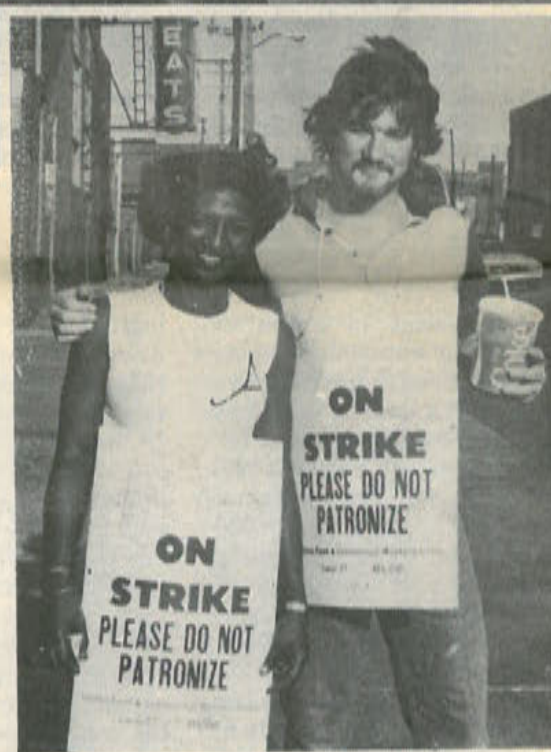
Most workers have saved money for several weeks to weather a long strike if necessary. Others told of the support and sacrifices of their friends and family in helping them to victory this time.

WIN

With this strike, Esskay workers have joined the growing workplace fight back against concessions. Through the bitter experience of two years of concessions and through the hard struggle of their wildcat strike, they have learned that under capitalism workers get only what they fight for.

Esskay workers are fighting, and this time they will win. □

Esskay strikers in Baltimore, Maryland, fight for better wages and working conditions



WEIRTON STEELWORKERS BUY PLANT- AND MASSIVE CONCESSIONS

WEIRTON, W.VA.—When workers at the Weirton, West Virginia steel mill voted to buy their plant from National Steel last month, they created the largest employee-owned company in the nation.

They also became the victims of spectacular corporate blackmail.

"If you've got the chance, why not take a shot at it?" said Bill Bowen, a Weirton millwright for 28 years.

"All they can do is shut it down, and National was going to do that anyway."

Some choice: Weirton's 7,100 workers (2,600 are laid off) had to buy the company or accept National Steel's plan to convert the mill into a finishing plant employing only 1,500.

But this workers' purchase does not mean workers' power or workers' control. Far from it. The new Weirton Steel Corporation was

"advised" by a top Wall Street investment firm to hire an established steel company executive for \$300,000 a year.

Workers—who are denied any seats on the board of directors—must take a 20 percent cut in overall compensation. Wages will be frozen six years, and workers are banned from striking during that period.

Weirton's wages were some of the highest in the industry when National Steel paid a premium to keep the plant's independent union from affiliating with the United Steel Workers. At the new Weirton Steel, wages will be among the lowest.

Employee ownership has not given Weirton workers any control of their plant. It has given them only a choice between working for one group of capitalists or another—or face unemployment.

And that's no choice at all.

Socialist Worker

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