

Socialist Worker

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UAW Contract Talks

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HOT AIR AND EMPTY PROMISES

The campaign for the U.S. presidency has shifted into high gear. On one hand there is Reagan, the aging right-winger who guarantees more of the same: union busting, social spending cuts, nuclear weapons build-up and the constant threat of war.

PROMISE

On the other side are Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro, determined to pass themselves off as an alternative for the mass of workers in the U.S. Of course there are some differences between the two sets of candidates. The Democrats say they only want a "moderate" increase in the already gigantic military budget. And they solemnly promise to be more "responsive" to the needs of the poor, of unions, of women, of Blacks.

But the election is only a media sideshow. The real difference is not between candidates but in the abyss that separates the politicians from the working class. In the end, the candidates all stand for a system that bases itself on the exploitation and oppression of workers.

FIGHT

Our battles will not be won in Congress or the White House, and they cannot wait between election years. Our fight goes on every day—in every factory and office.

Whether workers can regain the ground they lost during these recession years will not depend on who occupies the White House. Turning the rightward tide in the U.S. depends on the willingness of the rank and file workers to fight back.

CONFIDENCE

But the confidence to fight back comes only from

struggle. And there is always a minority ready to fight.

Workers at Arizona's Phelps-Dodge copper mines are still battling cops and a ruthless company after an entire year on strike. From San Francisco's Liberty Radiator to Chicago's Danly Machine Corporation to the 65,000 New York City hospital workers, some workers will strike against the bosses' concessions drive.

And it is to these struggles that socialists must look—not to machinations inside the Democratic Party.

The key is organization. Workers must learn from one another's struggles and generalize them into an organization capable of leading the fight against the bosses—a revolutionary socialist organization. Only through their own activity do workers have a real alternative to Reagan, Ferraro or Mondale: workers' power. □

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BUILD A SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

LABOR LEADERS HAVE NO AGENDA

San Francisco labor march

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—In an impressive show of solidarity, 150,000 to 200,000 union members marched on July 16, on the eve of the Democratic Party convention.

The banners, signs and placards attacking Reagan and Reaganism dominated the day.

It is always good to see labor out in such massive numbers, but the labor officialdom's motive behind

the march was not so admirable. This demonstration was not even called as such but was instead billed as a "parade."

The theme was innocuous: "We can do it." Whatever "it" was, was left purposely vague.

In reality the "parade" had long been planned as a rally for Walter Mondale. Plans for the rally were originally laid last spring,

when "labor's choice" Mondale was not doing so well in the primaries.

BORING

In contrast to the rather drab and boring speeches at the rally, a little comic relief could be gained by walking up near the front of the rally to the speakers' podium. There, international presidents and assorted other labor leaders were clamoring and arguing

over who was going to get to address the rally.

Big names like Machinists president William Wjnpsinger were being turned away.

PRESSER

There also, rally organizers were confronted with their most difficult question of the day: what to do with Teamsters president Jackie Presser.

The official position of the rally was not to endorse any particular candidate. However, AFL-CIO officials were certainly not going to allow Presser, who supports Reagan, to upstage their cheerleading for Mondale. Finally a compromise was worked out—Presser would speak if he agreed to stay neutral.

However, one unforeseen hitch forced the scrapping of this plan. Word was quickly being relayed up front that the Teamsters present, by far the largest and strongest contingent there, were planning to boo Presser—their own president—off the stage.

This sent shivers up the spines of the bureaucrats. They didn't want the spectacle of the president of the largest union in the world being booed down by his own members to be flashed across the national news. Presser didn't speak.

REASSERT

The result of the rally was to help the AFL-CIO bureaucrats reassert themselves in the Democratic Party.

And little if anything actually came out of the convention beneficial to workers. This is quite surprising since, according to AFL-CIO and NEA estimates, a total of 900 delegates were union members.

Almost all of those delegates were pledged to Mondale. In fact, organized labor made up over 35% of Mondale's delegate total—by far the largest block.

But the trade union officials were intent on putting on a show of support for Mondale—not to fight for any demands.

UMBRELLA

As Tom Donahue, Secretary Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, put it, "We have no agenda for major issues." Lane Kirkland said, "Umbrella language will do," as far as the platform was concerned.

It is ironic that in 1984 we see labor falling all over itself campaigning for Mondale. How short our memory is—how short we let it be.

In 1980 labor's battlecry was ABC—Anybody But Carter.

Four years later, we are told salvation is in Mondale, Carter's Vice President. Are we just supposed to politely forget the role he played in those four years in that anti-labor administration?

Labor would do better to concentrate on flexing its muscle against the employers, on the picket line and in strikes where it is needed much more than on the Democratic Party.

by LARRY BUTLER

"RIGHT-TO-LIFERS" BOMB CLINIC



Deanna Shemek reports on the latest terrorist bombing of an abortion clinic and argues why we should fight the attempt by anti-abortionists to turn back the clock on women's rights.

ANNAPOLIS, MD—To the outrage of the members of surrounding communities, a bomb exploded early Saturday, July 7, in the offices of Planned Parenthood of Maryland in Annapolis.

SIMILAR

As with similar bombings around the country, the "Army of God" promptly called to claim responsibility for the attack. Damage was estimated at \$50,000 to the clinic and several homes in the neighborhood were damaged by flying debris.

Only days before, on July 4, a bomb hit the National Abortion Federation (NAF) headquarters in Washington, D.C. And on February 28, the abortion clinic in College Park, Maryland, suffered an explosion claimed by the same group.

"So far this year, ten abortion clinics have been bombed" and "several of those have been completely destroyed," Planned Parenthood said afterwards. The organization cited attacks in Delaware, Virginia, Washington state, Florida, Oregon and the District of Columbia.

Daniel E. Pellegrum, executive director of Planned Parenthood, said that harassment and terrorist tactics including

threats and vandalism have increased over the past three years. There were 39 various kinds of incidents in 1982, 124 last year, and 95 through April 19 of this year.

The "Right-to-Life" of Maryland issued statements and held a press conference to deny any connection with the terrorist group, but the emphasis of their statement revealed where their sympathies lie: they condemned the "senseless" bombing, but continued, "however, more importantly, we are concerned with and condemn the senseless loss of life—the killing of unborn children—which occurs daily at abortion facilities across the country."

BATTLE

As long as anti-abortion groups are ready to pit the value of a fetal life against the life of a living woman, we have a battle to fight for women's right to health and reproductive choice. Emboldened by the bombing they so vehemently disclaimed in the days following the attacks, the "Right-to-Life" came out more strongly to picket area clinics.

This connection is not coincidental. Active protest to protect reproductive rights can stop the attack.

...and why we must fight back

After the National Abortion Federation (NAF) and Planned Parenthood bombings in the Maryland-D.C. area this month, various groups joined to form a coalition for action against attacks on reproductive rights. In coming months, many kinds of activity will be proposed to combat the anti-abortion groups.

Demonstrations and clinic defense have proved useful tactics in battling anti-abortion forces, and there are good reasons for this. A serious look at the gains made by women in the last 15 years shows that rights were not won in voting booths or through lobbying.

As much as we welcomed the legalization of abortion, we must remain clear that

women won that right by marching in the streets, by showing that they were willing to do more than fill out cards or vote. In contrast, how many times has lobbying and envelope stuffing ended in bitter defeat? How many times has the elected candidate sided with a powerful constituent over a faithful campaigner?

WASTE

There is no better way to be quickly discouraged and to waste precious energy than to quietly try to follow the proper channels. Demonstrations, as public and visible activity, increase solidarity and encourage the activity of others.

Clinic defense is one type

of demonstration that is often effective. It is a public and active way to both support the right to abortion and oppose anti-abortion harassment. Reproductive rights supporters go to a clinic where anti-abortionists picket and harass prospective patients and keep them from reaching patients. Some members of the defense group should try to reach patients first and offer to escort them past the woman-haters. By disheartening and wearing down the anti-abortionists, the harassing groups can be driven away for good.

ARGUMENTS

Some clinics welcome clinic defenders, but others make arguments that a de-

fense will only increase the atmosphere of conflict and disturb patients even more. Some even say that pro-choice activism causes anti-abortion activity to rise.

These arguments must be roundly rejected. They do not match our experiences at all. Patients are grateful for our help. And anti-abortionists bomb plenty of clinics where no defense group has ever appeared.

We believe the cost of our silence and our quiet compliance with clinic conservatism would be more anti-abortionist victories. Active groups supporting reproductive rights on the street, in the workplace and in the clinics can only increase the likelihood of our success and their defeat.

What Fritz can't do

With its San Francisco spectacle behind it, the newly "unified" Democratic Party takes its show on the road this fall in its effort to unseat Ronald Reagan.

The party is so unified, it's hard to see where the differences were. Gary Hart abandoned his "new ideas" and the Colorado senator jumped on the Walter Mondale bandwagon.

Jesse Jackson made a plea for Blacks and other oppressed groups, but like Hart he failed to influence the Mondale platform. In the end, Jackson's campaign merely herded his hundreds of thousands of newly-registered Black voters into the Democratic Party.

CREDIT

But Hart and Jackson claimed one victory in their attempts to influence the direction of the Democrats. Both took credit for Mondale's selection of New York Representative Geraldine Ferraro as candidate for vice president—a choice the media proclaimed as "historic"—a great step forward for women and all the oppressed.

As Ferraro herself told the convention: "By choosing a woman to run for our second highest office, you send a powerful signal to all Americans. There are no doors we cannot unlock."

The Democratic Party hacks hope Ferraro will divert attention from Mondale's staid, Jimmy Carter-tainted image. Ferraro's role is to contrast with what New York Governor Mario Cuomo called

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WHAT WE THINK

"Ronald Reagan's shining city." As a woman, she is to represent the sections of society hurt most by the Reagan presidency.

In other words, Ferraro is a token. The selection of a millionaire business woman as candidate for vice president means nothing to the millions of single mothers struggling to raise a family in poverty.

Mondale's pre-convention parade of Black, Hispanic and female potential vice presi-

dents and Ferraro's eventual nomination was nothing but a sideshow—diverting attention from a party platform that has actually moved to the right.

Walter Mondale, for example, accepts the Reagan argument about the need for a "strong defense." Despite the party's endorsement of a "nuclear freeze," Mondale's proposed defense spending cuts would not even begin to reverse Reagan's huge war budget increase.



The presence of organized labor in the Mondale campaign failed to alter the course of the Democratic convention. But the union bureaucrats wanted it that way. After endorsing Mondale months before the primaries and donating millions of dollars to his campaign, Mondale's labor delegates banned union banners and buttons at the convention. Explained Mary Hatwood Futrell, National Education Association president: "We did not want to give the appearance of domination."

But the picture of domination is all too clear: the unions are under Mondale's thumb, not vice versa. During the four

days of the convention, not one major Democratic speaker mentioned Reagan's firing of striking air traffic controllers and the destruction of their union, PATCO.

No Democrat complained about the pro-management decisions of the Reagan-appointed National Labor Relations Board—even though the *Wall Street Journal* admitted that in four years the board has reversed most of the important decisions won by labor in the last 20 years. The supposedly pro-labor Mondale and his allies had nothing to say about the Supreme Court's February decision that allows companies to void union contracts if they even suspect that "labor costs" would threaten profits.

SILENCE

The reason for the Democrats' silence on this issue is simple. They are a bosses party. Mondale and Ferraro talk vaguely about workers' rights to jobs and a decent standard of living. But so does Ronald Reagan. *Wall Street* may prefer Republicans, but it makes do nicely with Democrats.

Ronald Reagan didn't launch the federal budget cuts; Jimmy Carter did—eliminating 20,000 federal jobs in 1978 alone. Reagan is rightly seen as a war monger, but it was Carter's Presidential Directive 59 that introduced the concept of "limited nuclear war" to White House policy.

Of course, many people find Reagan intolerable, and argue that any Democrat has to be better. Many on the left take the argument even further, believing that they can move "from the streets" into the "inner circles" of the Democratic Party and move it left—meeting the popular demands of Blacks, of women and of workers.

But neither the Democratic Party nor any number of left-wing activists within it can substitute for the one force capable of transforming society: the working class. The power to change the world lies not in the ballot box or Democratic Party back room but in the factories and offices where 100 million workers create all of this society's wealth. □



Real change comes from workers' self-activity.

Postal union leaders keep workers in the dark

At midnight, July 20, the contracts between the U.S. Postal Service and the four unions representing the more than 600,000 postal workers expired.

Contract negotiations, which began in late April, broke down when the Postal Service announced a number of cost-cutting proposals—including a three-year wage freeze for current employees and the creation of a two-tier pay scale, by hiring new workers at drastically lower wage rates.

Five days after the expiration of the contracts, the Postal Service announced that since it was no longer bound by any contract terms, it was unilaterally setting up a two-tier wage system—hiring new workers at wage rates about 20% lower than those of current employees.

Moe Biller, president of the

American Postal Workers Union, denounced this move as "a provocative, union-busting tactic," but failed to announce any sort of fight-back against it.

Two-tier pay schemes have become an increasingly popular management demand throughout industry, and have been among the most hotly disputed issues in recent labor disputes such as those at Greyhound and in the airline industry.

Bosses see them as a way of cutting costs without actually lowering the wages of currently employed workers. But they undermine unity within the workforce by splitting employees into two warring camps.

But even in the face of this attack on the basic union principle of unity, postal union officials have failed to call for a strike—or any other action. Technically, a postal strike

would be illegal, since postal workers are federal employees, but this has not stopped them in the past.

In 1978 there were wildcat strikes in four locations in New Jersey and California. And even though the Postal Service retaliated by firing 226 workers, about 80% of the dismissals were either turned into suspensions or were completely rescinded.

TALK

This time, despite tough talk, the union officials are doing everything in their power to keep the rank and file in the dark and prevent any work stoppages. Biller and Vincent Sombrotto of the National Association of Letter Carriers—the two top union presidents involved in the dispute—have said that instead of calling a strike, they will let the delegates for the respective unions decide what

to do at their bi-annual conventions in mid-August.

And while this may sound democratic, it actually represents a holding pattern. "No contract—no work" is a basic union principle which postal workers should abide by. The arguments against strike action are now winning the day while postal workers remain at work without a contract—the arguments that the agency's proposals aren't really so bad, and that they shouldn't break the law.

A postal strike could be won, but it would require confidence on the part of postal workers and solidarity with other workers. By shutting down the nation's mail delivery, the 600,000 postal workers could actually win a victory against the Postal Service—and thus up the ante for the auto workers and miners whose contracts come up in the fall. □

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MURDERERS OF GAY MAN GO FREE

BANGOR, ME—Kill a "normal" person in this town and you'll likely wind up in jail. Murder a homosexual, and you'll get off scot-free.

Three teen-aged boys severely beat a young gay man July 7, 1984 and tossed him into a stream to drown. All three were released—with no bail set—to the custody of their parents.

"It says to every fag-basher—go out and get them," said gay rights activist David McManus of District Court Judge David Cox's decision.

Prosecutors said James Bains, 15, Shawn Mabry, 16, and Daniel Ness, 17, threw 23-year-old Charles Howard into a stream despite pleas that he could

by **LEE SUSTAR**

not swim.

Friends of Howard described him as one of the few Bangor gays open about his sexuality—which they believe singled him out for abuse by the teenagers.

But in the weeks following Howard's murder dozens of Bangor residents have come out of the closet. The newly formed Coalition of Lesbians, Gay Men and Straights has organized a rally of 500 in Portland to protest the Cox decision and vows that "justice will be done" in the upcoming trial of the teenagers.

The Bangor murder and the judge's endorsement of it is no isolated case.

The right of gays and lesbians to be open about their sexuality at work has for years been under attack by the religious right.

Both Democratic and Republican politicians have cooperated, sponsoring legislation that would allow hiring discrimination against gays and lesbians if their "immoral, abnormal" behavior affected their work. Schoolteachers are the most common target, accused of being "morally unfit" to teach children.

But the sort of violence that killed Charles Howard is the most common threat to gays and lesbians; in many cities police and right-wingers regularly raid homosexual bars.

And the fact remains that most gay and lesbian workers would risk their jobs by coming out of the closet. Gay and lesbian baiting is one of the bosses favorite tools to divide workers.

CONTRAST

The reality of the Howard murder and the uncounted thousands of other attacks on homosexuals stand in sharp contrast to the hopes of the gay bourgeoisie as it tries to make its way into the "respectable" Democratic Party.

These gay and lesbian "leaders" who try and paint a picture of a unified "gay and lesbian community" are worlds away from the violence that killed Charles Howard.

These leaders don't face the constant possibility of being found out and fired—they do the hiring and firing for the businesses they own.

STRUGGLE

Gay and lesbian rights can be defended only by the way they were won in the first place—by self-defense and open struggle. New York City gays fought cop raids on the Stonewall bar in 1969, launching a movement that forced society to accept homosexuals openly.

But as the murder of Charles Howard shows, that acceptance is conditional on the willingness of gays, lesbians and their straight supporters to fight for their rights. □

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA



Jesse Jackson's strategy a dead end for Blacks

by **CHRISTINA BAKER**

The response to Jesse Jackson's Democratic Party convention speech last month has been rapturous. "One of the most remarkable speeches in modern times," proclaimed Walter Mondale. From *Time* magazine to party leaders and most of the left, Jackson's performance represents one more chapter in the struggle for Black civil rights.

And his emotional, evangelical and conciliatory speech was not only a welcome relief, but vindication that the Democratic Party holds out real hope for what Jackson calls his constituency—"the desperate, the damned, the disinherited, the disrespected and the despised."

After losing a string of floor fights over platform planks and party rules changes, Jackson made a point of apologizing to any Democrats he may have offended during the campaign. With voice hoarse and shirt soaked with sweat, he made an impassioned plea for party unity—announcing that he would support the convention's nominee and declaring "America, our time has come."

The real question is: whose time is that?

ANSWER

The answer many give, including many socialists, is that while Jesse Jackson may not be a socialist, or even a radical, he does at least raise the

issues. After all, the argument goes, he did make a plea for the poor and downtrodden. He did raise the issue of U.S. involvement in Central America. He was right to apologize for his use of anti-Semitic language. And he even mentioned lesbians and gays as constituent parts of "the American quilt."

He mentioned Hispanic Americans living in the shadow of the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill and referred to the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) boycott of the Campbell Soup Co. as an attempt "to achieve legitimate workers rights." He spoke of Native Americans as "the most exploited people of all" and made note of "Asian Americans, now being killed on our streets—scapegoats for the failures of corporate, industrial and economic policies."

He rounded out the picture with women, arms spending, the threat of nuclear holocaust, corporate tax evasion, deteriorating health care, the problem of toxic waste and the plight of small farmers.

QUESTION

But Jackson is heavy on form and low on content. The central question is not so much the issues he (and many other liberal democrats) raise in election campaigns, so

much as what is to be done? And to that question Jackson has a very simple answer: It is to bring Blacks into the Democratic Party. His radical oratory serves to legitimate a party with a strong history as the representative of slave-owners and capitalists.

Jackson's goal of registering massive numbers of Black voters and increasing Black involvement in the party is one

shared by the party as a whole. Voter registration today, rather than representing a radical grassroots challenge to racism, actually represents an attempt to convince Blacks with no faith in the system or the electoral road that there is an easy and passive path to change.

And in the wake of his candidacy, Jackson is enjoying the greatest political promi-

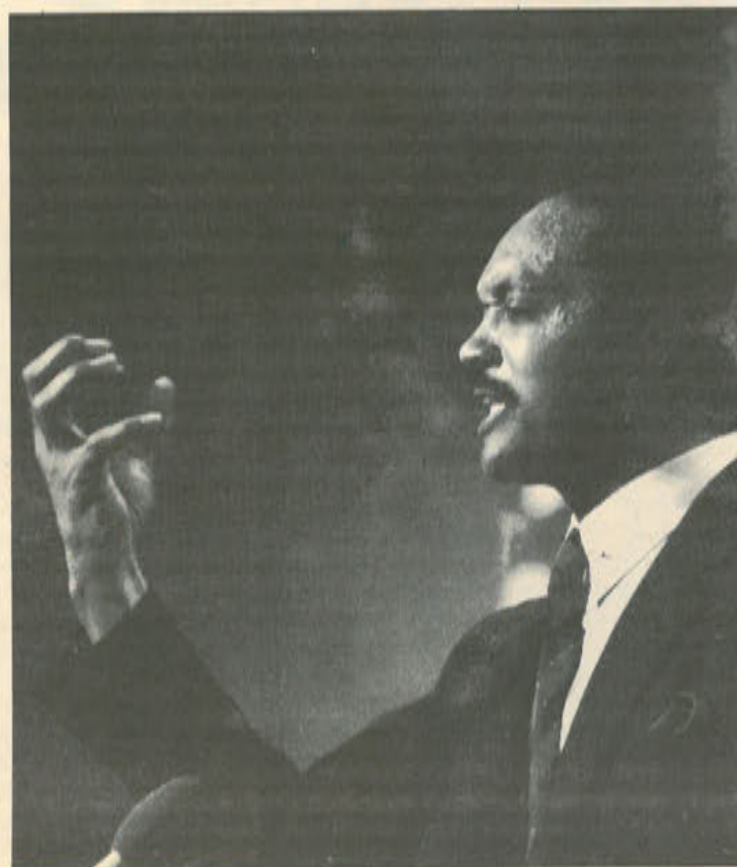
nence and stature of his career. As the predominant Black national political figure, Jackson is in a position to win certain career demands for himself within the party. He may even have a shot at the South Carolina Senator seat. Jackson has never been known for neglecting his own career.

DEADEND

Far from providing a way forward for Blacks, Jackson offers the time-honored dead-end of the Democratic Party. In fact, the Democratic "alternative" is worse than a dead-end in that it channels the best young activists, those most hopeful about change and enthusiastic about activity, away from the very sort of action which can bring results—collective action.

There is no doubt that the non-existence of any real alternative for Blacks outside the Democratic Party has led many to support the Jackson effort. But this strategy has a logic of its own. Those who began by supporting Jackson as an alternative now face the prospect of campaigning, arguing and voting for Walter Mondale.

The real job of building an alternative outside the Democratic Party can only be implemented by rejecting the Democratic Party, and by looking to the real struggles and aspirations of workers—not to election day. □



Joe Allen reports on the UAW contract talks.

The current contract talks between the UAW, GM and Ford come at a time when management is determined to cut labor costs—after five years of retreat and concessions by the UAW.

The UAW contracts with GM and Ford—due to expire on September 15—cover roughly 600,000 auto workers in the U.S. and Canada. Just as the concessions given by the UAW to Chrysler in 1979 and to GM and Ford in 1982 opened up a wave of givebacks to the employers, so the outcome of these negotiations will set the pattern for future negotiations of other unionized workers.

Everyone agrees that the central issue of the current negotiations is jobs. GM alone wants to eliminate 100,000 jobs from its U.S. workforce of 400,000 by 1986. Ford's goal is to reduce its

workforce from 110,000 to 80,000 in the next five years.

The *Wall Street Journal* described GM and Ford's strategy to eliminate jobs "buying an increasing number of parts from other domestic and foreign manufacturers and lining up small car imports; consolidating production and cutting surplus capacity, installing robots and other computer-based automation, and designing new models such as GM's much-touted small car Saturn project so that they can be built by fewer workers than current models."

All this translates into the prospect of unemployment for UAW members in the future—compounding an already dire situation for auto workers in the U.S. Since 1978, over 170,000 auto industry jobs have disappeared. One UAW report describes a worst-case scenario: a 33% decline in blue-collar auto industry jobs by 1987. "Job security is a number-one priority. There are still a lot of plants that are vulnerable to shut-down," said one UAW president in Michigan after his local was forced to accept concessions or lose work from his plant.

GM and Ford want to reduce the wages and benefits of UAW members also. In an internal strategy paper, GM listed the "elimination of COLA" as a key objective—that is the cost of living adjustment that gives automatic wage increases tied to the rate of inflation.

GM and Ford also want a reduction in the UAW's health plan and work rule concessions to consolidate and eliminate jobs.

The other major issue is outsourcing—contracting out work formerly done in union plants to non-union plants or overseas.

BACKDROP

The contract talks take place against the backdrop of record profits of the Big 3 automakers and record bonuses for their executives. The Big 3—GM, Ford and Chrysler—earned record combined profits of \$6.5 billion in 1983. GM and Ford alone are expected to earn \$10 billion this year. GM's chairman, Roger Smith, received a 171% pay raise and Ford's Phillip Caldwell got a 214% pay hike.

Many UAW rank and filers are justly angered at the continual decline in their standards of living and sacrifice of their jobs for the booming profits and fat paychecks of their bosses.

"I don't want anything to get in my way of getting justice from GM this fall," said one worker who is preparing for the possibility of a strike this fall.

So any poormouthing by GM or Ford executives in the press or at the negotiating table will not fly with UAW

UAW faces tough challenge from the bosses

ONLY RANK AND FILE ACTION CAN WIN

members. But we can count on the use of the Japanese bogeyman to keep UAW demands down. Even this, however, will be hard to sell.

It is true that GM and Ford compete with Japanese automakers and that a large share of the U.S. market goes to Japanese cars. It is also true that GM and Ford are making deals with them. GM and Toyota have signed a joint agreement and have a joint facility in California where they will be producing 57,000 cars a year.



more laid off UAW members. Fraser and his lieutenant squashed any resistance to concessions.

When Bieber took office as president, he began his term by saying, "I don't want to suggest that you'll never see a strike again by this union in the United States, but on the whole you're going to see a lot more cooperation than 10 years ago."

Bieber's rhetoric has become more militant, however, over the last year as the anger of UAW members climbed.

"I don't want to suggest that you'll never see a strike again by this union in the U.S., but on the whole you're going to see a lot more cooperation than ten years ago."

—Owen Bieber

Ford has just built a facility in Mexico and will be "importing" 130,000 cars a year by 1987. This shows that the interests of the Japanese and American automakers are not so divergent.

SAVIOR

While it is clear that UAW members are angered by the situation, it is unlikely that there will be a fightback. But if there is any resistance, GM and Ford have one savior. That is Owen Bieber and the UAW bureaucracy.

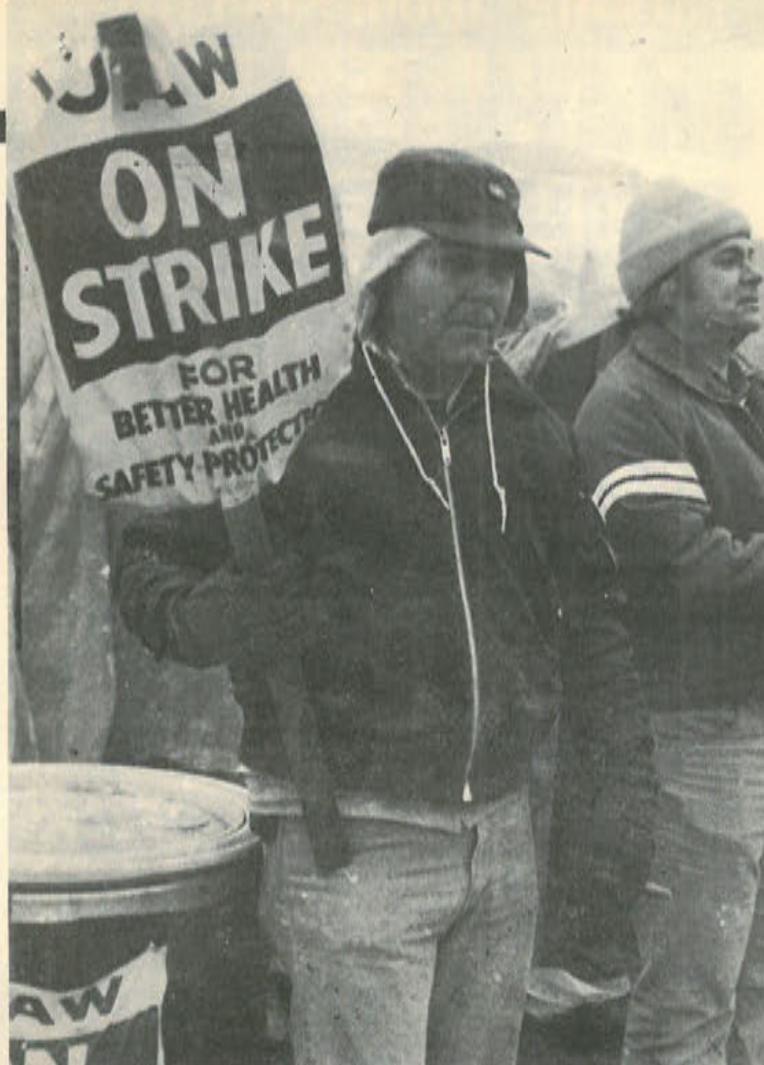
It was only 30 months ago that Owen Bieber, a loyal lieutenant of then-UAW president Douglas Fraser, proclaiming a new era in "labor-management cooperation" gave GM and Ford \$3 billion in concessions. In return, the UAW received thousands

He now says that the UAW days of "Mr. Nice Guy" are over, and it's time to get back what rightly belongs to UAW members.

Though his rhetoric has changed, Bieber has crushed any potential fight against concessions. Two examples serve to illustrate this.

In Detroit during last year's strike against Greyhound, a strike against concessions and union-busting, Greyhound's mechanics belonging to the UAW crossed picket lines with the support of their union.

In Long Beach, California, UAW Local 148 held out for 16 weeks before returning to work on February 14 of this year on a strike against concessions demanded by their employer, the McDonnell-Douglas corporation. UAW members twice voted down



contract proposals containing concessions. After the second vote, the International UAW office in Detroit ordered that they vote on the proposals again. The UAW leadership wanted the strike to be over. Ray Majerus, the director of the UAW's aerospace division, said that the strike "no longer serves a purpose."

Strikers felt betrayed, crossed picket lines and accepted concessions. Mary Frisch, a mechanic, said, "The International is worse than the scabs. We had this fight won until they ordered the vote. It looked like they were siding with the company, and we lost thousands of good people the next day."

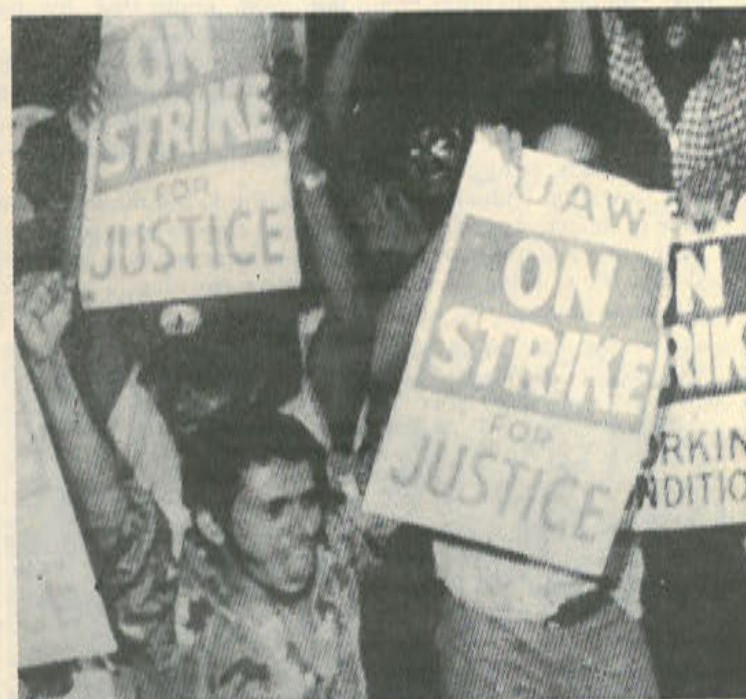
Why did Bieber and the UAW leadership act this way? Unions have a dual function under capitalism. They are simultaneously organizations for workers to fight for their interests and institutions for controlling workers. The trade

union bureaucracy depends on the existence of unions. It also depends on an "orderly" relationship with employers. That is why union bureaucrats, even the most crusty and conservative, will call strikes to maintain the union. But also, they will crush rank and file activity which disrupts the "orderly" relationship.

LESSON

The key lesson from the recent history of the UAW, and for that matter from the Greyhound, Continental Airlines and Toledo AP Parts strikes, is the necessity of rank and file organization and solidarity among workers. UAW members face a serious attack on their livelihood.

If GM and Ford are allowed to push through their strategy of eliminating tens of thousands of jobs, it will not only be a serious blow to the UAW, but to the whole of organized labor. □



Striking Ford in 1975.

Marxism is a guide to action

Like many other reformers and socialists of his time, Marx was horrified by the dreadful conditions and treatment of the working class. But what distinguished Marx, and still distinguishes marxists from other socialists today, is that he saw much more than suffering.

He saw enormous revolutionary potential—potential to overthrow capitalism and create a new social order of equality and freedom.

This potential is not based on any special moral qualities of individual workers, but on the way they exist as a class. It has two main aspects.

POWER

The first is the potential economic and political power of the working class. The development of capitalism, and in particular of modern industry, draws together the working class in large workplaces which are concentrated in certain areas of the country. The working class stands at the center of the economic system and the whole society rests on its labor.

Without its miners and power workers, its engineering and electrical workers, industry would grind to a halt. Without telephone operators and mail carriers, communications would break down. Without train workers and truck drivers, no goods would move.

The working class has only to use its power in a concerted way for the whole productive system to be paralyzed. Even the immense power of the state can function only with the compliance of a section of workers. And therefore it begins to disintegrate when it confronts a united and determined working class.

COLLECTIVE

The second aspect of workers' revolutionary potential lies in the collective nature of their struggle. It is clearly pointless for individual workers to ring up their bosses and ask for a raise.

To improve their lot they must combine with other miners and take collective action.

And beyond that the next task is to appeal to workers in other industries for support and solidarity. The logic of working class struggle is always towards widening the scope of collective action.

Take this a step further and ask how the working class can gain possession of the means

of production—the factories, workshops, mines and so on.

Obviously they can't do it as individuals. You can't take a mine, a factory or a railway and divide it up, giving a piece to each worker in the way land could be divided up among small farmers.

The only solution is a collective seizure of all the enterprises.

This is why the struggle of the working class leads, if it is victorious, to the establishment of a socialist society, to the social ownership and control of all productive forces and to the end of all class divisions.

The fact that no other social class possesses these characteristics means that only the working class can create socialism. No other social force can substitute for it. As Marx put it, "The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

CENTRAL

This was Marx's central idea—the basis on which all his other social and economic theories were built. If it was true in the nineteenth century, it is doubly true today.

For the working class is the special product of capitalism, and as capitalism grows so it continually reproduces the working class as its opponent and potential grave digger.

Consequently, in the long struggle between capital and labor, the working class can and does suffer defeat in many battles.

But short of the total destruction of society in a nuclear holocaust, the working class can't ultimately lose the war. Capitalism can't do without it.

The problem is for the working class to become conscious of its strength and its power before capitalism plunges us all into the abyss.

CLASS

The capitalist class, through its politicians, its educational system, its mass media and its laws will do everything it possibly can to prevent this happening, and to keep the working class dominated by its own way of looking at things.

This is where marxism comes in again. It is not some dry, boring or obscure doctrine cooked up by intellectuals.

It is the living theory of the working class whose sold purpose is to serve as a guide to action in our class's struggle for freedom.



CHURCH AND STATE AGAINST GAYS IN NYC

by TERRY STONE

A complex battle has been waging between church and state, and the lesbian/gay community of New York City this summer. Contested is a 1980 Executive Order issued by Mayor Ed Koch mandating all who contract with the city to certify that they do not discriminate on the basis of (among various categories) race, sex and sexual orientation.

The problems began in June when New York's Catholic Archbishop John J. O'Connor issued an aggressive anti-gay statement to the press indicating that the Catholic Church would not agree to a policy of non-discrimination toward lesbians and gay men. The Archdiocese had contracted with the city for \$78 million worth of social services—most for child care. The church has historically carried enormous economic and political clout in New York City.

INAPPROPRIATE

Archbishop O'Connor noted that the Catholic Church had always opposed the practice of homosexuality and said, "We would rather close our child care agencies than violate church teaching." Later, the Catholic Church's attorney, Jack Hale, said in a radio interview that many lesbians are killers, and therefore would be inappropriate choices as Catholic child care workers.

The church's strident posturing on gays sent city bureaucrats scrambling in every direction. First Mayor Koch told an audience of lesbians and gay men at the new Lesbian and Gay Community Center that he would defend his order against

the church's attacks. Sixteen hours later, Koch issued a joint statement with the Catholics and gave them a "stay of applicability"—allowing the church, the Salvation Army, and other religious organizations to keep city monies and continue to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation.



Anti-gay protest in New York.

Now the matter has gone to court where gay lawyers predict it will languish for months. Some say the case will lay low until after Koch's reelection bid. "Koch wants to keep relations with the Catholics warm," said a gay community leader, "He doesn't want to risk losing all those Catholic votes."

Meanwhile, lesbians and gay men who work for city subcontractors now have no redress against on-the-job harassment, firing and denial of benefits and services.

The history of gays and the Catholic Church in New York City has always been rocky. The church has continued to oppose efforts to pass citywide lesbian and gay rights protections. The Salvation Army too, though a much smaller power broker, is always on record as a lesbian/gay opponent.

Recently, this religious "Army" refused to accept charitable donations of clothes from people who had died of AIDS. "No one wants something like that in their house," said a Salvation Army spokesman, "They're contagious!" All research has indicated that AIDS can only be contracted through intimate contact. Lesbians and gays in this city took the Salvation Army's statement as one more indication that the church views homosexuality per se as a disease to be cured.

In fact, Archbishop O'Connor thinks he has found a solution to the "problem" of homosexuality. He has started a group called "Courage"—for gay men and lesbians who decide to follow church teaching and live their entire lives as celibates. O'Connor has met with this group of about 20 men and five women and urged them to fight their desire to love.

Quipped a non-Catholic gay man, "He'd get more joiners if he started a group called 'Weaklings.' How many adults in 1984 think they can't be good people unless they are celibate?"



A New Kid in School?



Representative Barney Frank, the liberal Democrat from Massachusetts, is worried by legislation that will give religious groups and others "equal access" to after-school meetings. "People should understand what this means. It means the young Trotskyites can meet; it means the gay rights activists can meet."

Telling a Whopper . . .

Glenn W. Jeffery, 37, tells how he became vice president for human resources at Burger King.

"I had gotten quite involved . . . in the student reaction against the Cambodia invasion and the shootings at Kent State. While a number of us have gotten involved in areas we never thought we would have—like business—we are having a revolutionary impact on the way people do things."

What's in a Name?

Last October, Ronald Reagan justified the U.S. invasion of Grenada by calling the Caribbean island's British-built airstrip "a threat to U.S. security."

But now that Reagan may visit the island this fall, a White House aide has termed the completion of the airstrip "the event that symbolizes all the things that would bring economic development to Grenada."

The Sporting Life?

Jogging guru Jim Fixx, author of *The Complete Book of Running*, died of a heart attack—while running. Bomber—the bald eagle—suffered a similar fate.

The U.S. national symbol died of a vascular collapse while training for the opening Olympic ceremonies.

He was to fly from his perch and alight on the Olympic rings, in all-American glory. The bird's death was attributed to old age and obesity.

Getting Away With Lies . . .

"In political advertising you can get away with innuendo and just plain falsehoods that you'd never get away with in advertising garbage bags or soap."

So said Hal Rine, executive vice president of Ogilvy and Mather, the Reagan campaign's official ad agency.

A member of Tuesday Team, Inc., Rine produced 4 of 7 Reagan commercials which are supposed to be run after the Republican convention.

Britain's miners hold the line

Lance Selfa and Alan Maass report on the miners' strike and look back at the lessons of the last major battle between the miners and the government. Picture: John Sturrock (Network)



THE LESSONS OF 1972-1974

Scenes from this summer—mass pickets at coal pits and steel plants, riot-gear police battling miners, empty docks—recalled similar scenes from 1970-1974, when miners and other workers won the most important struggles in recent British labor history.

The upsurge, led by miners' wildcats in 1969-1970 and national miners strikes in 1972 and 1974, won important wage and work rule gains, contributing to the fall of the Conservative Heath government in 1974.

The struggles demonstrated the power of mass tactics, rank-and-file organization and workers' solidarity. The lessons from the fire last time point the way to victory for miners in 1984.

STRIKE TACTICS

The 1972 strike began on January 9—at a time when winter coal demands would make the action more effective. Almost immediately, the rank and file militants and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leadership, which wanted a quietly administered strike, split on strike tactics.

Militants picketed the National Coal Board's (NCB's) offices against the advice of the NUM national executive committee. And though the Tory press described the incident as one of burly miners assaulting female NCB secretaries, the miners were able to win support from the women clerical workers. In fact, many NCB offices were closed as clericals joined miners' picket lines.

Flying pickets of hundreds, operating out of local union offices, pubs and other places, generalized the strike to other sections of the working class. Busloads of pickets moved on power stations, docks and other workplaces, gaining support for the miners' fight.

The main truckers' union refused to cross picket lines. Power station workers came out in support of the miners, refusing to handle oil and coal supplies that entered the plants when non-union truckers broke miners' lines.

SALTLEY GATE

As the Coal Board and the Heath government held out into February, the miners and

their supporters could sense victory. Power stations were closed, factories were closed, and power blackouts spread across Britain. But the miners had not won the final decisive blow. That came in the "Battle of Saltley Gate" February 8-10.

For 10 days, nearly 1,000 pickets battled police who escorted scab trucks through the gate at a coke depot near Birmingham. On February 9, none other than Arthur Scargill, a militant from Yorkshire, appealed for support from the engineers' union.

The Birmingham district of the engineers' union called for an all-out strike and demonstration in support for the miners at Saltley.

Workers from all over the region responded to the call. On February 10, 40,000 workers struck and 10,000 marched on the depot. By mid-morning, 15,000 people had arrived at the gate, overwhelming the entire 800-member Birmingham police force. The crowd roared "Close the gate! Close the gate!" as it surged forward. A little before 11 a.m., the crowd got its wish—a Gas Board official turned the key that locked Saltley Gate. The miners had won.

So while 1972 was indisputably the miners' greatest victory, it had some peculiar long-range effects—all of which showed in the 1974 national miners' strike.

The victory propelled many of the "Broad Left" leaders, Labour Party militants increasingly into NUM leadership positions, sweeping out the more conservative officials who had dominated the union. Arthur Scargill was elected Yorkshire area president and executive committee member in 1973, his first step to the NUM's presidency.

UNION BUREAUCRACY

These developments placed some of the most respected militants into positions of authority in the union bureaucracy, where they often relied on their popularity among the ranks to dampen struggles from below, especially those which might jeopardize their ultimate aim—replacing the Tory government with a Labour government in 1974.

In January 1974, NUM members voted 4 to 1 for a

strike, but though the strike succeeded in pushing the already-weakened Heath government over the edge, it was quite different from the 1972 strike.

There were no mass pickets, and while many union members honored NUM picket lines, active organization of solidarity with other workers was ignored.

"Left" union leaders agreed to a government limit of six pickets per site. As one official put it, the NUM "was desperately trying to reduce the points of conflict, such as arose in 1972."

The strike continued through the February 28 general election, when British voters turned out the Tories in favor of Labour. Though union leaders promised that all miners would get the full increases they demanded, only the face-workers, the strike's most militant group, got everything. Other lower-paid miners had to settle for less. But since the Labour government offered the terms, union leaders rushed to defend them.

And because of a lower level of mass involvement, NUM leaders claimed that the success was not based on workers' struggle, but on their own skills as negotiators. The new government promised no layoffs and an expansion of coal production—promises which later proved false.

GUIDES TO ACTION

Ten years later, the miners' struggles offer concrete guides to action. They show the impact of tactics socialists uphold: mass picketing, solidarity from other workers and rank and file organization. And they show the pitfalls in reliance on trade union officials or reformist political parties to win workers' goals.

The key to all workers' struggles and the key to socialism itself is the strength a worker at Saltley Gate described: "The marchers seemed to be endless . . . 40,000 engineers had responded to the strike call and 10,000 had joined the march and picket. For the first time in my life I had a practical demonstration of what workers' solidarity meant. We all felt so powerful. We felt we could rule the world." □

For 11 days in July, the striking miners in Britain were joined in their action by a nationwide dockers strike which began without warning—paralyzing Britain's foreign trade and raising predictions of shortages in other industries.

Coming in the nineteenth week of the miners strike, the dock strike was sparked by the British Steel Corporation's use of non-union labor to load iron ore on trucks—thus bypassing the railway workers who were honoring the miners strike.

The dockers strike created a national crisis of such magnitude that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called the twin strikes "an attack on democracy and the rule of law."

On July 20, the 35,000 dock workers began returning to work. The settlement of their strike represented a partial victory, so its effect on the miners strike was uneven.

CHALLENGE

Before the dockers went out, it seemed as if Thatcher and her staunch ally at the head of the National Coal Board, Ian MacGregor, seemed to hold all the cards in this—the most important working class challenge Thatcher has yet faced. The morale of the miners had been crumbling for a month since police charged a mass picket at the Orgreave coal pit on June 18—injuring hundreds and arresting hundreds more in a vicious attack.

Arthur Scargill, the president of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), seemed ready to cut a deal—on Thatcher's terms. But the nationwide strike of dockers filled the miners strike with new spirit, and Scargill declared that he wouldn't enter any more negotiations unless the government withdrew its plan for shutting down unprofitable pits—and throwing thousands of miners out of work.

The numbers on the miners' picket lines regained their former level after a substantial drop in the weeks following Orgreave.

As one Kent miner put it: "We saw the bottom. My car went back. My television went back. I haven't paid my bills. There's nowhere to go but up. We'll stay out now until we win. And we don't want a

sham victory, we don't want anything like that. We want a solid victory."

PROSPECTS

With its newfound strength, the prospects for a miners' victory have improved. And as winter approaches, long-stockpiled coal is disappearing very quickly. Even the government is predicting shortages by the beginning of September.

But the miners still face enormous difficulties. A "war of attrition" may win for the miners a temporary victory, but they can win much more much faster from the Tories if they take decisive action.

Even with the dockers out, the union was still estimating that only one-fifth of the striking miners were involved in picketing. This low level of activity in comparison with previous miners strikes isn't really attributable to the workers, but to the treachery of local union leaders.



Margaret Thatcher.

The union leaders in various coal pit areas have tremendous power in the NUM, and they have been using it to ignore any calls for action from the rank and file or from union president Scargill.

MASS PICKETING

For instance, the disaster at Orgreave took place in large part because—after Scargill called for mass picketing and a rally—the area union leader, Jack Taylor, discouraged the action. With splits in the leadership of the picketing, the miners were vulnerable to police attack. And it was no surprise that there was little response after hundreds of miners, including Scargill, got arrested.

And now, with the dockers strike settled, Thatcher will be determined to crush the miners—even if it takes all winter.

The key to a miners' victory is in mass picketing, stopping the shipments of steel and increasing rank and file action and calls for solidarity. □

Pablo Riojas did not intend to become an "illegal" alien. When he first crossed the border into California, he had a visa. He meant to visit. Four years later, Pablo lives and works in the Yakima Valley of Washington State.

This man, born and raised on a small avocado farm in Mexico where his brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins, parents and grandparents still live, is like many "illegals." When he first arrived, he was young, 25, and single.

He sent about a third of his wages home to his family and intended to return to Mexico when he had enough money to buy the land next to his family's holdings.

Bid for Citizenship

Like many Mexican workers who come to this country without the proper papers, Pablo will try to become a citizen. Not eligible for the amnesty declared in 1977, Pablo will make his bid for citizenship based on his marriage to a citizen and the birth of his daughter on American soil.

This does not mean Pablo has given up his dream to be a farmer in Mexico, it just delays it. He cannot send home so much money now that he has a family to support. What he does send home goes to put a sister through teachers school and buy shoes and clothes for the little ones so they can attend school. He also wants to buy his father a tractor.

Twenty years ago, most Mexican immigrants, legal or not, worked in agriculture once they crossed the border. That is not so true today. More and more immigrants are going to cities like Los Angeles and Chicago, where they nearly dominate the workforce in the garment industry, hotel and restaurant work, food processing and other low-skill, low-wage, non-union jobs. They are also the domestic

The current wave of hysteria against immigrants is crucially important to argue against. No workers in the U.S.—whether "legal" or "illegal"—have anything to gain either from the exploitation of immigrant workers or from closing the borders.

Mary Deaton examines the plight of Latino workers in the Yakima Valley, Washington.



No "American Dream" for immigrant workers



workers from the illegal workers when you are at work," Pablo said. "I don't know if citizens make more money than me. There is no way for me to find out." Citizen or not, agricultural workers' wages in the Yakima Valley rarely rise above \$5 an hour for the most skilled positions. When lots of workers are available, wages fall. This is far above the 50¢ to \$1 a day earned by workers in Mexico.

No Unions

Ten years ago, the United Farmworkers tried to organize the Yakima Valley; they were defeated by a vicious and well-financed campaign by the growers. Nobody dares speak union on Pablo's work crews. It is mentioned in the bars and restaurants and the Saturday night dances where workers gather to escape the degradation of their work, but there are no organizers, no union office, no help from other unions in the Valley.

What help and sympathy the immigrant workers do get comes from each other and the few, small organizations in the Valley willing to ignore the law and provide social services to undocumented workers.

Three times Pablo has had to run from immigration raids in the orchards where he worked or the roadblocks set up along highways traveled by immigrants going to and from work in the early morning.

Radio Cadena reports the presence of immigration offi-

servants of the ruling and upper middle class.

No Accurate Estimate

There is no accurate estimate of how many undocumented immigrants live and work in the U.S. We know that most are Mexicans and other Hispanics. Guesses range from 2-12 million, depending on how hysterical the guesser is. Perhaps 50% or more of those people are children and dependent spouses or elderly—brought north after the wage earners established themselves. The vast majority

live in poverty.

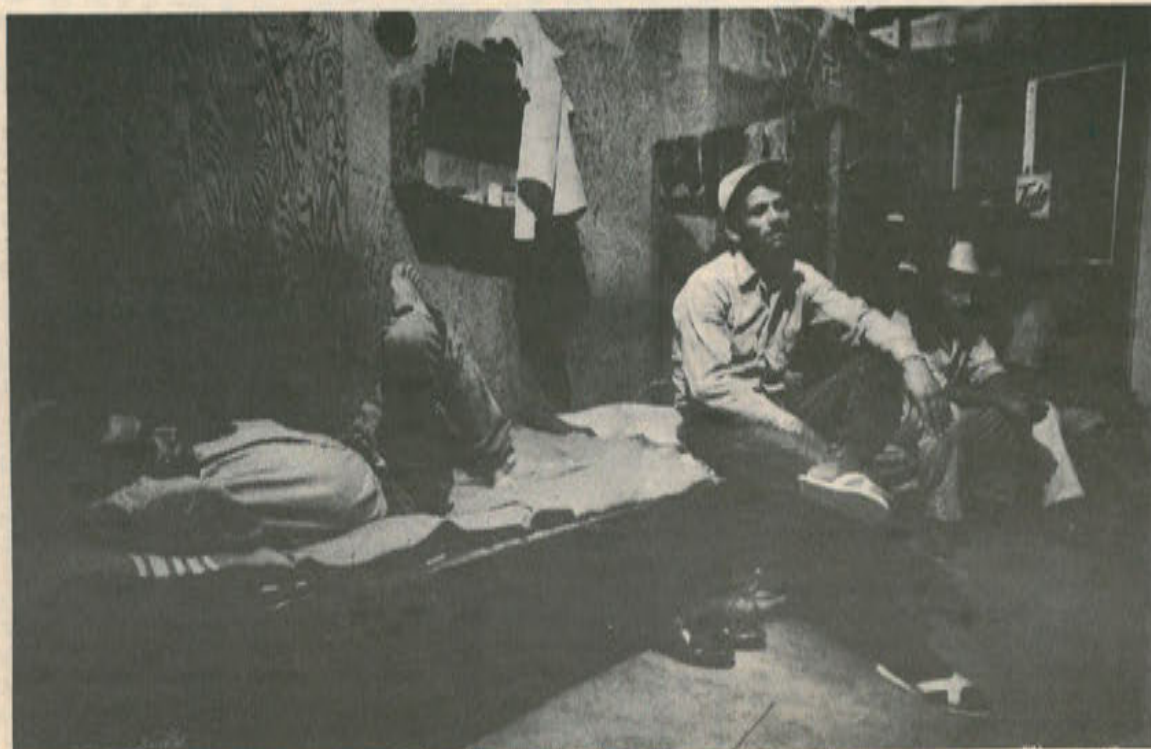
Pablo works in agriculture, traveling from Washington to California when he cannot find work in the Valley. He likes farming—it is work he knows and is good at. He also cannot get other jobs. Although he speaks English and was trained as a mechanic during his brief stint in the Mexican marines, he has not been able to find a steady job.

The life of an immigrant agricultural worker is a long way from the American Dream. Pablo had one job where he was required to ride to work with the foreman. He was charged

\$3.50 a day for this privilege. Often, he and his *campaneros* were picked up before dawn, driven to the work site and made to sit until work began at 8 a.m. When Pablo refused to take this "bus" to work, he was fired.

One farmer for whom Pablo worked took taxes out of his paycheck, but never bothered to send them on to the IRS, assuming Pablo was using a false Social Security card and would not file for taxes. Many times farmers shorted Pablo's checks, knowing he could not report it to the authorities.

"You cannot tell the legal





eam" kers



cial in the Valley. Workers and farmers alike listen to these reports—workers to know if it's safe to go out, farmers to know if their workers might be delayed getting to the job.

Sometimes, farmers help workers hide. Pablo remembers one foreman with a walky-talky and buses standing by. When the alert came that Immigration was on the way, workers were loaded up and driven to a safe place until the raid was over.

It is understood that La Migra hates immigrants—farmers willingly flaunt the law to exploit them, and Anglo workers despise them for supposedly taking jobs away from "natives."

Undercurrent of Hatred

What is not always so well understood is the undercurrent of hatred for Mexicans which runs through the established Chicano community. For every member of La Raza willing to defend the immigrant, another one condemns them.

I don't know if Maria and Asienada are typical; both born in the Brownsville, Texas area of migrant parents, they came to the Valley in the late 1940s, settling out of the migrant stream to pursue what they thought would be better lives.

Neither actually stopped working as a migrant laborer until a few years ago. Today, both work as low-paid child care workers in a program for migrant children.

Maria and Asienada are not "Chicanos"—to them that is another word for radical. Instead they are Mexican-Americans. Their voices are full of bitterness and frustration. They rail against the injustice of the government providing money for undocumented workers while citizens do not qualify for the same day care or training programs. Their teenaged children cannot find agricultural jobs, they say, because the "wetbacks" have them all.

Asienada tells of a woman who sells birth certificates for \$150 and Social Security cards for \$50. Maria says that she "knows" many mothers at the day care center where she works are receiving food stamps and welfare at the same time they work full-time. They both tell stories they swear are true about Mexican workers who brag that their U.S. wages have bought them fancy cars and big homes in Mexico.

"What About Us?"

"I'm not against people having jobs," says Asienada, "but what about us? I had four rela-

tives killed in World War II. Why? So we can eat beans and potatoes? Where is our justice, where is our dignity as Americans?"

Never mind that Maria and Asienada's grandparents came from Mexico; these women have been fed, and have swallowed a line that blames the system's failure to fulfill their own dreams on the aspiration of Mexican workers to find a better life for themselves than they can get in Mexico.

Studies show that over 60% of immigrant Mexican workers' wages stay in this country, used to buy food, housing and clothes. While the vast majority of these workers have taxes deducted from their paychecks, less than 9% of them receive welfare assistance, and fewer still ever see a tax refund: you cannot file for refunds when you work under several different social security numbers.

It is common knowledge that immigrant Mexican workers often are paid less than minimum wage, must pay bribes to foremen and employers to prevent exposure to the INS, may owe hundreds of dollars to the "coyote" who brought them over the border, are unemployed more often than native or even Chicano workers and have almost no union representation.

AND WHY WE SAY: NO IMMIGRATION CONTROLS

It is not surprising that the current wave of hysteria about immigrant workers coincides almost day for day with the beginnings of the economic crisis in the early 1970s. They have become an easy scapegoat for the crisis of capitalism. Unions ignore them as potential members while railing against the effect of their low wages on citizen workers. Middle class Mexican-Americans see in them an all too grim reminder of the past they are trying to escape as they fight for upward mobility.

A large subculture of poor, non-English-speaking Chicanos threatens their claims on entry into the mainstream of capitalism. Open racists, like Ronald Reagan, conjure up spectres of invading "brown hordes," determined to destroy the American standard of living.

The affluence of the 1950s is

gone forever. Capitalism itself is destroying workers' standard of living. Are immigrants responsible for the closing of steel mills? Hardly. Was it immigrants who forced Reagan to cut social services in favor of increased defense spending? Hardly.

Rather, it is Reagan's mania for "halting communism" by supporting right-wing terrorism that has swelled the flow of undocumented workers out of South America and into our cities.

Maria and Asienada have been denied full participation in the so-called American Dream because they are workers, women and non-white. It is the same for Pablo. Their future lies with each other—not pitted against one another. It also lies in an alliance with all other workers to fight the real enemy

—capitalism.

American-born workers will not benefit from either exploitation of immigrant workers or closing the borders. Allowing such super-exploitation to continue here only drives down wages for everyone. Sending all the immigrants back across the border makes more likely the acceleration of the move of factories into low-wage, non-union countries.

The only short-term strategy is a massive union campaign to organize all workers—immigrant, citizen and foreign—so the bosses can no longer play one group off against another. In the long run, however, it will take much more. It will take an end to the system of exploitation of labor which brought us this mess in the first place.

Workers have no country. We have only each other and our ability to change society. □

LABOR BRIEFS

CHARLESTON, SC—Workers at General Electric's Ladson steam turbine generator plant are fighting company plans to close the plant.

Over 300 workers in United Electrical Workers Local 1202 and 100 others in the plant would lose their jobs in the shutdown, scheduled to begin this fall with a series of layoffs.

Union officials have appealed to politicians—including the notoriously anti-union Republican Senator Strom Thurmond—to find tax incentives for General Electric to remain in the state.

But workers must be prepared to do more. Anti-labor politicians can't save the plant. Only rank and file action—strikes and occupations—can force the bosses to provide jobs. □

MORENCI, AZ—Strikers at the Phelps-Dodge copper mines marked the anniversary of their walkout the same way they began it—confronting scabs and cops in riot gear.

But this time Democratic Governor Bruce "Scabbitt" Babbitt's state police opened fire, shooting dozens of the 1,100 strikers with wooden bullets.

Meanwhile, Phelps-Dodge scabs filed petitions with the National Labor Relations Board to decertify seven of the eight unions on strike, the largest of which is the United Steelworkers of America.

Under NLRB rules, workers on strike more than a year are ineligible to vote in decertification elections.

USW officials and other union bureaucrats have abandoned the Phelps-Dodge strikers. Workers in Morenci and nearby Clifton face eviction from their company-owned housing, the unions have stood aside and waited for Walter Mondale to come to their rescue. □

ATHOL, MASS—Support continues for 400 cutting tool workers locked out of Litton Industries' Union/Butterfield division since September 22, 1983.

Members of United Electrical Workers Local 276 have received solidarity letters and contributions from several UE locals, other unions and individuals. Workers at the Lynn General Electric plant donated over \$2,000 to the Litton workers in their struggle against union busting. □

BETHLEHEM, PA—In their first strike in over 30 years, workers at Coplay Cement Manufacturing Co. are striking for better wages.

About 250 workers at Coplay's three Pennsylvania and one Maryland plant walked out June 19, demanding about a \$2 raise.

But Coplay continues to poor-mouth members of the United Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers, claiming that the current house-building boom hasn't overcome the effects of the 1981-83 slump.

But Coplay workers know better. They have worked long hours for months to keep pace with the record numbers of housing starts and construction.

And Coplay wants more than low wages. They have targeted what they call "restrictive work practices," that is, they want to take away the rights that workers have struggled for years to obtain. □

LONG ISLAND, NY—3,900 workers, members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) struck the Long Island Lighting Company on July 10. LILCO had demanded a 5% per year pay cut, fewer holidays and reduced benefits, claiming "near-bankruptcy."

This is curious—the Chairman of the Board, William J. Catacosinos, made \$250,000 last year. LILCO workers are being asked to pay for this, as well as for the ridiculously expensive Shoreham nuclear power plant built by LILCO.

The plant was originally budgeted at \$350 million. Just recently completed, its total cost was \$4.1 billion. □

WEST PATERSON, NJ—Garbage workers in nine northern New Jersey counties struck for one week against 60 centers beginning July 1. The strikers are members of Teamsters Local 945.

The workers are still without a contract, though. The union leadership, after having received a near unanimous vote against a return to work on July 3, took a revote on July 7. This vote was held at 17 different locations, rather than at the West Paterson headquarters as it was previously.

Fragmented, unable to hear all the arguments, the workers voted (barely) to return to work.

The only adequate response to the bureaucrats' attempt to sell-out is—Restart the Strike! □

How the system digs its own grave

There are many different ideas about what socialism is—and how to get there. It is important for revolutionaries to explain how genuine socialism differs from the various distorted versions that exist today. Marx and Engels had to make a wide range of similar arguments.

For example, in 1875, a German, Dr. Duhring, wrote three enormous volumes of "theory," much of it directed against Marx and Engels.

Engels wrote "Anti-Duhring" as a response, three chapters of which were published under the title "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific." It is one of Engels' best works.

Christina Baker looks at Engels' work.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were not the first people to envision a better world. From the time of the ancient Greek philosopher Plato onwards, thinkers had outlined their utopias—some in the hope that others would become convinced and work towards the same goals.

Many of these utopians were early socialists dreaming of a world without poverty, hunger and war. The more farsighted actually envisioned an end to exploitation and private property.

The insights and shortcomings of these writers were examined by Engels in response to a three-volume work by the German Dr. Duhring.

The result was the book *Anti-Duhring*, three chapters of which were later published as a pamphlet entitled *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which first appeared in English in 1892. Its starting point is that while the early visions of a better world could provide inspiration, it was not until the development of capitalism, and more specifically of the 19th century working class, that the material basis for actual scientific socialism was created.

Like the utopians, Marx and Engels saw the revolution in industry as the historical event giving rise

to the end of scarcity—the possibility of providing for all of the world's people. But despite the greatest production and accumulation of wealth ever before witnessed, they also saw that poverty, starvation and abject misery continued.

In analyzing why, they realized that the thinkers before them had failed to use material reality as their starting point. As Engels described it, "To all these socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason, and justice, and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power."

CLASS STRUGGLE

Even the best managed to see the world as a whole, but failed to "explain the details of which this picture is made up." Marx and Engels endeavored to do both: to analyze the world as a whole, but also to examine its component parts one by one—not in isolation but as they interact, not static but dynamic. On the basis of such analysis, they argued that all history was one of class struggle.

They argued further that the working class, having been brought together by capitalism and as the producers of all wealth, actually constituted the seeds of capitalism's own destruction. For

them it was the combination of the new wealth in the world and the creation of a class whose lives and interests had been collectivized which gave rise to the actual possibility of socialism.

UTOPIANS

In arguing for their position, Engels went through the competing ideas. He devoted the first section of the pamphlet to a discussion of the ideas of three 19th century utopian socialists—Saint Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen. He observed that one thing was common to all three: "Not one of them appears as a representative of the interests of [the] proletariat . . . they do not claim to emancipate a particular class to begin with, but all humanity at once."

Saint Simon and Fourier, living in the wake of the French revolution of 1789, saw that the revolution—rather than establishing "equality, liberty and fraternity"—was actually increasing the misery of the people. Both became radical critics of the social changes taking place before them.

Robert Owen was an English manufacturer and reformer, and an early communist. He established the community of New Lanark in Scotland, based on the notion that if people are given a

sound education, a decent living and good working conditions, they will be good citizens.

Unfortunately, despite his tireless work and his willingness to forego his comfortable position as philanthropist for the hated position of communist, Owen never came to the conclusion that socialism must be fought for, not by a few committed individuals, but by the working class.

All three left behind them enormous followings searching for new social laws to emancipate the newly emerging working class. But the utopians looked to the working class not for its potential strength, but because they saw it as the most suffering class.

While these utopians contributed to socialist thought, they failed to point the way forward in terms of how to change the world. In the process of developing scientific socialism, as such a way forward, Marx and Engels drew on the ideas of the philosopher Hegel. The discussion of this process makes up the second section of the pamphlet.

APPROACH

It was Hegel's dialectical approach which made it of such great value. As Engels said, "for the first time the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process, i.e., as in constant motion, change, transformation, development . . ."

Hegel was constrained by the limited extent of his own knowledge and by the limited conceptions of his time. And Engels argued that he was an idealist: "To him the thoughts within his brain were not the more or less abstract pictures of actual things and processes, but, conversely, things and their evolution were only the realized pictures of the 'idea,' existing somewhere from eternity before the world was."

Nonetheless, despite his limitations, Hegel had freed history from metaphysics, and thus paved the way for Marx to show the essence and source of exploitation. Marx did this by presenting the capitalist method of production in its historical context—revealing its inevitability during a particular historical epoch and also its inevitable downfall—and by laying bare its essential character in his discovery of surplus value.

Engels notes that, "With these discoveries, socialism becomes a science."

The third section of the pamphlet is devoted to a working out of the specific details and relations of capitalism and a spelled out definition of scientific socialism. He states at the outset: "The manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes is dependent on what is produced, how it is produced and how the products are exchanged."

Classes develop according to economic change to the degree that the overall political structure of a society gradually becomes in-



Robert Owen.
Above: Frederick Engels.

compatible with the changed reality. To argue the case, Engels outlines the changes in Europe during the Middle Ages which led to the beginnings of manufacturing and wage labor.

As the new capitalist class arose, the old feudal order of landlords and serfs became more and more an obstacle to progress. Over time, the two economic systems competed, but increasingly the laws of commodity-production became more dominant. Eventually, feudalism was overcome, making way for the new capitalist economic order developing into the massive industrial societies of this day.

As Engels argues, it is the changing economic basis of capitalism which creates fantastic wealth alongside phenomenal poverty, creates an anarchy of production, and creates a mass working class organized into cooperative units at the workplace. This gives rise to a working class which is potentially revolutionary—capable of the overthrow of the capitalist state and the seizure of political power.

VINDICATION

By 1848, the year the *Communist Manifesto* was first published, the first great battles between the working class and the capitalist class had begun. This was vindication of the theory that workers had the power to change society.

While Dr. Duhring is long dead and buried, the need to emphasize the importance of the working class, and the need to argue for the general theory of scientific socialism have not diminished. Present-day Duhblings—those who believe that there is some route to socialism other than through working class revolution—spring up daily, arguing that we can vote or legislate socialism into existence.

But it isn't just the road to socialism—reform instead of revolution—which distinguishes these latter-day Duhblings from scientific socialists. It is also their very vision of socialism. The "Duhblings" look forward to a world in which a few well-meaning intellectuals decide, rationally and fairly, what is best for the majority of people.

Marxists, on the other hand, look forward to real workers' power—the self-emancipation and self-rule of the working class. □

Letters

Write to: "Letters"
Socialist Worker
P.O. Box 16085
Chicago, IL
60616

We must urge workers' unity

Dear Socialist Worker,

Christina Baker's article in last month's *Socialist Worker* is an excellent analysis of the recent Supreme Court decision that puts seniority above affirmative action in determining which workers are to be laid off. Affirmative action legislation was won only after grueling struggles by women and Blacks, and has been vital in blunting the vicious effects of racial and sexual discrimination.

The wealthy, anti-worker Reagan administration is overjoyed at the ruling, but obviously not because it is concerned about protecting anybody's job. The decision is rightly seen as an attack on women and racial minorities.

But we must not forget the importance of seniority for workers as a whole. Seniority, too, was won after decades of

struggle. It gave some workers a security they had never had before, and it has been an important defense against the bosses' union busting, making it harder to lay off senior employees who are activists.

Seniority is still a tenuous gain. Employers can profit by firing workers before they advance in the pay scale—and hiring new workers cheap. The older workers, of course, tend to be white men; the newer ones women and Blacks. But the cycle works in favor of the bosses, not the new workers who must work for pitifully low wages.

Thus, there is sometimes a contradiction between seniority and affirmative action: how to retain the first, and still progress on the second. This contradiction drives a wedge between workers, who are encouraged to hate and suspect

each other. When white male workers resent Blacks and women, fearing they will rob them of their jobs, united action is impossible. This, too, works to the bosses' advantage.

The Supreme Court decision will only exacerbate hatred between male and female, Black and white workers. But placing ourselves squarely on one side of the confrontation is dangerous. The so-called "privileged" section of the workforce (mostly white men) is not so "privileged" that we can lightly dismiss their few, hard-won protections.

Above all else we must urge the unity of the working class in a common fight against the common enemy—capitalism itself!

Eleanor Trawick
Cleveland, Ohio

SPAIN 1936

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN SPANISH CIVIL WAR

In his book *Homage to Catalonia*, George Orwell gives a memorable description of Barcelona in December 1936:

"It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flags of the anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle and with the initials of the revolutionary party.

"Almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt. Churches here and there were being systematically demolished by gangs of workmen. Every shop and cafe had the inscription saying that it had been collectivized. Even the bootblacks had been collectivized and their boxes painted red and black."

HEROISM

The upsurge of workers, which started all this, occurred in July 1936 in response to the declaration by all 50 garrisons in Spain for the fascist revolt. With enormous heroism, workers stormed the barracks, disarmed the soldiers and raised militias to go and confront the fascists in the field. The police were disbanded and armed workers patrolled the streets.

"It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle."

—George Orwell

In other Spanish cities, the workers' response was similar. But it reached its highest point in the more industrialized regions of Catalonia and its principal city, Barcelona.

The Spanish capitalists were sympathetic or allied outright to Franco. The workers could not combat the fascists without also organizing production and distribution. The initiative to seize the factories, railroads and ports came from the rank and file workers. And the joint militia committees were compelled to run them under control of the workers organizations. These were usually the CNT (the anarchist trade union), the UGT (the Socialist trade union), or a combination of the two.

Within a short time, workers committees controlled the telephone exchanges, the border crossings and virtually all transportation. Anti-fascist militia committees were formed in all districts, towns and villages. Factory committees extended their role to workplaces never before organized and assumed a much broader scope than the unions previously had. In the countryside peasants seized the estates and divided up the land. Peasant committees formed and established links with the trade unions. And with militia columns to ensure food supplies.

This immense upsurge by the workers in the cities and the peasants on the land gave great prestige to the spontaneous organs which arose from the movement, such as the Central Committee of Anti-Fascists of Catalonia. The People's Front government still controlled the state apparatus, and for them the committee posed a dilemma.

A network of militia, factory and peasant committees had partially taken command of production, distribution and the conduct of the war itself. There was the constant danger that the workers organizations would begin to realize that the government was

Brian Erway explains the significance of the Spanish Civil War.



Above: Demonstration in Barcelona, 1936. Below: Armed workers' militia.

unnecessary or even an obstacle to pursuing the war. On the other hand, without the army and the police, the government was powerless to challenge the authority backed by the armed working class.

DUAL POWER

A situation of dual power had developed where the rising power of the workers stood in direct confrontation with the power of the old order. Dual power had arisen in other countries previous to Spain: in Russia in 1917 with the soviets (councils of workers and soldiers facing the Provisional Government) and in Germany 1918-1919 as the old regime collapsed at the close of the first world war. A period of dual power is unstable and means that the class forces in a society are sharply balanced.

But in Spain, unlike in Russia 1917, there was no force to tip the balance and lead the working class to state power. Instead, leaders of the political parties and trade unions were pushed into collaboration with the bourgeois government of the People's Front. Over the course of weeks, the government reasserted its authority.

The militia and factory committees were invited to join government-sponsored councils to centralize military and economic affairs. Army officers who were declared loyal, slowly restored their command over the militias. The workers militias were themselves withdrawn or consolidated into a new regular army responsible to the government. Press censorship was restored, allegedly to

protect military information, but soon extended generally.

At each stage, the government was able to overturn the gains that workers had secured for themselves in July, all in the name of efficiency in the war against Franco. The workers organizations became junior partners in this policy, despite all their grumbling.

What resulted was a steady erosion of the power of the workers. At the front, militia columns were deprived of weapons—in favor of the regular army. In the rear, patrols of armed workers were removed from the streets and replaced by uniformed police—identical to the old ones. The working class was gradually disarmed.

FIGHTING

By May 1937, the government forces felt strong enough to move against the workers in Barcelona. The city erupted into street fighting for several days when police attempted to take over the telephone exchange which had been occupied and run by the CNT since July. The leadership of the workers organizations—the CNT, the UGT, the left Socialists and the POUM (the Workers Party of Marxist Unification)—appealed for calm. None of them were willing to call for the workers to seize power against the bourgeois government. Indeed, they pointed precisely to this as evidence of their loyalty and moderation.

But it did them little good when the inconclusive fighting had ended. With the government once again sure of itself, reprisals came quickly. The POUM was

outlawed and its leaders and membership arrested or murdered. The confidence of the workers never again rose to the level of challenging the regime, and the People's Front got down to the business of fighting a conventional—and losing—war against Franco.

ROOTS

The roots of failure in the Spanish revolution are to be found not in a lack of maturity in the Spanish working class, and certainly not in a lack of heroism and self-sacrifice. Rather the failure lay in the leadership of the working class and its mass organizations. None of the unions or political parties were willing to push forward the organization of the working class completely independent of the bourgeois government. None of them were willing to set up an actual program for the overthrow of the bourgeois state. Instead they all sought to come to terms with the bourgeois state.

The Socialists were part of the People's Front government, including the prime minister Caballero. They wanted to reform the state, not overthrow it. The anarchists rejected the notion of any state, including a workers' state, but they ended up collaborating with the bourgeois government in Catalonia.

The Communist Party was the chief material prop to the People's Front government, and throughout the entire revolutionary period they played a most counter-revolutionary role. The POUM emerged as centrist, meaning that their policies vacillated. At times they put forward revolutionary ideas and rhetoric. At others they merely acted as a left cover for the government in which they participated locally.

These were the main parties which, from the beginning, constituted the joint anti-fascist committees in Catalonia, Madrid and other areas. But they never developed into genuine soviets—democratic organs of workers power. Instead they maintained a rigid structure and drifted into coalitions with the government.

PARTY

The crucial ingredient missing from this entire episode was a revolutionary party. Only a revolutionary party could generalize and lead workers' struggles. □



1931—Fall of the Monarchy:

The corrupt, inefficient government staggers from crisis to crisis under pressure from workers, peasants and the army. When municipal elections return a Republican-Socialist majority, King Alfonso abdicates. The Spanish monarchy falls.

April 1931 - November 1933—Republican-Socialist Coalition

Limited reforms were incapable of solving fundamental problems facing the Republic which included land reform, unemployment and the power of the church and the army. Workers and peasants conduct strikes and land seizures. The government's first priority is to "preserve order." It uses troops and artillery to curb "excesses" of workers and peasants. Elections in the autumn of 1933 show a large shift to the right.

November 1933-January 1936

A right-wing government with close ties to church, army and fascists. Reversal of reforms. In October 1934, an attempt to bring fascists into the government is met by a general strike throughout Spain, and insurrection by miners in Asturias. They are crushed by the army, with over 5,000 killed and 30,000 political prisoners taken.

February 1936—

The People's Front

People's Front coalition government of bourgeois, Socialist and Communist parties. Its policies are limited reform and class collaboration, just like the coalition four years before.

July 17, 1936—Fascist Revolt Begins in Morocco

General Franco broadcasts a call for an authoritarian government in Spain. Within two days, all 50 garrisons declare for Franco. The government seeks a compromise and refuses to arm the workers.

July 19, 1936

Workers in Barcelona raid armories, overrun the barracks and disarm the soldiers. Workers in Madrid, Valencia and other cities follow. Militias are raised to fight the fascists. Civil war begins.

1936-1937

Workers' parties are drawn into close collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the People's Front. International brigades arrive in Spain. Siege of Madrid, and workers are gradually disarmed in favor of regular army and police.

May 1937

New upsurge as police attempt to take telephone exchanges from the workers. Street fighting in Barcelona.

1937-1938

Mass activity by workers and peasants subsides. Popular Front fights a conventional war against Franco.

April 1938

Franco reaches the coast and cuts Republican Spain in half.

January 1939

Barcelona surrenders, and by March active hostilities are over. □

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 P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616



What's ON

BALTIMORE
The Iran-Iraq War. August 10 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620 for details.

BOSTON
Kevin Murphy on The new technology and the working class. August 12 at 7:30 p.m. Call 427-7087 for details.

CHICAGO
Andy Thayer on African revolutions. August 11 at 7:30 p.m.

Janet Sorensen on Marxism vs. philosophy. August 17 at 7:30 p.m.

Alan Maass on How will the working class change its ideas? August 25 at 7:30 p.m. Call 878-3624 for details or rides to these meetings.

CINCINNATI
World War II: Was fascism the issue? Friday, August 3 at 8:00 p.m.

McCarthy, the cold war and Korea. Friday, August 17 at 8:00 p.m. Call 651-8567 for details.

CLEVELAND
Sharon Smith on Organizing in the 1980s. Sunday, August 19 at 12:00 noon. Call 651-9827 for details.

MADISON
Reform or revolution? August 11 at 7:30 p.m.

Will the Democrats make a difference? August 31 at 7:30 p.m. Call 251-5982 for more information.

Available from:

HERA PRESS

Box 16085
Chicago, IL 60616

NEW YORK
Brian Erway on The Chinese revolution. August 24 at 8:00 p.m. Call 624-1698 or 201-332-8855.

ROCHESTER
Jack Porcello on Booms, slumps and strikes. August 13, Monday, at 7:30 p.m.

Brian Erway on The Chinese revolution. Monday, August 27 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-3049 for details on these meetings.

SAN FRANCISCO
August study series on revolutions: The Russian revolution and The Portuguese revolution. Call 285-4057 for date, time and place.

SEATTLE
Bill Roberts on Are the Democrats an alternative to Reagan? August 17, 7:30 p.m. 722 18th Street. Call 324-2302 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, join us.
There are ISO members and branches in the following cities:

- Baltimore, MD
- Indianapolis, IN
- New York, NY
- Bloomington, IN
- Kent, OH
- Northampton, MA
- Boston, MA
- Los Angeles, CA
- Portland, OR
- Chicago, IL
- Madison, WI
- Rochester, NY
- Cincinnati, OH
- Minneapolis, MN
- San Francisco, CA
- Cleveland, OH
- Muncie, IN
- Seattle, WA
- Detroit, MI
- New Orleans, LA
- Youngstown, OH

ISO National Office, P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616

Red Petrograd

Revolution in the factories 1917-18



Glenn Perusek reviews an important new book.



Above right: Lenin and a worker. Above: a factory meeting, 1917.

Sometimes it appears as if socialists have a fixation with the Russian revolution of 1917. Why is it that we constantly refer back to the events which took place in Russia, a country very different from the United States, so long ago?

Part of the reason is that at present, in the U.S., the level of class struggle is very low. If there were more immediate examples which could be used to make our arguments, we would not have to rely on historical ones.

But there is more. The revolution of 1917 represents a successful attempt by workers to run their own lives. Therefore, the experience of the Russian revolution is a tremendously rich one—full of lessons for socialists today. From the question of how a revolutionary party should be built to what the nature of socialist society will be, Russia in 1917 is an important reference point even today.

Red Petrograd, a new book by S.A. Smith, is a welcome addition to our knowledge about 1917. Its approach corresponds with our own world view: Smith writes about what the workers of Petrograd did in the revolution, instead of concentrating on the activities of political parties and leaders.

Structure and Composition

He begins by discussing the structure and composition of the Petrograd working class. 70% worked in factories of more than 1,000 workers—thus Petrograd's proletariat was among the most concentrated in the world at the time.

There was a distinction between workers who had been born in the cities, with no ties to the countryside, and peasants who had recently entered the cities to work in the factories. Since the immigrant population of Petrograd was 73% by 1917, the overwhelming majority of workers were people who were not born in the cities. In an im-

portant sense, then, the Petrograd working class was "made"—it became class conscious—in a relatively short period of time.

In large metalworking factories, about half the workforce had worked more than five years, the other half less, according to a 1908 survey. Just about half the Petrograd workforce had come into industry during the war, the other half having worked since before 1914.

In addition, about a third of the factory workforce was women. Smith contends that these divisions in the working class, though presenting problems, for the most part gave a dynamic to working class activity. Younger workers, many newly arrived from the countryside were volatile, and their impatience was complimented by the patience and organizational abilities of the older, more skilled workers.

The central point of the book is to discuss, in detail, the functioning of the factory committees, the institutions through

which the Russian working class began taking control of production in the factories.

Factory Committees

The factory committees grew up in the heat of the revolution. They started in factories which had been run previously by state managers. Once the tsar was overthrown, these managers were discredited, given their connection to the old regime. In order to continue production in such plants, it was necessary for workers to elect bodies to manage production. These were the factory committees.

But the factory committees did not remain isolated to state-owned factories. Almost overnight, politically conscious workers were setting up conferences to discuss spreading the factory committees and what their demands should be.

In the first few months of the revolution, the bulk of the factory committees were bodies which watched over and negotiated with management. The main demand was for the eight-hour day.

The committees were largely administrative bodies: they dealt with technical problems. For example, the food shortage in Petrograd meant that by the summer of 1917 workers were probably consuming only about half the calories needed to maintain workers doing average to hard labor. So the factory committees at one plant, the Okhta Explosives Works, established a kitchen to serve 2,500 cheap meals per day. It also started a bakery and other shops, and even raised its own pigs, fish and potatoes.

By October, 1917, the Central Council of Factory Committees in Petrograd was distributing

fuel from factories with stockpiles to those with shortages.

One lesson from all of this practical experience is that it is harsh reality—and not idealism—which is the strongest impetus for workers to take control of production. The hardships facing the Petrograd workers forced them to seek new ways of solving their problems.

Workers' Control

Increasingly, the factory committees moved toward taking decision making about production into their own hands. "Workers' control" was less and less attempts to control management, and more and more the removal of management and control over production by the workers themselves.

The factory committees were bodies which sought to solve economic problems of the working class. As such, their efforts were greatly influenced by the political situation. The balance of class forces—whether workers or the capitalists were on the offensive politically, spilled over into the economic realm.

So after the "July Days" (spontaneous mass workers demonstrations followed by government attacks on the Bolsheviks and other workers' organizations), the capitalists felt they could curb the power of the factory committees.

They declared the committees illegal and forbade their meeting during working hours. Some went so far as to sabotage production—steel mills operated at half capacity by the fall of 1917. Unemployment rose, largely as a result of lockouts.

One leading owner said, "The bony hand of hunger will grasp by the throat the members of the different committees and Soviets."

But as the political tide turned, with the organization of Petrograd against the aborted coup by the reactionary general Kornilov (in late August) and the gaining of a majority in the Soviets by the Bolsheviks, the working class went on the offensive in the factories.

Employers who were sabotaging production were now dealt with severely. Apparently many were arrested and removed from their factories in wheelbarrows. Others suffered worse fates.

The Bolshevik Party

Smith shows clearly that the Bolshevik party was the only one to support the efforts of the factory committees. During 1917, the Bolsheviks were forced by the pace of events to come up with a political position on workers control—they hadn't had one before.

Lenin argued that, "In essence, the whole question of control boils down to who controls whom, which class is controlling and which is being controlled. . . . We must resolutely and irrevocably pass over to control over the landowners and the capitalists by the workers and peasants."

This attitude flowed from a profound faith in the ability of the working class to determine its own destiny. "Vital creativity of the masses—that is the fundamental factor in the new society. Let the workers take on the creation of workers control in their works and factories, let them supply the countryside with manufactured goods in exchange for bread. . . . Socialism is not created by order from on high. Its spirit is alien to state-bureaucratic automatism. Socialism is vital and creative, is the creation of the popular masses themselves. . . ."

And after the October revolution, Lenin wrote: "Let every factory committee feel concerned not only with the affairs of its factory, but let it also feel that it is an organizational cell for the construction of the whole of state life. . . . There cannot and will not be any concrete plan for the organization of economic life. No one can offer this. The masses can only do this from below."

Lenin's view of socialism, then, fit perfectly with the widespread existence of factory committees, running economic life from the point of production. The later defeat of the revolution—the destruction of factory committees and workers' democracy—represented the negation of this workers' revolution, not its logical outcome. □

Hera Press has many books and pamphlets on the subject. "Russia: The Making of the Revolution" (\$1.50) looks at the hard years preceding 1917 and traces the development of the Bolshevik party.

"Russia: How the Revolution Was Lost" (\$1.50) gives an account of the degeneration of the revolution and the rise of Stalinism—of a new ruling class.

"State Capitalism in Russia" (\$3.00) is a classic study of the dynamics of the Russian economy and why it is



state capitalist, not socialist.

All these books—and more—are available from Hera Press, P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60615. Add \$1.00 for postage. □



on the picket line

Liberty Radiator strike needs new battle plan

OAKLAND, CA—It's been five hard months for workers at Liberty Radiator. They've shown great determination in holding together a picket line to keep the pressure on management and scabs.

But this is a strike typical of the 1980s. Liberty is a part of Chromolloy Corporation, which is itself a part of Sunoco International. The corporate bosses forced the strike by demanding heavy concessions.

They want the union out so they can walk all over the workers and hire cheap labor.

This strike can be won, but it is going to take more than the strikers' dedication.

by DAVID SIDDLER

Here are four suggestions:

1. Mass pickets are urgently needed. Stop the flow of scabs and shipment. Early in the strike the union used the tactics but in the face of police intimidation, the officials backed off.

The local AFL-CIO newspaper has called police actions on the picket line and at the Basic Tool strike "A Police Riot against Workers."

They added that the police were threatening to disrupt twenty years of good relations with the unions.

Well, union leaders have done all they can to repair relations with the police by

abandoning the strategy that could win the strike. There have been no mass pickets for three and a half months.

2. Work for solidarity. In order to be able to put on viable mass pickets, strikers must raise their case in person with local workers.

3. Industrial action by other parts of Chromolloy. The company owns other radiator manufacturing plants. The workers are covered by separate contracts, but it is obvious that Chromolloy will beat up on them next unless joint action is taken to help Liberty workers win.

This may mean breaking contract laws, but defying bad laws which hurt workers

interests was how unions were built in the first place.

4. An end to secret meetings between union officials and management. Rumors are flying on the picket line about the state of play of any negotiations between union and management.

The continuation of secret meetings will damage solidarity.

The workers at Liberty have shown more than enough courage to win this strike. One worker even told *Socialist Worker* that he was considering a hunger strike to gain attention. What is needed is a serious plan to win workers solidarity which can win this strike. □



HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

by MATT FILSINGER

They Are Driven!

"The people who buy the cars never realize that they were made, quite literally, over the dead and mutilated bodies of workers," said Satoshi Kamata, former Japanese auto worker.

Peace and harmony in Japanese labor relations? Only for the bosses who make millions of yen. At Toyota, more than 20 workers have committed suicide during the past year. Most of these are due to the super-intense work pace. As a Nissan (Datsun) worker said, "Sometimes I feel like I'm part of an experiment to determine how much a human being can stand."

These are the conditions for the so-called "elite" workers at the major corporations which represent about 23% of the work force. For the majority of people who work at subcontractors or in small shops, things are much worse. Pay is less, conditions are more unsafe, and there is no job security.

No wonder the bosses here want to copy Japanese management methods.

New Head for OSHA?

It appears as though Reagan will appoint Robert A. Rowland as the interim head of OSHA, replacing Thorne Aucter who went to work for a construction company. Interim appointments do not require Senate confirmation, and the Administration wants to avoid the adverse publicity that Rowland's nomination would bring from some labor and consumer groups.

Rowland has consistently voted against OSHA citations in his role as chairman of the OSHA Review Commission. A lawyer, Rowland's main qualification for the job is that he was the vice-chairman of Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign committee in Texas.

The Economic Upturn?

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) chief, William D. Ruckelshaus, a relatively "progressive" Reagan appointee is good proof that Reagan's economic recovery has worked. During 1983, Ruckelshaus earned nearly \$400,000 in salary, stock sales and director fees. \$373,533 was from the Weyerhaeuser Co., a major lumber and paper company, and certainly no friend of the environment. □

Write *Socialist Worker* with any health and safety news.

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

Bankrupt leaders bring defeat to the rank and file



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

A bankrupt leadership will bring defeat to the ranks. This lesson is being learned by workers at Krogers, Detroit Edison, the *Detroit Free Press* and the UAW.

● 4,200 grocery clerks at Kroger's stores will lose their jobs as a result of the closing of 70 Kroger stores in Michigan. The company wanted the workers to accept concessions worth \$65 million, upwards of \$3 per hour for every worker. Since the major food chains have a uniform wage scale this would have threatened the wages of 10,000 workers employed in other supermarkets. Organized in Local 876 of United Food & Commercial Workers the union leadership has no answers for the unemployed.

NO GAINS

● On April 3, 3,600 Detroit Edison workers—members of Local 223 of the Utility Workers Union—ratified an agreement on July 19 with no significant gains. The union made concessions on the cost of health care. Nine workers, fired for their picket line activity, will have their fate decided by binding arbitration.

The leadership had made no preparations for the strike. In a 1972 strike these workers lost 2¢ per hour. Besides the 7,300 non-union workers at Edison, a craft union, Local 17 of the Electrical Workers Union, honored their contract they had signed two months earlier. This union accepted the concessions Local 223 had rejected. A week before the final settlement, the members of Local 223 rejected an agreement that

left the nine fired workers the subject of arbitration.

● The employees of the *Detroit Free Press* and the *News* are likewise divided by their unions. The Teamsters and the typographical workers have come to an agreement with the employers while the Newspaper Guild and other workers are negotiating for a substantial wage increase. Can these workers win a strike with the two most powerful unions ready to walk through their picket lines?

● The UAW leadership moans about the record profits of the auto companies and the million dollar salaries of the corporate executives, but UAW members continue to work 10 hours a day and some work six and seven days a week. There is talk of a strike, but the lack of a plan and knowing the UAW record in GM over the last 40 years, one must doubt the seriousness of the leadership threats. There is some \$560 million in the UAW strike fund, but that couldn't match the billions of the corporation.

IDEAS

Ideas, not money, win strikes. With the UAW leadership accepting the company's need for profitability, they can't inspire the workers. They will accept the idea of Emil Mazey in 1970 when he said, "I think that strikes make ratification easier. Even though the worker may not think so, he is reacting to economic pressures. I really believe that if the wife is raising hell and the bills are piling up, he may be more apt to settle than otherwise." Yes, this is the idea of the corporation also. Because of a lack of a determined leadership, the auto

workers may be forced to settle on the company's terms.

TAXES

If the UAW leadership were serious about fighting the employers, why don't they point out the high taxes the workers must pay? A worker earning \$600 per week may have \$200 deducted in federal, state and local taxes. The media, in reporting the income of corporations, always speak of "income after taxes." Why don't they do the same for the workers? Why doesn't the union publicize the surplus value the workers produce above their wages? I can think of only one answer: the UAW leadership are company-minded.

During the past year, the UAW has spent a million dollars promoting their "income content" law. Now they are begging Reagan to continue the limit on Japanese imports.

Recently, when Reagan visited some of the auto plants that had recently been opened and had called thousands of workers back on the job the workers cheered him. There is little enthusiasm for Walter Mondale and the Democratic Party. Most expect Reagan to win another four years in the White House.

For the first time in forty years, I see the possibility of organizing a left-wing caucus in the UAW. Most of these people see the need for breaking with the Democratic Party and organizing a party of the workers. □



WOKR STRIKES TO SAVE UNION

by MIKE ONDRUSEK

ROCHESTER, NY—For the first time in their history, the 42 workers at WOKR, Channel 13, decided to strike on July 1, 1984. The workers of the production staff include program technicians, news photographers and engineers—all members of Teamsters Local 791.

Ironically, the workers' first struggle is a fight to keep their union.

The story at WOKR is quite similar to that of many other struggles: the current owners, the Post Corporation of Wisconsin, are in the process of selling the station to Gillette Corporation, a company that owns several other TV stations.

WOKR is something that Gillette wants badly. The station was ranked number 1 in this area before the strike and has won several awards for news broadcasting.

"ZIPPER CLAUSE"

But apparently this is not enough. Post Corporation has included, within the new contract a "zipper clause." This states in part that the two parties "shall not be obligated to bargain collectively with respect to any subject matter not specifically referred to or covered in this agreement..." and "any benefit existing prior to this agreement is negated unless specifically incorporated into this agreement."

Wages is another issue. Post wants to give a 3% increase for the first year of the contract and a 0-4% increase adjusted to the cost of living for the next two years. The contract says nothing if the cost of living goes up beyond 4%.

The wages for the station, whose workers made it number 1 in Central New York, happen to be the lowest—6% lower than the next lowest company.

ATMOSPHERE

For the first two weeks spirits were high and picketing strong, but the party atmosphere has changed as the workers have realized the urgency of their situation. They have gone out on location several times to disrupt taping of news events and caused the company to lose out on several big events locally, which means loss of valuable advertising time.

Still, this is not enough, the scabs—some of whom are local, others flown in from Wisconsin—still get through.

A station that is number 1 in the ratings must have lots of viewers, and that is where the workers need to seek support—among other workers. Only by workers creating solidarity among other workers will they be able to draw the numbers that mass picketing needs to be effective against the employers' greed.

Donations and messages of solidarity send to Teamsters 791 Fund Headquarters, Room 110, 483 W. Henrietta Road, Henrietta, NY 14467. □

"We have to stop the scabs with whatever it takes"

CICERO, IL—The way Cliff Mounts sees it, the strike at Danly Machine Corp. should have been settled long ago.

"This is a labor union, right?" asks Mounts, a grinder at the metalworking plant for over 10 years. "United Steelworkers of America, Local 15271, AFL-CIO.

"That should mean that when we strike, nobody crosses that picket line. It should mean solidarity from other steelworkers in the USW; solidarity from all union members," Mounts said.

"It should mean shutting that plant down, period. But unions in this country have forgotten how to fight."

WORRIED

Mounts was worried over the direction of the strike that began when over 400 workers walked out of the auto press-making plant May 1 rather than accept a contract designed by Danly's hired union-busters.

Danly proposed a contract that wiped out job seniority, allowed management to fire workers at will and introduced a two-tiered wage scale.

More than 500 workers were on layoff when 97% of union members voted to strike. (The plant employed over 1,000 in the early 1970s.)

"If we accept that contract, they'll just use us to train our replacements—the guys with the lower wages—and then fire us," strike Bill Budenz said.

At first, scabs were challenged by sporadic mass pickets, but arrests and a court injunction limited pickets. The injunction was extended in July, and union leaders began substituting publicity campaigns, rallies and boycotts for rank and file action at the plant gate.

Tactics included leafleting outside the New York City headquarters of Danly's parent company, Ogden Corp. and hiring a corporate research firm to "dig up dirt" on the multinational.

Local union president Joe Romano insisted that such actions are the most effective way to fight, declaring that "this strike won't be won at the picket line."

That strategy invites defeat. Romano says about 75 scabs have drifted across the picket line; workers put the number closer to 90.

Both figures reflect the steady erosion of union strength, a decline that became evident July 18 when Danly declared its scabs permanent replacements.

CHALLENGE

Although the 100 picketers that day outnumbered the cops 10 to 1, they did not challenge the scabs who were stealing their jobs. In the week that followed, more than a dozen new strikebreakers entered the plant.

Talks between Danly and the union broke off when the replacements were hired. Less than a week later, Ogden named Volkswagen of Ameri-



ca's Jim Cummins as Danly president, and union leaders have told workers they must await his first move before taking the next step in the strike.

Such passive waiting games spell disaster for striking unions. The huge Ogden Corp. can afford to use substandard scab labor for months.

But Local 15271, which represents only Danly workers, has few resources besides the power of their picket lines—and whatever active support they can muster.

Striking USW members at the Phelps-Dodge copper mines in Morenci, Arizona have learned that bitter lesson. Their walkout was one-year-old on July 1.

But the Danly strike is not yet desperate. "Most people are sticking together; no question about it," Mounts said.

"And Danly's a long way away from being able to put together an auto press or any other machine. It takes years to learn to do those jobs right."

"But it is depressing to see guys crossing the line—guys who said they never would," he said. "I thought I knew some of them; I thought they were my friends. They're not. They're scabs."

"Sooner or later we will have to stop the scabs, injunction or not. It's the only way."

RALLY

Mounts said he was one of many Danly strikers frustrated by a July 22 solidarity rally that featured Chicago area union bureaucrats and recently elected USW president Lynn Williams.

"The only speaker I liked was the United Auto Workers man from the Oldsmobile plant near Detroit," he said. "He promised that union brothers and sisters would throw out the scabs that Danly's got to repair their equipment. That's what we need."

"But everybody else just talked about electing Walter Mondale President this fall.



Picketing Danly.

That's a long time to wait. Walter Mondale isn't going to win this strike. That's up to us."

Striking electrical assembler Bill Budenz agreed that the lack of picket line activity is weakening the strike. "After 13, 14 weeks, guys are getting restless," he said.

The injunction limiting pickets applies only to Danly workers, but union president Romano has only talked vaguely of organizing solidarity mass pickets.

Leadership in the strike increasingly comes from the top down, with reformist union officials such as USW District 31 official Ed Sadlowski playing a growing role.

But Mounts holds to a rank and file perspective. "There's no way around it," he said. "We have to stop the scabs with whatever it takes. Injunction or no injunction. Laws or no laws."

"It's a stand that, sooner or later, a labor union has to take." □

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Socialist Worker

NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

New York hospitals: Beef up the picket lines

NEW YORK, NY—The largest strike in the northeast in recent years continues at 27 private hospitals and 14 nursing homes here.

45,000 orderlies, nurse's aides, technicians, clerical, maintenance and dietary workers struck on July 13, followed by 5,000 more on July 16. They are members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union.

The first issue in dispute is wages. The League of Voluntary Hospitals, the hospitals' bargaining representative, offered an increase of 4% a year for the next two years one hour before the strike deadline. However, this increase would not be in effect for the first three months of the contract, lowering the increase to 3%. Proposed reductions in benefits lower it still further to only 2.32%.

The nursing homes contend they will not match even that increase.

This would be insulting anywhere, but in New York City, where rents regularly increase by 9% a year, even in rent-stabilized apartments, it would represent a major give-back. The union had proposed a 10% per year increase.

Another primary issue of the strike is weekend time off. For 12 years, 1199 has demanded every other weekend off, and two years ago the

by **DAN CAPLIN**

League agreed to a special fund, paid for by the workers, to pay for this.

However, many of the hospitals refused to implement it. Many workers have only one weekend off per month. A dietary worker at St. Vincent's Medical Center has had to work every holiday and most weekends for the last 2 years.

"We have been hosed with water and had rocks thrown at us from the hospital. The police do nothing but laugh."

—Brenda Coleman, a nurse's aide at St. Vincent's Medical Center

There are a number of other givebacks demanded, including the introduction of swing shifts, and an increase in the union's probationary period.

WARFARE

According to Mary Steele, a striker at St. Luke's/Roosevelt Hospital, this is "absolutely an attempt to break our union. Management is waging psychological warfare, attempting to break the union's spirit. Inside, they are telling the doc-



tors, it is us or them."

The dollars are there to meet the union's demands. Hospital managers made up to \$184,000 last year and gave themselves raises of 27%. "Non-profit" hospitals have always made large sums of money for administrators, doctors and drug companies.

At Roosevelt, according to Steele, "There are assistants to assistants in every department, and in nursing there are more managers and superintendents than workers to supervise."

And the racism of these managers to the largely Black and Latino workforce is well-documented. Many racist firings have been overturned by arbitration.

Governor Mario Cuomo, the self-proclaimed "working-class hero" of the Democratic Party has offered to intervene in the strike. He will not increase hospital subsidies to pay for wage increases. His Health Commissioner stated that the workers "will have to do more with less. I have no intention of guaranteeing wage increases for hospital employees."

HOSED

Three strikers have been arrested so far and at every hospital, large groups of police mill around the pickets. Brenda Coleman, a nurse's aide at St. Vincent's stated, "People have hosed us with water and thrown rocks at us from the hospital. The police do nothing but laugh."

The hospitals remain open, staffed by doctors, administrators and nurses. Volunteer scabs, most of them untrained, have been hired at \$7/hour. For Steele, this

shows "the incredible callousness of the hospitals. Doctors have told us of untrained volunteers serving immediately post-op patients, and methadone patients serving dietary duty. Their unwillingness to negotiate will cost lives."

MONEY

Mary Buller, a technician at Beth-Israel Hospital added, "They know nothing about the technical aspects. All the hospital cares about is money."

The strikers will win only if the picket lines increase in size and the hospitals are shut down through solidarity.

1199 has long had large contingents at anti-war rallies, and had a very visible presence here at the Greyhound strike. This solidarity should be returned. On July 25, about 5,000 striking hospital workers jammed up midtown Manhattan traffic for over an hour with a rally. Office workers waved from their windows.

The strike's militancy must be more evenly spread, or the League will divide the union by striking separate deals. At small hospitals like Cabrini

Medical Center, picketers seemed anxious to return to work. Strikers at nearby Beth-Israel should join their lines to argue the strike's issues.

Finally, the hospitals must be shut down from the inside. This is happening to some degree—Teamsters and electrical workers have refused to cross picket lines, as have nurses (1199 members) at five hospitals. But at the other hospitals, nurses (members of the N.Y. State Nurses Association) are serving as scabs.

The strikers will win only if the picket lines increase in size and the hospitals are shut down through solidarity action.

They will want support when their contract expires in February, but that will require helping 1199 shut the hospitals down now. Only then will the League negotiate and give in to both of the unions' demands. □

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