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CIA DEATH MANUAL see page 2

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THE ELECTIONS CHANGE NOTHING IT'S BUSINESS AS USUAL



Behind the election extravaganza, the real winners are America's corporate bosses.

From the beginning, they were essentially unconcerned with the outcome of the election. They know that their ability to maintain and expand profits does not depend on who resides in the White House: both political parties are their parties, with their interests in mind.

But their recovery has massive flaws: it is built on a budget deficit of nearly \$200 billion per year. And in the third quarter of 1984, corporate profits slipped by 12%. New unemployment claims—which remained stable for several months at 350,000 per week

—jumped last month to 386,000 per week.

The capitalists believe their recovery may be over, so to protect their profits they will continue the attack on workers' living standards. Concession contracts are the order of the day—even during the recovery, when workers should be most confident. The union leadership—which for the past year poured all its energy into the Mondale campaign—has offered no real solution to the crisis for workers.

It is essential, therefore, that the groundwork be laid for a real fightback—and an alternative to a system which offers so little to the mass of workers. □



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UNTIL WORKERS FIGHT BACK

TDU MEETS

During the weekend of October 13, 500 members of the Teamsters Union met in Chicago for the ninth annual convention of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU).

The attitude of the Teamster hierarchy toward TDU was shown by a counter-demonstration organized by the leaderships of Chicago Locals 705 and 710. Two hundred "loyal Teamsters" marched around in circles outside the convention hotel waving American flags, singing "God Bless America" and chanting "TDU sucks."

The convention addressed a number of issues facing Teamsters. Three are central.

CONTRACT

First, the National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA) expires next May. In past years, employers have attacked the contract—which covers nearly 200,000 Teamsters—by signing local riders to the NMFA, with significantly worse working conditions.

Second, many trucking firms are merging with or setting up non-union companies. This supplements the attack by pitting union workers against non-union workers.

And third, there are 90,000 Teamsters who work at United Parcel Service. These workers are currently under a concession contract signed in 1983.

In August, the company and the Teamster leadership attempted to push through an extension of the contract—by sending ballots to members without any information or discussion of the contract—which was not scheduled to expire until next summer. TDU successfully took the union leadership to court—forcing a new vote on the contract.

COUNTER

TDU represents the one organized counter to this collusion between the bosses and the union bureaucracy. Unfortunately, its leadership's perspective on how to oppose the bureaucracy hinders its effort.

The main approach of TDU has been to attempt to elect reformers to local union office. The problem is that most TDU members who are elected leave TDU—and any view of the necessity of organizing the rank and file—upon taking office.

For these individuals, TDU has been a vehicle for their own advancement inside the rigid Teamster bureaucracy. Once they do advance, there are fantastic pressures on these individuals to accommodate to the bureaucrats—pressures which are magnified by the lack of an organized rank and file base for TDU.

ALTERNATIVE

The alternative to the electoral strategy would be to attempt to generalize from the pockets of rank and file organization which have been successful at defending workers on the job.

A realistic perspective for TDU would mean setting sights on what can actually be built today—very small groups of active supporters.

While such building is not seemingly as immediately successful as running for union office, it is the necessary precondition for being able to wage a truly effective opposition to the Teamster leadership in the long run.

CIA MANUAL SHOWS U.S.'S TRUE COLORS

A CIA manual entitled "Psychological Operations in Guerrilla War" became public knowledge on October 14. It was first distributed among anti-Sandinista forces almost a year ago. The primer on insurgency—which explains how to kidnap and kill Nicaraguan officials, blow up public buildings and blackmail ordinary citizens who are initially unwilling to work for the anti-Sandinista cause—met with shock and disbelief.

CONTRADICTS

At least in formal terms, the manual is in direct contrast with official U.S. policy. In 1981, President Reagan signed an executive order that no U.S. government employee "shall engage in or conspire to engage in assassination." Yet the manual says, "If possible, professional criminals should be hired to carry out specific, selective 'jobs.'"

And on the creation of martyrs, the manual advises right-wing rebels to lead "demonstrators into clashes with the authorities, to provoke riots or shootings, which lead to the killing of one or more persons who will be seen as martyrs."

It was initially claimed that the primer was merely a first draft, but at least 2,000 of them have been distributed. It

The manual on the near right is serving as a guide for the contras on the far right.



was also claimed that the manual was the sole project of a "low-level contract employee" of the CIA, but it was later admitted that the booklet had gone through normal approval channels.

In the face of public outcry, Reagan ordered two investigations to "determine whether there were any managerial deficiencies." He also announced that any U.S. official involved in either developing or approving the primer would be dismissed. The "low-level contract employee," one John Kirkpatrick, was fired.

Representative Edward Boland, a Democrat from Massachusetts, confirmed that the manual was prepared by the CIA. And not to be outdone by the right, Boland went on to say that the document "espouses the doctrine of Lenin, not Jefferson."



"It embraces the communist revolutionary tactics the United States has pledged to defeat throughout the world. Its emphasis on deceiving the populace makes a mockery of American championship of democratic values."

ACTUAL POLICY

But despite denunciations of the primer, selective firings or disciplinary actions, the manual does express the actual policy and aims of the CIA-backed right-wing forces in Nicaragua. Edgar Chamorro, one of the directors of the CIA-

financed rebels, said: "Frankly, I do admit we have killed people in cold blood."

And Republican Senator Barry Goldwater, the intelligence committee chairman, stated: "There's a war going on in Central America, and it's a darn important one for the United States. I'm not so sure there's anything wrong with a manual like this."

The real problem with the manual is that it presents too graphically and brazenly the actual aim of the U.S. operation in Nicaragua—toppling of the regime at any cost.

Kirkpatrick speech disrupted in Seattle

by STEVE LEIGH

SEATTLE, WA—Exactly one year after the U.S. invasion of Grenada, hundreds of protesters met UN ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick as she tried to defend U.S. foreign policy to 1,500 people at the University of Washington on October 25.

Over boos, hisses and occasional chants, Kirkpatrick delivered a eulogy to late Washington Senator Henry Jackson, trying to justify his support of the arms build-up and the U.S. intervention in Central America.

"LIES, LIES"

The protesters wore death masks representing the U.S.-supported death squads in El Salvador and the Contras (right-wing counter-revolutionaries) in Nicaragua. At some of Kirkpatrick's more outrageous



statements, shouts of "Lies, Lies, Lies," "What about the Death Squads?" and "CIA Out of Nicaragua," rang out. The police ejected 10 demonstrators from the hall.

Meanwhile, outside the hall hundreds more people set up a picket line and held a candlelight vigil for peace in Central America. All the people attending this speech were bombard-

ed with leaflets denouncing U.S. foreign policy.

After the speech, the accumulated tension burst forth in a spontaneous demonstration in the streets of the university district. Hundreds of marchers chanted, "U.S., CIA Out of Nicaragua," and "No Draft, No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador," as they blocked traffic in the area.

Most of the people in the street and in shops along the way supported the march, and some joined in. At the end, the march went up fraternity row to counter-chants of "Four More Years" by Reagan supporters.

UNISON

Unfortunately, the opposition here was not as strong or well-organized as it could have been. There were enough people inside the hall to totally disrupt the meeting. But we didn't act

enough in unison. Instead of letting the police take people out one by one, we should have stood up and chanted together. At the very least, the meeting would have been delayed for hours.

But in spite of any criticism, these actions against Kirkpatrick were very successful.

Once again, Kirkpatrick learned that she cannot appear without rousing furor against her and her policies.

And once again, the opposition to U.S. intervention was brought before the public, and the determination of the opponents was raised.

Actions like these are far more effective than lobbying or voting. When the policies of Republican Ronald Reagan are carried out by Democrats like Jeanne Kirkpatrick, voting between Democrats and Republicans is irrelevant.

6 MILLION MORE POOR IN 1984

Ever wondered what happened to your share of the "economic recovery" Reagan and Mondale have been talking about for the last few months?

Recent Congressional and Federal Reserve studies of income distribution confirm what most of us already know from bitter experience—over the last few years, the rich have been getting richer, and the poor have been getting poorer and increasing in number.

Consider the figures.

According to the Federal Reserve, the top 2% of U.S. families "with incomes of \$100,000 or more, control 50% of the stock, more than 70% of the nation's tax-free bonds, 39% of the taxable bonds, and 20% of the real estate."

The top 10% of the rich received 33% of all income in 1982—up from 29% in 1969. In the past four years, families with incomes of over \$200,000 gained an average of \$17,403 as a direct result of Reagan tax-

handouts and social security cuts.

Since 1981, Reagan—with the support of Republicans and Democrats in Congress—has slashed welfare programs. Aid to Families with Dependent Children is down by 13%, child nutrition programs by 28%, food stamps by 13% and employment programs by 24%.

According to the New York Times, "The pockets of poverty . . . have grown by 6 million Americans" since 1980.

The lessons of the 1984 elections

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

The election is over, and the political landscape seems bleak. Conservatives rule the day, while workers are on the defensive and under attack. The left is in disarray.

We must be sober about the political possibilities today, but we have no reason to lapse into despair. In fact, there are concrete, if limited, possibilities for building a socialist current today. And it is precisely today that we should begin to build, because despite the election hype, the system—not its figurehead—is at the root of the problems facing workers today.

SUPPORT

A year ago, the AFL-CIO leadership threw all of its support, including money and membership lists, behind the Democratic candidacy of Walter Mondale. The argument from the union bureaucrats at the time was that full backing for Mondale would mean that organized labor or "the labor movement" would gain important influence in the party.

As National Education Association president Mary Futrell described the strategy after July's Democratic convention: "We are playing a major role behind the scenes, but we did not want to give the appearance of domination . . . We hope we have influence, but we did not want to give the impression that Mondale is controlled by the unions."

Futrell was wrong. The unions did not even influence Mondale. Mondale simply used the unions. As the campaign drew to a close, sections of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy began to complain that unions were alone in getting out the vote for Mondale. Every other major party activist seemed to have abandoned the campaign.

Thus, the campaign was almost over before the election. As AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland complained a week before election day, "No one else is out there working. I'm having a hard time finding the Democratic Party."

WEAKNESSES

While the unions were trying to find the Democratic Party, the employers had no trouble finding the weaknesses in the working class. The labor bureaucracy, blaming Reagan for all its problems—union-busting, unemployment and the rest, chose to back a man who helped use the Taft-



Solidarity Day 1981: Workers have the power—the key is developing the confidence to use it.

"An organization with a clear, long-term perspective can hold a network of militants together—even when political possibilities seem bleakest."

Hartley Act to break the 1977-1978 miners strike. The truly important tasks—organizing the unorganized and fighting concessions—were ignored.

Even the more "left-wing" of the union leaders, like William Winpisinger, the machinists union president, caved in to the electoral strategy. At the IAM's convention in September, Winpisinger and others denounced Reagan in speech after speech. Conventioners' identification badges even came with Mondale-Ferraro buttons attached.

Yet Winpisinger's union could have challenged the Reagan administration's most vicious attack on labor—the 1981 PATCO strike. Instead, machinists crossed PATCO picket lines, giving the government a free hand to destroy the union.

RAINBOW COALITION

This election campaign also witnessed the emergence of the "rainbow coalition," an electoral coalition of various "progressive" movements

and newly-registered Black and Hispanic low-income voters.

From the 1983 Chicago mayoral campaign of Harold Washington to Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, many people, including large parts of the left, saw the rainbow coalition as a fundamentally new and progressive anti-Reagan force.

It was successful in leading large numbers of previously unregistered Blacks and poor people into the Democratic fold. But for what? As anyone who watched the Democratic convention could see, all of Jackson's proposed platform planks were defeated by the Mondale forces.

In the end, the "coalition" did not succeed in pressuring the Democratic Party to take up its issues—mild as they were. The Central America solidarity activists who joined the campaign ended up having to vote for a candidate who applauded Reagan's invasion of Grenada and who threat-

ened a "quarantine" of Nicaragua. The newly-registered Black voters got a choice of vice-presidential candidates who opposes school busing and owns slum tenements.

Where is the rainbow coalition going? Jack O'Dell, of Operation PUSH, said the coalition has the potential for "effecting a political realignment in this country." It can become "a second party," he said. It is unclear what "becoming a second party" means, but to the *Guardian*, a radical newspaper, it means "taking over" or "replacing" the Democratic Party.

BANKRUPT

But the experience of the last year should show that this strategy is bankrupt. It serves to advance the careers of a few "independent" politicians within the Democratic Party machine, while continuing to foster illusions in the Democratic Party's ability to transform society.

No doubt many of these arguments will resurface

again. Many on the left and in the trade union bureaucracy will argue that, with the right clearly in the driver's seat, these strategies will be even more important in the future.

But these strategies will not win reforms, and they are certainly not ways to transform society. Rather they are an accommodation to today's conservative political climate and the low ebb of the class struggle.

The last few years have seen some of the largest demonstrations in U.S. history—from Solidarity Day in 1981 to the Jobs, Peace and Freedom March in 1983, to the 750,000-strong New York anti-nuclear march in 1982. Though impressive displays, these events failed to build any ongoing movements or organizations. Rather, they channeled most of their energies into the electoral efforts to dump Reagan.

Many people energized by these events could be interested not only in winning reforms, but in changing society. But in the absence of ongoing organization, many of them give up.

At the same time, some workers involved in small, explosive strikes like that of Toledo AP Parts, or the larger national strikes such as the Greyhound strike, can put up a hard fight, but they then become demoralized when their strikes are defeated.

ORGANIZATION

Organization, socialist organization, becomes key. An organization with a clear, long-term perspective—one which understands the ups and downs of class struggle and movement activity—can hold a network of militants and activists together—even when political possibilities seem bleakest.

Building that organization today is crucial, because we must be ready for opportunities when real struggles break out in the future.

It is in these struggles, where workers act to change the conditions of their lives, that we can see the possibility of transforming society—a possibility which persists long after elections are over and forgotten. □

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Hormel slashes meatpackers' wages

AUSTIN, MN—In the last two years, meatpacking unions have been devastated by an unrelenting employers' offensive—using everything from company intimidation to phony bankruptcies to slash wages across the industry.

Wilson Foods Corp. filed for bankruptcy to break its union contracts. Armour Food Co. closed most of its plants and reopened them under the non-union banner of ConAgra—at \$12 less per hour in wages and benefits per worker.

This background makes recent events in Austin, Minnesota, a company town dominated by the George Hormel and Co. plant, stand out.

CUTS

In early October, Hormel imposed 23% wage cuts on its 1,700 workers at the Austin plant, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. The day after the cuts were announced, 3,000

of the town's 23,000 people gathered to plan for a strike.

Many townspeople were angry because Hormel officials had proclaimed—less than a month before the cuts were announced—that the company was so successful that it was looking for investments and acquisitions.

Hormel reduced wages from an average of \$10.69 to \$8.25—citing a "me-too" clause in the contract which would allow it to lower labor costs to the levels of its major competitors, which had succeeded in winning big concessions.

While there were rumblings of a fightback, the UCFW leadership was doing its best to accommodate to the company's offer.

"We don't want to give the companies a dime, but we have to face the reality of the situation," one UCFW official announced.

"Facing reality," to the

UCFW officials, means encouraging a "corporate campaign" run by expensive labor consultant Ray Rogers. The campaign aims at pressuring Hormel by writing letters to its banks and stockholders or by airing anti-Hormel media ads.

S.F. RESTAURANT STRIKE STILL SOLID

by DAVID SIDDLE

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—The owners said "go back to work or you're all fired," when restaurant workers rejected the owners' final offer by a substantial 81-20 margin. Acceptance would have meant defeat on vital job protection and benefit issues.

Especially since the restaurant bosses are sticking together, the power of solidarity must be brought into play if this strike is to be won.

The owners have survived the strike so far by means of a massive strike fund of their

Of course, this tactic discourages a fight on the picket lines, where Hormel workers really have the power to roll back the company's plans.

And the "corporate campaign" strategy has proved useless in many strikes—from

Browne and Sharpe in Rhode Island to Danly Machine Tools in Chicago.

Though the "realities of the situation" look bleak, Hormel workers have no choice but to wage an all-out battle to protect the food on their tables. □

union workers lose, the wages and benefits of both union and non-union workers will be slashed.

Workers at Vanessi's Restaurant—where the strike call was originally defied—have already found this out and have come back into the union.

But it is obvious that the small force of restaurant strikers cannot picket all 60 restaurants by themselves. Local labor should rally to this cause—to help the restaurant workers win their strike. □

The system's rewards unequal

The U.S., like any capitalist society, is absolutely riddled with inequalities. Some of these are obvious and blatant: like some people riding around in chauffeur-driven cars while others have to catch the bus.

Others are more hidden but just as real: the fact that infant mortality steadily increases as you move down the social scale or that a meatpacker's child has less chance of getting a college education than a doctor's child.

These inequalities are so great, so systematic and so pervasive that capitalism has to devote considerable energy and ingenuity to producing arguments to justify them.

The massive inequalities resulting from the ability of a tiny minority to invest capital are, we are told, a reward for the "risk" and "sacrifice" involved in such investments.

The huge salaries of managers and executives are supposedly necessary to get the "right people" for such "important jobs." The vast differences in wages are variously described as rewards for "skill," "experience," "responsibility" and "hard work."

ABSURD

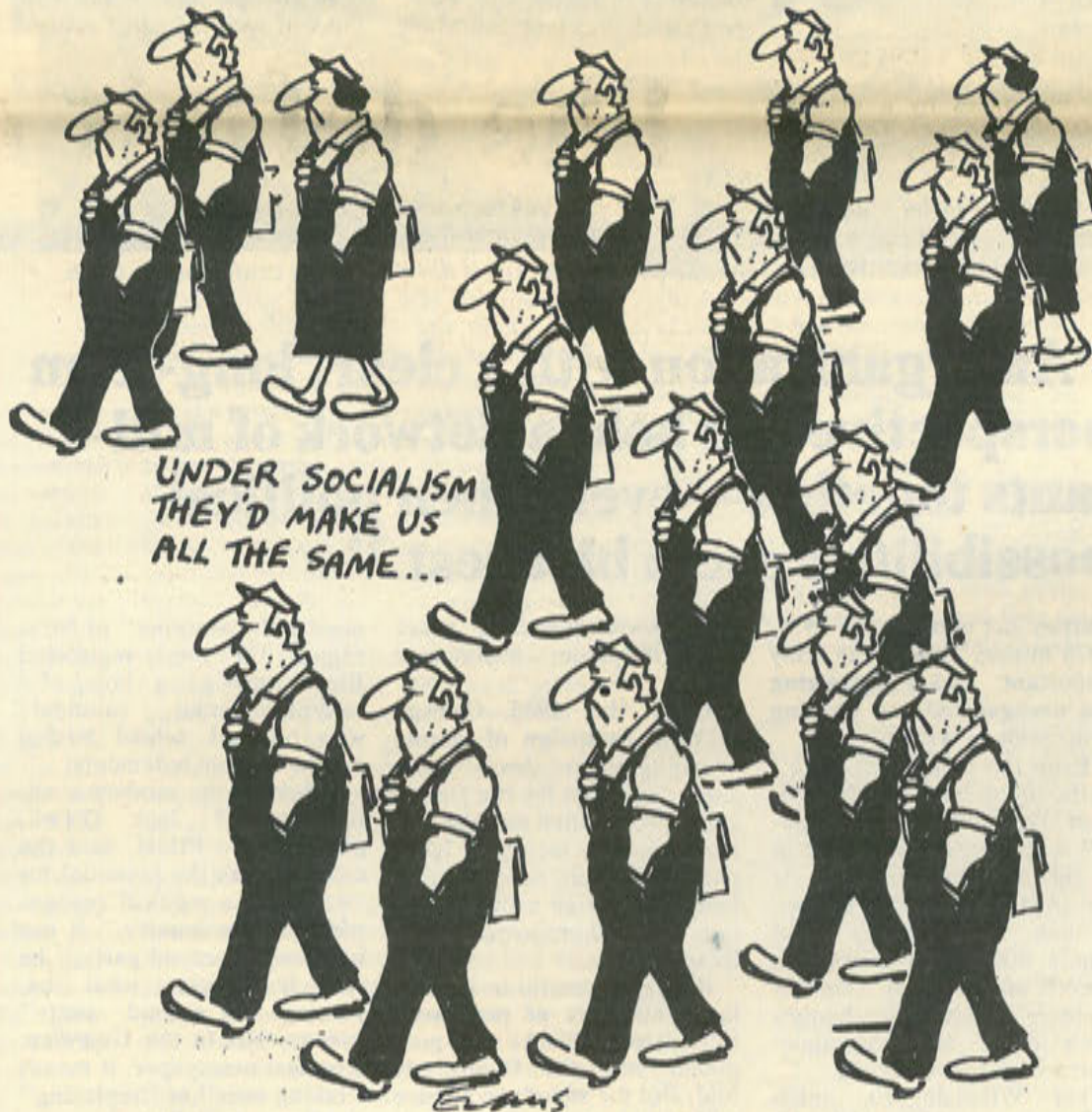
None of these arguments stand up under serious examination. Most absurd of all is the justification of profit as a reward for risk and sacrifice.

First of all, it's clear that the majority of these "risks" and "sacrifices" facing our adventurous capitalists are absolutely minimal.

Secondly, the notion of huge rewards for risk and sacrifice mysteriously evaporates when it comes to a miner who risks his life and sacrifices his health by working in the mine, or to many other workers risking their health through work.

Thirdly, the argument is completely false because it begins by assuming precisely what it is supposed to explain. To be able to take the risk of

This system seeks to explain away its various inequalities in terms of "fairness."
JOHN MOLYNEUX debunks this myth.



investing capital, you must first have capital to invest.

What worker would not willingly make the "sacrifice" of investing a million dollars in stocks and bonds rather than investing his or her life in forty years of toil—if they had the million dollars in the first place.

The argument about attracting the "right people" also

breaks down when its assumptions are questioned. If all jobs were paid exactly the same, wouldn't there still be competition to be managers rather than shopfloor workers? Brain surgeons rather than hospital porters? Senior government workers rather than domestic workers?

Arguments about rewards for "importance," "skill,"

"responsibility" and "hard work" all depend on the most bizarre (i.e., most capitalist) criteria for assessing these qualities.

WHO DECIDES?

The average lawyer, for example makes far more than the average teacher. Who decides that lawyers are far more important and skilled

then teachers?

Advertising executives earn vastly more than nurses. Is that because they are more responsible or more hard working? These examples can be multiplied indefinitely because the "justifications" have nothing to do with the real causes of inequality and the real causes of inequality have nothing to do with fairness or just rewards.

Marxist analysis shows that the real causes of inequality lie in the development of a social class that owns and controls the means of production. This class is able to use its monopoly to exploit those who own only their own ability to work. In other words, this class is able to oblige workers to produce more than they are paid in wages.

This arrangement results in the accumulation of wealth at one end of society and poverty at the other.

This fundamental inequality requires an elaborate hierarchy of privilege to administer and maintain it. Exploitation in the workplace requires managers and supervisors to enforce it, and these must be privileged to ensure their loyalty to capital.

PRIVILEGE

Likewise, the property of the rich must be protected against the needs of the poor, which requires judges and police. Their loyalty has to be guaranteed by privilege.

Then, workers have to be persuaded to accept the whole arrangement, and that means journalists, newspaper editors, media people and the like who also need their perks, and it goes on and on.

Thus, the inequality at the heart of the system, inherent in its relations of production, spreads throughout society. It is not a matter of rewarding skill, sacrifice or hardwork—but of guaranteeing profit.

So, unless profit and capitalism are challenged, there can be no serious challenge to inequality. □

The world economy: Bye-bye boom

CHRIS HARMAN explains why there will be an end to the recovery.

The much touted recovery has been claimed by Reagan and his cronies as vindication of their policies—from monetarism, to trickle down, and cutbacks in services. They look to the last four years as proof that you can cut unemployment if you cut wages.

Their argument is that since unions are weak and people are often prepared to work for low wages, new jobs are being created at the lower end of the wage scale.

They are right that the U.S. economy has been booming for the last two years while the economies of Europe have stagnated and those of the third world countries have declined under the impact of massive debt charges.

"The other side of the boom in the U.S. is the continuing crisis of virtually every other country. And eventually the crisis in the rest of the world is bound to bring the United States boom to an end, and then the whole world will be back into slump."

In the U.S., economic output has been growing three times as fast as in Europe. Industrial investment in the first half of this year was 40% higher than the same period last year, and unemployment is considerably lower than it was last year. Even so, 7.5 million Americans are out of work.

WEAKER

It is also true that trade unionism in the U.S. is much weaker than in any of the other advanced western countries. In the U.S., the proportion of workers in unions has fallen to less than 20%. And the acceptance of wage cuts, still very rare elsewhere in the west, has happened repeatedly in the U.S. when firms have stopped making large profits.

But none of this explains the boom. For the boom has meant an expansion of jobs not only in some low-paid industries, but also in some high paid ones.

A recent article in the *New York Times*, for instance, revealed that the state with the lowest level of unemployment was Connecticut—not because it is a low-wage or an anti-

union state (it is neither), but because it is the state with the highest single concentration of defense industry.

This gives us a clue to the real source of the U.S.'s economic recovery. It lies in the massive upsurge in arms spending since 1979.

The boom began in industries and areas based on the manufacture of armaments. Increased consumer spending by the workers in these industries then led to a secondary boom in consumer goods. And finally, in the last year, a boom in investment has followed.

The "monetarist" doctrine to which Reagan used to be committed holds that government spending should not exceed what it collects in taxes.

But Reagan's arms program has led to expenditures exceeding taxes by a massive \$200 billion a year. This is despite big cutbacks in social spending.

It is this gap (or "deficit") between expenditures and tax receipts which has driven the boom in the U.S. forward.

The situation is a bit like that in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. In those decades, a massive level of arms spending by the U.S. created the longest and strongest boom the capitalist system has ever seen.

DIFFERENCES

But there are important differences today, which mean that the boom cannot spread to the rest of the world and cannot last for very long even within the U.S.

In the 1940s and 1950s, the U.S. was economically more powerful than the rest of the world put together, and could afford massive arms spending. It is no longer so today.

It has only been able to pay for the present arms boom by borrowing money on a huge scale from the rest of the world. It has been able to do so because of very high interest rates. But these, in turn, are playing havoc with the world economy.

Big business in the U.S. is not too worried when it has to pay high rates of interest to American banks, since the government gives it tax rebates for such interest payments.

But governments and firms in other countries do not enjoy such advantages. To pay off the banks, they are forced to cut their spending and buy fewer goods. So while the U.S. booms, countries like Brazil



The U.S. economy has experienced a recovery in the last two years. At the same time, in other parts of the world, millions are locked in a very real battle for survival. About 100 Ethiopians are dying of starvation each day. Six million Ethiopians live at the edge of death.

hover on the verge of bankruptcy, and the countries of Europe face a slow but relentless rise in unemployment.

The other side of the boom in the U.S. is the continuing crisis of virtually every other country. And eventually the crisis in the rest of the world is bound to bring the U.S. boom to an end, and then the whole

world will be back into slump.

ALTERNATIVE

There is an alternative to this prospect. It is that embodied in workers' struggle, even if many workers do not yet see this. It is for workers to resist the vicious downward spiral of job losses.

In the process, many millions of workers can begin to

see how much better things would be if they collectively controlled the production of goods.

Then there would be a prospect of using the most modern technology to satisfy human need, rather than—as at the moment—to produce monstrous means of destruction on the one hand and mass unemployment on the other. □

The deficit crisis

The 1983-1984 recovery is the strongest since the Korean War. But it is built like a house of cards—based on enormous budget deficits that threaten to bring the house down.

Currently \$179 billion, the Reagan administration's deficits are unprecedented in U.S. history. This sea of red ink has Wall Street worried.

The federal deficits represent "the single most important obstacle to sustained non-inflationary growth in the U.S. and in the world economy," said the Committee for Economic Development, a research organization of business and financial circles.

"CALAMITOUS RISKS"

The CED's report warned of "calamitous risks" for interest rates and financial markets in the future.

All of this flies in the face of the Reagan administration's holy writ that government spending and deficits are anathema. But Reagan, the conservative, has done more to add to the U.S. government debt than all U.S. governments of the past 35 years combined.

The Reagan administration's deficits gave Walter Mondale a campaign issue to dramatize Reagan's "mismanagement" of the economy. But a Mondale administration would be unlikely to promote different policies, as experience from the Carter administration shows.

The Carter administration came to power in 1977 pledging to produce a

balanced budget by 1980. Instead, Carter pushed up the deficit to \$35 billion, furnishing Reagan with a campaign issue.

MILITARY

A central reason for the expansion of government debt under both administrations was the same—military spending. Under Reagan, real increases (adjusted for inflation) in military spending have averaged between 4 and 5 percent per year.

It is crucial to note that this expansion was the same as that earmarked by Carter in 1980. In fact, the amount of money spent on the military this year, \$238 billion, is exactly the amount the Carter administration earmarked for 1984.

Mondale's pledges to support moderate real increases in military spending—3 to 4 percent annually—means that anyone who wants lower military spending won't get it from voting for Mondale.

RECESSION

The deficit is not only a creation of military expansion. The effects of the 1981-82 recession, the worst since the Great Depression, are key as well. The unemployment rate still hovers around 7.5 percent. That means government outlays for welfare benefits, unemployment compensation, and so on remain high, while government income (taxes) struggles to catch up.

Though Reagan's government succeeded in cutting many social programs, the

sheer number of people made dependent on them increased, thus increasing total government spending. The anti-social program Reagan administration ran up some of the largest bills for social programs in U.S. history.

All of these facts and figures, have important implications for the state of the U.S. economy and for workers.

The government borrowing will have to be paid back sometime. Today interest rates remain high—at around 12 percent—because the huge government demand on them remains high. At some future point—some analysts say 1985 or 1986—the price of credit (i.e., interest rates) will begin to drift, and, maybe to gallop, upward.

PRICES

Then, prices across the economy will start to edge upward. For workers, more expensive credit may mean the inability to buy a car or house. Higher prices for food and clothes will mean cuts in workers' living standards.

Higher interest rates would make worse the economic slowdown that many economists predict is around the corner. As businesses start losing money, they look to banks to help bail them out. If interest rates are high, businesses cannot get the money they need. Massive layoffs and bankruptcies would be the result.

For the bulk of the American working class, the deficits today hold out the possibility of a future recession that will be harsher and deeper than 1981-1982's. □

The workplace is central

The 1984 presidential election ended with the candidates moving closer and closer toward each other's positions. We have always argued this closeness, and therefore find little to be surprised at.

But for those on the left who ignored the history of the Democratic Party—swallowing their radical pride and plunging into "real politics"—the failure of the Mondale-Ferraro campaign to even hold the line against the conservative forces must leave them lost as to the next step.

NON-STRATEGY

Clearly, the strategy of coalition politics—electorally organizing poor, women, Blacks, gays and labor—has once again proved itself a non-strategy.

And now is the time for those who see themselves as marxists to get back to the basics.

This means, above all else, seeing the working class as central to social change. Not this or that part of the working class, but the whole class—united and led by its most advanced elements.

The goal of a united working class, of course, won't happen without a long struggle, but steps taken today can prepare for its happening in the future.

Marx's theory of history starts with the idea that society is based on the production of necessities for living. Upon this base, the whole superstructure of society—its ideas, culture, and, of course, its politics—is built.

Whichever class controls the process and means of production controls that society.

Further, Marx argued, the development of capitalism has located the productive process in the factories, mines and offices. It is there that the wealth of society is created. It is there that exploitation—the extraction of the surplus created by workers—takes place. This is the locus of power for the capitalist class.

That is why we say that any challenge to capitalism must start at the point of production. Any strategy which locates the primary focus elsewhere—most typically local government, Congress, the community—is dealing with the trappings,

by **BILL ROBERTS**

not the basis of capitalist power.

But, by definition, the point of production is where the working class is most powerful. Capitalism concentrates workers as well as wealth. It brings them together into a collective unit in order to exploit them. At the same time, it provides them with the potential to resist that exploitation. This is all basic marxism. And yet for all the rhetoric of the 1960s and 1970s, it is the last alternative considered by most of the left.

Many on the left criticize this approach to change because they say it ignores women, Blacks, gays, the "community," that it necessarily focusses on white males and that it leads only to narrow trade union economic demands.

The fact that large majorities of women, Blacks and gays are also working class seems to escape these critics. But, in truth, the workplace is not just a place for fighting for economic demands but is also the best place for fighting against sexism and racism.

CENTER

Dividing the working class into different and often competing constituencies only serves to ensure its continued enslavement. Concentrating on the workplace doesn't mean sticking to narrow trade union issues—it means making the workplace the center for the widest possible political agitation, from sexual harassment to central America, from workplace safety to the bomb.

Of course, in a period of class passivity and demoralization there is a strong temptation to look elsewhere for change—the elections, nuclear freeze petitioning, left labor bureaucrats, and the oppressed groups other than workers.

But none of this will do—because changing capitalism is about a struggle for power.

Our argument is not that the struggle for socialism is limited to the workplace. It eventually must go into the streets, the communities, indeed it must conquer the power of the state itself.

But all of this must be built on a solid workplace organization. As Rosa Luxemburg once put it: "Where the chains of capitalism are forged, there must they be broken."

Ford-UAW agreement

DETROIT, Mi—Ford and the UAW reached a tentative agreement on Sunday, October 15. One of the reasons given for reaching the agreement was so that the negotiators could see the Detroit Tigers play their final game in the world series!

Three days later, on October 18, a ratification meeting on the agreement was held in Cobo Hall in Detroit. When Al Gardner from Local 800 got up to speak on the contract, he was ruled out of order. He was told he would get the floor when the contract as a whole was to be discussed.

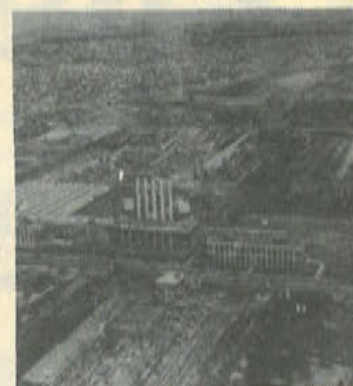
The first two and a half hours were taken up by members of the top bargaining committee explaining the agreement. Then the meeting was opened up for questions, and finally, after an hour of questions, President Owen Bieber was given the floor for some 30 minutes to sell the agreement to the workers.

Following his speech, a motion was made to ratify the agreement. Gardner was never given the right to speak. No one in opposition to the contract was allowed to speak.

The contract was ratified by a big majority—but 25 or 30 delegates stood up in opposition. This has never happened in past conferences of Ford delegates. I was told that while many voted for the contract through fear at the conference, they would go back to

their shops and campaign against it.

As might be expected, the press and the International first reported the locals voting for an agreement. They played down the opposition vote. There is little doubt that the agreement will be adopted, but there will be a lot of bitterness in the ranks as there is among GM workers.



BOSTON USW STRIKES BARNSTEAD

by **JOE ALLEN**

BOSTON, MA—64 workers—members of USW Local 2862—are on strike against the Barnstead Company in West Roxbury, Massachusetts. This is the first strike in the history of the company.

Union members voted unanimously to strike as Margaret Hanson, the company's chief negotiator, demanded that they start paying 25% of their medical costs—which had previously been paid in full by the company since 1968. In effect, the company is demanding a deep pay cut, considering the high cost of medical care today.

Pickets are up at the Barnstead gate from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m., and all union members are picketing in shifts. Teamsters and other union workers

are respecting the picket line, but non-union workers are crossing it.

The most serious threat to the strike is the company's warning—in a letter to union workers—that it will hire scabs to replace strikers if they don't return to work soon. At present, the company hasn't hired scabs, but it is making the unorganized office workers do union work.

The workers believe that they will be out on strike for at least a few more weeks. To win the strike, it will be necessary to maintain consistent picketing, gain support from other union members and stop union as well as non-union deliveries to the plant.

Graffiti



Whose Side Are You On?

Last month wasn't a great one for George Bush—especially when he opened his mouth. In the debate with Democratic vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro, Bush noted that "real interest rates" are meaningless to consumers, and then went on to stammer that "civil rights is like crime in your neighborhood."

But Bush saved the best for later, when he announced that U.S. government policy in Nicaragua was to back the "Marxist-Leninist Contras!"

Later, of course, a government spokesperson had to explain what Bush really meant, which was that U.S. government policy in Nicaragua was to back the "freedom fighters" attempting to overthrow the "Marxist-Leninist" Nicaraguan government.

Only So Many Millionaires

Palm Springs, the elite resort, faces growing competition for the tourist dollar, so ad campaigns are trying to lure a less upscale clientele. As the local Sheraton Plaza manager explained: "There are only so many millionaires. It's a limited market."



Another lesson in world politics from George Bush.

This Will Hurt Me More Than It Hurts You . . .

As the economic "recovery" rolls on, many firms continue to lay off workers, according to the Wall Street Journal. With international competition increasing, corporate officials must—as they say in Journalese—"lower labor costs."

But don't get the idea that corporate America feels good about it. As Charles Willsey, a General Electric spokesperson, explained: "It's painful. We never had layoffs before. But we don't want to wait until we lose money. We're responding ahead of time."

Born to Run . . .

Ronald Reagan hit another cynical low when, at a recent New Jersey campaign appearance, he claimed rocker Bruce Springsteen for his side.

Springsteen's current album, "Born in the USA," echoes the experience of the working class victims of Reaganomics. Yet Reagan said that Springsteen sings a "message of hope" that Reagan is pledged to carry through in his second term.

The Boss wasn't about to let Reagan get away with this. At a concert in Pittsburgh two days later, he told the audience: "The President was mentioning my name the other day, and I kind of got to wondering what his favorite album must have been . . . I don't think he's been listening to this one."

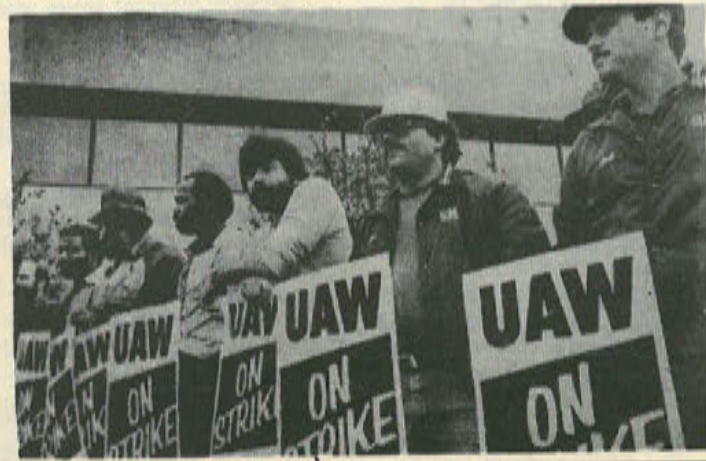
On the next night, Springsteen dedicated a song to the rank and file of Steelworkers Local 1397.

No Room at the Inn . . .

Last year, Congress approved \$8 million for the Pentagon to make some empty military base buildings available as housing for the homeless. But the plan ran into problems.

One base commander did not allow the poor to walk beyond the buildings' grounds. Another allowed them that luxury, but didn't allow them to keep food.

As a result, the Pentagon spent only \$900,000 on the program and decided to spend the other \$7.1 million to maintain the empty buildings.



South Africa's rulers face revolt

The upheaval in South Africa continues—with army raids, student strikes and sporadic outbursts. CHRISTINA BAKER reports on the growing challenge to apartheid.

In a crackdown on the continuing unrest, 7,000 South African soldiers and policemen raided the Black township of Sebokeng on October 23.

Sebokeng—30 miles south of Johannesburg—has been one of the scenes of rioting, over the last two months, in which at least 80 Blacks have been killed.

POLICE SLAUGHTER

After hundreds were arrested there, violence broke out in neighboring Sharpeville, the site of the 1960 police slaughter of 69 Blacks. Troops were then sent both there and to nearby Boipatong. All three of these townships are located in the Vaal triangle—the key South African industrial center in which the current Black unemployment is 56%. This was the first time since the 1960 "state of emergency" that troops have been actively used against civilians.

The crackdown came exactly one week after Bishop Desmond Tutu, a leading proponent of non-violent Black protest against apartheid, was named 1984 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. The one other time in its 83-year-history that the prize was granted to an anti-apartheid leader was in 1960—the year of the Sharpeville massacre.

On the day of the raid,

Sebokeng resembled an armed camp. The raid began when 40 armored personnel carriers rumbled into the rutted streets of the town. Soldiers with assault rifles took up positions 20 yards apart, and police in camouflage fatigues rifled through 18,000 homes in a house-to-house search for dissidents.

They interrogated some 120,000 people and arrested about 350 on a variety of charges from keeping firearms to possession of pornographic materials. None of the alleged "agitators" for whom police were searching were arrested.

All of the township residents had to show their passes stating that they are allowed in urban areas. Once individuals were checked, security officers marked their hands with ink and handed them badges reading, "I am your friend, trust me," and "Cooperation for peace and security."

CIVIL WAR

A spokesman of the United Democratic Front, a two-million member anti-apartheid organization, cited the recent developments as proof of their warnings that South Africa is entering a state of civil war. The day after this statement, authorities banned the group in Transkei, a nominally independent "homeland." UDF leaders fear that this is merely a prelude to a nationwide



Above: Revolt brewing in South Africa. Below: Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

crackdown on the country's largest legal Black opposition group.

The present crisis facing the South African white minority erupted in late August with a rash of protests against massive rent increases and political grievances, a student boycott of schools and the first legal strike of Black gold miners since 1946, in which seven miners were killed.

Outdoor meetings have been banned for many years, but the government went on to ban indoor meetings of two or more people called to discuss any government policy or "in memoriam of anything." Under that ban over 6,600 Blacks were arrested over the course of September, all but

one hundred of them for attending the funerals of victims of the recent police violence.

FRAUD

One of the biggest issues in the continuing upheaval has been the institution of a new constitution and governmental structure meant to be seen by all non-white South Africans and the rest of the world as a reform of apartheid. The new three-part parliament, with separate chambers for Asians and "coloreds," or people of mixed race, and the granting of the vote to South Africa's 870,000 Asians and 2.7 million coloreds is seen as a fraud, not only by Blacks, but by Asians and coloreds as well.

South Africa's 21 million Blacks, 73% of the population,

were not given the vote or any representation in the new parliament. Instead, they were only given the "right" to elect town councils of middle class Blacks, designed by the regime to implement its general policy and to force through the rent increases.

At present the upheaval in South Africa remains volatile and is far from over. The racist South African regime has long been known for its willingness to use vicious repression to maintain its control over the vast majority, but even so its hold appears to be weakening.

As Black workers play an increasingly central role in the resistance to it, the prospect of a successful challenge to apartheid comes ever closer. □

Philippines' Marcos tottering at the brink

News that the highest circles of Philippines armed forces plotted the 1983 killing of opposition leader Senator Benigno Aquino shook the Marcos dictatorship. To many, inside and outside the Philippines, it appears that Marcos' days are numbered.

A government commission investigating Aquino's assassination laid blame at the feet of General Fabian Ver, the armed forces chief of staff and 25 top military officials. By implication, this laid blame with Marcos.

But while Marcos may be teetering, he is far from defeated. For one, the U.S. State Department and military remain at this point committed to Marcos' rule. And the U.S. is the dictator's main supplier of arms and other materiel which has helped him maintain a tight grip on the country under

martial law from 1972 to 1981.

"WHITEWASH"

The U.S. government apparently wants Marcos to prosecute Ver and his allies. As a State Department official noted, "We simply will not abide by a whitewash."

But history proves otherwise. A "whitewash" would suit the U.S. rulers fine if it could help Marcos—or some other protector of U.S. military bases—to pacify the opposition and bring "stability" to the Philippines.

After all, Vice President George Bush praised Marcos for his "adherence to democratic principle and democratic processes" while martial law persisted in 1981.

The problem for Marcos and his U.S. backers is that simply punishing Ver and the others—if Marcos follows through on his 1983 pledge

that "no matter who they may be, [Aquino's killers] will be held accountable"—probably will not pacify the opposition.

In the last year, millions have demonstrated against Marcos. Riots have erupted against his rule. As the world economic crisis has increased the misery of most Filipinos, opposition to Marcos has spread throughout the population. As a result, Marcos' iron hand has slipped, allowing increased political freedom in the last year.

Sections of the capitalist class, particularly those excluded from the Marcos family graft and patronage, have called for his ouster. In fact, earlier this year, Philippine businessmen marched in Manila calling for Marcos' resignation. Allied with this opposition are the liberal democratic forces, whose major leader was Aquino.

At the same time, a guerrilla war waged by Muslim separatists in the southern Filipino islands continues to occupy many of the resources of the armed forces.

DISCONTENT

These signs of opposition clearly show discontent among wide sections of the Filipino population. But more important has been the emergence of a working class opposition to Marcos and his enforcement of one of Asia's lowest wage rates and 60% unemployment.

We must support those who are fighting for Marcos' overthrow—not only because we support the end of dictatorship, but because Marcos' overthrow would widen the possibilities of working class organization by which Filipino workers could fight for their own aims, independent of sections of



the middle class and capitalists in the "democratic" opposition to Marcos.

And in the U.S., we must call for U.S. withdrawal from the Philippines. □

An El Salvador

Salvadoran troops opened a major offensive against guerrilla forces on October 18—just three days after the “historic” peace talks between El Salvador’s President Duarte and guerrilla leaders.

As government troops moved into rebel-held territory, Lieutenant Colonel Domingo Monterrosa commented that no cease-fire had been agreed upon at the meeting. He said, “The war goes on. There are times when you have to make war to gain peace.”

What was agreed upon at the October 15 meeting in the Sweet Name of Mary Church in La Palma—15 miles north of San Salvador—was that Duarte and the guerrilla leaders would work together to “humanize” the civil war in El Salvador. To that end, they set up a nine-member commission with four from each side

and Archbishop Rivera y Damas—who convened the La Palma meeting—as mediator.

For Duarte, the meeting was a personal coup. He had been under fire for failing to keep his months-old promise to begin a “dialogue” with the guerrillas. The press praised his call for the La Palma meeting and cited it as proof of the sincerity of his “quest for peace.”

Even in the face of the recent military offensive, U.S. leaders have refused to point out the hypocrisy of Duarte’s position. And we shouldn’t expect them to do so.

But the meeting is also the culmination of a number of changes that the guerrilla movement has undergone in the last year. **PETE BINNS** and **CARLA LOPEZ** look at the background to the present situation.



Above: Leaders of El Salvador's

Portraying El Salvador’s leaders as fearless democrats courageously taking on the death squads has been very important. It has insured a smooth run through Congress of the appropriation of millions of dollars for the military.

OVERALL PLAN

The overall plan, as envisaged in the bipartisan commission on Central America headed by Henry Kissinger, is for \$400 million in 1984-1985, which, in turn, is part of an incredible \$8 billion earmarked for the region for economic and military aid. Quite simply, the whole package would have been put at risk if the part of it dealing with military aid to El Salvador had been turned down by Congress.

But for all the crowing and posturing, the reality underneath remains markedly different. Constitutional rights remain suspended, and the three-year-old state of siege remains in force. The latter puts all power into the hands of the military, and, while Duarte is officially in charge of the army, *Newsweek* reported a couple of months back that the “officer

corps warned him that he could be Commander in Chief only in name.”

SACRIFICE

For their part, the officer corps were probably quite happy to sacrifice two of their number. In return they will be getting, after all, large quantities of modern military hardware, plus the massive economic and military backing of the U.S. Because an important part of the death squads are integrated into the military hierarchy, they are the ones who will benefit most from the influx of American arms.

Ironically, then, had Roberto D’Aubuisson—the “pathological killer” most directly associated with the death squads—won the presidential election in June, the death squads might have benefitted much less.

Both Duarte and his American backers would certainly like to be able to ditch the death squads and institute a liberal democratic regime, but there is just no way they can do it. The reality is one in which there are—at the moment—only two significant sources of power and influence in the country.

On the one hand there is the oligarchy, the score or so of very rich families whose money

and power still come, for the most part, from their ownership of huge landed estates. Their main instruments of power are, as they always have been, the army and the death squads.

A massive level of corruption has kept the top 500-odd armed forces personnel 100% loyal to their landowning benefactors, and, in the past, has led to them slaughtering tens of thousands of peasants and the destruction of even the weakest land reforms when they have been attempted.

Even to suggest the possibility of reform to these people is to invite one’s own physical elimination. Most who have done so in the past today are either dead or have fled the country.

OPPOSITION

On the other hand, there are the forces of those driven into opposition to oligarchy. Centered around the FMLN/FDR, they have been responsible for putting into practice the prolonged guerrilla war that has dominated El Salvadoran politics for more than five years. They now control a substantial portion of the country from the Honduran border to its heartland around the Guazapa volcano.

Within it they have set up “Local Organs of Popular Power” (PPLs) which aim for self-sufficiency both in food production and war production, and which have also taken up “social” issues such as elementary health care and the fight against illiteracy.

For Duarte’s strategy to succeed, a middle ground or a dialogue between these positions would have to exist. But that is just what is missing. The oligarchy has never budged an inch, and although forces within the FMLN/FDR have attempted various compromises in the past, they have always failed miserably, sometimes confusing and setting back the guerrilla struggle in the process.

Furthermore, the continuing flight of capital from the country has more or less arrested the development of “liberal” industrial or commercial capital

and disconnected with the oligarchy; without it, however, there remains no real basis for Duarte’s reforms.

If the election of Duarte could not change this status quo, it is important to realize that in the short term, nothing else can either. The army is too weak both to cover all the principal areas of the country and at the same time to concentrate in sufficient numbers to destroy the guerrillas.

For their part, the FMLN, while growing in strength, is still too weak, both in numbers and in heavy weaponry, to defeat the army in the immediate future. And the United States, while carefully building up the infrastructure for a possible military invasion in the future, has obviously ruled out such a move for the present.

OPTIONS

In the meantime, the El Salvadoran ruling class is also keeping its options open. So long as Duarte keeps the gravy train from Washington running and does not make things awkward, no doubt he can be tolerated.

“What began as a sophisticated plan to gain space for the left, now, unfortunately, looks more and more like a strategic shift to the right, particularly on behalf of the FPL—the organization with the strongest marxist traditions. . . The FPL has made it clear that it has now abandoned the aim of a transition to socialism as something to be deferred indefinitely.”

If not, he will be easy enough to remove with a coup when the time comes. In the short term, time might be on their side.

Reagan’s strategy of neutralizing assistance from Cuba and Nicaragua to the FMLN/FDR seems to be working well for them, isolating the guerrillas still further. On the other hand, the FMLN/FDR are very well entrenched in a number of areas, and the costs of the war continue to mount. Even the most died-in-the-wool reactionaries cannot accept that forever.

In all probability, they as-

plausible to suppose that the “unity” that results is the unity of the non-revolutionary sections following the lead of the revolutionaries.

In the case of FMLN/FDR, on the other hand, it is exactly the opposite. The coalition has been increasingly dominated by the politics of reform, in which accommodation and compromise can only lead, in practice, to delivering up the FMLN/FDR into the hands of the army. By remaining with such people, the left has been at best compromised and at worst has actually participated



Or deal?



resistance fighters. Bottom left: Napolean Duarte.

in such moves itself.

"DIALOGUE"

So the FMLN/FDR is committed to a "dialogue" with the Duarte regime. What exactly does this mean? Guillermo Ungo, the Social Democrat leader of the FDR, is very clear about this.

For him it is an essentially diplomatic strategy. The point of the discussions is to secure minority representation of the FMLN/FDR in a government of national reconciliation including Duarte's Christian Democrats.

From what we have already said about the impossibility of compromise at this time, it should be clear that the strategy is nonsensical. But what does the left have to say on this matter?

They, too, are committed to "dialogue." Thus, Francisco Herrera, European representative of the FMLN/FDR said last year:

"We took a more rounded view of the question. We expected that, if discussions started, certain contradictions would appear in the government, in the bourgeoisie and in the army. And that is what happened."

For Herrera, then, while a truce is impossible, the talks are there as a sophisticated ploy to confuse the enemy.

But there is no evidence at all that the bourgeoisie is stupid enough to be taken in by all this. So who exactly does all this talk confuse?

What began as a sophisticated plan to gain space for the left, now, unfortunately, looks more and more like a strategic shift to the right, particularly on



behalf of the FPL—the organization which up to this point has had the strongest marxist traditions within the FMLN.

This change became more fully apparent following the suicide of FPL's founder, Salvador Castano Carpio, in April 1983. Carpio had always opposed entering into negotiations or an alliance which did not guarantee the interests of the working class and the peasantry.

By agreeing with the FMLN/FDR's proposal of a "government of broad participation" in February of this year, the FPL made it clear that it has now abandoned the aim of a transition to socialism as something to be deferred indefinitely. It now, unfortunately, adheres more closely to the traditional Community Party program of alliances with "progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie—a section more obviously missing in El Salvador than in most other places.

One of the factors contributing to this shift to the right

within the FMLN is its neglect of the working class in the capital, San Salvador, following the failure of the general strike in October 1980 and the general offensive of January 1981. This has helped persuade the FMLN to base itself instead on "self-sufficient" liberated zones in the rural areas.

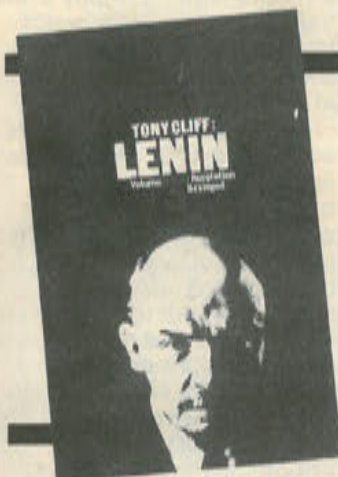
Yet in recent months there has been a real upturn in strikes in the city, where tens of thousands of workers in social security offices, banking, waterworks and government offices have been involved.

RESURGENCE

It is precisely this resurgence in the workers' movement in San Salvador—brought about by a massive fall in living standards—which provides the real opportunity both for a return to class politics in El Salvador and for a successful struggle against the ruling class.

But to gain from this a decisive break with the rightward-moving politics of all sections of the FMLN is needed. □

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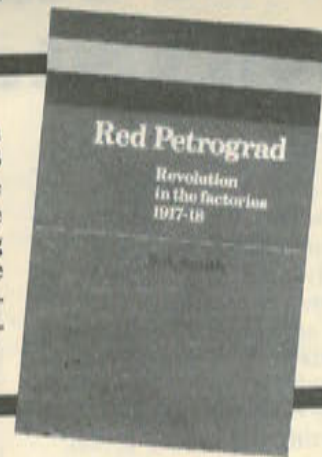
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What is to be done?



Many radicals of the late 1960s and 1970s had a short flirtation with "Leninism," only to shed it later for the likes of Jesse Jackson.

One of Lenin's works in particular, "What Is to Be Done," was the bible of many of the Maoist and Stalinist groups of a decade ago.

But despite the fact that it was largely misread and misunderstood, today it still holds much of value for us. JOE ALLEN takes a look at this important work.

With the growing radicalization of the 1960s and early 1970s, many activists became interested in marxist ideas. And many looked to the ideas of Vladimir Lenin, leader of the Bolshevik party and the Russian revolution for guidance and inspiration. But as the movement disintegrated, so did the interest in Lenin's contribution to marxism.

Indeed, several ex-revolutionaries of the early 1970s are now being well-paid to write books telling of their childish infatuation with "Leninism" and their misguided efforts at "party-building." The 1980s are not 1917, runs the argument, and "realism" and involvement in "real political developments" like the Jackson or Mondale campaigns is where radicals should be.

Further, there is an assumption within many of the movements that Leninism is sectarian, anti-feminist and out of touch with the real world.

MISTAKEN

But despite the popularity of these ideas, they are mistaken. And along with their current rejection of Leninism, many former revolutionaries are also rejecting a view of the working class as the agent for social revolution.

And one can look around the globe over the last decade and see powerful workers' movements that were led to defeat—in Poland, Chile, Portugal, Iran. Central to these defeats was the absence of a revolutionary party with roots in the working class that could take the upsurge further.

Instead of dismissing Lenin and his ideas, anyone interested in changing this system should give him serious attention. In particular, the arguments in one of Lenin's earliest and most maligned and misunderstood works, *What Is to Be Done*, hold important lessons for us today.

But first, a little background. Russia, at the turn of the century, was an extremely backward country—overwhelmingly agrarian with a small but potentially powerful working class. An autocracy, led by the tsar, ruled with an iron fist. Reformist socialists of the day looked to the liberal middle and upper classes to lead a "democratic revolution" against the autocracy. But the middle class was cowardly and feared the



workers more than the tsar.

And well they should have. The 1890s saw the rise of a powerful workers movement. Strikes involving tens of thousands of workers sprang up all over Russia. It was also in this time that the first connections between organized marxist agitation and workers' struggles were made.

SCATTERED

But the marxists were in poor shape to meet the needs of the time. Scattered in small study circles, operating in virtual isolation from each other, they couldn't face the need to operate on a national level with a national organization and program. Lenin compared the state of affairs of the socialists to "small peasant rebellions against a modern army."

It was in this context that Lenin wrote *What Is to Be Done* for an upcoming party congress in 1903. In *What Is to Be Done*, Lenin broke with many of the conceptions existing in marxist circles at the time, and three of the themes he develops are well worth looking at today.

The first is the rejection of economism; two, the party as a vanguard; and third, the need to build a centralized, national organization.

Economism was a powerful

trend among Russian socialists. Basically, the economists argued that there was a sharp split between political and economic questions and that socialists should intervene on the economic front. Moreover, they argued, the economic struggles would naturally lead workers to socialism.

Against this view, Lenin argued that politics and economics could not be so formally separated. Economic strikes could easily become political, and political strikes take up economic demands. Moreover, Lenin argued, leaving the "political struggle essentially meant giving the middle class reformists an open field." On the contrary, he argued, the socialists cannot bow down to the "spontaneity" of workers struggle, but intervene consciously.

This analysis led Lenin to make a second and very important distinction on the nature of revolutionary organization. The revolutionary party, he argued, needs to be centralized. With this, there was not much disagreement.

VANGUARD

But he went on to say, it needs to be a vanguard party. What did Lenin mean by this?

Basically, Lenin argued that a revolutionary party could not and should not be a party of the entire class that sought to represent the entire working class. This, inevitably, would mean adapting to more conservative elements within the working class.

Rather, Lenin argued, the party must be based upon those sections of the working class who, at any given time, are willing to lead more conservative sections of the class. The party, by implication, will necessarily be that of a tiny minority throughout most of its existence, but by relating to the mass of ordinary workers, it can both maintain its political identity and build up confidence in its leadership with wider and wider layers of the working class.

Lenin did not underrate the

ability of workers to struggle. But what was important was not merely praising workers' spontaneous struggles, but understanding how to relate to them and connect them with the longer-term aim of overthrowing capitalism. As Lenin said:

"The task of social democracy is to combat spontaneity, to divert the working class movement from this spontaneous trade unionist striving to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary social democracy."

Lenin went on to say that "class political consciousness can be brought to workers only from without," that is, only from outside the scope of economic struggle.

CENTRAL

Lenin made this overly mechanical point as a way of making an argument against the economists, because what was central to revolutionaries in Russia at the time was not merely praising the workers' movement but trying to infuse it with marxist politics and building a party with roots in the working class.

Lenin's insistence that it be a vanguard party of workers is also important for us today. Even though workers represented a tiny minority of workers in Russia, they had the social power to change society and emancipate all of humanity. Running through Lenin's writing, therefore, is a commitment to end all oppression.

Lenin argued that the party must be the tribune of the people. In other words, the working class must put itself at the head of every struggle against oppression. "Working class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected, unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from the social democratic point of view and no other."

The last point in *What Is to Be*

Done was the necessity for having a national party. Lenin argued that we must create a "stable organization of leaders maintaining continuity." Why? Because, as mentioned above, social democrats operated in small study group circles. Because of their isolation from one another, they could not operate on a national level.

NATIONAL PARTY

In fact, the social democratic organizations lagged behind the workers movement which had now grown into a national movement. The party, therefore, had to be a national party to respond to new situations.

It was also necessary to have a national newspaper which could develop a readership among the mass of the working class. Lenin argued that through a newspaper, "a permanent organization will naturally take shape that will engage not only in local activities, but in regular general work and will train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on various strata of the population, and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence those events."

"The mere technical task of regularly supplying the newspaper with copy and of promoting regular distribution will necessitate a network of local agents of the united party who will maintain constant contact with one another, know the general state of affairs, get accustomed to their detailed function in the all-Russian work and test their strength in the organization of various revolutionary actions."

Lenin saw the revolutionary paper not only as central to building the revolutionary party, but also that, in many cases, the readership and support for the paper would be the embryo for the party itself.

ORGANIZATION

What does all this mean for us today? Events in Russia showed that the Bolshevik party led the first successful workers revolution, but it was a party that had 20 years of revolutionary experience. Many other revolutionary movements have failed.

Central to those defeats has been the absence of a revolutionary organization rooted in the working class. The lesson for us is that the revolutionary party will not be built in the midst of a revolutionary situation. It has to develop roots in every workplace, an experienced cadre and confidence from a layer of workers before it can lead the mass of workers into struggle.

Today, in this low period of struggle, it is necessary to build a revolutionary organization to relate to the small number of workers in struggle and to convince those in movements of the importance of looking to the working class as the only force that can change society—so when the mass of workers once again go into struggle, revolutionaries can make a difference. □



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

Ty Miller on **Nicaragua**. Friday, November 16 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620 for more information.

BOSTON

Ahmed Shawki on **The Elections: A Socialist Perspective**. Friday, November 2 at 7:30 p.m.

Ahmed Shawki on **The Elections: A Socialist Perspective**. Saturday, November 3, 2:00 p.m. at Harvard University. Call 427-7087 for details.

CHICAGO

Christina Baker on **The Russian Revolution—Myth and Reality**. Thursday, November 8. Southside at 4:00 p.m., northside at 7:30.

Using Socialist Worker. Sunday, November 11 at 3.

State and Revolution. Saturday, November 17 at 7:30 p.m. Call 288-7572 for more information.

CINCINNATI

Bill Roberts on **Elections 1984: A Socialist Perspective**. Friday, November 2 at 7:30 p.m. Call 751-1871 for more information.

CLEVELAND

Brian Erway on **The Russian Revolution**. Sunday, November 18 at 12 noon. Call 651-5935.

MADISON

Lance Selfa on **Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution and Central America**. Friday, November 9 at 7:30 p.m.

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NEW YORK

Christina Baker on **The Fight for Women's Liberation—Where Has It Gone?** Friday, November 2 at 4:00 p.m.

Dan Caplin on **Explaining the Crisis**. Wednesday, November 7 at 7:30 p.m.

Joe Allen on **The American Working Class**. Saturday, November 17 at 7:30 p.m. Call 389-6170 for details.

PHILADELPHIA

Christina Baker on **The Fight for Women's Liberation—Where Has It Gone?** Saturday, November 3 at 2 p.m.

ROCHESTER

Mike Ondrusek on **The Bolsheviks and the First World War**. Sunday, November 11 at 7:30 p.m.

Brian Erway on **Poland Since Solidarnosc**. Sunday, December 2 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-3049 for details.

SAN FRANCISCO

Larry Bradshaw and Tim Wicks on **The Myth of Democracy**. Sunday, November 4 at 7:30 p.m. **Election Night Party**. Tuesday, November 6 at 7:30 p.m. Call 285-4057 for more information.

SEATTLE

Weekly lunch-hour brown-bag discussions on **Socialism** at the University of Washington HUB. Tuesdays at 12:30 p.m.

Tom Quine, member of the Vancouver IS, on **The Real Causes of World Hunger**. Saturday, December 1 at 7:30 p.m. Call 324-2302 for more information.

"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
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- Portland, OR
- Chicago, IL
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- Seattle, WA
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ISO National Office, P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616

FILM

METROPOLIS

A REVIEW BY BRIAN ERWAY

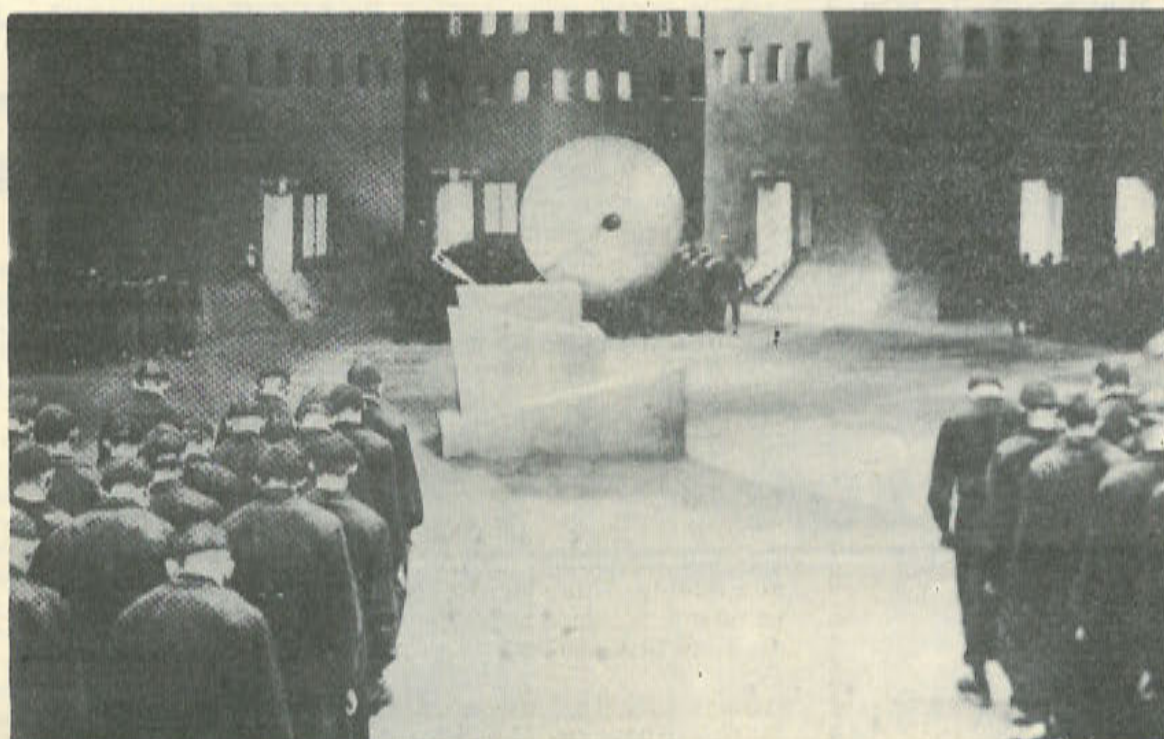
Metropolis is a classic silent film from 1926 which has now been released in a hand-tinted version with a contemporary musical score. It pictures a society 100 years in the future, where the workers live below ground and come to the surface to run the gleaming city, Metropolis.

The ruling class, on the other hand, pursue their leisure high above the workers. Freder, the hero of the story, is a member of this privileged class and, as it turns out, is also the son of the master of Metropolis, Joh Fredersen.

ENDURANCE

He becomes concerned with the plight of the workers when, for the first time, he ventures into the working world of Metropolis, with its unceasing gears, pistons and gauges. The workers labor silently, pushed to the limit of human endurance—chronically exhausted by their tasks.

Freder witnesses a terrible industrial accident caused precisely by fatigue and overwork. In a remarkable piece of footage, the mountain of machinery at the accident scene trans-



forms itself into an ancient pyramid—a temple of human sacrifice where robed priests lead their victims to slaughter.

It is a striking metaphor both for the slave-like conditions of the workers in Metropolis and for wage slavery in our own period. Director Fritz

Lange develops this theme throughout the film.

Freder is so upset that he rushes to the master of Metropolis and asks, "Father, why do we treat the workers so badly?"

Up to this point, the workers fit the expected behavior for producers in any class society—

docile and resigned to their exploitation. It soon emerges, however, that groups of workers secretly meet in the ancient catacombs beneath the city.

The meetings are called by a worker's daughter, named Maria, a religious figure who uses biblical analogies to articu-

late the plight of the workers.

SPY

Fredersen, meanwhile, has enlisted the help of a wizard and inventor, named Rotwang to spy upon the workers. Rotwang agrees to give Maria's likeness to a robot he has invented and to replace Maria with the robot so Fredersen will once again have control over the workers.

The substitution comes off as planned, but Rotwang soon loses control of his creation. The robot Maria incites the workers to rise up against their condition and destroy the machinery that enslaves them.

In doing so, however, they end up flooding the underground city where they and their children live. Realizing what they have done, the workers seize the robot Maria and burn her as a witch. Luckily, Freder and the real Maria have rescued the children from the flood waters and led them to safety. The film ends in an uneasy compromise between the workers and the masters.

Like all good science fiction, *Metropolis* is not at all a fantasy about the future, but rather a commentary about the present. The film is at its best when it depicts the horrific condition of the workers with their stylized, choreographed movements through futuristic art-deco sets. The workers run the machinery which power Metropolis, but, in reality, the machines run the workers.

As in capitalism, alienation lies at the core of the system. The products which their accumulated labor has created become a power over the workers themselves.

POWER

Another strength of the film lies in portraying the change among the workers in open rebellion. For the first time, they perceive themselves as masters of the situation and capable of altering the conditions which rule their lives. Revolutions are indeed "festivals of the oppressed."

Yet for all his sympathy for the workers of Metropolis, Lange treats them as a class incapable of liberating itself. Their role is to destroy the machines which tyrannize them—not the social relations which gave birth to the whole system.

The division of labor between leisured minds and toiling hands is absolute and unchangeable. The best the workers can hope for is some sort of mediator between capital and labor. And this role Freder eventually steps in to fill.

Despite its ending and a couple other glaring weaknesses, *Metropolis* is an excellent visual parable of capitalism. □

The socialist tradition

It's no secret that socialism doesn't have a very good name these days.

That's no surprise, really. One high school history lecture about Stalin's forced labor camps, Mao's purges of millions or the mass murders ordered by Kampuchea's Pol Pot is enough to convince anyone that socialism is about repressive totalitarian dictatorships.

What has been lost in the 50 years since these state capitalist dictatorships came to represent socialism is, writes David McNally, socialism's "democratic essence"—that the very heart and soul of socialism is about the struggle for human freedom.

ROOTS

McNally's excellent pamphlet, "Socialism From Below," traces the idea of socialism from its roots in the minds of the utopian socialists of the early nineteenth century to its realization in the Russian revolution, to its disintegration following the defeat of that revolution.

When the idea of socialism first emerged in the hands of utopian socialists like the wealthy cotton manufacturer Robert Owen and the real estate speculator Henri Saint-Simon, it had as little to do

REVIEW BY ALAN MAASS

with democracy as countries like Russia do today.

Each of these utopians looked to one or another well-intentioned member of the ruling class—in some cases, themselves—as messianic leaders who would "give" socialism to the masses.

In keeping with their idea of doing away with the messy parts of capitalism, socialism took the form of elaborate and rigid blueprints for new societies managed by an enlightened elite. Ordinary people had no part in these schemes.

It was Karl Marx who made the ideas of socialism important for us—by standing the socialism of the utopians on its head and basing his outlook on the principle of socialism from below.

Unlike the utopian socialists, Marx insisted that socialism had to represent a higher stage of democracy than anything yet seen. Only by overcoming class divisions in society could full democracy and production based on human needs be achieved.

"We are not among those communists who are out to destroy personal liberty, who wish to turn the world into one huge barrack or into a gigantic

warehouse," Marx wrote in 1847. "There certainly are some communists who, with an easy conscience, refuse to countenance personal liberty and would like to shuffle it out of the world . . ."

"We are convinced that in no social order will freedom be assured as in a society based upon communal ownership."

Fitting words, indeed, when we look at the totalitarian dictatorships which call themselves socialist.

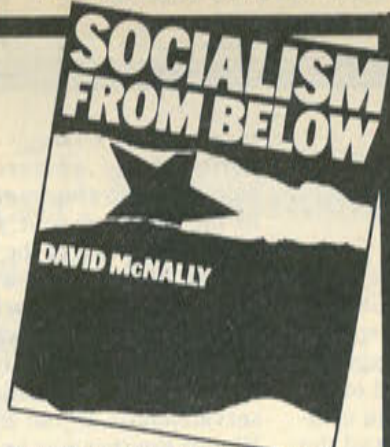
STRUGGLES

As McNally points out, it was not out of the air that Marx conjured up this vision of socialism from below, but from the struggles of a rising industrial working class.

Because of the concrete situation of working people, Marx argued, they could only liberate themselves in common and by collectively organizing thousands and thousands of people—giving the word "democracy" meaning for the first time.

With the distinguishing features of marxist socialism in hand, McNally goes on to analyze the revolutions which have called themselves socialist.

In Russia, he says, a real socialism was created for a time—because it was based on



organizations of the fullest possible democracy—the soviets.

After the defeat of the Russian revolution, socialism from below fell out of popularity. Regimes in Russia and other "socialist" countries began to rely on the old ideas of the utopian socialists—hastily revised to fit the new circumstances—socialism from above.

Socialism is in a crisis today because the people who pretend to stand for it have very different ideas about what it means—anything from electing Walter Mondale to sending workers brigades to Nicaragua, to following the precarious twists and turns of Soviet foreign policy in support of that "workers' state."

"Socialism From Below" is an important pamphlet because it helps us explain what socialism is really about—the self-emancipation of the working-class. And at \$1.50 it is well worth it. □



"WE WANT TO CHOOSE OUR UNION"

NEW YORK—A two-day strike by 90 school bus drivers here shows the extreme lengths to which the trade union bureaucracy will go to keep the dues flowing in—regardless of the interests of the rank and file.

Drivers and matrons of the Millford, Family and Tru-gen Bus Companies struck on October 24—not because of unfair labor practices by their employers, but because they wanted to change their union affiliation—presently with Local 355 of the independent Amalgamated Union.

This summer, workers decided their interests would better be served by joining the Amalgamated Transit Union Division 1181, an affiliate of the AFL-CIO. The ATU represents more than 90% of the bus drivers working for the

New York Board of Education. But the three bus companies decided they were happy with the AU and negotiated a contract with the union anyway.

"Money isn't an issue at all," a shop steward for the bus drivers said. "We just think we should decide what union represents us, not the company."

ELECTION

Working without a contract for weeks, the rank and file petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for an election to choose the ATU as their representative. When the Amalgamated Union tried to block the election with legal maneuvers, the workers struck—not against their bosses, but against the union bureaucrats concerned only with the flow of dues into the

union treasury.

"It just doesn't make sense for us to be represented by the Amalgamated Union," one worker said. They represent oil truck drivers. We want to be with the other school bus drivers."

The dispute took a bizarre turn on October 25 when the Board of Education ordered the three bus companies to get their buses on the road in 24 hours or face termination of their contracts.

"If that happens, we wouldn't have anybody to represent anyway," said John Schillian, a lawyer for the AU. "So we're giving in to the election. We think we will win. Only a small minority wants the ATU in the shop."

On October 25, that "small minority" walked the picket line. Virtually all the bus driv-

ers and matrons were there.

None had anything good to say about Amalgamated Union Local 355 which is said to have ties to the mob.

RIGHT TO CHOOSE

The rank and file has the right to choose any union it wishes to represent it. But the competition among union bureaucrats that provoked the bus drivers strike shows that the union officials' concern for dues outweighs their interest in organizing the unorganized, let alone standing up to the bosses' union busting offensive. The mass of ordinary workers must take such matters into their own hands.

As one striking bus driver put it, "All we want to do is decide a few things for ourselves." □

—LEE SUSTAR



HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

by MATT FILSINGER

Asbestos Exposure

Due to public pressure and government regulation, the amount of asbestos used has fallen 68% in the last six years. However, millions of pounds are still used, and the largest amount is used in the manufacture of brakes for cars and trucks.

Recently, the Natural Resources Defense Council petitioned the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to ban the use of asbestos in new brakes. The people at greatest risk are the 900,000 auto mechanics who work in garage and brake repair shops.

It is estimated that 158,000 pounds of asbestos are released into the air each year from normal braking processes of cars. And it can take as little as one or two asbestos fibers to cause cancer.

This puts all of us in danger. Several substitutes for asbestos are available. In Europe, a number of car manufacturers use these non-asbestos brake products.

A group of asbestos companies, members of the Asbestos Information Association, disagreed.

Their spokesman, Mr. B. J. Pigg, said that demands to phase out asbestos products are "unnecessary and unwarranted." Instead, Mr. Pigg and the companies want to blame the workers. They want to put the emphasis on smoking cessation programs for workers, rather than eliminating exposure to asbestos. □

VDT Hazards

There are 15 million VDTs—video display terminals—in American offices and factories today, with their numbers sure to increase in the future.

The main health risks so far indicated for VDT operators are problems with pregnancy, eyestrain and stress. A study by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) found that full-time VDT operators have the highest level of stress among all workers—even higher than air traffic controllers.

This is because of the function of the machines: since they record every keystroke, they are like an "electronic supervisor." Every move and every mistake is monitored. □

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

AN OPEN LETTER TO OWEN BIEBER



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

President Owen Bieber UAW
8000 E. Jefferson
Detroit, MI 48214

Dear Brother Bieber:

What you have called an "excellent" accord has become a defeat for General Motors workers. The ranks have spoken and voted in massive numbers against further concessions and the greed of the UAW leadership for dues. One can sympathize with you, for we understand the difficult problems of the union. One can't accept further concessions in the face of huge corporate profits and bonuses for the executives.

The leadership of the union and the company refuse to acknowledge the fact of a crisis of capitalism at home and abroad. Your strategy, like that of the employers, is to lower the standard of living to that of the developing countries. Having accepted the ideas of management, you place profits before the interests of the workers. At no time during the last year have you or others in the leadership struck a solid blow against the company. This has served the interests of the company.

STRIKE

At the conference held in the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Dearborn of Ford and GM delegates, you led them to believe you might call a strike against both. You received the enthusiastic support of the delegates. Then you said you had the authority to pick either. There was less support for this alternative. You carried out none of your promises. Striking 14 plants and then three more divided the workers. There were 91,000 on strike, 15,000 on forced layoff, 250,000 working and 150,000 on indefinite

layoff. Your strategy was not the solidarity of the workers but divide and rule. Your strategy served the interests of the company and your leadership—not the interests of the workers.

You never intended to call a corporation-wide strike—much less a strike of Ford and GM. That was just rhetoric to get headlines and to hoodwink the workers. To talk radical and act conservatively is an old trick in the UAW. Walter Reuther was an expert at it.

After you reneged on all your promises, you ordered the strikers back to work without having their local grievances settled. This proved it was not a strike over local grievances but a "strategy" strike which you used to manipulate the workers in the joint interest of the company and of your leadership. Your strategy was of no cost to the UAW strike fund or to the company.

Your transporting of three or four hundred International reps to St. Louis for the purpose of intimidating and outvoting the local officers was as undemocratic an act as I have seen in my 48 years in the UAW.

It was fortunate there was one representative, Pete Kelly from Local 160, who voted against the agreement. He exposed your claims about an "excellent" accord or a break-through in negotiations. It was not he or local union officers who persuaded the membership to vote against the agreement. It was their outrage against further concessions, the failure to get any real job security and your greed for more union dues.

With no one in the leadership willing or able to lead a corporation-wide strike, the workers are put in a difficult position. You have tried to prove to the

membership the futility of strikes. Under the present leadership of the UAW, they are right.

This is going to be a great learning experience for the workers. With the company, the press, the *Wall Street Journal* and President Reagan calling the agreement a victory for both sides, the workers will soon learn—if they do not already know—whose victory it was.

REFUSAL

The refusal of the leadership to allow political dissent during the past 40 years leaves the workers without political understanding or political leadership. The Democratic Party, like its Republican counterpart, serves the ruling class. The tasks ahead for the workers are enormous. They must not only develop a new leadership in most of the locals, but they must build their own political party.

Having known all your predecessors, I know you have followed their policies. They, too, would have failed in this time of crisis. I will continue to advocate the class struggle as the only way for the rank and file to gain control of their union.

Yours,
John Anderson
Retiree, UAW Local 15

P.S. For your "strategy" in GM negotiations you have gotten your reward. You have won a seat on the Chrysler Board of Directors. Many workers are going to be asking: "What side is President Bieber on?" □



Yale workers strike can be victorious

NEW HAVEN, CT—Clerical and technical workers at Yale University have been out on strike for four weeks. They are demanding higher wages for all workers, but many of the union's demands are centered around increased rights for Black and women workers—better pay and benefits and an end to on-the-job discrimination.

Unions, women's groups, civil rights groups and community organizations have joined together to support the clerical and technical staff at Yale in their fight to win a decent contract. Students at the university have also been very supportive of the union.

Morale of the strikers remains high. The union has been able to generate considerable support for the strike in New Haven and nearby cities through massive distribution of leaflets about the strike and highly visible picket lines and rallies.

HEARTENING

In this period of defeats for the workers, the Yale union, Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees, is a heartening example of how unions can organize in adverse conditions and win their demands.

Although nationally only 15% of office workers are unionized, the recent organizing drive on the Yale campus was highly successful. The university opposed the drive, citing its "legal right" as an employer to do so. But 1,800 workers were drawn into the union, and earlier this year successfully negotiated a partial contract with the university.

The strike is being watched keenly from all sides as it will be an indicator of the strength and stamina of new unions of service workers. Yale University called out the New Haven police at a union rally the first week of the strike, and 190 workers were arrested.

More recently, over 400 workers were arrested at a demonstration. The university protests that the strike is "disturbing the sanctuary-like atmosphere" of the school and therefore refuses to agree to binding arbitration by a third party.

THREATENED

Michael Finnerty, the vice president for administration, has threatened that the university is about to "exceed its capacity to be responsive."

And university officials contend that Yale's part-time workers actually want to be under-employed, as they enjoy the perks of their jobs (such as using the university's facilities) without working a full day.

If the Yale workers can win the package they demand—which includes a 29% raise over three years—it will be a

by ELEANOR TRAWICK

victory that resounds on other university campuses. Drives at both Columbia University in New York and Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts have faltered—with both universities spending thousands of dollars to block unionization of their employees.

At Columbia, the issue of discrimination against women is particularly great. Of the two major unions, one—the Transit Workers Union (TWU) is 80% male, according to local leader Horace Herriot. The TWU includes traditionally male occupations such as mechanics, custodians, porters and security guards.

The other—District 65 of the UAW—is predominantly female, and is comprised of traditionally female occupations such as secretaries, administrative assistants, bookkeepers and receptionists. Not surprisingly, the least-paid TWU worker is paid more than the highest-paid District 65 worker.

The Yale union has pointed out that office workers at the university make only \$13,000 per year while truck drivers, for instance, average more than \$18,000. The strike seeks to bring wages up for all employees, but most particularly for women and minorities.

PROBLEM

William C. Brainard, Yale University provost, says of the union's demands: "I know that one can't live the way one would like to, or the way one would like one's family to live on a Yale clerical and technical salary. That's a national problem which Yale can't be expected to solve."

But Yale had better get set to give in to workers' demands. The strike can be victorious—and if it is, it will signal a victory for all workers, but particularly for service workers and the most disadvantaged sections of the workforce—Blacks and women. □

A survey released last month concludes that clerical workers in the U.S. are "ripe for unionization."

The survey—conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation—found that a mere 21% of clerical employees today feel they are being treated fairly by their employers.

And the majority of clerical workers believe their supervisors do not treat them with respect, the survey found.

The ORC surveyed some 200,000 employees in 200 large corporations. Compared with the early 1970s, the survey found, workers at all levels are less satisfied with management. So what else is new? □



NURSING HOME WORKERS FACE HARASSMENT

NEW YORK—A strike by 2,000 workers against 11 nursing homes heads into its second month with workers facing police brutality and an employer whose cat-and-mouse negotiations raise and then crush workers' hopes.

"First the cop comes by to tell us that we can't make fire in the trash can," said Pascal, a striker at the American Nursing Home in Manhattan. "When one of the guys complained, they pushed him around and broke his hand. They laughed."

FAILED

But the strikers' union has failed to respond to such attacks. The union—Local 144 of the Hotel, Hospital, Nursing Home and Allied Services Union—waited six months after the contract expired before

by LEE SUSTAR

calling the strike over employer demands for cuts in pensions and health benefits.

"So when District 1199 (New York's major hospital union) went on strike this summer, we just watched it on TV," Pascal said. "We could have been out there with them." Local 144 refused to join the strike, saying a walk-out by two hospital unions would create "bad publicity."

The six-week strike by 52,000 members of District 1199 won only a paltry 5% wage hike, well below the city's inflation rate.

For New York's medical bosses, it was a signal to attack. The Southern Association of Nursing Homes stopped paying its workers benefits when the contract expired and used the six

months of negotiations to arrange for scabs and security guards who staff the institutions today.

While union officials remain paralyzed by their worry about bad publicity, the cops and nursing home bosses have their way on the picket line.

INITIATIVE

The rank and file not only must defend itself against increasing harassment, but must take the initiative to build militant picket lines if workers are to have any hope of winning this strike.

"They pay these security guards \$100 a day," one striker said. "That's more than New York cops get, and they only pay the scabs \$5 an hour," he said. "That shows you what they think of the patients and us." □



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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

WORKERS STAND UP TO MACK ATTACKS

BRIDGEWATER, NJ—The story is familiar. Take a pay cut now, and we'll take care of you later.

But Mack Truck never made good its promise to restore the concessions made in its 1982 contract with the United Auto Workers. Now, predictably enough, Mack wants more—and 9,200 workers at three plants walked out October 20.

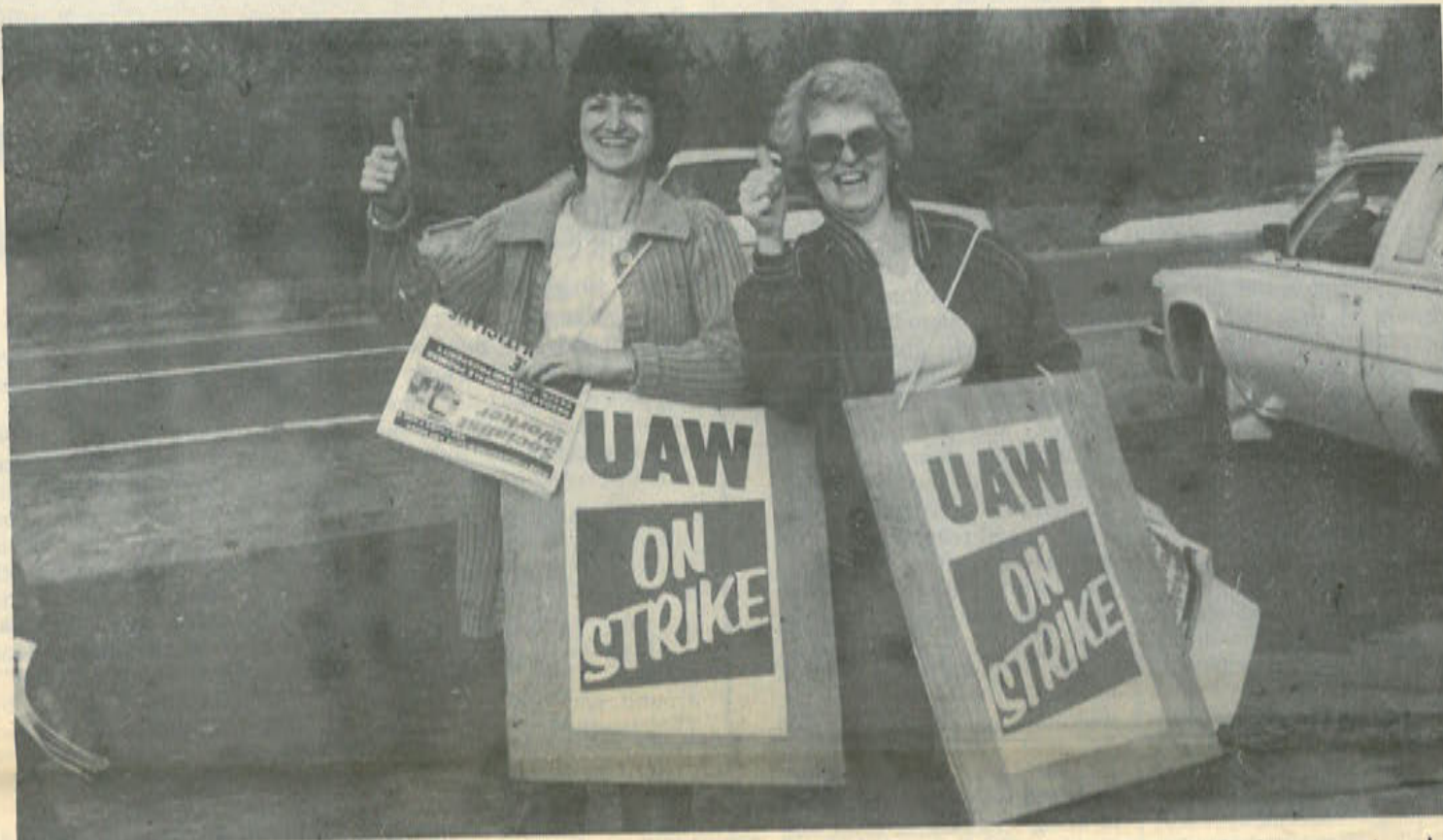
DEFER

"In 1982, they asked us to defer our cost of living increase (COLA) for a year and wait for a profit-sharing plan," said Bob Dunn, a systems analyst at Mack's Bridgewater parts warehouse. "So we waited. And we get this," he said, pointing to the picket line. "They want to shut down this parts and warehouse operation and do what General Motors does—let some other company pay for inventory," he said.

"A few years ago, about 300 people worked in the Bridgewater warehouse. Today, only about 30 work in the warehouse. And now they tell us we're going to relocate.

"First they say it will be less than 50 miles away, then they say it will be in South Carolina or someplace. I think they might just close it altogether." Another 200 office workers are employed at the Bridgewater plant.

The Bridgewater workers, represented by UAW Local 229, do not know whether the



relocation of their plant is an issue in secret contract negotiations at Mack headquarters in Allentown, Pennsylvania. Like the UAW workers who struck selective GM plants in September, their fate is in the hands of union officials who tell them nothing about the talks.

SMALL

The bosses love to see strikes organized this way.

The *Wall Street Journal* welcomed the GM contract as "historic." Its touted \$1 billion "job bank" training program for laid-off workers averages out to only \$167 million per year, a small sum compared with the \$3.2 billion net profit GM made in the first half of 1984. The 3.5% wage raise for the highest paid workers is well below the inflation rate of nearly 5%.

The rank and file demand to "Restore and more in '84"—to make for the massive concessions of 1982—was thwarted. Auto workers' living standards continue to decline.

The top UAW leadership shares much of the blame for this defeat. During the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s, union officials could easily negotiate a wage raise. But since the recession of the 1970s, UAW leaders have cooperated with bosses to give back workers' hard-won gains. Union officials are interested more in a stable union treasury than a costly rank and file fightback.

And the UAW is willing to see firms like Mack undercut contracts and working conditions rather than mounting a sustained fight. In the end, the GM strike was not so much to pressure the company, but to undercut militant opposition within the union. Mack Truck bosses are hoping for a repeat performance from the UAW.

ACCEPT

Like the GM agreement, Mack and UAW officials ex-

pect workers to accept wage increases below the rate of inflation and a token job training program for laid-off workers. In exchange, they get some vaguely defined "job security." Mack's proposed \$500,000 retraining program is nothing compared to the gains the company wants to make by eliminating crucial work rules.

The UAW's responses to the company's demands are kept secret. Workers are told to stand passively by instead of building the rank and file power on the picket line that could stop Mack's concessions demands.

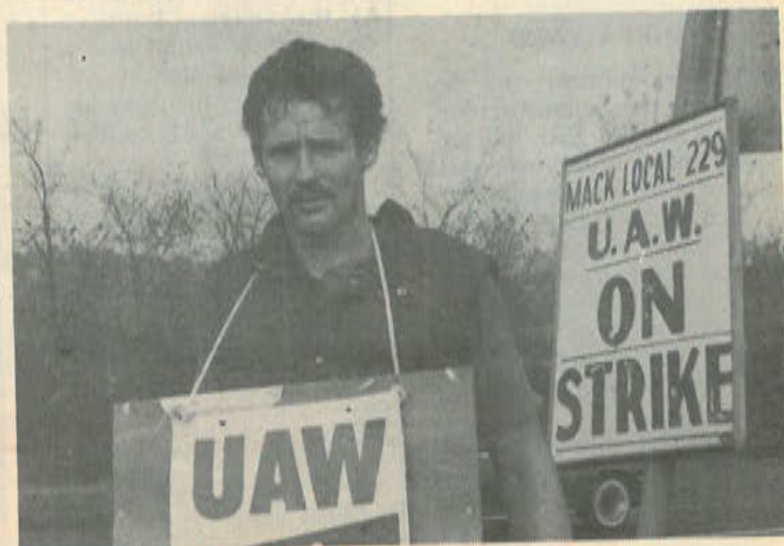
"We're kept out here won-

dering whether or not we're going to have a plant to work at," said Bridgewater key-punch operator Fran Waingrow. "They always hold that over our heads, and the union doesn't tell us anything."

REGAIN

Mack workers and other UAW members must regain control of their union if it is to become the powerful force it was in the 1930s. Such rank and file organization is extremely difficult to build in this period of defeats. But only by sticking together and building long-term opposition today can trade union militants win victories tomorrow. □

"First they say it will be less than 50 miles away, then they say it will be in South Carolina or someplace. I think they might just close it altogether."



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