



HANDS OFF NICARAGUA!

**STOP REAGAN'S
WARS IN CENTRAL
AMERICA!**

see page 5

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IF THERE IS NO STRUGGLE, THERE IS NO PROGRESS. THOSE WHO PROFESS TO FREEDOM AND YET DEPRECATE AGITATION ARE MEN WHO WANT CROPS WITHOUT PLOWING. THEY WANT RAIN WITHOUT THUNDER AND LIGHTNING. THEY WANT THE OCEAN WITHOUT THE AWFUL ROAR OF ITS MIGHTY WATERS.

-FREDERICK DOUGLASS, 1857

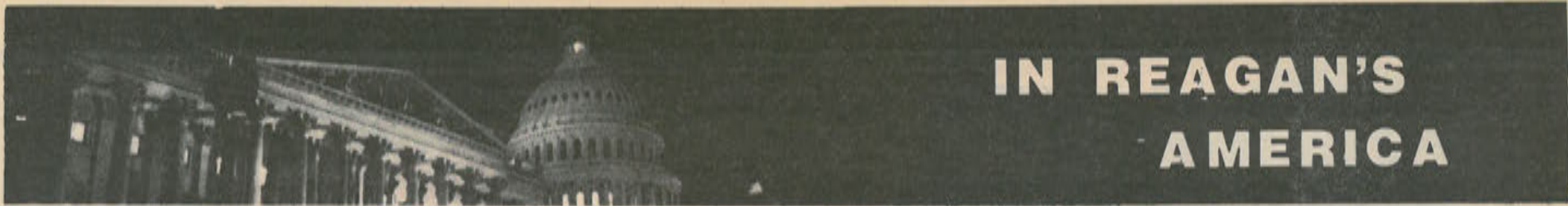
We need a real



fight for jobs

Supplement

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PUERTO RICO'S CRISIS - THE PRODUCT OF 85 YEARS OF U.S. DOMINATION

Puerto Rico, site of a proclaimed "economic miracle," in the 1960s, faces a severe economic crisis today.

Per capita income on the island is half that of Mississippi, the poorest state in the U.S.

Official unemployment exceeds 20%. More than 3 in every 5 families have fallen below the poverty line.

If Puerto Rico's problems sound like those of the U.S. they are—the world economic crisis has pounded workers on both the island and the mainland.

But important differences exist.

COLONY

A colony in everything but name, Puerto Rico lacks the relative political and economic independence other Latin American countries have.

85 years of U.S. political and economic domination

by NANCY MACLEAN

have distorted the island's economy and disrupted the lives of its workers.

Ever since American troops first invaded the island in 1898, the U.S. has twisted the Puerto Rican economy to suit U.S. needs and molded its political structure to aid U.S. economic penetration and control.

First, it was sugar. The colonial government helped large commercial landowners push local peasants off their farms, and convert most agriculture to sugar production for export.

By the mid-1920s, having established sugar as the main export and the backbone of the economy, four U.S. companies produced one third of all Puerto Rican sugar.

By the late 1940s, it was clear that the island's econo-

my could not survive on the earnings of sugar, yet local capital was unable to fuel economic development.

As a result, with the prodding of the the U.S. government, the ruling party, the Popular Democratic Party, began to promote U.S. manufacturing investment.

The program, "Operation Bootstrap," lured U.S. capital with cheap and plentiful labor, tax exemptions and government subsidies.

Through all this, the island became more and more integrated into and essential to the U.S. economy.

Already, 95% of the island's trade was with the U.S. alone, but by 1974, foreign capital accounted for 90% of the island's industrial production as well.

Yet in spite of this impressive standing in the hierarchy of underdeveloped areas, Puerto Rico remains a distort-

ed and subservient appendage to the U.S. economy.

Its economic growth throughout this period depended on a heavy-handed program of population control. By 1965, with the help of the U.S. government, Puerto Rico had sterilized 35% of all island women of childbearing age—the highest rate in the world.

To keep down unemployment figures and political unrest, the government sponsored a massive migration of displaced workers.

"MIRACLE"

By the mid-1960s, 40% of all Puerto Ricans lived in the United States. Today, more Puerto Ricans live in New York City than in San Juan.

Just as telling, though, are the effects of this "miracle" on the island's working class.

While Puerto Rico's economy grew at an annual rate of 10% from 1950 to 1974, the



Protest in New York

proportion of able workers with jobs dropped to one of the lowest in the world.

By 1975, one in five workers couldn't find jobs, and another one in five had to settle for part-time or seasonal jobs.

So Puerto Rico's crisis is not new at all.

Well before the current recession and the Reagan administration, the Puerto Rican government had increased spending, limited wage increases, and tried to abolish job benefits and the minimum wage.

Despite these bleak statistics, however and the unnecessary human suffering behind them, the post-war changes have created great political potential.

Because the economies of the U.S. and Puerto Rico are so integrated, what happens in Puerto Rico can have a direct impact on the economy and politics in the U.S.

If the political scene in Puerto Rico, like that of the U.S., is now quiet and fragmented from the impact of the crisis, the calm cannot last.

Alliances forged between militant trade unions, students and pro-independence forces in the struggles of the 1970s, showed great promise then and may reemerge.

SECTORS

At the same time, Puerto Rican workers in the U.S. are in a position to influence important sectors of the U.S. working class.

Relative to both Blacks and whites, Puerto Rican workers are disproportionately employed in blue collar and service industries.

With the rising intensity of the war in El Salvador and Reagan's political and military adventurism in the region, Puerto Rico's workers can play a key role.

The task for socialists is to oppose U.S. intervention in Latin America and to support the struggle of Puerto Rican workers on the island and in the U.S.

During a recession health care goes first

Often we hear of the National Health Service (NHS) in Great Britain which provides free health care to all.

Often we hear it as an example of what we should fight for.

Some have gone so far as to call it "socialized medicine" and proof that reforms can be passed by a liberal government without fighting for true socialism.

However, during a recession social reforms are often the first to go.

CUTS

In July, the Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher announced a \$170 million cut of the NHS, while the government denied that health care would be adversely affected.

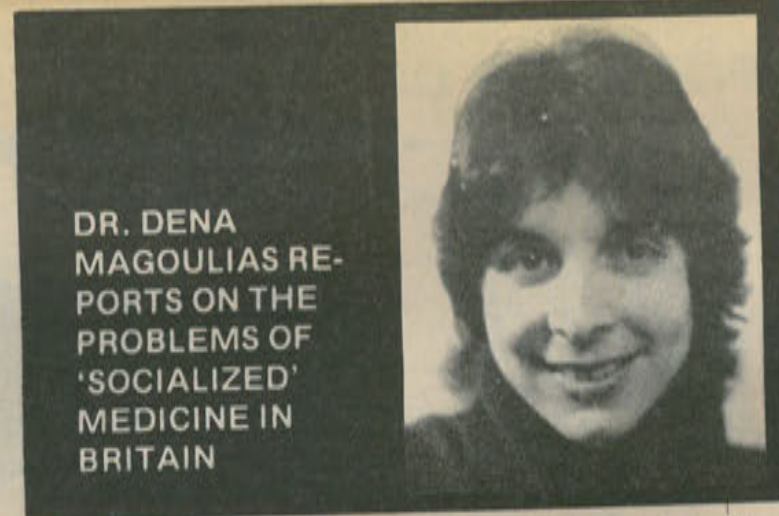
Most likely this cut will lead to more hospital closures and staff layoffs causing already overworked and underpaid health care workers to extend themselves even further.

The similarity to the current medicaid/medicare crisis here in the U.S. is striking.

Even without the current cuts, the NHS is suffering from deteriorating facilities, outdated equipment, and a shortage of beds.

The government of Great Britain, like the U.S. government, works hand in hand with big business.

They are hoping that the cuts in the NHS will force people into seeking health



DR. DENA MAGOULIAS REPORTS ON THE PROBLEMS OF 'SOCIALIZED' MEDICINE IN BRITAIN

care from the private sector.

As Margaret Thatcher put it, "Of course, we welcome the growth of private health insurance—there's no contradiction between that and supporting the NHS."

However, private medicine is undermining the NHS.

When the NHS was formed a stipulation was made that NHS doctors would be allowed to spend 10% of their time seeing private patients and some of the NHS hospital beds would be set aside for private patients.

What that has done is allowed a two-class system to continue in disguise.

An NHS patient needing elective surgery such as hernia repair or hip replacement can wait up to two years, while a person with private insurance can have surgery immediately.

A medical secretary, who worked scheduling patients for eye surgery, said patients were waiting three or four years for an operation when there was no reason to wait longer than six months.

PRIVATE

According to her, the reason for this was "if we keep them waiting long enough, they get fed up with being unable to see, and agree to become private patients."

Private insurance companies are growing and will continue to grow with the government's help.

The main insurance company refuses to insure people over 65 or those with chronic diseases or psychiatric problems.

They want only people they can make money from to subscribe.

What this means is that middle and upper class

patients, who can buy insurance, will seek private doctors and receive faster, better health care, while the chronically ill and working class will still use the deteriorating NHS.

The NHS lost \$6 million in one year providing staff and equipment for private beds.

The best way to fight health care cuts and inequities is through the struggles of united and militant health care workers.

In Great Britain, since all hospital workers are employed by the government, it is easier to organize a general strike encompassing nurses, dietary workers, housekeepers, doctors, etc. from all hospitals.

Last year, this happened and other unions such as the teachers union joined them in support.

Through strikes, demonstrations, and hospital sit-ins, workers have been able to keep hospitals open that the government wanted to close and to prevent staff layoffs.

MOVEMENT

We need to build a strong health care movement here in the U.S. which can fight the cuts with a united force, instead of waiting for a capitalist government to be benevolent.

And we need free, quality health care for everyone.

August 27: a step in the struggle

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

The condition of Black Americans is all too well known—poverty, unemployment, inequality, racism. Twenty percent of Black workers are unemployed. Fifty percent of Black youths have no work.

Black infant mortality rates are like those in third world countries. The Ku Klux Klan is riding again—and racist attacks occur in every city and town, North, South, East, West.

The situation is getting worse.

OVERDUE

A march on Washington is certainly needed, therefore, in fact it is long overdue.

We can only hope that tens, if not hundreds of thousands of Black people, supported by whites, will answer the call to march for "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" on August 27, in Washington, DC, and in supporting marches in San Francisco, Seattle and other cities.

Black people are angry and the anger needs to be expressed. The march can be the beginning.

But the march itself can only be given very critical support, for it is clearly not the intention of the organizers to make this march anything other than a passive show of disapproval for Reagan.

The march this year represents no struggle, and proposes no struggle—no ongoing action, nothing to do to shake the rulers of this country.

Yet it should be abundantly clear that Black people in America have only made progress when they have been willing to fight.

As Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist, said so many years ago:

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress.

"Those who profess to freedom, and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing.

"They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its mighty waters."

The organizers of this march want "Jobs, Peace and Freedom," but they propose to get all this by appealing to

the Democratic Party.

The march itself is in fact intended to be gigantic appeal to the Democrats—to take more notice of Black people and Black people's suffering.

All the main speakers will be Democrats, and all will denounce Ronald Reagan. But their only alternative will be registering Blacks to vote for whomever the Democrats nominate next year.

CONTROVERSY

The only controversy in the march is Jesse Jackson's appearance. The organizers clearly are worried that Jackson will steal the show with his announcement to run for president.

But this too is merely to pressure the whites who run the Democratic Party. Jesse Jackson is not a serious candidate for president or vice-president. He says as much himself.

He has promised fellow Democrats that he will not run as an independent, and that he will, when the nomination is done, "put jet fuel in my butt" and campaign for his party.

But the fact is that the Democrats have never done anything for Blacks.

They supported slavery and opposed reconstruction. They were the Jim Crow party in the South, the Dixiecrats.

They refused to pass anti-lynch laws in the thirties, and stalled integration in the sixties. Richard Daley, a Democrat, was mayor of Chicago when Fred Hampton, the Black Panther, was murdered in his bed in 1970.

Only mass struggle, outside the ruling political parties, has achieved anything for Blacks, from Nat Turner's time, through the civil rights struggle



We need unity in struggle not posing politicians

in the South, to the ghetto rebellions of the sixties.

START

Mass struggle does not exist today. This is also painfully obvious.

But it is no excuse for not being involved in what is happening—defending the victims of police brutality, opposing the Klan, providing solidarity for victimized Black workers.

First steps are not always very exciting. Still they must be taken if we are to move ahead.

Today, a key step is to convince Black workers and Black activists that socialism is the alternative to permanent crisis of Black people in America.

And not socialism off in some other country—but socialism right here in the United States.

Socialism based on freedom, equality and workers' power—Black and white.

The Black movement of the sixties felt the all-out force of the American state.

But it was also sidetracked into poverty programs and Black capitalism.

Today, unlike the sixties, capitalism is in crisis. Government programs are being cut, not expanded—by Republicans and Democrats alike.

Small businesses are going under at a rate not seen since the thirties.

The system is not working. The system is the problem. There is poverty amidst plenty. There are tens of thousands of Black auto workers, for example, out of work in Detroit, yet people need



cars, they need transportation. There are steelworkers out of work, when people need steel—for homes, for tractors for food, for almost everything we need.

The reason for this is capitalism—profit comes first in this system. And we will suffer as long as capitalism exists.

The movement of the sixties took place when capitalism was still booming, at a time when the system could still give, when reforms were possible.

As a result, the majority of white workers were at best apathetic, at worst racist and hostile to the struggles of Blacks.

Today the system is in crisis.

More and more white workers understand the plight of Blacks, and there is the beginning of a basis for Black and white unity in, for example the fight for jobs—there are, after all, millions of whites without jobs, and with little hope of finding them in the future.

This doesn't mean Blacks must sit back and wait. Black

workers can take the lead in today's struggles, as they did in the struggles of the sixties and seventies.

CHANGE

Then, only a few whites would follow Blacks, mainly young whites and socialists.

But today things have changed. Many more will welcome the courage, strength, and unity of Black workers.

All this means that the case for socialism is much stronger today—and that the socialist alternative is all the more urgent. □

FIGHTING WORDS

The Negro Problem . . . is the great test of the American Socialist.

W.E.B. Du Bois,
Socialism and the Negro Problem,
The New Review, February 1, 1913

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TEAMSTERS STRIKE: "THIS IS LIKE POLAND!"

CHICAGO, IL—"They're out to break this union. This is a big test.

"If they break us here, they'll break us all over the country."

That's how one picketer explained what's at stake in the strike by Teamsters Local 725 against the three largest bonded car companies in Chicago—Brinks, Purolator, and Illinois Armored Car.

"TAKEAWAYS"

The strike began July 22, after a one year contract proposal full of "takeaways" was overwhelmingly rejected by the union membership.

According to George Leone, picket captain at Brinks, "The company originally wanted an 85¢ an hour wage cut with no cost-of-living adjustment—from the current top rate of \$10.15 an hour.

In addition, the three companies demanded a reduction

in medical benefits by switching from the Teamsters Central States Health and Welfare Fund to a company plan, cuts in vacation, holiday pay and time off, and a new work schedule based on a four day week with ten hour shifts with no overtime after 8 hours.

At the beginning of August, Brinks and Purolator began advertising for replacements for the strikers.

At Brinks, about 20 scabs have been hired so far. Each day they cross the picket line with police protection, their cars being guarded by the anti-union Pinkerton Security Agency in the company parking lot.

In addition, Brinks and Purolator have obtained a court injunction limiting picketing to 14 union members and Chicago police have put up barricades to keep picketers from blocking the company's driveways.



However, police have not taken action against scabs who have run down picketers, putting one Purolator striker in the hospital with cracked vertebrae and forcing a Brinks Teamster to use a wheelchair because of his injuries.

To add insult to injury, the

companies made a second contract offer on August 12 that was worse than their original proposal.

Now the three companies want their union employees to take a \$1.85 an hour cut in pay and to submit to psychological and lie detector tests before they can return to work.

This proposal was angrily rejected at a union meeting the following day by a nearly unanimous vote with the membership immediately returning to twenty four hour a day picketing.

COMPARED

The management of the armored car companies has clearly underestimated the determination of Teamsters Local 725 members to maintain wage and benefit gains won over a period of decades.

One Brinks striker with over 30 years seniority compared their fight to Solidarity's struggle in Poland. "This is like Poland. We're being attacked, and we intend to fight back."

Supporters are welcome on the Brinks picket line, 234 E. 24th, on Chicago's near-south side.

Show your solidarity!
by BEN BLAKE



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

WHY BLACKS SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS

Malcolm X

Martin Luther King had a dream 20 years ago of racial justice and social harmony.

He believed that one day justice would "roll down like the waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."

King questioned the economic system which allowed Blacks to progress from a "smaller ghetto to a larger one."

He told the masses gathered at the Lincoln Memorial August 27, 1963, and those who listened at home, that "now is the time to make real the promise of democracy."

EXPERIENCE

In 1983, 20 years later, Black people have yet to experience King's vision. Today Blacks are in a similar political and economic position to what we were when the civil rights movement began.

Without criticizing the people who gave years of their lives and sometimes life itself to the movement, King's dreams did not become a reality, because Blacks in 1963 misunderstood the nature of oppression and underestimated the power of capitalism to maintain the status quo.

Blacks suffer racism, injustice and poverty because we

by AZAR HANIF

live in a capitalist system which makes millions off our suffering.

From the first small group of investors in Europe who financed the slave ships on their inhuman voyage from Europe to Africa to America, to the multinational corporations which keep Blacks in the lowest paying, unskilled jobs, the capitalists keep their profits high by oppressing Blacks.

During slavery, capitalists made their money directly off our Black skin. Today, racist exploitation is more subtle but just as prevalent.

Take the example of affirmative action—from the smallest company to the largest corporation, the capitalists are trying to press the idea that affirmative action is reverse discrimination against whites.

Despite much evidence to the contrary, the corporations have convinced whites that Blacks want to take jobs and opportunities away from them.

As a result, the capitalists create distrust amongst potential class allies.

Whites fear Black's progress.

Blacks resent whites for aligning themselves with the bosses to keep them out of the decent paying jobs.

Instead of uniting to demand jobs for everyone, Black and white workers fight for the few that are out there.

And the fight doesn't end at the hiring hall.

In all other facets of American life, the capitalists have convinced whites that they have an interest in keeping Blacks powerless in society.

Racist attacks, police brutality, indifferent treatment in

the educational system and unfair treatment in the justice system are all results of the widespread practice of racism.

What King did not understand in 1963, and may or not have understood when he was murdered, was that the very fabric of capitalist society must be changed before equality, justice and harmony could prevail in America.

Unfortunately, the capitalists won't just roll over and die, but must be pushed aside in a socialist revolution.

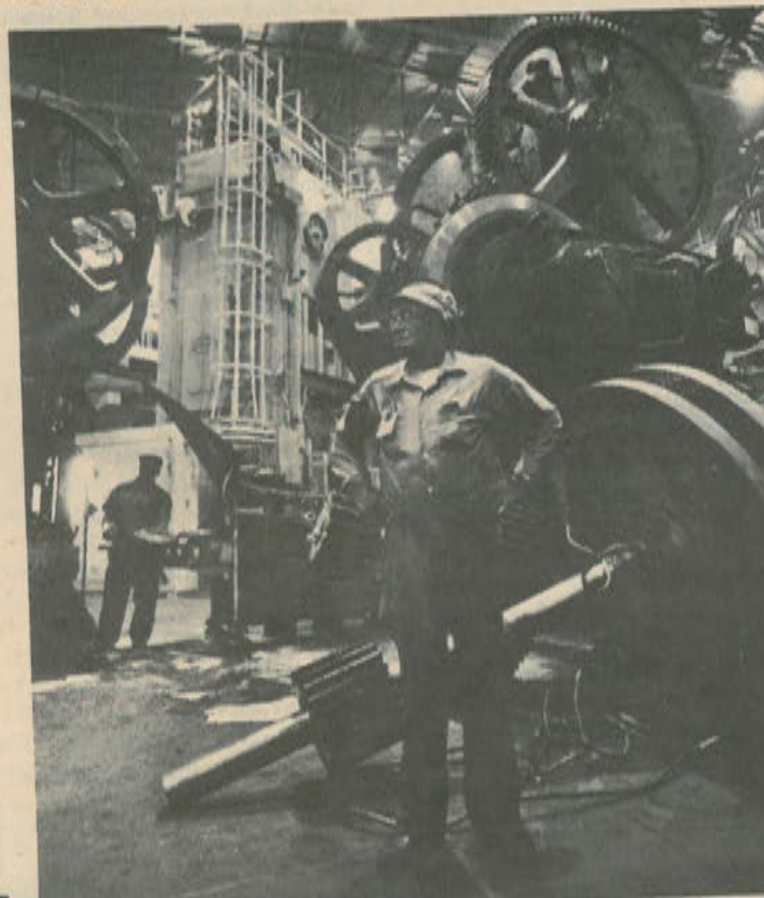
If we understand socialism to be a system that is controlled by the producers of wealth (the workers) for the benefit of the masses of people, then it is definitely in the interests of Blacks to be socialists.

If we can eliminate the profit motive, then humans won't have to fight each other over the color of their skin, their gender, or their sexual preference.

MOTIVE

Until we eliminate the profit motive, racism, sexism and class exploitation will continue.

Blacks will continue to be denied what others enjoy and equality and justice will continue to be just a dream.



CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

We are marching today for "Jobs, Peace and Freedom," and commemorating the March on Washington, D.C. twenty years ago.

It is important to march—there are ten million unemployed, the arms race is escalated daily, social services are routinely cut.

More, as every indicator shows, Black people in America are actually in a worse position than they were twenty years ago—unemployment is higher, poverty is more widespread, and inequality is greater.

WAR

Still there is a problem. And it is quite simple.

This is in part a "peace march," yet it scarcely mentions the wars in Central America, wars which have been dramatically escalated in the past month.

Right now, the American nuclear attack carrier, Coral Sea, is stationed off Nicaragua's Caribbean Coast.

The battleship USS New Jersey and a small armada are off Nicaragua's Pacific coast. Already, these warships are stopping Russian and Cuban ships.

At the same time, there are 5,000 American combat soldiers in Honduras, playing "war games" on the Nicaraguan border.

The number of American "advisors" in El Salvador is being doubled, and a new government has been installed in Guatemala.

General Oscar Mejia Victores overthrew right-wing dictator Efraim Rios Montt on August 8, both to bring more stability to Guatemala itself, and to show friends and foes alike that the United States is prepared to act in the region.

There is war in Central America, *real war*. 40,000 civilians have been killed by the military butchers who run El Salvador, and who get more and more millions in U.S. aid each year.

And the prospect is for a wider war, with the possibility of a direct U.S. combat role daily growing.

MORE

We should be marching for more than 'peace', therefore, we should be marching to show that we want no new Vietnam in Central America.

And also to show that we are in solidarity with the rebels of El Salvador and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

Why isn't this the case? There are two reasons.

The first is a somewhat understandable fear on the part of Blacks that the issue of civil rights and Black freedom will be forgotten, and that the march will become in effect simply a peace march.

Bayard Rustin, who coordinated the 1963 march, says "the closer to the march you get, the more it will become a peace demonstration. People will forget about poverty."

Vernon Jordan, formerly head of the National Urban

WHY WE MUST DEMAND AN END TO REAGAN'S WARS IN EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA

League was blunter: "I have reservations about broadening the coalition to include the environmentalists . . . and the freeze people."

The problem, of course, is that neither Rustin nor Jordan are organizing marches on Washington—of any kind.

Certainly not the kind that Malcolm X wanted in 1963, when he hoped for "thousands of milling, angry Blacks" to come to Washington, Blacks who might "erupt in Washington."

Jordan is a conservative businessman, and Rustin is in the right-wing of the Democratic Party.

Rustin is against the 'peace' demand because he is not in favor of peace, not in the Middle East, because he is a strong backer of Israel, and not in Central America because he is a Democratic Party hawk. He supported the war in Vietnam.

So the controversy on the "peace" demand is partly pure hypocrisy.

ROLE

But it is also partly a recognition of the fact that the "freeze" movement is playing a big role in organizing the march.

And they are no more in favor of organizing tens of thousands of angry Blacks to march on Washington than are Rustin and Jordan.

They hoped for a combination of Solidarity Day and June 12—the massive demonstrations in 1981 and 1982 in Washington and New York.

They wanted the broadest possible demonstration, including the 'peace' movement, the labor movement, and Blacks and women.

They wanted, above all, a massive anti-Reagan demonstration, a demonstration that would encourage the Democrats in congress and also help promote a Democratic alternative to Reagan in 1984.

So they too opposed raising opposition to the wars in Central America.

After all, Lane Kirkland, the head of the AFL-CIO supports Reagan's policies in El Salvador and Nicaragua. He says he is "more right-wing" than Reagan on foreign policy.



And the majority of Democrats in Congress also support U.S. intervention in Central America, though perhaps not in the way Reagan and his administration are carrying it out now.

PROBLEM

The result is problems all the way around.

The march will not be primarily a civil rights march—unless thousands of Blacks from Washington, D.C. turn it into one.

And it will not be a combination of Solidarity Day and June 12. The AFL-CIO, while officially endorsing this march, is in practice sabotaging it.

It has called for Solidarity Day III the following weekend, local Labor Day demonstrations, designed to support Democratic Party candidates, and with the exception of a few unions, labor is not mobilizing.

It will not be a peace march either, for it will not make the demand that the United States get out of Central America, not to mention Chad and Lebanon.

It should be both a Black civil rights march and an anti-war march. The truth is that the issues cannot be easily separated.

At a time when the world economy is in crisis, Reagan is massively expanding the arms budget—estimates are that a trillion dollars will be spent on arms before he ends his term.

MONEY

Certainly there will be no money for jobs, no restoration of social services, no expansion of health and welfare programs, not as long as there is military spending on this scale.

In the mid-sixties, when the world economy was still booming, Lyndon Johnson promised that he would pro-

vide "guns and butter"—that is, the war in Vietnam, but also a war on poverty.

It was impossible even then. And the Black movement of the sixties recognized this and took the lead against the war in Vietnam.

Malcolm X was an outspoken critic of the war in 1964. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) also came out against the war in 1964.

And Martin Luther King Jr. himself, was forced by Black opposition to the war to oppose it, first in a mild statement proposing negotiations in 1965, and then by leading an anti-war march in 1966.

The issue of the war, far from dividing the Black movement in the sixties, far from diverting its energies, strengthened the movement, making it more radical, more militant, more internationalist and more independent of the Democratic Party.

MARCH

Still it is important that we march today, and this march can be more than a "picnic"—as Malcolm X called the 1963 march.

We can and must raise the issue of Central America, we must tell Ronald Reagan we don't want another Vietnam, not in Central America, not in the Middle East and not in North Africa.

And we must also tell Reagan that we will not accept Black unemployment of 20%, attacks on social services, the impoverishment of women, especially Black women and children.

Today, the system is in deep crisis, and both Central America and the economic crisis here at home show this. The two are directly related. And we must fight on both fronts.

Hands off Nicaragua! U.S. out of El Salvador! Jobs, Peace and Freedom for Blacks and all workers. □

WASHINGTON'S CHICAGO

Harold Washington's moral campaign mobilized hundreds of newly active Blacks behind his brand of Democratic Party politics.

The election was almost a crusade, with Washington at its head as a "newly consecrated king," as one rally speaker put it.

HIGH

Needless to say, the expectations of Blacks were riding high after Washington's victory.

But even over-expectations can't explain the disaster of Washington's three-month-old policy as it affects Blacks.

The main issue in Washington's campaign was jobs, as he repeated over and over again. Not only would the patronage positions formerly filled by whites be given to Blacks in much larger numbers, Washington promised, but his administration would "go and get the jobs out of Washington (D.C.)."

The story since Washington took office however has been very different.

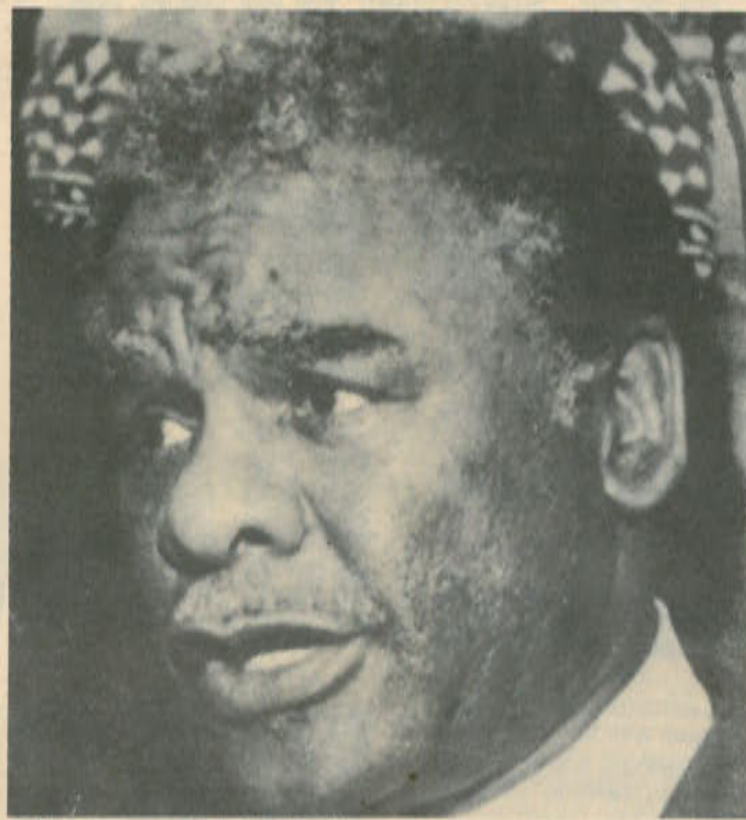
Immediately after taking office, Washington announced the elimination of 900 temporary jobs, held mainly by Black and Hispanic workers.

NOW THE AXE FALLS ON CITY WORKERS BLACK AND WHITE

by ALAN MAASS

While Washington claimed that these 900 were patronage jobs set up by the preceding administration for political advantage, the burden of the firings fell on minority communities.

Now the axe is falling on regular city employees. By



Chicago mayor Harold Washington

August 15, Washington's lay-off total was 1,000 workers—with 1,500 more jobs on the block if the mayor didn't get his way with the city budget. Of those, 1,200 have been axed.

Washington has offered an alternative to the layoffs, demanding that the City Council rescind a \$22 million property tax cut. The measure seems doomed to defeat at the hands of Washington's council opposition, old line members of the Democratic Party machine.

The property tax measure sounds good except for the minor fact that it will fall hardest on poor communities as it has increasingly for the last 20 years.

BURDEN

These layoffs will hardly let more Blacks into the city workforce as Washington promised. In fact, Blacks have borne a disproportionate burden of the layoffs so far.

Several crucial city departments had already more than 70 percent white workforces before Washington took office. But in the latest round of layoffs, 65 percent of the first 104 workers who got the axe were Black.

"There appears to be the same kind of discrimination in other city departments, except health and human services," said Rev. Bernard C. Taylor, executive director of the Far South Side Trinity-Roseland Community Development Corporation, which searched out the figures.

And Washington has abandoned his promise to pay the prevailing wage to city building trades workers as soon as he took office.

To top it off, Chicago's transit system will have to cut back service to rush hour runs if a finance bill that Washington has actively opposed is not passed soon.

Washington's progressive moves—the appointment of former campaign manager Renault Robinson to the head of the Chicago Housing Authority and the imminent naming of a Black or Hispanic police chief—are merely win-

dow-dressing to cover the attack on city workers, all in the name of balancing the city budget.

Though Washington says he is making the layoffs "with a tear in his eye," his threatened "fiscal courage" will send 2,500 workers—5 percent of the total city workforce—in search of new jobs on September 1.

Meanwhile, unemployment remains solidly above 10 percent in Chicago.

Washington's opponents on the City Council can offer little better to city employees, demanding only 1,000 layoffs and mandatory unpaid days off every two weeks for most city workers.

The council opposition, Washington's main stumbling block throughout, is a slimy collection of old-guard machine Democrats and up-front racists.

But Washington has put this motley bunch in the position of appearing to defend the jobs of city workers.

The ongoing state of war in the City Council has effectively headed off all opposition to Washington from the coalition of neighborhood activists, ex-leftists and anti-machine Black politicians who were behind the Washington victory.

This group might have been expected to hold Washington accountable to at least some of his campaign promises.

If Washington was serious about taking on his City Council opposition, he could still mobilize thousands of Chicago Blacks against the old-line Democratic hacks.

BLAME

Instead, he fights a lukewarm isolated battle which he can't win, blaming the city's worst fiscal crisis ever—and his inability to deal with it—on the City Council opposition.

While it's true that Washington hasn't had an easy time of it in office, his actions so far, particularly his willingness to lay-off city workers, show him up as a Democrat, dedicated to upholding a system which doesn't care one way or the other who gets laid off.

STOP POLICE STRIP SEARCHES!

by JOE DENTON

CLEVELAND, OH—"By any means necessary, we must have the laws of this town changed," said Roberta Fann.

She was referring to Cleveland's strip search law that gives the officer in charge discretion to strip search anyone arrested.

LIGHT

Fann's daughter, Kristy, 25, was strip searched August 13 following her arrest for running a red light (a common enough occurrence in Cleveland).

Fann is secretary for the Committee to Stop Strip Searches, and an NAACP board member.



Roberta Fann

The committee was formed following the arrest and strip search of NAACP executive secretary Pauline H. Tarver, less than two weeks ago.

Tarver was arrested inside the jail where she is a frequent visitor and has pass that gives her special access to prisoners.

Her crime: driving with an expired license sticker.

The number of young women being arrested and strip searched is on the increase.

In Arlington, Va., women have been arrested and strip searched for playing a stereo too loud and eating a turkey sandwich on the subway.

Going barefoot on the board walk will get you arrested and stripped in New Jersey and in Colorado a 14 year old was strip searched after being arrested for stealing candy bars.

An arrested woman is told to 'squat' and expose herself to a police matron, who looks for foreign objects like hat pins and hack-saw blades.

POLICE

Police fear that such weapons can be used to kill them.

But, I doubt that the 14 year old from Colorado had pre-planned the 4 candy bar heist to the point of prison escape by overpowering and killing armed guards with a hat pin.

In Cincinnati and other cities, women have managed to force police to curtail strip searches to more serious crimes than jay walking.

Gay and lesbian workers organize

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—Lesbian and gay workers in San Francisco are fighting back—against the bosses who have used the labor of lesbian and gay workers to build up a financial and political power base for themselves.

Workers at four locations at the gay Castro district have voted for unionization, and militant picketing has already won a contract at one shop.

CENTER

At the center of the campaign now is Louisa's, a restaurant in the heart of the Castro district.

The owner fired 12 workers in the midst of the union drive two months ago.

Workers immediately struck and received overwhelming community support. Workers estimate they have cut business by 90%.

Militant picketing like that at Louisa's has resulted in a signed contract for workers at the New York City Deli, just two blocks away.

This first victory inspired Michael Ginther, a worker at Louisa's, to organize his shop.

Continued solidarity between the two restaurant workers has in turn inspired two other successful campaigns at other restaurants.

After brief picketing, Little Italy and another restaurant without representation are now bargaining with their employees.

This surge in activity among lesbian and gay workers has also given birth to a Lesbian and Gay Labor Alliance.

This group of rank and file workers is pledged to helping lesbian and gay workers fight back against their gay bosses.

by JOHN FOWLER

"No one speaks for the employees of gay-owned establishments who work for substandard wages just for the privilege of working in a gay business," said an alliance member.

Michael Ginther said, "The time has come for the San Francisco gay community when we can start criticizing ourselves . . . and to struggle within our community."

These events are important, not only for the lesbian and gay community, but for other minority workers as well.

Just five years ago, a union drive at a gay restaurant failed miserably because gays were willing to believe that gay businessmen were our only source of power.

Now gays are realizing not only that collective action always was our only source of power, but that the interests of gay and lesbian workers are not at all the same as the gay bosses.

SAME

Shopowners in San Francisco exploited gay and lesbian workers because they are gay and succeeded by hiding behind the banner of gay solidarity.

The overwhelming support of the gay workers' struggles now going on shows that the entire community is beginning to see all bosses in the same way.

For more information, write: Lesbian and Gay Labor Alliance, Building Services Center, Basement, 240 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, CA 94102.

B.C.'S WORKERS FIGHT BACK

VANCOUVER, B.C.—Faced with massive layoffs of public employees, and an all-out attack on workers rights, workers in British Columbia are fighting back.

In July, the new provincial government announced plans to lay off 25% of the provinces' civil servants.

A series of bills was passed attacking workers' rights. Public employees can now be fired at any time for any reason, even if they already have a contract.

ABOLISHED

Seniority rights during layoffs are abolished. And all rights to negotiate over job classification and work schedules as well.

Teachers and professors' tenure rights are abolished. 3,000 teachers were laid off. Workers in private industry are affected too. The employment standards board was abolished.

Government officials now have the right to order the abolition of contract standards already in effect. Social programs were also gutted. The Human Rights Commission was abolished.

Rent controls were eliminated and landlords can now evict anyone at any time.

In response, the BC federation of labor formed 'Operation Solidarity.'

The president of the federation has threatened a general strike if the legislation is not withdrawn.

The logo of Operation Solidarity is modeled after Poland's Solidarnosc.

In early August, Operation Solidarity held a demonstration of 20,000 in Victoria.

On August 10, 50,000 workers in Vancouver rallied against the new laws, many walking off their jobs to attend.

Liquor stores were closed. Buses stopped running. Many hospital workers walked out, organizing crews to maintain essential services.

There is a sense of excitement in the air.

Everywhere workers are discussing what to do next. Operation Solidarity buttons are everywhere.

Unfortunately, Operation Solidarity is tightly controlled by the union bureaucracy, who are desperate to avoid a general strike. They want 'negotiations.'

POSSIBILITY

The possibility still exists, however, that one group of workers, such as teachers or hospital workers, could occupy or strike, sparking off actions elsewhere that could turn into a general strike.

Victory to the BC workers!

by PETER COGAN

Chad: Reagan moves to restore western dominance

by SALEM KHATIB

The stakes are high in the civil war in Chad—and they are being raised.

Last month, Ronald Reagan sent \$25 million in emergency aid to the north African state of Chad to help the forces of president Hissene Habre, against those of his Libyan backed rival, Goukouni Oueddei.

Two U.S. AWACS planes, eight F-15's and 550 military jets are stationed in neighboring Sudan.

COMMAND

France has an estimated 1,500 troops in Chad and has appointed brigadier general Jean Poli to command its troops—1,500 more French soldiers are reported on their way to Chad.

Poli is a veteran of France's colonial wars—including Indonesia, Algeria, Madagascar and Togo.

According to Ronald Reagan, the civil war is being fought because of Libyan leader, Muammar Qaddafi's, ambitions to take over the north of Africa.

Further, it is argued, Qaddafi is only a cover for increased Russian presence in north Africa.

The truth is somewhat different.

Chad is one of the poorest countries in the world. It has the distinction of being in the poorest 25.

Chad is largely desert—in 1973 it had only 150 miles of surfaced roads to link up a population of 4.3 million in a territory twice the size of France.

Until 1960, Chad was a French colony.

The colonial administration concentrated on developing a cotton-based economy in southern Chad.

Traditional structures were destroyed and a large proportion of the population converted to Christianity.

This served to increase the division with the mostly muslim north, where about half the population live.

Here, even today, about 65 percent of the inhabitants are nomads wandering and trading across the national frontiers superimposed on the Sahara.

POLITICS

Industry, mining, services and a civil administration are barely developed, with the result that there is virtually no "national" class interest.

"We haven't got an economy anymore," said the Chad minister of economics in January, 1981.

Politics is based on the north-south division, as well as by some dozen armies, some of which have their roots in the traditional nomadic clans.

The U.S. adventure in North Africa will bring more suffering to some of the poorest people in the world



Prisoners in Chad

There has been a war based on these divisions since 1960, when France granted Chad independence.

INCORPORATE

In 1978, president Malloum (who had replaced the dictator Tom-Balbaye in a coup) attempted to incorporate some of the northern factions by appointing Habre, head of the northern army, as prime minister.

The following year, Habre, backed by then president Giscard d'Estaing of France, began a civil war.

More than 2,500 French troops, backed by several fighter squadrons, were used to tip the balance.

At the end of the war, a northern chief, Goukouni, emerged as president. He was supported by the French, and appointed Habre as defense minister.

Goukouni, attempting to strengthen his personal position, invited Libyan support.

Ten years ago, Qaddafi occupied the uranium-rich Aouzou strip in the far north of Chad, using as justification a 1943 treaty between two colonial powers, fascist Italy and Vichy France. Goukouni later agreed to a merger of the two countries.

War followed.

In June, last year, Habre gained control of N'Djamena, the capital, and proclaimed himself president.

Today, he is under heavy



Muammar Qaddafi

pressure from Goukouni's Libyan-backed forces.

Habre's main supporter is president Mitterrand of France, who has provided the bulk of military hardware and "advisors".

In opposition, the French Socialist Party was critical of Giscard's policy of intervention in Africa and denounced France "as the Cuba of the West," for its military meddling in Africa.

BARBARIC

In power, they have reinforced support for some of the most barbaric regimes in Africa.

France has over 15,000 troops still stationed in 25 African countries—some combat, some "advisory."

The only African country to openly support Habre is Zaire, who's dictator, General Mobutu, visited Chad last month, and has supplied Habre with 2,000 troops.

Neither the U.S. nor France have major economic interests in Chad itself.

However, Chad is in a strategically vital position, placed as it is on the borders of Nigeria, Sudan and Niger.

France is hoping that its show of force will convince Qaddafi—with whom it has considerable economic ties—to back off and reach a negotiated settlement.

Reagan fears further advances by Libya, or Libyan backed oppositions.

Their fears were heightened by last month's coup in Upper Volta, which brought to power a vaguely pro-Libya government—in a country which borders the Ivory Coast—one of the most prosperous and pro-Western African states.

Reagan sees Qaddafi as a north African version of Fidel Castro—potentially undermining the West's influence.

But we should be clear. The Chad conflict is only a pretext to put further pressure on Qaddafi.

RESTORE

As in Central America, the aim is to restore and maintain western dominance in areas where it has been undermined.

And of course it is an attempt to whip up pro-interventionist sentiment in the United States itself—whether it is intervention in northern Africa, the Middle East, or Central America. □

Graffiti

DENNIS BRUTUS, SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE U.S.

For two years, Dennis Brutus has battled the U.S. government for the right to remain in this country.

Brutus, a South African exile poet and Northwestern University professor, is a dedicated opponent of apartheid, the rigid South African system of racial discrimination.

Owing to a technicality in his application for a visa extension, Brutus, who had worked in the U.S. since 1971, was ordered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to leave the country in June 1981.

Since, he had been locked in a court battle with the INS to win political asylum in the U.S.

OUTSPOKEN

Brutus, who was jailed in South Africa's toughest prisons for his outspoken opposition to apartheid, is one of the top 20 "most dangerous" South African exiles, according to the South African government.

For Brutus, deportation to Zimbabwe, where the U.S. government is pushing him,



Dennis Brutus

could mean assassination at the hands of a South African hit squad.

Whatever the outcome, Brutus' two-year fight has been a symbol for many of his supporters of the Reagan administration's efforts to appease the racist South African regime.

The Brutus case illustrates the U.S. government's increasing coziness with the South African regime. Other examples of this "coziness" are not hard to find.

In March 1981, U.S. ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick met

with top South African military officials, breaking a long standing U.S. policy of avoiding contact with the South African military.

In early 1983, the U.S. Commerce Department licensed the export of 2,500 shock batons to South African police. Each baton is capable of delivering a shock of up to 6,000 volts. They are used in crowd and riot control.

Since September 1981, the U.S. and South Africa have exchanged military attaches. And the Reagan administration has opened talks aimed at

restarting enriched uranium shipments to South Africa, even though the country has not signed the nuclear non-proliferation pact and is widely believed to have tested a nuclear weapon.

The Reagan administration and the South African government are closing ranks at a time in which South Africa's Blacks, over 70 percent of the population are beginning to flex their muscles at the workplace.

STRUGGLE

Foreign minister Pik Botha, who met with Reagan in 1981, summed up South Africa's rulers' position.

A commitment to majority rule, Botha said, "is a commitment to suicide. No way. We shall not accept that. Not now, not tomorrow, never, never."

Increased struggle by Black workers in South Africa, combined with activism around Dennis Brutus, divestment and other solidarity work, may prove to Botha and his U.S. apologists that never is a long time.

A new pope . . .

Walter Mondale, who is running for president, says that Reagan is "too soft" on Syria, charging that they "are getting away with murder."

At the same time, he is critical of his and Carter's role regarding Nicaragua.

He believes that he and Carter "Should have put more pressure on the Sandinistas to accept a more moderate policy."

And to back up his belief that he is best qualified to be the Democratic president, he compared himself to Pope John Paul, "I sometimes call myself the Pope John of the Democratic Party."

Celebrate . . .

General Motors is busy trumpeting the 75th anniversary of its Fisher Body Division with tributes, ceremonies and a great deal of self-congratulation.

One such publicity piece is called "the Fisher Body Craftsman".

Listed in the brochure are all the Fisher Body plants in the U.S. The notation after Cleveland-Coit Road says "closing August, 1983."

The Coit Road plant, at its peak, employed 10,000 workers.

The sit-in at the Coit Road plant in December-January 1937 sparked off the great Flint sit-down strikes which resulted in the victory of the United Auto Workers.

On Saturday, August 13th, there was a ceremony commemorating the closing of the Fisher Body plant. Over 3,000 attended.

One of the speakers was William Casstevens, an international vice-president of the UAW.

He had to cross a picket line of UAW members in order to speak. They were protesting the closure of the plant.

A trained opportunist . . .

In the civil rights movement of the '60s, all was not peace and harmony.

Younger militants often called King "De Lawd."

Jesse Jackson, who says "I'm clearly a product of God's mission for me," likens himself to Saint Paul, and assumes the leadership of the civil rights movement.

"Peter was with Jesus physically, but Paul interpreted Jesus better than Paul did."

"Peter then got jealous of Paul and tried to axe him out based on longevity."

One wonders about such comparisons especially when Jackson himself says, "I was trained by Martin to be an opportunist."

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

What's the connection between ordinary problems and the fight for socialism?

by BILL ROBERTS

In the midst of record unemployment, plant closings and general uneasiness about the future, a small number of strikes are taking place.

One of the standard questions from reporters, when they bother to visit a picket line, is, "Why are you on strike, while so many people are out of work?"

I heard one answer that went something like this:

"Unemployment hasn't changed my attitude about this company. The job is the same and the pressures are worse."

NATURE

Underlying this response is the fundamental nature of work under capitalism—for most of us work is oppressive, routine, filled with frustration and subordination, that keeps us in our place while making other people rich and powerful.

Mass unemployment does not change the nature of work under capitalism. If anything it makes the antagonisms more stark.

Marx used the term "alienation" to describe the nature of work under capitalism.

By this he meant something more than psychological fall-outs. He used the term to summarize the totality of our lack of freedom—that gap between

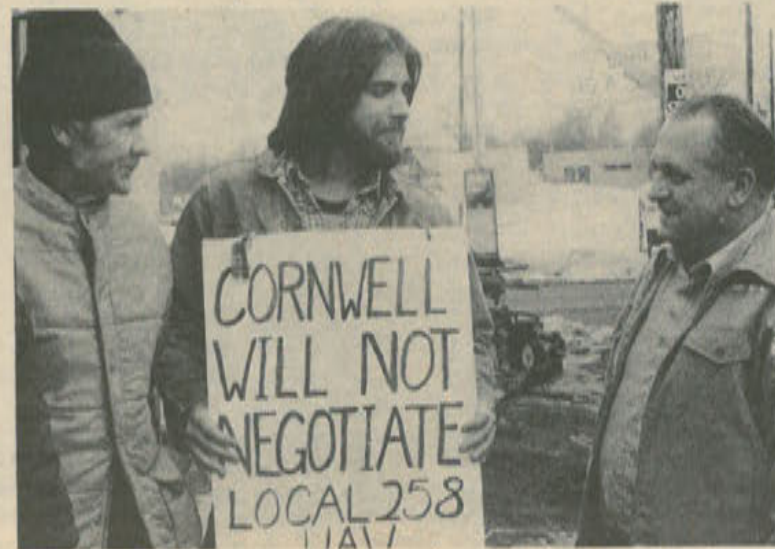
our everyday life under capitalism and a potential for organizing something better for humanity.

Social organization under capitalism cuts against our common interest.

It is divided by class, race, sex and nationality.

The motive underlying everything is pursuit of profit at someone else's expense.

This motive is often described as a permanent feature of "human nature"—a fixed part of the way things are, have been and always will be.



Workers learn through collective action

Work is like a life sentence

On the other hand, there are many examples which suggest another side of our "human nature."

The very fact that the history of human civilization is one of social cooperation on one level or another, suggests another way of looking at what defines us as humans.

VIEW

The many forms of creativity and cooperation throughout human history provide us with a view of what is possible.

Under capitalism, the social wealth produced by all the work and cooperation falls more and more out of the producers' control.

Instead of being a rewarding activity that leads towards more creativity and cooperation, work is experienced as a negative life sentence—something one escapes from as often as possible.

There is another side to alienation.

As Marx points out, capitalism has expanded cooperative production on a massive scale.

But it is contained within a system of antagonism—workers cooperate not by choice, but by coercion by employers.

The goal of cooperation under capitalism is utterly alien to its end.

Instead of cooperative production to meet the needs of others, it is used to compete with them.

GOAL

Only when workers collectively fight does the alienation disappear and the potential for seeing through to another end develops.

This is the point at which the socialist goal begins to make the most sense—as well as the means to achieve it.

Every workers struggle is a potential bridge out of alienated labor and toward the potential of collective enrichment. Socialists must be there to build the bridge.

**'Labor in white skin
cannot free itself while
labor in Black is enslaved'
-Karl Marx**



Photo by Earl Dotter

Detroit auto workers

Unemployment, poverty, racism—these are permanent features of life for Blacks in America.

They are also a basic and fundamental part of the system itself—capitalism, a system which maintains itself by keeping workers oppressed and divided.

Today the system is in deep crisis, and a new chapter in the struggle for Black freedom is opening.

Black workers will be decisive, if the struggle is to move forward—for Black freedom can only be the result of a movement that challenges the very system itself.

FORCE

Black workers are a powerful force in the United States—concentrated in the heart of industry, in the centers of the great cities, united by centuries of racist oppression.

'The Black question,' wrote W.E.B. DuBois in 1913, "is the test of the American socialist.'

This is true today. Socialists, Black and white, must win Black workers to the fight for socialism, to the leadership of the fight for Black freedom, and to a united struggle with workers of all colors to end this system of crisis, war, racism and exploitation once and forever. □

A struggle to transform America

On December 1st, Rosa Parks, a 42-year-old seamstress, exhausted after a day's work, refused to give up her seat to a white and move to the back of the bus.

The driver called the police and had her arrested.

Rosa Parks's simple act set off a Black boycott of the Montgomery Bus Lines that lasted 382 days.

The boycott produced the first effective massive Black resistance to racism in Montgomery.

More important, the Montgomery boycott struck at the core of the southern racist system.

DEFIANCE

Rosa Parks' defiance was the spark that started one of the most important social movements in the U.S.—the civil rights and Black liberation struggle—a struggle which not only changed the face of American society, shook it to its roots, but also demonstrated the centrality of Black liberation to the struggle for socialism. It also showed the revolutionary potential of the Black working class.

In February 1960, four young men from the North Carolina Agricultural and Technological College sat in at a Greensboro Woolworth's lunch counter, demanding they be served a cup of coffee.

Within a year sit-ins covered the south involving 75,000 young people in more than 100 cities. At least 3,600 went to jail.

By 1961, as a result of massive direct action restaurants in 140 southern cities surrendered.

The sit-ins spread. From 1960-1965, the South was invaded by an army of young students who held sit-ins, wade-ins, read-ins, sleep-ins, pray-ins—all to challenge the segregation of the South.

Freedom rides followed. Blacks and whites attempted to desegregate the bus lines by breaking the laws on segregated seating, restaurants and bathrooms.

Hundreds of courageous women and men braved Klan led rallies, beatings, torture and jailings, in order to desegregate the buses.

TROUBLE

They did so in opposition to the federal government.

President John F. Kennedy believed the freedom riders were causing the trouble.

Attorney General Kennedy agreed to let the freedom rid-

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT TRANSFORMED AMERICAN SOCIETY IN POSITIVE AND PROFOUND WAYS. BARBARA WINSLOW EXPLAINS WHY

ers be arrested and sent to hard labor—in return for protecting them from the Klan!

Then came registration.

In the South, only one in four Blacks was registered to vote. In the deep South it was less.

In Amite, Mississippi, 1 out of 5,010 Blacks voted. In 13 out of 69 Mississippi counties not one Black was allowed to register.

The civil rights movement threw up a score of new Black leaders.

It swept aside the old leadership of the NAACP and the National Urban League.

New people, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Ann Moody, Stokely Carmichael, Robert Moses, John Lewis, Fannie Lou Hamer, Gloria Richardson, spoke for an angry new generation.

Martin Luther King, Jr., was the leader of the Southern civil rights movement.

He rose to prominence until his assassination in 1968.

As the leader of the civil rights movement, King was not only the target of the Klan and other violent racists, but also J. Edgar Hoover's FBI and Kennedy's Justice Department.

King was never a revolutionary.

He never called himself a socialist. But he was willing to involve Blacks in struggle. He was also willing to call off the struggle to appease the Democratic Party.

In 1964 he called off civil rights demonstrations to make sure Johnson was reelected over Barry Goldwater.

He supported the use of troops in the ghetto rebellions, and he stated that he was going to call off the Poor People's March in 1968 to make sure that Nixon was defeated.

But throughout the civil rights movement, King was challenged by Black militants who questioned his ties to the Democratic Party and his insistence upon non-violence as a principle.

It was not King, but the younger militants who gave the movement its sense of urgency and potential explosive energy.

From 1960 to 1963 younger Blacks were rejecting the theories of non-violence and arguing for revolution.

RIFLES

Robert Williams was one such person.

An ex-marine, Williams was the leader of the Monroe North Carolina NAACP.



Lowndes County, Mississippi: Election night, 1964

After witnessing white brutality against Blacks, he joined the National Rifle Association and purchased shot guns legally.

He came to the defense of a pregnant Black woman, who fought off a rape by two white men.

He also mobilized the armed defense of a mentally retarded Black man falsely accused of rape.

Williams was expelled from the NAACP for arguing that, "We must meet violence with violence, lynching with lynching."

In the North, the Black Muslims symbolized the new Black feeling.

The Muslims, at their peak, had a membership perhaps as

high as 250,000.

The Muslims terrified white society. Their leader was Malcolm X.

In 1963, Malcolm X was the most sought after speaker on TV, radios and college campuses—even more than King.

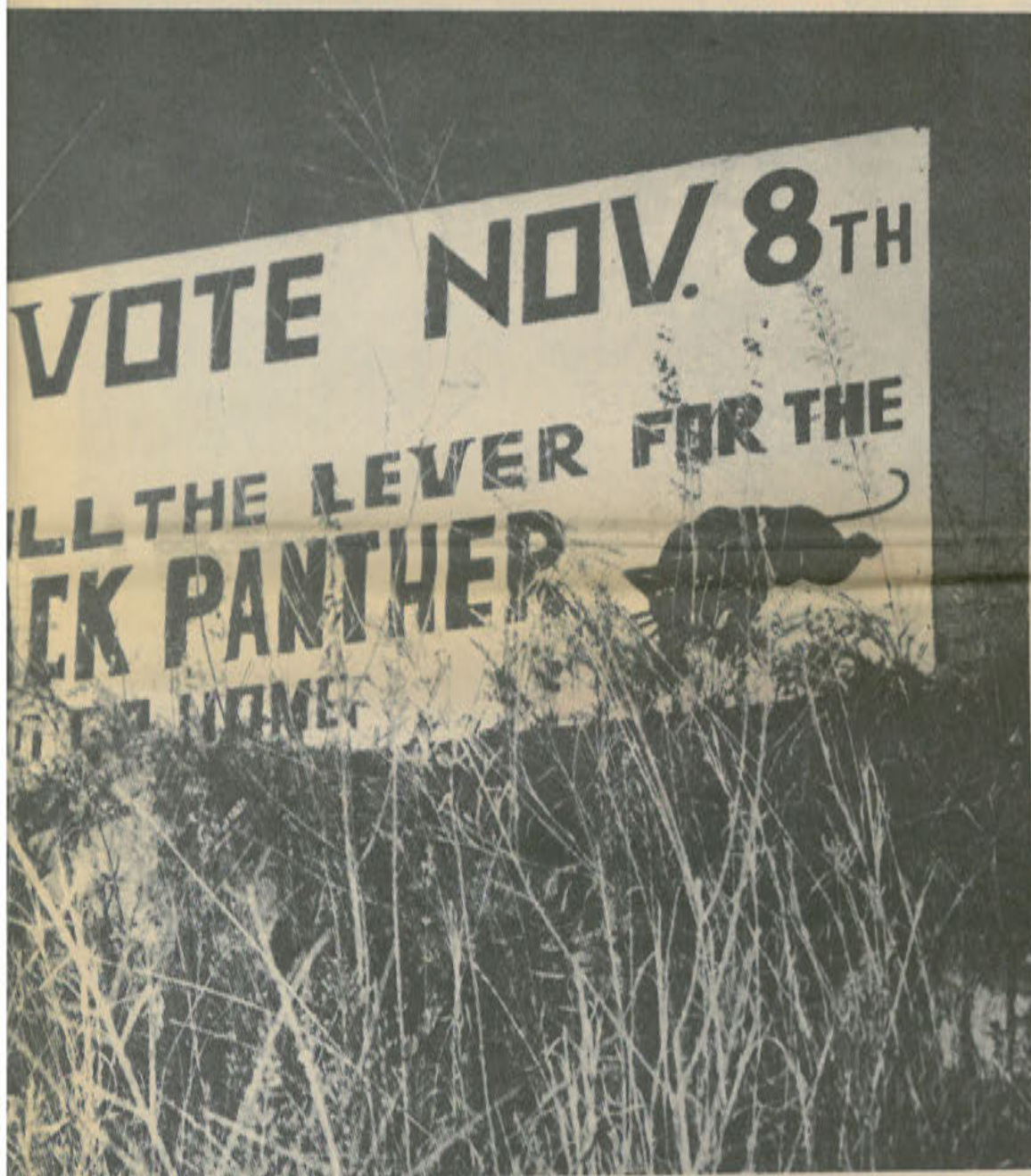
His articulate denunciation of white society gave Blacks confidence that finally there was someone who spoke to the rage all Blacks experienced in white America.

In 1963, the struggle for Black freedom was at its peak.

There were 800 boycotts, 930 demonstrations in 115 cities.

20,000 people had been arrested, 10 killed, including the NAACP field secretary for Mississippi, Medgar Evers.

What shook to its roots



There had been 35 bombings. In April and May there had been armed confrontations in Birmingham, Alabama. The federal government continued its policy of not protecting civil rights demonstrators. The march on Washington began as a confrontation with the federal government. At the time, the civil rights movement argued that it was the government's job to provide jobs, housing and protection. President Kennedy opposed the march. But the two Kennedys, Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph, Whitney Young and Walter Reuther were able to turn the march into a 'picnic',

devoid of any anger and revolutionary sentiment. Yes 250,000 people marched. But they were not angry. The liberal columnist Russell Baker commented, "the sweetness and patience of the crowd may have set some sort of highwater mark in mass decency."

LEADER

The 1963 march on Washington marked King's accession as the leader of the civil rights movement. However, not everyone "had a dream." Anne Moody, a civil rights worker, commented that "in Canton (Mississippi) we never had time to sleep, much less to dream."

Julius Lester, a Black writer noted that "most Black folks just dreamed about eating." Malcolm X called the march the "farce on Washington." SNCC had called for demonstrations in front of the Justice Department on the day of the march. They were forced to call them off. John Lewis had to change his speech. He was told to drop any reference to revolution and to SNCC's opposition to Kennedy's proposed civil rights bill. Lewis' speech did not attract the attention that King's did, but it summed up the feeling of Black radicalism of 1963. "We march today for jobs

and freedom but we have nothing else to be proud of . . . "The party of Kennedy is the party of Eastland and the Party of Javits is the party of Goldwater. Where is our party?"

"Where is the political party that will make it unnecessary to have marches on Washington.

"We do not want to be free gradually. We want our freedom and we want it now.

"Join the great social revolution sweeping our nation and stay in the streets of every city, every village and every hamlet of this nation until the unfinished revolution of 1776 is complete."

Weeks later, on September 15, a bomb exploded in a Black Baptist church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four girls.

Hearing the news in Mississippi, Anne Moody wrote in her diary, "You know something else, God. Non-violence is out."

The division between the young militants and those tied to clear reformist politics and the Democratic Party exploded with the ghetto rebellions and the cry for 'Black Power.'

ACCOMPLISH

While the civil rights movement transformed American society, in positive and profound ways, it did not accomplish its long term goals—an America free from violence, racism and poverty.

The fight for desegregation in the South could be won, although only after a massive tumultuous, bloody struggle.

But to win jobs, housing, education, an end to racist wars, and violence, could not happen within the boundaries of capitalism.

King and others were tied to the Democratic Party, preventing the Black movement from moving forward independently.

Malcolm X was assassinated, just as he was developing a revolutionary perspective.

Younger radicals like Stokely Carmichael despaired of ever winning the Black masses to their side, let alone white workers.

This was in part because, in their rural isolation, they could not develop a perspective for the mass of Blacks, urban workers.

It was possible for Blacks to fight back collectively.

The struggle for civil rights and Black liberation took place in the streets and the factories of Birmingham, Montgomery, Watts, Harlem, and Detroit.

But the civil rights movement did not link the struggles of Black workers as workers to lead the fight for Black liberation.

Today, the situation facing Black people is one of growing racist brutality and terrorism.

The gains of the civil rights movement are being destroyed.

POWER

Yet, Black workers are potentially more powerful today than they were 20 years ago.

The civil rights and Black liberation struggle transformed Black consciousness.

Blacks will never go back to shuffling for whites.

More important, Blacks and Hispanic workers are economically and politically central to all urban and working class politics.

Black workers are the backbone of the working class and trade union movement.

No one knows when the next Rosa Parks will spark off a new wave of Black rebellion and defiance.

Yet we do know it will come. The task for socialists and for everyone committed to ending racism and all its violence is to begin the fight back—and to raise socialist politics, to link the fight for Black liberation with revolutionary socialism.

CRISIS

"The fire this time," will take place in economic crisis, amidst new wars, and with no promise of poverty programs in the future.

If the struggle is to go forward, it will have to challenge the capitalist system itself and look to Black workers—and, ultimately, a united working class. □

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Photo by Earl Dotter

Detroit auto workers

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"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



1963: HOW THEY PUT OUT THE FIRE

MALCOLM X ON THE 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON, FROM HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Not long ago, the Black man in America was fed a dose of another form of the weakening lulling and deluding effects of so-called "integration." It was that "Farce on Washington," I call it.

The idea of a mass of Blacks marching on Washington was originally the brainchild of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' A. Philip Randolph. For twenty or more years the March on Washington idea had floated around among Negroes. And, spontaneously, suddenly now, that idea caught on.

Overalled rural Southern Negroes, small town Negroes, Northern ghetto Negroes, even thousands of previously Uncle Tom Negroes began talking "March!"

TOGETHER

Nothing since Joe Louis had so coalesced the masses of Negroes. Groups of Negroes were talking of getting to Washington any way they could—in rickety old cars, on buses, hitch-hiking—walking, even, if they had to.

They envisioned thousands of Black brothers converging together upon Washington—to lie down in the streets, on airport runways, on government lawns—demanding of the Congress and the White House some concrete civil rights action.

This was a national bitterness; militant, unorganized, and leaderless. Predominantly, it was young Negroes, defiant of whatever might be consequences, sick and tired of the Black man's neck under the white man's heel.

The white man had plenty of good reasons for nervous worry. The right spark—some unpredictable emotional chemistry—could set off a Black uprising.

The government knew that thousands of milling, angry Blacks not only could completely disrupt Washington—

but they could erupt in Washington.

The White House speedily invited in the major civil rights Negro "leaders." They were asked to stop the planned March. They truthfully said they hadn't begun it, they had no control over it—the idea was national, spontaneous, unorganized, and leaderless. In other words, it was a Black powder keg.

Any student of how "integration" can weaken the Black man's movement was about to observe a master lesson.

The White House, with a fanfare of international publicity, "approved," "endorsed," and "welcomed" a March on Washington.

The big civil rights organizations right at this time had been publicly squabbling about donations. The *New York Times* had broken the story.

The NAACP had charged that other agencies' demonstrations, highly publicized, had attracted a major part of the civil rights donations—while the NAACP got left holding the bag, supplying costly bail and legal talent for the other organizations' jailed demonstrators.

SCENE

It was like a movie. The next scene was the "big six" civil rights Negro "leaders" meeting in New York City with the white head of a big philanthropic agency. They were told that their money-wrang-



Malcolm X

ling in public was damaging their image.

And a reported \$800,000 was donated to a United Civil Rights Leadership council and was quickly organized by the "big six."

Now, what had instantly achieved Black unity? The white man's money. What string was attached to the money? Advice. Not only was there this donation, but another comparable sum was promised, for sometime later on, after the March . . . obviously if all went well.

The original "angry" march on Washington was now about to be entirely changed.

Massive international publicity projected the "big six" as March on Washington leaders. It was news to those angry grass roots Negroes steadily adding steam to their March plans. They probably assumed that now those famous "leaders" were endorsing and joining them.

Invited next to join the March were four famous white public figures: one Catholic, one Jew, one Protestant, and one labor boss.

The massive publicity now gently hinted that the "big ten" would "supervise" the March on Washington's "mood," and its "direction."

The four white figures began nodding. The word spread

fast among so-called "liberal" Catholics, Jews, Protestants and laborites: it was "democratic" to join this Black March.

And suddenly, the previously March-nervous whites began announcing they were going.

It was as if electrical current shot through the ranks of bourgeois Negroes—the very so-called "middle class" and "upper class" who had earlier been deploring the March on Washington talk by grass-roots Negroes.

But white people, now, were going to march.

Why, some downtrodden, jobless, hungry Negro might have gotten trampled. Those "integration"-mad Negroes practically ran over each other trying to find out where to sign up.

The "angry Blacks" March suddenly had been made chic. Suddenly it had a Kentucky Derby image. For the status-seeker, it was a status symbol. "Were you there?" You can hear that right today.

PICNIC

It had become an outing, a picnic.

The morning of the March, any rickety carloads of angry, dusty, sweating small-town Negroes would have gotten lost among the chartered jet planes, railroad cars, and air-conditioned buses.

What originally was planned to be an angry rip-tide, one English newspaper aptly described now as "the gentle flood."

Talk about "integrated"! It was like salt and pepper. And by now, there wasn't a single logistics aspect uncontrolled.

The marchers had been instructed to bring no signs—signs were provided. They had been told to sing one song: "We Shall Overcome."

They had been told how to arrive, when, where to arrive, where to assemble, when to start marching, the route to march. First-aid stations were strategically located—even where to faint!

Yes, I was there. I observed that circus. Who ever heard of angry revolutionists all harmonizing "We Shall Overcome . . . Suum Day . . ." while tripping and swaying along arm-in-arm with the very people they were supposed to be angrily revolting against?

Who ever heard of angry revolutionists swinging their bare feet together with their oppressor in lily-pad park pools, with gospels and guitars and "I Have A Dream" speeches?

And the Black masses in America were—and still are—having a nightmare.

The very fact that millions, Black and white, believed in this monumental farce is another example of how much this country goes in for the surface glossing over, the escape ruse, surfaces, instead of truly dealing with its deep-rooted problems.

LULL

What the March on Washington did do was lull Negroes for a while. But inevitably, the Black masses started realizing they had been smoothly hoaxed again by the white man.

And, inevitably, the Black man's anger rekindled deeper than ever, and there began bursting out in different cities, in the "long, hot summer" of 1964, unprecedented racial crises. □



1963 March on Washington

CHILE: TEN YEARS

This month marks 10 years since the regime of Salvador Allende came to a brutal end.

The 'Chilean Experiment', an attempt to achieve socialism at 'no social cost', as Allende put it, ended with the slaughter of thousands of Chile's finest working class fighters.

Today, with Chilean workers once again fighting back, it is important to ask why the coup could happen and will it happen again.

In the 1960's Chile was (and still is) a land of intense poverty.

The land was owned by a few wealthy families and the economy was dependent on the U.S.

80% of production was in the hands of U.S. multinationals. The main export, copper, which made up 90% of foreign earnings, was in complete control of American mining interests, Anaconda and Kennecott.

In 1964, a right-wing Christian Democrat, Frei, was elected president on a platform of land reform and nationalization of industry.

He promised to solve Chile's problems of poverty and starvation.

But in 1970, things were worse.

One third of the population was unemployed. The economy was stagnant with industry between one third and two thirds capacity. Wages were falling, while prices rose over 40% per year.

Although Frei had (under close U.S. control) nationalized 51% of Kennecott and 25% of Anaconda, American copper mines were making even greater profits than before.

Chile was in a state of crisis, when the 1970 elections took place.

Salvador Allende, running against a Christian Democrat and a right-winger, won the election with 36% of the vote.

APPROVAL

Allende, lacking an absolute majority, needed approval from congress, dominated by the Chilean right, to take office.

He was forced to promise not to touch the army, education, or the church—basically a compromise to leave the military and state machinery intact.

This promise would later result not just in Allende's death, but in the destruction of the working class movement in Chile.

Allende represented the Popular Unity, a coalition of social democratic, socialist and communist parties.

The program of Popular Unity, although progressive, was far from revolutionary.

SEPTEMBER 11 MARKS THE TENTH

ANNIVERSARY OF THE BLOODY U.S. BACKED COUP IN CHILE. FAITH SIMON TELLS THE STORY

It's plan was to increase industry to full capacity by using the profits from copper mines to increase industrial development.

It called for no reshaping of the economy to meet social needs, nor did it put any power in the hands of the workers.

Nevertheless, Allende began an attack on the American mining companies and, to a certain extent, on the Chilean oligarchy.

Things went well for the first year.

By a unanimous vote of congress, the copper mines were nationalized. Allende redistributed more land in 6 months than Frei had done in 6 years.

The GNP rose 8%, wages increased by 50%, and unemployment and inflation rates fell.

BENEFIT

But Chile was not a workers' paradise.

The nationalized industries were run by bureaucrats and the military—not workers' control.

Land reform actually only benefitted 7% of the population, creating a class of medium-sized capitalist farmers who controlled one third of all the land.

By mid-1972, the inevitable happened.

Prices soared, shortages of food and commodities became common, and the price of copper fell, worldwide.

The policies of Popular Unity were shattered by the economic crisis and political crisis followed.

At this point Allende was at the crossroads.

The socialist road forward would have meant attacks on the wealthy and a head on collision with the opposition, in particular, the army.

Instead, Allende sought the capitalist solution, urging wage restraints on workers, guaranteeing to slow down nationalization and providing incentives to private industry to invest.

But the working class in Chile had a taste of power and began fighting back. The number of strikes and factory occupations increased and peasants began seizing land.

Allende was caught between the two sides.

On one hand his commitment to "constitutional" methods prevented a socialist solution, actual seizure of power by the working class.

STRONG

On the other hand, his dependence on working class

support, which was still strong and intact, prevented him from carrying out the capitalist solution—an all-out attack on workers.

The Communist Party (CP) took a lead in the suppression of workers' initiatives.

FORCE

A member of the central committee of the CP authorized the use of force against a demonstration of workers and students at the city of Concepcion.

One student was killed, 40 people wounded, and many activists arrested.

As the crisis deepened, Allende turned more and more to the military.

While workers were being told to tighten their belts, both military pay and military expenditure were increased.

At the same time, Allende and the CP consistently denied any suggestion of possible coups and in fact defended the military.

In October 1972, came the first mass offensive by the bosses.

A strike was called in the trucking industry which completely paralyzed all transport and commerce. Factory owners, shop-keepers and professionals all joined in.

But the workers had the

answer. They organized *cordones*, a new form of organization of production based on zones, and set up distribution and production on their own.

This was clearly the way forward. The workers were spontaneously taking over in the economic sphere.

The necessity was for the struggle to move to the political arena.

But instead of leading the way forward, Popular Unity held the struggle back. They told the workers to rely on their representatives in parliament for political decisions.

The decision made by their main representative, Allende, was to call in the army.

GENERALS

Workers occupying factories were told to give up or be fired. Three more generals entered the Popular Unity government.

In the spring of 1973, the right-wing offensive intensified. The country was in a state of economic chaos, with inflation at 300-400% per year.

Stores were empty and the black market operated openly.

The crisis was partly a result of typical capitalist policies, but also of deliberate sabotage from within.

The rich were withdrawing



Ten years ago: prisoners in Chile's National Stadium

SINCE THE COUP



July, 1983: Student protestors in Santiago

their money from the banks and sending it out of the country. There was decreased investment and hoarding to create artificial scarcity.

In April, the El Teniente miners struck.

The miners went out defense of a sliding scale of wages. They were historically the most well organized workers, with the highest number of strikes.

In 1970, Allende had received 60-80% of the miners vote.

RETURN

The response of Popular Unity to the strike was to call the miners 'traitors,' within five days of the strike, the CP and the Socialist Party ordered their members to return to work.

Allende called the army in to restore order.

This response threw the miners, once the strongest supporters of the Allende government into the waiting arms of the enemy.

The right denounced the left for challenging the right to strike and a massive wave of right wing sympathy strikes began.

The working class, already confused, was thrown into a state of disorganization and division without any leadership.

In June 1973, there was an attempted coup.

Again Allende turned to the army instead of the masses of workers who still supported him.

He told the workers to have confidence that "the legal forces will normalize the situation."

By this time the workers' cordones had galvanized. By July 30, over 100 factories were occupied and administered by cordones.

But it was too late, there was no leadership ready to move forward.

There was no revolutionary socialist party capable of uniting the working class in struggle.

The one group that might have been able to lead, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) lacked a base in the working class.

Finally, on September 11, the army attacked the palace and the 'Chilean Experiment' was over. What followed was 6 months of systematic extermination of left wing and trade union militants.

Now, ten years later the Chilean working class is once again in motion. This summer there have been numerous demonstrations demanding an end to Pinochet's policies. The lessons of 1973 should not be forgotten.

The murder of Chile's most militant trade unionists and activists was the logical outcome of Allende's reformism.

ROAD

There is no easy, 'peaceful' or 'parliamentary' road to the socialist transformation of society.

Socialism will be achieved by revolution, not reform—and the revolution to be successful must include the smashing of the old order—the police, the army, the courts, and setting up a new order, based on workers' control. □

Socialists should step up independent forms of working class struggle

Twenty four people were shot and killed and more than one hundred wounded in Chile at the end of last month.

This was the biggest death toll yet in the monthly days of protest that have been taking place since May.

The next day of protest is due for September 11, the tenth anniversary of the coup that brought president Pinochet to power.

In the working class areas, barricades of burning tires were set up in the streets, demonstrations held, and stones and refuse thrown at Pinochet's soldiers and police.

Even in the middle class areas, the troops responded by firing in the air and at windows.

In the working class areas, they fired at virtually anything in sight.

REPRESSION

Yet the repression has not succeeded in stabilizing Pinochet's regime.

His 'monetarist' economic policy has now brought poverty to sections of the middle classes, and bankruptcies among the upper class, as well as unemployment of between 30 and 50 percent among workers.

Bullets cannot stem the hatred for him on all sides.

The demonstrations in the working class areas have been led by underground supporters of the banned left wing parties—the Communists, the Socialists and Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR).

But the official leadership lies in the hands of the semi-legal Christian Democratic Party, and of the multi-party grouping it has organized with all other parties apart from the Communists and the MIR.

RETIRE

The Christian Democrats backed Pinochet's 1973 coup, although they were squeezed out afterwards.

They and the multi-party alliance preach that the way forward lies in persuading Pinochet to retire peacefully.

Then, they say, a civilian government would guarantee a smooth transition towards 'democracy.'

But such a transition would give very little to the working class, which has borne the brunt of the struggle against Pinochet.

It would not end the high level of unemployment, or restore the welfare and wage cuts that workers have suffered.

Above all, it would leave the military machine of re-

pression intact, ready to be used if workers started pushing demands that went beyond what the 'democratic' middle and upper classes would tolerate.

Unfortunately, neither the Communist Party nor the Socialist Party in Chile see this. They are pushing for all-class alliances very much like that of the Christian Democrats.

Revolutionary socialists should welcome the fact that the upper class is split on continued support for Pinochet. But instead of forming an alliance with one section of the ruling class against another, they should be using the opportunity to step up independent forms of working class struggle against the military.

FOREFRONT

They should be at the forefront of all the protests, but trying to push them much further than the existing leaders want.

This means raising demands for full trade union rights, work or full maintenance for the unemployed, restoration of welfare and wage cuts, and, above all, the dissolution of all the armed bodies involved in the repression of the last ten years. □

WHERE WE STAND

WORKERS' CONTROL

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

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

FIGHT OPPRESSION

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

BLACK LIBERATION

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

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

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

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

RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

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

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

INTERNATIONALISM

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

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

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

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

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

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



What's ON

BALTIMORE

Marxism and Black Liberation Series: **The Black Politicians**. September 18, 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620 for details.

BOSTON

Paul D'Amato on **The American Working Class**. September 11, 7:30 p.m.

Susan Arnott on **Lesbian and Gay Liberation**. September 25, 7:30 p.m. Call 522-1672 for details.

CHICAGO

Dan Petty on **Why the Working Class**. September 10, 7:30 p.m. Call 288-7572 for details.

Northside: **The Wars in Central America**. September 29, 7:30 p.m. Call 328-6830 for details.

Southside: **The Wars in Central America**. University of Chicago, September 30, 7:30 p.m. Call 288-7572 for details, southside. Call 328-6830 northside.

CLEVELAND

Gary Springston on **The Struggle in Nicaragua: An Eyewitness Report**. September 9, 7:30 p.m. Call 371-2370 or 371-7648 for details.

CINCINNATI

Study Group. **Marxist Traditions**. September 1, 7:30 p.m.

Study Group. **Marxist Traditions**. September 8, 7:30 p.m. Call 871-1371 for details.

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BY TONY BOGUES
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NEW YORK

Ahmed Shawki on **The New Cold War**. September 2, 7:30 p.m.

Joe Allen on **Reagan's Central American Wars**. September 16, 7:30 p.m. Call 316-0569 for details.

Ged Morrison on **Can We Stop the Bomb?** September 9, 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO
Larry Bradshaw on **Protectionism**. September 1, 7:30 p.m. Call 285-1908 for details.



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

— Karl Marx

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

- Baltimore, MD
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- Kent, OH
- Northampton, MA
- Boston, MA
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- New Orleans, LA
- Youngstown, OH
- Detroit, MI
- Washington, DC

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

Getting beyond the waste land

NEIL SMITH ON ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES

Shortly after taking office, and after the announcement of his supply-side plan for economic salvation, Ronald Reagan issued a challenge to Congress.

"If you don't like my plan, show me an alternative."

Today, two and a half years later, no such plan has been produced.

And despite, rather than because of, the Reagan plan, the employers are experiencing a brief recovery in profit rates and economic production.

Even Reagan's own economists according to the *New York Times*, are not optimistic that it will be a long term recovery.

Housing construction, an important indicator of future growth has already begun to level off, orders for durable goods went down 3.6% in July, and still only 75% of the economy's productive capacity is in use. Fewer people are working longer hours for less.

Despite the brief recovery, the American and the world economies remain mired in the severe crisis that began in the late 1960s.

RESULT

This crisis has already resulted in a social, political and geographical wasteland for many Americans.

More than half of the country's Black youth are unemployed, 35% of all Blacks are below the poverty line, and between 16 and 22 million people are unemployed or seriously underemployed.

Whole towns and regions, from Detroit to West Virginia, have been decimated.

Sam Bowles, David Gordon, and Tom Weisskopf are three well-known economics professors, who have taken up Reagan's challenge.

Their new book, *Beyond the Waste Land*, attempts a radical economic alternative to the

Beyond the Waste Land,
by Samuel Bowles, David Gordon and Thomas Weisskopf, Doubleday, New York, 1983, \$17.95.

capitalist strategy of "slash and burn."

First, they take on the usual scapegoat explanations of crisis.

Neither OPEC nor high government spending are to blame. Economic decline was well under way before 1973, when OPEC got its act together and in fact, despite rapid growth in the military budget, government spending has remained proportionately stable in the last ten years.

Welfare costs are not the problem. Nor are high wages, nor even high profits, the cause of crisis.

Wages in Japan rose twice as rapidly as those for American workers, and profit rates have actually decreased since the mid-1960s.

SHORTAGE

Reagan's favorite explanation, that there is a shortage of capital for the bosses to invest, and hence more must be supplied to the capitalists, is equally bogus.

The banks and corporations are awash with capital—hence the wave of mergers and desperate loans to sinking third world economies.

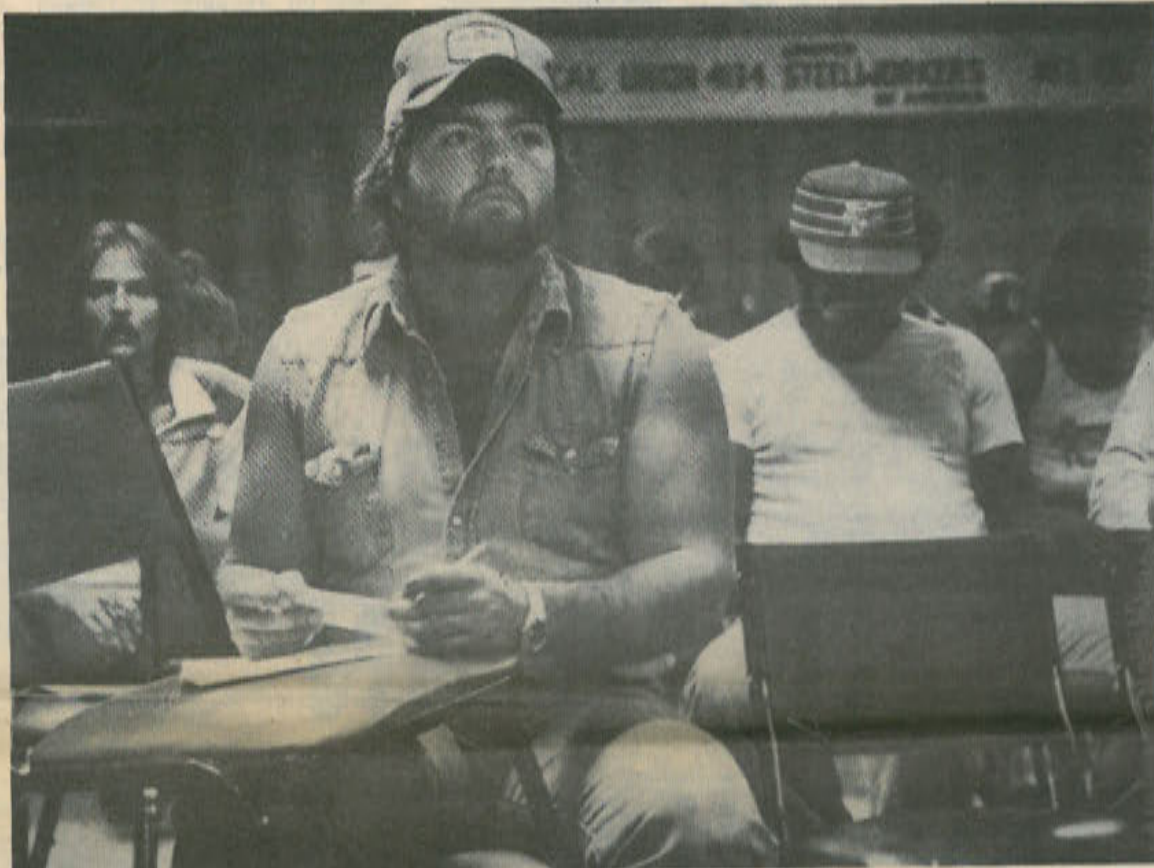
The real cause of crisis, the authors of this book believe, is the American "post-war corporate system."

The economy was dramatically restructured as a result of the depression and the Second World War, guaranteeing American domination over the world, and this was cemented by a deal with American workers.

In return for constant wage increases, workers would relegate decisions about technology and working conditions to the companies.

But in the 1960s, whether in Vietnam or Detroit, these economists argue, that the American "postwar corporate system" lost its ability to dominate people.

In an attempt to retain its



Unemployed Texas steelworkers

domination, from the Vietnam war to the repression of uprisings at home, and from new social welfare programs to massive advertising, designed to keep people on a consumer escalator, the "postwar corporate system" wasted massive quantities of capital which could have been productively used—as much as 1.2 trillion dollars in 1980.

CHANGE

The solution to crisis, then, according to our professors, is to "lift the colossal waste burden" and "to change the rules of the "post war corporate system."

Their own contribution to this solution is to propose and "economic bill of rights" as empty as the original.

Workers, they say (and they take 120 pages to say it), should have the right to "economic security and equity" and "a democratic workplace," the right "to shape our economic futures," "better ways of life," and a "democratic economy."

So what else is new! Little wonder that one reactionary dismissed this book a mere radical wish-list.

Their so-called alternative is as weak and naive as their analysis of crisis is misguided.

And, as they say themselves, "flawed analysis leads to misguided politics."

In the first place, the present crisis results not from a failure of the institutions of the "post war corporate system," whatever that is.

The crisis demonstrates the failure of the entire capitalist system, which even in the richest country in the world is unable to feed, clothe, and house millions of people, although it can build endless stockpiles of nuclear missiles.

If the "post war corporate system" were really the problem, and not the entire system of private property and wage slavery, their conclusion would make sense.

"Reform the post-war system," they cry in unison. "Give workers a greater voice," and "stop putting working people down."

This, they say, is the realistic alternative.

If this book is written for "workers and citizens," you would never know it.

Working people don't just want what their bosses and the system permit as realistic. We want control over the system and the power to determine what is and isn't realistic. And that's what we organize and fight for.

This book is written for the congressman, Democrats, and union bureaucrats. Why else would it propose a national alternative to world crisis? Even Reagan and Thatcher understand that's impossible.

Why else do they duck the question of import controls. Do they really believe the Democrats and bureaucrats who are pushing this solution?

"VALUES"

Why else would they "support traditional values of democracy, equality and community," when most workers understand the bullshit and hypocrisy that lies behind these words.

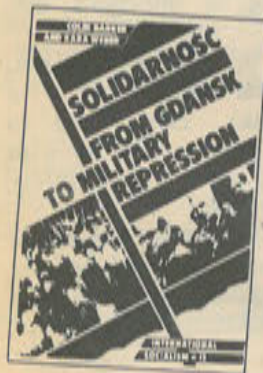
They might as well have added George Washington and the KKK.

Sorry. There's no royal reformist road to socialism and working class control of society.

The solution to this crisis is international and it lies in the organized power of the working class.

They admit their "fears that conservative assaults" on workers "will produce a tempst of political instability and rebellion."

For getting beyond the waste land, their fear is our hope. □



\$4.95 from Hera Press, Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118.

JOB SECURITY ISSUE AT WESTERN ELECTRIC

On Monday, August 15, picket lines were set up nationwide against AT&T's Western Electric Division, as 40,000 workers represented by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) joined union members already out against AT&T and the Bell System.

PROPOSAL

The strike followed an 80% vote against a company offer modeled after the first proposal rejected two weeks earlier by the Bell workers.

The management of the highly profitable AT&T is asking for across the board concessions in job security provisions, seniority rights, insurance, pensions and health benefits.

In addition, AT&T proposed a 3.3% first year wage increase followed by a two year base wage freeze and reduced cost of living adjustments.

This series of "takeaways"



come at a time when AT&T is making record profits.

Last year, AT&T's profits were up 5.7% to over \$7.2 billion, the largest mass of prof-

its reported by any corporation in the world.

AT&T's Western Electric subsidiary alone made over \$336 million in 1982.

In the first half of this year AT&T is doing even better, recording over \$3 billion in profits, with second quarter profits up 10% to all time record levels.

Apparently, AT&T management aims to keep its profits spiralling upwards, by copying the success other corporations have had in squeezing concessions from their union employees.

In addition, with the deregulation of the telephone industry on January 1, 1984, AT&T subsidiaries like Western Electric will face increasing low-wage non-union competition.

Job security is the main issue in the Western Electric strike.

Since 1980, the company has laid off 1 in 7 workers, eliminating 24,000 jobs.

(AT&T as a whole has cut over 52,000 jobs since 1979).

With increased automation, few if any of these jobs will be restored even during the "recovery."

LINE

On the picket line, in front of Western Electric's Hawthorne Works, in Cicero, Illinois, workers expressed bitterness toward the company which plans to close the plant by 1986, forcing most of its 3,200 employees onto the unemployment lines.

A construction pipefitter, with 18 years seniority, explained the strike to *Socialist Worker* in these words:

"I was talking to one union member this morning. He has 28 years service.

"The company's proposal would mean a cut of \$5,000 in termination pay for him.

"This cannot be accepted from a company reporting record profits every year." □

by BEN BLAKE



HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

by MATT FILSINGER

HOSPITAL SAFETY

Hospitals are supposed to be in the business of making people healthy.

However lots of people have their health damaged in the hospital—and not just patients.

In 1980, more than 200,000 hospital workers either were injured or contracted work-related illnesses that were serious enough to make them lose at least one full week of work.

INJURY

In fact, the injury rate for hospital workers is greater than the rate for manufacturing industries as a whole.

The range of health problems is great. These include:

- 1) contaminated linens in the laundry room—causing the spread of infectious diseases.
- 2) asbestos in the boiler room—causing cancer and lung disease.
- 3) Anesthetic gases in the operating room—posing reproductive hazards, and causing nervous disorders, an increased risk of cancer, and liver and kidney problems.

Many hospital workers also suffer back injuries from lifting patients, or having stress-related problems from being overworked.

Most of these problems are not covered by OSHA. There are no rules to control lifting, or prevent the spread of infectious disease.

As in other occupations, hospital workers need to organize. They need to build strong unions, with strong health and safety committees.

Only through organization and militant activity will hospital workers have a safe workplace. □

What's happening at your workplace? Send a report to Health and Safety Notes, P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118. □

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

WE NEED AN ALL OUT STRUGGLE



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

In recent negotiations between Chrysler and the UAW, the no-strike clause in the Chrysler contract made the union powerless in negotiations.

This clause, first written into the UAW-GM contract in April, 1937, was to become part of all UAW contracts following Reuther's gaining control of the UAW in 1947. He told a General Motors conference in August, 1948, that he had been told by a GM official that "this clause could only be changed by revolutionary means."

LABEL

Since then, anyone advocating the elimination of this clause was labeled a subversive or a communist. This clause is a weapon as useful to the labor bureaucracy as to the employers. It has destroyed the militancy of the rank and file on the shop floor. The clause is so written as to cover not only strikes but any kind of concerted action.

Thousands of loyal UAW members have been fired or penalized for "restricting output." They failed to meet production standards arbitrarily set by management. Such penalties are not strikeable issues. Unless settled in the plant, they must go to the impartial umpire, appointed by the president of the UAW and agreed to by the corporation. It some times takes a year or longer to get the umpire's decision.

Few decisions go in favor of the militant or a critic of the administration.

Now that they see how this clause handicaps the union, the rank and file may begin to question the value of it in UAW contracts. This clause gives the employer all the time needed to prepare for a strike. The failure of the union to make preparations makes victory in a strike difficult if not impossible.

The corporations, in their efforts to divide the workers, are offering profit sharing plans, quality of life and lifetime security for a few. Speedup is the order of the day. Industrial unionism has little meaning when workers are pitted against each other on the job in an effort to increase profits. Plant is pitted against plant. Region against region, and corporation against corporation. The labor bureaucracy's cooperation with the employers on these plans can only serve the interests of the employers.

The relations between Chrysler and the UAW have cooled since they failed to reach an agreement on regaining parity with Ford and GM. The ranks are talking about strike action.

The Big Three are cementing their ties with foreign producers in preparation for the 1984 negotiations. GM has ties with Toyota, Isuzu, and Suzuki. Chrysler with Mitsubishi, and Ford

with Nissan. They have ties with foreign manufacturers and with Ford's and GM's manufacturing and assembly plants in more than twenty-five countries. They will use their global power to defeat the UAW in the 1984 negotiations.

Any hope the rank and file of the UAW can have in the future must be placed in a few dissenters, some of whom claim they are socialists. They must organize an industry-wide caucus with a class struggle policy. They must fight for the elimination of the no-strike clause in all UAW employer contracts.

PURPOSE

Instead of preparing the membership for an all-out struggle, the leadership is planning more "solidarity days." The purpose of these mobilizations is to defeat Reagan and put a Democrat in the White House. This can only lead to more defeats as has been proven over the last fifty years. The power of the workers must be established on the shop floor, not with the Democratic Party. It, like the Republican Party, is controlled by big business. □



SOLIDARITY KEEPS PLAYING CARD STRIKE STRONG

CINCINNATI, OH—Solidarity between unions is as vital to organized labor as the right to strike, but it has become an all-too-rare phenomenon.

By standing and fighting together, workers at the U.S. Playing Cards factory in Norwood, Ohio, have won a partial victory against an all-out attack by management.

According to picketing strikers, the company's offensive against all four of the unions in the plant is being engineered by Leslie J. Racey, the new president brought in this spring to break union solidarity and militancy, "rationalizing" production by bullying concessions out of the workers.

VIOLENCE

The two-month strike has been marked by company violence, a blackout in the established news media, and harassment by the Norwood SWAT team of the militant picket lines.

When a picketer was thrown clear around a street corner by a scab's car, police moved in to arrest the picketer—for jaywalking. One striker told *Socialist Worker*, "The impression we get from the Norwood police is that we don't have any rights at all."

Although 644 production workers represented by Local 256 of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Workers Union August 19 to accept a contract which the union says is "the best we can get," these workers are staying out, refusing to cross the picket line of the Letter Press Oper-

by DEBORAH ROBERTS

ators Union, which is still on strike.

In spite of their settlement, production workers—among them women and Blacks—actively picket in support of the press operators.

Dennis Gross, a letter press operator at the plant and chairman of the union chapter, said that all four unions in the plant have a standing agreement to honor each other's picket lines.

"When one of us goes out, we all stay out until the company settles," Gross said.

If the current strike is settled, all four unions are committed to go out in sympathy when the clerical workers' contract expires in September.

The letter press operators went out at the same time as the production workers, around the same issues.

The company is demanding concessions which if granted would grant wages by 30%, decrease the number of paid vacation and sick days, impose forced overtime, give the company the right to lay off regardless of seniority, and increase the deductible on the health insurance plan from \$100 to \$400.

Two other unions in the plant, representing offset press operators and office workers, are also honoring the



U.S. Playing card strikers

press workers' picket lines. Both have contracts due to expire in the next few months.

Because solidarity has been so strong, the production workers protected their seniority rights and paid time off.

U.S. Playing Card is still a union shop, and scabs hired to take the place of strikers will not be kept on once union workers go back.

While the company failed to get the wage cut they sought, the production workers' union did agree to an 18-month wage freeze as part of their 37-

month contract, amounting in these inflationary times to a long-term wage cut.

The press operators hope that continued solidarity and militancy will mean a more clear-cut victory for them.

As one striker said,

"There's more unity here than the company ever dreamed there would be."

Send messages of support to Dennis Gross, c/o Letter Press Operators Union Local #11, 800 Broadway, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202. □

AFSCME WINS AT CALIFORNIA

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—For the first time, employees at the University of California (UC) are represented by a union.

Voting in May and June, over 29,000 UC workers in Clerical, Service, and Patient Care Technical units chose to be represented statewide by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

In the same election, the California Nurses Association (CNA) won representation of the Registered Nurses at UC hospitals.

OPPOSE

The UC Board of Regents allocated \$1.6 million to oppose the union drive, and the UC administration staged an all-out campaign against unionization.

UC claimed that voting for union representation would "limit" and employee's right to be represented by any other advocate.

At the same time, UC was arguing in court that a "no representation" vote should mean that the university would have no obligation to bargain with employees, nor to recognize any employee representatives.

Fighting for representation were pre-existing AFSCME

by JIM SWAN

locals on each of the nine UC campuses, and a major effort by organizers from the AFSCME International.

The existence on the UC campuses of cores of rank and file activists, and of militant locals with established reputations, made the campaign a successful one.

BATTLE

The fight is far from over. Two units voted for "no representation," but could be won over next year. Three additional units will not vote on representation until November.

But the major battle comes after winning representation. California has had fiscal problems since the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, and the state may have a budget deficit this year.

Governor Deukmejian recently slashed \$75 education from the UC budget passed by the state legislature, and \$1.6 billion from the entire legislative budget. This creates a situation in which public workers find it hard to make any gains.

Moreover, UC management continues to wage an anti-

union campaign. Two days before the end of the election, Joe Brenner, vice-president of AFSCME Local 1650 at UC San Francisco, was fired from his job after being charged with stealing a mailing list of UC employees.

Brenner denied the charge, and UC has presented no evidence of his guilt. His boss stated that Brenner must be guilty because he is a "union activist."

The local responded with a petition campaign, as well as by filing a charge of unfair labor practices. But similar, though less blatant, tactics have been used against union activists at UC, and more of the same must be expected.

Only the mobilization of UC workers to wage militant campaigns can counter anti-union moves by management.

BUILD

In the context of the state's fiscal problems, only the building of solidarity with public and private sector workers throughout the state will allow state workers to make substantial gains.

In this present period of take-backs and union busting, AFSCME's win among thousands of workers at UC is a major victory—now it must be built upon. □



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COPPER MINERS VOW TO WIN

SOCIALIST WORKER
SPECIAL REPORT



Strikebreaking state troopers

MORENCI, AZ—On August 8, 1,000 armed pickets, copper miners, their families and supporters, shut down the Phelps Dodge mine here.

"Today is the day everything stops," the miners vowed, carrying baseball bats, chains, and other weapons—in anticipation of a police attack on their picket lines.

RESPONSE

The mass picket was in response to the decision

by Phelps Dodge, one of the nation's largest copper producers, to demand massive concessions, including a wage freeze, a lower scale of wages for new hires, and an end to the cost-of-living clause.

ARMED

The strike began on July 1—2,400 mine and smelter workers, represented by 13 different unions, walked out. Within days heavily armed police, backed by court injunctions, began bringing scabs into the mine.

The miners, however, would not simply give in. They have a fighting tradition that

goes back to the beginning of the century—their struggles were immortalized by the songwriter Joe Hill.

The miners defied the injunctions. They ignored the pleas of their union officials. They organized mass pickets.

They brought their children to the picket lines, their wives, their friends.

The children jeered the scabs.

The pickets, 1,000 strong, threatened to invade the mine, bring the scabs out, and shut Phelps Dodge down.

The company gave in and announced it would close the mine for ten days.

It was a fantastic show of courage, organization and unity.

The victory was brief, however.

Governor Bruce Babbitt responded by activating the national guard, and sending 400 state troopers in riot gear into Morenci to break the strike.

Negotiations continue, and Jerald Spreitzer, president of Machinists Local 1132, says, typically, "This strike will not be settled in a confrontation, it will be settled at the bargaining table."

SUPPORT

The truth, however, is that this battle is far from over—rank and file miners of Morenci have fought too hard, and learned too much to turn back now.

Send messages of support to: Morenci Unity Council, P.O. Box 1017, Clifton, AZ 85533. □

TELEPHONE WORKERS ACCEPT NEW CONTRACT

by AHMED SHAWKI

The three unions striking AT&T reached a tentative agreement with the company. Indications are that the 675,000 striking workers will vote to ratify the new contract.

The unions—the Communications Workers of America (CWA) with 525,000 on strike, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) with 100,000 and the Telecommunications International Union (TIU) with 50,000—struck midnight August 6.

It was the first nationwide phone strike since 1971.

AT&T wanted "take-aways" in medical benefits, a freeze on starting wages, no job security provisions, and a paltry 3.5% wage increase.

Looming over the negotiations is the impending break-up of AT&T in January of next year.

The new contract, claim CWA officials, has reversed the company in some of its take-away demands.

But the strike was important in other ways. First, AT&T is not in financial trouble.

In 1981 it reported \$6.9 billion in profits, and \$7.2 billion in 1982.

Nevertheless, it demanded concessions from its workers—illustrating once again the need to take a strong "no concessions" stand in negotiations, whether with AT&T or Chrysler. Giving concessions

only leads to more concessions.

Second, it also showed the willingness of workers to strike to defend their wages and working conditions.

Much was made during the strike of AT&T's ability to continue operations without the 675,000 workers.

Some commentators speculated that strikes are no longer the best method of combat for workers—that the introduction of new technology requires "new strategies."

TACTICS

But this misses the point. The problem in the strike was that the trade union officials didn't want to strike—they were forced into it, without having made the plans or preparations.

And despite the computerization of telephones, some elementary tactics could have shut down AT&T—the mass picket, occupations, sit-ins.

Perhaps new strategies will be needed to fight the new technology, but the argument is too often used as a cover for not fighting at all.

The phone workers could have shut down AT&T by appealing to other workers and taking mass collective action. □

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