

## SUPPORT THE PATCO STRIKE

see page 15



# Socialist Worker

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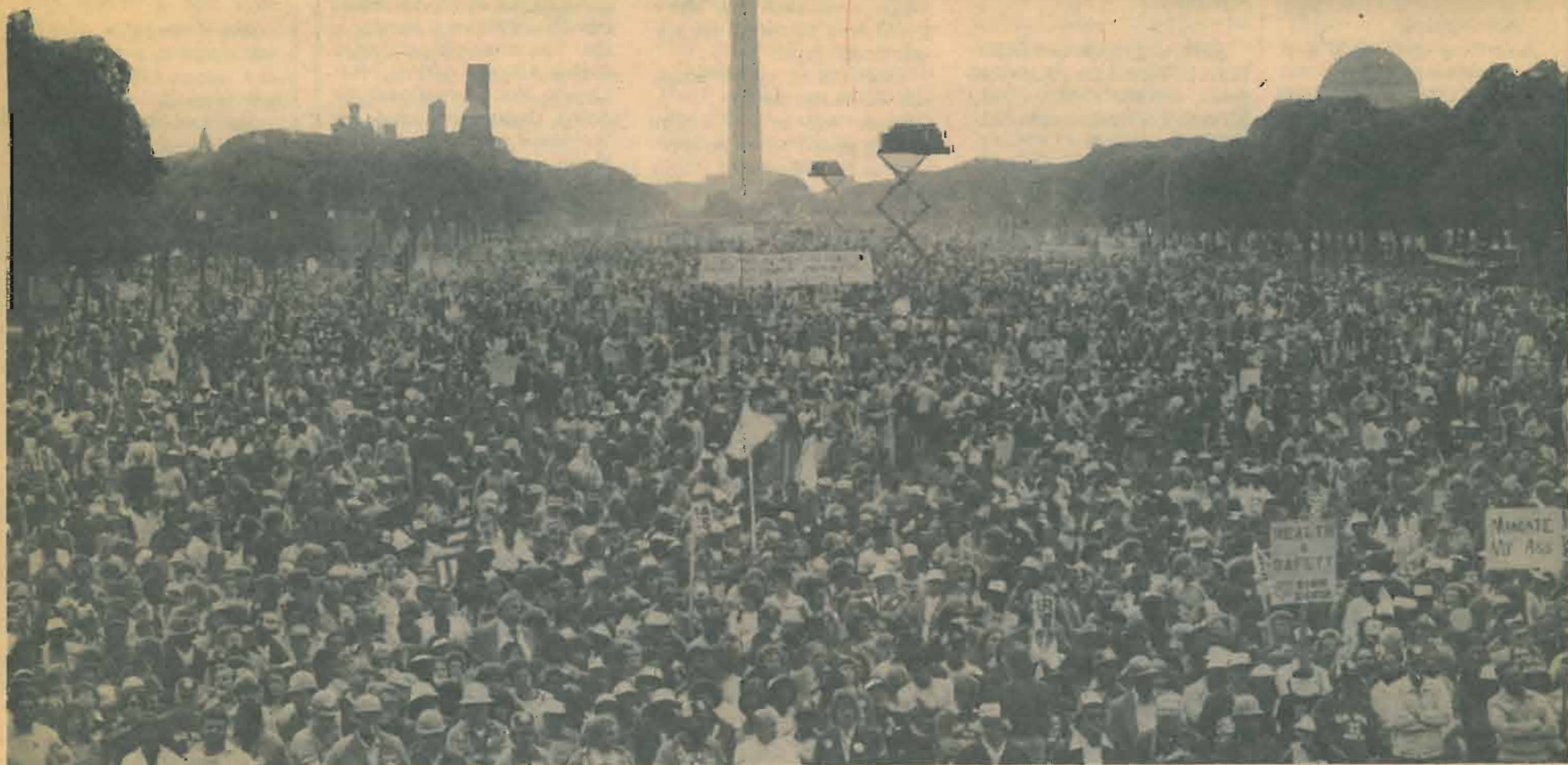
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# Solidarity Day: THE FIRST STEP



This month the cuts begin. Poor people and those who are managing to survive just above the poverty line will be hurt the most.

Hundreds of thousands of people will receive no welfare check this month—or they will receive much smaller checks. 300,000 CETA jobs have been eliminated.

Several million Americans will receive smaller allotments of food stamps. Rents will rise for families living in subsidized housing or public housing.

At the same time, the economic crisis continues to hammer working people. Inflation was ten percent in August. Interest rates remain sky high. Reagan's

promised recovery is put off farther and farther. We are now told that there will be at least six more months of recession.

It's time to say enough. The Solidarity Day march on Washington was a great beginning. But it must be just the first step. Let's put solidarity into practice every day. The time to fight back is now.



# Abortion rights attacked: pro-choice fights back



Marching for reproductive rights in Dayton, Ohio

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Reagan administration announced that starting January 1, 1982, federal workers will lose abortion coverage for themselves and their dependents.

In 1982, abortion benefits will be paid only "where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term," stated David Stockman's Office of Budget and Management.

This anti-abortion policy will adversely affect more than 8.7 million people.

According to Patrick Korten, a spokesperson for the OMB, in 1980 about 17,000 federal workers or their dependents had abortions that were covered by federal insurance programs.

The American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), a union which sponsors one of the 120 insurance plans offered to government workers, has announced that it will fight the latest anti-abortion ruling from the Reagan White House. □

## HARRISBURG, PA

In Pennsylvania, two Republican congressmen with ties to the New Right have introduced a vicious anti-abor-

tion bill, called the Abortion Control Act.

The purpose of the bill is to criminalize abortion in Pennsylvania, and its supporters are confident it will pass.

The bill states that human life begins at conception and then goes on to include the following provisions:

Restrictions on how abortions can be performed. The informed consent clause includes color pictures of a fetus before and after an abortion is performed.

Birth and death certificates must be issued for an aborted fetus, and the mother "shall arrange a cremation or burial" for the fetal tissue.

Parental consent for minors. If the parents refuse, the court may decide if the woman is "mature" enough. The court can appoint a legal guardian over the fetus to make sure the young woman does not self abort.

The father must be notified. If the woman can't find him, the court can take ten days to find him.

Abortion clinics, the physicians who perform abortions, and the number of abortions performed in each clinic, will become public record.

## DAYTON, OH

1,000 reproductive rights activists marched in Dayton, Ohio, on September 28th. The demonstration and rally was called by the Dayton Freedom of Choice Coalition Protesting the Ohio so-called "Right-to-Life" Organization which was holding a state-wide convention.



IUDs and birth control pills will be declared abortifacients and will be eliminated.

State health plans would no longer cover abortions. There would be a surcharge for private health plans.

Abortions in public hospitals will be eliminated.

There will be a 72-hour waiting period before an abortion can be performed. □

Reproductive rights activists organized successful rallies in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Harrisburg against the Abortion Control Act, where they outnumbered the anti-abortionists 3-1. Over 800 rallied in Philadelphia to protest the bill.

The Philadelphia Reproductive Rights Organization is continuing to organize to stop this dangerous anti-abortion act. □

The Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2) was represented on the march with groups such as the Cleveland Pro-Choice Action Committee, the Cincinnati Reproductive Rights Alliance, Oberlin Pro-Choice, the International Socialist Organization and the National Lawyers Guild. The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) had contingents from 10 Ohio cities.

The anti-abortionists had a turnout of less than three hundred people, despite the appearance of such well-known reactionary anti-abortion figures such as John Ashbrook, Marjery Mecklenburg and Barbara and John Wilkie.

The good turn out in Dayton shows again that the so-called "moral majority" is neither. □

# Ashtabula nurses seek support

ASHTABULA, OH—The board of directors at Ashtabula General Hospital have shown once again that they are not interested in ending the 14 month ONA nurses' strike here. Neither did they seem interested in the health care of the people of Ashtabula County.

## COST

Their goal, is to stamp out every trace of the nurses' union—at any cost.

The nurses swallowed their

by SHARON SMITH

demand for union security, which has kept them on strike for over a year. They accepted a compromise offer from a federal mediator which would grant the nurses a 12% wage hike, but does not include a union maintenance clause.

The hospital, however, is holding out for more. They don't want to be required to rehire the nurses at their former positions. They want to be able to pick and choose who to

rehire, who to demote, and perhaps, who to fire.

Negotiating committee member Kathy Keller told us, "This is so obviously a union-busting situation. No one can believe that the hospital is really doing this."

The federal mediator packed up and left town a week after the board's last rejection, giving up at least temporarily on reaching a solution to the strike. But the nurses haven't given up. The nurses are angry about this

latest slap in the face from the administration.

They are calling for a rally in Ashtabula on November 14, and are seeking support from the nurses, unions, and women's groups throughout the area.

The nurses need your support now more than ever. Have your union or women's group send endorsements for the rally and contributions to:

Mary Runyon, president, 2190 South Ridge East, Ashtabula, OH 44004. □

# WORKING WOMEN: THE BUDGET'S FIRST VICTIMS

ELIZABETH, N.J.—Working women who receive welfare cannot understand why they, who work for a living, should be the principal victims of the cut-backs in the aid to Families with Dependent Children, the main federal-state welfare program.

Michelle Ahmed, for example, lives with her two sons and her mother in a second floor apartment in Elizabeth, which calls itself "the industrial heart of New Jersey."

Ms. Ahmed's welfare checks will be terminated on October 1, as will the checks of hundreds of thousands of other working mothers across the country.

The Reagan administration says that assistance should no longer be provided to people who have "other means to provide for themselves."

But the effect here, according to Ms. Ahmed, is that "people who are making the most effort to get out and help themselves are the ones who will suffer."

Ms. Ahmed, who is 25 years old, earns \$8,625 a year as a clerk-stenographer in the office of the State Public Defender.

She becomes ineligible for welfare payments starting October 1 because her income exceeds the new limit set by Congress.

The new welfare law also says that a family with assets of more than \$1,000, not counting a home and one automobile, is ineligible for aid.

Ms. Ahmed has a large color television set that cost \$600 and a stereo system that cost \$1,000. But she does not think that these possessions should disqualify her from receiving welfare.

"That's my stereo, that's my TV, that all I got," she said, "I saved and scraped to buy those things, and now they're going to tell me I can't have them? I'd kill the social worker who told me that." □

# AND THE REAGANS GET NEW DISHES

Meanwhile, Nancy Reagan is deciding where to put her \$200,000 worth of new dishes. She has 19 pieces, each one of which cost \$950.

The dishes were purchased with part of the \$800,000 given Nancy by a group of millionaires—so that the Reagans could redecorate to suit their tastes. □



# Solidarity Day: it must be turned into action



Lane Kirkland

Solidarity Day was a fantastic success.

The sheer numbers were overwhelming—500,000 marched in Washington, D.C., according to the march organizers. The police estimate was 400,000. There were also thousands who marched on the West Coast.

There were hundreds of organizations involved, including contingents from nearly every trade union in the country. Only the Teamsters opposed the march.

## Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

Hundreds of other organizations joined the trade union contingents, including Black

groups, women's organizations, and a small number of anti-war and socialist organizations.

### SACRIFICE

The march was made up of rank and file workers, ordinary people who sacrificed time and money to make the trip to Washington. It was a far cry from the AFL-CIO's normal demonstration—a free ticket to Washington, plus a hotel room and drinks, with a little lobbying on the side.

Then there was the spirit. The marchers were noisy, enthusiastic, and militant. There could be no doubt that the demonstrators were angry, and marching not because they wanted a parade, but because they don't like what is happening in the country.

That was the march—fantastic, but the march is over. And it is also necessary to attempt to realistically assess Solidarity Day including its problems.

The march was bad news for Reagan. He has always hoped for, though didn't count on, some labor support, especially blue collar support.

He now finds himself—scarcely 200 days into his term—with the labor movement united against him, including nearly all of the most conservative unions, the building trades and crafts.

The march was good news for all those who took part. It did show the potential power of workers, and the potential of the unions to organize.

And it did bring hundreds of thousands onto the streets—most of whom had probably never dreamed of marching against the government. They did so on September 19.

### PROBLEMS

But there were important problems as well. First and foremost, the march was not

used to organize and build support for the 12,000 PATCO strikers, despite the fact that some 6,000 air traffic controllers took part in the march and were greeted enthusiastically by nearly everyone they met.

The PATCO strikers are still fired. Their union is being destroyed. And daily the picket lines are crossed by all the other airport and airline unions.

Secondly, it is clear, despite the absence of politicians on the podium, that the prime purpose of the demonstration was to give the Democrats a boost in their efforts to recover from Reagan's victories in November and in Congress. A machinists' banner read "Get Ready for Teddy."

Yet the Democrats have no alternative to Reagan's policies—from PATCO to the military budget to the cuts in social services, which were begun under Carter. No wonder former vice-president Mondale was booed when he spoke at a Solidarity Day march in San Francisco.

Finally, the march showed just how far we have to go—in the political sense.

There were thousands of American flags on the march, even some confederate flags. At one point a huge part of the rally rose to sing "God Bless America." The United Auto Workers union passed out tens of thousands of hats with the slogan "Buy American." And the American Federation of Teachers carried signs reading: "Education, the First Line of Defense!"

There is no point in overdoing this—it will change. And it would be foolish to think that the patriotism and conservatism that has so long dominated working class politics would disappear overnight.

### PRESENCE

But we do have to recognize that there was virtually no organized rank and file presence at the march—despite the utterly disastrous policies of the official trade union movement, and that the marchers were victims not just of Reagan's policies but also of the trade union leadership's unwillingness to fight back.

There was only a very small socialist presence on the march, and much of it was

## The attack on labor continues

In spite of labor's show of force on Solidarity Day in Washington, D.C., the offensive against the rights and living conditions of the workers in this country relentlessly continue.

A week after the march, the United Rubber Workers union announced in Akron, Ohio, that it was granting major concessions to both Firestone and Goodyear, in a desperate attempt to keep these companies operating in Akron.

### PROMISE

The union has promised Goodyear exemption from the national contract if it builds a new plant in Akron, including an end to cost-of-living adjustments and a starting wage of \$8.62 an hour, down from \$10.

At the same time, many major unions, led by the Teamsters, are letting it be known that they will not fight for better wages for their members in the 1982 bargaining round, which includes national contracts in auto, trucking, rubber and others.

"I'd be surprised if there's a lot of demand for big increases next year," a major union spokesman told the *Wall Street Journal*. "Most of

us will be happy to hold on to what we've got."

A group of rail unions has already announced that 12 out of the 16 unions representing 66,000 Conrail employees have approved deferring pay raises of up to 12% for the next three years.

The Teamsters union is leading this movement toward what the *Wall Street Journal* welcomes as "moderation" by openly admitting that it is prepared to give in not only on wages, but also on such key issues as work rules, flexible starting times, job classifications, as well as weekend work at straight time rather than overtime.

That is, of course, nothing new, just more of the same, as over the past two years workers have seen their spending power decline, their rights disappear, while thousands have lost their jobs altogether.

### ACTION

And it shows that Solidarity Day will mean nothing if the words spoken there and the spirit of the demonstrators is not turned into action at home—on the shop floor, in the unions, and against the employers offensive. □

## FIGHTING WORDS

*We hate their rotten system more than any mortals do  
Our aim is not to patch it up, but build it all anew.  
And what we'll have for government, when finally we're through  
Is one Big Industrial Union!*

Ralph Chaplin, little known verse to *Solidarity Forever*

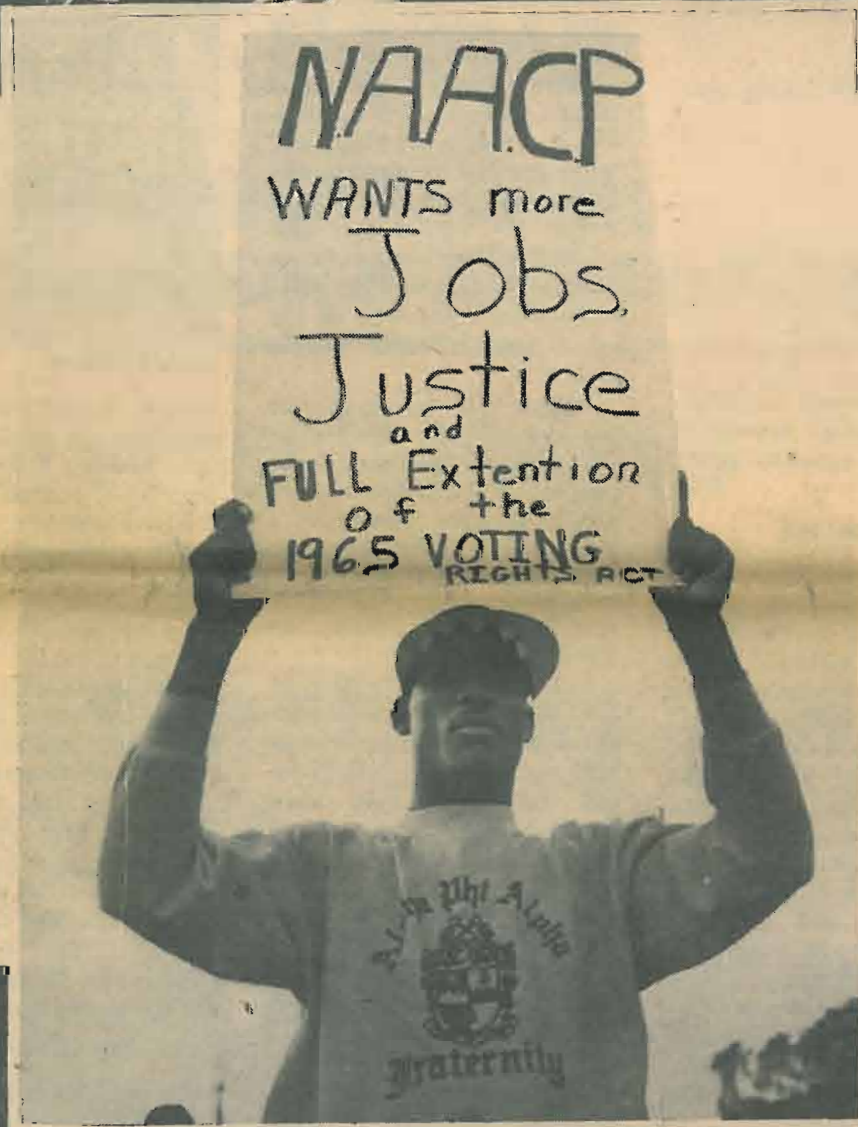
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# September 19, 1981: We came



## Half a



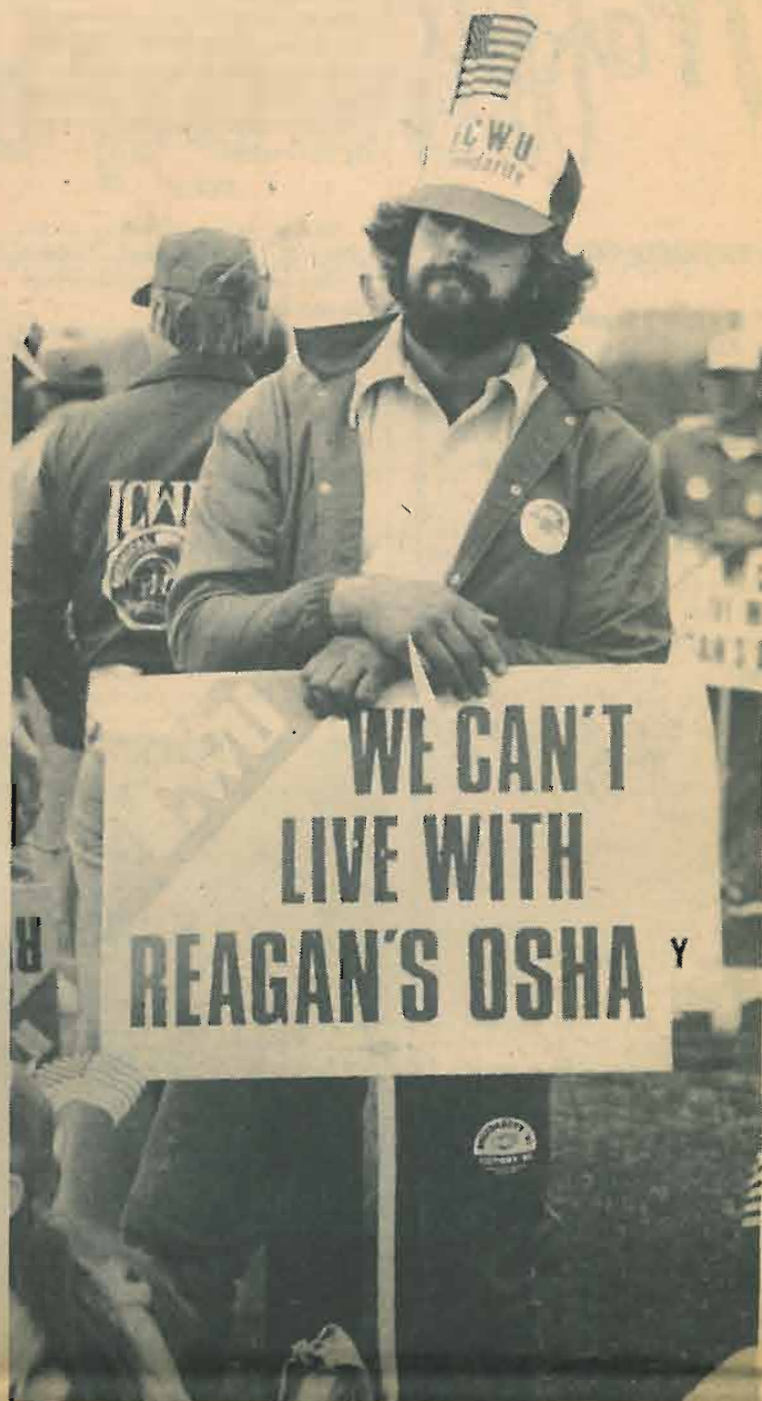
On Solidarity Day, September 19, half a million workers broke a 100 year old AFL tradition and marched on Washington—in an enormous display of opposition to the policies of the Reagan administration.

There were contingents from nearly every major trade union, including 65,000 from AFSCME (the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees), 40,000 from the machinists (IAM), and 20,000 each from the auto workers (UAW), the steelworkers (USW), and the IBEW (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.)

The NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) was



# to Washington...



PICTURES BY D.E. SHORE

# million strong

15,000 strong. And the National Organization for Women (NOW) brought 8,000. But most importantly, the size of the demonstration represented the anger of ordinary workers—for the march was overwhelmingly rank and file.

The marchers came from all parts of the country—even the West Coast. They overwhelmed the capital. The demonstration filled the vast area between the Washington Monument and the Capitol Building. Many workers waited as long as four hours just to get in the march.

## SPEECHES

There were problems on the march. The speeches were mainly irrelevant, and pointed

no direction for the future. There was a lot of patriotism and flag waving on the march. And there were a lot of people who wanted to have the march be a show of support for the Democrats.

## NUMBERS

But these problems are insignificant beside the numbers, the militancy and spirit of the rank and file workers who marched. And if this can be brought home and turned into rank and file action—against the cuts, in defense of the unions, against racism and the attacks on women—then Solidarity Day will have been a great victory indeed and perhaps “just the beginning” of a new working class movement in this country.





# Graffiti

by PATRICIA GOLDSMITH

## Not a labor issue . . .

The Illinois AFL-CIO's convention last week rejected a stand favoring abortion because, an official says, "this isn't a labor issue." □

## More money for Winnie . . .

Goofy, Winnie the Pooh, and Pluto want more money.

There are 125 characters in the Magic Kingdom at Disney World, played by 200 people, 40 of whom are full-time.

Their hourly earnings range from \$4.10 to \$5.20, and they want more.

Recently at midnight, when rehearsals ended, Winnie the Pooh, Eeyore, the donkey, Pluto, Brier Bear, Goofy and Mr. Walrus and two of the three Little Pigs sought out a secret meeting in Orlando, for the purpose of exposing their plight.

They requested anonymity because under Disney policy an unauthorized interview is ground for dismissal. □

## Sex in Russia . . .

The Russian government has decided to introduce sex education into Russia's schools—after decades of government enforced puritanism.

But what kind of education? According to Reuters, one of the leading Russian sexologists has this to say about gays:

"Many of the questions I am asked at lectures concern homosexuality and other perversions.

"I answer them, but I would not include any reference to the subject in my initial remarks.

"It is not my intention to disturb people I lecture to. A rift between the recreational and procreational aspects of sex is unnatural."

Leonid Brezhnev, meet Jerry Fallwell. □

## No evidence . . .

Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte, speaking in San Francisco, told reporters that he is certain that there are Cuban and Nicaraguan guerrillas in his country.

But, he said, "It is very hard to prove they are fighting in El Salvador."

In fact, he admitted that his government has "no conclusive" evidence to support its claims.

Amazing, isn't it. General Haig and the State Department have no such difficulties. They simply invent the evidence and call it a "white paper." □

# OHIO AFSCME: A SPARK OF REVOLT

AKRON, OH—If there's any lesson to Solidarity Day, and to the air traffic controllers' strike, it's that organized labor needs to push, push hard and militantly against the offensive being waged by the bosses.

## TRUE

This is particularly true of the 20% of the workforce whose bosses are the government—public sector workers.

The 1981 annual convention of Ohio state AFSCME (Council 8, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) was held the weekend of September 25, 26, 27, in Akron, Ohio.

The leadership of Ohio AFSCME seemed to recognize this need with the moving, militant introduction by Ed Zacovik, president of the Oberlin Local of PATCO.

by DAN PETTY  
AFSCME LOCAL 217

But that was Friday, the first day of the convention. By Sunday the tone had changed.

Like all other unions, AFSCME is under attack. 1981 saw a loss of close to 1,000 members in Ohio due to attrition, lay-offs, and suspensions—a significant number for an organization just over 28,000 strong.

Of the over 40 resolutions proposed at the convention, two were noteworthy. One called for AFSCME Council 8 to create a strike fund equivalent to its political action fund. The other called for a one day state-wide strike to protest the 13,000 union jobs lost through the Ferguson Act—Ohio's famous anti-strike law.

Both resolutions failed—no support from the executive board.

What was the executive boards' response? Their answer to the attacks and the cuts? A \$1.75 increase in dues to Ohio Council 8.

A dues increase, the officials claim, was needed because of (among other things) the projected loss of another 800 union members in the coming year.

The dues increase, it was pointed out by the membership, will guarantee a loss of union cards.

## SPARK

There was a spark of revolt on the floor. A spark that over the years will kindle and grow as the inept, parasitic and irrelevant leadership of the current AFSCME becomes more and more evident. □



Ed Zacovik

## TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Why are workers the revolutionary class?

# When workers challenge the system

Capitalist power rests on two planks. Control over the factories, offices, mines, and so on—the means of production, and the monopoly of armed force, through police and army, to deal with threats to its control over property.

## CONTROL

Any revolution means a fight to seize control of both of these.

The ideas that society pumps into workers' heads tell them they must not encroach on either the capitalists' property or the power of the state. We are told that property is sacred and the police and army exist to protect all our 'rights'.

Workers begin to question these notions when they find that to get what they consider decent living or working conditions, they have to threaten the rights of property and clash with the police.

We cannot lay down in detail how such struggles will develop in the United States over the next ten years, as it becomes increasingly clear to both workers and big business that no end to the crisis is in sight. But we can see how massive social struggles have developed in a revolutionary direction in the past (even where they were ultimately defeated).

The starting point is always when a government finds it does not have the economic resources to buy off workers' struggles, but that these struggles are too powerful to be put down by crude repression.

For instance, in Tsarist Russia until February 1917 and in fascist Portugal until April 1974, the ruling class was able to ensure profitability through the most vicious forms of repression.

But then popular movements overthrew the dictatorial regimes.

The provisional governments that replaced them were still committed to capitalism and tried to repress the workers' movements. But they were no longer strong enough to do so—even though the revolutionary socialists in both Russia and Portugal were then still in a small minority.

The provisional governments succeeded only in creating unrest in the armed forces, with rank and file soldiers joining forces with the workers they were supposed to repress, against the right wing officers.

In this way one of the planks of capitalist power was undermined.

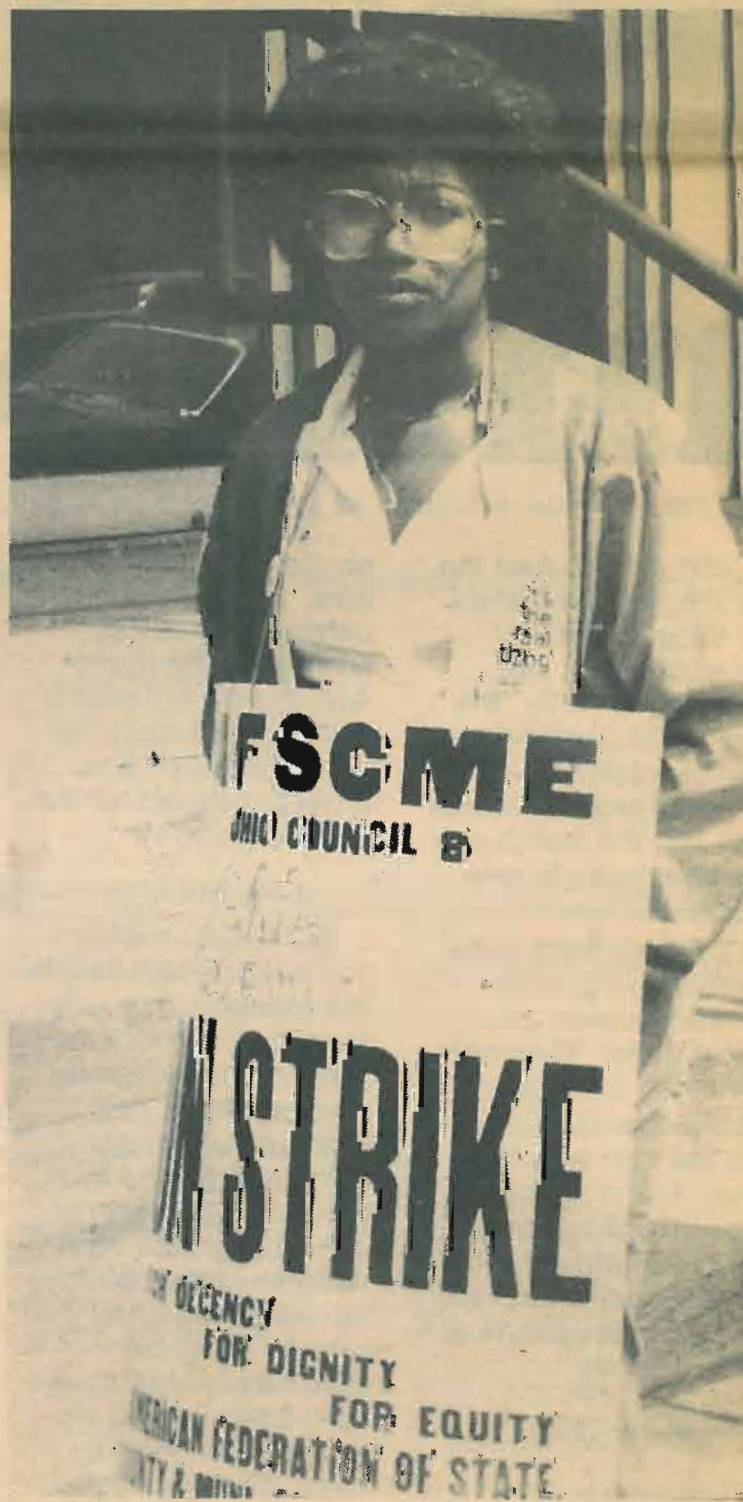
The factory owners were forced to make concessions to their workers. But this began to threaten their profits.

In desperation they resorted to 'Bosses strikes'—to sabotage of production, to closing down of factories, to deliberately creating unemployment and shortages—in an effort to weaken and divide the workers' movement.

The workers found they could only continue to defend their conditions if they challenged capitalist property—and they did so by occupying factories, by posting pickets to prevent machinery or materials being moved away, and by insisting that production carried on under workers' control.

## CONCEDE

The important thing is that the revolutionary challenge began with workers who in the vast majority were putting forth modest demands—but ones that capitalism could no longer afford to concede. □



A revolutionary challenge begins when workers, in the vast majority put forward modest demands—but ones that capitalism can no longer afford to concede.





## WORLD IN STRUGGLE

## IN BRIEF

Although strikes are illegal in Russia, news is filtering through of several successful stoppages in the city of Kiev. The strikes were in protest at speed ups and poor living conditions.

The first strike over speed ups occurred in the machine building factory of the Institute of Livestock, and was a victory after two days. A second strike took place in protest at water shortages in the area where the workers lived. After a two day stoppage, long delayed repair work on the water supply system was carried out. □

Alexander Haig, U.S. Secretary of State, was met by 50,000 demonstrators in West Berlin.

The march was organized by the Young Socialist wing of the ruling Social Democrat Party along with the Communist Party and young liberals, to protest at U.S. plans to site neutron bombs in Germany. The march ended in full scale rioting with hundreds of arrests. Thousands of police used water cannons and tear gas to prevent demonstrators reaching the City Hall where Haig was speaking. □

Who would have dreamt that the Jewish state founded to provide employment for Jewish labor would be almost paralyzed on Muslim holidays? We are at the height of the 'Feast of Sacrifice' at the moment, when the one month feast of Ramadan comes to an end. The feast continues for three to four days.

### SCORES

My house borders on some buildings which are still under construction. Scores of Arab workers are employed on these sites. The managers are Jews, except for a few Arab sub-contractors.

This Wednesday, most of the Arab workers employed on the neighboring sites did not turn up. Out of 40 workers, only ten arrived, most of them Christians from Bethlehem. On Thursday, no Arab workers came in at all.

What can managers do without workers? They drink tea, inspect the site and await the end of the feast.

In one workshop the owner takes me aside and whispers: "Believe me, I have tried to get by without Arab workers for a while to stop that silly nonsense of the holidays on every Arab feast, but it is quite impossible to find Jewish workers nowadays."

From *Ha'aretz*, an Israeli newspaper.

# Poland: the workers must take power

CHRIS HARMAN ON POLAND'S INDEPENDENT UNION, SOLIDARITY

Poland's independent trade union movement, Solidarity, held its first national congress last month. It did so to a background of growing tension in Poland as food shortages get even worse, and while Russia's armed forces staged their biggest military exercise—including mock landings on Poland's Baltic shore.

The continued distrust of Poland's workers, represented by Solidarity, for the regime was shown at the Congress itself. The congress voted for free elections to replace the government by the present self-appointed ruling party, and urged other workers in other Eastern bloc states to follow the Polish example and set up their own independent unions. It also refused to allow the TV cameras of the state media into the congress—because these continually distort what the union stands for.

### PROBLEM

The congress showed that the workers are refusing to give way to a regime they despise and are not being intimidated by the Russian threats.

But it also showed that the majority of the union's leaders are evading the biggest problem they face.

A year ago, when the Solidarity movement took off, all its leaders argued that it had to be a means by which the workers put pressure on the regime, without challenging the regime's power.

The problem now is that the regime has led the country to complete economic chaos. With help and advice from Western banks it has built huge new factories—and now can neither pay off the money it borrowed to build them nor find Western markets for the goods they produce. So there are immense shortages of food and fuel, with lines for almost everything.

The regime cannot solve this crisis. It can only threaten repression. It uses the Russian threat against challenges to its power and it has moved top army men into key positions, so that generals now hold the offices of prime minister, minister of the interior, minister of energy and minister of communications.

When Solidarity threatened a strike over its demands for access to the media, the regime said it would use the police to break that strike.

Against such a background, hostility to the regime is growing. People are looking desperately for some alternative to shortages and chaos. The difficulty is that those leaders of Solidarity who say it should put pressure on the government, refuse to present it as such an alternative.

### PRESSURE

Indeed, the very means it used to put pressure—strikes, go-slows and demonstra-



Solidarity Leaders in Warsaw

tions—are presented by the media as causing the shortages and chaos.

The so-called 'moderate' section of Solidarity's leaders around Lech Walesa have responded by condemning many strikes and demonstrations, and by urging workers to accept price rises and to work on Saturdays.

He won a vote at the congress to strengthen the full time leadership and to give it more power to stamp on local actions. But such an approach means preventing the union acting as it has in the past as a focus for the aspirations of all

those who are exploited and oppressed by the regime.

The great danger of the 'moderate' policy is that it will lead to a fall-off of active support for Solidarity, thus allowing the regime to move towards repressive measures. What is more, it also opens up the danger of people beginning to blame scapegoats for their problems rather than real enemies.

### COMPROMISE

Within Solidarity there is a powerful 'radical' current. This opposes Walesa's attempts to compromise with

the regime and is behind the widespread demands for workers to take direct control of the factories from the regime's nominees—the so-called 'self-management movement'.

Yet even the radicals are shying away from raising the idea of the workers in Solidarity taking power, the only the acute economic and political crisis could be solved.

Hence the dangers increase all the time of Solidarity losing its momentum, of the movement behind it fragmenting and of the regime beginning to reassert its power. □

## REPRESSION IN EGYPT: SADAT FILLS THE PRISONS WITH HIS OPPONENTS

Egyptian prisons are filling up with opponents of President Sadat.

Some 4,000 people have been arrested so far in what the press would have us believe is a 'democracy' created by an Arab friend of Israel and the West.

The latest wave of repression, although it has shut away a variety of well known opponents such as feminist writer Nawal al-Saadawi and Nasser's old friend Mohammed Heikel, has been aimed mainly at crushing Islamic opposition.

Using the excuse of sectarian street fighting in Cairo during June, Sadat launched a campaign against religious extremism both Muslim and Christian in order to manoeuvre public opinion towards a position where mass arrests would be 'in the public interest.'

There is evidence to show that Sadat encouraged religious differences by having leaflets distributed to inflame Muslims into attacking Coptic Christians.

The Socialist Labor Party—

which was created by Sadat as an official parliamentary 'left', but then got out of hand with its criticism of Sadat's flirtation with Zionism—published attacks on government handling of religious differences, accusing Sadat of exploiting the trouble for his own ends.

Just before Begin met Sadat in Alexandria last month the paper's headline read *No to Begin's Visit*. Distribution to an estimated 50,000 readers was stopped and this month the government has prevented the publication of the paper altogether. SLP leaders were thrown into jail.

### LIMITED

The left in Egypt—the legal left—has very limited popular support. Most workers and peasants have never heard of these parties because the government gives them no opportunity to be heard.

They are led by intellectuals—university professors, journalists—who would like to see their class (the bourgeoisie) take

a different direction. What disturbs them most is Egypt's isolation from the other Arab countries which are an important source of capital and cultural fraternity.

A similar Arab nationalism, with the emphasis on religious radicalism, is the driving force of Egypt's Islamic opposition. It also has little support from peasants and workers, but it does have wide support from the petty bourgeoisie.

Support for this movement has grown rapidly in the last five years as a section of the middle class fails to benefit from the hesitant inflow of western capital.

This can be measured by reaction on the streets after the arrests. It was limited to demonstrations originating from a few mosques in the center of Cairo after Friday prayers. The government sent in a force of the American equipped paramilitary police (the Central Security) massively outnumbering the demonstrators, exchanging CS gas canisters for the demonstrators' stones.



# Reagan and the "revolt" on Wall Street

During the week before unionists showed up half a million strong on Solidarity Day, the financial and corporate establishment was itself doing battle with the Reagan administration.

Windfall tax cuts combined with the prospect of a big military buildup were seen by the capitalist establishment as leading to a federal deficit \$20 billion in excess of the \$40 billion deficit anticipated by the administration for 1982.

## COVER

The federal borrowing required to cover such a deficit would keep interest rates high and perpetuate economic recession.

Those who are opposed to the Reagan administration but insist on the progressive character of US capitalism take comfort in this situation.

The good guy capitalist appears ready to dump the reactionary Reagan. The state appears to be charting a course of its own in opposition to the class interests of capitalists.

As Marxists we need to do better than say simply that this is only an appearance. How is the battle between Wall Street and Reagan compatible with the Marxist view that the state serves capitalism?

When capitalism is running smoothly, as it did in the post-war boom, friction between the state and the capitalist establishment is at a minimum.

But at present, after a decade of deepening stagnation, there are no easy solutions.

## STRIKE HITS PHILLY SCHOOLS

PHILADELPHIA, PA—20,000 teachers are on strike here, in a dispute teachers' union officials say may last until Christmas.

The strike began on September 9, when the school administration announced 3,500 layoffs and cancellation of the teachers' scheduled 10% pay raise.

The teachers won a no layoff clause in the contract following a 22-day strike in 1980 in addition to the pay raise.

The strike has been militant, with hundreds of arrests already.

On September 21, for example, 400 pickets gathered in front of Northeast Philadelphia high school and prevented administrators from entering.

Police arrested six pickets for violating an injunction limiting the number of pickets.

The city says it's broke. But striker Kathy McManus says, "I don't believe there's no funding. There's plenty of money for fancy hotels and commuter tunnels."

Support for the teachers is building. "The trade union movement will not allow this strike to be broken," said AFL-CIO representatives at a September 21 rally of ten thousand. □



## NOTES ON THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

by MILTON FISK

One has to recall that the Roosevelt recovery program in the '30s met with stiff opposition from the capitalist establishment. The capitalist establishment confronting Reagan wants profits in the short run and growth in the long run.

In a period of stagnation it is almost impossible to devise a policy that can realize both of these traditional capitalist goals. Whatever policy the state devises will be protested by the capitalist establishment.

### GRIP

Short term profitability would result from loosening the grip on the money supply. Consumer credit is at an all time low and would surge ahead with a lower interest rate.

Capitalists would borrow for improvements and generate demand in the capital goods sector. But the result would be a dangerously high rate of inflation in a very short period, which would quickly bring demand and growth down to their currently low levels.

Reagan has avoided the illusory course of short term profits and has thereby drawn fire from profit hungry capitalists.

His September 24 speech was not a reversal of the policy of long term growth fueled by tax cuts and military spending.

It was an attempt to pacify both capitalists and Social Security beneficiaries by smoothing off a few sharp edges. It was political fence mending around the basic economic policy.

None of this is to say that the capitalist establishment believes Reagan's supply side approach will generate growth in the long term. It has, though, no alternative policy.

### PROSPECT

It can complain about falling stock values and the prospect of an inflationary deficit. But it is not going to back up its complaints with a serious proposal for short-term profit taking. Wall Street can ventilate its frustrations.

But these frustrations reflect more the economic forces of stagnation than a real split between capitalists and their state. □

# Central American gath

For Ronald Reagan, there is no political solution to the situation in Central America. There is only military victory.

The workers and peasants of that region know exactly what such a 'solution' involves. They have plenty of experience to go on.

In El Salvador, a strike movement in 1932 was suppressed and 30,000 workers systematically murdered in the months that followed.

In Nicaragua, Somoza's rule of terror lasted 40 years. And in Guatemala, unnumbered thousands have died at the hand of the police and army's terror squads.

### EXPERIENCE

It is that experience, *not foreign subversion*, that created the Sandinista movement that overthrew Somoza, and explains the mass support for the guerillas of El Salvador in the struggle against their own terrorist government.

In the past few months, the war plan hatched by Washington has become clear.

The false documents supposedly discovered by the State Department revealing Russian and Cuban intervention in El Salvador are simply lies. But they serve to cover an extraordinary military build-up throughout Central America.

Military aid to the regime of Napoleon Duarte in San Salvador has been pouring in, and put directly under the control of the army.

STORY BY MIKE GONZALEZ  
PICTURES FROM NICARAGUA BY  
SUSAN MEISELAS

It is that same army that provides the organization and the funding for ORDEN, the right-wing terror group that has been responsible for so many deaths in the past 18 months.

Two months ago, the United States gave permission for Salvadorean troops to cross into Honduras in order to attack the guerillas from the rear.

### FORCE

In Honduras itself, the military build-up has allowed Honduran troops to cross into Mazatlan province, and to maintain a massive force along the border with El Salvador.

It is those troops that have attacked the guerillas and murdered the hundreds of peasant refugees fleeing across the borders from the army and the forces of ORDEN.

Guatemala has its own

growing resistance movement, operating today the country's 22 provinces. Despite 20 years of terror government has not been able to destroy the support guerillas among the Indian peasants.

Today, Central America is no longer the safe and able backyard it has been.

The lesson of the Cuban victory over Somoza was quickly learned by the exploited workers of the and the struggle has and risen in intensity since July, 1979. In then, Nicaragua itself the target for U.S. policy.

Last month, the president of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador met, ostensibly to discuss trade.

It was obvious to everyone, however, that the aim of the meeting was to coordinate their military activities under American auspices, consolidate and organize Central American Strike Force.

Its aim would be to First, to attempt to destroy the resistance movement in El Salvador. Second, to contain and eventually destroy the Nicaraguan revolution.

Joint military operations against the FMLN guerillas in El Salvador are already underway. And in Nicaragua, the Somocista National Government is increasing their attacks on the border.

Reagan clearly thinks he can win a military victory. He has learned nothing from the Nicaraguan revolution or Vietnam.

### RIGHTS

It is only three years since Jimmy Carter proclaimed to the world that the U.S. government was the champion of human rights.

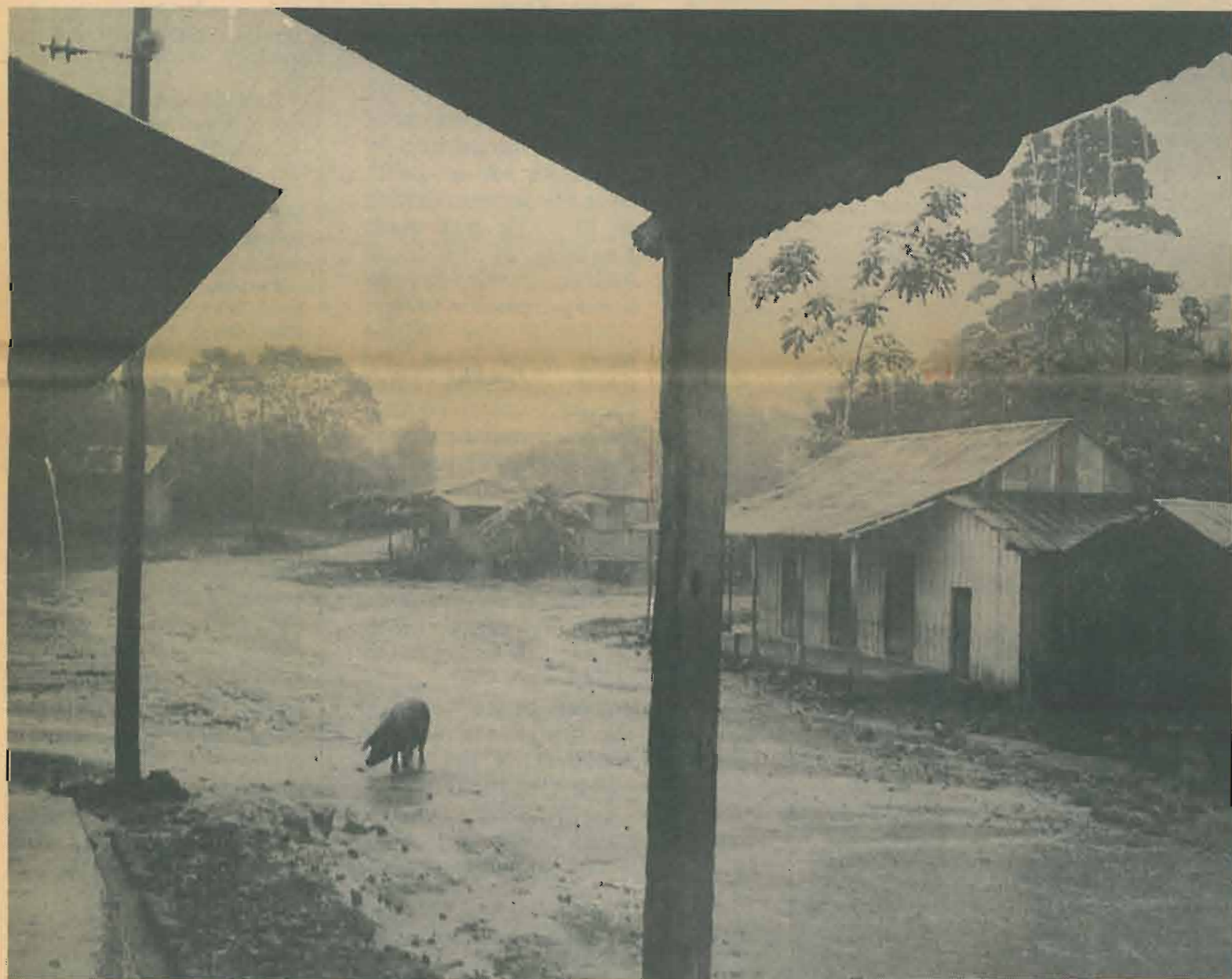
Yet the recent de facto recognition of Mexico and France legitimize the FMLN-FDI legitimate representatives brought a storm of protest. Haig, of course, denied it. But so has Somoza, which in 1979 was





# a: the ering

# of the hawks



vigorous defender of the struggle against Somoza.

What is it that has changed? It is not simply Reagan. The answer is twofold—Nicaragua, and the world economic crisis.

By the end of 1979, Carter too had abandoned his so-called human rights policy. And the Latin American governments that had supported Sandinismo, were already blowing very cool towards the growing struggle in El Salvador.

In the early seventies, Central America had become a favored new area for multinational investment.

New factories were built in the major cities, to take ad-

vantage of the 'stability' offered by their military dictatorships and the cheap labor that a hungry, largely peasant labor force could provide. The small bourgeoisie in those countries stood by as those who ran the state took the profits. They began to agitate for a share in power.

## RESULT

As the bourgeois opposition grew, Washington began to press its military stooges to incorporate them into government. They refused.

The result was the 'human rights' policy—an attempt to persuade the military dictators to establish forms of democratic government to include the bourgeoisie.

In Nicaragua, for example, Somoza refused point-blank, and the bourgeois opposition (the Group of 12) moved into alliance with the Sandinistas. The same thing happened in El Salvador, while in Honduras the so-called free elections allowed a few new people into the ruling group.

Even a little sham democracy can be dangerous, however. The attempt to offer a few favors to a restless middle class had opened the floodgates to a mass movement of workers and peasants that would not accept an occasional election and the odd Minister who didn't wear a uniform.

For as the crisis deepened in the late seventies, as prices rose and unemployment grew,

the living standards of the mass of the people began to fall even further.

Faced with a growing discontent and a movement clearly prepared to take up the Nicaraguan example, imperialism and its capitalist allies in Central America turned back to the time-honored solution—terror.

The 'human-rights' policy disappeared as quickly as it had emerged.

## PAY

As the recession deepens, capitalism will turn to its usual solutions. To rationalization and reorganization of its investment on a world scale, and to seek to make the work-

ing class of every country pay for its crisis.

At the same time, competition between the two major economic blocs, East and West, also intensifies in the dispute over markets and areas of investment.

In the deepening conflict, each power reasserts its control over its home area. The Soviet Union in Afghanistan, and the United States in El Salvador. At the same time, the nuclear arms race intensifies, as the frontiers established at Yalta in 1945 are first strengthened and then, perhaps, challenged.

Today, the people of El Salvador are in the front line of a struggle over the solutions to the economic crisis of capitalism.

That is why this armed struggle between classes in that small, almost unknown Latin American republic is of international significance. What is being tested there is the willingness of every working class, in the dominated countries as well as the industrial world, to accept the sacrifice that is demanded of them.

## TEST

It is not a struggle between Russia and America played out on neutral soil, as Reagan's spokespeople would have us believe.

What is at issue is the international solidarity of the working class in the struggle against the international strategy of a capitalist class in crisis.

Imperialism's solution could not be clearer—the construction of a massive, worldwide apparatus of repression, designed to destroy the self-organization of workers and allow capitalism to reorganize itself and seek its profits wherever they are highest.

The alternative is equally clear—the international workers' movement must organize its political alternative, prepare to impose its own political organization, and create a rational world.

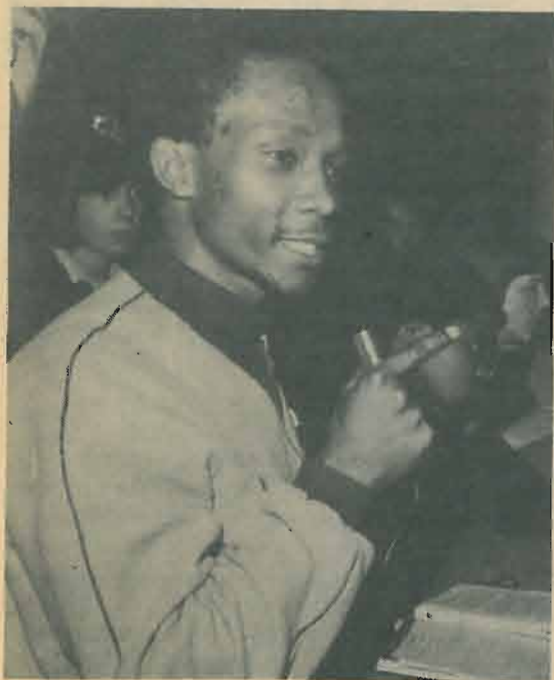
In a very real sense, it is that alternative that is being tested in El Salvador.



# Letters

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

## SOWETO STUDENT LEADER ARRESTED: SUPPORTERS APPEAL FOR HELP



Barney Mokhatle

We received this urgent appeal on behalf of Khotso Seatloho. Khotso, the former president of the SSRC (Soweto Students Representatives Council), was arrested in June this year by the South African police, and he has not been seen since. The authorities won't even allow his mother to visit him. Khotso's supporters fear that he has been beaten and tortured. It is also suspected that he has been kept this long in seclusion because the authorities want to make a major case of him, possibly even with the intention to hang him.

### SUPPORT

Socialist Worker readers especially should send messages of support to SAYRCO. Both Barney Mokhatle and Khotso Seatloho have come to the United States to raise support for the cause of Black freedom in South Africa. Khotso visited in 1977, Barney spoke for the International Socialist Organization in 1978. Send messages of support to: SAYRCO, 39 Nottingham Place, Baker Street, London W1, England. □



Soweto township: June, 1976

## Good work on the Attica story

Dear Socialist Worker,  
Well done on your Attica coverage.

It is difficult to believe that the rebellion took place ten

### It's not always so easy

Dear Socialist Worker,  
Do you really think it would be so easy to strike in support of the air traffic controllers?

The unions which did would certainly face Taft-Hartley, confiscation of their financial

resources, thousands more workers fired. All that has happened to PATCO and more.

It is also amazing that the rebellion has been written out of history so thoroughly so soon.

What good would that do?  
Deborah Long,  
Pittsburgh, PA

The anniversary passed with hardly a mention in the official media, though it was noted in several places that conditions are actually worse at Attica today than they were ten years ago when the rebellion occurred.

Anyway, all the more reason for a socialist newspaper.

I am waiting for the day that Socialist Worker becomes a weekly.

George Johnson,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Socialist Worker,

On Thursday, June 18, in Johannesburg, Khotso Seatloho, President of SAYRCO (South African Youth Revolutionary Council), was arrested by the South African security forces.

According to press reports Khotso and seven other members of SAYRCO were arrested in Soweto.

Khotso has been one of the most wanted men by the South African police since the Soweto uprising of 1976. He was made president of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council in 1979.

Khotso has joined many other Black and white political and student leaders who have been arrested during the past weeks. Khotso and the others have been held incommunicado, without access to lawyers and families.

Those brave and dedicated fighters for freedom and liberation of our people face very grave dangers at the hands of the brutal and sadistic members of the South African Security Police.

As President SAYRCO, Khotso Seatloho will have to face the wrath of the racist police, whom he has successfully evaded for the past five years. We fear for his life and call for urgent action by governments and all anti-apartheid organizations to ensure that Khotso and the other detainees are given access to lawyers and their families.

An urgent cable has already been sent to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim by Cannon L. John Collins, President of International Defense and Aid Fund International for Southern Africa, asking for his intervention with the South African government to ensure that Khotso and all other detainees be granted access to lawyers and their families.

The international community must act urgently to avoid that Khotso suffers the same fate as Steve Biko, who was brutally murdered by the Security Police.

South African  
Revolutionary Council  
B. Mokhatle  
Executive Member/  
External Office



## CAMPUS NEWS

### RIGHT-WING RAG

Nutshell, the "magazine for the college community," is a slick magazine given out freely at many college campuses throughout the country. This yearly publication, like others, is primarily a chance for advertisers to package together glossy ads for incoming students in the fall.

Underneath the thin veneer of sexist and silly ads are articles on "A Day in the Life of an ROTC Cadet", "learning to Love the Computer," and an interview with Jerry Falwell.

Falwell, who needs some good press, tells us among other things that "Young people are attracted to authoritarian and disciplinary lifestyles." "I don't think that Vietnam was a moral issue at all", "Our students will be acquainted with Marxism, but they'll never be acquainted with why it's no good", and "I consider myself a reactionary".

Editor Phillip Moffit and Publisher Christopher Whittle know what they're publishing. Students should know what they're reading. Nutshell is a clever attempt to soft-peddle some not-so-clever ideas. □

## PROTEST AT U-MASS BOSTON



Alternating between singing, jeering, and clapping, some 300 UMass-Boston students protested cuts in teachers and programs at a spirited rally. The students were demanding a resoration of funding that the governor and legislature had taken away—\$6 million. But as Janet Pontes told the rally, "don't take the money from welfare and human services." □



# "no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



## THE SIT-DOWN STRIKE: IT STARTED IN AKRON

In 1934, rubber workers in Akron, Ohio, forged a new weapon in the history of the workers' struggle—the sit-down strike.

The sit-down strike—workers themselves taking control of their factories—became the key tactic in organizing the rubber and automobile industries and it soon spread to all industries and locations.

### UNION

The first sit-down in Akron began at a baseball game. Players from two factories refused to play a scheduled game because the umpire was not a union man. The players sat down on the diamond, singing and chanting, and demanded a union man for an umpire. They won. And they won much more than a game.

Not long after, a dispute developed in one of the rubber plants. After being insulted by a supervisor, one of the men said, "Aw to hell with him, let's sit-down." Within a few minutes, thousands of rubber workers sat down. And in less than an hour the dispute was settled with a victory to the strikers.

Between 1933 and 1936 this tactic became a tradition in Akron.

### RUBBER WORKERS WHO HELPED SPARK THE CIO

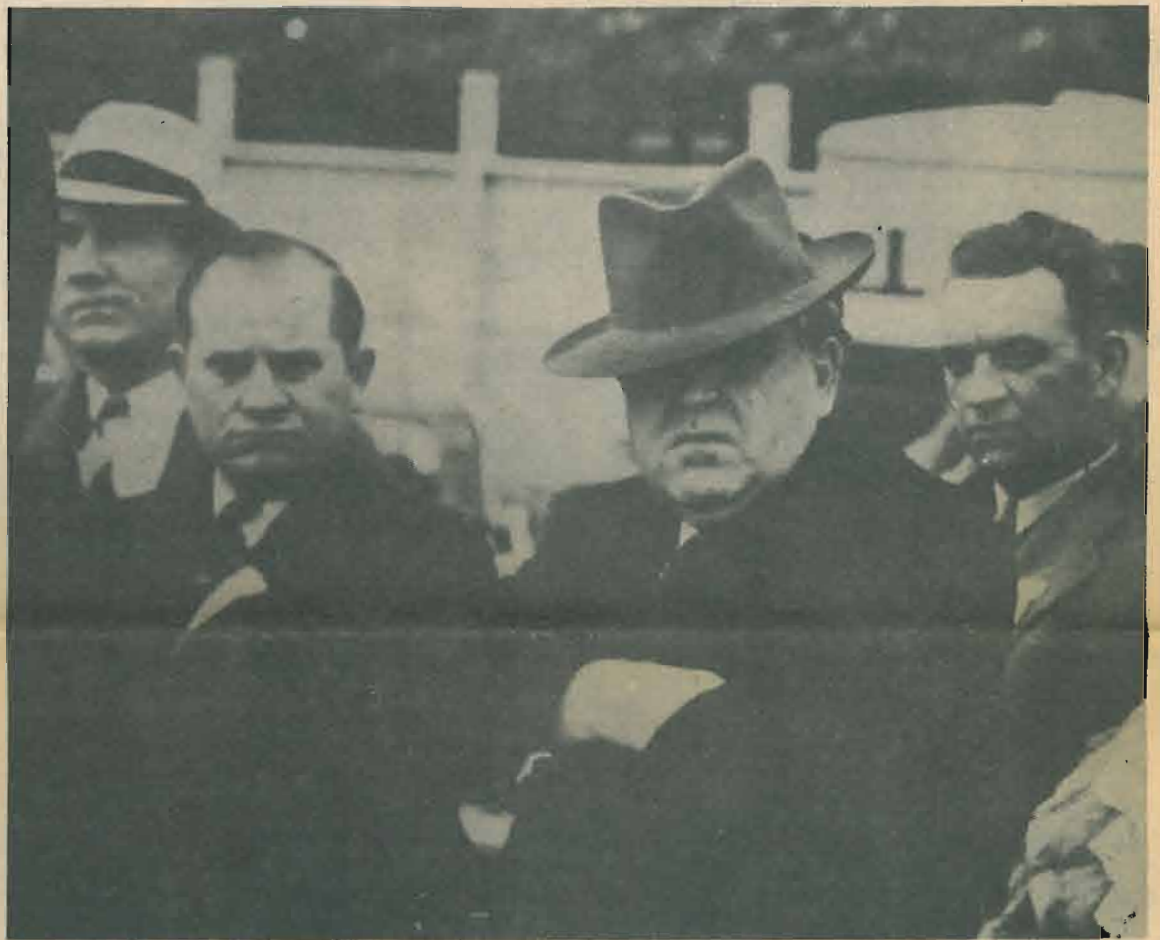
The rubber workers of Akron were the first test for the CIO.

### CAPITAL

During the depression Akron was the rubber capital of the world, the home of Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich and a dozen other companies. At its peak the rubber industry employed 40,000 workers.

In 1933 almost half of Akron's workers were unemployed. Firestone was closed down. Goodyear was on a two-day week.

The rubber workers were organized into an AFL union, the United Rubberworkers Union (URW). However, the union leadership organized along craft lines, and refused to fight back against the companies. Most of the rubber



John L. Lewis with CIO organizers

workers hated the union. They wanted action on their grievances.

In late 1935 Goodyear decided to lay off 1,200 people and reintroduce a speed-up. The announcement left workers shocked. "When I get home," complained one man, "I'm so tired I can't even sleep with my wife." The rubber workers prepared for strike action.

On January 29th, 1936, the truck tirebuilders at Firestone planned a sit-down for 2:00 am. When the hour struck, all the men stepped away from their machines. There was absolute stillness.

"We done it! We stopped the belt! By God we done it!" And the workers began to cheer.

Within a day all of plant one was shut down. Plant two closed the next day. Two days later, the workers at Goodyear went out. And by February 8th Goodrich was closed.

### PICKETS

Mass pickets surrounded the factories where the rubber workers were sitting-in. In the union hall, all sorts of committees to aid the sit-down and strike were being organized. And all this was done without

any help from the AFL.

The strikers received messages of support from auto-workers in Detroit and Cleveland, including one who said that they "feel very close to the rubber workers and can almost see themselves in their shoes going to bat with their oppressors, General Motors and Ford, who are no whit better than the rubber magnates when it comes to crushing their employees."

Within a week, the newly organized CIO sent in its top leaders to Akron, even John L. Lewis.

According to one of his biographers, after the three general strikes in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco, Lewis "read the revolutionary handwriting on the walls of American industry," and moved to establish the CIO, which would organize mass production workers into militant industrial unions.

The rubber companies tried to break the strike. They secured an injunction against mass picketing. But the rubber workers ignored that. Then Goodyear paid for a vigilante army of some 5,200 goons and scabs.

Word spread that the vigilantes would attack the union

halls on March 18th. The Summit Labor Council responded by announcing a general strike if there was violence against the rubber workers' picket lines. That night police chief Boss and his vigilantes marched to the union hall. Thousands of strikers met them, armed with hefty picket signs. Neither side budged.

### SLAUGHTER

Then, Chief Boss, realizing he was outnumbered cried out, "I've never led anybody into a goddamn slaughter house and I'm not going to now." The police and scabs broke ranks, running down the hill to the jeers and boos from the pickets.

The rubber workers had won. Goodyear capitulated to all their demands, save the important one of union recognition. In the three months that followed there were 19 quickie sit-downs all of them ending in victory for the strikers.

The Akron rubber workers' strike was the CIO's first victory. It gave confidence and inspiration to automobile workers and to the millions of other workers who were organized into unions in this period. □



"And please don't let them sit down in my factory"



# 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, latins, Native Americans, gays, youth — suffer most. We support the struggles of these oppressed groups.

We fight for women's liberation, supporting equal pay for all women. We fight for free abortion and an end to forced sterilization. There should be free quality child care for all who need it. We fight for equal hiring opportunities for women and an end to sexual harassment. Discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities must be fought.

We support the independent organization and struggles 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 of self-determination of the black community. We demand freedom for all political prisoners.

## • 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 these 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.

# International Socialist Organization

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

## ISO NEWS

# What's ON

### CHICAGO

Ben Blake on **Marcus Garvey**. October 4, 7:00 pm. Call 288-7572 or 248-1572 for details.

Christina Bergmark on **Malcolm X**. October 16, 7:30 pm. Call 288-7572 or 248-1572 for details.

### CINCINNATI

Reform or Revolution series. Ahmed Shawki on **Black Liberation**. October 10, 8:00 pm, 134 Kinsey. Call 871-1371 for details.

### CLEVELAND

Chris Harman on **Poland at the Crossroads**. October 16, 7:30 pm. Call 371-7648 or 321-6143 for details.

### DETROIT

Chris Harman on **Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe**. October 17, 7:30 pm, Wayne State University. Call 345-3489 for details.

### KENT

Chris Harman on **Poland at the Crossroads**. KSU Student Center, 12:00 pm.

### SEATTLE

Duncan West on **The Economic Crisis in the 30s and the 80s**. October 11, 7:00 pm, 100F 915 E. Pine.

Mary Deaton How **Labor Won in the Thirties**. October 25, 7:00 pm, 100F 915 E. Pine. Call 324-2302 for details.

# El Salvador and the Revolution in Central America

A talk by Mike Gonzalez



Mike Gonzalez will be speaking for ISO branches this month on the current crisis in Central America. Gonzalez is an authority on Central American politics. He teaches Latin American studies, has travelled widely in Latin America, and is the author of many books and articles, including, "Cuba: The Economics of State Capitalism," published by Hera Press.

Boston, MA  
October 4

Cincinnati, OH  
October 15

Amherst, MA  
October 5

Bloomington, IN  
October 19

New York, NY  
October 6

Indianapolis, IN  
October 20

Baltimore, MD  
October 8

Chicago, IL  
October 21

Kent, OH  
October 9

Seattle, WA  
October 24

Cleveland, OH  
October 9

San Francisco, CA  
October 28

Rochester, NY  
October 14

Los Angeles, CA  
October 30

Contact ISO branches for details, or write Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118. □



## BUTTONS

50¢ from Hera Press

"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

• Detroit, MI

• Northampton, MA

• Bloomington, IN

• Durham, NC

• Portland, OR

• Boston, MA

• Fort Wayne, IN

• Rochester, NY

• Charleston, WV

• Indianapolis, IN

• San Francisco, CA

• Chicago, IL

• Kent, OH

• Seattle, WA

• Cincinnati, OH

• Los Angeles, CA

• Toledo, OH

• Cleveland, OH

• New York, NY

• Trenton, NJ

• Dayton, OH

• New Haven, CT

• Washington, DC

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



# 1956: The Hungarian Revolution

October is a reminder of the potential of working class power. In October of 1917, the Russian Revolution brought the working class to power for the first time in history.

But twenty-five years ago, another revolution of almost equal significance took place.

In October of 1956 the Russian bureaucracy, which had taken power from the working class, was shaken to its very foundation by the Hungarian revolution.

## ACCOUNT

Chris Harman's *Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe* makes good reading this month, not only as background to the Polish events, but also because it offers a vivid account of the Hungarian revolution. Harman provides a detailed analysis of how the

economies of the countries of Eastern Europe were completely subordinated to the interests of the Russian state by the installation of communist ministers into the already existing state machines of Eastern Europe. But he also shows how these "revolutions from above" did not go unchallenged by the workers of Eastern Europe.

The Hungarian bureaucracy, led by Matyas Rakosi, was a faithful follower of Moscow's heavy industrialization policy. This policy meant a 210% growth of industry between 1919 and

## On the 25th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, Kevin Murphy reviews Chris Harman's book, *Bureaucracy and Revolution*.

1953, but it also led to widespread dissatisfaction among the Hungarian people as real wages dropped by 20%.

After the German workers' revolt of 1953, the Russian leaders believed they had no choice but to make immediate changes in policy and personnel in Hungary. The hard-line Rakosi was replaced by Imre Nagy who disagreed with the tactics of implementing the Russian line but agreed with the basic policy.

Nagy announced reforms that were designed to reduce the hostility to the government by improving living standards and reducing the level of police activity.

But as Harman points out, these changes did not result in basic changes in Hungarian society but only whether the government should use the carrot or the stick.

Nevertheless, this about-face sent ripples through Hungarian society, especially as the atrocities of the industrialization period became known. Then Moscow only compounded its problems by another about-face in January 1955—Rakosi was brought back in and Nagy was given the boot.

## SERIOUS

But, unfortunately for the ruling bureaucracy, the limited freedoms of the Nagy regime were taken seriously by the Hungarian people.

The "Petofi Circle" of Hungarian young communists organized debates where a whole range of topics such as the history of the workers' movements and the development of Stalinism were discussed. A writers' and journalists' movement discussed truth and freedom and grew louder. The limited reforms that the bureaucracy had initiated began to snowball.

By August, workers on the shop floor were articulating their own demands including questioning the wage computation system. During September and October workers demanded genuine workers' self-government in the factories.

On October 6, 200,000 people marched silently in the reburial of Lazlo Rajk, the man who led the underground party in Hungary before and during the war only to be executed during the Stalinist purges.

On October 22, students who were also rebelling against the Russian monolith called for a mass demonstration in solidarity with the Polish workers movement. On October 23, 100,000 marched in defiance of a ban on the demonstration. Speeches were made in solidarity with the Polish workers—who had taken to the streets themselves, raising slogans like "Down With False Communism." Demands were put forward that called for factories to be run by workers, Hungarian independence, and for the peasantry to decide their own fate.

## STATUE

After the demonstration, thousands marched to the huge Stalin statue and dragged it to the ground. Others, not satisfied that their demands would be met, marched to the radio station to broadcast their demands.

500 political police attempted to keep the crowd out of the radio station, but even with tear gas could not hold the workers back. Police fired a machine gun into the crowd and the Hungarian revolution had begun.

The news of the shooting spread throughout Budapest like wildfire as workers everywhere began collecting guns and ammunition.

After the first shootings, Russian tanks rolled into the city, but were met by thirteen and fourteen year old working class youth from the Budapest slums hurling Molotov cocktails. Barricades were thrown up to the invading troops: "Friends! Don't fire upon us! You are serving red imperialism and not the just cause of socialism!"

Some of the Russian troops, who had been told that they were being sent to put down a fascist uprising were amazed to find the entire city mobilizing against them. They passively carried out their orders, while others refused to shoot into the crowds. Some even handed over their guns and tanks for food and liquor.

The struggle against the old dictatorship brought forth new forms of revolutionary organization. Throughout the country workers' councils sprang up, taking control of running the factories, distributing food and publishing newspapers. A

situation of dual power existed. It was not the old state machine, but the new revolutionary councils that organized daily life in Hungary. The government had only the brute force of the Russian army to rely on.

The government made one last attempt to co-opt the workers' movement by once again putting Nagy in power. Nagy promised elections and a coalition government.

But throughout the country the reply of the workers' councils was the same: support would be given to the new government only when the Russian troops had withdrawn. By the 31st the government partially conceded and the Russian troops withdrew from the city.

The same day a congress of the workers' councils was convened in Budapest. It called for workers' control of production. This demand was repeated in most workers' councils and was a demand the government couldn't stomach.

On November 4, the Russians decided co-optation was no longer a viable possibility. Again, the Russian army invaded, but this time it shelled the cities first to avoid fraternization.

Workers in Budapest, Csepel, Ujpest, Pecs, and Miskolc fought valiantly in the streets but were no match for the 200,000 man Russian army. Tens of thousands died in the fighting. Even after the military defeat, the Hungarian workers would not give up.

Workers' councils organized strikes into December and continued to put forward demands for the withdrawal of Russian troops. But having won the battle in the streets the Russian army could now arrest entire workers' councils.

## ORDER

By January 5, Khrushchev declared that everything was in order and a new government led by Janos Kadar ruled.

Kadar declared that "the duty of the leaders is to represent the interest of the masses and not to implement mechanically their ideas. If the wishes of the masses does not coincide with progress then one must lead the masses in another direction."

The Hungarian Revolution proved to the world what real workers' power meant.

*Bureaucracy and Revolution* is worth reading for that lesson and also because it proves why workers' power is still the only real alternative in Eastern Europe—above all in Poland. □



Pal Pruch, 15, a Budapest fighter





# on the picket line

## SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY TOUR

CHICAGO, IL—Springboks, South Africa's rugby team, arrived in this country on September 15, in preparation for a match to be held here.

### SOLIDARITY

Ironically, the match was scheduled for September 19, Solidarity Day. Demonstrations held on September 12 and every day the following week, made Chicago less than an appealing site for the controversial match.

Plan B was to play at the posh facilities at Geneva, Wisconsin. Fear of property destruction and general havoc, led proprietors there to turn the Springboks away.

The Playboy Club in Geneva was asked to house the players. But when Chicago Nazis vowed to defend the establishment, the Playboy Club got nervous about its reputation and safety and closed its doors.

At the last minute the game was held in Racine, Wisconsin.

A legal battle surrounded the next scheduled game, September 22, in Albany, New York.

Governor Carey ordered the game cancelled, citing an "imminent threat of riot" by up to 10,000 demonstrators.

Then on September 21, a federal judge ordered the cancellation unconstitutional, so the game was on once again.

The state took the matter first to the appeals court and then to Supreme Court Justice Marshall, who refused to stop the game.

### BOMB

On the morning of the game, a bomb exploded in front of the door of the Eastern Rugby Union, the club hosting the match.

Principals involved in the matter called the bombing a "coincidence" and refused to call the game off. With 3,000 protestors demonstrating and chanting, the game was held.

The third game, scheduled for Rochester, was cancelled by the city.



The debate around the "right" of the Springboks to play at exclusive rugby clubs around the country has once again raised the question of whether sports are political.

Funny that when it is a question of the Moscow Olympics sports are extremely political.

When a rugby team from the most viciously racist country in the world wants to play, sports are just sports. So let's play ball!

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

## Chicago teachers strike area schools

by GLENN PERUSEK

CHICAGO, IL—Area school administrators are learning how to break strikes. One of the three teachers' strikes here has been ended.

The means will be familiar to *Socialist Worker* readers.

In Elgin, Illinois, 1,300 teachers struck September 10. They were remarkably successful at mobilizing community support for their cause. Rallies were held, parents and students were involved.

### COURT

So the school superintendent went to court to get a judge to force the teachers back to work. Kane County Circuit Judge John Krause issued the order.

But the teachers' union leaders refused to "order" their membership back to work. And the membership overwhelmingly rejected the idea of going back without a settlement.

So Judge Krause jailed for union heads. He said they would remain in jail until the teachers went back to work. The next day the police hauled the teachers out of their cells and into negotiations.

Hours later, a tentative agreement was reached. The four were released.

The settlement included small gains for the teachers, but wages will not keep up with the cost of living. The end result is to delay the real battle. The Elgin teachers will have to strike again if they wish to preserve their standard of living.

At Riverside-Brookfield (R-B) High School teachers (90) and a Bellwood (140) teachers are also on strike.

At R-B the main demands are binding arbitration, an end to obligatory hall duty (a contract violation for the past three years), and wages.

The school board won't give in to binding arbitration because it would "infringe on management's right to make judgments". They won't even negotiate the hall duty issue which "turns teachers into jailers" as one picket sign said. On this, the teachers merely want the issue negotiated and in the contract they haven't said they won't do hall duty.

### LOST

In recent years wages at R-B have been 26th out of 27 Cook County school districts. Jim Larson, a teachers' spokesperson calculates that, based on median salaries, R-B teachers have lost \$1.5 million in the last five years when compared to the Cook County average.

The teachers are demanding a 11% increase to \$13,600 base. This demand is one thousand dollars less than nearby Lyon teachers already get.

Even though the school board is in the best financial situation in years (having just passed a large referendum) it won't give in to even this modest wage demand. No wonder they don't want binding arbitration.

And to add insult to injury the R-B superintendent is one of the best paid in the county.

In Bellwood, teachers are asking for a 10% increase over the present base salary of \$12,061. The board is offering 4.4%. What this means is that from the very beginning the teachers are negotiating a wage cut, when inflation is considered. The question is just how much of a cut it will be.

Though on the defensive, the Bellwood teachers are well organized. Regular bulletins are issued to the community and a strike headquarters has been set up at local recreation building.

The parents of Bellwood have held rallies at the school board building and they have joined the picket line and have donated food and other material support.

### ELIMINATE

One bulletin to the community lists all the programs the superintendent has eliminated in order to "improve" the quality of education.

They have made such a good case that the school board doesn't want to answer the parents. A one bulletin says: "Unfortunately some of your school board members have disconnected their phones."

Victory to the teachers!

## TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

# An open letter to William Marshall, President, Michigan AFL-CIO

Dear President Marshall,

You have indicated your interest in establishing a closer relationship between union officials and the rank and file worker. To do so I suggest the following steps be taken to re-establish the confidence of workers in the union leadership:

1. Reduce all officers salaries by 50 percent.
2. Withdraw support from Democratic and Republican politicians. Join minority groups in a campaign to form a party of workers.
3. Stop referring to Russia, China and other state capitalist states as either socialist or communist.

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

4. Adopt the methods of the Polish workers in Solidarity in dealing with a capitalist government.

5. Instead of holding a closed convention in the Hyatt-Regency Hotel in Dearborn, as you recently did, hold future conventions in a union or public auditorium to permit the public to witness the proceedings.

6. Launch an educational campaign in the history of the U.S. labor movement giving the left wing parties the credit they deserve in the building of the AFL-CIO unions.

7. Recognize that only through class struggle can labor turn the tide against Reagan's attack on the poor and on organized labor.

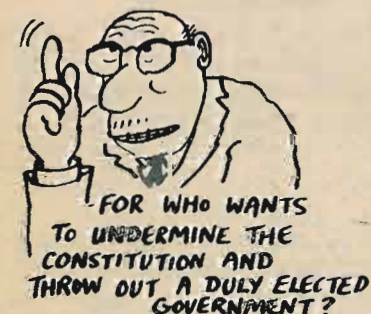
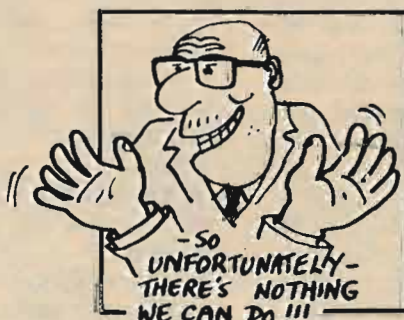
8. Launch a campaign for the 30 hour week with 40 hours pay.

9. Defend the affirmative action program in the employment of women and Blacks.

10. End labor's support of America's foreign policy in Latin America, South Africa and of Zionism in the Middle East.

Fraternally yours,  
John Anderson

P.S. I have been active in the labor movement since 1933—a period of 48 years. 45 years in the U.A.W.







# Support the PATCO strike!

**SAN FRANCISCO, CA**—Striking air traffic controllers brought traffic to a standstill on Highway 101 south of here, when they picketed and stalled cars in front of the San Francisco International Airport.

Some 600 PATCO members and supporters took part in the demonstration, which began in the United Airlines departure area and spread onto the upper level parkway.

## STANDSTILL

Traffic in both directions on U.S. 101 was at a standstill for 10 miles at the height of the protest, as cars trying to get into the airport backed up onto the highway.

There were several fights with drivers, and at one point one man drove his car through police barricades into the demonstration, injuring Terry Horton, an air traffic controller from San Jose.

The demonstration lasted nearly three hours.

One week earlier the PATCO strikers marched at the front of the Solidarity Day Rally in San Francisco and received a standing ovation from participants. □

by SANDY HIOTT

## SOLIDARITY FOREVER

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**—And why isn't machinists' president William Winpisinger supporting the strike?

In a nasty response to Suzanne Gordon, who wrote a column in the *Boston Globe* calling for labor to support PATCO, Winpisinger called any suggestion of solidarity action "airy," "bubble-headed" and "foolhardy."

Why? According to this

## NO PICKETS

**NEW YORK, NY**—The Airline Pilot's Association has called off its campaign against New York Air, rather than aid the air traffic controllers' strike.

The pilots, who oppose the controllers' action, stopped their own picketing and postponed bigger demonstrations at airports so that people wouldn't think they sympathize with the controllers.

When New York Air opened new offices in Detroit and Buffalo, the pilots, for the first time, didn't picket. □

champion of the working class:

"Our attorneys warn us that if I, as International president, should sanction, encourage or approve a sympathy strike under these conditions, I would risk the IAM's entire financial reserves."

Winpisinger also notes that PATCO is striking the FAA rather than the airlines that employ IAM members.

"It should be recognized that the IAM has a no-strike clause with the airlines."

Finally, Winpisinger reminds us that the IAM is a "democratic union."

## SECRET

"Before our members walk a picket line they themselves must have sufficient reason to vote approval of strike action by a two thirds majority in a secret ballot."

Nevertheless Winpisinger says that "I personally, would not cross PATCO's picket lines."

Hooray. No wonder the labor movement is at its worst point in decades! □



On the picket line in Oberlin, Ohio

## BOSTON LEGAL DEFENSE

**BOSTON, MA**—Supporters of the PATCO strike here are raising money to defend three strikers indicted by a federal grand jury.

Kevin Brophy, president of Boston Local 215 and two Local 215 members, Frank Sweezy and Michael Cook, are among 76 controllers around the country who face felony charges for conducting an illegal strike.

## JAIL

If convicted they could each be jailed for a year and forced to pay a \$1,000 fine.

According to the Boston support group, "These fellow trade unionists need our help."

"The cost of defending 76 people in criminal trials in many cities is staggering.

"Thousands of dollars from other unions are now flowing into the PATCO Family Fund set up by the AFL-CIO to help striking controllers support their families.

"But the strikers legal defense fund still needs money—badly."

Send donations and messages of support to:

Labor's Legal Defense Fund, PATCO Local 215, Box 147, East Boston, MA 02128. □

## AFSCME SUPPORT

**AKRON, OH**—Speaking to the delegates at AFSCME's Ohio state convention in September, Ed Zacovik, the president of PATCO's big Oberlin, Ohio, local, reminded the delegates of the strike's issues:

The strikers, according to Zacovik, want retirement at any age, after 20 years. Air controllers, he said, work an average of only 15 years now, and 89% of all controllers retire on medical disability.

## RUSSIA

The strikers also want a 32-hour week. The FAA is offering to pay the controllers forty-two hours pay for forty hours work, but Zacovik reminded the delegates that only in the United States and Russia are controllers still forced to work 40 hours.

The controllers are also demanding new computers. The present equipment is ten years old and totally outdated, he said.

Zacovik received an emotional, standing ovation. □

## SENTENCED

**NEW ORLEANS, LA**—Six striking air traffic controllers here have been sentenced to 312 hours of "public service work"—unpaid labor, at an airport, train station or bus depot.

The controllers were convicted on August 28 for refusing to obey court orders to return to work in the strike by PATCO.

The Federal District Judge issued six month jail terms but suspended them saying, "I think it is only fair for the public to be repaid for the cost and inconvenience you caused."

He ordered the strikers to do work but not anywhere near airport traffic towers where scab controllers are now working. □



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# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

## PATCO STRIKERS JAM SEATTLE AIRPORT

by GRETCHEN ENGLE

SEATTLE, WA—On Sunday, September 20th, 350 people picketed here at the Seattle-Tacoma airport terminal in support of the striking air traffic controllers.

The union supporters first rallied at a park near the terminal.

The rally, sponsored by the Washington State Labor Council, the King County Labor Council and PATCO locals, came on the 49th day of the union's nationwide strike, which has left 222 PATCO members out of work in the Puget Sound area.

### CONTROL

Loren Smith, president of air-controllers Local 505, told the crowd the government would not be able to continue controlling air traffic much longer without the union, especially with winter and treacherous weather ahead.

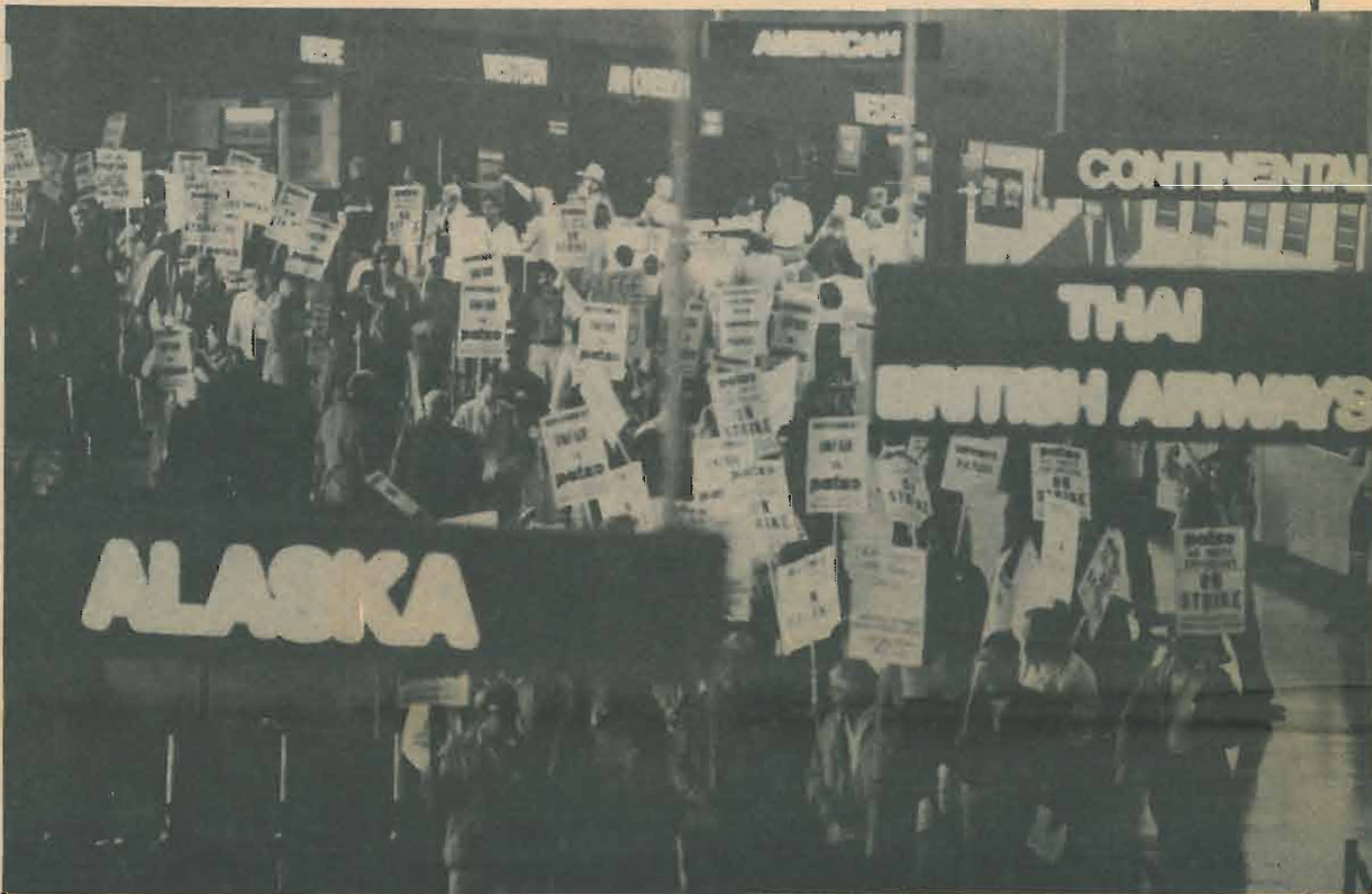
His main message was an appeal to all unions to support striking members any way they could because if they did not, their unions would be president Reagan's next target.

"Our struggle is a struggle for all labor," Smith said. "If we fail, all of labor will suffer. If PATCO fails, you'll hang. You'll be back in the 1930's."

### PICKET

The strikers and their supporters then began a caravan to the terminal where they started a spirited picket line along the passenger check-in area. The pickets chanted, "Go home, go home; the life you save may be your own," and "Don't fly, don't fly; it's very likely you will die."

Several of the PATCO strikers said they felt more picket lines such as this one were needed to show labor support for the strike and to keep the strikers and their demands visible to the public.



PATCO strikers and supporters invade Seattle-Tacoma airport

## Police attack El Salvador demo in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—Over 5,000 people demonstrated here against the visit of Napoleon Duarte "President" of the Salvadorean Junta, who was visiting San Francisco on September 27, as part of a Reagan supported public relations campaign in the U.S.

### REFUGEES

The 50,000 Salvadorean refugees here in San Francisco, which is the largest Salva-

dorean community in the U.S., viewed Duarte's visit as an insult. The refugees have suffered from the repressive and genocidal policies of the junta.

The demonstration was called by Casa El Salvador and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) also protested

U.S. involvement in El Salvador.

People chanted slogans such as "No Draft, No War, U.S. out of El Salvador" and "Duarte, Reagan, you can't hide we charge you with genocide."

### PICKET

The demonstrators, four and five abreast, formed a moving picket line which encircled the entire square block of the hotel at which Duarte was speaking.

There was a confrontation atmosphere from the start. As the demonstration began the police appeared wearing full riot gear, mounted on horseback, riding motorcycles, and marching in formation.

Police crews filmed the demonstrators. This was the first demonstration with this kind of confrontational atmosphere since the demons-

trations against the Vietnam War.

This confrontational atmosphere was heightened by the presence of about 50 moonies who blocked the demonstration in front of the hotel and shouted right-wing slogans.

Without warning or provocation the police attacked the crowd, prodded demonstrators with their night-sticks, tore up picket signs, and beat up both demonstrators and bystanders. Two people were seriously injured by the police and six people were arrested.

### PROTEST

Upon hearing of the police violence some members of Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union who were working at the hotel at the time walked off their jobs in protest.

Some of the demonstrators regrouped at a nearby Catholic church where a brief rally was held to protest the police brutality and the U.S. backing of Duarte's bloody regime. □

BY SANDY HIOTT

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