

**TEN YEARS OF
LEGAL ABORTION
SEE PAGE 2**



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Central America see page 13

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MIAMI EXPLODES IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL

**BLACKS ANSWER
POLICE ATTACKS**



For two days, Miami Blacks took to the streets in an armed fight with the police

Blacks in Miami have rebelled again. On December 28, Neville Johnson, a 20 year-old Black worker, was shot and killed by a white cop.

When the news of the shooting reached the Overtown community, just north of downtown Miami, a spontaneous rebellion broke out.

STRAW

It was the final straw. Police brutality is rampant in Miami, and the memory of 1980, when nothing was done to the murderers of Arthur McDuffie, led Blacks to believe that the only justice is in the streets.

Police brutality ignited Miami, but there were many other factors.

BREEDS

Hunger, unemployment, poverty—all these were also behind the rebellion. And these are the conditions not just for Overtown Blacks, but increasingly, for millions and millions of Americans.

So we must understand that there will be more rebellions, and not just by Blacks.

The job of socialists and working class militants is to begin to build on the anger and fighting spirit shown in Miami—so that the system itself—which breeds poverty and unemployment—can be challenged. □

January 22, 1983: ten years of legalized abortion

by BARBARA WINSLOW

January 22, 1983, marks the tenth anniversary of the legalization of abortion—a tremendous victory won by the women's liberation movement.

Prior to the legalization of abortion, women's lives were always in danger once they became sexually active.

It was all but impossible to obtain a therapeutic abortion.

In 1966, fewer than 8,000 legal abortions were performed.

Only 7% of all hospital abortions were granted to non-white women.

ILLEGAL

Over one million women a year resorted to the terror of illegal abortion.

There were countless grisly stories: One doctor so drunk that he "perforated the woman's vagina . . . tearing loops of bowel with the curette . . ."



Or the Los Angeles real estate man, also an abortionist, who killed a woman by administering too much anesthesia.

Equally frightening were the stories of the self-induced abortion—women who used lye, bleach, coat hangers, rubber tubes, knitting needles

and soap solutions in a desperate attempt to end an unwanted pregnancy.

An estimated one thousand women died every year—80% of them were women of color.

No one knows the numbers of women who were maimed, mutilated or committed suicide.

The movement for abortion rights developed with the radical women's liberation movement of the 1960's.

A woman's right to abortion was prerequisite for a woman's equal participation in society.

The demand raised by the women's movement was for free abortion on demand, an end to all restrictive abortion laws and an end to forced sterilization.

In this period women and men openly defied the law.

Dedicated medical people performed safe and inexpensive abortions.

ORGANIZED

Others organized referral services, raised money and prepared legal defenses. Many publicly challenged the laws.

Hundreds of thousands of people lobbied, challenged state laws and hospital boards, rallied, picketed, sat-in, disrupted state legislatures—demanding that women have the right to abortion.

And it was in this context that in 1973 the Supreme Court legalized abortion.

As a result, thousands of

women's lives have been saved.

An estimated one million women each year have a safe and legal abortion.

According to the Atlanta Center for Disease Control in the last year there were no abortion related deaths.

Furthermore the health of children improved. Statistics show a dramatic decrease in infant mortality as a direct result from the legalization of abortion.

While the women's movement rejoiced in this great victory, our enemies began to organize.

The right-wing, the Catholic church and a number of wealthy fundamentalist churches began the attack.

The right wing in this country opposes a woman's right to abortion because they oppose women's equality.

Abortion rights means that women have control over having children—not the father, husband, minister or lawyer.

The Ronald Reagans, Jessie Helms and Jerry Falwells don't want that.

Furthermore these people oppose all of women's rights—the ERA, lesbian liberation, affirmative action, equal rights at work and child care.

In 1977, the Hyde Amendment cut off federal funding for poor women who needed abortions.

95% of all Medicaid funded abortions stopped. On October 3, 1977, Rosie Jimenez was

the first known victim of the Hyde Amendment.

Since then the congress has busily slashed funds for abortion and deliberated whether or not human life begins at conception—in an attempt to outlaw abortion altogether.

State and local legislatures passed restrictive abortion ordinances, forcing teenage women, married women, union women, poor women to continue unwanted pregnancies.

When legislation wasn't enough, the anti-abortionists resorted to violence.

In the first eight months of 1982, there was more violence directed at abortion clinics than in the entire past three years.

This violence included bombings, arson, bomb threats, harassment and one kidnapping. Anti-abortionists regularly invade clinics, threaten clinic workers and patients.

January 22, 1983, marks a decade of legal abortion.

DEDICATE

We must use the January 22 commemoration not only to celebrate the past, but to re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle.

Only if we can build a strong, militant reproductive rights movement, one based upon the potential power of working women, can we win back the rights stolen from us, and also win the struggle for real equality and liberation. □

3,000 PROTEST CALIFORNIA RACISM

OROVILLE, CA—"No to the Nazis, no to the Klan, no to racism" was the rallying point for 3,000 demonstrators here on December 11.

This town, 175 miles northeast of San Francisco, is the site of the trial of neo-Nazi Perry Wartham for the murder of Joseph Hoover, a white high school student.

RECRUITS

At the beginning of the school year, Hoover and other Wartham recruits stuffed racist leaflets into the lockers of two high schools and one junior high.

After reporting Wartham to the police as the person behind the leafletting, Hoover disappeared on September 30. His body was found two weeks later—shot eight times in the back of the head.

Following these events, Black parents organized the Concerned Parents of South Oroville and held a successful two day boycott of classes.

The Concerned Parents then initiated the coalition of groups that sponsored the December 11 rally. Both the Oroville City Council and Chamber of Commerce originally endorsed the march but withdrew at the last minute because they feared "outside agitators."

Two council members defied the council and marched anyway. In spite of fears of trouble from outsiders, the march was peaceful.

As one speaker pointed out, "We are not the outsiders; the Nazis are."

Racism in Oroville goes beyond Wartham and his neo-Nazi group. In 1979 three white men out hunting deer

by JIM SWAN & SANDY HIOTT

failed to find any. Instead they came back to town and killed a Black man.

The mayor explained that the killing was not racist as "if it had been a Chinaman or a Mexican they would have killed him."

Discrimination against Blacks is pervasive in housing and jobs. The area has a 25% Black population, but almost all Blacks are segregated into one area, "Southside", just outside the city limits.

The streets of Southside lack both street lights and sidewalks. There is not a single Black policeman nor fireman employed by the City, and the entire City government has a Black employment rate of only one percent.

The mayor explained that Oroville couldn't be racist because, "Blacks have their side of town and we (whites) have ours."

FERTILE

The concerned Parents have demanded the hiring of more Blacks by the City and County governments and private industry, construction of street lamps and sidewalks in Southside, and annexation of Southside into the City of Oroville.

Through their organizing they have begun to directly challenge the climate of racism which accompanies the discrimination they face—and which makes the Nazis and Klan see towns like Oroville as fertile ground for their racist activities. □

Framers strike for a union

BERKELEY, CA—Members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 115 have been on strike here against the Framers Workshop since November 27, 1982.

IMPROVE

In early October seven of the eight employees formed an independent employees association in an attempt to improve their working conditions.

Employees' wages were limited to a maximum of \$5 an hour; they had no security, no medical benefits, and no guar-

anteed paid holidays.

Six of the employees were fired and one was forced to quit—all in retaliation for asserting their rights to collective bargaining.

Linda Spackman, the first to go, was given no reason for her termination.

C.J., the spokesman and a three year employee, was the next to go.

After the firings, the employees saw the need to affiliate to a larger union and joined the IAM.

Owners Kirstie Bennett Goldberg and Jeff Goldberg

have consistently refused offers of negotiation and mediation and have hired a union busting law firm.

They refuse to pay a penny more to their employees, yet they just treated themselves to a brand new \$30,000 BMW.

SUPPORT

The strikers need your support. Come join their picket line at 2439 Channing Way (at Telegraph) in Berkeley. They also need donations since their strike fund is small and they have incurred many legal expenses. □

MIAMI BLACKS STAND

UP AND FIGHT

The urban rebellion in Miami brought much criticism of the use of violence by Blacks.

Reagan's man in the Miami Justice Department called the Blacks that took to the streets "Barbarians."

Reagan said "I just don't think there is any room for that—for violence in the streets."

ACTION

Miami's Black city manager decried the actions of Blacks and said they should let him handle things because they know he is sensitive to their problems.

But Blacks in the streets knew better.

They had let authorities and Black community leaders handle things in 1980, after the beating death of Arthur McDuffie by white police and their acquittal by an all-white jury, sparked off a similar uprising.

However, despite the promises by Carter to provide millions of dollars which never materialized, and despite promises by Black officials to look into police brutality charges, everything remained the same.

Amos Faber, Neville Johnson's uncle, expressed the sentiment of Miami's Black

community when he said: "The family doesn't want any violence, but that's the only way to get justice."

"We must let America know—if they keep killing us what else can we do?"

Black people cannot expect any kind of justice in America without demanding it in the streets.

Even then justice will be distributed out of fear, not because of any concept of fairness or truth.

Malcolm X was fond of saying that Black people must achieve their liberation "by any means necessary."

Today he is too often quoted as a cliché. But history has proven that the non-violent work within the system approach has never worked for Black people.

DECADE

In the sixties after a decade of non-violently demonstrating and petitioning the federal government for equal rights, Black people found they had achieved little in the way of improvement for their day to day lives.

Blacks could register to vote, eat in integrated restaurants and ride desegregated buses, but that did little to alleviate the pains of urban ghetto life, or the deep rooted poverty of the South.



Burned police car in Overtown

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

The scores of court decisions, congressional acts, and executive orders failed to affect the subordinate status of Blacks in the North.

None of the marches, pickets, rallies, or other forms of peaceful protest abolished filthy dope-ridden streets or inferior segregated schools.

No lawful strategy of social change dented the hostility of police departments or the discrimination of labor unions.

In the second half of the 1960s, more than 200 U.S. cities went up in smoke. 500,000 Blacks, the same number that served in Vietnam, participated.

Concessions were forced out of the white power structure. Jobs, affirmative action, civilian review boards to monitor police activity were all won in the wake of the urban rebellions.

Worldwide attention riveted on the plight of Blacks in America.

Today, however, more than a decade and a half later, most of the hard won gains of the sixties have been eroded.

Blacks are in worse shape now, economically and politically than they were in 1965 when the first urban rebellion broke out in Watts.

LOWER

Black median family income for example is lower today, as compared to white family income, than in 1969 and in 1960.

In 1983, nearly thirty years since the historic Brown decision which declared that segregation is inherently unequal, U.S. society remains deeply divided and unequal.

Prejudice, discrimination, and segregation continue to poison social relations.

And despite the 4,700 Black elected officials (still less than one percent of the total), one hundred and twenty Black mayors and 18 Black congress members, politics has not changed the basic inequalities between Blacks and whites.

The ghetto is still a time bomb. And its people social dynamite.

As the crisis in capitalism grows and as the system

attempts to sacrifice Black people to pay for its shortcomings, the fuse will be relit as in Overtown.

It is not Black people who are violent, it is the capitalist system which has murdered 25 million Black people en route to the United States from Africa, untold millions of Black slaves and hundreds upon thousands of Black Americans since slavery ended, through means ranging from outright brutality to forcing Blacks to live in conditions that has meant early and untimely death for so many.

ANGER

To criticize Blacks for reaching for basic human rights that they perceive other Americans as having and reacting in the streets in anger when those rights are denied is at best a failure to understand Blacks' historical position in America and at worst racist.

Blacks in Overtown did what a lot of people in other sectors in American society have hesitated to do—stand up and fight injustice and Reaganomics.

The street fighting in Poland is not the only activity that should enjoy uncritical solidarity.

We must support in every way possible Afro-Americans' struggle for Black equality.

We can start by demanding that the charges be dropped against the 43 Blacks arrested and that the family of Neville Johnson see justice. □

by RETHA HILL

Reagan proposes employers "hire-one-worker"

The economic news was bad again in December, led by Bethlehem steel's announcement that it was eliminating the jobs of nearly 10,000 workers in Lackawanna, New York and Johnstown, PA

Nearly half of the steel industry's 450,000 workers have been laid off, probably at least half permanently.

PROSPECTS

And immediate prospects are grim. The Bureau of National Affairs reports that hiring projections for the first quarter of 1983 are the lowest

recorded since it began to survey employers on the job outlook in 1974.

It reports that only nine percent of the employers who responded plan an increase in their production workforces in the first quarter of this year.

While heavy industries—steel, auto, etc.—get the news, the Bureau reports that the proportion of companies with workers on layoff is also at a record level, with layoffs more common among employers with fewer than 1,000 workers.

All this makes Reagan's

latest scheme of "hire-one-worker" even more ludicrous.

Reagan proposes that unemployment can be solved by every American business hiring "just one person."

This is possible, he says, "because there are more businesses in the United States than unemployed."

According to the Census, in 1977, the last year for which data is available, there were 14.7 million businesses in the United States, and in December there were just under 12 million unemployed workers.

Reagan, however, overlooked one fact. 11.3 million of the businesses were proprietorships, most of which have no or few employees.

TRUCKERS

The gasoline tax scheme promises to be only more useful. Independent truckers say it will probably cause tens of thousands of them to go out of business—thereby wiping out whatever gains are made in highway construction. □

FIGHTING WORDS

The existence of violence is at the very heart of a racist system . . . When people are opposed to Negroes resorting to violence what they really mean is that they are opposed to Negroes defending themselves and challenging the exclusive monopoly of violent practices by white racists.

—Robert Williams, 1962

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Heights teachers prepare for long strike

CLEVELAND HTS, OH— Teachers took up picket signs here on January 6th demanding increased wages and benefits and agency shop.

Local 795 of the AFT had originally demanded 18% pay raises every year for the next three years.

This 18-18-18 packet would put Cleveland Heights salaries even with Shaker Heights, a neighboring suburb to Cleveland Heights.

The union has since decreased its demand to 11½-9½-7 but the board has refused to increase its "reasonable offer" (so called in a shamefully misleading letter

by **ELEANOR TRAWICK**

to parents) of a 9-8-5 packet—too small a hike to keep up with the cost of living.

BENEFITS

The benefits in question are primarily dental and vision care, nursing, and prescription drug.

Teachers are fighting merely for the maintenance of these benefits. The board's offer of 9-8-5 increases is not enough to keep them at the present level.

The teachers are also demanding "agency shop," requiring all teachers to pay a fee for the services of the union, whether or not they belong.

It is disgraceful that teachers don't have to join the union, and worse that without doing a thing for the union and their colleagues they can, in normal times, draw salaries the union fought for and, during strikes, cross picket lines for \$80 per day.

The Board calls the teachers selfish for striking when everyone is badly off and claims that the 9-8-5 increase

would cost an extra \$9.7 million.

That is an unfair statement. The figure includes salaries not just of teachers but also of substitutes, the management, and custodial staff.

Presently, the approximately 400 teachers' salaries total \$8.7 million—out of a huge budget of \$27 million. No extra taxes would be needed because so many teachers have been laid off and enrollment has dropped dramatically.

In reality, the strike is not over wages and benefits or even the shop agreement. It is to see whether the Board or

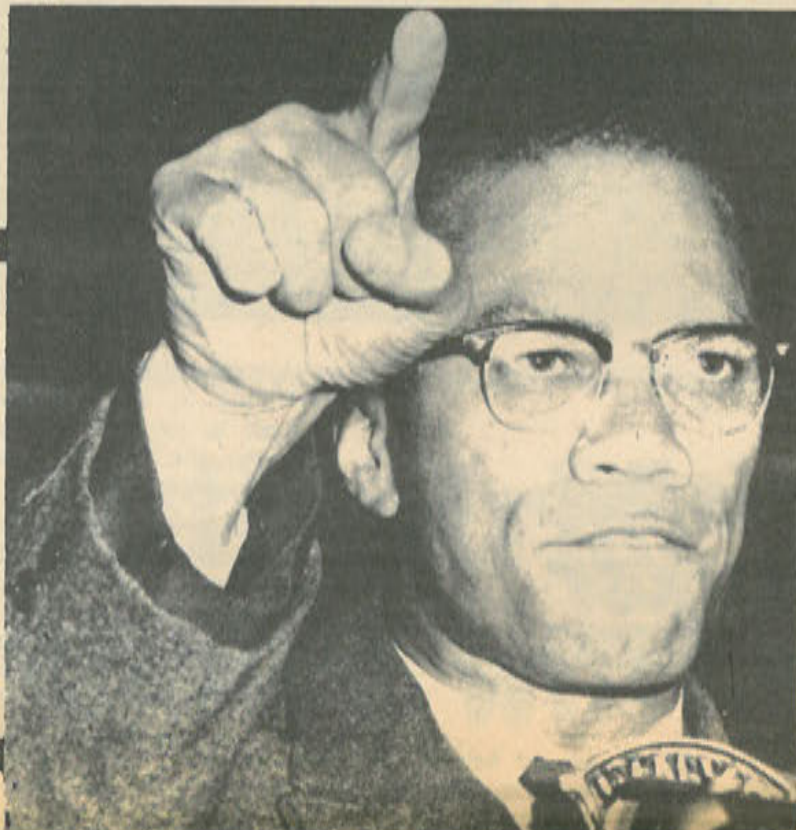
the union will control the schools.

Some teachers have cleared out their desks; others have applied for food stamps. The Board, too, is prepared for a long struggle.

WRONG

The Cleveland Heights teachers must show their solidarity and hold out for what they have demanded.

Superintendent Abramovitz told parents that agreement "can only be reached at the negotiating table. There is no other way." The teachers must show just how wrong that is. □



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

MIAMI: THE SPIRIT OF REBELLION LIVES

Malcolm X

"The only thing exclusive to Miami is the summer-like weather," community leaders said, in the wake of two days of armed warfare between Blacks and the city's police force.

FUSE

"It could have happened anywhere, where there are people without money, housing and services. People here are in the streets and it does not take much to ignite the fuse."

Unfortunately there are a lot of people without money, housing and services. About forty percent of them are Black.

They are in the streets—living, dying and waiting on a recovery that none of them really believe is going to come, at least not for them.

Overtown is just one community of many exactly like it.

Nationwide, Black unemployment is more than 18% and Black youth unemployment is 50%.

According to government statistics one third of all the 30 million Blacks in the United States are officially poor.

As of 1981, the vast majority of Blacks received no assistance other than a school lunch. Many of them no longer get that.

In Detroit, for example, a majority Black city, one third of the people are ill-nourished, according to the mayor.

Cutbacks in food stamps,

welfare and Aid to Dependent Children have produced soup lines across America and, as any newscast clearly shows, the vast majority of people waiting in line for cheese or other handouts in the rain or icy cold weather are Black.

Police brutality has been fought consistently by Black people. However, it remains as big a problem today as in past years.

Just this year in Milwaukee, Detroit, Los Angeles and

Retha Hill reviews

Cleveland, Blacks were killed by police under suspicious circumstances.

Police and other officials responded with viciously racist statements.

In Los Angeles, after 18 Blacks were choked to death by police, police chief Daryl Gates said "We may be finding that in some Blacks that when it (a carotid choke hold) is applied the veins or arteries do not open up like in normal people."

Flashback: Miami, 1980



Poverty, police brutality, cold and unfeeling public officials and despair, are the stuff that urban rebellions are made of.

Overtown, like other urban towns and cities in the U.S., had all these—unemployment at 50%, a racist police force which patrol the ghetto, an unresponsive city government, a history of broken promises.

RESPONSE

But unlike other cities, Blacks in Overtown responded in ways that Afro-Americans

in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and Cleveland have not in more than a decade.

What will make Blacks move as they did in Overtown can never be predicted.

It comes spontaneously. No one can ever say what will be the last straw.

Perhaps it was the obvious racist shooting of Neville Johnson in front of an arcade room full of Blacks by a white cop that did it.

Or Miami's short history of the 1980 rebellion when Blacks rioted for three days after the beating death of a Black insurance salesman Arthur McDuffie, by four white cops who were later acquitted by an all white jury.

Or all the things that have happened between 1980 and 1982 to Miami's Black population—the cutbacks which further pushed the ghetto into deeper poverty, seeing the dead bodies of Black Haitians wash up on the shores of Miami and the live ones imprisoned in concentration camps like slaves.

SPIRIT

Any or all of these factors could have been responsible for what happened in Overtown.

But the fact that it did happen gives testimony to the anger of Black people and the longevity of the spirit of rebellion in the Black community against injustice and racism. □

Pentagon wish list: it all comes true



Above: Joint Chiefs, Chairman Vessey and Defense Secretary Weinberger. Right: the MX

by MILT FISK

Almost all of the Pentagon's wish list came true during the final days of the 97th congress.

The overall military appropriation of \$232 billion was \$27 billion larger than in 1981.

The MX got approval conditional upon finding a basing plan, there was funding for the on-again-off-again B-1 bomber, and for those who are nostalgic about big boats, there is money for new aircraft carriers and reactivated battleships.

While these big items caught people's attention, there was still a deadly increase to \$100 billion for "general-purpose forces"—the backbone of the military budget.

The Democrats won at the polls in November on a platform that included the nuclear freeze.

Yet incumbents who supported the freeze in winning reelection had no qualms about voting for the big nuclear items along with the rest.

In the House, the vote went for the \$232 billion appropriation by a whopping 346-68.

The 98th congress that convenes in January will, then, not be a congress that turns the corner against militarism.

The Kennedy-Hatfield freeze should be recognized for what it is—a slogan that soothes people's concerns about a nuclear holocaust without keeping politicians from having a perfect record on making the U.S. number one militarily.

DECEPTION

The furor over the MX in the House was part of the entire deception.

While not voting money for the dense pack plan, the House voted \$2.5 billion for research and development of the MX.

It has been noted that this money will actually allow production of the missile, so that it will be ready when a basing plan is agreed to.

What was worse was that attention was diverted from the enormity of the military budget as a whole by the charade over the MX, which allowed freeze supporters to do what appeared to be their duty.

**CONGRESS
GIVES
MILITARY
\$232
BILLION**

It should be clear that despite the victory of the freeze resolution in state and municipal referenda in November, the freeze has not changed the congress.

Liberal Alan Cranston in the senate supported the B-1 because it is made in his state of California. In December, 16 B-1 bombers rebuilt to carry nuclear tipped cruise missiles went on daily alert.

House speaker Tip O'Neill defended the McDonnell-Douglas F-18 naval fighter-bomber because GE makes its engines in Lynn, MA.

The 1,300 F-18s will cost \$40 billion, and test pilots have criticized the F-18 as not suitable for its missions.

Indiana congressman Lee Hamilton ran a lengthy defense of the freeze in his district's newspapers on the same day he swallowed the \$232 billion appropriation.

Still there is a growing uneasiness about the Reagan rearmament program. Even right-wing legislators think "the Pentagon is out of control."

CHECK

There is the sense that the money is being thrown at high technology simply to keep inter-service rivalries in check.

There is no deterrence basis

for the MX given that the submarine leg of the nuclear triad makes enough strategic weapons invulnerable, no matter what happens to the land based ICBMs.

The B-1 bomber will be vulnerable to Soviet air defense by the time it is operational. And the vulnerability of aircraft carriers—made clear once again by the Falkland-Malvinas war—along with the greater range of today's ground support aircraft makes \$5 billion for two Nimitz carriers over the next five years seem like money down the sea.

A *Newsweek* analysis claims 'national security' can be bought for \$57 billion less over the next five years.

Why is the administration not eager to make such savings and thereby gain political favor by stopping welfare cut-backs?

BACKING

The growing military budget gives backing to the Reagan policy of the winnability of a protracted nuclear war. One cannot separate a militarist policy from growing support for the military.

The Weinberger military strategy for the coming years centers around the idea that in a war the U.S. can beat the Soviets by resorting ultimately

to nuclear attacks on their political and military command and supply centers.

Within such a strategy, U.S. interventions around the world make more sense.

The Soviets would be reluctant to respond to such interventions militarily if the U.S. can win with nuclear weapons in the end.

POINT

If Reagan cannot have a growing military budget and one that includes such items like the MX that have first strike capability, then there is no point in talking about fighting a protracted nuclear war.

The big budget increase, which even so was \$17 billion less than Reagan asked for, is the only way—with all its inefficiencies—to make steps toward that number one status implied by winning a protracted war.

Moreover, the Weinberger strategy calls for stalling on international negotiations.

Andropov's suggestion for reducing intermediate range missiles was surely self-serving but could have been the basis for an opening.

It was rejected out of hand.

The U.S. cut off test ban negotiations in 1980. In the United Nations in December, the U.S. was the only nation to

vote against a comprehensive test ban on nuclear testing.

One cannot forego Pershing IIs and testing on the way to being able to win a protracted war. But in taking actions like these the administration would be out on a limb if congress were not funding items that give these actions some point.

Congress is not going to turn the corner against the Pentagon until it gives up the idea of being number one militarily, which is based on the disproven idea that a nuclear war can be won.

Part of giving up the idea of being number one is the recognition that this is a different world than it was in 1950.

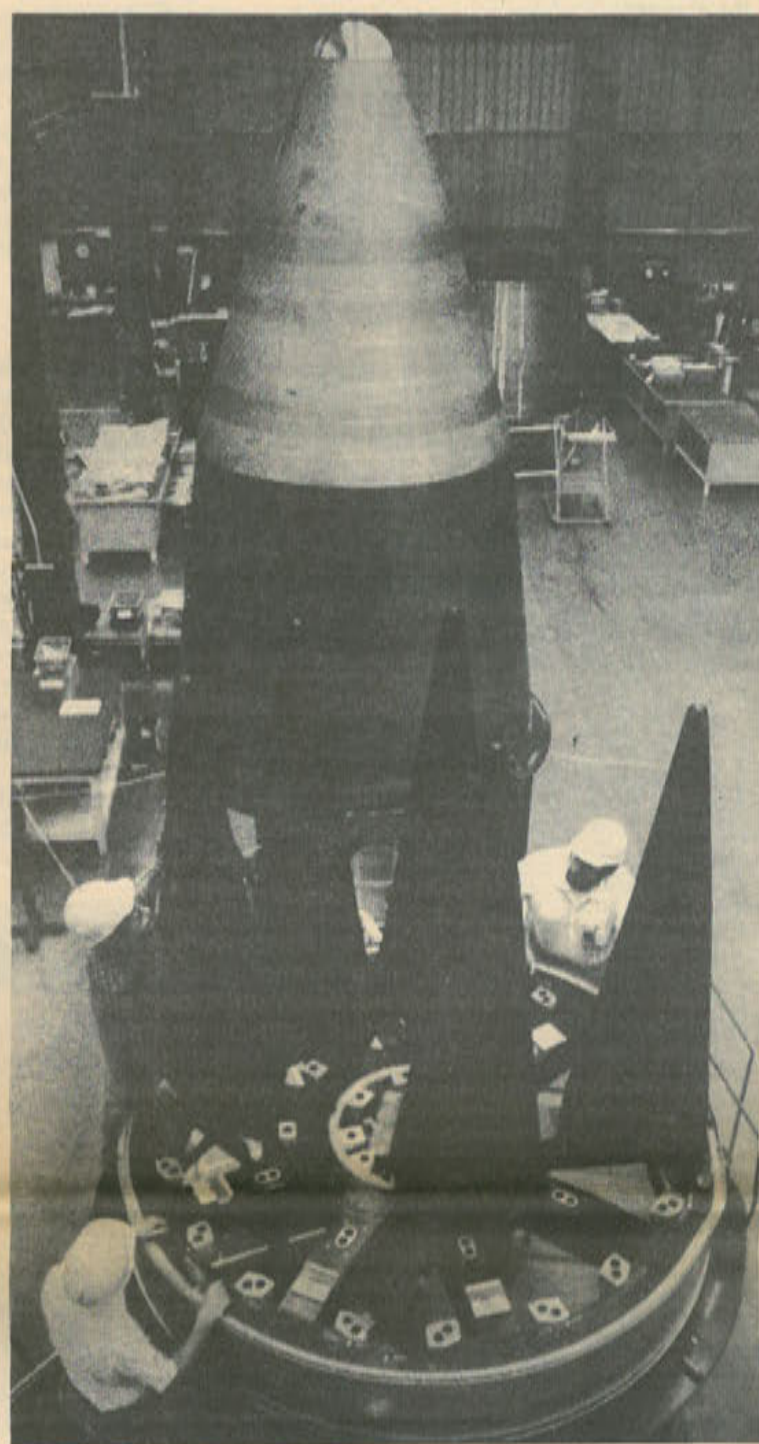
DECLINE

We are living in the decline of U.S. imperialism, and no amount of throwing money at arms will change that.

In fact, it will only hasten the economic decline behind the decline of empire.

The decline of the economy and the misery it creates will provide a solid basis for a movement against the militarist fantasies supported by congress behind the rhetoric of the freeze.

Building this movement is the priority of those interested in arms reduction and ultimately disarmament. □



Graffiti

by KENT WORCESTER

And a beagle . . .

The Selective Service System sent out one million letters of notification to register, including one to Jack Arak, a 77 year old man from Thousand Oaks, CA, Peri Shaplow, a three year old girl from Yorktown Hts., NY, and Angel Helinck a ten year old female beagle from Philadelphia.

Winning the World Series . . .

The *New York Times* recently quoted a U.S. military advisor in El Salvador, who had previously served in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand as saying "All I want to do is win one war, that's all, just one. It'll be like winning the World Series for me."

Illegal Aliens . . .

"We know that when they reach the United States, they're going to cross the border without any difficulty," says Thomas John Bendiburg, agricultural specialist on killer bees.

Latest results . . .

Elections held last month in Albania gave present chairman of the Communist Party Envar Hoxha a 1,627,959 to one mandate. Nine votes were, in fact, cast against Hoxha, but eight were determined invalid.

Christmas in Beverly Hills . . .

The Happy Millionaire, an exclusive clothing store in Beverly Hills, California reduced for the holidays their \$45 snakeskin belts to \$20 and their \$750 Italian designer suits for men to a mere \$390. As they expressed it in their store window: "We treat millionaires with poor people's prices, and they simply love it."

New use for coconut oil . . .

The Phillipine army is now testing a bomb made of 100% coconut oil. They happily report that it is more powerful than the equivalent weight of dynamite.

Isn't this a bit hasty . . .

"If all else fails and then people come to the conclusion that the only way they can get the people's attention is to create turmoil in the streets, well, then, I guess we have to go out and organize some turmoil in the streets." Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO chief. □

Contributions to Graffiti are welcome.

Send to Socialist Worker, Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118.

TEAMSTER PRESIDENT CONVICTED

by BEN BLAKE

On December 15th, Teamster president Roy Williams was convicted for his involvement in a conspiracy to bribe Democratic senator Howard Cannon of Nevada.

According to federal government prosecutors, Williams and four Teamster associates offered the senator a \$200,000 discount on choice Teamster-owned Las Vegas real estate—in exchange for Cannon's opposition to legislation that would deregulate the trucking industry.

TAPE

The government's case was based on tape recorded conversations stretching over a 15 month period in 1979 and 1980 among Cannon and five other conspirators—including Allen Dorfman, millionaire-insurance executive, Thomas O'Malley and Andrew Massa, both former Central States Pension Fund trustees and Joseph "Joey the Clown" Lombardo, reputedly labor racketeering coordinator for the Chicago syndicate.

The jury, composed mostly of blue-collar workers, delib-

erated for 27 hours before finding the five guilty. They now each face up to 55 years in prison and \$55,000 in fines.

Cannon, however, was not brought to trial—despite clear evidence of his approval of the land deal.

Reports in the *Chicago-Sun Times* reveal that the Organized Crime Strike Force prosecutors were blocked from indicting Cannon by higher-ups in the Justice Department.

This is probably no accident given that Cannon supported two thirds of all Reagan sponsored legislation in the senate in 1980.

Deregulation of the trucking industry was passed with Cannon's support, marking the total defeat of Teamster lobbying efforts to stop the legislation.

PRICE

Williams' conviction takes place in the context of a general anti-union offensive by the Reagan administration.

Like PATCO, the Teamsters



Roy Williams

supported Reagan in 1980, hoping to gain favor with the future administration. Now, the price is being paid for this strategy.

Deregulation has meant a return to the cutthroat competition of the 1930s, with many unionized trucking companies going out of business.

The Master Freight Agree-

ment, once one of the best union contracts in the country, is now being gutted with wage and benefit cuts and the elimination of 120,000 jobs.

Official Teamster response to this disaster has been the formation of a "Democratic-Republican-Independent Voter Education Fund" to support candidates that will "make a difference" in congress.

DEREGULATE

Williams' bribery conviction and the passing of legislation to deregulate the trucking industry clearly shows that this approach, modeled after big business' "Political Action Committees" is a dead end.

The alternative is the construction of a movement of Teamsters committed to building a militant democratic union that can stop rising unemployment, falling wages and deteriorating working conditions and organize the unorganized.

If you are interested in this alternative contact: Teamsters for a Democratic Union, Box 10128, Detroit, MI 48210. □

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

"Our next step is to look for people who will look beyond the immediate misery"

by BILL ROBERTS

Two accidents during the holiday season just past told me more about the current crisis than all the statistics and graphs we have been bombarded with lately.

The first, involved a poor woman of middle age.

She was in a food line at a neighborhood free store, waiting her turn for a bag of groceries.

In a gesture of holiday spirit, a merchant had supplied the free store with some Christmas decorations.

This extra was too much for the patient line of poor people.

STAMPEDE

Fearing a limited number of decorations, the line broke into a stampede and the woman was knocked down and stepped on.

She suffered a broken leg and bruises—another victim of poverty's cruel tricks.

The second accident involved a shipyard worker in Long Beach, California.

The worker was rushing to complete some last minute welding on the newly refurbished battleship New Jersey.

The ship was to be commissioned by president Reagan during his holiday in the West.

An explosion occurred and the welder was badly burned.

Both of these accidents were conditioned by an administration committed to solving



Misery: it doesn't have to happen

We cannot forget that there are real faces behind the record breaking statistics of misery being produced every day.

Yet, as socialists, we know there is more to do than catalog capitalism's decay. We have a vision that offers a way out of the despair.

Socialists are often accused of seeing bad in everything—that we are negative about life.

In a period of crisis, part of the burden of pointing out what is wrong with the system is lifted from us.

Television news helps make the point that misery is being produced.

Of course, it doesn't go far enough, but still it is obvious to millions now that something is wrong with the system's functioning.

We don't just talk about the despair and fear of the victims of capitalism. As socialists we go beyond the misery because we know it doesn't have to be that way.

There is a better future for people like the poor woman and the welder.

The next step is to find the people who are willing to look beyond the immediate misery for a way to end it forever.

Our job is to build confidence and hope for the future by taking action in whatever ways we can now.

RELIEF

There are plenty of do-gooders ready to offer some relief to the unemployed and poor, especially this time of the year.

We are for these acts of kindness. It helps make our point that selfishness is not a basic human characteristic.

But we offer more, because our main message is: it doesn't have to be this way. □

Nazi in a three piece suit

BY ALAN MAASS

Arthur Butz isn't an absent-minded crackpot. He isn't an innocent bystander. He isn't even an isolated fanatic.

Butz is one more symptom of a disease that is striking campuses across the country and around the world. He is part of a world-wide network of Nazi teachers and professionals who put an academic veneer on Nazi ideas.

Nazis in three-piece suits.

BOOK

Butz' book "The Hoax of the Twentieth Century," published in 1976, claims that the documented extermination of 6 million Jews in Nazi Germany was a myth.

The book was first put in print by the Historical Review Press of England, publishers for Britain's fascist National Front.

Apparently, the gas chambers at Auschwitz were, um, rubber factories, employing voluntary Jewish labor.

Yes, and European Jews died from typhus epidemics and while "in transit" to the East.

"They may have even lost a million dead," Butz reports.

Butz supports this pack of vicious lies with quotes from Nazi leader Heinrich Himmler—among others—and contrived Nazi statistics.

"The Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them . . . (they) suffered during the war by being deported to the East, by having had their property confiscated and, more importantly, by suffering cruelly in the circumstances surrounding Germany's defeat. They may even have lost a million dead."—Arthur Butz, "The Hoax of the Twentieth Century"

All the while, he maintains that his lies are "non-political scientific research," exposing the "implausibility of gassing and cremation."

POLITICAL

A look at Butz' pals shows just how political his lies are.

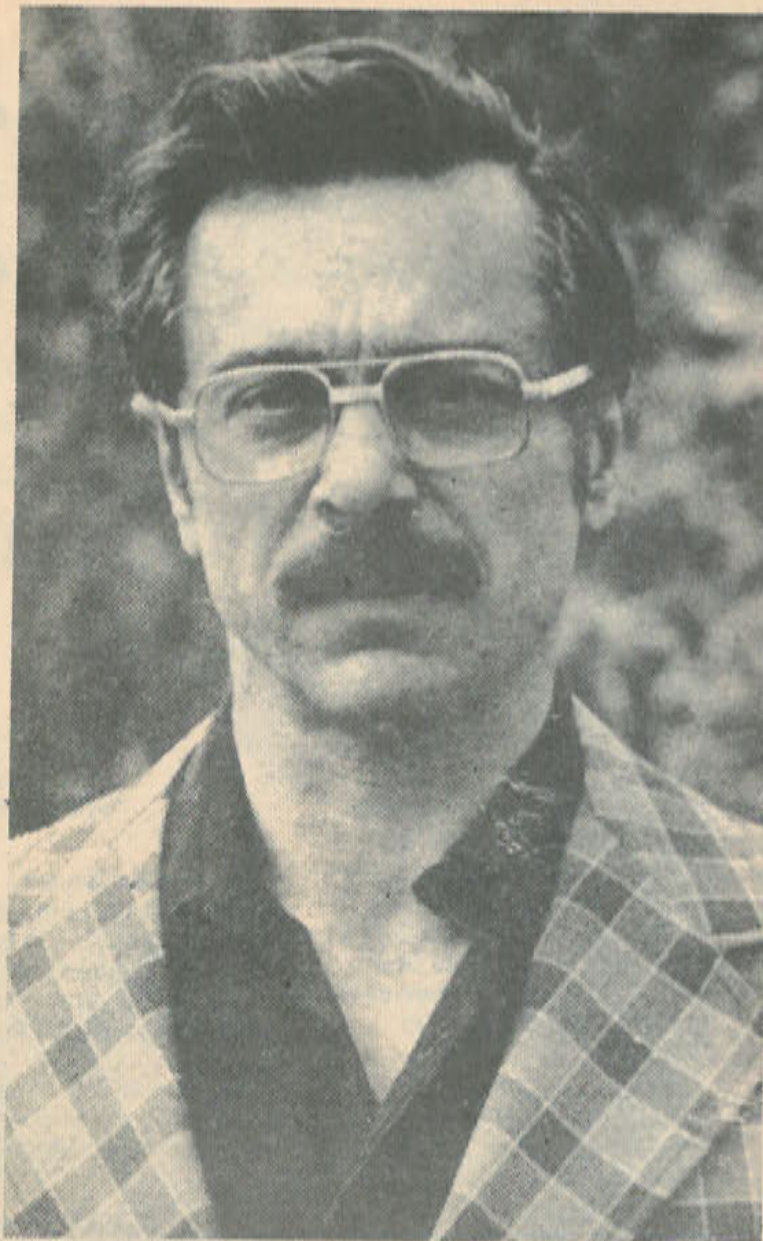
Butz is a member of, and headlining speaker for, the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a pseudo-academic organization based in California that specializes in denying the reality of the Holocausts. The IHR is a network of Nazi academics around the

country and around the world.

Butz is only one of the big-time college professors who dot the membership of the Institute.

Among the most famous is Robert Faurisson, a suspended associate professor in literature at the University of Lyons in France and author of "The Mechanics of Gassing."

During Faurisson's recent tour of the United States, sponsored by the IHR, Butz joined the French fascist for an hour-long discussion of gas chambers on a Columbus, Nebraska radio station.



Arthur Butz

The moneymen behind the IHR is Willis Carto, the founder and head of the notorious Washington D.C. Liberty Lobby and its weekly newspaper, *Spotlight*—one of the strongest racist and anti-semitic organizations in the country.

FRIENDS

Among Carto's well-connected national friends are senator Paul Laxalt of Republican National Chairmanship fame, U.S. representative Oren Hatch of pro-death fame and Phyllis Schlafley of ignorance.

Another interesting figure in the leadership of the far right is William Pierce, head of the Klan-affiliated National Alliance.

Pierce's latest accomplishment is the publication of "The Turner Diaries," a Klan utopian novel that predicts fascist domination by the turn of the century through violent attacks on Blacks, Jews and liberated women.

Butz and other IHR members are contributors to the National Alliance's journal, *National Vanguard*, which distributes paramilitary training material to the Ku Klux Klan.

SEARCH

As the crisis in capitalism deepens, those people shoved to the fringes of society desperately search for solutions and run into the ideas of Nazis.

But before Nazi ideology can be accepted, Nazis have to remove the legacy of World War II from their backs. They must show that they really aren't murderers.

It sounds impossible, but professionals like Butz and his IHR buddies serve this purpose. By denying the Holocaust of World War II, they pave the way for an even greater holocaust to come. "Six million lives?" they cackle. "Six million lies!"

CRAWL

Nazis, like Butz and his cohorts, must be opposed wherever they crawl out of their holes, whether its on the streets or in the schools.

But merely to oppose them is not enough.

Those who would oppose the Nazis and the Klan have to counterpose a world view to the fascist's right-wing one. A world view that calls for Black liberation, for women's liberation, freedom from anti-semitic attacks, for lesbian and gay liberation. Socialism.

STUDENTS DEMAND 'NAZISM OFF CAMPUS'

EVANSTON, IL—Fifty demonstrators staged an afternoon rally against the Nazis and the Klan at Northwestern University on December 1, a step in their fight to rid the campus of Nazi theoretician Arthur Butz.

Students, faculty and community members joined at the afternoon demonstration to call on students to boycott Butz' classes and demand that the university remove Butz.

Butz, a professor of electrical engineering and computer science, wrote the book, "The Hoax of the Twentieth Century," which denies the holocaust of 11 million people during World War II.

He has elaborate connections with the Nazi and Klan leadership.

Butz walked through the rally as Marisa Fox, coordinator of the

Committee Against Nazis-Butz (CAN-BUTZ), was speaking.

"That's the reason we're here," Fox said, pointing at Butz. "We don't want to be here, but there's a Nazi on this campus and he's a threat to all of us."

OPPOSITION

CAN-BUTZ was formed last spring in opposition to Butz' continued presence on campus. The rally is the latest in a series of activities against the Nazi.

"We don't think the administration is going to listen to just a few of us," said Fox. "We think we have got to get students on campus together to force the administration to do something about this scum."

Boycott Butz!
Butz' Nazism off Campus!



HAVEN IS NOT HEAVEN

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—Chants of "The Haven is not Heaven," shocked management in the five restaurant chain in San Francisco.

Workers organized a picket and boycott to publicize the management's unfair labor

practices.

The staff receives poor pay and benefits.

When the workers decided to hold a vote to unionize into Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, management hired a union-bust-

ing firm and tried to extend voting privileges to members of management.

Despite efforts to defeat the union, it was voted in.

Now starts the hard fight for a decent contract.

by CAROL SIDDLE

HAITI: A LA

WITN

BY

GLENN PERUSEK

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American racism on parade

"Give us your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free."

But not if you're Black. That was the message of the U.S. to the thousands of Haitian boat people who were seized by authorities on the Florida coast in 1981.

"Detention" was the term used by the government and press. The reality was imprisonment. 2,850 Haitians were held for months, most for over a year, for the crime of poverty, the crime of fleeing political repression, the crime of being Black.

The U.S. government was not willing to treat any number of them as political refugees despite clear political repression at home.

The government is "friends" with Haiti's president-for-life, Jean-Claude Duvalier, so how could there be repression there?

Most of the refugees arrived in the early months of 1981, were immediately "detained," and were held with no idea of when release might come. They are like prisoners with no set sentences.

By December of 1981, many of the 650 men and 50 women held at the Krome Avenue detention center, a former missile base 25 miles west of Miami, had been detained for ten months.

Then, on December 28, 300 of Miami's Haitian community demonstrated and charged the gates of Krome Avenue.

The police and guards tear-gassed the demonstrators and were met with stones and bottles.

In the chaos, 150 of the imprisoned Haitians scaled the 10-foot chain-link fence around the yard, grabbing the barbed-wire on top and leaving shreds of bloody flesh behind.

One hundred of them completed the escape successfully.

RACISM

By February, 1982, even such established news publications as the New York Times were charging the government with racism.

The contrast between the treatment of the Cuban refugees and the Haitians was simply too stark to explain in any other way.

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

Miami had absorbed 100,000 Cubans in three months, but the 2,850 Black refugees remained incarcerated in five states and Puerto Rico, most for over one year.

The legal shenanigans surrounding the Haitian crisis went on for almost a year.

The 5th Circuit Court did agree with a lower court that the U.S. had violated the rights of 4,500 Haitians through mass deportation hearings, but that decision meant nothing to those injured.

Many, if not most of them, already had been greeted home with torture or death.

But most of the legal dispute had to do with the legality of the detention policy which the government had adopted in April 1981.

One year later, in the course of one such trial, the third ranking official of the Justice Department said that there was "no more political repression in Haiti."

By May there were not only legal problems surrounding detention.

The Justice Department and the INS had one answer to the problem. They offered each of the detainees a one-way \$145 airline ticket back to Haiti.

Less than 1% of them chose the tickets back to repression and poverty over imprisonment in the U.S.

CRISIS

At the end of June, the detention situation had come to a crisis point. In March and April, there were five suicide attempts in detention facilities.

But in the next two months there were 29 attempts reported, by hanging with bedsheets or trousers, by swallowing sharp pieces of glass, or by slashing wrists with glass.

Federal officials were particularly alarmed because suicide is very rare in Haiti.

The injustice of it all was simply too much for many of the detainees to accept.

The whole situation was starting to reek. It was reeking with racism in its most vicious and cruel form. Judge Spellman ordered the release of the 1,800 Haitians still held in Florida, but not on the basis of discrimination—instead he found "procedural error."

The Justice Department balked for a month before finally releasing the 1,800. They were supposedly concerned about resettlement plans. The first 17 were released on July 17 with orders to appear in court after 30 days for "exclusionary hearings."

Still, states where people were being detained were hysterical about resettlement plans and relief funds.

The Justice Department pulled the same balking routine when ordered to release those detained in New York.

By October, two months after the court orders to release all of the Haitians, almost 1,000 were still held.

Release from imprisonment was the first hurdle, but hardly the last for the Haitian refugees.

The exclusionary hearings generally led to decisions that people should be sent back to an uncertain future in Haiti. Almost no one was granted political asylum.

But the refugees were no fools. Over two-thirds of them did not even appear at their exclusionary hearings.

DISAPPEAR

Instead they disappeared into American society—without money, without legal status, without the ability to get welfare, medical care or food stamps.

Nonetheless, facing a completely uncertain and frightening future, one Haitian commented, "Still, this is a thousand times better than Haiti."

For many the hearings have still not taken place.

This month, in many cities, hearings will be held to decide the fate of those Haitians who choose to put themselves at the hands of the American justice system.

For those who submit, it will be just one more chapter of racism on parade. □

The facts are shocking.

● Haitians are starving by the thousands in their own country. They are being brutalized by their own government—and all this is underwritten by the U.S. government.

● The minimum wage for workers in Haiti is \$2.20 per day. But only 5% of the population makes even the minimum wage.

● Haitians are sold by their government as 'slaves' to an American multinational operating in the Dominican Republic.

Haiti is by far the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.

It is—unfortunately—no exaggeration to say that the population of Haiti is utterly without hope for a better life.

Eighty percent of the Haitian population (total population: 5 million) is peasantry.

TINY

These people live on tiny plots of land, growing subsistence crops plus coffee and other crops for export.

The average per capita income of peasants is under \$50 per year.

The actual dollar figure is unimportant. The truth is that Haitians live at the absolute minimum subsistence level.

The population is actually worse off today than they were 100 years ago.

The reason is simple.

As the population grows, there is less and less land to farm.

Plots which were just barely adequate for one family 100 years ago have been subdivided time and time again.

The cliques who successively have run the Haitian government have never applied themselves to the problems of increasing the productivity of land.

"The minimum wage in Haiti is \$2.20 of the population minimum wage"

Instead, they are concerned only with lining their own pockets.

Haiti has historically been run by 'kleptocracies' (governments of compulsive crooks) or 'gangster regimes.'

WORSE

This is what makes Haiti worse than the norm for the Caribbean (which is itself bad enough).

The government since 1958 has been run by one family, the Duvaliers.

'Papa Doc' (educated as a physician at the University of Michigan) staged a coup and shortly thereafter founded the now famous *Tontons Macoutes*.

This is a vicious private police force, 15,000 strong.

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Haiti boat people: the U.S. turns them back

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In the 1970s the domestic industry created just 3,000 new jobs. American multinationals created just 20,000. Unemployment overall is over 15%.

Even if a job could be had, the minimum wage would be \$2.20 per day.

And this means \$2.20 a day for ten or twelve hours work, for example, sewing baseballs for export to the U.S.

Rural Haiti is awful, urban Haiti no better.

And all the time the Tontons Macoutes come around. They extort taxes, bully people constantly.

HORROR

One step out line lands you in jail. The horror stories of prisons like Fort Dimanche are legend in the Haitian countryside.

It is no surprise that under these conditions migration out of the country is the only real alternative for a large part of the Haitian population.

In 1980 tens of thousands of Haitian 'boat people' left their country for the U.S.

This was the first big publicity Haitian migrants ever received.

But actually, people have been streaming out of their country for decades.

From about the start of the First World War until the 1930s, hundreds of thousands of Haitians went to work in the sugar fields of Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

They and other Blacks from Jamaica took the worst jobs.

They worked from sunup to dusk and were paid the lowest wages.

Even the depression in the world sugar market, which began in 1920 (sugar prices dropped from over 22¢ per pound to 2¢ in one year), did not stem the flow of Haitian migrants.

Wages plummeted, there was high unemployment, but migrants kept coming.

In 1937 possibly the darkest chapter of this entirely bleak story was written.

Unemployment was high in the Dominican Republic.

Haitians were being pitted against Dominican workers.

ANGER

As anger over unemployment and the slashing of living standards rose, the position of the Dominican dictator Trujillo was threatened.

His response was to massacre thousands of Haitians living in the Dominican Republic.

No one knows exactly how many died. It was at least 25,000, probably more like 50,000.

But Trujillo's position was contradictory.

Politically in 1937 he had to

rid the country of Haitians to lower unemployment.

But *Economically* prior to 1937 he depended on Haitian labor.

His family was one of the largest sugar producers in the Dominican Republic.

Since 1937 Haitians have been conducted into the Dominican Republic, legally or 'illegally', by Trujillo.

PAID

At times Trujillo was paid by the other sugar companies for Haitian workers. At other times Dominicans paid Haitian rulers for their workers.

For example, one report states that in 1966 Dominican president Balaguer and 'Papa Doc' Duvalier agreed that 15,000 Haitians would be sent to the Dominican Republic.

Duvalier was *personally* to receive \$10 per head. Other reports say more workers (30,000 plus) and much more money (maybe \$8 million per year) was involved.

These practices continue to this day.

The London-based Anti-Slavery Society visited the sugar fields owned by the U.S. multinational Gulf and Western in 1978.

They reported that conditions there could be compared only with slavery.

The Haitian government sells its people to work for companies like Gulf and Western in the Dominican Republic.

Haitians go other places as well. Since the 1950s Haitians have regularly been going to the Bahamas.

During the 1960s middle class Haitians exited in large

numbers, due to the increasingly harsh political climate of Papa Doc's regime.

The stories that unfold are unbelievable.

By the mid-sixties there were more Haitian physicians practicing abroad than in all of Haiti.

There are more Haitian economists working for the United Nations and the Organization of American States than for the government of Haiti.

The entire 1962 graduating class of the Haitian School of Nursing had left the country by 1967!

The movement of large numbers of poor Haitians to Florida was first noticed in 1972.

It is impossible to know how many have come to the U.S. since.

The *New York Times* reported that by the end of 1981 about 50,000 illegal Haitians had arrived.

CRIMINAL

The criminality of the Haitian government and its U.S. backers is beyond doubt.

Reagan sees supporting the present Haitian regime of 'Baby Doc' Duvalier as part of his policy of securing the Caribbean for the U.S. and against the 'Communist challenge.'

As long as the U.S. plays such a role the desperation of impoverished Haitians will continue to exist.

Migration will continue.

But Reagan must also appease anti-immigration sentiment in the U.S.

In October 1981 he sent a Coast Guard cutter to patrol

the Windward Passage off the Haitian coast.

Formerly, Haitians were often presented with the choice: migrate or starve.

Since the U.S. patrol is aiming at cutting off the emigration option, it is certain that more Haitians will starve as a result.

COFFEE

This is especially so since Haitian peasant incomes have been slashed by several years by poor coffee crops, topped by Hurricane Allen in 1980.

This was the worst storm in history for Haiti. Half the coffee crop was destroyed. Coffee is the main source of income for two million Haitians.

The result for the Haitian population is too horrible to calculate.

Yet the U.S. supports a government which is absolutely uninterested in helping its population.

Then it patrols the coast to keep people from leaving Haiti for the U.S.

The absurdity of the logic of national borders, spheres of influence and profit margins (cheap Haitian labor equals money for owners, American or native Caribbean) is made all too clear.

And it stretches beyond individual rulers, as bad as Reagan and Duvalier are.

Migration from Haiti began before either was born and will continue long after both are dead.

The need for smashing—not just reforming—the system that creates 'Haitian problems' as a matter of course cannot be made more obvious. □

FLOW OF HAITIAN EMIGRANTS

ATLANTIC OCEAN

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
PUERTO RICO

HAITI: A LAND WITHOUT HOPE

an racism
de

BY
GLENN PERUSEK

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

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They and other Blacks in Jamaica took the worst jobs.

They worked from dawn to dusk and were paid meager wages.

Even the depression of the world sugar market began in 1920 (sugar prices dropped from over 24¢ in one year to 10¢) did not stem the flow of migrants.

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In 1937 possibly the darkest chapter of this entire story was written.

Unemployment was high in the Dominican Republic.

Haitians were being sent there against Dominican wishes.

ANGER

As anger over unemployment and the slashing of standards rose, the Dominican dictatorship was threatened.

His response was to send thousands of Haitians to live in the Dominican Republic.

No one knows exactly how many died. It was probably 25,000, probably 50,000.

But Trujillo's position was contradictory.

Politically in 1937



**I'D LIKE
THE
REAGANS
TO SPEND
A NIGHT
ON THE
STREETS**

Dear Socialist Worker,
I'm recounting this story because it makes me so angry and upset.

I just read the story of Norm and Anne Peters in Chicago.

Norm was an unemployed machinery mover who lived on the Southwest side.

He and Anne lived in the same house since 1957. Their neighbors say that the mortgage was paid off long ago.

Norm hadn't worked steadily since he was laid off in 1979 at Taft Contracting Co.

Still he paid his union dues, attended union meetings and even stopped by the union hall to wish everyone a Happy New Year.

Norm and Anne were evicted from their home November 3, 1982.

They told no one, and moved into their rusted station wagon, where they kept the few possessions they could afford.

They were found dead in the car last week, killed by carbon monoxide poisoning.

The police say they probably had the engine on to keep warm.

I understand that this is happening all over the place now—people living in cars or outside.

I just wish we could make Ronald and Nancy Reagan spend one night like that. Perhaps it would give them some idea of what's happening to people in this country.

Margaret Nelson,
Rockford, IL



HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

BY MATT FILSINGER

Shift work—a health hazard . . .

Shift work is not rare—over one quarter of all American and European jobs are at times other than a regular day shift. Nor is it new—in the 13th century many European guilds protested the existence of night work. As a result shift work disappeared until the Industrial revolution.

How does shift work affect people? Humans are naturally diurnal. It is normal for us to sleep at night, and live our lives during the days and evenings.

CYCLE

Our bodies have circadian rhythms—biological cycles which have 24 hour periods. One's temperature, blood pressure, and hormones all have circadian rhythms. Working a night shift disrupts these cycles, causing health problems. Rotating shifts are even more disturbing.

The most common complaint is shortened or disturbed sleep. Also extremely common are stomach or intestinal problems. Duodenal ulcers are up to 8 times as common among rotating shift workers as among day workers. This can be caused by disrupted eating and sleeping habits and by stress.

Alertness and reaction time are also affected by the body's rhythms. Thus accident rates are higher for night and rotating shift workers.

SCHEDULE

Shift workers find it difficult to spend as much time with their family, causing stress or tension. It is harder to see friends who work during the day.

If one rotates, it's particularly hard to schedule regular activity—a bowling league, a class, or participating in a union political group.

Essentially shift work, especially rotating shift work, is a way for the boss to control one's whole life, both on and off the job.

We must fight against this. Night work should be compensated for with extra pay, vacation time, or by some other means. And rotating shift work should not be allowed at all. □

Letters

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

**Send me
another
copy**

Dear Socialist Worker,

Please send an issue of the November paper (No. 67). I would like another copy as the story on the hospital is especially interesting to me.

I really enjoy the Socialist Worker and look forward to reading it every month. Thanks very much.

Sincerely,
Shirley Darrow,
Warren, OH

Dear Socialist Worker,

Enclosed you will find a check for \$20.

Sorry it can't be more as I live on a fixed retiree income.

I've waited to retire to read more and write, but a stroke has held me back some, though.

I'm mending slowly and getting older (67). I hope to contribute to the cause of humanity.

John Anderson is a dedicated inspirator and a good friend.

We both were officers in the UAW locals.

fraternally,
Tony Kiburis,
Houghton Lake, MI



Steelworkers march in Youngstown

Dear Socialist Worker, I think your article on the fate of Weirton Steel was well-written and well-documented, but wrong on one very important point.

You argue that the demand for nationalization of the steel industry is preferable to a struggle for community/worker ownership.

I disagree.

First, nationalization on that scale is just not going to happen, not in the United States. Companies like U.S. Steel would never allow it. And they have the power to stop it.

Second, and more important, I think that nationalization does not raise the basic issue of ownership and control.

This is certainly the case in Europe, where nationalization has meant no change at all for steelworkers, except that instead of free enterprise bosses, they have bureaucrats.

Community/worker ownership, however, raises the question of control very directly.

I think that the fight for ownership, then, is realistic, and it takes us in the direction of workers' control and socialism.

Bob Long,
Pittsburgh, PA

Buy It, Read It, Sell It!

Many ISO members made New Year's resolutions to get their Socialist Worker sales act together this year.

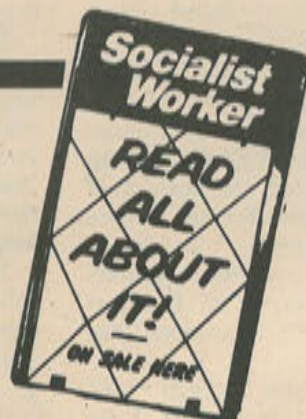
Now is the time to see that the resolution is not just good intentions. Get out there and sell at the unemployment office, the welfare office, the closest factory.

The same goes for you non-ISO members.

How many times have you said, "I've got to do something. I've got to get active."

"I can't just continue to sit back and do nothing." A good first step is selling Socialist Worker. You can show your friends and workmates where you're at, that you care.

Get a bundle of Socialist Worker—anything from two to 25, or more!



Write: Socialist Worker,
Box 18037, Cleveland, OH
44118.

Ahmed Shawki

Dear Socialist Worker,

I am a Vietnam vet and I was disgusted by all the patriotism associated with the Vietnam Veterans memorial week.

I enjoyed Dan Caplin's article very much and am showing it to my fellow veterans. The point is, as Caplin shows, that there will only be more wars and more victims unless we understand the real cause of the Vietnam War—U.S. imperialism.

I also appreciated David Connolly's very moving poem, "thoughts on a monsoon morning." Please keep publishing poems.

Mark Johnson,
Syracuse, NY

"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



There's a war in New Jersey

There's a war in Paterson, New Jersey.

But it's a curious kind of war. All the violence is the work of one side—the mill owners.

Their servants, the police, club unresisting men and women and ride down law-abiding crowds on horseback.

Their paid mercenaries, the armed detectives, shoot and kill innocent people.

Their newspapers, the *Paterson Press* and the *Paterson Call*, publish incendiary and crime-inciting appeals to mob violence against the strike leaders.

Their tool, Recorder Carroll, deals out heavy sentences to peaceful pickets that the police net gathers up.

They control absolutely the police, the press, the courts.

WEAPON

Opposing them are about twenty-five thousand striking silk workers, of whom perhaps ten thousand are active, and their weapon is the picket line.

Let me tell you what I saw in Paterson and then you will say which side of this struggle is "anarchistic" and "contrary to American ideals."

At six o'clock in the morning a light rain was falling.

Slate-gray and cold, the streets of Paterson were deserted. But soon came the cops—twenty of them—strolling along with their nightsticks under their arms.

We went ahead of them toward the mill district.

Now we began to see workmen going in the same direction, coat collars turned up, hands in their pockets.

We came into a long street, one side of which was lined with silk mills, the other side with the wooden tenement houses.

In every doorway, at every window of the houses clustered men and women, laughing and chatting as if after breakfast on a holiday.

John Reed wrote this account of the 1913 strike of silk workers in Paterson, New Jersey.

Reed was arrested while watching the strike and spent four days in jail.

There seemed no sense of expectancy, no strain or feeling of fear. The sidewalks were almost empty, only in front of the mills a few couples—there couldn't have been more than fifty—marched slowly up and down, dripping with rain.

Some were men, with here and there a man and woman together, or two young boys.

As the warmer light of full day came the people drifted out of their houses and began to pace back and forth, gathering in little knots on the corners. They were quick with gesticulating hands, and low-voiced conversation. They looked often toward the corners of side streets.

Suddenly appeared a policeman, swinging his club. "Ah-h-h!" said the crowd softly.

SHELTER

Six men had taken shelter from the rain under the canopy of a saloon.

"Come on! Get out of that!" yelled the policeman, advancing. The men quietly obeyed.

"Get off this street! Go on home, now! Don't be standing here!" They gave way before him in silence, drifting back again when he turned away.

Other policemen materialized, hustling, cursing, brutal, ineffectual.

No one answered back. Ner-



IWW strike leaders Pat Quinlan, Carlo Tresca, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Adolph Lessig



John Reed

vous, bleary-eyed, unshaven, these officers were worn out with nine weeks incessant strike duty.

On the mill side of the street the picket-line had grown to about four hundred.

Several policemen shouldered roughly among them, looking for trouble. A workman appeared, with a tin pail, escorted by two detectives. "Boo! Boo!" shouted a few scattered voices.

Two Italian boys leaned against the mill fence and shouted a merry Irish threat, "Scab! Come outa here I knock your head off!"

A policeman grabbed the boys roughly by the shoulder. "Get to hell out of here!" he cried, jerking and pushing

them violently to the corner, where he kicked them. Not a voice, not a movement from the crowd.

A little further along the street we saw a young woman with an umbrella, who had been picketing, suddenly confronted by a big policeman.

"What the hell are you doing here?" he roared. "God damn you, you go home!" and he jammed his club against her mouth.

"I no go home!" she shrieked passionately, with blazing eyes. "You big stiff!"

Silently, steadfastly, solidly the picket-line grew. In groups or in couples the strikers patrolled the sidewalk.

There was no more laughing. They looked on with eyes full of hate.

These were fiery Italians, and the police were the same brutal thugs that had beaten them and insulted them for nine weeks. I wondered how long they could stand it.

STAND

It began to rain heavily. I asked a man's permission to stand on the porch of his house.

There was a policeman standing in front of it. His name, I afterwards discovered, was McCormack. I had to walk around to mount the steps.

Suddenly he turned round, and shot at the owner: "Do all

them fellows live in that house?" The man indicated the three other strikers and himself, and shook his head at me.

"Then you get to hell out of there!" said the cop, pointing his club at me.

"I have permission of this gentleman to stand here," I said. "He owns this house."

"Never mind! Do what I tell you! Come off of there, and come off damn quick!"

"I'll do nothing of the sort."

With that he leaped up the steps, seized my arm, and violently jerked me to the sidewalk. Another cop took my arm and they gave me a shove.

"Now you get to hell off this street!" said Officer McCormack.

"I won't get off this street or any other street. If I'm breaking any law, you arrest me!"

REQUEST

Officer McCormack was dreadfully troubled by my request. He didn't want to arrest me, and said so with a great deal of profanity.

"I've got your number," said I sweetly. "Now will you tell me your name?"

"Yes," he bellowed, "an' I got your number! I'll arrest you." He took me by the arm and marched me up the street. □



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.

What's ON

BALTIMORE
Brian Kelly on *The War in Ireland*. January 29, 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620 for details.

BOSTON
Paul D'Amato on *What is Socialism?* January 26, 7:30 p.m. Call 427-7087 for details.

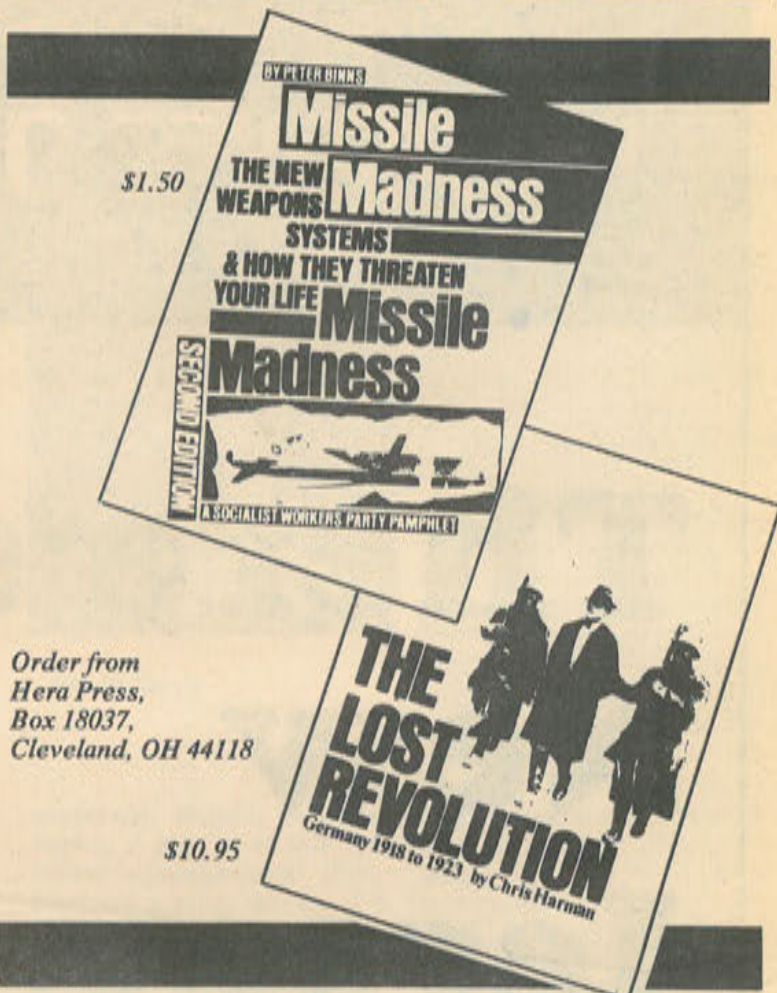
CHICAGO
Marla Hughes on *Russia: 1917*. Saturday, January 15, 7:30 p.m. Call 288-7572 for details.

Retha Hill on *Organizing for Abortion Rights*. Wednesday, January 19, 7:00 p.m. Call 328-6830 for details.

CINCINNATI
Benefit for Central America Task Force. January 15, 8:00 p.m. Donation. Call 871-1371 for details.

CLEVELAND
Educational Conference. April Stoltz Introduction. Geri D'Anniballe *Socialist Perspectives for the Eighties*. Bill Roberts on *The Politics of State Capitalism*. Anna Palmer on *Black Liberation and Socialism*. 2:00 to 10:00 p.m. Saturday, January 15. Call 371-2370 or 371-7648 for details.

DETROIT
Black History Month. Joyce Williams on *Ida B. Wells*. Film: *Denmark Vessey*. February 6, 7:00 p.m. Call 532-0352 for details.



Order from
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INDIANAPOLIS
Educational Day Conference. Cal Winslow on *The World Crisis and the System*. John Triplett on *The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class*. Celia Petty on *Why we Need a Revolutionary Organization*. January 22, 2:00 to 10:00 p.m. Call 283-5947 for details.

PHILADELPHIA
Brian Kelly on *The War in Ireland*. January 28, 7:30 p.m. Call 625-9342 for details.

ROCHESTER
Kent Worcester on *Mao's China*. January 23, 7:30 p.m. Call 235-3049 for details.

Marxism Study Group. *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*. January 25, 7:30 p.m. Call 235-3049 for details.

SAN FRANCISCO
Carol Siddle on *Cuba*. January 19, 7:30.

Jim Swan on *Theories of Racism*. February 2, 7:30 p.m. Call 285-1805 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
- Bloomington, IN
- Boston, MA
- Charleston, WV
- Chicago, IL
- Cincinnati, OH
- Cleveland, OH
- Detroit, MI
- Fort Wayne, IN
- Indianapolis, IN
- Kent, OH
- Los Angeles, CA
- Madison, WI
- Minneapolis, MN
- Muncie, IN
- New York, NY
- Northampton, MA
- Philadelphia, PA
- Portland, OR
- Rochester, NY
- San Francisco, CA
- Seattle, WA
- Toledo, OH
- Washington, DC

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

Under the American eagle

Today the old order is crumbling in Central America.

The Sandinista revolution of 1979 lit a revolutionary fuse that has spread to El Salvador and Guatemala.

However, the old order is not crumbling without a fight.

The CIA is carrying out a covert campaign to overthrow the Sandinista government.

The U.S. has sent tens of millions of dollars in military and economic aid to defeat the revolutionary forces in El Salvador.

SAVAGE

In Guatemala, the newest falling domino, Reagan is moving to restore military aid to the government of the general Rios Montt, whose savage military repression has taken the lives of 6,000 people during his first ten months in power.

All in an attempt to wipe out the guerilla movement and its base of support among Guatemalan Indian peasants.

The U.S. direct military intervention in Central America may be costing more lives than ever before, but it is nothing new to the region.

Jenny Pearce's newly published book, *Under the Eagle*, is a useful resource on the history of U.S. intervention in the Caribbean basin that has led to the kind of crisis there.

Pearce's book begins with the rise of U.S. imperialism at the turn of the century, when the great barons were creating a new industrial empire that was bursting beyond the bounds of the nation.

"Fate has written our policy," wrote one senator in 1898, "the trade of the world must and can be ours."

From the beginning, the U.S. saw the Caribbean basin as an area that should be dominated and controlled by it.

The idea of high profits from growing and exporting coffee, sugar and bananas was mouth watering.

In the same year as the United States "liberated" Cuba from Spanish imperialism and annexed both Cuba and Puerto Rico, a *New York Times* editorial spoke of Puerto Rico as a "station in the great American Archipelago, misnamed the West Indies, and that providence has decreed shall be ours."

And so it became. U.S. companies came to control the sugar and much of the coffee production in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic.

The U.S. based United Fruit Company came to control the most fertile land in Guatemala and Honduras, using it to create export oriented banana plantations.

INFLUENCE

These countries came to be known as banana republics because of the great political influence that the United Fruit Company had with the local military and land owning elites.

by PAUL D'AMATO

To protect its interest in the region, Pearce points out that the U.S. intervened militarily four times in Cuba, three times in Panama, five times in Honduras, twice in the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua and once in Haiti.

U.S. General Smedley D. Butler explained just what the purpose of military intervention was:

"I spent 33 years and four months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps . . .

"And during that period I spent most of my time as a high class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. In short I was a racketeer for capitalism . . . Thus I helped to make Mexico safe for oil interests in 1914. I helped to make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in . . .

"I helped to purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped to make Honduras "right" for the American fruit companies in 1903."

After World War II the United States emerged as a dominant power in the world.

As Pearce shows, what this meant for Central America and the Caribbean was increased economic and political domination by the United States.

In Guatemala for example, the liberal reformer Jacobo Arbenz came to power in 1950 and began to implement land reforms with the intention of creating an internal market for industrial growth—land ex-



Under the Eagle, South End Press, is available from Hera Press for \$7.50

propriations that he carried out threatened 387,000 acres of United Fruit property.

United Fruit demanded 16 times more in compensation than the Guatemalan government was willing to offer.

In 1954, Colonel Castillo Armas overthrew Arbenz in a coup that was planned, organized and financed by the CIA.

In the rhetoric of the cold war, Arbenz was called a "communist", as was anyone who challenged U.S. economic interests.

The victory of Fidel Castro in Cuba via a popularly supported coup in 1959 led to similar expropriations of U.S. owned land, only this time attempts to overthrow him were unsuccessful.

In response the U.S. blockaded Cuba and refused to buy Cuba's sugar crop. The Soviet Union stepped in providing aid and buying Cuba's sugar. Cuba became "communist" by default.

Between 1960 and 1970 foreign investments in Central America—of which 83% came

from the United States—went from \$30 million to \$297 million.

Well over half of what went into manufacturing—oil refining, pulp and paper, steel tubing, tires and chemicals and so on.

In Puerto Rico, the thirteen factories in 1947 grew to 2,000 in 1970.

This created a new working class, an industrial class in the region.

The industries created were capital intensive. Hence in relation to the number of landless and unemployed in the various countries, very few jobs were created.

REINFORCE

The current revolutionary conflagration in Central America has reinforced the feeling in the American ruling class that it might even be necessary to send American troops into Central America.

In any case, the American businessman does not flinch from even the ugliest of remedies when necessary.

Said one member of the American Chamber of Commerce of Guatemala of government sponsored death squads:

"Why should we be worried about the death squads, they're bumping off commies, our enemies. I'd give them more power.

"Hell, I'd give them cartridges if I could and everyone else would too."

As a brief and informative

review of U.S. involvement in the Caribbean basin *Under the Eagle* is useful, but is has some problems.

It tends to imply that imperialism is an evil that swoops down on unsuspecting prey, that somehow exploitation in Latin America is something imposed from outside that can simply be cut away like a cancer growth.

Pearce points out that, "Many apparently radical third world governments have felt compelled by the dependence and vulnerability of their economies to modify their objectives in accordance to the need to attract foreign aid and investment."

But then she says it is possible to have "governments which totally reject incorporation into the present world economic system," and she present Grenada and Cuba as examples.

COLORS

While socialists always support the right of any nation, especially one dominated by the U.S., to determine as much as possible its own future, we must not make the mistake of cloaking every nationalist revolt in "communist" colors.

It is simply not possible for one tiny country in the Caribbean to opt out of the world system.

Nationalized property, if it is not under the direct control of workers, is not socialism, but state capitalism.

Reagan hugs Honduran strongman Suazo





on the picket line

WOMEN HOSPITAL WORKERS' STRIKE ENDS IN DEFEAT

by GERI D'ANNIBALLE

WARREN, OH—On December 17th, 300 members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Local 2804 ended their strike against Trumbull Memorial Hospital.

The strikers, mostly women, dietary workers, nurses aides, housekeepers and laundry workers lost their 19 week battle "for decency, for dignity and for equity."

The strike, which began August 1st, rapidly became a battle for the preservation of union jobs.

The hospital hired 285 scabs in the first week of the strike, and from that moment, the central issue became reinstatement of the strikers to their previous positions.



Warren Solidarity march

Such flagrant union busting tactics hit a raw nerve in Warren, in the heart of Ohio's steel valley, which has strong union traditions.

Soon workers from Packard (IUE 717), GM's Lordstown assembly plant (UAW 1112), steelworkers, friends and

neighbors of AFSCME strikers, all began rallying every Wednesday afternoon in the street in front of Trumbull Memorial Hospital.

Solidarity action spread beyond Warren when, on October 2, nearby Youngstown's AFL-CIO held a Solida-

rity Day, and a march was held afterward at TMH.

1,000 workers marched down the main street in Warren chanting "Warren is a union town, we won't let them tear it down!"

Strikers and non-strikers, unemployed workers and community people drew strength from their unity—and became more militant with the recognition of their strength.

The response of the union leadership was predictable.

Each time there was a militant rally, the rally for the following week was cancelled, or held at the IUE hall, blocks from the hospital.

At the rally in the IUE hall on October 20th Robert Brindza, state AFSCME president, called for an "indefinite moratorium" on solidarity action—and was driven from the stage by cries of "Bullshit!"

So AFSCME bureaucrats tried a more subtle tack.

At union meetings, state and local leaders began talking in ominous tones about "outside elements" who were "hindering negotiations."

They reminded the rank and file of how long the strike had gone on and talked of the need for "co-operation."

At one meeting union members were instructed "not to talk to any communists." The strength of the strike was workers' unity—the union bureaucrats now sought to foster divisions.

Support dwindled, though any Wednesday rally could turn out 100-150 people even after 17 weeks of strike. But the militance had ended.

Twice the hospital presented an offer to return the strikers to work over 33 months. Twice the union negotiating team recommended it—twice the rank and file overwhelmingly rejected the offer.

Then on December 17th the hospital made the compromise that Delbert Price, Local 2804 president called "the plus that helped pass the agreement." They shortened the recall period from 33 to 29½ months.

And after 19 weeks on strike, one week before Christmas, demoralized strikers accepted it 194 to 52.

The strike was now ended.

280 scabs will immediately get the 19.5% pay raise, and other benefits written into the contract.

The AFSCME workers will get unemployment. 200 will be recalled over 20 months. 80 more will not see work for 2 years.

The defeat of AFSCME 2804 is tragic. The strikers were brave and strong for months. Their neighbors, and local unionists showed solidarity and militancy.

MILITANCY

It may be small comfort for the women who have no jobs for more than two years, but they fought the right way. Rank and file militancy was the strength of the Warren strike, and it was the only thing that could have won it.

Though AFSCME 2804 didn't win, their strike shows us the power of solidarity—and the tragic results of letting anyone—boss or bureaucrat—divide us. □

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

Auto strike shows workers will fight

After eight weeks on strike the Canadian Chrysler workers won \$1.15 in immediate wage increases, plus COLA.

The American Chrysler workers benefited from this strike to the tune of .75¢ per hour. This was not just a financial victory, but it demonstrated the willingness of workers to go on strike even in these troubled times. It puts the UAW leadership and the employers on notice that workers will strike when pushed too far.

The strike exposed the bankruptcy of Fraser and Marc Stepp as labor leaders. The question must be asked what will the UAW convention in May, 1983, do about improving its leadership?

☆☆☆☆☆

Much publicity has been given to the fact GM has paid out \$30,000,000 to laid off GM workers. This money came from an educational and training fund negotiated by the UAW.

Payments will go to little more than half of the GM workers on indefinite layoff. Much of it will go back to GM in the form of payments on GM cars bought by workers before they were laid off. Most of the rest will go to other creditors. Twenty-thousand unemployed workers exhaust their unemployment benefits every week.

☆☆☆☆☆

With all this unemployment, workers in Fleetwood have been on a six day schedule. GM workers in Livonia trim plant have been working 15 hours a day. The failure of the UAW to

give the unemployed any serious attention makes them bitter toward the union. I attended a meeting of a coalition group asking for "Jobs or Income." In a long resolution it called for:

(1) fighting for a national commitment for full employment (including the passage of the Domestic Auto Content Bill). (2) fighting for compensation for the unemployed (including first time job seekers) for the duration of their unemployment. (3) demand protection for the unemployed from evictions and utility shutoffs. (4) demanding adequate health care for the unemployed and (5) demonstrating support by the unemployed on picket lines of organized labor.

I found one serious weakness in their approach to this problem. They seemed to think the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party would support their demands. They want to revert back to the ideas of the New Deal.

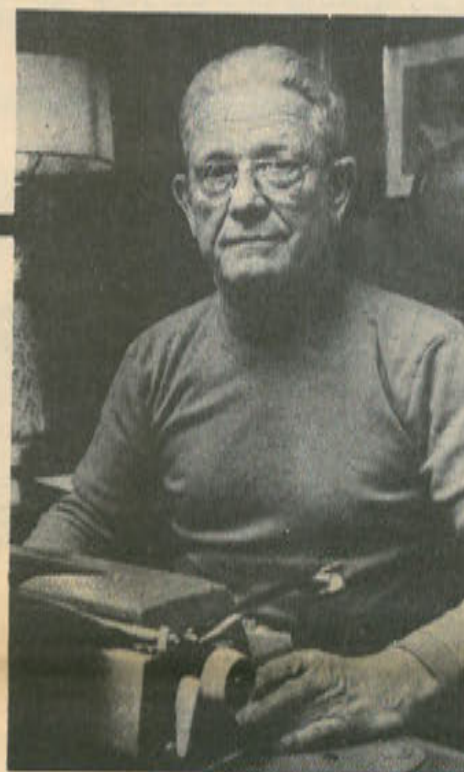
With some 270,000 auto workers on indefinite layoff and the number growing, the workers must look ahead to the 1984 negotiations. The failure of the union to deal with the question of the unemployed could spell disaster for not only the UAW but for the labor movement.

☆☆☆☆☆

I heard these remarks by a Local 15 UAW representative regarding Owen Bieber, the designated candidate for president of the UAW.

He said, "Remember where Bieber comes from—the conservative Western region of Michigan."

When Bieber speaks to a conference



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

of GM delegates he constantly refers to "Roger" Smith, president of GM. He seems to be on a first name basis with the president of GM. Yes, the philosophy of the UAW leadership and that of many of the locals is to put the profitability of the company before the welfare of the workers.

☆☆☆☆☆

The editor of UAW Local 735's paper has this to say about the "Quality of Work Life" program. "If I sound like I'm not too enthused about QWL, that's because I'm not. I just find it very hard to think that union and management are suddenly 'one big happy family'..."

"The goal of the company is to maintain a high level of profits for the stockholders and other 'fat cats' to share.

"Their goal is the same as any big business company—make the rich richer. Get those profits up to make the 'fat cats' fatter..."

"That's not the goal of the workers. The goal of the workers is to make a living, to feed our families, and to pay the bills. Our goal isn't to worry about the rich folks on top.

"So would someone please tell me what the new 'common goal' stuff is all about?"

Editors like Danny Hoffman of Local 735 will expose the plans of the corporation to divide the workers, the employed from the unemployed. □



AUTO WORKERS FORCE CHRYSLER TO GIVE-BUT NOT MUCH

DETROIT, MI—In November, 10,000 Canadian auto workers struck Chrysler Corporation when their demand for an immediate wage increase was refused.

At the same time over 43,000 U.S. Chrysler workers rejected a similar tentative contract but voted to remain on the job and resume negotiations.

Today both the Canadian and U.S. Chrysler workers are back on the job. They won \$.75 an hour in the U.S. contract. The Canadians won \$1.15.

But they still make about \$2.50 less than their counterparts at Ford and GM.

They're still working under a hated absentee policy that gives the company the right to discipline and fire workers at will. And they still have no protection against layoffs and plant closings.

RATIFICATION

Yet ratification was overwhelming.

In Canada, 91% of production workers, 85% of the skilled trades, and 97% of office workers approved the contract.

In the U.S. the passage was similar.

The union proclaimed a major victory.

But the truth is that when the contract expires Chrysler workers will be in as bad or worse shape as they were this time.

So what happened and why were they willing to accept what appears to be a losing contract?

Back in 1979, the UAW negotiated its first ever give-back contract.

by FAITH SIMON

In that contract, Chrysler workers were forced to give up over a billion dollars in wages and benefits over three years.

The Canadian workers were overwhelmingly against the contract, but the U.S. votes in favor outnumbered the Canadian and the contract was ratified.

The more militant Canadian workers learned their lesson and insisted on separate votes for future contracts.

But it was too late for the 1979 contract, and so for the past three years both Canadian and U.S. Chrysler workers have paid dearly for bailing Chrysler out.

They have suffered through soaring inflation and deepening recession without a single pay raise or cost of living adjustment.

They have suffered through lay-offs, plant closings, mortgage foreclosures, and personal bankruptcies.

It has been a long, hard three years so when the contract negotiations came up this fall, it was crystal clear to the workers that an immediate pay raise was not simply a demand, but an absolute necessity for their survival.

SORRY

Chrysler management, with Douglas Fraser at their lead, immediately began crying, "sorry but no money", flatly refused to negotiate a wage increase, and offered instead a meagre profit sharing plan (that is of course if any profits were made.)

The UAW leadership accepted the proposal.

Fraser, extraordinarily concerned about the company's financial survival, mounted a major public relations campaign to convince the members this was the best possible offer. The rank and file's response—strike.

There were five wildcat strikes in the U.S. before Fraser and his cohorts managed to subvert the militancy and delay an all out strike until January.

But the militancy of the Canadians came through and on November 5th, 10,000 workers walked out shutting down Chrysler's most profitable assembly plants and eliminating production of many parts used in U.S. plants.

While the U.S. rank and file supported and admired the Canadian strike, Fraser made no secret of his displeasure.

The Canadian strike put Fraser between a hard rock and a hard place. He'd gone on record sympathizing with the company's refusal to offer a wage increase.

But the strike which was costing Chrysler between 10 and 20 million dollars a week



UAW leaders Bieber and Fraser

had changed things at the bargaining table.

Suddenly a wage increase was not quite so impossible. And there was Fraser calling the one event that had forced Chrysler to bargain "a problem."

The most blatant example of the bankruptcy of the UAW leadership was over the issue of "struck work."

Chrysler, in an effort to defeat the Canadians, transferred work normally done in Canada to the U.S.

Canadian dies were installed at the Kokomo Die Casting plant and in the Warren and Mack Avenue stamping plants.

U.S. workers were absolutely opposed to scabbing on the

Canadians, but they were threatened with immediate termination for refusing to work and received virtually no support from their International.

The Canadian UAW, as Nelson Caulder points out in the Canadian paper, *Workers Action*, is in a double bind.

"Being more militant than its American counterpart, it cannot afford to knuckle under to more conservative attitudes.

"But multinationals like Ford, GM and Chrysler can only be effectively fought on both sides of the border."

But unfortunately the UAW leadership in the U.S. was a major block in the way of a successful strike.

And the result was a contract that did very little to better conditions for Chrysler workers.

The 75 cents per hour in the U.S. and \$1.15 per hour in Canada still leaves Chrysler workers far behind their brothers and sisters at Ford and GM.

The absentee policy still punishes workers for illness. There is still no security against lay-offs.

Perhaps UAW members thought it was the best contract they could get.

And given the role of the UAW leadership and lack of real solidarity for the Canadians they may be right.

But just as the Canadian strike forced Chrysler to concede to an immediate pay raise, a united strike, on both sides of the border could have meant a decent contract and a real turn around to concessions.

EXPIRES

Fortunately, this contract is just 13 months long and expires in January of 1984.

This past fall Chrysler workers showed a glimpse of real unionism. The Canadian strike and the U.S. wildcats are the basis of what's necessary to win the fight against concessions.

It's only a strong rank and file movement, independent of the UAW leadership that has the power to act in its own interests and turn things around. □

WORKERS FIGHT HEALTH CUTS

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—The workers in Upholsters International, Local 3, Canvas Division, are standing up against company cutbacks.

70 workers have decided to strike rather than accept a slash in health and welfare benefits.

The company expected workers to pick up 50% of the tab for their benefits, but were surprised to find a picket line—now two months old.

The workers at Sullivan's and six other San Francisco shops have not received a wage increase in almost two years.

The pickets have cut the number of customers, and before the strike business was booming. The company could not cry poverty.

Strike support would be greatly appreciated. Send to Upholsters International, Local 3, Canvas Division, 2601 Mission Street, Suite 710, San Francisco, CA 94140. □

by CAROLD SIDDLE



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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

STEEL WORKERS

GENERAL MOTORS BLACKMAILS USW

**SPECIAL
FEATURE**

PITTSBURGH, PA— Angry steelworkers here have told Roger Smith, the chairman of General Motors Corporation, "to take his cars and shove em!"

On January 5, the presidents of the local unions in District 15 (Pittsburgh area) met and unanimously reaffirmed their opposition to the massive concessions demands by the nations big eight steel producers.

Smith, in a statement on December 21, gave the United Steelworkers (USW) an ultimatum. He said: settle with the steel corporations by February or General Motors will buy its steel from Japan beginning in March.

BLACKMAIL

Ron Weissen, president of USW Local 1397, Homestead, PA, called Smith's demand "blackmail" and said that local presidents would not be intimidated.

VOW FIGHT BACK

Smith got General Motors workers to give up \$3 billion in concessions last year—on the promise that the money would be used to help GM compete with Japanese auto-makers.

Now he tells the steelworkers that GM cannot afford to stockpile steel and that he will not allow production to be interrupted by a possible steel strike in August.

His ultimatum followed the rejection by local union presidents in November of massive wage demands made by the steel industry.

The big eight demanded that steelworkers immediately give up \$1.50 an hour in wages, plus more over time in lost paid holidays and COLA.

When the local leaders rejected these demands, Lloyd McBride, international president of the USW announced there would be no new negotiations until those scheduled for mid-May.

Amazingly, the leadership of the USW then capitulated to Smith and the steel companies and agreed to open new negotiations on February 2.

Spokesmen for the union denied this. Frank Valenta, director of District 28 (Ohio), said the change represented a "change in strategy" but had "nothing to do with Smith's statement."

But Weissen disagreed. He told *Socialist Worker*, "Steelworkers have many problems



Above: Ron Weissen, USW local 1397 president. Right: USW International president Lloyd McBride



today, and poor leadership is paramount among them.

"It's becoming difficult to identify Lloyd McBride as a unionist.

PROFITS

"He is more concerned about corporate profits than he is about the lives of his members. He is spineless.

"This union was founded with leaders who were not intimidated by corporation presidents."

The January 5 statement of the District 15 steelworkers, cluded the following resolution, proposed by Weissen.

It passed unanimously:

"We the undersigned elected local union representatives of the United Steelworkers union, District 15, feel that the large majority of members that we represent are opposed to the massive wage concessions such as those demanded by the steel industry.

"We favor serious negotiations, but we feel discussions of wages and benefits must be matched by a willingness of steel industry to bring laid off members back to work and stop plant closings.

"We are opposed to one-sided concessions that will both reduce wages and eliminate jobs.

PATTERN

"We also believe it is important to bring an end to the pattern of one local union making concessions to match concessions by another local union.

"We also believe that its important to protect coordinated bargaining from the attack of the employers we work for." □

by CAL WINSLOW

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