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REVOLUTION**
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AMERICA**
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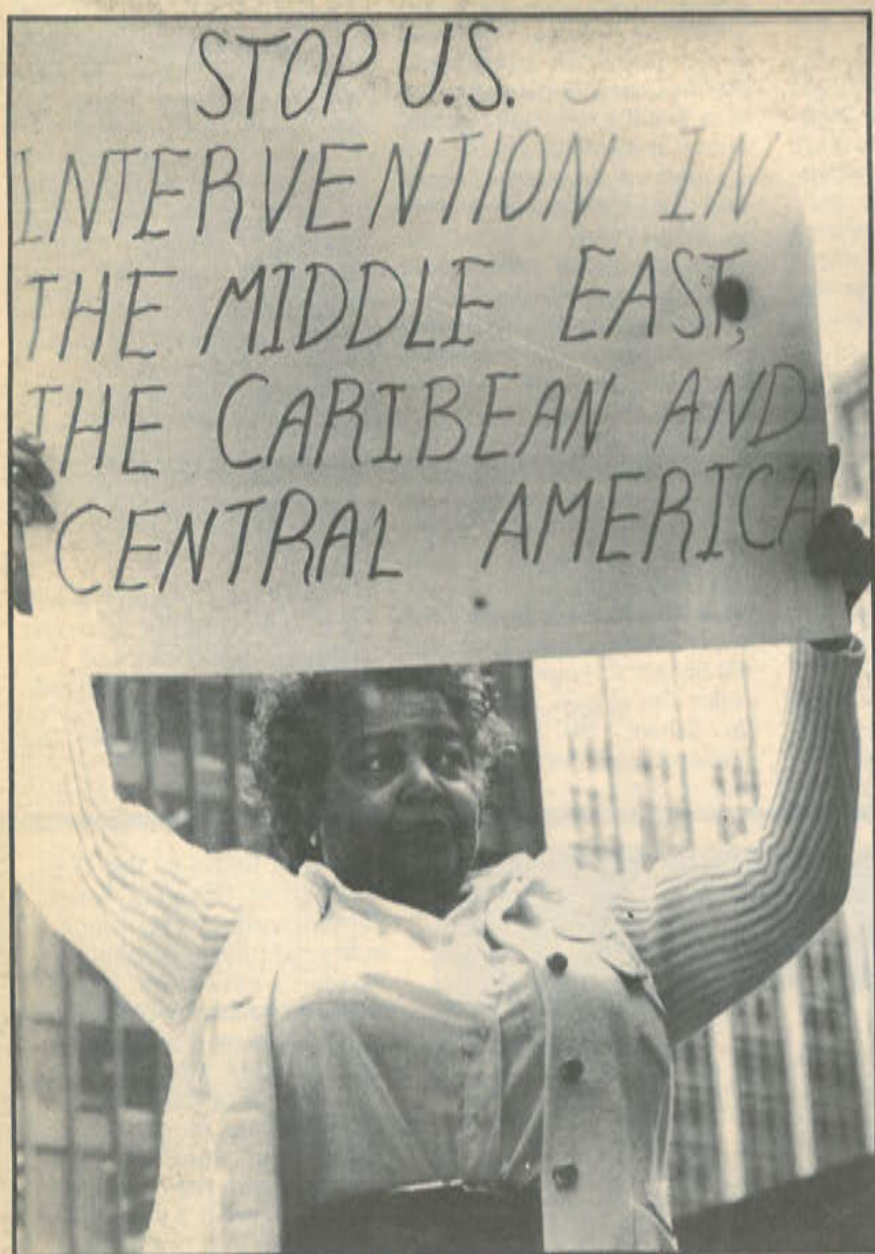
MISSILE MADNESS
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NOVEMBER 1983



NUMBER 79

REAGAN GOES



TO WAR!

**FOR FULL
COVERAGE
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The U.S. invasion of Grenada, a tiny Caribbean island, is not aimed at restoring "law and order and democracy," as Reagan claims.

Over 6,000 marines, backed by aircraft carriers, helicopters, gunships and heavy artillery, rained down the force of the U.S. arsenal on the tiny nation of 110,000. Countless civilian lives were lost in the process—including 50 patients killed when a mental hospital was bombed by the U.S.

The invasion is a classic example of U.S. gunboat diplomacy. The U.S. is an occupying force in Grenada. Reagan's invasion suggests what the future may hold for Central America. And on the other side of the world, U.S. "peacekeepers" continue to prop up an unpopular and brutal regime in Lebanon, a regime responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of Palestinians.

These wars are not in our interest, but in the interest of a tiny ruling class and a system that needs war to survive. Time and again, the ruling class has used war to solve challenges to its rule—to pull the system through crisis.

U.S. Out of Grenada, Central America and the Middle East! □

DEMONSTRATE NOVEMBER 12

Grenada's crisis: the bitter fruit of Western domination

The recent power struggle in Grenada centered on one important question: in what direction would the 1979 "revolution" steer the tiny, economically underdeveloped island?

A rift developed in the ruling New Jewel Movement (NJM) between forces aligned with former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who had recently drifted toward the West, and those aligned with Minister Bernard Coard, who argued for a more sharply pro-Soviet/Cuban model of national development.

The rift proved fatal not only to the principals involved, but also to the "revolution" began four years ago.

CORRUPT

In March, 1979, the NJM seized power—thus ending the corrupt regime of Sir Eric Gairy, who had run the island since it gained independence from Britain in 1974.

Gairy, who believed he had contact with flying saucers, spent increasingly large amounts of the island's slender resources on the study of UFOs.

Gairy advocated that the U.N. should set up an agency for "psychic research" into UFOs—a study he called *Ufology—the Bermuda Triangle and other psychic phenomena*. But he assured the U.N. in 1977 that, "Grenada takes no categorical theoretical stand on the question of UFOs."



The NJM's agitation against Gairy centered on what it described as Gairy's corruption, tyranny, violence and buffoonery. He ruled Grenada through a combination of fraud and terror at the hands of his thuggish personal police, the Mongoose Gang.

New Jewel (Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education and Liberation) came together in 1973, born from the Black Power movement which swept the Caribbean in the early 1970s. It consisted of a few dozen Grenadians who had studied in American and British universities.

LEADER

Bishop, a leader of the group, was himself a London-trained lawyer. Coard, later the deputy prime minister, studied at an American

SOCIALIST WORKER ANALYSIS

university and then took a political science degree in Britain.

While overseas, they developed left-wing ideas—looking to Cuba and new African states as models for third world countries.

New Jewel's 1973 manifesto called for redistribution of land, free high school education, a national health plan, minimum wages, nationalization of banking and insurance, a state structure like that of nationalist African states with a party based in town council tiers, led from the top by a nine-member council.

In March, 1979, Gairy left for America, leaving orders for the police to assassinate eight of the opposition's leaders, including Bishop, Coard, Unison Whiteman and Hudson Austin.

Sympathetic police leaked the information, and New Jewel seized power with 46 armed members.

The army and the police chiefs agreed to defend the new rulers. Crowds took to the streets in the capital city of St. Georges chanting, "Freedom Comes, Freedom Goes, Gairy goes with a UFO."

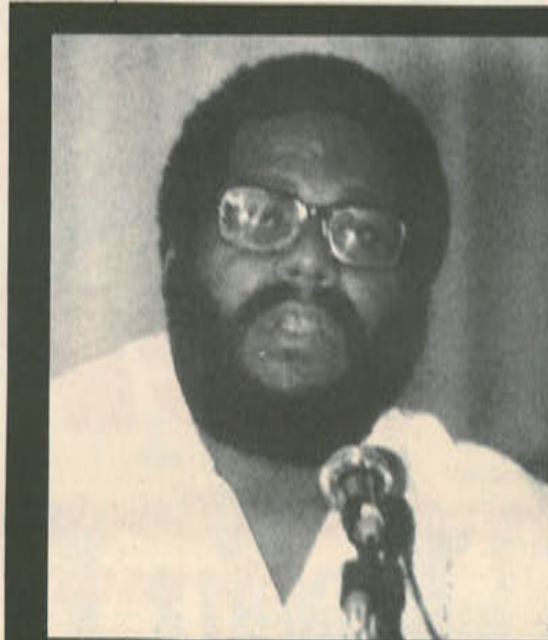
REGIME

The new "Marxist-Leninist" regime hoped to develop the island and quickly establish ties with the Cuban regime. Castro sent teachers and doctors to help the island develop special services.

Military training was also provided, but neither Cuba nor Russia provided the resources necessary to develop the island's economy.

The new regime met with hostility from Washington and from other Caribbean states. Reagan attacked Grenada's rulers for spreading the "virus of Marxism" in the hemisphere and imposed an economic boycott.

Earlier this year, the U.S.



Bernard Coard



Maurice Bishop

Navy conducted massive maneuvers around the island while rumors spread that the CIA was plotting a coup. Reagan's saber-rattling was quickly supported by the other tiny Caribbean ruling elites who feared any disruption of their close relationships with the U.S.

Reagan's accusations centered around the new international airport under construction on the island. He claimed that it would be a base for Russian fighters and that there were Russian and Cuban military bases on Grenada.

In fact, this new airport was being built with help from Grenadian, British, Canadian and Belgian firms, to open the island to European and North American tourism. Grenada's rulers were forced to return to tourism as the only hope for economic development.

Maurice Bishop had declared: "I am much more concerned about getting tourists here than talk of Soviet plans and Pentagon saber-rattling."

TRAPPED

New Jewel found itself trapped. It had attempted to break Grenada's dependence on Britain and America, and now it was thrown back to Russian state capitalism, even as it remained part of the

British Commonwealth.

The great tragedy of Grenada is that four years after a group of young left-wingers seized power, they realized that they had failed to fundamentally change their poor island. As that realization dawned on members of New Jewel, it turned in on itself in a bitter factional struggle.

On Wednesday, October 12, the drama began. Unknown to most Grenadians, the organization that seized power was called the Organization for Revolutionary Education and Liberation (OREL). Organized in the mid-1970s by Bernard Phyllis Coard, OREL consisted of a small group of activists drawn from New Jewel with the aim of seizure of power and the creation of a state more like Cuba.

Coard's group made a bid for power which Bishop refused. On October 13, Bishop was arrested. Interestingly, Coard seized power from behind the scenes. To date, he has not spoken. Instead, the figureheads were Liam Cornwall, recently ambassador to Cuba, and Hudson Austin, head of the People's Revolutionary Army.

On October 17, a resigned minister of government led 300 people through the capital under the slogan "No Word, No School, No Pay." The demonstration was broken up

and the leaders arrested. But the following day a demonstration of 500 actually disrupted activity at the airport.

Most of that day the government crumbled. Whiteman and Development Minister Kendrick Radix resigned, with Whiteman claiming that Coard was running the government from his home.

CLIMAX

The next day was the climax. In an insurrection against Coard, workers downed their tools. Airport workers, teachers and other workers struck. They marched first to Bishop's home, and the crowd grew to 8,000.

OREL responded with a counter-attack. OREL's strike force broke up the demonstration, executed Bishop, Whiteman and 38 others, established martial law and a 24 hour curfew. The counter-attack had succeeded.

The outcome of that struggle is proof that a small group of well meaning individuals cannot build socialism from above by substituting themselves for workers' power.

The final result—martial law, the slaughter of demonstrators, politicians and trade union leaders and the imposition of military rule on the island—was a tragic testament to that. □



Within hours of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, small demonstrations took place in many cities to protest Reagan's adventure. Cities included Ann Arbor, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, New York, Boston, Rochester and Cleveland. These actions must be built. And socialists will have to argue the case against Reagan's wars and the system that breeds war. We have to argue that the real enemy is at home. U.S. out of Grenada!

U.S. OUT OF GRENADA!

Ronald Reagan justified the Grenada invasion as an attempt "to restore law and order and democracy" after last month's power struggle between factions of the New Jewel Movement. According to Reagan, a "brutal group of leftist thugs" overthrew and killed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, and he wanted to "forestall further chaos."

But his new-found concern for the fate of Grenada and its Prime Minister is sheer hypocrisy. The White House has systematically tried to undermine Bishop's government ever since the New Jewel Movement ousted the corrupt U.S.-backed Gairy regime in 1979.

Reagan placed Grenada in economic quarantine, let the CIA loose and sent the Rapid Deployment Force on maneuvers around the island in a test run for this latest adventure.

In fact, it was Reagan's actions which led to the bloody dissensions between Grenada's leaders.

Reagan sent in the marines in a near carbon copy of Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 or of Afghanistan in 1979.

STORY

As the dust began to settle, the story changed.

Chancellor and founder of St. Georges University School of Medicine, Charles Modica, initially stated that the decision to invade was "very unnecessary" to save American lives. He said, "The president's information is very wrong."

And Reagan completely forgot about his concern for Bishop. In his October 27 address he said, "We got there just in time . . ." to "forestall a Cuban occupation" and prevent Grenada from becoming a "Soviet-Cuban colony" that would export "terror and subversion."

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WHAT WE THINK

What rubbish. The U.S. is the occupying force in Grenada. The U.S. has assumed responsibility for civilian administration of the island.

The claims of an attempted Cuban takeover of the island and the massive arms cache claimed to exist on the island were inventions.

Senator Moynihan told reporters that first "we heard that Grenada was a Soviet and Cuban arsenal. Today I pick up the newspaper and read that many of the weapons kept in storage were made 100 years ago and are valuable historical pieces, including 19th century carbines."

Reagan identified a 9,000 foot air strip as evidence that the Russians and Cubans wanted Grenada for military purposes. But Grenada came to the U.S. first for aid in building the strip. When the U.S. snubbed them, they turned to Cuba and Europe for help.

And there are larger air strips throughout the eastern Caribbean. Grenada, like the other countries of the area, is economically dependent on tourist traffic. The notion of Grenada as a military threat to the U.S. is absurd—an island twice the size of the District of Columbia with a population of 100,000!

BOGUS

The "Defending democracy" rationale is equally bogus. Whenever U.S. troops have been sent on adventures like the present one, nothing resembling democracy has resulted.

In Nicaragua in the early 1930s, U.S. marines intervened to "restore peace." They installed in power the notorious Somoza family which imposed its bloody rule for more than 40 years.

In 1954, U.S.-backed troops seized control of Guatemala. A vicious dictatorship still rules there.

U.S. troops invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965. A right-wing dictatorship ruled for the next seven-years

on the basis of a complete denial of human rights.

In the same year, U.S. paratroopers dropped onto Stanleyville in Zaire to "protect the lives of U.S. citizens." In fact, they crushed a popular rebellion and secured the power of corrupt Mobutu.

BACKING

Today it is U.S. backing which maintains the El Salvador regime and its army—which carries out 10,000-15,000 political murders a year.

And it was 10 years ago that the CIA backed the bloody Pinochet coup in Chile which toppled the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende. At the time, Kissinger said the U.S. "would not allow a country to go Communist because of the irresponsibility of its own people." The same is obviously true today.

The U.S. is as little concerned with democracy in the third world as Moscow. Both superpowers are involved in a grand chess game in which they back corrupt regimes, ship arms, send "advisors," and work to topple "unfriendly" governments.

But the game is not played with pieces on a board. Instead it is played with human lives, and in the middle there are dozens of Grenadas. Economic competition and military rivalry go hand in hand.

When profit rates fall, the rulers reach for their guns. They send workers to kill and be killed with the line that it is all for the "defense of democracy and freedom."

Socialists must argue that the interest served by the U.S. military in Grenada and in Lebanon is not our interest, but that of Reagan and his class.

War is the inevitable and horrible product of the system they rule. Ultimately their weapons must be wrested from them by a movement to overturn class society once and for all. □



LEBANON: THE REAL ENEMY IS AT HOME

The latest wave of bloodshed in Beirut has completed Ronald Reagan's redefinition of the word 'peacekeeper.'

If you follow Reagan's twisted logic, the use of the word makes sense. Reagan has another pet project entitled "peacekeeper." It's the MX missile—a weapon capable of infinitely more destruction than the bombs that killed U.S. and French troops in their headquarters.

NETWORK

Reagan insists that troops remain in Beirut to help the Lebanese government resist an allegedly Russian-supported "network of surrogates and terrorists." If the U.S. withdraws its troops now, Reagan says, it will "dishonor" those already killed.

But in the wake of last month's bombing, Reagan drew the bottom line on the U.S. intervention in Lebanon. If the U.S. withdraws, he said, "it won't be just Lebanon sentenced to a future of chaos. Can the United States, or the free world for that matter, stand by and see the Middle East incorporated into the Soviet bloc?"

In other words, Lebanon—like Grenada and El Salvador—is a valuable prize in U.S.-Russian competition. Global economic crisis has converted

marketplace rivalries into battlefield confrontations, and Lebanon is of special importance to the U.S. because of its proximity to Middle East oil fields.

HUMAN

The U.S. has fought for these economic and strategic advantages in Lebanon despite enormous human cost. It supported Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon in which tens of thousands of people were killed—figures that make the numbers of U.S. troops killed in Beirut pale in significance.

And now the U.S. has assumed Israel's role in direct support for Lebanon's Phalangist government—a party modeled on the pre-World War II fascist party of Spain. It was directly responsible for the horrific massacre in the Sabra and Chatilla Palestinian refugee camps last year.

ORCHESTRATED

That is Ronald Reagan's peacemaking. And his advisor, Henry Kissinger—who orchestrated tens of thousands of deaths in the Vietnam—thinks the U.S. should send even more troops to Beirut to "protect" it from Syria.

Such action would only promote further violence. Enough bloodshed—U.S. out of Lebanon! □

FIGHTING WORDS

The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives.

They have always taught and trained you to believe it to be your patriotic duty to go to war and to have yourselves slaughtered at their command.

They are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not their but your patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing line or chucks them into the trenches.

Eugene V. Debs, 1918

Missile protests show need to link issues

SENECA, N.Y.—5,000 protesters rallied against nuclear weapons on October 22 at the Seneca Army Depot in rural upstate New York. Two days later, 300 people were arrested in civil disobedience activity at the depot gate.

The protest coincided with similar actions called throughout Europe and North America in an attempt to halt European deployment of a new generation of U.S. first-strike weapons, the Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles.

by BRIAN ERWAY

The Seneca Army Depot is the principal east coast storage facility for nuclear weapons, including neutron bombs. The missiles will probably be shipped from there in December. During the past summer, the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice operated on an adjacent farm near the Depot's main entrance.

Until it closed in early September, the camp served as a focus for almost daily non-violent protests at the depot, the largest demonstration drawing some 1700 women on August 1. The camp was modeled on the Women's Peace Encampment at Greenham Commons Air Base in England—where U.S. warheads and missiles will be arriving within the month.

RALLY

The October 22 rally at Seneca Depot was the largest action in the U.S.; 3,000 marched in El Segundo outside Los Angeles, and dozens of protests occurred elsewhere. In heavy rain, one hundred plus demonstrators turned out at the Cincinnati Federal Building to participate in the "Last World Series," a dramatization of nuclear exchange. The participatory satire made the clear point that by playing ball with the "Big Guys" you only get one strike and you're out.

Indeed, it seems that the disarmament movement has undergone a significant decline since June 1982, when 1/4 million marched against nuclear weapons in New York City.

DECLINE

The decline was evident, at least at Seneca Depot, in the accommodation that many protesters have made to the barrage from Reagan and the right-wing press characterizing the peace movement as communist dupes, marching to Moscow's beat, and so on.

Perhaps a third of the demonstrators carried little U.S. flags supplied by Democratic Party supporters in a campaign called "Take Back the Flag." Thus, at the moment when missile deployment is imminent, many disarmament activists are reaching for precisely the same symbols as those who support the missiles.

The shift to the right involves not just symbols, but also the kind of issues that the disarmament movement embraces. One prominent speaker at the Seneca rally, a Catholic bishop from Rochester, used the forum to speak against abortion as well as missiles.

There is pressure to drop issues that are deemed "secondary," such as opposing U.S. militarism in conventional weapons, or U.S. intervention in Lebanon and Central America, to concentrate instead on electing a Democrat in 1984.

But that merely brings us full circle—it was Democrat Jimmy Carter who first ordered deployment of Cruise and Pershing 2 in 1979.

BOSTON, MA—On October 14, for the first time in Boston's history, a Black mayoral candidate gained enough votes in a primary election to place himself in the final runoff for mayor of Boston on November 15.

In a race resembling the recent mayoral campaign of Harold Washington of Chicago, former Democratic state rep Mel King received overwhelming support from Blacks and Latinos, whose numbers in the city have risen in the last ten years from a fifth to a third of the city's population. A successful voter registration drive gave King at least an extra 25,000 votes, allowing him to win 34% of the vote.

PORTRAYED

King is portrayed in his literature and by his campaigners as something different, a radical alternative that will bring about significant change in Boston. Particularly his left-wing supporters point to his past record as a community activist to prove that as mayor he will be different than previous mayors.

But for all the promises made about more jobs, better and cheaper housing and the alleviation of racism, King offers one solution—register and vote. The struggles of the 1960s recede into the background as a "stage" which has been transcended. The struggle for "black power" has, it is argued, shifted from the streets to the polling booths.

In reality, there is no continuity between the struggles of the 1960s and today. King is running for mayor in a situation in which the movements are dead, on the one hand, yet the situation of Blacks in particular and workers in general has been steadily worsening as a result of a serious economic crisis and a right wing offensive on the other.

In other words, King promises reforms in a period of little struggle that in the past were only won as a result of a mass movement. Such reforms are all but gone precisely because the employers and the right feel confident enough to go on the offensive.

The solutions King offers

AMERICA: LAND OF THE RICH

Forbes asked smugly: "What more dramatic indicator/vindicator of the vitality of the free enterprise system can there be?"

The business magazine exulted in the fact that a full 18% of the members of its annual survey of the 400 richest people in the U.S. made it to the top for the first time.

Not bad. That means 76 people—of a country of 230 million—managed to join Forbes' triumphant few. Almost 35 million others did not fare so well. They live below the official U.S. government poverty line, according to a September Census Bureau report.

VINDICATION

But if you think this is a "vindication" of "free enterprise" in the "land of opportunity," consider this: six of the 15 billionaires in the survey inherited their wealth. Three of them came from one family—the Texas oil barons, the Hunts.

Of course, these rich people are not heartless. They show concern for the less fortunate at extravaganzas like January's Bob Hope Classic Ball in Palm Springs.

There, in a party-room decorated like a sheik's tent, turbaned dancers aboard a fake elephant entertained the plutocrats as they raised \$1 million for charity.

The bulk of the donations went to the elite Eisenhower Medical Center in the desert resort, Rancho Mirage, California.

WORKERS

But when workers and the poor get sick, dollars don't flow so freely.

Across the nation, the Reagan cutbacks have boosted malnutrition in the U.S., according to a Harvard University study.

"Our leaders state their belief that in the long run people will have adequate incomes," a study author testified before Congress.

"But the problem is that a child does not eat in the long run—and an elderly person does not have a long run."

THE PILL PUTS WOMEN AT RISK

Margaret Sanger, founder of Planned Parenthood, once said: "I consider that the world and almost our entire civilization for the next twenty-five years, is going to depend upon a simple, cheap, safe contraceptive to be used in poverty stricken slums and jungles, and among the most ignorant people . . ."

"I believe that now, immediately, there should be a national sterilization for certain dysgenic (bad genes) types of our population who are being encouraged to breed and would die out were the government not feeding them."

For a population control fanatic like Sanger, a birth control pill was the answer to a dream, and she financially supported its development. But in the rush to get the pill on the market, little long-term testing was done on how it might affect the health of women.

It was first tested on Puerto Rican women (who have also been the victims of sterilization abuse) and only 132 of them were monitored for a full year.

Despite the lack of adequate testing, the Food and Drug Administration ap-

DR. DENA MAGOULIAS REPORTS ON THE EFFECTS OF THE PILL ON WOMEN

proved the pill for use in 1960. Within one year, harmful side effects began to be reported - 132 cases of blood clotting among pill users, including 11 deaths.

RISKS

Since then, many health risks have been documented, as it has become clear that no tissue or organ in a user's body is free from the effect of the pill.

Blood sugar may be raised, leading to chemical diabetes in 13% of cases. Fat levels are raised, causing an increased rate of heart attacks and strokes. Blood pressure can be raised.

Nevertheless, some



physicians have refused to believe that side effects such as nausea, fatigue and bloating are real. But studies are now showing that the pill can do much more than cause nausea. It can increase the chance of getting cancer.

One California study found that women who took pills with high progesterol (a sex hormone commonly used in the pill) for five years were four times more likely than other women to develop breast cancer. Another study in Great Britain showed a 75% greater risk of cervical cancer.

But doctors continue to push the pill. With their

paternalistic belief that they know what is best for their female patients, many doctors do not even inform women of all the risks involved in using the pill for fear that the truth might scare them away from it.

The doctors, in turn, are brain-washed by drug companies into believing that the pill is still the "safe and easy" form of birth control. Glossy full-page ads for the pill litter the medical journals.

RESULT

As a result, 50 million women throughout the world take the pill, and the multinational drug companies rake in the profits.

At the clinic where I work I see women who started taking the pill at age 12. By the time they are in their twenties, they have already been exposed by the carcinogenic effect for years.

Instead of putting young women on the hazardous pill in an effort to impose contraception on them, it would make a whole lot more sense for society to offer women more options and opportunities so that they can assume more control over their lives and their bodies.

MEL KING IS A BLACK CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR IN BOSTON, A CITY WHERE RACISM RUNS DEEP. PAUL D'AMATO REPORTS.

reflect his defense of the status quo. At a Boston University meeting, King said that the first step towards ending racial violence in Boston would be to involve the police department's Community Disorders Unit in all neighborhoods "so people clearly understand that they are going to act very quickly and efficiently."

MURDER

This is the same Community Disorders Unit which claimed that last year's murder of William Atkinson, a Black man, by a gang of white thugs in Savin Hill was not racially motivated. And it is the same police force which was responsible for the murder of Levi Hart, a 13-year-old Black in 1981, the murder of Elijah Pate in August, shot five times for allegedly stealing a car, and the shooting over the last six months of two young, unarmed Latinos.

Clearly, a fight against racist violence in Boston must take place on a militant basis—directed against police brutality as well. King's intention of collaborating with the police to create more "efficient" intervention does not begin to tackle racism.

King claims that his campaign has already created "an

open and accessible city," that his candidacy has relieved racist tension in Boston.

This is absurd. Racism in Boston runs much deeper than that, as the busing crisis revealed.

CHANNEL

The effect of King's campaign is to channel discontent into "safe" electoral politics, and ultimately into the Democratic Party.

It makes no difference that King is running as an independent. At every stage he has identified Black Democrats, offering no criticisms of the Democratic Party. Harold Washington, Andrew Young and Jesse Jackson have all visited Boston to back King's campaign, to encourage Black people to "register and vote."

The point is not that King, or any of these politicians, is somehow insincere. It is that any elected official, Black or white, is caught in a position of having to manage the system. The whole structure of city, state and national government is set up to ensure that a handful of people who own and control the wealth will not have their basic interests disrupted.

Every city competes to attract and keep businesses,

banks, developers, manufacturers. Anything that threatens profits—higher business taxes, rent control, a ban on condominium conversion—will lead to business pulling out and restrictions on state and federal funding. The majority of city bureaucrats and politicians would stonewall any such efforts.

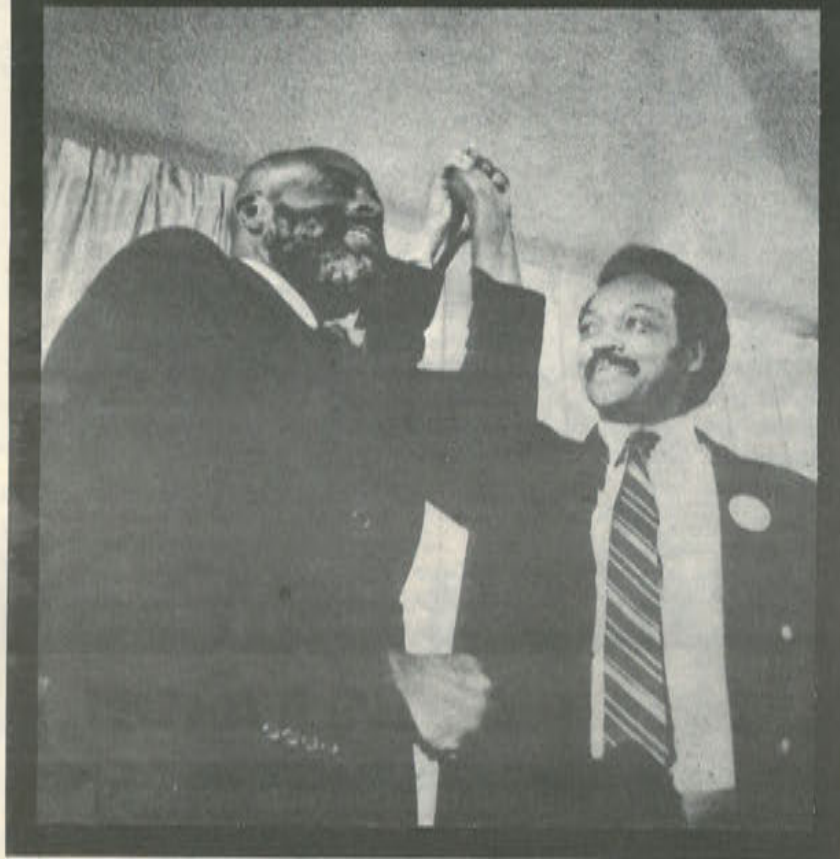
If elected mayor, King will inherit a city wracked by economic crisis, budget deficit, racism and unemployment. Whatever his past record, King too will be forced to manage the crisis.

"REALISTICALLY"

King himself understands the need to "realistically" work with the established powers. On October 17 King and his opponent Ray Flynn met with the "Vault," an organization of leading Boston businessmen. After the meeting, a Vault spokesman said: "Both of them [the candidates] are dedicated to the politics of collaboration rather than confrontation. We can live with either of them."

The only factor that has ever compelled reform has been the fear of revolt. And in the context of crisis, it becomes even more difficult to exact reforms. □

ELECTIONS AND BLACK AMERICA



Jesse Jackson announces candidacy

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

"I AM somebody" has been the catch phrase for Jesse Jackson since 1968, when he was an organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Chicago.

King and Southland have led to contracts promising greater minority participation at the management and ownership levels.

Recently, to soften his image as a "Blacks only" politician, Jackson has repeatedly claimed that his would not be a "Black candidacy." Instead he talks of building a "rainbow coalition" including women, Latinos, the poor, the elderly and others.

WOMEN

To mollify women supporters, Jackson has modified his position on abortion. While he still believes abortion to be murder, he has recently stated his support for a woman's right to choose abortion as an alternative.

And on national defense, Jackson is sizing up as a mainstream Democrat. He opposes the MX, the B-1 bomber and deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles, but he fails to call for any significant cuts in military spending.

Jackson has 15 years of flair carrying him into this campaign. No doubt he can whip up quite a bit of support through his inspirational speeches and by playing on the very real anger of Blacks.

But Jackson has absolutely nothing to offer by way of an alternative. Much of the opposition to Jackson's candidacy will take the form of racism, which must be opposed. But fighting racism and working for the election of Black candidates are two very different things.

In the coming months, as election fever mounts, socialists must continue to argue that activity around the real issues of the day, rather than around any candidacy, is the only road to another movement—a movement that can change the rules, and maybe even the game. □

We need a fightback

Mel King's mayoral campaign in Boston is only the most recent example of the drive by Black politicians across the country to "get out the Black vote" and "change the face of politics in America" by winning prominent positions in local and national government.

by BRIAN KELLY

And despite the enormous anger this has produced, there is no movement fighting back.

Even in the years of the so-called American Dream—Blacks were kept at the bottom of American society.

Now, in the midst of the worst economic crisis since the Depression and at a time when racist attacks are increasing, Black politicians, most of them aligned with the Democratic Party, are promising to end all this.

But the problem is bigger than individuals, and these are promises the politicians can't keep—whatever their intentions.

Harold Washington is a perfect example. Elected largely on his platform of "jobs for the Black Community," he was forced, within months of his victory, to start laying off city workers—Black and white.

COMPROMISES

And he will be forced into even more severe compromises as the months roll on.

If there was a militant mass movement rooted among Blacks putting forward candidates on a specific platform and vowing to carry on the struggle whether or not their candidates were elected—the situation would be completely different.

But to suggest that by simply electing a Black candidate—even a "progressive" like Mel King—the power of the ruling class will somehow vanish is a lot of hot air—the type politicians are never short of.

RESPONSE

Typical of the left's response is a recent *In These Times* article on Jesse Jackson. The theme of the article is summed up in bold type in the center of the page: "In the 1950s the lunch counter was the battlefield. In the 60s it was the streets. In the 80s it is elections."

But there is a huge gap between sitting at a lunch counter or taking to the streets on the one hand and pulling a lever for Washington, King or Jackson on the other.

In the absence of an organized fightback in the Black community the electoral campaigns are a timid response on the part of Black politicians to the increasingly desperate situation in Black America under Reagan.

When the votes have been counted and the commotion has died down, nothing will have changed for the millions of Blacks and other working people hit hard by the economic crisis. Elections aren't the answer. We need a real fightback led by working people themselves. □

It follows the same pattern as Harold Washington's victory in Chicago last April and as Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign is likely to follow if he decides to run in 1984: massive Black voter registration drives, promises of jobs and housing for poor and working class people and vague pledges that Blacks and Latinos will finally get a share of power and a say in the way things are run.

It's not hard to understand why the response from the Black community in cities like Boston and Chicago has been so enthusiastic. For years, Blacks have been kept outside of city government by local Democratic Party machines.

TOLL

Today, Blacks are the hardest-hit victims of an economic crisis taking its toll on the living standards of working people across the country. In major U.S. cities, Black communities have been devastated by desperate poverty, unemployment and racist violence.

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

BY BILL ROBERTS

One persistent problem for revolutionaries is the relation between the fight for specific reforms and the need for revolution to change society.

The Social Democratic Party (SPD) of Germany attempted to deal with this problem in a program they adopted in 1891. Written by "the Pope of Marxism," Karl Kautsky, the Erfurt Program contained minimum demands (guides for daily activity) and maximum principles (the socialist revolution).

The goal of the minimum-maximum program was to provide a guide for every day activity while working for the long range goal of socialism. The goal was to draw a connection between the means and the end.

In practice the minimum program became the main concern of SPD activists. The maximum program—"revolution with no illusions in parliamentary methods," was replaced with a new theory of "evolutionary socialism" and the abandonment of class struggle. The parliamentary road to socialism was the route followed.

The ultimate tragedy of the SPD practice was the complete capitulation of the party to the German ruling class in supporting Germany's entry into World War One. The SPD on the eve of WWI was thoroughly reformist.

PURE

Other socialist groups have attempted to remain pure by refusing to involve themselves in reform activity on any level.

Between the two extremes is another course.

The Bolshevik Party represents the best example of another road. Their ability to link the day to day struggles with the final goal led to the first successful working class revolution.

The role of the party, as Lenin conceived it, was to raise the level of understanding and organization of the working class; to build confidence in its ability to seize its own historical role for its own interests.

CONCEPT

Lenin's concept of revolutionary organization was an organic one. The relationship of the party to the class was reflected inside the party by the relationship of the leading elements to the party rank and file. The party had to influence the class but the class also had to influence the party.

This could only happen if the party members were active in the day to day struggles of workers. But involvement in the immediate struggle had also to relate to the final goal.

In an article entitled "Our Immediate Tasks," written by Lenin in 1899, he explained the tasks of the party:

It is our task "by organizing the workers, by conducting propaganda and agitation among them, to turn their spontaneous struggle against their oppressors into the struggle of the whole class, into the struggle of a definite political party for definite political and socialist ideals."

It is not just enough to

Socialism and the fight for reforms



build the particular local struggle. What is needed is to pull the best elements towards an understanding of their struggle as it relates to the working class as a whole. Ultimately, this means into a revolutionary party.

DIRECTION

If revolutionaries do not win others to revolution, all their work is simply an academic exercise—or heading in the wrong direction. The tactic for winning people to socialism and socialist organization may vary depending on the conditions, but the bottom line is organizational growth and political

understanding.

Does this mean that socialists are opportunists? Only in so far as their practice is not clearly connected to their goals can the charge of opportunism be made. This is the case when socialists hide their real aims, or substitute the goals of the immediate struggle for the ultimate goal.

Rosa Luxemburg explained this danger:

"It is quite natural for people who run after immediate 'practical' results to want to free themselves from such limitations and to render their practice independent of our theory."

In other words, those socialists who argue that "the movement is everything" have as their guiding principal an opportunist position. Because they are unwilling to connect what is immediate to the basic theory, Marxism is put on the shelf and eventually becomes an impediment to their work.

Socialists must relate to the day to day struggles of the working class and at the same time uphold the principles of international socialism. Abandoning one of these for the other will lead either to opportunism on the one hand or to sectarian irrelevance on the other. □

Truffiti



MARINE BITES CHICKEN

MARQUETTE, MI—A Northern Michigan University military-science instructor was fired from his teaching post for biting the head off a live chicken during class and then drinking its blood, all in an effort "to get students' attention."

The incident occurred September 1 as Sgt. Maj. Jimmy A. Powell was addressing his leadership-training class for new ROTC recruits.

After lecturing for several minutes, Powell left the room and came back carrying a live chicken.

"According to the students, he was just walking around with the chicken, explaining things like what happens if you attend class out of uniform, when all of a sudden he extended the neck of the chicken and bit it off," said Col. Donald Taylor, head of the military science department.

Then, as horrified students watched, Powell held the bird up over his head and let the blood run into his mouth. □

LESSONS IN MUTUALLY ASSURED DESTRUCTION (32)

THE PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE



FOR SALE

The Shotgun News is advertising for sale a long list of items including surplus U.S. Army guided missiles. They were Sergeant missiles, which are 34 feet long, 31 inches in diameter, and weigh about 12 tons. The warheads were said to be inert. The price was \$2495 each, F.O.B.

"A once in a lifetime opportunity to own your very own personal guided missile," the ad read. □

WATT, AGAIN?

James G. Watt, the fundamentalist Interior Secretary who resigned the Reagan administration last month, had no trouble finding another job.

Widely condemned for policies environmentalists described as "disastrous," Watt has caught on with the Heritage Foundation, the right-wing Washington think tank.

His position? "Visiting distinguished fellow in energy and natural resources policy." □

Tax dollars finance anti-abortionists

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

Do you want your tax dollars to be used to promote the views of religious anti-abortionists? At the moment, you don't have much choice.

The chastity law, officially known as the Adolescent Family Act, was passed in 1981 as a cornerstone of conservative, pro-family and anti-abortion domestic policy, sponsored by Senators Jeremiah Denton and Orrin Hatch. The constitutionality of the act is presently being challenged by the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) and a number of taxpayers and religious groups.

CHASTITY

According to Janet Benshoof, director of the ACLU's Reproductive Freedom Project, "The chastity law is just another example of the government's recent attempts to use the power of the purse to establish official religious beliefs in America."

The act provides that the Department of Health and

Human Services is to make grants that "promote self-discipline and other prudent approaches to the problems of adolescent premarital sex" and that promote pregnancy and adoption as opposed to abortion.

As a result of this provision, Benshoof claims that, "Under the act, hundreds of thousands of federal taxpayer dollars are going to religious institutions, which use the funds to teach religious doctrines opposing teenage sex and abortion."

It is estimated that in the two years since the chastity law was enacted, about \$22 million has been distributed.

A sampling of recipients of the grants includes Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, St. Margaret's Roman Catholic Hospital in Dorchester, Massachusetts, and Catholic Charities of the Arlington, Virginia diocese. □



OPERATION SOLIDARITY: B.C. WORKERS THREATEN GENERAL STRIKE

VANCOUVER, B.C.—65,000 workers marched here October 15 under the banner of "Operation Solidarity" to protest unprecedented attacks on trade union rights, human rights and social services.

Operation Solidarity has threatened a November 1 general strike to counter the right-wing programs rammed through the British Columbia legislature by the right-wing Social Credit Party.

SOLIDARITY

Operation Solidarity was formed by the trade union movement in July as a response to a series of anti-labor bills, most of which have been passed.

The new legislation allows the government to break already existing contracts with public employees. Government workers will no longer have the right to bargain over working conditions, job assignments or layoffs.

A full 25% of government workers are to be laid-off over the next two years—and they won't even have the right to be recalled.

The government plans to fire 1,600 workers on October 31 and their union, B.C. Government Employees Union, has vowed to strike in response. Operation Solidarity has promised to call a general strike if these workers are fired.

Workers in the private sector are also affected. The government can now ban strikes in "essential services"—and they define what that means. The government is abolishing the Human Rights Commission, lifting rent controls and raising user fees for medical services.

But B.C. workers are fighting back. About 950,000 people have joined Operation Solidarity since it was formed in July.

CHANNEL

At first, labor leaders hoped to channel public discontent to force the government to modify its attack. But the government has refused to budge, and union leaders are being forced—reluctantly—to call a general strike.

Operation Solidarity is a step forward for the working class movement. Its name is inspired by the Polish workers' movement, Solidarnosc.

And its conception is a recognition of the fact that workers can defend their rights only by uniting as a class. Sectional rivalries between unions or groups of workers help defeat workers.

But there is a problem. The leadership of Operation Solidarity is dominated by union bureaucrats with a history of selling workers short.

Workers are aware of this, and they are beginning to take leadership into their own hands. Rank and file delegates are meeting to discuss strategies for the general strike.

OPERATION
SOLIDARITY



WORLD IN STRUGGLE

Reagan serves notice on Central America

The U.S. invasion of Grenada served notice to Central America: the Reagan Administration will not hesitate to use military force against "unfriendly" regimes or popular movements in its Southern Empire.

And the "covert" war against Nicaragua is not covert any longer. The CIA and U.S. military officials have assumed complete command of the contras, rightist militias attempting to overthrow the Sandinista regime.

The contras scored a major blow against the Sandinista regime in early October when they succeeded in destroying important fuel tanks in the Pacific coast port of Corinto.

The Nicaraguan government declared a "state of war," evacuating 25,000 citizens from Corinto and mobilizing thousands into popular militias to "defend the revolution."

Though the U.S. House voted to cut off aid to the contras, most observers agree that the Senate will not follow the House's lead. The aid will continue.

COMMENT

And if Henry Kissinger's comment following his arrival in the U.S. after a six-day Central American tour is any indication, U.S. pressure on Nicaragua and the rest of the region is only going to



Reagan's invasion of Grenada is part of a broader plan for Central America and the Caribbean. Lance Selfa provides an update.

U.S. Out of Grenada, Central America and Lebanon

DEMONSTRATE NOVEMBER 12, 1983 WASHINGTON, D.C.

increase.

"The situation," said Kissinger, who heads a Central America policy panel Reagan appointed, "is graver than most of us expected." In an effort to stave off U.S. pressure, Nicaragua's foreign minister presented the U.S. with four draft treaties, calling for a halt to foreign intervention and arms trade in the region.

The U.S. rejected them as "deficient" and full of "strident anti-U.S. polemics."

While the Sandinistas regroup from the latest blows at the hands of the contras, the U.S. carrier task force waits off Nicaraguan shores able to turn its support for joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers into a Grenada-like invasion of Nicaragua.

PLAN

In El Salvador, however, the U.S. plan to defeat the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas received several setbacks in recent weeks.

The guerrillas mounted more than 60 attacks against the U.S.-backed rightist Salvadoran government, opening up several more "liberated zones" in the small country.

After capturing El Transito on the Coastal Highway, the guerrillas sprayed house walls with warnings: "yankee imperialists, go home!"

The FMLN's success undermined

the Salvadoran government's attempted "pacification" plan aimed at breaking Salvadoran peasants' solidarity with the guerilla forces.

While the guerillas claimed some recent victories, the Salvadoran government and right-wing death squads are unleashing a fury of assassinations and brutal murders—both of which have increased in recent months.

Even the Kissinger commission acknowledged the death squads killed over 1,300 civilians this year.

And more U.S. aid is on the way to roll back the Salvadoran guerillas' recent gains.

In the wake of the Grenada invasion, the events in Central America take on greater urgency.

More clearly than ever before, the Reagan administration has shown exactly what it may hold in store for Nicaragua, El Salvador, and other "hot spots" in Central America.

We must demand just as clearly immediate and unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Central America and the Caribbean.

That's why it is necessary to demonstrate in Washington on November 12 against U.S. intervention in Central America. And we must take the demand for U.S. withdrawal back to our unions, communities and our schools.

All out on November 12!





Last month's demonstrations for nuclear disarmament—in the U.S. and Europe—take place just as the arms race's new, and most dangerous phase, is finally underway.

Cruise missiles are already being installed in Britain and are likely to be operational by the end of the year. And the Congress has just given its approval to the MX intercontinental missile system.

These developments are the culmination of a trend which began five years ago. It was then the U.S. administration—under Jimmy Carter—moved away from the idea which had dominated nuclear preparations in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. This held that nuclear weapons were so destructive that provided both sides held them, they would "deter" war. War, it was claimed, was unthinkable.

RANGE

Now two new notions were adopted.

It was held that new, short range weapons like the Cruise made possible "theater" nuclear wars, confined to one part of the globe only, and leaving the super powers virtually untouched by the destruction.

At the same time, military strategists looked to a new generation of intercontinental missiles—mainly the MX—which would be so accurate as to destroy the other side's missiles before they left the ground.

Countries which held them would not be deterred from starting a war, since by striking first, they would protect themselves against retaliation. Indeed, they would want to start the war first—they would risk losing all their weapons if they allowed the enemy to stage the "first strike."

This new weaponry changes the rules of the game completely.

Old arguments about deterrence lose any validity they might possibly have had. And war becomes much more likely than in the past.

This weaponry is not only very dangerous. It is also extremely costly.

WORLD

NATO's military expenditure has risen 11 to 12 percent in real terms in the last five years, the Warsaw Pact's by

Cruise and Pershing missiles are being deployed in Europe this fall. Chris Harman discusses the root causes of the arms build-up and how to fight it. Harman is on a speaking tour this month.

four to six percent. World military expenditure stood at an unprecedented \$800 billion last year—that's more than twice the entire output of a country like Britain.

How are we to explain the drive to ever more lunatic and ever more expensive war preparations?

Most people in the peace movement see the arms race as a result of either misunderstandings between the rulers of the great powers, or of innate human aggressiveness.

If you hold one view, you try to pressurise our rulers to negotiate agreements with one another. The slogans on demonstrations may, sometimes, be unilateralist. But the aim is multilateral agreement.

If you hold the other view, you fight for peace by purging your own mind of aggressive tendencies, whether by signing pledges to "renounce war," by separating yourself off from "aggressive males," or by some other means.

FAIL

Both views fail to explain the drive to war, or to offer a realistic way of resisting it.

For instance, why are war preparations much more intense in some periods of history than in others? Why were 43 years of peace between the great powers (from 1871 to 1914) then followed by the outbreak of two world wars of unparalleled ferocity in the space of 25 years?

Why did a country like the U.S. spend much less than one percent of its national income on arms before 1916 and between 1919 and 1939, but more than 10 percent in the 1950s and nearly seven percent today?

Why did the "detente" of the early 1970s give way to the new cold war? It's not somehow that Nixon and Brezhnev were nice, honest, peaceable individuals, much better at understanding each other than are Reagan and Andropov.

If you really want to understand what causes the arms race you have to look at world economic system we live under. This has repeatedly

produced a drive towards war.

Everywhere real economic power is exercised by a very small, highly privileged minority of people.

In the West they own industry and control the top positions in nationalized industries. In the East they monopolize the key bureaucratic posts.

SOURCE

Everywhere the ruling minorities force the rest of the population to work for them for a wage. This is the source of their wealth.

But at the same time, the minorities are involved in endless competition with each other. For example, the two biggest U.S. auto companies, General Motors and Ford, both exploit car workers for profit. But each is always trying to get a competitive advantage over the other.

The forms this competition takes vary.

A hundred years ago, competition was overwhelmingly between quite small firms. Each firm would try to get as big a share of the market as possible by undercutting the prices of its rivals.

But in the present century this has changed a lot. Take-over bids and mergers have led to a situation where any national economy is dominated by a few major firms. And these have increasingly relied upon the state to aid them in their competition with foreign rivals.

This trend was already noted by socialist theorists writing nearly 70 years ago, at the time of the first world war. Vladimir Lenin and Nikolai Bukharin insisted that the old style "free market" capitalism had given way to "monopoly capitalism."

There was a growing together of state and industry, so that each country was increasingly dominated by "state capitalist trusts."

Firms, they pointed out, looked at the state to use its power—in the last resort its armed power—to protect them against foreign firms. It could do this if it could carve out an



MIS MADE AND THE NEW

empire which would provide its national capitalists with economic advantages over their foreign competitors.

FORCE

The great powers, Lenin and Bukharin explained, partitioned the world between them because old style market competition had developed into a new form of competition based upon a willingness to resort to armed force.

As each state tried to enlarge its area of control of the rest of the world, it would be driven to clash with other states. War was the inevitable outcome of military competition between national capitalist classes.

There could be no end to this competition. Each national state would live in fear of its rivals growing more powerful than itself. They would then

be able to seize new bits of territory, and so increase their power still more. The only way to stop them was to maintain the most massive armaments and to be equally aggressive.

Periods of peace, Lenin wrote, could only prepare the ground on which new wars would break out.

Such predictions were proved correct in the 1930s. Once the economic boom of the 1920s gave way to a huge economic crisis, capitalists everywhere turned to the state to protect them against foreign competition. There was a massive spate of rearmament, leading to a world war on an even greater scale than that of 1914-18.

And hardly was World War Two over, than the powers which won it were preparing for new armed conflicts with one another.

END THE ARMS RACE SAVE THE HUMAN RACE



SILENCE BUSINESS IN COLD WAR

America and Britain on the one hand, and Russia on the other, had divided the world between them. But by 1948 they were bitterly quarrelling over the exact lines of this division.

In the early 1950s, each side was spending more than ever before in "peacetime" on means of destruction, a new, horrific weapon, the Hydrogen bomb was being tested and open war had broken out for control of Korea.

DIVIDED

The whole world was divided into two great armed camps. Both the American and the Russian rulers lived in fear of countries being prised out of their sphere of influence by the other side. So each poured vast resources in an attempt to develop new and ever more barbarous weapon-

ry before the other did.

There were peace talks, summit conferences and arms control treaties, but none of them stopped the nuclear arms race.

It is true that the Cold War did not develop into a new world war.

This may have been partly because the rulers on both sides were afraid of destroying themselves if they tried to wipe out the enemy. But more important was the massive, worldwide economic boom of the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s.

It seemed possible for all the ruling classes to expand their economies at once without clashing with rival ruling classes. The whole cake was growing, so they did not need to fight over who had the biggest slice.

America's giant firms be-

came increasingly dependent on their overseas operations during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

Companies like General Motors and Fords could only compete internationally because of their holdings in Europe and Asia. The U.S. oil companies increasingly relied upon supplies from the Middle East, the American electronics industry could only compete with Japan if it had a base in Europe as well as the U.S., the U.S. banks were owed hundreds of billions of dollars by a string of companies and states right around the world.

RELIED

They all relied upon the U.S. government to protect their interests. And that meant it felt it had to be able to intervene militarily anywhere in the so-called free world.

Yet the U.S. government found it harder to dominate its allies and to sustain military interventions in the 1970s than it had in earlier decades. For the U.S. was no longer the all powerful economic force it had once been.

The European countries and Japan were often more economically competitive than the U.S. and began to resent doing what the U.S. wanted.

Sections of the American ruling class began to see that their whole future depended on their ability to dominate internationally. But they also saw bigger resistance to this domination by their own allies than previously.

The new arms race represents an attempt by America's rulers to resolve this problem. They see it as killing two birds with one stone.

They believe the more bitter are relations between the West and Russia, the more the West European countries and Japan will have to do what the U.S. says. For the more dangerous the world is militarily, the more the other Western ruling classes will have to look to the massive armed might of the U.S.

At the same time, America's rulers think Russia's economy cannot afford the huge cost of matching their new weaponry.

But there is also pressure for the new cold war from the Russian side. The rulers at the Kremlin have seen increased resistance in recent years. Not only have they seen an unparalleled workers' opposition

in Poland, but there has also been a tendency for the rulers of countries in the Russian bloc to be drawn into the Western economic orbit.

The Kremlin lives in fear of any repeat of the experience it suffered, first in China and then in Egypt, when old time allies suddenly turned against it.

It believes the only way it can protect itself against this possibility is by a display of military might—whether it is a question waging war in Afghanistan or building SS20s.

In both Washington and Moscow, rulers see their own survival as dependent on keeping abreast in the arms race. They view the dangers this poses to the whole of humanity as a purely secondary consideration.

FOLLOW

Two things follow for people who really want peace.

First, the vital importance of unilateralism. Arms agreements cannot work. We have fight our own rulers to make them get rid of their weapons.

This does not mean ignoring the weapons of other countries, or believing that their rulers will meekly give up their weapons if we set a moral example. It means, rather, fighting against our own rulers' weapons as an incentive to people in other countries to fight against their rulers' weapons.

The second conclusion is that the question of nuclear weapons is a class question. The arms are in existence because ruling classes want to protect and extend their possessions. The workers they rule over have no real interest in keeping these arms, and must be won to the struggle against them.

The arguments are easier to put across now than they were 20 years ago. Then the arms race was accompanied by rising living standards, improved welfare benefits and full employment. Today every

penny spent on arms has to be paid for by a penny off wages or welfare benefits.

And it is no longer the case that arms spending increases jobs.

In the U.S. it has done nothing to help the declining old industrial region of the north east.

In Britain, the increased arms budget has not stopped the rundown in the labor force in the car industry, iron and steel, the mines, or shipbuilding.

In West Germany while expenditure on arms has increased 13 fold since 1956, the number of people employed in the arms industry has actually fallen.

Workers can be won to fight their rulers' arms drive in these circumstances. But only if anti-war activists themselves see the connection between fighting the Bomb and fighting the employing class on other fronts.

Our rulers may be installing Cruise and MX. They may be able to use the media to convince most people nuclear arms are necessary. But they will not be able to stop many of these same people getting involved in other struggles—over wages, jobs, welfare and health cuts.

WORKERS

Through such struggles workers can begin to see how opposed their own interests are to their rulers' state and its nuclear armoury. What will be decisive is the extent to which individuals from the peace movement have become revolutionary socialists, arguing about all these issues.

The great Polish revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg used to say the choice before humanity was socialism or barbarism. That is even more true for those of us who live in the nuclear age.

But to get socialism it is no good just fighting against the Bomb. You have to join in every struggle against the ruling class. □



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HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

by MATT FILSINGER

Video Display Terminals

The National Academy of Sciences has concluded that video display terminals (VDT's) are safe. They do not damage vision or pose any reproductive hazards. Not everyone is convinced, however.

The American Optometric Association has stated that minor vision problems can be greatly worsened by VDT's. This can lead to headaches, blurred vision, itching and burning eyes, and worsened vision. VDT work puts stress on vision by requiring the eyes to focus for long periods of time on close work, when the eyes' natural inclination is to focus on things at a distance.

Additionally, many cases of birth defects and miscarriages have been reported among VDT users. It is still unclear whether there have been an increased number of these problems, and whether they can be tied to working with VDT's.

Two bills have been introduced in New York State concerning VDT's. They would require that all pregnant employees be given a radiation protective jacket or blanket when working with a VDT.

The American Newspaper Guild has also proposed legislation that would call for annual eye exams and free glasses if needed, and would require flexible work breaks with a minimum 15 minute break for rest or alternative work after each hour's work at a terminal.

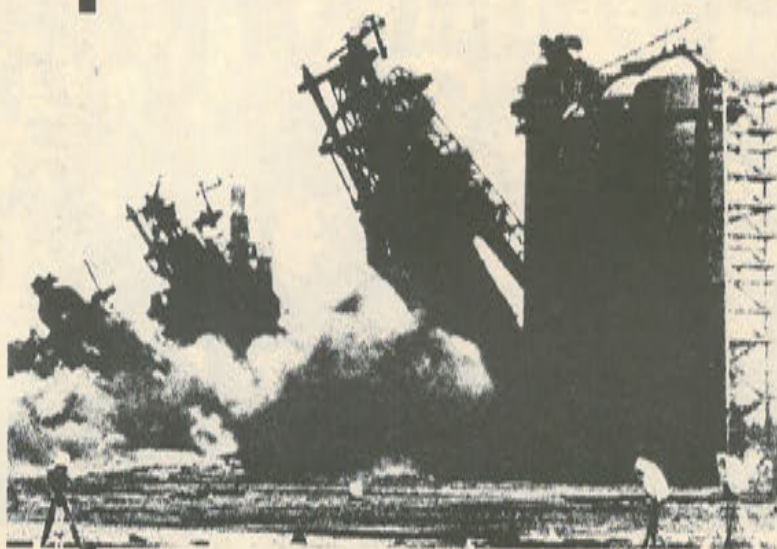
Johns-Manville—It pays to go bankrupt

As many readers will remember, Johns-Manville, the country's largest asbestos producer, declared bankruptcy in August, 1982. Having killed many of its employees by exposing them to high levels of asbestos, Manville was faced with a large number of lawsuits by former workers and their survivors.

By asking to reorganize under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code, Manville received immunity from being sued, and has not paid a penny since. Legally, the victims and their families can do nothing.

Meanwhile, for the first six months of 1983, Manville has made a profit of \$45,700,000.

CRISIS IN STEEL:



PRESSER & TRUCKING BOSSES: ALLIES AGAINST TEAMSTERS

"We talked against it all over the place, but it didn't take an awful lot of talk. Most of us could see through it."

That's how a driver for Roadway Express in Columbus, Ohio explained the overwhelming rejection of a package concession that would have drastically cut the wages, benefits, and union rights of 100,000 unemployed Teamsters if they were re-hired by their previous employers.

The proposed deal was called the "Voluntary Laid Off Employee's Rider" to the current National Master Freight Agreement, in effect since March, 1982.

INFERIOR

It was put together by Jackie Presser and top management in the trucking industry.

The plan was called "voluntary" because laid off Teamsters would have the option of remaining unemployed rather than return to work under inferior conditions. It included wage cuts ranging from 18.5% to 33%, eliminating cost of living adjustments and sick pay and cuts in vacation time, break-down pay and work rules.

It was rejected by a 94,086 to 13,082 vote on September 26 because few Teamsters bought Presser's argument that trucking companies would re-hire laid off union members if they could do so at wage and benefit levels at, or even below, those paid by the major non-union competition.

Generally, the vote reflected the view among the Teamster rank and file that government deregulation and the recession were the root cause of mass unemployment, not union wages and benefits.

The rejection of the deal marked a major set back for Presser, who was just appointed president of the union in April and claimed

to represent the "silent majority" of the membership.

For the "vocal minority," it marked the first major victory against concessions.

Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), a reform group within the union, aided the fight against the "relief rider."

In July, TDU obtained a copy of the proposed agreement and issued a series of bulletins detailing its provisions and advocating rejection. Thousands of copies of these leaflets were distributed around the country.

By August, at local meetings in at least 50 cities, Teamsters passed resolutions rejecting the concessions.

In Cleveland, Presser's hometown, 500 members of Local 407 burst into a storm of applause, cheers and foot stomping as a resolution calling for the rejection of the concession package and the resignation of Presser was unanimously passed.

AGAINST

Even in the Union City, New Jersey freight local—long dominated by the organized crime connected Provenzano brothers, one of whom is currently in federal prison for murder and labor racketeering—1,500 angry rank and filers shouted down Salvatore "Sammy the Pro" Provenzano when he tried to argue for the concessions.

The overwhelming national vote and strong local turnouts against the "relief rider," however, will not mean an end to the fight against take-backs in the freight industry.

Shortly after the vote, Presser announced that he hoped that "Labor and management jointly could continue to find ways to put unemployed workers back to work."

Based on past experience, this means top level union cooperation with trucking employers—who have been pushing concessions on a company-by-company basis for three years.

by BEN BLAKE

Merger means more layoffs and closures

by ALAN BLAIR

The proposed merger announced last month by Republic Steel and Jones & Laughlin, which would make it the second largest steel company in the U.S., is one short-term answer to the growing problems of the steel industry in this country.

But today, American steelworkers are paying the price for the decisions of the profit-makers in steel. They are paying in terms of layoffs—often permanent—unemployment and run-away shops.

There are 140,000 steelworkers unemployed in the U.S. today and thousands of steelworkers work reduced work weeks.

The problems of the steel industry are staggering. U.S. steel demand has declined to its lowest levels in 24 years. In one year (1981-1982) industry-wide profits sank from a peak of \$2.6 billion to a loss of \$3.2 billion.

LOWEST

Steel output reached its lowest point since 1938. Meanwhile, steel importers raised their share of sales to 27% of the 1982 market—a doubling in 10 years.

The merger of Republic and J&L would make it second only to U.S. Steel and ahead of Bethlehem in terms of output. Hoping to cut their losses—already a combined \$223 million for the first half of 1983—the merger is only a first step.

A Wall Street analyst noted the immediate benefits of the merger: "A merger between the two makes a lot of sense. There will probably be more layoffs and plant closings."

A Fordham University economist put it another way: "If they merge, some real efficiencies will take place." These "efficiencies" can only mean job losses for Republic and J&L steelworkers.

While the U.S. still leads in the volume of steel produced world-wide, its plants are among the most outdated. Only 26% of the output is by the modern continuous casting method, as against 86% in Japan.

EFFICIENT

Yesterday's systems are no longer efficient. According to one industry consultant, "They often do not link up with anything efficient either up or downstream."

The decline of the U.S. steel industry began in the late 1950s, when some of the big companies decided to put their money into things other than new production units. For short-term profits, their choice paid off. But that choice was the beginning of the slide toward future problems for the industry.

Instead of meeting the competition of Japanese and German companies, U.S. companies kept their prices high to protect profit margins. The result was the loss of markets.

RECOVERY

The steel industry is counting on three things for its recovery. First, they want some kind of tariff protection. second, they want a waiver of anti-trust regulations to allow mergers. Third and most important, they want cheaper labor.

As long as workers are a cog in production and therefore a cost to be squeezed, they will be forced to fight for every gain and against every attempt to take back their winnings. Today, more than ever, steelworkers must link up with other workers to protect their jobs and living standards. □

Letters

SOLDIERS JUST PAWNS

Dear Socialist Worker,

As an ex-marine who served in Vietnam, I agree with you that the U.S. should get out of Lebanon and now Grenada.

Both conflicts are beginning the same way that Vietnam did. The government claims that we are keeping the peace when our real intention is to show our strength and power.

I feel sorry for the families of dead marines, but the government will use their deaths to win support for escalating involvement in Lebanon, Grenada and Central America. It's a hard thing to accept, but those soldiers are just pawns in a big game between the superpowers.

The government should find

better things to do with our tax dollars—like giving jobs to the unemployed. We should stop intervening where we are not wanted or needed.

Reginald C. Bennett, Jr.
Baltimore, MD



KEEP LETTERS TO SOCIALIST WORKER SHORT AND TO THE POINT...

Socialist Worker wants to hear from you: Send in your letters!

"no power greater"

by DEBORAH ROBERTS



THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION:

An inspiration to American workers

At the time of the Russian revolution in November, 1917, Ella Reeve Bloor was 56 years old, already a long-time socialist and organizer for the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union.

She described in her autobiography the profound effect that news of the revolution had on American workers: 'The Bolshevik revolution flashed its message of hope to the world. In a sixth of the world the workers had power! The forces of life and progress had prevailed over the forces of death and destruction.'

"Word of the Socialist Revolution brought new life and hope to the oppressed everywhere. It brought new courage and inspiration to all who made the workers' cause their own. It brought what had seemed a distant, shining ideal into the realm of practical, living reality."

Led by the Bolshevik Party, the Russian working class was proving to workers everywhere—including Americans—that ordinary working people could overthrow an oppressive, exploitative ruling class, take power into their own hands—and run society in their own interests. It was the first socialist revolution in history to succeed on a national scale.

HAILED

Eugene Debs, leader of American workers' struggles since the Pullman strike of 1894-95 and Socialist Party candidate for president, who polled a million votes in 1918, hailed the revolution from the prison cell where he was confined for opposing World War One.

Debs expressed the sentiments of thousands when he said, "In Russia our valiant comrades are leading the proletarian revolution, which knows no race, no color, no sex, and no boundary lines. "Let us, like them, challenge and define the robber class power and fight it out on that line to victory or death! *From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am a Bolshevik, and proud of it!*"

Black socialists in America were in the forefront of support for the revolution. The *Messenger*, edited by A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, ended its May, 1918 editorial supporting the Bolshevik revolution with the ringing declaration, "Long



Above, police attack workers during steel strike, 1919. Left, Eugene V. Debs, leading American socialist in early twentieth century.



live the soviets!"

The *Crusader*, another Black socialist publication edited by Cyril Briggs, who was a founding member of the African Blood Brotherhood, praised the Russian workers and declared, "If to fight for one's rights is to be a Bolshevik, then we are Bolsheviks, and let them make the most of it."

VICTORY

The Industrial Workers of the World, or Wobblies as they were known, saw in the victory of the Bolshevik revolution the triumph of the class and principles for which they had long fought. Their *Defense News Bulletin* of December 8, 1917 concluded that, "In broad essentials, the now famous Bolshevik stand for about the same thing in Russia as our IWW stands for in America"—workers control of industry and society.

As soon as the nature of the revolution was clear, the U.S. and other imperialist countries on both sides of World War One began sending aid to counter-revolutionary forces in Russia. A blockade was imposed with the aim of starving the new workers' state out of existence.

While the American Federation of Labor refused nationally to support the Russian workers, and instead backed the intervention and blockade, many international unions, state federations of labor, city labor councils, and local unions—representing more than half the membership of the AFL—rallied to the support of the embattled Russian workers. Delegates to the 1919 and 1920 AFL conventions insisted on voicing their members' support for the soviet republic.

A resolution proposed to the AFL convention by James Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council expressed admiration for "the noble defensive fight waged against tremendous odds by the workers of Russia for the right to work out their own salvation, without outside interference."

DEFENDER

It is notable that no labor body was a more consistent defender of the Russian revolution than the Seattle Central Labor Council.

In September, 1919, Seattle Longshoremen noticed a mysterious rail shipment filling 50 freight cars, destined for Russia, with the crates

labelled "sewing machines."

The dockers grew suspicious of the cargo and allowed a crate to crash to the dock, spilling out stacks of rifles destined for the counter-revolutionary army based in Vladivostok. With the full support of the Labor Council, the union announced that its members would not touch the cargo, and that they would permanently ban any dock that tried to move the cargo. They immediately informed other ports of their action.

SLAUGHTER

As the massive slaughter and capitalist profiteering of World War One drew to a close, workers across Europe and America rose up in emulation of their Russian comrades.

Soviets sprung up in Hungary, Finland and Bavaria, and a wave of factory occupations swept Italy and elsewhere.

The same inspiration seized American workers, and along with a general deterioration of living standards, resulted in 4 million workers going on strike in 1919.

By autumn of that year, millions of Americans believed that workers revolution was a real short-term possibility. Brutal repression by the government, including the arrest of thousands and deportations of hundreds of working class militants, helped to end hopes of immediate revolution.

In Europe as well, reaction and repression forced revolutionaries to dig in for the long haul. Over the next decade, the defeat of workers' uprisings across Europe, especially in Germany, resulted in the growing isolation of the Russian workers' state.

The soviets were virtually starved to death by the imperialist blockade and by the isolation and economic backwardness of Russia itself.

As Lenin said in early 1918, "Without Germany we are doomed."

But it is important to remember the inspiration of the revolution and the hope it gave to workers everywhere, including in America. Eugene Debs knew, as early as the spring of 1918, that the revolution in Russia was threatened.

INSPIRE

But he also knew that even if this one battle resulted in defeat, its inspiration would be part of the permanent memory of workers in struggle everywhere, until the final victory.

He said that ultimately, "the revolution will not, cannot, fail. It may not completely fulfill itself without reaction, but the mighty change that has been wrought is here to stay. Whatever may be the fate of this revolution, its flaming soul is immortal and will flood the world with light and liberty and love." □

WHERE WE STAND

WORKERS' CONTROL

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

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

FIGHT OPPRESSION

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

BLACK LIBERATION

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

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

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

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

RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

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

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

INTERNATIONALISM

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

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

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

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

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

For more information about the International Socialist Organization (ISO) please write P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616



What's ON

BALTIMORE

Chris Harman on **Imperialism East and West**. November 20 at 2735 Guilford Avenue. 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620 for information.

BOSTON

Brian Kelly on **Socialist Perspectives in the 1980s**. November 13 at 7:30 p.m. Call 522-5605 or 427-7087 for more information.

CHICAGO

Study Group on Marxist Politics. November 4: **Historical Materialism**. November 11: **Marxist Economics**. November 18: **Reform or Revolution**. Call 878-3624 for more info.

Ahmed Shawki on **Lebanon**. November 18 at 7:30 p.m. Call 878-3624 for more information.

CLEVELAND

Nancy Ballou on **Nicaragua Under Attack, an Eyewitness View**. November 27 at 8:00. Call 651-5935 for details.

SAN FRANCISCO

Chris Harman on **Is a Machine After Your Job?** November 12 at 7:30 p.m. Call 285-1908 for details.

Study Group Series on **The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx: Marx's Method**. November 20 at 6:00 p.m. Call 285-1908 for more information.

Harman to speak

★★★★★★★★★★★★

Chris Harman will be speaking for ISO branches this month on "Missile Madness and the New Cold War." Harman is a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party in Britain, the sister organization of the ISO. He is author of several books and pamphlets including "Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe," "The Lost Revolution: Germany 1919-1923" and "How Marxism Works."

★★★★★★★★★★★★

Chicago, IL November 2	Kent, OH November 7	Rochester, NY November 16
Richmond, IN November 3	Cleveland, OH November 8 & 9	Boston, MA November 18
Bloomington, IN November 4	San Francisco November 11	Baltimore, MD November 19
Cincinnati, OH November 5	Seattle, WA November 13	New York November 21
	Detroit, MI November 15	

ISO FUND APPEAL

This winter, the ISO is conducting a fund drive to raise the amount of \$5,000. This money will make a big difference for our group—in helping us finance the cost of producing *Socialist Worker*, as well as our other political activities.

ISO branches will be organizing fund-raising activities to help raise money, as well as digging into their own pockets.

But we are also asking you, a *Socialist Worker* reader, to help us out, if you can.

Can you make a donation, large or small? Anything you can give will help us to achieve our goal of \$5,000.

Checks can be sent to either the ISO or to Sharon Smith, P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616.

Thank you.

THREE ESSAYS
BY TONY BOGUES
AND C.L.R. JAMES

MARXISM AND BLACK LIBERATION

Available from Hera Press

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

— Karl Marx

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

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

I.S.O. National Office, P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616

The War Atlas

Armed conflict - Armed peace

The War Atlas, the second book of its type by Kidron and Smith, is both timely and to the point.

The recent events in Lebanon, the Caribbean and the missile deployment in Europe give stark proof of the book's purpose: to show that "woven into world politics there is a self-perpetuating international military order. It is a hierarchy of power based on war, on the threat of war and on permanent preparations for it."

The first book, *The State of the World Atlas* was an original presentation of the geopolitical shape of the world through striking graphs and symbols. For example, there is a map in the first book that illustrates the outlays for weapons and food for each country. It is clear that funds for bombers replace funds for schools and hospitals.

WORKERS

The War Atlas uses the same readily understandable presentation of symbols and graphs to illustrate the state of war preparedness of the world and its individual nation states.

The first map, "A World at War," makes it clear that since 1945 the world has been virtually covered by armed conflict. Strikingly, the U.S.

Between 1972 and 1981, world military spending increased by 25%.

In only thirteen states did spending fall or remain about the same.

The War Atlas: Armed Conflict-Armed Peace by Michael Kidron and Dan Smith. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983. \$9.95.

Bill Roberts Reviews

stands out as the major country whose actual territory has not been touched by war.

There is a map called "Ground Zero" which shows how all the world's ruling classes have contributed bases and economic or military facilities (targets) which move us closer to a world war.

ILLUSTRATES

Another map illustrates how strategic materials move toward the superpowers. For example, tungsten flows eastward and titanium flows westward.

For those in the market for weapons, there is a price tag display of some of the latest battle-tested weapons and where they might be purchased. For example, the French Exocet AM39 air-to-surface missile which got excellent press and recommendations in the Argentina-British War can be purchased for \$750,000 per missile.

As Kidron and Smith point out, "When arms are big business, wars become a way of displaying wares. They become real-life testing grounds. Each war is closely examined, not only for its tactical and strategic lessons but also for hints on market opportunities." The Falklands/Malvinas Islands War was such a test. The Middle East is another.

Two of the most frightening maps are "The Nuclear Stockpile" and "Bugs and Poi-

Each superpower spends more on its armed forces than the combined national incomes of the 62 countries at the bottom of the world league table of GNPs. "The cost of a ten year program for essential food and health needs in developing countries is less than half of one year's military spending." The Brandt Report, 1980.

sons." As the "Stockpile" illustration notes, "There are over 50,000 nuclear warheads in the world." The U.S. owns 30,000, and the USSR about 22,000. The map is very graphic in showing how this fact dominates the world.

One fact in the "Bugs and Poisons" illustration says it all: "It needs a single droplet of nerve gas on the skin to kill. The U.S. stockpile of nerve gas contains enough lethal doses to kill the world's population some 4,000 times."

SUPERPOWERS

Some of the maps are too complicated. The map depicting the location of armies, navies, etc. is so filled with symbols that it is difficult to see more than the fact that the world is armed to the teeth.

There are a few places where the representations raise questions about the facts. In the map representing military spending, Sudan is represented as a bigger spender on military outlays than Egypt and Israel combined.

In percentage terms over time this might be true, but it misses the real point

Every ten seconds \$4,000 is spent on the military uses of outer space. Every three days a military satellite is launched.

Of 2725 satellites launched between 1957 and 1981, 70% were for military purposes.

Military satellites are used for reconnaissance, early warning, communications, navigation and research, and will be used increasingly for mid-flight guidance for ballistic missiles.



that Egypt and Israel are by far military giants to Sudan's tiny military machine.

Again, in another representation of allies, much of the third world is shown to be economically tied to the west, but Sweden is not. Though classified as a non-aligned country—its own official position—Sweden clearly has "shared traditions" with the West.

Still, the overall effect of the *Atlas* is positive and useful. Its predecessor sold a quarter of a million copies. If *The War Atlas* does half as well, it will have contributed to a better understanding of the dangerous system that covers the globe. Unfortunately, the success of this book may be helped by the real thing as the U.S. actively takes up its cop-of-the-world role.

The symbols, maps and use of color make *The War Atlas* a useful addition to any activist's arsenal of arguments. A brief scanning of this volume should make any clear thinking person gasp at the scope of the global terror capacity. The human consequences of its presentation are simply staggering. □

There are over 50,000 nuclear warheads in the world. About 30,000 are owned by the U.S. and about 22,000 by the USSR. The UK owns more than 1,000; and China and France each own several hundred.

The U.S.'s strategic plan designates 40,000 targets world-wide, including 60 within Moscow alone.

We do not know how nuclear war would be waged. In this scenario, 14,747 nuclear warheads are detonated, less than half the explosive power of the U.S. and the USSR.

Of the 1300 million urban population in the northern hemisphere, 750 million would die immediately. 340 million would be seriously injured. Additional death through heat and fire are incalculable.

Poisoned Air



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SOCIALIST WORKER 1984 DIARY





on the picket line

Continental workers strike against cuts

The battle is on at Continental Airlines. If President Francisco Lorenzo gets his way, union workers will have to work 50% longer hours for half the pay.

In late September, Lorenzo closed Continental. He filed for bankruptcy and then opened the airline three days later, after having laid off two-thirds of the workforce.

The Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) and the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) have gone on strike. They joined IAM mechanics, who have been on strike since August 12.

These workers are now fighting to save their jobs and

by GLENN PERUSEK

preserve their wages.

Lorenzo wants to bust the union—pure and simple. He has the excuse that his airline is not making money. It is not competing with other carriers who have cheaper, non-union workers.

DEREGULATED

Major airlines are faced with a highly competitive situation. Since the industry was deregulated in 1978, the market has been flooded by new non-union carriers. Since fixed costs for all the companies are similar, the

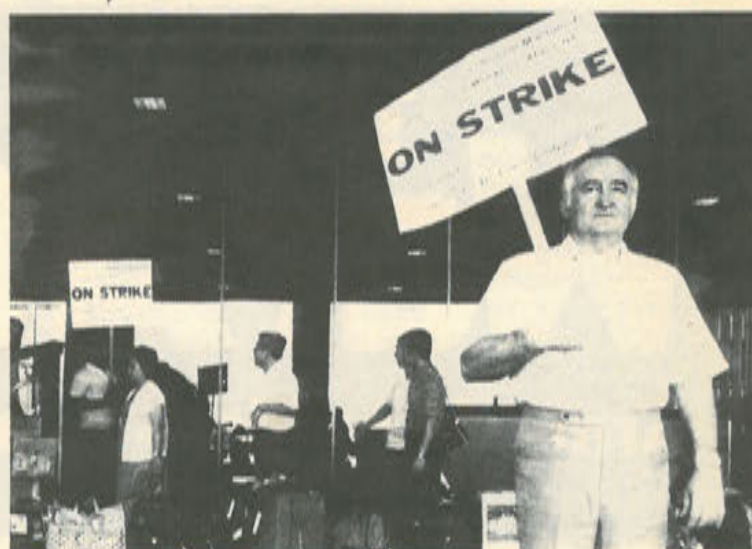
big difference is in wages. For the older, larger, unionized carriers, wage costs are about 37% of total costs.

For the newer companies—such as Peoples Express, Muse Air and New York Air—non-union workers get much lower wages. Wage costs for these companies are only about 20% of their total costs.

Continental's Lorenzo sees himself as a union-busting pioneer in the airline industry.

"I'm sending out my bills to all the other airline chief executives," he says.

The other airline owners are pleased. Lorenzo's approach "is very sobering and might



Continental machinist

make (Eastern's employees) more realistic," says Eastern president Frank Borman.

Susan Bianchi Sand, vice president of the AFA, compared the threat of bankruptcy by the airlines with holding a loaded gun at unions across

the negotiating table.

"The implicit threat of filing for bankruptcy hangs over every flight attendant negotiating table," she said.

GIVE

Continental lost \$18 million in August. This led pilots to agree to give "whatever it took" to make the airline profitable.

In the end "whatever it took" meant devastation of the union and the standard of living of all the airline's workers. They had no choice but to strike.

But it is not just airlines in trouble which are seeking concessions from their workers. Eastern Airlines got non-union employees to accept a 15% wage cut under threat of bankruptcy. Borman pleaded financial hardship for the airline.

Yet independent reports on Eastern's financial condition show them to be in good shape. It is likely that Eastern's revenues will grow 18% next year, for a net profit of \$79 million.

Under conditions of deregulation unionized airlines are competing with non-union carriers. As long as the non-union workers get about half the wages of the unionized workers, no one's wages are safe.

The one solution is the unionization of all the workers in the industry. By standing together, the wages of the now non-unionized workers could be brought up to the level of the unionized workers.

The only other alternative is that of the airline bosses: lower the wages of the unionized workers to the level of the non-union workers. And bust a few unions in the process.

And it should come as no surprise that Lorenzo wants a non-union Continental. His Texas Air Corp.—the parent of Continental—also owns New York Air, one of the largest of the new non-union companies. □

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

Forty-six years of forced overtime for auto workers

Since March 13, 1937, a period of 46 years, General Motors workers have been forced to work overtime. The UAW auto contracts make overtime compulsory.

In the depression years of the 1930s, the war years of the 1940s, the recession years of 1946-1949, the boom years of the Korean War, the recession and boom years from 1954-1979 and during the last four years of high unemployment—overtime has been a way of life for thousands of auto workers. Chrysler, Ford and other auto plants have adopted overtime as a means of increasing their profits.

Neither the torrid heat of summer nor the cold of winter has any effect on the UAW contracts or the overtime policies of the employers. The auto companies have been among the most profitable manufacturers in American industry. GM has broken all corporate profitability records. They made super profits.

FACTOR

The UAW contracts have been a major factor in their profits. Neither youth nor age, sex, health or illness, family-man or single, mother of five or single daughter; none of these changes the employers' overtime policies or the UAW contracts compelling workers to put in overtime.

IN the June 1983 issue of *Solidarity*, Si Alpert and Sherwood Kerker quote workers they interviewed about forced overtime. The following are quotations from those interviews:

"I guess my marriage went on the

rocks because my wife finally got fed up with me being at work all the time." (A St. Louis Chrysler worker.)

"I've got six children at home. . . I feel guilty because I can't go anywhere with the kids." (A GM woman worker in Flint, Michigan.)

RETIRED

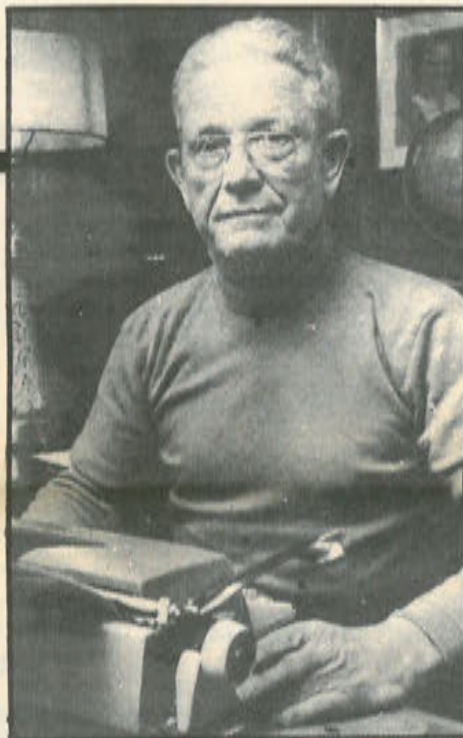
"I retired early because of the overtime. My legs were giving out on me; I was coming home exhausted every night." (A retired Ford worker, 62, in Sterling Heights, Michigan.)

From the intensely personal viewpoint of those workers who stand up to long, punishing hours in the shop, who feel they are paying a sometimes agonizing price to meet the demand for production, voluntary overtime has become a top issue on the union's collective bargaining agenda.

"Supervision is getting tougher about excusing overtime on medical grounds, however," reports long-time Local 651 Recording Secretary Genvieve Nestor. "And even compelling personal reasons for refusing overtime do not move pressure-ridden foremen off their tough stances."

INSISTED

She tells the story of a woman worker whose mother was dying from cancer. The company insisted on overtime work during the hours she was needed at home, and penalized her when she refused.



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

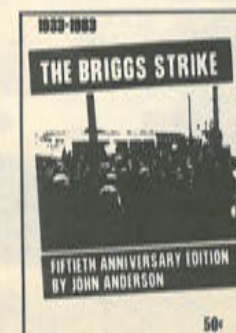
"It's what we need that counts, not what you need," the supervisor told her.

"We've had 50 deaths this year, while men were working heavy overtime," reports Local 863 President Tracy Ingram. One man had worked 40 days straight, 12 hours a day.

"I've been in the personnel office when the widows would be signing up for insurance benefits, and they were telling the personnel people straight out, 'You people killed my husband.'"

During the past year, when tens of thousands of the unemployed were suffering hunger and want, auto plants have been working overtime. It is forced on the workers by UAW contracts.

The record of 46 years of forced overtime by UAW contract, even in periods of recession and depression, when hundreds of thousands of UAW members are laid off and suffering hunger and want, should convince the workers that it is time to change all UAW contracts so that no overtime is mandatory. The UAW was organized to give the workers more control over their lives. So long as there is mandatory overtime workers lives are at the mercy of the employers. We must reverse these values, putting the workers lives before the greed of the employers. □



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60616



PHELPS-DODGE STRIKERS READY TO FIGHT EVICTIONS

MORENCI, AZ—In the face of company threats to evict them from company housing, strikers against the Phelps-Dodge Corporation banded together for the long haul.

On October 27, the company sent letters to families of 80 strikers in Ajo and 160 strikers in Morenci, giving them one week to vacate company housing. The reason: they have not paid rent.

"There is no other available housing in the area," said Alex Lopez, chief bargainer for the 13 striking unions. And the company does not need the housing for scabs.

"I'm sure the company thinks this will break the morale of the strike," Lopez said. "But they are sadly mistaken."

The unions are planning resistance to the evictions.

FLOODS

The 1,400 copper miners' resolve stiffened following floods which wiped out many strikers' houses throughout southeast Arizona.

Picketing and harassment of scabs continued after the early October floods.

"Damn it to hell, we're going to stick it out and win this," Lopez added.

In spite of court injunctions limiting to five the number of pickets at each mine gate and to 100 the number stretched along a five-mile highway stretch by the mine, strikers have continued to

harass scabs who cross the lines each day.

SCABS

"Seven or eight" divisions of National Guard and Arizona state police "herd the scabs throughout our picket line," Lopez said.

The number of police has declined since August, when Democrat Gov. Bruce Babbitt—whom the strikers call "Scabbitt"—sent more than 800 to escort scabs into the mines.

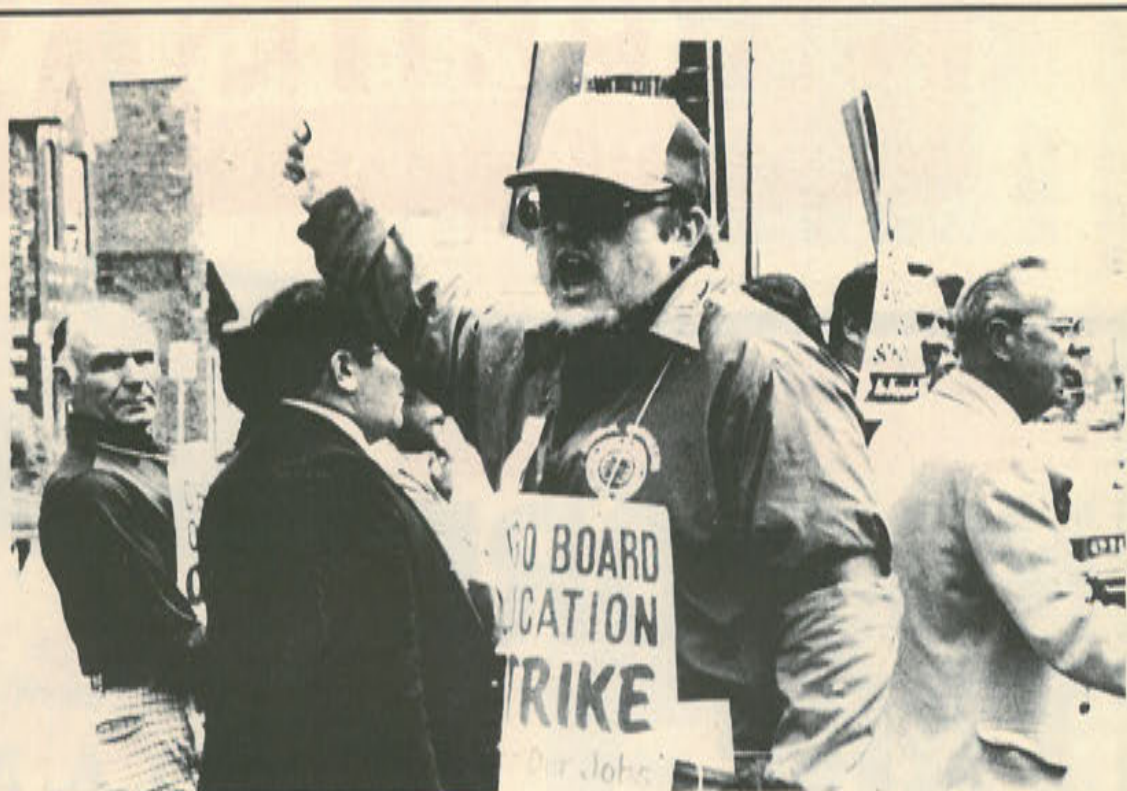
Phelps-Dodge forced the strike of 13 unions on July 1, when it began a campaign for \$58 million in concessions on workers' cost-of-living allowances over three years, a \$2 per hour cut in starting pay and a number of other attacks aimed at breaking the unions.

The Phelps-Dodge miners have received support from churches, Hispanic organizations, and unions. The groups have helped with fundraising, food and publicity for the miners, Lopez said.

PICKET

Beginning in the first week of November, labor and community groups will picket Phelps-Dodge headquarters in Phoenix.

The Phelps-Dodge miners are fighting an important battle. They deserve support. Send messages of support and contributions to: Morenci Unity Council, P.O. Box 1017, Clifton, AZ 85333. □



Chicago teachers go back

Chicago teachers gain little

by LEE SUSTAR

CHICAGO, IL—The union officials called it a "victory." But the most the Chicago Teachers Union could claim after its three-week strike was that it didn't surrender to every concession the school board wanted.

The 25,000 teachers originally demanded a 10 percent wage hike and refused to consider givebacks and pension plans. They also rejected the board's divisive, "superseniority" merit pay scheme.

And for the first time, other school board workers supported the teachers' demands as a coalition of 19 unions representing other school board employees joined teachers on the picket lines.

But union leaders squandered that solidarity when they met with professional labor "mediator" William J. Usery, Jr., the former Secretary of Labor who was fresh from helping bosses avert a strike

at Eastern Airlines.

Usery's other recent accomplishments included getting the United Auto Workers to abandon laid-off workers at General Motors Fremont, California, which is being reorganized under a GM agreement with the Toyota Motor Corporation.

"CHICKEN FEED"

And despite their record three-week walkout, Chicago teachers settled for what one teacher called "chicken feed" when the CTU leadership recommended the Usery-mediated contract for ratification.

In exchange for the nominal 2.9 percent raise, the CTU agreed to reschedule teacher paydays so the board could collect more interest on the salary money. The union

agreed to a total of \$15 million in "cost-saving" measures, some of which must still be negotiated.

But both the union and the school board agree that the settlement has merely postponed inevitable labor-management struggles.

EXPIRES

The new contract expires August 31 of next year, and the School Finance Authority has already indicated that it will not tolerate large budget deficits.

The millionaire chairperson of the non-elected authority, Jerome Van Gorkum, said before the October strike:

"The employees will be called upon to bear the brunt of any cost reductions. There is simply no other area which can supply cuts of that magnitude. That, in turn, means a sharp confrontation with the employees." □

BROWN AND SHARPE STRIKE MARKS SECOND ANNIVERSARY

by SHARON SMITH

N. KINGSTOWN, RI—On October 18, 1983, the strike of 1600 machinists at Brown and Sharpe Manufacturing market its second anniversary.

Days later, a union meeting of 600 voted unanimously to end the strike and voted themselves available for work—even without a contract.

But the longest running strike in the U.S. is still not over.

At the moment, it looks unlikely that the company is going to take the strikers back. While incoming orders are up 28% over a year ago, and management expects the upward trend to continue, they do not yet need the return of their entire workforce. In fact, they have been operating on a scab workforce of less than 400 for nearly two years.

STRATEGY

The fate of the strike, it appears, will be decided

in the corporate boardroom, or, at best, in the courtroom.

Brown and Sharpe management's response to the vote and to the union's appeals for resumed negotiations has been "no comment" so far.

The strike over the last year has become more of a legal battle than anything else. It hardly resembles the early days of the strike, with its stormy mass pickets and support rallies in the winter of 1982, when workers fought off the state and local police at the plant gate.

The IAM leadership consciously shifted the battle away from the picket lines and into the courts, where it has been dangling ever since. And even though the union won a "major victory" recently, declaring the strike an unfair labor practices strike, it could be a year or two before the company

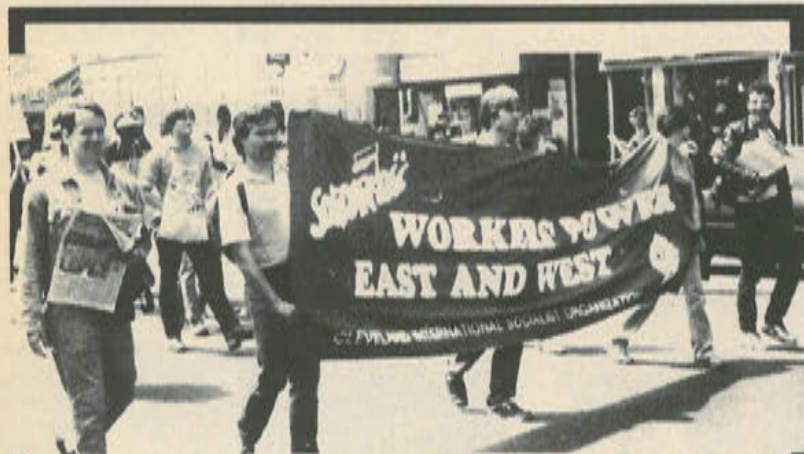
appeals, and the matter is finally settled.

So the second anniversary of the strike was just another day for the handful of strikers on the picket line at Brown and Sharpe. The world outside hardly noticed, except for a few news reporters who came down, it seemed, to rub salt in the wounds of the picketers.

DEFEAT

If District 64—which contains within it the largest machinist local in the state of Rhode Island—loses this strike, it will be a terrible defeat not just for them, but for the labor movement as a whole.

There must be something wrong with the strategy of union leadership which fights its battles through lawyers in a courtroom, instead of the rank and file at the plant gate. It is a strategy that loses every time. □



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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

KOPPERS MACHINISTS WANT:

NO MORE TAKE BACKS

BALTIMORE, MD—The 24-hour pickets are up. Since October 3, 1,100 machinists have been on strike at the two Baltimore plants of Koppers, Inc.

The company wants a take-back. The workers are refusing to give it.

To Harold Veaser, a 33-year veteran at Koppers, the principle is clear: "You don't give anything back because you won't get it back."

The company wants a 3-year wage freeze, with no cost of living increase until 1986. The last contract called for cost of living increases every six months, but for the last two years none of these increases were paid out.

The company is also asking the workers to pay half of their health insurance premium, \$27.50 a month. That is \$330 a year, enough to eat up the raise the company "promises" after three years.

SCALE

And there's more. Koppers wants to set up a separate scale of lower wages for new

by **STEVE CROSS**

workers - \$2 less an hour on average. Older workers fear the double rate. They know the company would want to fire them and hire new workers cheap.

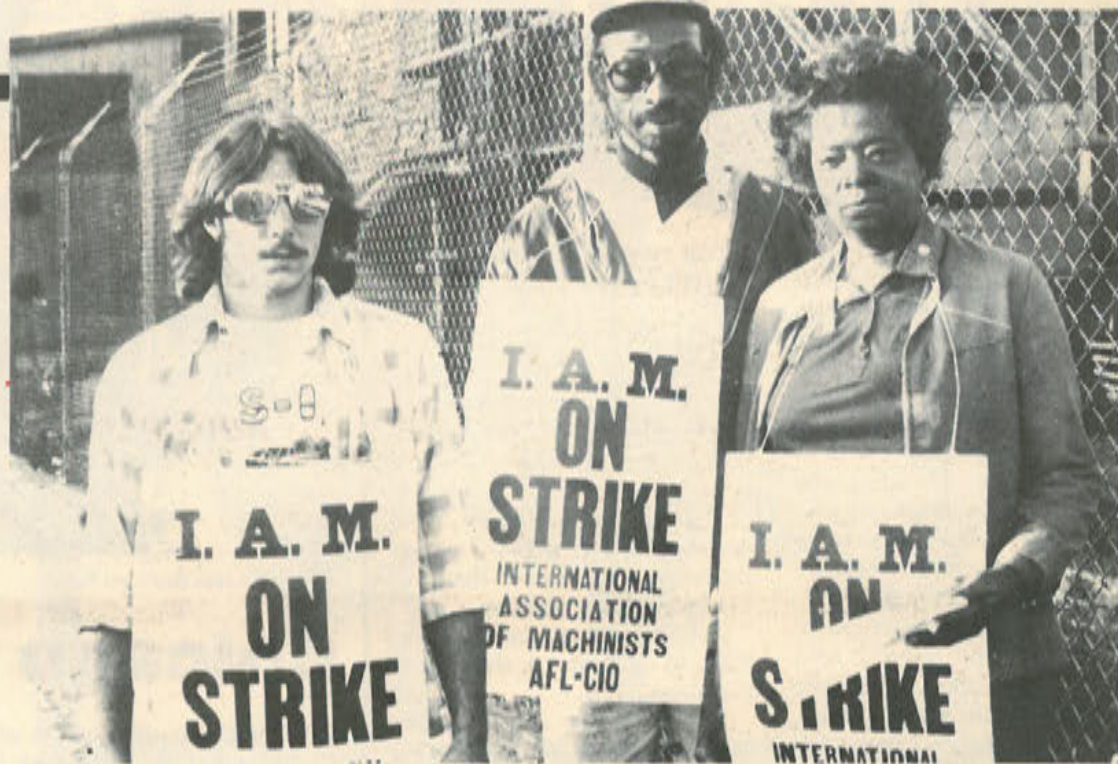
Two weeks into the strike, Koppers made an almost identical offer. The strikers turned it down flat.

"We think it stinks," said Fred Childs who had been on the picket line every day, as fellow workers burned copies of the proposal.

Koppers, a manufacturer of factory equipment, has 200 plants nationwide, including a brand new non-union plant in Georgia.

Koppers is whittling down its unionized plants in Baltimore. "There were 2,400 workers here when I started 8½ years ago," a striker in South Baltimore said, "Now there are 800."

The company claims it is losing money due to the recession and has threatened to



close down its Baltimore plants. But a striking worker at the South Baltimore plant told of a report that Koppers has multi-million dollar contracts pending with giant customers such as International Harvester.

Just before the strike, the striker continued, a top manager went through the plant. "We're a profit-making institution," he declared and then asked the workers what they would be willing to give up to allow him that profit.

SPEED-UP

Already, the workers have lost a lot through speed-up. "We put out double what we produced six years ago for the same pay," one striker said.

What angers the picketing workers most is the company's demand for a give-back of health benefits, which are already slim. The company has a point system. If you lose enough points for being off work sick, you are fired. A worker was fired recently while he was in the hospital

having open-heart surgery.

Many of the machinists on strike today remember the strike 10 years ago at Koppers. And they remember that when they went back to work after only two weeks, they had gained little.

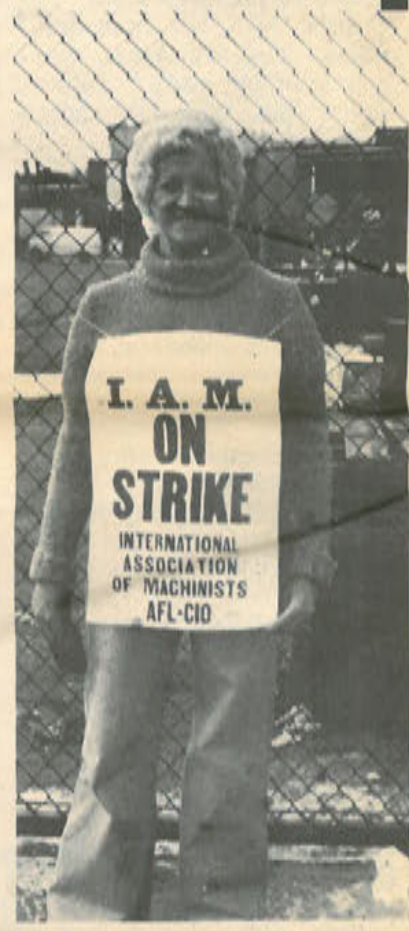
Management, on the other hand, seems to be getting its education late. Supervisors, called in to scab, have been learning what the work they supervise - production of piston rings - is really like.

"Eyes are being popped out in there, fingers broken!" exclaimed a striking worker outside on the picket. "The supervisors come out saying, 'Come back, we need you. It's killing us!'"

WAGES

The Koppers workers have been on strike for a month now, and they are still refusing to give back their wages and benefits, against the wishes of their union leaders.

Workers at Koppers are still fighting to win. □



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PUROLATOR COURIER CARES ABOUT DOLLARS NOT LIVES

CHICAGO, IL—One hundred and fifty Purolator Courier armored car drivers in Chicago have been on strike against concessions since July 21—over 100 days.

The strikers, members of Teamsters Local 725, are fighting for a decent wage for dangerous work. Purolator's last contract offer called for a \$1.85/hour wage cut from a \$10.15/hour base rate and reductions in vacation pay, pensions, health and welfare coverage and overtime pay.

WOUNDED

One striker with over 30 years seniority, and who has been wounded nine times on the job, explained working for the company in these words, "Dollars and cents are their main concern, not lives."



Purolator strikers

by **BEN BLAKE**

Now, Purolator is using untrained, armed scabs in an attempt to break the strike.

Since the beginning of the strike, Purolator has begun 24-hour surveillance of picketers and has obtained a court injunction limiting 2 pickets

to each entrance and threatening \$5,000 fines for damages to company property. Strikers have also faced police harassment and violence.

But the strikers remain determined to fight on. As one striker put it, "I'm not going to give up 'til hell freezes over." □