

Socialist Worker

Newspaper of the International Socialist Organization

25¢ monthly



GREYHOUND STRIKE ENDS PAGE 5

JANUARY 1984



NUMBER 81

15,000 ON THE SLAG HEAP

U.S. STEEL ANNOUNCES CLOSURES

For 15,400 steelworkers, the new year is not a time for celebration. On December 27, US Steel announced that it will close 23 finishing and fabricating mills in April, eliminating more than 15,400 jobs. US Steel employs about 81,000 workers at present.

The plants to close include South Works, Chicago; Trenton, New Jersey; Johnstown, Pennsylvania; Fairfield Works, Birmingham; and Cuyahoga Works, Cleveland.

Howard Spooner, a gauger at South Works said, "You go from having a job, making a living, seeing your friends, to waiting at home spending most of your time just worrying. I'm only 48, and I'm an old man."

This is the reward steelworkers get for the concessions they gave in March, 1983. They took a \$1.30/hour wage cut and gave up vacation time and other benefits. The wage concessions amounted to a gift to the company of \$2.9 billion, and the application of the concession contract to health and other benefits added a whopping \$80 million.

IMPOSSIBLE

Joe "Chico" Preciado, a 50-year veteran of South Works said, "We already gave up a lot of what we have accomplished in the last 50 years. The (additional) concessions were almost impossible. The company—they were looking for somebody to point a finger at . . . We are all real disgusted and disappointed with the way they're treating us."

Jerry King, who has worked at South Works for 31 years, told *Socialist Worker* of friends who used to work in the mill, "They're losing everything." And about the company, "They started to



build a new rail mill and then they stopped. Then they came back to get some more concessions."

Stocks in US Steel went up by 5/8 on the day the announcement of the projected closings was made. But it will be a down-hill slide for the 15,400 jobless workers.

The pattern of concessions followed by plant closings is nothing new for steelworkers. In 1979, after forcing workers to accept substandard contracts, US Steel closed down 18 plants—putting 13,000 steelworkers out of work.

Making deals with companies like US Steel is like settling up with a blackmailer. You can pay through the nose, but there is never a guarantee that he won't be back for more—time and time again.

Steelworkers have made US Steel what it is today—but they won't get their due without a fight. The situation is grim, but not hopeless. Steelworkers have a long, hard battle before them—for their jobs, and for their lives. □



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The real issues in public schools: segregation and lack of funds

President Reagan promised education would be a major issue in the 1984 election and with much fanfare assembled a Commission on Excellence in Education to study the problem. Last April the presidential commission released a report calling for tougher academic standards and a merit pay system for teachers.

In December, Secretary of Education Terrel Bell, convened a national conference in Indianapolis to promote the commission's findings. Reagan addressed the gathering with "get tough" talk about curriculum and achievement—and a call for "Good old-fashioned discipline in the schools." He claimed that money is not needed to improve education.

Last year Congress approved a \$15.2 billion budget for education. That amount is equal to just over 1% of the Defense budget. Even that was too much for Reagan—he had proposed spending just \$13.4 billion and is expected to continue to push for more cuts this year.

GAINS

In spite of a decline of nearly 50% in expenditures for textbooks and other materials, there have been gains in education for the majority of Americans in the last 25 years. Elementary school achievement levels have actually increased in most large cities, and tens of thousands more young people now attend college—with the most dramatic in-

by CELIA PETTY

crease among Blacks and other minorities.

But these gains were a result of pressure from below—Black parents and students demanding equal education, students calling for relevant curriculum and better facilities, and teachers striking for higher pay and better working conditions.

The civil rights and student movements of the sixties fought for bilingual public school programs and a move away from blatant segregation and tracking systems.

RHETORIC

In spite of its rhetoric about a "commitment to equitable treatment of our diverse population," the national Commission on Excellence in Education's recommendations represents a retreat from these gains. The commission's report makes it clear who is demanding a change this time. Here is how they explain the "risks" we face:

"We live among determined, well-educated and strongly motivated competitors. We compete with them for international standing and markets, not only with products, but also with ideas.

"If only to keep and improve on the slim competitive edge we still retain in world markets, we must dedicate ourselves to the reform of our educational system."

The report explains that business and military leaders complain of spending millions of dollars teaching basic skills to employees and recruits. But when the needs of industry dictate educational policy, the real needs of Black and working class youth are ignored.

Already school systems in Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Buffalo are using the commission's findings to justify a return to tracking (now called "ability groupings") that forces students who do poorly in early grades into dead-end non-academic courses of study.

If conservatives continue to use the report to fight aggressively for their goals it will mean:

- Blatant segregation of minorities, disabled students, and low achievers.

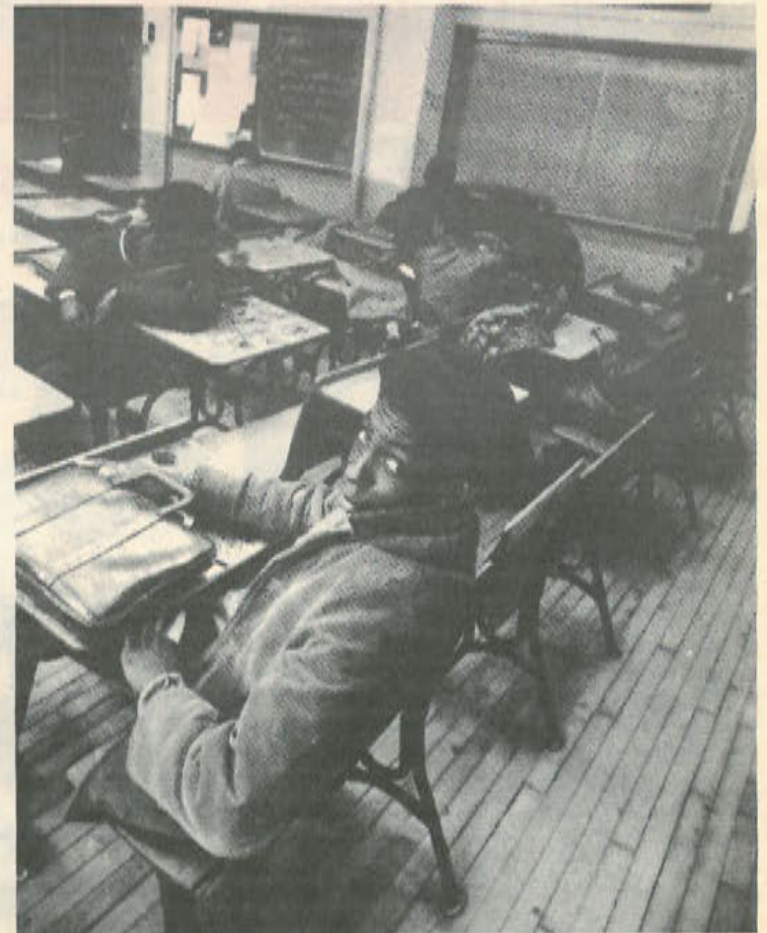
- Increased use of minimum competency testing, already begun in a number of states and clearly biased against minority students.

- Cuts in alternative and experimental programs that recognize diverse backgrounds, needs and learning styles.

- Tougher college admissions requirements resulting in a return to a higher education system restricted to the few.

PAY

The average public school teacher makes only \$17,000 after 12 years on the job. But the commission's report ignores the issue of basic



pay, and instead recommends merit pay schemes that would virtually destroy seniority systems that protect teachers from discrimination.

While teacher's unions are arguing against Reagan's proposals, most liberals are rallying behind the call for tougher standards in the public schools, and more exclusive policies for universities.

1984 is an election year and the politicians will use

this report as a smokescreen to continue to ignore two major problems of U.S. public school systems: segregation and lack of funds.

The commission bemoans the fact that high school students don't choose tougher courses like calculus and foreign languages. But for a student who has little chance of getting any kind of job after education, two years of required French is a boring joke.

MCDONALD'S OF HEALTH CARE

Have you ever noticed that hospitals are becoming more like hard-nosed big businesses and less like the caring sanctuaries for the sick that they are supposed to be?

Soon, five major corporations—the McDonald's and K-Mart's of medical care—will own 20% of all hospitals. And when a hospital becomes part of a for-profit hospital chain, increasing profits becomes its chief concern.

UNNECESSARY

One way such hospitals earn more money is by doing unnecessary laboratory tests and x-rays and charging more for these tests. They also hire less staff per patient—2.5 workers per patient instead of the 3 per patient in public hospitals. This leads to inferior care.

Throughout the country fifty public hospitals already have been bought by corporations. Once bought, they avoid caring for the



DR. DENA MAGOULIAS REPORTS ON THE GROWING FOR-PROFIT HOSPITALS.

poor—by requiring large pre-admission deposits, by harassing people to pay their bills, and by transferring unprofitable patients, when possible, to neighboring hospitals.

RESPONSIBILITY

One hospital chain, Humana Incorporated, which owns 92 hospitals, explained their policy: "We do not have the responsibility to provide hospital care for the indigent except for

emergencies or in those situations in which reimbursement for indigent patients is provided."

A chain-owned hospital in Kentucky sent away poor women in labor unless they had a \$1,200 deposit. At another Kentucky hospital, parents were told that their newborn baby would be kept at the hospital until their bills were paid!

By using these practices to keep Medicaid and uninsured patients away from

their doors and by charging insured patients what the market will bear, these chains make \$16 billion a year in profits.

GROW

As these corporations grow, they gain more political power and influence over health care policy. They will act like other giant corporations and close down local hospitals which are not profitable—just as local plants are shut down—without assessing beforehand the impact on the community.

They will also be able to demand tax breaks and concessions from the community and employees when they threaten to close down the hospital, even though in reality their chain is making huge profits.

The growth of these hospital conglomerates and the takeover of public hospitals can only be prevented by strong opposition from the communities they serve and by hospital workers. □

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BY JOHN ANDERSON 50¢

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HUNGER AND POVERTY IN THE U.S.

Portly presidential advisor Ed Meese says that the people standing in food lines are freeloaders. He says there are no "authoritative" statistics that show widespread hunger in the United States.

Then Dr. George G. Graham, a pediatrician member of the President's Task Force on Food Assistance, made the appalling, racist statement that Black children are "probably the best-nourished group in the United States," and that no one "in their right mind believes there is a massive hunger problem."

But the hundreds who died in December's sub-zero cold could have told a different story. The number of homeless and hungry victims of the recession and Reaganomics continues to grow, with estimates ranging from 250,000 to two million.

Those figures don't faze the Reagan administration. Officials say they will propose a 1985 budget calling for an 8.4 percent cut in nutrition programs and a 9 percent reduction in food stamp allocation. Congress rejected

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

similar cuts in the 1984 budget.

And despite Graham's, Meese's and Reagan's claims, people are suffering from hunger, malnutrition, and—quite literally—are freezing to death.

STATISTICS

If there are few statistics on hunger in the U.S. it is because the government refuses to measure the problem. Such research is left to groups like the Center of Budget and Policy Priorities, which surveyed 181 emergency food services in 1982-83.

They found a dramatic increase in the number of people served in soup kitchens during the last year alone. Half of the programs served 50 percent more people in 1983 than 1982; one-third of the programs were forced to

double in size.

The Center's survey found a dramatic increase in the number of people served in soup kitchens during the last year alone. Half of the programs served 50 percent more people in 1983 than 1982; one-third of the programs were forced to double in size.

Meese characterized those in the soup lines as freeloaders—but those who run the soup kitchens report that over 80 percent of those seeking help did so because their allocation of food stamps was insufficient—or that they had been eliminated in Reagan's budget cuts.

Graham's assertion about the good health of Black children is an outright lie.

A 1982 study by the Worldwatch Institute found that 26.6 percent of Blacks born in Washington, D.C. die in infancy—more than twice the white infant mortality rate. Though they live in one of the richest cities in the world, Washington's Black babies die as often as those in the poorest countries.

"AUTHORITATIVE"

If these figures are not "authoritative," it is because government census takers never find their way into the back alleys, shanty towns and gutters that the poorest of the poor call "home."

Most official counts of these people come when coroners survey their frozen and malnourished bodies and tag their toes with the name John or Jane Doe. That grisly scenario will be repeated again and again as the harsh winter continues.

Those seeking refuge from the northern cold and idled industries will find no comfort in the Southwest. In Tucson, Arizona, the mayor was re-elected on a platform that included a promise to "get the transients the hell out of town," and stepped up police patrols to keep his word. Phoenix business leaders have launched "Fight Back," a campaign to root out "unacceptable behavior" by the city's 1,500 homeless.

The increases in hunger and infant mortality rates are related to the general sharp



rise in the rate of poverty. In 1982, 2.6 million slipped below the government "poverty line" of \$9,862 for a family of four, bringing the total to 34.4 million—a full 15 percent of the U.S. population. It is the highest rate of poverty in twenty years.

The current "recovery" has bypassed not only the poor, homeless and hungry, but the vast majority of workers. Economists define "recovery" as an increase in the rate of profit—and that is little consolation to the worker whose plant has just shut down.

"RECOVERY"

This "recovery" will not put food on the table of the worker who was forced to accept a wage cut.

This "recovery" is a cruel

joke on the 15,000 who in 1983 had to seek emergency housing in Philadelphia. "Recovery" means nothing to the estimated 20,000 homeless who wander the streets of Chicago.

We have all heard the phrase, "the poor you will always have with you." It is a convenient apology for a system that saps workers' strength and youth and casts aside all those it considers "unproductive." It is a justification for socially and economically penalizing people of color in order to divide the working class.

The "recovery" is for the rich, and the rich "we will always have with us"—unless we do away with the system that permits plump parasites like Ed Meese to mock its victims. □

WORKERS FACE TOUGH BATTLES IN 1984

For most workers in the U.S., 1983 ended much as it had begun—unemployment, concessions, union busting and plant closings are the conditions of the day.

Two events typified the situation: Greyhound's settlement and U.S. Steel's announcement of plant closings.

The Greyhound strike settled for a massive takeback contract—and over 100 workers nationally have lost their jobs for so-called "criminal misconduct."

And after several years of concessions by the USW to US Steel, the company has rewarded its workers by announcing the closure of 23 mills—laying off a total of 15,400.

Despite the recovery in profits, employers are going for still more—and plan to do the same in 1984's major contract negotiations. Three million workers—in auto, mining, construction and retail food—are facing contract talks during 1984.

LESSON

There is a lesson from the Greyhound strike—solidarity is the key to stopping the rout of labor. Another lesson is that talk is cheap. The AFL-CIO's boycott of Greyhound buses during the strike pales to insignificance compared to what was needed—mass

pickets at bus terminals.

And the talk by several unions—notably the UMW at its December convention—of taking an anti-concessions stand is only talk. It needs to be translated into action.

The labor leaders have no alternative—instead they are talking about the election of Walter Mondale. Several unions—including the UMW and UAW—have already endorsed Mondale, the vice president when Jimmy Carter invoked Taft-Hartley against the miners in 1978.

In 1984, socialists will have to continue to argue that the key is rebuilding shop floor strength, arguing for solidarity and against any concessions to the employers.

And of course, continue to lay the basis for building a socialist organization in the United States. □

SOCIALIST WORKER

January, 1984

Socialist Worker is published monthly by the International Socialist Organization, P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616



FIGHTING WORDS

"It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags . . . every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle and with the initials of the revolutionary parties; almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt . . . Even the boot-blacks had been collectivized and their boxes painted red and black . . . There was much in it that I did not understand . . . but I recognized it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for."

—George Orwell, Homage to Catalonia, 1937

UNITY IN ACTION: ROLLA, MISSOURI WORKERS SCORE VICTORY WITH SLOW- DOWN

Workers in a small plant in Rolla, Missouri scored a solid victory when they rejected concessions and demands by the Schwitzer Company. They won a 3 percent wage increase the second and third years of their contract. Schwitzer, which employs 125 workers in its Rollo cooling fan plant, is a subsidiary of Household International.

When plant manager Bob Matukewicz asked worker Gerry Livesay what it would take to get a COLA-free contract, Livesay let him know that nothing would be given up without a fight.

Between September 15 and November 15, members of UAW local 1760 demonstrated solidarity rarely seen today as they engineered a work slow-down. They set up a shop floor committee of 20 respected members, variously called Solidarity, Communications and Conscience Committee. The committee quickly established a plant-wide network.

SOLIDARITY

At the first union meeting following the expiration of the contract, the entire local member-

by JOHN ANDERSON

ship wore Solidarity t-shirts and buttons, and sang solidarity songs. Soon after, they initiated the slow-down.

The workers refused to work under unsafe conditions where dangerous fumes jeopardized their health and safety. Production declined to 30 percent of normal, and coordinated absenteeism made the job actions more effective. Bosses fired 35 workers, but the laid-off workers called back to replace them also participated in the slow-down. Management was incapable of operating the machinery, smashing tools and taking two days to get two hours of production.

During contract negotiations, the UAW research department caught the Schwitzer Co. in a lie. Schwitzer claimed that plant wages were \$1.29 higher than those of competing firms—but the UAW found the wages were actually \$5.67 per hour less than their competitors!

Just as outrageous was the finding that Household Inter-

national's manufacturing division—which includes Schwitzer—paid its stockholders 147 percent of net income last year.

The settlement gives the local a 3 percent increase in wages the second and third years. COLA is protected, capped at about 8 percent inflation but with a minimum of 5.5 percent. Other gains include a doubling of pension benefits and health insurance for retirees.

The Solidarity committee must be considered the most important reason for victory. 100 percent worker participation was the decisive factor.

RESPONSIBLE

But who was responsible for signing a wage contract with a wage rate that was \$5.67 below other cooling fan manufacturers?

How many other UAW contracts undercut the wages of other UAW locals and workers in other unions? Why haven't the international union, the regional office and the international's AFL-CIO department supplied locals with the necessary information before contracts are signed?

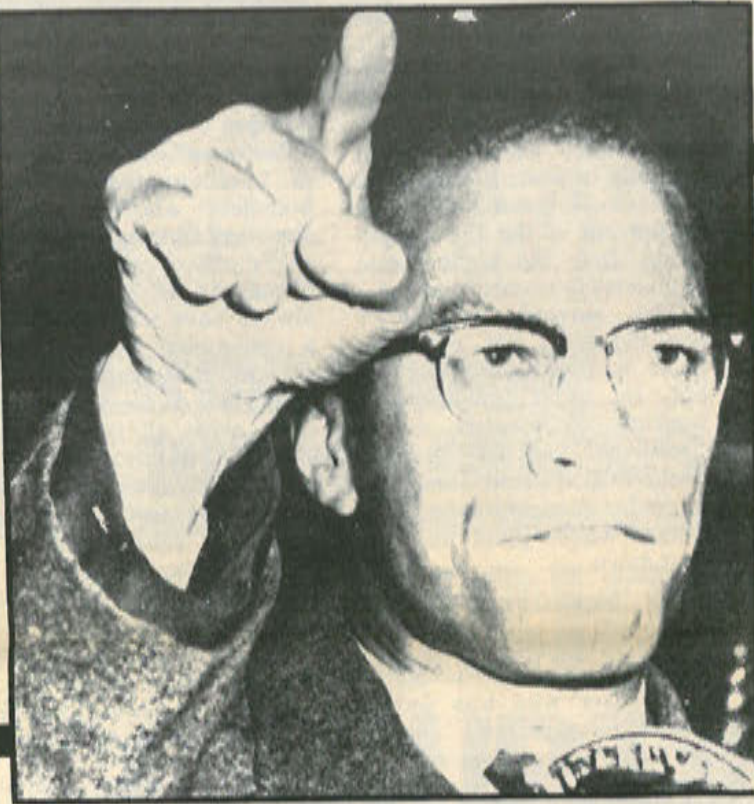
Such measures are long overdue. The UAW regional offices and the industrial departments of the AFL-CIO must exchange information not only on wages, but on production standards and working conditions.

EXAMPLE

Local 1760 and the international union should use this example of the Schwitzer workers' solidarity to educate the membership of every local about the slow-down strategy they have developed. This strategy can work in General Motors and Ford. We should start now to prepare for 1984 negotiations by teaching the rank and file the role they can play in defeating the corporations' strategy of class collaboration.

John Cooper, a member of local 1760's negotiating team, showed the confidence the strike had inspired in workers by his prediction that "sooner or later, they are going to have to ask working people how to run this country."

The workers must begin to think of how to run the country without asking the bosses. □



As Cabbage Patch dolls and Care Bears set phenomenal sales records, the business community rang in the new year with a glowing appraisal of the nation's economic health.

For many Black politicians, as well, 1983 was a banner year. Three cities—Chicago, Philadelphia and Charlotte, North Carolina—elected their first Black mayors. And Jesse Jackson, after months of center-stage media attention, announced his candidacy for the 1984 presidential election.

These recent campaigns have all been marked by massive Black voter registration drives and vague promises of a "new day" or renaissance for Blacks, working people and the poor.

1983 also saw a massive demonstration in Washington, D.C. Some 400,000 people marched in commemoration of the civil rights demonstration of 20 years earlier.

And after a 15-year legislative battle, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday was declared a national holiday—even though it is not to be celebrated until 1986.

MAJORITY

But for the vast majority of Black Americans, this was no Care Bear year. In December, the *New York Times* reported that 32% of all Black families live below the official poverty

line, as opposed to 10% of all white families—a worse ratio than in 1964.

The figures for female-headed families are even more shocking. In that category, 58% of all Black families officially live in poverty, while the figure for white families is 29%.

Times are hard for those who work as well as for those who do not. The average Black family income is only about 57% of the white family income.

Times are even harder for those without jobs. Today almost 20% of Black adults able and willing to work are unemployed. The rate for Black teenagers is 50% or higher. At this point Blacks comprise over 20% of all unemployed workers—almost double

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

NO REPRIEVE FOR BLACK AMERICA

their percentage in the population.

JOBS

According to Dr. Bernard Anderson, director of social sciences at the Rockefeller Foundation, "It turns out that Blacks will need about one million jobs to regain the unemployment level they had in 1979 before the last two recession years. The recessions were not equal opportunity employers."

Black teenagers have entered each recession with a higher level of unemployment than the last. 24.5% of them were unemployed at the start of the 1969-1970 recession; 31% entering the recession of 1973-75; and 40.9% entering the 1981-82 recession.

The crisis for Blacks means homes without heat, or even

homelessness. It means hunger, infant death and despair—with little hope for any change.

There is no reprieve from this despair in the "renaissance" cities with Black mayors. In Chicago, Charlotte, Philadelphia, Gary, Atlanta, Newark—all cities with Black mayors—the unemployed remain jobless. Hunger and homelessness continue to increase. The mayors in those cities, like other mayors, are forced to be managers of the crisis—laying off city workers, opposing strikes and cutting back on social services. Some renaissance.

In the face of crisis, hundreds of thousands of people marched in Washington on August 27. But the answers they received from the fea-

tured speakers that day were a dim echo of the answers given 20 years earlier—register, vote and vote Democrat.

Twenty years ago the March on Washington represented a channelling of Black anger into an acceptable approach—the electoral one.

DEAD-END

Then as now, the electoral approach is actually far worse than a dead end. Not only is it unable to deliver results—it actually diverts the attention and activity of those willing to fight for change away from the real issues which must be addressed—the issues of poverty, unemployment, discrimination in employment, institutionalized racism and much more.

The strategy is as dead end today as it was 20 years ago. □



GREYHOUND STRIKE DEFEATED; 100 WORKERS FIRED

Since the defeat of the Greyhound strike, more than 100 workers have been fired. There are lessons to be learned if the next fight is to be won. Bill Roberts and Ahmed Shawki explain the lessons of the strike.

After 48 days on strike, Greyhound workers went back to work on December 21. Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) members voted 7,404 to 2,596 to approve a new three-year contract.

The ATU was still in place—but it took a sound thrashing in its toughest fight yet with the huge corporate "dog."

"We're very pleased, to put it mildly," said John W. Teets, Greyhound's chairman. And he should be. The new contract includes an across-the-board pay cut of 7.8%, loss of holidays, a larger worker contribution to the pension plan (4% of wages) and more company prerogatives—a total of 14.8% cut in wages and fringe benefits.

SURVIVAL

This ATU contract fight, like so many other labor battles these days, turned out to be a fight for survival.

Before taking on Greyhound workers, Teets went after the union at Armour—Greyhound's meatpacking unit. Teets announced the closure of 13 Armour plants covered by UFCW contracts because, he said, workers' wages were too high to keep the plants profitable enough.

Armour was sold to ConAgra, a food processing corporation. In December they closed—only to reopen as ConAgra the next week with a non-union workforce. And ConAgra plans to pay Greyhound with stock, making Greyhound the largest stockholder!

Teets describes himself as "diametrically opposed to unions' 'more and more' attitude." But the only ones getting more and more are Greyhound's executives and stockholders. Executive salaries are to jump between 7% and 10% this year over 1982 levels.

Greyhound workers, on the other hand, will be getting less and less—and will have to prepare for what will surely be another tough fight in three years.

The Greyhound strike did not have to end in defeat. It could have been won, and

there are lessons to be learned if the next fight is to be more fruitful. Certainly, Greyhound management was operating on the lessons they had learned from recent showdowns such as Chrysler, Continental Airlines and PATCO.

SOLIDARITY

Solidarity on the picket lines was the key in maintaining the strike for as long as it went. Militant lines in several cities—Boston, Atlanta, Seattle, New York—set an example which should have been generalized to other locals. It also was the key to shutting Greyhound down and winning the strike.

Solidarity is the basic requirement for all unions and its practice has too long been absent over the last twenty years. Without it all unions are weakened.

But in most cities the picket lines were small, and the ATU leadership and other AFL-CIO leaders tried to restrict them.

Moreover, the ATU leadership got cold feet. Only a week after 96% of the membership rejected the takeback contract, the leadership reached a tentative settlement with management which was very similar to the one just rejected.

The first ballot during the strike was taken after mass meetings and full discussion. ATU members heard the arguments and voted overwhelmingly against the company offer—in many cases the vote being held immediately at the meetings.

But the final offer was passed after local presidents presented the offer, but in the isolated privacy of each worker's home. Nearly two weeks passed before workers cast their ballots. They got their arguments from the television commentators, newspaper editorials and not from the corrective wisdom of their fellow workers.

LACK

The lack of rank and file organization meant that those ATU members who wanted to speak against the offer were



BOSTON, MA—The Greyhound strike produced some of the most militant picketing in the country here. The strike aroused considerable sympathy and solidarity from hundreds of union workers across the city. Over 100 people were arrested during the course of the strike.

But in the wake of the strike, Greyhound management has fired eight militants—in an attempt to further weaken and demoralize the ATU rank and file.

According to Austin Raciotti,

an ATU Local 1205 member, and one of those fired, the hearings were blatantly "illegal under" the amnesty clause of the new contract.

Greyhound has already taken the first step toward its goal of defeating the ATU. But the workers still have a fight on their hands and it will be the immediate task of the rank and file to protect the militants in the union who are the present target of management's offensive and put an end to victimizations.

"We're very pleased, to put it mildly," said John W. Teets, Greyhound's chairman, on the settlement.

limited by the initial meeting and a few picketers he or she might be able to see. In the meantime, all those who wanted the offer to pass—the com-

pany, the newspapers and television stations—all had plenty of opportunities to make their case.

Ballots cast outside of collective meetings always work against the rank and file.

FADED

After the massive rejection vote, the exhilaration of many Greyhound workers faded as their sentiment was not matched by reality on the picket lines—which were getting smaller, lonelier and more despondent.

The importance of organization, solidarity and the need for a socialist current was highlighted by the strike—as the only weapons workers have against the companies—and their own union leaders.

One Cincinnati driver told *Socialist Worker* how his own attitudes, like those of many other Greyhound workers, had changed during the strike.

"I learned that the government was not on our side. I learned the media was not on our side. I learned that some of our union leaders are closer to the company than to us. I learned that a lot of people support us. And I learned that socialists support us."

Learning the lessons of the Greyhound strike and putting them into practice is crucial. Other fights will surely follow. John "Union Buster" Teets and his likes have more projects up their shark-skin sleeves, you can be sure. We should prepare to meet that challenge. □

GREYHOUND GETS AWAY WITH MURDER

ZANESVILLE, OH—On December 5, a day after the contract was accepted by Greyhound's governing council, a striker was killed.

Ray Phillips of ATU Local 1043 in Cleveland was walking the picket line when he was struck by a bus being used to train scab drivers. Memorial marches have been held in Zanesville and Cleveland for Phillips. No charges have been

filed against Greyhound.

But Greyhound has fired over 100 workers—across the country—for alleged "violence" during the strike—claiming that the amnesty clause negotiated in the contract does not apply to "criminal misconduct."

But Greyhound is the only criminal here—and they are getting away with murder. □

SF leaders fail the test

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—When Greyhound workers were presented with this sell-out contract, the San Francisco ATU local was one of the few in the country to recommend against it. But the local ATU officials were, in fact, part and parcel of the national misleadership of the strike.

During the 48 days of the strike, they failed to organize an effective campaign. And they consistently attempted to control and destroy the considerable militancy shown by local Greyhound workers.

by JIM SWAN
and DAVID SIDDLE

The San Francisco union leaders acquired a national reputation for militancy, but they failed to show, on their home turf, how the strike might have been won.

On December 3, 1,500 people marched to the Greyhound station and attacked it—brushing aside the few police in front, battering the doors down and smashing plate glass windows.

The bureaucrats managed to stem the attack, but the crowd remained militant, blocking streets on two sides of the station. Ultimately officials disbanded the ral-

ly by leading a mindless procession around the block. One official yelled, "We don't need the police here, we can police ourselves."

At the December 10 rally, union leaders prevented a mass picket with a public announcement that they had agreed to refrain from such activity.

Throughout the strike, the misleaders contained the workers' militancy and reduced the strike's effectiveness—rather than providing leadership that would build the workers' confidence.

Since the strike ended, Greyhound has victimized the militants—30 San Francisco workers have lost their jobs despite the so-called amnesty clause. □

MARXISM AND THE POLITICS OF THE "CENTER"

There are terms on the left whose meaning has been blurred by careless use. People coming around politics for the first time often find such terms confusing, but terms are helpful if used carefully.

Recently, for instance, in a discussion on "lesser evil" candidates, someone referred to Walter Mondale as a "centrist." The remark was intended as an argument in favor of Jesse Jackson as the "left" lesser evil candidate.

This use of the term might make sense if it referred to Reagan as the right, Mondale as a center candidate and Jackson as the left—as the media portrays it. But really, this use of the term hides the fact that they are all candidates of capitalist parties and have nothing to do with socialism. Leftists who try to support Jackson by this sleight of hand really abandon Marxism altogether.

SPECIFIC

The term centrist has a specific meaning in the socialist tradition. In honor of George Orwell, it only seems fitting that we strive for some precision in terms.

The term centrist was first used by revolutionaries near the end of World War One. The war exposed a fundamental division among socialists on both sides of the fighting. In one camp were the internationalists, in the other were the reformers who opposed the war but supported their own national leaders.

Karl Kautsky, once referred to as "the Pope of Marxism," was a leading spokesperson for the position of a negotiated peace which would link the pro-war and anti-war elements together.

On the other side was Lenin, who argued that the war had opened the way for revolutionary transformation

of society. He called for class war, not negotiation.

Kautsky's position became known as "the Center" position. It was an adaptation to the ruling class in the trappings of Marxism, or as Trotsky defined it: "Centrism is the name applied to that policy which is opportunist in substance and which seeks to appear as revolutionary in form. Opportunism consists in a passive adaptation to the ruling class and its regime, to that which already exists, including, of course, the state boundaries.

TRAIT

"Centrism shares completely this fundamental trait of opportunism, but in adapting itself to the dissatisfied workers, centrism veils it by means of radical commentaries."

In the Marxist sense, then, neither Mondale nor Jackson is a centrist. At best they are liberals, and nowhere does either claim to be a socialist or a Marxist.

The real centrists today are those who claim to be socialists yet argue that in times like ours the most one can do is to support candidates like Jackson. They still call themselves socialists and use Marxist rhetoric, but they reject revolution.

The heart of Marxism is composed of three things: the central historical role of the working class, the need to smash the bourgeois state, and the need for a vanguard working class party. It is on precisely those points that the centrist will wobble.

The working class becomes one of several forces for the centrist. The state must be changed through "regular" or electoral channels. The mass movements are only a backdrop to this route. While the centrist might be in favor of a working class party, they are



Workers' militia in the Spanish Civil War

against democratic centralism and the need to include union militants under the discipline of the party.

INSTRUMENTAL

Centrism has been instrumental in certain historical situations, by helping to seriously misdirect mass movements or to destroy potentially revolutionary organizations.

For example, in the Spanish Civil War of 1936, the POUM (a serious force contending for leadership of the Spanish working class) failed to consistently fight the reformists and anarchists. The POUM stood for a government of working class representatives only. But when other left parties rejected this, the POUM capitulated and joined in a coalition government with bourgeois representatives.

The Spanish working class

went down to defeat in the absence of a consistent revolutionary party and has suffered the consequences to this day.

The honesty attained through precise use of terms is important for socialists to master. But the chief reason for discussing the implications of this political position lies in the general shift to the right all along the political spectrum. The attraction of a centrist position for former revolutionaries is the result of the failure to build a credible left "home" capable of holding people in times like these.

COMFORTABLE

The centrist position is a more comfortable position. It allows a formal adherence to socialist goals while working with a wider, but more conservative audience. The danger is that once again it puts off the

key task of building a revolutionary party of the working class.

The importance of centrism varies with the ups and downs of the class struggle. In the context of a mass movement, grave dangers exist if centrists take a lead, for they will deflect the movement from a revolutionary course by fudging the issues.

ORGANIZATION

In slower periods, we need to be open to those few individuals in centrist formations who may be willing to swim against the tide.

The best defense against a drift into "centrism" is to build a revolutionary organization capable of pointing out the dangers of the reform road to socialism with clear arguments and appropriate action. □

Graffiti



APOCALYPSE NOW . . .

If readers wonder about the horror in Orwell's 1984 world, they should be comforted to know that U.S. rulers are dreaming of worse fates for the earth. Consider what Ronald Reagan told the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee:

"You know, you turn back to the ancient prophets in the Old Testament and the signs foretelling Armageddon, and I find myself wondering if we're the generation that's going to see that come about. I don't know if you've noted any of those prophecies lately, but believe me, they certainly describe the times we're going through." □

MOUNTAIN SPRING WATER

Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan served Coors beer at his annual holiday press party last month. Coors has long been the target of an AFL-CIO boycott, due to the company's right-wing, anti-union policies. □

ONCE A BOSS . . .

About 120 staff workers at the Washington office of the American Federation of Government Employees struck after bargaining last month. They accused union president Kenneth Blaylock of using tactics AFGE has criticized Reagan for using.

Staffers say the union wants to "contract-out" work. They say the union bosses are demanding a piece-work pay plan and a pay cut.

Union chief Blaylock "smarted over those allegations," he said. But his conscience is clear. At first crossing the picket line "really bothered me," he said, but "I know I'm not a Donald Devine or J.P. Stevens."

Mr. Devine, the Reagan administration personnel chief, with tongue in cheek, issues a news release expressing "sympathy" for the AFGE's battle. □

RESTAURANT WORKERS WIN

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—Workers at Luisa's restaurant, members of Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union Local 2, ignored the advice of their union officials—and won a better contract.

Workers walked out twice in 1983 against unfair labor practices and for union recognition. Their action came in the midst of a unionizing strike wave that hit several restaurants in the predominantly gay Castro district.

KICKING

"We decided to go down kicking and screaming rather than go back to work under the same conditions as before," said striker Michael Ginther. Their boss, Luisa Hanson, had refused to negotiate for several weeks when she was reluctantly brought to the table by successful picketing.

The union officials advised an end to picketing during negotiation as a "good will" gesture. The strikers agreed, and it be-

came their last good will gesture—and the last time they followed union officials' advice.

Last fall, union negotiators told the strikers to accept a recognition contract with no raises, no benefits and no paid holidays as the "best you can get." The workers refused and instead called the bosses' bluff.

The result—wage increases of up to 15%, a health plan, paid holidays and, more surprising, the strikers have become the first union workers in the country to win Lesbian and Gay Freedom Day as a paid holiday.

None of this could have happened if the workers hadn't taken control of the situation themselves—against the advice of the union leaders. Only in this way can special demands be made while workers' unity is preserved.

Not all of Luisa's workers are gay or lesbian. But the unity between straight and gay workers made it possible for everyone's demands to be met without jeopardizing the entire contract. □

by JOHN FOWLER

PLO at the Crossroads



Lebanon was known as the "Paris of the Middle East." It was devastated by Israel's 1982 invasion, which was designed to destroy the PLO. Effectively, the PLO has been removed from Lebanon as a military force.

Yasser Arafat and 4,000 of his supporters were forced out of Lebanon last month, after several months of fighting with a Syrian-backed faction of the PLO.

This is the second time in just over a year that Arafat has led such an evacuation from Lebanon at gunpoint. But there is a crucial difference between the two: last year the Palestinians were fighting for their survival against the onslaught of a full-scale Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Last month, Arafat left Tripoli after being trapped—not by Israel, but by a rival group of the PLO. Effectively, the PLO has ceased to be a military force in Lebanon.

Nominally, the fighting in the PLO developed because of Arafat's early 1983 appointment of two Palestinian commanders in the Bekaa Valley who were very unpopular in certain sections of the PLO.

But the real roots of the PLO split are to be found in the crushing defeat the Palestinians suffered at the hands of the Israeli army in the summer of 1982.

For years, Israel has tried to destroy the PLO. In 1978, it launched an attack into southern Lebanon, attacking Palestinian refugee camps and hoping to dislodge the PLO. It failed, again, in 1980.

In the spring of 1982, Ronald Reagan gave Israel the green light to launch an invasion designed to wipe out

the PLO. By August, the PLO was trapped in Beirut—with the Israeli army shelling the city daily.

EVACUATION

Arafat negotiated terms for evacuation from Beirut—and the introduction of U.S. "peacekeepers" in Beirut as a guarantee to the remaining civilian Palestinian population. By the end of August, Arafat had left Beirut—and the PLO was dispersed around the Arab world.

Arafat claimed that the defeat in Lebanon was really no defeat at all. After all, Palestinian forces had held the Israeli army at bay for 70 days and survived—unlike the better-armed Egyptian army which suffered a defeat in six short days in 1967.

Arafat also argued that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, in all its barbarity, could be transformed into a diplomatic coup for the Palestinian movement. He entered negotiations over the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip with King Hussein of Jordan—the man responsible for the massacre and expulsion of thousands of Palestinians in 1970.

On September 1, Ronald Reagan launched his "peace" initiative—designed to strengthen U.S. allies in the region and contain the Palestinian movement through its incorporation with Jordan.

A week later saw the massacre of 2,700 Palestinians in

the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila by Christian Phalangists. The evacuation of Beirut—combined with the massacre at Sabra and Shatila—had a traumatic effect on the PLO. Critics of Arafat emerged within Fateh itself—Arafat's group within the PLO.

SETTLEMENT

As Arafat looked toward a diplomatic settlement with Jordan, several important Fateh leaders, including Abu Musa, head of the PLO's operations room, began to openly attack Arafat, and to seek and receive support from President Assad of Syria. By spring last year fighting broke out.

Syria has no interest in advancing the Palestinian cause. Like all the other Arab states, it has subordinated the interests of the Palestinian movement to its own objectives.

Syria intervened in the Lebanese civil war in 1976 to prop up the Phalangists—for fear that the Palestinians and their allies might actually topple the Lebanese and inspire Syrians to do the same with Assad. Syrian forces bombed Tal El Zaatar refugee camp, leaving

thousands dead. More recently, Syria blocked arms supplies during the 1982 Beirut siege. Assad is interested only in the expansion of Syria's power in the region.

Assad and the PLO rebels succeeded in driving Arafat out of Tripoli—but not in attracting the support of the mass of Palestinians living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Their victory provides no alternative to the Palestinians.

At the same time, Arafat has moved into the arms of the Egyptian government—which earlier had drawn scorn from the Arab world for its accommodation with Israel and the United States.

Both Arafat and the rebels seek alliances with regimes run by tiny, undemocratic ruling classes—the types of regimes that have betrayed the Palestinian cause consistently over the years.

The continued existence of the PLO as a fighter for the Palestinians' true liberation and self-determination is now in question. Events of the last decade have proved that guerrilla struggle alone will not bring down the Israeli military machine.

The Palestinian struggle is at a crossroads.

ALLIES

The Palestinians must look to the only allies they have in the region—the workers of Egypt, Iran and the Gulf. They must seek out the socialists in the Arab countries and actively work to build workers' parties that can tap the power of the working class.

The recent events in Lebanon are tragic enough. But unless the lessons of that experience—the danger of isolation, illusory faith in Arab leaders, reliance on guerrilla warfare—the PLO could face a political dead-end or become a pawn of one or another Arab state's foreign policy.

The expulsion of the Palestinians from Lebanon does not represent the end of the Palestinian struggle. For the 1.2 million in the occupied territories, the hundreds of thousands in refugee camps in Lebanon and the thousands dispersed around the Arab world have a common enemy in Israel—and in the Arab ruling classes. They also have a common cause: with the workers of the Arab countries. □



"PEACEKEEPERS" READY TO RISK WAR

For the first time since the Vietnam War, the 16-inch guns of the battleship New Jersey fired its 1,900-pound shells in December. And the U.S. warplanes that attacked Syrian positions in Lebanon on December 4 carried more than bombs. They carried a clear message from U.S. rulers to those battling for the Middle East: the U.S. "peacekeepers" are ready to risk war to prop up a repressive Phalange government that represents a tiny minority of Lebanese Christians.

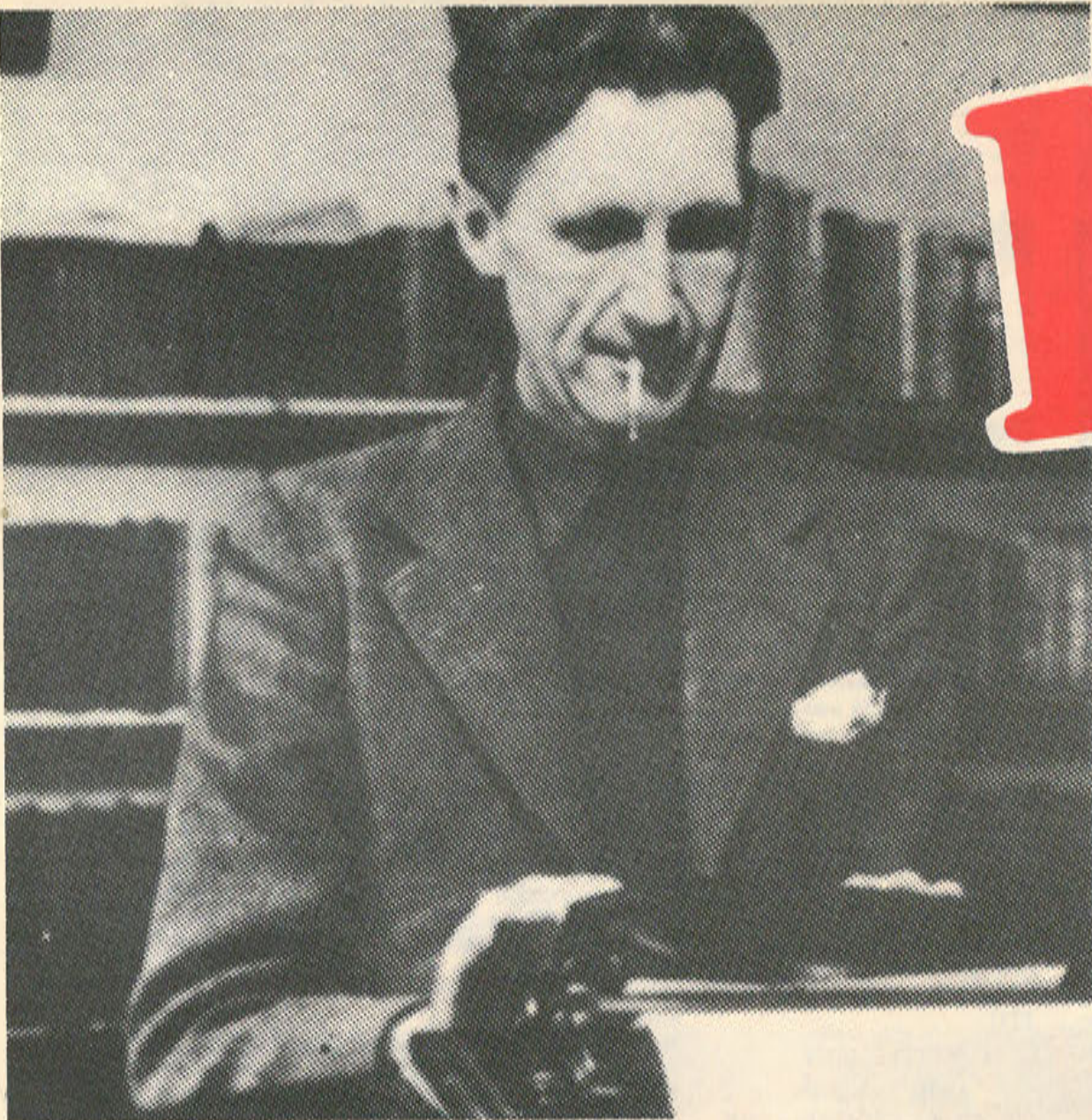
Meanwhile, Reagan moved to shore up the U.S. linchpin in the region—Israel.

Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir concluded an agreement that calls for the U.S. to provide \$1.7 billion in military and economic aid—almost \$1.3 billion in outright grants.

These grants, which Israel need not pay back, represent an enormous increase (20%) in subsidies to the Israeli state since Reagan entered office in 1981.

The U.S. is not interested in peace in the Middle East. Rather, it is trying its hardest to maintain a military and political foothold in the region. U.S. out of Lebanon! □





1984

Orwell's work 1984 has been used by the right wing and the media as an argument against socialism and revolutionary change in the West. In fact, Orwell himself had precisely the opposite idea. Deborah Roberts explains.

Anyone who went to school in the past 30 years has read of George Orwell and his books *Animal Farm* and *1984*.

These books, we are taught, showed that socialism could never work, that it would just mean trading one boss for another. The example of Russia—"socialist Russia"—was the particular that proved Orwell's supposed point.

This is still the story, of course, and in 1984 it's enjoyed a renewed currency. The real problem, we are told, is human nature. Human nature

dictates that one group of people has to be on top running things, while a much bigger group on the bottom has to do what they're told.

If you try to change things, you'll end up with a worse system than the one you've got now, with Big Brother watching you on the Telescreen and the Thought Police on hand to fix your head—or crush it.

It's a frightening picture—but is it what Orwell meant in his book *1984*?

In the novel the world is divided between three superpowers: Eurasia, Eastasia, and Oceania. *1984* is set in Oceania, which is supposed to include both North America and Britain. The three superpowers are permanently at war.

NIGHTMARE

The disturbing aspect of the current "media-hype" about *1984* is that it misses the parts of Orwell's nightmare vision that have indeed come true—deflecting our attention from the Big Brother we see everyday, the Newspeak we do hear. *Our* Big Brother says *1984* isn't about America or western capitalism at all, but about Russia or Cuba or China.

The main historical fact that the media blitz forgets to mention is that George Orwell was a committed socialist. Few recent articles on Orwell even mention his most important piece of socialist writing, *Homage to Catalonia*, a work which chronicles his 1937 experience in the Spanish Civil War as a member of the revolutionary forces fighting against fascism and for socialism.

Orwell wrote *1984* in 1948 when he was dying of tuberculosis and despair. His hopes for socialism and real democracy destroyed by world war, by fascism and by Stalinism in Russia and elsewhere.

But even at his most pessimistic, Orwell never forgot the bright future promised in *Barcelona*, where he had seen workers' control in action.

MOVING

He wrote: "Waiters and shipworkers looked you in the face and treated you as an equal. Servile and ceremonious forms of speech had disappeared. There were no well-dressed people at all. All this seemed queer and moving, and I recognized it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for."

The air of equality was ex-

"IF THERE I

ORWELL'S VISION

I suppose that most of us who picked up *1984* in the Cold War years felt its implications were clear. Surely some things in it were obvious: Orwell's choice of language—the Party, the Revolution, the purges—picked the Soviet system out for criticism.

Taken together, these things seemed to imply that for Orwell there was no hope for improving Western society through basic changes. Strivings toward socialism in 1917 in Russia had been twisted by counter-revolution until they led to totalitarianism. It looked as though Orwell were telling us that the socialist strivings in Britain in the 1940s would lead in the same direction.

In the climate of the Cold War, it was easy, then, to read him as saying it was best to nip any strivings toward socialism in the bud and to make the existing "free world" system work.

IMPOSING

It was easy to read him this way not because *1984* was really transparent but because we were unconsciously imposing our own Cold War interpretation on it. For a better reading, we would have to find out about Orwell himself.

For me the key book happened to be *Homage to Catalonia*. This book had been little read but was re-issued due to the success of *1984*. It covered a six-month stint Orwell did in 1937 with a left-wing militia fighting Franco.

Orwell had gone to Spain to fight for "common decency" and found that this could be done only by promoting socialism.

Yet, the Communist Party strategy of refusing to fight for socialism—in order to avoid offending the USSR's allies against Hitler—led to

by MILTON FISK

the defeat of "common decency" in Spain.

Could it be that, like so many other socialists of the 1930s, Orwell had changed his mind in the 1940's? Orwell had put a version of James Burnham's view that the tyranny of managers would supplant that of the capitalists at the center of *1984*. Burnham was typical of a generation of intellectuals who recanted their socialism of the 1930's by saying that the concept of full equality defrauds the masses and "serves the interests only of demagogues and tyrants."

BASICS

Orwell, though, had a tighter hold on basics than the likes of Burnham. On the one side, he saw right through the a priori prediction that equality was an impossibility. His was the self-serving prediction of those who didn't want to lose their chance of rising from the middle to the top. As Orwell's Goldstein of *1984* says, equality has become technically possible due to industry, so it has become a danger to be averted by middle groups bucking for the top.

In a 1946 critique of Burnham's book, *The Managerial Revolution*, Orwell accuses Burnham of wishing to destroy "the old, equalitarian version of socialism and usher in a hierarchical society where the intellectual can at last get his hands on the whip."

On the other side, Orwell retained the hope that there was an agent for bringing socialism. He had little admiration or envy for the powerful. Unlike the Communists, he didn't believe in condescending saviors, and thus he thought only the



majority of the population that were wage earners—proletarians—could make socialism.

"If there is hope, it lies in the proles." The swarming, disregarded masses of *1984* could destroy the Party. "Surely sooner or later it must occur to them to do it. And yet—!" This uncertainty reflected not only the downward trajectory of the British working class movement as Orwell wrote *1984* but also his own isolation from it, which became complete during his losing battle with tuberculosis.

AWAKENING

Yet just before Winston Smith is captured by the Thought Police, his faith in the proles grows. "The future belongs to the proles. . . at least it would be a world of sanity. Where there is equality there can be sanity. The proles were immortal. . . In the end their awakening would come." Strong or weak, this faith separated Orwell from those who thought equality was a fraud.

Through this idea of equality, he could explain the new phenomenon of permanent war between superstates. He saw this war as rooted in inequality. It is the response of hierarchical society to the technical possibility of equality. Permanent war wastes the products that could generate equality and destroy hierarchy. So the

war between Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia—like the cold one between the U.S. and the USSR—is waged "by each ruling group against its own subjects."

DOMINATION

The perfected domination of *1984* is not inevitable in 1984 or after. Orwell said that, "Something like *1984* could happen." The impulse lies deep in a world divided between superstates, a world he saw emerging from Tehran and Yalta. To thwart the impulse, it is not enough to dismantle a few bombs. One will have to undermine the power of the ruling elites that make them.

Orwell's strongest statement of this socialist vision came in a January, 1946, essay curiously omitted from his *Collected Essays*. He worries that the old idea of human brotherhood is being abandoned for a society that ministers to economic needs from above. That idea implied abolishing "war, crime, disease, poverty, and overwork."

The price of abandoning it is high, since "most of the evil that men do results from the warping effects of injustice and inequality."

This vision has nothing in common with the Cold War tradition of preparing for total war to save the power of the few. □

1: ORWELL AND SOCIALISM



hilarating, infecting not just the citizens of Barcelona, but the workers' militias as well.

Orwell found himself "In a community where hope was more normal than apathy and cynicism, where the word 'comrade' stood for comradeship and not, as in most countries, for humbug. One breathes the air of equality. The Spanish militias, while they lasted, were a sort of microcosm of a classless society."

The revolution was a fact and not just a possibility to the people of Barcelona, to the revolutionary militia, men and women whose spirit was both enthusiastic and sensible. But in the end, their struggle was defeated, both racy were destroyed by world war, by fascism and by Stalinism in Russia and elsewhere.

While *1984* was greeted by the Cold Warriors of the West as an addition to their ideological arsenal, Orwell wrote a few months before his death, "My recent novel is not intended as an attack on socialism (of which I am a supporter) but as a show-up of the perversions to which a socialized economy is liable." As Orwell saw, a state-run economy may be as foreign to socialism as private capitalism is.

FASCISM

He was clear that fascism was an inevitable outgrowth of capitalism unless socialism could be won, and that winning socialism meant building a mass movement of the working class.

For him and for all real socialists the fight for socialism is a fight for equality.

In response to a Stalinist attack on *1984*, Orwell wrote, "I am well aware that it is now the fashion to deny that socialism has anything to do with equality. In every country

in the world a huge tribe of party hacks and sleek little professors are busy "proving" that socialism means nothing more than a planned state capitalism with the grab-motive left intact."

For Orwell and for every socialist worth the name, society needs not just planning, not just a collective economy, but a commitment to the human dreams of justice, equality, and freedom—assured through workers' control of society and its wealth.

Even though *1984* is Orwell's most pessimistic book, it still sounds a note of hope—however thin and weak—represented in the novel by the "proles," the working class.

The novel's protagonist, Winston Smith, is an intellectual who works for the Party in the Ministry of Truth—rewriting the past to make it conform to the political needs of the rulers. Orwell based his portrayal of the Ministry on his work experience at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) during World War II.

PROLES

In Winston's first moments of solitary opposition to Big Brother he thinks, "If there is any hope it lies in the proles."

The Party views the proles as "not human beings," "Natural inferiors who must be kept in subjection, like animals." Since the workers are not even humans and are thus beneath suspicion they are supervised less than intellectuals like Winston.

While the workers in *1984* do not rebel and Winston, the novel's hero, is eventually crushed by the Party and the Thought Police, Orwell left the possibility open that the proles might still take history

into their own hands.

As the novel progresses it becomes increasingly clear to Winston that "The proles, if only they could somehow become conscious of their own strength, would have no need to conspire. They needed only to rise up and shake themselves. . . They could blow the Party to pieces tomorrow morning."

The workers are the overwhelming majority so they need not conspire. Yet to defeat "the Party" the proles do need their own party, their own organization. Its absence guarantees that the novel will conclude in a crushing defeat for everything that is human—in Winston, in his lover Julia, and in their relationship.

As isolated individuals they are simply doomed.

HOPES

Orwell had seen revolutionary hopes raised and then dashed throughout his political life. He had seen, in Spain, both the best of what our movement is capable of this side of ultimate victory, and the worst—defeat and betrayal at the hands of supposed revolutionaries, in league with the capitalist enemy.

While he was not opposed in principle to socialist organization, and recognized the need for a "party of genuinely revolutionary intentions, numerically strong enough to act," Orwell's organizational sense never really developed in practice.

The movement which had given Orwell inspiration had been coopted or defeated.

Orwell had become committed to socialism less out of theoretical understanding than because he was inspired by the ideal and practical solidarity of workers acting in their own interest and in the interest of humanity. The collapse of the workers' movement of the thirties and the rise of fascism and Stalinism dealt him a blow from which he never recovered.

But in the year when our own Big Brother is working hard to rewrite George Orwell's history on the side of capitalism and reaction, socialists need to be very clear about that history.

This year we need to learn from both *1984* and *Homage to Catalonia*, reflecting on both of the possibilities before us—authoritarian and militaristic tyranny on the one hand and socialist revolution on the other. We must reclaim the future which the workers of Barcelona seized in 1937—and then lost—or we will be left with their defeat, and Winston Smith's, at the hands of Big Brother. □

BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

Since its first publication in 1946, ten million copies of *Animal Farm* have been sold in its English-language edition alone.

By 1950, the year of Orwell's death, *Animal Farm* had become required reading in many high school classes across the country. As a depiction of the failed revolution in Russia, American schools used it to help whip up anti-Russian sentiment.

ATTACK

Orwell's intention was quite different. He was not attempting to contrast "totalitarianism" in Russia with "democracy" in the west. He was attacking the myth that Russia was socialist because, in his words, "nothing had contributed so much to the corruption of the original idea of socialism."

Orwell wrote *Animal Farm* with the aim of seeing a "revival of the socialist movement" and not as a defense of the west.

The story begins with a description of conditions leading up to revolution. Old Major, a wise pig who seems to be a combination of Marx and Lenin, gave a stirring speech to the other oppressed and exploited farm animals.

He detailed the cruelty of the humans who ruled. He pointed to the fact that none of the animals were allowed to enjoy the fruits of their own labor, and he urged them to organize:

What then must we do? Why, work night and day, body and soul, for the overthrow of the human race! That is my message to you, comrades: Rebellion! I do not know what that Rebellion will come, it might be in a week or in a hundred years, but I know, as surely as I see this straw beneath my feet, that sooner or later justice will be done.

In the spirit of solidarity, the animals even agreed to include rats and other wild animals as comrades. Throughout the book, the wild animals represent the peasantry, and the farm animals the workers.

On Old Major's death, the farm animals began to hold nightly meetings. Meanwhile, the management of the farm grew worse and worse due to the farmer's (the tsar's) decadence, corruption and conflicts with other farmers (World War I).

INSURRECTION

Hunger led to a full-scale insurrection. The farmer fled, leaving the farm in the animals' possession. The hope was that the revolution would spread to other farms throughout the land. But two of the leaders had very different ideas about that.

Snowball (Trotsky) believed it was necessary to organize to

spread the revolution. Napoleon (Stalin) wanted to batten down the hatches, increase productivity and compete with the other farms on their own terms.

Napoleon won. Snowball was not only ousted but was accused of responsibility for everything that went wrong on *Animal Farm*—from failed crops, to "laziness" of workers, to failed deals with other farms and even to counter-revolution by the farmers. Snowball's role in the insurrection itself was also rewritten to the point that, in the end, he was accused of having been a traitor from the start.

Times were hard for the animals of *Animal Farm*. They were working as hard as ever, but not enjoying much of the fruits of their labor. The pigs, as managers of the farm, began saving all the apples and milk for themselves, with the justification that they were the "brain-workers" and it had been "proved by science" that milk and apples would improve their brain-work capacity.

The revolution was clearly over when the purge trials began. Many animals were forced to confess to terrible crimes. The confessions led to brutal executions.

Debate and democracy ended. History, and even the basic principles of "animalism," were quickly rewritten to serve the needs of the ruling bureaucracy. The old maxim, "All animals are equal" was changed to "All animals are equal. But some animals are more equal than others."

FAILURE

Orwell describes the effect of revolution's failure through the eyes of one horse:

As Clover looked down the hillside her eyes filled with tears. If this was not what they had aimed at when they had set themselves years ago to work for the overthrow of the human race. . .

If she herself had had any picture of the future, it had been of a society of animals set free from hunger and the whip, all equal, each working according to his capacity, the strong protecting the weak. . .

Instead—she did not know why—they had come to a time when no one dared to speak his mind. . . it was not for this that she and all the other animals had hoped and toiled.

By the end of the story the pigs—the ruling bureaucracy—are indistinguishable from the humans—the capitalists. Orwell's message should be unmistakable. The pigs are bad, but no worse than the humans. They are simply the same thing. Two peas in a pod. □



"S ANY HOPE, IT LIES IN THE PROLES."

KROGER'S SHOOTS TO KILL TO PROTECT PROFITS

Dear Socialist Worker,

On Tuesday, December 6, George Lee Hampton, a Black resident of Over-the-Rhine in Cincinnati, was shot in the back by an off-duty cop. He is paralyzed from the waist down.

On Friday, December 9, Thomas Wallace, aged 19, was shot in the neck in what the local paper described as "a hail of gunfire by Hamilton County Sheriff's deputies."

There are three similarities between these two attempted killings:

(1) In neither case have any charges been filed against those who did the shooting. Cincinnati police chief, Myron Leistler, stated, within 24 hours of Hampton's being shot, "We see no apparent violations of administrative regulations."

(2) Both victims have been charged with attempted

murder.

(3) Both incidents took place following alleged attempts to take food from grocery stores.

Armed, off-duty cops are a common sight outside the stores of this fast expanding company. It is now clear that they are more than willing to shoot to kill in order to protect the profits of their employer.

David Hill,
Cincinnati, OH

Dear Socialist Worker,

We are writing to thank the Cincinnati ISO members for their support of the "People Against Psychiatric Oppression" picket at Christ Hospital over their extensive use of shock therapy.

As a result of the publicity generated by the picket line more than 80 people attended our educational the following week. Most of these people were survivors of shock therapy and other forms of psychiatric torture.

The mental health system operates as a covert police force, enforcing the official (i.e. ruling class) version of reality.

All brain-damaging "treat-

ments" administered in the name of mental health are disproportionately aimed at women, racial minorities and the working class, as are psychiatry's crippling and scientifically meaningless labels such as "schizophrenia."

The anti-psychiatry movement is a small but growing network of primarily "ex-patient" groups. We need all the help we can get. Please find out if there is a group in your area and give them a call.

Mary Newman and D.H.,
People Against Psychiatric
Oppression
P.O. Box 19404
Cincinnati, OH 45219

Letters

Write to Socialist Worker, P.O. Box 16085,
Chicago, IL 60616.



Nicaragua story: "You must be joking!"

Dear Socialist Worker,

You must be joking!

"The Sandinista movement was primarily a front for nationalist regime organizations waging a primarily rural struggle."

Perhaps Somoza bombed Nicaragua's seven largest cities flat in hopes that the shrapnel would kill the surrounding peasants?

Certainly there were no workers' councils through which workers fought separately from the petty bourgeoisie and urban poor—and no revolutionary socialist workers' party to point the way to a state and economy based on workers' power.

But workers' self-activity in the insurrection was qualitatively greater than in Cuba. And from January, 1978, on, the struggle was urban as much as rural, as spontaneous as it was organized.

The Nicaraguan revolution is not socialist. But it is an important step toward liberation. Because workers played an active role in it, talk of workers' democracy and self-emancipation can connect with their experience.

The FSLN is nationalist,

with middle class leadership and a military structure.

Under pressure of U.S. military aggression, the economic crisis, and capital flight, the Sandinista state is increasingly forced to accumulate capital.

It is moving toward bureaucratic state capitalism.

We need to analyze the contradiction between the logic of class struggle and the logic of accumulation. Not pretend there is no class struggle.

To say that Nicaragua already "resembles Russian state capitalism" is like confusing an embryo with a fully developed organism.

The Nicaraguan state sector is the most dynamic, with more than three-fourths of current investment in 1982. Foreign trade, natural resources, finance, and wholesale trade in subsidized products have been nationalized.

But what is distinctive about bureaucratic state capitalism is state ownership and central administration of production, not control of surpluses.

So far, only a few strategic industries have been taken

over and planned. Fully 60% of industrial output still comes from the private sector.

The state owns 23% of the farmland. Co-ops own another 20%. But they are barely organized yet, let alone planned. Like small plots (44%) and big farms (13%), they are governed in detail by market forces.

Nicaragua does not function as a single firm yet. And unlike Soviet bloc countries, production is mainly for the private world market.

Over 60% of export and 76% of import trade are with Western Europe, the U.S., and Latin America (not counting Cuba). Only 6% of export and 11% of import trade are with the Soviet bloc. And nearly half of export income goes for interest payments to Western banks.

RESULT

The result is a massive flow of surplus value out of Nicaragua to the transnational banks and corporations, through trade and debt servicing.

Socialist Worker lets those exploiters off the hook. Your article focuses on the embryonic bureaucracy.

Nicaraguan workers may someday have to overthrow that bureaucracy, which is not fully consolidated yet. But only if bloodthirsty yahoos funded by our taxes don't overthrow it first.

And as long as private property in production is curtailed but not suppressed, a class of private capitalists can still emerge within the bureaucracy, as in a number of countries where the local bourgeoisie was weak.

With Nicaragua's export orientation and need for diplomatic allies in Europe, that is still a possibility, if not the most likely.

Socialist Worker's eagerness to trash a regime it has never analyzed is strikingly inappropriate.

It is important to look at the Nicaraguan revolution realistically—so our solidarity with Nicaraguan workers is really solid, and so we are clear about what socialism is and is not.

It is also crucial to base criticism on facts and serious analysis, not on impressionistic schlock.

Kirk Lambert
New York

Dear Socialist Worker,

I would like to take this time to give thanks for the free prisoners' subscription I've been receiving over the last year. I've always found the articles to be of good quality, and have looked forward to reading your paper every month.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,
Walter Bible,
Steilacoom, WA

Dear Socialist Worker,

We saw your ad in the Guardian and would like a few sample issues mailed to us. Enclosed is a dollar to cover postage. Thanks.

M. Amarnick,
Philadelphia, PA

Dear Socialist Worker,

I would like information on your organization: its history, present day concerns and activities and future goals.

It was with interest that I read your December 1983 issue of *Socialist Worker*.

Thank you.

Brian K. Selwyn,
Los Angeles, CA

KAL story buried

Dear Socialist Worker,

Readers might be interested in a revealing item that was buried in most of the major newspapers concerning the Korean jet that was shot down a couple of months ago by the Soviet Union.

An attorney representing some of the people who were killed claims that there was an under-the-table bonus paid to Korean Air Lines pilots for taking a short-cut across Soviet territory because it saved money for the company.

Korean Air Lines officials have refused to comment on the charges.

And naturally, neither have the Soviets or US governments because sacrificing workers' health and safety and even their lives to maximize profits, whether it goes to the state (Russia) or private corporations (the U.S.) is an equal feature of both systems.

Curtis Price,
Baltimore, MD

THE BREAK-UP OF MA BELL: VICTORY FOR THE STOCKHOLDERS

January 1, 1984 marks the death of one of the leading ladies of American capitalism—Ma Bell, American Telephone and Telegraph's giant monopoly phone system.

With \$155 billion worth of equipment and one million employees, AT&T has consistently placed among the very largest American corporations year after year.

The Bell System's Washington lobby was said to be one of the most sophisticated interest groups in the country.

APPLAUDING

Conservatives and liberals alike are applauding the break-up of the Bell system. To conservatives, the divestiture means a victory for the free marketplace in the telephone industry which has long been regulated by government.

Liberals say the break-up of the giant monopoly is a victory for consumers who will benefit from lower phone rates and equipment costs.

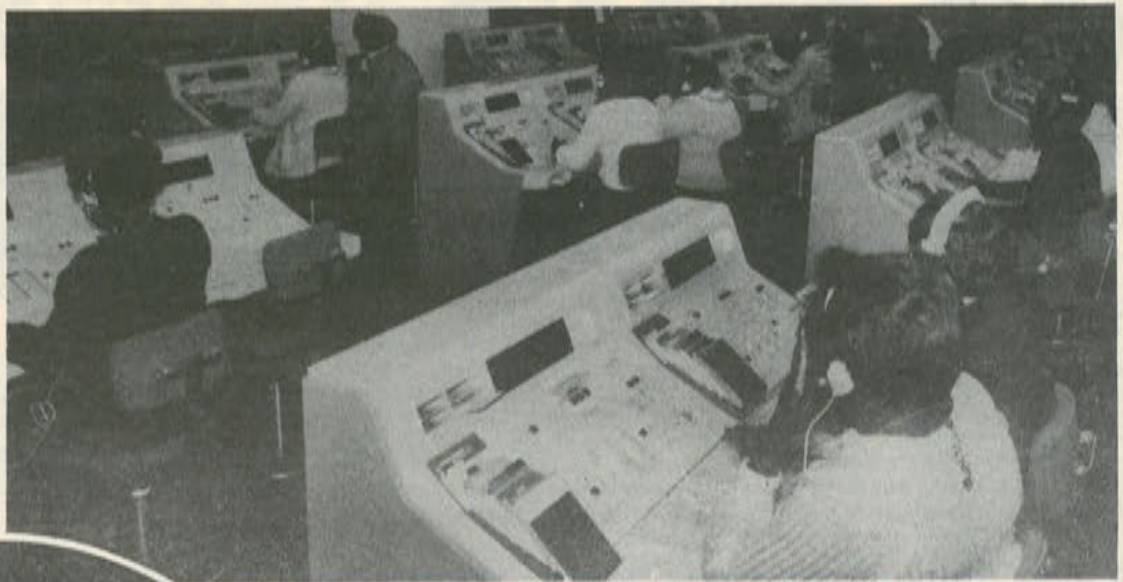
Actually, the break-up of AT&T is a victory for AT&T.

The U.S. Justice Department entered an anti-trust suit against AT&T in 1974. After eight years of courtroom fireworks, AT&T's corporate officialdom surprisingly agreed to the break-up and signed a consent decree in 1981.

Corporate officials said that, though they could have won the suit, it was not worth the money it took to take on the Justice Dept. They also could have said that they had figured a way to make the break-up profitable for those that control AT&T.

The new Bell system consists of a "leaner and meaner" AT&T which is free to compete anywhere it wishes except in local

Ma Bell's much publicized break-up is a financial feast for investment bankers, speculators, brokerage houses—and ATT. Alan Maass explains.



telephone service. This means that, in addition to providing long-distance phone service and manufacturing phone equipment, AT&T will be able to move into other markets, such as home computers; they had been prevented from doing so before because of government regulations.

Local telephone service will be governed by seven regional companies.

DEREGULATION

The break-up of AT&T is part of a larger move on the part of government to deregulate long-time government-

controlled industries—deregulation has already taken place in transportation and finance. Utilities are next in line.

The results have been very profitable for the capitalists on top.

From the Teamsters' Master Freight Agreement, to the take-backs at Eastern and Continental, corporate bosses are using the reduced prices caused by deregulation as an excuse to attack workers and their unions.

AT&T is not far behind. A 22 day nationwide strike by telephone workers was barely enough to turn back the

enormous concessions Ma Bell demanded last year. But that was only the first round. AT&T is already demanding concessions from employees at the Western Electric Co.—AT&T's financially troubled manufacturing subsidiary—and the seven new regional companies are basing their profit forecasts on either a freeze or a drop in "labor costs."

The message is clear. The corporate bosses are not going to give up their profits just because of deregulation.

They say they are ready to "work together with labor to increase productivity"—which adds up to balancing the books on the backs of the workers.

WINNERS

The real winners of the break-up are the AT&T stockholders and the Wall Street moneymen who handle their finances.

AT&T is forecasting revenues of \$56.5 billion and profits of \$2.1 billion in 1984—and Wall Street analysts say these figures are conservative.

AT&T earnings are expected to equal \$8.70 per share, a 23 percent increase over last year. And the value of a share is expected to

increase by almost 50 percent over the next five years.

Freed from buying all their equipment from AT&T's Western Electric subsidiary, the seven new regional Bell companies are expected to spend \$5 billion in three years for telephone equipment, mostly from six of the giant communications firms, including Northern Telecom and ITT.

"FINANCIAL FEAST"

Fortune magazine called the divestiture a "financial feast" for anyone involved in money management—from the brokerage houses to professional stock market speculators to investment bankers. The brokers alone are expected to net several million dollars a week from the chaos of sorting out the new shares of the company.

Meanwhile, the "victory for consumers" is likely to show up rather as a 5 percent increase on phone bills each month. Long distance rates will drop as the "new" AT&T attempts to compete with the cut-rate firms already in the market, such as MCI and Sprint. But the regional companies are expecting rate hikes of anywhere from 50 to 100 percent. □

OPERATION "SOLD-OUT" IN B.C.

At their December conference, members of the British Columbia Federation of Labor denounced their leadership for selling out the aborted general strike of November, 1983. They threatened to call a general strike in January if the government retaliated against any of the teachers who walked out in November.

Workers in British Columbia walked off the job for twelve days starting November 1, in a gradually escalating strike that eventually had 85,000 workers out—one out of every 12 workers in the province.

POLITICAL

The strike was a political strike against a program of legislation attacking workers' rights to organize and drastically slashing social services.

The legislation, sponsored by the ruling, right-wing Social Credit Party, granted the government the right to break already existing contracts with government employees. About 25% are to be fired over the next two years without regard to seniority.

by PETER COGAN

In response to these attacks, the BC Federation of Labor formed Operation Solidarity—a coalition of all the unions in the province—on June 5, 1983. After a series of huge demonstrations—50,000 this summer and 65,000 this fall—failed to stop the government's attack, the union leaders were left with no alternative.

They threatened a general strike if any of 1,600 workers to be axed November 1 were actually fired.

The first to strike were the 32,000 members of the BC government employees' union. Two days later, the workers in the government-owned corporations went out. A week after that, the province's teachers walked, swelling the strike ranks to 85,000 by November 10. Bus drivers and hospital workers were to be next, which would have brought the number out to 200,000—one in 5 workers in the province.

Yet the whole action, with all its potential, was called off

November 12 on the basis of a mere handshake agreement between Jack Munro, head of the Woodworkers' Union (IWA) and his "old friend" Premier Bennett, the head of the government.

The agreement amounted to nothing more than a promise to "consult" with the unions before passing any more bills which attacked workers and the poor, and a verbal promise of no retaliation against those who had struck.

BEWILDERED

The result is that everywhere workers were bewildered. After almost two weeks on a strike with gathering momentum, they were ordered back to work without winning anything.

Jack Munro, IWA head, was quoted as saying, "Someone in this province has to be responsible." The popularity of buttons saying "Operation Sold-Out," imitating the style of the Operation Solidarity buttons, suggests that many workers were not impressed with Munro's "responsibility."

The union bureaucrats were



initially forced to call the ranks into action because their own prerogative of negotiation was being threatened and by pressure from the ranks.

But union leaders are always fearful of rank and file militancy that threatens to go beyond the bounds of respectability and legality.

When this happens, they seek

to place themselves at the head of it. They can be full of radical rhetoric, but, in the end, they invariably seek to diffuse the situation and negotiate a "compromise."

In British Columbia, the steam has been taken out of the November strike. The union leaders have proved to the employers that they do have the ability to deliver the goods. □

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

Jay Tribby on Gay Liberation. January 21 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620 for more information.

BLOOMINGTON

Frank Foulks on Orwell and 1984. January 20 at 7:30 p.m.

Bill Stant on Jesse Jackson and Electoral Politics. February 3. For more information call 332-6682.

CHICAGO

Glenn Perusek on Is There a Future for Socialism? January 11 at 7:30 p.m. and January 12 at 4:00 p.m. Call 288-7572 for more information.

Day of Discussion on Socialist Politics. January 21. Talks on Poland: the Lessons of Solidarity, Exploitation and Oppression and Why the Working Class? Call 878-3624 for more information.

Alan Maass on Is Russia Socialist? January 26 at 4:00 p.m. Call 288-7572.

CLEVELAND

January 14. Day School. 12 noon - 5 p.m. Nancy Ballou on Introduction to the ISO, Christina Bergmark on Why the Working Class? and Glenn Perusek on Socialism from Below. Pot luck dinner to follow.

Pete Camarata on Minneapolis Strike of 1934. January 28 at 8:00 p.m. For more information on these meetings call 651-5935.

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.



CINCINNATI

Celia Petty on Abortion and Reproductive Freedom. January 14 at 7:30 p.m. Call 351-4333 for more information.

Study Group—Introduction to Marxist Economics. Every Thursday in January. 7:30 p.m. Call 871-1371 for details.

DETROIT

Sharon Smith on The Struggle for Reproductive Rights. For information call 561-8856 or 527-2180.

ROCHESTER

Day School—the Politics of the ISO. January 29 - 3:00

p.m. on. Call 235-3049 for more information.

SAN FRANCISCO

Tom O'Lincoln on 1984. January 8 at 7:30 p.m.

Study Group on Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx. Larry Butler on Class Struggle. January 22 at 7:30 p.m. Call 285-1908 for more information.

SEATTLE

George Orwell and 1984. January 13.

Central America. January 29. For more information call 722-4133.

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

— Karl Marx

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

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

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

MOTHER JONES SPEAKS



Lance Selfa reviews Foner's new book—the most complete collection to date of Mother Jones' speeches and writings.

Mother Jones Speaks, Collected Speeches and Writings. Edited by Philip Foner, Monad Press, 1983. \$14.95. 724 pp. Available from Hera Press.

"I live in the United States, but I do not know exactly in what place, because I am always in the fight against oppression, and wherever a fight is going on, I have to jump there, and sometimes I am in Washington, sometimes in Pennsylvania, sometimes in Arizona, sometimes in Texas, and sometimes in Minnesota, so that I really have no parti-

cular residence."
—Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, June 14, 1910, testimony before U.S. House

For almost 60 years, Mother Jones barnstormed the country, organizing miners and textile workers, stirring thousands to action with firebrand speeches. She was one of the most important socialists and labor organizers of the generation before World War I.

"HELL-RAISER"

"Get it right," she snapped at a professor who introduced her as a "great humanitarian." "I'm not a humani-

tarian. I'm a hell-raiser." These qualities—Mother Jones' passionate commitment to workers' solidarity, her ability to motivate people to fight for control of their lives, her feisty determination in fighting company thugs, state militias and the U.S. government—are captured in Philip S. Foner's collection, *Mother Jones Speaks*.

The collection includes her speeches to the 1905 founding convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, speeches to striking coal miners in West Virginia in the bitter unionization battles of 1912-13, her speeches on be-

half of the Mexican revolution and Mexican revolutionaries imprisoned in the U.S.

In addition, Foner selects a number of articles Mother Jones wrote for the leading socialist journals and newspapers of the day, various interviews she gave, and a large number of letters to colleagues and friends.

Mother Jones Speaks is the most complete collection of her writings, speeches and correspondence and is well worth reading.

Mother Jones was born in County Cork, Ireland in 1837. She moved to the U.S. in 1859, and soon took work as a dress-maker in Chicago. She married George Jones, a "staunch member" of the Iron Moulders Union. They had four children. Jones and all the children died in 1867 in a yellow fever epidemic in Memphis, where they had moved in 1860.

DRESSMAKING

She returned to Chicago, where she built up a dress-making business which was wiped out in the Great Chicago Fire in 1871. About that time, she began attending Knights of Labor meetings, becoming active in the labor movement at age 45.

When the U.S.'s first national strike broke out in 1877, spreading from the Pittsburgh railyards where a workers' uprising exploded, Mother Jones was there, because "the strikers sent for me." Between 1880 and 1890, she moved from one industrial battleground to another, organizing, motivating workers to take power into their own hands and to form unions.

When the United Mine Workers was formed in 1890, Mother Jones became a paid organizer for the union. For the next 33 years, she played a role in the major strikes and

battles the UMW fought. State and local officials imprisoned Mother Jones numerous times, and she was on the scene when company thugs and state militias used force to oppose workers' goals, as in the famous "Ludlow Massacre" of 1914.

Several times, her efforts turned all-but-defeated strikes into victories for workers.

WOMEN

Mother Jones made special appeals to working women, helping organize brewery and textile workers. Unlike most suffragists of the era, she argued the vote was insufficient to working women's emancipation.

Mother Jones was also active in politics of the period, helping to found the IWW and maintaining a working relationship with the Socialist Party until she broke with the Socialist Party in 1914.

She supported the Mexican Revolution of 1913 and, despite some early wavering, supported the Russian revolution.

Although Mother Jones worked tirelessly as an organizer and agitator, she had political weaknesses. For example, she supported American involvement in World War I and urged workers to produce for the war effort.

Nevertheless, she is an important figure in American and women's history:

"Divided the workers will gain nothing. United, the world and all its treasures are theirs. Let us cease bickering and quarreling, do the work that is necessary and within reach of our hand, and walk arm in arm toward socialism."

Mother Jones' confidence in the working class, as Foner shows, comes through in all her writings and continues to serve as an inspiration to us all.

Reagan: "The great communicator"

There He Goes Again: Ronald Reagan's Reign of Errors, by Mark Green and Gail MacColl. New York: Pantheon, 1983. \$4.95. 128 pp.

The executive office has been filled by a wealth of bizarre creatures in its short history. The presidency, the ultimate post for our country's most articulate, politically sharp and humane creations, has given us sadists, raving alcoholics, terminal racists and an executive whose close political advisor and brother wore a thinking cap

by DAN PETTY

made of beer cans. Most of the men who filled the oval office, history tells us, were more boring than opera. Ronald Reagan is not one of those people.

Mark Green and Gail MacColl have compiled a thorough and often funny book detailing the political career of Ronald Reagan, as advertised on the jacket, "Letting the Great Communicator speak for himself"—and speak he does.

From his response to the occupation of Peoples' Park in 1967, while governor of California, through his current thoughts on Central America, the USSR and unemployment, the book carries through and responds to the obvious lies, the not-so-obvious distortions, and the complete banana logic of American capitalism's most eloquent spokesman.

For \$4.95 you get 118 pages of quotes and short but

sharply detailed comments by the authors including such time-worn favorites as, "Eighty percent of our air pollution comes from hydrocarbons released by vegetation," to his comment on North Vietnam, "We could pave the whole country and put parking stripes on it, and still be home by Christmas."

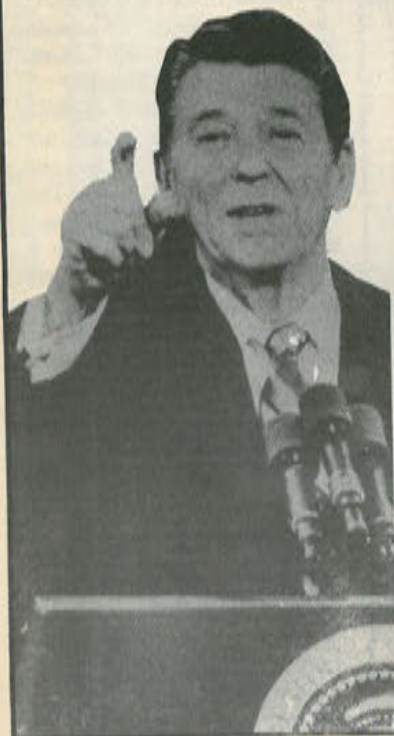
OPTIMISTIC

Then there is, "I am eternally optimistic and I happen to believe that we've made great progress from the days when I was young and this country didn't even know it had a racial problem."

There should be a book like this on every president, really, but Green and MacColl would certainly disagree. The book's main failure is its defensiveness about any anti-Democratic Party remarks and its constant struggle to defend the likes of Jimmy Carter.

There He Goes Again is highly praised by Democratic Congressman Morris Udall and was clearly released for election year 1984.

I recommend *There He Goes Again*, however, not because it convinced me to vote Democrat, but rather it helped me see in a unique way how any U.S. president would hold up under the glass. Reagan is a very deserving target.



"I didn't know there were any [segregated schools]. I was under the impression that the problem of segregated schools had been settled."

MALCOLM X
ON
Afro-American
History

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MARXISM AND
BLACK LIBERATION

THREE ESSAYS
BY TONY REDDUS
AND C.R. JAMES

\$2.45 \$1.50



on the picket line

Eastern Airlines boss not done slashing wages

Eastern Airlines and the unions which represent its 37,500 employees came to an interesting agreement in December. The workers are giving up \$370 million in wages in 1984—they are taking a huge pay cut of 18 to 22 percent.

In return, they are to receive stock in Eastern worth about 25 percent of the company. Since Eastern is not now a profitable airline, this stock has no real value. But the unions also get a bigger say in the running of the company for their massive wage concession—or so the union leaders are telling them.

Workers will now be allowed to appoint four of the 21 members of the board of directors of Eastern. If dissatisfied with the handling of the company by management, the unionists will have the right to appeal to the board of directors.

Aside from the pay cuts, which bail out a financially-troubled Eastern (the airline

by GLENN PERUSEK

has \$2.2 billion in long term loans outstanding), the most important part of the deal from management's perspective is a promise of increased productivity. While there are no contractual changes in work rules, there is an agreement to do away with "informal" and "inefficient" work practices.

PERFORMANCE

Eastern is now talking about "cross utilization"—the performance of several jobs by people who previously had more limited areas of work.

Of course, this means fewer workers doing more work. An example of how dramatically the productivity changes might be is Kansas City, where Eastern has opened a new hub. Mechanics there are doing so much extra work that there are half the normal ground crew at the hub.

"Management told us it had to be done. But they still won't guarantee our jobs," said one non-union baggage clerk in Chicago. "We've given to this company before—we've been giving for ten years—no one is happy about another pay cut."

It would be wrong to think that the employees at Eastern have given up wages for a real say in the running of the airline. Wall Street was at first uneasy about the possibility of unionists' access to sensitive information on the running of the company leading to information leaks which would hurt the competitive position of the company. They have been reassured that the corporate planners at Eastern will not be hamstrung one bit. Union leaders chime in that the deal will not hinder the company's ability to make quick decisions.

VOICE

The existence of four unionists on the board does

not represent an effective voice in the running of the company. The prerequisite for their sitting on the board is their acceptance of the capitalists' bottom line: profits and productivity. Or they can do as Douglas Fraser did and step down from union positions and take the jobs permanently as he did at Chrysler.

The wage cuts will make Eastern's bankers sleep a little easier at night. They reduce Eastern's labor bill only from 39 to 33 percent of total costs. While this is an improvement, it still leaves them in a totally different league from the new generation of non-union carriers, which pay workers on the average just 18 percent of their total expenses.

That is why Frank Borman, president of Eastern, is so blunt. "We would prefer to have gotten it all at once but that's just not realistic. This is a first step."

He is not done slashing wages. □



HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

by MATT FILSINGER

On November 22, OSHA finally reissued its version of a right-to-know law. Back in January, 1981, only days before leaving office, the Carter administration issued a right-to-know law. The first thing Reagan's head of OSHA, Thorne Aucher, did was to withdraw that law.

In response, the focus of labor's efforts the last three years has been to get a good labeling law (same thing as right-to-know). Since it was clear that the Reagan administration would not cooperate, efforts were moved to various cities and states. In fact, in the last three years, 17 states and 21 cities have passed laws.

For large companies with many plants this has been a problem. They have many different sets of rules to respond to, since each law has different requirements. So the very same companies which initially got the federal law withdrawn have now been pushing OSHA to pass a law. It is important to them that this federal law supercede, or "wipe out," all state and local laws.

As expected, OSHA's new law was obviously written for industry, not to protect the health of workers. This is apparent for two key areas:

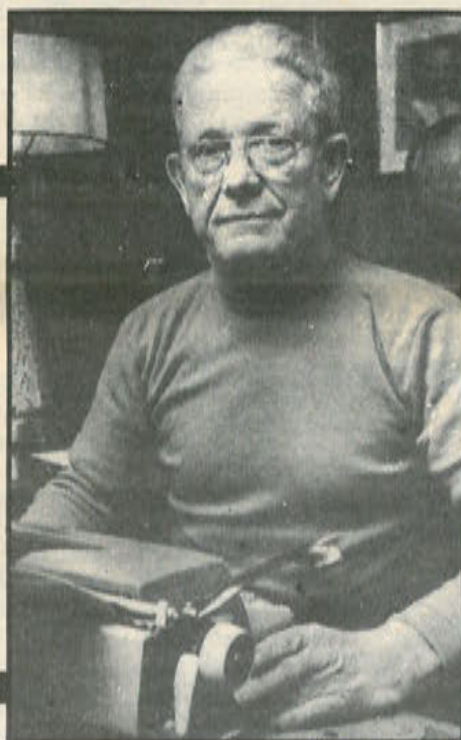
● **Narrow Coverage**—The law is specifically limited to manufacturing workers. Thus more than 60 million workers who are exposed to hazardous substances in construction, transportation, hospitals and farming are not included.

● **Secrecy**—The law says that substances which are "trade secrets" do not have to be labeled. The company can call anything a trade secret, and there is no way for the workers to challenge that. Only in an "emergency" will the identity of a trade secret be revealed—in other words, only if a worker has been killed or hospitalized and someone can point to what s/he was working with.

Even if this were a good law, it would be ineffective since OSHA is not really enforcing any health and safety laws at this time. Only through militant shop floor organizing will the protection of workers' health begin to be taken seriously. □

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

COLLUSION, CORRUPTION AND THE UAW



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

Concern is being expressed by local union leaders about the failure of workers to attend membership meetings. During 1983 UAW Local 15 has been able to hold only three meetings for lack of a quorum. Only forty members constitutes a quorum out of a membership of 3,500.

This state of affairs stems from the UAW's policy of class collaboration—of cooperation with the bosses rather than class struggle in the interests of the workers. The UAW has a policy of collaboration between top officers of the union and corporation officials; between local union officers and plant management; between union representatives and supervision of the plant floor.

This has alienated the membership from the union. Class collaboration denies the rank and file a role in the life of the union.

UAW members do not go to union meetings because the union does not offer them a way to fight for their interests.

CORRUPTION

Class collaboration leads to collusion between representatives of the union and representatives of management. Class collaboration and collusion lead to corruption in the union. Class collaboration, collusion and corruption have destroyed democracy in the UAW.

Meetings of UAW Local 15 are boring and meaningless. Reports of the president of the local and the chairman of the shop have little informational value. They try to cover up the real problems of the workers. They have no answers to these problems. Anyone raising the question of class collaboration or corruption would not get a hearing. They would be harassed by supervision and red-baited by supervision, union representatives and company-minded workers. Dissenters are branded as subversives and trouble-makers.

COLLABORATION

Class collaboration, collusion and corruption are not limited to Local 15, of course. They are sapping the life from the entire union. Since the participants in these policies depend on them to keep their posts, high wages and job security, only an uprising of the rank and file can cleanse the UAW in the locals and in the international union.

Class collaboration, collusion and corruption also flow from the UAW's ties with the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party advocates class collaboration—it operates in collusion with the enemies of labor. Its life depends on corrupt labor leaders, anti-labor employers and the 'kept' press. Its life depends on corrupting the democratic process.

Instead of educating the membership in the history of the UAW, as mandated by the constitution, the UAW leadership has spent millions of dollars to discredit the class struggle ideas that inspired the early organizers of the UAW and other CIO unions. They do not want the workers to know it was members of the Communist and Socialist Parties who led the sitdown strikes of 1937.

The 1984 contract negotiations will see the ultimate in class collaboration between the UAW leadership, the employers and the press.

The 1984 contract will use incentive plans to pit worker against worker, plant against plant and corporation against corporation. The new contract will put corporation profits before the interests of the workers.

To cleanse the UAW of class collaboration, collusion and corruption, it will be necessary to build a left wing group with a program demanding shorter hours without a reduction in pay. It must reject class collaboration and reintroduce the class struggle on which the UAW was built. It must break with the Democratic Party and what it stands for. □



SALERNO STRIKE "WE GOT A RAW DEAL"

CHICAGO, IL—Despite two months on the picket line, a boycott and strong solidarity, production workers at the Salerno-Megowen Biscuit Co. in suburban Niles voted December 23 to accept an average 15% pay-cut. Workers also surrendered two paid holidays and changes in seniority. Lay-offs and health insurance remain to be negotiated.

"I think this is a raw deal," relief operator Rosie Babulic said after the ratification meeting of the Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers, Local No. 1.

"I was willing to stay out longer. But I'm young, and if they fired us, I could get another job.

"But most of these people are getting close to retirement age. Who would hire them? The company took advantage of that. They don't care about us at all."

by **LEE SUSTAR**

George Schembari pointed out that the Salerno situation was not unique.

"If the economy wasn't so bad," the plant's lead mechanic said, "it [the settlement] wouldn't have come out like this.

"They know workers have nowhere to go for other jobs, and that if workers go on strike, 10 scabs will be applying for each job.

DESTROYING

The company's original demands were aimed at destroying Salerno workers' solidarity and would have made union membership almost meaningless. While the male mechanics, like Schembari, were offered a raise, the mostly women production workers—already lower paid—would have taken a 30-40% cut in total compensation. All new



employees at the plant will be paid according to this proposal.

The union fought back with solidarity, and only three of 300 strikers crossed the picket line, where Niles police protected scabs and arrested strikers attempting to walk the line during shift changes. After being out in six weeks of rain and snow, a contingent of 50 Salerno strikers marched in solidarity with Chicago Grey-

hound strikers on December 11—nearly twice the number of Greyhound strikers on the march.

But union bureaucrats channeled this militancy away from the plant picket line, organizing informational pickets at Chicago-area grocery stores to urge a boycott of Salerno products.

The bureaucrats made no effort to organize mass pickets to stop the scabs or truck deliveries, and BCT Local 1 president Maxie Hill began convincing workers to accept concessions at the strike's outset.

TALK

At the ratification meeting, BCT International president John DiCocini told the workers he opposed concessions, but that many of them would begin crossing picket lines if the

strike was not settled.

"We went out together, stayed out together, and we'll go back together with our heads held high. We'll fight and get these takeaways back another day."

In the upcoming negotiations on lay-off procedures, the company will undoubtedly seek an agreement that will enable it to get rid of the higher-paid, veteran workers and replace them with the lower-paid new hires.

DiCocini's vow to fight these tactics will be meaningless unless it is backed with aggressive organizing on the shop floor. And not just at Salerno, but throughout the biscuit and other industries.

Solidarity and the strength to fight back comes from painstaking organizing by the rank and file—not from a bureaucrat's promises. □

Despite their solidarity and militancy, the Salerno workers lost their strike. The union leaders failed them.



BEL CANTO WORKERS WIN UNION CONTRACT

SOMERVILLE, MA—Sixteen workers at the commissary of Bel Canto's restaurant won their first contract on December 1, 1983, after nine months of struggle. The contract includes raises ranging from \$.25 an hour to \$1.50 an hour, sick days, severance pay, and two weeks paid vacation.

BUST

The contract was reached after months of attempts by management to bust the union. This included an attempt to fire a member of the negotiating committee, bringing in 3M (a large anti-union public relations company) to try to persuade employees that they didn't need a union, and bringing in anti-union employees to water down the bargaining unit.

By confronting management on the shop floor, and not being fooled by false

by **JEANNE WHITTLESEY**

promises, workers defeated these tactics. It was also the threat of a strike that pushed management to concede at the bargaining table.

It is clear that constant enforcement of the contract as well as shop floor confrontations will have to continue in order to maintain these gains.

Already grievances relating to payment of sick days and subcontracting of bargaining unit work have been filed. The first one has been won, and sick days have been paid.

SHOP

Workers can see that although the contract was a victory for them, they are still treated as workers whose only rights are those they win by being organized on the shop floor. □



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NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

No return to the backstreet butchers

January 22nd marks the anniversary of the legalization of abortion.

Eleven years ago, the Supreme Court ruled that abortion was a matter between a woman and her doctor. The ruling, made in the context of an active, militant women's movement, was one step towards securing reproductive rights.

RIGHTS

The decision did define a woman's legal rights, but did not insure the availability of abortion. Safe legal abortions are still not available to many women. Expense is one reason. The cost of the procedure today ranges from \$175 to over \$500. Since many hospitals will not perform abortions and many areas of the country have no abortion clinics, additional money is often necessary for transportation, food and lodging.

In 1976, the Hyde Amendment cut off federal welfare funds for abortion. This put abortion out of the economic reach of even more women. But prohibitive cost is not the only factor limiting women's access to abortion.

A number of groups, most notably the "right-to-life,"

BY KATHY STEWART

have attempted to stop abortion with a variety of tactics. Laws have been introduced to make it difficult or impossible for a woman to obtain an abortion. While most of these laws have been overturned, they still create confusion as to who may obtain an abortion. Many states and counties still have laws prohibiting minors from obtaining abortion without parental consent.

DIRECT

Other tactics employed by anti-abortion forces are more direct than lobbying Congress. Picketers have attacked clinics and have even shot windows out. Patients are routinely harassed upon entering clinics. The recent firebombing in Everett, Washington shows that the anti-choice forces will stop at nothing.

January 22 is a date worth celebrating. It is also a time when the right-to-life and other groups increase their anti-abortion activities. You can support a right to a safe, legal abortion by joining the patient defense activities at clinics around the country. Safe abortion available to all women is a fundamental part of the reproductive freedom we all deserve. □



CLINIC BOMBED

SEATTLE, WA—After four months of vicious harassment by so-called "right-to-lifers," the Feminist Women's Health Center in Everett was firebombed on December 3. The inside of the clinic was utterly destroyed. Fortunately no one was in the clinic when the bombing occurred.

Audrey Fine, staff member of the clinic, told *Socialist Worker*, "picketing by the 'right-to-lifers' started even before we opened in August. Then we started receiving hate mail—both at the clinic and at staff members' homes. In about October the phone-calling started.

CALLS

We got from 400-700 phone calls a day. They would call and then hang up, but it meant that it was very difficult to get work done, and it also meant that our phone lines were always tied up."

For a period of four months, the anti-abortionists used every tactic conceivable—

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

from plastering up gory pictures around the clinic, to threatening and harassing both staff members and patients. They picketed outside the clinic daily to try to prevent patients from entering. On Saturdays they routinely had between 30 and 50 pickets.

In October the anti-abortionists called a press conference about the clinic's method of disposing of fetuses. The clinic had no trouble refuting the claim that fetuses were simply being thrown in garbage cans, and it actually gained many new supporters as a result of the press conference. Counter-pickets, supporting the right of women to choose abortion, were organized to confront the anti-abortion pickets.

But threats from the "right-to-lifers" grew, over the fall, to the point where the staff

really feared an attack. Audrey Fine said, "The fire-bombing of our clinic is not an uncommon anti-abortion tactic that occurs throughout the nation. We suspected this might occur."

SUPPORT

Since the bombing, support and press coverage have been excellent. Donations and volunteer help have even made scaled-down operations possible while the clinic is being rebuilt. Most of those volunteering their help are being channelled into the newly formed clinic defense committee.

The clinic and its supporters are determined to thwart the efforts of the "right-to-lifers" to shut it down. "This type of terrorism will not close our clinic. We are united here to demonstrate our strength and commitment to women's lives.

"We will rebuild our clinic. We will never be deterred from our goals." □

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