

Socialist Worker

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The Killing Fields

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AS THE BOSSES DEMAND MORE AND MORE ...

UNION HEADS GIVE NO LEAD



**PHELPS-DODGE STRIKE
IS LEFT TO DIE**

Union leaders from across the country assembled in Bal Harbor, Florida last month for the annual Executive Council meeting of the AFL-CIO. They discussed a lengthy report, two and a half years in the making, on the state of the labor movement. The report also had proposals designed to turn labor's fortunes around, in face of the employers' offensive of the last few years.

DECERTIFICATION

But as the union leaders met in sunny Florida, workers continued to take a beating. And the employers' offensive was highlighted last month by the decertification of the union at Phelps Dodge in Arizona.

The copper workers have been on strike for 18 months. The decertification signals a bitter defeat for the strike.

The two events—thousands of miles apart—are important and closely connected. They once again show the severity of the crisis facing American unions—and the gulf separating rank and file workers from the bureaucrats who ostensibly "lead" the unions.

As one writer put it in the *New York Times*: "As has been the case at most of these gatherings in the recent years, there was a discernible feeling of depression among union presidents and their staff assistants—although last week's pronouncements on unemployment and other difficulties confronting the working class would . . . have a hollow ring, delivered as they were amid the glitter of an ocean-front hotel."

Or as Jorge O'Leary, a former doctor for Phelps Dodge in Clifton and an active participant in the strike, told *Socialist Worker*: "They are meeting in a luxury suite. They are cut off from the labor movement, discussing the labor movement. But they are half divorced from it. They are not workers anymore. They are really business people."

RETREAT

But not only are the union leaders cut off from the mass of ordinary workers—they are providing no lead to stop the rout of labor. In fact, they are only leading a *retreat*. And it isn't because they are unaware of the plight of American workers.

In 1984, the report stated, only 17.3 million workers belonged to unions—or 18.8% of

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WAVE OF RACIST VIOLENCE ENDEMIC TO SYSTEM

by LEE SUSTAR

NEW YORK, NY—This city has long been regarded as a trend-setter for the rest of the nation. And overt racism is back in style.

"Vigilante" Bernhard Goetz is treated as a hero for gunning down four Blacks in the subway, three as they fled.

Goetz, glorified by the media for the December shootings, has been indicted—not for attempted murder, but for illegal possession of a firearm.

Meanwhile, 19-year-old Darryl Cabey, who was furthest away from Goetz on the subway car and pleaded with him not to shoot, lies in a coma near death. Even if he regains consciousness, Cabey will remain paralyzed by the Goetz bullet that split his spine.

Cabey's family and three other men are suing Goetz for the shootings. But Goetz has filed countersuits, charging the four South Bronx men with "threatening" him by their request for \$5 on the subway.

News accounts of Goetz omit the fact that he was booted off the board of a "neighborhood improvement" association for allegedly making racist comments. Also neglected is the fact that what a



Elliott Gross.

cop called "sharpened" screwdrivers carried by Cabey and his three companions were merely new tools, neither sharpened or otherwise altered—and they remained in the men's pockets throughout the shooting.

And the media has long neglected Goetz's original statement to police: that he emptied his gun in the subway car intending not only to "protect" himself from the request for \$5, but that he intended to kill the four men, whom he "knew" were "savages."

RACIST VIOLENCE

But individual vigilantes do not have a corner on racist



Eleanor Bumpurs.

violence. The police, the mayor and even the city's medical examiner have a part to play. Mayor Ed Koch calls three anti-Goetz newspaper columnists "racists," and he supported the 10,000—out of a total of 25,000 New York City cops—who demonstrated outside the offices of the Bronx district attorney. That D.A. had gotten a grand jury to indict Stephen Sullivan, the 19-year veteran cop who killed the arthritic Black grandmother, Eleanor Bumpurs, while attempting to evict her from her Bronx housing project apartment last fall.

Still more racist violence was revealed in the *New York Times'* January investigation

of Dr. Elliot Gross, the city's chief medical examiner. Since he was appointed by Koch in 1979, Gross has systematically altered autopsies of those who died while in police custody—often disregarding the findings of his staff.

The most notorious example of Gross' cover-ups for cops involved the murder of Michael Stewart, the young Black man who, according to witnesses, was beaten by nine transit cops for painting graffiti on a subway train in the fall of 1983. Six cops were indicted this February 21 for criminally negligent homicide in Stewart's death and charged with perjury for lying about the beating—which caused Stewart to go into coma until he died 13 days later.

Gross participated in the cover-up by overruling a staff member's assessment that Stewart died from the beating. After the first autopsy, he removed Stewart's eyes and washed them, destroying evidence of pinpoint blood clots that typically indicate death by strangulation.

Gross did not admit even the possibility that Stewart had died from beating wounds until he responded to the *Times'* charges last month—even though witnesses said the cops hog-tied Stewart and pressed a nightstick against his throat until he lost consciousness.

RACIST IDEAS

What is the reason for this recent rise in racial tensions? Racist ideas in today's New York serve the purpose they always have: they justify low wages, high unemployment and miserable living conditions for Blacks and Hispanics by blaming the victims. For example: "Blacks live in slums because it is their culture. Blacks are unemployed because they are lazy. Black youth commit disproportionate numbers of criminal acts because they are violence-prone."

Such racist theories "explain" why the mass of Blacks have not benefitted from New York's economic boom. In fact, most workers and poor people have suffered because of the "good times," as the city's real estate boom pushes rents beyond the reach of ordinary people. As many as 10,000 homeless lived on the streets of New York this winter.

Racism is as old as capitalism itself, as the rulers blame—and punish—one minority group for the problems of society as a whole. Throughout U.S. history, Blacks have served as scapegoats—bearing the brunt of anti-worker policies of officials like Ed Koch and the violence of Stephen Sullivan and other cops who brutally enforce those policies, and serving as targets for right-wing violence by the likes of Bernhard Goetz.

UNEMPLOYMENT: A PERMANENT FEATURE OF THE SYSTEM

Unemployment has now risen to 7.4%—up from its low point of 7.1% during this recovery.

This rise, so soon in the present recovery, has economists puzzled. They note that the lowest rate of unemployment in this recovery is far higher than in previous ones.

For example, in 1969's economic upswing, unemployment dropped to 3.4%. So unemployment—even though it has dropped substantially—is about double what it was just fifteen years ago.

This is in spite of the fact that there are a number of factors which should be pushing unemployment down. The labor force is now growing at a much slower rate than it did in recent years—only about 1% per year, compared to 2.6% during the 1970s.

The minimum wage has not grown anywhere near the rate of inflation—so the real level of minimum wage is quite a bit smaller than it was a few years ago. According to Professor Michael Wachtler of the University of Pennsylvania, the minimum wage would have to be \$3.90 today—not \$3.35—to have kept up with inflation in the past three years.

In addition, union concessions have shown the inability of unions to keep real wages for their members from slipping.

But it appears that all these factors are counter-balanced, and then some, by the rapid pace of technological change. Productivity-increasing investments—necessary for capitalist firms if they are to match the advances of their rivals—mean that the permanent army of the unemployed will continue to grow in the near future.

Even if the American economy were to grow 3% per year in real terms—highly unlikely in anyone's estimation—unemployment would stagnate, not drop.



Solidarity the key to Concord electric strike

NEW YORK, NY—A walkout by 170 workers has shut down Concord Electric since January 29 as strikers hold out for a pay raise above the 4% offered by the company.

"Some of the women have been working here for 10 years and still only make \$4 or \$5 per hour," said Pedro, who has operated a screw machine at the electronic parts manufacturer for the past five years. "The conditions in the plant are very bad." The workers, represented by the independent Amalgamated Union Local 5, are demanding a 7% wage increase.

Concord, located in the Bowery district in lower Manhattan, has labor relations typical of the electronics industry, which is notorious for its low pay and sweatshop conditions for unskilled women and non-white workers. Virtually all of the Concord strikers are Black or Hispanic and the majority are female.

Concessions to compete with "foreign labor" do not save jobs, as the experience of the steel industry shows—workers have to reject such arguments. Despite millions of dollars in wages concessions,

benefits and plant closings—all designed to help the U.S. industry compete with Japan—the membership of the United Steelworkers of America has been halved since 1979.

The success of the Concord strike depends on continued solidarity by the workers. Picket lines, currently up 12 hours a day, should be kept up around the clock to prevent Concord from shipping any products in or out of the plant during the night. If the union officials are reluctant to take on this task, the rank and file must take such initiative itself.

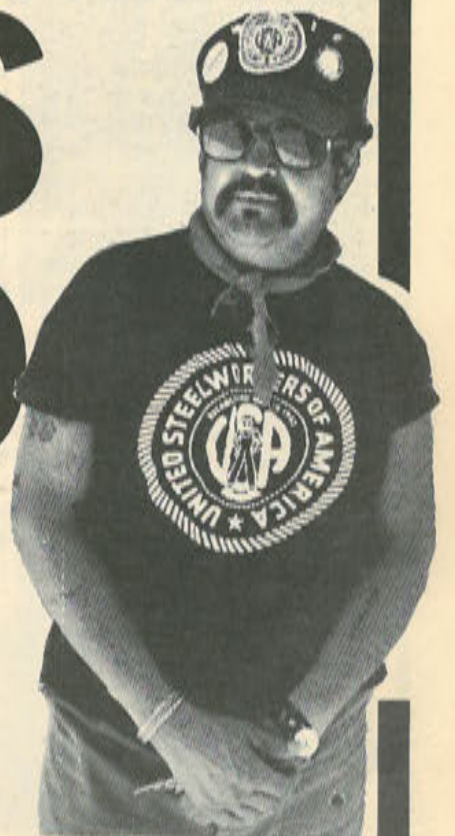
The revolutionary ideas of

MARX

Alex Callinicos

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UNION HEADS GIVE NO LEAD



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the workforce. This compares with 20 million workers or 23% in 1980. In 1979, 24.1% of workers were in unions.

The figures are even starker when one takes into account the numbers of jobs created in the last few years. Although the total number of civilian jobs went up 5% from 1980 to 1984, union membership declined by 13% in the same period. Last year saw the lowest average pay increases in 16 years. Unions now lose two representation elections for every one they win, and three out of every four decertification elections. Phelps Dodge is merely one of the more recent.

The union officials believe that the study they have conducted contains the answers needed to turn these trends around. "I consider this a revolutionary document," said Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president, said the proposals would allow unions to continue the never-ending process of renewal and regeneration that will enable them to remain "the authentic voice" of American workers.

FAR CRY

Unfortunately, this is a far cry from reality. The report's suggestions will not change the balance of forces between unions and the employers. The report represents little that is new. Its suggestions include:

- That unions seek mediation and arbitration rather than confrontation and strikes against the employers.
- That unions use radio and TV publicity to rebuild their image.
- That corporate campaigns and similar tactics be employed to bring pressure to bear against giant corporations.
- That mergers of existing



AFL-CIO unions be encouraged, participation of members be promoted and that more emphasis be placed on unionizing small companies and the new areas of growth in the economy.

In short, the report formalizes the practice that some unions—notably CWA, IAM, AFSCME and USWA—have adopted over the last few years.

But none of these measures will stop the rot. And it is grotesquely ironic that the strategy proposed for the labor movement as a whole is precisely the same as that which was adopted for Phelps Dodge—and helped defeat the strike.

"COOLING OFF"

The workers at Phelps Dodge have been on strike for 18 months. The company was determined to break the union. But the determination of the strikers was also strong,

and support from other unions was evident. After successful mass pickets, the union intervened and imposed a "cooling off" period, later launching a corporate campaign against Phelps Dodge. The tactic, far from proving to be innovative, was a disaster. As Jorge O'Leary explained: "We were near victory several times. I think we came within centimeters, millimeters of victory. I felt it, I knew it. I used to be a company doctor and they were saying on the inside, 'The workers are going to take over the plant, and we have to sign a contract.'"

"But the union asked the workers to go back home. And today a scab can get away with anything he wants. But the striker gets arrested for just calling the scab a scab."

"I told the miners that we should go inside the plant. No violence, but we could have

sat down inside. No violence, not destroying the equipment, but waiting for the company to sign a contract.

"But now, with the arrests, the scabs, the guards, the governor, they broke the spine of the strike."

"There has been the imposition here for eight months of a police state, including tanks, bazookas, helicopters."

DIVERTED

Far from helping the workers, the corporate campaign diverted it from where it could be won—and it helped sap the workers' confidence.

And to add insult to injury, the AFL-CIO has ceased to send any support to the Phelps Dodge workers. Even the much-applauded announcement by the AFT that \$450 million were to be withdrawn from Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. in support of the Phelps Dodge strikers, turned out to be empty.

The move, Albert Shanker declared at the Bal Harbor meeting, was made primarily because of the bank's poor investment performance!

The new strategy outlined in the AFL-CIO report continues to argue for is an accommodation to the employers—cooperation rather than confrontation, corporate campaigns as opposed to strikers, mergers as opposed to organizing. This promises to disarm workers in the face of the continuing attack by employers. It will mean cooperation by workers, and confrontation by the employers.

DIFFICULT TASK

There is a way, however, to turn the tide. It will involve the difficult task of patiently making the arguments against cooperation with employers, for no reliance on the trade union officials, and for solidarity. And it must also mean making the case against a system which puts profits ahead of need—the case for socialism.

Drawing on his experiences during the strike, Jorge O'Leary began to identify the problem: "The labor movement and the working class," he told *Socialist Worker*, "need an organization with political power. We elect both parties, but that doesn't get us anywhere. Something isn't working right. Workers have to realize that something will have to change. We need to think through our actions."

The problem is not that strikes are outmoded as a form of struggle or that employers are too strong. It is true that workers' confidence and organization have been dealt a severe blow, and that workers are on the defensive.

But there are hundreds of battles that still take place—and a small number of workers

and sympathizers affected by them. And the defensive mood of today will not last forever. The employers will push too hard, too fast, and workers will be forced to fight back. The system itself will force workers to act and to change their attitudes.

Socialists, though marginal today, have an important role to play in these struggles.

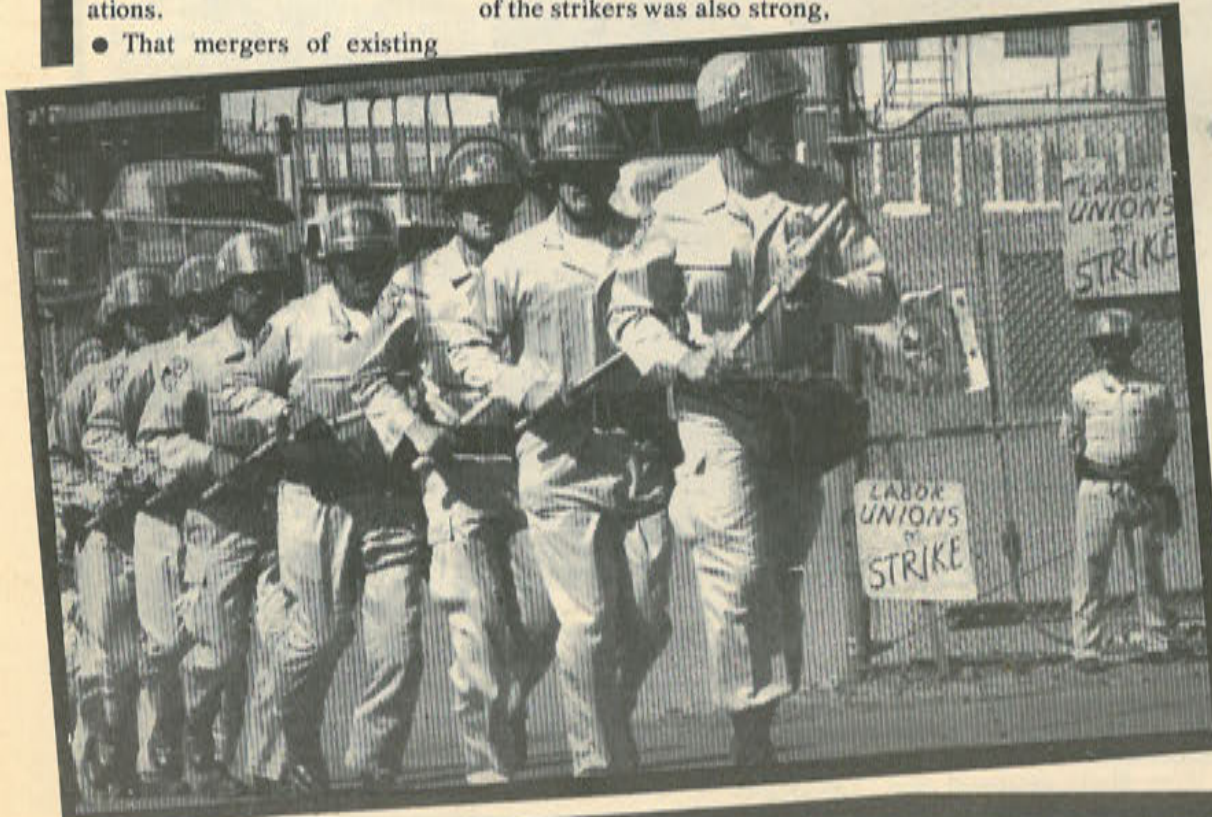
ARGUING

Today this role largely consists of arguing the basic ideas of socialism to the small numbers involved in and affected by struggle. To make the connections between the apparent crisis of the system and the need to fundamentally transform society is very important. The political arguments are often general, other times very concrete—from the need for mass pickets and solidarity to arguing why the trade union bureaucracy behaves in the way that it does. But the emergence of an organization of individuals with an understanding of the workings of the system is crucial.

Workers today lose the majority of battles that explode in the factories and offices around the country. But we have to argue that while this or that battle may be lost, it is necessary to draw together the beginnings of an organization that can help win the war in the future.

POLITICS

In face of the political vacuum of today, the importance of ideas, of politics, must be stressed. And in order to test our ideas—and make them relevant to the small minority looking for political alternatives—we will have to try to locate ourselves in the areas of struggle that will emerge and argue socialist politics within them. □



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NEW YORK MUNICIPAL WORKERS GROW RESTLESS

NEW YORK, NY—New York City municipal workers are growing restless with Mayor Ed Koch's election year stall tactics, paltry pay raise offers and the unwillingness of union officials to stand up to the city.

About 300 delegates of the City's Uniformed Firefighters Association, working without a contract since last June, overwhelmingly rejected union president James Boyle's agreement with Koch for a six percent pay raise, forcing them back to the bargaining table. The delegates weren't taken in by Koch's poor-mouthing—everybody knows the city has

rolled up a multi-million surplus.

RECEPTION

Koch got a union-busters' reception when he travelled uptown to the Manhattan Transit Yard to dedicate some refurbished antique subway cars. Several hundred members of the Transit Workers Union booed the mayor off the stage, flustering the always cool Koch.

While the mayor stammered through TV interviews after the incident, militant workers told reporters they were fed up with Koch's and the Transit Authority's push for speed ups. City

officials blame "lazy" transit workers—not dilapidated equipment—for the rash of subway fires and train breakdowns. The Transit Workers Union's contract expires in April, but it is already set to go to binding arbitration.

The firefighters' rejection of the contract and the Transit Workers Union's vocal attack on Koch could mean the end of the era in which the mayor has had his way with the city's unions.

POLITE

But union officials have shown themselves unable to

stand up to the city. Leaders of AFSCME's District Council 37, the city's largest union, have channeled their energy into a series of radio and newspaper ads that complain that workers do not want to be "political footballs" in the mayoral election race. They politely ask Koch to negotiate in good faith.

But the power hungry Koch never gives up anything without a fight—even to his friends, city government and business. Union officials can plead with Koch all they want, but only a militant rank and file will win a decent contract for city workers. □



THE HISTORY AND POLITICS OF BLACK AMERICA

Reconstruction in the post-Civil War South



History is usually written by the victors, and the history of Reconstruction is no exception. But contrary to the racist fables told by films like *Gone With the Wind* and high school textbooks, Radical Reconstruction in the post-Civil War South was one of the greatest experiments in democracy the U.S. has ever seen.

Reconstruction was, above all else, a political struggle over the future role and status of the former and newly freed Black slaves in the South.

FIRST PHASE

The first phase of Reconstruction, the so-called Presidential Reconstruction of 1865 to 1867, was no reconstruction at all. Lincoln had always insisted that he opposed Black equality. Under Lincoln and his successor, Andrew Johnson, the former Confederate states were readmitted to the nation and their former leaders readmitted to the Congress with scarcely any reservations at all.

The planter class kept its power and privileges under these arrangements and set out to control the freed slaves with both violence and "Black Codes" that in effect preserved the slave system.

REACTION

Radical Reconstruction, the second phase, was the reaction to this situation on the part of many groups whose interests and goals briefly brought them to support the program of the radical wing of the Republican Party. They included Blacks who demanded political equality, former abolitionists and northern labor activists who feared that the Lincoln-Johnson plan merely restored slavery with a new face, and millions of northern voters who saw, as one southerner so rightly put it, "The South has been conquered, but not subdued."

Perhaps most decisive, though, the northern capitalists who had won control of the federal government during the Civil War now saw the southern planters threatening their plans.

After the Civil War, just as at its outset, these capitalists cared no more for the newly freed Blacks of

BY NANCY MACLEAN

the South than they did for their own workers in the North. But by 1867, they realized that unless the political power of the planter class was broken, the U.S. could never develop into the industrial power they wanted it to be.

CONFLICTING INTERESTS

All these ultimately conflicting interests came together for a brief time in the period that lasted from 1867 to 1877. Although short-lived, it saw a number of profound changes in the South.

To fight the illiteracy imposed on Blacks by Slavery, and despite the systematic terror directed at them by the planters in the newly created Ku Klux Klan, freedmen exercised their hard-won voting rights—enthusiastically and with impressive results.

Under the Radical Reconstruction governments elected by southern Blacks and poor whites, the South, for the first time democratized its state constitutions, created a system of free and universal public education, enacted penal reforms, extended greater rights to women and built some public welfare institutions.

These were democratic achievements without precedent in the South.

But there was one measure they and the Congress failed to pass. This was the proposal to give each freedman "40 acres and a mule."

LAND REFORM

The failure of land reform and redistribution left the freedmen dependent on the unstable cross-class alliance in the North. And by the mid-1870s, the class conflict in the North and West had ripped apart this coalition. Faced with urban workers demanding the 8-hour day, farmers organizing against the bankers and railroad tycoons and groups like the Molly Maguires fighting for workers in the mines, northern capitalists quickly turned against Reconstruction.

They became more reactionary on all issues. Above all, they wanted to maintain social stability to preserve their own power and profits at any price.

Now that wealthy southerners shared their goals of economic de-



velopment and social stability, northern capitalists turned to them as their natural allies. Having never cared about Black rights, except as a means to other ends, they were more than happy to throw Blacks overboard once

an alliance with southern conservatives held more promise for achieving those ends.

These two sections of the American ruling class reunited and reconciled their differences in the Compromise of 1877, which with-

drew federal troops from the South and thus took away the last guarantee of Black rights in the South. Within a few short years, through violence, intimidation and fraud, southern conservatives had overthrown the Reconstruction governments and systematically dismantled their achievements.

DISASTER

The result was a disaster for southern Blacks, for poor whites and for workers across the country. Unlike the economically dynamic system of free farmers which could have come from land redistribution, sharecropping perpetuated the economic stagnation of the South that slavery had begun. And it required the repression of the working population, thus giving the South its deserved reputation as the most violent region of the nation.

Nor was the defeat of Reconstruction a disaster for southern workers alone. Once back in power, the Dixiecrats joined with their northern capitalist allies in both parties to block every reform measure that came before Congress, well into the twentieth century. Child labor legislation, women's suffrage, income taxes on the rich, trade union rights and social welfare were all opposed. Even today, the South offers a haven for runaway shops from the North.

SOCIAL CHANGE

For socialists, the Reconstruction experience offers several lessons. One is that in order to be effective, serious political change must be accompanied by revolutionary social change. Failure to break the economic power of the planter class undermined all the reforms of Reconstruction.

Today, failure to break the economic power of the capitalist class—whether in Chile, Poland or the United States, will likewise defeat the struggle for socialism.

The most important lesson of Reconstruction, however, is that white workers need to fight for the interests of Black workers—not simply in the interest of justice, but also because they must do so in order to advance their own cause. A divided class is a defeated class, as the history of Reconstruction so tragically shows. □

Twenty years ago last month, Malcolm X—Black Muslim and revolutionary—was assassinated. As a leader of the Black movement of the 1960s, he was second only to Martin Luther King. He represented the best, the most inspired, of the left-wing of the movement. His insights into the struggle against racism, the nature of the system and what must be done to change it remain valuable today.

The importance of Malcolm X did not escape the attention of the government. After his death, it came to light that one of his key bodyguards was an FBI agent. Yet he was killed on February 21, 1965, in front of a public meeting, and both police and ambulances were absent in the hour after he was shot. Those convicted of his murder maintain their innocence to this day.

CHRISTINA BAKER looks at the man and his ideas.

Malcolm X differed from other Black leaders in the early 1960s in both his ideas and his background. Known as "Detroit Red," he had been a street hustler who went to jail at the age of 20 to serve seven of the ten years he got for his first offense. While in jail he taught himself to read and was converted to the Nation of Islam. It is not clear how much of this conversion was religious, but surely much of it had to do with Black pride and dignity and the fact that the Black Muslims offered a disciplined lifestyle and a radical alternative.

In reflecting on religion later, Malcolm X said, "No religion will ever make me forget the conditions of our people in this country. No religion will ever make me forget the continued fighting with dogs against our people in this country . . . No God, no religion, no nothing will make me forget it until it stops, until it's finished, until it's eliminated."

APPEAL

Nonetheless, the Nation of Islam had an important appeal for Malcolm X and for many others like him. The Black Muslims had formed in 1931 as an offshoot of orthodox Islam. They saw all whites as

The legacy of Malcolm X

TWENTY YEARS AFTER HIS DEATH



Above and right: Malcolm X.

demons or white devils and saw racial separation as the ultimate answer to Black oppression. They opposed integration—particularly interracial marriage.

For a quarter of a century they remained a small sect numbering in the hundreds in a handful of cities, with mostly middle-aged members. Then in the late 1950s, they quickly grew as a radical alternative to the non-violent civil rights movement—growing to the tens of thousands with a mostly young, urban membership and a large periphery of sympathizers around them.

For 12 years Malcolm was a leading minister of the Nation of Islam. In 1954, just two years out of prison, he was appointed the minister of Temple No. 7 in Harlem. But early on the differences be-

tween Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, the founder and leader of the Black Muslims, became apparent—Malcolm X was an activist, while Elijah was a minister; Malcolm X was a radical, while Muhammad was a conservative.

As the civil rights movement grew and the work around fighting segregation and voter registration drives in the South became more and more militant, the hands-off policy of the Black Muslims became harder for activists like Malcolm X to live with. The Nation of Islam refused to participate in any of the reform struggles.

SUSPENSION

In 1964, after a 90-day suspension for an "inappropriate" comment, Malcolm X decided to leave the Nation of Islam and set up his own organization. In the last year of his life—in the 50 weeks between the time when he left the Muslims to the day of his assassination—Malcolm X's ideas on a number of important questions developed and clarified. Unfettered by Elijah Muhammad and his allegiance to the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X emerged as an increasingly important thinker and leader.

His attitude about the Democratic and Republican parties was particularly unique among the Black leaders. At the same time that more moderate Black leaders were placing their hope in the government and particularly the Democratic Party to win reforms, Malcolm X understood they were just another capitalist party. He was quick to point out that the Democrats were the party of Dixiecrats.

He understood the role of the Democrats in selling out the 1963 March on Washington, calling it a "picnic" and a "circus" rather than the militant demonstration which was originally planned.



Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm was not a pacifist—understanding that the system itself and its enforcers are violent. He passionately defended the right of the oppressed to defend themselves.

In a speech given less than two months before his death he said, "Let's learn his language. If his language is with a shotgun, get a shotgun . . . If he only understands the language of a rope, get a rope. But don't waste time talking the wrong language to a man if you want to really communicate with him. Speak his language—there's nothing wrong with that. If something was wrong with that language, the federal government would have stopped the cracker from speaking it to you and me."

VIOLENCE

At a Harvard law school forum in late 1964, he said: "If we react to white racism with a violent reaction, to me that's not Black racism. If you come to put a rope around my neck and I hang you for it, to me that's not racism. Yours is racism, but my reaction has nothing to do with racism. My reaction is the reaction of a human being, reacting to defend and protect himself."

And Malcolm X understood the need for international solidarity. Just three days before his death, in his last formal talk, he said:

"We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Black is part of the rebellion against oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era . . .



"It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Black as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

Today, Malcolm X stands out as a very unusual leader and revolutionary. The Black movement of the 1960s grew up in a political void. The Red Scare of the post-war period literally destroyed the left and the workers' movement of this country. The effects of McCarthyism went right down to the shop floor where militants lost their jobs, were isolated and silenced.

SEPARATED

As a result, when the civil rights movement exploded in the 1950s and 1960s, it was separated from the ideas of socialism and the workers movement. In that context it is not surprising that the ideas of Black nationalism became particularly popular. The answer lay not with the working class but with some solution involving separation.

Malcolm X stands out because he began to break with these ideas in the last year of his life. But he was not a revolutionary socialist when he was murdered. It is impossible to know where his ideas may have led had he lived. His attraction to so-called "African socialism" and pan-Africanism may have taken him closer to the Maoist-stalinist ideas of the African liberation movements. Or he might have ended up closer to the tradition of international socialism.

Regardless, his contribution was important. Those who today urge Blacks to join the Democratic Party—or argue for reforming capitalism—should remember his uncompromising hostility to the system and the parties that help prop it up.

As Malcolm X was fond of saying, the system must be changed—by any means necessary. □



THE GREAT MYSTIQUE OF MONEY

"If you had socialism, where would the money come from? Someone has to provide the capital to start businesses off." This is a fairly silly objection to socialism, but quite a common one from those who have never thought critically about the organization of capitalist production.

It expresses the basic capitalist assumption that production starts with money. We find the same assumption in the claim of capitalists that they are "giving people jobs" and "providing work," as if without them there would be no jobs, and no work to do.

Of course, from the point of view of the individual capitalist, production does begin with money, and it ends with money, too. The individual capitalist starts with a certain sum of money which is then used to buy certain commodities—including machinery, raw materials and labor power.

These are then used to make more commodities, which in turn are sold in order to increase the original sum of money. As Marx put it, the formula for capitalist production is M—C—M, or money—commodities—money.

However, the point of this is that this is the formula for capitalist production, not for production in general. Production, as such, requires only two elements, nature and human labor.

LABOR

It is the combination of these two elements, the work of labor on material furnished by nature, that is the original source of all wealth. Human production was going on in an elementary form for thousands of years before the appearance of money.

Money is purely and simply a means of exchanging large amounts of goods on a regular basis. It therefore becomes a major factor in an economy only when large amounts of goods are produced for sale, when there is large-scale commodity production. Money is the universal commodity—the commodity that measures the value of all other commodities.

This, of course, accounts for the hallowed position of money and the almost magical powers attributed to it in capitalist society—a society based on generalized commodity production. But it doesn't change the fact that it is labor, not money, that produces commodities.

This means that capitalists who have acquired, by whatever means, a certain sum of money for investment merely have at their disposal an entitlement to an equivalent sum of commodities, or the

by JOHN MOLYNEUX

products of other people's labor.

Having clarified this, however, a further question arises. How is it that capitalists, by exchanging one commodity (money) for others of equal value, can increase their original holding and make a profit? After all, as the saying goes, "fair exchange is no robbery."

The capitalists answer this by claiming that their profits are a reward, either for their organizing work and bringing together the factors of production, or for the risk they take in laying out their capital. But both claims are transparent apologies.

Firstly, the profits obtained are generally completely out of proportion to any amount of possible organizational labor. Secondly, profits continue even when absolutely no organizational work is performed, and the capitalist simply buys stocks and shares.

Thirdly, they continue long after the original outlay has been recovered, and when the risk involved is absolutely minimal.

The real answer to this question was discovered by Marx. It is that one of the commodities for which capital can be exchanged is different from all others. This commodity is human labor power, and it is different in that it is creative—it creates more value than it cost to buy it (the value of labor power being the cost of producing and reproducing it).

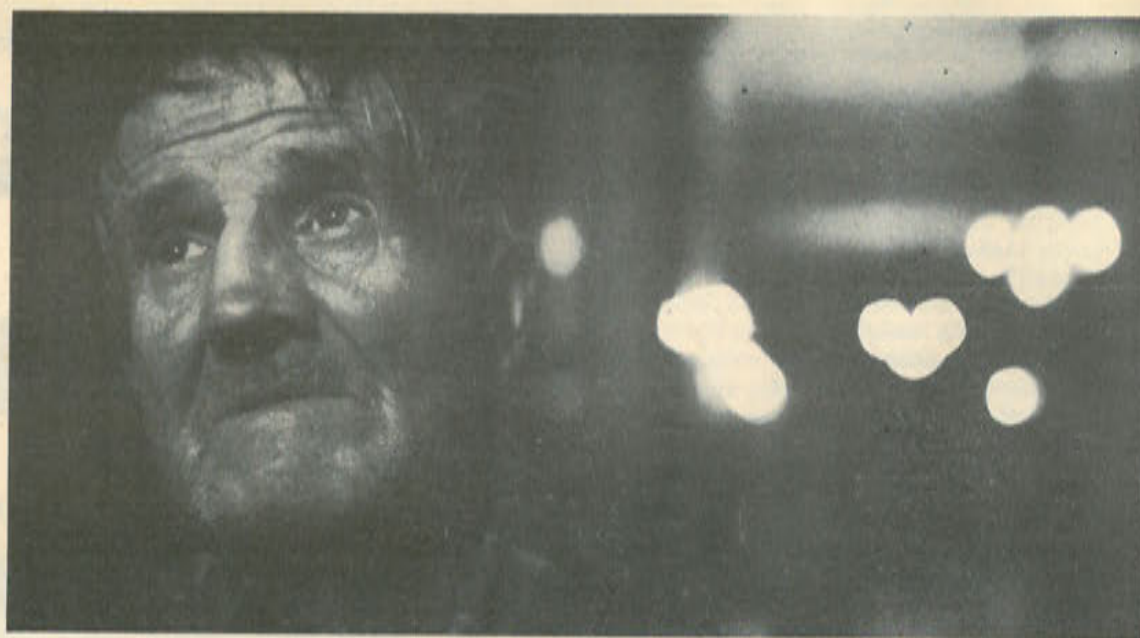
PROFITS

It is by appropriating the difference between what labor power costs and what it produces (the surplus value, as Marx called it) that the capitalists make their profits.

The apparent magical power of money to grow and to expand itself, and the supposed benevolence of employers in providing jobs, both now stand revealed as nothing more than the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class.

As to where the money would come from under socialism, the answer is that at first it would come from where it has always come—the mint. And it would be what it always has been—a means of buying and selling commodities.

But because the whole process of production would be brought under the collective ownership of the working class, the production of goods for sale would gradually disappear and be replaced by the distribution of goods according to need. And as the production of commodities withered away, so too would the role of money. □



The homeless in New York

by ELEANOR TRAWICK

For the ruling class, the coming of winter means skiing in the Alps, going on Caribbean cruises and taking fur coats out of storage. But for most Americans, the coming of winter means skyrocketing heat bills and cold trips to and from work.

And it is in the wintertime that the problem of the homeless—a scandal even in the best weather—becomes truly horrifying.

Some experts place the total number of homeless in the U.S. today at 2 million. In New York alone there are over 50,000 homeless—a huge number even for a city of nine million.

CONDOMINIUMS

These people are not homeless because construction has stopped altogether in the city. A look at the New York skyline shows many new buildings going up, but they are all offices or posh condominiums: even in an economic recession, the lives and the pro-

jects of the rich continue as usual.

It is, of course, much more profitable to cater to wealthy tenants who are willing to pay several thousand dollars a month in rent than to provide low-cost housing for the working class.

Those who are evicted to make way for "progress" have literally no place to go. The city-run shelters are always full, and in the winter there are no more spaces at churches or in other privately run shelters.

The homeless who are also jobless are in a double-bind and have virtually no chance at all of finding lodging.

Even for those lucky enough to have a place to live, heating problems and indifferent landlords are a familiar feature of winter. In one apartment building inspected by the Department of Housing Preservation and Development, lack of heat was only one of 250

violations of the housing code.

Tenants are used to leaving their ovens on 24 hours a day to try to keep their apartments warm enough to live in. One tenant complained, "It gets so cold here we have to put water in the refrigerator to keep it from freezing."

Mayor Edward Koch has said that Manhattan should become a city only for those with incomes of \$50,000 and up. He feels that the workers should live far away from the central business district—commuting in every morning to do their jobs and then taking the long ride home again in the evening, leaving the real city for the real people.

As long as buildings are built for profit and not to satisfy the needs of the majority of people, the evictions and homelessness will continue. But all the glitter and sparkle in the Big Apple can't distract attention from the fact that something is very, very wrong. □

Graffiti



Selling Goetz . . .

As if the media hype around subway vigilante Bernhard Goetz were not enough, there is now a whole line of Goetz souvenirs appearing in New York. Bumper stickers, T-shirts, baseball caps and other knick-knacks appear with the slogans: "Goetz 4, Crooks 0" and "Go Get 'Em Goetz."

Singer Andy White recorded a song, "Thug Buster," dedicated to Goetz, and writer Alvin Frost produced a \$3.95 paperback of Goetz's story.

Reportedly, movie offers are in the works. □



Racist souvenirs for sale in New York.

A Hero's Welcome . . .

The U.S. military usually court-martials officers who capture booty from the battlefields. Not so with Vice Admiral Joseph Metcalf. Metcalf attempted to bring 24 Soviet-made AK-47 automatic rifles to the U.S. from Grenada after the October, 1983 U.S. invasion.

The Navy has refused to prosecute Metcalf, the leader of the Grenada invasion force. The reason was simple, said a military official: "Metcalf is their hero right now. He's the first guy who's won a war for them in quite a while." The Navy is considering promoting Metcalf to four-star status. □

A Royal Overrun . . .

Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger was testifying on the \$334 billion military budget before the Senate Armed Services Committee, telling how his department had rooted out the cost overruns, such as the \$400 hammer and the \$9,000 wrench.

Then, Sen. William Cohen of Maine brought up another case. "I'm fascinated to hear all this, but I'm told there's now a problem with a \$600 toilet seat." This, he said, "gives new meaning to the word 'throne.'" □

★★★★

Bhopal Post-Mortem . . .

"There is no substantial hazard at all from the chemical industry. They are safe to work in and safe for neighborhoods."

—Robert W. Lundeen,
Chairman of Dow Chemical

★★★★

Starving But Smiling . . .

Apparently in order to promote Haiti—the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere—as a tourist attraction, Michael Ange Voltaire, Director of the Haitian government's Tourism Office, told the *Miami Herald*, "Even if the people of Haiti don't eat, they smile." □

Polish secret police sentenced-but no end to cover up

BY BRIAN ERWAY

On February 7, a Polish court handed down prison sentences for the four secret police officers found guilty of murdering a Catholic priest last October. Throughout the televised 25-day trial, the government was anxious to establish that the four men—two lieutenants, a captain and a colonel—acted independently and without the knowledge or participation of any superiors.

Father Jerzy Popieluszko, a popular and vocal defender of the banned union, Solidarity, was abducted from his car outside Torun on October 19. Eleven days later, his body—bound, gagged and beaten—was recovered from a reservoir in northern Poland. The murder of this prominent dissident provoked a surge of public anger, and the ruling Communist Party, the PUPP (Polish United Workers Party) tried to quickly de-fuse the situation.

Details of the investigation were made public, and church authorities conducted an independent autopsy. The head of government, General Jaruzelski, pledged at a press conference to bring the murderers to trial.

Soon three Interior Ministry officers confessed to the murder, and a fourth was arrested and charged. A number of other officials were demoted and dismissed. From other directions, the Pope, Archbishop Glemp and former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa all urged calm.

RALLY

About 250,000 attended the funeral rally for the slain priest, with delegations from

The conviction of members of the Polish secret police for the killing of a pro-Solidarity priest will slow the police's activity for a while. But it will not mean any fundamental changes in Poland.

factories, offices and schools. Hundreds of forbidden Solidarity banners fluttered in the crowd, and police kept their distance. Glemp and Walesa made speeches.

In some cities, the political opposition—especially former members of the Committee for Workers Defense (KOR)—attempted to take advantage of the political space opened up by Jaruzelski's problems. They used open letters to attack government persecution of dissidents. In at least four cities, civil rights committees were formed to monitor police abuses. Solidarity leaders in Gdansk called for a one-hour work stoppage in November.

The Polish press bitterly denounced these activities—which met with little response. The popular mood dissipated, without direction, partly owing to the PUPP's prompt action.

Ever since Jaruzelski used the army three years ago to crush Solidarity and force its

leadership underground, the church has figured large in the regime's plans. It has functioned as a major social prop for the government, faced with a hostile and indifferent populace.

The price for this has been concessions to the Catholic leadership, especially in the form of new building projects for the church. There is also a plan to allow church administration of western funding for private Polish agriculture.

PROFILE

The entire episode of murder and trial throws into profile the divisions in the Polish ruling class. At least some sections of the state apparatus reject any political accommodation to the church or otherwise. The murder investigation disclosed a trail leading so obviously to the Interior Ministry that many suggested it was intended so, to provoke a public reaction and thus open the opportunity for police repression.

And the trial will have succeeded in showing a state supposedly prepared to withstand sensitive inspection, while not actually revealing anything about its inner workings.

Meanwhile, the beatings of trade union militants and those prepared to speak out against martial law continue. A former regional chairman of Solidarity, Stanislaw Chac, died in the hospital recently



after being beaten up, tortured and left for dead.

RECOVER

His death follows a series of similar cases of abduction and torture by the secret police. And the police have made a point of destroying the flowers and tributes that have been left at the place where Popieluszko's body was found and intimidating those who bring them.

The tortures and abductions will decrease for a while. The trial will have forced the secret police to lay low. But sooner or

later they will be operating at full strength again.

As recent events show, the secret police generally manage to recover their strength very quickly. No doubt they hope to this time as well.

Yet underground activity continues on a large scale. Recent reports counted 500 underground journals and described a network embracing tens of thousands of volunteers involved in producing, distributing and collecting money for clandestinely published materials. □



Top right: Police surround defendant Piotrowski. Above: Silesian miners—still a stronghold for the underground union.

SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME RESORTS TO MORE VIOLENCE

Thousands of demonstrators in Crossroads—a cramped squatter settlement outside Cape Town, South Africa—fought running battles with police on February 18. When police fired tear gas, rubber bullets and birdshot, the protesters set up barricades of blazing automobile tires. At least 18 Blacks were killed by police, although one reporter said that an accurate figure was impossible to ascertain since the police were "swinging bodies like carcasses" into armored vehicles.

In the seventh straight month of unrest in South Africa, this latest conflict resulted from the fear on the part of Crossroads' 100,000 residents that they would be forcibly removed to a newly created Black township, Khayelitsha, located in sand dunes several miles away. In the last 20 years, 3.5 million Blacks have been moved from their homes against their will.

RESENTMENT

The houses of the new township are smaller and more expensive than those of Crossroads. And the increased distance from Cape Town would create intolerably high traveling expenses for the migrant workers. These facts alone led to great resentment on the part of Crossroads residents, but the more serious fear is that the move would be used by authorities to weed out "illegal"

Facing its seventh month of unrest, the South African regime has been swinging back and forth between repression and attempts to rationalize apartheid.

CHRISTINA BAKER reports.

squatters and send them back to their "homelands."

The government is anxious to move Blacks into Khayelitsha since they have spent millions on the project, and since the first 5,000 homes are due to be ready for occupation in early March.

On the second day of demonstrations in Crossroads, South African security police arrested six leading Black activists for treason, holding seven others for questioning.

IMAGE

As Patrick Lekota, spokesperson of the United Democratic Front, put it: "The fragile image of reasonableness" created by President P. W. Botha's attempts at "compromise" or supposed reform of apartheid "has already cracked."

In the attempt to create the illusion of reform or compromise, in January Botha reversed official apartheid policy by acknowledging the per-

manent presence of Blacks in "white" South Africa. This admission did not serve to impress many people, since it was merely an acknowledgment of reality and not a real switch in the structure of apartheid.

In February, Botha offered a highly conditional release to Nelson Mandela, leader of the outlawed African National Congress, who has been jailed for more than 20 years. The offer of release was so conditional that it did not serve to impress either. It came as a surprise to no one that Mandela refused the deal.

In fact, the sham compromises heightened the contradictions rather than smoothing them over. Instead of assuring Blacks that the conditions of their lives would improve, the attempt to prettify the vicious system of apartheid has only angered them further. According to Lekota, "By its insensitivity and stubbornness, the government is now plunging the country into a deeper scale of racial and violent conflict."

Facing its seventh month of unrest, the racist South African regime has been swinging back and forth between repression and attempts to rationalize apartheid. Neither strategy appears to be working. And the regime is likely to resort to more and more violence to impose its will as Black workers continue to oppose apartheid. □



WOMEN WORKERS AND THE STRIKE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

International Women's Day special feature by Celia Petty

International Women's Day began in celebration of the massive struggles of working women for better pay, child care, the vote and an end to sweatshop conditions. The strike of 20,000 New York City garment workers, the Lawrence textile strike of 1911 and the many exciting battles waged by women workers in the early twentieth century resulted in impressive gains for working women.

Like today, women surged into the labor force at the turn of the century. But unlike to-

day, the working class was on the move, and women were part of a growing and confident trade union movement influenced and often led by socialists.

That movement was defeated, and during the prosperity of the 1920s and the depression of the 1930s, working women made few gains. Although women entered industry during the second world war, when the men came home from war, women were sent home to raise babies.

Beginning in the 1960s, women again surged into the workforce, but under very different conditions from those at the turn of the century. Twenty years of prosperity and the complacency of the trade union bureaucracy left the working class weak and unprepared for the return of recessions and the economic decline that began in the 1970s.

LOWEST-PAYING JOBS

Today, though conditions for women have improved, women workers share many of the same problems they faced over 75 years ago: unequal pay, sexual harassment on the job, inadequate and costly child care and the double burden of two

jobs, one in the workforce and another at home.

Even today, women earn less than 65¢ for every dollar a man earns. Women are segregated into the lowest-paying jobs—96% of all typists, 99% of all secretaries and 82% of all teachers are women. In fact, the higher the concentration of women in an occupation, the lower the pay. And the proportion of women in female-dominated occupations has actually increased since 1970.

To combat the effects of job segregation, women are demanding comparable pay for comparable work. But the Rand Corporation estimates that if women today were to earn just 75% of men's pay, it would increase U.S. wages by \$100 billion. It's little wonder that the National Association of Manufacturers opposes equal pay and that employers are devising all kinds of reasons to defeat it. The cost to capitalism of this minimal and reasonable demand is just too high.

Those who oppose equal pay argue that women's lower wages are due to women's lower education, shorter work experience and the interruption of work for childrearing. But the data show clearly that over

half the discrepancy in wages is based on discrimination alone. And the discrimination will continue as long as we live under capitalism, because this system depends on both lower wages for working women and the unpaid labor of women in the home.

Take the cost of child care, for example. The number of working mothers has increased 10-fold since the beginning of the second world war. By 1977, more than 35% of all women with children under five-years-old were employed, and by 1983 one-third of all mothers of infants under seven-months-old worked outside the home.

Yet quality, low-cost child care is virtually unavailable. Working women rely on makeshift arrangements with relatives or spend a quarter to a third of their take-home pay on child care costs.

Lobbying, education and publicity have had little impact on conditions for women workers. With the decline in manufacturing and the relative strength of the service sector (where 60% of the jobs are held by women), trade unions are finally beginning to commit resources to organizing women.

UNIONIZATION

Fewer than 16% of all working women are in unions, but the number of union women is increasing. Women account for more than half the new union members in the last 20 years.

Militant strikes by teachers and hospital workers have shown the importance of unions in winning gains for women. Now clerical workers, who comprise almost a third of all women in the workforce, are involved in organizing drives around the country. Office workers are waging union organizing campaigns at major universities and among public workers, particularly at the state level.

Big unions are involved: the Communications Workers of America, District 65 of the UAW, District 925 of the Service Employees, the Food and Commercial Workers, AFSCME and even the Teamsters.

Most will hope to win their elections and sit back and enjoy the new dues base. Whether or not clerical unions become strong, fighting organizations capable of winning gains for women workers depends on the activity of the new union members themselves and their willingness to rekindle the militancy and fighting spirit of the labor movement. It wouldn't be the first time working women have paved the way. □

ONE FACE OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION

- In 60% of all "intact" families, both the husband and wife are employed. The increased entry of women into the workforce has provided women with some measure of economic independence. One result is that women are less likely to remain in unsatisfactory or abusive marriages.

But the myth that all women are married and work for extra money dies hard. One half of all marriages end in divorce, and the resulting loss of income usually leads to poverty for the women and children involved.

- One quarter of all divorced or separated women are on welfare. One in six children in the U.S. lives with a single mother, and 40% of these families have incomes below the poverty level.

- Racism adds to the problem. One-half of all minority families headed by women are poor, and fully 4/5 of all minority women workers are either single or have husbands who earn less than \$10,000 per year.

- The number of poor people in families headed by women has increased by 25% in the last four years alone, to a total of 12 million mothers and children.

- Cuts in welfare programs, food stamps, day care programs and public health care overwhelmingly affect women and their children.

The "feminization of poverty" is one face of the oppression of women. □



REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

Marx argued that women will achieve liberation only when they participate in paid labor—in social production—on the same basis as men. Feminists in the 1970s claimed this proved the irrelevance of Marxism to women today, since more women work than ever before, yet equality is still a distant dream.

But marxists never imagined that women could be free under capitalism. Instead, we insist that it is only the collective strength of working women that can effectively challenge a system that depends for its existence on the oppression of women, at home and at work.

The women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s promised to improve women's position in soci-

WORKERS STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

MARXISM: THE REAL HOPE FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION

FEW PEOPLE today realize that International Women's Day is a socialist holiday, and that it originated, not in the works of Karl Marx, or in Russia—but right here in the United States.

On March 8, 1908—a time when large numbers of workers considered themselves socialist—socialists and working women in New York City organized a massive demonstration to demand the right to vote for *working class women*—as against the classless unity of the middle class suffrage movement.

In 1910 Clara Zetkin, a leader of the German Social Democratic Party, proposed to the 2nd Conference of Socialist Women that they adopt March 8th as "International Working Women's Day"—modelled after the events in New York City two years previous.

The conference called upon every socialist movement in every country to celebrate "Working Women's Day" under the slogan "The vote for women will unite our strength in the struggle for socialism." The purpose of this celebration was to emphasize the crucial link between women's liberation and socialism—and in so doing, to help increase the consciousness and organization of working women, and draw them into the struggle for socialism.

Today, after more than 50 years of stalinism, International Women's Day in "socialist" Russia has been reduced to a celebration of motherhood, much like Mother's Day here in the U.S.

And in the U.S., few working women have ever heard

of it. The left has been marginalized, and few workers are taught the vast history of working class struggle and its socialist tradition. Most women workers have never been exposed to their own history, much less to the possibility for ending their oppression.

★★★

WOMEN'S LIBERATION has been an integral part of the socialist tradition since Karl Marx and Frederick Engels began developing their ideas. Since that time, socialists have had the opportunity to further develop these ideas, by putting them into practice, in the process organizing working women into the struggle for socialism.

There are four essential characteristics which distinguish Marxism as a strategy for women's liberation:

● *Women's liberation can only be won through socialist revolution.* The oppression of women, as we know it today, arose hand in hand with the development of a system of private property—that is, class society. And, under capitalism, the source of women's oppression lies in the existence of "privatized reproduction"—the privatized rearing of children within the nuclear family, the responsibility for which is largely the burden of women—the wives and mothers of society.

It follows, therefore, that the only way to end women's oppression is through the overthrow of class society—that is, capitalism—and the building of a society in which *reproduction* is organized socially—that is, socialism.

● *The power of the working class.* It is only the working class which has the power to fundamentally change society, because only workers have the collective power to bring the system to a halt, by stopping production. And, in fact, despite the double burden of oppression which women workers bear under capitalism—at the workplace and in the home—it is at the workplace where women have the potential power to win their liberation: as women and as workers.

● *Opposition to "bourgeois" feminism.* The recognition that the struggle for women's liberation must be rooted in the working class has sharply distinguished socialists from the mainstream, middle class feminist movements historically.

Bourgeois feminism seeks, essentially, to gain full equality of women to men. But by failing to recognize that, under capitalism, all men are not equal (that is, men are separated by class, as are women), bourgeois feminism leaves class society intact. For working class women, bourgeois feminist

strategy means fighting for the right to be exploited equally with men of their own class.

● *Special outreach to working women and the need to raise the special demands of women workers.* Through the process of building a united working class movement, the Russian Bolsheviks, in particular, learned how to build a working class women's movement and incorporate that into the general struggle for socialism. This process was twofold. On the one hand, before the revolution of 1917, special methods of outreach, such as newspapers, meetings and demonstrations, were developed to help draw women into political activity.

And following the revolution, socialized restaurants, nurseries and housing began to be organized, to ease the burden on working women, so that they could venture out of their traditional roles to play an active role in the creation of the new society based on workers' power.

On the other hand, the Bolsheviks took the argument for women's liberation into the general working class movement. They pointed out to working men why it was in *their* class interests to take up demands like equal pay for women, to strengthen the working class movement as a whole.

★★★

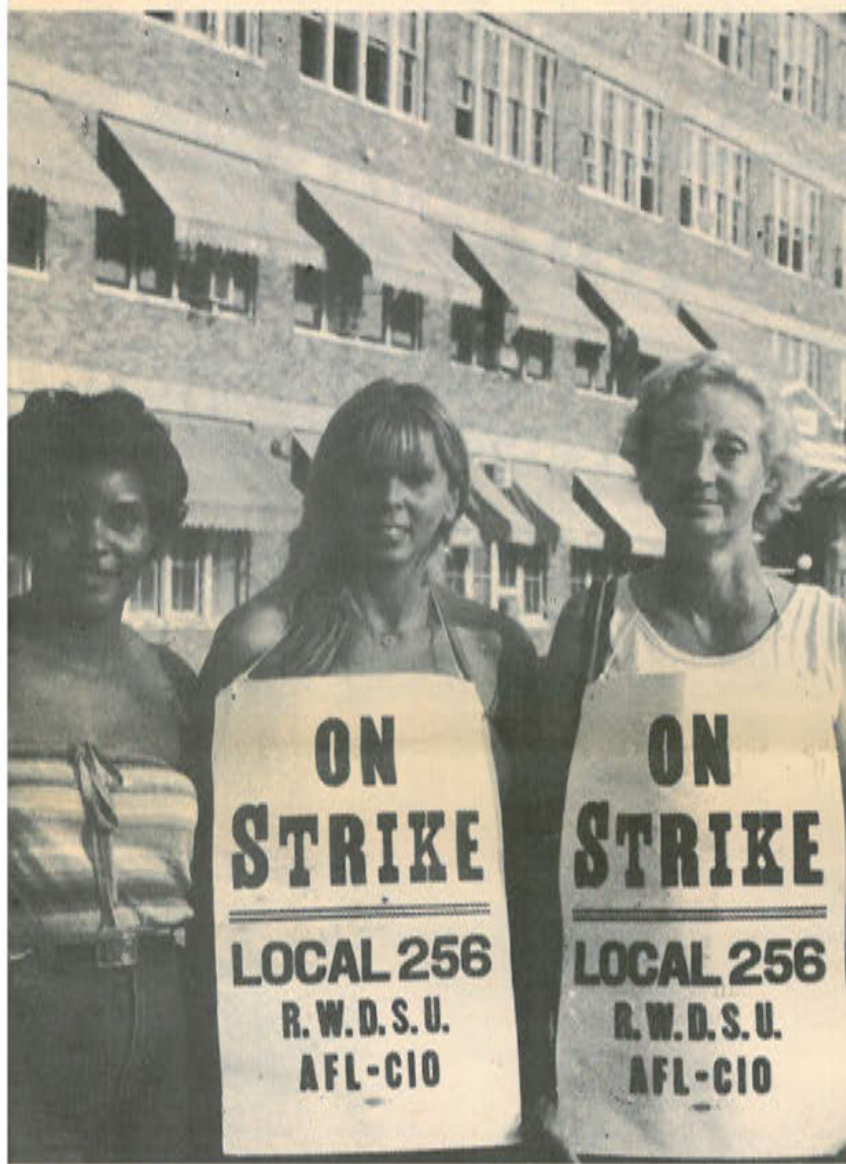
THE CELEBRATION of International Women's Day is a part of keeping alive the socialist tradition on women's liberation. It is an embodiment of the rich history of working women's struggles, as well as the future victory of women's liberation and socialism.

Today, when women are 43% of the workforce and growing in number, the socialist strategy for women's liberation has never been more relevant.

Alexandra Kollontai, just after the Russian Revolution, in her pamphlet *Women Workers Struggle for Their Rights*, summarized the socialist position:

"The exclusive position of women in modern society not only gives rise to special demands on the part of the women proletariat (security for maternity and childhood, gaining civil and political equality of rights, reforms in housekeeping and so on), but it also necessitates significant modifications in the method of agitation and propaganda among the female half of the working class.

"It goes without saying that this does not destroy the unity of the movement. On the contrary, thanks to the efforts of socialists and their leaders, the women's proletarian movement, like a fresh stream pouring its waters into a mighty river, fuses with it and raises its level." □



CANNOT END WOMEN'S OPPRESSION

ety. Women marched and demonstrated and won important reforms. The confidence and the expectations of all women were increased. But the economic position of the majority of women has changed little, and the concrete reforms—affirmative action, legalized abortion, job training and educational opportunities are eroding fast as the economy shrinks and conservative ideas gain the upper hand.

Though more women are employed, many more women live in poverty. Abortion is now legal, but unfunded for poor women, and clinics are under constant threat of attack. Affirmative action is seldom enforced and nearly half of all women workers have experienced both job discrimination and sexual harassment at work.

A number of competing ideas emerged from the women's movement on how to fight for equality and freedom. The electoral and lobbying strategies of the large, middle class reform organizations came to dominate, culminating in the ERA campaign led by the National Organization for Women. NOW spent millions of dollars electing politicians who promised to support the ERA, and it urged women to work for change through the Democratic Party.

But the Democratic Party is committed to maintaining capitalism, and its women members, too, share this commitment. The most ambitious of them hope to win equal rights to the privileges the system offers to the few at the top.

A woman sits on the Supreme Court, and a woman ran for U.S. Vice President. Popular magazines advise women to be aggressive at work and to dress for success, encouraging us to believe that achieving equality is simply a matter of choosing a career and the right kind of briefcase.

But for working class women—the vast majority of women—the only prospect for equality lies in the fight for socialism—for a society in which working women and men control their conditions of life and work.

The same system that exploits all workers oppresses and exploits women. The liberation of women requires that we fight for the demands of women and for workers' power. □

WOMEN WORKERS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

International Women's
Day special feature by
Celia Petty

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around the country. Office
workers are waging union or-
ganizing campaigns at major
universities and among public
workers, particularly at the
state level.

Big unions are involved: the
Communications Workers of
America, District 65 of the
UAW, District 925 of the Ser-
vice Employees, the Food and
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demonstrated and won im-
portant reforms. The confi-
dence and the expectations
of all women were in-
creased. But the economic
position of the majority of
women has changed little,
and the concrete reforms—
affirmative action, legal-
ized abortion, job training
and educational opportuni-
ties are eroding fast as the
economy shrinks and con-
servative ideas gain the
upper hand.

Though more women are
employed, many more
women live in poverty.
Abortion is now legal, but
unfunded for poor women,
and clinics are under con-
stant threat of attack.
Affirmative action is sel-
dom enforced and nearly
half of all women workers
have experienced both job
discrimination and sexual
harassment at work.

A number of competing
ideas emerged from the
women's movement on how
to fight for equality and
freedom. The electoral and
lobbying strategies of the
large, middle class reform
organizations came to dom-
inate, culminating in the
ERA campaign led by the
National Organization for
Women. NOW spent mil-
lions of dollars electing
politicians who promised to
support the ERA, and it
urged women to work for
change through the Demo-
cratic Party.

But the Democratic Party
is committed to maintain-
ing capitalism, and its
women members, too,
share this commitment.
The most ambitious of them
hope to win equal rights to
the privileges the system
offers to the few at the top.

**WE MUST
FIGHT THE
SYSTEM TO
END HORROR
IN CENTRAL
AMERICA**

Dear Socialist Worker,
The recent round-up of Central American refugees and their sponsors in the religious community here in Seattle illustrates how the government in the "land of the free" really operates.

Informants penetrated meetings of support groups with hidden tape recorders to gather evidence, trying to intimidate the churches into obedience.

The government is offering several Salvadorans immunity from prosecution—and the right to

remain in the U.S.—if they testify against sanctuary workers. The government claims that the refugees are not "political," but "economic" ones. Santiago Amaya fled El Salvador in 1979. He was deported back there in the early eighties. His body was later found at a crossroads.

Although the sanctuary movement is providing political and social support to Central American refugees, it doesn't begin to fill the need of the estimated 500,000 Central

American refugees—many who don't fit into middle class homes, who are less educated or illiterate, often end up on the streets with the thousands of other homeless people in Seattle.

Unable to obtain any benefits, they are reduced to begging.

We must support the sanctuary movement, but must also remember that this is a class issue, not just a moral one. The U.S. is supporting repression in Central America not out of "immorality" but out of the drive to maintain

profits. Only by fighting back against the capitalists here will we ultimately end the horror in Central America.

Peter Cogan
Seattle, WA

Very pleased with Socialist Worker

Dear Socialist Worker,

As a new subscriber to *Socialist Worker*, let me say that I am very pleased with the newspaper. I have found it a vast improvement over the garbage that is known as the capitalist press.

I am a student at Louisiana State University and would like some more information about the ISO. I would also be interested in distributing ISO literature at my campus. I've enclosed a couple of issues of *Storm*—the organ of the radical left at LSU—for your amusement. Enjoy!

B.E. Trent
Baton Rouge, LA

Letters



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

Self defense: A tragic necessity

Dear Socialist Worker,

The article in the last issue of *Socialist Worker* explained very well why more police won't solve the problem of street crime. It also showed that the roots of crime are poverty, unemployment and poor living conditions—all caused by the economic system.

To this we might add the alienation, sexism and racism which are also caused by capitalism. But as two letters in the last issue asked, "What about self-defense?" Violent street crime is a problem in many areas of the country. What can be done about it?

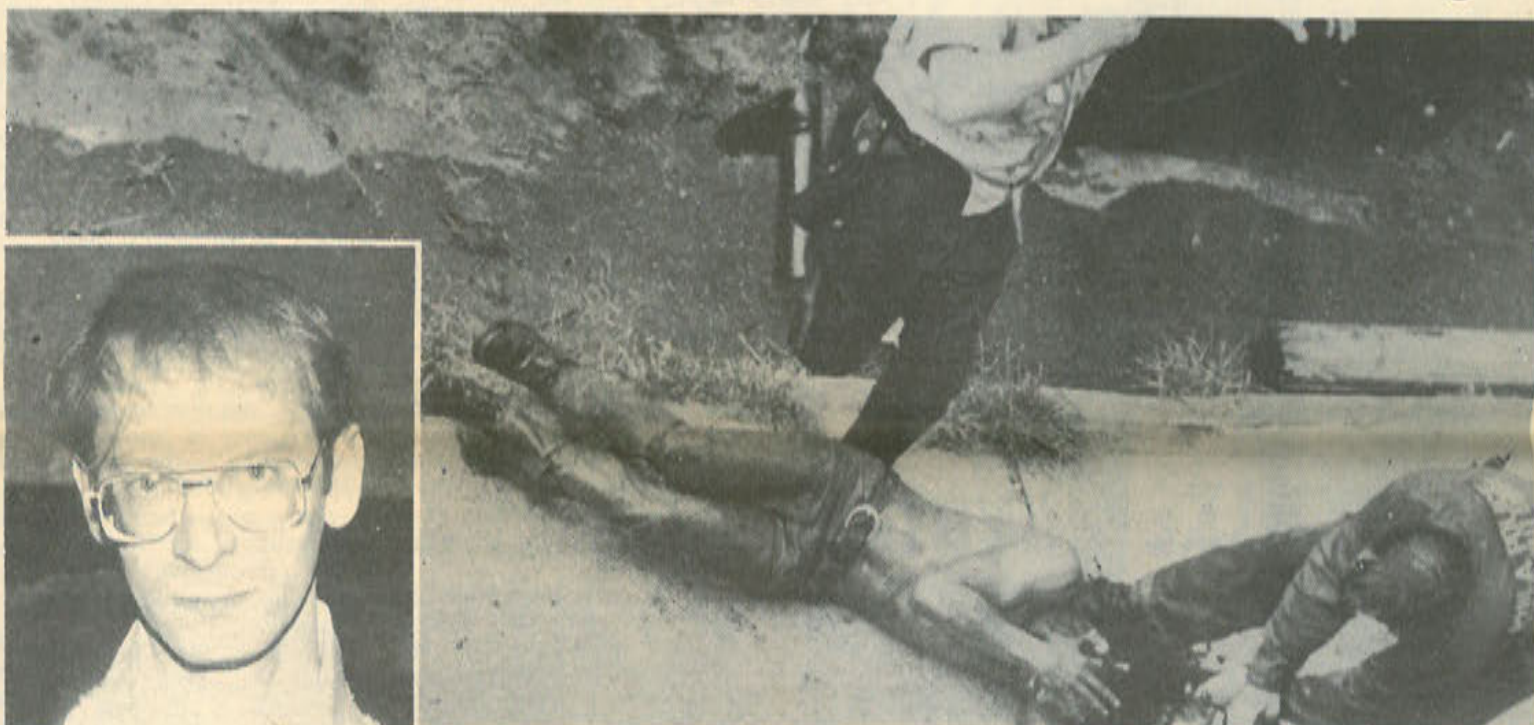
Of course, the main thing must be to attack the roots of the problem—fight for jobs, higher wages, better housing and schools and for an end to racism and sexism. It also means building a socialist movement that can finally eliminate the causes of crime.

If this is our approach, there are two problems with vigilanteism. First, it feeds into the demand for more police. Although vigilantes and their supporters say "the system doesn't work—the police and courts don't protect us," this attitude gives the government an excuse to increase police activity and give harsher sentences to prove that the system does work.

This means more police and prisons and less resources put into creating jobs and better social conditions. This will increase repression and racist attacks by police—and in the long run it will increase the causes of crime.

The other problem with vigilanteism is the political attitudes it encourages. It teaches us to see other working and poor people as the cause of the problem. We see the enemy as the youth who might mug us in the street—not the boss who rips off most of what we produce every day or the corporations that kill us in industrial accidents. When we see other poor people as the enemy, we are open to all sorts of racist arguments and right-wing calls for "law and order"—more repression.

These attitudes make us less able to unite with each other to attack the real causes



We should support the right of self-defense for workers against the cops—or racists like Goetz.

of crime. It is far better to organize for jobs and social services than neighborhood vigilante patrols. The former emphasizes the unity of the poor against the system. The latter divides us against each other and encourages support of the government which maintains

the system and oppresses us all.

Regrettably, personal self-defense against other poor people will sometimes be necessary. No one should begrudge another that right. When women defend themselves against rapists, or

Blacks against white racists, this can even have positive political effects. It strikes a blow against racism and sexism. But this is the exception.

Most self-defense against crime is a tragic necessity—not something to be glorified. We shouldn't see it as any

kind of solution to crime. We should save our enthusiasm for actions that defend working people from the real criminals—the capitalists and their system. □

Steve Leigh
Seattle, WA

Support the right to self defense

Dear Socialist Worker:

Your coverage of the Bernhard Goetz episode and the demands for greater police protection have been helpful in addressing a number of issues.

But I think some hard questions have been dodged.

To start with, is the Goetz case simply one of racism? Certainly, *Socialist Worker* is right in condemning the racism the media has stirred up around the incident.

We should have no sympathy for a white yuppie who packed a gun and waited for four years before taking out his hatred on four Black teenagers.

Yet, in Chicago in the last two months, in two separate incidents, Blacks in the city's West Side Black community shot and killed Black teenagers who tried to rob them on the street—one at knifepoint.

It is common for people who live in these communities

and, in Chicago's housing projects to arm themselves when they take walks to the store at night.

What do we say to these people? We can't condemn them for racism. We must recognize that these individual acts against victimization will take place—acknowledging the impulses behind them without lionizing their participants. Likewise, we support women's resistance to rape.

In full view of the concrete circumstances, we must support the right of working class people to defend themselves collectively against attack—with arms if necessary. Consider the Atlanta child murder case of 1980.

Blacks in Atlanta's housing projects formed armed units to defend their children in view of the city's unwillingness to do the job. City officials and liberals called this "vigilanteism" and told

the tenants to trust the police.

What should we say? We should wholeheartedly support the housing tenants and dismiss the Atlanta officials' claims for what they were—hot air.

Chicago has "neighborhood watch" programs in most middle class and some working class neighborhoods—which advocate cooperation with police and ask residents to report any "suspicious signs." In many white neighborhoods, the presence of any Black person on the street is a "suspicious sign."

These programs are not the same as the Atlanta tenants' self-organization. Many, in fact, are set up by the police. We should not support them.

In stable working class communities, where neighbors know one another and share each others' possessions, where adults and children live and play on the streets into the night, many of

the problems of petty crime don't emerge.

But unemployment and poverty tear at the fabric of these communities, making crime more likely—and individual responses to crime, like those on Chicago's West Side, more likely as well.

Ultimately, the problems of crime—which often set poor and working class people against each other—are not solvable under the capitalist system. As long as poverty unemployment and racism persist, there will be a material root for crime in society.

The police will protect property and will continue to victimize workers and the poor.

We will face these hard questions until the capitalist system—the real cause of crime—is torn up by the roots.

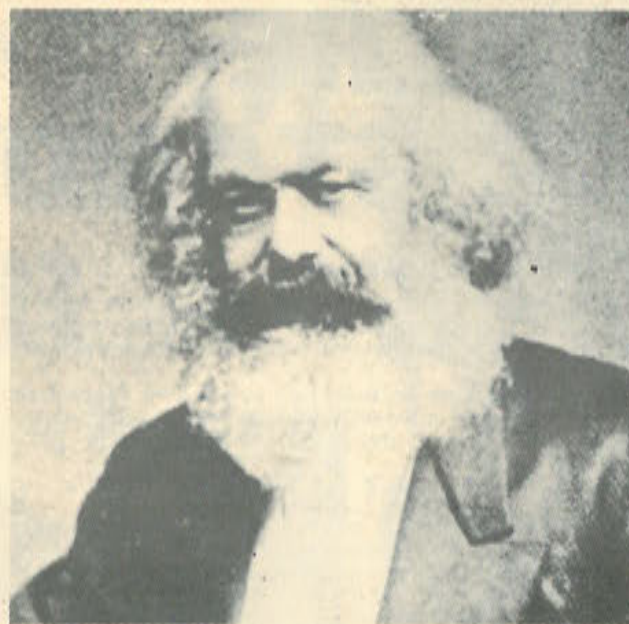
Len Silva
Chicago, IL

There are many people who argue that the "Communist Manifesto" is a historical piece that is no longer relevant.

Yet a closer look reveals that the "Manifesto," though written over a hundred years ago, is a brilliantly composed and amazingly fresh document which can still serve as a basic introduction to the workings of capitalism and how to end it.

PAUL D'AMATO explains.

KARL MARX'S COMMUNIST MANIFESTO



The starting point of the *Manifesto* is that human history has been "the history of class struggle"—between master and slave, lord and peasant, worker and capitalist—in short, the struggle between the minority of exploiters and the majority of exploited.

DIFFERENT

Capitalism, too, is a class society, but it is also different from other previous class societies. Previous class societies were relatively static, unchanging. Capitalism, Marx argued, is an inherently dynamic system whose very survival depends on its ability to expand.

"The bourgeoisie," Marx wrote, "cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the means of production, and thereby the relations of production . . . Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbances of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty, distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones."

In the competitive drive for each capitalist to accumulate more and more, in the system's constant drive to "nestle everywhere," it has "agglomerated populations, centralized the use of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands."

Capitalism has created a world market for "universal interdependence of nations," and has "created more massive and more colossal productive forces than all preceding generations together."

ANALYSIS

This analysis is more forceful today than when it was written in 1848. Then, Marx was only witnessing tendencies which had yet to fully unfold. Today, we can see that Marx's view is perfectly in accordance with reality.

In Marx's day, only in England did industrial wealth predominate over agriculture. Today, industrial wealth predominates on a world scale.

In 1848, most factories were owned by individuals who em-



ployed tens and, at most, hundreds of workers. Today, many factories employ tens of thousands of workers—factories that are part of giant multi-national conglomerates, several hundred of which dominate world production.

OUTPUT

The system has massively developed the productive powers of human beings. Between 1870 and 1963, output per man-hour in the U.S. increased by 980%.

Marx, however, was not writing to sing praise to the system. The point was that such a growth in productivity created the conditions for the first time of a society without want—a society without classes.

Which brings us to Marx's

next point. Capitalism's headlong drive toward accumulation leads it into periodic crisis—crisis which reveals its inherent contradictions. Marx proceeds to lay bare the absurdity of capitalism.

"In these crises, there breaks out an epidemic that in all earlier epochs would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of overproduction. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism . . . except there is too much civilization, too much industry, too much commerce . . . The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by it."

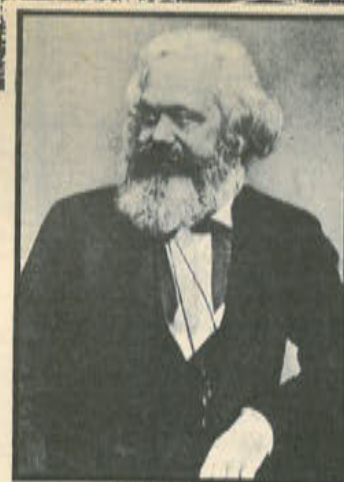
Marc continues: "And how did the bourgeoisie get over these crises . . . By enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces . . . [and] by the conquest of new markets . . . That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."

EXPANSION

Again, Marx was dead on. The massive expansion of world capitalism through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was accompanied by periodic crises—each one deeper than the last—that threw millions of workers out of work and drove the weaker companies to the wall.

Each time capital became more colossal, more concentrated. Each crisis became deeper, until the Great Depression hit in the 1930s—a crisis on such a scale that only massive destruction brought about by world war could end it.

A lengthy post-war boom through the 1950s and 1960s led many apologists for the system to argue that the system was now



forever stabilized, forever prosperous.

But the 1970s brought a world recession, quickly followed by another severe crisis in the early 1980s. International banks and national states scrambled to intervene in order to prevent crisis, knowing that such an event—in today's world of towering multinationals, each dependent on the other—could lead to a complete breakdown of the system.

SORCERER

Not only has the sorcerer conjured up crisis, but it has also conjured a force to put an end to the sorcerer—the modern working class.

Here is the key to Marx's work. Capitalism creates and is built upon an exploited class, whose propertyless, collectivized position in society leads it to put an end not only to the capitalist system, but to put an end to all classes and all exploitation.

Wrote Engels: "The proletariat cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploitative ruling class, the bourgeoisie, without at the same time—and once and for all—emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles."

Marx argued: "With the development of industry, the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows and it feels that strength more. . . The collision between individual workmen and individual bourgeois takes more and more the character of collisions between two classes."

Unions developed to keep up wage rates. Solidarity develops between workers of different industries.

Marx recognized that workers are also forced to compete with each other for the sale of their labor power, but he argued that exploitation and the need of workers to defend themselves against it would drive them to unite in ever greater numbers, ultimately on a political basis for the conquest of state power.

POWER

The working class, then, must raise itself to the position of the ruling class and use its power as the immense majority of society to wrest all power from the employers and collectivize all production under its democratic control.

Since Marx's day, we have witnessed all of what Marx described—perhaps not in the linear step-by-step manner in which he described it, but certainly we have seen the rise of working class organization, trade unions, on an international scale.

We have seen the development of powerful organizations of workers across all industries which have threatened the very foundations of states—from the workers' councils of Germany and Italy from 1918 to 1920, to the industrial *cordones* of Chile in 1973, to the 10-million-strong Solidarity union in state capitalist Poland in 1980.

And we have witnessed the workers of Russia establish their own rule, if only for a few years.

Yet, world capitalism still stands today, more resilient than Marx predicted. He underestimated the tendencies which disunited the working class—nationalism, racism, sexism, competition. He overestimated the degree to which workers would spontaneously unite to make a revolution.

FUTURE

To create a revolutionary socialist workers' movement, conscious organization of the leadership is necessary. As the *Manifesto* states but does not fully develop: "The communist fights for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interest of the working class, and, in the movement of the oppressed, they also represent and take care of the future of the movement."

In the U.S., where the working class is now disorganized and weak, the role of socialist organization—the conscious intervention of socialists in the class struggle in order to eventually create an organized, revolutionary working class party—is imperative. □

THE Communist Manifesto



KARL MARX & FREDERICK ENGELS

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

At left: Marx and Engels' most important work. Available from Hera Press for \$1.00, including postage. Above: Paris artisans defend their barricades in the Paris Commune, 1871. It was the experience of workers struggles that convinced Marx of the need to smash the state.

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

Bob Bernotas on **The legacy of Malcolm X**. March 17 at 7:30 p.m. Call 366-8845 for details.

BLOOMINGTON

Ahmed Shawki on **The politics of international socialism**. March 22 at 7:30 p.m. Call 332-6682 for more information.

BOSTON

Eleanor Trawick on **Lessons of the Yale strike**. March 10 at 7:30 p.m.

Wayne Standley on China since Mao

March 24 at 7:30 p.m. Call 427-7087 for more information.

CHICAGO

Nigel Davey on **The American Communist Party in the twenties**. March 3, Sunday, at 7:30 p.m.

International women's day. March 9, 7:30 p.m.

China since Mao. March 16 at 7:30 p.m.

Janet Sorenson on **The first ten years of American trotskyism**. Sunday, March 24, 7:30 p.m.

Call 684-2260 or 549-8071 for more information.

CINCINNATI

International women's day celebration. Sunday, March 10 at 7:00 p.m. Potluck dinner.

Introduction to the ISO study group. Call 751-1871 for more information.

ISO FUND DRIVE

Over the next three months, the ISO is conducting a fund drive. We aim to raise \$5,000. But in order to reach our goal, we need your help. Can you make a donation, large or small? Or ask friends for us? Anything you can give will help us to achieve our goal.

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

RUSSIA: HOW THE REVOLUTION WAS LOST



A new pamphlet from Hera Press, **Russia: How the revolution was lost**, which traces the fate of the Russian revolution and the rise of Stalinism. \$2.25 including postage.

CLEVELAND

Ahmed Shawki on **South African workers' revolt**. March 10 at 12:00 noon. Call 651-5125 for more info.

Dave Skubby on The Paris commune

March 24 at 12:00 noon. Call 651-5125 for details.

DETROIT

International women's day. Potluck dinner followed by speaker on **Women's liberation and socialism**. March 10 at 4:00 p.m. Call 527-2180 for details.

KENT

Duke Frederick and Nancy Ballou on **Which way forward for the Nicaraguan revolution?** March 2 at 7:30 p.m. Call 673-1710 for details.

NEW YORK

Ben Blake on **Explaining the world crisis**. March 3 at 4:00 p.m.

Peter Webster on The civil war in France

March 10 at 4:00 p.m.

Dan Caplin on The Bolsheviks: myth and reality

March 19 at 7:30 p.m.

ISO Fundraiser. Film: Pink

Triangles. March 21 at 7:30 and 9:00 p.m., Columbia University.

Frances Whitlin on **Permanent revolution and Central America today**. March 24 at 4:00 p.m.

Call 212-614-0286 or 280-7484 for more information on these meetings.

RICHMOND

The politics of international socialism. March 1 at 7:30 p.m.

ROCHESTER

Discussion on ISO: **Where we stand**. International women's day party to follow. March 10 at 6:30 p.m.

Brian Erway on **The Bolshevik party**. March 24 at 7:30 p.m.

Call 235-3049 for more information.

SEATTLE

Marx's views on the revolutionary party. March 3 at 7:30 p.m.

Lenin and Luxemburg on the revolutionary party. March 31 at 7:30 p.m. Call 324-2302 for details.

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

— Karl Marx

If you want to help us change the world, join us.

There are ISO members and branches in the following cities:

- Baltimore, MD
- Bloomington, IN
- Boston, MA
- Chicago, IL
- Cincinnati, OH
- Cleveland, OH
- Detroit, MI
- Indianapolis, IN
- Iowa City, IA
- Kent, OH
- Los Angeles, CA
- Madison, WI
- Minneapolis, MN
- Muncie, IN
- New Orleans, LA
- New York, NY
- Northampton, MA
- Philadelphia, PA
- Rochester, NY
- San Francisco, CA
- Seattle, WA

ISO National Office, P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616

REVIEWS

THE KILLING FIELDS



by MARY HESSEL

It is still difficult to comprehend what happened in Cambodia in the mid-1970s. This small, poor country was first cynically dragged into the Indochina war by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, and then devastated by B-52 bombers.

The country's liberation by the Khmer Rouge guerrillas in 1975 proved to be a false dawn. Cambodia was turned into a vast labor camp ruled by the sinister and ruthless Angkar organization headed by Pol Pot.

Perhaps as many as two million Cambodians died—out of a total population of seven million—before Pol Pot was overthrown by an invading army from Vietnam. A new film, "The Killing Fields," conveys these events in a powerful way.

While "The Killing Fields" doesn't tell the whole truth—the Kent State shootings over the 1970 bombing of Cambodia aren't even mentioned—it does reveal largely what transpired in that southeast Asian country bordering Vietnam during those years. The epic film makes no attempt, though, to explain fundamental reasons for the gruesome events. They are made to seem like bungling on the part of the Americans—in particular, Richard Nixon—and depravity on the part of Cambodian guerrillas.

As in "Under Fire," the fine 1983 film about the civil war in Nicaragua, the protagonists here are journalists. Sidney Schanberg is a New York Times correspondent in Phnom Penh, and Dith Pran is his Cambodian assistant in the country which was then engaged in struggle between the forces of Prince Sihanouk and those of revolutionary guerrillas, the Khmer Rouge, under Pol Pot.

1975 finds Sid and Pran marooned outside their hotel in the burning city of Phnom Penh while a voice-over by President Ford says, "It may be too late" to save Cambodia.

As gunning attackers come across the fields into the city, the two reporters duck into the American Embassy where they are told it may be safer in the French Embassy. In a very exciting film sequence, American officials, their families and baggage are whisked out of the embassy under cover of Cambodian soldiers to waiting planes of the Marines.

SUSPICIONS

With the civil war over, the people are visibly relieved, but the remaining journalists have their suspicions about a return to normalcy. These are soon realized as soldiers in armored tanks force streams of people to flee the city for the countryside.

It's now 1979, and Sid is

safely back in New York trying to assure Pran's family that he is still alive. Sure enough, back in Cambodia, Pran is spotted among the peasants forced to work as slave laborers in the rice fields. Pran manages to survive. After escaping from the Khmer Rouge's clutches, he walks through what looks like acres of corpses—horribly reminiscent of the remains of German concentration camps. Shortly thereafter, Pran is reunited with Schanberg, who brings him back to the U.S. where they both now work for

the New York Times.

STATE CAPITALISM

What the film fails to explain is that the Khmer Rouge were attempting to build socialism in one country in stalinist fashion—state capitalism, in reality. That was their reason for sealing the country's borders and forcing virtually the entire population to work 12 or more hours a day at agricultural labor.

With the world economy in crisis in the late 1970s, an insubstantial industrial base to

build upon, and without financial aid like that received by state capitalist countries such as Cuba and Vietnam from Russia, Kampuchea's experiment could not succeed. Production on the land, in fact, fell.

The destruction of Cambodia was not due to the United States' "underestimating the anger that seven billion dollars' bombing would do," as Schanberg proclaims, although, of course, the bombardment did not help.

The film surrenders to Holly-

wood sentimentality in the absence of an adequate explanation. In the last scene, we are left with Schanberg and Pran embracing in their refugee camp, while John Lennon sings "Imagine" in the background.

The film closes with the message that: "Today there are still refugee camps on the Thai border with children fleeing from the killing fields." Again, the whole truth is not bared: Pol Pot is now an ally and an agent of the U.S.—which is largely responsible for the continuation of the killing fields. □

Abolishing the nuclear arms race

Jonathan Schell, author of the anti-nuclear best seller *The Fate of the Earth*, has written a very interesting follow-up. He examines some of the philosophical, moral and political dilemmas the word is in because of nuclear weapons. In the last half of the book, he lays out and justifies a path to "the abolition" of nuclear weapons.

The Abolition by Jonathan Schell. Alfred Knopf, publisher, New York, 1984.

REVIEW BY STEVE LEIGH

In the early chapters, Schell outlines the development of deterrence theory. In the 1940s, people saw only two solutions—either possession of nuclear weapons by individual countries or world government. Because most people wanted to retain national sovereignty, they rejected world government and the arms race was on.

The last half of *The Abolition* outlines Schell's solution to the dilemma. He calls for "weaponless deterrence" whereby all nuclear powers negotiate away their atomic bombs but retain defensive weapons against nuclear attack and retain the ability to create nuclear weapons. In this way deterrence is maintained. Each side would be restrained from re-creating atomic weapons because: (1) It would gain them no advantage—the other side could quickly rearm as well; (2) they would fear heading back down the road to holocaust; and (3) they would suffer world condemnation.

Another aspect of his plan that



Schell relies on its limits on conventional arms—so that neither side could take advantage of the lack of nukes to seize territory. Schell sees this as only a partial solution. Nuclear war would still be possible, but we would greatly increase the lead-time until it happened—and therefore increase our chances to prevent it.

Schell's plan aims to abolish nuclear weapons. But his plan of abolition through negotiation has been the approach that both sides have claimed for 40 years. This is the main problem with it. He assumes stability has been reached and that neither side can any longer gain advantage by increasing nuclear weapons.

But this assumes higher motivations than either side has yet displayed. It is not just "national sovereignty" that each side seeks—but world power. It is a contest, a race. Each side stockpiles arms for defense and offense. If this were not true, each side would have rested when it had enough weapons to destroy the other side. Neither did.

This can be seen in the last few years. Since 1979, the cold war has heated up. New generations of first-strike weapons are coming out. New missiles are being deployed in Europe. Star Wars is being created. Given this situation, Schell is very optimistic when he says, "war is spoilt" as a method of dispute settlement.

There are several reasons for this: (1) The economic crisis increases pressure on each ruling group to try to seize wealth from other rulers through war. (2) Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. need to economically dominate their allies by pushing arms spending. (3) The large corporations keep exerting pressure for more quick profits. (4) Both nations need to get workers to sacrifice by whipping up war-fever. These reasons all come from the very economic and political structure of the world.

PROBLEMS

There are other problems with Schell's proposal. But its main fault lies in the political direction it encourages for the peace movement. Instead of unilateralism, it pushes negotiations. Instead of maximum possible pressure for abolition of nuclear weapons, it calls for phased reduction by both sides. Inevitably, this leads the movement into the blind alley of relying on the good will of politicians.

Schell assumes that the interests of the rulers too lie in abolition. But they do not. Their power relies on those weapons. The only way to get anything is to threaten the interests of the rulers through strikes, occupations and other militant actions—not by appealing to their good sense. Schell's approach

is similar to other ideas dominant in today's peace movement. It assumes we live in a democracy—that we need to suggest "practical" solutions that people today will accept and that don't challenge political reality (power relations) as they exist. But this is wrong. We are not in the corridors of power.

Even if a majority of people supported a policy like the "Freeze"—which 70% of the people now want—the government would not adopt it. The most we can do is exert massive pressure from below and from the outside to slow down the war drive.

The problem is not rationality, but power. The present power relations require nuclear weapons. We get nowhere if we refuse to challenge those relations.

DILEMMA

There is a way out of this dilemma. Instead of asking the rulers to give up their power, we take it from them. Instead of a world of competing nation-states, run by warring ruling groups, we create a worldwide democratic workers republic—a world in which people control and plan production to meet human needs, not for profit or power. Instead of competition between nations or corporations, we create a world based on cooperation for the good of everyone.

The working people of the world have no interest in killing one another and seizing each other's wealth. If we planned production, there would be plenty for everyone.

If we had the power, there would be no need for war. Those who are serious about "the abolition" of nuclear weapons should pursue this solution: international socialist revolution. □



on the picket line

GE workers strike against speed up

MANSFIELD, OH—Second-shift workers at General Electric's jet-engine plant here reported to the picket line instead of their work stations on February 15.

After nine days of picketing, and solidarity from other unions—which refused to cross picket lines—the company settled.

First billed by GE as a wildcat walkout, the official strike quickly halted all activity at the giant plant. Mass pickets of UAW Local 647 members stopped most of the 15,000 employees on the first day.

"The company has been screwing the government for years with padded charges," said one striker. "And now, when the Air Force catches them, they take it out on us. But it might backfire on them. We are ready to hold out for what is ours."

But the company moved quickly to enlist their friends at the courthouse. An injunction limiting pickets to two per gate was easily obtained on

Saturday, the second day of the strike, thus upsetting the union's plan to keep mass pickets up through the long weekend.

Local 647 has been forced to strike because of the backlog of grievances, the speed-up and the harassment of workers over the last few months. In addition, work is being sub-contracted to other firms—work that should be done by UAW workers.

One striker told *Socialist Worker* that in 29 years he has never seen anything like the number of warning notices be-

ing issued by management.

PUSHED

"They are really going after the welders," he said. "And every section in production is being pushed."

Another striker reported that some production workers have been sent home early because work is being sent elsewhere. This is happening at a plant that has commercial and military orders to keep it going at full capacity for several years. In fact, for many, the work-week is six-days and seven is not unusual.

The sub-contracting only reflects GE's attempt to go around the union.

The recent Air Force investigation of billing practices is now being used as an excuse by management to speed up production. "The company has been screwing the government for years with padded charges," offer several strikers. "And now, when the Air Force catches them, they take it out on us."

Striker morale was good throughout the strike. Other unions, like the machinists, honored the picket lines. Key production processes, such as welding, could not be done by management, so engines were not completed.

DISCIPLINE

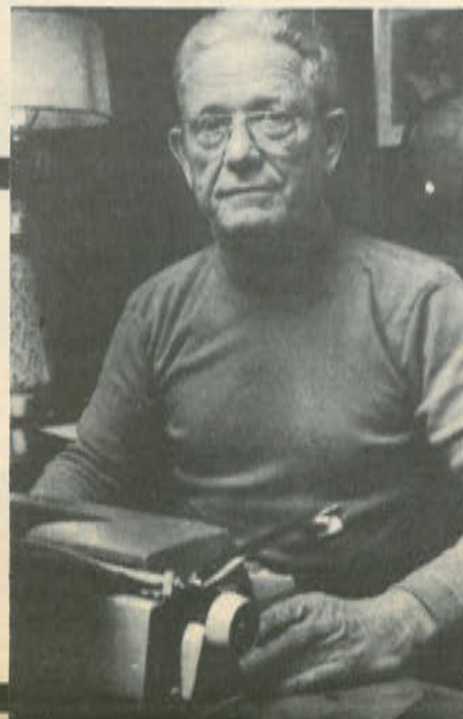
Most union members feel GE is using the Air Force as the excuse to discipline the union before the contract negotiations begin this summer. Because GE has a long list of orders, the speculation is that they will need to curb union demands by being tough now.

"They want us to go into negotiations in a weakened condition," *Socialist Worker* was told. "They want to get back from us what the Air Force took from them. If they cannot pad their bills, they'll try and strip us. But this might backfire on them. We are ready to hold out for what is ours." □

by BILL ROBERTS

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

HOW LABOR HAS IGNORED SMALL PLANTS



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

The bankruptcy of labor's leaders is highlighted by their attitude to supplier plants. Supplier plants have been organized and exploited by the UAW and other unions. When I became interested in the strike at Essex Wire in Elwood, Indiana in 1979, I learned a lot about these plants and how they are organized.

AGREEMENTS

I found that seven different AFL-CIO unions and the Teamsters had agreements with United Technologies, the conglomerate in control of Essex Wire. The IAM, the IUE, the IBEW, the UE, the UAW and the Allied Workers all had contracts with Essex Wire. The UAW had contracts covering other Essex Wire plants, but there was no cooperation between the various UAW locals. Because it was a local of just over 100 members, neither the International nor the regional office gave the local or the strike much attention.

During the strike, the International made two attempts to get the strikers to accept an inferior agreement offered by the company. They were both overwhelmingly rejected. After the local had been on strike for eight months, the workforce had been replaced by scabs. Throughout the strike, the strikers were under attack from hired thugs and the state police. The press was hostile. During this period, neither the International nor the regional leadership gave the strikers any moral support. They didn't want to be identified with the strike. The international reps avoided the picket line.

Finally, in December, 1979, after eight months on strike, UAW President Fraser sent his assistant to Elwood. She informed the strikers that if they didn't accept the agreement offered by the company, their strike benefits would be cut off. After eight months on strike, these heroic fighters for unionism were forced to accept an inferior contract that didn't even guarantee them a job. The scabs were to retain their jobs. Those

who returned to work were harassed by supervision—they were given the worst jobs at the lowest rates of pay. It was two years before all the strikers were returned to work. The plant has since been closed. Many of the employees have been forced to go on welfare.

COSTS

The attitude of the International toward small plants is well illustrated by a statement by the late Emil Mazey to an International rep who had won 19 consecutive elections in small plants. Expecting to be congratulated by Mazey, he told me Mazey's reply was: "When in hell are you going to organize a large plant. Don't you know that it costs the International more to service these small plants than we take in in dues?"

The workers in these plants have shown a willingness to organize and fight. There have been a number of strikes in supplier plants in the Detroit area. The Plymouth stamping plant went on strike in 1981. Picketing continued for more than a year. In the early days of the strike, there was a large mobilization of supporters. A riot with the police took place. An injunction was issued limiting picketing. Scabs took the jobs of the strikers. Most of the work was transferred to a plant in Ohio. Some of the strikers found other jobs. There never was a settlement.

Last May, UAW Local 53 called a strike at Standard Detroit Tubing. There too a clash took place between the pickets and the police. Picketing was limited by injunction. Scabs were hired. In a few months, the plant was closed.

Despite the efforts of these workers to defend their jobs, the union has ultimately done nothing to help. Hundreds of these plants organized by the UAW in the Detroit area have moved to the southern states, attracted by right-to-work laws and low wages. Few of these plants have been organized by the union.

With union competing with union, local against local, state against state and region against region, the workers in the supplier plants are the most exploited workers in the manufacturing industry. Their jobs are the least secure, their wages and fringe benefits among the lowest. If their experience with the UAW has been bad, it has been no better with other unions.

The fact that it is possible to win a strike in a supplier plant has been demonstrated in Toledo where the Toledo Auto Parts workers have won a partial victory. They are all returning to work with the exception of six workers who will have to serve a six-month suspension for picket line activity. But the concessions are less than half of what the company was demanding when the workers went on strike nine months ago.

It wasn't the \$100 per week strike benefit paid to the strikers by the International that inspired the workers, but the generous support by other units of UAW Local 14, particularly the GM transmission unit. Many other UAW locals—including Locals 15, 160 and 785—were generous in their support. If this plant had been in a small local, complete defeat would have been almost certain.

IMPORTANT

This is an important lesson for all unionists. If the small plants are ignored and left to fight alone, the power of the corporations is strengthened against all in the industry. And through their struggles, the workers will learn that neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party can hold out any hope for relief. They should be the first to realize that independent political action is necessary. That is the last thing the union bureaucrats want to see—but it should be the principal objective of every worker. □

SUMMIT COUNTY AFSCME ON STRIKE

by DUKE FREDERICK

AKRON, OH—AFSCME Local 2696 went on strike February 25 in a dispute with the Summit County Human Services Department. The union represents 250 workers.

There are still 31 issues left unresolved from the negotiations. The workers are seeking a 27% raise over three years. This is the first AFSCME strike under Ohio's new Public Employee Bargaining law. The workers at Akron's Human Services Department have the highest case-load in the state.

At a union meeting on February 21, Charlie Lemon of the Boilermakers Union in Barberton spoke in support of the case workers. The boilermakers recently won a wildcat strike against Babcock and Wilcox—and their example should be followed.

The workers held a mass picket of 200 on the first day of the strike—but a judge has already issued an injunction limiting the number of pickets. The key to success for the strikers will be to continue to appeal for solidarity—and not allow the courts or the employers to intimidate them from picketing.



Union truckers face employers' attacks

by GLENN PORTER

Negotiations between the Teamsters (IBT) and three employers' associations over the National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA) began in January. Nearly 200,000 Teamsters are covered by the agreement, which expires March 31, 1985.

The negotiations take place against the backdrop of an industry which is undergoing major changes since it was deregulated in 1980. According to the union, 55 major carriers have gone out of business since 1980. They employed 20% of all workers in the trucking industry.

FLOURISHING

Simultaneously, there has been a flourishing of non-union trucking, both in the form of newer, smaller carriers entering the industry and the establishment by large union operations of "double-breasted" companies: non-union satellites which siphon business off from the unionized parent.

The Teamsters rank and file is fighting a battle on two fronts. They are fighting employers who are confident of winning concessions . . . and they are fighting a union leadership more interested in dues collection than in defending its members.

Roadway Express, the largest common carrier, with revenues of \$1.14 billion in 1982, has seven non-union subsidiaries. Ryder/PIE, fast becoming the major competitor for Roadway's top spot, has 10.

"All companies of any size have something that could be called double-breasted," says one union official.

None of the non-union operations pay wages comparable to those at companies covered by the NMFA. Overnite, one of the largest non-union companies, pays among the best—\$10 per hour. This is compared to an average wage under the NMFA of \$13.26. And many non-union companies pay in the \$5-7 per hour range.

Under the NMFA, over-the-road drivers—those who haul freight between cities—are paid approximately 32¢ per mile. But at Dedicated Trucking, a non-union subsidiary of Leaseway, the rate is only 6¢ per mile. Approximately a third of all Teamsters covered by the NMFA are over-the-road drivers.

The current national agreement contained nothing for the Teamsters' rank and file. It was negotiated two months early, in January, 1982, and it froze wages. Since then, the two cost-of-living adjustments have been entirely diverted into fringe benefit



Above: Teamsters block the entrance to Cross Island Parkway in 1979 strike. It was the last time the union sanctioned a walkout over the National Master Freight Agreement.

funds.

The number of workers covered by the national contract, which was first negotiated in 1964, is now under 200,000. This includes 35,000-40,000 Teamsters on indefinite layoff. In 1982, over 300,000 Teamsters were covered by the agreement.

Indeed, for Teamster officials, the national freight agreement is not big business any more. Only about 10% of all Teamsters are covered by this contract.

At the same time, the employers' side has been fragmented by deregulation and the new, more competitive atmosphere. Trucking Management, Inc., the main bargaining association, which is run, effectively, by the largest unionized firms, now represents only about 30 companies. In 1982, it represented 284 firms, and in 1979, over 400. But it is an indication of the tendencies in the trucking industry under deregulation that the TMI companies claim to still conduct the same business in terms of revenue and employment as they did five years ago.

CONSOLIDATION

Industry analysts agree that deregulation, while it has allowed small, non-union firms to enter the industry in great numbers, has also meant the consolidation of the largest firms. These companies are now in a powerful position, in relation both to the Teamsters and to their smaller competitors.

This is why two new bargaining groups, the Motor Carrier Labor Advisory Committee and the Regional Carriers, Inc., have been formed since the last NMFA was signed. These associations represent the medium-sized firms being squeezed out of the industry. These companies cannot afford the kind of contracts with the IBT that the giant companies can.

So part of the fragmentation of the NMFA will be the attempt of these companies to sign "sweetheart" agreements with the Teamsters.

But another aspect of this fragmentation is the continued growth of separate riders to the NMFA. These modifications, based on localities or particular industries, are exceptions to the standards of the NMFA. In addition, Teamster officials have been increasingly willing to sign "loose-leaf agreements," contracts with particular carriers which are in no way comparable to the NMFA.

Teamster truckers are thus fighting on two fronts. They are fighting employers who are confident of winning concessions in the negotiations and eroding work conditions during the life of the new agreement. And they are fighting a union leadership more interested in dues collection than in defending its members' hard-won gains.

While the Teamsters union faces a stiff fight from the employers in upcoming negotiations over the National Master Freight Agreement, high officials in the union are showing no signs of discomfort. During 1983, 74 top IBT officials made salaries of over \$100,000. The list was topped by union president Jackie Presser, who took in \$512,386 in salaries, allowances and expenses. Presser's 1984 salary increased to \$565,000. He is, by far, the highest-paid union official in the world.

At the same time, the Teamsters union has decreased in membership by some 300,000 in the past three years. The combined salaries of the 74 members of the \$100,000 club is \$11.2 million.

THE BATTLE FOR COLUMBIA CLERICALS HAS JUST BEGUN

by AARON BRENNER

NEW YORK, NY—The union leaders called it a victory. But the battle is just beginning for Columbia University clerical workers. Less than a week before they were scheduled to go on strike, their representatives, District 65 of the UAW, reached an agreement with the university administration.

Under the agreement, the clerical workers agreed not to strike in return for the administration's promise to negotiate a contract. The strike had been planned to force the administration to recognize the union as the representative of the clerical workers.

CERTIFICATION

The administration had asserted that the certification election in 1983 was invalid for various bureaucratic reasons and appealed to the National Labor Relations Board (the NLRB). The New York regional arbitrator ruled against the university, but still it would not recognize the union—and it appealed to the NLRB in Washington.

Meanwhile, the university cut health benefits and the maternity leave of the clerical workers. Angered by this audacity and tired of continuous stonewalling, the union organized for a strike. It quickly mobilized the bureaucracy, both at Columbia and in the rest of the city. Students and faculty at Columbia were also called on to support the clerical workers. Unfortunately, the clerical workers themselves were not mobilized—a mistake that may come back to

haunt the union.

The union's organization, combined with student and faculty support alarmed the administration enough to make it come to an agreement before the NLRB in Washington ruled. Under the agreement, the cuts made during the union's organizing drive over the previous 23 months were rescinded. The administration also agreed to negotiate over job conditions and affirmative action hiring.

RECOGNIZE

However, the administration did not recognize the union until the NLRB finally ruled in the union's favor a week after the agreement was signed.

Thus, while the union was successful in forcing the administration to negotiate, it has not yet been successful in securing better working conditions, higher wages or better benefits for its members. All it won was the right to sit at the bargaining table.

To be successful, the union will have to organize the rank and file. Only their collective action can force the administration to heed their demands. And if the union leaders are still unwilling to mobilize rank and file clericals, the workers will have to try to learn to rely on their own strength and organization. Only such action can win them more than the right to sit at the bargaining table.



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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH SANCTUARY LEADER

"IF I'M JAILED, MORE WILL TAKE MY PLACE"

Bill Roberts interviews indicted sanctuary leader Jack Elder.

On February 21, Jack Elder, a leader in the movement to provide sanctuary to Latin American refugees, was convicted of conspiracy, of helping two Salvadorans enter the U.S. illegally and of driving two "illegals" from the Mexican border to shelter.

Stacey Lynn Merkt, the other defendant in the case, was found guilty on one count of conspiracy.

CONVICTIONS

These convictions are part of the U.S. offensive in Central America—an offensive that the Reagan administration is determined to escalate. On the same day that the two were convicted, Reagan announced that it was his goal to "remove" the "present structure" of the government in Nicaragua. He went on to "appeal" to Congress for \$14 million more in aid for the Nicaraguan contras—the reactionary forces who aim to topple Nicaragua's Sandinistas. Reagan refers to the contras as "freedom fighters."

For those who oppose Reagan's policies in Central America, Reagan's announcement came as no surprise. But his brazen reference to re-

moval of a government seems to herald a more serious involvement.

Regardless of the form U.S. intervention takes, it must be opposed. But the recent convictions and the general crackdown on the sanctuary movement raise the question of what way forward for the movement in solidarity with Central America.

CLEAR

The sanctuary movement must be defended, but we must be clear that the heroic attempts by pacifists will not effectively deter the U.S. government from pursuing its policies south of the border. Providing sanctuary to those fleeing repression in Central America is simply not enough. The struggle is in Central America itself, and only a handful of the ever-growing numbers of victims of repression can be helped by the sanctuary movement.

In this country, what is needed is militant, public activity—demonstrations and pickets designed to organize dissent against U.S. foreign policy and ultimately attempting to force a change in such policy. □

"I feel this trial represents the fact that the government's Latin American case is built on lies and half-truths.

By not allowing a full case to be made, this court continues to aid the Reagan administration's cover-up of the real facts in Latin America.

The jury was only given half a deck of cards to play this game. The half we wanted to deal was missing.

Two expert witnesses—one a lawyer from San Salvador, the other a noted writer, Alan Nairn, who has written on



Latin America—were disallowed by the judge as expert witnesses regarding the death squads.

The sanctuary movement

challenges the lies which prop up the fatal Latin American policies of this administration. The administration is only interested in the military of El Salvador. They try to ignore the refugee problem.

I feel our case, though, aids the sanctuary movement. More people will want to find out what the truth is now. The government must decide if they are willing to put non-violent people of conscience to jail. More people will take my place if I go to jail.

I feel that Reagan is preparing to escalate the military intervention in Latin America. Our trial is part of that escalation. ”

WEST VIRGINIA MINERS' STRIKE IS CRITICAL



LOBATA, W.VA—Miners here are locked in a critical battle with the A. T. Massey Coal Company. The stakes for both sides are very high—although they are higher for the UMW.

1,200 coal miners struck A. T. Massey on October 1 last year when the company refused to sign the agreement the UMW had reached with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

A. T. Massey, which runs both union and non-union mines, claims that it needs concessions at several mines to stay profitable. But A. T. Massey's real aim is to run the mines without the UMW at all.

A. T. Massey has a lot of leverage: The company has hired an east coast security agency—with agents who pack M-16s—to intimidate the

strikers. Further, it has the support of West Virginia's governor—and the pressure against the miners of high unemployment.

REPLACEMENTS

Last month, A. T. Massey sent striking miners letters informing them that if they did not report to work by February 18, permanent replacements would be hired.

In response, 1,000 area miners marched on the mine. Forty-eight striking miners walked up to the gate and announced they were reporting to work—but that they would not actually work until Massey signed an agreement. Since then they have been holding daily marches and pickets at the mine. Forty-one miners were arrested on February 20

for allegedly "blocking public roads."

This strike is very important. As one UMW member told *Socialist Worker*: "Massey's message is unmistakable: the UMW can be had. And we're not going to let that happen—but it's a real volatile situation."

EMBOLDENED

If Massey is successful, other coal operators will be emboldened to do the same. And the balance of forces is in their favor: coal stocks are high, the UMW is on the defensive and 25% of the nation's coal miners are out of work.

But the miners still have tremendous power—and struggles like those against A. T. Massey can help rebuild their confidence to use it. □

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