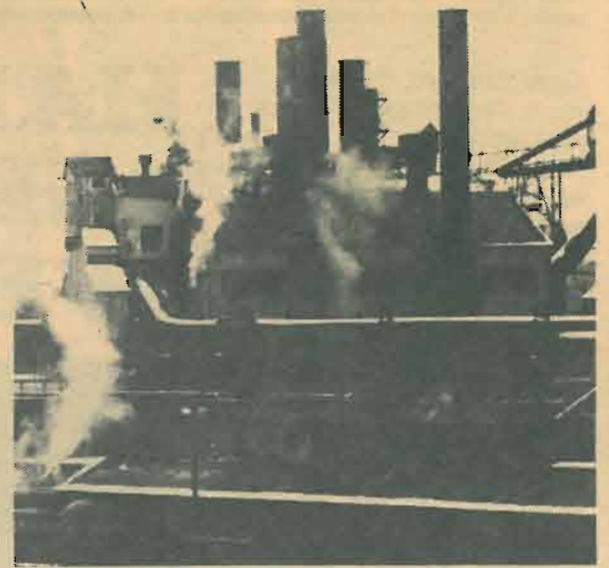


**MILLIONS MORE MARCH IN EUROPE**

See page 7

# **Socialist Worker**

**Paper of the International Socialist  
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THE NEW RECESSION page 5

DECEMBER 1981



NUMBER 56

**MILLIONS  
OF  
CHILDREN  
LIVE IN  
DIRE  
POVERTY**

# **IN REAGAN'S AMERICA**

BY RETHA HILL

\$5,000 for a dinner, \$20,000 for a drink. That's what Republican fatcats paid in Cincinnati on November 30 for the pleasure of sitting down with the King and Queen of the White House—Nancy and Ronald Reagan.

## **HUNGER**

While they were eating—in the time it took them to eat their \$5,000 meal—it is estimated that 1,680 people in the world starved to death. They didn't have any food to eat at all. Most of them live in the Third World.

But not all of them. Hunger is a problem for millions of people here in the United States.

They are people who never get enough to eat. Some are seen in most U.S. cities, digging in garbage cans, begging for soup money.

The rest of the hungry are called "nutritional risks". The slightest change in their budget will put them in the position of malnutrition.

If their gas bill, rent or electric bill goes up, a "flexible" item like the food budget is the first thing cut.

The pain of hunger is most intense for children. The U.S. Commission on the International Year of the Child reported that 17.5 million children, slightly more than one quarter of the U.S. population under the age of 18, exist in dire poverty. Forty-three percent of these are Black.

Reagan's cuts will kill many of these children. They will make them all suffer. □



# Why are you letting us suffer this way, America?

**R2N2  
SETS  
GOALS**

Dear Readers, Gentlemen, Civilian and Military Authorities,

For the last few months we have been imprisoned without knowing what outcome our fates would have.

You can imagine that if we risked our lives by leaving our country on sailboats and planes it was in order to find a haven on the soil of America, which we thought was capable of receiving us, since it is a large power in the world.

Since 1957, we have endured atrocious suffering due to the lack of a good government. But now it is worse, and we cannot stand it. This is why we are forced to emigrate in larger numbers.

At home if we manage to get work, we cannot collect our salary. If we claim our rights, our life would be in danger. Not only one's own, but also that of the entire family, which would be implicated by the authorities.

To our great surprise, upon arriving to the Immigration Center in Miami, we were made to wait for several hours during which time we were interrogated on one single subject, to wit, "Why did you come to the United States?"

Since our answer is positive and always the same, we were finally accepted although we were told that we would have to spend a few days in the Krome (detention center) for formalities.

Upon arriving, our eyes widened with fear and surprise at the conditions of life.

We thought we were throwing ourselves into a stable. One thousand persons are jammed into one and the same cell.

It reminds us of Black slavery. But alas, after shedding many tears and imploring god to come help us, we finally resigned ourselves to accepting this suffering for a few days.

Because we did not want to go back. Each day that would go by was one day less for us. We hoped that maybe in 8, 10, or 15 days we would be called to be freed.

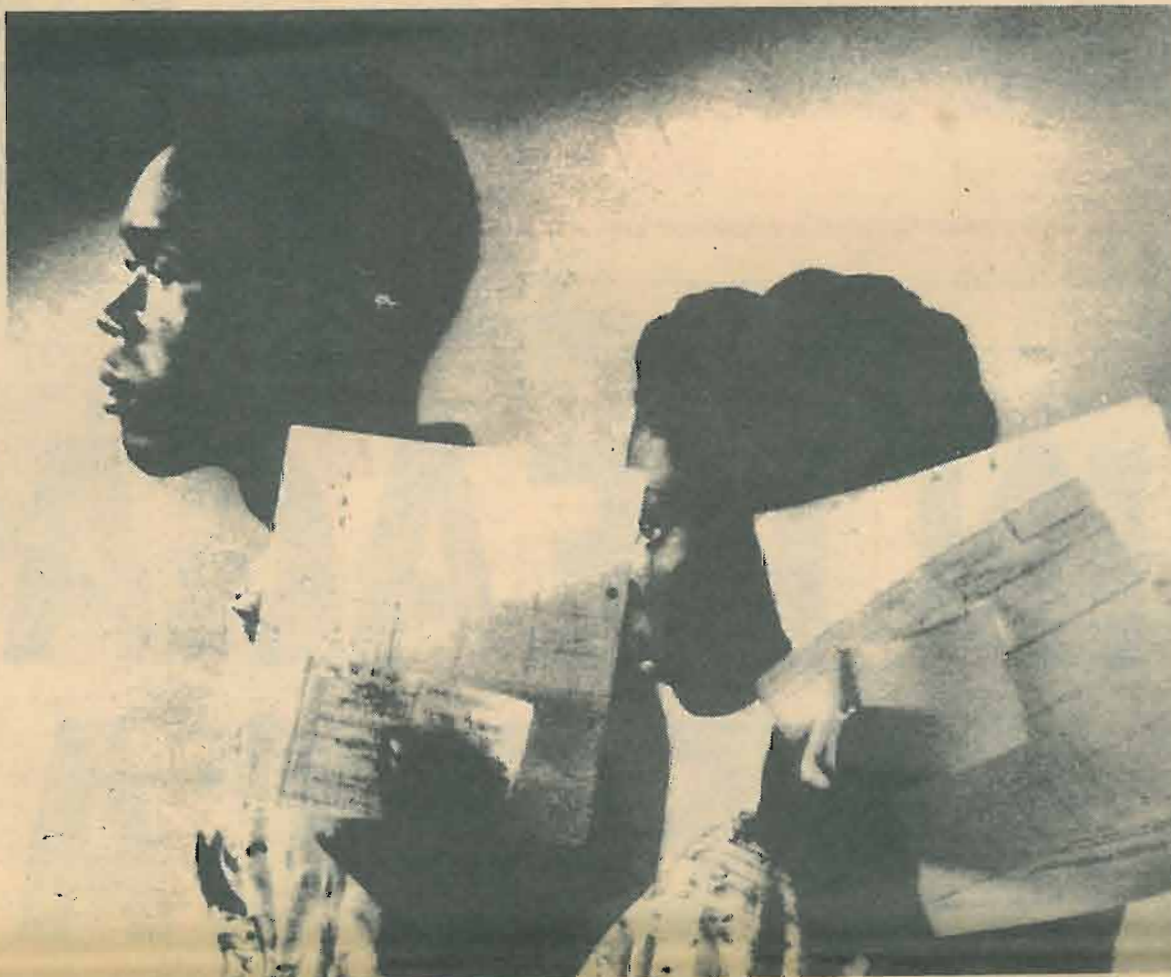
## WAITING

One day around 4 p.m., we (women) were all gathered at the sound of whistles. We spent a day and a night awaiting our fate, after having been tagged with a plastic ID bracelet.

After that we were made to parade in the nude in front of men and women. We were splashed, badly dressed. Stripped of our own clothes and belongings, we were made to sit in a room where we were to spend the night.

In this distress, the room was like a warehouse, where sad songs were being sung. At

## HAITIAN REFUGEES ASK: 'IS IT BECAUSE WE ARE NEGROES?'



*This letter was written by Haitians imprisoned in Puerto Rico*

that moment an enormous chill would run down the spine. Around 5 a.m., we were jammed into a bus that was to drive us to the airport. This is how we left Miami for Puerto Rico.

If sometimes a few of us misbehave, it is not their fault.

You must understand that all of us don't have the strength, the same understanding, nor the same degree of education, and that we all suffer a lot from the behavior of others.

Life at Fort Allen has been very hard for us.

When we left Miami, we were led to believe that we were only going to Puerto Rico for a few days.

And until now we have been suffering for eight months without knowing why. Each day we hear only one thing: those that wish to return to Haiti can come give their names.

Since we arrived on American soil, we have been mistreated. We have been made to suffer and we have accepted it all, we have endured it.

We have left at home:

relatives who are relying on our help. How can we return to Haiti now, empty handed and stripped of everything?

Oh no, it would be the greatest injustice. If the Americans did not want to take us in, they should have sent us back the very same day.

And now, instead of making us suffer, why not send us to other countries like Russia, Cuba, France, Canada, who are willing to take us with open arms?

We are Christians. We have blood in our veins and thoughts like all the other people who are free.

We want our freedom because we have been suffering for five months, because we left our relatives in order to help others get out of the lion's mouth in Haiti.

Our situation is pitiful. We have been locked up behind barbed wire from Miami to Puerto Rico.

The days are always the same for us. We don't know what the date is. Sometimes we are hungry and cannot eat.

We have needs and cannot satisfy them. Is this the better life we are seeking? We took refuge in the United States in the hopes of filling our voids. Can we not fill them? Where are we going?

Now we cannot stand it any more. It is too much. If we have not been freed by the end of November, a good number of us are going to commit suicide. Because we have sworn to die in the United States.

We are asking why you treat us this way. Is it because we are Negroes?

Why are you letting us suffer this way, America? Don't you have a father's heart?

## HEART

Haven't you thought we were humans, that we had a heart to suffer with and a soul that could be wounded? Give us back our freedom.

Why among all the nations that emigrate to the United States have only the Haitians known such suffering? □

## No time for sabres!

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Richard Kilroy, president of the 110,000 member Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks recently explained why he sold his members out in negotiations with the railroad industry.

"We didn't support President Reagan," he said, "so we can only imagine what might hap-

pen to us when we look at PATCO and see what happened to them.

"It is not time to be rattling sabres, to be calling a strike," confided Kilroy. No wonder Reagan is so confident. With opponents like Kilroy, who needs supporters! □

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—The Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2) held its annual meeting on the weekend of November 6, 7, 8.

250 people, representing 35 of the 70 member groups in the network, attended.

The meeting was held in San Francisco in recognition of the growth of West Coast R2N2 groups.

## AREAS

The conference itself focused on two major areas of work.

Saturday morning, Vickie Alexander from the Alliance Against Women's Oppression and Barbara Winslow from the Cleveland Pro-Choice Action Committee spoke about perspectives for ongoing work around abortion.

Alexander spoke about the development of the new right in regards to abortion rights and outlined some of the activities for groups to be involved with.

Winslow discussed the current situation facing women, pointing out that the infamous right-to-life Kalamazoo judge who refused an abortion to an eleven year old rape victim was not an isolated outrage.

She argued that the anti-abortionists want to do more than criminalize abortion—they want to restrict all aspects of women's independence.

The conference decided to call for a major mobilization against the so-called "right-to-life" organization convention on July 16-18 in Cherry Hill, New Jersey.

R2N2 also called upon each of its groups to organize activities on January 22nd, the date commemorating the legalization of abortion.

A petition against the Human Life Amendment and other anti-abortion laws will be circulated.

The meeting decided to expand its literature and outreach materials. All materials will be printed in both Spanish and English, and a wide range of pamphlets will be published in the next year.

## RESOURCES

For all involved the meeting was both useful and successful. In the words of Margie Fine, the R2N2 national staff person, "There was a greater sense of the word networking." More different groups and new people came and worked together, sharing experiences and resources.

R2N2's next meetings will be regional ones to insure greater participation by the area groups. All this is needed to combat the ongoing attacks against a woman's right to control her body. □

# Reagan's

# phoney peace plan

For the first time in his life, Ronald Reagan has given a speech devoted to disarmament.

He has proposed a plan to limit the deployment of missiles in Europe.

According to Reagan's proposal, NATO will promise not to install Pershing Two and Cruise missiles in Europe, if Russia dismantles all its present and future SS 20, SS Four and SS Five missiles.

Thus far, there has been little rejoicing, however, and particularly not in Europe, where the press showed no illusions in Reagan's motives.

## CHANCE

No one thinks there is any chance that the Russians will accept Reagan's proposals. The *Times* of London reported that even U.S. officials admitted that the "chance of gaining Russian acceptance of the option is slim."

And they were right. Brezhnev rejected the proposals out of hand.

But, said the *Times*, that was not the purpose anyway. Rather they were "clearly designed to offset the rising European concern about America's nuclear intervention and to reinforce the hand of its NATO partners against the growing anti-nuclear movement in Europe . . . (it has) . . . a vital role in the all important propaganda contest taking place between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in Europe."

"The Russians will not agree," agreed the *London Guardian*, "because in their view the SS Range missile is

the answer to a perceived threat to them already existing in the West's forward base bomber squadrons and nuclear submarines."

Russia is now installing SS 20 missiles at a rate of one per week. They are not ahead of the West in strategic missiles, nor is there any prospect of their being so in the foreseeable future.

At the last count, Russia has about 7,000 nuclear warheads as against 10,000 of the U.S. (and this is without counting the British and French weapons).

Furthermore the United States is in the middle of a huge weapons expansion program of which the European based Cruise and Pershing Two are but a small part.

## Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

## DON'T LET THE PATCO STRIKERS STAND ALONE

The PATCO strike continues—despite claims to the contrary.

"We're not defeated," Ed Zacovik, president of Local 203, Oberlin, Ohio, told the rally of striking Ashtabula nurses in Ashtabula, Ohio, on November 14.

### WIN

"And we're going to keep up this fight until we win."

The AFL-CIO, at its recent New York convention, asked Reagan to consider rehiring some of the air traffic controllers, but most unions, like the U.A.W., are dropping even token support. The U.A.W. ordered its staff to resume flying in November.

Reagan was quick to answer the AFL-CIO's plea for mercy. He announced that there was "no change in policy" and

that none of the strikers would be rehired.

The best that he could offer was the possibility the air traffic controllers might be allowed to apply for other federal jobs.

So the air traffic controllers strike on—virtually alone, though there is still local support for the strikers, and in most places morale and unity is still high.

But the strikers need help. "People are really suffering," says Boston PATCO president, Kevin Brophy.

### SUICIDE

"We've had two suicides. One striker's wife killed herself and another guy gassed himself in his car.

"The FAA is sticking guys with moving bills of \$9,000 to

\$16,000 if they were transferred and went on strike before they'd been in their new place of work for a year or more.

"The administration has ordered the FHA to evict anyone with an FHA mortgage who misses one payment.

"It's incredible how punitive they're being."

Nevertheless, many PATCO strikers are still on the picket lines, staffing the strike offices, and making the rounds of meetings, asking for support.

### GIFTS

They deserve support, especially now during the holidays. In November, unions in Los Angeles held a variety show and raised \$8,000 for holiday gifts for 700 Los Angeles area children of fired air-traffic controllers.

In Seattle, PESOS (Public Employees to Save Our Services), organized a benefit theater production for PATCO. There are many such examples.

Make sure you do the same in your area. Victory to the PATCO strikers. □



Anti-missile demonstrators in London

This includes the new strategic bombers, the extended range Trident missiles, the new MX missile, a variety of sea and air launched Cruise missiles and so on.

None of these are to be cancelled.

So Reagan's offer not to deploy the 400 ground launched Cruise missiles has to be seen alongside his going ahead with no less than 4,000 other Cruise missiles which can do exactly the same damage, but are launched from the sea and air instead.

### PLOY

Reagan's other main proposal is even more a propaganda ploy. He even suggests an "equality at lower levels of conventional forces" in Europe.

Here the Russians *do* have large numbers, but this is compensated by:

1. The technical backwardness of their weapons, 2. The vast arsenal of American tactical nuclear weapons currently estimated to number 22,000-25,000, which is an integral part of the NATO which Reagan proposes to keep intact.

If accepted this might equalize the numbers but it would not equalize firepower.

It could only result in a distinct superiority for NATO land forces in Europe.

Reagan's plan would thus involve scrapping thousands of Russian nuclear warheads but *not one* American warhead. Reagan has not suggested that one dollar of the hundreds of billions that the US spends annually would be cut.

### CON

In short, the plan is a con. The Europeans know it. And so should everyone else who is concerned with the threat of nuclear weapons.

The only force that can ban

the bomb is the millions across Europe who have taken to the streets against their own rulers and their plans for nuclear war.

For the rest of us, the Reagan con game shows two things very clearly.

Firstly it is yet another proof that the idea of the Russian government joining the American government in a nuclear arms treaty is a fraud perpetrated by the Reagan's and Brezhnev's of this world to woo those in the nuclear disarmament movement who wrongly hold out hope for a multilateral road to peace.

Secondly it shows that we have already come a long way. The NATO leaders are very worried about the growth of the nuclear disarmament movement. It's a sign of success that they are now on the run.

### RAISE

For our part, we cannot let the movement be confined to Europe.

We have to raise the issue of nuclear weapons and nuclear war here in the United States—and take our place in an international movement against the missile madness. □

## FIGHTING WORDS

"If our people fight one tribe at a time, all will be killed. They can cut off our fingers one by one, but if we join together we will make a powerful fist."

—Little Turtle, Master General of the Miami Indians, 1791

## Socialist Worker

December, 1981

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# Jerry Falwell's dinner party disrupted

BALTIMORE, MD—Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell held a fundraising dinner here but 200 people rallied to disrupt the dinner and give him indignation.

## FREE

While 150 people marched and chanted outside, 50 protesters went into the free dinner and interrupted Falwell's fundraising speech.

Moral Majority bouncers screened all "suspicious looking" young people, gays and Blacks and prevented them from entering the dinner.

So the Moral Majority types who were mistaken for demonstrators and excluded were outraged.

They demanded to know how Falwell goons knew they

## REPORT BY KATHY OGREN

were demonstrators. "We have our ways," replied Falwell's ace goon.

After the disruption started, one demonstrator was roughed up. Ricky Kilreagan was kicked, pushed and punched out of the hall.

"I'll kick you in the nuts faggot," yelled one of Falwell's apes, "and when you

get outside I'm going to bust your head."

So much for Christian love. Ricky couldn't even get help from the cops, "I won't help you," said one cop, as Ricky was being pushed and kicked out, "I hate faggots."

Falwell is well-known for preaching hatred against

women and gays and he is a racist. He supports repressive legislation such as the Human Life Amendment and the Family Protection Act.

Women's and Gay organizations in Baltimore joined with other protesters to show Falwell that his attacks will be resisted. The coalition hopes Falwell's fundraising dinners will be protested in every other city he speaks in. □



## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

# Why people starve in America

Malcolm X

More than 500 million people in the world today suffer from severe hunger. Children are the worst afflicted.

Millions more die each year from hunger-related illness and disease. Others, because of vitamin and protein deficiency, suffer stunted physical and mental development, sometimes even blindness.

According to a fact sheet prepared by "Bread for the World," a stop-hunger lobbying group, hunger is deeply embedded in the U.S. social and economic structure.

The majority of people in the United States who go hungry are classified as poor.

The federal poverty level is \$8,400 a year for a family of four.

Of whites, 8.7 percent live below the poverty line. 30.6 percent of Blacks and 21.6 percent of Hispanics are living below the poverty line.

One-third of the 26 million Blacks who live in the United States are officially poor. Blacks comprise about one-third of the 21 million persons currently participating in the food stamp program.

Data from the National Urban League's Black Pulse Survey shows between one-third to one-half of those who will be dropped from the food stamp program will be Black.

Statistics also show that the majority of poor Blacks receive no assistance other than a school lunch.

## EXTREME

Southern Blacks face an extreme poverty rate. The South as a whole has a poverty rate more than twice that of the North, but the problem of farm poverty is greatest for

## BY RETHA HILL

Black families—more than 50 percent of whom are poor.

Over two million rural Blacks have been by-passed by the industrialization that has raised the general economic conditions of the South.

Their chances of escaping poverty have been further eroded by the rapid disappearance of Black-owned farms.

These families are losing their land to the agricultural industry at the rate of 9,615 acres per week. If the present trends continue, there will be no Black-owned farms by 1983.

There are several reasons why so many people go hungry in this country in the face of plenty. The first reason is federal programs don't meet the needs of the amount of people on assistance.

The majority of federal dollars go towards weapons instead of food for the poor.

As Dwight D. Eisenhower said in 1953:

"... Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies in the final sense a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the houses of its children... This is not a way life... Under the cloud of war, it is humanity hanging on a cross of Iron..."

And he didn't even care. But the point is clear. The threat of war and the increase in arms expenditures means a tremendous rate of inflation.

Which is another reason people starve in America—the rising cost of food. The average price of food rose by 7.3 percent last year and by 150 percent since 1967.

Prices for staple foods (that poor people tend to buy the most) have risen even faster. From 1970 to 1975, the price of hamburger rose 60 percent, while porterhouse steak only increased 30 percent. Dry beans went up 256 percent and rice 124 percent.

Every one-percent increase in food prices means the Food Stamp Program costs \$148 million more to operate. Food

costs are expected to rise 15-18 percent in 1981.

Hunger is also closely related to unemployment. For every one-percent rise in unemployment, 1.25 million people are added to the Federal Food Stamp Program.

In Detroit, one of the most economically depressed cities in America, the problem of hunger is chronic.

Emergency food shelters have had to lock their doors between meals because of crowding by the thousands of people who seek free meals daily. Other shelters have been turning people away because of the lack of food.

Volunteers at these shelters say the crowds double with

each passing month.

Hunger is no small problem in America, but it is one that is intrinsic in the very fabric of American society.

Unlike the lack of fancy cars, colored T.V.'s and designer jeans, the absence of food could very well be the impetus to conflict between the two classes in this country.

As Americans watch their Polish brethren with interest, as they battle the ruling bureaucracy for food, a seed of resistance may be planted in the minds of the hungry and impoverished in this country which could lead to the ultimate harvest for the world—socialist revolution. □



Unemployed lines in Detroit, the faces are almost all Black

# Reaganomics: from the horses' mouth

Ever since Reagan got elected, we have been saying that his "supply-side Reaganomics" was a con trick.

There was nothing new in his economics, we said.

It was the same old supply and demand—demand money from the working class, supply it to the capitalist class.

We also said that Reagan's program wouldn't produce new jobs, but would cost existing jobs. We said Reagan hadn't a hope in hell of balancing the federal budget.

Well, now you can get this very same news from the horse's mouth—Reagan's horseman of the apocalypse.

## BELIEVE

First, there's David Stockman, Reagan's budget director. In an article in *Atlantic Monthly*, Stockman admitted he didn't believe in the Reagan program, which he himself designed: "The whole thing is premised on faith."

So last January, when the computer forecast a \$116 billion budget deficit for 1984, he simply changed the numbers to get rid of the deficit.

Next he admitted the tax cuts were "always a trojan horse" to let Reagan give massive tax breaks to the rich.

This was just the traditional Republican trickle down theory, he added.

The working class, so this theory goes, is best assisted when the government gives money to the rich, so that it can "trickle down to the working class."

## NEIL SMITH ON REAGAN AND HIS BUDGET DIRECTOR

"It's kind of hard to sell trickle down," Stockman said, "so the supply side formula was the only way to get a tax policy that was really trickle down."

Next, there's Donald Reagan, secretary of the treasury for Reagan.

He admitted several weeks ago that despite tax cuts, businesses were not investing.

"Where are the expansion plans?" he pleaded at a mid-west businessmen's meeting.

"It's like dropping a coin down a well. All I'm hearing is a hollow clink."

You can supply a capitalist with capital, but you can't make him invest in new jobs.

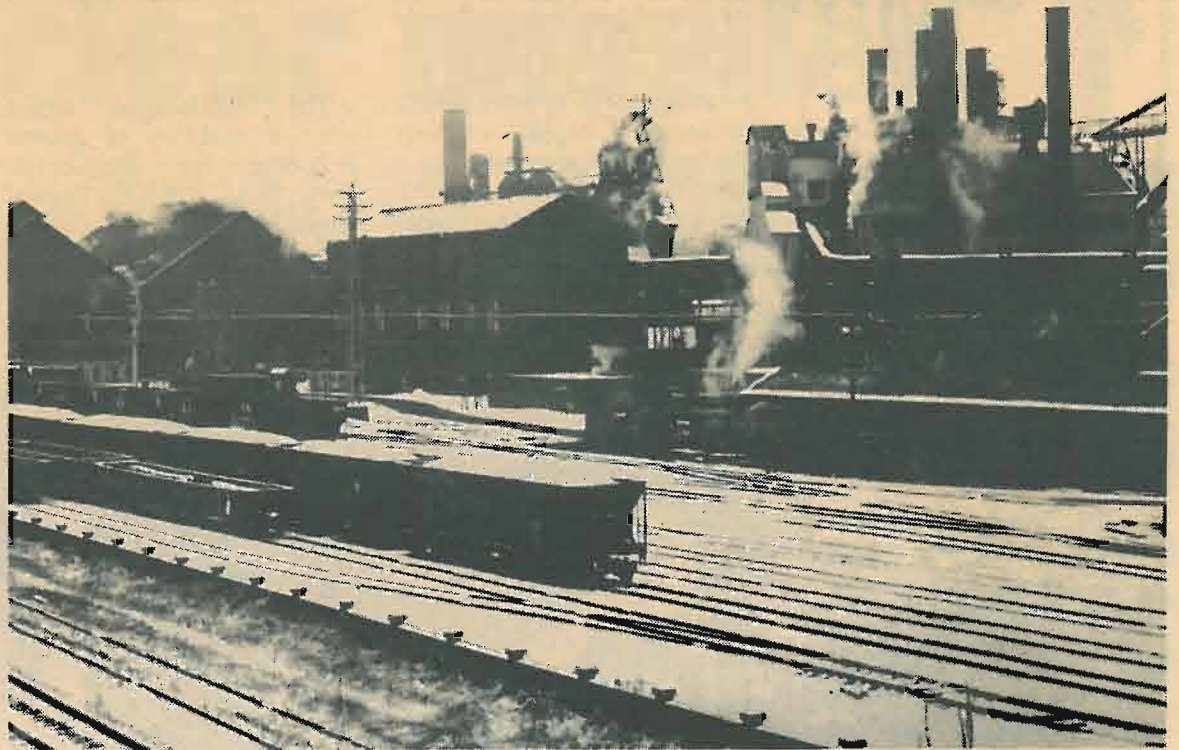
## DEFICIT

Then there's Reagan's Council of Economic Advisors, who are now talking not about a balanced budget by 1984 but a \$145 billion deficit.

Reagan got his program through Congress but his own administration knows it can't work. Reaganomics was still-born.

And, as Reagan himself was forced to admit, another fierce recession is just beginning.

Unemployment last month rose to 8% and will go higher, much higher.



Where are the new investments in steel?

Unlike the last recession, in 1980, this one is already affecting the entire economy and is not centered just on auto and steel.

Reagan blames it on high interest rates, but they are a symptom of the crisis, not a cause. In 1974, they blamed the recession on greedy Arabs. In 1979 they blamed it on lazy workers. This time they might as well choose interest rates.

Reagan's program is dead before it starts, and because he represents the interests of the bosses, Reagan has no other way of reacting to the crisis but to make broader and

deeper attacks on working people.

Everywhere, employers are fighting for takebacks from workers.

## RECORD

When Stockman's admissions were made public, he claimed he thought he was speaking "off the record".

The crisis he helped cause is very much on the record for working people.

And because we too have little choice, the response of working people will also be very much on the record.

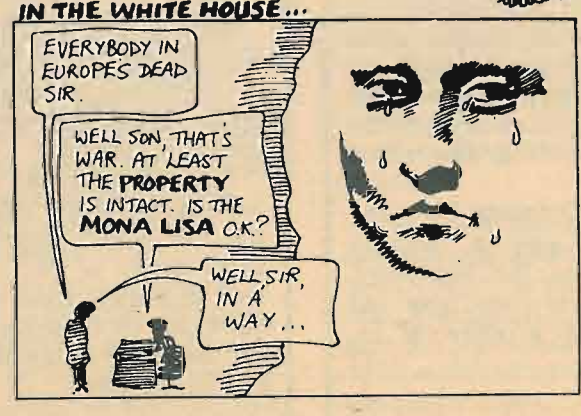
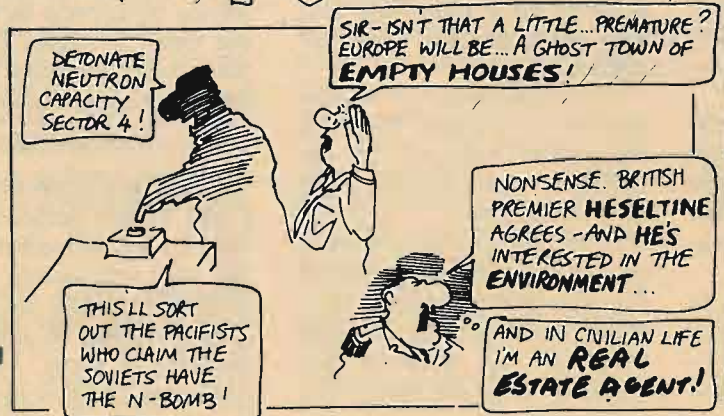
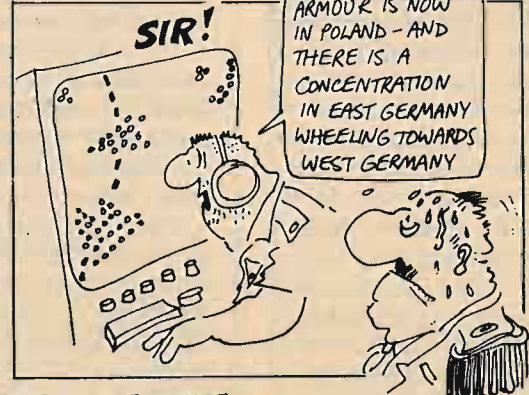
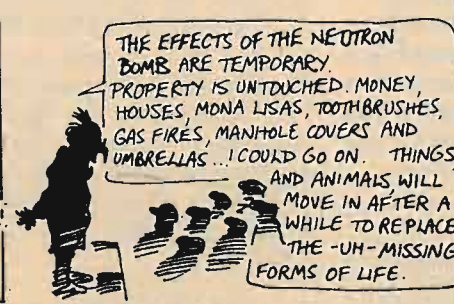
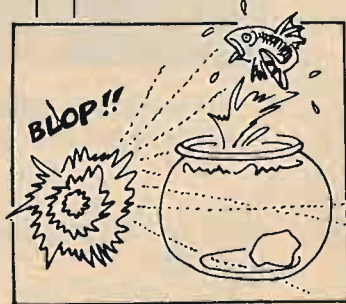
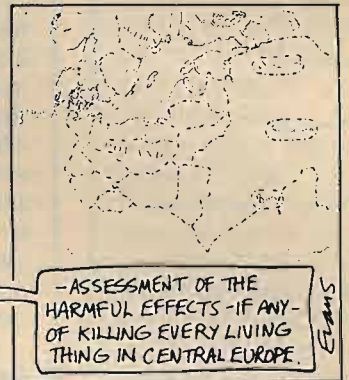
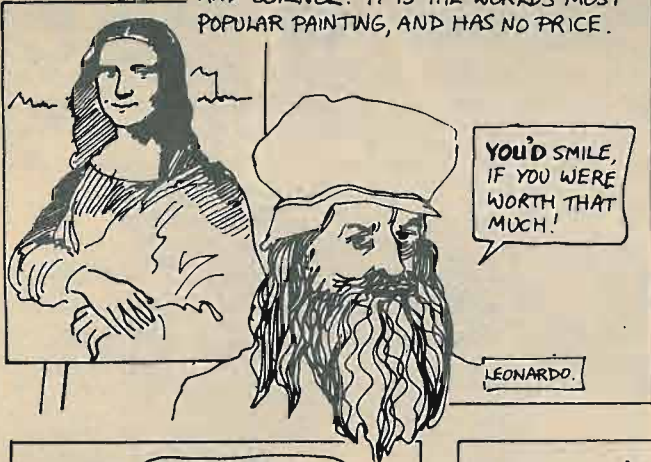
Stay tuned. You heard it here first.



David Stockman

# private property

LEONARDO DA VINCI PAINTED THE MONA LISA IN 1503, AT THE HEIGHT OF THE RENAISSANCE, A REBIRTH OF CULTURE AND SCIENCE. IT IS THE WORLD'S MOST POPULAR PAINTING, AND HAS NO PRICE.



# Graffiti

by PATRICIA GOLDSMITH

## No sacrifice too great . . .

When Ronald Reagan ordered 400,000 federal workers home without pay—ordering all “non-essential government operations” closed—he made sure that he and his wife Nancy were not inconvenienced.

The President will lose no part of his own annual paycheck of \$200,000—of course. But he also saw to it that he lost no comfort either—cooks, aids and cleaning personnel at the White House were kept on duty.

“We got some things to do,” said chief usher Rex Scouten, “and I don’t think people worry that much if they are getting paid.” □

## Complete and utter horror . . .

The White House, according to Nancy Reagan’s social secretary, Muffie Brandon, has a “terrible tablecloth crisis.”

One set of tablecloths, she says, “to my complete and utter horror, went out to the dry cleaners and shrunk.”

On another occasion, says Muffie, “I saw a little rip in a beautiful linen overlay.” She was forced to take a needle and thread to the tablecloth herself—finishing just before Nancy’s luncheon guests arrived.

“There is not a limitless supply of decorator linens at the White House,” she says. What a pity. □

## Christians first . . .

In the backwoods of Arkansas, a group of scripture-quoting, gun-totting Christians are getting ready to meet their maker.

They are a company of 90 adults and children, living in trailers and handbuilt homes near Bull Shoals Lake in Northern Arkansas.

They are armed because they expect an imminent collapse of society—and the day when the woods are alive with looters looking for food.

“We are Christians first, survivalists second,” says Jerry Younkens, who arrived last summer from Jackson, Michigan.

When the collapse comes, according to Younkens, “We will share what we have to the best of our ability.”

What will happen when people come to take that? “We’ll kill them—it’s real simple,” he says. “It’s them or us in that situation.”

The Christians know the end is coming, because “God, in the beginning, told us to come here and establish a place of refuge.” □

# SOUP-LINE GREETSS REAGAN IN CINCI

CINCINNATI, OH—A diverse crowd of 1,500 people demonstrated here against Ronald Reagan and in solidarity with the victims of his policies.

Reagan was in town briefly to speak to Republican Party fatcats. The occasion was a \$5,000 a plate fundraiser and a special cocktail audience with the White House king and queen for those who dropped \$20,000 in the party coffers.

Across the street from the

conspicuous consumption gala was a soup line and solidarity rally.

## COALITION

The anti-Reagan forces were a coalition of groups including the Democratic Party, SCLC, PATCO, Central America Task Force, sheet metal workers apprentices, anti-Klan network, Alliance for Reproductive Rights and the ISO.

All of the speakers struck hard at Reaganomics but none offered a clear alternative. The platform was controlled by the local Democratic Party, SCLC and the Central Labor Council.

Consequently many of the issues addressed by other groups with their banners and leaflets were not raised in the speeches.

Still, there was a good spirit in the crowd and a sense of

something to build on. It should be noted however that this rally was not that much larger than other demonstrations held here and organized by groups with less clout than the Democratic Party.

It was the grass roots organizing by small committee groups that should take the credit for the biggest share of the solidarity gathering here. □

by BILL ROBERTS

## TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Why do workers vote for upper-class politicians?

Workers can only learn that they are capable of running society themselves when their own struggles lead them to begin to change things.

The moment you tell them to drop those struggles and rely on someone else to do the job for them you reinforce the worst prejudice of existing society—that workers are incapable of running things.

That is why so many workers still feel they have to vote for ‘superior’ upper-class types with upper-class views.

Active trade unionists know that the best sort of strike vote is one taken at a mass meeting where workers are together, where they can feel their collective strength, where they can discuss the issue at stake.

This can give a quite different result to that of a secret ballot, filled in by workers in isolation from each other, unable to discuss the issues with their workmates, no longer feeling powerful, but weak and, above all, subject to the lies and distortions of the media.

## EMPLOYERS

That is why employers always prefer secret ballots and why experienced trade unionists opt for mass meetings.

The only thing the boss likes more than a secret ballot is a postal ballot plus a three-week cooling-off period, in which workers have to abandon their strike before they vote.

The employer knows they no longer feel the strength that comes from struggling together, that many of them will get demoralized and do anything the employer tells them.

That is why, for instance, labor law in the U.S. is based on provisions for compulsory secret ballots and mandatory cooling-off periods.

Democracy in the United States is the secret ballot plus the cooling-off period. Its basic notion is that workers vote separately from one another, cut off from the day to day struggles in the factories and on the streets.

This sort of democracy develops in the many small struggles that take place today

Nothing is more dangerous than to spread the illusion that workers would win a decisive social struggle by sitting back and waiting for an election to take place.

In May 1968, ten million French workers were united in the biggest general strike in history. For a whole month, the government was helpless.

Then it called an election and the unions told their members to return to work so that the elections could take place in an atmosphere of ‘tranquility.’

All the unity and solidarity of the struggle was dissipated and the government regained all the ground it had previously lost.

In Chile in October 1972, the first ‘bosses strike’ against the Popular Unity government was defeated by the massive response of workers in occupying their factories and keeping production going. There was a feeling of unity and confidence.

## ‘NORMAL’

Then the government told everyone to return to normal, so that there could be ‘peace’ in the run-up to the Congressional elections.

The elections solved nothing—but the ‘cooling-off period’ destroyed the momentum the workers’ movement had gained in the October struggle.

None of this is surprising. In this society, elections encourage passivity. And passivity means workers fall back

# The fight for workers' democracy



A Pennsylvania miner votes no on the 1978 contract offer

into all the old, reactionary ideas they begin to challenge in struggle.

The working class needs democracy if it is ever going to change society. But it will need to be a quite different sort of democracy than the present fraud.

It will need to be the democracy of a struggle in which only those engaged in the struggle, the workers and their allies, vote.

It will need to be a democracy in which those appointed to positions earn no more than those who elect them, in which they can be removed the moment they do something

those who elect them don’t like, in which there are no faceless bureaucrats they can hide behind when they fail to deliver the goods.

This sort of democracy begins to develop in many of the small struggles that take place today—through the election of strike committees.

## NETWORK

In its fully developed form, it will be the democracy of a vast network of workers’ councils, that will enable workers to determine how the working class is going to impose its dictates on those who have lorded over it for so long. □

# Millions more march against nuclear missiles



The peace movement in Europe is still growing—incredibly—as millions more marched in the streets against the deployment of Russian and American missiles in Europe.

In Holland, 400,000 marched, including Dutch soldiers in uniform, just the day after Reagan's so-called "zero-option plan." In Florence, Italy, 300,000 marched, demanding an end to the missiles,

both Russian and American. The movement has also spread to Eastern Europe. 200,000 marched in Bucharest. The march was sponsored by the ruling Communist Party, but it called

for the withdrawal of both U.S. and Russian missiles from Europe. It was not welcomed in Moscow.

The movement against the missiles is joined by a growing anti-NATO movement, particularly in Spain and Greece.

In November, 500,000 people marched in Madrid against Spain's entry into NATO.

The Spanish government hopes to placate the country's right-wing generals with new prestige and weapons from NATO, but since February, anti-NATO committees have been organized throughout Spain.

## SUCCESS

The Spanish movement is unique not only because of its focus on NATO but also because it has been led by the revolutionary left.

The committees unite a number of revolutionary groups, youth, anti-nuclear and tenants organizations.

This means a much more political campaign than other European peace movements with a strong working class orientation. Unfortunately, the main left parties haven't been so determined in their opposition. Both the Socialist and

Communist Parties have wanted to keep the campaign within 'institutional channels'.

As they admit, however, the success of the recent European wide demonstrations prompted them to organize the November 16 initiative. This was however a 'demonstration for peace' rather than one against NATO.

Their completely ambiguous attitude was best reflected in socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez's rejection of Greek socialist Prime Minister Papandreu's offer to veto Spain's entrance into the alliance.

The present movement takes on political significance much wider than just the question of NATO. It comes after a long decline in the fortunes of the Spanish workers' movement. With the conservative UCD (Center Democratic Union) on the point of collapse the Generals are again making threatening noises.

The fascist threat is real still in Spain, so the left cannot afford to be complacent. The anti-NATO campaign can provide the impetus for a united working class alternative. □

## Polish government attacks dissidents

Jacek Kuron, veteran fighter against Poland's bosses, has once again been attacked by the government.

### RAID

Polish police raided a meeting at his apartment, something they have not dared to do since the agreement signed in Gdansk in August 1980. Kuron and several others have been told to report to the police for questioning.

The police claim the purpose of the meeting was to set up a new political group. At the time of writing it is impossible to say whether this is true.

Although Kuron has been one of the most controversial figures on the Polish scene he has in fact consistently urged moderation. His view is that

by KARA WELSER

Polish society must develop freedom of speech, freedom of association, but that there is no alternative to the continued rule of the Communist Party.

He looks forward to Poland becoming like Finland, less under the thumb of the USSR but with the basic economic and political alliance intact. His advice to Solidarity in recent months has sometimes urged greater militancy and determination, but never gone beyond the basic reforms.

However, Kuron is a symbolic figure. He represents 'politics'. His name has become a litmus test. Workers who believe they can make

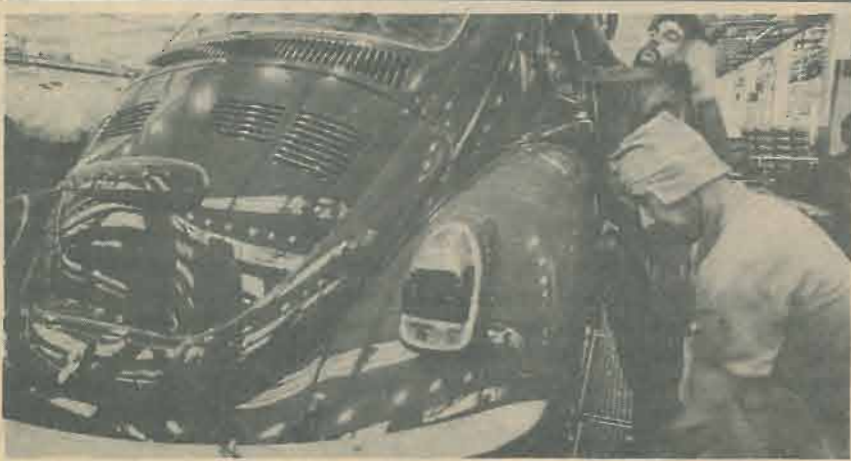
gains by 'not going too far' can be very hostile towards Kuron.

There seems little doubt that this move by the government is again a provocation to find out whether the movement will tolerate it. The movement's ability to defend individuals from the police and the courts has already declined greatly.

There is no way out for Polish workers unless the movement develops politically. Circumstances have already pushed Solidarity well beyond its trade union role.

### GRIM

The government wants to reassert its monopoly on political activity. If it succeeds the consequences for the Polish working class are grim.



Above: VW's waiting in West Germany. Left: Assembling more in Brazil.



Above: Ford's Highland Park plant. Left: Toyota assembly line in Japan.

# CARS

## Nigel Har

The world automobile companies devastated each other in 1980.

And the picture does not look much better in 1981. But the losses of the companies—even with Chrysler tottering—look small in comparison to the destruction of the workforce.

The savageries hurt the world economy too. For automobile manufacturing is extremely important. There are about 265 million cars in the world—and 70 million commercial vehicles (vans, trucks, etc.)—or one vehicle for every 13 people.

There is a market for about 40 million new vehicles a year. Of course, in some places the numbers are much greater than elsewhere. In North America and Europe, there is one car for every two people, and in California, more cars than people.

Automobile manufacturing is a prodigious employer. Two million workers make cars directly. Three million make the parts that go into them (components). And another 25 million sell them, service them, insure them, finance them, sell gasoline or drive them as a job.

In Japan—with three quarters of a million in the making of cars and components—and France, about one in ten of all workers have something to do with the automobile business.

In Europe as a whole, with 10.5 million working in the industry, it is the largest activity of all.

### LIMIT

What happened to make it all go bad—after years in which it seemed there could be no limit?

## Workers and the world market

The "market" for cars does not tell you how many cars are needed.

In most of the world, there aren't any cars at all.

Yet vehicles of whatever kind are a fantastic step forward in liberation from the age old isolation of the village and farm.

For the first time, people can get access to work, peasants to market, kids to school, the sick to hospital. You can get food to the starving, as well as water to parched crops. The need for vehicles is still vast, and it will remain so for generations.

Meanwhile, the auto barons slog it out. They say

First, as no-one needs it, there is a world of Automobile manufacture can no more escape collapse profit rates than any business.

Indeed, it's worse because it is so big and so much with basic industry steel and machine through to a major manufacturing.

The market for cars is growing because the incomes of the buyers froze because unemployment and businesses found profits squeezed.

The only growing part of the world market—in the East, South East Asia, Latin America—wants its own industries, not imported.

### DESTROY

So the big companies only grow by eating into the markets of their competitors—the competition has become deadly.

Everyone tries to eat each other. And when Chrysler—stumbles, the others jump in to raid it. Peugeot takes over Chrysler Europe. Volkswagen takes Chrysler Brazil, Mitsubishi Chrysler Australia.

The problem is made worse by the imbalance of different segments of production.

The major parts of the industry, in the U.S. and Europe, are old.

There are two companies way ahead of the rest—Ford and General Motors—their machinery is just antiquated as the rest.

the market is glutted and supply must be cut (that means more firings)—while they expand the supply.

They say the urgent necessity is to increase the lay offs of Japanese workers or to push up the price of Japanese cars—that is, to rob the U.S. workers and increase the profits of the car barons of Japan.

The gravest danger in this racket is that the employers will succeed in dragging workers into the task of self-destruction.

Then workers in the United States, Japan, Britain, Italy, see each other as the enemy—instead of employers.



# R WARS

## In the world recession in the auto industry

Like the Europeans, they failed to invest enough in the years of boom, just when a spanking brand new industry was being created out of nothing—in Japan. The Japanese assembly lines are all under twelve years old, all of the most advanced technical standard. Europe and America's are obsolete.

### POISONOUS

The American problem was worse. The increased oil price—and the rapidly increasing dependence of the U.S. on imported oil, obliged the U.S. companies to develop small economical cars, not the old "gas guzzlers."

They had to do it to beat off the poisonous competition of the small European cars.

So the American companies launched the gamble of gigantic investment programs to retool their plants—\$70 billion worth over six years—and a fanatical drive to cut costs, which means massive lay offs.

They had to borrow to do it just as interest rates soared and a weak dollar made it even easier to dump foreign-made cars into the American market.

The results were the 1980 losses—Chrysler, with the largest loss in American corporate history, \$1.7 billion, and Ford (\$1.5 billion) topping the list.

The American program in turn bludgeons the Europeans into following suit.

### ROBOTS

The investment program meant something else. The Japanese companies had set the technical trend—a drive to automation and the ending of virtually all auto making jobs by people. The Americans began to copy—as did the Europeans.

But they've got a long way to go. Japanese companies use 6,000 robots (and 50,000 non-programable automatic mechanisms) compared to

3,500 used in the United States (1,200 in Sweden; 1,133 in West Germany; 400 in Italy; and 371 in Britain).

But the ambitions are high. General Motors aims to be using 5,000 by 1985, and 14,000 by 1990.

One robot, they say, displaces an average five jobs, which makes for 70,000 lay offs from automation alone in General Motors up to 1990.

The American companies have another process where they have enormous advantages over both the Europeans and the Japanese.

In the 1970s, Ford became the first real European—and international—car making company. For the first time, it integrated production in complementary processes in different countries of the Common Market (that is, instead of each Ford plant serving a local national market with the complete product, it began to treat Europe as if it

was one market just like the United States).

By doing so, it forced specialization in different countries and so made enormous economies in production costs.

The European companies, on the other hand, remained trapped in particular national markets.

General Motors was not far behind Ford.

In the eighties, both Ford and General Motors have been racing each other to the "world car".

GM now has a car being simultaneously manufactured by Opel in West Germany, Vauxhall (Britain), Isuzu (in Japan), Holden (in Australia), in Spain and France as well as the United States. And the net is spreading wider, to force specialization in component manufacture—to include the Philippines, Brazil, Mexico and so on.

Furthermore, the issue of where plants are located is being used to bludgeon wages down. Already Ford has said that if the United Auto Workers Union (U.A.W.) is not "reasonable" in the 1982 wage negotiations, it will think about moving production out of America.

### MARKETS

At the same time, the Japanese reorganized component making companies to achieve similar effects at the level of very large scale production. It is estimated that a complete set of components in Japan for a small car is, as a result, \$1,500 cheaper than in Europe.

The war is between the big four—GM, Toyota, Nissan and Ford. They operate in all important markets.

By contrast, the rest have only a few markets. But to survive, they too will have to copy the same tactics—by doing special deals with each other or with one of the four, by forcing component companies into mergers or all buying from the same company (so the parts used under the hood become more and more the same), and so on.

It takes a lot of money—and a lot of lay offs.

This is the war that has produced the losses—and the lay offs. It can only get worse.

The battle is not about imports. That is just the pretext, to defend little home markets while the companies slog it out abroad.

Everybody has turned on the Japanese as the scapegoat for the failure of American and European companies to invest earlier—as well as trying to do

deals with them or buy them up.

As governments tighten restrictions on car imports, all leading companies have to get behind the controls by building plants in other countries—as VW is doing in the States (where Renault has taken over American Motors; Peugeot flirts with Chrysler; Nissan and Toyota are building plants; Toyota takes over a Spanish company, and Nissan thinks about a British plant). As a result, the ferocious competition abroad is imported back into each national part to threaten the "home base" of the local company.

Furthermore, VW's manufacture in the States hits its exports from West Germany. And the general increase in auto manufacturing makes the world competition even fiercer. Now restrictions on car imports are fuelling an increasingly bitter battle in the field of components.

There's still no remedy. They used to say that only a company with the capacity to make two million cars a year would survive in the volume business. There were then eight—the four leaders, and four others (Peugeot, VW, Renault, Fiat).

But even that seems doubtful now. The last four won't make it unless they can match the concept of the "world car" and escape the confines of the little domestic market.

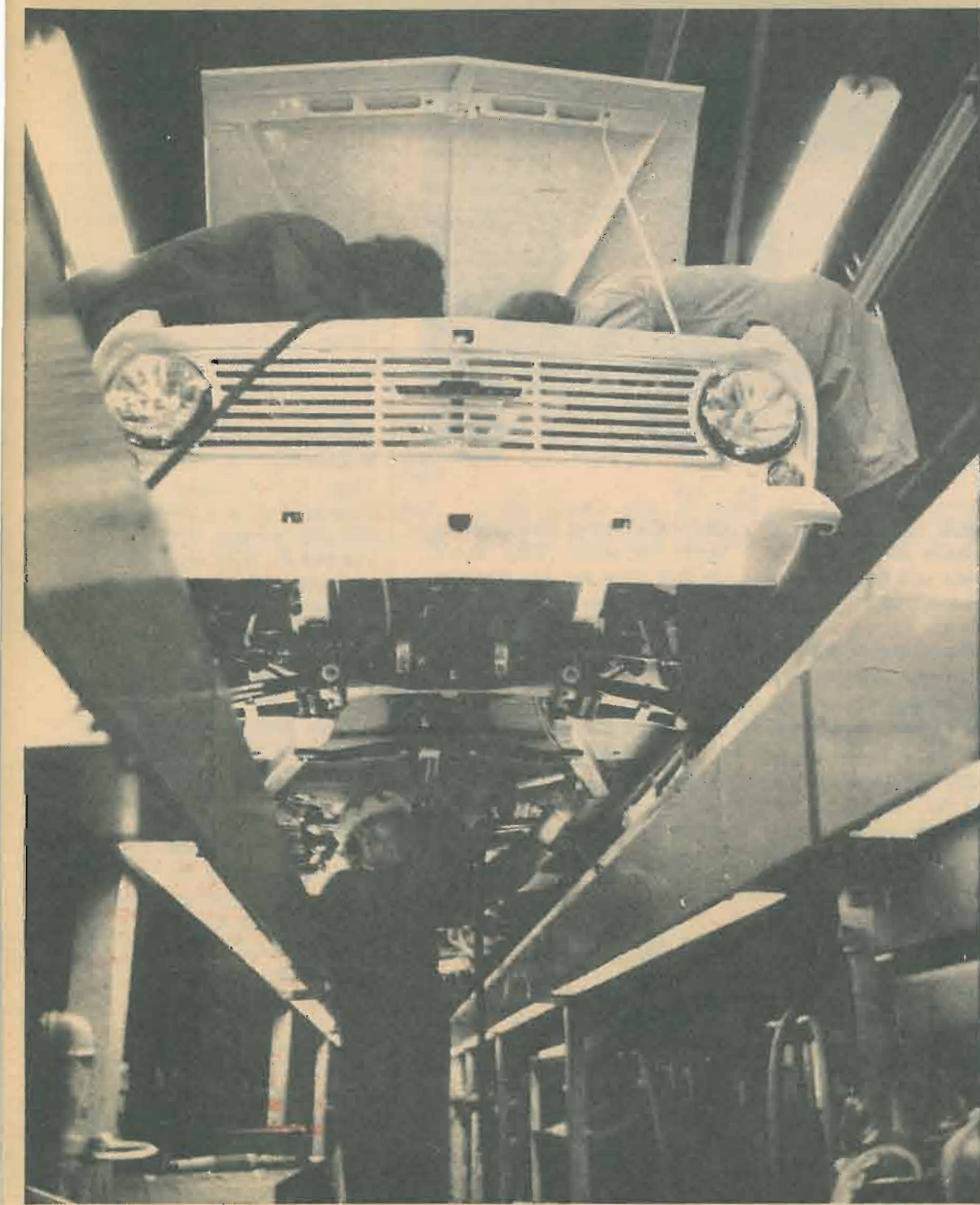
Once the two American giants are able to make small cars as well as the Europeans, they will start exporting them to Europe. Because of their world-wide production system, they will be cheaper—and because they both have an entrenched position in Europe already, as the Japanese do not, they will be a far greater threat to the survival of the European companies than either Nissan or Toyota. □

### DECLINE

This news may warm the hearts of the stockholders of Ford and General Motors, but it will not mean good times for the workers who produce the cars—in this country or any country.

Jobs and Ford and GM will continue to decline and they will be spread throughout the world, and the giants continue to move production away from the old centers in Michigan and Ohio.

But the stockholders have some reason for concern as well. The new world cars may have one unexpected by-product—a world working class—united against a common employer. □



# WHEN "WORKERS" ARE "OWNERS"

Dear Socialist Worker,

I recently came across a graphic example of what's wrong with experiments in "worker ownership."

In July, 1980, the workers at Rath's slaughterhouse in Waterloo, Iowa, agreed to buy a majority stock in the company, a hog-slaughtering and pork processing firm, which had been on the verge of bankruptcy for years.

At first there was great enthusiasm and even increased productivity, but it didn't last long.

The plant executives—who never relinquished decision making powers, did what all bosses do. They tried to get all they could out of the workers. Never mind that the "workers" were the "owners."

"We worked harder and faster," says Henry Huebner

of the hog-kill floor. Soon he and his co-workers were killing 800 hogs an hour, compared to 600 previously. The workers also gave up vacations, part of their wages, and made being late a dismissible offense.

But market conditions dashed high hopes. Economic hard times have caused 10% of the nation's slaughterhouses to close in the past two

years.

Rath laid off its second shift, after reporting losses of \$9.6 million last year.

"We're worse off than we were before we bought the company," says Jack Hahn.

Worker morale is now at an all-time low, and there is even talk of a strike—against the company they "own."

Janet Evans,  
Minneapolis, MN



## CAMPUS NEWS

**Bloomington...**

The Bloomington Peace Coalition organized a demonstration against the nuclear arms race for Veterans' Day. Twelve groups, including churches, the ISO, the Citizens' Party, and the Bloomington Alliance for Reproductive Choice, sponsored the event.

Two hundred people marched from the Indiana University campus to the Monroe County Courthouse. Chants and signs protested the military budget increases and called for an end to welfare cuts. High school students and townspeople joined college students in this enthusiastic new beginning for the anti-weapons movement in the U.S. . . .

**Chicago...**

Students at Northwestern University are fighting to stop the deportation of Dennis Brutus, a Black South African exile, who has been teaching English at Northwestern for ten years.

Brutus, who is now on leave from Northwestern, teaching at Amherst College in Massachusetts, is a well-known opponent of the apartheid system in South Africa.

The students want the university administration to take a stand against deportation, as Amherst College has done, but thus far the university has refused.

Students picketed the administration building on November 7th, 8th and 10th. On November 9th, they held a rally attended by 250 people. On November 11, they organized a picket at the immigration offices in downtown Evanston. 150 people took part.

At Brutus' first hearing in November, the judge declared that the professor was in fact "deportable" but took no action, postponing the decision until a future date, probably in January.

The Northwestern students are asking for support. Send messages to: Dennis Brutus Committee, Black House, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60201 . . .

What's happening at your campus? Send your report to Socialist Worker, c/o Campus News, Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118 □

# Letters

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

## Ashtabula needs a little prodding



Solidarity Day in Ashtabula

Dear Socialist Worker,

I attended the recent strike support rally for the Ashtabula nurses who have been on strike for sixteen months now.

After the rally, the supporters of the nurses went to the hospital and set up a militant picket line, something which the nurses themselves are banned from doing by a court injunction.

We kept many strike-breakers out of the hospital for about two hours. This action will not—of course—win the strikers an immediate victory. Far from it, but it does show the potential of solidarity in action.

The nurses have many supporters in the Ashtabula area. If the unions there—and the Ohio Nurses Association statewide—would mobilize their members, or better yet, if rank and file workers in the

area would organize themselves—the hospital could be effectively shut down, and the trustees would be forced to rethink their plans of waiting the nurses out.

There would be fines and

### NARROW-MINDED LABOR NEWS

Dear Socialist Worker,

Why not try to have a sense of perspective? You seem to think a strike of 100 nurses in Ashtabula, Ohio, is the most important thing in the world.

At the same time you give

### MARXIST-LENINIST PHILOSOPHY NEEDED

Dear Socialist Worker,

I am overjoyed to get my hands on a newspaper that proves to the people how imperialistic and repressive the U.S. government really is. All the more so since Reagan and company came to power.

there would be arrests. But workers have always had to face arrests and fines. And a little chaos might shake Ashtabula up.

The main thing is that we could force the trustees and

practically no coverage at all to the really important unions, including the Teamsters, the rubber workers and the auto workers, all of which negotiate contracts affecting millions this year.

However, I would like to see some articles on Marxist-Leninist philosophy and economics. Otherwise though, I like reading the reports on strikes, and also about other current events such as what is happening on college campuses

the politicians in Ashtabula to settle the strike. They won't do it if they are not given a little prodding.

George Caldwell,  
Cleveland, OH

As a California reader, I think I speak for others in objecting to your narrow-minded, highly parochial labor reporting.

Eric Rhodes,  
Sacramento, CA

and women's rights.

Then too, I would like to hear more about the socialist parties from other countries, and what is being done to organize for the revolution.

Yours in the revolution,  
William James DeLano

# "no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



## The tragedy of the Mexican Revolution

BY MIKE GONZALEZ

In 1914 a revolutionary army marched on the Mexican presidential palace.

A famous photograph of the time shows the leaders temporarily enjoying victory—cattle rustler and bandit, Pancho Villa, is sprawled happily across the presidential throne, while peasant leader Emiliano Zapata sits besides him looking anxious and uncomfortable.

These two men and their peasant army did not stay long. They vacated the palace of their own accord and returned to their home states, leaving the place to the bourgeois politicians.

Rather sadly, however, the occupation was the symbolic highpoint of the Mexican revolution, one of the first upheavals of the twentieth century.

### PLAN

The revolution began inauspiciously on November 20th 1910. A mildly eccentric son of a land-owning family, Francisco Madero launched his plan for the political reform of Mexico.

Madero was concerned to end the ruthless, 34-year dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, who had opened up Mexico to foreign capital, while slavery still existed and most of the population lived on the verge of starvation.

Madero wanted to introduce democratic elections for the presidency.

He spoke for the middle classes, the small businessmen, professionals and civil servants who were excluded from the profits gained from foreign capital.

The plan did not speak of land reform or workers' rights.

But it was enough to spark off a revolution that lasted seven years, killing tens of thousands, and involving the mass of Mexico's peasants.

South of Mexico City, the peasants in the state of More-

los, had been driven off the land to make way for expanding sugar plantations.

Their bitterness exploded in a movement led by Zapata, and calling for 'Land and Liberty' they marched on the mansions of the landowners.

In the north, Pancho Villa formed a revolutionary army—the Goldshirts—with the support of the landworkers.

Many others formed revolutionary bands. Some wanted personal power, others were fighting for limited political reforms. In the south and west, the Indian population rose against those who had enslaved them.

### CALL

In May 1911, Diaz resigned, and in November Madero was elected as president.

His first act was to call on Zapata and Villa to lay down their arms—they were a threat to the orderly political change he wanted, and their demands threatened the comfortable middle class alliance he helped build.

Both Zapata and Villa refused to move, until their basic demands for redistribution of land were met.

Counter-revolution followed. Madero was murdered by one of his generals—a man named Huerta—who took over the presidency with the support of Diaz' men.

In the civil war that followed, an uneasy alliance was formed between Zapata and Villa on the one hand and the 'constitutionalist' landowner, Carranza, on the other.

Together they managed to overthrow Huerta, but then Carranza swung round to oppose the peasantry.

The revolution officially ended in 1917. With Carranza as president, the constitution was supposed to lay the basis for a post-revolutionary order.

It promised land to the peasants, but it also protected private property.

It promised workers' rights

but it protected the bosses. Needless to say it was impossible to implement.

Zapata again refused to lay down his arms. He fought on until he was betrayed and murdered in 1919.

Villa, finally defeated, retired to his ranch, where he was gunned down in 1923.

### TRAGEDY

The tragedy of the Mexican Revolution was the absence of the working class from the ranks of the revolutionary army. Under Carranza, in fact, the so-called 'Red' battalions of industrial workers were sent against Zapata's army.

In 1908-9, a series of solidarity strikes had developed in the mines, the textile industry and on the railways.

The political leadership of the movement was mainly syndicalist. Scorning the question of political power, the leadership concentrated on industrial and trade union issues.

There was no form of political organization capable of linking the struggles of workers and peasants. Although the slogan 'land and liberty' moved thousands of peasants, the movement had no program for seizing power.

As a result, very little was changed by the Revolution.

Although the country is ruled by the Party of Institutionalized Revolution, in reality the old ruling class was simply replaced by a series of generals who used the state for their own benefit.

Madero's demand that no Mexican president should be re-elected has not stopped each Mexican president from becoming a millionaire.

One of them, Miguel Aleman, a partner in Hilton Hotels, has his milk flow in from England every day.

In 1964 a new revolutionary movement grew up around a peasant called Ruben Jaramillo. It echoed the old battle cry of Zapata, 'Land and Liberty.'

Jaramillo and his family were murdered by the army. □



Emiliano Zapata

# WHERE WE STAND



## • Workers' Control

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

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

## • Revolution Not Reform

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

## • A Workers' Government

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

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

## • Fight Oppression

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

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

We support the independent organization and struggles of oppressed people to strengthen the working class struggle for socialism.

## • Black Liberation

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

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

## • Rank and File Organization

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

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

## • Internationalism

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

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

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

## • Revolutionary Party

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

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

# International Socialist Organization

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

## ISO NEWS

# What's ON

### BOSTON

Barbara Winslow on **Women's Rights Under Attack** December 2, 2:30 pm, U. Mass, Harbor Campus, 1st floor, Room 207. Call 282-6711 for details.

Barbara Winslow on **Feminism and Socialism**. December 4, 7:30 p.m. 100 Arlington Street, downtown Boston. Call 442-1802 for details.

### CHICAGO

Ahmed Shawki on **Black Liberation in the Eighties**. December 6, 7:00 p.m. Call 248-1572 for details.

### CINCINNATI

Faith Simon and Pat Jenkins, president of AFSCME Longview Hospital on **Women as Health Care Workers**. December 12, 7:30 p.m. UCM, 2699 Clifton. Call 351-4333 for details.

### AMHERST

Barbara Winslow on **The European Anti-Nuclear Movement**. December 2, 4:00 p.m. U. Mass Amherst Student Union.

### BLOOMINGTON

Ahmed Shawki on **The Middle East After Sadat**. December 3, 7:30 p.m., 0066 Ballantine. Call 332-8272 for details.

### CLEVELAND

Cal Winslow on **The Working Class in the Eighties**. December 4, CSU Student Union, 12:00 p.m.

PATCO striker on **The PATCO Strike**. December 5, 7:30 p.m. Call 371-7648 or 321-6143 for details.

### SAN FRANCISCO

Cal Winslow on **The Working Class in the Eighties**. December 15, 7:30 p.m. Call 285-1908 for details.

### SEATTLE

Cal Winslow on **The American Labor Movement: Potential and Reality**. Sunday, December 13, 7:00 p.m. Call 722-4133 for details.

### ISO Holiday Benefit

6-11:00 p.m. Sunday, December 20, Night Hawk Tavern. Ranier & Othello. Live Music.



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— Karl Marx

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# reviews

## Violence, the Klan, and the Struggle for Equality

"What the Klan cannot stand is for the truth to be told about it. That is what the teachers should do."

Thus begins the National Education Association's excellent informational and instructional pamphlet, "Violence, the Ku Klux Klan and the Struggle for Equality."

### COUNTER

It comes as a welcome counter to the Klan's student recruitment drives and if used extensively will aid greatly in the movement against racism and the Klan.

The pamphlet is divided into two sections: an historical overview of the Klan, and an instructional kit which provides teachers with lesson plans and reading materials.

The historical analysis provides the basis for the lesson plans and is radically different than that normally taught in the schools.

"Violence, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Struggle for Equality" National Education Association, 1981. \$4.95.

For instance, many, if not most of us, were taught that Reconstruction was an essentially corrupt period in which southern whites were oppressed, and that the Klan originated as a movement of poor whites to oppose this.

The authors of the pamphlet refute these racist myths point blank, arguing that Reconstruction was a mass movement against the southern slaveocracy. A movement which pressed for basic changes in the political and economic structure of the South.

The KKK is shown to have originated as a group of former slaveholders and Confederate officers who wanted to restore their former power and privilege.

The Klan's campaign of terror against Blacks, which was one of the factors that defeated Reconstruction was massive—from 1866 to 1875 the Klan killed an estimated 3,500 Black people and whipped, beat, tarred, and feathered many thousands more.

The Klan returned in the 1920's after a period of relative decline.

This was a decade of incredible reaction—reaction against the demands of Black veterans for equality, against the women's movement, against the infectious spirit of the Russian Revolution which had gripped workers immediately after the war.

The Klan capitalized, grow-

ing to five million members by 1923. The authors correctly point out the basis of the Klan during the 1920's: "businessmen, clergy, public officials, judges, police and other 'respectable' members of communities."

Once again, the Klan was one response by those who felt threatened by change from below. It declined when many of its racist, sexist, and anti-labor demands were enacted (e.g. immigration quotas).

### OVERVIEW

The historical overview continues with the civil rights movement, describing how the KKK acted as an extension of the racist state governments of the South, terrorizing

the movement with burnings and murders.

The Black movement fought back against the Klan and the southern power structure, and eventually forced the federal government to overturn state segregation laws.

The 1970's have been a period of backlash by white society, a backlash which has been fed by the present economic conditions.

The authors point out that once again those most oppressed by the system are being blamed for its problems—scapegoated by both the Klan and the "respectable" racists of academia, the media, and the government.

All this has led to a resurgence of the KKK.

An increase in racist attacks has been accompanied by a student recruitment drive which extends throughout the country, and has helped build the Klan up to a size of 10,000 members or so (with perhaps 100,000 supporters).

The second half of "Violence, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Struggle for Equality" is a series of eleven lesson plans designed to teach students about racism and the Klan.

Included are "The Klan Today", "The Beginnings of White Supremacy" and "Myth Vs. Reality: The Process of Scapegoating."

Each lesson plan has a set of objectives, reading materials, and questions to be discussed. For instance, one of the objectives of the lesson "Birth of the Klan" is "to identify those who benefitted from the Klan and those against whose interests the Klan worked."

The lesson "The Struggle for Equality" has as one of its objectives "to be able to contrast the concept of equality with the reality of slavery and discrimination in the United States."

The procedures vary from lesson to lesson, but usually involve short readings such as Frederick Douglass' "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July", combined with presentations based on the historical overview, and discussion.

Through use of the series, all the lies spewed by the Klan can be opposed effectively.

The attempt by the Klan to portray itself as a "respectable" organization is countered by a discussion of recent violent attacks by the Klan.

The mythology of "reverse discrimination" is countered by statistics showing how the gap favoring white over Black economically has widened.

"Violence, the Ku Klux Klan, and the struggle for Equality" argues correctly that the Klan is only the tip of the iceberg in a society in which racism and white supremacist ideas are deeply entrenched.

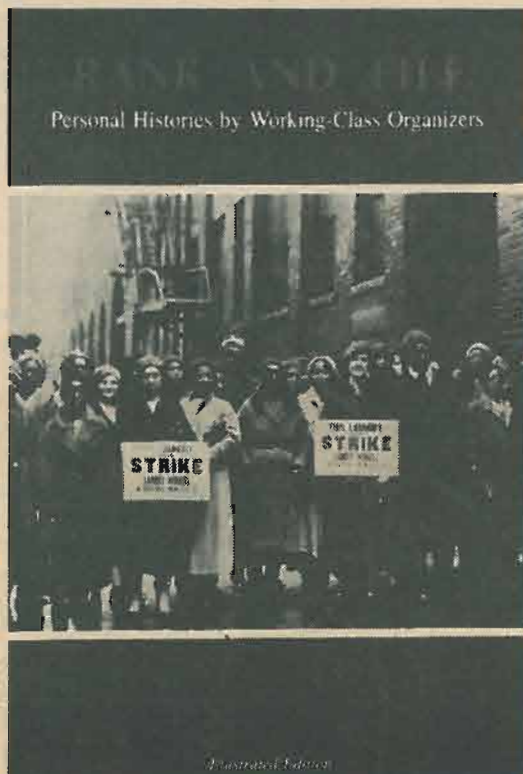
As socialists, we go a step further, arguing that racism can only be rooted out when the capitalist society that breeds it is replaced by a truly democratic socialist society.

### MOVEMENT

An anti-Klan, anti-racist movement is an important step in this process and "Violence, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Struggle for Equality" if used throughout the schools, will aid greatly in building this movement. □



Alice and Staughton Lynd's classic collection of personal histories of working class organizers is once again in print. The book contains the stories of many workers, including John Anderson's chapter, "How I became part of the labor movement." This book should be read by every socialist and working class militant. It is a perfect holiday gift. Rank and File is now available from Hera Press, Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio, 44118 for \$6.95.





## on the picket line



## NURSING HOME WORKERS: "WE DIDN'T COME OUT TO LOSE"

GENEVA, OH—Health care workers across the country are under attack.

In Ashtabula, nurses have been on strike for nearly one and a half years.

Just a few miles down the road is another strike of health workers, now in its sixth month. The issues are the same: union security and decent wages.

And the struggle is the same. Workers fighting for the barest essentials of decent working conditions.

Geneva Health Care Center, a 96-bed nursing home is organized by the Service Employees International Union.

by FAITH SIMON

The union represents over 60 aids, orderlies, dietary, and laundry workers.

It was certified in August of 1980, but negotiations did not even begin until November.

For seven months negotiations went on, mainly arguing about union security.

The workers want a closed shop but were willing to compromise to a modified or even an agency shop. (In an agency shop, membership is optional but for those who choose not to join, a sum of money equal

to union dues is paid to a charity.

But management was immovable. The only kind of shop they want is a non-union one.

June 29th was set as the strike date. On that day a total of 60 workers went out. Fourteen nurses joined the strikers, leaving only the Director of Nursing, the head nurse, and a few others inside.

The workers immediately set up picket lines to stop the scabs from going in. And within two days had a primary injunction slapped on them.

The management's unwillingness to bargain in good faith is reflected not only in the issue of union security but in wages as well.

At one point a few months ago, a wage packet had almost been decided on when management insulted the workers once again.

An ad appeared in the local newspaper for scabs starting at a higher wage than the proposed agreement.

"It's hard on people. We need the jobs back. You'd think the money they're spending on breaking the strike, just the money spent on the security guard system to watch us. They could have just given the money to us," said picket captain Gloria Easterbrook.

Negotiations ceased in the beginning of October, when the attorney for management told workers they were all fired.

But the strikers aren't giving up without a fight. As one striker put it, "We didn't come out to lose this strike and we're staying out until we win it."

The community is in support of the Geneva workers. A raffle ticket sale raised over \$1,400. Families of patients have come out in support, as have local labor unions.

### EMPLOYED

Some of the strikers have been able to get jobs. The owner of another local nursing home is in support of the strikers and has employed some of the workers.

Not everyone has been so lucky. And for many it is a struggle to make ends meet. The Geneva strikers need your support.

Please send donations and messages of support to: Geneva Health Center Strikers Fund, P.O. Box 550, Geneva, Ohio 44041.

**CHARLESTON, W. VA—**United Mine Workers president Sam Church is being challenged for the leadership of the union.

Rich Trumka, the executive board member for Pennsylvania District 4, has announced that he, Cecil Roberts of District 17, and John Banovic, president of Illinois District 12, will run against Church in the November 1982 union elections. □

## TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

# AFL-CIO convention: two steps backwards

The AFL-CIO had a field day at their recent New York City convention denouncing President Reagan and his economic program.

But denouncing the President and his policies is no solution to the problems of the workers.

The convention failed to present a program to solve the problems of the workers. As the ranks of the unemployed grow, Fraser and other AFL-CIO leaders not only facilitate the wage cuts, they offer no alternative to the workers.

### BACKWARDS

The convention, in calling for trade barriers and deeper involvement with the Democratic Party, took two steps backwards. These ideas parallel those of President Reagan in going back to the Hoover era. To end the depression of the 30's FDR took us into World War II. The convention failed to take a stand against Reagan's military budget.

After the successful Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington Fraser and other AFL-CIO leaders have failed to take the next most important step in meeting the attack of the employers. They have failed to put forward a program to activate the rank and file in the shops.

Solidarity Day in Washington will have been for naught unless the ranks are invited to participate in a discussion of a program that will not only halt the attack by the employers but will take the initiative to regain the ground already lost.

The way the UAW and other AFL-

CIO unions deal with workers' problems is being demonstrated in the way the UAW is dealing with a problem affecting workers in Fleetwood Local 15, Cadillac Local 22 and Fisher Pontiac Local 596.

The officers and shop committee of UAW Local 15, Fleetwood, held a meeting with a vice president of GM. Joe Gaston, president and Frank Locricchio, chairman of the shop committee, made no mention of that meeting in their report to the membership on November 8th. When I asked them why they had failed to report on that meeting Frank said he didn't have to report such matters to the membership. He indicated he called for the meeting because he had been unable to get any information from the international union. He also indicated he was "looking for a powerful friend in high places."

### SECRECY

In speaking with Frank Runnels, president of Local 22 and George Carney, president of Fisher Pontiac Local 596, I was told the rank and file need not be informed on who are to get the jobs at the new Cadillac Poletown GM plant or at the new Orion Township GM plant. I was told Local 596 already has been designated as the bargaining agent for the Orion Township plant. Cadillac Local 22 will no doubt be the bargaining agent for the new Poletown plant.

All the details to determine who are to get the jobs in these two new plants are to be determined in secrecy between the corporation and the international union. This secrecy will



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

increase the alienation between the workers and their union. It will mean worse conditions in the new plants because of worker indifference to the union. They should have a voice in these decisions for the high dues they pay.

This is the way issues are resolved in the UAW. The rank and file are not given a voice. I have not heard a serious discussion of the workers problems in Local 15 in the last 30 years. There are no reports of standing committees or by members of the shop committee at membership meetings. The only reports given are those by the president and the chairman of the shop committee. Their reports are so general in nature and so short as to be meaningless to the membership. Because of these meaningless reports and no discussion most meetings are cancelled for lack of a quorum. Such reports generate no interest in the meetings.

### INFORMED

Until the ranks are fully informed through the union paper or at membership meetings about a program to turn back the assault of the employers, the retreat on wages, hours and working conditions will continue.

Stop the wage cuts—shorten the work week—build a workers' party are ideas whose time has come. Only an active rank and file movement can bring them about. □



# Solidarity Day II: what a farce!

by AHMED SHAWKI

NEW YORK, NY—The AFL-CIO held its convention here last month, November 16-19.

Nine hundred delegates and 2,000 guests gathered to celebrate the federation's 100th anniversary.

The convention met in what one reporter called a "perversely jubilant mood"—mainly because of the success of the Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington D.C., when 500,000 workers marched in opposition to Reagan, and the U.A.W.'s recent decision to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO.

## CAUSE

The rhetoric was flamboyant, but in fact there was little cause for jubilation.

Workers and their unions are daily under attack. Union membership continues to fall. Some of the largest unions have literally lost hundreds of thousands of members.

Between 1979 and 1981 the U.A.W. alone has lost 300,000 members.

Real earnings were down another 4.4% this year. Blue collar unemployment is estimated at 11%. Black unemployment is estimated at 15.5%.

With a major contract round coming up in 1982—auto, rubber, steel, trucking, petroleum—the employers clearly have got the upper hand.

Many employers, especially in trucking, auto and steel, are demanding that concessions be negotiated before the contracts expire. In Sheffield, Alabama, Ford told its workforce to accept a 50% cut in wages and benefits.

When the workers refused, Ford announced the plants' closure.

In Canton, Ohio, Timken Steel forced its workers, members of the United Steelworkers, to accept an eleven year moratorium on strikes. The list goes on.

The AFL-CIO leadership has all but encouraged this situation.

In his keynote address, Lane Kirkland, president of the federation, did not even mention the PATCO strike. And the Executive Council roundly turned down calls from California union locals for a national day of action in support of PATCO.

Instead, the AFL-CIO leadership is urging the PATCO strikers to beg for a few thousand jobs back.

The potential power shown on Solidarity Day has all but been forgotten.

Kirkland and other union leaders are banking everything on a Democratic Party election victory in 1982.

Both 1984 Democratic presidential hopefuls Ted Kennedy and Walter Mondale gave keynote addresses to the convention.

The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) is mandated to ensure closer



On strike in Oberlin, Ohio

ties with the Democratic Party.

Union payments into COPE are now mandatory and the plan is to make COPE a more important contributor to the Democratic National Committee.

In that spirit, Kirkland announced that the AFL-CIO is planning another Solidarity Day, to be held on election day 1982!

Any move toward independent action or aggressive tactics were opposed.

In the one open discord at the convention, a group of 30 Black union officers recommended a slate of 5 delegates for the vacancies on the Executive Council.

The list was dismissed, and the Executive Council picked a more conservative Black woman, Barbara Hutchinson, to fill the post.

## OFFENSIVE

The centennial convention did not provide an alternative to the problems facing workers today.

In the next year, we can expect to see employers continue their offensive against unions, with little opposition from the trade union bureaucrats.

At the same time, however, these attacks will force workers to move into action if they are to defend their interests.

The bitterness and anger against the Reagan administration is real enough. The rank and file will have to begin to fight where the union leadership has not and cannot.

# KECO WORKERS PLEDGE TO KEEP THEIR UNION

by KATHY STEWART

CINCINNATI, OH—The strike at Keco Industries Inc., reported in last months' *Socialist Worker*, ended November 13 when union members voted to ratify a contract.

The three year contract calls for a 50¢ per hour pay raise each year—which won't keep up with inflation. The average wage at Keco is now \$4.00 an hour.

## MEAGRE

This meagre pay raise is not the reason the three month long strike was ended. Just one week before the contract was ratified, strikers were united in their resolve that they would all go in together or none of them would go back.

But in face of winter weather, mounting bills, and poor organization on the part of union officials, strikers' morale was dwindling.

When the company offered to lay off all the strikers and call them back one by one, the strikers accepted.

People felt they could at least collect food stamps and unemployment unavailable to

strikers if they were officially laid off, instead of on strike. Whether the strikers will actually receive any benefits remains to be seen.

Those who applied for unemployment must now appeal the unemployment compensation bureau's ruling that they are ineligible for benefits because they were involved in a labor dispute.

Whether the company will abide by the contract also remains to be seen.

## VIOLATED

The provision that people will be called back by seniority has already been violated. Paula Ramsey, one of the most active strikers, told *Socialist Worker*, that some of the five people called back so far have less seniority than her.

She said that if the company doesn't comply with the contract and call her back, she will file a grievance. She and other Keco workers intend to struggle to keep the union there.



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# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

## SOLIDARITY DAY IN ASHTABULA

**NURSES  
VOW  
TO  
STAY  
OUT AS  
LONG  
AS IT  
TAKES**



On November 14, the striking Ashtabula nurses, joined by hundreds of supporters, marched through downtown Ashtabula, and rallied in a park across from the city courthouse.

### STRIKERS

The strikers were joined by nurses from many Ohio cities—Youngstown, Kent,

### CALVIN WILLIAMS REPORTS FROM ASHTABULA

Akron, Toledo, Dayton, Columbus, Warren, Cincinnati, Cleveland.

Striking nursing home workers came from Geneva, striking Kaiser nurses came from Cleveland. Striking air traffic control-

lers came from Oberlin, Ohio. There were also steelworkers and auto-workers from Ashtabula.

The Cleveland Area Ashtabula Nurses Strike Support Committee organized a car caravan from

downtown Cleveland—sixty miles away. Thirty cars brought seventy-five supporters—many of them nurses and health care workers.

At the rally, there was cheering and chanting, as

well as a number of speakers. A nursing student from Kent wished success to the strikers and said, "They don't teach this in school."

A PATCO speaker said that the example of the nurses' round the clock picketing for sixteen months would help air traffic controllers keep going.

A doctor from Cleveland said that not all doctors were bad, that there were some, herself included, who supported the strike.

After the rally, the supporters went to the Ashtabula General Hospital where a court injunction prohibits nurses from effective picketing.

For nearly two hours the strike supporters kept cars out of the parking lots. No nurses were involved.

Still the hospital went to court and got several strike leaders subpoenaed on charges of contempt of court. The hospital is asking that the nurses charged be fined \$500 and given ten days in jail.

### BOOST

The march and rally boosted spirits in Ashtabula but there is still no end in sight to the strike.

So the nurses still need support, especially now, during the holidays.

Send messages of support to the Ashtabula nurses, c/o Mary Runyan, 2190 South Ridge East, Ashtabula, Ohio, 44004. □

## SAN FRANCISCO GROCERY STRIKE: SHOPPERS FEAR CAVIAR SHORTAGE!

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—The 100th day of the Oakville Grocery strike came as a big boost for the strikers (Retail Clerks Union Local 648).

25 trade unionists joined the picket line and helped stem the flow of pre-Thanksgiving shoppers to a trickle. Frustrated owners and scabs piled unsold luxury items against the windows in order to keep the real world outside.

Oakville Grocery is a high quality-extravagant-foodstore with a minimum mark up of 66% on all items.

### CAVIAR

These include such bare necessities as French Russian caviar—\$55 for 1½ ozs. Also Normandy Sweet Butter at \$7 per pound, wild Chantrelles mushrooms at \$30 per pound and White Italian Truffles at \$40 per oz. (yes, the same truffles that pigs love).

Despite these prices and corresponding profits, the average worker's wage was only \$5.25 an hour with no benefits and no job security.

After months of management's broken promises and harassment, the workers finally looked to unionization and their own collective strength.

At the first signs of this, the management started a dirty campaign against the union. They employed the union busting law firm of Litter, Mendonson, Fastiff & Tichey.

### REFUSED

Joe Phelps, of the Colorado Construction Family, threatened closure. The workers refused to be intimidated and voted for the union 16-6.

Despite union demands of

far less than the standard union contract for Safeway workers, the management refused to bargain in good faith.

### OFFER

Their final offer included a derisory \$4.50 per hour for "part-time" workers with no benefits. "Part-time" could have meant up to 35 hours per week and there was no security that full-time workers would not be made "part-time". All but 5 workers struck on August 13th.

Since then the strikers have remained steadfast despite management's refusal to negotiate and the routine insults from the more obnoxious of the rich, limousine driven customers.

Striker Myrna Slade estimates that "business has dropped by 50%."

The owners have been trying desperately to get an injunction but have failed to stop effective picketing.

### DESERVE

The strikers are determined to hold out. As Myrna Slade explained:

"If it's necessary to close the store down that's fine, they do not deserve to be in business."

She added, "Compared to the Ashtabula nurses and the J.P. Stevens mill workers, we have just begun to fight."

The coming holiday season is the stores busiest season and of crucial importance to the strike. With further mass pickets and real support from their own union a settlement can be forced. □

by DAVE SIDDLE