

Socialist Worker

Paper of the International Socialist Organization 25¢ monthly

MAY 1984



NUMBER 85

NO RECOVERY FOR WORKERS BUT...

THE BOSSES CASH IN

**LAST YEAR
THIS MAN
MADE \$13.5
MILLION**

Excited cries about the "recovery" are ringing in the street—Wall Street, that is.

Reagan and his corporate buddies are proclaiming new heights for profit rates. And the biggest bosses were rewarded with massive pay increases in 1983.

"Average" executives hauled in a 13.8% pay raise in 1983, more than twice the 5.5% increase they got the year before and triple the 1983 inflation rate of 3.8%.

But even as tycoons parade their profits before the media, workers' living standards continue to crumble.

The nation's highest-paid executive, William S. Anderson of National Cash Register, got more than \$13.8 million in total compensation last year. Assuming he "worked" a 40-hour week, he received over \$6,000 per hour!

Compare these figures to the average 2% pay hike in 1983 for workers with union contracts, and it is clear that the "recovery" is confined to the Wall Street barons.

Workers' paychecks are shrinking, failing to keep pace even with an exceptionally low inflation rate.

PROFITABILITY

But while companies like Chrysler crow to investors about new-found profitability, they poormouth workers who ask for their share.

Chrysler workers took wage and benefit cuts in 1979, and the company got bailout loans from the federal government to help it through its crisis. Chrysler, enjoying record profits of \$706 million in 1983, repaid the loans ahead of time.

The workers are still waiting. Thousands laid off in 1979 remain idle while those earning the sub-standard wage work manda-

tory overtime. But Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca insists that any wage increase for workers will "destroy" the company. The shareholders have rewarded him with a 30% raise to \$475,000. *Business Week* called Iacocca "the most bang for the corporate buck."

General Motors and Ford also had big years. GM boss Roger Smith took home a 171% pay hike and Ford chief Philip Caldwell got a 214% raise. But if they have their way in this fall's contract talks with the United Auto Workers, the bucks will stop at the bosses' wallets.

"ENDANGER"

Like Iacocca, they maintain that any wage increase would "endanger" the entire industry. And the UAW's president, Owen Bieber, accepts the argument. Rank and file workers will have to take matters into their own hands if they are going to win anything.

But the autoworkers' struggle comes as the men in pinstripe suits stampede to take advantage of anti-union government moves.

The Supreme Court has ruled that any company which might be in financial trouble can wipe out its labor contracts, and the National Labor Relations Board permits similar actions by companies relocating their plants.

The government rulings are only the latest in a series of losses for the labor movement. Wage concessions and the recession have lowered the standard of living. The destruction of the air traffic controllers union in the PATCO strike, and the defeat of the Greyhound and Continental walkouts, have sapped workers' strength, and union bureaucrats will not resist the bosses' onslaught. Even the militant Las Vegas hotel workers are isolated.

But in 1984 workers will have



a chance to fight back. In addition to the UAW, the 160,000 member United Mine Workers and four unions representing 600,000 federal postal workers will be negotiating contracts this year.

Union leaders have hinted at the possibility of strikes to win their demands. But strikes are won by workers' solidarity, not by labor bureaucrats.

PERSISTENCE

Only rank and file persistence on the picket line can resist the attack on workers' rights and win a share of the wealth they create.

This "recovery" is for bosses only—until workers organize to take what is rightfully theirs. Our only alternative is to organize—and be prepared to fight. □

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:



**HIGH STAKES IN
LAS VEGAS STRIKE**
See page 5



**THE REAL CAUSES
OF WAR**
See page 4

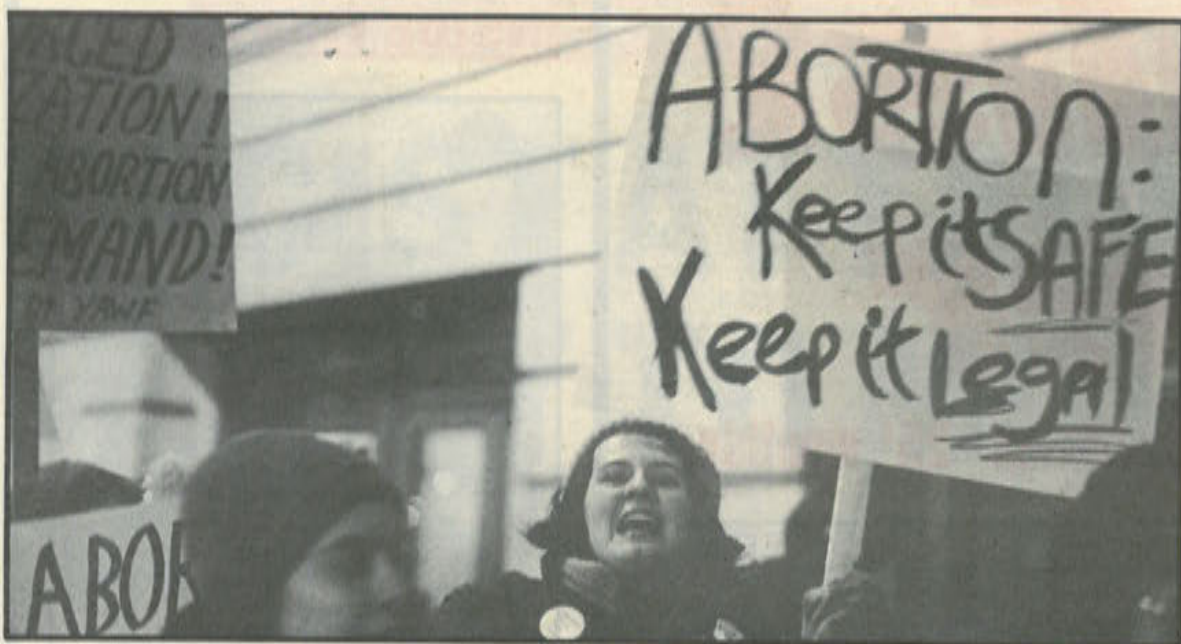


**MARVIN GAYE:
1939-1984**
See page 13

MAY DAY



**MAY DAY IS
WORKERS' DAY**
See pages 8 and 9



Washington abortion clinic under attack

by MARY DEATON

EVERETT, WA—For the third time in less than six months the Everett Feminist Women's Health Center here has been attacked by right-wing terrorists. The latest attack, a fire, came Friday, April 20, 1984. Damage to the clinic is estimated at over \$75,000. Similar damage from a fire December 3, 1983, kept the clinic closed for three months for repairs. A smaller fire in March did \$10,000 damage to one room.

It is probably no coincidence this latest outrage came on the day five anti-abortionist pickets began trial for harassing and threatening patients at the abortion and gynecological clinic. Dottie Roberts, Karen Crabtree and other women leading the right-wing picketers at the clinic office are accused of harassing staff members and their families.

FEAR

One clinic worker has quit because the fear of harm to herself or her children became too great to bear. She was receiving daily phone calls threatening her children's safety. Other staff members report similar threats against themselves.

At one point right-wing phone harassment included up to 700 calls a day, tying up phone lines and making it impossible for patients to make appointments.

The opening of the Everett clinic last fall sparked a new wave of right-wing anti-abortion activity in Washington. Daily picketing at the clinic, the only low-cost abortion facility in Snohomish County, north of Seattle, has been accompanied by increased efforts to make the state stop funding poor women's abortions.

An attempt to get a bill to that effect through the legislature failed, but anti-abortionists, with Dottie Roberts in the lead, have now filed an initiative for the November, 1984, ballot. If passed it will prohibit the spending of any state monies for abortion. Washington is one of only nine states still funding abortions.

Roberts and her cohorts shouldn't have any trouble gathering the 137,000 signatures required to get the issue on the ballot; they have the support of fundamentalist and Catholic preachers all over the state. Passing the law will

be another matter.

In 1970 Washington was the first and only state to legalize abortion through a vote of the people. That effort was fueled by a large, powerful movement led by feminists and socialists as well as pro-choice forces from churches and health care professions.

It was a magnificent victory for women and helped speed the recognition of the right to abortion culminating in the Supreme Court decision of 1973.

STREETS

Women who have become complacent since the victories of the 1970's must be brought back into the streets; the events in Everett prove the anti-abortionists will stop at nothing to force their values on all of us.

Although Roberts and Crabtree protest they bear no responsibility for the arson fires at the Everett clinics, it is their hysterical screams of "murder" at clinic patients that creates the atmosphere that drives someone else to turn rhetoric into violent action. The violence must be stopped.

Messages of support and financial assistance for legal costs are always welcome by the Everett Feminist Women's Health Clinic. For more information, contact Women for Reproductive Freedom, 320 Summit East, #9, Seattle, WA 98122. □

The case for preventive care



"The environment is the primary determinant of the state of general health of any population," according to Ivan Illich, critic of the medical industry and author of "Medical Nemesis."

After working in an inner city hospital, I can see why this is true.

Environmental and social factors such as poor nutrition, overcrowding, stressful living conditions and contaminated food and air, do much to create and exacerbate disease.

For example, tuberculosis (or consumption) was once a major killer. In 1812, 700 out of every 10,000 deaths was caused by tuberculosis. By 1940—before an antibiotic "cure" was discovered—the death rate was down to 48 out of 10,000. This decrease was largely due to nutrition, enabling people to fight off disease and improve sanitation.

The benefits of nutrition can also be seen in the WIC program, which provides free milk, cheese, meat and other basic foods to low-income pregnant women at a cost of \$25 a month per person. Research has shown that WIC is very effective in reducing the incidence of infant mortality and low birthweight

DR. DENA MAGOULIAS EXPLAINS WHY THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM NEEDS TO BE CHANGED

infants. As a result, each dollar spent on WIC during pregnancy saves three dollars in hospital costs later.

However, Reagan's 1985 budget would cut \$210 million from child nutrition programs and WIC and force over 500,000 women out of the program.

IMPACT

Another example of the impact of environmental and social factors on health can be seen with the rise of cancer. Every week we read about a new food or substance which causes cancer. It is estimated that 80% of cancer is caused by the environment. Food such as red dye, pesticides, and preservatives cause cancer, and improving the movement of these substances through our bowels with high fiber diets decreases the rate of cancer.

Toxins in our air, such as asbestos, can cause lung

cancer, and removing it from insulation can prevent it. Unfortunately, Reagan's administration has done nothing to decrease the contaminants in our environment. OSHA has gotten less support and the EPA has sold out to the corporations.

I was once told by a cynical medical instructor that you don't change anything by curing people, but by keeping them sick so they will keep coming back. In fact, throughout medical school, I studied a lot about anatomy and microorganisms, but learned nothing about diet and stress as causes of disease. I learned nothing about occupational or environmental hazards.

However, improving these aspects of our lives would do more than improving health in any other respect. And by preventing health problems—focusing on the causes of disease—health care costs could be reduced for everyone in the long run.

It is the duty of physicians who are really interested in improving health to fight alongside people who are protesting cuts in social programs and industrial pollution. Above all we must fight against the system which promotes profits before health. □

Castro, Cuba and Socialism
THE ECONOMICS OF STATE CAPITALISM
by Peter Brins and Mike Gonzalez

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STOP U.S. TERROR IN CENTRAL AMERICA



U.S. backed troops



Ronald Reagan claims that Nicaragua "is the stage for a bold attempt by the Soviet Union to install Communism by force." **This is nonsense.**



William Casey is attempting to rebuild the CIA's covert operations and is the principal backer of the counter-revolutionary contras.



Sen. Barry Goldwater called the mining of Nicaragua's ports an "act of war." But all Democratic front-runner Walter Mondale could say was that the mining "comes close to an act of belligerence."

FIGHTING WORDS

"From the contradiction between the sharpening of the problem and the lack of prerequisites to its solution in the initial stage of revolutionary development, it follows that the individual skirmishes of the revolution may end in defeat. But revolution is the sole form of 'war'—and this is its special law of life—where the final victory can be prepared only by a series of 'defeats.'"

—Rosa Luxemburg, 1919

Just two days after it was announced that the United States is now posed for full-scale military intervention in Central America, Reagan was pictured in swimming trunks, throwing a coconut on a Hawaiian beach.

He would like us all to forget about Central America. The President and his CIA cronies have a war to run. They don't want to be bothered by the American public or even by Congress.

A year ago Reagan promised not to "Americanize the war" by sending more combat advisors or troops, but that is precisely what the administration is preparing to do. The Pentagon reported 150 military advisors in El Salvador and Honduras a year ago.

Today the official number has increased more than 10 times, with 1,800 military personnel on continuous duty and 80 on temporary exercise.

Through most of April, Congress and Reagan parried over who should run the "casual little war" in Central America. The dispute centered around the fact that the U.S. had played a key role in the placing of 600 mines in Nicaragua's ports. A majority of Congress seemed to feel that they should have been told about that before reading it in the newspapers.

WAR

Even Barry Goldwater, the arch conservative, was so angry that he wrote a "Dear Bill" letter to CIA Director William Casey in which he called the mining "an act of war. For the life of me, I don't see how we are going to explain it."

But Reagan's position is clear. One of his spokespeople called the hoopla just "another Washington story."

In a radio broadcast Reagan said that "much of the debate has ignored the most relevant fact: Central America has become the stage for a bold attempt by the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua to install communism by force throughout this hemisphere."

From reading the newspapers, you would think that a serious political rift between Congress and Reagan has occurred. You might even think that a majority of Congress is

by CHRISTINA BAKER

uncomfortable with the not-so-secret war in Central America.

The hypocrisy of the Congressional outrage is truly amazing. They may be concerned that proper channels were not followed, or that they were not treated with enough respect, but it is hard to believe that any of them were really surprised.

KNOWLEDGE

The House Intelligence Committee had full knowledge that the mine-planting operation was CIA-directed. Some members of the Senate Intelligence Committee have said that after their briefing in March, they were left with the impression that the Nicaraguan contras (the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries) acted alone in planting the mines.

But really, given the weakness of the three bitterly divided contra groups, who did the Senators think directed the operation?

Congress, feeling slighted, passed a non-binding resolution asking that no more funds be used for mining Nicaraguan ports, and stalled on granting funds for the contras and U.S.-backed forces in El Salvador. But these moves were meaningless.

The Senate has already approved Reagan's request for \$62 million for aid to El Salvador, and the House is expected to come close to that figure. Meanwhile, business goes on as usual.

Reagan, during Congress' recess, used an emergency defense fund to send about \$32 million in military and medical funds to El Salvador.

The Congressional leaders may want us to believe that the war in Central America is all Reagan's fault. But a quick look at the facts belies their innocence. Congress has been funding the contras and the right-wing El Salvador government right along.

They know that today there are 5,000 to 6,000 counterrevolutionaries operating inside Nicaragua, with 11,000 ready to attack. They know that there would be no war in Nicaragua without U.S. support to the contras.

Nicaragua took the matter

of its ports being mined to the World Court, where the U.S. responded with a number of sleazy legal maneuvers. But even a sanction by the World Court is largely meaningless since there is no body to enforce its judgments.

On the diplomatic front, the U.S. State Department denied a visa to Nicaraguan leader Sergio Ramirez, even though he was scheduled to speak at nine American universities, including Harvard, Yale and MIT. The administration only allowed him to honor his speaking date at the University of Kansas.

They added insult to injury by rejecting Nicaraguan Deputy Foreign Minister Nora Astorga as ambassador to the United States.

Meanwhile, the war in Central America continues. According to the *New York Times*, "Contingency plans are being drawn up for the possible use of U.S. combat troops in Central America."

The continuing spat between the legislative and executive branches, and the fact that this is an election year, may slow things down a bit, but the future looks grim.

POWER

It matters to the U.S. to keep the "red menace" from taking any significant root in this hemisphere, particularly so close to home. This is not a battle over resources or markets, but a struggle to maintain world power.

As U.S. dominance in the world continues to weaken, its assertion of strength becomes even uglier and more desperate. Like a bully rapidly losing status on the block, the U.S. must engage in ever more fights with ever smaller rivals to maintain even the semblance of control. □

SOCIALIST WORKER

May, 1984

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

THE REAL CAUSES OF WAR

The term imperialism is often thrown around—robbing it of any meaning. But the concept is very important. Mike Haynes looks at Nikolai Bukharin's important work, *Imperialism and the World Economy*, and its implications for socialists today. Bukharin explains how capitalism grew into a world economic system. In the process, economic competition between individual companies developed into competition between the major capitalist states.



Bukharin: The terrifying logic of war flows directly from the logic of modern capitalism.

In the century between 1815 and 1914, European capitalism expanded as never before. By 1914, the majority of the world's population lived under a European flag on which "the blood never dried."

European ships carrying textiles, machinery and guns, along with missionaries and soldiers, now regularly plied the newly-created sea lanes drawing the world's population ever closer together.

Then, in August 1914, the whole system seemed to go into reverse. There had been skirmishes of expansion between the European capitalist powers in Africa and Asia, but now expansion turned in on itself in the form of a general European conflict.

WAR

The result was war on a scale which had hardly been imagined before. More people were killed in a few hours defending a thousand yards of mud than had been slain in years of conquering tens of thousands of square miles in Africa.

But what was worse was that the voices crying out against this barbarity were too few in number. Before 1914, socialists throughout Europe had passed resolutions against the threat of war. They had pledged that they would strike against war if it broke out.

But within days of the declaration of war, the socialist parties lined up with their "national governments." "Nation" was put before "cause" and worker died fighting worker, socialist died fighting socialist—to defend the interests of their rulers and bosses.

For marxists it became vital to

understand what had gone wrong. Two of the most powerful answers came from Lenin in his pamphlet *Imperialism—the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and Nikolai Bukharin in his *Imperialism and the World Economy*. The two works are closely related, and Lenin wrote a warm introduction to Bukharin's book. But of the two it is Lenin's that is better known.

This is unfortunate because, in many ways, Bukharin's book is better and of more lasting value. This was recognized after the Russian revolution when the newly formed Communist Academy gave Bukharin a belated "socialist doctorate" for his work. Throughout the 1920s, the book was held in just as much esteem if not more than Lenin's.

It was only with Stalin's victory and his attempt to destroy the thought and finally the lives of any living independent marxists that Lenin's work was raised, mistakes and all, to the level of undisputed holy writ.

Bukharin's argument deserves to be recaptured today, for what he did was to pull out the basic tendencies of modern capitalism in a way that has been strikingly confirmed by later events.

Capitalism, he argued, can only be understood on a world scale. It is the world capitalist economy that stands over and dominates all the "national forms." But this world economy is torn by two tendencies of expansion.

On the one hand, expansion proceeds through internationalism—through the expansion of trade and capital overseas. At the same time, when capitalists come into conflict with one another they call on their states to help them compete. This produces a nation-



alization of economic life in which the center of gravity shifts from private capitalism to what Bukharin called state capitalism.

CONFIRMED

These tendencies inevitably accompany each other. Capitalism has created one world. But at the same time, it has also created and strengthened the political divisions of the world. The result is the constant threat of war as capitals and state capitals clash in the process of expansion.

This era in which the state now dominates in competition is what Bukharin meant by imperialism. Imperialism is not the takeover of the third world, nor is it colonial conquest. It is the clashes between the advanced capitalist states themselves to which all else is subordinated.

But capitalism in its imperialist stage can only work if the working class accepts it. This is why the betrayal of the social democratic leaders was so horrifying. They

did not cause the first world war, but it could not have taken place without their support.

It was they who gave credibility to the "national war effort" and the absurd extremes of nationalism. Bukharin quotes one French magazine that proved how barbaric the Germans were by showing that German urine was one-third more poisonous than that of the French and their allies!

Writing in the midst of the war, some of Bukharin's analysis exaggerated the degree to which state capitalism had already taken over from private capitalism. At the end of the war, there was a swing back to private capitalism. But the long-term tendencies have borne out his prediction that "the future lies with forms close to state capitalism."

An increase in the role of the state has been a common tendency in world capitalism throughout this century. But in no country has it proved possible to break the

links with the world economy. The pervasiveness of the current crisis is sign enough of that. But the myth of "national solutions" persists, and not least on the left.

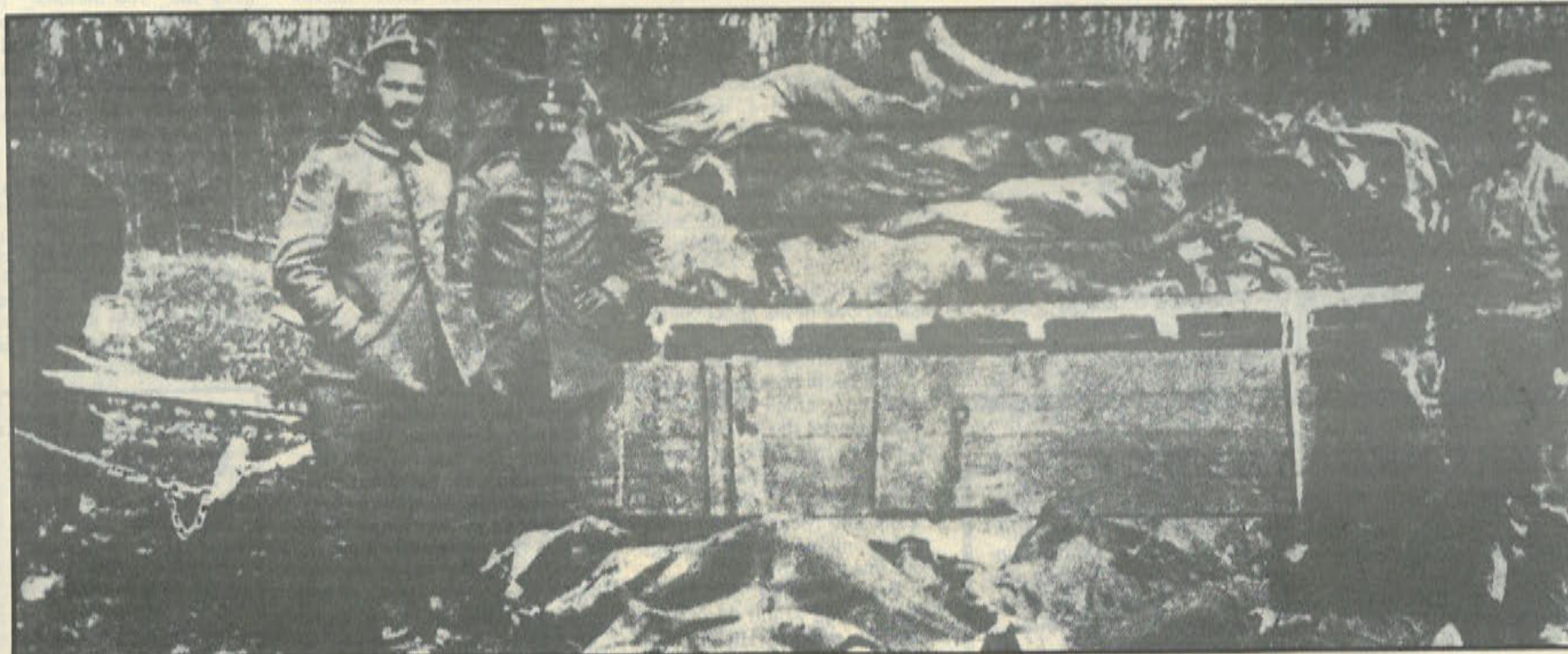
The tragedy is that not only do these myths play into the hands of the right, but they play into the hands of those forces moving toward war in our time. Capitalism has tied together state, economy and the military in such a way that every economic crisis now has a military dimension and every military crisis an economic one.

In two world wars, some 55 million were killed. And in the various "local wars" of capitalism this century a similar number may well have been killed. And, of course, today the threat of nuclear extermination hangs over us all.

WARMONGERING

There are some who argue that this threat is so irrational that we all have a common interest in preventing it. But from the point of view of humanity, war has not always been irrational. That has not stopped capitalism from killing more than 100 million this century.

Appeals to rationality will not stop the system from totally exterminating us. The reason, as Bukharin shows, is that the terrifying logic of war flows directly from the logic of modern capitalism itself. This is why the threat can only be lifted when capitalism itself is destroyed. □



The carnage of World War I. More than 100 million have been killed in wars this century.

STAKES HIGH IN VEGAS STRIKE

THE LAS VEGAS HOTEL AND CASINO STRIKERS HAVE FACED A MASSIVE ONSLAUGHT BY EMPLOYERS AND POLICE. JOE ALLEN REPORTS.

More workers are on strike in Las Vegas right now than during the entire Greyhound strike of last year. More strikers have been arrested during this strike than in any other in recent memory. Nonetheless, there has been a virtual news blackout on this strike, except for the odd, small item in local newspapers. Still, the strike of Las Vegas hotel and casino workers is, so far, the most important labor battle of 1984.

UNIONS

On April 2, 17,500 hotel and casino workers—members of the culinary, bartending, musicians and stagehand unions—went out on strike against 29 of Las Vegas' largest resorts. The Culinary Workers Local 226 is the largest union on strike, with over 13,000 members striking.

The strike was caused by a drive on the part of the largest employers' organization, the Nevada Resort Association (NRA), for major concessions on wages, benefits and working conditions. The NRA is demanding a two-year wage freeze, reductions in gratuities, elimination of the guaranteed 40-hour work-week and a blanket no-strike clause. This is the fourth strike by hotel and casino workers since 1967 and the longest in Las Vegas history. Members of the NRA include such world famous resorts as Caesar's Palace, MGM Grand and the Las Vegas Hilton.

MILITANCY

Their four weeks on strike have shown great militancy on the picket line and a deter-

mination to fight the NRA. They have also faced physical intimidation and brutality from the Las Vegas metropolitan police and the hotels' private security guards. The demands and tactics of the NRA are those we have seen in every major labor confrontation—from Greyhound to Continental Airlines—over the last few years, including the use of bankruptcy laws to break union contracts.

On March 29, several days before union members struck, union workers at the Marina Hotel walked off their jobs in response to a U.S. district court judge's decision to cancel the largest union contract at the hotel. In February the Marina Hotel filed a petition to have the company reorganized under bankruptcy law.

This decision means that union workers will suffer a 10% wage cut, elimination of the 40-hour work-week, three paid holidays, and the Marina Hotel will stop contributing funds to the unions' pension funds for two years. The Marina Hotel used the same tactics that Continental Airlines used to cancel its contracts and cut workers' wages in half. The supreme court ruled in February that this is all legal.

One striking Marina Hotel worker said, "We're just little workers making nothing. We're the ones going bankrupt, not them. Who's going to pay our bills?"

Resistance among the rank and file to the NRA's demands is deep and militant. A few days before the strike began, 4,000 to 6,000 union members marched to protest the NRA's demands. Jeff McColl, president of Culinary Workers Lo-

cal 226, and other local presidents were under intense pressure not to concede anything to the NRA.

PICKETS

During the first week of the strike, the picket lines were large. Over 100 strikers were arrested as metropolitan police and hotel security guards attacked picket lines and arrested strikers. Two pickets were hit by cars. One was run over in a scene which appeared across the country in newspapers and on television.

On April 3 alone, at the Las Vegas Hilton, over 60 union members were arrested as they marched towards the hotel to leaflet customers. They were attacked by Hilton security guards as they entered the hotel's property. Among those arrested were eight union leaders who were charged with inciting to riot.

In response to the mass picketing and clashes with police, Hilton's lawyers filed a petition for a temporary restraining order to limit picketing at their two Las Vegas hotels.

A U.S. district court judge issued the order but extended it to all 29 NRA hotels, reducing the number of pickets to handfuls. Even a judge said that the Hilton security guards "acted like the labor goons of the 1920s."

On the nights of April 13 and 14 the unions attempted to hold rallies on Flamingo Road at the Strip—one of the main gambling areas in Las Vegas. Forty strikers were arrested the first night, and another 72 were arrested on the second night as strikers sat down and locked arms in front of the MGM Grand Hotel. During the day of April 14,



over 5,000 union members marched against police brutality and the NRA demands chanting "We are winning" as they marched down Flamingo Road. Union members in hotels not represented by the NRA cheered them on.

Tired of the nights of confrontations with strikers, Las Vegas' metropolitan police adopted new tactics to combat the unions. On Sunday, April 15, they began to clear the streets of all people on Flamingo Road. Seven strikers were arrested that night, and the number of strikers arrested since the beginning of the strike climbed to over 400.

ARREST

On April 26, 80 union members were arrested as they held a sit-in in the offices of the Las Vegas Convention Authority which had aired advertisements across the country calling on tourists to come to Las Vegas in spite of the strike. This pushed the number of those arrested to over 500.

Though the militancy of the rank and file is great, the NRA has remained intransigent. The NRA seems to be ready to weather the strike. This reveals the employers' determination to drive down wages and benefits. It has been re-

ported that NRA members have signed suicide pacts providing that if any member breaks ranks and signs a union contract independent of the others, they will be fined \$750,000 by the NRA.

The NRA's successful weathering of the strike is also related to the role and strategy of the trade union leadership. The NRA may be the major employers organization, but there are many hotels and casinos not a part of the NRA.

During the last week before the strike, the independents capitulated and signed agreements with all the unions for wage and benefit increases. The unions, led by the Culinary Workers Local 226, pursued signing agreements with the hotels and casinos one by one. All the independents capitulated, but the NRA held fast. And McColl, whose union has a total membership of 26,000, found half his union on strike and the other half working. A similar situation exists with the bartenders, stagehands and musicians unions.

RALLY

McColl said in a rally just before the strike, "It is to our advantage to see (independent) hotels sign contracts and show the people of this area what the (Nevada Resort) Association is saying is B.S." McColl went on to say that he wants the good operators to enjoy the business from the ones with picket lines.

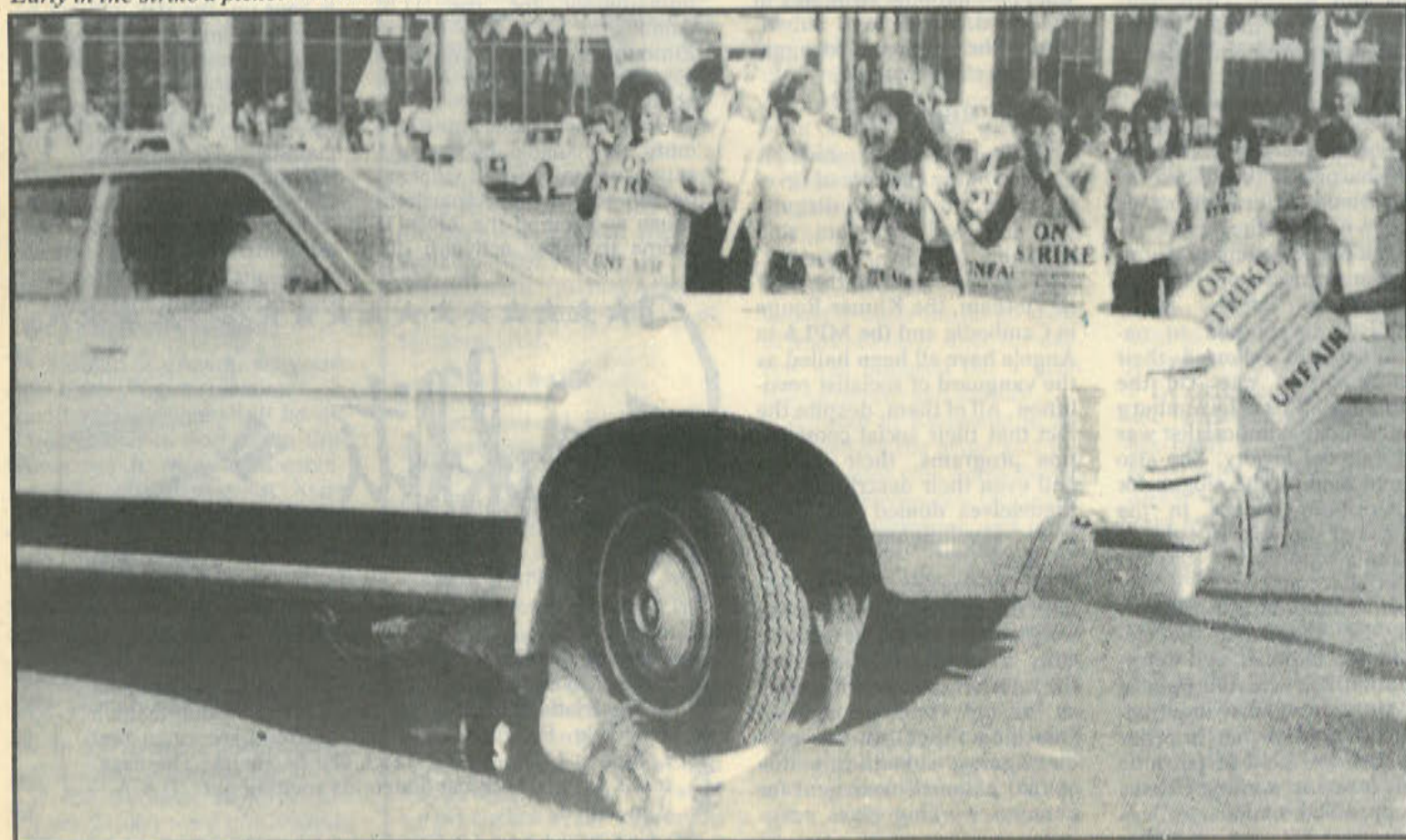
Some union members attacked the independent settlements saying that any future strike would be weakened by the union being divided.

"We have to go out all together if we're going to beat this town," one worker said. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's role during the strike has been to call for federal marshals to be sent to Las Vegas to "protect strikers."

Both union and hotel negotiators are warning that some of the hotels may hold out for a year or more. And with individual hotels settling in piecemeal fashion, the prospects for the striking workers are not very bright.

The strength of the militant Las Vegas strikers lies in solidarity. They have showed courage and determination that is inspiring to us all. They will need organization, unity and support to win. □

Early in the strike a picket was run over



Talking about socialism

PATRIOTISM: NOT IN WORKERS' INTEREST

by BILL ROBERTS

President Reagan has designated May 1 "Loyalty Day." Loyalty Day, of course, is used to disguise the fact that the original celebration of this day was in honor of a competing idea—international working class solidarity.

But Reagan is also promoting patriotism and nationalism. We are taught at an early age that our country is most deserving of its position in the world, that all its wars are just, all its enemies aggressors, and only scoundrels would refuse to fight for it.

Patriotism and nationalism are the glue binding all sections of a society to its ruling class. And it is hardly surprising that most people believe that allegiance to one country is natural and eternal.

The idea of nationhood is a product of capitalist development and the idea of the "nation" was one of the rallying cries of the great revolution which established full capitalist rule in France at the end of the 18th century.

At this stage of its development, capitalism was progressive. Those who fought the old order, like Robespierre in France, called themselves "patriots."

But once in power, the national groups did not stop with unifying their own defined territory. They began to spread their power beyond borders to build new empires which they could exploit. The ideas of nationalism were used to persuade workers that expansion was in their interest, too. Thus by the end of the 19th century, nationalism in the service of imperialism was in full stride, as the 1871 song from which the word "jingoism" is derived illustrates:

*"We don't want to fight;
But by Jingo if we do,
We've got the men,
We've got the ships,
We've got the money, too!"*

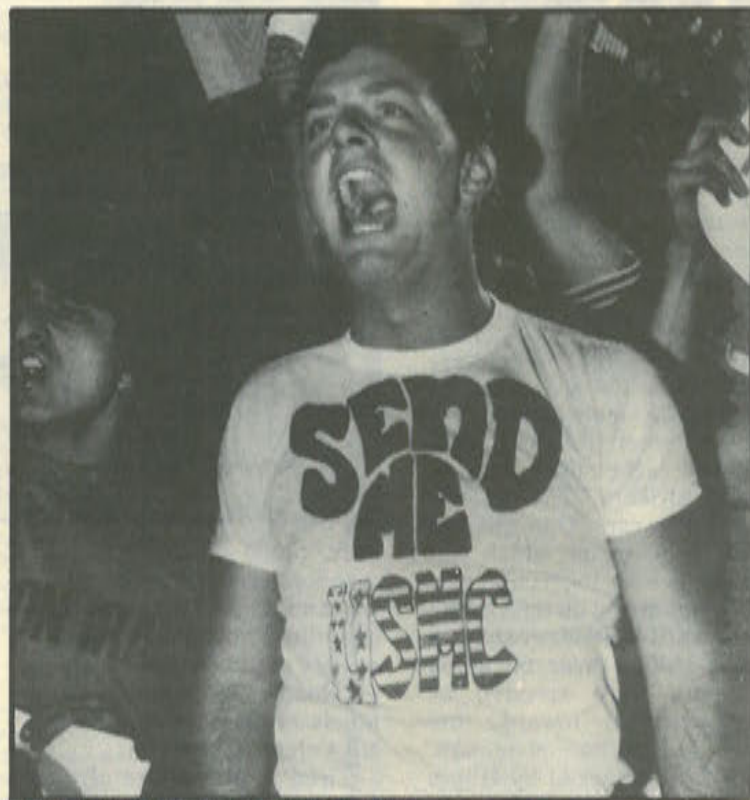
PATRIOTISM

Patriotism is an idea in service to the capitalist ruling class. The "we" of the song covers up the class division of who has the "money," and who does the fighting.

Marxism runs directly counter to nationalist ideology. The class struggle, for marxists, is the driving force of history. The main conflict is between the international working class and the international capitalist class.

National struggles and divisions are simply manifestations of the same struggle. "The working men have no country," states the *Communist Manifesto*.

Nationalism is just the opposite. It maintains that the world is divided by territories, languages, common heritages and so on. The class struggle represents a threat to all forms of nationalism. This is true for left-wing as well as right-wing forms of nationalism, because class struggle threatens national unity in the interest of one section of the nation. The



An anti-Iranian demonstrator, 1979.

strategy for overthrowing capitalism is an international one.

For Marx and Engels, the historical role of capitalism is the creation of a world economy with each national economy only integral parts. This internationalization of the productive forces is the basis for the establishment of socialism, therefore, to be successful, the socialist revolution must be international. That is why after the successful working class revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks initiated the founding of the Communist International. The aim of the Communist International was to "organize joint action by the proletariat of the different countries to pursue one goal: the overthrow of capitalism . . . the dictatorship of the proletariat and . . . which will completely abolish all classes and realize socialism. . ."

DIVIDED

How do international socialists then relate to a world divided into nations—especially when some of those nations are fighting the domination of imperialist nations?

The "national question" has a long history in the socialist movement. The first world war sharpened the debate as the various nations of Europe went to war and the Second International disintegrated under the extreme pressure of nationalistic fervor. Many socialists succumbed to nationalism and followed their government to war. On the other side, Rosa Luxemburg argued against imperialist war and national loyalty. She also argued against the slogan for Polish independence in the context of the war, in spite of Poland's oppression by the imperialist countries.

Lenin adopted a third position. He supported the demand for national self-determination if it was the path of the struggle against imperialism. He argued that in order to break the hold of patriotic ideas from the working classes of oppressed nations, it was necessary for the working

class of the oppressor countries to support the demand for self-determination.

He wrote, "In the international education of the workers of the oppressor country, emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it.

Lenin saw nationalism as a political problem that required the struggle against social patriotism in the advance countries and national oppression in the backward.

As socialists in an imperialist country, we must constantly be aware that the main enemy is the nationalism of our own ruling class. As such we must support the defeat of U.S. imperialism. At the same time, we must avoid falling into the delusion that national movements necessarily move in a revolutionary direction which places them in conflict with capitalism. More often than not, national struggles in the third world have substituted the national struggle over the class struggle.

RHETORIC

Often this latter case is cloaked in the rhetoric of revolutionary marxism, disguising the real program and dynamic of the movement. The FLN in Algeria, the NLF in Vietnam, the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia and the MPLA in Angola have all been hailed as the vanguard of socialist revolution. All of them, despite the fact that their social composition programs, their actions and even their descriptions of themselves denied that they were revolutionary workers parties.

Revolutionaries cannot ignore the national question, but they must also go beyond it. Only a steadfast reliance on the international working class as the only force capable of smashing capitalism can protect against substituting this or that national movement for genuine working class revolution. □

South African activist fights INS deportation order

by BOB BERNOTAS

BALTIMORE, MD—Mankekolo Mahlangu-Ngcobo is a South African woman, a mother of a two-year-old daughter, an honor student and, since 1981, a resident of the U.S. As an active opponent of apartheid in South Africa, she was persecuted, imprisoned and threatened until she was forced to leave her homeland and settle in Baltimore.

But now the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has denied her request for political asylum and planned to deport her by April 28—just weeks before she is to graduate with honors from Morgan State University. Hers is a chilling story, a life and death battle with the forces of racism and oppression, both in South Africa and in the United States.

Mankekolo began her fight against apartheid in the mid-1970s as a student leader. She joined Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Organization and was a member of such groups as the South African Students Organization, the Black People's Convention, and after the Soweto rebellion, the Soweto Committee of Ten.

Her association with the latter organization resulted in a 21-day period of solitary confinement in 1978, and after that, continual harassment. In 1980 when South African security police came to her home and asked, "Why haven't you committed suicide yet?" she realized that her life was in danger and she had to flee the country.

EXILE

Mankekolo then went to live in Botswana with the family of Joe Qhabe, another South African activist in exile who had worked with the African National Congress, an international organization based in South Africa devoted to ending apartheid. It took the South African security forces just three weeks to track her down in Botswana, making it clear that this was no safe haven for her. Mankekolo left immediately for the U.S. Qhabe and his family fled to Zimbabwe where they were assassinated by South African agents.

Upon her arrival in Baltimore, Mankekolo became an active organizer and spokesperson for the anti-apartheid cause and joined the ANC. It seems that her activism did

not go unnoticed. In the past few months the INS has denied her asylum and is trying to throw her and her baby back into the murderous hands of the South African police—the killers of Steve Biko, Joe Qhabe and the thousands of other Black South African activists, protesters, trade unionists and others who just want to be free from the rule of racism.

The INS "understands" that obviously she cannot return to South Africa, but it considers her a permanent "resident" of Botswana—even though the Botswanian government doesn't recognize her—and the INS assures that she will be safe there.

ASSURANCES

However, our government's assurances that Mankekolo "does not have a well-founded fear of prosecution" falls flat in light of her prior experiences in Botswana—it is not prosecution that she has to fear, but persecution and execution by the same South African agents who have hounded her in the past. As long as apartheid reigns in South Africa, she can never be safe living just across the border.

On April 27, the day before she was to leave the U.S., Mankekolo and her supporters petitioned the Baltimore district director of the INS to reverse the INS decision—an act completely within his power.

Instead, he granted a mere 60-day extension of her deportation, no doubt in the hope that over the next two months—while Mankekolo continues to appeal her case—the public and press will forget about her and the issue will die down. Then, while no one is looking, the INS could go ahead with its original plan to expel Mankekolo and her child—thrusting them back into the grave danger from which she fled.

Mankekolo needs our help—as long as support for her is kept up, the INS will not be able to quietly decide her case behind closed doors. Please send letters of support and financial contributions to: The Mankekolo Mahlangu-Ngcobo Defense Committee, c/o Bethel AME Church, 1300 Druid Hill Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21217. It really is a matter of life and death! □

Graffiti

Keeping the Flame . . .

The Olympic Games, always an orgy of nationalism and patriotic bluster, are now a trend-setting fashion spectacle. For those with \$55,000 to spare, a custom Longines 14-carat gold watch can be theirs. The case, inlaid with 104 full-cut diamonds spelling out "U.S.A." is included.

PROTESTS SHAKE FRANCE

MITTERRAND ANNOUNCES DRASTIC CUTBACKS. LINDSEY GREIG REPORTS.

"Yesterday, Lorraine was an island. For seven hours, not a boat, not a plane, not a car, not a train was able to cross its hermetically sealed frontiers," reported the newspaper *Le Republicain Lorraine* last month.

Workshops, factories, public services and shops had shut their doors," it continued. "Yesterday, Lorraine was a deserted island."

It was not the police or the army who had so dramatically and effectively sealed off this center of the French steel industry. It was the workers themselves.

It was a dramatic illustration of the frustration and bitterness felt by so many French workers towards what they had considered just three years ago to be their government.

Then president Mitterrand, newly elected as the first Socialist Party president in France for more than 20 years, had made an historic and moving tour of the depressed and recession-hit region of Lorraine.

On the steps of the town hall at Longwy, a town built on steel mills and iron ore mines, he had given a solemn pledge to the thousands of workers who had voted for him and turned out to welcome him.

"To those who have been in the front ranks, the victims of an unjust society," he declared in October 1981, "I have come here to tell you that you must be in the front ranks of the reconstruction of our economy."

HOPE

And in a message that brought special hope for the thousands who worked for the recently nationalized steel mills of Usinor he added, "Usinor will be the spearhead of our industrial renovation and of the reconquest of our home markets, and as a result, the spearhead in the battle for jobs."

Last month the president's words once more rang across the square in front of Longwy's town hall. But this time they were repeated with anger and contempt.

This time it was not the president who spoke, but union leader after union leader who recalled his promises to remind the thousands gathered in the square how they had been betrayed.

Instead of growth, they are to have "modernization"—a modernization that will be all too familiar to workers in this country. It means closures, layoffs and firings—at least 20,000 unemployed is the figure proposed.

The workers' hopes that with the "left" in power they would no longer be victims crumbled as the government returned to the policies that the workers know so well.

In 1977, the modernization of the steel led to the layoffs of 15,350 workers. In 1979 another 21,000 were out looking for jobs. In 1982, 6,300 more



Workers protest in Lorraine

joined their colleagues. And now 20,000 more will lose their jobs.

As one worker put it, "It's always the same story. The Socialist Party has taken us for fools just like the others."

SHOCKED

The workers in Lorraine, like many others in France, have been shocked by the actions of their government.

They believed that when the Socialist and Communist Party ministers took office in 1981, they would see an end to rising unemployment and falling living standards.

In 1979, when right-winger Giscard d'Estaing was president, the steelworkers took to

the streets in frequent and often violent demonstrations to defend their jobs. They had hoped that with the new government, such battles would no longer be necessary.

Today they are angry, bitter and disillusioned. But they are unsure in which direction to turn. As one worker put it: "When the right were in power, we could look to the victory of the left, but now what can we hope for?"

Among Socialist and Communist Party supporters there is much confusion. The general secretary of the French Communist Party denounced the government's industrial policy, but at the same time insisted that the Communist

ministers would remain in the government.

In Lorraine, four members of parliament resigned from the Socialist Party parliamentary group in protest of the government's measures. Yet neither the Communist Party nor the left-wing of the Socialist Party are prepared to organize in direct opposition to the government's policies.

Neither group is prepared to argue among the workers for all-out industrial action to force the government to change its current course.

TERRIFIED

Indeed, they are terrified that if a mass movement of workers fighting to defend

their jobs were to emerge, it would slip out of their control. And so they try to control and limit the movement. They try to channel the rising anger into one-day stoppages and demonstrations.

Such tactics have proved more than some Communist and Socialist Party members can stomach. The Communist Mayor of Ottange in Lorraine resigned from the CP declaring: "I could no longer agree to demonstrate in support of the steelworkers and at the same time support a government of the left, with Communist ministers which carries out policies contrary to the interests of the working class."

ZIMBABWE:

Army murders Nkomo's supporters

Mugabe moves to one-party state

Alex Callinicos reports on the crisis in Zimbabwe.

Four years ago Zimbabwe celebrated its independence with an enormous international fanfare.

The 1980 ceremony was attended by such notables as Prince Charles and Indira Gandhi, all eager to show their support for the "moderation" of prime minister Robert Mugabe's newly-elected regime.

Today Zimbabwe is in the news once again. Only now the story is a different one—of atrocities committed by the Zimbabwean National Army in the two western provinces of Matabeleland.

BASE

Matabeleland is the main political base of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), junior coalition partner with Mugabe's ruling Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Ever since ZAPU's leader, Joshua Nkomo, was dismissed from the cabinet, anti-government guerrillas have been operating in Matabeleland—the so-called "dissidents."

Large portions of southern Matabeleland were placed under curfew at the beginning of February, and the fifth and

sixth brigades of the national army were sent in to deal with the dissidents.

The fifth brigade, trained by North Korean military advisers, earned international notoriety during its last tour of duty in Matabeleland a year ago, when churchmen accused it of killing 2,000 peasants. The brigade was subsequently withdrawn and retrained by the British army.

There is no sign of the fifth brigade having changed its spots. The first foreign journalists to enter the no-go areas of Matabeleland since the curfew was imposed tell a grim tale of torture and murder.

A camp at Balagwe is being used by the army and the secret police (the much-feared Central Intelligence Organization) to interrogate and often kill suspects. Nightly, army trucks take the corpses of those murdered to Antelope mine where they are dumped down a disused shaft.

Ironically, the government's tactics are very similar to those used by Ian Smith's white minority regime in its war against Mugabe's guerrillas, who now constitute a majority of the national army.

One of these tactics is starvation. Food is short anyway because of the terrible three-year drought, and Matabeleland has been denied emergency relief supplies.

A fifth brigade officer told a meeting of peasants: "First you will eat your chickens, then your goats, then your donkeys. Then you will eat your children, and finally you will eat the dissidents."

Mugabe has ruled out any deal with Nkomo. He was recently reported as saying, "The solution in Matabeleland is a military one. Their grievances are unfounded."

Elections are due next year and ZANU, committed to a one-party state, is using the army in an attempt to destroy ZAPU's political base. "You have no food because you back Nkomo," peasants in Matabeleland are told.

The drive to crush ZAPU is all the more urgent because of Zimbabwe's severe economic difficulties. Drought and world recession have caused two years of economic contraction, slashed living standards and worsened unemployment.

Crop failures mean that 600,000 tons of maize will

have to be imported this year. The foreign exchange to pay for these and other vital imports is desperately scarce. Zimbabwe is now heavily in debt, with more than a quarter of export earnings going to pay interest on foreign loans.

CREDITORS

To keep Zimbabwe's western creditors happy, finance minister Bernard Chidzero has adopted austerity policies aimed directly at the living standards of workers and peasants whose votes brought ZANU to power four years ago.

Food subsidies were slashed in last year's budget. The program for resettling peasants on formerly white-owned land has ground to a halt because of lack of money. The ministry of labor has drawn up a bill which effectively abolishes the right to strike.

Nkomo doesn't represent any real alternative to these policies. But Mugabe fears that any legal opposition might become a focus for resistance. No wonder he is so eager to crush ZAPU and impose a one-party state. □

MAY DAY IS WORKING



May Day—the day to celebrate and build working class struggle wherever it arises—began in the United States in 1866 with mass demonstrations for the eight-hour day. Banners waved in industrial cities throughout the country proclaiming, “Eight hours for work, eight hours for sleep, eight hours for what we will.”

The 1880s witnessed both unprecedented industrial growth and a severe depression in trade. In 1884 the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions formally resolved that, “Eight hours shall constitute a legal day’s work on and after May 1, 1886.” For several years the Federation had tried to unify the fledgling labor movement on a national level. That effort failed because of the Federation leaders’ reluctance to address the growing anger of workers who were eager to engage in direct action against their bosses.

Ironically, the 1884 convention resolution of the declining Federation bore fruit in the building of a national workers movement for the eight-hour day—in defiance of the 12-hour, 14-hour and even 16-hour days which prevailed throughout industry. May Day 1886 became the rallying point for a struggle which had won the eight-hour day for at least 300,000 workers by the end of that year.

As a contemporary report stated, “The year 1886 witnessed, by far, more profound and unexpected agitation among the members of organized labor than any previous year in the history of our country. The year 1886 will be forever remembered as one of the greatest importance in the battle between capital and labor.”

Frederick Engels wrote of the ten months of agitation which preceded and followed May Day 1886, “A revolution has been accomplished in American society such that, in any other country, would have taken at least ten years.”

Between 1860 and 1894, the U.S. jumped from fourth to first place in manufacturing output. In spite of the 1880s depression, enormous industrial growth occurred, accompanied by the appearance of great corporations and trusts and the amassing of vast new fortunes.

CONTRASTS

America increasingly became a land of stark contrasts between the opulent lifestyles of the “robber barons” and the grinding poverty of workers throughout the country. The new monied aristocracy—Goulds, Vanderbilts, Rockefellers—and their junior partners in the plutocracy were so blatant in their display of wealth, and so ruthless in their treatment of workers, that even a prominent Wall Street banker wrote, “If any facts could be supposed to

Deborah Roberts traces the origins of May Day in the tumultuous struggles of the 1880s

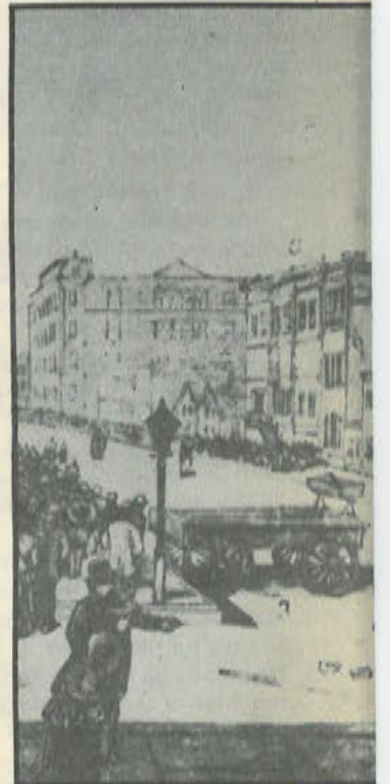
justify the doctrines of socialism and communism, it would be the creation of such fortunes as these.”

On the one hand great fortunes grew rapidly. On the other the people whose labor produced the wealth were increasingly impoverished. An 1885 survey by *Bradstreet's* magazine found that wages had dropped 15% in the past three years. The average male manufacturing employee’s annual income was about \$400, while the average cost to maintain a family at subsistence level was \$754. This discrepancy helps to explain the increasing employment of women and children in factories. To amass their fortunes, the new millionaires used the threat of starvation to drive entire families into wage labor.

In a report of their 1886 tour of the U.S., Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling noted, “Everywhere we found women forced to work for wages because the husband’s wages were insufficient to support subsistence, besides having to tend children and having to go the usual dreary round of endless household drudgery. We have lived in England’s factory towns and know something of English factory hands, but we may fairly say



August Spies



Haymarket Square, the morning

that we have never seen in the English Manchester, that we have never seen women so worn out and degraded, such famine in their cheeks, such need and oppression staring in their eyes.”

Against this background, workers were ready to fight back. The idea to call a general strike on May Day arose from the failure of legislative and “educational” efforts on the part of the two major labor organizations, the Federation and the Knights of Labor.

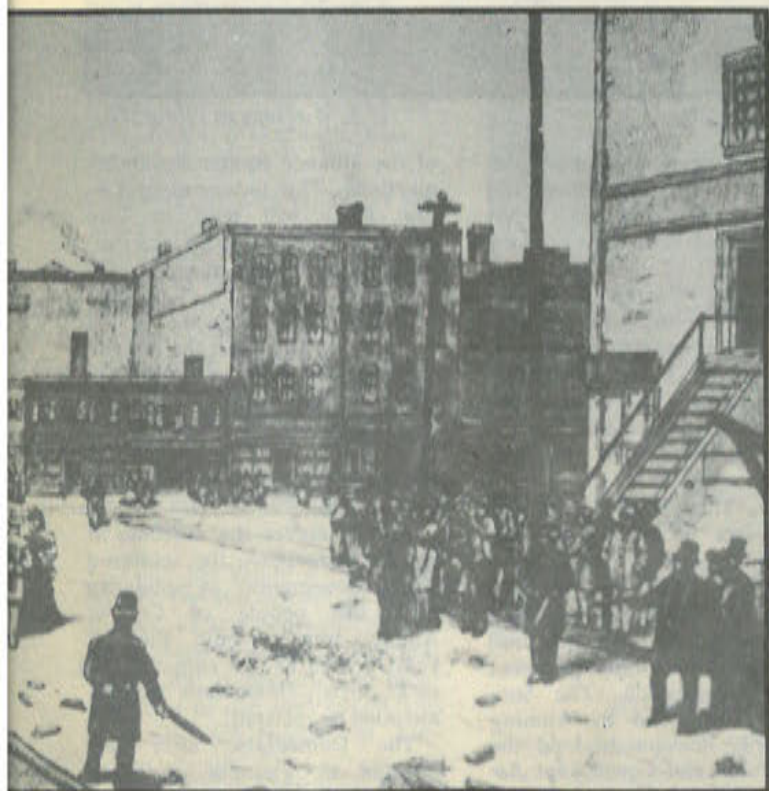
PRESSURED

Pressured by the ranks, the Federation’s 1885 resolution moved closer to the idea of direct action: “It would be in vain to expect the introduction of the eight-hour day rule through legislative measures . . . The workmen, in their endeavor to improve the prevailing economic conditions, must rely on themselves and their own power exclusively. A united demand to reduce the hours of labor, supported by a firmly established and determined organization, would be more effective than a thousand laws.”

While the May Day strike movement received little support from existing organizations, the idea of a general strike for the eight-hour day had caught the imagination of tens of thousands of workers.

Terence Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor, opposed the general strike and proposed that, instead, each of its locals “have its members write short essays on the eight-hour question.” In spite of his opposition and that of other officials, the movement spread through local agitation and organization to most industrial cities in the country. In a single month—February, 1886—the Knights of Labor grew by 515 locals, virtually all of them in support of the

ERS' DAY



After the massacre

May Day call. On Saturday, May 1, a holiday atmosphere prevailed in most cities. The factories were still, construction halted, warehouses and workshops emptied. Saturday was usually a working day in 1886, but this was May Day, and workers were striking for the eight-hour day. Around the parade route in Chicago, companies of armed police, special agents and Pinkertons were amassed. The national guard was out with rifles ready to enforce "law and order." But neither in Chicago nor in other cities were the forces of repression able to stop the workers' struggle. In Chicago and New York, where the movement was strongest, a total of 125,000 men, women and children were on strike. Large work stoppages occurred in Cincinnati, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Boston, Pittsburgh and many other cities. Fully 350,000 workers participated in May Day activities—almost 200,000 of them by striking.

BATTALION

In Cincinnati a workers' battalion of 400 headed the march. Similar brigades of armed workers were out in other cities as well to defend demonstrators from the armed violence of the state and the employers. Armed clashes occurred in Milwaukee and Grand Rapids when police attacked the marchers. But most of the rallies saw no bloodshed. The first May Day ended peacefully in Chicago, as in most cities, and the strike continued into the next week. During the last week in April, the capitalist newspapers had declared that May Day was illegal and the date for a communist working class insurrection. The *Chicago*

Tribune had declared, "Every lamp post in Chicago will be decorated with a communist carcass to prevent wholesale incendiarism."

Apparently disappointed that the expected armageddon did not materialize, Chicago police gained some relief on May 3 by clubbing locked-out McCormick-Harvester workers as 350 scabs were rushed into the plant.

Later that day, a large crowd of McCormick workers were waiting for the scabs to come out when police charged them from the rear with revolvers drawn. They opened fire on the backs of the workers, and by the time the shooting was over, three were dead.

Workers and anarchist groups called a night protest rally in Haymarket Square. When the crowd of 1,200 had dwindled to about 300 late in the evening, a contingent of 100 armed police arrived and ordered the crowd to disperse.

As they began to attack the demonstrators with clubs, a bomb suddenly exploded. Opening fire on the crowd, the police killed five and wounded more than 200.

SENTENCED

Eight anarchists were arrested for throwing the bomb and were convicted and sentenced to death despite worldwide outcry. The men were hanged—not for murder, but for their ideas and for their influence among the workers.

To this day, the Haymarket martyrs are remembered as symbols of working class resistance. In 1889 May Day was made an international working class holiday by the Second International, the organization of the international socialist movement at the time.

This year, May Day will not be celebrated by many in the U.S. If it is noticed at all in the capitalist press, it will be as

the day when Russia's tanks and missiles are paraded in state capitalist Moscow. But socialists in America will remember the words of August Spies, one of the martyrs, speaking to the jury, "If you think by hanging us you can stamp out the labor movement . . . the movement from which the downtrodden millions, the millions who toil in want and misery, expect salvation—if this is your opinion, then hang us. Here you will tread on the spark, but there and there behind you and in front of you, flames blaze up. It is a subterranean fire, you cannot put it out."

FIRE

That fire still flashes and smolders around the world, burning against all the systems which own the tanks and missiles, which exploit and oppress the vast majority of the world's people, which ruthlessly pound everyone standing in opposition to it, in every country of the world.

In America today, this fire shows only sporadically—usually in isolation. In times like these we need to remember the world of Eleanor Marx at the 1891 May Day celebration in London:

"Socialists believe that the eight-hour day is the first and most immediate step to be taken, and we aim at a time when there will no longer be one class supporting two others, but the unemployed, both at the top and at the bottom of society, will be at work."

"This is not the end, but only the beginning of the struggle. It is not enough to come here and demonstrate in favor of an eight-hour day. We must not be like some Christians, who sin for six days and go to church on the seventh, but we must speak for the cause daily and make the men, and especially the women, that we meet come into the ranks to help us."

We need her reminder and that of Spies. Most of all we need to seek out and build the living examples of struggle that arise every day, however small or large they may be. Our fight is not over until we have won a new day—a new world fit for human beings to live in. □

"The labor movement is a subterranean fire, you cannot put it out."

August Spies, Haymarket martyr

'SOCIALIST' CHINA: THE ILLUSIONS ARE SHATTERED

Amidst much fanfare, Ronald Reagan went to China last month. A decade ago, China was a beacon of hope for many socialists. Today, those hopes are dashed. John Molyneux explains.

China, with its billion strong population and its vast land area, was, in 1949, the scene of the twentieth century's second great revolution. Yet today China is hardly mentioned on the left.

It wasn't always so. In the sixties China was a major influence on what was then known as the New Left. In fact Maoism was the dominant tendency among revolutionaries in the United States.

Generally speaking, China was seen as offering an attractive alternative model of socialist construction far more dynamic and revolutionary than Russia.

The decade of the seventies was ruthless with these hopes and illusions. It saw China enter into open alliance with U.S. imperialism, make war on Vietnam, support the murderous Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, back the South African supported 'Unita' in Angola, and generally pursue a foreign policy worthy of Franco's Spain.

Internally it saw the public renunciation of the cultural revolution and much of the legacy of Mao, the opening of China to foreign capital, and even flirtation with such evidently bourgeois values as fashion and consumerism.

Small wonder then that Chinese sympathizers were disillusioned. China became a bad dream best forgotten. But the current silence about China on the left represents more than just disappointment.

FAILURE

It also marks a failure of understanding and analysis. For events in China could be understood (and indeed predicted) only with the aid of the marxist theory of state capitalism, first developed in relation to Russia.

The Chinese revolution of 1949, for all its scale and grandeur, was never a workers' revolution. The working class played no active role in it whatsoever.

Rather, it was a military victory in which a peasant-

based army led by a middle-class political elite conquered the cities from the outside.

The result was not workers' control or workers' power, still less socialism, but the establishment of the political rule of a new ruling class. The aim of this new ruling class, despite its radical rhetoric, was not world revolution but the independent



China's Deng Xiaoping

national development of China.

In the circumstances this development could only be capitalist in essence. It involved the accumulation of capital by extracting the maximum possible surplus from the Chinese workers and peasants in a desperate attempt to modernize China so that it could compete with the rest of world capitalism.

The numerous power struggles within Chinese Communism were about how to achieve this aim, not about the aim itself, which was shared by all factions.

DYNAMIC

Once this basic dynamic of the regime is understood, recent events in China are cause for neither surprise nor despondency. China broke from Russia in the late 1950s because it did not wish to become a Russian client state like Poland or Hungary.

For a while it attempted to go it alone in opposition to both the superpowers. Eventually the combination of the Russian threat and the failure of the attempts at self-sufficient economic development forced it into the arms of Western capitalism.

The importance of all this for us marxists—the reason we should remember the lessons of China—is that it was the decisive test for the kind of third world nationalist "socialism" many on the left still worship from afar.

In terms of traditions and language, Mao stood far closer to marxism than Castro or the Sandinistas. In terms of size and resources, it was far better placed than Nicaragua or Tanzania to achieve independent economic development.

If, in the end, it has neither achieved socialism nor even sustained its economic independence from international capital then, unfortunately, they will not be able to either.

In other words the fate of the Chinese revolution provides crucial confirmation of two basic marxist propositions: 1) There is no substitute for the working class as the agent of socialism. 2) Capitalism has created an integrated world economy from which there is no ultimate escape except through world revolution. □



Red Guard, 1966

CENTRAL AMERICA UPDATE BY BILL STANT

COUP IN HONDURAS

The top officer of the Honduran military, Army General Gustavo Alvaro Martinez, suddenly fell from power in an unexpected coup on March 31, 1984. On the surface the coup amounted to a mere change of personnel. But in reality, the coup exposed the potential for a major disruption of the Reagan administration's military strategy in Central America.

The ouster of Alvarez pulled Honduras back from the brink of all-out war against Nicaragua. An invasion by Honduras would have sent the U.S.-led militarization of Central America spinning out of control.

It would also have cost Reagan dearly in the November elections by fouling up yet another major front of his adventurist foreign policy.

It seems General Alvarez was plotting his own coup against his moderate rival, Air Force chief, General Walter Lopez Reyes.

This move would have consolidated his control over the entire armed forces—and allowed him to carry out his plans to invade Nicaragua.

Reagan would love to see the Sandinistas toppled. But only under direct U.S. supervision, and not in the middle of an election year. Washington would have been forced either to follow Alvarez into Nicaragua with massive military aid and advisors and possibly U.S. combat forces, or else lose

billions in carefully constructed military infrastructure and strategy.

For the White House, this level of commitment is part of a much longer-term strategy. The immediacy of Alvarez's ambitions was therefore a threat to be crushed.

For the sake of formal appearances, Army colonels in troop-command positions, supported by Lopez Reyes, charged Alvarez with corruption. But the real moving force behind the General's departure, according to the *Latin America Weekly Report*, was the U.S. Embassy.

Only three days prior to Alvarez's ouster, U.S. Special Envoy Harry Schlaudeman made the rounds in Tegucigalpa, Honduras' capital. He met with Alvarez, Foreign Minister Eduardo Paz Barnica, and Carlos Flores Facusse, the Minister to the Presidency and voice of the Honduran business community.

The envoy's message was a firm veto of any premature invasion attempt such as that envisioned by Alvarez, his supporters, and his allies among Argentine officers stationed in Honduras.

The Honduran military responded swiftly to Schlaudeman's visit. Air Force chief Lopez Reyes lined up support among field-commanders disgruntled with Alvarez's high-handed leadership. They packed Alvarez on a plane for Costa Rica with one handbag and no breakfast.

Congress was called into special session.

While they were voting to confirm Lopez Reyes as the new overall commander of the armed forces, Air Force jets ran mock bombing runs over the Legislative Palace.

REAGAN'S POSITION

The Reagan administration is not quite ready for open intervention beyond the current level. While the physical infrastructure is there (U.S. Army Engineers are building three airstrips: one each along the Honduran borders with El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala), the military will is not.

Pentagon top brass have made their position clear: no direct intervention without massive public support in the U.S.

While he keeps the lid on the U.S. air power, Reagan will have time to whip up anti-communist war hysteria and integrate it into his reelection campaign. Reagan may still be able to deliver to his generals the massive public support they require for an invasion of Central America.

SANDINISTAS' STRATEGY

For their part, the Sandinistas continue a two-front strategy aimed at reinforcing their legitimacy among Western European ruling classes and carrying through their commitment to



U.S. trainers in Honduras.

political democracy at home. With their harbors mined and contra attacks escalating, they have taken their case to the World Court. The respect they gain among Western European politicians through this international ritual remains their best hedge against eventually reaching a Cuban level of dependence on Russia and the Soviet bloc.

On the home front the Sandinistas seem confident of mass support. They continue to arm large parts of the population. Opposition parties complain in the Council of State that the new election law would give the President unlimited powers until the national assembly produces a new constitution. The Sandinistas responded by winning a majority decision to hold the Presidential and Constituent Assembly elections simultaneously.

The Patriotic Front parties, allied with the Sandinistas in the Council of State, have not tipped their hand on the fate

of the alliance in the November elections. The Independent Liberal Party will field its own candidate for president, the current Labor Minister Virgilio Godoy.

Whatever the outcome of the Nicaraguan elections, the Reagan administration will try to discredit them. It has already declared that unless the ex-National Guardsmen are allowed to participate, the elections will be illegitimate.

And whatever the outcome of the U.S. elections, the scattered "mini-movements" in solidarity with the people of Central America must be built. Election year pressures to support the most dovish Democratic candidate must be resisted.

The Democrats, after all, brought us Vietnam, the Bay of Pigs invasion, and an invasion of the Dominican Republic. A Democratic victory this fall will only change the form, not the content, of imperialism. □

Letters

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

Military spending story misses the boat

Dear Socialist Worker:

Ben Blake's article on the growing military budget in the March Socialist Worker was good. He showed how we could meet many of our social needs if we just quit wasting our resources on destruction.

If we had a rational, democratically planned economy (socialism) instead of one that is based on the drive for profit and the power of one ruling group against another (capitalism). However, the article fell into a common trap at that point—a trap that most of the peace movement also falls into.

Besides the obvious social benefits from converting the military economy to a peaceful one, Blake claims there would be an economic boom and a large drop in unemployment as well. He bases his argument on studies by Marian Anderson and other economists which show that each dollar of civilian spending employs more workers than each dollar of military spending. So a shift of billions from the military to civilian spending would produce millions of jobs.

But this analysis neglects an important role of military spending in the economy as presently set up (for profit). It siphons off surplus capital that would otherwise raise the capital intensiveness of the civilian economy. Increased capital intensiveness means it takes more capital to produce the same goods.

This means it takes more investment to produce the same profit. But military spending slows down this process by wasting capital. Therefore, it helps hold up profit rates in the rest of the economy.

EMPLOYMENT

If this wasted capital was not drained off, but instead spent on civilian production, there might be increased employment for a while, but over time profit rates would drop.

Since profit rates determine when and if investment takes place, investment would drop off as would jobs. We'd soon be right back in the same economic crisis we're in now.

We can see that this is true by looking at countries that spend far less on military

spending than we do. Even Germany and Japan are now facing high unemployment rates. The economic crisis is worldwide. It has the same cause everywhere—declining profit rates. It cannot be fixed by ending military spending.

Increased military spending won't help the economy either. The huge increases for the Vietnam war only fueled inflation and helped cause the recession of the early 1970's.

Of course, we should fight for the total elimination of the military. It would mean a more humane society and a chance to avoid annihilation of humanity. We can make some progress toward this even under the present economic system (or at least slow down the arms race).

But we shouldn't fool ourselves—to end nuclear weapons we'll have to take away the power from those who hold it and end the system that causes it. The present rulers will never give up their weapons without a fight. They need those weapons to hold "their"

Lessons of the past

Dear Socialist Worker,

The center spread on the Portuguese revolution last month was quite useful, especially for people like myself who were too young to be politically aware at the time.

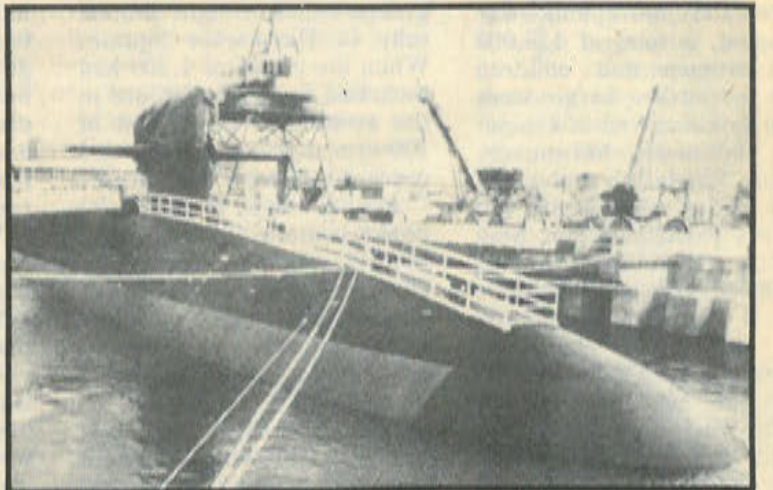
As recent as these movements are, many people in this country today look at the current series of defeats for unionized workers in this country, the budget cutbacks, attacks on abortion rights, and morbidly assume that workers can never fight back success-

fully. Such a perspective ignores how these gains were won in the first place.

Politicians and bosses were not more benevolent when the gains were originally won—workers movements were stronger.

Future articles on the movements of the sixties and seventies, both their strengths and weaknesses, would be most welcome.

Andy Thayer
Chicago, IL



own people down and to defend "their" wealth from other rulers. There is no way to reform away nuclear weapons or the military. We will need a revolution.

The problem with the article's argument is that it leads us away from abolishing the system. It implies that the capitalist economy can be tinkered with and fixed. Blake seems to say that if only the government adopted a different policy, we could eliminate unemployment under this system. It would lead us to try to reform

the economy rather than replacing it with an entirely new one based on workers' democratic control and human needs.

Capitalism needs the arms race politically, militarily and economically. We shouldn't deny this dependence by claiming that "peace means jobs" under this system. The present system will offer us neither peace nor jobs. Though we should fight for both, to win the fight we'll need to end the system.

Steve Leigh
Seattle

In 1920 Italian workers took the factories and...

OCCUPIED!

In the aftermath of World War I—and the example of the Russian revolution—the European workers' movement erupted.

The Italian workers' movement of 1919-1920 highlighted the potential power—and the weaknesses—of the movement. Here Len Silva looks back at that experience.

Of all European revolutionary upsurges in the wake of World War One and the Russian revolution, the experience of Italy's *Biennio Rosso*, the "two red years" of 1919 and 1920 stands out.

In those two years, millions of workers struck, peasants deposed landed estate owners. Even more importantly, Italian workers created factory councils, the "Italian Soviets," whose existence offered a vision of workers' control over society.

Unions swelled in 1919-20. In a matter of months, the labor federation *Confederazione General de Lavoro (CGL)* cracked the million membership mark. The metalworkers' union, the *FIOM*, expanded from 120,000 to 160,000 members in less than a year.

As workers organized they called for increased trade union democracy and raised ever more radical demands.

JOURNAL

A small group of Socialist Party (PSI) members, most prominently Angelo Tasca, Palmiro Togliatti and Antonio Gramsci, launched a worker's journal called *Ordine Nuovo* ("the new order"). It first appeared in Turin on May Day, 1919.

Week after week, *Ordine Nuovo* repeated its central message: the workers should establish "factory councils," bodies of workers' delegates elected by all workers in a plant.

Gramsci, as *Ordine Nuovo's* editor, saw the potential for turning factory councils into representative bodies of workers' democracy. He envisioned a network of councils throughout Italy which would form the basis for a workers' state.

Gramsci and his comrades, supporters of the factory council movement, spoke to large and small gatherings of workers—sometimes as many as 4-5 meetings per day—spreading the "factory council" idea.

They found a ready audience in the Turin working class, much



Factory occupation, Turin, Italy in 1920



of which worked in the gigantic Fiat auto works.

Factory councils sprouted in Turin and other northern industrial cities throughout 1919. More than 2,000 workers voted to establish a council in one Turin factory in August, 1919. Only four workers abstained from the vote. When *Ordine Nuovo* printed *FIOM's* "Program of Workshop Commissars" in October, 1919, a blueprint for organizing councils, the paper sold out all of its 5,000 copies within a few hours.

By February, 1920, more than 150,000 workers in Turin were organized into councils. Surveying the previous months' activity, Gramsci summed up the task:

"*Ordine Nuovo* seeks to mold into living shape the socialist and revolutionary slogan, 'The emancipation of the workers will be the act of the workers themselves.'"

TEST

The biggest test of the movement occurred in September, 1920. Factory occupations rolled through the country during the first five days of the month. Factory councils—which had been beaten back in previous

months—were elected in Milan, Genoa, Rome, Florence, Naples and Palermo.

Workers seized the Fiat Central plant and dubbed the factory the "Fiat Soviet." Giovanni Parodi, secretary of the workers' commissars at the plant, rose to deliver this challenge at a factory council meeting: "Workers! Show that even without the bosses, we know how to run this factory!"

Workers who supported *Ordine Nuovo* took the leading role at Fiat Central, organizing inventories, production divisions, militias and a network of councils in factories throughout Turin. The Turin councils elected Directive Committees to negotiate exchanges of supplies among the region's factories.

When Turin metalworkers wanted to assure oxygen supplies to their plant, they called for gas workers to occupy a Turin oxygen station. The gasworkers immediately complied.

By mid-September, 185 factories and 100,000 workers in and around Turin were involved. To provide for workers' families, community kitchens—organized by unions and factory councils—appeared.



Workers found stacks of money left in plant offices as the bosses retreated. Councils administered an equal division of the money among the workers' families.

In the poorer, agricultural south, word of the factory occupations inspired peasants and peasant soldiers to seize landed estates.

WAVER

With class struggle reaching a pre-revolutionary stage, engulfing all of Italy, the PSI leadership wavered. The government deployed troops throughout the country, waiting for the workers' next move.

The PSI, torn between revolutionaries and reformists, was immobilized. Its central leaders, the Directorate, could not resolve the fundamental question: should the workers' movement seek only reforms in capitalism, or could it go on to abolish that system altogether? Instead of trying to influence events by decisively standing on the side of revolution, the Directorate convened a meeting of party and union leaders in Milan to vote on the question.

The factory council activists in the industrial north knew they needed support from the less-

developed southern parts of Italy.

Two resolutions faced the delegates assembled in Milan. The revolutionary alternative called for the PSI to assume leadership of the occupations to push forward socialization of the means of production. The reformist resolution, offered by the CGL leadership, called only for "union control" within the workplaces.

The vote dashed the hopes for revolution, as the CGL's resolution won with 60%. The vote symbolized a triumph for the more backward rural interests in the party's southern wing. PSI rules determined the outcome: the formula used to count votes was based on 1919 membership figures, which were weighted to rural areas. The party had nearly doubled in size since 1919, winning most of its new members in the industrial working class, where support for the factory councils was strongest.

ABSENCE

Gramsci, Togliatti and other left-wing PSI supporters of the factory council movement placed the blame for the revolution's disintegration on the PSI's weak leadership. The absence of a truly revolutionary party, they argued, led to the movement's isolation and its weakness in the face of potential state repression.

But Gramsci and the others could also point fingers at themselves. The PSI had earlier proven itself unwilling to support a revolutionary transition. Yet Gramsci and his left-wing comrades did not take the course of the Bolsheviks in Russia—forming a revolutionary party that could lead Italian workers to seize power for themselves.

Although the revolutionary moment passed in Italy without the seizure of power by the working class, the potentialities of workers' self-emancipation were illustrated. As Gramsci wrote after the failure of the Fiat strike in April 1920:

"The workers of Fiat have gone back to work. Betrayal? Denial of the revolutionary ideal? The workers of Fiat are men of flesh and blood.

"They held out for a month. They knew that they fought and resisted not only for themselves, not only for the rest of the Turin working class, but for the whole working class of Italy.

"They held out for a month...

"They remain, with their glorious past, the vanguard of the Italian proletariat. They remain faithful and devoted soldiers of the revolution.

"We take off our hats before their humiliation, because to sincere and honest men, there is something of greatness in it." □



WHERE WE STAND

WORKERS' CONTROL

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

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

FIGHT OPPRESSION

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

BLACK LIBERATION

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

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

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

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

RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

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

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

INTERNATIONALISM

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

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

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

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

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

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



What's ON

BALTIMORE
Day School. May 5, 12 noon to 10 p.m. Talks on Introduction to ISO Politics, The Maryland Freedom Union, State Capitalism, Imperialism and the Middle East.

ISO Fundraiser. May 12, 10 p.m. to 1 a.m. at the Great Hall, Johns Hopkins University.

Jay Tribby and Eleanor Trawick on Lesbian and Gay Liberation. May 17 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620.

BLOOMINGTON
Socialist Day School. May 12, 3:30 to 9 p.m. Party to late. Presentations on Decline of the Radical Labor movement 1930-1984 and Reform or Revolution. Potluck dinner between the two discussions.

BOSTON
Ahmed Shawki on Socialist Perspectives for 1984. May 13 at 7:30 p.m. For details call 427-7087.

CHICAGO
The Lessons of Solidarnosc. May 2 at 4:30 p.m.

May Day Celebration. May 5 at 6 p.m. Bill Roberts on The Meaning of Marxism. Potluck dinner and party to follow.

Lee Sustar on Workers Power—East and West. May 16 at 7:30 p.m.

For more information call 288-7572 or 328-6830.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL V-OHIO

June 29, 30, & July 1, 1984



This year the ISO will hold the fifth of its annual summer schools. There will be political talks, entertainment, films, plus recreation—swimming, basketball, volleyball, softball and more.

Talks will include:

- Revolutionaries in Trade Unions in the United States
- Social Democracy After Mitterand
- Imperialism Today
- The Origin of Women's Oppression
- The Marxist Tradition

An Olympic-sized pool is available, food will be catered, and the films will include the Oscar-nominated "Seeing Red."

Write to ISO Summer School, P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616 for more information.

CLEVELAND
Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx. May 6 at 12 noon. Call 651-9827.

CINCINNATI
Bill Stant on Central America on the Edge of War. May 19 at 8 p.m. University of Cincinnati, TUC Room 414. Call 561-8567 or 871-1371 for more information.

NEW YORK
Kevin Murphy on The Rus-

sian Revolution. May 30 at 7:30 p.m.

Andrew Drummond on 1984: Is There a Future for Socialism? May 2 at 7:30 p.m. Call 332-8855.

SAN FRANCISCO
Carl Cowl on Claude McKay. May 1 at 7:30 p.m.

Larry Bradshaw and Frank Runninghorse on Malcolm X. May 20 at 7:30 p.m. Call 285-1908 for details.

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

— Karl Marx

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

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

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



MARVIN GAYE

1939 - 1984

Kathy Ogren looks at the man and his music

On April 1, 1984, Marvin Gaye, Jr. was shot to death one day short of his 45th birthday. A quarrel with his father led to the tragic homicide that ended his prolific 30 year music career.

Gaye was one of the most popular and talented Black musicians of his generation. Born and raised in the East Capital ghetto of Washington, D.C., his music developed through a number of styles, including sweet love ballads, sexy torch songs, and protest songs. All were rooted in the Gospel Hall 'call and response' tradition he learned as a youngster in his father's Pentacostal church.

CAREER

Gaye started his career at age 15 singing *Doo-Wop* with a group called *The Rain-*

bows. Gaye next served a stint in the Air Force, from which he was honorably discharged on the grounds that he could not "adjust to regimentation and authority."

Gaye played with the *Marquees* who recorded for the *Okeh* label, and it was at a *Marquees* performance that *Harvey Fuqua* "discovered" Gaye and recruited him to *Motown*. Although Gaye started his career as a sideman—playing drums for *Smokey Robinson*—his fame came from his vocal performances beginning with songs like "I Heard It Through the Grapevine," and "What's the Matter With You, Baby?" which he recorded with *Mary Wells*.

Next, Gaye teamed up with *Tammy Terrell* to make one of the most dynamic duos of

popular music. Gaye and *Terrell* recorded nine Top 50 hits including "You're All I Need to Get By," "Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing," and "Ain't No Mountain High Enough." *Terrell* died suddenly in 1970 of a brain tumor. Shattered, Gaye retreated into silence.

When Gaye returned to the stage, he brought out "What's Going On" in 1971. The album is a collage of his reflections on the political struggles of the sixties, the violence of Vietnam and the problems of the Black community.

The album took a new direction musically, and because he produced it himself it also signalled his coming break with *Motown*.

STRAIGHT

Lionel Richie, one of the younger generation of Black musicians inspired by Gaye, praised the innovative album:

"It's message was street; it was not about pie in the sky or some love relationship gone astray. It is a straight, basic, street related message."

In fact, "What's Going On" can be seen as a precursor to today's Rap music.

The next several years were especially difficult for Gaye. He was plagued by divorce, bankruptcy and drug problems. It wasn't until 1981 that he once again topped pop music charts with his sensual *Midnight Love* album. It sold 1.5 million copies and brought a Grammy Award.

The tributes to Gaye have called him many things—"troubled man," "sexist singer," and even "the preacher," but none of these labels really captures the versatility of his career. Gaye once said, "An artist isn't concerned with the money-making prospects of the industry. He's concerned with doing something. Telling something. Predicting something. Giving something that has depth, that has meaning, that someone can go to later on, when they need it, and put it on and pull themselves back together."

Marvin Gaye gave us those powerful music visions. His quieted voice will be greatly missed. □

'Flivver King': Upton Sinclair's best work

The *Flivver King*. Charles Kerr Publishing Co., \$5.95.

Review by
ALAN MAASS

Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* has become popular reading on the high school English class circuit.

Along with *George Orwell's Nineteen-Eighty Four* and *Animal Farm*, it stands apart from most of the stuff we're made to read in high school—*The Jungle* gives us the peculiar notion that not all the problems of society are because there's something terribly evil inside all of us.

Instead, *The Jungle* shows the world we rarely see behind the Chicago stockyards, where immigrants were forced into the most horrifying social positions.

Still, *The Jungle* isn't much of a threat to the person who has to teach it. After all, it happened a long time ago, and everything has been made better in the meantime.

The stockyards have been mechanized; no one really lives like that anymore.

ANALYSIS

With this analysis, *The Jungle* stops being the story of people's lives destroyed by the power of wealth and becomes a "work of art," with an exposition, a theme

The Flivver King parallels the lives of Henry Ford and that of an ordinary worker, Abner Shutt.

The book has long been out-of-print. A new edition has just been released.

Alan Maass reviews Upton Sinclair's classic novel.

and symbolism to write essays about.

It's no wonder *The Flivver King* never made it onto the high school reading list. It strikes a little closer to

home.

Charles Kerr Publishing Company's new edition of the book is a prize. For years, *The Flivver King* had virtually disappeared, become a collector's item in the vaults of university libraries.

Sad, this, because *The Flivver King* is Upton Sinclair's best work. The story parallels the lives of the *Flivver King*, Henry Ford, and the family of Abner Shutt, who begins to work for his neighbor just as Ford is getting his company going.

Sinclair gives us a look behind the legend of Henry Ford, and what we see is both a shrewd, heartless businessman and an eccentric millionaire whose enormous sums of money have sent him over the edge.

This in itself is funny and, at times, just plain wierd. But Sinclair's portrayal of Abner Shutt and his family shows us the other side of the coin. We see the lives of workers like Shutt destroyed at the whim of Ford.

One winter there is a panic on Wall Street, "about which Abner knew nothing." Then Abner begins to hear "about people losing their jobs, and not being able to find others; it was something known as 'hard times;' a natural phenomenon like winter itself, mysterious, universal, cruel."

Only paragraphs later, we see the matter is not so "natural" or "mysterious;" Ford sends much of the city of Detroit into a tailspin by deciding to close down his plants for a few months and re-work them with assembly lines, the "innovation" that will break the health of Abner Shutt.

By moving back and forth between the story of Ford and the story of Abner Shutt and his sons, Sinclair makes the class struggle—and its

casualties—real.

We see the fight in Ford's kingdom on all its shifting battlegrounds, from the shop floor that Abner Shutt has known for 30 years, to the rooms of Henry Ford's sprawling mansion to the blacked-out halls where union organizers, like Abner Shutt's son Tom, held meetings in the early stages of the CIO organizing drive.

HISTORY

The history of the book itself is interesting. Sinclair wrote *The Flivver King* in the mid 1930's, and it was published by the United Autoworkers of America.

The UAW took an edition of 200,000 copies and used them to educate their members and in organizing.

The UAW officialdom will have little use for *The Flivver King* today. The union now seems little interested in organizing at all, much less going to the lengths Sinclair describes.

But the new Kerr edition is welcome; it is part of a new run of books from the newly revived company, the oldest socialist publishing house in the United States.

If they continue uncovering classics like *The Flivver King*, socialist: should be very happy indeed.



Boston contractors launch anti-union campaign

BOSTON, MA—A major attempt at union-busting is being set up by a group of non-union contractors in the area who are trying to do away with prevailing wage law. Current law states that any construction project in the state involving public money must pay union wages whether or not the workers are in a union.

The Associated Building Contractors have come up with a proposal which, if enacted, would allow employers to pay a little over one-third of the union rate for skilled laborers.

The contractors, along with the local media, are trying to soft-pedal the proposal by arguing that it would "provide opportunities for young workers and . . . enhance the prospects for reasonable rates of participation by minorities and women in construction."

Unfortunately it is true that

there has been a long-standing union policy of excluding minorities and women from their ranks by various means. This latest maneuver by scab contractors is a perfect example of how, in the end, such practices come back to haunt rank and file unionists. Union officials have handed the bosses ammunition with which to break the unions.

BOOM

Boston is experiencing a temporary boom in construction, and this summer is expected to be one of the best for union construction workers in the area. But it won't last. At least 50% of all construction in and around Boston is non-union, and much of it is under the table with wages as low as five dollars per hour and terrible safety conditions.

If the unions are not to lose

out to the bosses in the years ahead, there must be the beginnings of an attempt to organize the unorganized. The large number of scab outfits around means that an attack on organized workers becomes ever easier for the employers. The exclusion of Blacks and women from the building trades not only hurts the women and Blacks denied jobs. In the long run it also weakens unionized workers.

Of course, the union officials have no interest in organizing the unorganized. They will sit in their Cadillacs regardless. They are quite content with the prevailing racism and sexism as a convenient blind for the rank and file while they are robbed left and right. But for the rank and file, these issues cannot be put off. At stake is the very survival of their union.

—BRIAN KELLY



HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

by MATT FILSINGER

No Federal Sanitary Rules to Protect Farm Workers . . .

According to the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (OSHA), the federal government is supposed to be committed to assuring "every working man and woman in the nation safe and healthful working conditions."

In the 14 years since the law was passed, nothing has been done to protect the 5 million farmworkers in America.

For instance, standards passed in 1972 requiring employers to provide drinking water and toilets applied to everyone except farmworkers. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have seen fit to include agricultural workers.

Lack of decent sanitation results in parasitic and infectious diseases, urinary infections, heat stroke, and pesticide poisoning.

Even still the government has taken the side of the American Farm Bureau Federation and other employer groups. They argue that since sanitation in the camps where migrant workers live is often poor, workers wouldn't benefit much from cleaning up their job sites.

Finally, on March 1, OSHA proposed a rule that all employers of more than 10 farmworkers must provide drinking water, disposable cups, clean toilets, and handwashing facilities within a quarter mile of each worksite. However, at the same time, OSHA also stated that there is "a serious question whether the evidence establishes the need for a field sanitation standard."

In 1976 OSHA also proposed a field sanitation standard. After receiving more than 1,200 comments from agribusiness groups who opposed the standard, the proposal was dropped.

The same thing will happen this time unless somehow the small farmworker unions, organized labor in general, and other activists can fight successfully for the rights of farmworkers to have the basic necessities of sanitation on the job.

It is a sign of how barbaric the capitalist system is that even basic sanitary conditions are not provided to all workers.

The revolutionary ideas of **MARX** Albert Camus

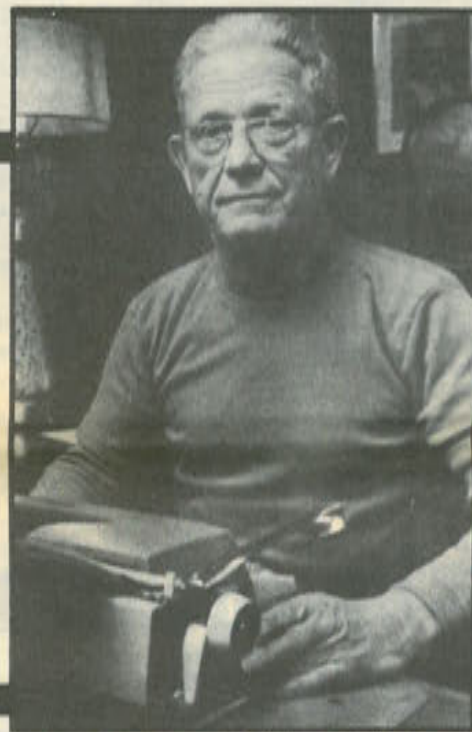
1933-1983 **THE BRIGGS STRIKE**

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY EDITION BY JOHN ANDERSON

Available from: **HERA PRESS** Box 16085 Chicago, IL 60616

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

GM CONTRACT DESIGNED TO SILENCE DISSENT



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

The 1979 UAW—GM agreement contains 400 pages: 146 in contract language, 250 in letters of memorandum, containing wage rates and information on special problems. Buried in these 400 pages are two paragraphs giving the company more power over the workers than is given the UAW in the other 225 paragraphs.

Paragraph (8) on page 12 reads as follows: "The right to hire; promote; discharge or discipline for cause; and to maintain discipline and efficiency of employees, is the sole responsibility of the Corporation except that Union members shall not be discriminated against as such."

"In addition, the products to be manufactured, the location of plants, the schedules of production, the methods, processes and means of manufacturing are solely and exclusively the responsibility of the Corporation."

In 1964 Leonard Woodcock, then Director of the GM Department complained to the Corporation, saying: "A recent Trial Examiner's report in an NLRB proceeding in which the UAW complained against GM subcontracting quotes a General Office representative as asserting, . . . that management was acting by virtue of Paragraph (8) of the agreement. Many workers' grievances are rejected by management on grounds that they are acting by authority of Paragraph (8)."

LIMITS

While Paragraph (8) gives management control on the shop floor, Para-

graph (117) severely limits the activities of the workers and union representatives in such a manner as to make the union practically powerless. This paragraph is written in language that is almost impossible for a worker to understand. It contains five sentences, the first with 54 words, the second 135, the third 72 and the fourth 34 words.

The final sentence can be clearly understood. It says, "The Corporation reserves the right to discipline any employee taking part in any violation of this section of the Agreement."

This sentence forbids any concerted action on the part of the workers regardless of the problem. Any union representative making a statement encouraging workers to resist a speed-up is subject to discharge. No grievance arising from this paragraph can be a strikable issue. The worker is found guilty until proven innocent. If not settled in the plant it must go to the umpire. This may take from 6 months to a year or longer.

In 1964, in his negotiations with GM, Woodcock had this to say about the umpire system: "Even though months later the union may be successful in presenting the committee's case to the Umpire the workers are aware that for at least the intervening period of time the committeeman was certainly without stature and in jeopardy of his livelihood."

"In such situations the Management is never the loser, but always the winner for the lesson is clearly apparent to everyone, 'It could happen to you,'

and there is always the chance the Management will be upheld. The odds in this game are always 'with the house.' Reason dictates the committeeman cannot perform competently and properly when faced with this 'heads I win, tails you lose proposition.'"

MEANS

In 1948, speaking to a GM conference, Walter Reuther quoted a GM official as saying, "Only by revolutionary means will you change Paragraphs (8) or (117)." Since then anyone suggesting that these paragraphs be changed or eliminated was labelled a communist or subversive and became the target of redbaiting.

These two paragraphs have become basic to all UAW contracts with the employers. The UAW leadership, like the employers, want to eliminate the militants and radicals.

If these paragraphs are not enough to eliminate the dissenters, GM management has a book of rules governing the conduct of its employees. Thirty-nine of these rules carry a penalty from verbal reprimand to discharge. Grievances filed against such penalties must go to the umpire if not settled in the plant.

In 1984 bargaining the absence of dissenters in most of the locals will result in another contract placing profits above the needs of the workers.



**UPHILL
BATTLE
FOR UAW**

**Boston hospital workers
win—but the fight is not over**

GROTON, CT—Workers at the General Dynamics Electric Boat plant here have been on strike since June 9, 1983. The UAW is launching a "corporate campaign" against the large defense contractor, aimed at winning the Electric Boat strike, and exposing a number of questionable practices by the corporate giant.

"There are lots of us with 20, 25 years at General Dynamics who don't care if we never go back to work there," says Gurden Smith, a technical illustrator at Electric Boat. "The company's that bad. It's made us all hard core."

"General Dynamics wants total control over us," adds Judi Page, a picket captain.

RECORD

General Dynamics made \$286 million in profits in 1983—a record for the company. But it is not satisfied even with these profits. It was their demands for an 18 month wage freeze, cuts in maximum pay, the right to contract work out to non-union shops at will, and a permanent two-tier wage system which provoked the strike by UAW members last June.

Workers at Electric Boat say that GD is notorious for pitting women against men. Says Page: "GD is a real killer for women. They don't like to let women become technical aides like I did. They say we don't have the college background, but then they turn right around and hire guys with less education than we've got."

GD is the corporation which sold a 12 cent allen wrench to the United States government for \$9,606 and a 2.4 cent piece of wire for \$7417. The company is now under investigation by the Air Force for "possible fraudulent activities."

The UAW charges that the "revolving door" recruitment of top executives at GD insures that fat government contracts will continue to roll in. Under this system, GD periodically recruits its top management directly from the ranks of the Pentagon bureaucracy. Some of its executives, in turn, wind up with important Pentagon posts.

CRITICISM

The UAW also has sharp criticism for unsafe work practices which are prevalent at GD. Harvey Lee died at GD Detroit in November, 1983, after breathing vapors from a fluorocarbon solvent that the UAW had repeatedly warned GD not to use inside its M-1 tanks.

The rank and file at General Dynamics face an uphill battle. The UAW's adoption of the "corporate campaign" tactic—like the IAM's at Brown and Sharpe—is too little, too late. Support the Electric Boat workers! □

BOSTON, MA—Workers at University Hospital, members of Local 1199, won an important victory last month when they forced management to meet their demands and stuck together against give-backs.

But it has also become clear since the contract was signed that management has not had a change of heart.

"They are still out to bust the union," as one worker put it, "and the spare change they were forced to concede during the strike they fully intend to make back by increasing the workload and pushing people to the limits and by intimidating the workforce into 'putting up and shutting up.'"

Since the contract was signed workers have faced constant harassment on the job. Some have been fired, others have been given warnings and are being watched closely.

TERMINATED

Betty Brady, an instrument technician in the operating room and a union delegate just recently went back to work after management tried to have her terminated. *Socialist Worker* talked to her about her own case and about conditions on the job.

Betty has been out for a couple of weeks with pulled muscles in her back. Before going back to work she was examined by her own doctor and told she could return to work, but should avoid heavy lifting.

Without even examining her, the hospital's doctor, Candice Corning, told her she looked like she was in pain, unfit to work. It was suggested to her by personnel that she could transfer to another position at the

hospital.

Betty thinks they want to transfer her to a non-union position.

"I'm a union delegate. I think this is what is happening at the hospital. We get a little foot in the door and they say, 'We'll use this to teach them.' That is the way I see their strategy."

"Since the strike there have been a lot of firings, brutality and harassment at the hospital. More work is being put on people. They are constantly watching everything you do. If they find a little opening, they take that and blow it out of proportion. Like more work for some people and less for others."

"I don't think it is so much the money as it is the fact that we did win the strike."

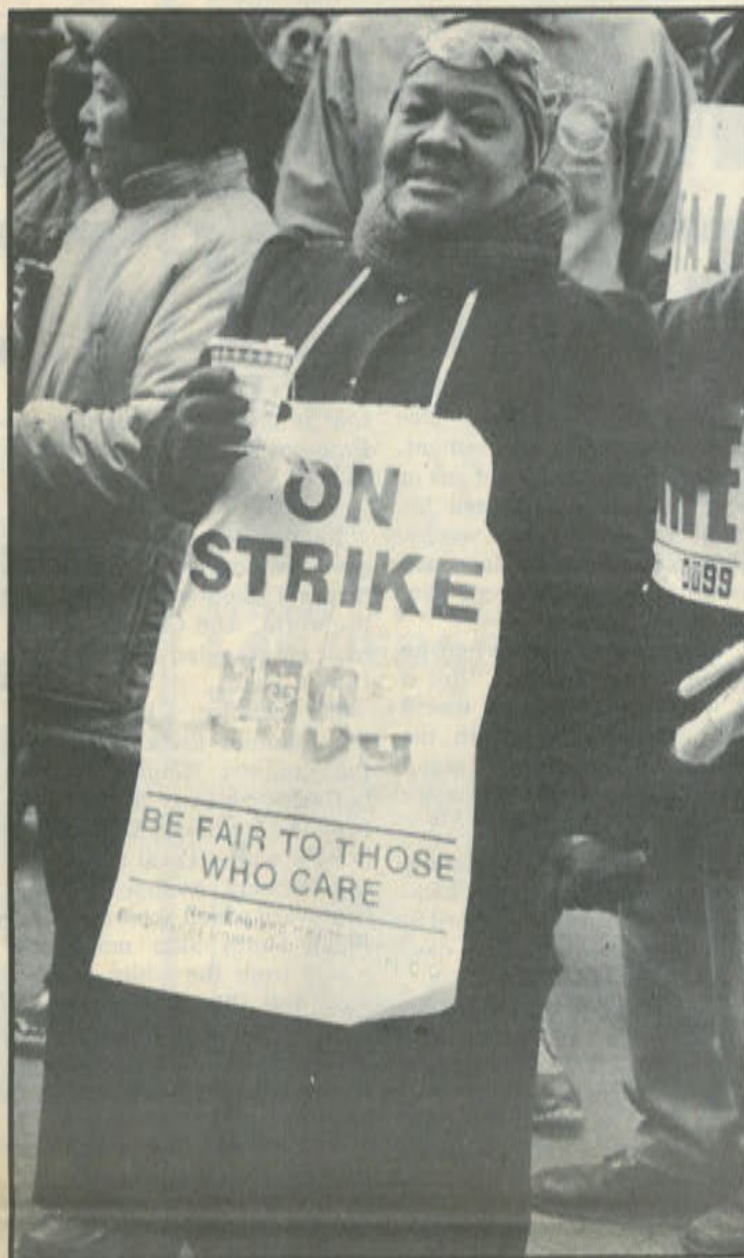
"We did become united. . . we became a strong group of people during the strike and they didn't like that."

"We haven't gotten the money that we negotiated for. That is another thing to bring down our spirits. People have decided we may have to strike again."

Betty Brady was fortunate enough to prevent a termination after protesting to personnel, but she is not the only one who has been harassed. And she won't be the last.

The workers at University Hospital won their strike because they were militant and united. But unity and militancy can't be turned off once the strike is over.

The only thing that will stop the management's offensive is if the workers maintain their strength all the time.



The rank and file unity that emerged during the strike must be maintained.

And it cannot be left up to the union officials. It is up to the rank and file to organize against the increased workloads, to stop harassment on the job and to stand up against management's attempt to divided them.

Betty Brady may have her job on the chopping block today. But if management is allowed to get away with harassment it will be someone else tomorrow.

An injury to one is an injury to all! □

PRESSER'S FRIEND

Jackie Presser, international president of the Teamsters union, has put in 30-plus years as a labor bureaucrat—and it shows.

In an April interview, Presser argued that Reagan has been a pretty good president for labor. "I think he understands labor's problems. We've had some fine appointments as far as this administration's concerned—the Teamsters have had much more input than we've ever had in the past."

All the union-busting of the last three years seems to have passed Presser right by. He says, "If you look at what interest rates were, the inflation rate was, the unemployment rate, what the gross national product was when Reagan arrived and where they're at today, you can see for yourself what the President has done for American workers generally."



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NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

RACIST ATTACKS FORCE FAMILY TO MOVE

**SOCIALIST WORKER
SPECIAL REPORT**

CHICAGO, IL—In the face of continuous harassment, Dudley Emmons moved out of the house that had been his home for a mere two weeks. Dudley Emmons did not move voluntarily. He moved because of racism.

"I'm Black and I'm getting out of here," he said. "But if it wasn't for the fact that I have my daughter with me and her two children, I'd stand with a shotgun at every window."

Emmons and his family moved into the house in Chicago's Southeast Side on April 8. And from the very first day, the harassment began.

"The first day we moved in, the cars started slowing and stopping." The passengers shouted "racial slurs, you know, 'We like dead niggers,' that sort of thing," Emmons told *Socialist Worker*.

That night, vandals smeared eggs on Emmons' family cars. The following night, someone tossed a brick through the front window. And on the third night, his garage was torched.

"My daughter saw a car pull away immediately as the fire started," recalled Emmons. "In 15 or 20 minutes, the garage was gone."

"There were 30 people out watching (the garage burn)," a neighbor said.

After the arson attack, Emmons decided to move. The verbal threats, however, continued from passing cars every day until Emmons moved on April 24.

The police are investigating who torched the garage—but

that is of little consolation to Emmons and his family.

EXPOSED

Racism runs deep in Chicago—one year after the 1983 mayoral election exposed it to the world. And Chicago is the most segregated city in the United States.

For instance, a bridge over the Calumet River separates the Calumet Heights neighborhood, which is 90% Black, from the Southeast Side which is 94% white. Local residents call Western Avenue, a long boulevard which separates the Black South Side neighborhoods from the white Southwest Side the "Berlin Wall." One recent study estimates the 96% of Chicago residents would have to move to integrate the city!

And attacks like those on Emmons are not uncommon. In 1982, for example, two women whose car was fire-bombed left the neighborhood. In a nearby suburb, Burnham, four men, including a village firefighter, were charged with the bombings of a Black family's house and garage.

Last year the initials "KKK" were burned into a Black family's lawn in a west suburb. And one southwest suburban family had to endure repeated electrical shut-offs as vandals cut their power lines.

People like Dudley Emmons are forced to move, in part, because they have few places to turn for support.

But Black self-defense and a concerted fight is the only way to turn the tide against these racist attacks.



Dudley Emmons garage was burned to the ground

ALL-WHITE JURY SETS KLAN FREE

by AZAR HANIF

Progressive people were outraged. The government said it was too bad, but just. The Klan called it "the first shot of the American revolution."

The April 16 acquittal of nine Ku Klux Klan and Nazi members by an all-white jury in Winston-Salem, North Carolina was a lie. For the second time in five years, an all-white jury freed the Nazis and Klansmen who killed five members of the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro, North Carolina in cold blood and on live television.

Despite overwhelming evidence—including an 88-second film of the shooting which showed (among other atrocities) one Klansman shooting pointblank at the fallen body of an anti-Klan demonstrator—the fascists are allowed once again to walk the streets.

QUESTIONS

The verdict, handed down after merely three hours of deliberation, raises so many questions that one almost doesn't know where to start.

First, the jury and the most obvious question: why weren't there any Blacks on the jury? The jury was selected in secret and six Blacks were kept off the panel because, as one Klan defense attorney said, "A Black could not go back to his or her church after having voted 'not guilty' for a Klansman."

It was later learned that the jury was not only all-white but was actually prejudiced in favor of the fascists. One juror admitted, before being selected, that she was a good friend of the Greensboro police chief at the time of the shooting.

The second question raised is the role of the U.S. government. All along, leftists have charged that the government would not present an effective case because of the role played by a federal government agent and a Greensboro police informant. Both are said to have help plan the violence, participated in it, may have even originated the idea.

Further the judge ordered the jury to base its decision on very complicated instructions. They were told they could only find that the civil rights of the anti-Klan demonstrators were violated if the Klansmen went to the demonstration out of racist sentiments alone. Political motivation would not be sufficient.

In short, the government failed to question the two people who knew beforehand what the Klan planned to do. Then they refused to let the jury interpret civil rights in its broader context, but only in the context of race. Only one of those murdered was Black.

Third, the Klan. The fascists are predicting that the

Klan will grow as a result of the verdict. At a Klan victory rally, however, only a few people showed up to listen to defendant Klan leader Virgil Griffin say that the Klan will build North Carolina "back to Klansville U.S.A." Klan supporters also heard 5-year-old Susan Harris recite how she persuaded her next-door neighbor out of wanting to marry Michael Jackson.

VIOLENCE

But even if the Klan itself does not grow, racist violence will. Racists can only be encouraged by the verdict in Winston-Salem, the March verdict in Miami involving killer cop Luis Alvarez and countless other verdicts where whites were let off scot-free after gunning down Blacks and their allies.

The verdict in Winston-Salem was a lie. It disguised racism in the cloak of justice and hatred as the pillar of truth. The CWP has filed suit a third time against the Klan and the government, and already the government has refused to allow the two agents to be named as defendants along with several Klansmen.

The CWP vows to push ahead. The government plans to stall.

It should be obvious by now that there can be no relief in the halls of injustice. Relief will come in time with the true American revolution. □

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