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EVEN THE MINIMUM ISN'T ENOUGH

FIGHT REAGAN'S SUB-MINIMUM WAGE

A REPORT BY BRIAN KELLY

In the four years since the Reagan administration has been in office, working people have seen a steady erosion of their standard of living, a systematic government and employer attack on trade union rights—as well as a whole pile of anti-worker legislation being enacted at the federal level.

UNEMPLOYMENT

For the first two years of Reagan's term, unemployment rose to the highest levels since the Depression. And despite the so-called economic recovery, the official unemployment rate still hovers at close to 8%.

Youth unemployment is currently 20% and unemployment of Black youth is 43%. Ronald Reagan says he has a solution to the problem. For the third time since he was elected, he has put forward in Congress a "sub-minimum wage" bill, which will reduce the minimum wage for teenagers from \$3.35 an hour to \$2.50. This, he says, will encourage employers to create new jobs for youth.

The truth is that this legislation will neither create new jobs nor improve the plight of working youth. Richard Nixon proposed a similar bill in 1969, but dropped it after a federal study concluding that minimum wage levels have no impact on job loss or creation.

The bill is really intended to increase profits for employers—particularly in industries like fast foods, where it will mean millions of dollars saved in wages.

But that is only the most ob-

vious effect it will have. The current minimum of \$3.35 an hour has not been raised since January 1981. Just to make up for inflation since that time, the rate would have to be raised to \$3.90 an hour.

And Reagan's idea that teenagers are working for pocket change is a real myth. Many of them are trying to raise families on meager wages—others work to supplement their parents' low-income. And since the cuts in higher education, many teenagers rely on their savings to pay for college or other training. Imagine working a 40-hour week for \$80 to \$85 in take-home pay. This is what the sub-minimum wage really means.

ATTACK

But the sub-minimum wage proposal is not just aimed at young workers. It is an attack on all workers.

Why would an employer pay a 40-year-old worker \$5 or \$6 an hour when he can get two or three teenagers for the same money? Older workers who are currently working for subsistence wages will be pressured into wage cuts and increased workloads. There is a real fear that adult unemployment will rise as a result.

That there has been no national uproar over such a

vicious proposal is no surprise, despite the occasional quibbling. Republicans and Democrats alike are agreed on how to scare their way through the economic crisis. We have seen PATCO, Greyhound, the attack on affirmative action and civil rights legislation without even a whimper of disagreement.

GULF

The AFL-CIO looked the other way. The National Conference of Black Mayors revealed the gulf separating them from Black workers when they voted at their recent conference for Reagan's proposal.

Young workers face a desperate situation today, and the sub-minimum wage will make matters worse—not better. In the present climate of confident employers' attacks, it is likely that the bill pass. The only thing that can turn the tide is a strong workers movement—not politicians or labor "leaders."

Today, this means building the small struggles that do arise and spreading the ideas of solidarity. And ultimately, we need to create a society where human beings, old and young, are no longer subject to the periodic humiliation of unemployment—socialist society. □



**BOSSSES PLAN:
"AUTOMATE,
EMIGRATE OR
EVAPORATE"**

Not many capitalists say they believe in a "classless society."

But Gordon E. Forward does. Of course, it's not that he believes workers should run society—only that they should be covered by a profit-sharing plan.

That's the way capitalism works at the Charral Steel plant in Midlothian, Texas—only one of the ten "America's Best-Managed Factories," selected by *Fortune*, the folks who champion the 500 largest U.S. corporations.

SIMPLE

How did many of the factories make the Top Ten? Well, it's simple. They were the best at replacing humans with machines and at encouraging "labor-management cooperation."

Let E.T. Wright, the owner of a shoe factory in Waltham, Massachusetts explain: "In an automated factory, you can't have the labor disruptions experienced in the past. You depend on the employee a lot more."

At General Electric's Erie locomotive works in Erie, Pennsylvania, the managers are learning to depend on employers a lot less. Automation there was credited with lowering "labor costs" (read: wages and benefits). In fact, GE found it can increase output by 30% with only a 10% increase in the workforce by 1985.

"Managers of the best plants have convinced workers that their enemy is not management, but the competition—and that they must pull together to survive," crowed *Fortune*.

MEETINGS

One way management achieves this task is by meetings with workers where workers' complaints aren't ignored, simply "substantially reduced," said *Fortune*.

U.S. bosses' message comes through loud and clear. "We can't be competitive in the U.S. using hands alone," GE's James A. Baker told *Fortune*. His prescription? Automate, emigrate or evaporate. □

**AGENT ORANGE LAW SUIT
SETTLED OUT OF COURT**

Between 1961 and 1973, more than 2.8 million Americans served in Vietnam. From 1965-1970, about 12 million gallons of Agent Orange were sprayed in South Vietnam, to clear vegetation which was considered "helpful to the enemy." Agent Orange included small amounts of dioxin, one of the most deadly chemicals known.

RESULT

As a result of this as many as 40,000 veterans, their wives and their children may have suffered serious health effects. These include cancer, liver damage, chloracne (a serious skin problem), miscarriages and birth defects.

The veterans and their families charge that the U.S. government and the chemical companies which made the Agent Orange knew about the possible health effects, but still used it and provided no warnings or protection.

As a result of a number of people developing health problems, a class action suit was filed in 1979. The wheels of justice turn slowly in America, however, and now—five years later—the trial was just about to begin.

The stakes were high. Dow Chemical Co., the major manufacturer, had arranged for 500 scientists and other "expert" witnesses to testify or

A class action suit against Dow Chemical and other Agent Orange manufacturers was settled out of court last month. Matt Filsinger looks at the background.

provide statements on their behalf. It is estimated that Dow was spending \$1 million per day just on lawyers' fees.

Before the jury had even been selected, a settlement was reached. The seven major producers of Agent Orange, including Dow, Monsanto and Diamond Shamrock, have agreed to establish a \$180 million fund for the relief of injured veterans and their families. The fund will last about 25 years, supposedly to enable it to compensate illnesses and genetic damage to yet-unborn children of the veterans.

Dow still maintains their innocence—they say that they settled because they were afraid that a jury would have been swayed by the emotional arguments of the veterans.

But laboratory tests have shown dioxin to be deadly, and human health effects have been proven. Some veterans were heavily exposed. As Al Marcotte, a former Green Beret, says, "We bathed in it, drank it and slept in it."

The decision to settle was strictly a business decision by



Veterans were heavily exposed to Agent Orange. Former Green Beret Al Marcotte remembers, "We bathed in it, drank it and slept in it."

the companies. Besides the huge legal fees and the prospect of future payments to the veterans of unknown amounts, the companies wanted to end the bad publicity which the trial was bringing. Also the insurance policies for the chemical companies will cover virtually the whole settlement. Even without that, for a company like Dow with annual revenues of \$11 billion, the settlement doesn't amount to much.

RELIEVED

In fact, Wall Street was relieved by the settlement—the stock prices of all the companies involved went up the

day after the announcement was made.

It's unclear whether the veterans would have done better if they had gone through with the trial. Many questions remain, including: who will get priority, how much the payments will be, how much the lawyers will get, etc.

What is known is that the health of the soldiers was never even considered by the U.S. government, or the chemical companies. And to this day, no one has considered the Vietnamese people—hundreds of thousands of whom actually lived in areas sprayed with Agent Orange. □



Chicago march demands end to arms race

CHICAGO, IL—The city's annual peace walk brought 3,500 demonstrators to downtown streets May 13 in a protest against nuclear weapons.

The turnout was a substantial increase over last year's march. Reagan's open preparations for invading a half-dozen countries in Latin America has had an effect on people.

The 3,500 who marched in Chicago last month have been shaken into action—and they are looking for solutions to the U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms war.

ORGANIZERS

Unfortunately, the organizers of the walk had little to offer the demonstrators. Their reasoning went like this: nuclear

weapons are nasty, mothers are nice, so do something nice for your mother by protesting nuclear weapons on Mother's Day.

This attitude had an obvious effect on the demonstrators—the peace walk was more a pleasant Sunday stroll through the streets of Chicago than a militant protest against

weapons.

As one marcher put it, "It's like a class reunion, not a protest."

We have to change this attitude, and build opposition to nuclear weapons on more than Mother's Day. The alternative is to see the renewed interest in the struggle against nuclear weapons wasted. □

—ALAN MAASS

Toledo AP: a defensive strike—but shows workers' potential



After workers successfully shut down the Toledo AP auto parts plant, police came out in force to herd scabs in. The strike shows the potential of mass workers' action.

The strike of 400 workers at the AP Auto Parts in Toledo, Ohio, is very important. On one side stand the strikers and their supporters, on the other, the employers, their hired thugs and the police.

As images of the strike flashed on TV screens across the country last month, the strike raised once again the central problems facing workers today: a weak labor movement, unemployment and a concerted attack by employers against wages, benefits and shop-floor organization.

The Chrysler concession contract of 1979 and the breaking of PATCO in 1981 signalled the onslaught. Last year airlines, meatpacking and steel unions were devastated. In the words of the Wall

Street Journal: "Employers are resorting to a wide variety of tactics" to break unions—from the use of bankruptcy courts by Continental and Wilson Foods, to violence and starving out by Phelps Dodge, to selling plant and moving by Krogers and Con-Agra when workers refused concessions.

EFFECT

The combined effect of the recession and the concessions drive can be seen in any union across the country—but especially in the industrial unions—the strongest unions of yesterday. The UAW for instance, has gone from 1.4 million members in 1979 to 998,000 at the end of 1983. The USW has gone from 1.1 million a decade ago to 600,000. The proportion of

workers unionized continues to fall—as does the proportion of certification election victories.

And despite the "recovery" in most economic indicators, the employers are still coming back for more. Unfortunately, the leaders of the AFL-CIO are incapable and unwilling to do what is necessary to fight back. Instead, they have chosen to rely on Walter Mondale—who was vice president in an administration which those very union leaders called "contemptuous" of organized labor at the time—as labor's savior.

In choosing this road, they have turned their backs on what is really needed—a concerted effort to rebuild workers' strength where it counts—on the shop floor, organiz-

ing the unorganized and encouraging solidarity in action.

The Toledo strike has shown that despite the onslaught and the defeats workers have suffered, workers still have the capacity to fight back. And it gave us a glimpse of what is needed to win—mass pickets, solidarity from other workers and a willingness to confront the employers, their thugs and the police.

The strike is a defensive one to be sure, but the lesson of what happened won't be lost—at least to some workers. Some employers, too, worry that the "recovery" will spur workers to demand an end to concessions and demand instead a share of the massive profits being lavished on the top executives of America's biggest companies.

And the Toledo strike—like the strike at Toledo's Auto-Lite fifty years ago—is a reminder that the present defensive posture of the labor movement won't last forever.

SOCIALISTS

The strike of 1934 was preceded by long-difficult years of attempts at organizing by small groups of socialists. When the tide turned, it was the socialists who had spent years preparing who were able to have an impact on the direction of the struggle.

The key task for socialists today is to find ways of relating to such struggles as they emerge. Only a small minority will be open to socialist ideas, but organizing a socialist current in the labor movement is essential. □

MEMORIAL DAY VICTORY

ROCHESTER, NY—When veterans here learned that a women's peace group wanted to march in their 116th Memorial Day parade, they displayed their customary maturity.

"We don't want to play ball with them, so we pick up our ball and go home," Parade Marshal Michael Danylyshyn said, announcing he was cancelling the parade.

The Rochester Women's Action for Peace wanted to march at the rear of the parade, carrying banners, distributing leaflets and giving away balloons that read, "Teach Peace."

But the Veterans' Memorial and Executive Council, which represents 20 veterans groups, didn't want any "politics" to intrude in a parade of this sort.

"We removed a cancer and maybe it'll be a healthier situation next year," Danylyshyn said. "They are strange, in a sense, in that they do

look different from the other ladies I know," he said of the women.

Danylyshyn apparently likes "ladies" who do not question the United States' habit of sending young soldiers to be slaughtered for the sake of U.S. "interests," from Vietnam to Lebanon to Central America. He is threatened by women like peace group member Hyla Sandgrund, who just wants to see her 11½-year-old granddaughter live a life free of a nuclear threat.

"If we can't share East Avenue and Main Street in Rochester, N.Y., I don't know what hope there is for solving global problems," she said.

The women held a Memorial Day peace march, and vowed they would not give in to Danylyshyn and his militaristic veteran's group. "We'll be back next year," Sandgrund said. □

—LEE SUSTAR

Support gay and lesbian pride marches

by CHRISTINA BAKER

police and hundreds of demonstrators.

This gave birth to the gay liberation movement which, through the early 1970s, won a series of social reforms, including anti-discrimination in housing and hiring ordinances in a number of cities. But with the economic crisis of the mid-1970s and the demise of the social movements, gains not only became much harder to win but were actually rolled back.

Anita Bryant led a right-wing crusade to reverse gay civil rights legislation in Miami in 1977, and in response gay liberationists were reactivated. In June 1978, 300,000 marched in San Francisco, 80,000 in New York and 5,000 in Boston.

Over the last several years, there have been repeated attempts in cities which had previously passed gay rights ordinances to turn back the clock. Some of these attempts have succeeded, and some—where there has been a militant fightback—have been defeated.

The attacks on gay and lesbian rights will continue—and in a period, such as now, when

This month will see demonstrations in cities across the country in celebration of Gay and Lesbian Pride. June is the month for Gay and Lesbian Pride demonstrations because in June, 1969—15 years ago—the Stonewall Rebellion in New York's Greenwich Village gave rise to militant gay liberation organizations across the country.

Through the late 1950s and early 1960s, a number of gay groups emerged in the U.S. providing places to meet and explore the then-controversial notion that gays, instead of being sick or sinners, were actually an oppressed minority.

Best known and largest of these groups were the Daughters of Bilitis and the Mattachine Society. By the late 1960s, there were almost fifty such groups.

CONTEXT

It was in this context—and in the midst of the Black liberation, anti-Vietnam war and women's liberation movements of the 1960s—that the N.Y. police raided a popular gay bar, the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village. The response by gays no longer willing to take gay-bashing as a fact of life was four nights of street fighting between the

economic crisis is coupled with an absence of organized working class resistance, the situation for gays and other oppressed minorities is apt to worsen.

Yearly demonstrations, particularly of the non-militant sort seen over the last several years, will not be sufficient to turn the tide. But at least they continue to be a public expression that lesbians and gays are out of the closet and don't intend to go back.

ATTACKS

Socialists must support and build the Gay and Lesbian Pride demonstrations. We must show our support not only for gay rights, but for gay liberation—and link that fight with the struggles of all the exploited and oppressed. □

FIGHTING WORDS

"Legislative reform and revolution are not different methods of historic development that can be picked out at pleasure from the counter of history, just as one chooses hot or cold sausages. Legislative reform and revolution are different factors in the development of class society.

"It is contrary to history to represent work for reforms as a long, drawn-out revolution, and revolution as a condensed series of reforms. A social transformation and a legislative reform do not differ according to their duration, but according to their content."

—Rosa Luxemburg, 1908

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THE LESSONS OF THE LAS VEGAS HOTEL STRIKE

The strike of 17,000 hotel and casino workers in Las Vegas, Nevada, has been settled. 5,000 union members returned to work beginning on May 5 at five of Las Vegas' large resorts.

The waiters, cooks, bartenders and other workers at the smaller resorts remained out through May, but their officials settled on May 25. On settlement, the employers stalled on letting the unionists come back to work, so picket lines remained up after the settlement which remains to be ratified by the membership.

At the five large resorts, the strikers conceded to the terms of what is being called the Hilton contract, referring to the contract negotiated between the four striking unions and the Las Vegas Hilton.

The new 5-year "Hilton contract," which is serving as the model for all the other settlements, contains small

by **JOE ALLEN**

wage and benefits increases and serious losses for union members. Included is a \$1.48 wage increase over the next five years and an increased employer contribution to the health and welfare fund. On the other hand, there is the creation of a two-tiered wage structure allowing newly hired employees to earn 80% of the basic union wage, work rule concessions and the extension of the probationary period.

LOSS

The biggest loss of the strike is that thousands of union members will receive large wage cuts. The contract ratified by Hilton workers on May 17, which gives a \$1.48 wage increase, is the industry-wide model now for Las Vegas.

During the last week of

March, hotels and casinos outside of the Nevada Resort Association (N.R.A.)—the so-called independents employing thousands of union members—gave a \$1.96 wage increase. The Hilton contract voided these independent contract, resulting in a 48¢ an hour wage cut for thousands of workers.

The strike began April 2 as 17,000 workers walked off their jobs in response to demands by the major employers organization, the N.R.A., for wage, benefits and work rule concessions. The four striking unions are the Culinary Workers, Bartenders, Stagehands and Musicians locals.

The largest union on strike is the Culinary Workers Local 226 which began the strike with over 12,000 members on strike. Over 800 workers were arrested during the course of the strike, more than any other in recent memory. The

full force of the Las Vegas police was brought down on the strikers, as riot-helmeted police cleared the streets on many nights, attacked rallies and picket lines.

"LEADERS"

The trade union leaders will call strikes to protect their own interests, but, as the Las Vegas strike shows, their interests are not necessarily those of the rank and file.

The trade union bureaucracy's position depends on the organization of workers, so that it can act as a lever to win reforms within the capitalist system, namely positions for itself and reforms for workers. Its existence depends upon it being able to mediate between workers and the bosses. The bureaucrats have no future if unions don't exist.

So while the trade union leaders will call strikes to

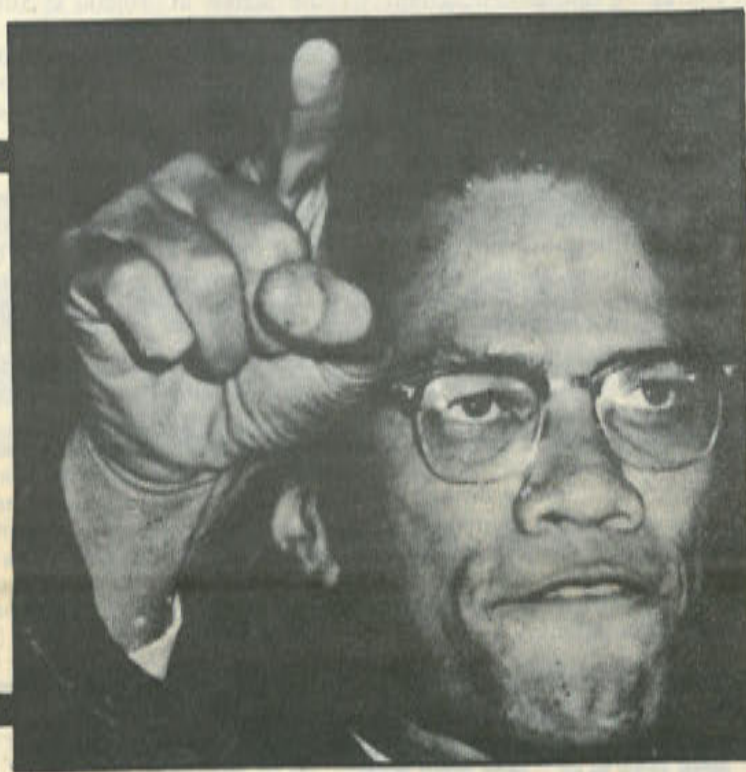
maintain their position, that position also depends on signing contracts with employers.

That is why local union leadership, led by Jeff McColl of the Culinary Workers Local 226, pursued a policy that undercuts the power of the rank and file to save itself. By signing contracts with 20 independent resorts in the last week of March, the union entered the April strike against the N.R.A. in a much weaker position.

The union leaders further weakened the position of rank and file workers by settling with five N.R.A. resorts—and pulling 5,000 workers off the streets—during the course of the strike.

ORGANIZED

The major lesson of the Las Vegas strike is that the rank and file workers have to be organized independently of the union leadership to fight back. □



On July 17, 1964, one day before what became known as the "Harlem riots," Malcolm X addressed the "African Summit" meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Cairo, Egypt, and appealed to the heads of African states for international support.

The American government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of your 22 million African-American brothers and sisters. We stand defenseless, at the mercy of American racists who murder us at will for no reason other than we are Black and of African descent.

Two Black bodies were found in the Mississippi River this week; last week an unarmed African-American educator was murdered in cold blood in Georgia; a few days before that three civil rights workers disappeared completely, perhaps murdered also, only because they were teaching our people in Mississippi how to vote and secure their political rights.

Our problems are your problems. We have lived for over 300 years in that American den of racist wolves in constant fear of losing life and limb. Recently, three students from Kenya were mistaken for American Blacks and were brutally beaten by New York police. Shortly after that, two diplomats from Uganda were also beaten by the New York

City police, who mistook them for American Blacks.

If Africans are brutally beaten while only visiting in America, imagine the physical and psychological suffering received by your brothers and sisters who have lived there for over 300 years.

PROBLEM

Our problem is your problem. No matter how much independence Africans get here on the mother continent, unless you wear your national dress at all times, when you visit America, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological humiliation and physical mutilation that is an everyday occurrence in our lives.

Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.

Our problem is your problem. It is not a Black problem, nor an American problem. This is a world problem; a problem for humanity. It is not a problem of civil rights but a problem of human rights.

If the United States Supreme Court justice, Arthur Goldberg, a few weeks ago,

could find legal grounds to threaten to bring Russia before the United Nations and charge her with violating the human rights of less than three million Russian Jews, what makes our African brothers hesitate to bring the United States government before the United Nations and charge her with violating the human rights of 22 million African-Americans?

DOLLARISM

We pray that our African brothers have not freed themselves of European colonialism only to be overcome and held in check now by American dollarism. Don't let

American racism be "legalized" by American dollarism.

America is worse than South Africa, because not only is America racist, but she also is deceitful and hypocritical. South Africa preaches segregation and practices segregation. She, at least, practices what she preaches.

America preaches integration and practices segregation. She preaches one thing while deceitfully practicing another.

South Africa is like a vicious wolf, openly hostile towards Black humanity. But America is cunning like a fox, friendly and smiling, but even more vicious and deadly than the

wolf.

The wolf and the fox are both enemies of humanity; both are canine; both humiliate and mutilate their victims. Both have the same objectives, but differ only in methods.

GUILTY

If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent. And if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue. □

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

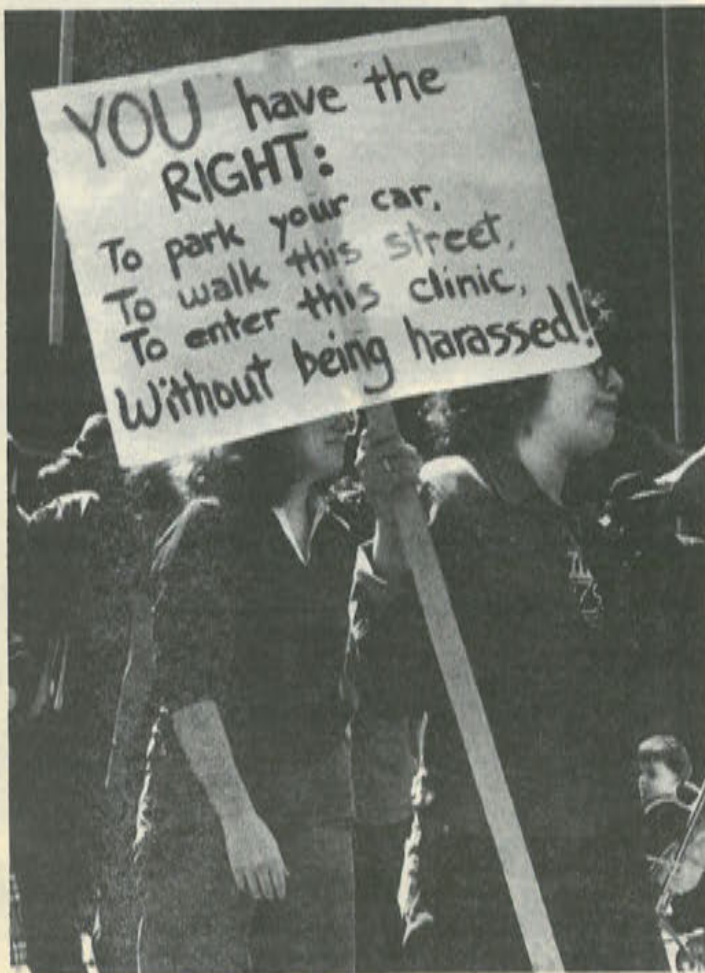
AMERICA SAYS ONE THING AND DOES ANOTHER

Malcolm X talks to reporters November 24, 1964, after his return from Africa.



Defend a woman's right to choose

**EVERETT
CLINIC
FORCED
TO MOVE**



CHICAGO CLINIC DEFENDED

On May 12, some 40 area anti-abortionists descended upon the Concord Medical Center in downtown Chicago as part of their annual Mothers Day assault of abortion clinics across the country. The anti-abortionists were there to disrupt the clinic and to harass women as they entered and left, calling them "murderers" because they had chosen to have an abortion.

When the "Right-to-Lifers" showed up at the clinic carrying their baby coffins and pictures of fetuses, they were greeted by a near-equal number of pro-choice demonstrators. The pro-choice demonstrators were there to keep the anti-abortionists from harassing the women and to provide a pro-choice presence against the anti-woman slogans of the "Right-to-Lifers." □

— SHARON SMITH

Big issue in Washington

SEATTLE, WA—Sixty abortion rights pickets picked Mothers Day to make a point.

They organized a spirited demonstration against the Crisis Pregnancy Center, a right-wing backed anti-abortion counseling center.

Organized by Women for Reproductive Freedom, demonstrators called for an end to right-wing violence against abortion clinics, especially the Feminist Women's Health Center in nearby Everett, and for the defeat of Initiative 471, a proposed referendum to end state abortion funding for poor women.

The pregnancy center, in Seattle's Lake City neighborhood was set up by the Christian Action Council, a fundamentalist political action group.

The center advertises itself on buses throughout the city, appearing to be an abortion referral service. Its ads read: "Not every pregnancy is a happy occasion" and features a picture of a distraught woman.

MISINFORMATION

Women who come to the center seeking help are shown an anti-abortion videotape full of lies and misinformation.

The Christian Action Council's aim is to frighten women into renouncing abortion.

by MARY DEATON

The demonstration came at a time of heightened anti-abortion violence and a surging right-wing movement to end abortion funding in Washington.

A few nights before the picket, someone tossed a brick, wrapped with a Women for Reproductive Freedom leaflet, through one of the center's windows. WRF organizers blamed right-wing provocateurs for the incident.

Washington is one of nine remaining states which provide abortion funding for poor women in the wake of the Hyde Amendment, which cut off federal abortion funding in 1977. Washington voters legalized abortion by referendum in 1970, three years before the Supreme Court legalized it nationwide.

But anti-abortion forces are mounting a referendum campaign to eliminate abortion funding in the November election. Initiative 471 is expected to be certified for the ballot in July, following a signature drive for 137,000 signers.

The referendum and clinic attacks have made reproductive rights a big issue in Washington. Reproductive rights supporters must take to the streets now to defend abortion rights! □

EVERETT, WA—Everett Olympic Bank here has decided to terminate the lease of the abortion clinic which has been the target of arson and right-wing harassment since it opened last August.

The bank's action was only the latest setback for the Feminist Women's Health Center, which has been closed since a December firebombing gutted it.

"The bank is allowing policy to be made with matches and gasoline," said Dianne Hale, the clinic's spokesperson. She said the clinic plans to sue the bank to honor its six-year lease.

"BUSINESS"

The clinic has not broken the lease, but the bank claims that "prudent business practices" dictated its course. Since the firebombing, the clinic cannot buy fire insurance. Thus, to the bank, the clinic is "too risky" an investment.

Kimberly Boyd, director and corporate officer of the Feminist Women's Health Center, Inc., in Yakima, said the Everett clinic's operators are interested in a "more defensible" location.

Contributions to the Everett Clinic Defense Committee can be made by calling Women for Reproductive Freedom at (206) 328-2049. □

Where is Jackson taking the "rainbow coalition?"

Jesse Jackson has rolled up unexpected victories in the Democratic presidential primary campaign, winning caucuses in Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia, and primaries in Louisiana and the District of Columbia.

Hundreds of thousands of Blacks and other oppressed, those who Jackson calls "stuck at the bottom" have registered to vote for the first time, responding to Jackson's call to move from the "outhouse to the White House."

But space at the White House is notoriously limited. And since Jackson himself has no chance of getting the nomination, the best he can do is deliver for Walter Mondale or Gary Hart.

WIN

Jackson may yet win the "seat at the table" he demands, but he must sit beside those who have for decades run governments that denied Black workers and other oppressed groups even the most basic political rights. And he would behave no differently.

by LEE SUSTAR

The Democratic Party is, as always, a party of the bosses. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal did not extend to the ghetto. Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty was displaced by the war in Vietnam.

Democrats, like Republicans, enjoy huge profits while Black youth suffer unemployment of nearly 50 percent and women work for wages 40 percent below those of men. From Truman to Kennedy to Carter, Democrats have regularly risked nuclear war to maintain the U.S.'s position of economic and political dominance in the world.

Jackson calls for an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and a withdrawal of troops from Europe. But his bottom-line campaign proposals would not threaten the status quo.

His strategy to cut the federal budget deficit would leave only \$10 billion to fight poverty—far from restoring the \$25 billion cut from anti-poverty programs by Presi-

dent Reagan in 1981.

And Jackson's promised 20 percent reduction in defense spending would not undo the war budget increases since Reagan took office. Millions would continue to go hungry while the military machine bleeds the country dry.

Jackson's platform does not differ substantially from countless white Democrats before him.

But because he is Black, Jackson has been able to tap into the rage of millions of Black workers ready to fight the racist oppression they have always known. To many Black people, Jackson embodies the hope of moving the Democratic Party to the left, turning its promises of social justice into reality. Jackson promises to "empower" what he calls the "outsiders."

EMPOWERED

However, the only one "empowered" in the Jackson campaign is Jesse Jackson himself. Elections can only rearrange the same class of bosses who control American business and government, and



Jackson wants entry into that exclusive club.

This approach is evident in Jackson's Operation PUSH's efforts to get Black-owned franchises in such companies as Burger King and Coca-Cola. The Jackson strategy only offers Black workers the opportunity to be miserable under Black bosses and politicians.

The Jackson campaign has generated both excitement

and fright—and racism. Democratic leaders are worried that he will stage a walk-out at next month's party convention in San Francisco, while many on the left insist that his candidacy is great "progress," even a step toward socialist society. And, as always, racists cannot tolerate any Black—with whatever politics—who stir up "white society."

But the party chiefs and the left should listen to Jackson. The candidate insists he is a "loyal Democrat"—which means he will deliver his voters for the party's presidential nominee. The "rainbow coalition" will cast its votes and return home to be "empowered."

But power does not lie in the ballot box. The gains of the Black movement were won in the streets, not in Congress or City Hall. Blacks themselves have won their demands through strikes, demonstrations and mass organization. The longer this struggle is delayed, the longer Blacks and all workers must endure this system of racism, unemployment and war. □

Talking about socialism

Why we need revolutionary organization

Lenin's "party of a new type" is clearly out of style with most of the left today. Bolshevism and the ideas of Lenin are credited, in part, with the demise of the left.

It is not surprising that organizational criticism should focus on Lenin's party. The living Bolshevik Party of revolutionary Russia, unfortunately, carries the burden of bureaucratic centralism—the party of Stalin and his followers—clothed in the language of Leninism.

Both the frozen version of the state capitalist parties and the out-right rejection by western socialists hide what we mean by Leninism.

One of the chief targets of anti-Leninism is the concept of "democratic centralism." It is often argued that centralism is the objective and democracy its cover. This concept was too often the practice of left groups coming out of the 1960s movements. Their Leninism came from the distorted version of the bureaucratic party which replaced the revolutionary party of Lenin. It is not what we mean by Leninism.

Democratic centralism, like all of Lenin's concepts, is based on the self-emancipation of the working class. It is the organizational expression which helps direct and focus the interests of the working class towards its own liberation.

TASK

One of the chief tasks of a revolutionary party is to maintain the closest possible links with the working class. If the party is to develop into a leadership of the working class, then its day to day contact with workers in struggle against capital is essential.

Passive observation of events, no matter what Marxist sophistication informs it, does not build the essential links between workers and the revolutionary party. In *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, Lenin castigated those revolutionaries who stood on principles too removed to dirty their hands with the everyday struggles around workers' partial demands.

Lenin measured the party on its ability "to link up, maintain the closest contact, and . . . merge, in certain measure, with the broadest masses of the working people."

The focus on workers' struggles makes democracy essential. Only with the fullest possible flow of ideas inside the party can the experience of the struggle be assessed and generalized for the use of the working class as a whole. Without democracy, a revolutionary organization will wither and eventually die.

A reading of the minutes of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party in the 1917-18 period indicates that the party was full of debate, strong disagreement and divisions. The party at this stage was the op-

posite of the Stalinist version with its unquestioning unanimity in the name of Lenin. This later version is the concept of a ruling class protecting its own interest in remaining in power over the working class in the state-capitalist countries.

CENTRALISM

Centralism is specific to the needs of a working class seeking to come to power in its own interest. It is necessary for three reasons.

First, because of the fragmentation of the working class, it is necessary to overcome the unevenness of consciousness and ruling class ideas. Centralization is part of the discipline accepted in order to generalize the struggle and overcome the unevenness of consciousness in party members with the focus on struggling for power.

In other words, the revolutionary party is not just a repository for ideas, but it is a vehicle for putting ideas into practice—of materially changing the world so that other ideas rule.

This second reason—the need to put decisions into action—requires an end to debate in order to test the correctness of the decision. From the widest possible debate, it follows that an equally wide carrying out of the decision is needed. These two reasons are not counterposed but flow from the special relationship of the revolutionary party to the working class.

The party is not a party of the whole class, but of its most advanced (most active, most conscious, most disciplined) members. It can only lead the class if it is truly representative and conscious of its historic role.

STATE

The third reason for a measure of centralization is attributable to the enemy. The capitalist state is highly structured and centralized. The party must necessarily counter this with its own discipline.

There are those on the left who argue that socialist organization should mirror the new society. It should reject the forms found under capitalism. The idea is nice, but it leads away from the struggle against the highly centralized apparatus of capitalism. Our task is not to prefigure the future—but to change the present.

Sooner or later, a confrontation will be required. Unless capitalism is overthrown, socialism will be only an idea. Only the collective might of the working class can overcome the power of the capitalist state. And only a leadership—a party capable of keeping its "eyes on the prize" unswervingly, can open the way for the working class as a whole to push through to socialism. □

by BILL ROBERTS

THE UGLY POLITICS BEHIND THE OLYMPICS

by LANCE SELFA

With all the righteous indignation that spilled from the press after the Russians and their East bloc allies decided to boycott the Olympics, you'd think there were some eternal and lofty ideals that were violated.

Once again, said Olympic officials, politicians and pundits, the ancient Olympic beliefs in sportmanlike competition and international unity were marred. By what? Well, by "politics."

But this latest move by the Russians and their allies is nothing new. "Politics," mostly in the form of ugly nationalism and chauvinism, has always been part of the Olympic creed. No amount of pious posturing about "good sportsmanship" and "international unity" can change that fact.

The modern Olympic Games, revived by a French aristocrat in 1896, are a product of their times. Born in the era of classic imperialism, when European powers were carving up Asia and Africa, the Olympics gave the powers another forum to show the flag—international cooperation be damned.

Two years after the ragtag U.S. Olympic team struck a blow for international peace in sweeping the gold medals from the "Old World," the U.S. military made off with Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico in the Spanish-American War of 1898-1900.

NAZI

In 1936, Hitler's Nazi Germany, hosting the Games in Berlin, staged elaborate opening ceremonies and built enormous sports palaces—all to prove the superiority of the "Aryan race" to the world.

But Black American athletes, such as Jesse Owens and Ralph Metcalfe, smashed

Hitler used the 1936 Olympics to promote the "Aryan race."



Athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos raise Black Power salutes, Mexico, 1968.

Hitler's dream. Hitler stormed from the stadium, refusing to greet the winners.

A propaganda blow against the Third Reich? Sure. A victory for American democracy? Hardly. It was still 18 years before legalized segregation would be outlawed in the United States.

Since the second world war, the Games have been a centerpiece for Cold War propaganda. China, the world's most populous country, was denied Olympic admission for years. East Germany was forced to participate under the West German flag until 1972.

And while Olympic officials maintained these policies, they criticized as "political" and "damaging" the actions of U.S. athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos, who raised Black Power salutes in 1968, and those of African nations who organized exclusion campaigns against racist Rhodesia and South Africa.

Political manipulation of the Olympics has been constant, but big-time commercial

exploitation is relatively recent. The advent of TV—ABC paid \$285 for the rights to televise the Los Angeles Games—has turned the Games into a three-week circus in which everything has its price.

SCRAMBLE

Companies scramble over each other with bids to be the Games' "official" supplier of deodorant and shaving cream, hoping the endorsements will help bury their competitors.

Longines Co. is marketing a \$4,000 24-carat gold, diamond-studded watch emblazoned with Olympic insignia. And the L.A. Olympic Committee sold the right to carry the Olympic torch mile-by-mile in its trip across the U.S.—a stunt that corporate giant American Telephone and Telegraph supervised.

There will be no loss to international unity or athletic competition if the games, their flag-waving and their commercialism topple into the ash-heap of history. □

Graffiti



Wish You Were Here . . .

John Negrofonte, U.S. Ambassador to Honduras and Yale class of 1960, reported this "class note" to the *Yale Alumni Magazine and Journal*: "With neighbors like El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala, Honduras is—as you can well imagine—surrounded by trouble. But the Hondurans are making the best of a difficult situation, and we enjoy helping in what modest way we can.

"The work is hard and the hours are long, but we [Negrofonte and his wife Diana] manage to find time to enjoy this country's extraordinary scenic beauty, including some of the best scuba diving in the Caribbean." □

Take a Walk . . .

Reagan's back-to-basics school discipline programs are starting to take hold. Joe Clark, a tough-guy principal from Paterson, New Jersey's Eastside High and a Reagan favorite, fired basketball coach Barry Rosser.

Rosser's crime was pacing around the auditorium while students sang the school alma mater at an assembly. "Nobody walks, talks or moves during the alma mater," said Clark. □

GERMAN METAL WORKERS STRIKE

Negotiations between striking German auto workers and their employers broke down May 26 in a strike which could mark an important turning point in the class struggle.

Fifteen thousand German engineering workers came out on strike May 15 in 14 plants in the area around Stuttgart and Mannheim. They were due to be followed by a similar number on Wednesday in the Frankfurt area.

The key auto components sector has been selected as the target for the union—IG Metall—as part of the battle for the 35-hour week being waged throughout the industry. The selective action, which only involves a fraction of the union's 2.6 million workers, was described by union leaders as "a campaign of pinpricks which hurt."

Spokespeople for the employers were talking about the action closing down the entire automobile industry "in a few days."

If so, it would certainly represent a change from the last time there was a major battle—in 1978. Then the union selected steel as the place for selected strikes. Other parts of the industry were able to go on producing, and the strike had little effect.

RESISTANCE

This time, as well, there can be no doubt about management's resistance to the whole idea of the 35-hour week. They claim that the future prospects for the engineering industry are under threat from far eastern competition, a view supported, naturally enough, by Chancellor Kohn, who on the one hand claimed that the government was neutral, and on the other dismissed the strike as "absurd, foolish and dumb."

But there are reasons for doubting the seriousness of the union leadership's resolve. For a start, they have not selected the most vulnerable sector of engineering, the machine manufacturing industry, which is making a massive contribution to exports.

Hans Meyr, chairman of the union, has more or less admitted this, saying that the union would initially try to limit damage to avoid jeopardizing further negotiations.

Also, members of the union's executive have been falling over themselves to make concessions so that the 35-hour week demand is acceptable to employers.

Some have said that the 35 hours need not be conceded at once. Rather it could be traded off against future pay raises, that demands for equal pay could be dropped to pay for it, that new "flexible" shifts could be introduced to make things acceptable to management, and so on.

Faced with such weakness on the union side, the employers may well respond with a national lock-out of union members. The tactics of selective action—which were used to build the union in the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s—are just no longer sufficient.

The sooner that rank and file workers understand this, the better. □

British miners' strike: solidarity needed

Since the beginning of March, coal miners in Great Britain have been on strike against the state-run National Coal Board and its plans to close dozens of pits deemed unprofitable. At issue are thousands of jobs.

CHALLENGE

Over the weeks, the strike has grown to become the biggest challenge yet posed by workers to the Conservative government of prime minister Margaret Thatcher. It is clear that if the miners win, then the way is open for other groups of workers to confront the anti-working class policies of the government. However, a defeat for the miners will be a serious blow to the confidence of all sections of workers who might take on the Tories.

The British ruling class realize what is at stake and are not likely to concede without a fierce struggle.

The miners face serious obstacles to winning their dispute. In the first place, their ranks are not united. The National Coal Board has played one mining region off against the other for years. Through productivity bonus schemes, miners in the new "super-pits" in Nottinghamshire have been able to make double the wages of miners in South Wales, Scotland or Northern England. Many of the higher-paid miners have ignored the strike calls and continued to work. The Thatcher government has stationed thousands of police in the region to protect scabs and harass pickets.

Another problem has been that aside from a relative minority of rank and file militants, large numbers of miners remain passive, content to leave running the strike in the hands of the left-

Miners in Britain have been on strike since March in what is the most important dispute since the miners brought down the Conservative Heath government in 1974. Brian Erway reports from Britain.



wing union officials. Over the two months of the dispute, these officials have been very quick to come out with militant sounding rhetoric, but criminally slow at initiating actions which will win the strike.

INITIATIVE

At every stage, the initiative for spreading and generalizing the strike has come from below. In the first week, it was rank and file miners from Yorkshire who organized themselves into flying pickets to try to bring out the Nottinghamshire coalfields. It continues to be a militant minority arguing from below for mass picketing to shut down the industries still running with

coal—like steel mills and power stations—and to block the movement of coal anywhere.

The president of the National Union of Mineworkers, Arthur Scargill, emerged as a leader during the 1972 miners strike because he was instrumental in organizing the rank and file to win the strike. This meant fighting on the basis of miners going out and arguing for solidarity action from other workers—steelworkers, dockers, railwaymen, auto workers and many others in the thousands. It was the solidarity of other workers which forced the Tory government of that time to back down.

Now Scargill is prevented from using this approach precisely because he is the national president. Instead, he tends to move through bureaucratic union channels—making deals with other union leaders rather than promoting massive involvement.

WIN

Yet only by involving workers on a massive scale will the miners be able to win their strike. Only the activity of millions of workers in struggle is sufficient to show their strength as a class. For the British ruling class have in their hands the police, the courts, the government—all the machinery of "order." □

ESCALATION OF THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR

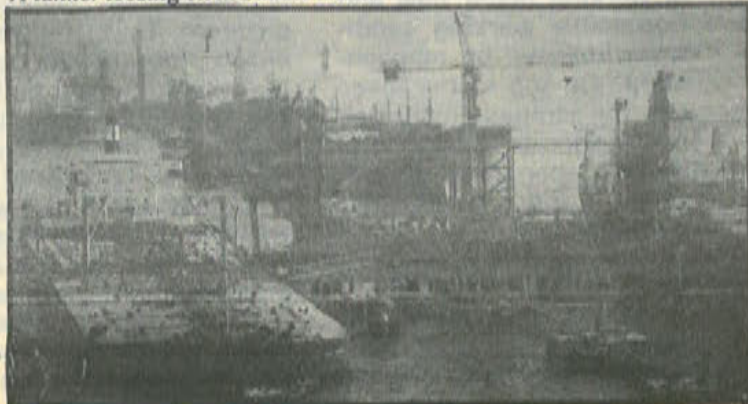
Reagan and the U.S. ruling class pressed the panic button last month as the Iran-Iraq war threatened to cut off oil supplies to the West.

Twenty percent of all Western economies' oil passes through the Strait of Hormuz at the Gulf's mouth. Japan gets 55% of its oil from the region. Western Europe receives 25% of its oil from the area.

In early May, Iraq struck at Saudi tankers loading Iranian oil. Iranian warplanes bombed Saudi and Kuwaiti oil tankers bound for Iraq in late May.

Ronald Reagan has let the word go out. He is ready to use military force to keep the oil flowing.

A tanker losing oil in Saudi Arabia.



The U.S. "would not stand by and see the straits of the Persian Gulf closed to international traffic," said Reagan, restating Jimmy Carter's "Doctrine."

READY

Though the U.S. maintains a five-ship naval force in the Gulf and a 20-ship carrier battle group in the Indian Ocean—both ready to act.

And Reagan has pressed the small Gulf monarchies—Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain—to step up their contingency plans for intervention.

Of these, the Saudis are the most powerful military force. They have embarked on a

\$3.9 billion military build-up, adding ground-to-air missiles and new radar stations. The Reagan administration pushed Congress to allow a quick sale of 1,200 anti-aircraft missiles to Saudi Arabia.

While the Gulf events sent shock waves through the Western rulers and their Gulf clients, the cause of all the saber-rattling—the 45-month Iran-Iraq war—was obscured.

A closer look at the war shows that it isn't simply a product of two barbarous regimes using Islamic religious appeals to march thousands to their deaths, as Western media portray it, but a political conflict cynically orchestrated by the superpowers.

The corrupt and bureaucratic Iraqi regime, under Saddam Hussein, invaded Iran in 1980. Hussein sought to stamp out the flames of rebellion—especially among Kurdish ethnics in northern Iraq and among Moslem fundamentalists in the south—spurred by the 1979 Iran uprising.

The U.S. and Saudi Arabia, realizing that the Iranian movement threatened the stability of the tiny monarchies, encouraged the invasion. But the fervor in Iran was

soon turned to the fight against the Iraqi invaders, giving the reactionary Khomeini-led mullahs the chance to clamp down on internal opposition.

Iran and Iraq have been locked in a war of attrition in which no clear victor has emerged. But thousands of Iraqi and Iranian peasants and workers have died on the desert sands.

SUPERPOWERS

The bloody war could not have continued so long without generous help from the superpowers. Russia, France and, recently, the U.S. have backed Baghdad with arms. North Korea, Britain and—once again—the U.S. (funneling weapons through Israel) has supplied Tehran.

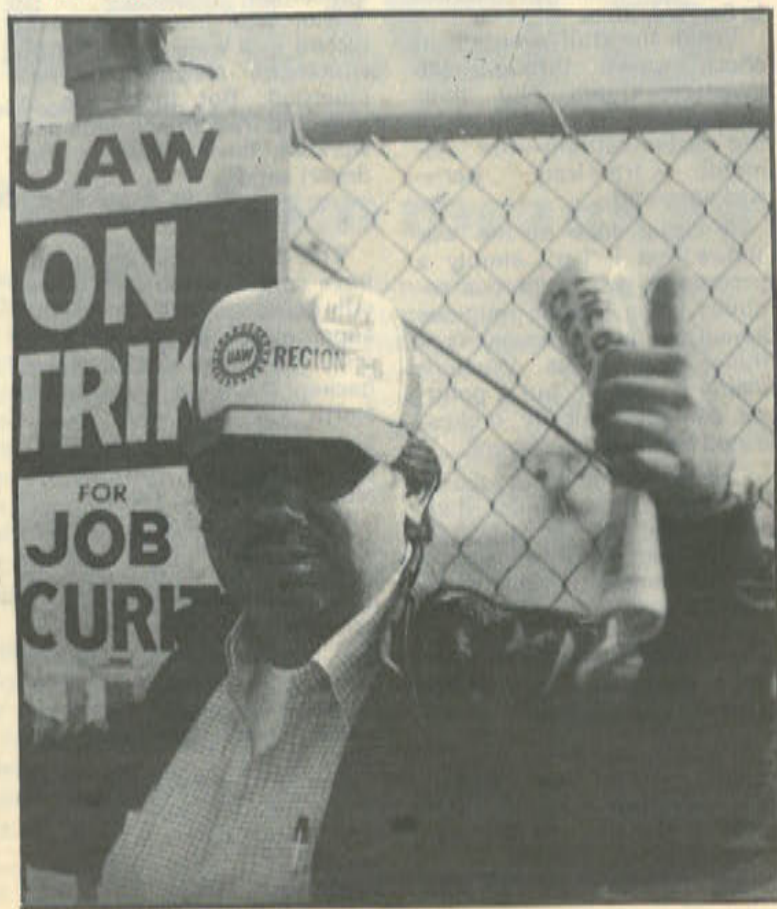
With U.S. policy in Lebanon an utter failure and Russia's adventure in Afghanistan a quagmire, neither superpower can win a decisive victory in the Middle East. So each superpower plays its cards to preserve the military standoff, which keeps the other in check.

And so, the slaughter continues, while a U.S.-led military invasion always looms—promising even greater slaughter. □

VICTORY TO THE TOLEDO AP ST



Above: John Clarke. Below: Al Hernandez, "It's going to take a whole lot of what happened the other day."



Workers striking Toledo's AP Auto Parts plant showed a tremendous burst of militancy and won important support from other workers.

The strike reached a high point when hundreds of workers from other unions marched and battled police in front of the plant on May 21, recalling the type of solidarity that won the famous Toledo Auto-Lite strike 50 years ago.

Ben Blake and Lance Selfa of Socialist Worker report.

TOLEDO, OH—The stakes are high in the strike at AP Auto Parts Company. The auto parts manufacturer in northwestern Ohio is out to win a 35% reduction in wages. The workers are out to defend their wages, their working conditions and their union. A victory could change the concessionary wave in the auto industry as the UAW heads for negotiations with Ford and GM this fall.

Either way, the strikers have a long, hard fight ahead of them. But they can win—and they showed how last month.

On May 21, several thousand supporters assembled outside the plant to display their solidarity. As Rich Boyer, a striker and member of UAW Local 14, put it: "All the locals got together to show our strength and let them know this is a union town."

The police were also there in strength, as were the professional Cincinnati strikebreaking firm of Nuchols and Associates Security Guards. They charged the demonstration, spraying tear gas into the crowd and swinging their clubs. Forty-one workers were arrested that day, but the workers successfully trapped the scabs inside the plant. Police in riot gear had to escort them out the next day.

The strike at AP began on May 2 after two months of working under new and impossible working conditions imposed by management. On top of the wage cut, the company instituted new work rules designed to weaken shop floor organization and weed out militants.

SUPPORT

The strikers have received support from local unions, culminating in the demonstration on May 21.

But if the strike is going to be won, there will have to be more than one mass picket. And it will have to be mobilized despite the violence of the police and the hired goon squad.

The company is showing its determination to win the strike, and they have the police and the courts on their side. An injunction now limits picketing to four on the main gate and two at each of the other three gates.

And Toledo's mayor, Donna Owens, has intervened to dampen the militancy on the line by appointing a five-person "neutral" commission to mediate in the strike.

The strikers will have to organize despite their leaders. The UAW bureaucrats are not only unwilling to do what is necessary to win—they are actively discouraging any mass action. Oscar Bunch, president of Local 14, and Bob Sykes, secretary-treasurer, have been actively discouraging further demonstrations at the plant.

BLUNT

Joe Tomasi, director of Region 2-B UAW, was even more blunt as he described his advice to the strikers: "What I told them is to just cool it. This thing won't be settled in front of this fence. It'll be settled downtown."

The truth of the matter is, of course, completely different. It is only at the picket line, at the fence, that the strike will be won. And solidarity from other workers is key to winning this strike. For a brief moment last month, AP workers gave us all a glimpse of how to fight back against the employers' offensive.

The AP strikers must be supported, because a victory for them will be a victory for us all. □



"They w

It was 7:15 on a gray rainy morning on Matzinger Road. Two Toledo police cars parked about 500 yards down the road from the AP Auto Parts plant. A police paddy wagon parked behind an old gas station building, out of sight.

Down the road, closer to the plant, UAW workers gathered at the Shoreline Cafe. Most wore the blue and red "I Support" AP workers button.

The word was that the plant was closed. Company officials said a blown transformer needed repairs, according to Tony Hernandez who was passing out buttons to breakfasters in the cafe.

Hernandez stopped and peered out a cafe window. "They're taking people in," he yelled. "Let's go," someone else shouted.

Several strikers bolted from the cafe, leaving unfinished breakfasts behind them.

GAUNTLET

In front of the plant gate there were 12 cop cars lining the road. About 60 Toledo police and black-clad private security enforcers formed a gauntlet funneling scabs into the plant gate.

Scabs' cars lined up bumper to bumper, crawling slowly through the police escort and the mob of reporters and TV crews.

Strikers and other union supporters, some from Detroit and other Midwestern cities let the scabs know how

THE STRIKERS



ere imposing rules on us"

they felt. "Got you, buddy," shouted a striker. He snapped a scab's picture with his camera. "Payback, payback," warned another who jabbed his finger past the police line. "Wait 'til you come out!" Police pushed the crowd back. "This is like Poland!" a striker shouted from behind the lines. Then he turned his anger on the police, taunting them with the Polish military police's name—"Zomo! Zomo!"

Within a few minutes, the scabs were inside. Company security officers locked the gates. The company helicopter, which hovered above the scene throughout, pulled away.

COURT

In front of the gate, Oscar Bunch, Local 14 president, was holding court with the press. "I was told there weren't going to be any scabs," he said. "The only thing management says is that they're going to operate their plant."

A TV news reporter leaned forward. "What do you think about today's events, Oscar?" he asked. "I'm not happy with it," Bunch replied.

"Do you think there'll be any more violence?" another asked, referring to the pitched battle with police of two days before. "I don't think so. I cer-

tainly hope not," said Bunch. "We just have to get back to the bargaining table."

Across the street, a striker raged at the company's "broken transformer" story.

"They lied throughout the negotiations," said the striker. "They lied again today."

"These guys . . . they want the streets to run red," he continued. "I've worked for this company for 17 years, and more goddamn scabs are taking my job. Police protected them yesterday, and now they got a lot of balls. We're tired of this shit."

Another 17-year veteran, John Clarke, agreed. "I've given them half of my goddamned life. It makes me feel like they don't care if I live or die."

Clarke worked for two months under the concessions before the walkout May 2. "When I was working there, I was losing between \$8 and \$10 an hour," he said, totalling wage and benefit cuts.

Hernandez, a forklift operator, seconded Clarke's description of working conditions before the strike. Three weeks before the strike, he said, management stepped up a campaign of harassment against workers.

"They were imposing work rules on you. You never knew what the rules were," Hernandez said. "They change every day."

One worker was reprimand-

ed for smoking a cigarette. Another was reprimanded for chewing gum. Another worker, returning from a three-day suspension, was suspended again, 15 minutes after he reported for work.

FENCE

Hernandez pointed to the chain-link fence around the plant. "They threw this fence around here—for a quarter of a million dollars," he said. "I don't know how they can do it with no money."

While the company holds out, he said, the workers are making do. "I went down to the Salvation Army and got my free groceries. I've never done that in my life." He paused. "Then we had these sons-of-bitches [the scabs] waving their paychecks at us. If that don't incite a riot . . ."

Both Clarke and Hernandez said there was only one way to stop the scabs from crossing the line and to win the strike.

"Violence," said Clarke. "That's the way this country was built—on violence. There's a lot of fricking pissed off people in this town."

Mass demonstrations, like the one two days before, would discourage scabs, he said. "If you had 4,000 UAW members out here protesting, [scabs] would never risk it."

Hernandez agreed. "It's going to take a whole lot of what happened the other day."

Toledo Auto-Lite strike of 1934 showed how to win

by CHRISTINA BAKER

Fifty years ago, Toledo—a glass and auto parts center then and now—saw a strike which rekindled class struggle in the Depression-ridden U.S. Toledo had been economically ravaged. One in three workers were unemployed and standing in line for relief.

The American Workers Party (AWP), a small left-wing organization, founded the Lucas County Unemployed League in 1933 to fight for the rights of the unemployed and to attempt to link the struggles of the unemployed with those of employed workers. Through organizing mass militant action, they actually won some cash relief for Toledo's unemployed.

In February 1934, the newly organized workers at Toledo Electric Auto-Lite Company went out on strike for union recognition. The strike was called off by AFL officials eager to go through proper channels by negotiating through President Roosevelt's new National Labor Board.

When the company refused to negotiate, opting instead to harass and victimize union activists, the workers walked out once more on April 13. The strike weakened in the face of a court injunction limiting picketing, and in less than three weeks there were 1,800 scabs working in the Toledo Auto-Lite plant.

SOLIDARITY

No longer confident in the willingness or ability of the AFL leadership to fight, some of the workers went to the AWP for support. They saw solidarity as the key to winning the strike and organized members of the Lucas County Unemployed League—not only to refrain from scabbing, but to join the picket lines.

The strike appeared doomed for defeat, but the solidarity of the unemployed, largely organized by the AWP, turned the tide. A newspaperman commenting on the unity of the workers and the unemployed wrote:

"The point about Toledo was this: that it is nothing new to see organized unemployed appear in the streets, fight police, and raise hell in general. But usually they do this for their own ends, to protest against unemployment or relief conditions.

"At Toledo they appeared on the picket lines to help striking employees win a

strike, though you would expect their interest would lie the other way—that is, in going down and getting the jobs the other men had laid down."

When the company got an injunction limiting picketing, the Unemployed League decided to "smash the injunction" and continued organizing the mass pickets. When leaders were arrested for violating the injunction, hundreds of strikers and unemployed packed the courtroom.

On three consecutive days mass meetings were held at the plant gates with 1,000 the first day, 4,000 the next and 6,000 the third day.

The sheriff, no longer confident that the local police alone could contain the local police, deputized special police paid by Auto-Lite. A crowd of 10,000 gathered around the plant in which 1,500 scabs were trapped. The special police arrested and beat people, using guns, tear gas and firehoses. The picketers responded with bottles, bricks and stones.

NATIONAL GUARD

The battle raged through the night, and the next morning 900 National Guardsmen, some armed with machine guns, were herded in. Even this was insufficient. It took four more hours of fighting to finally restore "order."

In the meantime, 40,000 workers rallied in support of the strikers, and 85 local unions pledged themselves to support a general strike in sympathy with the Auto-Lite workers.

In the face of continued unrest and the possibility of a general strike, the company finally had to concede both recognition and a 22% wage increase.

With the united activity of strikers and the unemployed, and the support and leadership of the American Workers Party, the Toledo Auto-Lite strike was snatched from the jaws of defeat. It became an important class struggle victory—serving as inspiration and impetus to workers around the country.

Today is not 1934. But the lessons of 1934 are still as relevant today—the need for mass picketing, solidarity and the role of socialist organization. □



Toledo, 1934: strikers battle Guardsmen.

Some socialists argue that revolution isn't necessary to transform society. But Rosa Luxemburg showed in "Reform or Revolution?" that these "socialists" were mistaken—capitalists would never give up their power to a socialist parliamentary majority.

Workers' emancipation couldn't come from parliamentary degrees, said Luxemburg, but only through workers' revolutionary activity aimed at abolishing capitalism. Glenn Perusek explains.

THE TWO SOULS OF SOCIALISM



Rosa Luxemburg wrote *Social Reform or Revolution?* in 1898 and 1899 as a response to the formulations of Eduard Bernstein which "revised" Marxism. It is a testament to Luxemburg's scope and brilliance that her arguments remain useful to this day.

Bernstein was a leader of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), the leading party of the Second International—the association of international socialist parties.

Bernstein represented the right wing of the Second International, and behind him were the most important trade union figures connected with the SPD and its counterparts throughout the continent. Ultimately, it would be the dominant trend in the Second International.

CRISES

Bernstein argued that capitalism was no longer a system prone to disastrous crises. He pointed to the temporary stabilization of European capitalism at the end of the 19th century as proof for his case.

He further pointed to the growth of the Second International and the influence of trade unions, and contended that they would be the ve-

hicles for the socialist transformation of society.

Bernstein said the movement toward socialism did not need to be revolutionary—nor could it, in fact, hope for the ultimate cataclysmic downfall of capitalism. Socialists were thus supposed to work to put representatives in government. There, socialist legislators would work inch by inch to institute reforms in capitalism.

"The movement is everything," said Bernstein, "the final aim nothing."

Luxemburg argued at length against Bernstein's contention that capitalism had stabilized itself. And just two years after her writing, European capitalism proved her right, by entering once again into a period of prolonged crisis.

But more importantly Luxemburg criticized in a convincing way the political strategy of reformism.

"It is a pathetic delusion to believe that the capitalists would submit willingly to a verdict arrived at by a parliament, by a National Assembly, to implement socialism. . . All ruling classes have fought with savage desperation for their prerogatives."

Of course, Luxemburg was not arguing only against Bernstein, for he was the representative of a political current. And because the current remains strong today, her arguments remain relevant.

"PROOF"

Reformists continue to argue that the system of capitalism cannot be transcended. They wheel out the example of the failure of the Russian revolution as "proof" that revolution will not work.

Instead of aiming to overthrow capitalism, reformists have a consciously worked out strategy for reforming the system. In Europe it has to do with electing Socialist or Social Democratic political parties to office.

In the United States, given the historical weakness of Social Democracy, there is no reformist socialist political party. So the advocates of a reformist strategy must do the next best thing: support the "most progressive" of the candidates in the capitalist parties.

"Leave it to me," is the motto of Social Democratic candidates for political office.

And it is extremely important to understand why this

is so. Reformist socialists have a class perspective different from that of the working class as a whole. They seek not the self-activity of the working class in its own interest, but their own activity in managing capitalism alongside the capitalists.

This will sooner or later put reformist office holders in conflict with the working class. This is what is happening in France today. The continued world recession has forced Mitterrand to implement a program of austerity which includes the permanent laying off of thousands of workers.

These are the same workers he was promising to protect three years ago with new investment in their industries.

The most important lesson from the French Socialist Party's "betrayal" of the French working class is that the system of capitalism is far stronger than they expected. It cannot, in fact, be altered by new government ministers with new policies. Rather, capitalists have to be challenged the only place where the working class has real power—at the point of production.

This suggests a strategy which is not based on choosing

Rosa Luxemburg led the fight in the German SPD against the reformist revision of Marxism.

the "least evil" from among candidates, but working to convince workers of revolutionary socialist ideas. It means fighting alongside those workers who are challenging their bosses today—even in small ways.

GOAL

The goal of such activity is the building up of revolutionary forces among the working class. It is a goal the reformists do not share. As Luxemburg said, "People who pronounce themselves in favor of the method of legislative reform in place of and in contradistinction to the conquest of political power and social revolution do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer road to the same goal, but a different goal. Instead of a stand for the establishment of a new society they take a stand for the surface modification of the old society." □

Letters

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

Dear Socialist Worker,

Jesse Jackson played a pickup basketball game at a housing project in Camden, New Jersey on May 26. Here's how the "New York Times" described it: "He moves well to his right but is awkward and a little lumbering when moving left."

Shapes of things to come?

B.R.
Long Beach, CA

Patriotism means poverty

Dear Socialist Worker:

Steve Leigh's critique of my article on the arms race raises several excellent points. It is absolutely true that even a total conversion of the U.S. military machine to civilian production would not end the crisis producing contradictions between rising capital intensity and a falling rate of profit in the capitalist economy.

As Leigh points out, it was probably misleading for me to state that, "U.S. economic growth rates would immediately hit record levels" during a

conversion to civilian production without explicitly stating that even this development would not solve the problems of low economic growth, high unemployment and falling living standards.

It is also totally correct, as Leigh points out, that an end to the arms race and unemployment is a demand that cannot be won short of socialist revolution.

However, at this point, I would like to take issue with Leigh's interpretation of my article. Leigh states that, "Blake seems to say that if only the government

adopted a different policy, we could eliminate unemployment under this system."

At no point in the article did I state this. And it would be very difficult to come to this conclusion in an article that ends with a call for the revolutionary transformation of society.

The whole point of the article was to show that even liberal reform democrats do not offer any hope for slacking of the arms race and an improvement in the living conditions of the working class.

Finally, Leigh rejects the

slogan "peace means jobs" while confusingly upholding the position that we should fight for both. The point is to fight for both *in the peace movement*.

Leigh apparently rejects the argument that, as socialists in the movement, we should attempt to link disarmament with working class demands such as an end to unemployment.

If these demands were linked in a revival of the peace movement, a reduction in the arms buildup could be accompanied by a partial restoration of government social programs and a lowering of unemployment.

In fact, I think the rapid decline of the peace move-

ment can be traced to a failure to link the call for disarmament to demands that could provide a stable base of support in the working class. Leigh seems to want to isolate these demands in the movement while linking them in a call for socialism. We need both approaches, for it is possible to win concessions from the capitalist class even in the crisis just as was done in the 1930's.

This is the most effective way to win workers to our ideas.

In short, peace does mean jobs. Patriotism means poverty.

Comradely,
Ben Blake
Chicago, IL

IN MAY 1968, FRANCE EXPLODED

"ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS"

In May 1968, French students took to the streets of Paris to protest government repression of student activists. Thousands of students fought the police, hurling cobblestones and throwing up barricades—taking on the most vicious riot police in Europe.

The student uprising was the spark which set off the largest and longest general strike in European history. Ten million French workers occupied their factories and struck for over a month, nearly bringing down the Gaullist regime.

The incredible enthusiasm and courage of the French working class disproved the then (and again) current notion that workers in the advanced industrial countries are no longer a revolutionary class—that they had been pacified by the increased standard of living of consumer society.

Peter Cogan looks at the lessons of May 1968.

By 1968, France had become a modern industrial society of 50 million people. Since the second world war it had rapidly modernized from a semi-rural country with 36% of the population in agriculture to a major industrial power with only 15% involved in agriculture.

The French working class had a relatively high class consciousness. The Communist Party (PCF) was a mass working class party, even though it was no longer a revolutionary one.

About 25% of French workers in 1968 belonged to unions. The largest of these, the CGT, was dominated by the PCF. The other main union, the CFDT, was connected with the Socialist Party.

GROWTH

As French industry expanded, so did the university system. The French student movement was, in part, a product of this growth.

From 60,000 students in 1945 to 175,000 in 1958, there were over 500,000 university students by 1968. But facilities had not expanded to keep up with the student population. Classes were notoriously overcrowded, and the university system was incredibly rigid and formal.

In 1967, an anti-Vietnam war movement grew up to the left of the PCF with the slogan "The NLF Will Win." The anti-war groups, organized by the Trotskyist group JCR, were known as the CVN (Comite National de Vietnam), and they spread rapidly throughout France.

In 1967, sociologists at the University of Paris Nanterre struck for educational reforms. Some 10,000 students participated, but by early 1968 it became apparent that no results would be forthcoming.

A group of radical students called the *enrages* (angry ones) emerged on the Nanterre campus. Small in numbers, they became quite visible through their provocative agitational tactics. Political meetings and demonstrations were barred on French campuses.

They held meetings, broke into classes demanding discussion of Vietnam or capitalism and held demonstrations.

DEMONSTRATION

After one demonstration, police were called in to the campus, but more students were drawn into the protest which drove the cops from the campus with stones and bottles.

After a tumultuous spring in 1968, the campus was closed on May 2 in response to a threatened boycott of examinations by the *enrages*. The next day, a mass meeting was called by student activists at the Sorbonne to discuss how to respond to the closure of the Nanterre campus and attacks by right-wing students.

Political meetings were banned at the Sorbonne—in Paris' Latin quarter—as well, and in late afternoon the dean called in the police to break up the meeting.

As police drove the students out of the courtyard and into police vans, the word went out

throughout the student Latin quarter. As the vans pulled out of the Sorbonne, they were met with rocks, bottles and overturned cars.

Riot police swarmed into the Latin quarter, and students battled them all night long. The revolt had begun. 596 students were arrested, many wounded. Though most were released during the night, four were sent to prison. That same day the PCF's newspaper *L'Humanite* carried a long article attacking the radical students as "false revolutionaries."

STRIKE

The following day the French Student Union issued a call for a nationwide university strike to begin on Monday, May 6, demanding the reopening of the campuses, removal of the police and release of the arrested students.

A mass demonstration of 10,000 ended with a police attack. Once again, students battled police well into the night, and hundreds were arrested. Solidarity demonstrations were held across France, and the student strike spread.

By Friday, May 10, the government was proposing a compromise. They offered to reopen the universities and remove the police, but they would not release the arrested students. That evening the worst street fighting yet erupted into what became known as the "Night of the Barricades."

Student leaders had discussions with the major unions, CGT and CFDT, and a nationwide one-day strike was called for Monday with a mass demonstration to be held in Paris.

In the meantime the government, on Saturday, announced that the students' demands would be met. The arrested were to be released and the campuses reopened. The French Student Union called on students to occupy all university buildings.

LARGEST

Monday, May 13, 800,000 workers marched through Paris in the largest demonstration in French history. To the dismay of the PCF and union leaders, young workers seemed enthralled by the students' slogans of "Power Is In the Streets," "Socialist Revolution," and "All Power to the Workers."

The following day, May 14, 200 young workers at the Sud Aviation factory spontaneously occupied the factory, locking the manager inside, and a student occupation at the Sorbonne became a continual mass political meeting.

On Wednesday, workers at a Renault factory occupied and the spontaneous strike had spread to all of Renault's factories.

That day DeGaulle left on a state visit to Iran. The strike wave continued to spread through the engineering and chemical industries. Trains all over the country came to a halt, and the utilities were occupied. By Saturday, May 18, two million workers were out.

The following week the strike wave spread into smaller industries and even into the liberal professions. By May 22, 10 million workers were engaged in the largest strike held to that date.

The PCF moved to take over the strike. In most factories strike committees were appointed from



the union rather than elected by the workers. Contact between workers and students was prevented, with students barred from the factories.

DEFUSE

The government now realized that a major gesture was needed to defuse the situation. Their response was to propose roundtable talks between employers, the government, and the unions. These talks opened Saturday, May 25.

The previous night had been marked by massive rioting in Paris, Lyons and other cities, sparked off by the expulsion of student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit from the country. Students had made it clear that their aim was the overthrow of the government. The union leaders, however, made clear that they were out for a simple economic settlement.

Over the past two weeks students and others had formed a network of Committees of Action throughout France. Composed of 10-50 activists each, they published leaflets, held street meetings, organized transportation—since transport was out—and collected garbage. They were, however, too scattered and sporadic to fulfill either of their intended roles—as the embryo of dual power or the beginnings of a revolutionary party—effectively.

SETTLEMENT

Negotiations continued until Monday morning when a settlement was reached. The terms were a 35% increase in the minimum wage, 56% in agricultural wages, a 10% wage increase for most workers and half pay for the days of the strike.

All that remained was for the workers to vote on it. By mid-morning it became apparent that workers were massively rejecting the proposed agreement. The crisis was coming to a head. The coming week was the time when the regime was most vulnerable. Thousands of young workers attended mass meetings called by revolutionary students.

On Wednesday, May 29, DeGaulle abruptly left Paris. Speculation abounded that he would resign or call in the military. But there were only 168,000 troops available in the army, of which 120,000 were conscripts.



Objectively, a well-organized working class could have easily seized power. But there was no organized leadership aiming at such a goal.

That evening DeGaulle went on television and proposed elections to be held. He claimed the May movement was a conspiracy of "totalitarian forces from afar."

The next day the Gaullists held a huge demonstration in Paris with such slogans as "France for Frenchmen" and "Set the Factories Free."

The problem was that the PCF and the Socialist Party accepted the idea of elections and set about trying to end the strike. The employers granted a few more concessions, and by the end of the next week many sectors had returned to work.

The Committees of Action continued agitating to prolong the strike. Police invaded the Renault factory, and two workers were killed. The CGT only held a token strike in protest.

OUTNUMBERED

A student demonstration held June 12 in protest was outnumbered by police and attacked. Students denounced the PCF as strikebreakers, and the PCF charged the students as being agents of the "Gaullist state."

On June 13, the government outlawed the revolutionary groups and arrested hundreds of militants. On June 16, police took over the Sorbonne.

When the elections were held on June 22, the Gaullists won a majority.

If there had been a mass revolutionary party to take a lead and encourage the formation of democratically elected strike committees or workers councils, things might have turned out quite differently. □



Top right: mass workers demonstration, May 1968; painting reads: May 68: start of a protracted struggle. Above: police attack students.

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

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL V

BALTIMORE
Educational series on revolutions: Deanna Shemek on *The Russian Revolution*. June 10 at 7:30 p.m.

Video film: *The Killing Floor*. Curtis Price to lead discussion following the film showing. Call 235-4620 or 467-6284 for details.

BOSTON
Kathy Ogren on *Reform or Revolution?* June 3 at 7:30 p.m. Call 427-7087.

ISO Fundraising Party. June 15, 8 p.m. and after \$1 entrance, cash bar. Call 427-7087 for details.

CHICAGO
Christina Baker on *The Cold War Heats Up*. June 9 at 7:30 p.m. Call 878-3624.

Lance Selfa on *Lenin and Nationalism*. June 23 at 7:30 p.m. Call 947-0755 for more information.

DETROIT
Ahmed Shawki on *Perspectives for Socialists for the 1980's*. June 7 at 7:30 p.m. Call 561-8856 for details.

KENT
Study group on *The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx*. Every Sunday in June, at 12:00 noon. Call 673-1710 for more information.

NEW YORK
Paul D'Amato on *The Russian Revolution*. May 30 at 8:00 p.m. Call 332-8855 for details.

Demonstration Against U.S. Intervention in Central America. June 9, meet at 11:00 a.m. at Dag Hammarskold Plaza.

ROCHESTER
Mike Ondrusek on *State Capitalism in Russia*. June 4.

Jack Porcello on *Permanent Revolution*. June 18. Call 235-3049 for time and place for these meetings.



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

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

Talks will include:

- Revolutions and War: A Marxist View
- What We Mean by Workers' Power
- Puerto Rico
- Eleanor Marx
- Black Liberation
- The Portuguese Revolution
- Marx's Theory of Crisis
- Revolutionaries and Trade Unions
- Politics and Sports in America
- The Feminist Critique of Marxism
- The Las Vegas Hotel Workers Strike
- Women in the Russian Revolution
- The Origin of Women's Oppression

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

SAN FRANCISCO
Women's Liberation Study Group: *Lessons of Other Struggles of the 1960's*. June 5 at 6:00 p.m.

Frank Runninghorse on *The Politics of C.L.R. James*. June 10 at 7:00 p.m. Call 285-4057.

SEATTLE
Peter Cogan on *May 1968: The General Strike in France*. June 8. Call 524-8694 for time and place.

"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

SEEING RED

STORIES OF AMERICAN COMMUNISTS

In "Seeing Red: Stories of American Communists," ex-sailor and maritime union organizer Bill Bailey tells why he was drawn to radical politics in the 1930s: "You have to put up some kind of a beef. Scream or holler or scratch or make some sound that you're alive and can fight. You know, cough or do something. Otherwise, they just walk past you and look at you and say, 'He must be dead, he ain't moving.'" Bailey's desire to fight back against injustice and exploitation is shared by many of the subjects of this important film.

Following the success of their 1975 documentary "Union Maids," Julia Reichert and James Klein began the five-year project that resulted in "Seeing Red," gathering more than 400 interviews with former (and a few present) members of the Communist Party. The fifteen interviews selected for inclusion in the film record eloquently what it meant to be an American Communist in the period of the party's greatest growth and activity—the Great Depression.

"Seeing Red" was acclaimed at the New York Film Festival last September and nominated for an Academy Award in April. The film is an oral history in which fifteen members of the Communist Party during the 1930s and after tell their own stories, interspersed with newsreel footage and stills which outline high points of the last fifty years: union and community organizing, the Spanish Civil War, the struggle against fascism, and the later rise of the Cold War and McCarthyism. The film's great strength is its immediate, intimate portrayal of ordinary human beings waging extraordinary struggle against enormous odds.

The film attempts to redress the past and present slander perpetrated by representatives of American capitalism against all who have opposed it. During the 1930s, the CP was the largest and most influential left group in America, numbering at least 100,000. Its most successful work, along with other radi-

DEBORAH ROBERTS REVIEWS "SEEING RED," THE NEW FILM

cals and socialists, included organizing drives for the CIO, rent strikes and community organizing.

At its best, "Seeing Red" is about growing old without losing the vision, courage and energy of one's youth. The fifteen veteran activists tell their stories vividly, with flashes of humor and passion that have survived in spite of state repression and betrayal by their own party. Most left the CP after Stalinist crimes against the party, the Russian and world working class, and the international communist movement were acknowledged by Khrushchev in 1956.

They have remained politically active, remarkably articulate and committed to the ideal of human freedom which first brought them into politics.

They are portrayed as people who became Communists for the best of reasons, and today remain proud of the stands they took and the fights they waged.

Muriel Eldridge tells about the positive difference fighting back has made in her life: "If I know I can do something about something, I do it—I don't put it off. If there's a demonstration or something that has to be done, I do it. I'm sure that comes from my years in the movement, and I like that feeling, because I feel part of the mainstream of life. And that's a good place to be at 60."

Howard Johnson, former Harlem CP organizer who now teaches Black studies, reflects on the enduring ideas that inspired his first commitment to radical politics: "I'm still a communist, small 'c,' in terms of wanting a cooperative, communally controlled society, where everybody has something to say about their life."

One of the film's most moving sequences opens as Carl Hirsch, who had been a CP journalist in the 1930s, calmly says that being a Communist was just a stage he passed through, like being a teenager. But reading aloud from old letters he had written to his wife when he covered a sharecropper's strike, Hirsch suddenly chokes up at the



words written 50 years before, words which evoke the passion and dedication of the young fighter and dreamer he had been.

When asked by Reichert why she wasn't afraid to join the party, Sylvia Woods (a former laundry organizer and one of the few subjects in the film who is still in the CP), responds: "I came up from the South, walked into a restaurant in Chicago; they said, 'We don't serve niggers.' Why should I have been afraid to overthrow that government?"

While "Seeing Red" vividly portrays the courage and spirit of its subjects, it only hints at the trauma experienced by the Party's best members when the organization to which they had given their youth betrayed them, as it betrayed the world working class they fought for. This process of betrayal was already in progress when the subjects of "Seeing Red" joined, but the

SEEING RED

CP's militant and apparently consistent struggle against the effects of capitalist crisis, racism and fascism hid this reality from many.

The darker realities of party politics and party life do not emerge in the film, and no one addresses clearly the compromises that party membership required. Reichert as narrator implies, mistakenly, that Lenin had dictated a theory of party organization which resulted in the rigid hierarchical structure of the American CP.

There is curiously little sense in the film of the effects of top-down leadership and the utter absence of internal democracy in the party—the opposite of the Leninist model—on these intelligent, rebellious, spirited activists. For example, how were they able to accommodate themselves to their leadership's endorsement of the Hitler-Stalin pact, to the purge trials of Bolshevik leaders in Russia, to the repeated expulsions of highly respected members of their own party?

While these questions go unanswered in the film, socialists can learn as much from the important limitations of "Seeing Red" as from the examples of spirit and endur-

SEEING RED

ance it so eloquently portrays. Much remains to be explored in a sequel to "Seeing Red."

Far from being a comprehensive history of American Communism, or even of American Communists, "Seeing Red" is an invaluable celebration of lives spent gladly in trying to change the world. It celebrates fighters and dreamers, and dreams that cannot be killed.

As we work to understand areas left unexplored in "Seeing Red," we need also to acknowledge the certainty of these activists that their lives were enriched and given meaning by their commitment to radical politics. Having won some fights and lost many others, singer Pete Seeger still tells us, "I think the saddest thing is the people who are scared to struggle . . ."

"Don't mourn the fighter who made a mistake and lost. Mourn the suckers who never bothered putting up a fight." □



SEEING RED



Unemployment statistics deceptive

The rapid decline in unemployment during the "recovery" happened primarily because large numbers of workers did not resume looking for work, *Business Week* reported last month.

Unemployment dropped from 10.8% in November 1982 to 7.8% early this year. But

since February, the unemployment rate has been stuck at 7.8%.

By now, the people who stayed away from the job search have been looking. And they're finding the doors closed.

The sharp drop in unemployment was felt mostly in

financial and service industries. But large sections of workers, economists said, have found that their jobs are gone forever.

Said one economist: "We are now retraining people who are relatively advantaged and employable. But we are writing off a lot of others." □



Detroit unemployment line.

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

LAS VEGAS HOTEL WORKERS HAD NO LEADERSHIP

A strike that began on April 2 against 32 casinos in Las Vegas continues at 24 of them. There have been 17,000 culinary workers on strike plus 1,000 musicians, several hundred stagehands and several thousand bartenders. Reading the papers and talking with a group of reformers of the present corrupt leadership of the culinary workers union, it was obvious there is no central leadership of the strike. Not only was there no central strike committee for the four unions directly involved, but several Teamsters locals, a painters union and the operating engineers were making their own decisions without regard to the strikers.

Nevada, a right to work state, gave many of the workers an excuse to become scabs. The 26,000 member culinary workers union has been tainted with the Mafia. Jeff McColl, the chief spokesman for the culinary workers, never worked in the industry. He has signed a dozen separate agreements with casinos, agreements that may be down-graded if their competitors sign agreements with lower wages and fringe benefits.

KINGPINS

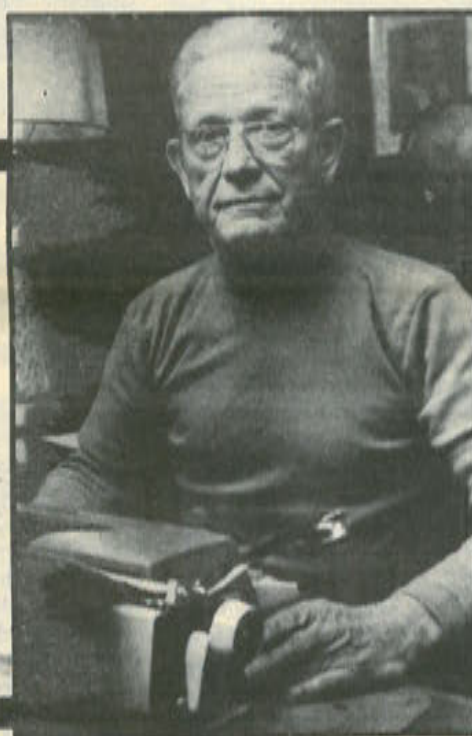
The Suma Corporation seems to have a controlling interest in the 24 hotels still on strike. One of the kingpins in this outfit is an heir to the Howard Hughes fortune. They are part of conglomerates

with income from other sources. These hotels are hiring scabs and promising them permanent jobs. The local courts have issued injunctions limiting the picketing. There have been 796 pickets arrested. It is remarkable to see the determination of the membership given their incompetent leadership.

The workers are slaves to four-year contracts, no-strike clauses and inequality in their wages. A minority of about sixty have incomes of up to \$60,000 per year, but the great majority have incomes of less than \$15,000. In an entertainment center where labor bureaucrats and the ruling class win or lose thousands of dollars on the roll of the dice, the small raise of \$1.48 spread over four years, without a cost of living escalator clause, would be a pittance. Many of those I talked with said, "It isn't the money; they just want to break the union."

With negotiations going on with one hotel at a time, with little solidarity among the strikers, the Teamsters and other AFL-CIO unions, victory in the strike does not look good. During the strike there was an election campaign going on for Secretary-Treasurer of Local 226 of the Culinary and Hotel Workers. There were five candidates, including Jeff McColl, the incumbent.

Robert Lanyon, a reform candidate with a seven-year history of activity in



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

the union, was defeated in a May 15 election. It is possible the election will be thrown out because of illegal activities on the part of the incumbents.

SUING

The *Las Vegas Sun* of May 16 reports that Robert Lanyon came in third with 594 votes. It further states that Lanyon is suing the culinary union. In his suit, he charges that the union has refused to allow union members to inspect the local's membership list prior to the election of officers. Lanyon claimed that the union's refusal "unreasonably restricts the democratic process insuring a fair election."

While the strike is in progress in Las Vegas, union president Edward Hanley was invoking the fifth amendment 24 times before a Senate panel investigating union corruption. The subcommittee has heard allegations that Hanley padded the union payroll, directed \$6 million in bad loans, overrode the results of local elections, set up lush benefits for himself and other union officers and became president through the influence of organized crime leaders from Chicago. □

LIBERTY STRIKERS REMAIN SOLID

by DAVE SIDDLER

OAKLAND, CA—Fifty-six workers have been on strike at Liberty Radiators since March 27. Strikers—members of Automotive Machinists Local 1305—have braved both police and security guard violence.

At a mass picket on April 30, 27 strikers were brutally arrested. Fortunately, union supporters videotaped the incident, and the film clearly showed the police making unwarranted arrests. The charges were dropped, and the workers are suing for false arrest.

ARMY

The company has hired a small army of armed security guards to protect the thirty scabs who are bussed into the plant daily in five company vans. These goons have been busy. Strikers' car tires have been slashed, and one striker was chased several blocks by guards with guns until other strikers came to his aid. But

the workers have stood fast against this intimidation. Only two of the 56 have gone back to work.

The strikers are resisting concessions which would effectively smash the union. In phoney negotiations, the management presented workers with a demand for a 50¢ an hour pay cut. This was to be regained at 25¢ in the second and third years of the contract.

The employer contribution to the medical plan was to be cut by 15% with no future increase permissible, and the employer contribution to the pension plan was to be frozen.

Other cuts include overtime payments from double-time to time and a half and cuts in guaranteed overtime from eight to four hours. And, to add insult to injury, the workers would be required to start work at staggered hours.

GROWING

Liberty Radiator is a growing company and part of the Chromoloy Division of Sunoco International—a giant multinational oil company clearly out to cut workers' living standards in the name of increased profits. All Sunoco workers need to unite and help the Liberty workers resist these attacks.

Though the strike remains solid and the company continues to lose money, thirty scabs remain in the plant. In the future, these scabs could be the basis for a non-union shop. More mass pickets—including supporters of the strike—need to be organized for the workers to succeed.

Send messages of support to: Liberty Radiator Workers, c/o Automotive Machinists Local 1305, 1750 Market Street, San Francisco, California 94102. □

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EL AL AIRLINES OUT TO BREAK UNION

NEW YORK, NY—225 employees of El Al-Israel Airlines here continue a strike which began on March 15. Strikers—aircraft machinists, reservations clerks and other clerical workers are represented by IAM Locals 2656 and 1894.

The company had demanded a large number of concessions including a 10% salary cut, elimination of job security provisions and the right of managers to work four hours a day performing union jobs.

According to Motti Horowitz, shop steward of Local 2656, this was "a clear attempt to break the union representation. Even though we had conceded on some points, the company held to all of these outrageous demands and now has added demands that all strikers be punished. They clearly want to keep us out and replace us."

El Al's actions confirm this. They claim "unlimited funds," and have brought in 75 strikebreakers including a number of El Al employees from Israel itself.

This is not the first time that El Al has attempted to break down the strength of the union's representation.

In 1982, they locked out their entire Israeli workforce and lasted out a 4-month shut-down. After proclaiming bankruptcy, they demanded and received many concessions. 1,000 of the 4,900 workers were laid off and each of the eight unions were forced to

by DAN CAPLIN

gain approval from Histradut, the Israeli "trade union" federation, before striking. The latter is particularly ridiculous given that Histradut is part-owner of El Al (with a vast majority of it owned by the Israeli government).

Horowitz states, "A defeat here for us will strengthen El Al's ability to gain more concessions in Israel—something the strikebreakers from Israel don't realize."

"They clearly want to keep us out and replace us," says Motti Horowitz, shop steward of Local 2656.

So far the company has the upper hand. Twenty-five percent of the strikers have returned to their jobs, and the strike has received little support from other airport employees. The only exceptions have been the Skycaps at Kennedy airport who have

refused to carry luggage further than El Al's terminal's front doors.

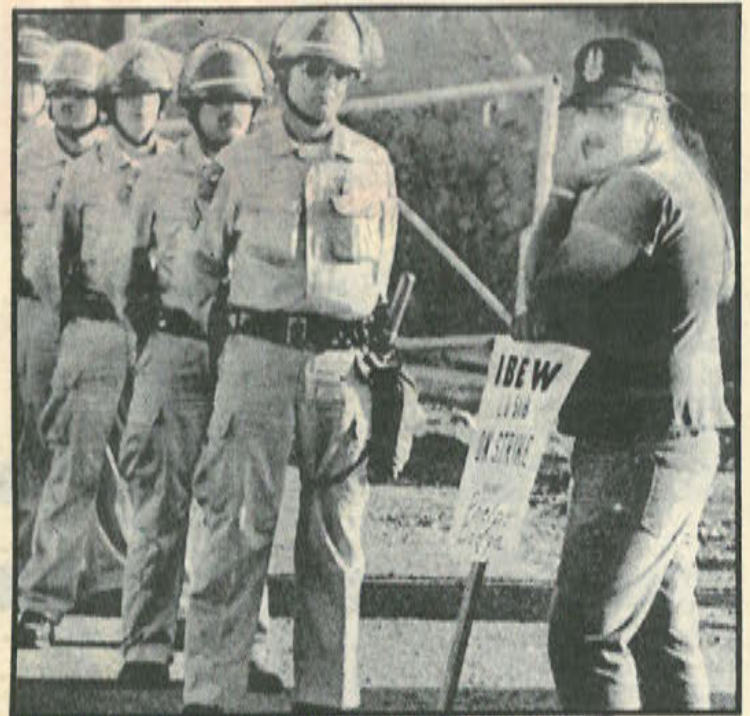
DIRECTION

A number of actions could change the direction of the strike. The size of the picket lines at Kennedy and at the ticket office in Manhattan must increase. People who oppose Israeli terror against the Palestinians or military aid to the Central American juntas should be on the lines regularly. It is an opportunity to help deal a small blow to Israel's plans as well as to argue these general political questions with the strikers—many of whom remain supporters of Israel.

More importantly, crossing of the picket lines by other airport workers as well as the handling of El Al cargo must stop. Over the last four years, there have been a number of strikes in the airline industry. In each, the companies have been able to win concessions and even break union representation by pitting the workers—machinists, pilots and flight attendants—against each other.

The airlines will continue to do this with ever more confidence unless they are stopped by solidarity action. The strike at El Al is the first place to begin to reverse the tide.

Join the strikers at their picket lines either at Kennedy Airport or at Third Avenue and E. 51st in Manhattan. □



National Guard and Phelps Dodge strikers clashed often.

Phelps Dodge strike nears one year mark

MORENCI, AZ—As the strike against Phelps Dodge Copper Corporation nears its first anniversary, the United Steelworkers union has kicked out 200 scabs for crossing picket lines at a copper smelter in nearby Clifton. Union leaders said the action blackballs the workers from any AFL-CIO union.

Thirteen unions struck Phelps Dodge on July 1, 1983, when efforts to reach a new three-year contract failed. The company immediately brought in scabs to take the 2,300 workers' jobs, and a month later the National Guard came to town—armed with hundreds of machine guns, armored personnel carriers and six Huey helicopters.

GUARDSMEN

The strikers have battled the Guardsmen on the picket line, been evicted from company-owned housing and been shot at by scabs. But the 200 scabs recently booted by the USW remain an exception. Most Phelps Dodge workers are determined to resist company efforts to destroy their union and continue to fight back. Two bridges owned by the company were blown up, costing \$100,000 to repair. □

IN BRIEF

PROTEST AT YALE

NEW HAVEN, CT—Some 1,500 Yale University clerical and technical workers staged a one-day strike called "59¢ Day" and vowed to make unequal pay for women an issue in future negotiations.

Some protestors carried signs saying, "Pay Us What We're Worth," and they surrounded a hall where university president A. Bartlett Giamatti was addressing a conference.

The workers then marched through the campus and later held a meeting, delivering a letter to Giamatti's office which outlined their position.

About 82% of the members of Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees, Yale's clerical and technical union, are women.

"Our basic view is that the university has gotten away with underpaying these people," said John Wilhelm, Local 34's chief negotiator.

A strike by Local 34 members was narrowly averted April 3 when the

university and the union agreed to a bizarre partial contract settlement that failed to address wages, benefits or job security. The two sides have continued negotiating, but have gotten nowhere.

The union is demanding a 29% wage increase over the next three years and other wage concessions. □

CONSTRUCTION STRIKE

ST. LOUIS, MO—Operating engineers struck three area companies on May 14 and widened their strike May 22 to include ready-mix concrete companies. Construction projects totaling more than \$1 billion in the St. Louis area are affected.

The union rejected an employers' association offer of wage increases of 75¢ an hour for the next year.

The strike has slowed trash collections in a large part of St. Louis county. Trash pickups were hindered when the quarry companies closed three landfills they operated and forced haulers to transport their loads to fill sites farther away. □



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NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

EL SALVADOR'S ELECTION SHAM

Jose Napoleon Duarte, the president-elect from El Salvador's April elections, whirlwinded through Washington last month, winning the hearts and minds of Reagan and Congress.

AID

Duarte and Reagan got what they wanted. The U.S. House, with 56 Democrats concurring, authorized \$49 million in new military aid this year and \$133 million for 1985.

The version of the aid bill approved included much weakened human rights provisions than earlier versions. After all, said Majority Leader James Wright of Texas, El Salvador's human rights policies shouldn't be held to "a standard that we do not require of any other nation in the world."

Another propaganda victory for Reagan won aid for Duarte when a Salvadoran court convicted five National Guardsmen of the 1980 murders of four American churchwomen. For this exercise in democracy, which took nearly four years and several cover-ups to resolve, the U.S. rewarded El Salvador with \$20 million more in military aid.

Reagan breathed a sigh of relief when Duarte won the election. For him, the election was important in setting up

Duarte as the "moderate" and "democratic" alternative to the extreme right-wing fanatic Roberto D'Aubuisson, Duarte's biggest challenger.

It's not that the U.S. government waited breathlessly for the Salvadoran people to work their "democratic" will. Subsequent disclosures then showed that the CIA spent over \$1 million to promote Duarte and hired academics and other "experts" to discredit D'Aubuisson in the Salvadoran press.

And it's not that the U.S. government is committed to democracy and freedom in El Salvador. The recent Salvadoran election allows Reagan to give a "democratic" face to a repressive government in which the military holds the cards—as in the "free" elections in Honduras in 1982.

COMMITMENT

The U.S. commitment to democracy in El Salvador has meant more than 20 years—reaching back to the Democratic administrations of Kennedy and Johnson—of funding Salvadoran security forces and, what is the same thing, the death squads.

A May *Progressive* magazine investigation showed the death squads are not rival bands of anti-communist thugs under D'Aubuisson's leadership—but the state-

DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS EMBRACE DUARTE...



sponsored arm of a terror network which assassinates anyone who talks about social change in El Salvador.

Duarte doesn't like the death squads. But it remains to be seen if he can carry out his promise to eliminate them. Experience suggests otherwise.

Duarte headed the junta which ruled for 16 months in 1980 and 1981 when the death squads mushroomed. A member of Duarte's own Christian Democratic Party put the task this way:

"The big challenge is to subordinate the military to the political power of the presidency... But if Duarte starts saying that he will be kicked out the next day."

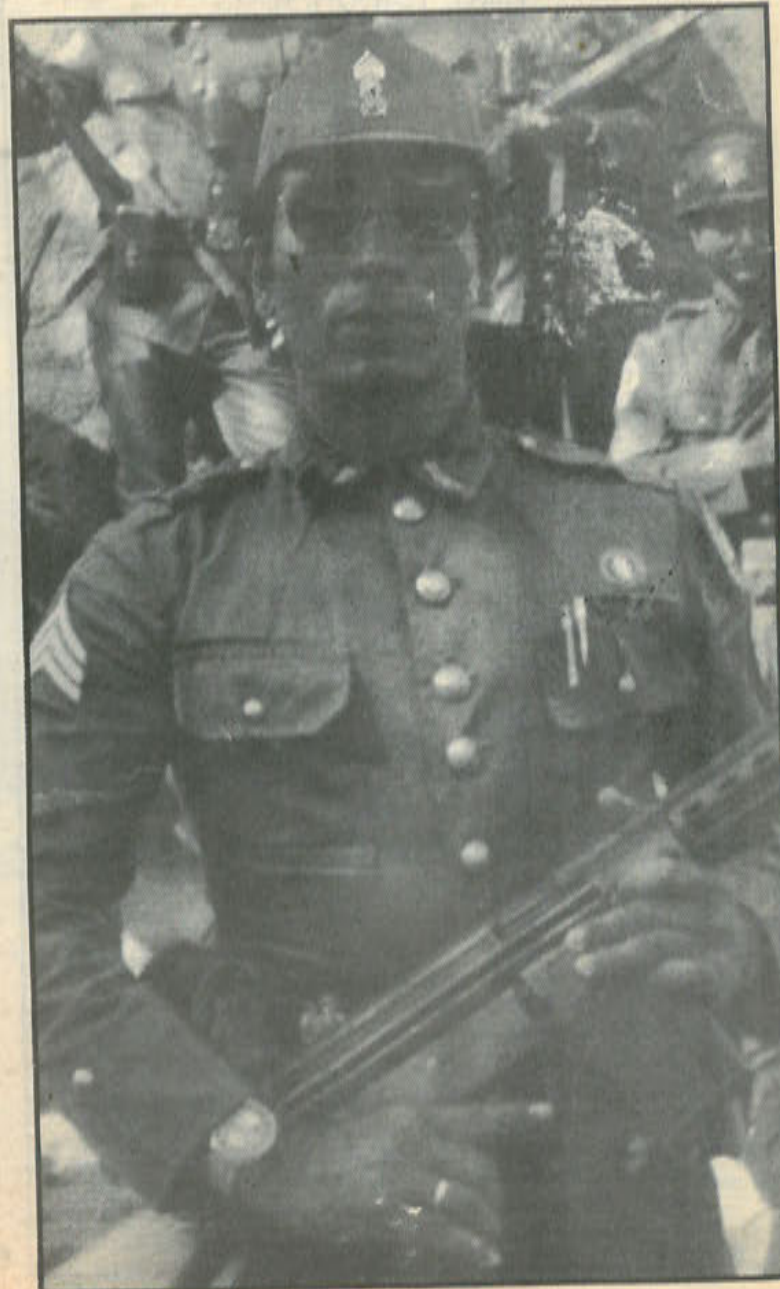
OLIGARCHY

Behind the death squads and the Salvadoran military stands a reactionary oligarchy—the 2% of the population that owns more than half of El Salvador's land.

This tiny elite has no interest in "democracy." They are likely to use every repressive force at their power to hold on to their property—which Duarte says he wants to distribute through land reform.

They will never give up their power without a fight. U.S.-sponsored "democracy" in El Salvador is likely to mean more of the same from a government that has massacred thousands of its own citizens. □

... BUT THE KILLING WON'T STOP



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