

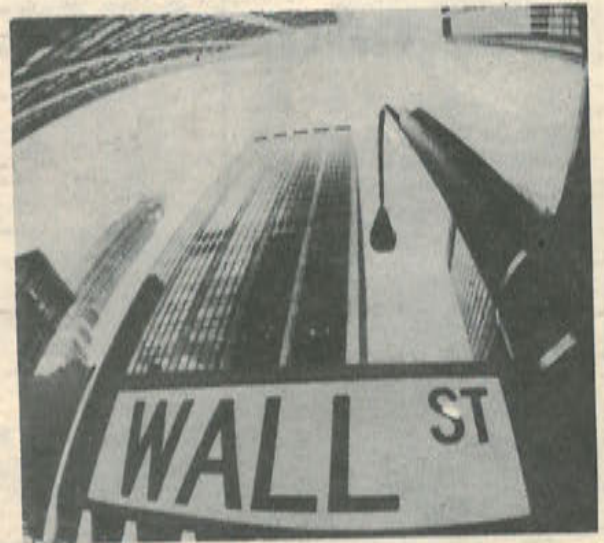


## U.S. occupation of Grenada

See page 7

# Socialist Worker

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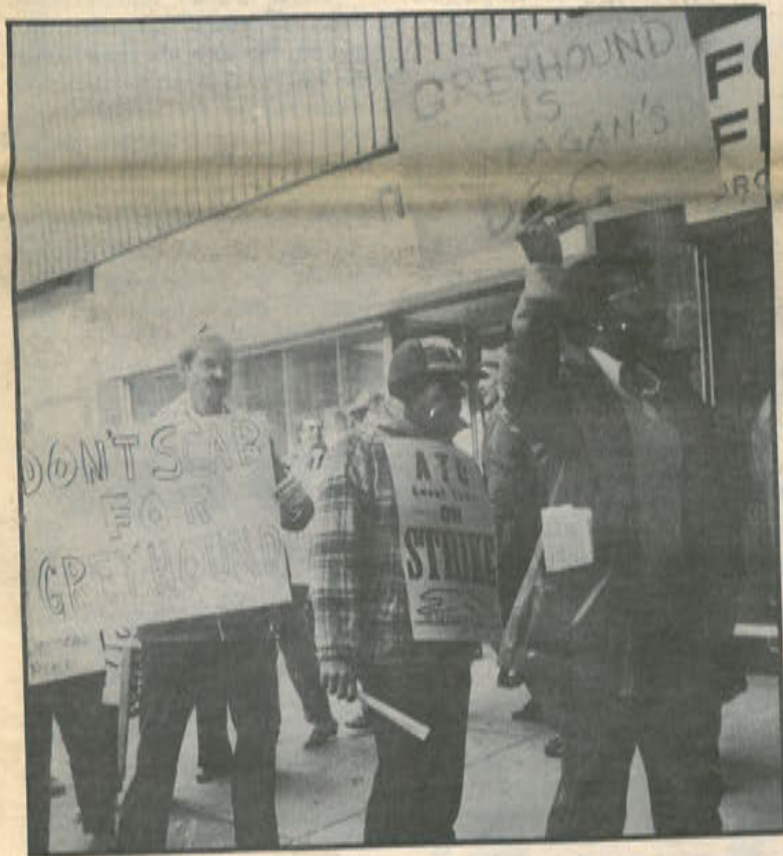


THE BANKERS' NIGHTMARE  
See page 5

DECEMBER 1983

NUMBER 80

## SUPPORT THE GREYHOUND STRIKERS



# NO MORE UNION BUSTING



The showdown is on at Greyhound. The company is after massive take-backs. The workers rejected the contract offer in a massive "no" vote—96% opposed.

As one striker said, "Greyhound called the proposal a 'win-win' situation. A win for them because they get to keep making big profits; a win for us because we get to keep our jobs. But the proposal is 'win-win' only for Greyhound. For us it's lose, lose, lose."

The contract vote is magnificent. But alone it will not win the strike.

The company is determined to run scab busses through the holiday season.

The workers have to match this escalation with one of their own. If this strike is to be won, it will be on the picket lines.

That is why the Greyhound pickets need our support—and not just in words. We need to support the strikers with action—massive picket lines are needed.

For more on the Greyhound strike see pages 8 and 9.

## KILLER COP GETS \$35,000

LOS ANGELES, CA— Last month the state of California paid \$35,000 in workers' compensation to Anthony Sperl, a former cop responsible for the racist killing of a young Black child on March 3.

Sperl, who is white, worked as a cop for the city of Stanton, located 23 miles southwest of Los Angeles.

The killing occurred when Sperl went to the child's home on an anonymous tip from someone concerned because they had not seen Anthony's mother for several days.

Sperl's knocks got no response, so he entered the apartment by a pass key with his gun drawn. On hearing noises coming from the bedroom, he kicked down the door and shot Patrick in the neck.

Patrick was five years old. He had been playing with a small, red toy gun.

### DEFEND

Sperl tried to defend his actions by saying it was dark and he thought he was being "set up." The Stanton Police Captain backed him up by saying that the neighborhood was "racially mixed" and was "known to be anti-police."

Now Sperl (24 years old) has retired from the department with a \$35,000 workers' compensation award for "psychological damage" caused by the shooting.

On the other hand, the only thing Patrick's mother received was public abuse for leaving a child home alone while she worked. She had recently gotten a job and simply could not afford a babysitter.

The state would do better to fund day-care centers for women unable to afford babysitters than pay lump sums to help racist cops "feel better" after committing murder. □

by LARRY BUTLER

## Undocumented workers pay more than they receive

Undocumented workers in Texas pay more in state taxes than they receive in government services, according to a University of Texas study.

The study concluded the state collected between \$157 million to \$277 million from undocumented workers but spent only \$50-97 million on them, primarily on public school education.

### UNDOCUMENTED

Researchers polled 253 undocumented workers in six major Texas cities. Since the workers' names came from social service agencies in those cities, the workers interviewed were probably more likely to use state and local services than the average undocumented worker.

Therefore, researchers concluded the gap between what undocumented workers pay in Social Security, property and sales taxes might be larger than the study showed.

The study gives the lie to the arguments that undocumented workers represent an unjustified "drain" on the U.S. economy—part of the reasoning behind the "immigration reform" legislation that has kicked around



by LANCE SELFA

Congress for several years.

"Immigration bills like the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, which died in the U.S. House after receiving the Senate's and the Reagan administration's backing, would penalize employers who hire undocumented workers.

Other bills include provisions for national identity cards.

Workers would have to present these cards to employers to prove they are U.S. citizens.

### ORGANIZE

Hispanic groups opposed the bills, saying they would stir up discrimination against Hispanics.

At the same time, the AFL-CIO leadership has supported the bills, arguing that they would protect "American" jobs, especially in times of

high unemployment.

These various "immigration reform" plans must be opposed. Not only are they based on the lie that undocumented workers are a "drain," but they serve to divide the working class.

Instead of trying to bar undocumented workers' entry into the U.S., the trade unions should be organizing those workers into unions—and not promote ideas which divide workers. □

## HOSPITAL WORKERS LAID OFF

Health care workers in Cleveland have been hit by an epidemic of layoffs in recent months. Five major hospitals have laid off workers—including registered nurses, nurse assistants, orderlies and clerical workers.

One reason for these layoffs is decreasing hospital occupancy rates. The decrease in admissions is not because Americans are healthier, but because less people can afford health care.

As a result of unemployment, 16 million Americans have lost their health insurance. Many employers have cut hospitalization benefits as a way to save money. And cuts in medicaid and medicare have made it less profitable to keep patients in the hospital, so they are being discharged sooner.

When other workers go on strike for health benefits, hospital workers should be with them in solidarity because every defeat in health care coverage leads to a chance of more health care layoffs. And they should fight every medicaid and medicare



cut.

### CUTS

One Cleveland hospital, Lutheran Medical Center, claims that 60% of its beds are paid for by Medicare. When Medicare was cut so were jobs at Lutheran.

This brings me to the second reason for layoffs. Hospitals are being run as big businesses. Their main interest is in making money, not in providing good medical care as they would have us believe.

Parma Community Hospital, near Cleveland, says it is making money and is

undertaking a \$30 million expansion and renovation program in order "to compete in this new and rapidly changing health care environment. Yet, Parma Community employees are not sharing in the hospital's profits. About 60 were laid off recently in a move to further increase productivity.

The workers were not unionized and they were given no notice of the layoffs. The hospital's excuse for the callous treatment was that it did not want to "disrupt patient care" by letting the workers know ahead of

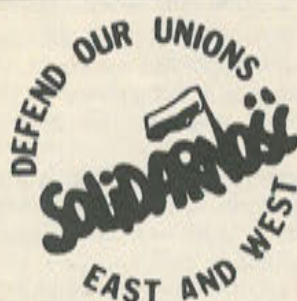
time.

Hospitals, such as Parma Community, are trying to increase profits by increasing productivity of the workers in the same way as factory owners. Having one nurse care for 30 patients will most certainly compromise the quality of care, but this does not seem to have influenced them in their decision.

### MYTH

There is a myth among hospital workers, especially nurses and doctors, that they are "professionals" and should not strike because it would hurt patient care. But if hospital workers do not organize it will hurt patient care.

A strong health care workers union—a union which included all health care employees from orderlies to doctors as equal members—could prevent layoffs and enhance patient care. It could battle government cuts and support other unions fighting for health benefits. It is the only way to fight the corporate monster the health care system has become. □



Buttons 50¢

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# PLO fight: The stakes are high in the Middle East

## Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

While a tense ceasefire between factions of the Palestinian Liberation Organization settled over the Lebanese port city of Tripoli, the region's seething conflicts threatened to erupt at any time.

The fight between forces loyal to PLO chairman Yasir Arafat and those seeking to topple him is no mere squabble between PLO personalities. It is a high stakes game in one of the most important regions in the world.

The actors in the struggle are well-known. And the blame for the current situation in Lebanon must lie squarely with the United States and Israel.

Israel's "Peace for Galilee" campaign of spring and summer, 1982, was aimed at driving the PLO from Lebanon and at setting up a government that would look after Israel's interests in the war-torn state to Israel's north.

The Israeli army succeeded on both counts: It forced the evacuation of PLO fighters from Beirut in June, 1982, setting up a Phalangist government led by Amin Gemayal.

The Phalange was set up under the Gemayal family in the 1930's. It drew inspiration from the Fascist parties of Europe.

It was the Phalange militias, with Israeli collusion, who massacred 2,700 Palestinians in the Sabra and Chatilla refugee camps in July, 1982.

A year later, Israel's bet

on Gemayal was clearly a loser. In the past year, Gemayal's government has proven itself unable to control anything more than a small area of Beirut. By summer, 1983, near civil war had broken out again.

### LOCKED

Durze militias, who represent part of the country's Moslem majority, were locked in a battle with the Phalange, whose clear intent is to obliterate the Druze and other challengers to its rule.

Enter the U.S. and its Western European allies. The U.S., Italy and France sent "peacekeeping" forces to Lebanon in the summer of 1982.

But the Western forces, dominated by U.S. Marines and military hardware, are not interested in keeping the peace in Lebanon. They are interested in propping up Gemayal's government—despite the human cost.

The U.S. role in Lebanon has a purpose beyond the immediate aim of saving the Phalangist government. As Reagan said in October, "Can the United States, or the free world for that matter, stand by and see the Middle East incorporated into the Soviet bloc?"

It is within the context of super-power rivalry and internal conflict in Lebanon that the fratricidal battle within the PLO can be understood.

Arafat lost much credibility in the wake of the PLO retreat from Lebanon in 1982. Arafat



had promised to set up a Palestinian state in the Israeli West Bank. He believed he could cut a deal with Jordan and the U.S.

### SPLIT

Rival claimants to Arafat's leadership declared war on Arafat May 6. Since then, they have conducted a bloody battle against Arafat loyalists with Syrian backing.

Syria has no interest in the fate of the 4-5 million Palestinians living in the area. Syrian President Hafez Assad's military and political support for anti-Arafat forces is aimed at carving out an area of Lebanon under his control.

And the PLO conflict shows the hypocrisy of the Soviet Union, as well. The Soviets are backing both Assad and Arafat, fearing they might lose one if they align too closely with the other.

The tragedy of the struggle between the PLO factions is that both sides are allied with regimes ruled by tiny,

ruling elites determined to maintain the status quo in the Middle East.

### VISIT

And Israel and the U.S. will continue to step up their intervention in Lebanon. This month's visit by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe

Arens indicates that the two states will cooperate to pursue joint interests in the region.

The Middle East continues to be an important economic and political battleground for rival powers. It is a battle in which the region's workers and peasants—and the Palestinians—are mere pawns. U.S. Out of Lebanon! □



## MARINES: THE FEW SERVING THE FEW

*I spent thirty-three years and four months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism. Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank to collect revenues in . . . and I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras right for American fruit companies in 1903.*

—General Smedley D. Butler, USMC, 1935

## U.S. MISSILES DEPLOYED

Six days before 75 million Americans watched a TV version of nuclear holocaust in "The Day After," the U.S. government took a step closer to nuclear war.

The U.S. Air Force airlifted the first nuclear-tipped cruise missiles into Britain

cruise missiles into Britain's Greenham Common airbase on November 14.

Several days later, the West German and Italian parliaments approved missile deployments in their countries. The U.S. is scheduled to

deploy missiles those places in early 1984.

Reagan and his allies, Thatcher in Britain and Kohl in Germany justified the missile deployments on the grounds that they were balancing a massive Soviet military buildup. In fact, the "Soviet threat" has been greatly exaggerated.

Even the CIA lowered its estimates of Soviet military strength. A CIA report released November 21 showed the Soviets have actually slowed their military spending since 1976. Since then, the CIA said, the Soviet military has expanded at an average annual rate of 2 percent—not the 4 percent it had previously reported.

And, the CIA reported, the Soviet cutbacks have hit weapons procurements the hardest as Soviet leaders adjust to their economy's sluggish growth.

The Western rulers' missiles deployments are not aimed at countering "a

growing Soviet threat." Rather, they represent a response to the economic crisis—and the need to keep control of spheres of influence at any cost—including nuclear holocaust.

And the invasion of Grenada, the growing intervention in Lebanon and Central America show that our rulers will not hesitate to use military force to impose their wills.

### DEMAND

But at the same time the missile deployments sparked a new surge of activism. More than 500 protesters were arrested in demonstrations at Greenham Common and thousands rallied outside the German Bundestag as the vote was taken.

The peace movement suffered a setback when the missiles were deployed. But the fight is still on. The movement must renew the struggle to disarm the rulers and to end the system that breeds war. □

## SOCIALIST WORKER

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# NYC HOUSING CRISIS: PROFITS ARE TO BLAME

**NEW YORK, N.Y.**—In the most recent round of struggles against the city of New York and the Housing Preservation Development Office, a building on the corner of 89th Street and Columbus Avenue in Manhattan has been re-occupied.

The building, one of thousands of the city's residential properties, has a fully working heating and plumbing system, but it still has 14 vacant apartments. This is an all too common situation in the city.

## HUNDREDS

There are hundreds of empty buildings—while at least 36,000 people are homeless and thousands more are ill-housed or pay rent beyond their means.

It is clear that the New York City housing crisis is not a

by **JOSH LICHSTENSTEIN**

crisis of actual lack of space, but rather of profitability.

In early November, a coalition of tenants, squatters, community activists, students and homeless reoccupied 101 W. 89th Street to restore the desperately needed services of heat and hot water for the winter.

The coalition immediately began much needed repairs to the building, including cleaning, painting, work on damaged plumbing and electricity and repair of the furnace.

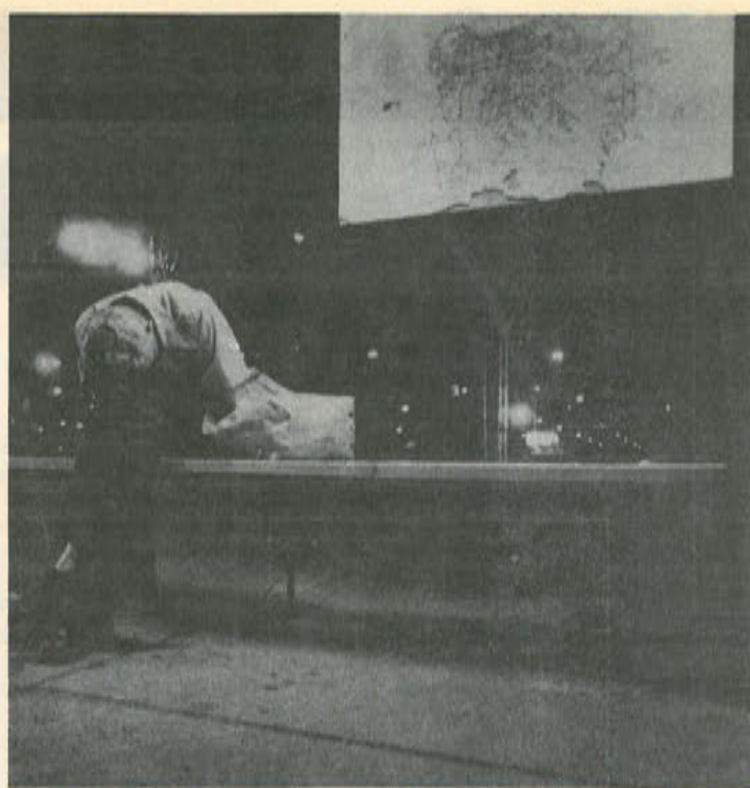
The city's reaction was rapid and typical: they sent in the police. The cops were unable to legally evict the occupants, but they beat up and arrested one of the building organizers.

The struggle against unfair housing practices is not new. The occupation on 89th Street comes directly out of the struggle against the West Side Urban Renewal Project initiated in 1958.

## EVICTED

Across the street from 101 W. 89th Street is Site 30 of the West Side Urban Renewal Project, where in 1970 the city evicted community members on the promise of building 160 low-income units of rental property on the site.

Thirteen years later, after the building was demolished, the city announced that it would not do this but instead would build 185 market-value units and throw in 80 subsidized units for the elderly to pacify any opposition.



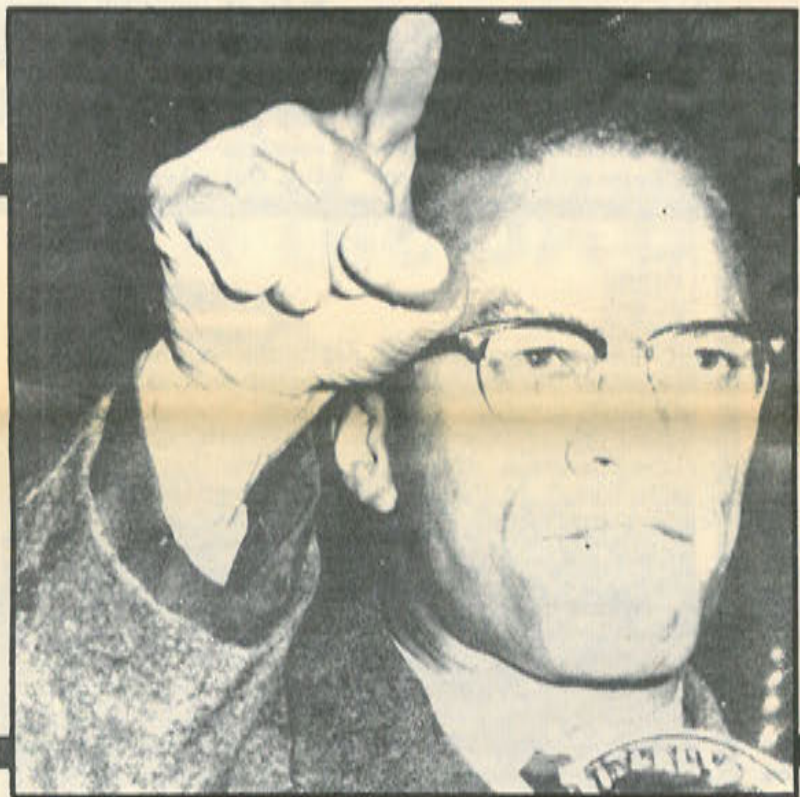
*Homeless in New York*

The city has failed to meet its commitment to low-income tenants in the area and continues to evict and arrest its own residents who are in need of housing.

## CRISIS

The New York City housing crisis does not result from a

shortage of space but from the unprofitability of housing low-income people. The landlords, the real estate interests, the banks and the city will not be handing out any favors for those in need. Any improvement, any gain can only be won and maintained through hard fought struggles. □



## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

# BLACK POLITICIANS: NO REAL SOLUTION TO OUR PROBLEMS

by **AZAR HANIF**

A Socialist Worker reader took exception to a recent column which stated that socialists should not support Jesse Jackson if he runs as a Democrat. Democrats, I had argued, have a history of selling Black folks out and would only use Jackson to hurt us further by enrolling Blacks en masse to support the party machine, then promptly forgetting our demands after election day.

In his letter, the reader wrote that Jackson could make a difference and that he would not be just a slavemaster of different color—and that supporting a Jackson candidacy was like supporting a move to get Blacks on the local police force—a definite step in the right direction.

## ANOTHER

True, Jackson would not be another Ronald Reagan, or even perhaps another Jimmy Carter. He says he would not draft young men to fight Yasser Arafat or cut out food stamps for the poor.

Then again, Jackson is not going to win the presidency.

But all across the nation,

in Philadelphia and Chicago, Flint, Michigan and Charlotte, North Carolina, Blacks are winning mayoral and congressional positions. Socialists, it is said, have to come up with a more convincing argument than just repeating that the electoral strategy is a dead end.

It a dead end, but Black candidates are usually more progressive and are more apt to bring about some social change—at least for a while.

Even Detroit mayor Coleman Young, who has done his share of lowering the standard of living for city workers, made strides in eliminating police brutality in the Black community and is a leading critic of Reagan.

Young has fought for and received emergency food supplies for the hungry and heat assistance for the poor, although he has not been so successful with jobs.

But do Black politicians really make a difference? In a sense yes, but in a real way no.

The 21-member Congressional Black Caucus is a case in point. Its successes this

year include cutting President Reagan's 10% increase in defense spending to 5%, the passage of the Martin Luther King Federal Holiday Bill, passage of legislation extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission and prohibiting the president from discharging its members without cause.

## PRESSURED

It pressured the Democrats to support a jobs bill, voted against the MX missile and nerve gas, condemned the U.S. invasion of Grenada and is one of the only groups calling for a full investigation of civilian casualties on the island.

George Crockett and John Conyers of Detroit, Ron Dellums of Berkeley, William Gray of Philadelphia and Walter Fauntroy of Washington, D.C. are constant thorns in the side of Reagan and Congress.

But the plain facts point to a continuation of the same from the U.S. government—unemployment, cutbacks,

sabre rattling, racism and military intervention. The funding bills for the MX missile and nerve gas have passed Congress and we remain on the brink of nuclear destruction.

The campaigns of some of the more progressive Black candidates for public office capture the hearts and minds of Blacks deeply dissatisfied with the conditions of their lives. They can tap the very real sentiment of anger and frustration with a brutal and vicious system which offers nothing but poverty to millions

of Blacks.

But the best-intentioned public official, once elected, cannot deliver in any significant way. Instead, the Black mayors, congressman and other officials simply become the administrators of unemployment, preventing unrest and opposing the strikes of public workers.

In the end, politicians do not make any difference to the conditions of our lives. The real solutions to our problems will come from Black workers and our allies—not from elected officials.

*Celebrating Washington's victory*



# The bankers' nightmare

Several countries on the brink of default threaten the entire banking system. Chris Harman explains why.

1983 marks the tenth year of world economic crisis—the longest period of continual crisis the system has seen for a century. But on a world scale it is not yet the deepest.

The depression of the 1930s left 1/3 of the workforce unemployed in the U.S. and Germany, and a fifth in Britain. It smashed the living standards of much of the middle class as well as virtually all workers. It tore apart the social structure of country after country.

Today things are not that bad even in the worst hit of the advanced economies.

But in the last year, the debt crisis has alarmed every forward-looking capitalist in the world. Several countries—most notably Brazil—are on the brink of bankruptcy and have come very close to telling the western banks it would not pay them back the \$90 million it owes. A score of other countries might then have followed Brazil's example.

## BANKS

The world's biggest banks would have lost a fortune. Some of them would have gone broke. Corporations who had lent them money would have lost their cash. Companies in their debt would have had to pay up immediately, even if this made them go bust.

A black hole would have appeared in the world system, sucking one giant firm after another into oblivion. Whole countries could have been devastated.

A last minute agreement between the Brazilian regime and the banks prevented this. But the agreement collapsed after three months, and forecasters are now suggesting that new banking crises can-



not be far off.

On the left and the right, some simplistically blame the banking crisis on "rapacious financiers." They imply that if only the banks had better accounting procedures or were more patriotic, then everything would be all right.

But in fact, the banking crisis is only part of the more general crisis of capitalism. You cannot solve the banking crisis unless you attack all of capitalism, not just the sharks of the financial sector.

Karl Marx pointed out, over a hundred years ago, how the banks fit into capitalism and how the crisis of the banks follows the more general crisis of the system.

Capitalism is driven forward by the attempts of rival concerns—whether firms or states—to compete with one another.

Each must get the highest possible profits from its workers. Then, every so often, it must use those profits to massively expand both the scale and technological level of its production.

Each capitalist concern expands investment as fast as it can during periods of prosperity while it tries to keep the number of workers it employs to a minimum.

## INVESTMENT

So throughout the system investment rises faster than the source of profits—the labor employed.

Marx argued that the result would be a long term decline in the ratio of profits to investment—the rate of profit. Even if the total profit grew, it would not grow nearly as fast as the total investment.

The result would be increasingly severe economic crisis.

Firms would be under intense pressure to undertake ever larger investments. But at the same time they would live in growing fear that doing so would result in their losing money as the average rate of profit fell.

They would cancel investments when they were only half finished. Huge plants would stand idle because there was no longer a "demand" for their products. A growing portion of the working class would be unemployed. Ever smaller booms would give way to ever deeper slumps.

Marx argued that a crisis in banking would be part and parcel of this total crisis.

To understand how, you have to see that banks fulfill an essential function for capitalism.

Firms do not usually invest their profits the moment they make them. They usually wait for a period and then find that they need greater funds than they could generate from their own profits alone.

The banks borrow the profits of some capitalists who are not investing, and then lend them to other capitalists who are.

They pay out a certain rate of interest when they borrow and charge a slightly higher rate of interest when they lend. This provides them with a share of the profits made by the industrial capitalists.

## PROFIT

Interest comes out of industrial profit. But the rate of interest goes up and down in a different way to the rate of profit. It depends on how much the banks can borrow and how much pressure there is on them to lend.

When profits go up, the funds of the banks rise and the rate of interest normally falls. When profits fall, the flow of funds into the banks falls too, even though there are more

firms wanting to borrow from the banks—and so the rate of interest rises.

When capitalism is booming, the banks get a continual flow of interest from those they have lent money, and they use it to pay a lower rate of interest to those from whom they have borrowed. Their own profits boom.

But once the system goes into crisis, things get tough.

Industrial concerns lose money—and ask the banks for bigger loans so they can keep operating. But the general fall in profits means that lending to the banks declines.

The rate of interest rises, to the bankers' delight. They enthusiastically look for new borrowers prepared to pay the higher interest rates.

But the higher interest rates cut into the profits of industrial capitalists and make their situation more precarious.

This is essentially what has been happening since 1973. There has been vast growth of international lending. In western Europe and the U.S. the profit rates of most companies were already too low in the mid-1970s for them to undertake new investment.

But the banks soon found that both firms and states elsewhere in the world were eager to borrow, regardless of how high interest rates were.

## BORROWING

Such borrowing enabled the economies of both eastern bloc countries—like Poland, Hungary and Rumania—and so-called "new industrializing countries"—like Brazil, Mexico and Argentina—to continue booming in the late 1970s while the rest of the world was in a slump.

By the beginning of 1983, international lending by the banks amounted to \$728 billion. That is three times as much as the reserves the 500 top banks keep to cover any bad debts.



Bank profits from such lending have been immense—Citibank gets 20% of its profits from Brazil—to whom it has lent \$4.4 billion—even though that country only accounts for 5% of its total loans.

In virtually every country, banking profits have soared while industrial profits have remained quite low.

This made the bankers forget the most elementary fact: If industrial profits are not high, their own prosperity cannot last forever.

They lulled themselves into a false sense of security by believing that Poland, Mexico or Brazil would make levels of profits which could not be obtained in the west.

It is this dream which has come unstuck. The continued economic recession in the west means that these countries have not been able to sell the output of the huge new plants they have built with the bank loans.

At the same time, borrowing by the U.S. government to finance its new arms build-up has forced interest rates up throughout the world.

First Poland, then Mexico and now Brazil have found the cost of paying interest on their bank loans is eating up nearly all of their export earnings.

## RISK

The bankers find themselves facing the risk that they will never get back the huge sums they've loaned.

If Brazil or some other country refuses to accept the bankers' terms, we could see a replay of the 1930s.

In the short term, banks and governments will do their best to avoid this. But the crisis won't go away.

One senior debt negotiator said: "We are in for a hell of a lot of anxious days."

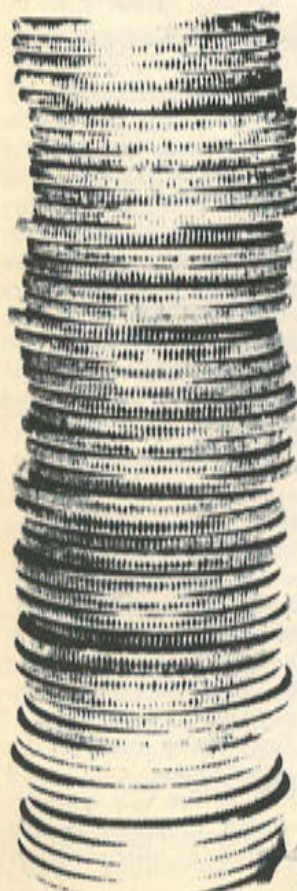
## REACTING

The banks have reacted to the crisis by abruptly cutting back their new lending. But this will both deepen the recession internationally and increase the possibility of more countries going broke.

Already, the recession has meant serious disruption of the status quo. As the Wall Street Journal reported on November 25:

"In Brazil, unemployment and inflation have led to looting of food stores. In Mexico, street demonstrators have protested government policies. Most observers agree that it will be hard to impose austerity measures for more than several years without risking increasingly violent protests."

Sooner or later a new banking crisis seems inevitable. And its effects could be to cause social upheaval on a massive scale.



Bill Roberts explains why the superpowers are locked into the drive towards war.

## Economic competition and the drive to war

The invasion of Grenada by U.S. armed forces is a signal from Reagan that the U.S. is again ready—at any excuse—to enforce its self-interest against its rivals. It will go to greater lengths today to protect what it sees as its "sphere of influence."

But the invasion also reflects larger global conflicts—competing imperialisms.

The world's dominant powers—led by the U.S. and Russia—need to organize economic activity beyond the limits of their national borders. They must underwrite this economic expansion with military might.

### IMPERIALISM

In 1915, Lenin wrote a short pamphlet on imperialism. His purpose was to show that World War I was no accident. Intrigues in royal courts were not the cause of war. Instead, it resulted from the inner-dynamic of competing economic units—competing capitals.

The main point of the pamphlet was to show that world capitalism had developed to a point that made it impossible for rival ruling classes to co-exist without periodically going to war.

No longer could capitalism survive without national rulers dividing "spheres of influence" between them. "The capitalists partition the world, not out of personal malice but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to get profits," wrote Lenin.

During the years between the world wars, firms grew bigger and bigger. As they did, they needed to find new and ever more profitable outlets for investment. They looked abroad for solutions to

their economic crises at home. They developed a close co-operative relationship with their national states, whose military might they relied upon.

For example, German industrial firms—in order to survive—found it increasingly necessary to gain control over industrial capacity previously held by Anglo-French interests. Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Alsace-Lorraine all came under the Nazis' control.

### OIL

In this same period, the huge oil companies—mostly American based—expanded into the Middle East.

After the Second World War the focus for imperialism was away from the colonies and less developed countries. The backward areas of the world economy decreased in relative importance. Investment by western capitalists declined in the third world as a percentage of their total investments.

This is one of the main reasons for the rapid decolonization in the third world after the Second World War.

The other reason is that the whole world economy was expanding. Fuelled by fantastic arms spending by the superpowers, the world economy grew greatly from the late 1940s to the early 1970s, with only periodic and shallow recessions. The whole pie was growing—the big powers did not need to fight over small bits of the globe.

This was in sharp contrast to the 1930s, when Japan and Germany saw that the only way to survive the crisis was to expand their territory at the expense of other countries.

The western countries—headed by the U.S.—had two rivals during the boom years



U.S. Marines guarding entrance to Point Salines airport in Grenada.

after the Second World War. The chief rival was Russia, which, as part of the deal that concluded the Second World War, had gained control over eastern Europe.

### WEST

The west was also opposed by national liberation movements—in places like Algeria and Vietnam—which sought to control resources and national development for their own interests.

Many who agree with much of this analysis, disagree with a fundamental conclusion of it: that the Soviet Union is part of the imperialist world system.

Since 1928, when Stalin and company put Russia on the course of "catching up with the West," the laws governing its economy have been the same as the ones governing the west.

In order to "catch up" Russia's leaders had to industrialize their country. They had to force workers to work longer hours for less pay in order to extract an ever larger

surplus from their labor. The Russian leaders were plagued with the fear that if they failed to brutalize their own population and build an industrial state, they would be crushed by the hostile western powers.

The brutalities of Russia in the 1930s—forced labor camps, purges, etc.—were the expression of a state trying to accumulate capital at the fastest possible pace.

What had occurred in England over the course of centuries was squeezed into the space of a decade in Russia.

Necessarily, the process spilled out of the borders of the Soviet Union. Non-Russian peoples of the old czarist empire, liberated by the 1917 revolution, were subordinated to the industrialization process.

### CARVE

Then came the Baltic states, carved up in a deal with Hitler in 1939. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the rest of eastern Europe fell under the Russian sphere of influence as the spoils of war.

All during the years of the boom, there were challenges to the great spheres of influence policed by Russia and the U.S. Uprisings in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 had to be put down by Russian troops. The American ruling class got stuck in a costly war in Vietnam during this period in order to preserve its status as overseer of the western sphere.

### RIVAL

But under circumstances of economic expansion, the superpowers stayed out of their rival's sphere for the most part. This was the era of "detente."

Conditions have changed. The world economic crisis has upset the status quo. The potential for direct conflict between the superpowers over otherwise meaningless territory is a real possibility today.

Thus, tiny Grenada takes on a significance far beyond its size in the conflict between the two competing imperialisms—the U.S. and the USSR. □

## Graffiti



### EXECS AVOID THE PINCH

The 1982 recession might have cut into workers' paychecks, but the top executives of the nation's biggest corporations weathered the storm very nicely, according to Forbes magazine.

Forbes reported that the average salary and bonus of a chief executive officer in 808 major companies surveyed was \$449,000 in 1982, up from \$435,000 the year before.

At the top of the Forbes list was Frederick W. Smith of Federal Express, whose \$51.5 million in total compensation included a \$413,590 salary and

more than \$51 million in stock gains.

Charles Lazarus of Toys 'R' Us took home \$43.8 million, including a \$1.4 million salary and \$42.4 million in stock gains.

Top dollars, however, were not reserved for executives who turned their companies into big success stories.

Number 4 on the list was Steven Ross of Warner Communications who earned \$3.68 million, including a \$2.3 million salary, while his company's stock was plummeting. □

### REAGAN—DOUBLESPEAK CHAMPION

The National Council of Teachers of English recently awarded its 1983 Doublespeak Award to Ronald Reagan.

He won the distinction for naming the new MX intercontinental ballistic missile the "Peacekeeper."

Reagan was also cited for his statement that "a vote against MX production today is a vote against arms control tomorrow."

Second place went to Col. Frank Horton, commander of the Grand Forks Air Force Base in North Dakota, for describing a Titan 2 missile as "a very large, potentially disruptive re-entry system." □



### I PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE...

A fourth-grade teacher in Grove, Oklahoma was fired for refusing to sign a state loyalty oath. Teacher Russell Turley is continuing to work without pay. The law Turley broke—a leftover from the McCarthy era—required him to pledge allegiance to the state and federal constitutions. "If the system works, you don't need a loyalty oath," said Turley. □

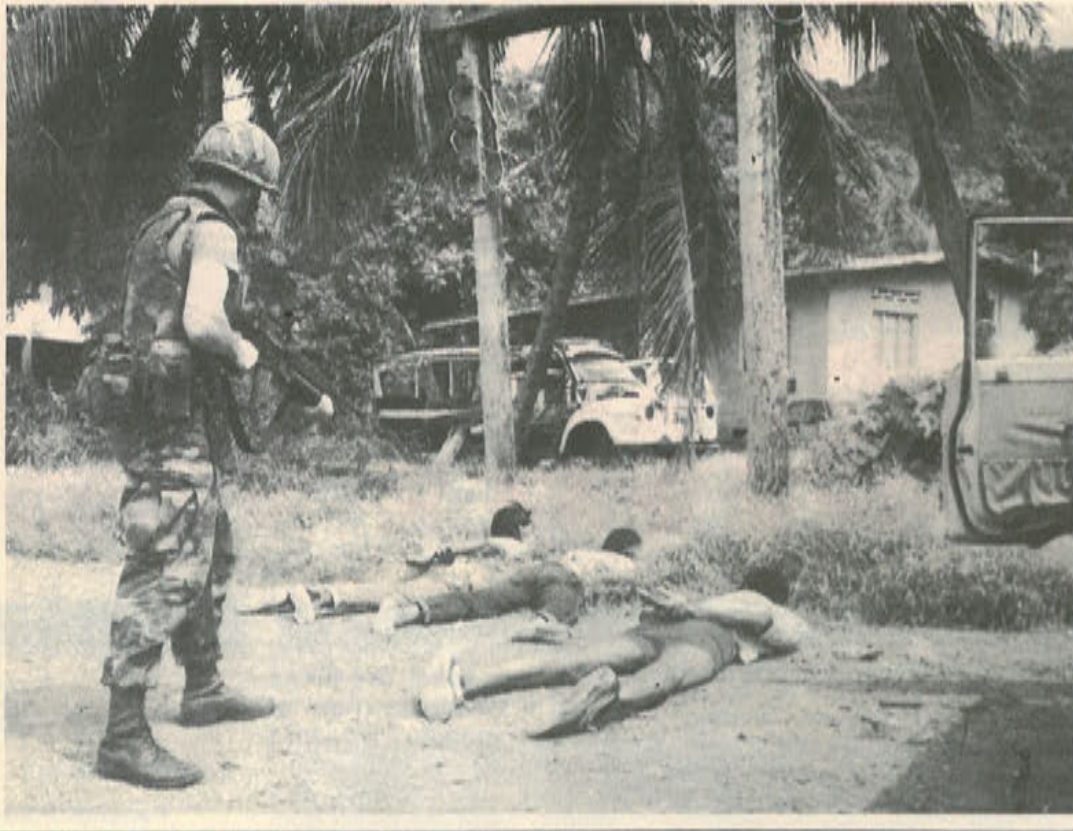
### MILKING CONSUMERS

Last month Congress approved a plan to pay farmers to stop producing milk.

The bill, which passed the House by a vote of 325 to 91, agreed closely with a bill which had already passed the Senate. All of this means rising prices for milk and meat.

A few weeks earlier, the U.S. government announced that 15% of the U.S. population—about 35 million people—live below the official poverty line. □

# U.S. tightens grip on Grenada



## SOCIALIST WORKER ANALYSIS

### REAGAN'S EXCUSE: CUBA AND NICARAGUA

Reagan's stated reason for invading Grenada was to remove a "Cuban-Soviet base" for exporting subversion throughout the Caribbean Basin. With Grenada out of the way, Reagan will concentrate his venom and firepower on Cuba and Nicaragua.

To Reagan, Cuba and Nicaragua are mere puppets whose strings are pulled in Moscow. This is nonsense.

Both regimes are products of indigenous revolutions which overthrew corrupt, U.S.-backed dictatorships.

Until Fidel Castro overthrown the regime of Fulgencio Batista in 1959, Cuba was a floating sugar plantation for the U.S. and a playground for the Mafia.

Nicaragua, from 1912 to 1933, was under almost continuous occupation by the U.S. Marines. On their departure, the U.S. installed in power the Somoza family who ruled the country as their private preserve until the Sandinista revolution of 1979.

#### TESTAMENT

The very existence of the Somoza and Batista regimes was living testament to the type of diplomacy a U.S. official described in 1927.

"We do control the destinies of Central America," said Robert Olds, U.S. Undersecretary of State. "Until now, Central America has always understood that governments which we recognize and support stay in power, while those we do not recognize and support fail."

It was in opposition to such "diplomacy" that

both revolutions occurred. In both countries, essentially nationalist movements bent on economic and social development booted out the U.S. and local exploiters and set up independent nation-states.

#### MASS

For the mass of workers and peasants, this represented an enormous step forward. Living standards rose, and basic social services were provided for the first time.

While these developments represented progressive reforms welcomed by socialists, they did not represent the achievement of socialism in either Cuba or Nicaragua.

While leaders in both countries use Marxist rhetoric to explain and justify their policies, neither country nurtures what Marx defined as socialism: the self-emancipation of the working class. For Marx, only workers themselves could achieve their liberation—through their own actions.

This did not occur in either Nicaragua or Cuba. The Cuban revolution of 1958-1959 was the work of an elite band of guerrillas, mostly middle-class in origin. The Sandinista movement was primarily a front for nationalist regime organizations waging a primarily rural struggle.

#### NATURE

The nature of the revolutions was reflected in the regimes they created. Both resemble Russian state capitalism in which the state controls the economy, and the party bureaucracy controls the state.

In both Cuba and Nicaragua, power is concentrated at the top. In neither country is power based within independent organs of workers' power, such as workers' councils or soviets.

Much of the blame for this situation falls on the U.S. Because of the U.S. blockade of Cuba in 1959, the Cuban economy is still dominated by one export—sugar. Reagan's squeeze on Nicaragua has forced the Sandinistas to impose a siege economy.

These regimes must be defended against U.S. aggression. Their establishment was a severe blow to U.S. capitalism in a region it considered its "backyard." The victories of Castro and the Sandinistas have inspired workers and peasants in the rest of Central America to take up arms against their exploiters. It is for these reasons that Reagan is trying to crush the Nicaraguan regime.

Socialists must support Cuba and Nicaragua unconditionally insofar as they resist the attacks of U.S. imperialism—just as we support Solidarity in Poland or the guerrilla fighters in Afghanistan against Russian imperialism.

But supporting the Cuban and Nicaraguan regimes against Reagan does not mean painting them in socialist colors. That would mean forgetting that the Cubans and Nicaraguans who toil are exploited by a local ruling class they will one day have to overthrow. □

The U.S. has tightened its grip on the tiny island of Grenada. Using a combination of sophisticated propaganda and brute military might, the U.S. is now in full control of Grenada.

It took 16,000 American troops a week to subdue Grenada—6,000 who landed and 10,000 on ships surrounding the island. That is well over 10% of the population of the entire island.

And U.S. troops are to stay on the island at least until after Christmas.

The U.S. is running Grenada through a puppet government headed by Sir Paul Scoon. Scoon had been a loyal servant of the British when Grenada was still a colony, then of Eric Gairy and then of the New Jewel Movement. He is now the loyal servant of the U.S.

Scoon is the person who supposedly "requested" the U.S. to invade the island—even though the U.S. removed him from the island and held him incommunicado for 48 hours on the USS Guam before he made his announcement.

#### COUNCIL

The rest of Scoon's government, a nine-member council, is staffed primarily by western-educated academics and technocrats. Many are not Grenadians at all but instead were imported from the surrounding islands and South America.

No elections have been scheduled.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Army's Psychological Operations corps (Psy-Ops)—100 members strong—is in full control of the island's communications system. It operates the only radio station on the island, broadcasting U.S. propaganda 24 hours a day.

The U.S. troops occupying the island cruise around in jeeps with loudspeakers blaring: "Help send the Cubans back to Havana where they belong!" and "Protect your hard won freedom!"

The face of Bernard Coard, the leader of the coup against Maurice Bishop, appears on posters (made by the U.S.) with an "X" through his face. The caption reads: "These criminals attempted to sell

Grenada to the Communists. Now they have surrendered."

Pictures of "Cuban weapons" at the airport are captioned: "Are these the tools that build civilian airports?"

#### INTERROGATION

In the first two weeks after the invasion, the U.S. set up an interrogation system, and in less than a month they managed to question 1/50th of the Grenadian population. Some of the prisoners were held in 8' x 8' "isolation chambers"—wooden crates—for up to 24 hours before being questioned.

Seeing how popular Maurice Bishop remains on the island, the Psy-Ops are "rehabilitating" him. The U.S. occupying force hails him today as a great leader whose idealism was crushed by the Communists.

This is, of course, utterly cynical. Among the prisoners held in wooden crates is Kenneth Radix, the former Minister of Justice, who is today trying to hold the New Jewel Movement together. He is Bishop's heir. When the U.S. released him, they gave him a card reading: "This person has been released from detention and directed not to engage in any anti-government activities."

The invasion must be condemned. It is an extension of U.S. military and economic domination of the Caribbean.

#### TURN

Grenada, under the Bishop regime, did turn to Cuba and the Soviet Union for help in attempting to develop their tiny country. They also turned to Britain and the European Economic Community who, along with Plessys, were building the civilian airport on the southern end of the island.

The difference between pre-invasion Grenada and post-invasion Grenada is this: Before, the decisions about the future of the island were made on the island. Afterward, and for the foreseeable future, they are being made in Washington.

Grenada cannot now determine its own destiny because the U.S. has occupied the country militarily. □

### GRENADA'S AIRPORT

One of the more absurd reasons Reagan gave for the recent invasion of Grenada was the construction of a "military airport" on the island, allegedly by the Cubans (read Russians). It's odd enough that he would worry about a 10,000 foot runway on a tiny island, but even the builders of the airport found the idea absurd.

Plessey Airports of London—one of the world's largest airport builders—had the contract with Grenada to head airport construction at Port Salines. Plessey's managing director, Derrick Collier, said of the claim that the airport was actually designed for military purposes: "Ridiculous. It's a civilian airport. There is only one runway at Point Salines. With just one runway, military aircraft would be at great risk."

When asked about security Collier said, "A military airport very much requires a secure fuel [storage area] built underground. The present fuel storage tanks . . . stick up like four spikes and are highly visible."

On general design he said, "Does it make sense to build a military airport with a passenger terminal building standing right in the middle of it?"

No. Of course not. But the real question is: Does it make sense for the President of the U.S. to get the jitters over such an airport? No, unless he needs a good excuse for invasion. □

12,000 Greyhound workers are on strike in the most important labor struggle in the U.S. since the PATCO strike. Bill Roberts reports.

# SHOWDOWN AT GREYHOUND

"The rights of all workers are at stake." That sentiment is echoed again and again on picket lines at Greyhound terminals nationwide.

"No doubt about it, they are trying to break the union—just like Patco," said Bruce Burek, a driver-mechanic from Chicago.

Since November 3, more than 12,000 members of the Amalgamated Transit Union have been in a life or death struggle for their union and the right to retain their living standards.

This is the most important strike in the U.S. since PATCO was broken by Reagan in 1981.

Greyhound has drawn a deep divide between the union and the company. They have demanded a 7.8% pay cut. On top of this the company wants to drop its pension participation by 17%. Further, they want to drastically cut medical coverage and holidays.

## LESS

All this and less was offered by to the ATU as the company's "best offer."

"Greyhound called the proposal a 'win-win' situation," said Burek. "A win for them because they keep making big profits; and a win for us because we get to keep our jobs."

"But the proposal is win-win only for Greyhound. For us it's lose, lose, lose."

Greyhound is on the offensive. They claim that 45,000 workers have applied for the unionists' jobs. On November 18, the company began running routes out of 27 cities.

But strong picket lines in Seattle, Boston, Atlanta and Philadelphia stopped scab buses.

The ATU drivers emphasize that scab buses, especially in winter, are extremely dangerous.

"They usually give 6 to 12 weeks training in May when they hire drivers," said John Rogers, another Chicago driver. "That way, new drivers have the whole summer to get experience before bad weather sets in."

"Now they are putting these scabs on the road with two weeks of training? Somebody's going to get hurt."

## OVERPAID

Greyhound says the ATU workers are overpaid. The press has publicized the fact that drivers make \$35,000 per year.

ATU members disagree. "Only the most experienced drivers make over \$30,000 per year. Most of us don't make anywhere near that much. We are wage earners. The average we make is \$9.42 an hour. We are not overpaid," said Burek.

"I've worked here for 27 years," said another driver, "and I make \$31,000. It was 14 years before I ever missed a day. I supported a family of four. I put two kids through college."

Besides the measurable cuts, there are less obvious quality-of-life cuts contained in this union-busting offer. Reduced family time—already a major factor of the 90% turnover rate among new drivers—will increase the strain. The divorce rate for Greyhound workers is already higher than the national aver-

age—suggesting stressful working conditions.

And what will happen to what Los Angeles driver, Larry Arone, calls the "constant" in his job—"the pride."

Clearly the company has already interfered with that "constant." Only a union victory can salvage workers' pride. The company has demonstrated that its commitment is to greed rather than to quality of service.

If there is any doubt that Greyhound wants to bust ATU consider the following:

1. John Teets, chairman of the board of Greyhound corporation, engineered a successful union-busting operation at Wilson Meats, a subsidiary of Greyhound.

2. Two-thirds of the bust operation revenue is made between May and September. The holiday period can easily be written off as a loss incurred for future gain.

## ROUTES

3. Deregulation means the company needs a smaller workforce to maintain the profitable routes. It is estimated that Greyhound plans to prune its workforce by 5%.

4. The package side of the bus operation is competitive with some of the overnight services like UPS within the 500-mile range: Passengers represent a smaller percentage of revenue in today's

market.

Even before the vote on the contract proposal, Greyhound entered the second phase of its scab operation. They added more routes and cities. "This is union busting, pure and simple," said one picket from Boston. "If they get away with this, there is no telling where the concessions will stop. The labor movement has to take a stand right here. Otherwise we're finished."

Picket lies will need to be beefed up with other supporters to make phase two a union victory—not a company success. □

## WHAT GREYHOUND WANTS

Base Salary	7.8% cut
Pension Plan	14% cut
Medical Plan	\$100 deductible total bill. \$26.70 to
COLA	Frozen for
Pensioners	Lost 3% a
Holidays	Give up

## WHAT WE WANT

It did not take many days of walking the picket line and listening to company propaganda before strikers saw this as a showdown strike.

Larry Arone, a Los Angeles driver, in a guest article for the *Los Angeles Times*, put it this way, "I am foolish, because I don't think that there will be a settlement of this strike. . . I am just one driver on the picket line. I feel despair for my family, its security. I know that defeat is in the air."

Leaving aside the obvious purpose of circulating such a sentiment, it nevertheless expresses a problem to be overcome if the strikers are to win. Isolation must be fought. Solidarity must be built.

The Greyhound strike is unique only in that it is one of the largest union busts happening as the economy shows signs of expanding. Hundreds of smaller strikes have been defeated over the last three years.

## STRENGTH

The real question facing Greyhound workers is how to organize their real strength.

The ATU is only as strong as its organization on the job. If the union is weak at the workplace, it is weak in any showdown with management.

It is possible to build a strong union in the course of a strike. But it will require a concerted effort by those who understand the import-

ance of strong picket lines, involving other unions and labor supporters, in countering every corporate argument with regular strike bulletins.

The Greyhound Corporation does not stand alone on their side of this fight. They have already used the courts to limit the number of pickets in several cities—including San Francisco, Philadelphia and Boston.

Their friends who own the press have helped them spread the distortions about incomes for Greyhound workers, as well as characterize picket line militancy as violence.

Then there are the huge assets available to a giant like Greyhound that can carry their resolve for a long time.

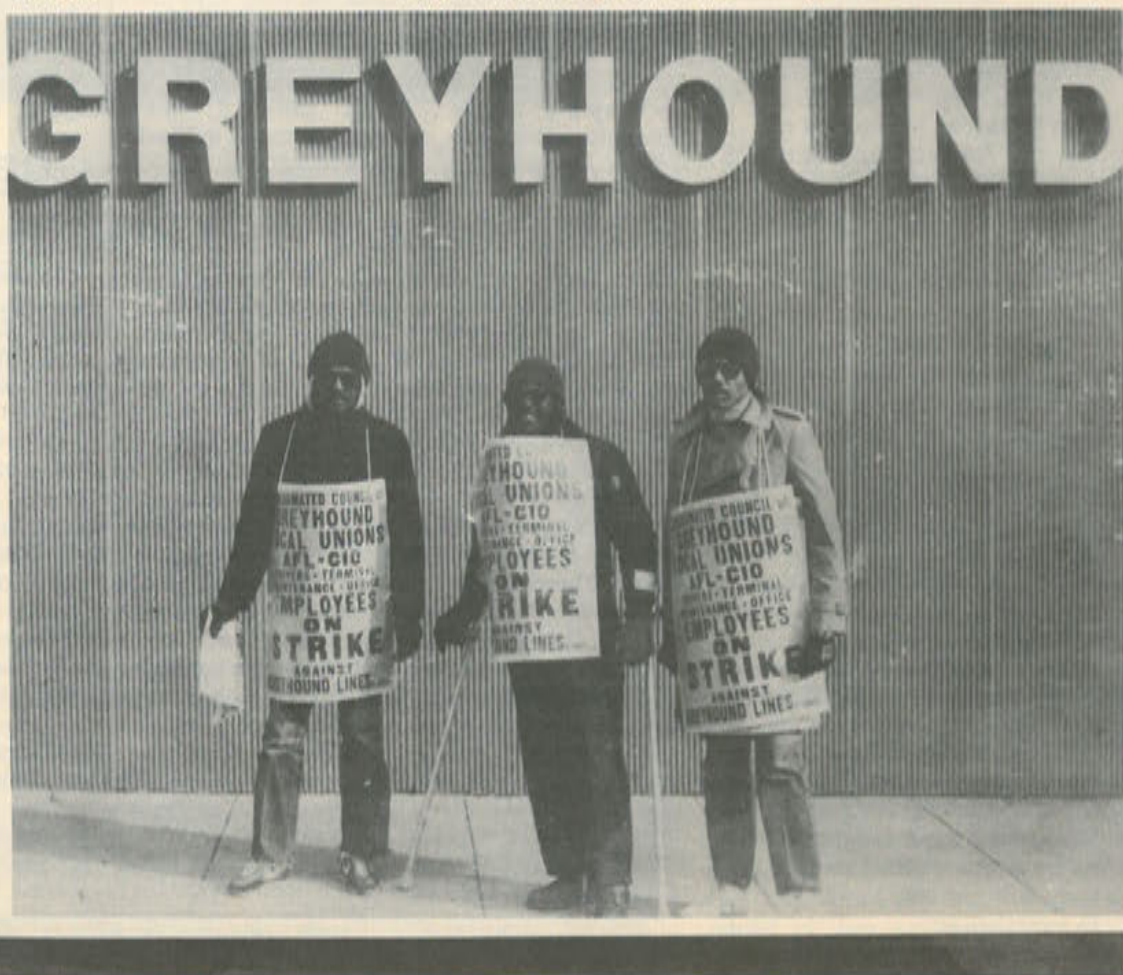
After all, Greyhound management received 8 percent raises on the day the strike started to help see them through the fight.

And if they need to borrow from other subsidiaries of the corporation or from the banks, you can be sure they will have no problem.

## SUPPORTERS

Greyhound strikers must begin immediately to beef up their picket lines. This will require an all-out effort to get other unionists and supporters out there too. The effort in Boston and Philadelphia needs to be the rule, not the exception.

It is important to build morale. Mass picket lines will go a long way to help fight despair and isolation.





# DOWN AND

## KEYHOUND PICKETS

Third year of contract...  
 1/2 years...  
 annual raise...  
 of them

# HINK

They will also send a signal to corporate America. But what is needed to win this strike is for Greyhound's scab busses to be shut down. This can only be done with mass, well-organized picket lines.

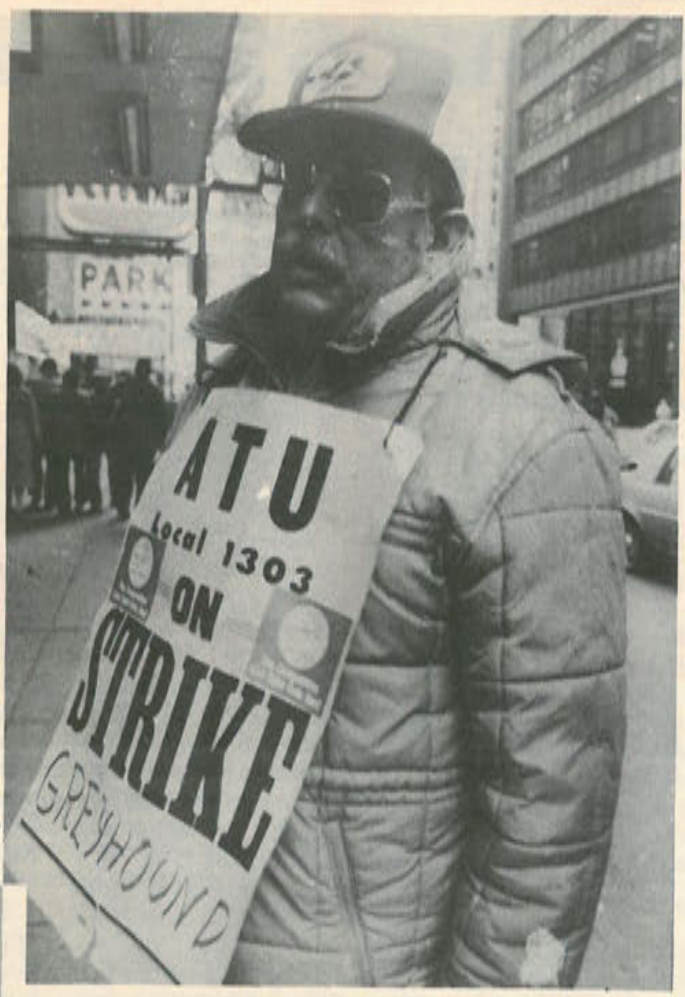
### ACTIONS

The union leadership—from its own actions—is showing that it is not willing to do what is necessary to win this strike. The head of the Wayne County (Detroit) AFL-CIO, Tom Turner, stated publicly that "outsiders" should stay away from picket lines. In Boston, ATU officials were pleased when the courts limited the numbers of pickets. And Lane Kirkland—head of the AFL-CIO—as during the PATCO strike—has done nothing to aid the strikers. If this strike is to be won, it will be won on the picket lines—otherwise it will be lost. And Greyhound is pitting the unemployed against the strikers. The ATU needs to support a better deal for the unemployed. Special leaflets for job seekers should be available at every picket line. Greyhound has turned up the heat in this strike. If the ATU is to win, they will have to match fire with fire. An escalation—on the picket lines—is the only lever to force a victory at the bargaining table. □

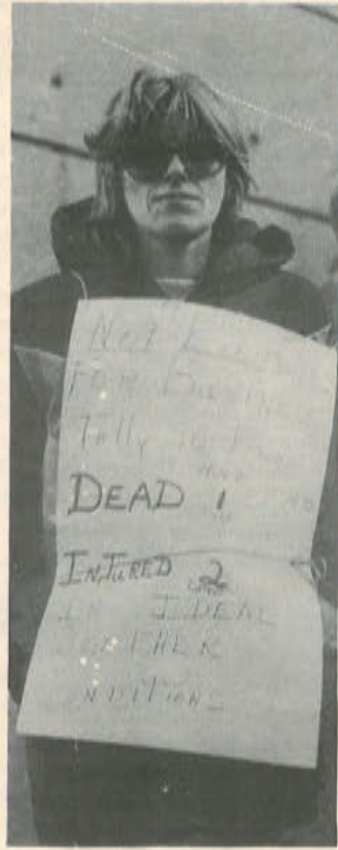
## A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A DRIVER

**Day 1 —**  
 4:00 a.m. Dispatcher calls driver at home for 6:00 a.m. standby.  
 6:00 a.m. Second bus does not run, hold for 8:00 a.m. standby.  
 8:00 a.m. Drive second bus of scheduled run 300 miles... arrive.  
 2:30 p.m. Go to bed.  
 10:30 p.m. Called by dispatcher for special charter because airport is fogged down.

**Day 2 —**  
 12:00 a.m. Drive from nearest airport to airport 200 miles away.  
 4:30 a.m. Arrive at second airport, discharge passengers and dead head (drive empty bus) to next city and standby for two hours.  
 7:30 a.m. "Cushion" home—ride regular route bus back to home city, arrive 11:30 a.m.  
 11:30 a.m. - 7:30 p.m. Go to bed for eight hours and on call again.



PATCO's defeat was a severe setback for labor. It resulted from a lack of solidarity.



Left: Pickets in Washington. Top: Full time driver in Chicago. Middle: PATCO strikers in New York. Above: Package Express worker.

## On the line in Boston

**BOSTON, MA**—An ironworker walking the Greyhound picket line summed it up: "We should have supported PATCO because now one by one unions are going down the tubes. They're trying to take away things that took 100 years to get." A few hundred workers from a variety of Boston workplaces started coming down to the Greyhound picket line when the busses began to roll—to show the strikers their solidarity. On November 17, over 50 workers from various unions—including ironworkers, construction, hotel and transit workers—were arrested for trying to stop Greyhound buses from rolling by sitting and lying down in front of them outside the Greyhound terminal in Boston.

### SWELLED

The next day the picket line swelled to 250 workers as construction workers from nearby building sites left their jobs to support the picket line. Over 20 workers were arrested. Two electrical workers were hospitalized after one fell under a

by **PAUL D'AMATO** and **JOE ALLEN**

bus and another was trampled by a policeman's horse. On Tuesday, November 22, 30 people were arrested inside the terminal for trying to prevent passengers from boarding the buses by sitting down in front of the departure gate. The following day, over 5,000 workers rallied at Copley Square near the Greyhound terminal in support of the strikers. The rally was sponsored by the state AFL-CIO. Solidarity is the basic theme in Boston. When striking Teamsters from an Anheuser Busch plant in Cambridge came to the picket line, they chanted: "No Bud, No Buses and No More PATCOs." A driver from a private bus company who came down to support the strike said, "The government takes half of my paycheck and I don't have a say where it goes. They send U.S. marines to Lebanon and Caribbean islands. They talk with split tongues. They support Solidarity in Poland and

crush workers' solidarity here. I'm not for the goddamn rich in this country."

### SOLIDARITY

Solidarity such as this is what is needed to win this strike, but the AFL-CIO is unwilling to lead such a fight-back. The ATU agreed to limit the number of pickets and the AFL-CIO State Labor Council followed suit by announcing that it would coordinate the activities of other unions supporting the strike to ensure that the agreement was honored. John Doherty, ATU vice-president, said about the limitations, "It does not hurt our strength. It gives us some order and we have not had much order." The Greyhound strikers don't need "more order" to win their strike. They need a continuation of the militant picketing that marked the early days of the strike. As the days and weeks pass, rank and file organization and solidarity on the part of other workers will become ever more essential. If the Greyhound drivers lose, we all lose. □

# CONGRESS KILLS THE ERA . . . AGAIN

Last month the House of Representatives rejected an amendment which read: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The wording is simple and fairly innocuous. There was no mention of unisex toilets or of women in combat. But the amendment carried with it the baggage of its name—the Equal Rights Amendment.

A bloc of Democratic representatives had decided to make a sudden move for its passage with a suspension of normal rules by limiting discussion to 40 minutes and by barring any modification of the amendment.

## BACKFIRE

The tactic backfired. A two-thirds majority vote was necessary for passage, and the vote—278-147—was 6 votes short of that mark.

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

This is yet another ridiculous and disheartening chapter of the ERA's long history.

The ERA was first introduced in Congress in 1923. It then passed the House in 1947 but was defeated by the Senate in 1948. In 1950 the Senate passed a watered-down version, but the House failed to pass it.

In response to the women's movement of the 1960s and early 1970s, both houses of Congress passed the ERA, thus sending it to the legislatures of the 50 states for ratification by at least 38 states in order to make it part of the constitution.

By the end of 1972, 22 states had ratified the ERA. In 1973, eight more states ratified, but Nebraska became the first state to rescind its ratification. In 1974, as the women's movement waned, a mere four

states ratified and one more rescinded. No states voted to ratify in 1975 or 1976. And then in 1977, one state ratified but three states rescinded.

## CAMPAIGN

Finally, in 1982, after 10 years of a one-issue campaign which dominated the efforts of the National Organization for Women, the ratification period expired, leaving the ERA three states short of the 38 required for passage.

The campaign ate up millions of dollars in lobbying and campaigns to elect Democratic candidates supporting the ERA, no matter how bad they might be on other issues. Many of these "good" candidates were anti-abortion or anti-labor.

The campaign for passage of the ERA never organized or even oriented to the vast numbers of working women who could have ensured its success. Instead, with its expen-



sive fund-raising parties and its electoral approach, the campaign oriented toward professional and upper-middle class women for whom participation meant an occasional cocktail party or campaigning.

## TRAGIC

The failure of the effort is especially tragic in light of the fact that well over 70% of the U.S. population still supports passage of the ERA. It is no coincidence that Congress passed the amendment and thirty states quickly ratified it while the women's movement was still strong and vocal.

The saga of the ERA—complete with filibustering and legislative maneuvers—will probably continue. But it will not stand much chance of success until a movement emerges which addresses the real concerns of working women—including equal pay, affirmative action, reproductive rights and day care.

Our "representatives" in Congress and the state legislatures will only decide to recognize women as full citizens when they are forced to by a movement of working women which is demanding far more than a simple sentence in the constitution. □

## Abortion clinics close under threat

Dear Socialist Worker,

Several Cincinnati abortion clinics were closed over the Thanksgiving weekend—not because of the holiday but because of the increased possibility of attack on the clinics and patients.

In nearby Erlanger, Kentucky, the National Pro-Life Youth Coalition was holding its convention. This group is just one part of the anti-abortion movement whose tactics range from sending Senators red roses to fire-bombing abortion clinics filled with patients.

One of the convention speakers, Joseph Scheidler has led clinic disruptions in a number of cities. In Toledo, Scheidler, along with local activists, dumped garbage cans full of red paint and dolls on the steps of a clinic. In Pittsburgh, again with the help of local supporters, he shouted through a bullhorn, harassing patients as they entered an abortion clinic.

By closing their doors, the Cincinnati clinic directors hoped to avoid similar incidents, but they also helped to accomplish the goals of the anti-women forces.

The Alliance for Reproductive Rights/Cincinnati used its phone tree to alert supporters of the situation. People were

prepared to confront anti-abortionists if they showed up at any of the clinics, but there were no incidents at the clinics that weekend.

There was, however, some interesting activity at the convention site. Several pro-choice activists entered the convention chanting and tossing leaflets. We also dumped a tangled pile of coat hangers in the main lobby. The coat hangers represented one of the many dangerous objects women have used when they could not get safe abortions.

The leaflets and coat hangers also made a large mess that the conventioners had to deal with before they could continue. We also covered many anti-abortion bumper stickers with pro-choice stickers. Our reception varied from silent glares to one man who kept shouting, "You crazy women, you crazy women, get out of here, you crazy women."

We're not crazy, but we are fed up with being on the defensive, always waiting for the other side to take action against women. It felt great to take the initiative and show that we won't sit passively when women's rights are threatened.

K.S.  
Cincinnati, OH

## DISAPPOINTING COVERAGE

Dear Socialist Worker:

In general Socialist Worker's international coverage is good, but your November coverage of the Grenada invasion and Central American issues was disappointing.

It is one thing to argue that socialism cannot be imposed from above and that even a socialist revolution cannot survive in an underdeveloped country. I agree. It is another to imply that popular movements and struggles in these countries can change nothing, and this is what

your treatment of the situation in Grenada did.

Perhaps this is also why your coverage of U.S. intervention in the region narrated events but lacked political analysis. What are workers fighting for in Central America? What can they achieve and how?

If you do not deal with these issues, you end up sounding more like trade union isolationists than international socialists.

Bob Buchanan,  
Madison, WI

# Letters

Socialist Worker wants to hear from you: Send in your letters!



## Asbestos: A known killer for 75 years

Dear Socialist Worker:

I always enjoy reading "Doctor Dena's" column. I found her article on asbestos particularly interesting since I work with the stuff.

Among my trade, insulation workers, 1 in 5 will die from lung cancer, 1 in 10 from cancer of the lining of the stomach or lungs, and 1 in 10 due to lungs scarred by asbestos.

The Heat, Frost and Asbestos workers of Local 16 in the Bay Area have lost over 50% of their members due to some asbestos related cancer.

And as Dr. Dena pointed out, it not only affects us, but our family and friends, as well, with the fibers we bring home on our work clothes, body hair, lunch boxes and under our fingernails.

Asbestos dust has been

found in the households of former asbestos workers 20 years after the plant at which they worked had closed.

Despite the knowledge of its dangers (American and Canadian insurance companies quit insuring asbestos workers in 1918), production of asbestos continues to rise—from 50,000 tons annually in 1940 to over 3 million tons annually today.

Asbestos is found in virtually every work place. Products containing it are common in homes, schools, cars, public buildings, everywhere. Indirectly everyone faces the possibility of being exposed to asbestos.

Because of the 10-40 year lapse between the time of original exposure to the development of an asbestos-related disease, the health effects of the past years are just now

starting to surface.

The crime of it is that it has been 75 years since the recognition of asbestos, and we're still having to fight the employers for protection, treatment and compensation.

Larry Brown  
Oakland, CA

P.S. Next time you read about the Manvill Corp. filing for bankruptcy to protect itself from suits of its former employees who were exposed to asbestos, think about Tommy Manville, heir to the Manvill Corp. fortune:

He lived quite the fast life, squandering his money on huge estates, yachts, fancy cars, expensive clothes, and women (13 of whom he managed to marry). He, unlike many of his workers, lived to the ripe old age of 74. □

# "no power greater"

BY NANCY MACLEAN



# The uprising of the 20,000

*In the black of the winter of nineteen nine,  
When we froze and bled on the picket line,  
We showed the world that women could fight  
And we rose as one with one woman's might.*

"The Uprising of the 20,000," declared one observer in 1910, was "probably the greatest struggle for unionism among women the world has ever seen." Exaggeration or not, it was the first massive strike of women workers in the United States and had important consequences for the entire labor movement.

This 1909-1910 general strike in the New York City garment industry set off a three year wave of strikes in the clothing and textile industries and helped lay the foundation for industrial unionism in America.

No one anticipated the uprising of the 20,000. In fact, most trade unionists of the time, and the AFL as a whole, insisted that women were "unorganizable." This was based on a combination of sexist assumptions and reality.

## WAGES

Women workers, then as now, could get jobs in only a few industries—mainly in clothing and textiles. Only one-fifth of women worked for wages in 1910, and only 1.5% of those were union members. Most were immigrants with 90% unmarried and one-half under 25 years of age. A third of all wage-earning women worked as domestics and a fourth of them were employed in the garment or textile industries.

For workers in the clothing and textile trades, the hours were so long, the conditions so desperate and the industries so competitive and unstable that the unions found it almost impossible to hold on to the scattered gains they won. The situation was so dismal that during the recession of 1908, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), the main union in the women's clothing trade, considered disbanding.

Then, slowly, the outlook began to change. Women workers in one small shop, Rosen Brothers, won a strike in the summer of 1909. Their victory inspired similar strikes in two of the larger garment factories in the fall.

The employers in these fac-



*They used to say that you couldn't even organize women. They wouldn't come to union meetings. They were temporary workers... Well, we showed them.*



tories, however, were determined to crush the strikes, and the young women realized they could not win their battle alone. They appealed to the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), the self-described "industrial arm of the women's movement."

Together, the strikers and the WTUL leafleted, recruited volunteers for picket duty, held street meetings and protest marches and spread news of the strike throughout the trade and the city.

By November 22, 1909 they had aroused enough sympathy to call for a mass protest meeting. At this meeting, many union officials spoke about the condition of the trade, but they offered few concrete measures to aid the strikers.

Finally, Clara Lemlich, a 16-year-old leader who had been beaten and arrested in the strike, interrupted a speaker and asked from the floor:

"I have listened to all the speakers," she said. "I have no more patience for talk, as I am one of those who feel and suffer from the things described. I move we go on a general strike."

## THOUSANDS

The thousands of young dressmakers in the audience jumped to their feet and endorsed the motion with wild applause.

The enthusiasm of the young women workers, most of whom were no more than 20-years-old, astonished all



the observers. 18,000 women left their shops on the first day alone. By the third day, over 25,000 workers were out, 80% of them women.

## STOP

The strike affected over 500 shops and virtually stopped production in the national center of the garment trade. Within a few days, half of the strikers had won union contracts and better wages and conditions. The union strategy—which proved to be mistaken—was to settle with different factories on a piecemeal basis. They took this approach because they expected a quick victory.

The larger employers, however, were determined to fight it out. They formed a manufacturers' association and vowed to wait out the strike and crush the union. Still the remaining strikers held firm.

For 13 bitter weeks in the dead of winter, and with only meager strike funds, these young women maintained their picket lines and their solidarity. The opposition of employers, over 100 arrests and scores of jail terms suffered by the picketers and the backsliding of the international leadership failed to deter the women. These things just convinced them that, as striker Fanny Zinsher put it, "The boss wants to get the most out of the workers, and our only hope of a decent living is in sticking together."

Yet unity and determination alone cannot sustain a strike

under such difficult conditions. Scores of earlier strikes among women workers had suffered defeat despite the heroism of the strikers themselves.

What distinguished the uprising of the 20,000 from these others was that this strike had the support of the socialist movement and a section of the women's movement committed to working women.

## COMBINATION

This was a new combination in the labor movement, and its success could be measured not only by its presence in the New York strike, but also by its absence in other places.

In Philadelphia, for example, a sympathy strike occurred, but the socialist and women's movements were weaker there, and without adequate support, the strikers succumbed to the tremendous odds.

In New York, by contrast, there was support from the start. Socialists and women from the WTUL helped the strikers raise money and win public support, while doing picket duty and organizational work as well. The socialist and immigrant labor press gained the solidarity of other workers and trade unions. The WTUL mobilized the support of women through clubs and unions. It was this encouragement and practical support from the socialists and the WTUL that enabled the strikers to continue in their fight.

What was most important about the socialists and the

feminists was that they were part of larger and active movements, with members numbering in the tens of thousands in New York City alone. These movements provided experience and models of organizing and collective action for the women workers.

## RESULTS

The results were impressive although strikers in some of the large shops had to return to work without union contracts. The strike had achieved a great deal. Where prior to the uprising of the 20,000 only 3% of the dressmakers were union members, by mid-December, 85% were.

As strike leader Pauline Newman recalled proudly, "We really laid the foundation for the present structure of the International. All the others followed suit."

Using the industry-wide general strike as the means, the young women had shown that unskilled immigrant workers could be organized. Their actions sparked several years of similar strikes up and down the east coast. From these came the mass base of the ILG and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

Most important, this record showed that women could become among the most dedicated and militant of union members when organizers took them seriously and used methods suited to their needs.

Female union membership multiplied five times over between 1910 and 1920, and, as a result, the clothing industry itself changed from one of the least organized to one of the most organized.

## STRUGGLES

If the young women who fought these struggles were alive today, they would hardly recognize the bureaucratic and corrupt ILG as the forward-looking, fighting union they had worked so hard to build. Still, they left behind a tradition from which today's unionists, socialists and feminists can learn.

As Clara Lemlich, the young revolutionary, proudly remembered years later: "They used to say that you couldn't even organize women. They wouldn't come to union meetings. They were temporary workers... Well, we showed them." □

# WHERE WE STAND

## WORKERS' CONTROL

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

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

## REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

## A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

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

## FIGHT OPPRESSION

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

## BLACK LIBERATION

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

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

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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

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

## RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

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

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

## INTERNATIONALISM

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

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

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

## REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

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

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



# What's ON

### BALTIMORE

Alan Maass on *Orwell on the Eve of 1984*. December 2 at 7:30 pm. 3003 N. Charles, Apartment 5-B.

### BOSTON

Brian Kelley on *Socialism From Below*. December 4 at 7:30 pm. Call 427-7087 for details.

### CINCINNATI

Lance Selfa and Ahmed Shawki on *U.S. Interventionism*. December 3 at 7:30 pm.

Study Group Series: *Introduction to Marxist Economics*.

*Introduction to the ISO*. Call 871-1371 for details.

### CHICAGO

Ahmed Shawki on *The War in Lebanon*. December 1. Call 288-7572 for info.

*Fundraising Party*. December 17. Call 288-7572 for details.

### CLEVELAND

Sharon Smith on *The Lessons of Solidarnosc*. December 10 at 7:30 pm. for details call 651-5935.

### MADISON

Ahmed Shawki on *The War in Lebanon*. December 15 at 7:30 pm. Call 256-8196 for more information.

### NEW YORK

Christina Bergmark on *Why the Working Class*. December 9.

Christina Bergmark on *Black Democrats*. December 11. Call 280-6925 for

## ISO FUND APPEAL

This winter, the ISO is conducting a fund drive to raise the amount of \$5,000. This money will make a big difference for our group—in helping us finance the cost of producing *Socialist Worker*, as well as our other political activities.

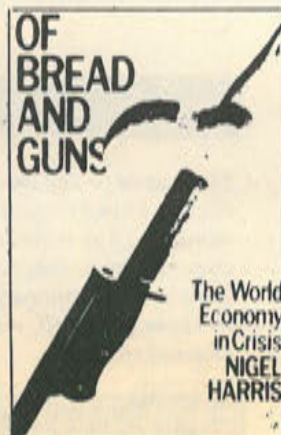
ISO branches will be organizing fund-raising activities to help raise money, as well as digging into their own pockets.

But we are also asking you, a *Socialist Worker* reader, to help us out, if you can.

Can you make a donation, large or small? Anything you can give will help us to achieve our goal of \$5,000.

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

Thank you.



Available from  
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times and places.

### ROCHESTER

Brian Erway on *U.S. War in Central America*. Rochester Institute of Technology, December 7 at 8:00 pm. How Marxism Works Series: *Introductory Meeting*. December 15 at 8:00 p.m. Call 235-3049 for details.

### SAN FRANCISCO

David Siddle on *the Battle for the Middle East*. De-

December 4 at 6:00 pm.

*Holiday Party*. December 17 at 8:00 pm.

Study Group on the Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx: *Marx's Method*. December 18 at 6:00 pm. Call 285-1908 for details.

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

— Karl Marx

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

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

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

## HOLIDAY GIFTS FROM

# HERA PRESS

## BOOKS ARE WEAPONS

Once again, Hera Press is offering holiday specials on a variety of items.

Datebooks are always popular gifts this time of year, and the 1984 *Socialist Worker Diary* will help activists keep their appointments. The Diary's three themes are the life of Lenin, working class history and political dates in the upcoming year. Cost: \$6.00.

Send revolutionary greetings with Socialist Worker greeting cards. A new set of eight cards features reproductions of working class posters from 19th century England to revolutionary Russia to the Paris uprisings of May 1968. A bargain at \$2.50.

Of course, books make great gifts.

One of the top holiday season sellers of last year was Chris Harman's *The Lost Revolution*, the first full account in English of the defeated German struggle for socialism in 1918-1923. Harman explains Lenin's statement that "without Germany we are lost," showing how the German defeat isolated the fledgling Russian workers' state.

*Lenin*, Tony Cliff's four volume political biography, assesses the revolutionary leader's contributions to the international socialist movement. The first volume charts Lenin's emergence as a principle figure in a mass working class party. Volume Two begins with the crumbling of the European socialist organizations on the eve of

World War One and ends with the establishment of workers' power in Russia in October, 1917. The third volume details the revolution's isolation and bureaucratic decline, and the final volume describes the attempt to spread the revolution beyond Russia. Special offer: all four volumes for only \$30.00.

The contributions of Trotsky are critically assessed in John Molyneux's *Leon Trotsky's Theory of Revolution*, specially priced paperback edition is just \$13.75.

Those who want a concise introduction to Trotsky's ideas will be interested in Duncan Hallas' *Trotsky's Marxism*, a paperback for \$5.95.

Nigel Harris' *Of Bread and Guns* is of more topical interest as global recession and the arms race continue. His examination of the world economy is must reading for those who

want to understand the causes of today's economic crisis—and for those who want to change it. This paperback sells for \$6.95.

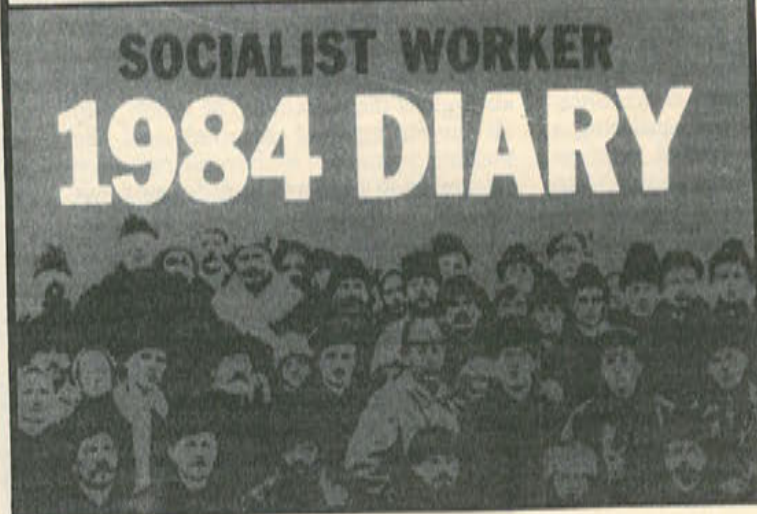
Phil Evans' *Jokeworks* contains over 400 cartoons by Britain's best-known left cartoonist. Only \$6.95.

Pamphlets from Hera Press include *Marxism and Black Liberation*, featuring essays by Tony Bagues and C.L.R. James on the relationship between socialist organization and Black movements. These are \$1.50 each.

Joan Smith's *Women and the Family* (\$.50) analyzes women's oppression under capitalism.

To order from Hera Press, and to get a catalogue of other titles, write to P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60616. Orders over \$10.00 get a special 10 percent discount—and postage is on us!

Featuring Lenin and important dates.



Post cards, package of eight, glossy. \$2.50.

### OUR NORMAN

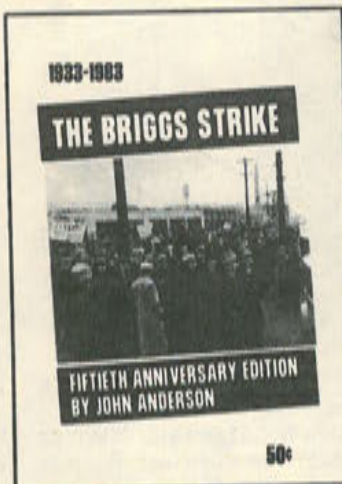


The Phil Evans workweek poster. \$1.50.

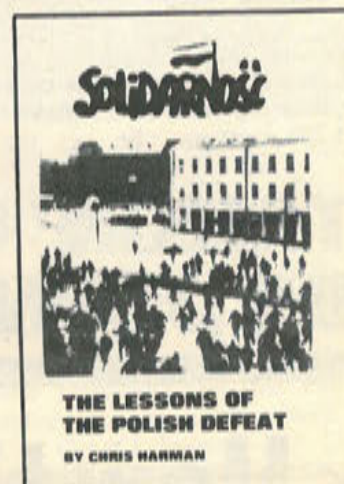
### The revolutionary ideas of MARX



The author argues that, 100 years after Karl Marx's death, his ideas are still relevant. \$7.95.



The story of the auto strike that helped spark industrial unionism. \$.50.



Europe's largest post-war workers' movement was crushed. This pamphlet attempts to answer why. \$2.00.



A selection of speeches and essays by the revolutionary Black leader. \$2.50.



A women's liberation classic by the Bolshevik leader. \$.50.



An analysis of the Cuban regime and an explanation of why state capitalism developed on the island. \$2.00.



on the picket line

# Auto workers score partial victory against Chrysler

**TWINSBURG, OH**—Striking over working conditions some likened to "slave labor," autoworkers at the Chrysler Corp.'s stamping plant in November scored a partial victory with a week-long walkout last month.

The workers, represented by Local 122 of the United Auto Workers, must still work mandatory overtime. But the November 6 settlement requires Chrysler to grant every third weekend off to any worker who wants it. Other union gains include the reformation of break-time per shift from 24 to 36 minutes and an increase of sanitation and clean-up measures.

## MANY

The 50-60 hour weeks have exhausted many of the plants' 3,200 workers who say the



extreme fatigue caused Richard A. Lake to be crushed to death on October 17.

"I've worked 1,300 hours since May (to November)," a union member said. "We're tired. We're worn out. We just want the day off."

Chrysler shut down several

other plants during the strike, claiming that they could not operate without the auto doors produced in Twinsburg.

The corporation claimed that a strike would "bankrupt" the company—even though its \$582.6 million profit in the first 9 months of 1983

*According to Steve Yokich, UAW vice president: From February to July of this year the overtime hours worked in auto would have provided employment to an average of 55,000 workers, and cut indefinite layoffs by one-fourth.*

shattered the 1976 record profit of \$422.6 million for an entire year. Clearly, the company could afford the work rules changes that the union demanded.

## BREAK

But the workers will not be able to take the weekend break until January. And while they continue to work 60-hour weeks, 200 laid off Twinsburg workers stand idle.

The Twinsburg strike prevented Chrysler from worsening plant working conditions, but it did nothing to protect job security.

As one Twinsburg worker put it, "I don't care anything about more lavatories on the floor. I just want to know if I can work for the next 10 years." □



## HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

by MATT FILSINGER

### MURDER

More than 100,000 workers die each year in the U.S. from occupational diseases like asbestosis, silicosis, etc. At least 10,000 per year die from "accidents" at work like electrocution or being crushed by heavy equipment.

Yet when the owners of a small Chicago area company were recently charged with murder in the death of an employee, this was the first time such charges were brought against a boss in this country.

On February, 10, 1983, Stefan Golab, a 61-year-old Polish immigrant employed by Film Recovery systems, died of cyanide poisoning. He was recovering silver from used X-ray film by dipping the film into a solution which produced cyanide fumes. The workers had not been told what they were working with.

None of them had been provided with any safety equipment. In fact, the bosses were so determined to hide the hazards of the gas that they removed the skull-and-crossbones labels from the barrels of material.

The plant was described by the district attorney as "a huge gas chamber."

To further insure that they would get away with providing the worst possible working conditions, the company hired non-English speaking and foreign-born workers—many of them illegal aliens who feared deportation if they complained about conditions.

Finally, showing up 11 days after the death, OSHA found 17 violations and fined the company a total of \$2425. The company decided to shut down that day, and has not paid the fines to this date. It is believed that these same company officials have operated similar plants in Texas, Colorado, Florida and perhaps elsewhere.

### WHAT'S IN A NAME?

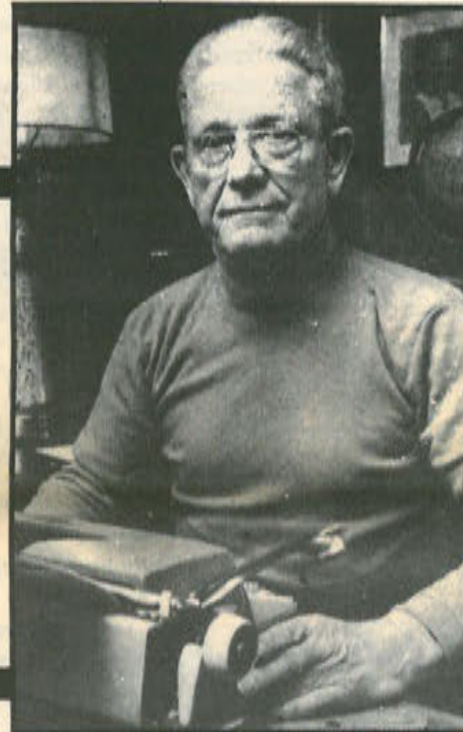
The head of the Asbestos Information Association, which represents the asbestos companies, is named Robert Pigg.

### USEFUL TRAINING

According to Dr. Linda Morse (San Francisco General Hospital, Occupational Health Clinic), during their 4 years of medical school, physicians receive only 2 to 4 hours of training in Occupational Health . . . and over 200 hours in tropical diseases! □

## TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

# How the UAW became dominated by bureaucrats



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

To give young workers a better understanding of the problems of the UAW today, I have decided to write a series of articles on the history of one union. The lessons of the past—both the victories and the defeats—remain important for us today. Only if we understand our history can we hope to avoid the pitfalls and seize the opportunities open to us.

Everyone has heard of the big sit-down strikes of the 1930s. But few know that after conducting a successful strike to win bargaining rights in General Motors in 1937, the rank and file lost control of their union. This happened because bureaucrats emerged to run the union, and there was no working class party loyal to the interests of the rank and file.

John L. Lewis played an important role in the negotiations with GM while Governor Frank Murphy and Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to break the strike by having the strikers leave the plants before they had gained exclusive bargaining rights for the UAW.

### REFUSAL

Despite the strikebreaking role of the national guard and the refusal of Roosevelt to say a word in support of the strike, both the Communist Party and the Socialist Party praised the role of Roosevelt and Murphy in the strike. Both parties became supporters of Roosevelt and other liberal Democrats.

As a representative of Fleetwood Fisher body at a ratification conference in Detroit, I spoke against ratification. Since there was no reference to shop stewards in the agreement, I knew that shop stewards would not be recognized

as bargaining representatives of the workers.

When Walter Reuther advocated work stoppages if any foremen refused to recognize stewards, the delegates went ahead and voted for the agreement.

### DEMAND

On February 16, 1937, Ed Hall and Windham Mortimer, left representatives in the union, began negotiating a new agreement. They agreed to drop the demand of a steward system and to accept the committee system proposed by the company. Because I had been so effective in arguing for the stewards system in the earlier meeting, I was not notified of a meeting held on March 13.

Hall and Mortimer not only agreed to drop the demand of the stewards system but also agreed to a no-strike clause. The number of committee members was limited to five in Fleetwood, where the plant has six floors covering four square blocks.

The Buick plant in Flint—with 20,000 workers—was limited to 9 committee members, and the activities of those committee members were severely restricted. As chairman of the shop committee, I had to work at my job as a metal finisher unless called on a grievance. Often when the workers called for their representatives, the foreman refused or delayed in calling them.

There was little the workers could do because of the no-strike clause, which was being used by the company to remove militants from positions of leadership. Two of the UAW leaders in Lansing were fired by the company and

expelled from the union for leading an unauthorized strike.

Leaders of the Socialist Party and Communist Party were more interested in toasting the union after it was recognized than in carrying on the class struggle of the workers. The union, built on the strength of the rank and file, became dominated by bureaucrats more interested in preserving order and getting along with management than with organizing the rank and file in the fight for its own interests.

As a result, the UAW lost several battles. In May, 1937, a strike at the Yale and Towne Company was broken. It was a unit of Local 174 of which Reuther was president. Mass picketing was discouraged by the local leadership. Some 400 workers, most of them women, lost their jobs.

### EFFORT

A year later, a strike at the American Brass Company was broken. It too was a unit of Local 174, and here again there was no effort to mobilize mass pickets.

The Roosevelt depression of 1938-1940 brought massive layoffs in the auto plants. Many of the militants who had worked for the UAW were laid off after being removed or defeated for office. In November, 1937, I was defeated for chairman of the shop committee by Frenchy Thibau, a supporter of right-winger Father Coughlin. More conservative forces gained control in the plants. □



**SOLIDARITY: THE WAY TO WIN**

**Federal Stamping strikers fight take-backs**

**ROCHESTER, NY**—As of November 1, UAW Local 1134 has been out on strike against the Federal Stamping Co.'s Rochester plant. The strike is the result of the new contract proposal by Federal Stamping calling for a \$1-\$2 wage cut from the plant's pressroom employees—who are the majority of the company's 42 shopfloor workers—to \$6.80 an hour.

The contract was voted down 39 to 3.

Federal Stamping produces tool metal accessories for assembly in various products mostly at local levels. The workers at the company's Rochester plant have been represented by the UAW since 1956.

They last struck 7 years ago over a similar dispute. The 7½ week strike was followed by the laying off of the most union-active employees. The union refuses to be broken, though.

**CONTINUE**

Unlike the last strike, management is prepared to continue stamping and shipping partially—by promoting three new foremen from the shop floor.

But the company hasn't hired any scabs yet and although private trucks have crossed the picket line, some of its local contracts are in jeopardy. UAW and Teamsters locals are showing full support of the strike and are honoring the picket line.

by **JACK PORCELLO**

Further negotiations have been little more than token. The union offered a 90-day extension of the old contract which the company refused. Then three weeks into the strike the company offered a second contract. This time they offered less severe cuts in actual wages, but they demanded the giving up of two paid vacation days to be replaced with five unpaid personal days. They also proposed to replace Blue Cross-Blue Shield coverage with a cheaper health plan. This contract was voted down 22 to 15.

**STARVE**

Federal Stamping believes that they can simply starve out their employees after a few weeks of their being on strike. But it seems that they fail to understand that after 6 short weeks, their unemployment checks will amount to almost as much as the first contract offer proposed.

Much to the dismay of the rank and file, the union has instructed pickets not to halt incoming trucks. Given the conservatism of the union and the small number of people actually on strike, support on the picket line is sorely needed. Socialists and other supporters of unionism should show their solidarity by joining with the picketers—who are determined to stay out until they win. □



**Busch Teamsters strike in support of clericals**

**BOSTON, MA**—One hundred and thirty five full-time and sixty part-time drivers have been on strike since October 20 at Anheuser Busch in North Cambridge. The strike is in sympathy with a group of 16 clerical workers fighting for union recognition.

**STOP**

The clerical workers organized themselves into Teamster Local 122 in July, but Anheuser Busch refused to recognize them or negotiate with them. In response, the drivers went out on a solidarity strike.

The company has brought in

by **PAUL D'AMATO**

about 35 scabs—many of them company managers from other states—to keep the delivery trucks running. The striking drivers have responded with the "flying picket" tactic of following trucks to wherever they make deliveries and then setting up picket lines.

Police, who have been escorting the scab drivers, have pulled such stunts as leading the trucks the wrong way down one-way streets and then arresting the strikers for following.

The solidarity of these

drivers is not limited to support for other workers employed by the same company. While walking the Greyhound picket line, one Anheuser Busch driver said, "We've got to stick together—unity is all we have. Unions are here to stay."

**CONTRACT**

The drivers say they'll stay out until the sixteen clerical workers get a decent contract.

The strikers are asking supporters to express their own solidarity with both the clerical workers and the drivers by boycotting all Anheuser Busch products. □

**STRIKING CONTINENTAL WORKERS WAIT ON COURTS**

The Continental workers are still out. They struck in late September. The company had filed for bankruptcy, throwing 12,000 out of work. Members of the Airline Pilots Association, the Association of Flight Attendants and IAM machinists (the latter out since August 12) are walking the picket lines.

And waiting. They are waiting for the courts to rule on their case which charges that the company went bankrupt simply in order to break its contract with the unionists.

Meanwhile, Continental is still flying. Not at anything near full capacity—actually they are flying at only about 50% of the cutback schedule.

Scabs from the unions and new employees are working at the rate Continental offered the three unions: 50% pay cuts and work rules which amount to a significant speed up.

It is the unions' strategy to rely on the courts. It is a strategy which leaves the strikers feeling helpless. Many have given up on winning this one, and are looking for new jobs.

**ESCALATION**

The Continental bankruptcy is an escalation of the offensive of the airline owners against the unions. The industry is being remolded by the pressure of deregulation which has pitted unionized older carriers against newer non-union companies. In many cases, including Continental, the unionized firms are the owners of the newer non-union airlines.

The airline owners will not be defeated in their wage-slashing drive unless a more militant, aggressive strategy is adopted. □



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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

## Salerno workers: "We're sticking together"

CHICAGO, IL—George Schembari shook his fist at the cop-protected scab convoy as it rolled through picket lines into the Salerno-Megowen Biscuit Co.'s cookie production plant in suburban Niles.

"It's been like this since the first day of the strike," he said pointing to the club-wielding, riot-helmeted police. Five workers have been struck by scab cars and sent to the hospital since the strike began on October 21, and cops have arrested 10 others for blocking the scabs and delivery trucks.

Schembari, the plant's leading mechanic and the worker with the most seniority, hadn't seen anything like it in his 39 years at Salerno.

"It's just like Greyhound. They're trying to break the union [Bakery, Confectionary and Tobacco Workers Union, Local 2]. If we accepted the company's demands, it would mean a 35-40% cut in our total compensation. We had to strike. We couldn't accept those concessions."

### STUNNING

The take-back demands are stunning: a \$3 slash in the average production worker's \$10 per hour wage; a halving of the daily 20-minute break; the replacement of the union's family health plan with private insurance that would only cover individual workers; the elimination of two paid holidays per year and—most threatening of all—the abolition of all workers' seniority.

"Without our seniority, it would be easy to fire us," said Olga Marzulli, a packer who has worked at the plant for 18 years. "Most people at Salerno have been here for over 20 years. And this is what they get."

by LEE SUSTAR

Marzulli's co-worker, oven operator Saul Castillo, agreed. "This company takes away your youth, your strength—and then they want to throw you out and bring in someone young."

"And the money!" Castillo continued. "I make \$10.26 per hour, and now they want me to work for \$7.10? Can you support a family like that? We just want to keep our wages at the same level."

### PREPARING

Salerno workers say the company began preparing for a strike months ago. A few weeks after laying off 200 of the plant's 500 workers, the company told those still on the job that they were expected to maintain pre-layoff production levels—and then some.

"They had us working overtime almost every week," Olga Marzulli said. "People on the day shift would work into the night—a 16-hour day—while the laid-off people weren't working at all."

"There were speed-ups, too," she said. "They kept making the lines move faster and faster. And they harassed the workers for being 'slow.'"

"Finally, we had made so much that there was no place to put any more cookies. There wasn't a spare inch in that plant."

Assured of several months stock, the company broke off negotiations and forced a strike. Union officials say that on October 20, Salerno representatives asked for a few hours' break to consider a union counterproposal. But while the union negotiators waited, Salerno sent its night

shift workers home 90 minutes early, installed a wire mesh fence around the plant, boarded up some windows and stationed armed security guards at the gates. The next morning, Niles police began escorting scabs into the plant.

"That isn't exactly negotiating in good faith," George Schembari said.

### LETTER

In a letter to workers, Salerno-Megowen president Arthur G. Murray "invited" them to return to work and provided them with a form-letter to resign from the union. Murray claimed Salerno needed the concessions to stay "competitive with other biscuit manufacturers."

But corporate records show that Salerno is doing quite well. Its specialty cookies are quite popular—they supply Girl Scout cookies—and the company's 1981 sales total of \$116 million placed it in the top 1,500 private held firms that year.

It is doubtful that the company has become financially strapped since it was acquired by General Biscuit, a French multinational whose 34 plants worldwide include Momma's and Burry Lu in the U.S.

Murray shouldn't be worried about being "competitive" since his chief rival, Nabisco, has agreed to a wage increase of 70¢ per hour the first year and 65¢ the second.

"They're trying to split the union, to break it," George Schembari said. "They're trying to do the same thing with the men and women in the plant. They push the women harder, and in their proposal they offered the (male)



mechanics an increase to try to divide us.

"But we're sticking together."

Rank-and-file workers are making contingency plans for boycotts and leafletting at grocery stores in the event that negotiations scheduled for early December fail.

But many workers are preparing for a winter on the picket line. They see no alter-

native. "People are afraid to go on strike these days," striker Carmela Rogel said. "They are afraid—no matter what the company does to them—just because it is against the law or something."

"When you're on strike, you're not laid off, you're not fired, but you're certainly not working. You're fighting back. Because you have to fight back." □



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