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CENTRAL AMERICA PAGE 7

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The Reagan administration's Ed Meese made a stink when he insisted that there is no hunger problem in the United States, and people who accept food in soup kitchens do so because "it's easier than paying for it."

"LIFESTYLE"

But St. Louis streets and sanitation director James M. Shea has gone Meese one better. He claims that people who pick food and aluminum cans out of the city's dumpsters are merely pursuing their "chosen lifestyle."

He has drafted a city ordinance that will make scavengers subject to fines of up to \$500. The St. Louis Board of Aldermen will vote on the ordinance this month.

Shea is concerned with pleasing property owners perturbed by the scraps on the sidewalks occasionally left by the scavengers as they look for food and cans.

Shea assures us that the "street people" need only change their "lifestyle" to take advantages that he says are widely available. "Everyone knows about the Salvation Army," he said. "You can always get free food and shelter there."

"After all," Shea brilliantly observed, "eating out of dumpsters isn't healthy."

"James Shea is appallingly ignorant," says the Rev. Larry Rice, who runs four shelters for the homeless in the St. Louis area. "No one chooses to live in the streets."

"The economy forces them to, and they have to adjust to it—or die. The homeless must know where to go on which days to get a meal, what time the various shelters open, which dumpsters have food. It's an incredibly difficult life."

DIED

At least 12 homeless people died in this winter's severe cold, Rice said, and over 50 street people perished in last summer's extreme heat.

"This city never opens any shelters until people start dying," Rice said.

Reagan's vaunted recovery has bypassed St. Louis workers. Unemployment in the city, which hit 11.5 percent in 1982, now fluctuates between 9.5 and 10.5 percent. And all across the country many of these jobless will be forced to join the street people who are not counted in unemployment figures, people who were shoved into the gutter because they were not useful to the system as it pursues profit.

THE FORGOTTEN POOR IN TODAY'S AMERICA



MARYLAND CLINIC BOMBED

Anti-abortion activities have been on the rise in Maryland in recent weeks. The Planned Parenthood of Baltimore Clinic is regularly picketed by people who describe themselves as "pro-life."

They harass incoming patients, employees and volunteers of the non-profit clinic by picketing with signs, calling the clinic a murder chamber, insisting abortion is racial genocide and trying to dissuade abortion patients from entering the clinic.

This activity coincides with the appearance in Maryland's legislature of three bills which attempt to restrict access to abortion. One is the vote on Medicaid funding, currently not available for abortions unless they relate to cases of rape, incest or danger to a woman's health.

The second is a parental consent bill which would require not only notification of the parents for a teenage woman to obtain an abortion (which is current Maryland law) but parental consent. Third, there is a proposal that would require physicians to inform a woman who chooses abortion that the fetus "feels pain" and offer to administer an anesthetic to the fetus.

DANGEROUS

All three of these bills are aimed at making abortion as traumatic, as dangerous and as costly as possible. Already many clinics refuse to accept Medicaid patients for abortions because of the difficulty in complying with the current restrictions. Lack of access does not prevent abortions. It simply drives women to dan-

by DEANNA SHEMEK and KATHY OGREN

gerous backstreet abortionists or to self-induced abortions. Both alternatives often leave women wounded or dead.

As the law stands now, teenage women are delayed several weeks in their requests for abortions while the courts turn the matter into a decision that requires state approval—all the while making abortion less safe for the woman as the pregnancy moves closer to term.

The "fetal pain" bill is a particularly blatant effort to increase abortion costs (anesthetics are expensive!) and to create mental anguish for women seeking abortions. Medical testimony describes fetal pain as "medically meaningless, confusing, medically unjustified and contraindicated, causing cruel and harmful stress to . . . patients."

These anti-abortion groups are not pro-life. They support no welfare programs or other means for improving the quality of anyone's life. They support capital punishment, nuclear weapons and imperialist war. They are, in fact, violent towards women in many instances and seek to destroy women's health care facilities.

In an incident similar to many others across the country, on February 28 a "pro-life" group calling itself the Army of God called the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Times* threatening to bomb the Prince Georges Reproductive Health Services Clinic in College Park, Mary-



Marching for reproductive rights in Cherry Hill, NJ, 1982

land. Later two bombs were thrown in the office windows of the clinic during closing hours. The clinic was gutted, causing \$70,000-90,000 damage. A spokeswoman for the clinic told *Socialist Worker* that the clinic is still operating, though marginally. Such are the activities conducted and proudly claimed by the loving, "pro-life" forces of the Army of God!

SERIOUS

Though all of these activities constitute a serious threat to safe, affordable reproductive alternatives, the anti-abortionists will not go unanswered. The picketers at Baltimore's Planned Parenthood Clinic are met by a growing number of volunteers who cheerfully assist patients in getting into the clinic without confrontation.

The Maryland Supreme Court also ruled recently that husbands or prospective fathers may not prevent a woman from having an abortion. Women in Maryland and other states will gain from these pro-choice decisions, but our fight must be carried past legislation onto the streets, into the abortion clinics and into our workplaces; we must fight back as activists against any restrictions or state controls on our reproductive rights. Get the laws off our bodies and fight the anti-abortionists. □

Health care: a privilege for the rich

Health care in this country is among the best in the world and has become available to most people through the Medicaid and Medicare programs. Advances in medical technology, such as open heart surgery and kidney dialysis, are saving the lives of people who previously would have died. People are living longer today than ever before.

However, the cost of medical services has risen at an incredible rate. In 1950, \$12.7 billion, or 4.5% of the gross national product, was spent on health care in the U.S. By 1983, \$362 billion, or 10.5% of the GNP was spent.

Medical costs have risen three times faster than the general inflation rate. Since 1974, the cost of a hospital room has risen 12.8% a year.

ESCALATION

One of the reasons for this escalation in costs is that most people's bills are paid for by third-party payers, so doctors feel no guilt in charging exorbitant fees. Because of the threat of malpractice suits, doctors order unnecessary tests and x-rays to protect themselves.

Third-party payers often refuse to pay for preventative health care but will pay for hospital admission. So patients are admitted unnecessarily, and the hospitals make money.

Hospitals buy high-technology equipment and expand in order to compete for business. They get the money for their ventures by overcharging third-party payers.

Many people on the boards of trustees of hospitals use hospital profits to invest in their own companies—so our rates go up to support their business ventures.

The soaring cost of medical care has kept many of the working poor from receiving any health care. 26 million Americans have no insurance coverage and are not eligible for Medicaid. And many people stay on welfare because they cannot afford to take a low-paying job and lose their Medicaid coverage. Health care costs for themselves and their children would eat up their wages. This escalation of health

DR. DENA MAGOULIAS LOOKS AT THE EFFECT OF THE RISE IN HEALTH CARE COSTS

care costs cannot continue forever. Already private businesses have responded by cutting their benefit packages. One survey found that 33% of companies have raised the portion of the medical bill that employees are required to take. They hope that this will discourage their employees from seeking medical care.

SOLUTION

Reagan has developed his own solution to the dilemma. Besides slashing the Medicaid and Medicare budgets, he has also implemented some cost control programs. The Medicaid system has just adopted a plan by which hospitals will only receive a set payment per diagnosis, and it won't matter how many days a Medicaid patient is in the hospital or how many tests were performed.

This could lead to Medicaid patients being discharged too soon and thus result in a decreased quality of care for the poor. A pre-admission review system for Medicaid patients has also been instituted so that the Medicaid department can decide in advance whether they think a certain admission is justified and whether they will pay for it.

Reagan has also introduced in his new budget a copayment system for welfare patients to force them to pay part of their medical bills. This will surely lead to decreased care for the poor who already cannot afford bare necessities.

In the past there was talk of a national health insurance program to cover everyone as an answer to the medical care crisis. That talk has been replaced by talk of increased competition in the health care industry and of forcing people to pay for their own health care. Thanks to Reagan, we are heading for an even worse two-tier system where health care is a privilege to be enjoyed by the rich. □

IN THATCHER'S BRITAIN

Greenham women attacked

For more than two years, a Royal Air Force base at Greenham Common, England, has been the site of a women's peace camp, organized to protest the deployment of Cruise missiles there.

The camp, now facing official eviction by the Tory government, may be at the end of its rope.

During their two years at Greenham Common, the women have been subjected to numerous attacks and abuse. There have been hundreds of arrests, with an acquittal rate of only one percent. About fifty women are now in jail.

Despite the amazing strength and courage shown



by the Greenham women, the missiles are still there.

Unfortunately, non-violent, separatist actions like the peace camps cannot be effective. The threat of war can only be removed by revolutionary action by the whole of the working class.

Only workers have the potential strength to fight the

system which builds bombs and wages war.

Only through workers' self-activity and struggle can this fight be won.

Until then, movements like that at RAF Greenham Common, however admirable they may be, are doomed to failure. □

by CHRIS EADES

Reagan's El Salvador election fraud

REPORT
BY
LANCE SELFA

Ronald Reagan hoped the Salvadoran elections would provide a "democratic" facade to hide the ugly reality of U.S. policy: increased military and economic support for a repressive regime which has murdered almost 50,000 people in the last five years alone.

FARCE

But the elections are a farce. "Everything is in complete disorder," Roberto Vieres, a Christian Democratic voting official declared the morning of the voting. The counting of ballots was halted because of disputes over the impartiality of those tabulating the figures. Many polling places had no ballots, dozens of others were moved without notice—or didn't even exist.

As we go to press, it appears a runoff election is likely between Christian Democrat Jose Napoleon Duarte and the man he called a "Nazi-like fascist," ARENA (National Republican Alliance) head Roberto D'Aubuisson, a far-right politician linked with the death squads, offers little alternative to El Salvador's workers and peasants.

A win by Duarte, a moderate conservative who has pledged to implement land reform, could provoke a military coup. This is not a hypothetical. In 1972, Duarte won the election and the military stole it from him.

A D'Aubuisson win could unleash an even greater military reign of terror as he would move to keep his promise to "exterminate" the guerrillas fighting the Salvadoran government.

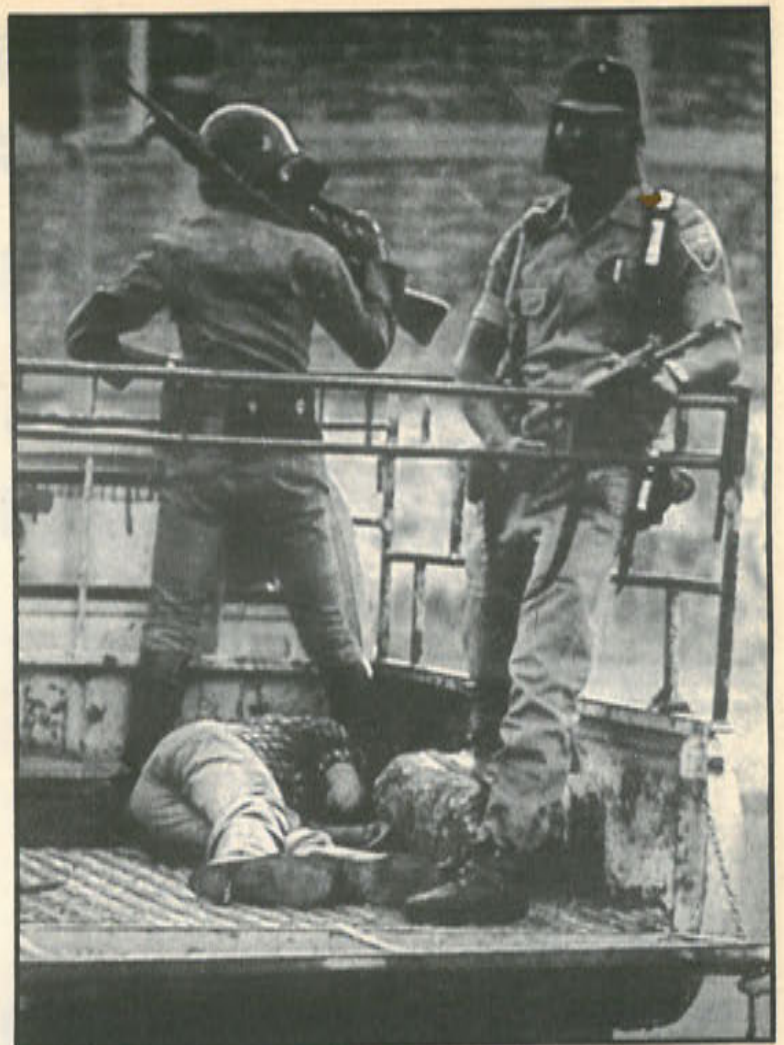
A D'Aubuisson-led military mop up campaign would etch in blood the meaning of

U.S.-backed "democracy" in Central America. A military coup would make a mockery of Washington's claim that elections represent "another step forward in the democratic process."

Thus, the military—not elected politicians—holds the balance of power in Salvadoran politics. In 1982, a right-wing coalition took power in the newly elected constituent assembly, the body which drew up the country's election laws. This coalition prevented Duarte's election as assembly president—a position that went to D'Aubuisson.

The U.S. government was forced to work through the military to persuade the coalition to appoint a "moderate," Alvaro Magana, as provisional president.

Military control of Salvadoran politics is no accident. Segments of the armed forces have always maintained close ties with the coffee barons



U.S. backed government troops carry away another murdered civilian

who have controlled the Salvadoran economy throughout the 20th century. And in the same period, the U.S. military has stood epaulet-to-epaulet with the Salvadoran military.

Between 1950 and 1980 the U.S. supplied El Salvador's military with \$16.9 million in aid. Since 1980, the U.S. has shipped almost 12 times the amount of military aid to El Salvador as it provided in the previous 30 years.

Under the sponsorship of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)—supposedly a benevolent program of U.S. "economic" aid—the U.S. spent \$2.1 million to train and equip the Salvadoran police.

The Salvadoran police and military, not to mention the paramilitary death squads, built, trained and equipped with U.S. aid, are responsible for the deaths of 50,000 Salvadorans in the last five years.

While speaking in favor of the "democratic process," the U.S. actively promotes forces which are the chief obstacles to the most minimal democratic reforms.

It is little wonder that the FMLN-FDR, the guerrilla alliance which controls about one-third of the country, called for a boycott of the March elections, branding them a "farce."

DEBATE

The U.S. congressional debate over aid to El Salvador must be understood in these terms.

Congressional Democrats held up Reagan's emergency request for \$93 million in military aid to the Salvadoran government because that government appears unwilling to curb the death squads.

Reagan realized he couldn't get a blank check for military aid from Congress. He reduced his aid request to \$68.5 million—still an increase over 1983's aid figure of \$61 million. The administration has pledged to support the Salvadoran government, whatever its character. So even if Congress cuts off aid, the administration would find "covert" ways to skirt re-

strictions.

The Reagan-Democratic tussle over Salvadoran aid is a debate over means to achieve the same ends. If human rights are not guarded more diligently, the Democrats argue, the guerrillas will gain strength.

To Reagan, there is only one way to prevent the guerrillas from growing stronger: providing the Salvadoran army with enough firepower to crush them.

In late March, while Reagan chided "naive and downright phony" human rights advocates for "pursuing policies that lead to the overthrow of less-than-perfect democracies by Marxist dictatorships," the Democrats Mondale and Hart taunted each other over who would best defend U.S. influence.

U.S. policy in El Salvador is committed to preventing "instability," upholding an "order" which has meant misery and death to Salvadoran workers and peasants.



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BLAMING THE VICTIM IN BRUTAL RAPE CASE

A year ago, people across the country were outraged at the news of the brutal gang rape of a young mother at a bar in New Bedford, Massachusetts. Today the conviction of four rapists has led to large rallies of supporters who believe that because the rape victim allegedly had a drink and flirted with one of her attackers, she deserved to be raped.

News coverage of the trials during February and March gleefully reported each supposed flirtation and friendly or sexual remark made by the victim to one of the men who then raped her. Witnesses, including the bartenders, admitted that she was carried off

by CELIA PETTY

screaming and that she was held down while at least four men raped her and tried to force her to have oral sex with them. Two of the men who cheered their friends on and prevented others from helping the woman were acquitted. The four rapists were convicted.

Every time a rape trial is used to expose a woman's sexual activity, the number of reported rapes decreases in that community. Because of the national publicity during this case, thousands of rape victims may be intimidated and afraid to report assaults.

The notion that friendly, flirtatious or sexually active women deserve rape is one of the most brutal, degrading aspects of sexist society.

Because the rapists were Portuguese immigrants (as was the victim, the prosecuting attorney and about half of the jurors) supporters are claiming that the convictions are the result of prejudice. Portuguese workers in New Bedford and nearby Fall River clearly have suffered from discrimination. But this is a clear case of a degrading, violent attack on a woman who neither deserved the assault by the men who raped her nor the attack by the press that tried her. □

FIGHTING WORDS

"Revolutions are festivals of the oppressed and the exploited. At no other time are the masses of the people in a position to come forward so actively as creators of a new social order, as at a time of revolution. At such times the people are capable of performing miracles, if judged by the limited, philistine yardsticks of gradualist progress."

V.I. Lenin, 1905

AT&T gives Baltimore workers stark choices

BALTIMORE, MD—It's definite—3,500 electrical workers will be laid off here. On March 14, AT&T made the long feared announcement that it is closing down the old Western Electric copper cable works. AT&T had already laid off 2,300 workers in the apparatus shop at the Baltimore plant. Now everyone must go.

And for 3,500 workers, the choices are stark. Even for the lucky few that AT&T will relocate to jobs in other cities.

820 employees have been thirty years on the job at the plant. They will be eligible for pensions, but most of their fellow workers face the unemployment line.

SHOCK

The shock hasn't worn off yet," said union president Walter Taylor. "But they are going to wake up one morning and realize they have no fu-

by STEVE CROSS

ture in Baltimore."

AT&T has promised to relocate some workers to jobs in other cities, but it's a tough decision to move—even for the few accepted.

It means uprooting from community and friends. And only those with 15 years or more seniority will be eligible for special moving and house-hunting benefits. There are 600 workers with less than 15 years. And workers who relocate to new jobs will have to start again at entry levels with wage reductions of \$120-150 per week.

And they don't know how long they'd be able to keep their new jobs anyway. The Baltimore Works is just one of four major plants AT&T is closing—including the Hawthorne plant in Chicago and

Esskay workers also face the prospect of unemployment

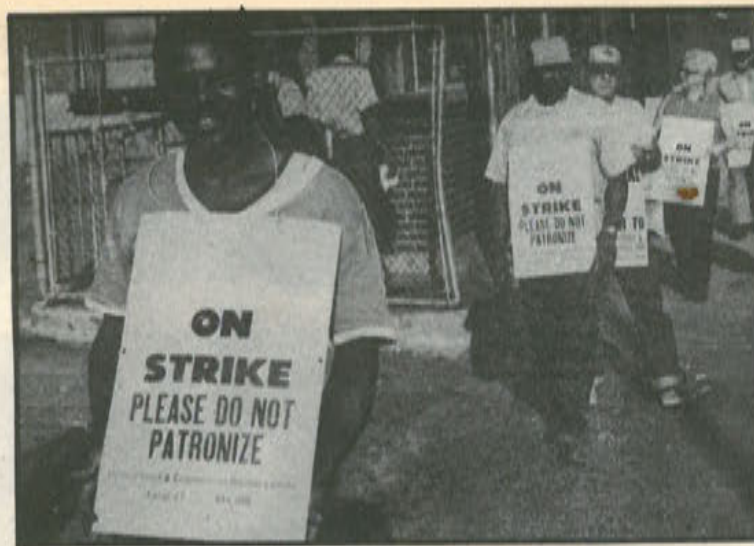
the Kerney Works in New Jersey. And AT&T is trimming 27 other facilities in 16 states.

WHY

Maybe that's why the company didn't bother to tell their independent electrical workers union that it was closing down until the afternoon of the announcement.

Thousands of workers around the country have been experiencing such plant closings and relocations. The many electrical workers in Baltimore who will be forced onto the unemployment line will be joining 5,000 shipyard workers already there.

Baltimore meatcutters at



the Esskay Company won a strike last fall, but now the packing plant is packing itself up and moving down to Virginia where the pay is less and unions are scarce. Everyone laments the catastrophe of industrial decline in Baltimore. But the bosses' real priority seems only too clear in an announcement made the day after AT&T said it was leaving town.

Last June, an investment company won a contract to

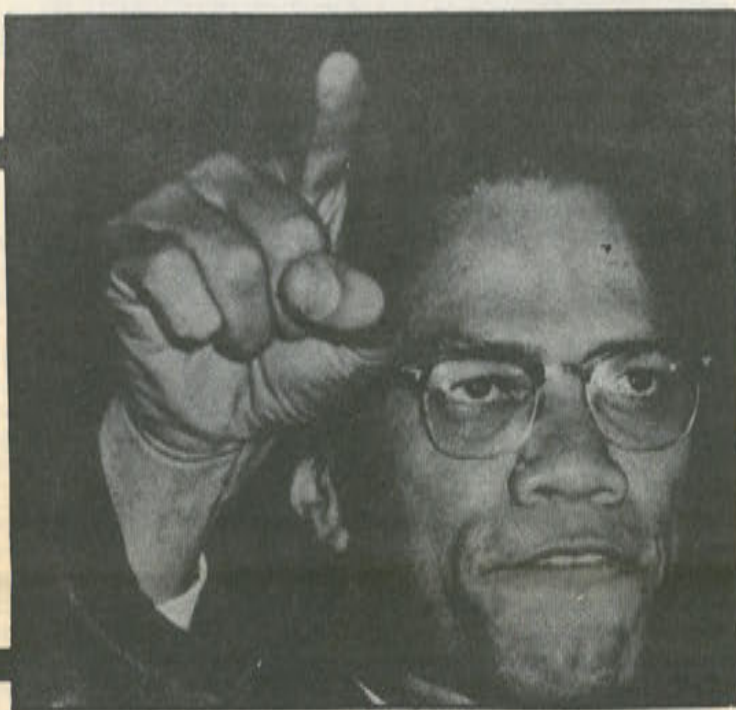
buy and rejuvenate the moribund inner harbor Key Highway dock. It promised to create 1,300 jobs at the shipyard.

By now the speculators want to revise their plan. They have presumably dreamed all along of more rewarding monuments to their efforts than shipyard jobs.

If their plan succeeds, 400 wealthy Baltimoreans will have luxury high-rise condominiums on the scenic waterfront of a historic harbor. □

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

TRIAL SHOWS COPS COLLABORATED IN KLAN MURDERS



The prosecution rested its case and the defense began the process of proving to a Winston-Salem, N.C. jury that nine Klan and Nazi members did not violate the civil rights of five members of the Communist Workers Party.

The fascists are accused of killing the five during a November 3, 1979 anti-Klan rally.

In an earlier trial, the Klansmen were acquitted of murder charges, but were later recharged with civil rights violations carrying the penalty of life imprisonment.

The prosecution called nearly 80 witnesses to establish that the Klansmen and Nazis fired the first 11 of the 39 shots in the 88-second gun battle.

The defense had tried to prove that the anti-Klan demonstrators fired first, and that the fascists only fired in self-defense.

REVEALED

The trial also revealed that a police informant and former FBI agent, Eddie Dawson, had encouraged Nazi and Klan members to take weapons to the demonstration and provoked the confrontation. Dawson also misled the police by telling them that the incident would occur at the end of the demonstration at its demonstration. Dawson himself took the armed Klansmen

by AZAR HANIF

beginning.

The current trial is bringing to light something not emphasized in the original trial—the length to which the Klan will go in fighting against any struggle for equal rights.

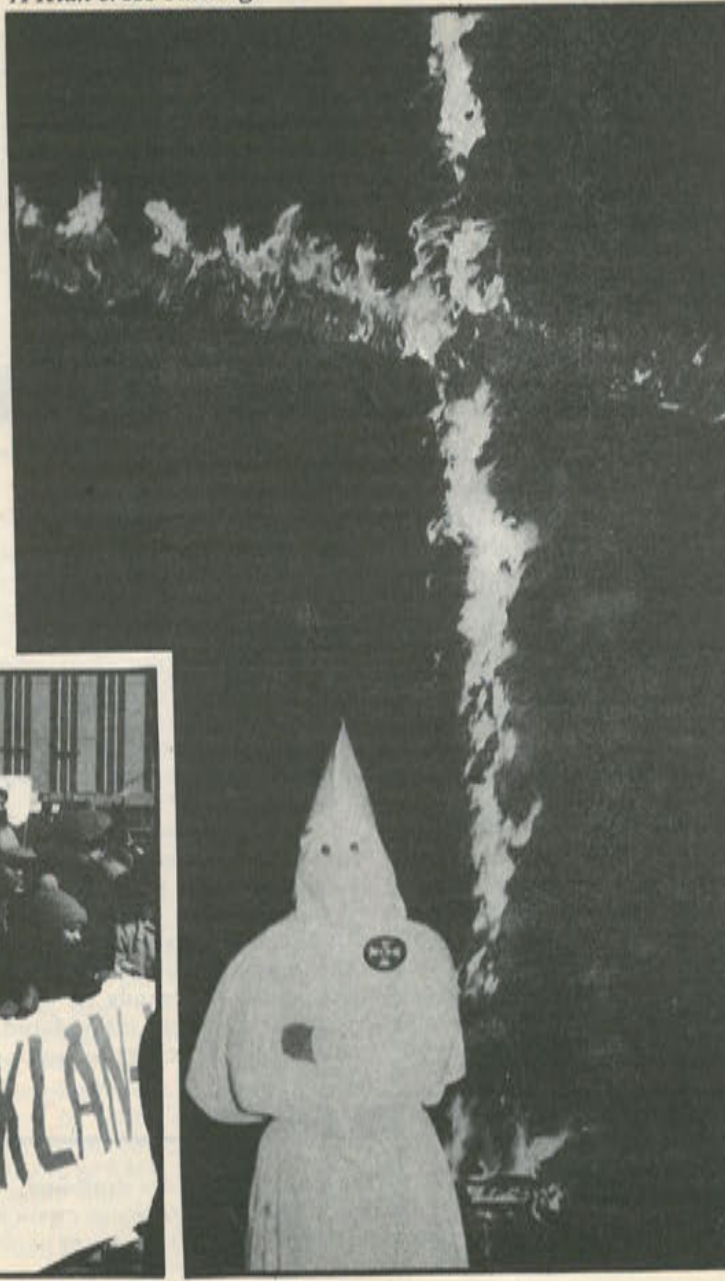
In their boldest step in several decades, the Klan shot a number of people in front of witnesses and television cameras.

There is also evidence, only touched upon in the trial, that the Klan may have been assisted by Greensboro police and the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

Marching in Greensboro, 1980



A Klan cross burning



NOT-SO-NEW DEMOCRATS



JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN ONLY AIDS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Jesse Jackson has done well enough in the primaries so far to remain in the race for the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination. He won 19% of the vote in Alabama, 21% in Georgia, nearly 30% in Mississippi, 20% in Arkansas, 25% in South Carolina.

And he has shown that he can do well not just in the south—he won 21% of the vote in Illinois—on the strength of a large Black turnout in Chicago, where he won 70% of Black votes, according to the polls.

On the basis of such successes, there are many on the left today who believe that a real strategy for change—indeed, the only strategy to some—is to register Blacks and get out the vote for Jackson. They argue that this is the way to move the Democratic Party to the left. This is how the Democratic Party can be forced to take the problems of unemployment, racism and poverty seriously.

"PROGRESSIVE"

Some of the advocates of such a strategy contend that all Black politicians are more "progressive" than white politicians, and therefore deserve support. A prime advocate of the Black electoral strategy, Democratic Socialist of America leader Manning Marable, says, "The political center of the Black movement is essentially an American version of social democracy."

But a large measure of myopia about the Black candidates is necessary to sustain such a perspective. Jesse Jackson has been involved in mainstream Democratic Party politics for 20 years. He has endorsed every Democratic Presidential candidate since 1968, when he first emerged as a Black political leader after Martin Luther King's death.

Jackson is not as interested in moving the Democratic Party to the left as he is in strengthening the hold of the Democratic Party over the Black community—and strengthening his own position within the party. He says he will register hundreds of thousands of Blacks who will vote for the Democrats. He says he will not run as an independent (and he most definitely will not be the Democratic Party's Presidential candidate). Instead, he says, "I will put jet fuel in my butt and campaign for my party's nominee."

The idea that the Democratic Party is flexi-

ble—that it can be reshaped without a general and major change in the nation's political situation—is completely mistaken. The Democratic Party is a capitalist party. The vast majority of its finances come from big business. Its leaders are capitalists and their associates. It has always represented the interests of capitalism.

OBSTACLE

Far from the party's role as a vehicle for change, it has always been an obstacle for any movement aimed at winning reforms. In 1964, for example, the Democratic National Committee offered thousands of dollars to southern civil rights organizers for voter registration campaigns. But the party kingpins laid down one condition—that civil rights workers would curtail sit-ins, marches and demonstrations—the very tactics which had begun to break down southern racial segregation, but which would "antagonize" the racist southern politicians whose favor the party bosses wanted to retain.

And far from being less militaristic than the Republicans, the Democrats are actually more likely to involve the U.S. military abroad. A Democrat has occupied the White House when every major American war was started in this century.

Jesse Jackson's aim is to join the power brokers of this party. Since he is not a big capitalist himself, he needs something else as a bargaining chip—Black votes. Thus, he must organize Blacks into the Democratic Party. He must foster illusions in the possibility of changing American politics through a capitalist party.

SUCCEEDED

Primary results show that Jackson has succeeded in bringing large numbers of Black voters into the Democratic Party, many of whom voted for the first time. Chicago's 1983 mayoral election showed the same pattern.

The important question remains: "For what?" Bringing thousands of Blacks into the Democratic Party enhances Jackson's position. But the character of the party will not be changed one bit—nor will the real interests of Blacks be served.

REPORT BY LANCE SELFA AND JOE ALLEN

GARY HART: A MEDIA CANDIDATE

Democrat Gary Hart, who insists he's campaigning for "new ideas," surprised many with his early upset primary victories over Walter Mondale last month.

Hart's wins symbolized a victory for "style" over "substance" in politics. His carefully-constructed television image of youth, intelligence and Kennedy-style "vigor" appealed to many voters who had gotten bored with the all-but-coronated Mondale. Under the media spotlight, Hart burned Mondale.

But, on closer look, Hart's "new ideas" or "neoliberalism" are old ideas repackaged. He admires "entrepreneurship" and "private-sector initiative"—sentiments that would warm even the coldest Reaganite's heart. To him, union wages and government anti-poverty programs harm the "national interest."

LABOR

Hart has spent much time criticizing Mondale's ties with "special interest" groups, especially organized labor. His record shows he opposed the 1979 Chrysler bail-out plan and "domestic content" legislation—both top items on labor's legislative shopping list.

He did not oppose protectionism out of a sense of international solidarity with workers, but because, he argued, these proposals damaged U.S. "international competitiveness." When voting against the Chrysler plan, he announced: "This legislation contradicts the basic tenets of free enterprise that once characterized our nation's economy."

His plans call for labor-management cooperation to boost U.S. competitiveness in the world economy. As he told *Business Week*, for workers this means: "Labor defers its wage demands or conditions them on productivity or the profitability of the industry involved." In the era of limits, Hart argues, everybody must sacrifice something.

"Atari Democrat" Hart banks on high-technology "sunrise" industries to lead the productivity boom he envisions for the U.S. economy. He is prepared to write off unproductive "sunset" industries—heavy industry such as steel and auto—and their workers.

He is willing to provide high-tech companies with some tax breaks to finance job retraining for displaced workers—a program Hart adopted from computer giant TRW, Inc. But even a Hart campaign advisor conceded that Hart's policies could destroy more jobs with automa-

tion than they would create.

MILITARY

The Colorado Senator has become a military policy expert, supporting a "leaner, smarter" military. He has opposed some of the most wasteful military boondoggles like the MX missile and the B-1 bomber. But he is committed to a 4% annual increase in military spending for "effective protection of our historical national security interests."

In the Middle East, "national security" to Hart means increased support for Israel—for reasons indistinguishable from Ronald Reagan's. "Without Israel," Hart told a meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Jewish Organizations on March 21, "the map of the Middle East might long since have turned red, and Soviet expansionism would continue unchecked."

Recently, Mondale has tried to outflank Hart on the right—especially on Hart's opposition to U.S. military intervention in Central America and Lebanon. But on the question of support for liberation struggles, the Coloradan is no sweetheart.

As President, Hart would refuse contact with the Palestine Liberation Organization, he said, "until and unless the PLO rejoins civilization."

It is no accident that the bulk of Hart's support in New England and in Illinois came from affluent, highly educated white voters. They are the people who would benefit from a Hart presidency. In Hart's high-tech utopia, Blacks and workers are the biggest losers.

RECORD

Hart's Senate voting record shows he served the affluent well. For example, he supported the sub-minimum wage proposals for youth and deregulation of natural gas prices—policies which damage the pocketbooks of the poorest people in the U.S.

And in 1981, when Reagan proposed the largest cutbacks in programs for the poor, Hart said he "supported budget cuts that were aimed at the level the President proposed."

Media hype and advertising image-making can leave a gloss on Hart's policies. But they cannot change the fact that his policies are neither "fresh" nor "new."

If Americans take Hart, they are likely to face a rerun of the Carter years. If voters choose Carter's vice president Mondale, they are likely to face a rerun of the Carter years. But it's a rerun of a program that offers nothing to workers or the poor. □

Talking about socialism

"Peacefully if we may, forcibly if we must"

One of the main charges against revolutionary socialists is that we want to use violence to change the world. Phrases like "the need to reject violence as a means to political ends" are common arguments against revolution.

Most of the time these arguments are the rankest hypocrisy. When they come from supporters of the government, they cannot be taken too seriously. The government is willing to use violence to wage war in Central America, to crush strikes and to maintain law and order in Miami.

The real argument is not about whether you favor using violence for political ends, but what political ends you are prepared to use violence for.

For the official political parties the matter is simple: they will justify the use of any degree of violence to ensure that the present system of society survives.

For us it is equally clear: we are prepared to use violence in order to end the existing system which is violent to its core.

REASON

The reason we hold this position is not because we are bloodthirsty fiends, but because we recognize how the world is changed.

We believe that it is very unlikely that the current ruling class will give up their control without a fight. Maybe they will, but the lesson of history and of theory is that they will not.

We base our strategy on what is probable. We know that class war will continue until capitalism is ended. We think it very likely that at some point in the future, the ruling class will use the armed

by COLIN SPARKS

power of the state to try to smash the organizations of the working class. We do not intend to lie down and let them drive right over us.

If they surrender without a fight, well and good. There will be no need for violence. But if they start shooting, workers must be prepared to shoot back. To rule out that possibility from the start is to surrender the war before even fighting the first battle.

PACIFISTS

It is at this point that we meet our genuine critics—the real pacifists. They will argue that everything we say about the capitalist parties is quite true, but we are just as bad because all violence is wrong.

The pure pacifist is rare. Most people, when pressed, will admit that there are some circumstances in which violence is justified. But when the pacifist view is genuinely held, it has to be recognized as a profoundly humane response to the horror of organized murder. Unfortunately, it is also profoundly reactionary.

Essentially it is an abstract moral argument. It says that there is a single absolute rule for human conduct which everyone must obey, no matter what situation confronts them. We reject that notion.

For us, all morality, all rules of conduct and laws have to be seen in a class context.

As Anatole France once put it, "The laws of France, with majestic impartiality, forbid both the beggar and the millionaire to sleep under the bridges of Paris."

One class's meat is another class's poison, and so too with

violence. The ruling class defines certain sorts of violence as legitimate and certain sorts as wrong. Stick a knife in a brutal husband and you go to prison. Neglect a safety regulation and kill half a dozen workers and you get fined a tiny sum.

Shoot a policeman in a scuffle and you get 25 years. Shoot an unarmed youth and fracture his skull and, if you are a cop, the judge makes sure you get off scot free.

And that holds good for political violence too. If you blow up an oil refinery in Nicaragua, Reagan will call it a victory for freedom. Do the same in El Salvador and you become a vile terrorist.

By rejecting all forms of political violence, the sincere pacifist actually ensures that the present state of affairs will continue indefinitely. Colossal warfare, famine and disease will go on and on.

HORROR

In order to end that horror, it will probably be unavoidable that we use violence. What matters for us is which class benefits from such actions.

The violence of the South African state in Soweto is designed to ensure the continuation of apartheid. The violence of the African National Congress is designed to end it.

The equation holds equally true for the British army and the IRA in Ireland.

The Chartists had a slogan: "Peacefully if we may. Forcibly if we must." We too hold that view.

Unfortunately for us, we have seen another 150 years of ruling class atrocities, and in our view it is far more likely to be the "must" part of the slogan we will have to act on.



Finish That Airport . . .

The sites of Grenada captivated Secretary of State George Schultz after a visit there. "The terrain is more rugged than I imagined," he said. "But it is certainly a lovely piece of real estate." □

Stop the Killing?

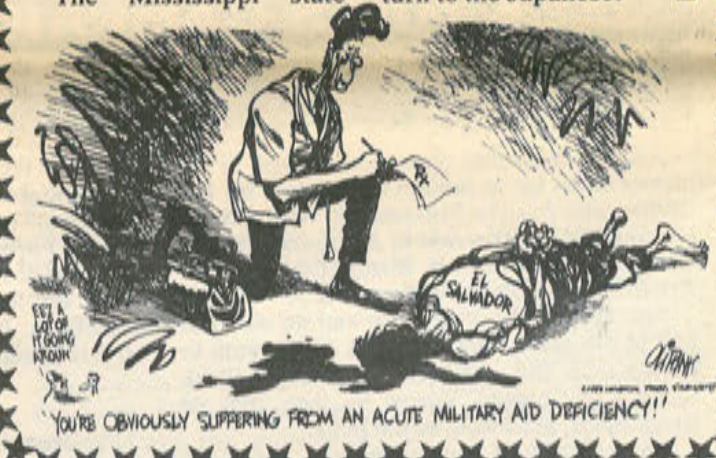
The State Department has replaced the word "killing" in its human rights reports, referring now to "unlawful or arbitrary deprivation of life." A department official explained, "We found the term 'killing' too broad." □

Easy for You to Say . . .

Peter J. Pestillo, Ford Motor Co. vice president for labor-management relations, has asked UAW President Owen Beiber to convince workers that the auto industry "can't afford" wage increases despite record \$6.1 billion profits.

"I understand Owen's problem," Pestillo said. "It's a very difficult choice for a guy in a relatively pure democracy to make." □

Welcome to 20th Century The Mississippi state



legislature struck a blow for social progress on March 22 when it approved the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The 19th Amendment, which granted women the right to vote was adopted, over the objections of Mississippi and Delaware, in 1918. □

Thanks a Lot . . .

William Coors, brewery boss of one of the most anti-labor companies in the U.S., recently addressed a conference of minority businessmen. He said that Black Africa's problems are rooted in "a lack of intellectual capacity . . . One of the best things they (slave traders) did for you is to drag your ancestors over here in chains." □

Sexist Male Order . . .

American capitalists never fail to embrace the grossest schemes if a buck is to be made. Take the example of 50 highly successful mail order firms who supply Asian brides for American men. Says one customer: "It's the same thing as when Ford and General Motors keep turning out bad products. You turn to the Japanese." □

CLUW: very little to offer women

CHICAGO, IL—Ten years ago 3,200 working women met here to found the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). At the anniversary celebration on March 22, 1984, CLUW President Joyce Miller declared, "The strides we've made in 10 short years give us heart to face another decade of challenges with hope and resolve."

Which strides are those, Joyce? The 10 years since CLUW's founding have seen a steady decline in the conditions facing working women. The wage gap between men and women continues to widen. Women now make an average of \$.57 to a man's dollar.

This is despite the fact that many more women work today. In 1974 there were 33 million women in the work force. Today there are 41 million, or 40% of all women over the age of 16. About 70% of all these women work full time.

Most women work because they have to. Nearly 2/3 of all women workers are single, divorced or separated, widow-

by CHRISTINA BAKER

ed or have husbands with incomes of less than \$7,000 a year.

SEGREGATED

Only about 12% of women workers are in unions, compared to 33% of male workers. And women remain segregated in sex-stereotyped jobs. Two-thirds of all working women are in occupations that are over 60% female.

The massive cutbacks in social services have made a bad situation even worse. The economic, social and political picture facing working women today is more serious than that which gave rise to CLUW ten years ago.

From its inception, CLUW was a battleground with the bureaucrats on one side and those (many of them socialists) who wanted a militant, rank and file controlled organization on the other.

Socialists and rank and filers argued for a group that would fight for working women's rights. In the early



Kirkland and Miller

days of CLUW, these women involved their chapters in strike support, union organizing drives and the defense of women who had been unjustly fired.

RESTRAINED

By June, 1975, the group had 3,800 members, but the leadership had effectively restrained the activists by passing a rule that CLUW members could not engage in activities against an employer without consent of the union involved.

Since the union bureaucrats did not want picketing or any other activity out of their control, this meant that CLUW chapters were held back from providing any meaningful support to women workers.

The first Constitutional Convention of CLUW, held in December, 1975, was opened with a prayer appealing to God to help the leadership to prevent "dissidents" from disrupting the convention.

The meeting was packed with paid staffers and delegates who had been told that if they didn't vote properly, their union wouldn't pay their convention costs.

With the passage of a constitution which severely limited CLUW's goals and activities, all hope that the group could be a fighting tool for rank and file women was destroyed.

Today the rhetoric of CLUW continues to raise many of the most important issues for working women. The theme of the 1984 convention was affirmative action. The group still talks about organizing the unorganized, fighting for full employment and comprehensive child care, and organizing around occupational health and safety.

But the work of CLUW is legislative and aimed at the



41 million women work

upper echelons of labor. For the bureaucrats, there have been gains. A growing number of unions have elected women to their executive boards and a handful of women have been appointed to the standing committees of the AFL-CIO. For the vast majority of women workers, CLUW has very little to offer.

Central American elections will not solve the crisis

The next twelve months could be labeled the year of elections in Central America. El Salvador, after the presidential elections of March 25, is set for a run-off between Duarte, the Christian Democrat, and D'Aubuisson, of the far-right ARENA party.

In Panama, presidential elections are scheduled for May. Elections are set for July in Guatemala. In Nicaragua, the Sandinistas plan to hold elections in November, two days before the U.S. presidential elections. U.S. policy on the "threat to democracy" in Central America is becoming a hotter issue as the U.S. Presidential campaign intensifies.

FORCES

While all of these elections will have an effect on the balance of forces in this volatile region, they will also divert attention from the deep currents of unrest which cannot be resolved by any number of ballots cast.

For the masses of workers, peasants and unemployed throughout Central America, elections have provided no solutions for inequality and poverty. Whenever popular candidates have won and shown real potential for change, the army—usually with support from the U.S.—has intervened to restore the status quo.

The problem is not a lack of progressive-minded politicians with new ideas. It is simply impossible to solve Central America's crises of hunger and malnutrition, human rights violations, unemployment and landlessness through existing electoral mechanisms and governing institutions.

Juan Bosch tried it in the Dominican Republic. The U.S. invaded the island to "prevent another Cuba." Jacobo Arbenz tried it in Guatemala. The result was a CIA-funded and directed invasion which overthrew the popular regime. Where direct military intervention is not feasible, the U.S.

can resort to other means to project its power into the region.

CLOUT

One example is the use of international financial clout. Within international financial institutions that control loans crucial to economic development in regions like Central America, the U.S. often enjoys virtual veto power. When Salvador Allende, the democratically elected president of Chile, attempted to take Chile down an electoral path to socialism, the U.S. intervened in international credit markets and development banks to deny Chile needed loans.

This same strategy backs up U.S. military pressure on Nicaragua. The January *Mexico and Central America Report* cites seven cases since 1982 in which the U.S. either voted against or vetoed loans for development projects in Nicaragua, such as technical assistance for agriculture, hydro-electric power projects and fishing industry cooperatives. In each case, the U.S. justified its position by pointing to what it called "inappropriate macro-economic policy." The loans in question totaled \$82.6 million.

ALONE

Nicaragua is not alone. Between 1975 and 1984, the U.S. cast negative votes or abstentions against development loans to Honduras, Costa Rica and Mexico totaling \$298.5 million. In short, the international financial muscle of the U.S. means that a detailed programmatic U.S. presence is projected into the very offices of economic policy making in the capitals of supposedly sovereign Central American nations.

Control over access to capital, the use of military force or the threat of it, the use of proxy armies and covert intelligence operations and control over military aid technology combine to make the U.S. government so pervasive in Central America that it sometimes backfires. This was the case when the Carter administration attempted to bring the Guatemalan regime into line with its human rights policies. The ensu-

ANALYSIS BY BILL STANT



Top: D'Aubuisson. Above: U.S. backed contras. Left: Duarte



ing frosty U.S.-Guatemalan relations were only a minor inconvenience, however, since arms and military advice were easily channeled through the back door: Israel and Argentina.

EVIDENCE

As ever more evidence links him with the death squads, however, the Reagan administration cannot politically afford to support him. Most of the "left," on

the other hand, have taken to the hills as guerrillas or have gone underground or into exile, depending on which side of the FMLN-FDR division they fall on.

The FMLN-FDR consists of social democrats, dissident Christian Democrats, independents and "communists." Their past attempts to participate in elections met with both fraud and right-wing violence.

Guillermo Ungo, an FDR leader, ran in 1972 as Duarte's running mate. According to Ungo, "We won the most votes, but we lost the election. As usual, the army's candidate won through fraud. Perhaps we wouldn't be at war today if the army—and the United States—had respected the results of that election. So please, no lectures from Washington on the 'democratic process!'"

SUPPORT

Domestic support for Reagan's El Salvador policy depends upon the ability of conservatives to raise the specter of communism and depict the FMLN-FDR as something it is not—a puppet of Moscow's "proxies" in Havana and Managua. So long as they succeed, Reagan can both invoke "national security" to defend his policy through support for Duarte and the Christian Democrats and portray his policy as a moderate course between two extremes.

Duarte provides just the reformist image needed to prop up the democratic facade held up to the U.S. electorate. He calls for a "peaceful revolution" through structural reforms which would, in theory, increase social justice and popular participation in national affairs. His rhetoric is populist and he takes a soft line on guerrillas. "We have to understand that these gentlemen with guns have a reason to go up to the mountains."

Such statements may win Duarte some votes from guerrilla sympathizers, but in practice they amount to hot air. Any serious attempt to negotiate with the guerrillas without direct U.S. participation would be vetoed by the U.S. and the army. The U.S. still hopes for a military defeat of the FMLN-FDR through a dual strategy of isolating Nicaragua and increasing aid to the El Salvadoran army.

The first part of the strategy seems to have worked. After the



invasion of Grenada, the Sandinistas shut down the FMLN-FDR in Managua. Under pressure from Cuba, they initiated a diplomatic offensive aimed at the Contadora Group (Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Colombia). They set up elections for this fall and granted concessions to their internal opposition.

The Sandinistas avoided military confrontation with Honduras by ignoring provocations. They told the Salvadoran guerrillas to pursue a negotiated settlement as their best chance, offered only verbal support to leftists in Honduras and severed links with the guerrillas in Guatemala.

HOPES

The hopes of many in the U.S. and European left have been dashed as the Sandinista shift to a national solution as their main strategy.

In El Salvador, on the other hand, U.S. policy has reached an impasse. The hope was that a Duarte victory in the March election would give the U.S. some breathing room. The Christian Democrats would pursue a limited land reform to win the peasants, the landless and the rural workers away from the guerrillas. With a clean Christian Democratic image restored, the army and its U.S. advisors could carry on their war.

But El Salvador has not been able to turn the table as planned for any more than brief periods. Sections of the army have deserted or refused to fight. Officers have deserted their troops in the heat of battle. FMLN-liberated zones have grown in size and the guerrillas have carried out sabotage missions such as blowing up bridges on the Pan American Highway.

ELECTIONS

In the 1982 elections, the middle classes swung to the far right and D'Aubuisson was elected president of the constituent assembly. Since then the assembly has systematically opposed any land reform. This was followed by the refusal of the country's largest peasant union to support the March elections.

For all the ballots they might cast, the people of Central America will still face the same fundamental problems after the elections are over. □

BRITISH MINERS ON STRIKE



Britain's miners are on strike for the first time since 1974. More than 80 closures of the government-owned pits have taken jobs from 46,000 miners. It is one of the most important fightbacks against Thatcher.

DAYS OF HOPE IN PORTUGAL



IN APRIL 1974 THE HATED CAETANO REGIME WAS OVERTHROWN—AND THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION BEGAN. FOR A TIME, THE SPECTER OF WORKERS' POWER WAS RAISED IN EUROPE. BILL ROBERTS LOOKS AT THE MEANING AND LESSONS OF PORTUGAL.

The Revolution Begins

The Portuguese revolution began in Africa. In 1960, the Portuguese government found itself facing guerrilla movements in two of its colonies—Angola and Mozambique. In 1964, a liberation movement began in Guinea-Bissau.

By 1974, half the state budget was going towards its colonial wars. An occupying army of 200,000 was needed just to keep pace, and still the end was not in sight. The fascist regime of Caetano, successor to long time dictator, Salazar, had been unable to establish a neo-colonial approach to the African holdings, as Britain had in Kenya, for example.

The drain on resources and the national economy were heavy. By late 1973, inflation was running at 30% a year. Portugal's infant mortality rate was the highest in Europe and its wages were the lowest.

The inability of the old regime to deal with the real crisis was the prerequisite for a revolutionary situation. As Lenin noted, "When it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the 'upper classes,' a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes bursts forth.



For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for the 'lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way." Portugal had reached this stage.

PUBLICATION

It was the publication of General Spínola's book, *Portugal and the Future*, that opened the gates for action. As a supporter of Hitler and Franco and as the governor of Guinea-Bissau, he had the conservative credentials necessary to openly criticize the status quo. Although vague on particulars, he raised the option of a non-military solution to the unending problems in the colonial territories.

The Armed Forces Movement grew out of a widespread dissatisfaction among middle-rank officers. Their pay was low and most had served three or more tours in the war zones.

Spínola and the liberal backers of Portugal's business sector planned a gradual shift towards necessary reforms. They called for elections in one year. But for the MFA there was one reform that could not wait. They feared a reversal by the repressive apparatus of Caetano's regime and demanded that the hated secret police (PIDE) be disbanded. The day after the coup, Spínola announced the end of PIDE. Immediately, known members of PIDE were chased through the streets as the fury of years of oppression burst forth.

The moment the coup and purge began, it took on a life of its own. In the factories and in the streets, workers turned on those who had held them down for years. All the old ties snapped and a movement of radicalization began.

Paralleling the crisis of Portuguese capitalism at the top, there was a wave of strikes prior to the coup. These were met with the usual severe re-

pression by the company managers and the state. After the coup, strikes spread rapidly. In May, 1974, 200,000 were on strike in the key sectors of textiles, shipbuilding, transport, banking and hotels. Their demands were for better wages and conditions as well as a purging (*saneamento*) of management elements connected with the fascist regime.

Factories were occupied, and by the end of June, significant advances in ridding the workplaces of fascist elements had been made. A minimum wage was established and the movement was still growing. Workers committees were being set up, and they began to run some of the factories.

But the owners did not give up without a fight. Some closed their doors hoping for calm to return. Others, like ITT and Timex, started to withdraw capital. Right-wing units of the police and army were hired to break strikes or occupations. As the number of factory closings increased, so did the occupations. By August, over 300 businesses had been taken over by workers.

The economic struggles grew into political struggles and vice versa. Rosa Luxemburg noted that in a revolutionary period, "The movement does not go only in one direction, from an economic to a political struggle, but also in the opposite direction. Every important political mass action, after reaching its peak, results in a series of economic mass strikes . . . The workers' constant economic struggle against capital sustains them at every pause in the political battle."

DEMANDS

From the beginning, the political and economic demands were closely linked. Because the corporate state meant control over every level of life, a complete *saneamento* would mean the destruction of the entire social hierarchy from the boards of directors down to the foremen.

One of the most important



battles by workers was over control of the media. One such struggle took place around control of *Radio Renascença*, operated by the Catholic Church before the coup and an important source for right-wing opinions after the coup.

Workers at the station wanted the radio to be put at the service of the new workers movement. Several work stoppages took place between April and July as the demands of the *Radio Renascença* workers were negotiated. The government finally decided in favor of the Church in late July.

But the workers refused to hand the station management back to their old bosses—thus precipitating a crisis for the transitional government. Three days of mass demonstrations in support of the workers finally convinced the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the MFA to overturn the government decision, and the radio station was turned over to the workers.

The leadership of the workers' committee at *Radio Renascença* was predominantly of the revolutionary left. Programming was decided in mass meetings. Workers' struggles in Portugal and around the world became the regular fare. The struggle for workers' control of the media was seen by both the right and the left as key to the battle for ideological power.

The Left in the

At the time of the coup, the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was the only political party organized on a national scale. It had approximately 5,000 members and a significant base in the working class from its years of underground opposition to fascism. Its weekly paper *Avanti* appeared clandestinely for 48 years.

The PCP alone was in a position to give leadership to the struggles that broke out spontaneously after the coup. Instead, it set about to establish bureaucratic control over the existing union structure—a structure designed by the fascist regime to thwart worker initiative.

The PCP joined the new government immediately. As part of the coalition, it had two seats and held the Minister of Labor position. The coalition included the party of big business—the Popular Democratic Party—as well as four Socialist Party members. Together they saw their task as making an orderly transition towards parliamentary rule. Above all they did not want to upset Portuguese capitalism.

Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the PCP, made it clear in a June, 1974 speech that the working class was not central to social reforms: "It is necessary, for good and all, to get rid of the idea that there exists in Portugal a popular government in a position to carry out thorough social reform. Also illusions should not be nurtured that in the present circumstances the workers can force these through."

He went on to warn workers not to challenge the national economy, labeling most strikes as a right-wing tactic.

This position was not idle rhetoric. When the first big strikes took place after April 25, the PCP went all out to stop them. Its own

May Day demonstration, 1975





Demonstrating in support of the MFA in June, 1974



Revolution

millitants argued against strike action, and it went so far as to slander strike leaders as fascists. When the postal workers went out, the PCP supported the use of troops to break the strike.

At every crucial point during the period of dual power—whether it was in the factories, on the streets or in the military—the PCP acted to hold back the working class. Wedded to their theory of the gradual road to socialism with the party as the repository of working class power, they were unable to respond positively to working class self-activity.

PRP-BR

Of all the left formations that that sprang to life after the coup, the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) was by far the best. It had a base in the working class and also in the army. Its military brigades (BR) had earned a reputation over the years of actively opposing the fascists—agitating in the army and destroying military targets.

They grew rapidly in the first year and were very active in building the broad left coalitions like the Councils of Revolutionary Workers, Soldiers and Sailors. They worked tirelessly to counter the right whenever it went on the offensive. They initiated inter-factory committees and by April, 1975 were the only group putting forward a perspective of workers' democracy.

Unfortunately, the PRP had two major weaknesses. First, they failed to build their organization, and thus the revolutionary party, during the period of rising expectations and activity. Second, they relied too heavily on the revolutionary section of the military as the guarantee for success.

The first weakness resulted partly from the strong apartyism

that was a reaction to the PCP and other sectarian groups. Their idea was that by building broad formations of the left, their politics would dominate by their good works. The PRP was correct to help build these broader formations, but without a regular paper to intervene in this work, they were only known as individual militants with good ideas, rather than as a party worth joining.

The PRP paper, *Revolucão* was irregular in publication, and it was generally devoted to reporting on military activity, work of the coalitions or attacks on right-wing activity. Strikes and other industrial activity took a back seat. The concept of the paper was not as an intervenor and party builder, but more as a service by reporting on events.

Their second big weakness—over-reliance on the revolutionary sections of the military—had much to do with their pre-coup ac-

tivity and with the fact that frequently through the year and a half of crisis, sections of the military did lead the left movement. Prior to the right-wing victory in November, 1975, large sections of the rank and file in the military were increasingly insurrectionary—they were to the left of the workers.

PARTY

The PRP was confused on the role and nature of the party. One part of their program read: "the existence of a large party organization is not a necessary condition for socialist revolution... Historical experience has shown that neither the Soviet revolution nor the Cuban revolution needed large parties in order to organize people and seize power. The Bolshevik party had 3,000 members when the October revolution took place." (It actually had at least a quarter of a million.)

Reaction: November 25, 1975

By November, 1975 there were significant sections of the armed forces ready for insurrection. The right-wing sought to neutralize this fact by provoking a premature rising. They found their accomplice in the PCP.

First, by provoking several radical units into action, the right-wing was able to use the PCP influence to confuse the situation. PCP officers gave contradictory orders to their units. Some gave orders to seize bases, others withdrew from action. At the same time, the PCP-led workers organizations remained idle. In other words, the insurrectionary troops looked behind themselves and saw no backing. The partial insurrection collapsed, and the result was mass arrests by the right-wing troops and police and a major defeat for the left.

SURPRISED

The rest of the left, including the PRP, was totally surprised. Again, the weakness of the PRP's understanding of the situation was exposed. They had misjudged the strength of reformism in the Portuguese working class and the ability of the PCP to hold back forward movement. The revolutionary left was unable to even mobilize a defensive general strike.

While the right had clearly won a major victory, they had not smashed the left or any of the workers' organizations. This was not a Chile-type coup. It was more like the German revolution in January, 1919—which was a defeat, but which left the class strong enough for two more major battles. The task of building a credible revolutionary party in the working class was more urgent than ever.

Portuguese capitalism was still under extreme pressure, with no

hope of relief until the international economic crisis ended. This meant that the working class would be squeezed even harder. Prior to November 25 and afterwards, workers were striking.

The construction workers and metal workers went out in force soon after November 25. The economic struggles took on even more important role at this stage.

Only by relating to these struggles would it have been possible for the revolutionary left to build the movement. Once again, Rosa Luxemburg's insights into the ebb and flow of a mass workers' movement have been the guide.

November 25 showed that the organs of Popular Power, the pre-party formations championed by the PRP and other left groups, were inadequate to the task at hand. Because much of the activity of these formations was remote from workers' daily struggles, they were unable to lead at a crucial time. Mobilizing for elections and mass rallies, while impressive in numbers on the street, failed to build the power where it could do the most good—in the factories and workplaces.

BUILD

It is always extremely difficult to build a party in a revolutionary period. Nevertheless, it was the only task worth doing since it was the key to successful revolution.

That task must still be tackled. There will be other revolutionary periods for Portuguese workers. The crisis of international capitalism continues.

Unfortunately, for all of us, the best opportunity for a revolutionary breakthrough in Europe since 1917 passed into history with a defeat for the working class. The lessons of that defeat must not be lost. □

NOTES ON A VISIT

by DIANE EGGLESTON

Although I was not able to be in Portugal during the initial exciting period after April 1, 1974, I felt some of that fervor when I spoke to people there two years later.

The tide had turned—workers and popular organizations had declined and leaders had been arrested. There had been many bombings of left-wing organizations. I found people confused and disheartened, but the experience of taking control for themselves had changed people's lives in a dramatic way.

WORK

They knew what it was like to run things and to organize work for themselves. Workers repeatedly told me how confident they were that fascism had gone—that things were better. They were not going back.

I visited an electronics factory south of Lisbon, toured the plant and heard descriptions of their experiences since April, 1974. The owner was a British firm and management prior to April, 1974 had consisted of Portuguese collaborating with the fascist government.

During the height of the activity, it had been fairly easy to get rid of the Portuguese management and to reorganize the old state-run unions to institute a modified form of workers' control. But the owners held most of the capital outside of Portugal and were delaying any decisions to intervene until after the parliamentary elections in April, 1976.

Since there was no takeover of the foreign-run industries to nationalize them and run them in a collectivized way, workers like those in this electronics firm were caught in a bind.

As one worker said, "Even at Setenave (a shipyard) we don't have workers' control. How can we if we don't control the banks. Our attitude is that we want to know everything... We want to control, but we do not take responsibility. We don't believe that we can have workers' control alone."

COUNTERREVOLUTION

By the time of the counter-revolution, many groups of workers had realized that "revolution in one factory" was not possible. The secretary of the textile workers union told me that many factories just couldn't be run efficiently or even produce

enough to cover wages by the time workers took them over.

The combined effect of so much capital being sent out of the country by the bosses and the boycotts of Portuguese goods by the U.S. and other countries made it necessary to create larger units of organization. Factory and union combines or industry-wide councils were set up to strengthen isolated workers' councils and to apply more pressure on the government.

One result of having this combined organization was the ability to respond quickly and on a larger scale to attacks by the government. For example, there was a new strike wave in January and February of 1976.

The situation was still in flux in April, 1976, and people were about to engage in the first elections held in over 48 years. Political parties of all sorts abounded. Newspapers representing an amazing array of ideas were everywhere.

For me, a bus driver, to see posters urging votes for the Portuguese Communist Party or other left political parties on the sides of streetcars or slogans painted on GM factories or supermarkets was pretty startling.

REVOLUTIONARY

I talked to members of the PRP (Proletarian Revolutionary Party) and MES (Left Socialist Movement), two of the most active revolutionary groups. There was a lot of confusion about how to relate to the elections. They knew that the right-wing was hoping to make inroads and that the left was weakened, but the PRP decided to boycott elections and were cutting back on coverage in their newspaper.

To me that seemed foolish since the fervor and confusion at that time was encouraging people to look for new alternatives. Revolutionary analysis would have been helpful since many workers were discouraged by the failure of their attempt at workers' control and they didn't understand what went wrong.

It was a ripe situation for right-wing propaganda: "Let the bosses return, and foreign capital will flow again."

The left could have reached out to offer an alternative view—the need for workers' power. □



U.S. STEEL CLOSURES

Workers' lives down the drain

by ALAN MAASS

CHICAGO, IL—Raymond Domangui is scheduled to take his vacation—shorter this year because of a recent concessions contract—from U.S. Steel's South Works mill on April 15.

The only problem, Domangui says, is that he doesn't know if he'll have a job to take a vacation from.

SHUT

"I go from day to day," says Domangui, a 14-year veteran of the mill. "When I come in and they say there's no jobs any more, then I'll know they've shut the place down."

U.S. Steel slated South Works for shutdown last December along with 22 other finishing and fabricating mills—at a cost of 15,400 jobs.

But the mammoth steel corporation's management hasn't set a date on the South Works closure yet. Still, while management is keeping its mouth shut, the mill is being prepared for shutdown. Demolition crews are a common sight these days, recently taking out two of the newly modernized plant's blast furnaces.

"I think it's a very bad thing they're doing here," says J. Gonzales, who has worked at South Works as a driver for 24 years. "They're making money here. We don't know what they're doing and why they're doing it."

"I think it sucks," says Harlan Downey, a welder. "You work here all this time and U.S. Steel says we stop making steel here and that's the end of it."

The steelworkers aren't expecting much help from their



Steelworkers protest at U.S. Steel headquarters

union, USW Local 65. The local's officers have been going along with the concessions, according to Magier Dancy. "Now they want more concessions, but they took everything they could out of here already. What's the use," he says.

While some activists have suggested buying the plant, after the pattern of the Weirton buy-out last year, most South Works workers aren't holding their breath.

"We don't have that kind of dough," Downey says simply. "We're a poor union; all our members have been laid off."

An Indiana University study found increased high blood pressure and abnormally high levels of cholesterol and blood sugar among the victims of plant closures—sure signs of "enormous stress," the report said.

The suicide rate among laid-off workers is "about 30 times

as high as the national average," and alcoholism, smoking, insomnia and nervous exhaustion are also above national averages for the victims of plant closings, the study reported.

Albert Cruz knows these facts first-hand. A former furnace worker at South Works who was laid off in the first wave of attacks in 1979, he has only been able to find odd jobs since. After his unemployment benefits ran out, Cruz says he and his family were quickly faced with not having enough money to pay for food and utility bills at the same time.

"I had to leave my family so they could eat, get ADC (Aid to Dependent Children)," Cruz says. "I meet them in the park on Sundays."

UNEMPLOYMENT

For the 1,000 steelworkers who have not been laid off from South Works (600 have been) life on the unemployment line looms just around the next corner. It takes little probing to see the despondency South Works workers feel today.

So it goes in a system that could care less about human resources or needs—only about its profits.

The slash of a pen at U.S. Steel headquarters in Pittsburgh meant a sharp rise in the corporation's stock and millions of dollars in profits for the steel bosses.

For the workers at South Works, it means lives down the drain.

"You go from having a job, making a living, seeing your friends to waiting at home spending most of your time just worrying," says Howard Spooner, a gauger at South Works for 27 years. "I'm only 48 and already I'm an old man."

It's time to fight back—for our jobs and our lives. □

THANKS!

Dear Socialist Worker,
We would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the excellent news coverage you provided during the recent strike between the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, Local 1,326 and Union Oil Company of California. Accurate and timely coverage is important to the community during these times. We at Local 1-326 feel you helped us through your reporting of the events that took place during this trying time.

Sincerely,
Gary Garrison
Secretary, Local 1-326
OCAW
Rodeo, CA

Fraternally,
Tony Kiburis
Houghton Lake, MI

Letters

Refreshing to read

Dear Socialist Worker:

John Anderson's articles are most informative, with substance and dedication to the workers' struggles. It is refreshing to read actual facts on life.

Your paper is outstanding against the garbage of reactionary news the masses are fed.

The masses are held down. "A little education is dangerous," but is necessary to get at the truth.

TWO TIER WAGES: AN ATTACK ON ALL WORKERS

by GLENN PERUSEK

Two-tier wage packages—which establish substantially lower pay rates for new workers—are becoming a favorite way to cut wages. Previously they were used only by small, ailing companies. But in 1983 approximately 5% of all contracts contained two-tier structures. Many of the companies demanding and getting two-tier contracts were large and profitable, such as Boeing and Greyhound.

The IAM contract at Boeing provides that new hires in the lowest grade start at \$6.70 an hour, compared to the previous base rate of \$11.38. The maximum these new employees will ever make under the current contract is \$9.70 an hour.

PRESSURE

Once Boeing signed a two-tier contract, there was pressure from other aerospace companies for similar contracts. At Lockheed, workers in the lowest job classification formerly started at \$8.64—they will now earn only \$6.00 an hour. But because this contract is a "graduation" type two-tier, workers will get increments which eventually will give them parity with older workers. This process will take eight years, however.

The aerospace companies demanding and getting two-tier contracts hardly needed wage cuts: Boeing made \$355 million in profits in 1983, Lockheed \$262 million. The recent contract agreement at McDonnell Douglas also contained a two-tier structure—that company also made massive profits in 1983 of \$274 million.

The contract between steelworkers and Bethlehem Steel is another variation of two-tier contract. Under this contract, Bethlehem may subcontract work which is normally performed by bargaining unit members, rather

The pressure in the future will not be upward from the lower tier. Once two-tier systems are in place, it is much easier for employers to demand that higher tiered workers take pay cuts to equalize rates. They can divide unionists by offering lower tiered workers small wage increases.

than hire new employees. In exchange, Bethlehem agreed to a "no layoff" clause for current employees. Non-union subcontractors will be paid substantially less than USWA members.

The obvious aim of two-tier contracts is to cut wages. It is an attractive way to achieve this aim because it appears not to be an attack on present workers' wages. In most cases wages for present employees are frozen or even increased somewhat, and it is only future employees who are cut.

Yet there are a number of examples of contracts which

cut both present and future employees—they just cut the future workers more. Greyhound won a wage cut of 14% for present employees, and of 19% for new hires.

Many union officials consider two-tier wages a strategically astute move for themselves—and hope to soften their members' anger about concessions because their



Two-tier wages will jeopardize all workers' wages.

own wages appear not to be at stake. Officials can present themselves as defenders of members' wages, even while they are pushing concession contracts.

SENSE

But two-tier wage structures are not just an attack on future employees. These contracts only really make sense if employers can reduce the number of workers they employ at the higher rates.

In addition, the pressure in the future will not necessarily be upward from the lower tier. Once two-tier systems are in place, it is much easier for employers to demand that higher tiered workers take pay cuts to equalize rates. They can divide unionists by offering lower tiered workers small wage increases.

Management favors two-tier structures because they believe they will serve as a wedge between workers, dampening unity.

Some unionists are rejecting two-tier proposals, though. Last year General Motors' Packard Electric Division in Warren, Ohio offered a two-tier contract that would give new hires only \$6 per hour compared to \$19.50 for current employees. The proposal was rejected.

Teamster president Jackie Presser was dealt a blow last September when the rank and file defeated a two-tier amendment to the Master Freight Agreement. They voted overwhelmingly against a deal which would give jobs to unemployed Teamsters at drastically reduced wages.

In the end, two-tier wage agreements are only a way to one-tier agreements—at much lower wages. They must be opposed. □

The Paris Commune of 1871

"It was essentially a working class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor."

Karl Marx, "Civil War in France"

In March, 1871 the workers of Paris seized control of their city, establishing the first workers' government.

The Paris Commune lasted only eight weeks before it was brutally suppressed. But the Commune's importance in the history of workers' struggles for self-rule is immense.

In this article Bill Roberts looks at the history of the Commune and its relevance for socialists today.

Karl Marx was the first to grasp the significance of the Commune. Even before the last Commune was put against the wall, Marx was addressing the International Working Men's Association on the importance of the Commune. That speech and the lessons Marx drew from the Commune are detailed in his book, *The Civil War in France*. Some of the key features of the Commune were:

- Direct election of representatives who were immediately recallable.
- Elected representatives were paid average workers' wages and received no extra privileges.
- Political power came from the bottom up. Delegates to the central assembly were chosen from local communes.
- The central assembly not only made the laws but took responsibility for carrying them out. Even judges were elected and recallable.
- The standing army was abolished and the population was armed.

The Paris Commune was the response of the working class and its supporters to France's war with Bismarck's Germany, which had gone on since 1869. Paris had borne the brunt of the war, undergoing seemingly endless bombardment and its accompanying shortages.

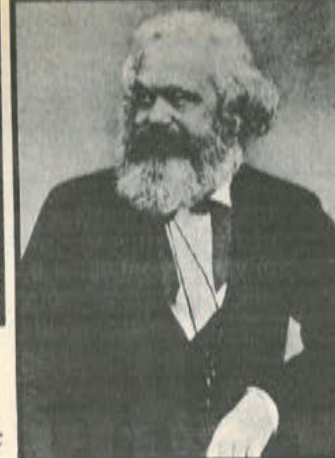
ARMISTICE

In January, 1871 an armistice was signed which heavily favored Germany and the French bourgeoisie. Seeing the collaboration of their government under Louis Thiers, the population revolted.

Thiers and his class were forced to take refuge in Versailles—a city outside Paris which housed France's monarchs. There he plotted his return and gathered forces from the rest of France for a counterattack on the workers' city.



Louise Michel



Karl Marx

"I have been told that I am an accomplice of the Commune. Certainly, yes; for the Commune wanted, above all else, the Social Revolution, and the Social Revolution is the dearest of my desires."

—Louise Michel

On March 26, 1871 delegates were elected to the Commune assembly. Four days later the standing army was replaced with a citizen's army. The Commune early on declared a separation of church and state and confiscated church property for the use of the new government.

On April 6, the hated guillotine was publicly burned and a few days later the Victory Column of Napoleon Bonaparte's 1802, imperial campaigns was destroyed. In its place was raised the red flag, "the flag of the World Republic."

One of the first tasks of the new government was to reopen the factories closed by the departed owners. This sparked a lively discussion on wage parity led by the Union des Femmes pour la Defense de Paris. This group of revolutionary women played an active role throughout the

life of the Commune and was among its bravest defenders.

WOMEN

Louise Michel is the best known of the women revolutionaries from the Commune. She led a detachment of armed women and men and was one of the first to recognize the treachery of the Thiers' government. Put on trial after the fall of the Commune she addressed the court: "You must cut me off from society! You have been told to do so; well, the Public Prosecutor is right! Since it seems that every heart that beats for liberty has the right only to a lump of lead, I demand my share! If you let me live, I shall not cease calling for vengeance . . . If you are not cowards, kill me!"

She was not granted her wish. Instead they sent her to New Caledonia, a living hell hole, where she died with

other exiled Communards.

There were many reforms implemented and planned during the life of the Commune. For example, education was free and universal. Widows and children of dead Communards were eligible for pensions without proof of legal marriage. One important reform—voting rights for women—was not won, despite the fact that a number of women and men argued for it.

Unfortunately, the sweeping changes planned by the Commune had to wait for implementation, for the most part, because the Communards were at war with the reactionary government of Versailles. And cut-off from the rest of France by a blockade, which U.S. Germans aided, the Commune had no opportunity to spread their revolution.

On May 21, the Versailles forces entered the city and for

eight days the Communards fiercely defended history's first workers' state. The cruelty of the old order's revenge was limitless. Tens of thousands of men, women and children were slaughtered and mutilated. Trials and executions awaited the survivors. Some escaped into other parts of Europe and others were transported to isolated colonies.

For Marx, the Paris Commune represented a significant advance in the history of working class struggle and a brief glimpse of the future. A key lesson for Marx was that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes."

Or as Engels explained, "[T]he working class must do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against itself (centralized government, political police, bureaucracy) . . ."

So important were the lessons of the Paris Commune that Marx incorporated them into the final edition of the *Communist Manifesto*. The living experience of the Commune had raised the theory of the state to a new level.

LENIN

Lenin used Marx's writings on the Commune to shape the direction of the 1917 Russian revolution. As he saw it, "the Commune was the first stage in the proletarian revolution, as the Russian revolution was the second." The innovations of working class rule first adopted by the Communards also played a central role in the Soviet Constitution.

In *State and Revolution*, Lenin uses the Commune experience as outlined by Marx to argue against the European socialists who believed that they could gradually take over the old state by winning seats in parliament. But, as Lenin points out, under capitalism the executive branch of government hides behind the parliamentary facade:

"The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time . . . Take any parliamentary country . . . in these countries the real business of the 'state' is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and general staffs. Parliament is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the 'common people.'"

The meaning of the Commune is expressed in the idea that "the state must be smashed" and replaced with a "dictatorship of the proletariat," the rule of the many over the few. "If you want to know what the dictatorship of the proletariat looks like," said Engels, "look at the Paris Commune." □

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
Ty Miller on **Apartheid**.
April 8 at 8:00 p.m.

May Day Celebration. Friday, May 4—evening.

Day School. May 6. Speakers on **Introduction to the ISO, Workers' power, east and west**, and other topics. For details call 235-4620.

BLOOMINGTON
Lance Selfa on **Gramsci and the Italian Factory Occupations**. April 13 at 7:00 p.m. Call 332-6682 for details.

BOSTON
Eleanor Trawick on **Why the working class?** April 15 at 7:30 p.m.

Paul D'Amato on **Marxism and the fight against oppression**. April 25 at 7:30 p.m. Call 427-7087.

CHICAGO
Christina Baker on **Why the Democrats don't make a difference**. April 6 at 7:30 p.m. Call 328-6830 for details.

Ben Blake on **Reform or revolution?** April 11 at 4:00 p.m. Call 288-7572 for details.

Leslie Cohn on **Women's Liberation and Socialism**. April 12 at 7:30 p.m.

Lee Sustar on **Socialism from below**. April 24 at 4:00 p.m.

Lee Sustar on **Why we need a socialist organization**. April 25 at 7:30 p.m. Call 288-7572 for details.

Available from:

HERA PRESS

Box 16085
Chicago, IL 60616

CINCINNATI
Dan Petty and Georgia Ellis on **Labor in the Eighties**. March 31 at 7:30 p.m.

Women and the Paris Commune. April 28 at 7:30 p.m. Call 871-1371 for more information.

CLEVELAND
Study series, part one: Dena Magoulias on **Socialism Before Marx**. April 15, 12:00 noon.

April Stoltz on **Puerto Rico: the Fight for Self-determination**. April 29, 7:00 p.m. Call 651-5935 for details.

KENT
Glenn Perusek on **Is there a future for socialism?** April 19 at 12:00 noon. Call

673-1710 for details.

SAN FRANCISCO
Study Group on **Women's Oppression**. April 8: **Roots of oppression**. April 25: **Conditions of women today**. May 5: **History of women in struggle**. All meetings at 7:00 p.m. Call 285-1908 for details.

Labor Conference on **From 1934 to 1984**. Speakers to include John Anderson and Pete Camarata. 350 McAllister. Call 285-1908 for more information.

SEATTLE
The War Atlas and an update on **The Struggle Against Marcos**. April 14, 7:30 p.m. Call 722-4133.

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

— Karl Marx

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

- Baltimore, MD
- Bloomington, IN
- Boston, MA
- Chicago, IL
- Cincinnati, OH
- Cleveland, OH
- Detroit, MI
- Indianapolis, IN
- 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

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

SOCIALISTS IN HARLEM

Communists in Harlem during the Depression. By Mark Naison. University of Illinois Press, \$22.95.

by LEE SUSTAR

From the slave days of the south to the contemporary ghettos of the north, American capitalism has used Blacks to do its hardest, dirtiest work for the lowest pay—if it provided employment at all.

Racist violence, segregation and the systematic denial of civil rights has been the lot of Black workers in the U.S. for more than three centuries.

Thus the "Black question" is a central concern of American socialists as they fight the racism that violently divides the working class. As Karl Marx wrote more than a century ago: "Labor in white skin cannot free itself while labor in Black is enslaved."

PROFOUND

Mark Naison's study of Blacks in the American Communist Party argues that "no socialist organization has ever had a more profound effect on Black life than the Communist Party (CP) did in Harlem during the Depression." His book details, for the first time, the Harlem CP's sometimes stunning success in convincing Harlem's Black activists of its politics.

By confronting racism among whites and taking to the streets to fight for Black workers' rights, the CP organized thousands of Harlemites into councils of the unemployed and led anti-racist groups such as those which organized the defense of the Scottsboro boys—nine young Blacks who were railroaded in Alabama on rape charges and sentenced to death. By 1938, the Harlem CP claimed over a thousand members, and thousands more Harlemites were involved in Communist-affiliated political, trade union and cultural groups.

But these apparently spectacular gains were largely "accidental," according to Naison. The original members of the Harlem CP, such as Cyril Briggs, were Black nationalists attracted to revolutionary socialism in the early 1920s by the Bolsheviks' anticolonialist stand in the Russian revolution and their support of self-determination of oppressed national minorities.

BUREAUCRATIC

But by 1928, the Communist International was firmly under control of Stalin's bureaucratic counterrevolution, and the Communist Parties all over the world became tools of Russian foreign policy—not revo-

lutionary workers organizations.

In the U.S., the CP demand for "self-determination for the Black belt" had no basis in political reality, Naison writes, because there were no substantial organizations of Blacks making such a demand. But the CP position placed the Black question at the forefront of the party's work. And despite sectarian, ultra-left politics that led the CP to denounce almost all other Black organizations as "social-fascist" or "counter-revolutionary," the CP managed to build a membership of several hundred, as Harlemites searched for political alternatives in the depths of the Depression. The CP, at least superficially, met the political needs of Harlem workers, Naison argues.

But Stalin, seeking allies in Western governments in 1935, ordered that the CPs pursue a "peoples' front" against European fascism and forced the Harlem party to abandon its roots in the working class and instead court the Black establishment it had been organizing against.

Party leaders in the U.S. threw support behind President Franklin Roosevelt and the Democratic Party—even though the Democrats constantly resisted Black attempts to participate in government job programs and denied Blacks the most basic civil rights in the south. In Harlem, and elsewhere, the CP began orienting to middle-class professionals instead of revolutionary workers.

OFFER

The Harlem CP grew in size under the Popular Front, but as Naison asks, "If the public face of 'Communism' differed little from that of Black liberalism, what did the Party have to offer Black recruits?" The question grew increasingly difficult to answer, and hundreds of Harlem CPers quit when they discovered that "socialist" Russia was selling supplies to fascist Italy as it invaded Ethiopia.

Hundreds more Harlem members joined the mass defections from the American CP following the 1939 Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact. And by the second world war, the CP had lost its place at the forefront of the Black movement.

Most Harlem CP members ultimately joined the millions of American workers who abandoned socialist politics after experiencing the Communist Party's cynical opportunism. But Naison's book—its prohibitive price aside—is very useful to socialists today. □



Unemployment line in Harlem, 1931

FILM

Danton and the spirit of revolt

Danton: directed by Andrzej Wajda with Gerard Depardieu and Wojciech Pzoniak

by TY MILLER

The French revolutionist Saint-Just once exclaimed, "He who half makes a revolution, digs his own grave." This statement prophetically served as the epitaph and the moral of the French Revolution.

Unfortunately, Andrzej Wajda's film, *Danton*, about the trial and execution of the French revolutionary Georges Danton, seems to present us with a different message: Don't mess with history, or it will mess with you.

The pessimism of Wajda's historical vision is understandable. Wajda, a Polish director, has since 1954 made twenty-eight films, the last two of which chronicle the rise and fall of the Polish union movement, *Solidarity: Man of Iron* and *Man of Marble*.

This current film is Wajda's first since December, 1981 when General Jaruzelski turned the guns of the Polish state on *Solidarnosc*. The defeat of *Solidarity* seems to have profoundly shaken Wajda's belief in the ability of the exploited and oppressed to change their world, and this doubt permeates *Danton*.

EVE

The film is set on the eve of the most radical phase of the revolution. The revolution has passed through several stages—from the bourgeois "declaration of independence" in 1789, to the execution of King Louis XVI in 1793, to the fall of the moderates and the begin-

nings of the Terror. It has become increasingly radical, rejecting past leaders now found too moderate.

In the eight days we see in *Danton*—late February and early April of 1794—the revolution is drawing to its climax. The Paris masses are in constant agitation. The Terror hangs over all who would betray the revolution. The government has instituted a partially planned economy to control food prices and supplies. And the revolutionary armies of France are close to victory over the reactionary powers of Europe.

Yet Wajda's film reduces this revolutionary dynamism to a single power struggle between two ambitious men—Georges Danton and Maximilian Robespierre. And the historical tragedy of a revolution half-made becomes a classical tragedy in which its two tragic heroes play out the roles assigned to them by the gods of fate.

Until late 1793, Danton and Robespierre were allies. They joined in an uncompromising demand for Louis XVI's execution. They agreed on the formation of revolutionary tribunals to mete out "the people's justice." And they joined in the vigorous prosecution of counterrevolutionaries.

They both sat with the extreme left in the National Assembly—"the Mountain." And from their upper-tier seats they hurled down invectives on the moderates seated below in "the Marsh" or "the Plain."

By 1794, however, personal and political differences had begun to divide Robespierre and Danton. Danton tried to

slow the pace at which the revolution was moving forward—calling for an end to the European war, an end to the Terror and the disbandment of the Revolutionary Committees.

CHAMBERS

Much of the film takes place in the chambers and meeting rooms of the cliques around Danton and Robespierre, indicating that the real story of the revolution is what happened behind closed doors.

This leads Wajda to give us stereotyped caricatures of the revolutionary leaders.

Wajda's portrayal of the Parisian masses is similarly contemptuous. They cheer mindlessly for Danton's demagoguery at his trial. Two days later they cheer mindlessly at Danton's death at the guillotine.

In the last analysis, the French revolution merely serves as a backdrop for Wajda's tragic heroes. The streets of Paris, the committee rooms, the prisons and the guillotine are mere scenery—dramatic punctuation for the tragedy the revolutionaries are made to play.

In his personal statements, Wajda has claimed, "The French revolution, after all, isn't really finished. Its spirit lives. I find it only natural that men should revolt and that they should continue to believe that the course of history can be changed by their actions."

As revolutionaries we wholeheartedly agree. But Wajda's film *Danton*, unfortunately, does more to discourage that spirit of revolt than to encourage it. □



Boston 1199 members win victory

BOSTON, MA—“I’ve been at this hospital for eighteen years, and I’m going on sixty years old. I’ve never been involved in anything like this. Out there on the line we were all like one, said Shirley Teixeira, an 1199 member.

After a six day strike, 300 mostly Black and Hispanic workers at University Hospital in Boston, members of 1199 New England Health Care Employees Union, went back to work on March 5, 1984, victorious.

MANAGEMENT

The management of University Hospital demanded that 1199 members give up their entire dental plan, reduce premium pay for holidays, abandon their short-term disability plan, and require union members to begin to contribute 10 percent to their health plan.

Management only offer-



Strikers at University Hospital in Boston

ed a 20¢ an hour pay increase over the next two years.

1199 defeated the concession drive, unanimously ratifying a contract that maintains their benefit package and grants them

a thirty cents an hour annual pay increase.

The workers braved the weather, set up and maintained militant picket lines and turned away deliveries driven by union drivers.

The 1199 victory clearly

demonstrates that even in an era of concessions, the strike is still the most powerful weapon workers have. Strikes can be won through militant picketing and solidarity from other workers. □

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

UAW LEADERS PLAY INTO THE BOSSSES' HANDS

The Special Bargaining Convention held in Detroit on March 6-8 was attended by some 2,500 delegates. At least three-fourths of them were union officials and members of shop committees who rarely get their hands dirty. They earn from \$30-40 thousand a year plus expenses. They get all-expense-paid junkets to Washington, Las Vegas, New Orleans and other vacation spots far from the auto centers. They live a good life. They have conspired with International reps and the employers to silence dissenters and to get them fired.

The convention reflected the interests of those with ten or more years of seniority. It did not address itself to the 100,000 or more who are still unemployed. It failed to take a firm stand on the issue of overtime even though 95,000 workers are on the street because of overtime worked. Only an inflexible opposition by the UAW to overtime will prevent GM from carrying out their plan to eliminate 80,000 more jobs in 1985.

FLEXIBLE

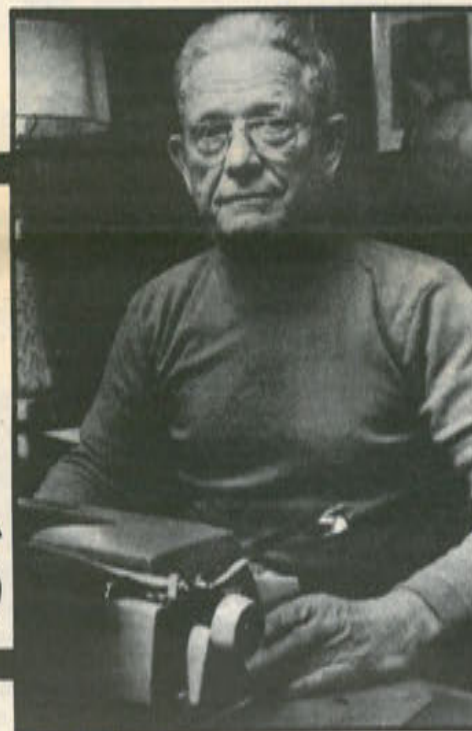
The UAW demonstrated how flexible it could be during the last four years in leading the labor movement in making concessions. These concessions have been turned into record profits for the auto barons. Profit sharing is at the

heart of the UAW's flexible policies. It pits worker against worker, plant against plant; it puts the employers in a position to divide the workers and keep them in subjection.

For GM it has meant record profits and control of the shop floor. Flexibility has brought failure on the part of the union to eliminate forced overtime, much less a shorter work-week. The UAW contracts are a product of the employer's inflexible position for three-year contracts, the no-strike clause and their prerogative in determining the products to be manufactured, where and how they are to be manufactured and the right to introduce new technology without regard to the welfare of their employees.

The 1984 negotiations will be little influenced by the publicity given GM's strategy in negotiations. It has alerted the workers, but the UAW's flexible strategy will defeat the will of the workers. Those of us who have watched UAW-GM negotiations over the last 40 years could have written much of that document. What is new is that their strategy was publicized. It was as unwelcome to the UAW leadership as it was to the corporation.

Given the state of the union, which the company knows better than the UAW leadership, a strike is unlikely.



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

The last GM strike was in 1970. That was when GM wanted to see Leonard Woodcock gain the confidence of the ranks so he could control the workers as Reuther had.

PREPARATION

With no preparation for a strike, no one in the leadership wanting a strike or with the ability to lead one, the company will firmly press their demands on the union. There will no doubt be local strikes, but they will be short lived.

Any concessions given the UAW will be based on the leadership's ability to discipline the workers and avoid strikes. It is possible that the UAW will allow the people to work without a contract after the contract terminates on September 14. That would allow the workers in some plants to take job action as the workers in Local 282 did against Moog Manufacturing in St. Louis and as the workers in Local 1760 did against the Schwitzer Fan Co. in Rolla, Missouri. If the UAW is to gain the support of the workers they must let them participate in its decisions. □

HEALTH AND SAFETY NOTES

by MATT FILSINGER

“A Responsible and Respected Businessman?”

Five Chicago businessmen were charged with murder and reckless conduct after Stefan Golab, a Polish immigrant died of cyanide poisoning at his job February 10, 1983. The Illinois state attorney described the worksite as “a huge gas chamber.”

One of the businessmen, Michael T. McKay has fled to Utah, and now Utah Governor Scott Matheson has refused to order that McKay be sent back to stand trial. The Governor said McKay is “a responsible and respected Utah businessman who is also a veteran, Boy Scout leader, and former Mormon missionary.”

Another Thorne Removed

Thorne Auchter, Reagan's head of OSHA, has resigned as head of the agency. He has been named the President of B.B. Andersen Company in Kansas, a holding company which includes real estate developers and construction companies.

His assistant, Patrick Tyson, will take over for him, but nobody expects any change from Auchter's anti-worker policies.

Fired for Protecting Himself

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) recently ruled that a worker may be fired for individual protest against unsafe working conditions. This case involved Kenneth Prill who was fired in 1979 from his job as a truck driver in Michigan, after he refused to drive a truck in which he had an accident and which he considered unsafe. Prill had complained about the vehicle to the state public service commission in Tennessee, where the accident occurred.

This is a new rule and greatly reduces legal protections for workers. It's a reversal of a 1975 ruling which stated that certain individual protests are protected under federal labor law because they involve the interests of other employees and can be considered “concerted activity.” □



JEWEL WORKERS SAY: "WE'D BETTER GET READY TO FIGHT"

CHICAGO, IL—The shopper nearly slipped past Andre Guitierrez, but with a short sprint he caught up with the man before he entered the Jewel Food Store on North Broadway and gave him a handbill.

"People should know who they're buying from," Guitierrez explained. "People should know what this company is doing to people's lives."

The company, Jewel Food Stores, announced in February that it was slashing the wages of 16,000 workers by as much as \$1.75 per hour, violating its labor contract. The union, United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 881, has filed suit in federal court to stop Jewel's action.

Guitierrez is one of several hundred Jewel workers who volunteered to walk informational picket lines in front of stores. "We've already lost over \$1 million in wages," he said. "I hope we win this thing in court, but if push comes to shove we may have to strike," he said. "That could be the only way to win—the NLRB (National Labor Relations Board) won't even listen to us."

COMPETE

Jewel claims that it needs the wage cuts to compete with the growing number of "warehouse" supermarkets, and it reduced prices following the wage cut. But Guitierrez, a bagger at the N. Kostner Jewel, believes that the company is after much more.

"Jewel is trying to turn workers against each other," he said. "We were already divided before the wage cut because we work under two different contracts. The people facing the wage cuts work under the old contract. The people under the new contract already made lousy wages. So

by LEE SUSTAR

it's hard for them to get excited about our problems," Guitierrez said.

The wage cuts also pit the younger, lower-paid workers against the higher-paid workers with seniority, he said. Those who earn less than \$9.67 an hour will continue to receive raises on schedule, but those who earn more than that amount face a wage freeze until the contract's expiration in 1985.

Gigi, a checker in the N. Kostner Jewel, expects the company to go after more concessions when the contract expires. "It's frustrating that more people don't want to fight back," she said. "They are afraid of losing their jobs."

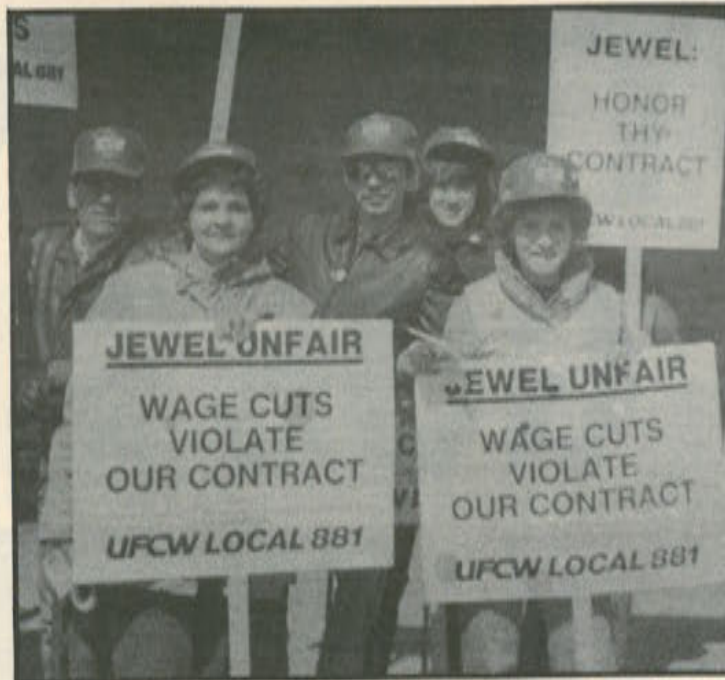
Jeanne Nelson, a worker in the suburban Wilmette Jewel, can't understand why most workers are accepting the cut. "Since Jewel wrote in the company newsletter that its profits were up almost 3% from 1982 to 1983, their claim that they need wage cuts is pretty hard to swallow," she said. "It seems that more people should be mad. But the people I work with go along with it. They say that there's nothing they can do."

COLLECTIVELY

But Gigi says that workers must fight back collectively. "Greyhound, Continental, they're coming after us one at a time. And that's how they win. All the workers have to stick together."

Guitierrez sees no other alternative. "Jewel says that if we go on strike, they'll close the place down and re-open with people off the street working for minimum wage," he said.

"People had better get ready to fight that." □



Chicago Teamsters want elected shop stewards

by BEN BLAKE

CHICAGO, IL—Two thousand fired up members of Teamsters Local 705 in Chicago braved a severe rainstorm and an unfriendly gauntlet of business agents, "organizers" and appointed stewards at the union hall entrance on March 15 to vote on an amendment to the by-laws of their local union. The by-laws change would replace the current practice of the appointment of a few dozen stewards by the executive board of the 17,500-member local with a system of elected union stewards.

VOTE

On a voice vote at the union meeting, the elected stewards resolution won a clear majority. Frightened by the outcome, Local 705 president John Navigato quickly adjourned the meeting ignoring calls for a division of the house that would have clearly established whether or not the resolution had the necessary two-thirds support to pass.

Even though most rank and file members left the meeting angered by another example of the complete disregard for democracy by the local's leadership, there was also a new spirit of opposition to the pro-company aristocracy of local secretary-treasurer Louis Peick (1982 salary: \$200,114).

For the first time in recent history, King Louis faces major opposition. This new force has the potential of rebuilding the local from the bottom up. A system of elected stewards in Local 705 would be the first step in this process of replacing the current, weak, hollow shell of a union with a strong, democratic organization that could defend the rights of the rank and file on the job.

The large turn-out in favor of elected stewards capped a five-month campaign of leaf-

letting, petitioning and rallies organized by the Committee for Elected Stewards, which included members of the Chicago chapter of Teamsters for a Democratic Union and the Unity organization of United Parcel Services Teamsters.

The March 15 setback will not stop this campaign. Currently, petitions are being circulated in support of an internal union charge that would force the top officials of Local 705 to call a second meeting where a recorded vote on elected stewards would be held. Because internal charges by the rank and file against the leadership are routinely ignored by the Teamster hierarchy, a federal court case is also being prepared to force a second vote through a court injunction.

AMENDMENT

If this route fails, which is a real possibility given the outcome largely depends on the judge assigned to the case, the elected stewards amendment can be reintroduced next year and this time, if necessary, the meeting can be taken over by the membership to force a vote on the resolution.

At the same time, the upsurge for elected stewards must be organized to directly take on the day to day problems of contract violations, production harassment and speedups and unjustified warning letters, suspensions and firings faced by the rank and file.

This day to day organization will be the key to preparing for a new round of battles against concessions and union busting when the national Master Freight Agreement and the United Parcel Service contract expire next spring. □

LOCAL 26 WORKERS FACE A BATTLE

by JOE ALLEN

BOSTON, MA—On March 23, Dominic Bozzotto was reelected president of Hotel, Restaurant International Union Local 26. Bozzotto and his slate defeated 2-1 a reform slate led by local secretary-treasurer Danny Clifford and composed of a number of the best shop floor activists in the union.

The reform slate ran on a program of organizing the unorganized, union democracy, training of shop stewards, fighting for free health care, monthly shop stewards meetings and a visible union on the job—demands that all unionists and socialists support.

Ironically, Bozzotto himself, along with Clifford, was elected two years ago on a reform slate opposing the old union leadership of "Hotel" Joe Sullivan, who was known for his sweetheart relations with the bosses.

ALIENATED

Since election in 1981, many of Bozzotto's former supporters have become increasingly alienated from his autocratic rule—negotiating contracts behind members' backs, subverting shop stewards' authority and the grievance procedure and beginning a purge of his critics in the union.

One of those purged was Marie Kenney, a business agent. Bozzotto fired her from her job as business agent on March 13. At a general membership meeting of the local five days later, over 100 rank and file supporters—a majority of the meeting—demanded that she be reinstated. Bozzotto simply dismissed their demands.

Marie Kenney told *Socialist Worker*, "Dominic (Bozzotto) ran for an open democratic union (in 1981) and an open office. He said office people had the right to speak out if they disagreed with him. That's not true. If you speak out he's going to get you. Bozzotto says I was fired for my job performance. I was really fired because I support Clifford."

In response to the opening of many new non-union hotels in Boston over the last three years, the international union claimed it would conduct an organizing drive. Kenney says that "the International organizers are working day and night on Bozzotto's campaign, not organizing hotels." His policies are "weakening the union. He's a media image," says Kenney. She recalls when Bozzotto first appeared before union members at Brandeis University. He got up before them and said, "You may not know me, I'm your president Dominic Bozzotto, you may have seen me on TV."

Kenney believes that Bozzotto's re-election will take the union back to the days of Joe Sullivan, a president satisfying his own aims without consulting the membership.

UPHILL

But even if the reform campaign had won, the rank and file would still have had an uphill battle ahead of it.

Only by union militants and socialists building around the small struggle in the shop, arguing the politics of rank and file organization and getting fellow workers involved in the struggle, so they won't be hampered by any bureaucrats—whether "reformers" or not. There are no short cuts to building effective shop floor organization. □



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NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

ANOTHER KILLER COP GOES FREE

Nevell Johnson's killer has gone free. Miami's Blacks still face racism, brutality and poverty. Brian Kelly reports.

MIAMI, FLA—It is a familiar tune by now, and one that the Black community in Miami is tired of hearing. On March 15, an all-white jury acquitted patrolman Luis Alvarez in the shooting death of 20-year-old Nevell Johnson, Jr.

SPARKED

Johnson's murder in December, 1982 sparked off three days of rioting in Miami's Overtown section that was only ended after a full-scale mobilization of police

The last time round



riot squads and the National Guard.

Within hours of the March 15 verdict, Miami's Black neighborhoods were once again saturated with police "field force teams" heavily armed with tear gas, shotguns and automatic weapons. Over 500 arrests were made and "suspects" were hauled away in horse trailers.

More than 30 civilians were treated in nearby hospitals during the action, which police spokesmen proudly hailed as a "tremendous success."

The facts in the Alvarez trial speak for themselves. Nevell Johnson had stopped in an arcade on his way home from work. Alvarez and his partner had left their assigned area and entered the arcade, where Alvarez says he noticed a bulge under Johnson's shirt. He asked Johnson what it was, and Johnson replied, "It's a gun."

Alvarez pulled his gun and pointed it at Johnson's head. From here on the testimony is contradictory. Alvarez testified in court that Johnson went for his gun, but witnesses on the scene insisted that the cop "spun the victim around and shot him."

On the night of the shooting, Alvarez gave four investi-



One of more than 500 Blacks arrested indiscriminately in Miami

gators brief statements, none of which indicated Johnson went for his gun. One detective testified that Alvarez told him "he jerked back and his gun discharged." And when Alvarez radioed for an ambulance, he was taped saying, "Somebody just pushed me. A shot went off."

The most offensive thing about the trial was that in the end it was Nevell Johnson who was made out to be the criminal. His juvenile record was brought up, his father's record was brought up and defense lawyers did their best to portray him as a troublemaker who got what he deserved.

The fact that Alvarez had five civilian complaints against him in just a year on the force never came up, strangely enough.

OUTRAGE

The reaction in Overtown and Liberty City was outrage. Nevell Johnson is just one of many Blacks shot in cold blood by the Miami police in recent years. The acquittal of four white cops in the beating death of Arthur McDuffie four years ago is still fresh in people's minds.

"People are tired of this—being shot down in the street by white cops who are acquitted by white juries," said Ray Fauntroy, president of the local Southern Christian Leadership Conference chapter. "Kids are getting a steady

diet of this hatred and racism . . . They are not afraid to die, and that's what scares me."

The government and the cops are obviously well aware of the powder keg they are sitting on, and they were well prepared to prevent the kind of outburst that occurred after the McDuffie verdict in 1980 and again after Johnson's murder in 1982. "We have learned our lesson," boasted public relations officer and police sergeant Jack Sullivan.

And in some ways they have. Their response was more sophisticated this time around—moving in quickly with a show of force—hoping they could intimidate people into staying off the streets and coming down hard on those who did not.

Since 1982 they have stepped up their "community relations" operation—trying (with some success) to win over moderate community leaders to encourage Blacks to "cooperate" with the police and to recruit Blacks to the police force. It is a combination of the carrot and the stick, except that cops—as a rule—are more adept at using the stick, and the carrot is rotten.

The hopes that Black moderates and politicians can be used to "tame" the rest of the community appear to be headed for failure. After the 1980 and 1982 riots, officials sent in a corps of Black officers and community leaders to help

keep order, but everywhere they were met with scorn and derision.

When Andrew Young and Jesse Jackson tried to speak at a community meeting, they were drowned out in a chorus of jeers. One angry youth summed up the feeling in Miami: "The only time we ever see you so-called leaders is when you come here trying to calm somebody down."

EXPLOSIONS

We have seen three major explosions in Miami in the last four years. And the conditions that sparked Miami's rebellions—unemployment, poverty and racist violence—exist in every major U.S. city.

These cities will also face Black rebellions and riots, and we must support these struggles—and every attempt by Blacks to fight back against their oppressors.

Whenever and wherever we can, we build that fightback and try to bring socialist ideas across in the course of the struggle.

We also have to argue one step further: It is unfortunate, but true, that the American state has the repressive force at its disposal to put down spontaneous rebellions like the Miami riots.

However, there is a force capable of smashing that state and putting an end to racism—and that force is the working class. □

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