

# Socialist Worker

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RIOTS SHAKE JAMAICA See page 7

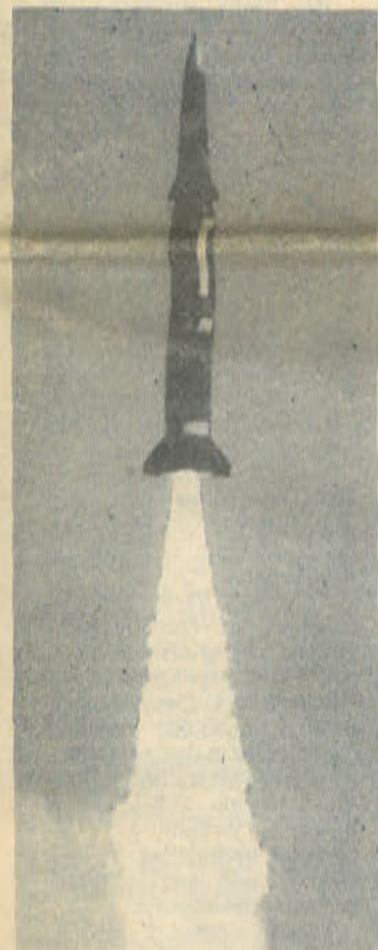
FEBRUARY 1985



NUMBER 94

## REAGAN PUSHES "STAR WARS" PLAN

# THE ARMS TALKS FRAUD



Ronald Reagan has called for arms talks with the Russians this March. He is trying to play up his image as a peacemaker. But this is sheer hypocrisy.

Reagan hopes to escalate the arms race into space, with his "Star Wars" program. He plans to set up a system of military satellites capable of destroying Rus-

sian missiles and satellites.

The consequence of such a scheme, far from reducing the risk of nuclear war, would be to make such an outbreak much more likely.

Reagan initiated the scheme in what became known as his "Star Wars" speech in 1983. The rationale behind the system is to open up a real lead over the Rus-

sians in the arms race.

The envisaged system would consist of a series of satellites equipped with highly accurate laser weapons. And rather than just being targeted against offensive Russian missiles, it would be used to wipe out the Russian satellite communications system.

### PUBLIC RELATIONS

Reagan is interested in talking to the Russians in Geneva—not because he is genuinely concerned about peace, but because he wants to cover his back with a public relations exercise.

Congress has become concerned at the escalating cost of the war machine. Last time around, they refused to ratify the MX missile project unless talks with the Russians were started. They broke down when the Cruise missiles were installed in Europe in 1983.

And they understand that one of the most serious threats to the U.S. economy is the federal budget deficit, currently running at \$200 billion. A behind-the-scenes battle has been raging between the Pentagon and



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## DEMONSTRATION DISRUPTS CIA RECRUITERS

### KEEP CIA OFF THE CAMPUSES

EVANSTON, IL—About 60 demonstrators turned out to protest the presence of a Central Intelligence Agency recruiter on the Northwestern University campus last month.

#### RECRUITER

The protesters, in the largest numbers Northwestern has seen in years, picketed the campus building where the recruiter was holding court, then entered the building to disrupt the recruiter's "work."

One student was arrested in the resulting confrontation with campus and Evanston police. Four students were arrested at

The CIA has become more emboldened in the last few years, recruiting openly on campuses. ALAN MAASS argues they must be opposed.

an earlier and much smaller sit-in.

A campaign to defend the five students and keep them in school is now shaping up. This is absolutely correct. The university administration cannot be allowed to kick out students at will.

But the problem with the defense campaign is that it puts

the confrontation with the administration on their terms—making it a matter of student discipline.

Activists will have to keep the issue of CIA recruiting in the fore. In addition to supporting the five students, they will have to step up activity around this issue.

#### LONG-TERM

Only by drawing more and more students into this fight on a long-term basis will a movement be built—a movement that will eventually be able to keep the CIA off campus altogether. □

## GAY RIGHTS SET BACK IN HOUSTON

by TERRY STONE

A gay rights referendum was defeated in Houston last month.

Several prominent bankers and Fortune 500 companies joined groups of doctors and lawyers to fuel a big-money campaign supported by the Chamber of Commerce to defeat the measure. They argued in their advertisements and news conferences that the ordinance would make Houston a "homosexual Mecca" and that it would be "infested" with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), stunting the city's economic growth.

Some Black and Hispanic leaders, saying they felt their progress in affirmative action might be hindered, lined up on the side of big business.

"We never got a good chance to eat our share of the pie, and now we have to give crumbs to someone else," said Rev. F. Williams, a Black pastor.

Ben Reyes, Houston's only Hispanic councilmember, was treasurer of one of the anti-ordinance committees. Its newspaper ads warned that the law would "encourage more homosexuals to settle here, increasing the threat to your health."

#### DISCRIMINATION-FREE

Approximately 250,000 lesbians and gay men live in the city of 1.6 million. Mayor Kathy Whitmire, who backed the rights initiative, argued that she wanted Houston to have a "discrimination-free" image.

In fact, on January 12, hooded Klansmen marched down Main Street to City Hall where they chanted, "Death to Homosexuals!"

"We just agree with the Chamber of Commerce regarding the growth of Houston," said a spokesperson for Hughes Tool Company, explaining a \$5,000 corporate contribution to the campaign.

Stung by the attack from their straight colleagues in business, wealthy gays responded by pointing to their contributions to Houston's economic development."

These included a growing group of well-to-do gays leading gentrification efforts in Montrose, a poor area of Houston. Such speculators have been crowding out local residents and businesses with trendy new restaurants and boutiques.

This small section of the gay community—visible because of its wealth—pointed to their "good citizenship" as proof of their worthiness to obtain equal rights.

Meanwhile, most of Houston's lesbian and gay population—the working class and the poor—got little media attention. Minority gays, often the victims of job and housing discrimination, got none.

Faced with the Klan and with big business, they were unable to mount a successfully aggressive and convincing gay rights campaign. The result: Houston's minorities—lesbians, gays, Hispanics, Blacks and women—are more divided than ever. Big Business is the winner. □

## Solidarity the key for Columbia workers

by AARON BRENNER

NEW YORK, NY—It looks as if the ivy covering the walls at Columbia University is about to strangle its clerical workers. Unless they can build for a successful strike, now scheduled for February 4, the clerical workers may remain without union representation, with reduced benefits and lower pay.

Whether or not the strike is successful depends on three things: workers' solidarity, student and faculty support and help from other unions—both on the campus and in the city.

Solidarity seems to be strong. Seven hundred of the 1,100 clerical workers signed a petition in support of District 65 of the UAW, which has been trying to organize at Columbia for nearly four years.

The workers voted for the union in May, 1983, but the university has refused to recognize it. It has stalled through 20 months of bureaucratic manipulation and has committed a number of offenses against the clerical workers.

#### CUTS

First, the university has unilaterally cut employee medical benefits and halved maternity leave from twelve to six months for female employees who make up 80% of the staff. These cuts are violations of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). They are illegal during an organizational drive because they may weaken a potential bargaining agent which is just what District 65 is.

Second, the university has selected a committee of clerical workers with which to "discuss" the cuts if elected. In other words, the bosses decided who they wanted to talk with—instead of the elected representatives of the workers themselves. This is a violation of the



Yale workers on strike. Is Columbia next?

NLRA as well.

Finally, the university has simply refused to negotiate. All efforts by clerical workers to voice their demands have been refused. Now they have decided to act. They want the protection a union brings. Solidarity is their only weapon.

Unfortunately, student and faculty support is not strong. The process of building support has been hampered by the semester break and the strategy of the union. Rather than taking their case to the students early on in the struggle, District 65 has advanced the slogan "Help Avert a Strike, Negotiations Now."

#### APOLOGETIC

For the most part, the union has been apologetic. No one wants a strike, they say. Now that it is unavoidable, they have begun to make their case to

students and faculty. But it is hard to gauge support.

Union officials have attained the verbal support of Local 241 of the Transit Workers Union, to which the Columbia maintenance workers belong, and Local 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union, to which some clericals in a few special departments belong. Also, District 65 officials in the city have pledged support.

But the only public show of solidarity was a picket line in front of the DuPont journalism awards banquet held on campus on January 23. But relatively few rank and file workers were present. Most picketers were shop stewards from various District 65 locals and students from the student strike support committee.

The picket illustrated that it is the union—not the rank and

file—that is organizing so far. There has been little need, in union bureaucrats' eyes, to organize the rank and file, since most activity has been directed at averting a strike.

#### CHALLENGE

But now the challenge is clear. Columbia has refused to budge on any issues. The rank and file must organize itself. It must prepare for a strike by building solidarity at the workplace and within the student body, the faculty and support committees.

So far, the union has not asked students to support picket lines and boycott classes. But to win the strike, classes must stop. The university must come to a halt. The clerical workers must demand this of students and faculty. In the end, success depends on university-wide solidarity. □

## Tax study shows it pays to be rich

It pays to be rich—in more ways than one, according to the Internal Revenue Service. An IRS report released last month showed that 299 individuals and couples with incomes exceeding \$200,000 paid no federal income taxes in 1982.

#### TAX-FREE

The number of tax-free rich was down slightly from 1981,

when 304 such folks escaped the tax man, but substantially higher than the 114 rich who avoided taxes in 1979.

The IRS noted "a high-income return was 55% more likely to be non-taxable in 1982 than it was in 1979."

Another interesting fact emerged from the IRS findings—the great increase in filers who make more than \$200,000.

In 1981-1982, while the U.S. economy endured the worst recession since the Great Depression, the rich were doing all right.

Upper-income filers increased by 18% from 1981 to 1982—to a level that was 70% above 1979's level.

The rich avoided taxes through a number of deductions, loopholes and accounting

tricks. The most popular of dodges the rich used was the foreign income tax credit, which refunds a dollar for every dollar paid in taxes to a foreign government.

While 139 filers used the foreign tax credit to escape U.S. taxes, 153 of the high-rollers paid no income tax to the U.S. or any other government. □

# Which way for socialists in the 1980s?

What We Think

Ronald Reagan's inauguration last month underlined the direction his administration intends to take: More budget cuts, increased military spending—including pushing the "Star Wars" plan—attacks on the rights of workers, re-establishing American dominance in Central America and Africa, and a continuing shift of wealth from workers to the rich and the corporations.

And the political climate is decisively in favor of the right-wing who dominate.

However, there are some signs that a small minority is willing to stand up and oppose the administration's policies.

## DEMONSTRATION

A number of organizations have called for a national demonstration on April 20 in Washington D.C. against U.S. intervention in Central America and against American support of apartheid.

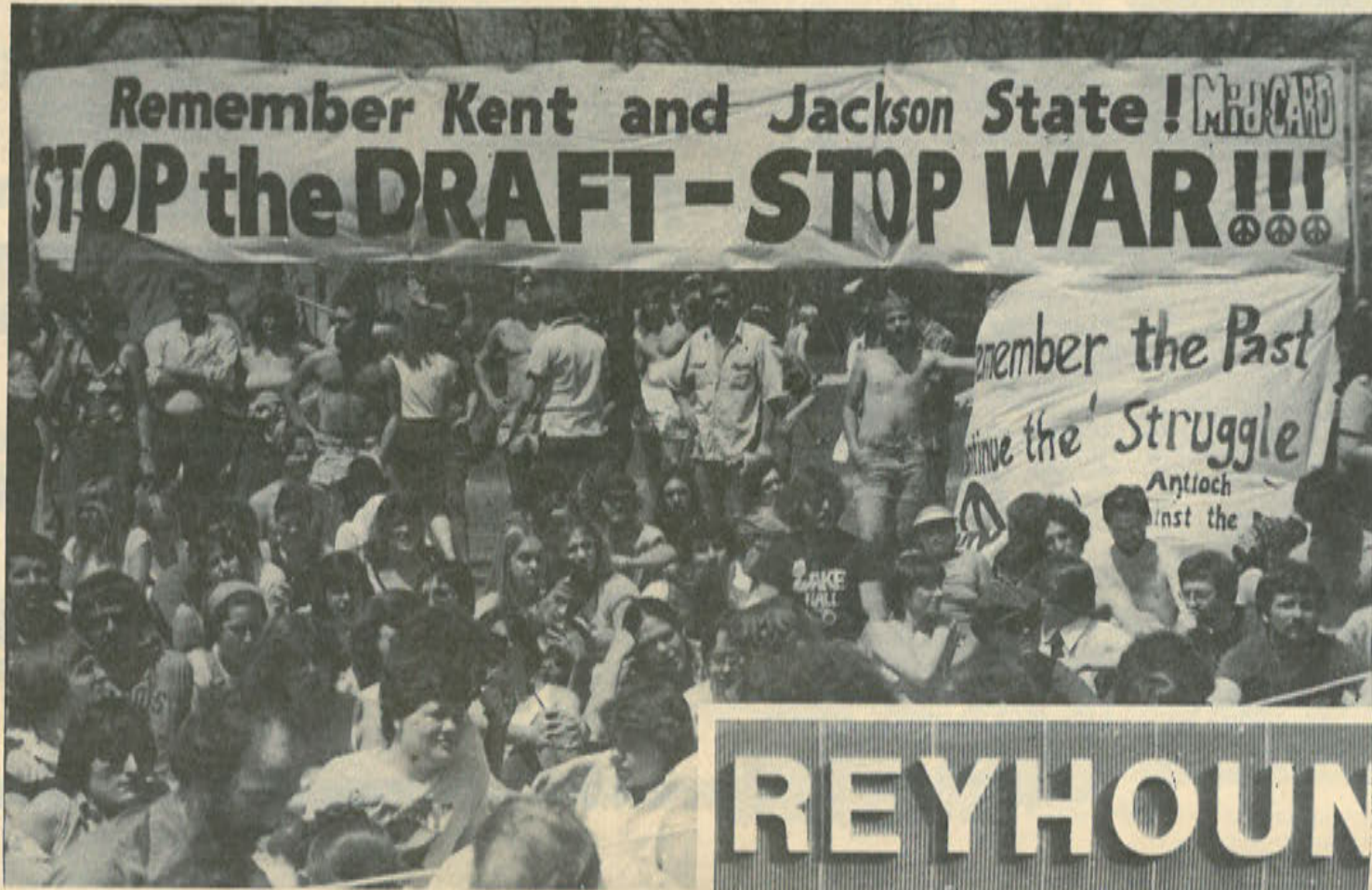
So, while the right is still on the ascendancy, the real question is which way forward for socialists and activists who want to build an opposition to Reagan and the bosses.

For many on the left, the answer lies in the election campaign of 1988. But for the immediate future, there is a consensus that all socialists can do in the present period is to be activists in the various movements, and that socialist politics, as such, are irrelevant.

John Judis, an editor for *In These Times*, summed it up by saying: "Political reality demands this: The American people are not ready to listen to any self-declared version of socialism, whether soviet, democratic or market . . ." He argued further that the Democratic Socialists of America, a liberal grouping in the Democratic Party, is the best of the socialist organizations, "because it divorces its socialist politics from its everyday political activity." (!)

Similarly, most on the left argue that explicit socialist politics are not suited to American "consciousness" and

# in the 1980s?



that the period of "party-building"—the attempt in the 1970s to build viable socialist organizations—is certainly over.

## ISOLATED

The argument certainly has a grain of truth. Socialists are isolated in today's America. But this does not mean that socialism cannot be adapted to the American working class or any such nonsense. Nor has it to do with the lack of vision or promise that socialism can offer. Rather, it has to do with a substantial decline in working class activity.

The central and most important reason for a decline of working class struggle over the last few years is not diffi-

**Socialists are isolated in today's America. But this does not mean that socialism cannot be adapted to the American working class or any such nonsense. Nor has it to do with the lack of vision that socialism can offer. Rather, it has to do with a substantial decline in working class activity.**

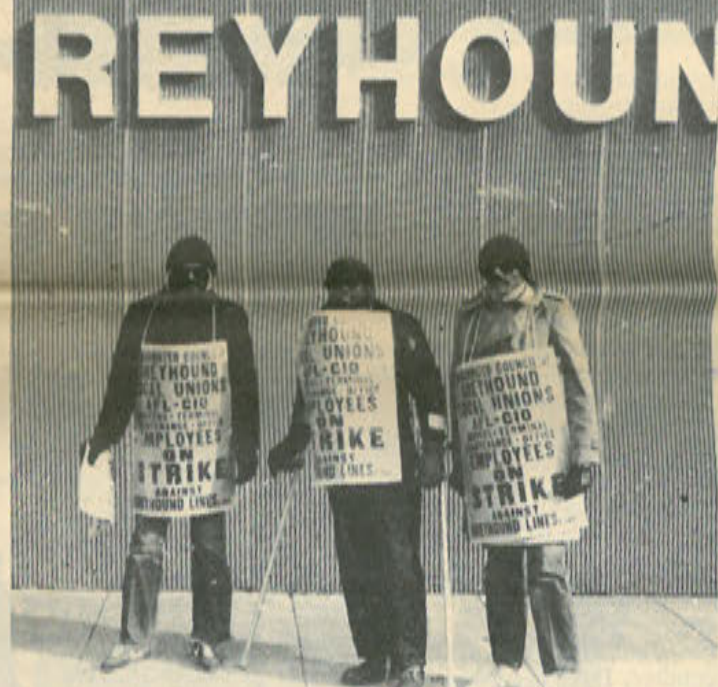
cult to see. Since the mid-1970s, riddled with economic crisis, the working class has seen a rising number of factory closings, increased layoffs and attacks on its unions.

This has thrown the working class on the defensive and has sapped it of its self-confidence. The weakness of American trade unionism, the strength of the employers and the collaboration of the trade union leaders have all combined to aggravate the situation.

At the same time, the upsurge in struggle of the 1960s and early 1970s waned, and many who were radicalized began to opt for coexisting with the system rather than struggling to change it. The talk of "new directions" for the left, "entering real politics in the Democratic Party" has simply been a cover for jettisoning any notion of real struggle and socialism.

## DOWNTURN

But what all the proponents of a more "reasonable" strategy forget is that the present downturn in class struggle will not last forever. The accumulated defeats and bitterness that most American workers feel can suddenly come to the surface. And as has happened before in the U.S.—in the teens, the 1930s and the 1960s



Even today, with workers on the defensive, struggles will flare up—and socialist arguments need to be put forward.

—at that stage, it will be essential to have a genuine revolutionary organization if the opportunities presented by an upturn are not to be lost.

That is why socialists must resist the pull to the right and instead use the present period to develop their ideas and relate to whatever small minority is interested in socialist ideas.

The present system cannot be reformed—and only a strategy of building an independent workers' organization can provide the way forward. The illusion that the Democratic Party is a vehicle for social transformation is disastrous.

Building an independent revolutionary organization is imperative—an organization which can continue to uphold socialist politics and provide an alternative to capitalism. This is not easy in a period when workers, far from showing their potential power, are on the retreat.

## ACTIVITY

Ideas by themselves are useless if divorced from activity and the real world. Therefore, the task is two-fold. We

must stress politics that can explain the world and offer some direction to those in struggle, and we need to intervene and relate socialist politics to the very real struggles that take place, even today.

This can mean arguing for the need for solidarity in a strike, for more militant action on a demonstration, or against collapse into the Democratic Party. The arguments need to be made, because there are small numbers looking for solutions today. They will be the basis of a larger movement tomorrow. □

## ARMS TALKS FRAUD

Continued from page 1

other departments who wish to see the defense budget trimmed.

Defense spending is also running at about \$200 billion. The Pentagon has won the battle, with Reagan's help, and is likely to have its way for the near future.

But by forcing the arms race like this, the U.S. government hopes not only to have the capacity to use preemptive nuclear strikes with relative impunity, but also to wreak economic havoc on the Russian economy.

## BURDEN

This sort of high technology system costs the Russians more than it does the U.S.—as the Russian economy has only one half the output of the American economy. The technology required for this

is a long way, maybe decades, away, but the plan to go ahead with research into the system shows just how serious the U.S. is about the proposed arms talks in Geneva.

Treaties already signed—like the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty—specifically ban research into this type of weaponry, yet the U.S. has already carried out tests on two intermediate forms of space warfare.

And at the proposed Geneva talks, the U.S. is refusing to even put "Star Wars" on the negotiating table. In short, whatever the outcome of the talks, the U.S. has made clear its intention to escalate the arms race. We must oppose this escalation—which leads to a risk of all-out nuclear war. □

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## INS CRACKS DOWN ON SALVADORAN REFUGEES

# "I'D PREFER TO BE SHOT DEAD RIGHT HERE"

ROCHESTER, NY—On January 14, agents of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) arrested the mother and father of a Salvadoran family which had been given sanctuary in two local churches.

Alejandro Gomez and his wife were seized as they were about to attend English language classes.

The arrests are part of a nationwide sweep against the Central American sanctuary movement. The movement claims to have the support of over 150 churches and organizations.

by NICHOLAS FICI

Gomez and his wife, Leticia, were held for five hours at the local headquarters of the INS. Within a short time, over 100 supporters gathered outside the third floor offices to press their demand for release of the two.

After his release, Gomez, an outspoken critic of the Salvadoran government of Jose Napoleon Duarte and a former trade union organizer said: "If I am deported, I would prefer that I get shot in the head right here."

"I know they don't await me with a bouquet of flowers in El Salvador. They await me with axes."

### POLITICAL

The sanctuary movement contends that the refugees it has brought to the U.S. are fleeing political oppression and violence—and consequently, they argue, are not "illegals" but true refugees as defined by the Refugee Act of 1980.

The federal government, on the other hand, in its typical capitalist nearsightedness, claims that the vast majority of

the 13,000 Central Americans seeking asylum in the past year have fled for economic reasons.

But economics is the politics of Central America. By rejecting all but 2% of those seeking asylum, the federal government and its INS agents are acting as conscious accomplices of the Salvadoran death squads—condemning hundreds or maybe thousands of innocent people to torture and death.

International solidarity with politically oppressed people is a major building block in the struggle for a worldwide socialist community. □

## THE HISTORY AND POLITICS OF BLACK AMERICA

# The real history of slavery's end



by LEN SILVA

February is Black history month. It is also the month of Abraham Lincoln's birthday. And Lincoln, we are told by our history books and civics classes, "freed the slaves"—making the American Civil War a crusade against Southern slavery.

Although it's true that Lincoln issued the so-called Emancipation Proclamation, which said that all slaves in the South would be "forever free" after January 1, 1863, he did so only after the masses of slaves acted to free themselves.

The Civil War, launched in December, 1860, represented, as Karl Marx wrote in November, 1861, "a conflict between two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labor. The struggle broke out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only terminate with the victory of one system or the other."

### CRISIS

The war threw Southern society into a crisis. The backward Confederate economy, which depended on the labor of 4 million slaves, began to fray at the edges.

Since the entire Confederacy included only 9 million people—one-third the North's population—the activities and struggles of its large enslaved Black population came to play a greater and greater role in the course of the war.

While plantation owners maintained that their "faithful" slaves would rally to the Confederacy's side, slaves resisted the Southern war effort and their masters' attempts to keep them "in line."

The Confederacy attempted to enforce strict labor discipline on the plantation, realizing, as one observer noted at



Black soldiers during the Civil War.

the time, that its economy could not hold out for more than a year against the stronger North unless slaves were made to work harder.

State governments and plantation owners set up armed bands of vigilantes to police the plantations. Ever more brutal overseers supervised production.

But slaves did not acquiesce. There were many instances of slaves assassinating overseers. On three Louisiana plantations slaves killed all the overseers, dividing up the plantations' hogs and chickens among them—effectively taking control of the plantations. These uprisings were repeated across the South.

Desertions were another form of slave resistance. Large

groups of slaves, often several families, would flee plantations—many times fleeing across Northern lines. Slaves "impressed" (forced to work) by the Confederate army to build roads and repair rails often mutinied.

### PIVOT

These struggles were extremely important, since they helped to sabotage the Southern war effort. Abolitionist Frederick Douglass called them "the pivot on which the whole rebellion turns."

But not until the end of the war was the Confederacy willing to arm Blacks to fight in its army. A North Carolina plantation owner explained, "Would they not, with arms in their hands, either desert to

the enemy or turn their weapons against us?"

As it turned out, the Confederacy authorized the recruitment of Blacks only one month before the Appomattox treaty ended the war. Yet many Blacks who kept their arms, as well as those who retained arms after deserting to the Union army, provided force to back Black claims for civil and political rights in the war's aftermath.

In fact, it was the disarming of these Black militias that became one of the methods by which the Union government helped to return power to the Southern oligarchs at the end of Reconstruction in 1877. The system of "Jim Crow" was the result.

Only with this background

of slave resistance can one understand Lincoln's proclamation which "freed" the slaves.

Lincoln was certainly no heroic abolitionist. Just prior to the war's outbreak, Lincoln and his supporters pushed through Congress a Constitutional amendment guaranteeing slavery forever! But when the Confederacy opened the war with the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the North was forced to respond to the secessionist threat.

### "CONTRABAND"

Even as the war wore on, the Northern government, under Lincoln, maintained an official policy of returning fleeing slaves to their owners as "contraband." The North, despite its superior industrial firepower and its strength of numbers, could not beat back the South in the war's first year.

Midway through 1862, Lincoln decided to declare emancipation to cut the Confederacy's economic base from under it. Urged by advisors to hold back the proclamation until after a big Northern victory (for fear that otherwise it "would sound like the last shriek on our retreat," according to Secretary of State Seward), he announced it after the bloody Northern victory at Antietam.

And the proclamation only "freed" slaves in areas out of control of the Union armies. In several Southern districts under Union control, slavery was maintained.

Thus, Lincoln was not the "Great Emancipator" of the slaves. Slaves did more to emancipate themselves than Lincoln ever considered.

The real history of slavery's end is the history of the slaves' class struggle—and not a history of a single "great person's" action. □

# Police are part of the problem — not the solution

One result of the Bernhard Goetz case—the “death wish vigilante” who shot four youths in a New York City subway in late December—is the renewed call for increased police protection. If there were only more police, the argument runs, criminals would be deterred—and there would be no need for people like Goetz to “take the law into their own hands.”

The vast majority of criminal activity arises from the strains existing in capitalist society. Most are the result of misery due to joblessness: street crimes are directly related to youth unemployment. That is why robberies and muggings are higher in large cities—and why they occur at rates far greater than 20 years ago.

## CONDITIONS

The first step in a real “fight against crime” would be to remove the conditions which lead to crime.

Take the example of murders. The vast majority of murders—over 85%—are committed by relatives or friends of the victim. They are, in part, the response to the horrible strains that the family imposes upon people. A society in which people have the freedom to choose who they live with, and the material means to make that choice freely, would remove the major cause of the most terrible of crimes.

But, it could be argued, even if most of the sources of crime could be eliminated, there would still be social

**Bernhard Goetz’s shooting of four youths on a New York subway has led many to call for more police.**

**But this is not a solution to the problem—indeed, the police are a central part of the problem.**

misfits—those with mental abnormalities, for instance—who would still commit anti-social acts. But even in this case, the last thing you want to control this with is a police force.

Whatever the media may claim, the police have nothing to do with preventing and solving crimes. Of the 12.4 million crimes known to the police in 1980, only 19.4% resulted in arrests. For murder, the “clear-up rate”—cases in which arrests are made—is about 75%—because the murderer is known to family members and friends. Similarly, the vast majority of shopliftings are cleared up because only those who are caught in the act ever come to the attention of the police.

Only about a quarter of the crimes which result in arrests are solved by detection. This might sound impressive, but add it up. Detection solves only a minority of the 19% of reported crimes which end in arrests. Thus, well less than 10% of all crimes are solved



by the police.

The police are no better at stopping crime than they are at clearing it up. The average policeman can expect to intercept a street robbery once every 14 years.

## DOUBLE

It is not true that this is because there are not enough police. Today, there are 585,000 policemen in the U.S.—including 15,000 in Chicago and 29,000 in New York City. This is nearly double the figure of 20 years ago. But in that period, crime statistics have soared. Murders are up from 5,800 in 1965 to 29,308 in 1983. Robberies are up from 118,000 in 1965 to 500,221 in 1983. Burglaries are up from 1.7 million in 1965 to 3.1 million in 1983. And so on. More police have gone along with more crime: they do not make us any safer.

Police are “special bodies of armed men.” In order for them to attack their fellow human beings—which, after all, is their job—they must be cut off from society. They have special uniforms, a special system of codes and regimentation.

But it is in society that crimes are committed. If the police were to be more effective at clearing up crime, they would have to know what is going on in society.

Today, the police get much of their information from “paid informers” and from ordinary people. The former are important in dealing with organized crime, but are not much use against the vast majority of crimes.

## CUT OFF

The bigger the police force is, the better it is equipped, and the more it sees itself as “professional,” the more it is cut off from ordinary people. It tends to treat people as suspects—especially Blacks and young people. Because of this, it is natural that the police develop a reputation—one which inhibits ordinary people from giving them information which would help

in the solving of crimes. So the police become less effective against crime.

As long as society contains large numbers of people who suffer from horrendous conditions of joblessness and poverty, there will be crime. No number of police can stop this crime—as recent history demonstrates.

The only effective control against crime would be an end to poverty, coupled with

policing done by all people. The vast majority of crimes would be eliminated if their cause—impoverishment—were eliminated.

## CONTROLLED

And the rest of criminal activity would most effectively be controlled by self-policing of communities by their residents—not by employing a handful of corrupt and brutal thugs in uniform. □



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## Talking about socialism

# SOCIALISTS FIGHT TO OVERCOME OPPRESSION

In a society ruled by a minority exploitative class, there is oppressor and oppressed in all walks of life. Boss oppresses worker, man oppresses woman, white oppresses Black, heterosexual oppresses homosexual.

Socialists fight to overcome these divisions. A Teamster who can only identify with other Teamsters may be a good union member, but he must do more to be a socialist. A socialist must be able to identify with the struggles of all oppressed groups.

Capitalism rules by dividing us. And, as history shows, there is no "natural" way by which one oppressed group identifies with another. Poor whites often demonstrate a more extreme racism than rich whites, as the social composition of KKK groups shows.

### SEXISM

Similarly, Blacks do not automatically support women in struggle, and vice versa. Sexism in the civil rights movement of the 1960s was sometimes extreme on the part of both white and Black male activists.

Gay oppression does not automatically insure that gays will identify with the oppression of others. The Nazis sent thousands of gays to their concentration camps. Still, gays did not "automatically" become anti-fascist.

Thousands of gays supported Hitler. Many were in the brown shirts brigades. After Hitler took power, he turned on gay supporters in the slaughter of the Night of the Long Knives.

How can we explain why gays joined with the Nazis or why Blacks join a police force that systematically discriminates against Blacks?

To answer this question, we have to see that one of the results of oppression is the fostering of powerlessness.

by BILL ROBERTS

Putting on a Nazi leather jacket and jackboots, or strapping on a gun and badge gives you a sense of power. Now someone will respect you for a change.

### HOPE

Therefore, for any oppressed group to fight back, it must have a sense of hope—of the possibility of overcoming their oppression. If you are on the way down you feel despair. You look for a victim to kick. If there is promise of a better life, you are more likely to struggle alongside others.

That is why working to build a socialist movement is the only real way you can unite workers with oppressed groups—Blacks, women, gays.

And that is why it is also important for oppressed groups to organize demonstrations against their oppression. Whether it is women organizing to protect the right to have an abortion, or Blacks marching for better housing, the act of fighting back builds confidence and opens up the possibility for wider unity.

And that is why socialists must be part of these fights, because socialists understand the importance of a united struggle to crush the system that breeds and depends upon oppression.

Socialists need to convince the oppressed sections of the working class that there is a better society to be built and that there is a common struggle to be waged.

### FOSTER

Karl Marx wrote that capitalism unites the forces of oppression. But it also divides them. Unity must be consciously built.

Our unity is only real when all sections of the working class fight together for a new social order.



Socialists must make the struggle against oppression—and divisions in the working class it produces—central to the struggle for a new society.

## Drug companies ignore labelling hazardous products

by JEAN WHITTLESEY

In 1981, four studies showed a connection between Reye's Syndrome, a children's disease, and the use of aspirin. Reye's Syndrome is rare and strikes children who already have chicken pox or the flu. The symptoms are vomiting, convulsions, brain swelling and coma. Twenty-five percent or more of the victims die from the disease.

Children who are given aspirin while they have the flu or chicken pox are more likely to get Reye's Syndrome as well. In the last three years, at least 176 children have died from Reye's and others were left with brain damage. More than 90% of the children had been given aspirin.

### PREVENT

The Reagan administration and the aspirin industry have tried to prevent warning the public. As early as November, 1980, the Center for Disease Control issued a warning that aspirin is linked to Reye's Syndrome. In mid-1982, Richard Schweiker, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, finally agreed that labels on aspirin warning parents about the connection to Reye's Syndrome should be required. However, President Reagan issued an executive order which required that all new regulations undergo a cost-benefit analysis.

The Office of Management and Budget decided that the lives saved by labelling aspirin bottles were not worth the cost to the government to enforce the regulation on the aspirin industry. James Tozzi, who made the decision, said, "Procedurally, that was the best decision I ever made."

The aspirin companies,



Drug companies make millions—and some of their products kill.

claiming that the connection between the drug and the disease have not been proven, has used several tactics to prevent the public from learning about the potential dangers of their products.

The Aspirin Foundation, the lobbying group for the industry, lobbied successfully in 1982 to kill the proposed labelling laws. The Committee on the Care of Children, an organization of doctors funded by the aspirin industry, delayed distribution of a pamphlet to supermarkets, by threatening to sue the Food and Drug Administration. It also threatened to sue radio stations if they ran FDA public service announcements. Many stations stopped the ad.

### REMOVE

This month, the current Secretary of Health and Human Services, Margaret Heckler, asked aspirin companies to voluntarily label their products with a warning. She said she was "delighted" with the "public spirited response" by the industry.

The Aspirin Foundation has

agreed to the warning, but not yet to their wording. The Foundation also agreed to remove the recommendation, which is still on aspirin labels, that aspirin be given to children with the flu.

However, the aspirin with the new labels will probably not be on the shelves in time for the next flu season in late 1985. And, with no laws to enforce the labelling, it may not happen at all. In the meantime, an average of 60 lives per year may continue to be lost.

It is clear that the drug companies care more about their profits than the lives of people who rely on their products. And the U.S. government is more interested in protecting these corporations than its citizens. A system is needed in which the need for safe, quality health care is guaranteed and vital information cannot be withheld from the public because of the balance of economic forces. People's lives and health should not be subject to the greed of these corporations. □



### Mistaken Identity

At a Reagan inaugural gala, a female Congresswoman mistook TV star Nell Carter for a colleague in the House of Representatives. As Carter explained, "Since I'm the only Black woman here, I guess she figured I had to be a Congresswoman." □

### Government for the People

The pageants that preceded Reagan's inauguration last month took the theme, "We the People." And estimates of the money couples attending the festivities would spend during the inaugural weekend suggested that "the people" needn't apply. The average couple, according to the inauguration committee's predictions, would spend \$3,500 in three days. □

### Honesty Is the Best Policy

Throughout Reagan's re-election campaign, the Treasury Department kept Gipper in the dark about its tax change plans. Deputy Treasury Secretary R. T. McNamar explained the strategy: "We wanted to be sure that the President could honestly deny that he had any idea what was going on here." □



# Price increases fuel mass protest in Jamaica

by CHRISTINA BAKER

For two days in January—at the height of its tourist season—much of Jamaica was paralyzed by protests. In the upheaval, at least five demonstrators were killed—four by police and one by a wealthy motorist inconvenienced by the protests.

All the schools and most businesses closed down. No public buses were running, and even taxis were hard to come by.

Most of the disturbance centered in Kingston, the nation's capital, leaving the northern resort area so key to the island's dominant tourist industry largely untouched. Nonetheless, airlines reported many cancelled reservations and near empty flights into the country, and the airport reported that over half the flights into Kingston had been cancelled.

**Edward Seaga, Jamaica's right-wing prime minister, announced sharp price increases last month.**

**The Ministry of Tourism has announced that in order to reassure American tourists that Jamaica is still a good holiday spot, it has upped its budget for television ads in the U.S. from \$2 to \$5 million. But the situation is far from stable.**

A single demonstration on the island of 2.1 million people involved 1,000, and a protest of 300 was held in front of Jamaica House—the white-washed Victorian mansion housing the Prime Minister's offices. But most of the demonstrations involved groups of 40 or 50 people blocking roads with cars and burning tires, or fighting police with stones and



bottles.

## PRICE INCREASES

The protests came within hours of Prime Minister Edward P. G. Seaga's January 14 announcement of sharp increases in gasoline and other fuel prices. They marked the most serious unrest in the four years that Seaga has been in office.

Seaga, Reagan's closest ally in the Caribbean, was elected with a promise to restore economic and political stability to the island which had been the site of upheaval and rebellion throughout the 1970s. Shortages of food and other goods had frequently led to strikes, disruptions of public services and frequent gun battles with police.

Seaga's Jamaica Labor Party used demonstrations similar to those of this January in their successful attempt to unseat Prime Minister Michael Manley and his social democratic People's National Party (PNP) in 1980.

It was partly for this reason that Seaga responded to the recent protests cautiously. The other reason was his fear that the demonstrations could explode into the same kind of violence as that which faced the Dominican Republic last April when government forces killed more than 60.

The recent demonstrations in Jamaica were a response to more than simply fuel rate increases. During his term in office, Seaga has instituted a series of austerity measures with a resulting growth in tourism, agriculture and manufacturing, but a worsening of conditions for most of the island's people.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment has soared to 25%, and recently Seaga dismissed 5,000 of the nation's 100,000 civil servants. Last year's inflation rate was over 30%, and matters were made worse by Seaga's 50% devaluation of the Jamaican dollar in 1984 and his elimina-

tion of government subsidies. The cost of many foods went up 50-75% in the last year. And the most recent fuel price increase followed a doubling of fuel and electric prices over the year. The new increase meant a 21% increase in the price of gasoline—up to the equivalent of \$2.16 per gallon.

Michael Manley, still leader of the PNP, called the increases "unwarranted, unjustifiable and unbearable." But when in office, Manley himself carried through a massive austerity program and the institution of gun counts in an attempt to stabilize Jamaican capitalism. The PNP, however, has been credited with most of the organizing in last month's protest. The Marxist Workers Party of Jamaica also played a part in the organizing.

Some tourists were confined to their hotels during the height of the unrest, but many approached the situation with a detached and biased attitude toward the plight of the islanders. Beside the pool of the Wyndham Hotel, a Miami lawyer commented, "The key feeling is boredom." □

## FACTORY OCCUPATIONS ROCK BOLIVIA

by LEN SILVA

Factory workers in La Paz released 190 executives and technicians after holding them hostage in a three-day occupation which engulfed 34 factories in late January.

Though the workers released the executives, they did not give in on their demands for an immediate 200% pay raise—needed to keep up with sky-rocketing inflation. More than 50,000 workers maintained a general strike in the La Paz area to press for the demands.

### OCCUPATIONS

The factory occupations certainly threw fear into the hearts of the Bolivian ruling class. The Board of Industries instructed all 600 factories in La Paz to close "to guarantee the safety of our executives" and asked Bolivian President Hernan Siles Zuazo to intervene on the executives' behalf. Employers threatened a nationwide lockout.

The occupations were only the latest in a growing tide of class struggle in Bolivia, heightened in the last year by International Monetary Fund and U.S. bank demands for drastic austerity measures.

The country's economy remains in acute crisis. Production is down 17% from 1983. Inflation runs at 2,000% and per capita income has declined by 24%.

And in April, Siles Zuazo's "national unity" government, a coalition of the center-right MNRI (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario de Izquierda), social democratic MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria) and the Communist Party (PCB) made matters worse for workers and

the poor.

Responding to IMF and U.S. calls for austerity, the government announced price increases which boosted the price of bread five times and the price of fuel by four times.

### LIFE EXPECTANCY

These changes took root in a country where the average life expectancy is 51 years and the average daily nutrition level is 13% below the Food and Agricultural Organization's minimum.

The austerity measures provoked a 72-hour general strike around May Day, 1984, called by the central labor federation, Central Obrera Boliviana (COB). When police moved in to break up a sit-in of workers at the country's central bank, the COB broke ties with the government with which it had previously collaborated.

In fact the COB leadership, mostly Communist Party leaders from the miners' federation (FSTMB) had opposed calls by the La Paz factory workers for an indefinite general strike.

While the leading reformist parties and labor federations rushed to defend the austerity program as a necessary plank to defend "democracy" amid rumors of a military coup, workers and party militants moved independently to challenge government plans.

Within the COB, influence is shifting to the more militant factory workers—those who held the executives—from the more moderate mine workers.

### LOST

At the miners' union congress in May, nine Communist Party (PCB) leaders lost seats on the union execu-

tive to several leftist candidates. In October, the PCB lost three of seven seats on the COB executive to a newly emerging reform caucus in the COB, the Direccion Revolucionaria Unificada, a collection of dissidents who oppose the PCB's policy of collaboration with the government.

Although the COB held more militants in its leadership, the militants showed similarly cold feet at fighting a long-term general strike. In November, it called an indefinite general strike and called it off within nine days. The government immediately rushed to implement austerity plans.

Rumors of a military coup, like the ones that occupied Bolivia in 1980 and 1981 before the military handed the governmental reins to Siles Zuazo in 1982, persist.

### COUP

One officer, Gen. Jose Olvis Arias, is mentioned as the possible coup leader. He was ejected from his office after refusing to carry out Zuazo's order to guarantee the elections Siles Zuazo has called for this June.

Right-wing parties have already called for Siles Zuazo's resignation and the right is gaining in electoral strength. There is a real possibility that the military might implement its plans for assuming "administrative control" if the political crisis continues.

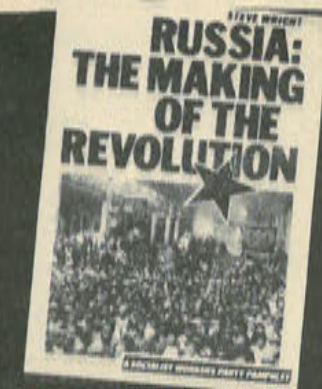
The militance of Bolivian workers has been impressive—making difficult government and military attempts to establish authority. But workers' discontent is not as yet organized to deliver a crushing blow to the Bolivian ruling class's attempts to subjugate them. □

Hera Press has many books and pamphlets

"Russia: The Making of the Revolution" (\$1.50) looks at the hard years preceding 1917 and traces the development of the Bolshevik party.

"Russia: How the Revolution Was Lost" (\$1.50) gives an account of the degeneration of the revolution and the rise of Stalinism—of a new ruling class.

"State Capitalism in Russia" (\$3.00) is a classic study of the dynamics of the Russian economy and why it is



state capitalist, not socialist.

All these books—and more—are available from Hera Press, P.O. Box 16085, Chicago, IL 60615. Add \$1.00 for postage. □

Last month, Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met in Geneva to talk about new arms control talks. Both sides declared their intention to "eliminate nuclear weapons" from the face of the earth. In concrete terms, they agreed to a new set of "umbrella" talks with three subgroups working on space, "strategic" weapons (those that can hit either superpower) and intermediate weapons in Europe.

But any who hoped the talks would lead to arms reduction—or peace—were dismayed when Shultz got a warm reception from Congress in his plea to increase MX missile production. Not to do so would "undermine negotiations," he said. In a similar move, Shultz aide Paul Nitze went to Holland to pressure its government to accept the U.S. Cruise missile.

Where are these new negotiations likely to go? STEVE LEIGH looks at the history of negotiations and the arms race, arguing that we need to ask why there is an arms race anyway and why the superpowers bother to negotiate.

## HOW CAPITALISM BREEDS WAR

EVER SINCE the beginning of "civilization" when societies were divided into different economic classes, governments have fought wars. Each set of rulers tried to supplement the income it got from its own people by stealing some of the wealth belonging to other rulers. But capitalism added a whole new element. Now it wasn't just greed and military competition but the pursuit of profit itself that caused war.

Under capitalism, each economic unit—whether individuals and partnerships in the early days or corporations and governments today—must produce as cheaply as possible, or it will be priced out of the market, lose business to rivals and go bankrupt. To hold down costs, it tries to keep wages down and invest in more productive equipment. In order to invest in new equipment, it must earn more. So it is driven to accumulate as much capital as possible. The bigger it gets the better it can undercut the rivals and win out in the competition.

This drive for profit results from the competitive market economy. It is not a result of the will of each owner. It is imposed on each of them whether they like it or not.

### WORLD ECONOMY

In the early days, most of the competition was contained

within the nation state. As corporations developed and grew in size—and as transportation and communication got more efficient—more and more investment took place overseas. The world economy became truly international.

And as the economy became more international, the large corporations that controlled each government used their government to defend their interests overseas. Since each corporation had military power behind it, the old economic competition was supplemented by and sometimes replaced by military competition.

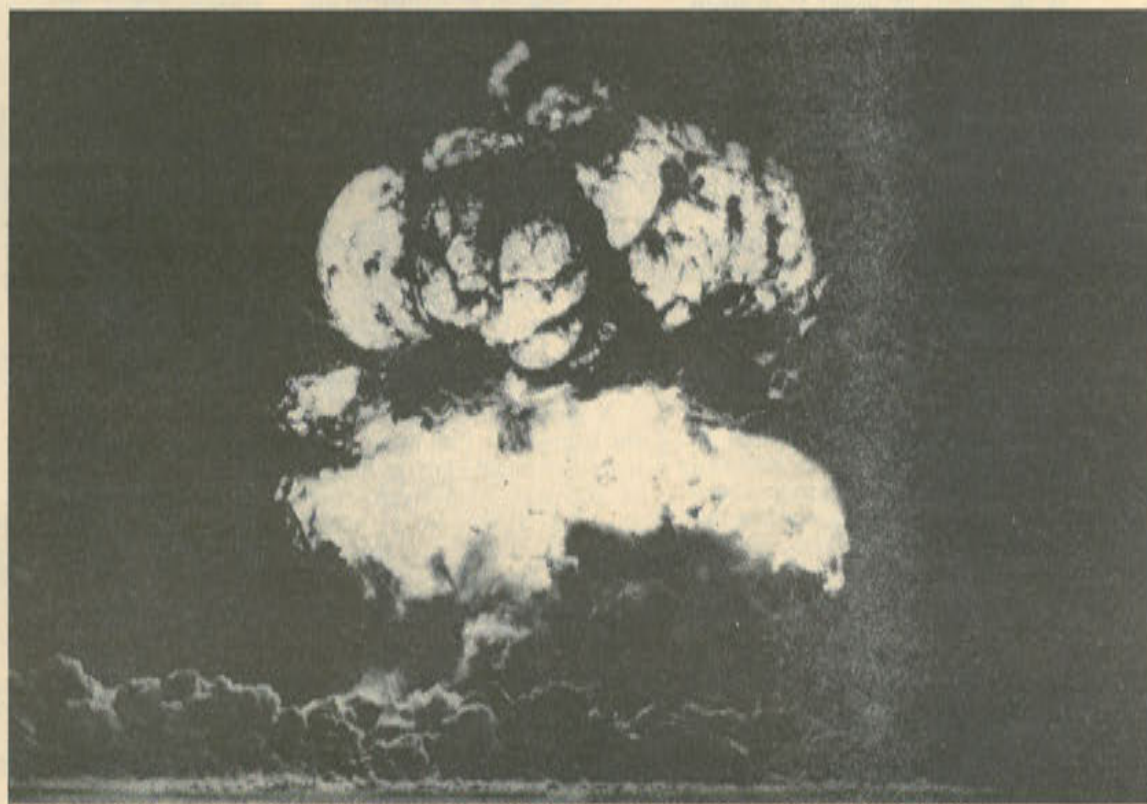
This military rivalry was a direct result of the original market competition. It, too, ultimately came from the drive for profit. Any corporation that wasn't protected by military power was at a severe disadvantage. Any government that didn't protect its corporations would see its own economy undermined. In a circular fashion, if its own economy was undermined, it would be less able to compete militarily. Military and economic competition reinforced each other.

This now economic/military rivalry for control of markets, cheap labor, sources of raw materials and places to invest led to the first and second world wars. In each war, old empires were destroyed and new ones created. □



Gromyko and Shultz in Geneva.

# WAR



## THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

BEFORE WORLD War II, each major nation had its own colonies and its own spheres of influence. After the second world war, something new happened. The world was divided into two blocs—the "Communist" bloc versus the "Free World." This happened because at the end of the war, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were the only major military powers in any position to continue military dominance. Moreover, the U.S. was overwhelmingly dominant economically. The U.S. alone produced nearly half the world's goods in 1945.

### FLOOD

The U.S. wanted to use its position to flood the world with its goods and investments. The Western European allies agreed, as they were economically and militarily prostrate. Further, they soon learned that they could prosper as junior partners of the U.S., investing throughout the "Free World" under the protection of U.S. military power, and especially the "nuclear shield."

As the economy became more international, the need for separate military power protecting separate national sets of corporations became less. The U.S. invested in Europe, and European nations invested in each other and the U.S., so all private corporations in the West were protected by and loyal to the "Free World" which meant NATO (and primarily the U.S.). Of course, all national rivalries within the Western bloc didn't die, but they declined—compared to the period prior to the second

world war.

But there was a fly in the ointment of "Pax Americana." After World War II, the Soviet Union was not ready to accept the U.S.'s domination. Its government was not private, but state capitalist. Its rulers relied on state ownership of industry. As such they couldn't survive by opening their borders to U.S. goods and capital.

The other reason they could not open up to free trade was that their own industries were so technologically inferior to the West that to do so would have been suicidal. To avoid becoming an economic colony of the West, they had to close their borders and trade only on their own terms.

The U.S.S.R. came out of World War II economically weak, but militarily second only to the U.S. To isolate itself and still ensure an adequate supply of raw materials and a buffer zone for military protection, it needed control of Eastern Europe. It needed an "Iron Curtain."

### CARVE-UP

The Cold War was a jockeying for position in the carve-up of the world resulting from the second world war. It was not fought for "peace" or "freedom" or "democracy" or "socialism" but for profit and for power. Each side was willing to risk the future of the planet for its own selfish aims.

Because of the increasing cost of the new military technology, military competition often seemed irrational, even from the standpoint of the capitalists. It cost more than the



profits it was meant to protect. Yet the rulers had to continue the insane arms race, anyway. For now their very survival was at stake.

If the U.S.S.R. backed off, the U.S. would "roll back Communism." If the U.S. backed off, the U.S.S.R. might conquer Europe and then become the strongest power, able to threaten the U.S. itself—or at least drive it from the rest of the world economically.

The new multinational corporations in the U.S. and Europe and Japan were ready to pay the price for their right to operate freely throughout the world. Though a minority of profits derived from operations abroad, the economy was becoming so international that restricting operations to one country might bankrupt the whole national economy or lead to a new depression.

In the nuclear age, from 1945 on, an important foundation of military power became atomic weapons. No state could be taken seriously unless it had them or was allied to someone who did. □



# GAMES

## THE PERMANENT ARMS ECONOMY

THERE WAS another reason for continuing the arms race. In spite of its massive costs, arms spending actually helped stabilize the economy. It helped hold up profit rates that would have otherwise declined. It also gave a colossal boondoggle to the largest U.S. corporations.

So even though all corporations were taxed to finance the arms race, the largest corporations reaped the profits. They were also the ones with the most political power, and their interests helped perpetuate the "Permanent Arms Economy." Before World War II, the U.S. spent only 1% of its Gross National Product (GNP) on arms. After the war, it never varied below 6-7% and sometimes went up to 11%.

### TERRITORY

In spite of nuclear/military competition and partly because

of it, neither the U.S. nor the U.S.S.R. actually attempted to militarily seize territory from the other. Because of the economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s, they could both prosper without going to "hot war" against the other.

Instead, proxy skirmishes in Africa or Southeast Asia were the model. After the mid-1950s, each side was resigned to accept the new division of the world. But of course this was



based on the possession of nuclear weapons by each side. Both powers knew that without their nuclear weapons, the other side would try to actually take their territory.

Lately, of course, this has changed. With the decline of the world economy, competition has increased. Each side now fears that the other might actually seize some of its territory. The prospect of "hot war" between the two has increased. □

## "NEGOTIATIONS": A SMOKE SCREEN

IN THIS context, negotiations have never been the major strategy of the superpowers, but only a subsidiary to military competition. A 1950 report by the National Security Council exposed it well:

"Negotiation . . . is not a possible separate course of action, but rather a means of gaining support for a program of building strength . . ."

In other words, negotiations were and are, primarily, a form of public relations—to convince the people they rule that they want peace. Secondarily they are used to gain advantages on the other side if possible.

The record of negotiations from 1945 on shows this clearly.

### "BARUCH PLAN"

The first "attempt" at nuclear disarmament took place in 1946. The U.S. proposed the "Baruch Plan"—named after the U.S. financier who proposed it. It called for ultimate control of the bomb by the United Nations, but until the treaty came into force, the U.S. was to keep its monopoly of nuclear secrets and production. It also called for "punishment" of any nation that tried to develop nuclear weaponry.

The U.S. could keep increasing its stockpile until the final stages of the plan. It was thus very heavy on inspection but light on actual disarmament. The U.S.S.R. rejected this plan saying it was weighted toward the U.S. The U.S. could claim that it had tried and still got to keep its monopoly of weapons.

In the same period, President Harry Truman offered a troop

ceiling of 1.5 million for both sides. The U.S.S.R. accepted this, and Truman withdrew his offer.

June, 1954, saw one of the best chances yet for nuclear disarmament. Britain and France proposed a plan involving stages toward total disarmament. Britain and France proposed a plan involving stages toward total disarmament.

First could come ceilings on military spending, then a prohibition of further production of nuclear and conventional weapons.

The U.S.S.R. accepted the plan as a basis for negotiation. Soon after, the U.S. also moved toward acceptance of the plan. The U.S.S.R. again responded favorably.

But finally, in the fall of 1955, the U.S. pulled the plug on the plan, and it died.

### TEST-BAN

This offer and renege as a style of negotiation was followed by the U.S.S.R. as well when it loudly proclaimed a unilateral test-ban in 1953. This coincided with the end of its

series of tests. The U.S. also stopped testing, but when it needed a new set of tests, the U.S.S.R. unilaterally ended the test-ban in 1961.

More recently, another example of "generous offers" for propaganda effect was Reagan's "Zero Option" plan for Europe in 1981-1982. In 1979, NATO decided to put in new Pershing II and Cruise missiles to counter Russian SS-20s aimed at Europe. Reagan offered to stop deployment if the Russians agreed to dismantle all the land-based missiles they had aimed at Europe.

This he called a "Zero Option" because then neither the U.S. nor the U.S.S.R. would have land-based missiles aimed at or based in Europe. But he conveniently "forgot" that on the U.S. side, the intermediate range missiles were based on submarines and bombers.

These would still be there under his plan. So would the British and French missiles aimed at the U.S.S.R. Reagan's plan was not really a "Zero Option" at all. The U.S.S.R. rejected it. □

**The Pentagon estimates that 400 nuclear bombs would destroy 75% of Russian industry and instantly kill 30% of the population. This is known as "the minimum level of deterrence."**

**The United States now has over 10,000 nuclear warheads. Between 1970 and 1980 the number of American warheads rose from 4,000 to 9,200. The number of Russian warheads rose from 1,800 to 6,000.**

## THE TREATIES REACHED ARE ALWAYS BROKEN

BUT THERE is another pattern as well. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. actually have concluded treaties limiting nuclear weapons. But in all cases they merely codified what the parties wanted to do anyway. The partial nuclear test-ban treaty of 1963 is one such example.

After a worldwide outcry against all bomb testing, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. decided they could do without above-ground tests and so agreed to ban them. They could get as much information as they needed by underground tests. This took the wind out of the sails of the anti-nuclear movement and let the arms race continue.

### SALT

A final example of this is the SALT negotiations. In 1972, Nixon and Brezhnev agreed to limit Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABM) sites to two for each country because each had decided that the technology was obsolete. The SALT II treaty, which was never ratified but which both sides have claimed to follow, also codified what would have happened anyway.

It set a ceiling on Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) but not on numbers of warheads—so it allowed the continual development of multiple-warhead missiles as well as maneuverable warheads.

During the whole course of negotiations, nuclear weapons went from a handful to over 50,000. Never have they succeeded in turning back the arms race. In fact, they have never even slowed it down—only sometimes directed its growth. Both sides are as committed to atomic weapons as ever.

Given the history and reasons behind the history, the pros-

pects for this round of negotiations don't look good. With the deteriorating economic situation, neither side will be willing to let down its guard.

The major public difference now is over space weapons. The U.S. wants its "Star Wars" program (the "Strategic Defense Initiative") held off the bargaining table. As with all previous negotiations, the different approaches come not from fairness on one side and obstinacy on the other.

They come from the relative strengths and weaknesses of the sides. The U.S. is ahead in "Star Wars" technology and wants to continue development.

So the pattern is the same as before: lots of propaganda and posturing with little, if any, substance.

Even if progress is made, it would be fragile and open to being turned back at any upsurge of tension. No matter what happens now, nuclear weapons will never be eliminated by negotiations. Neither side will give up the very foundation of its power. Elimination of such devices would require a level of trust that can never be achieved in a competitive world market and system of competing nation-states.

### UNILATERAL

Thus, to rely on negotiations is foolish. That's why the strategy of the "mutually verifiable freeze" won't work. The only way to have any effect at all is to demand everything. The peace movement in both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. should demand unilateral disarmament. The only solution for the nuclear arms race is the elimination of nuclear weapons. And this is what socialists must argue in the peace movement. □

## HOW TO END THE ARMS RACE

BUT, OF course, this alone is not enough. The arms race is built into the very fabric of the present world economic/political system. Each government needs arms to hold down its own people and to prevent them from revolting. It also needs arms to defend itself against other governments and to try to steal some of their wealth, if possible. Each economic concentration—whether corporations in the West or states in the East—must compete against each other to accumulate, just to survive.

Given the militarization of the world, each capital depends on military power to back up its economic competition—just as much today as in the early 1900s.

### DRIVE

How do we end the arms race? Military competition is based on economic competition. The drive for profit underlies both. That, in turn, is based on the world market economy. As long as competition rules, each unit will seek to maximize profit

just to survive. To succeed, we have to replace the anarchy of the market with democratic planning.

This means working people controlling each factory, office, school and bank, and electing recallable representatives to coordinate activities between each section—in short, socialism. Without a group at the top that lives off of our labor, we can plan the economy to meet human needs on a world scale. When planning replaces the market, cooperation can replace competition. Without economic competition and the drive for profit, there is no need for military competition and war.

To achieve this kind of society, working people throughout the world will have to seize control of their economies and dismantle the governments that will try to stop them.

In a literal sense, only a revolution can achieve disarmament. As long as the present rulers have power, they won't give up their arms. When workers have the power, we won't need these arms. □

# We need a health care system which provides care when needed

Dear Socialist Worker,  
Not long ago, residents of my community received in our mailboxes a magnet advertising "emergency care 24 hours a day" at the nearby private hospital. Shortly after this, experiencing a sharp pain in my lower back while getting dressed for work one Monday morning, I decided to "take advantage" of the emergency care advertised. The shock of afterwards receiving a bill for \$300 for the privilege made me relate keenly to Dr. Magoulias' article in the January *Socialist Worker*: "Health care in the U.S. is for profit, not need." It turned out that there was a charge of \$100 just to enter the

emergency ward. And I don't believe the registrar would even have admitted me if I hadn't had medical insurance through my employment. A diagnosis was quickly arrived at—I had a strained sciatic nerve—but it was taken for granted I'd want x-rays too. These were read by private physicians programmed to get a piece of the action, thus running up the cost of patient walk-in consultation. Lucky for me, my employer's insurance carrier paid 80% of the bill, so I only had to fork out \$60. However, not only was the hospital's advertising deceptive—no cost was mentioned—but probably only the well-off and

the employed having medical fringe benefits in the community could afford such high-cost emergency care. Dr. Magoulias is right: national health service needs to be developed so that rich and poor alike can receive the medical attention they need when they need it. Mary Hessel Cincinnati, OH

**Please accept this contribution...**

Dear Socialist Worker,  
I wish to subscribe to *Socialist Worker* for one year. Please accept the other remaining balance as a contribution to your progressive organization. I would appreciate it if you have any posters you could

send me, particularly concerning racist South Africa. Long live the progressive socialist movement. Victory to the oppressed workers over fascism and profits. A Lutta Continua! A. Fataar Iowa City, IA



Bernhard Goetz.

## What about self-defense?

Dear Socialist Worker,  
Lee Sustar's article on the Bernhard Goetz case in last month's *Socialist Worker* did an excellent job of showing how the media has taken a shooting that would normally pass unnoticed and turned the victims into villains and the criminal into a folk hero. There can be no doubt anymore that the press has used this case to cynically sensationalize racism. But Sustar leaves something out—what do socialists say about self-defense? Ordinary working people who are not racists do get attacked in this rotten society. What do we say to them? Alan Simms Chicago, IL

# Letters



KEEP LETTERS TO SOCIALIST WORKER SHORT AND TO THE POINT...



## Petition demands release of socialist opponent to Castro

Dear Socialist Worker,  
We all have been long-standing opponents, in our writings and actions, of U.S. intervention in the affairs of Latin American and Caribbean countries. While we have varying views of the Castro government in Cuba, we are greatly disturbed by the case of Ariel Hidalgo, a Cuban leftist writer, historian and educator. Ariel Hidalgo was first arrested in 1980 when he faced a rock-throwing group and loudly protested their attack on a student who was seeking to leave the country during the exodus of Cubans from the port of Mariel. Hidalgo was freed, but he was arrested again in 1981. He was eventually convicted and sentenced to eight years in prison under the Fifth Section (titled "Enemy Propaganda"), Article 108-1 of the Cuban Penal Code, which punishes any person "who, (a) incites against the social order, international solidarity or the socialist State by means of oral or written propaganda, or any other form; (b) makes, distributes or possesses propaganda of the character mentioned in the preceding clause." In fact, Hidalgo was sentenced to the maximum term of one to eight years established by this law. At this brief one-session political trial, which was unmentioned in the Cuban press, Hidalgo was only allowed to say a few words at the conclusion of the proceedings. The government's case consisted of testimony by the local neighborhood defense committee, who spoke of Hidalgo's "talking too much." The prosecution chose not to mention that the police had seized an unpublished manuscript where Hidalgo attempts to demonstrate that a new ruling class has taken over the "socialist" countries, including Cuba. Furthermore, he ar-

gues that this class should be forthrightly opposed. For simply expressing his views, Hidalgo spent the first fourteen months in jail in deplorable conditions—solitary confinement in the Combinado del Este prison near Havana. He was then moved to a regular cell, and his wife (although not his daughter) could visit him once a month for two hours. He was still, however, not allowed to receive writing or reading materials. Since August, 1984, even these monthly visits have been prohibited. We believe that Hidalgo's trial, the law under which he was punished, and the prison conditions which he is currently enduring, fail to meet the most elementary standards of human rights. Consistent with our stand in support of struggles for freedom and self-determination throughout the world, we ask the Cuban government to release Ariel Hidalgo, and any other persons whose rights have been similarly denied.

Pete Camarata  
Noam Chomsky  
John Enryk Clarke  
Bernadette Devlin McAliskey  
Barbara Ehrenreich  
Alexander Erlich (1912-1985)  
Samuel Farber  
Barbara Garson  
Gay Community News  
Richard Healey  
Joanne Landy  
Gordon K. Lewis

Sam Meyers  
Ralph Miliband  
Carlos Moore  
Paul Robeson, Jr.  
Nanette Rosa-Collazo  
Virginia Sanchez-Korrol  
Clancy Sigal  
I. F. Stone  
Carlota Suarez  
Paul M. Sweezy  
Nancy Wechsler  
Stanley Weir

## GOOD JOB ... BUT NOT ENOUGH

Dear Socialist Worker,  
Lee Sustar's review of E. H. Carr's "The Comintern and the Spanish Civil War" does a good job of summarizing Carr's book. Carr puts to rest any notion that the Spanish representatives of the Comintern played anything less than a counter-revolutionary role and effectively helped seal the fate of the Spanish revolution. I would like to point out, however, that Carr only records the events leading to the defeat of the revolution and the Comintern's role via the Spanish Communist Party. He spends no time flushing out the reasons why the Communist Party was able to glide into prominence. Unfortunately, the review only regurgitates Carr's excuse that the subordination of the republic to the Communist Party was the result of massive Soviet aid. One would hope more analysis was forthcoming. The review failed to mention the capitulation of all major political groupings to the right-wing Popular Front and the inability of the POUM (a centrist organization) to break from its confused beginnings and build a revolutionary party in the working class. The POUM's leader Andres Nin, from 1931 on, failed on numerous occasions to heed Trotsky's advice that they should recruit from the most militant members of the Socialist Party, the anarchists, and their labor unions to form a revolutionary party. Had this been done, the Communist Party may not have been able to strangle the Spanish revolution. Bill Almy Boston, MA

# MARX AGAINST THE STATE

Throughout his life, Karl Marx argued that for socialism to be realized, the state would have to be done away with. Since his death, many so-called socialists have argued and acted to build up the state.

But as LEE SUSTAR shows, this is quite opposite to Marx's views—and to any notion of socialism.

Karl Marx's politics were formed in the heat of the German workers' uprisings of 1848. The workers' movement, based in the new factories springing up across the countryside, was for Marx the means to turn the slogans of the French revolution—liberty, equality, fraternity—into a political and economic reality for the majority of people.

Large scale capitalist production brought with it the potential for a society that could conquer scarcity and meet workers' needs—a socialist society.

But after the heady days of 1848, there was a considerable conservative reaction. And by the 1870s, Marx was in political exile in England. The German socialist workers' movement was divided between his followers and those who looked to Ferdinand Lassalle, a former comrade of Marx's. Lassalle had abandoned the perspective of workers' revolution. Instead he called for a "solution of the social question" through a "free state" in which workers would have the vote, "equal rights" and would limit their labor to a "normal working day."

Lassalle looked to "state aid" for the establishment of "produc-

militia, etc."

Such slogans were progressive in the struggle of bourgeois democrats against the absolutist feudal states. But Marx considered these vague slogans a backward step for the workers' movement, which now had to struggle against the bourgeois state.

Lenin, rereading the *Critique* while working on his pamphlet, *State and Revolution*, noted that, "In these words, Marx, as it were, foresaw the whole banality of Kautskianism [reformist socialism]: Sweet speeches about all kinds of fine things, turning into the beautifying of reality, because they shade over or leave in the dark the irreconcilability of democracy and monarchy, etc."

## "FREE STATE"

But it was the Lassallean concept of a "free state" that most troubled Marx, for behind it lay the question of reform or revolution. Marx wrote that for Lassalle, the state was not a tool by which one class dominates another, but rather was an independent entity that possesses its own moral and free basis.

Marx continued, "The question then arises: what transformation will the state undergo in commun-



strong, another is weak and so forth (individuals would not be individuals if they were not unequal), one will receive more than another.

Rather they have been engaged in strengthening the state—against workers' interests.

## ANALYSIS

Those who dismiss the idea of the withering away of the state as irrelevant should take a look at the *Critique of the Gotha Program* and note Lenin's heavy reliance on it for the *State and Revolution*. While the *Critique* also hits the Lassallean program for its nationalism and other reactionary ideas, it is most useful as a cogent, witty analysis of the state in capitalist society.

Above all, the *Critique* is a call for the working class to smash the state. As Marx reminded a comrade who was also concerned with the Gotha Conference: "Every step of a real movement is more important than a dozen programs." □



Lenin, working on his pamphlet, "State and Revolution," noted that, "Marx foresaw the whole banality of Kautskianism [reform socialism]: Sweet speeches about all kinds of fine things, turning into the beautifying of reality, because they shade over or leave in the dark the irreconcilability of democracy and monarchy, etc."

And on the withering away of the state, Lenin elaborated in the finished pamphlet: "The more democratic the state which consists of the armed workers and which is no longer a state in the proper sense of the word, the more rapidly does the state begin to wither away altogether."

ers' cooperatives in such dimensions that the socialist organization of the total labor will arise from them."

## "COMMON INTEREST"

Lassalle reportedly had signed a secret pact with Bismarck, leader of the Prussian landowners, on the basis that the workers' movement and the landlords had a "common interest" against the capitalist class. By the time he was killed in a duel in 1869, Lassalle's theory had taken root among many radical German workers. In 1875, the Lassalleans proposed their slogans as the basis for a unity platform of the German Workers Party conference in the German town of Gotha.

Marx bitterly opposed the unification. In his *Notes on the Gotha Program*, he blasted Lassalle for demanding "nothing beyond the old familiar democratic litany: universal suffrage, direct legislation, people's justice, a people's

ist society? In other words, what sort of functions will remain in existence there that are analogous to the present functions, and one does not get a flea-hop nearer to the problem by a thousand-fold combination of the words 'people' and 'state.'

"Between capitalist and communist society, there lies a period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

This phrase, the "dictatorship of the proletariat," is, for Marx, a democratic slogan—as it replaces the dictatorship of a tiny ruling class with the rule of the vast majority against the tiny minority.

But the transition to a communist society is not automatic. As Marx explains: "This equality of right presupposes inequality, inequality in fact, inequality between people—because one is

## ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

"But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and the cultural development thereby determined."

Thus, for example, the workers' revolution in Russia, the most economically backward country in Europe, was doomed unless it spread to the most economically advanced countries in the West.

Marx usually refused to speculate on life after the revolution, dismissing that as idle guesswork. But the Gotha Program's vision of an instant utopia provoked him to write that a truly classless society can only develop in the "higher phase of communist society," after labor, "from a mere means of life has itself become the prime necessity of life." And only then "can the narrow horizons of bourgeois right be fully left behind and the society inscribe on its banners: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need!'"

At this point, Marx wrote, the state has "withered away." But this "withering" does not mean the abolition of a hierarchy after the revolution. Lenin elaborated in the *State and Revolution*: "The more democratic the state which consists of the armed workers and which is no longer a state in the proper sense of the word, the more rapidly does the state begin to wither away altogether."

This point was mocked by Stalin and his followers as they established their bureaucratic state capitalist regime in Russia. And since, "socialist states" such as Cuba, Zimbabwe and France have done anything but wither.



Top to bottom: Marx a year before his death; the Paris Commune of 1871; Ferdinand Lassalle; Marx, his daughters and Engels.

# 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



## ISO NEWS

# What's ON

### BALTIMORE

Andy Strouthous on the **British Miners' Strike**. Saturday, February 2 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620 or 366-8845 for details.

Lee Sustar on **Black Liberation and Socialism**. Saturday, February 16 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-4620 for more information.

### BOSTON

Brian Kelly on **Crisis in the Philippines: A Socialist Perspective**. Sunday, February 10 at 7:30 p.m. Call 427-7087 for details.

### CHICAGO

Peter Cunningham on **New Class Theories of Eastern Europe**. Sunday, February 3 at 7:30 p.m.

Ahmed Shawki on **The Revolutionary Road to Socialism**. Thursday, February 7 at 7:30 p.m. Crosscurrents, Belmont and Wilton.

Day of Discussion on **The Politics of International Socialism**. Saturday, February 16, 3 p.m. through the evening.

John Molyneux on **The Marxist Tradition**. Tuesday, February 19 at 7:30 p.m. Call 549-8071 for more information.

Weekly discussion series at the University of Chicago. Call 684-2260 for details.

### CINCINNATI

**American Labor History Series**. Friday, February 1, 8 and 15 at 8:00 p.m. Call 751-1871 for details.

Ahmed Shawki on C.L.R.

**James, Trotsky and Black Nationalism**. Saturday, February 23, 7:30 p.m. at University of Cincinnati.

### IOWA CITY

Day School on **The Politics of International Socialism**. Talks on Introduction to the ISO, Perspectives for the 1980s, Marxism and Women's Liberation. Debate on China: Socialist or State Capitalist? Saturday, February 9, 1:00-9:00 p.m.

### MADISON

Christina Baker on **The New Cold War**. Tuesday, February 19 at 7:30 p.m. Call 251-5982 for details.

### NEW YORK

Andy Strouthous on the **British Miners' Strike**. Sunday, February 3 at 4 p.m.

Gerry Morrison on **Luxemburg's The Mass Strike**. Sunday, February 10 at 4:00 p.m.

Lee Sustar on **Black Liberation and Socialism**. Tuesday, February 19 at 7:30 p.m.

Aaron Brenner on **The State and Revolution**. Sunday, February 24 at 4:00 p.m. Call (718) 389-6170 or (212) 280-7484 for details.

### PHILADELPHIA

Andy Strouthous on **Lenin's Marxism**. Saturday, February 2 at 1:00 p.m.

Lee Sustar on **Black Liberation and Socialism**. Saturday, February 16 at 1:00 p.m.

### ROCHESTER

Mike Ondrusek on **The Theory of State Capitalism**.

Saturday, February 9 at 7:30 p.m.

Jack Porcello on **How Capitalism Makes Work Degradation**. Saturday, February 23 at 7:30 p.m. Call 235-3049 for details.

### SAN FRANCISCO

Christina Baker on **Malcolm X**. Friday, February 1 at 7:30 p.m.

Gloria Stewart: **India after Indira Gandhi**. Friday, February 8 at 7:30 p.m.

Larry Bradshaw on **The Politics of World Hunger**. Friday, February 22 at 7:30 p.m. For confirmation and details call 285-4057.

### SEATTLE

Day School on **The Politics of International Socialism**. Talks on Marxism Today, Women's Liberation and Socialism, the Russian Revolution and the Party and more. Saturday, February 2, 10:30 a.m. through the evening.

John Molyneux on **Third World Revolutions: Nationalist or Socialist?** Wednesday, February 20, 12:30 p.m. at the University of Washington.

John Molyneux on **Trotsky**. Wednesday, February 20 at 2:30 p.m.

John Molyneux on **Why We Need a Revolutionary Party**. Wednesday, February 20, 8:00 p.m. at the University of Washington.

Mary Deaton on **Marx's View of the Party**. Sunday, March 3 at 7:30 p.m. Call 324-2302 for details.

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

— Karl Marx

If you want to help us change the world, join us.

There are ISO members and branches in the following cities:

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

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

# REVIEWS

Mr. Block: Twenty-Four Cartoons of the Mr. Block Series, by Ernest Riebe. Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1984. \$4.95.

Review by  
ALAN MAASS

The 1960s saw the emergence of an enormous market for "underground" comics. These brash comic strips spelled relief for those who were getting tired of the xenophobia of Dick Tracy, the racism of Li'l Abner, or the mind-bending idiocy of Orphan Annie.

While most of these "underground" comics celebrated the drug culture, a few turned their eyes to revolutionary propaganda. These particular comics can draw their ancestry—whether they realize it or not—to Ernest Riebe's "Mr. Block."

## FEATURE

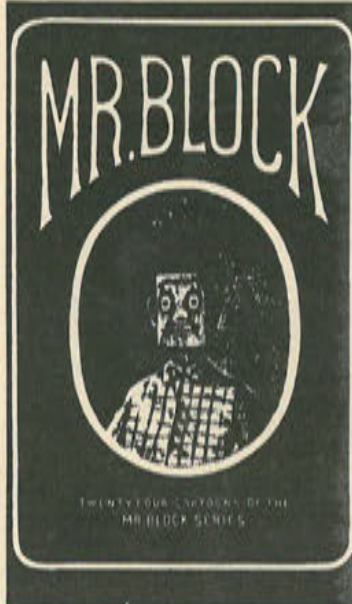
"Mr. Block" became a regular feature in the *Industrial Worker*, the Industrial Workers of the World's (IWW's) western newspaper in 1912. The strip was enormously popular with readers and later became the basis for one of Joe Hill's best-loved songs.

Later, the IWW collected 24 of the Mr. Block cartoons and released them as a pamphlet. The Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company of Chicago has reprinted this nearly impossible-to-find pamphlet.

Near as anyone can tell, Riebe's "Mr. Block" was the

**"The IWW was a vehemently revolutionary organization. We all know they laughed and sang . . . But they hated capitalism—unequivocally."**

# A REVOLUTIONARY CARTOONIST



first comic strip drawn explicitly as revolutionary propaganda. Strip after strip savages Mr. Block himself, a hopeless worker, who, even as he is being beaten over the head by police, the AFL or the Salvation Army, believes he has something in common with the owning class and could be rich if he only tried harder.

Through Mr. Block, Riebe sets his sights on every ruling class value that workers often claim for their own—from respect for the great "achievements" of one's country to wild hopes of striking it rich.

But Riebe saves some of his most savage venom for the illusions of the reformist socialists of the time—who believed society could be changed by electing a new politician into office—and the conservative AFL craft unions and their practices of selling-out and scabbing.

At \$4.95, the Kerr Company's "Mr. Block" is a steep increase over the IWW's original 15¢ edition. But though the price and the times have changed, Riebe's comics remain remarkably timely. Many of the problems Riebe attacks are with us today—from the patriotism Ronald Reagan is shoving us to the

dangerous illusions of some radicals in the electoral road.

## IDIOCY

And, in a small way, "Mr. Block" strikes a well-aimed blow against the idiocy of the "new" labor history, which has been busy in the past few years distorting everything the IWW stood for.

Franklin Rosemont puts the matter very well in the introduction to this new edition:

"The IWW has too often been portrayed in recent years as a quaint and colorful antique that somehow, way back in the 'good old days,' provided a little home-brewed foretaste of the New Deal, Social Security and the CIO.

"Preposterous as it is, this image of Wobbly hayseeds spouting good liberal folk-wisdom on cracker-barrels seems to be firmly entrenched in American academic folklore, as well as the Sunday supplements. Riebe's rollicking black humor is a good antidote for this deceptive nostalgia.

"On every page, Riebe



Another page from  
Mr. Block and the Profiteers

makes plain that the IWW was first and foremost a vehemently revolutionary organization . . . We all know that the Wobblies laughed and sang, but Riebe reminds us that they also hated; that they knew exactly what they hated—capitalism!—and that they hated it unequivocally." □

## WOMEN WORKERS: THE KEY TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION

**My Troubles Are Going to Have Trouble With Me.** Karen Brodtkin Sacks and Dorothy Remy, Eds. Rutgers University Press, 1984. \$10.50.

by JENNIFER SELWYN

Although women are acknowledged as members of the working class today, the conditions and experiences of women workers are too often ignored or inadequately described. Because many women are segregated in the lowest-paid, least "skilled," least unionized and most insecure jobs—and despite the historic militancy of many women workers—they have often been depicted as passive and easily manipulated by the bosses.

An excellent antidote to this brand of thinking is *My Troubles Are Going to Have Trouble With Me (Everyday Trials and Triumphs of Women Workers)*, a fascinating collection of essays on women workers in contemporary American society. While too often such collections treat their subjects with ivory tower detachment, this book is refreshing in the degree of respect it pays to women workers and the labor they perform.

## THEME

A major theme of this collection is the complex relationship between women's roles as wage laborers and as

mothers. The authors consider the place of the family within advanced capitalism (both as ideology and as fact), and the often contradictory roles of worker and wife/mother which many women juggle.

In the essay "Generations of Working Class Families," the author challenges the pervasive acceptance of a "domestic code" which maintains a separation between the public and private spheres, holding women's role of wage laborer as an aberration.

In one of the most detailed and passionately argued essays in the collection, Anne Machung discusses the deskilling of clerical workers via the increasing automation of office work. Rather than viewing the introduction of technology as a neutral force, the author recognizes the driving force behind such changes is management's attempts to crush workers' organizing drives and keep wages low.

## RACISM

An essay on Black ward secretaries in a southern hospital shows how racism reinforces both low wages and the disregard for the real skills which workers possess. In this case, the workers—with cohesiveness and confidence in themselves—waged a successful walkout. Even in the absence of a union, the workers were able to articulate and press for their demands.

Another major portion of this book contains some ex-

cellent accounts of shop floor conditions and the myriad forms which resistance can take. In one essay, describing a Providence, Rhode Island costume jewelry factory, the author/worker both credits the "individual" strategies of resistance, such as "pacing" or griping, while exposing the weakness of such strategies as building blocks for a unified, long-term fightback.

While the essays in this book successfully describe the changing economic conditions which women workers (and all workers) face, and in some cases argue for increasing collective resistance to workplace exploitation, none of them takes the argument the necessary step further.

## PRODUCTION

It is important to validate workers' experiences and encourage all forms of resistance. But ultimately, we must argue that no successful resistance can fail to tackle capitalism itself. In terms of making the connection between family and work worlds, this book reconfirms the twin burdens which capitalism places upon women: exploitation in the workplace and oppression rooted in a family structure which upholds male domination.

It is in the workplace that women and men can use our collective strength most effectively to transform this system and fight for socialism. □

## MR. BLOCK

HE TRIES THE COURTS





## on the picket line

# RACEWAY CLERKS STRIKE TO PROTECT THEIR JOBS AND UNION

by DAVE SKUBBY

**WALTON HILLS, OH**—At Northfield Park raceway, 102 clerks of Ohio Racing Guild Local 304 are on strike to protect their union and their jobs. The strike began on December 13, 1984, when the last three-year contract expired.

Carl Millstein, who took over the horse racing track last November, claimed that Northfield Park was losing money—at the rate of \$1 million per year.

The clerks offered to take a 5% pay cut—from \$75 to \$71.25 per day—and agreed to cut the number of workers per shift from 80 to 72.

### CUT

Millstein would not hear of it, demanding a 10% pay cut. And even when the union accepted the 10% cut, Millstein

**The Ohio Racing Commission has approved a state-sponsored \$10 million improvement plan to upgrade Northfield Park raceway. But the owner, Carl Millstein, won't even settle for a 10% pay cut.**

**"They are using our dollars to break our union," said a striker.**

said nothing and just walked out of the negotiations.

It became clear to the striking workers that Millstein wanted nothing less than non-union labor when he began taking applications for scabs. Security guards and the local police escorted the scabs into

the park to be trained.

The strikers successfully delayed the opening of the track from January 2 to January 12. But on the 13th, Northfield Park opened. Millstein pulled out all the stops by offering free parking, free admission and even free Ohio Lottery tickets to encourage customers to attend.

The thing is, Northfield Park probably could have afforded to give workers a raise.

### PLAN

The Ohio Racing Commission had approved a state-sponsored \$10 million improvement plan to upgrade the park. Too bad a few dollars out of that \$10 million couldn't have been found to upgrade the workers' living standard.

As a worker on the picket line put it, "They are using our dollars to break our

union."

Unfortunately, the union bureaucrats have attempted to win the strike through the courts. That seems to be a trend in unions across the country today. This tactic is utterly useless as has been shown in the strike at Northfield. Concessionary workers have crossed the picket lines along with the security guards and scabs who are paid \$50 per day—a whopping 33% less than Millstein was paying the clerks under the old contract.

### LEAD

The rank and file must take the lead in convincing other workers not to cross the picket line for the sake of all of their jobs.

"They'll be next," said one striker, with bitterness and disgust. □

## TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

# The employers care only about profitability

My first job in the auto industry was at the A.O. Smith plant in Milwaukee in 1925. Within six months I saw the jobs necessary to build frames for Buick and Chevrolet reduced by 90%. With an expanding industry, those displaced soon found employment in other plants. But the jobs created by the new machines paid little more than half those of the previous process. For more than a half century, I have watched machines and methods requiring semi-skilled and skilled labor replaced by machines and modern techniques. Always there was but one motive in the minds of the employers—*profitability*.

### GLOBAL

During all the years I have worked and observed the industry, nothing has taken place to compare with what is now taking place by the use of the "new" technology. The global corporations have taken the place of national ones. For more than 50 years—until the 1960s—the U.S. was unchallenged in the automotive and other basic manufacturing industries.

What happened over the last twenty years? The U.S. has been involved in an arms race with the U.S.S.R. Most research and development has been in the arms industry, not in consumer goods. It has attracted the best engineers and technicians. The global corporations have sold high technology to the Japanese and have a financial interest in foreign corporations competing with American industry. The arms industry is a capital-intensive industry creating few jobs for the money invested.

As a result of the crisis in the industry during the last four years, the Big Three gaining large concessions from the UAW have gone all-out to cut labor costs by installing robots and duplicating Japanese methods in manufacturing. Tens of billions of dollars are being invested in new plants and technology that will eliminate a large part of the labor force.

### INVESTED

GM has joined with Toyota in the manufacture of a small car in Fremont, California. It has spent \$2.55 billion to buy the Electronic Data Systems Corporation. It has invested in Fanuc, Ltd., one of the largest robot manufacturers in the world, and in five other firms that specialize in making robots. It bought 10% of Crosby Quality College, a quality control consulting firm. It is developing a plant in Saginaw, Michigan that is supposed to manufacture axles for their cars with a minimum of labor. The Poletown plant will be one of the most automated plants in the industry. Their plan for the new Saturn car involves billions of dollars for a new plant and new technology.

By 1987, when these modern plants come into production, employment in the industry may be reduced by half. When they started the Poletown plant, there was a promise of 6,000 jobs. That has now been reduced to 5,000. This may become 3,500 when it gets into full production.

What is the UAW doing to alert the workers to this massive effort to put them out on the street? They are joining



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

with management in brainwashing the workers with a quality-of-worklife program that aids the corporations in their plan to put more workers on the street.

Where are the corporations getting all the money to revolutionize the industry? There is \$11 billion in the hourly workers' GM pension fund. Forty percent of all investment capital is now taken from pension funds. The workers have no voice in the investment of these funds. They have been used to build new plants in the South and overseas as well as to build new plants with high technology.

### PROFITS

The profit system accepted by the labor leaders condemns the workers both to produce the profits for the stockholders and huge salaries for the executives but to pay for the machines that will replace them and force them to join the millions already unemployed.

Answers to the workers' problems will not be found at the bargaining table. They must be solved through political action. The UAW and the rest of the labor movement must break their ties with the Democratic Party. They must form a party controlled by the workers. It must develop international ties with the workers' parties of all industrialized countries. We must develop our industries to provide for the needs of the people rather than for the profits of a few. □

## RUBBER INDUSTRY WANTS MORE CONCESSIONS

Negotiators for the United Rubber Workers and the Big Four rubber companies sat down in St. Louis last month to begin talks on contracts expiring April 21. And one thing is clear from the meeting: the rubber companies want to expand concessions they won in 1982.

"The ingredients are there for a realistic agreement," said William K. Rusak, Firestone Tire and Rubber Co.'s head negotiator.

URW chief Milan O. Stone made clear he accepts the new "realism." Rhetoric aside, Stone has



*URW chief Milan Stone.*

said that he wants to settle without a strike. If he succeeds, it will be only the second settlement since 1963 without a strike.

### REBOUNDED

Since 1982, the Big Four—Firestone, Uniroyal, Goodyear and B. F. Goodrich—have rebounded from the industry's slump. Goodyear and Uniroyal posted record profits in 1984.

Yet industry officials are calling for more concessions in 1985, claiming that 1982's givebacks weren't enough to beat back competition from overseas rubber companies who now hold 16% of the U.S. market.

Each of the Big Four will attempt to win concessions on health benefits and work rules. Uniroyal, in fact, has already instituted a plan which calls for its workers to pay part of their health costs. Other companies in the industry want to follow Uniroyal's idea.

Uniroyal's plight has seemed to find a sympathetic ear in URW President Stone. In 1981, Stone cut a separate deal with Uniroyal which allowed the company to skip cost-of-living increases and to cut \$12 million annually from its labor bills.

### NO SENSE

Uniroyal wants to keep the deal it negotiated in 1981—despite its record profits. Stone's response? "It doesn't make much sense to insist on recovering the concessions if it puts them back in the same position."

As the rubber negotiations show, in 1985 as much as in 1982, concessions offer nothing more than whetting corporations' appetites for more concessions. □



## WALK-OUT AT UPS

NEW YORK, NY—Drivers at the United Parcel Service hub in Maspeth, Queens, staged a two-day job action last month to protest company harassment.

About 700 drivers walked off the job January 18 when UPS refused to let them meet with Teamsters Local 804 President Ron Carey before beginning their routes. The drivers, who met at the union hall instead, called in sick on the next working day. The company frantically tried to find supervisors to take the drivers' routes, but the sick-out delayed some deliveries for days.

Management harassment is part of UPS' productivity drive in its New York hubs. The com-

pany has told workers they must increase their workload so UPS can compete with non-union Federal Express and the U.S. Postal Service's Express Mail service. "I used to load one truck, but after Christmas, they told us to load three at a time," a worker at the Manhattan hub told Socialist Worker.

### NOTORIOUS

UPS is notorious for its shop floor discipline. Even the Wall Street Journal referred to the company's labor relations as "paramilitary."

But the Maspeth wildcat shows that rank and file organization can put even the toughest bosses on the defensive. □

## "EVEN THE MOST TIMID WILL STRIKE IF PUSHED"

CLEVELAND, OH—Six office workers from Tube Craft, Inc., went on strike January 2 over an attempt to bust their union.

The company offered four of the workers—members of United Steelworkers Local 8703, a 40 cents per hour increase over three years, but demanded a wage freeze for the other two.

The workers refused this offer and set up a 24-hour picket line.

But Tube Craft, which produces exhaust systems for automobiles and production plants, brought in scabs. They replaced two of the workers the very day they struck and replaced the other four in three days.

The biggest problem is that the 60 production workers in the plant are also members of the USW local—but the union refused to call them out on strike.

"Many of the guys on the shop floor feel that we're women, and that we don't need the money, so

they don't go out to support us," said one women striker.

"But even the most timid will strike if pushed far enough," said another. "Divided we fall, united we stand."

Only Teamster Local 407 has refused to cross the strikers' picket lines.

Tube Craft has refused to bargain or even return the union's phone calls since the office workers went out. Said one striker: "We were even willing to divide out the 40 cents with the two whose wages they are trying to freeze. But they would not even accept this. They just want to break us."

The union has called one rally in support of the strikers, five women and one man. But that is all they have done.

Much more is needed—and the production workers should be called out in sympathy—now! □

## INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER RIDES ROUGHSHOD OVER UAW

CHICAGO, IL—The UAW and International Harvester reached a tentative agreement on Sunday, January 20—after only two days on strike.

The strike failed to have any impact on Harvester production, since it was called on Friday night and the company normally does not operate its plants during the weekends. Plant operation was normal on Monday morning.

Although union officials said the company agreed to "substantial" wage increases, these were, in fact, as anemic as the strike itself. Wages will rise only 2.5% in the first two years of the new pact.

### RESTORE

The union said it wanted to restore some of the concessions given away in the last contract, negotiated in 1982. That contract contained a wage freeze, an 18-month deferral of cost-of-living adjustments and a reduction in paid holidays. It saved the company \$200 million.

In 1982, the UAW represented about 30,000 Harvester workers—although 10,000 of them were on indefinite layoff at the time of the contract negotiations. Today, only 13,000 workers will be affected by the current contract, as Harvester has drastically cut its production workforce.

The company is in the process of negotiating a merger of



International Harvester strikers, 1980.

its tractor-making division with Tenneco. The merger—proposed in November, 1983—is now awaiting federal anti-trust approval. It will eliminate approximately 40% of the tractor-making capacity in the U.S., closing such plants as International Harvester's Rock Island, Illinois plant which once employed

3,600. J. I. Case, Tenneco's tractor-making subsidiary, will become the nation's second-largest farm equipment maker after the merger.

International Harvester will continue to ride roughshod over its workers—unless they begin to fight back as they did in the 179-day strike of 1979-1980. □

## SAN FRANCISCO RESTAURANT WORKERS' STRIKE SOLD OUT

by DAVID SIDDLE

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—Despite talk by local union leaders of a possible general strike in their support, striking restaurant workers suffered a stinging defeat as their leaders caved in to bosses on every major point of contention.

The new contract seriously weakened collective strength in the workplace and will cause real hardships for many workers. Key provisions include decreased wages and benefits for new employees, an increase in the number of hours of work necessary to qualify for health benefits and an increase in job flexibility—which will seriously attack job security.

### SELL-OUT

This sell-out was negotiated by local union leader Charles Lamb and international representatives over the heads of an elected negotiating committee. The deal was ratified December 7—376-45—by the low turnout of the demoralized workforce of the Golden Gate Restaurant Association.

Although many were openly annoyed with Lamb's "leadership," most thought that they would have no chance out on their own.

**Despite a defeat, it is important that the militants who emerged during the strike build a shop floor leadership in each workplace.**

This contract could become the norm for the rest of the San Francisco restaurant industry. Although some employers are pushing for still more givebacks from the union, Eleven out of the 17 "break-away" restaurants are still on strike. Their bosses now see a chance to bust the union.

What can be done to reverse this calamitous situation for the restaurant workers? It is most important that the number of militants who emerged during the strike build a shop floor leadership in each workplace.

During the strike, a small organized group of militants, Solidarity, did challenge union leadership of the strike. They attacked the cautious and conservative tactics of Charles Lamb which pulled out only 26 of the 55 houses in the Golden Gate Restaurant As-

sociation and only 11 out of the 17 restaurants in the "break-away" group.

These militants had their successes. Workers elected a majority of them to the negotiating committee—which was, in fact, later ignored. Militants seeking support from other workers started all the grand-sounding but empty words about a general strike, but they failed to become a leadership capable of successfully running the strike.

They did not become a leadership on the picket lines capable of convincing strikers that other workers could be won to actively support the strike.

### REFORMERS

Charles Lamb was elected in 1979 as a reform candidate. There are now many other reformers eager to oust him. But there will not be any real reform in this union until workers in each workplace can make the union serve them.

An obvious starting point is to make effective the picket lines at the 11 still-struck restaurants. Union leaders have told strikers that picketing is counter-productive. Militants must take up the challenge and not allow the picket lines to quietly crumble. □



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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

The right-wing is increasing its attacks on abortion clinics. CHRISTINA BAKER reports.

## STOP THE CLINIC BOMBINGS! DEFEND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

January 22 marked the twelfth anniversary of the Supreme Court's 1973 ruling legalizing abortion. But the anniversary was hardly an occasion for celebration. It came at the end of a year of renewed violence against abortion clinics.

The bombings of three clinics in Pensacola, Florida on Christmas Day and the New Year's attack on a Washington, D.C. clinic brought the total number of bombings or fires at abortion clinics in 1984 to 28. There were at least 100 reports of serious vandalism or harassment in the year, leading to the closing of some clinics.

And the anniversary itself was a rallying cry for anti-abortionists across the country. Demonstrations and vigils against abortion were held in many cities, but the spotlight was on Washington, D.C. In one of their largest national demonstrations to date, 70,000 anti-abortionists protested in the nation's capital.

### MOMENTUM

Newly inaugurated President Reagan lent his support to the march, telling the demonstrators that the tide of history was with them. "I feel a great sense of solidarity with all of you," Reagan said. "I want you to know I feel these days, as never before, the momentum is with us."

Unfortunately, it is true that

the right-wing anti-abortionists are picking up steam precisely when active support for a woman's right to choose is declining.

Over the last decade, the largest women's rights organizations—such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL)—have accommodated to the right, opting for a strategy of lobbying, campaigning for allegedly pro-choice candidates and conducting letter-writing campaigns. And as the anti-abortionists stepped up their efforts, these groups devoted their energies to campaigning for Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro.

Almost all that remains of visible activity is the defense of clinics by reproductive rights activists in a number of cities. And even here conservatism and passivity seem to be setting in. In the face of the renewed violence, many clinics and pro-choice activists are convinced that "education" is the answer—and that militancy will only increase the risk of attack.

Deborah Agre of the Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights in San Francisco, said, "We want the public to know that abortion services are under attack . . . without dramatizing the situation so much that people are afraid to go to



Cincinnati, Ohio, 1978. Similar demonstrations are needed today.

abortion clinics."

### DRAMATIC

But the problem is that the situation is, indeed, dramatic, and it is not only a matter of clinic violence. A majority of the population still supports a woman's right to choose abortions, but recent polls show that support to be seriously eroding. Without a visible fightback, we can expect that support to further diminish.

The anti-abortionists are out to make abortions unavailable in this country. And abortion is only one item on their agenda. They want women back in the home, and they hope to turn back the gains women have won over the last 15 years. And while they have failed in many of their legal attempts to restrict the right to abortion—such as the Akron ordinance—their poli-

tical pressure and public organizing have led to a decreased availability of abortions.

In the face of this pressure—and the threat of violence—scores of clinics have closed down, and many public hospitals have stopped providing abortion services. So while the right to abortion still exists in every city and in every state, in much of the country, abortion services are simply unavailable.

This hits poor and working class women the hardest. Rich women will continue to have access to abortions. For a fee they can get their doctors to perform them.

And for poor and working class women, the "right" to have a legal abortion became a relatively empty one in 1977 when the Hyde Amendment was first passed. The Hyde

Amendment is a yearly appropriations bill which cuts off Medicaid funding for abortions.

### MAJORITY

But to defend the rights of working women, defense of clinics is not, by itself, enough today. A majority in the U.S. still support the right to choose, and it is time to tap that support again. The pro-choice forces must go back on the offense—with demonstrations, pickets and leafleting—in order to try to mobilize active opposition to the right-wing.

The arguments for a woman's right to choose must be taken into every workplace, college and trade union—and be linked to the need to transform a society which puts profit above human need. □

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The wreckage of a bombed clinic in Pensacola, Florida.