

# OSAWATOMIE

WINTER 1975-76 NO. 4 50¢

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

# DEFAULT



Class Struggle in New York:  
The Truth Behind Default





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We urge all people's organizations, publications and presses to reprint OSAWATOMIE. (See Pucho, p. 31.) All photos are 100 line screen, for reproduction by "instant print" process.



### OSAWATOMIE

In 1856, at the Battle of Osawatimie, Kansas, John Brown and 30 other abolitionists, using guerrilla tactics, beat back an armed attack by 250 slavery supporters, who were trying to make Kansas a slave state. This was a turning point in the fight against slavery. For this, John Brown was given the name "Osawatimie" by his comrades.

## WHO WE ARE

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist women and men. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group which called the first national protest against the Vietnam War in 1965, and became the largest radical youth organization of our time. The name of the organization comes from a line in "Subterranean Homesick Blues", a popular song in the last decade: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows". In 1970 we made the decision to begin armed struggle and developed an underground organization. For five years the clandestine WUO has been hated and hunted by the imperialist state.

In July 1974, we published Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism. To the best of our knowledge there are currently 30,000 copies of the book in circulation.

The Weather Underground Organization is responsible for over 25 armed actions against the enemy. Eight of these were bombings directed against imperialist war and in support of the people of Indochina. This includes the attack on the Capitol in 1971, on the Pentagon in 1972 and on the State Department in 1975. Ten actions were directed against the repressive apparatus: courts, prisons, police, and in support of Black liberation. This includes attacks on N.Y. City Police Headquarters in 1970 and the California Department of Corrections following the assassination of George Jackson at San Quentin in 1971. One was a bombing of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, an action which was part of the freedom struggle of women. One was a bombing of the New York City branch of the Banco de Ponce, in militant support of striking cement workers in Puerto Rico. These actions were carried out in harmony with the demonstrations, marches and political activity of millions of people. Together they have resulted in approximately \$10 million damage to the imperialists and a significant blow to their arrogance. This is a bee sting against such a powerful enemy, but a bee sting whose strength is multiplied many times by the fact that these actions represent the early stages of sustained armed struggle led by a political organization.

Osawatimie, the revolutionary voice of the WUO, is guided by a commitment to struggle, a determination to fight the enemy, the certainty that we will see revolution in our lifetime, and a spirit of love for the exploited people of the world. In order to build a successful struggle, the people need strong organization and a revolutionary party.

The program of the Weather Underground Organization is:

- US imperialism out of the Third World. Independence for Puerto Rico.
- Peace. Oppose imperialist war and US intervention.
- Fight racism. Build an anti-racist base within the working class.
- Support self-determination for oppressed peoples.
- Struggle against sexism and for the freedom of women.
- Organize the working class. Fight for socialism. Power to the people.

In a single sentence, the program means this: Mobilize the exploited and oppressed people to wage the class struggle against US imperialism, the common enemy.



# WHERE WE STAND

## THE WOMEN'S QUESTION IS A CLASS QUESTION

We need a women's movement right now unlike anything we have built in the last ten years: a movement of millions of women, organized. A mass movement of women whose organization reaches into every office, sweatshop, household and high school to demand jobs, equal pay, adequate income, day care, the right to unionize, an end to every type of racial discrimination and equality for women. This is a turning point for the women's movement, when it could fall definitively to the elitist leadership of bourgeois women's organizations or be seized by revolutionary leadership and take root and flower among working-class women to become a mass movement. If the movement we build is anything less than this it perpetuates a false notion of women's liberation as the property of a small and precious group of women who hold the keys to liberation in their own minds and continually refine their ideas among themselves. Sometimes this is in the name of radical feminism, which holds out the reactionary hope of a return to a precapitalist golden age when women ruled. Sometimes it is even in the name of socialism. But no one can claim to be building a women's movement who doesn't ask herself this question, and honestly answer it: who am I organizing, and for what?

The conditions exist to build women's organizations: the depression is catapulting women into spontaneous action rooted in anger at the terrible crimes being committed against them and their families. Households headed by women represent the fastest-growing poverty group in America. A disproportionate number of women live on fixed incomes, social security or welfare, and are unable to get by, caught between rising prices and dwindling checks. Women work in lower-skilled and lower-paid jobs than men. Only one in eight women workers belongs to a union, and women are being laid off at a higher rate than men. The official unemployment rate among women climbed to 9.1% as of August. The number would be much higher if it included the approximately one million people, almost entirely women, who want a job now but aren't looking because of household responsibilities.

The ruling class is pushing down the standard of living of the working class -- the cost of labor power, what is socially understood to be the acceptable cost of feeding, housing and reproducing the worker and his or her family. This cost includes the indirectly paid, invisible labor of women in the home. Few working-class families can now get by on the "breadwinner's" pay alone. Some capitalists are opposing the very idea that the cost of a man's labor power includes his family -- why maintain a bunch of freeloaders? So women are feeling the bite of the economic crisis both on the job and in the home. Hundreds of general movements against the depression are springing up, from hospital workers to high school students. Women are participating in all of these, but no movement of women has yet grown up like the drives to organize the unorganized women during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Women were organized as domestic workers, laundry workers and hotel and restaurant workers, to improve working conditions and win some legal limitation of their exploitation. They organized boycotts against inflation and fought segregation. The CIO organizers of the 30s had the incalculable advantage of a proletarian communist party whose militants led the left labor movement. The development again of such a revolutionary party will be a necessary step toward the liberation of women.



The women's question is a class question. The subjugation of women arose along with exploitative class relationships, as the direct result of the development of private property. The family became the economic unit of society. From that point in human history women and women's work were considered outside the economic life of society and were held in contempt. Home and child-rearing became a private burden and doom rather than a valued form of social labor. Today in the US women are subject to a double exploitation: as 40% of the work force, and as housewives whose chores consume as much time today as they did one hundred years ago.

No doubt about it: only with the destruction of class society -- revolution -- and the building of socialism can women be free. The women's movement should take its stand with the working class, which will be the motor force in making this revolution.

The women's question is a class question; it does not hinge on some vague and mystical or biological sisterhood of everywoman. It hinges on class consciousness. No movement is above classes. The abortion movement of the last ten years is one example. Legal abortion was won, and this was a major victory. But the bourgeois leadership of the abortion movement never mobilized women for the right of all women to free, safe abortion with dignity and control over their choices. That remains a privilege of the few. What were the consequences of this failure? A Puerto Rican woman was killed in one of the first legal abortions in New York City. No connections were made to the movement to oppose imperialist use of wholesale sterilization and birth control experimentation in the Third World. Without agitation among working-class women about why women need the choice of abortion the reactionary right-to-life movement was able to grab hold of thousands of women's minds.

To base our organizations among working-class women -- who are, after all, the great majority of women -- we should become the fiercest fighters for improvement in the conditions of women's lives and concern ourselves intimately with the troubles of working-class women: of Black women, Native American women, Puertorriquenas, Chicanas, Asian women, white women. Of course, this women's movement would find allies among all sectors of women.

We start with a tremendous advantage: the consciousness of sexism which the women's movement has built over the last ten years. This consciousness of the particular nature of women's oppression in the workplaces and institutions of society, in US culture and in the minds of the people is our movement's particular contribution. These understandings are a way to reach millions of women with our commonality. We have to give a class content to this consciousness.

What we have only begun to do is make a concrete class analysis of the conditions of women in our society as the basis for an organizing strategy. This is indispensable. The tools of Marxist-Leninist ideology have to be grasped firmly by women organizers; without a working analysis we won't be able to make the leap history demands.

Some wrong ideas widely accepted by women activists are holding back the development of mass women's organizations based in the working class.

The biggest mistake women can make is to separate their movement from Black people and other Third World people oppressed by the US. This is true historically: in the 1840s the women's movement allied itself with the anti-slavery cause and grew, but after reconstruction the women's movement cut itself off from any possibility of fundamental change by accepting segregation and the practical reenslavement of Black people and turning to winning property rights for upper-class women.



Opportunist alliances with racism in the women's movement must be exposed and rejected. The ERA movement provides an example: in New York, instead of turning to the millions of Black and Puerto Rican women in the city for support, the ERA forces were overjoyed to find an ally in Rosemary Gunning, the Conservative Party Republican assemblywoman from Queens who has established herself as the main demagogue against busing and for white control of the NYC school system. In exchange for such a seemingly powerful and respectable ally the ERA leadership abdicated any chance of mobilizing the oppressed women of the city behind their case. Although the depth of sexism in the US was exposed by the reaction against the ERA, the total failure of that movement to defend the rights of oppressed women and to mobilize and link up with that revolutionary energy from the grass roots lies beneath its defeat.

Working alliances must be sought out with Third World women activists and organizations. White women have to examine their demands and programs and schools and newspapers: do they raise the questions and issues which concern Black women? Do they attack the criminal fact that 34% of women of childbearing age in Puerto Rico, a US colony, have been sterilized? If the women's movement is really organizing women, is active in communities and workplaces, it will find itself in the parts of this segregated society where Third World and white women meet, working with Black and Puerto Rican and Chicana women, whose national consciousness and militancy will push the women's movement forward. If we look at the most developed mass struggles which women are leading, Third World women are there: the battle for the schools, the welfare movement, the rank and file strikes at Farah and Oneita. This is our women's movement.

Another wrong idea is that men are the enemies of women. This is not true. Capitalism is women's enemy. While we struggle fiercely against all forms of sexist behavior and always fight to root it out from among the people, we want to build unity with all the people who are embattled against imperialism. Thinking of men as the enemy often takes the form of a kind of purism in practice -- a withdrawal from struggling with men. As soon as women engage themselves with the problems of working-class women they will find themselves working with men, opening some meetings to men, searching for alliances with all other parts of the left and working-class movement to win the necessary goals. This is common sense. Women don't live in a vacuum.

The idea that a women's movement doesn't have to take on the state and the bosses is the other idea which holds women back. This is a form of American exceptionalism, the idea that this revolution will be a revolution of consciousness. We are not just improving our understanding or uniting together or educating ourselves and liberating our creative energies in counter-institutions -- we are organizing a movement to overthrow the real enemies of women and reorganize society so that women's freedom can be seriously addressed at last. We must direct our movement against the ruling class and its agent imperialists. This is not a small matter. It is a matter of building class conscious women's organizations, teaching women who their real enemies are and participating in militant activity of all kinds to bring about a change. This is not only a matter of line but of practical work, of joining all the active struggles of women, of talking to groups of people who don't already accept the ideas of the women's movement. When our sisters are out on strike we should be on the picket line too. When the city closes a daycare center we should open it back up. Don't forget Mother Jones: "Whatever your fight, don't be ladylike!"

-- Celia Sojourn  
for the Central Committee, WUO







November 20, 1975

## CLASS STRUGGLE IN NEW YORK: The Truth Behind Default

A spectre is haunting the streets of New York, the spectre of default. Capitalist spokesmen in government and the media are whipping up hysteria: if the city defaults, they say, the subways may stop, the lights may dim, the sky may fall. But default is nothing more or less than the city's failure to pay its debts to the banks when those debts fall due. The banks will demand their money and try to squeeze it out of the people. But this is what they are already doing ruthlessly in the name of averting default. Default is strictly a business arrangement between the bankers and the government. The crisis, the squeeze on the people, is a life-and-death fight between the working class and the bankers and government. Fear of default has been drummed up to convince New Yorkers to accept any attacks on their living conditions. Mayor Beame announces 8000 more layoffs of city workers, closes 28 daycare centers and three senior citizens' centers and then appears triumphantly at a rally called to "save New York." The New York Times calls David Rockefeller a "great friend of New York" for opposing default. Whose friend? Not ours.

When Ford attacked New York City in a vicious speech, the Daily News headlined: "Ford to NYC: DROP DEAD." But Ford was not telling the bankers to drop dead: he assured them that even with a default their loans would be paid back in full. This happened in the 1930s when 48 cities with populations over 25,000 defaulted, including Ford's hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Outside agencies took over the cities' finances, slashed wages and services and repaid the banks in full by 1938. In New York this was the infamous, secretly concluded Bankers' Agreement. This scam has been run before. Default is a con game run by the world's biggest con artists -- the US ruling class.

Ford and the bankers, Beame and the New York Times occasionally advocate different tactics but they completely agree that the poor must be forced to pay the cost. If Ford gives aid to the city, as appears likely, it will be because Beame and Carey have twisted the knife deep into the working class. From New York to San Juan, from Seattle to Detroit to Boston, the capitalists are trying to force the workers to bear the burden of this depression. Their program is massive layoffs, wage freezes, cutbacks in social services, more taxes on poor and working people. Their goal is to climb out of the crisis on the backs of the working class.

The government and media make this appear like the only choice. They are spending millions of dollars to convince the working class that less food, less

take-home pay, less education is in their own interests. Nowhere have the capitalists hinted that they might take home less profit. Never has Rockefeller suggested taxing his own Chase Manhattan Bank in order to balance New York's budget. The rulers' great fear is that the people will rise up and exact a price for these policies. Business Week, a good barometer of ruling-class opinion, puts this crudely: "If sanitation workers in Bedford-Stuyvesant do not get paid, they will drive their trucks right into the Citibank branch in that deteriorating neighborhood." This fear is not unfounded. Already, despite betrayals by union leaders, rank-and-file groups of workers are protesting layoffs. Third World groups are fighting the cutbacks which are devastating their communities. Students at the City University are staging sit-ins to save their schools. Hospital workers are beginning to join with poor and Third World communities to fight against the closing of city hospitals. This is the beginning of a wave of intense struggle which will sweep New York.



# Final Job Cuts May Total 50,000





### THE CAUSES OF THE CRISIS

"The US economy stands atop a mountain of debt \$2.5 trillion high -- a mountain built of all the cars and houses, all the factories and machines that have made this the biggest, richest economy in the history of the world. The US is the Debt Economy without peer. It has the biggest lenders, the biggest borrowers, the most sophisticated financial system. The numbers are so vast that they simply numb the mind: \$1 trillion in corporate debt, \$600 billion in mortgage debt, \$200 billion in state and local government debt, \$200 billion in consumer debt, \$500 billion in US government debt. To fuel nearly three decades of postwar economic boom at home and export it abroad, this nation has borrowed an average of \$200 million a day, each and every day, since the close of World War II."

Business Week

October 12, 1974

The chickens are coming home to roost for US imperialism. New York is the tip of an iceberg of crisis. Far from being the result of misguided policies of a few elected officials, New York's mess has its roots in the general nature of capitalism and in the particulars of this economic crisis.

Capitalism is an irrational system

wracked by internal contradictions which it cannot resolve. Among these are its built-in tendency to stagnate which has led to severe downturns in the US economy every ten years or so since capitalism began. The capitalists have countered with so-called "Keynesian economics" -- tremendous spending for war, pump-priming the economy through imperialist expansion, deficit spending (borrowing) and constant government jiggling with the economy. But these policies have only created new crises without ending the old ones. Look at the Vietnam War: \$200 billion was spent on napalm, anti-personnel weapons, B-52s and tiger cages. This spending helped kick off the present crisis. Lyndon Johnson decided in 1965 to go for broke and finance the war through deficit spending rather than raise taxes and risk even greater domestic rebellions. Not only did this increase inflation and lead to a monetary crisis but the US lost the war -- a setback which has reversed the tide of US expansion and generated a long-range crisis in the US economy.

The present situation is the worst since the Great Depression. This time the downturn is accompanied by soaring prices and astronomical debt. Between July 1974 and June 1975 25,000 corporations went bankrupt. Five of the ten largest bankruptcies ever occurred in the last year, capped by the collapse of the W.T. Grant retail store chain, the second largest US business failure in history (after the Penn Central Railroad collapse in 1970). Eleven banks have gone under between January and October of 1975, and last year saw the two largest bank failures ever in the US (Franklin National in New York and US National in San Diego). The big banks are not immune to this crisis. The crisis is real and long-term and will inevitably affect their ability to keep increasing their precious rates of profit. But the banking giants are taking full advantage of the crisis to swallow up the smaller banks and twist the knife in deeper into the working class to reap great profits. Citicorp (the parent corporation of First National City Bank), second largest in the country, had a record profit increase of 23% in 1974, making it the most profitable bank in the world.

Far from being the result of misguided policies of a few elected officials, New York's mess has its roots in the general nature of capitalism and in the particulars of this economic crisis.



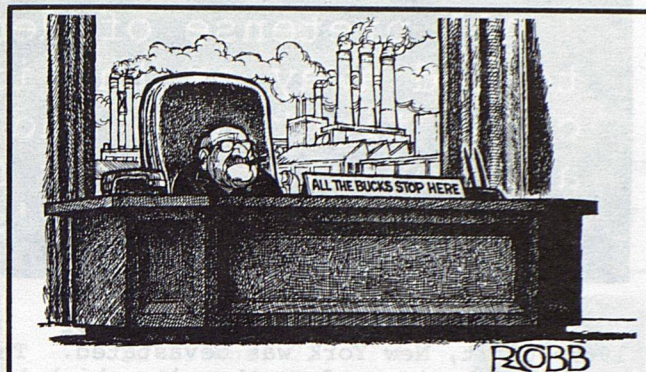
Chemical Bank enjoyed a 32% profit rise. J.P. Morgan and Co. was up 24%.

As the economic crisis worsens and some corporations are unable to repay bank loans, the banks have put the squeeze on state, city and local governments. Municipal bonds are tax-exempt and backed up by city taxes whose collection is enforced by law. This is the reason why \$1.25 billion of the major New York banks' \$9.2 billion in outstanding loans are in New York City notes and bonds. 28.7% of their capital is in city and state notes. In 1974 alone bank profits from New York City bonds amounted to half a billion dollars. When the bankers now turn around and charge the people of New York with being spendthrifts, they are rewriting history and disguising the tremendous profits they have made from the city's spending.

Is New York out of money? Go to the corner of 5th Avenue and 57th Street and decide for yourself. It is one of the richest cities in the world. New York is the Rome of the US empire, the financial capital of imperialism. It is the commercial center of the US, the hub of the media and publishing industries. One hundred of the top 500 corporations are based here.

These corporations have profited for years off the labor of workers who come to New York searching for jobs and a way to survive. From Europe at the turn of the century, from the Black Belt in the South after World Wars I and II, from Puerto Rico and the rest of Latin America today, low-paid workers have come and built and maintained the city and provided its culture, its heart and its soul. During the 60s the people fought militantly for integration and community control of education, open admissions to city universities and decent welfare standards. City workers organized and fought for higher wages and humane work conditions. These were all gains won through struggle. Now the capitalists are telling these people, "The crisis is your fault. The small gains you won will have to go. This is the only way to avert default." For the capitalists this is the way out. But we say that the banks and the corporations should pay for their own crisis.

We will have to force them to do this. Over years of running the city and getting rich off it, they have placed the burden of maintaining it on the workers. The sales tax, which hits poor and working people the hardest, has zoomed up, but the corporations have been granted tax breaks and much of New York's richest real estate has been left untaxed. 35% of all property in New York City is tax-exempt, including that of the biggest property-owners like the Catholic Church, Columbia University and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. Quasi-government agencies known as Auth-



#### FAT PENSIONS?

DC 37, AFSCME, the union which represents 110,000 city employees, says that the average pension in the union is \$3,900 per year. With Social Security, that might be brought up to \$6,000. Let President Ford or Treasury Secretary William Simon try to live on that.

#### FAT PROFITS!

The following shows the increase in bank profits for 1974 over 1973.

First National City	up 23%
Chemical Bank	up 32%
J.P. Morgan and Co.	up 24%
Manufacturers Hanover Trust	up 26%

orities are also tax-exempt although they reap huge profits for the banks and other large investors. The Port Authority is a case in point: it owns the single largest piece of untaxed real estate, the World Trade Center, which would bring in \$40 million per year if taxed. It also owns city bridges and tunnels which charge \$1.50 for cars. This money does not go back to the city but is reinvested in the authority.

Real estate is systematically under-assessed in New York. This is the government's strategy to attract business to the city. Once assessed, the property owners may still appeal for a reduction. Last year such reductions amounted to \$21 million. Morgan Guaranty Trust got a \$250,000 assessment reduction on its Wall Street building; the New York Stock Exchange got a \$200,000 reduction. Macy's Department Store has not been reassessed since the 1930s.

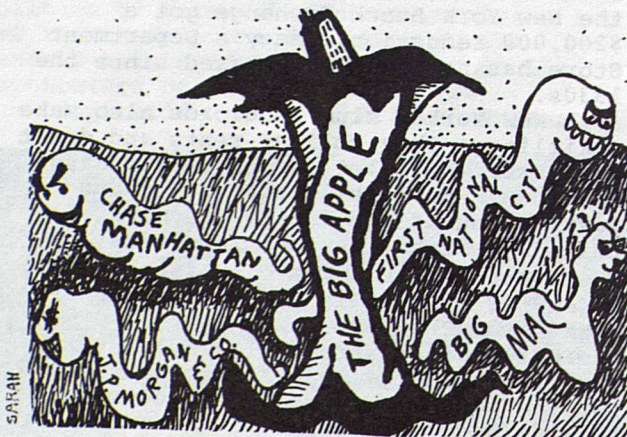
New York's slum landlords also make a killing. They collect rents and don't pay taxes while letting their buildings run down. Eventually the city takes over the buildings for non-payment of taxes by which time the properties are burnt-out shells. The city is currently owed \$502 million in delinquent property taxes from the last three years. Since the city leaders are unwilling to raise taxes on the big corporations to make up for the loss in revenue, they turned to massive borrowing from the banks to meet the city expenses.



All pretense of democratic government was tossed away as the iron grip of the ruling class tightened, and the non-elected Rohatyn and non-elected Big MAC took over the running of the city's finances.

When the nationwide recession of 1969-70 hit, New York was devastated. The flight of business from the city which had been going on since World War II accelerated. Since June 1969 over 502,000 jobs have been lost, 13% of all the jobs in NY in 1969. In 1970, Nixon intensified the crisis by cutting back on federal aid. Ford has continued this with new reductions in the food stamp program and an end to federal rent subsidies for welfare recipients.

In 1969 the city began to rely more and more heavily on short-term notes (loans to be repaid in a year) in order to meet its bills. Soon it was borrowing to repay previous debts and the volume of short-term debt hit \$4 billion. During this time, the banks were raising interest rates to guarantee high profits in an inflationary period. New York was charged especially high rates: in July 1974 NY was told to pay 7.9% on a bond issue while other cities were being charged around 5%. This demand came from the same bankers who are now bemoaning New York's financial plight. The banks knew that their loans were getting riskier and raised the interest rates to insure fast profits. The result is that the city's repayment of interest and principal on the loans jumped from \$470 million in 1964 to \$1.8 billion today. This is 1/6 of the city budget! \$1.6 billion which could go to schools, housing, parks, daycare -- is going instead straight into the bankers' vaults. The banks rode New York to the brink of disaster and then pulled up short, demanding a guarantee on their loans.



#### TAKEOVER

In March, the New York crisis leapt onto the front pages when the banks refused to buy \$500 million in short-term notes. While the city was finally able to get a loan, the big banks issued a stern warning that harsh measures had to be taken to balance the city budget.

On June 10th, the state legislature created the Municipal Assistance Corporation, appropriately dubbed Big MAC by New Yorkers. In Governor Carey's words, "Very decisive measures were called for. Across the board cuts, tighter management and fiscal responsibility are the only solutions to the crisis." Big MAC's most powerful members are Felix Rohatyn, a partner in the Lazard-Freres investment banking firm, a board member of ITT and the architect of the Lockheed bailout in 1970; and William Ellinghaus, the president of New York Telephone. Big MAC was given the job of overseeing the city budget and making decisions about nearly all the city's financial operations. Big MAC was empowered to sell \$3 billion in long-term bonds to meet the city's debts through the end of 1975. These bonds would pay their owners 11% a year in interest and the city guaranteed that this money would come from its sales and stock transfer tax. The city was, in effect, handed over to the naked control of the banks. Mayor Beame and all the other elected New York City officials were thus stripped of power. Beame protested meekly but was whipped into line in a series of meetings with David Rockefeller and the heads of the Citibank and Morgan Guaranty Trust. All pretense of democratic government was tossed away as the iron grip of the ruling class tightened and the non-elected Rohatyn and non-elected Big MAC took over the running of the city's finances.

But the banks demanded still more, holding out for a complete restructuring of city services and financing. The state set up a new Emergency Financial Control Board to supercede Big MAC. Sitting on the board are the Governor and the State Controller, the Mayor and the City Controller, Ellinghaus from New York Telephone, David Margolis, the president of Colt Industries, and Albert Casey, the president of American Airlines.



They have total power over the city budget and have enforced the harshest cuts so far:

-- Layoffs of city workers have already reached 39,000 with the total likely to hit over 50,000 by the year's end. Many of these workers are Black and Puerto Rican. For example almost 70% of the Third World teachers were laid off last June.

-- Garbage collection has been reduced by 1/2 in some neighborhoods, creating a growing health hazard.

-- Eight fire companies have been closed, mainly in Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods. In October, two people died in a South Bronx fire when fire-trucks arrived late. The firehouse in the neighborhood had been shut down by the budget cuts.

-- One hospital has already been shut, and many have been forced to reduce their services and shorten emergency room hours. Several others will close down soon. Fifty outpatient clinics have been shut, eliminating family planning, baby health, venereal disease and dental services.

-- Twenty schools are closing and plans to build more than a dozen new schools have been shelved. One-fifth of classroom teachers have been laid off. The school day has also been shortened.

-- In Queens, cutbacks in the library budget will mean six closings. The closing branches are located in Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods.

-- City employees have had wage increases nullified, and those making over \$14,000 per year have been forced to accept a three-year wage freeze.

-- The City University budget has been cut by \$157 million. Open admissions, one of the great gains of the student struggles of the 60s, is being threatened.

-- Transit fares increased from 35¢ to 50¢ with another 10¢ increase expected in a year. Far fewer people can afford the subways. The number of passengers has dropped drastically.

-- The capital budget, which funds construction of schools, sewers, hospitals, mass transit, etc. has been reduced by \$390 million. This means fewer construction jobs, no new water tunnel, no new street lighting projects, a halt to construction of two new mass transit lines.

-- There will be no new construction of low and middle-income housing. This will result in a loss of 72,000 planned units over the next three years.

-- The welfare appropriation will be frozen at its present level for at least the next three years. Several thousand welfare workers have been laid off and many clients will be cut as "ineligible".

These cuts have been pushed through in the name of averting default. But now the bankers say that even these cuts have not solved the problem. More stringent measures and federal aid are required.

They have appealed to the federal government to back NYC debts, hoping for a guarantee that loans to NYC will be repaid out of federal funds. As part of this appeal, Carey, Beame and Rohatyn have talked about laying off 30,000 more workers and are now appropriating \$3.7 billion of union pension funds to buy Big MAC bonds. These are the vultures who the NY Times calls the "friends of New York."

#### OLD PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE

On October 22, after Beame had threatened to close 43 senior citizens' centers, 12,000 old people marched on City Hall. The demonstrators were militant and spirited and carried banners saying, "Don't try to bury us, We're not dead yet," and "Bail out the elderly, not Lockheed." The demonstration was organized on short notice and involved people from all parts of the city. Speakers denounced the banks and expressed solidarity with laid-off workers and others hit by the cutbacks. On November 15, Beame announced that three senior citizens' centers would be closed. In attacking the elderly, Beame is playing with fire.

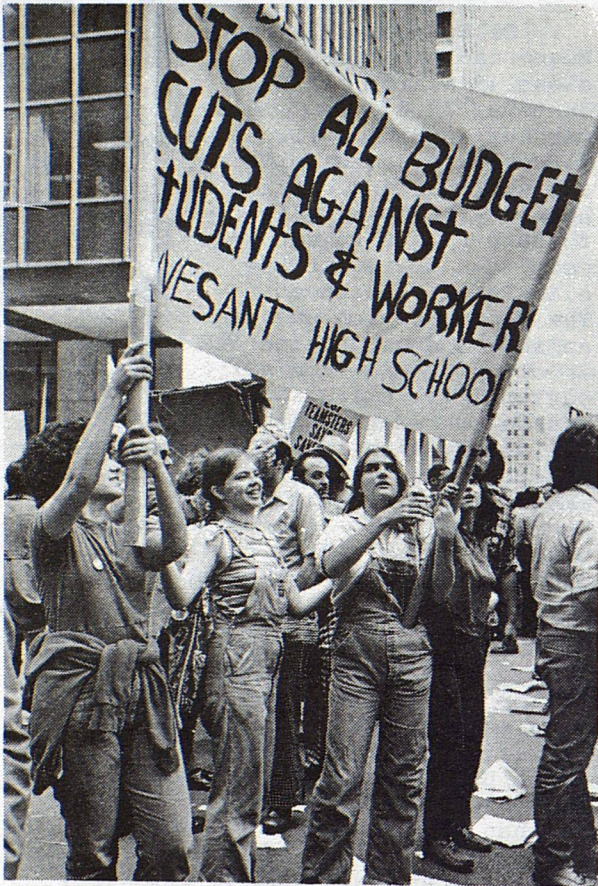


The whole time Ford refused to aid the city he made sure to cushion the blow for bankers who were worried about not being paid off. The Ford default plan was always backed with a Federal Reserve Bank promise to "discount" the banks' bad municipal debts at a better rate than they could be sold on the present market. When he read this plan, Walter Wriston, chairman of Citicorp, said, "We can live with that." Ford also called in the heads of New York's police and fire unions to assure them that they would keep their jobs if they kept order after default. These arch-racists and reactionaries were overjoyed and promised their full support.

Ford's plan is not much different from any of the bills in Congress to save New York. All involve more of the same -- layoffs, cutbacks, squeeze -- only now under federal control. Ford has been desperately covering his right flank, looking over his shoulder at Ronald Reagan, posing as the country boy from Grand Rapids slugging it out with the spendthrifts from New York, using the situation to his political advantage in the upcoming election year. Underneath his pose is an ugly appeal to racism and anti-semitism and an attempt to turn the working class outside New York away from their class brothers and sisters in the city.



Default is strictly a business arrangement between the bankers and the government. The crisis, the squeeze on the people, is a life-and-death fight between the working class and the bankers and government.



#### CONCLUSION

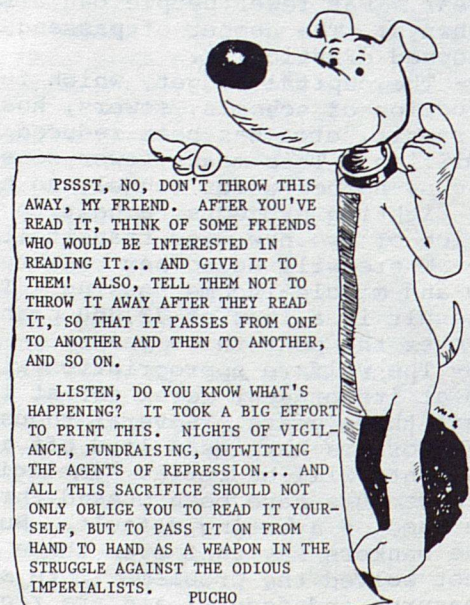
The opening blows have been struck in the New York City war. The rulers have hit hard, causing great misery. The people are regrouping, striking back in many creative ways, searching for unity and strength. Municipal workers are under attack. The union's leadership has already knuckled under. The city is gambling on its ability to divide the higher-paid workers with seniority from the lower-paid, white from Black and Puerto Rican. The union leadership has been eager to oblige. Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME sold out the Black and Puerto Rican members by refusing to fight against the layoffs. Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers did the same in the teachers' strike by demanding the rehiring of a few teachers while letting go the much larger number of Black and Puerto Rican teachers. He went a step further when he delivered the union's pension

fund into the bankers' hands. John De Lury of the Sanitation Union compromised away the power of the Sanitmens' wildcat. These actions have exposed the union bureaucrats as sell-outs. For those who care to see, these actions have revealed once again their racism. A swelling movement can be built among the rank-and-file for strong action against the banks and for linking the demands of city workers with those of parents, old people, welfare recipients and community groups. Whether these connections are fought for will determine the effectiveness of the coming struggle.

The rulers will squeeze all they can unless the fight back grows. It was Frederick Douglass who said, "Power concedes nothing without a demand." Sit-ins, demonstrations, rank-and-file militancy, class solidarity are our historical weapons and we must use them now. Voluntary days off, payless Fridays, and other solutions, while generous in spirit, are exactly what the bosses want. While the media spreads confusion, organizers have to clear the air, break through all false consciousness and mobilize the fight.

A community demonstration in Chelsea this Fall cut through the lies and nailed the real issue when 200 marchers took to the streets, chanting:

Hey, hey, what do you say?  
Why not make the bankers pay?





# THE CLIFFS

by Bob Featherstone

(This story is dedicated in love to the Black Liberation Army.)

The old woman awoke from a fitful rest to see the first hint of morning light as it softened the forest dark. She brought cool water to her face and hands, and turned to rouse the boy. Calloused hands touched him carefully and her African tongue rolled out quiet words to the child: "Wake up, now. Wake up. We are going to the cliffs." The young one groped for his grandmother.

Not until he opened his eyes did the memories of the previous days come flooding before his inner mind, causing his small frame to stiffen and shake. Inside he heard all together in one sound the fighting, the thud and thunk of sticks battering on flesh, the shots from the guns, the great cannon boom of the white man's boat, the scream of terror and pain, and all together, all at once, in one outrageous collage of pictured moments, the vivid sights of shock before him: his mother, his father, aunts and uncles racing at great speed in battle, gathering all their weapons, even their sticks, even rocks, throwing their might against the encircling force of the white men and their mercenaries as they closed in upon his people, that last scene one of horror fixed in his mind, until he was grabbed by his grandmother and taken away.

The boy now felt her practiced hands upon his back, rubbing between his shoulders, and he tasted his own drying tears. The old woman held him, face to her face, until they heard murmurings from the others. Joining together, they walked through the glade, one by one, uphill along the path. Their line was a soundless current, ruffled only by an occasional painful

shake, a momentary hesitation of step, or a child's whimper.

The salty seacoast wind drew them to the edge of the highest cliff. Dawn was painting red streaks across the horizon and its dim pink light showed the wide Atlantic waters cold and gray. Side by side, the twenty or so stood in silent witness and the boy held tightly to his grandmother's leg. Far below them, out of earshot, the last of the slave pirates put off

from the beach, the traitors left behind to pack their liquor and guns. Anger ran through the people like a ravaging wind.

From the cliffs they saw, eyes tearful and hot, as the boat drove through the dull gray to its father, the white sailed slave ship.

As the boy saw this quiet, even peaceful scene, his heart reached for his mother, and the sensation of unmet longing deep in his throat confused his thoughts and stoked an awesome rage inside him.

The boy approached the ship. One last hope that the captives might fight their way home grew among those watching.

But when the boat emptied its men and disappeared up off the water that hope was stamped out

by the reality of this defeat. The small one, his forehead filling with unbearable bursting pain and his belly tearing apart, joined the growing human roar of grief.

The people started moving again and he felt the big arms of his grandmother wrapped around him. The morning sun was dazzling the water into silver cups and warming the earth brown, and the boy, gazing into the old woman's dauntless eyes, and feeling her enduring step roll beneath them, let his spirit rise anew.



Assata Shakur (formerly Joanne Chesimard), black freedom fighter has been kept in isolation in Rikers Island jail, NY since May, 1973. She has never received adequate treatment for her arm which was injured in a shoot-out at the time of her arrest. On Sept. 11, 1974 Assata gave birth to a baby girl named Kakuya Amala Olugbala Shakur ("Hope for the Future"). Due to militant support, Assata was able to keep her baby with her for a week. The state then kidnapped Kakuya. Assata is now on trial with Ron Myers in NY. FREE ASSATA!



# FIREWORKS

## JOHN BROWN

by Joe Reed

The official Bicentennial is the ruling-class campaign of bread and circuses. The carnival is meant to cover up the catastrophe. Let's use this time to dig out the truth of US history. The rulers have set the time for the party; let us bring the fireworks.



John Brown's Raid

\* \* \*

John Brown was a dazzling flash of light in US history, a vision of revolution and justice. Racist histories and public school textbooks dismiss him as mad and label as suicidal his stunning attack on the US arsenal at Harper's Ferry in 1859. But the truth is that Brown was a heroic American revolutionary, a brilliant military tactician and guerrilla fighter, an uncompromising swordsman in the great fight to end slavery.

Brown was born in Connecticut in 1800. He moved with his family to Ohio in 1805, where he grew up studying the Bible and valuing hard work. Brown worked as a tailor, a weaver, a wool merchant, and a surveyor. He became a skilled woodsman and wandered throughout the Allegheny Mountains until he knew thousands of rocky paths and caves. Brown and his second wife raised a family of thirteen children.

While Brown grew up, the slave system was spreading its poison across the continent. The Southern planters had grabbed Texas from Mexico in 1836, and hungered for more land to expand the cotton crop. Growing in opposition was the Abolitionist movement, a courageous force of freed Blacks and fugitive slaves and their many white supporters who were committed to destroying the slave system once and for all. John Brown became a fierce abolitionist and, in time, became the armed and militant conscience of the entire movement.

The scene is Bloody Kansas, 1856: The US Congress had just passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, another in the endless chain of compromises with the Southern slave-owners. White settlers in Kansas would vote on whether to allow slavery into the newly-settled territory. On election day, thousands of pro-slavery vigilantes from the slave state of Missouri invaded Kansas, terrorized free-state voters, and drafted a phony constitution sanctioning slavery and declaring all abolitionists criminals. The opportunist and timid politicians who headed the free-state forces were cowed and defenseless.

But John Brown's sons, organizing in Kansas for the free-staters, called on their father for guns and support. And Brown came, heading a small guerrilla band which struck swiftly against the slavers, executing five chief slavery goons at Pottowatomie and holding off hundreds of slavers at the battle of Osawatomie. Brown's actions reversed the tide in Kansas. The free-staters began to defend their homes and finally ousted the pro-slavery government and declared Kansas a free state. By this time Brown's revolutionary band had left -- but only after liberating eleven slaves in Missouri in a series of daring raids. Brown escorted these fugitives hun-



dreds of miles to freedom in Canada, avoiding massive government posses along the way.

John Brown knew more about the conditions and lives of Black people than any other white person in the US. He had trusted friends in all the major Northern Black communities and consulted with leading Black Abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet and Harriet Tubman before launching his actions. Brown knew that slavery had to be overthrown by force, that the slave system was the foundation of the Southern economy and would be defended with guns. Most Northern politicians were compromisers, collaborators or vacillators, representatives of the rising capitalist class who cared little about freeing the slaves and would only act if backed into a corner. John Brown placed his faith in the three-and-a-half million Black slaves struggling for an end to bondage.

Pay no mind to the lies of bourgeois historians: John Brown's action at Harper's Ferry in 1859 was carefully planned over two years, well-conceived and politically astute.

Brown's plan was to raid the arsenal with his band of twenty-one men (Sixteen whites and five Blacks), seize some weapons, liberate slaves on the nearby plantations, and beat a quick retreat into his beloved Alleghenies, a mountain range whose nooks and crannies were perfect for guerrilla war. From there Brown hoped to move South into the heart of slave country, carry out guerrilla raids, and set up a provisional revolutionary government which would abolish slavery. Brown had written a provisional constitution in 1859 at the home of Frederick Douglass. Brown believed that his actions would polarize the nation over slavery and win over a section of Radical Republicans in Congress to support his efforts and lead the country into a war to end slavery forever.

The raid at Harper's Ferry was defeated when the support team moved too slowly, fatally delaying the retreat to the mountains. Many of Brown's band were killed in the fighting, including Brown's son Watson. Brown was caught after an all-night shootout in the engine-house at the arsenal. Brown was tried and hanged, along with four other comrades. A year later, civil war broke out in the US and whole Black regiments and anti-slavery white soldiers in the Northern armies were singing "John Brown's Body."

At his trial, Brown turned a military defeat into a political victory. He put slavery on trial and set the nation afire. As he was led to the gallows, Brown slipped a last note to a friend:

"I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away, but with blood. I had, as I now think, mainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."

\* \* \*

For the full story of John Brown, read W.E.B. DuBois' John Brown and Truman Nelson's The Old Man: John Brown at Harper's Ferry.



John Brown's Raid

Slaves freed by Brown in the Missouri raids.



# NO MORE BROKEN TH

Friendshipment



Vietnam's children - hope of the future.

Today the Vietnam War is over. The vision of a peaceful, independent and prosperous Vietnam, which steeled the determination of the Vietnamese in their liberation war, is now being realized in all the spheres of life. Vietnam is being rebuilt out of the rubble left in the wake of US bombs.

As the aggressor in one of the cruelest wars in history, the US government has a moral as well as legal responsibility to make reparations for the death and destruction it caused. Article 21 of the Paris Peace Agreement states:

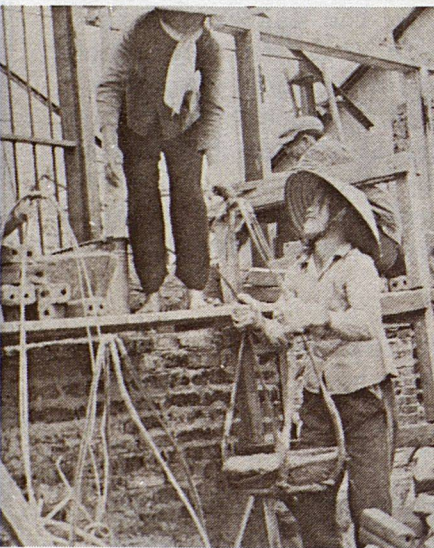
The United States anticipates that this Agreement will usher in an era of reconciliation with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as with all the peoples of Indochina. In pursuance of its traditional policy, the United States will contribute to healing the wounds of war and to postwar reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and throughout Indochina.

The US government has refused to comply with this Agreement and continues hostile acts designed to impede Vietnam's development: it imposed a trade embargo on Vietnam; it vetoed the UN resolution to seat North and South Vietnam. In the postwar context this is continued aggression.

The Vietnam peace is a victory for Americans as well as Vietnamese. Attempts by the government to undermine it are attacks on both our peoples. While we struggle against the growing depression, the US military budget is bigger than ever. We don't want new wars. The government must be forced to cut the defense budget and send reconstruction aid to Vietnam to help heal the wounds of war.

## REPARATIONS FOR VIETNAM!

Friendshipment



Rebuilding Bach Mai Hospital, destroyed by US bombs in 1972.

Indochina Chronicle



Filling in bomb craters.

# HEAL THE



# N TREATIES!

## THE FINAL VICTORIOUS BATTLE

for the comrades from the Political Bureau and  
Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party  
Le Duc Tho  
Tan Son Nhut, May 1, 1975

I'm sure you couldn't sleep last night --  
the last battle exploded this morning  
I know you've been waiting:  
minute by minute  
second by second  
following the march of the South  
courageous, without let-up  
pouring the flames of hatred  
right into the puppet's den.

Saigon besieged  
Highway 4 cut off  
Vung Tau port plugged up  
Bien Hoa airbase  
Tan Son Nhut airfield  
hammered day and night with our longrange artillery  
A-37s and F-5s set ablaze  
unable to take off.

Like heavy rain, plunging waterfalls,  
hurricanes and rising tides  
which no force on earth can deter  
the sudden assault of armored columns began  
driving into the last dens  
where the enemy was in agony.

They raised their hands up,  
they knelt down in surrender.

Our troops rushed in, heroic and proud,  
the red flag hoisted over the "presidential palace"  
the masses cheered  
a flood of joy  
endless endless waves of people  
liberation fighters smiling from atop artillery vehicle  
hands waving and grasping the freshest flowers,  
Oh such joy  
-- tears flowed from our eyes!  
In a whole lifetime  
there can only be one night like this.

At this moment, what were you thinking?  
So joyful that you couldn't sleep.  
Determined to rebuild the future  
the homeland, our motherland  
a thousand times richer and more beautiful,  
so that the days of bitter hunger and poverty  
are gone forever.

The same blood runs from North to South  
and lives under the same roof.  
Uncle Ho's dream has become reality.  
At this moment our Uncle may sleep calmly:  
today's sky is extremely clear and beautiful.



A political prisoner released from Con Son Island,  
reunited with his family.



GI's protesting U.S. aggression in Vietnam.



The March 8<sup>th</sup> weaving mill, Hanoi.

# L THE WOUNDS OF WAR!



# FIGHTING BACK

## AÑO DE VICTORIA

"Ya es tiempo! Vote con la mayoria aplastante!"\* This cry rings through the lettuce ranches and grape vineyards of California. Farmworkers are voting in elections under the country's first agricultural labor law.

The farmworkers won an important victory when Governor Brown signed the Agriculture Labor Relations Act on June 5. While this law is no guarantee of justice, farmworkers at each ranch now have the right to choose a union to represent them through secret elections, and the right to organize for those elections. The new law says that growers can only sign contracts with the union elected by the workers. This makes it possible to overturn sweetheart contracts that have been drawn up in back rooms by Teamsters and growers. Farmworkers have finally won the rights that industrial workers won in 1935 with the Wagner Act.

The California growers have fought organizing efforts by farmworkers since the 1930s, when their massive power was first challenged, and now it is no different. California food production -- an \$8 billion a year business which produces one-quarter of the nation's food -- made growers rich especially because its labor force was unorganized. In the current depression, the agribusiness giants are more entrenched, more determined to stop the gains of the United Farm Workers Union (UFW).

In this context, the California farm labor law does represent a partial victory. It is a concession to ten years of fierce struggle. Still, the growers don't mean their withdrawals; they respond to pressure, but their hearts do not change.

The farm labor law has ushered in a new stage in the struggle, and UFW organizers have had to figure out how to make the best use of it, how to push it forward. When the new law was first proposed, farmworkers and organizers in a small cantina in Kern County

expressed anger and disbelief that this was the best solution the liberal legislators could come up with. How fairly and openly would the elections be carried out? What, if any, contracts would be signed after elections were won? How many more chances would the growers get to sabotage their movement?

One organizer spoke differently: "Friends, let's read this law carefully. We may get a few more concessions before it is passed, but for the most part this will represent the ground-rules for our organizing work in the next year. If this is the best we can get from the legislature, let's learn to live with it. Don't let our anger at the compromise law stand in the way of our main work: to unite all the farmworkers, to win victories."

The United Farm Workers Union knows that in any fair elections they will win overwhelmingly. Since 1962 the UFW has organized and struggled to raise America's farmworkers above the status of semi-slavery. In every ranch and barrio in California, the words "Cesar Chavez", "United Farm Workers", "La Huelga" have come to stand for a new dignity and hope, and a people's organization. UFW contracts not only offer improved wages but, in contrast to Teamster contracts, include demands on child labor, protection against layoffs caused by mechanization,



Mimi Plumb / Bay Guardian

\* "Now is the time! Vote with the crushing majority!"

UFW organizer tries to win over a lettuce worker in Gonzales near Salinas.





Chavez addressing organizers in San Lucas

The growers know this. The alliance of growers-Teamsters-courts is using every effort to keep the UFW organizers away from the workers. A Gallo security guard said, "I was told to harass UFW organizers. The company was determined to keep them away from workers. . . without letting state officials know. Company officials refer to the UFW as 'the enemy.'"

Every step of the way in the elections is a fight. The legal arbitration proceeds at a sluggish pace and is weighted in favor of the growers. The right to have union symbols appear on the ballot -- so farmworkers would recognize the Aztec eagle of the UFW -- was attacked by the Teamsters. They hoped to get a few more votes through ballots marked in confusion. The right of striking workers to vote was opposed by the growers; they wanted to take the vote only among the workers who had been brought in to break the strike. The back roads of California are prowled by goons who attack and beat UFW organizers and sympathizers. Often the huge farms are patrolled by right-wing posses -- armed para-military forces sanctioned by the local sheriffs.

The farmworkers fight back with the weapons of determination and unity. The union is a base of strength, a way to have more control over their lives and work. At each ranch where elections are taking place, the workers are building Ranch Communities where workers discuss the many issues of importance to them. These Ranch Communities, analogous to union locals, elect Ranch Committees and safety and grievance committees to repre-

committees on safety and grievances. What many workers say is most important is that the UFW fights for a hiring hall, which replaces the old labor contract-or system and gives the workers control of the hiring. Seniority is enforced and the growers' racist game of dividing one national against another in parcelling out jobs is ended.

sent them with the grower. Even on ranches where the UFW is defeated, these Ranch Communities will be built as a way to build the strength of the workers. Hundreds have heeded the call of the UFW for every worker to be an organizer. Workers at the giant Interharvest lettuce ranch pooled their wages so some of the workers could organize full time.

The election results to date demonstrate the strength of the UFW against tremendous odds. But the Teamsters, by intimidation and manipulation, have been able to maintain a base on some ranches; from these they continue to fight in the California valleys. There have been elections on 275 ranches representing 43,267 workers. The United Farm Workers Union has won 146 elections representing 48% of the workers. Teamsters have won 89 elections representing 25% of the workers. "No union" has won 14 elections representing 4% of the total. Twenty-six elections (23% of the total) have been contested or undecided.

Once elections are won, there is still the tremendous uphill fight to get the grower to sign a decent contract. The growers will settle contract agreements quickly where the Teamsters have won elections, and resist and undermine UFW contracts. The next year will be a major time of struggle for the UFW and all class-conscious people who support them.

The success of the UFW is important to farmworkers throughout the country -- in Texas, Florida, and in the Eastern states where Puerto Rican farmworkers are organizing. The struggle of the United Farm Workers Union is important for all workers. At a time when unions are under attack and workers are fighting against layoffs, wage-freezes and no-strike deals, the victory of a progressive union is a victory for all.

In the coming months, the struggle over contracts will need nationwide popular support through the boycott. The power of the boycott will enable the workers to put forth their contract demands during negotiations from a position of strength.

One farmworker said, "Gallo said it wasn't true that the union has helped us and that the boycott wasn't hurting him. But I know within me that the boycott is hurting him because if it wasn't he would never have agreed to these elections. That's why we are saying, BOYCOTT UNTIL WE WIN CONTRACTS!"





## MASSACHUSETTS: STOP THAT AX!

New Bedford, Massachusetts has the highest unemployment rate in the US. Throughout Massachusetts, unemployment and a staggering cost of living are squeezing the people.

The banks and the state government are pushing people further into a hole. The banks' only concern is how to make profits during this depression. First National Bank of Boston, which finances most Massachusetts bonds, has demanded higher taxes on working people and more cutbacks as a price for their loans. The banks, the governor and the legislature are walking arm-in-arm over the bodies of the state's poor.

Governor Dukakis was described at his inauguration by a legislator as "coming into office with a meat cleaver (to trim the budget) in one hand and a lead pipe (to avoid a tax increase) in the other." Instead, Dukakis has taken the lead pipe to working people by getting one of the highest tax increases in the history of the state and lowered the meat cleaver on welfare recipients, health and human services as the "only solution" to the \$700 million budget deficit. Dukakis is being applauded by businessmen for his ruthless hand in "setting the budget straight". In people's homes, his hatchet policy is hated and intolerable. Dukakis is the new Boston Strangler.

### WHO GETS HURT?

"You're not cutting welfare, you're cutting our throats!"

-- AFDC mother at a welfare hearing.

One half million people are hit by the \$311 million welfare cutbacks. Checks for families on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 80% of which are headed by women, are getting cut by 20%. Eighteen thousand General Relief (GR) recipients under 40 years old are being thrown off GR because they're considered "employable" even though there are no jobs. Social security checks, already measly, are being cut \$40 to \$229 a month. Medical services are being cut by \$40 million. This will abolish coverage for GR recipients and 100,000 working poor. It will limit eyeglasses, dentures and prescription drugs. The Special Needs Program, which helps with unpaid rent and utility bills, has been eliminated. Daycare is being cut by \$4.7 million.

Dukakis and the state legislature slashed the budget at state colleges,



Boston People's Yellow Pages

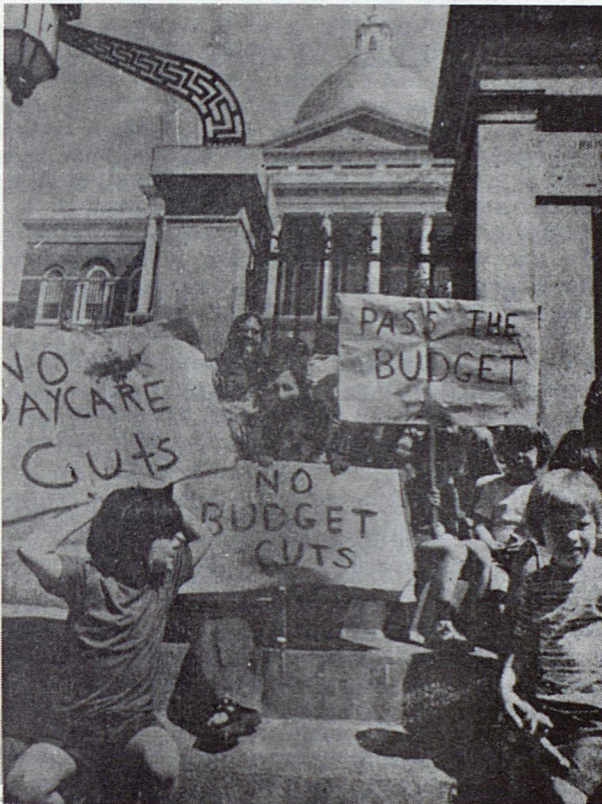
mental hospitals, health clinics, foster homes, nursing homes. Many of these institutions were sorely in need of increased funds to maintain their programs. At Fernald School for the Mentally Retarded, Boston State Hospital employees fought for more staff because unattended patients were being tied to chairs.

### THE FIGHT BACK

The State House has become a battleground. Beginning last Spring, as the first cutbacks were announced, people from around the state gathered in Boston to protest. On July 22 there was a stormy session in front of the House Ways and Means committee. Six hundred welfare recipients -- young and old, Black, Puerto Rican and white, mainly women -- gathered and angrily testified to the human butchery of the cutbacks. A 78 year old vice-chairman of the Dorchester Community Action Council cried for justice in a land where there is none: "Is there any justice when they take the food out of our mouths?" People roared back, "No!" "Is there any justice when Dukakis takes home \$800 a week and senior citizens live on \$200 a month?" "No!" "Are we going to let them kill the blind, the disabled, the elderly?" "No!"



Speakers at the hearing made the point that working people and welfare recipients must unite against the cutbacks. Despite government mythology that welfare recipients "live high" and sponge off the workers, the line that stretches from workers to recipients gets shorter all the time. Many people on welfare work part-time or at jobs with low pay, have relatives who work or are on and off jobs depending on what's available. You're working one day and laid off the next, can't find a new job, unemployment runs out and then you're on GR. So GR cuts will affect all future unemployed as well as the 18,000 just kicked off. The rulers create a large pool of unemployed people which is then used as a wedge against demands for higher wages, better work conditions and job security.



Demonstration against budget cuts, Mass. State House.

On August 14, 100 demonstrators (workers, welfare recipients, unemployed workers) burst into a legislative session demanding that the welfare cuts be restored, the rich be taxed and the state provide good health and child care. Their written statement began: "We come here today as a group united against this legislature's death-dealing blow against the entire working population of Massachusetts through the elimination of welfare programs..."

At the end of September, 7,000 people marched against the budget cuts and tax increases. 3,000 people demonstrated in the morning, representing 50 social service

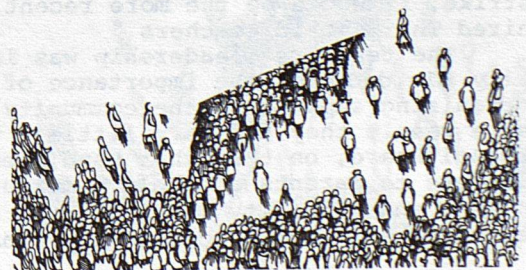
organizations, to protest welfare and medicaid cuts. That same afternoon, 4,000 state workers from a coalition of AFSCME and SEIU locals condemned layoffs of state workers, budget cuts at mental institutions, the rising price of health insurance and wage freezes.

In a state wracked by poverty and in a city torn by racism, the cutbacks fight has identified the enemy as the government and the ruling class, not Black people. Black people are not responsible for starvation. Black people are not responsible for ending medicaid payments. Black people have not laid off any state employees. This consciousness is a necessity in Boston where ROAR has organized poor white people to attack Black people and leave their real enemies alone. The racists help keep the people poor and oppressed. Avi Nelson, a ROAR spokesman, has enthusiastically backed the cutbacks.

When University of Massachusetts students marched on the State House they demanded an end to the welfare cuts and a tax on those who could afford it. When state employees spoke at the State House they demanded health insurance that everyone could afford. At the welfare hearing, speakers addressed people on the job, warning them not to feel safe or too distant from many workers who became unemployed in the last year. And the cutbacks themselves stretch from welfare recipients to state employees to state students, creating the potential for greater unity among these groups. The greatest weapon in the hands of the people, that shakes the rulers in their shoes, would be a united working class movement.

Community organizers have mobilized people to speak out at the legislative hearings, to create a presence of resistance. An offensive militant spirit can continue. Demands made through sit-ins, lock-ins, people's courts -- a mass movement of working people on and off the job -- can pressure for a restoration of welfare and human services through taxing corporations and lowering taxes for working people.

The rulers must bear the brunt of this crisis. Its their depression and we don't want it. When they attack the poorest people we'll attack them. "When they say cutback, we say fightback!"





## BERKELEY TEACHERS STRIKE

Last April teachers in Berkeley reached agreement on a new contract with the Berkeley Board of Education. Facing an anticipated \$2 million deficit in the Board's budget, the teachers agreed to a contract with no increase in wages and benefits, but with a promise from the Board for no layoffs and a commitment to maintain and upgrade special programs like ethnic studies and alternative schools. Then in June the School Board "discovered" the deficit would reach \$4 million and it called on the teachers to renegotiate the contract. When the teachers refused, the Board, using emergency powers, unilaterally cut teachers' wages 2½%, eliminated certain medical benefits, and dramatically reduced school programs and services such as nurse and library services. No negotiations were held over the summer, and on September 2, the day before school opened, the teachers voted 707 to 123 to strike to restore the April agreement.

Berkeley's schools were integrated without violence 5 years ago, and are considered a model integrated school system. But racism still pervades the schools. Within integrated schools, tracking begins at an early age. In many early grades there are separate reading groups for Black and white kids. In the high schools the advanced math and English classes are almost 100% white. Sometimes teachers pass Third World students on to the next grade without having taught them the material, thereby institutionalizing a system of non-education. For these reasons there is a lot of mistrust between Black and other Third World parents and the teachers; parents were not inclined to support the teachers' demands. In addition, many Third World parents were afraid that if the teachers won, the money to pay their wages would come from the special school programs they had struggled for. They also feared that if the board had to lay off teachers after the strike, it would be the more recently hired Third World teachers.

The teachers' leadership was initially divided over the importance of organizing support in the community, and as a result they did very little. The School Board, on the other hand, sent letters to parents and held numerous parent and community meetings over the summer where they described the finan-

cial crisis as irresolvable and attacked the teachers for irresponsibility and not caring about the children. The first day of school was chaos as many parents, convinced that the strike was against their interests, brought their kids to schools which were surrounded by picket lines and staffed by non-union "teachers" hired by the Board at \$50 to \$55 per day.

### WHO IS ALBERT SHANKER?

Albert Shanker is an enemy of the people, a class collaborator posing as a leader of working people. He is vice president of the AFL-CIO, close ally and likely successor to George Meany. Shanker wields his powerful position as head of the United Federation of Teachers to:

- Support the war in Vietnam. Teachers were purged from his "unity caucus" in the American Federation of Teachers for publicly demanding that the AFT take a position against the Vietnam War.

- Steer the United Federation of Teachers toward virulent anti-communism to mobilize labor support for US foreign policy and red-baiting.

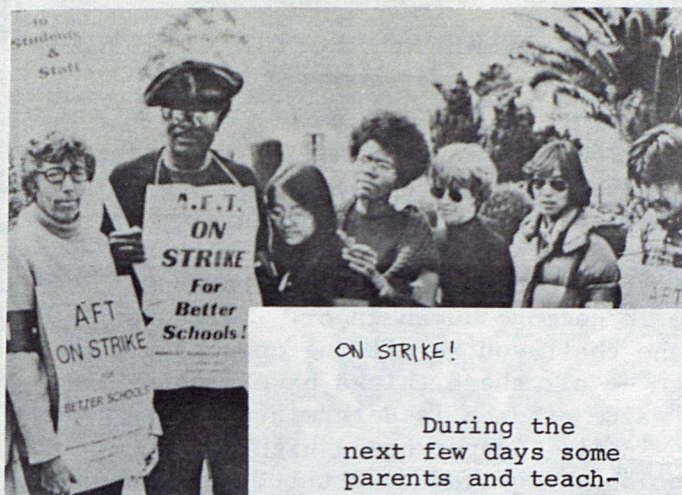
- Support unlimited arms to Israel, even if it means a war in the Middle East, and whip up terror and hatred of Arab peoples among New York's Jews.

- Attack community control of schools by New York's Black and Puerto Rican communities. Shanker became a national figure as the leader of a racist teachers' strike in 1968 which Black parents called a strike against their children. Under cover of teachers' rights and job security he organized whites in New York against the Black community.

- Sell out the teachers. In September's New York teachers' strike Shanker gladly accepted the layoffs of 70% of the Black and Puerto Rican teachers, reaching a sweetheart settlement with the Board of Education which gave nothing at all to the schoolchildren or any but the highest-paid teachers.



Berkeley Teacher



ON STRIKE!

During the next few days some parents and teachers met and began to organize community support for the strike. An independent Community Desk was set up in the strike headquarters. Over the next days and weeks meetings were held throughout Berkeley, in homes and churches, where parents and radical teachers urged support for the demands -- no cuts in wages or educational programs -- and talked about building a movement of parents and teachers to fight against racism and for decent education.

One important victory was the establishment of alternative site education classes for the children of working parents who otherwise would have had to break the strike and take their kids to school. These classes, held in the parks, were initially opposed by many in the strike leadership as a drain on the energy of strikers who should be on the picket lines, but the organizers were able to convince teachers to participate. This clear demonstration by some teachers of support for the parents helped build community support for the strike. After two weeks less than 2000 of Berkeley's 14,000 public school students were still crossing the picket lines into school.

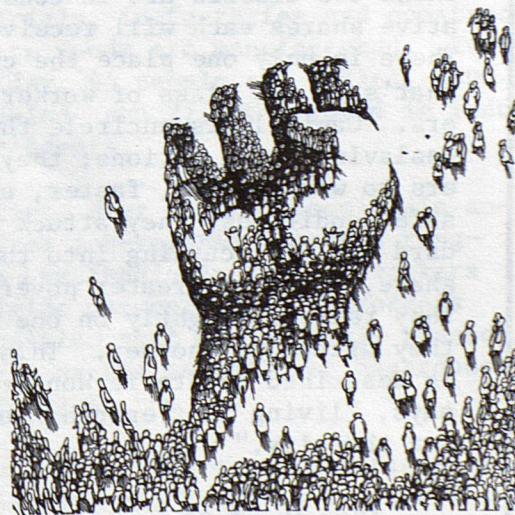
Classified workers (the mainly Third World bus drivers, cafeteria and custodial workers) split 50-50 over the strike, voting by a small margin not to strike themselves. Although the Board had also cut their wages over the summer, they feared their jobs would be threatened if the Board had to meet the teachers' demands. "They'll never fire the teachers," said one janitor, "but I can be replaced easily." This feeling reflected their experience of the year before, when their strike against the Board was ignored and their picket line crossed by the teachers. This year, because the classified workers stayed on the job, the school board was able to keep the schools open. This was a defeat for the teachers and resulted directly from their lack of solidarity the year before.

The struggle against racism was never openly engaged during the strike, but it played a key role as the strike progressed. Early on, some teachers proposed that the Board raise the funds to make up the 2½% wage cut by eliminating the ethnic studies program. After protest from parents and many teachers this proposal was withdrawn. And late in September, when Albert Shanker was visiting the Bay Area, the Berkeley Federation of Teachers decided not to invite him to speak because many opposed him and knew his reputation as a notorious racist would cost them support in the community.

After a month, although there was still much mistrust of the strike, support for the teachers had grown among classified workers and in the Berkeley community. In early October, after 33 days on the picket lines, the teachers finally went back to work, while a mediation board evaluates the Board's finances and prepares recommendations. The teachers are guaranteed there will be no wage cut, and they say they will strike again if any important programs are eliminated.

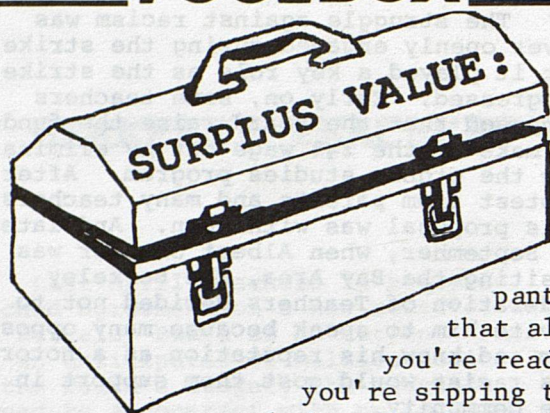
A Third World teachers' caucus was formed during the strike and may continue to meet. Radical forces among the teachers gained strength as everyone saw the need for unity with other workers, parents and the community. And through forums and other ongoing groups parents are continuing to deepen their role in the educational system in Berkeley.

For teachers the struggle against racism remains critical. The real progress made in building unity among parents and teachers during the strike will be lost if the struggle for education is not continued. Unless racism in the schools and the community is consciously fought and teachers actively make the struggle and demands of other workers in the school system their own, unity in the struggle will not be possible.





# TOOLBOX



## THE SECRET OF WHERE PROFITS COME FROM

All wealth is produced by human labor. The value of things exchanged on the market is not measured in each particular, one against the other, corn against cars or pants against potatoes, but against the one thing that all have in common: human labor. The paper you're reading, the chair you're sitting on, the cup you're sipping tea from -- all these things have human labor worked up in them, and the value of each is determined by the amount of human labor worked up in it. Copper has a high exchange value because of the amount of human labor required to get it; salt has a relatively low value for the same reason. Automobiles have a high exchange value because of the amount of human labor (the accumulated work of miners, rubber plantation workers, steel workers, tool and die makers, assembly line workers, etc.) worked up in them.

Your ability to work, your labor power, is another commodity to the capitalist, something to be bought and sold on the marketplace. Its value is determined by how much labor is required to produce it. In this case, the amount of labor required to produce a worker's ability to work includes the value of food, shelter, education, health, the raising of the new generation -- in other words, all the necessities of life.

The capitalist pays for the worker's labor power, but he does not pay for the amount of work that is actually done. Rather, a worker toils part of the time to produce the wealth that's returned in the form of wages and social services, and part of the time to produce the wealth that is taken by the capitalist. This is the surplus value, from which the capitalist gets his profit.

This relationship is hidden by the "free" agreement of the worker to work for a wage or salary. Although it appears that your wages cover each and every hour, each and every day, in fact you are paid for only some of your actual labor time, and your unpaid labor time is exploited by the capitalist. This cruel relationship is the basis of the capitalist system.

The working class and the bourgeoisie have nothing in common. Until the day when the working class finally and decisively overthrows the capitalists, these two classes are in constant struggle, now open, now hidden, over the relative shares each will receive from the wealth produced by the working class. There is only one place the capitalists can go in search of greater profit, and that's to the class of workers and toilers. Capitalists encircle the globe, enslaving whole nations; they push workers to work harder, faster, under less safe conditions; they attack the standard of life, cutting into the worker's share, creating greater poverty. When they retreat slightly on one front, they attack on another. This struggle is described by Stevie Wonder when he says, "living just enough, just enough for the city."



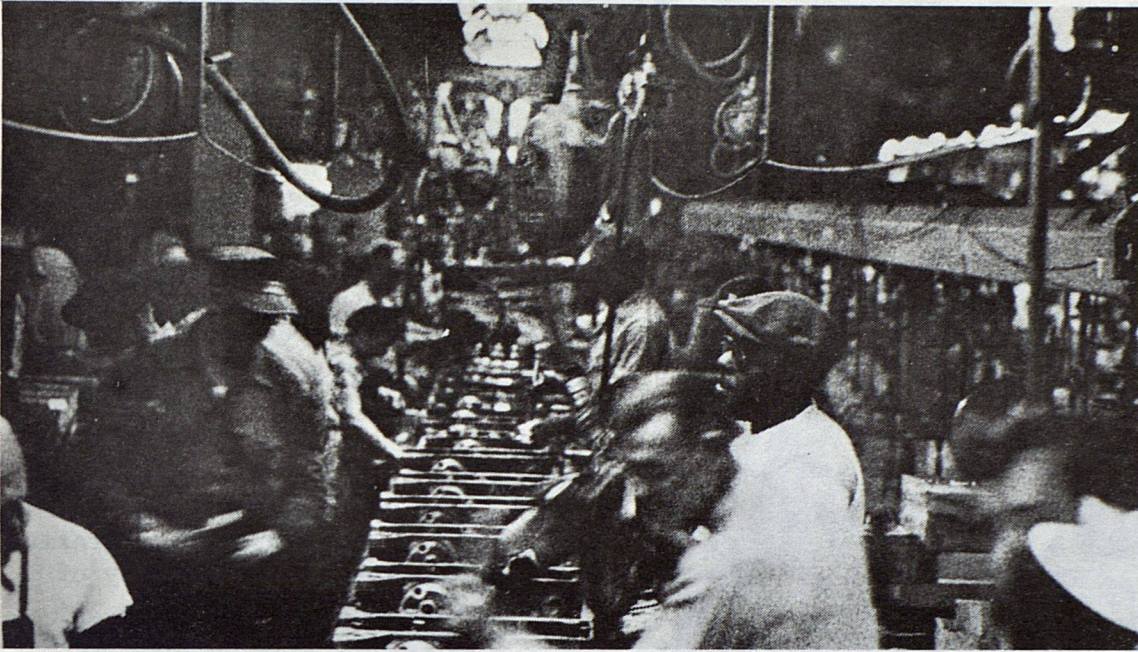
Ned Hitton / The New Masses

"Couple of guys named Marx and Engels.  
Find 'em and give 'em the works."

(For the full story read Marx's Wages, Price and Profit.)



ROBERT FRANK, THE AMERICANS



## **YOUR JOB IS KILLING YOU!**

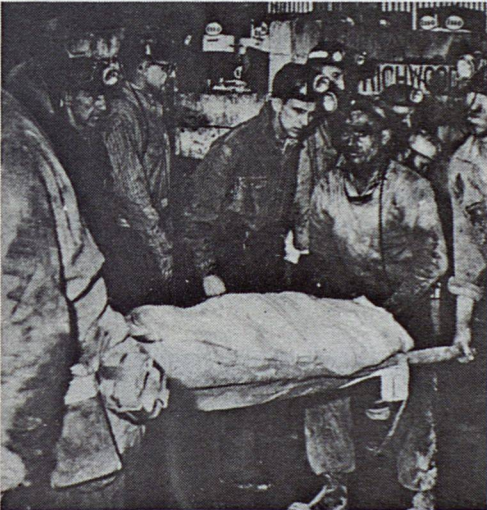
"You're going to die -- and your job is what's killing you!" This is the bitter truth for people working in the US. The big industries scrambling for profit do their best to keep this fact hidden. But the rules and risks on the job are set by the company.

Unsafe working conditions, speed-ups, cut corners lead to industrial accidents in mines and forests where workers bring out raw materials, in factories and construction where goods are manufactured. Every working day, 65 people are killed, 8500 are disabled, and 27,000 injured in industrial accidents.

In addition, over 100,000 people die annually from job-related diseases ranging from byssinosis in textile workers to pesticide poisoning in farmworkers -- a condition that has recently placed farm labor as the second most hazardous job category in the US.

But beyond this, there are countless other health hazards which amount to slow violence against working people.

SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE



SWEATSHOPS IN THE SUN





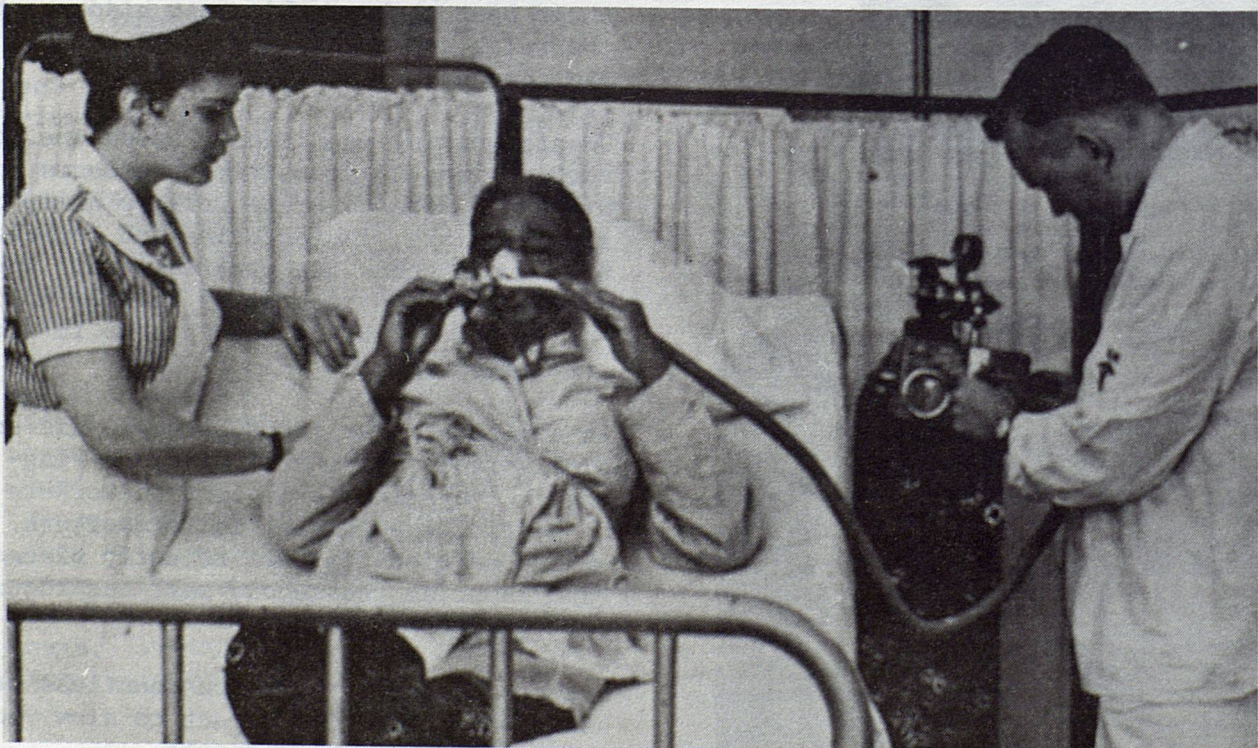


A painful gripping in the chest, unable to breathe. "I could inhale short breaths, but I couldn't exhale. I was just gasping and gulping air."

This is the experience of a Chicago meat-wrapper, brought on by conditions of work. Meat in supermarkets is wrapped in polyvinyl chloride (PVC) which is cut with a hot wire to speed up the work. The hot wire and hot-pad sealer decompose the PVC into dangerous components, including particles of vinyl chloride (which causes cancer) and gases of carbon monoxide, hydrochloric acid, and phosgene (banned as a poisonous gas in World War I).

The meatwrappers are the lowest rank of the meatcutters in the supermarkets, and are given the least consideration in union matters. The majority of meatwrappers are women.

Doctors in the emergency room at Harbor General Hospital in Torrance, Cal., noted three cases of women who sought help for asthma conditions that appeared only during hours they worked wrapping meat. They published their observations and meatwrappers around the country recognized the symptoms. They began to document and add up the evidence.





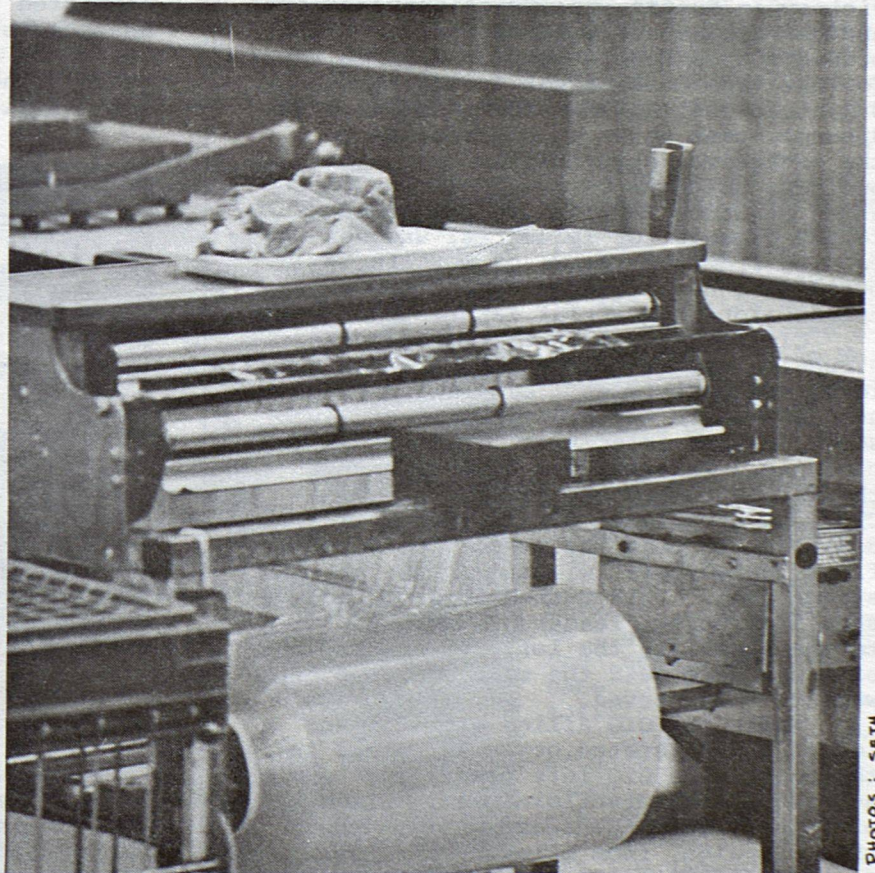


The meatwrappers are demanding a work situation oriented to human beings -- better ventilation, different materials for wrapping.

Polyvinyl chloride producers like Borden and Goodyear have been on the spot because of the high amount of liver cancer caused by vinyl chloride in employees and neighbors of PVC plants.

They are also under attack from consumers because vinyl chloride seeps into food packaged in PVC plastic.

These companies are putting up millions of dollars for research to argue that PVC does not harm meatwrappers.



PHOTOS : SETH

From the capitalist point of view, as Karl Marx pointed out, "a quick succession of unhealthy and short-lived generations will keep the labor market as well supplied as a series of vigorous and long-lived generations."



## REVIEW: LABOR RADICAL

LABOR RADICAL: From the Wobblies to the CIO.  
by Len De Caux Beacon Press 1970 \$4.45

Here is a worthwhile book, an important book for today's radicals who are organizing workers. It is De Caux's autobiography, his personal story of growth and transformation and struggle over thirty years. And more important, it is the story of the radical working class movement of the thirties told by one of the top radicals of the CIO. De Caux does not recant, apologize or turn back; he is still a labor radical and he tells his story straight.

The 1930s were marked by a labor upsurge unseen in this country before or since. That upsurge was the result of a long history of capitalist growth, deep and increasing emiseration of the working class, the widespread hope that swept the world following the workers' victory in Russia, the Great Depression, and the dreams and toil of radical labor pioneers from Eugene Debs to William Z. Foster. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was born out of that upsurge, cast up as an alternative to the exclusive, chauvinistic craft and business unionism of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). CIO responded to the demands for industrial unions echoing from the masses of workers by building a new militant federation of unions along industrial lines.

CIO became a main arena for workers' struggles and rebellions, for radical ideas and activities. CIO organized the unorganized in the big industries: auto, steel, rubber, electrical, maritime, clothing. This was the radical base, the revolutionary energy of CIO. The CIO left campaigned for rank-and-file democracy so that the unions would reflect the workers' wishes and not obstruct them. This pushed forward leadership from below, leadership accountable to the base. In the left-led unions, officers were paid the same scale as the workers they served.

While the CIO allied with racist locals and tolerated separate unions in the South, the CIO left campaigned against racial discrimination. Black organizers were the leading fighters in this campaign, from bringing the issue of Scottsboro to the union locals to organizing the locals to support community struggles against Jim Crow. It was essential to create a militant fight

against discrimination at a time of capitalist depression; it reflected the correct understanding that class unity is built by opposing racism.

It took courage and vision to break with the AFL, to strike out on a fresh course, to build a labor organization committed to strong working-class unity and progress. John L. Lewis, old-time leader of the mine workers, led the break against the wishes of other labor leaders, his own lieutenants, and even the radi-



*The Great Flint sit-down strike, 1937. Victory!*

cals who were at that time campaigning against sectarianism and dual unionism. De Caux is fascinated with Lewis, who was one of the true leaders of labor, widely known and revered, but not himself a red, not inspired by any broader social vision.

Once asked why there were so many



communist organizers in CIO, John L. responded by explaining that the communists were the most selfless, hard-working, fearless, and committed organizers. They were also most effective. But, Lewis went on, rhetorically, "Who gets the hare, the hunter or the hound?" Lewis was no radical, but he knew what the radicals could do. He worked to keep them on a short leash.

The failure of the Communist Party in CIO was a failure to fight openly for their long-range goals as well as the worthwhile but limited goals of CIO. The reds as a group needed to stand up for the maximum goal of socialism and communism, to educate and organize for these goals at the same time that they embodied and struggled daily for the legitimate short-term needs of the workers in the shops. They had to raise political questions and the demand for political power at the same time they struggled for economic needs and demands. Then when the inevitable reaction came down from the ruling class, the workers would have been better armed to defend their local officers, organizers, and, importantly, their true class interests. As it was, the reds faced the brutal and sophisticated assault and found themselves isolated.

The CIO left did not use its strength and power when it was at its height, remained silent when they should have fought back against anti-communist attacks.

At the 1946 CIO convention, communist leaders, trying to unite with liberals in the labor movement at any cost, urged the rank-and-file to support a resolution containing an anti-communist clause. Many of the young militants refused, but the hand-writing was on the wall. By 1948, communists were being read out of the movement.

Communists were attacked and purged, contained and crushed. CIO moved backwards, conceding many of the gains workers had won in the previous decade. Finally the CIO leadership allied with the AFL, creating a huge labor organization with roughly the same goals and limitations that the AFL had prior to 1935.

Len De Caux ends his book with a three page bridge to cross what has been a canyon of discontinuous history. It is a salute to the struggles of the last decade, and a plea for radicals to recognize and develop the class struggle.

"The Sixties were resurrection decade for any old left whose eyes could still see. From out of the tomb of the Fifties, a new generation of radical youth stepped forth. . . It rebelled against the supremacies of white over black, of rich over poor, of imperialist over colonial, of capitalist over worker, of age over youth, of man over woman.



Striking auto workers - Detroit, 1936.

"To me, it was my own radical generation incarnate... As we reacted against the first World War and responded to the Russian Revolution, so it reacted against the Vietnam War and responded to black liberation and world struggle against imperialism.

"On difference: To us, the rise of the working class clearly pointed the way. The first step must be workers' organization, to fight for the workers' needs, to form a base for advance to socialism...

"Like earlier waves of working class advance, (CIO) broke on the capitalist shores and receded. But it was the greatest wave; and no wave yet has been the last..."



## ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE SLA

The capture of several SLA members in September was a victory for the enemy and a defeat for everyone struggling against imperialism. They are comrades who share the conviction that only socialist revolution will end the misery and oppression of imperialism.

We love these people, yet we disagree. The problem for revolutionaries is that brave actions and courageous uncompromising stands do not change conditions unless they build lasting organization and are accountable to and involve the people.

The SLA and many other guerrilla groups place the military in command of the whole struggle. We once held this position, known as the foco theory, and we believe it is wrong. They hold that leadership of the movement is established through armed action alone, that guerrilla struggle itself politicizes and activates the people. In practice, they evaluate other forces primarily by their support or lack of support for armed struggle. This is wrong.

The leadership of all forms of peoples' struggle must be political. Without firm political direction of the whole struggle, the economic struggle remains mired in the endless battle for survival without challenging the very system of capitalism and political power by which a few live high off the toil and desperation of the many. Without political direction, the military struggle gets locked into escalating battles with the enemy, sacrifices too many heroic comrades and fails to draw on the inexhaustible energy and militancy of the people.

Armed struggle is an inevitable consequence of the violence of imperialism. US society is held together by constant force and threat of force. \$8 billion last year for police forces alone. \$111.4 billion proposed "defense" budget in the midst of economic depression. The whole apparatus of official force and violence serves the interests of the capitalist class, by enforcing the brutal combat of daily life in class society. This is the nature of society based on exploitation. Armed struggle is necessary to overturn it. The people who suffer under these conditions and those who join them have a right and a duty to take up arms against US imperialism.

The task for revolutionaries is to organize this spontaneous activity successfully: to organize the working class to seize power and establish socialism. Our goal is revolution, not armed struggle. We are responsible for a full political strategy. Revolution is not a coup d'etat, a series of forceful and audacious actions. It is not a match, gun for gun, with the ruling class and their police forces. It is developed from the clash of proletarian and bourgeois interests at every level of society -- economic, political, cultural, spiritual, as well as military. It grows through the accumulated experience of the working class in every form of struggle: against racism, lousy schools and high prices; for jobs, a living wage, for socially meaningful lives; against police repression, sexism and hunger. It is through this practice that the people gain clarity about the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy, build up their own forces as a conscious class and a political army -- and stand up to seize power from the ruling class.

Armed struggle can further this process, or it can deflect it. Ho Chi Minh said: "A military without politics is like a tree without roots -- useless and dangerous." Armed actions can divide and weaken the people, frighten and confuse their struggle. The killing of Marcus Foster, a Black school superintendent, was such an act and constituted a serious political error. Actions can assign to people the passive role of spectators, and try to substitute for their battles. Militants cannot skip over intermediate steps and bring about a revolutionary situation by will.

By telling the truth, revolutionaries will win the confidence and trust of the people. It was dangerous for the SLA to exaggerate their strength, and wrong to falsely claim to represent multi-national forces. It was a mistake to confuse the radicalization of Patricia Hearst with her emergence as a revolutionary leader, which she is not.

On the other hand, the SLA was able to force the Hearst empire to provide food to tens of thousands of poor people. Tremendous political consciousness and activity was unleashed. People defied official threats and intimidation to take some of what is rightfully theirs. It mobilized the poor against the rich.



Yet even in what was surely their most powerful action, the SLA strategy led them away from giving full play to the mobilization and political experience of the people. They cut short the mass activity and failed to build or encourage organization. Although tactical considerations were involved, their choices reflect a political error in which the military is in command.

Putting politics in command means developing all activity to organize the working class and oppressed people, and to build organization. Le Duan said:

"Before the seizure of power, and in pursuit of that aim, the only weapon available to the revolution, to the masses, is organization... All activities aimed at bringing the masses to the point where they will rise up and topple the ruling class may boil down to this: to organize, organize, organize."

Revolution is the work of the masses. Their consciousness and organization is decisive. Only in the practical work of building the class struggle can we develop the guerrilla struggle into popular armed struggle. The working class must be organized and prepared, as well as inspired and challenged. This requires intimate and active participation in peoples' struggles, and cannot be left to someone else or to example alone.

When the fighters are deeply involved with the people, the people develop as fighters and political and military struggle are firmly united. Today this can be seen in Native American struggles and in the prison movement, both of which involve great battles for survival, dignity and justice. It was reflected in the torrent of armed actions and sabotage against the warmakers, draft boards and the army during the Vietnam War. It was true of the Black urban rebellions and movement for armed self-defense. It will certainly again be true of the working class.

We need organization which spans periods of great activity and uprising, draws the lessons and corrects errors -- which recruits organizers and deepens their ties with the people, their ideology and discipline. Organization is the most powerful weapon of the working class. The party is the instrument which is capable of leading the whole fight of the people.

We would disagree with those who would have armed struggle wait for the creation of a leading proletarian party. Armed struggle is established, and as long as imperialism has hold fighters will rise up against it. The task is to organize it and lead it politically in the service of revolution. Yet we also disagree with those whose strategy is to build an army instead of a party

-- who see only armed struggle as strategic, who ridicule the process of developing political analysis and organization, and who abandon the process to the opportunists and dogmatists. We need unified organization, not by declaration, but by the difficult process of building it.

In this process, tactics are not an adequate barometer for distinguishing friends and enemies. Some comrades act as if all illegal work is revolutionary or all legal work is opportunist. We must master all means and methods of warfare. There is no formula. A great Vietnamese contribution to the art of military and political warfare is the lesson: take advantage of every contradiction within the enemy. This takes political courage.

Let no one feel self-justified at the capture of the SLA. Their capture was a blow to us all, and we urge everyone to support them against all the moves of the state. The greatest error is to NOT dare to initiate militant struggle, to give up on revolution, or shrink back from confronting imperialism. Let no one feel smug or relieved. We should proceed at once to build the kind of political organization capable of leading the armed struggle and the powerful discontent of the oppressed and exploited.

by Bernardine Dohrn

On November 12, the US introduced a resolution in the UN calling for unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners. The Cuban government denounced this hypocrisy, citing Attica and the Watts rebellion as evidence that the US has no moral authority to speak on the protection of human rights. Bombarded with worldwide condemnation, the US withdrew the resolution.

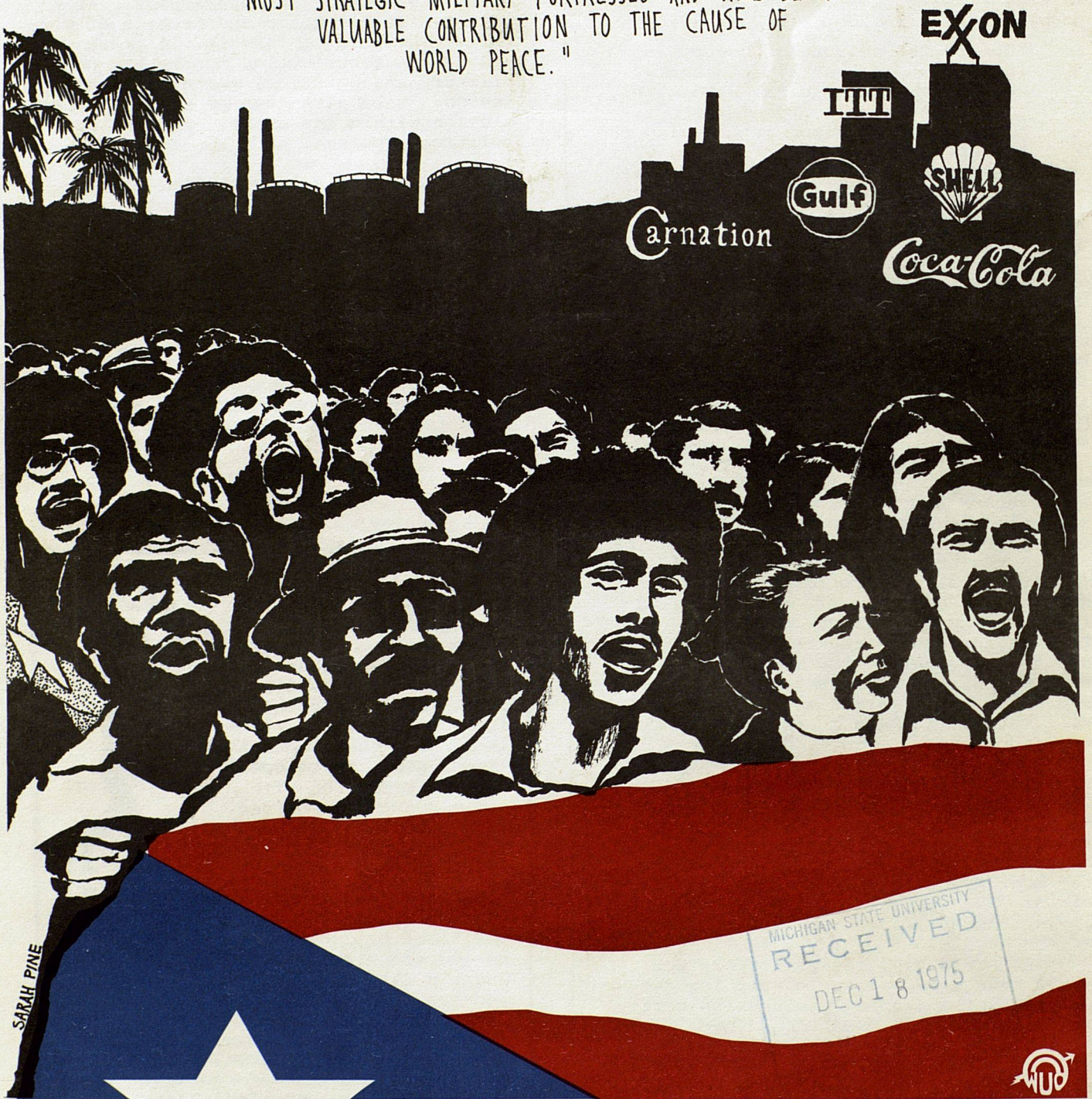
We demand that the US government release its political prisoners: the Puerto Rican Nationalists, the San Quentin Six, the SLA members, the BLA members, the Attica brothers, grand jury resisters, Ruchell Magee, H. Rap Brown, Marilyn Buck, Doc Holiday, Karl Armstrong, Martin Sostre, Carol Crooks, Mamie Lee Ward, Thomas Wansley, Ahmed Evans, Eddy Sanchez, John Yancey, the Atmore-Holman brothers, Susan Saxe,...





# INDEPENDENCIA PARA PUERTO RICO

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO WAS HELD IN HAVANA, CUBA FROM SEPTEMBER 5-8. THE CONFERENCE ISSUED A CALL, SIGNED BY 79 NATIONS, WHICH READS IN PART: "THE DEFEAT OF COLONIALISM IN PUERTO RICO AND THE TOTAL LIBERATION OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE WILL BE A PROFOUNDLY SIGNIFICANT EVENT THAT WILL MAKE POSSIBLE THE DISMANTLING OF ONE OF IMPERIALISM'S MOST STRATEGIC MILITARY FORTRESSES AND WILL BE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE."



## LIBERTAD PARA LOS PRISIONEROS NACIONALISTAS