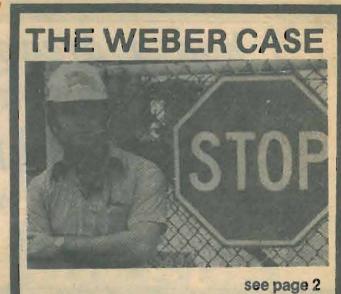
# Socialist Worker

Paper of the International Socialist Organization 25°monthly



**JANUARY 1979** 

NUMBER 20

# IRAN EXPLODES!

The Shah of Iran is hanging by a thread.

The new government-led by "moderate" Shahpur Bakhtiar-is his last desperate gamble to hold on to

Will it work? Today the Shah survives only because of the savage repression of the military—and the army of SAVAK killers. Thousands of people have been shot.

Yet, the gentral strike there is still production is negligible. There is still another wave of street demonstrations and more reports of disloyal soldiers.

The Shah's only hope is that the Bakhtiar regime can provide a breathing space—time to restore a semblance of stability. The Shah himself says he will leave the country-temporarily—this month.

Bakhtiar hopes he can win back support from the divided National Front. The Front expelled him for agreeing to work with the Shah, but clearly he maintains support. His argument is quite simple: "Support me or you get the army!"

Bakhtiar's task will not be easy. The strike of Custom's workers is bringing even more of Iran's industry to a standstill. It is now virtually impossible to import goods into the

Chryster Iran is shutdown-there country. are simply no parts.

Everything is at stake in han, but what is the next step?

The workers-particularly the oil workers-hold the key. It is their power which has paralyzed Iran—they

can take Iran forward. There are reports—thus far only reports-that in some factories and refineries in Iran, religious slogans are being replaced with demands for a

workers' government. That is the way forward. Down with



Solidarity demonstration in New York City in December

Iran is a vital link in the capitalist chain of control. It is one of the world's largest sources of oil. It has been set up by the West to police the Persian Gulf, from whence comes virtually all the world's oil, the black gold on which industries and governments internationally depend. Racist South Africa receives 98% of its crude oil from Iran.

Solidarity with Iranian workers is not an act of charity. It is neither a selfless or magnanimous act. Support for those who fight the same enemy is a blow struck for our future, for the future of our daughters and sons, for the future of the working class throughout the world.

# the Shah! Power to the workers!

LOS ANGELES, CA-2,000 Iranian students from campuses across the country converged here on the \$550,000 Beverly Hills mansion of the sister of the Shah of

The students were demonstrating in solidarity with the people of Iran, and the

fight against the Shah—one of the most cruel and corrupt dictators of all time. After a march through downtown Beverly Hills, the students arrived at the gates of the palatial mansion, where rocks, bricks and bottles were hurled at the

The protesters forced the Beverly Hills police to flee. Placards were then used windows. Cars were overturned. as torches to set trees and the surrounding brush on fire. Police reinforcements

then used tear gas and batons to drive the demonstrators from the estate. Two students were arrested for arson, and eight others for assault or interfering

There are now calls to deport these students—botk from the Los Angeles City with police officers.

The Iranian students must be defended—indeed their courage in the face of Council and from the White House. U.S. police and SAVAK agents in their midst is fantastic. It is just a pity that there were not thousands of Americans joining them in solidarity. Support the Iranian students—they are welcome here.

I had a dream the day John Rideout was acquitted. I dreamt I had been raped.

I went to the police. I went to my friends. I showed them where I had been beaten. No one believed me.

# They put the victim on trial

by Jackie Segal

I'm sure I'm not the only woman in Oregon that had such a dream the night of December 27.

John Rideout is the first man in U.S. history brought to trial for raping his non-estranged wife. Oregon is currently the only state in the nation in which marital rape is illegal.

In spite of doctor's testimony showing that Greta Rideout, his wife of two years, had been beaten by him and that there was evidence of forcible intercourse, he was found innocent.

This case, supposedly unique, the first of its kind, was actually grimly typical of rape cases. The six days of the trial were almost entirely focussed on Greta Rideout.

Her sexual history was examined in depth, including whether or not she had ever had lesbian fantasies.

When she was not on the witness stand in court, the media kept her there. There were headlines about the fact that she had been offered money for her story from Hollywood.

There were intimations that

she was influenced by the Salem Women's Crisis Center to prosecute.

The fact that she warned her husband three weeks before the incident that marital rape was illegal was used against her in the media and in the trial.

There was so much emphasis on her that it was a shock when the case was referred to as the John Rideout trial. It was so much the trial of Greta Rideout.

She testified that on the afternoon of October 10, she refused to have sex with



Greta Rideout

her husband, and he claimed "You are my wife and you should do what I want."

During a fight he hit her, and she stated that she submitted to him for fear he would break her jaw.

John Rideout testified that they had fought, and he had struck her. After apologizing to her, he stated that they agreed to have sex. He had admitted to tampering with her car that day, so that she would be unable to drive it.

In previous testimony he had claimed that he believed that husbands have a right to sex. This time, he claimed, she had assented.

# FREE

And so, in spite of all this evidence, the trial is over and John Rideout is a free man

The implications of this trial, however, have just begun. John Rideout's lawyer, Burt Kelly, claimed that the trial may "discourage prosecutors and it might discourage some ladies from bringing this kind of charge."

One can only agree with him. A recent study suggests that at least 28 million women in America have been beaten by their husbands.

4.7 million of them have been seriously injured.

Rape is often a part of these attacks, but rarely mentioned because marital rape is legal in 49 states.

The prosecuting attorney, district attorney Gary Gort-maker, stated, "This isn't the first Rideout case I've seen. This is the first Rideout case I've seen in court.

"Usually they end up in one of two ways—suicide or homicide."

Predictably enough, a two pronged attack against the law making marital rape illegal is beginning.

An initiative petition was filed December 27 and it is beginning to be clear that the Oregon legislature will reconsider the legislation when it convenes next month.

The arguments that will be used were laid out by John Rideout's attorney. This law, he claimed, impairs the contractural obligation of a marriage, it invades a person's right to privacy, and incredibly enough, they claim it denies a defendant the right to equal protection under the law because only men can be charged with the crime!

# DEMAND

We must begin to fight against such legislation, to once more demand that women are not the defendants in rape cases, that a husband does not own his wife's body.

As I was terrorized in my dream last night, millions of women are terrorized every day. We must win on this issue, we are fighting for our lives.

# FIGHT-BACK AT UPS

by ANNE MACKIE

CLEVELAND, OH—"UPS is trying to get rid of all the drivers who know what's happening by contract time."

Ruby Williams, package driver in Cleveland, is one of those drivers who was fired, January 3, as part of UPS's rampage to "clean house" before the contract expires, April 30th.

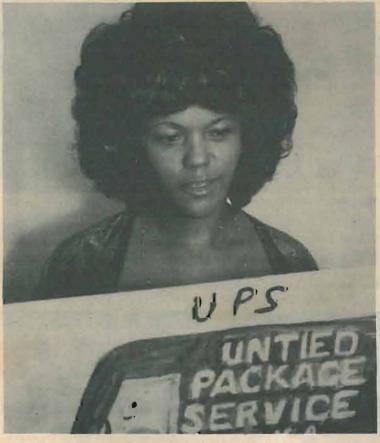
Ruby won her job back at the State Grievance Panel, but she will be off work until January 22, with no back pay.

Management claimed Ruby missed too much work—Ruby produced a doctor's note for every day she was off, except one.

# RACIST

The company claimed "discourteousness" to a customer when Ruby refused to allow someone to open a C.O.D. package before giving her the money (company policy!) The customer called her a "nigger," and UPS management backed this racist by firing her.

Ruby, with the support of



Cleveland UPSurge members, passed out 500 leaflets explaining her case. "My case was a complete fraud," she said. "The real reason I was fired is pretty obvious—I stand up for my rights, as a black woman, and I stand up for the rest of the workers at UPS."

# Solidarity: the answer—



to the bosses' attack

by PAT MORGAN

Blackmail to provoke strikes and force bad contracts on the unions is the government's latest anti-inflation tactic.

The government is leaning hardest on the Teamsters Union IBT contracts covering 300,000 expire March 31 and in past years has set patterns for other union contracts.

The Teamsters are feeling government muscle through the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Justice Department. The ICC has told the trucking companies that it would be reluctant to approve rate increases if the 7% guideline is broken. The Justice Department has timed possible prosecutions of top Teamster bureaucrats for pension fund fraud to influence the contract.

# CARROT

If sticks are not enough to produce sellouts, the government is offering a small carrot. Revisions to the guidelines, alSocialist Worker

lowing increases in benefit money needed to maintain existing services, were made at the request of Teamster officials. IBT negotiators say privately that they think they can sell a contract to the rank and file which emphasizes benefits instead of real wage increases.

The fact that the government is using threats to keep wages in the guidelines shows how much is at stake in the upcoming bargaining. This year contracts affecting 4.2 million

workers are negotiated compared to the 1.8 million covered in 1978 agreements. Among these are the rubber workers, electrical workers, and auto workers, which like the Teamsters set patterns for other industries.

The tension is increased by the stagnation of the economy which is expected to nose dive into another recession this year. Business and government see no way out except through a wage cutting scheme like Carter's guidelines.

The union bureaucracy does not like the situation much either. The hard nose stance of business and government make it difficult for the bureaucrats to play the middleman. Except for the Teamsters, most union chiefs are talking tough now, but less than a year ago the IBT's Frank Fitzsimmons was saying that he wouldn't take less than a 40% increase.

As the contracts come due, the labor bureaucracy will try to cut deals which avoid confronting the government. If Fitzsimmons gets away with a sham benefit package which has no new money in it, the others will try and go the same

The wage cuts can be stopped but it will take a militant fight because the other side is out for blood. Last year's miners strike was a preview of

the upcoming situation. The miners, to get a contract as good as their last one, confronted the coal companies for 100 days, defied the government by breaking the Taft-Hartley law, and organized their own strike because the bureaucrats would not do it.

### SOLIDARITY

The rest of labor is not as well off as the miners were. Other unions lack the militant traditions and rank and file organization that the miners had, but the miners strike showed the power of something else—solidarity. The contributions of money and food from unions and individual workers gave the miners heart for their long struggle.

Socialists can help build support for this year's strikes. It is time to do what we can to put the idea of solidarity into practice and aid in the resistance to the new round of the bosses' attack.

# CHINA: THE END OF THE ROAD

Thirty years ago, Mao's armies conquered China. They drove Chaing Kaichek off the mainland, and with him the imperialists who had ravaged China for a hundred years.

Mao and the Chinese Communist Party then set out to modernize China—to make China a world power, and they set out to do this independently of world capitalism. The United States responded by attempting to totally isolate China, encircling the new nation with massive military power.

# BEACON

The Communists withstood this, however, and in so doing China became a beacon, not only for nationalists in the colonized world, but for revolutionaries in the advanced nations as well.

They used the rhetoric of

Marxism and socialism, but the fact is that the Chinese never attempted to build socialism. They sought industrial development and national independence—even when this meant breaking with the Russian imperialists.

The Great Leap Forward was an attempt to lift China into the modern world by its own bootstraps. So, essentially, was the Cultural Revolution.

The attempt has failed. China remains today, despite the important advances which accompanied the defeat of imperialism, a desperately poor nation, overwhelmingly agrarian—and still threatened by far more powerful enemies.

# WEST

Thus, China steers to the West. And it must be said that this course began well before Mao died. The reasons are simple enough. The tech-

nology, the computers, the business is in the West. So is the grain.

There is no non-capitalist road to development—not short of a genuine workers' revolution, and only then as part of the process of a world revolution, including revolution in the advanced nations.

China was never a workers' state. The workers of China played no part whatsoever in the 1949 revolution. They were ordered to stay at their jobs, so as not to interfere with production. They toil now, as they always have, for others. They do not control their work, not the fruit of the work. They are exploited, though their exploiter is the state, not an individual.

Much of the left, unfortunately, never understood what was happening in China, most often confusing the struggle for national independence with the struggle for

socialism. Over the years, however, support has waned, especially as China's foreign policy became more and more reactionary—including support for the Shah, relations with Pinochet's China, opposition to the MPLA in Angola.

The new relations with the United States mark the end of the road. The Chinese have made their peace with imperialism. They will now sell themselves on the world market.

But imperialism will help them no more than it helps any impoverished country. The terms will all be against China. For the United States, they are just one more market to exploit—a large one of course. The new goal of modernization by the year 2,000 will prove just as utopian as the Great Leap

Socialists-and anyone who

genuinely hates imperialism—can learn from China, however. Most importantly, they can learn that there is no real independence short of socialism. They can also learn that socialism is not the triumph of peasant armies. It is the self-emancipation of the working class.

# Socialist Worker

January 1, 1979 Editor: Cal Winslow Published Monthly

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of Socialist Worker.

# YVONNE WANROW FACES NEW TRIAL



**OLYMPIA**, WA—The Washington State Supreme Court has ordered that Yvonne Wanrow stand trial again.

Wanrow is a Colville Indian who killed a 62-year-old white neighbor—a known child molester—in 1972, in an effort to defend herself and her small children.

Wanrow and her supporters hoped that the charges would be dropped, but they are still determined to see her set free.

This case is important in many ways, but mainly because Wanrow is a Native American who defended herself against racist attacks, and because she is a woman who stood up for her right to self-defense.

Contributions and messages of support can be sent to the National Defense Committee, 1206 Smith Tower, Seattle, Washington, 98199.



# By Any Means Necessary

**BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA** 

# WEBER: THE BAKKE OF THE WORKING CLASS

When the Supreme Court decided last summer that Allen Bakke had been a victim of "reverse discrimination" they hammered the first nail into the coffin of affirmative action. Now they have the next nail in place and are getting the hammer into position

The Bakke case only spoke to racial quotas for colleges and universities. Now the Weber case brings into question affirmative action programs in industry.

Brian Weber, 32, is a white, \$21,000-a-year lab analyst from Gramercy, Louisiana. Weber sued Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation, his employer, and the United Steelworkers, his union, when he was rejected by a craft training program which held half its openings for minority workers.

# QUOTAS

In two federal courts he won his suit, both courts ruling that under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, a company cannot use racial quotas without proving that they had discriminated racially in the past.

Kaiser and USW set up their affirmative action program "voluntarily." Kaiser risked losing federal contracts because less than 2% of the 273 skilled craft jobs at the Gramercy plant were held by blacks, while the surrounding area's workforce is 39% black. Also, two of Kaiser's other Louisiana plants had been found guilty of discrimination.

So, without owning up to any past discrimination, Kaiser and USW set up an affirmative action program, allegedly out of the goodness of their hearts.

The catch is not owning up to past discrimination. When a company admits to having racially discriminated, they are inviting hefty back pay suits from those discriminated against. And rightly so. But no company wants to actually pay for its past discrimination.

If the Supreme Court upholds the lower court ruling we can expect companies to abandon their affirmative action programs like hot potatoes.

To keep their programs they would either have to admit past discrimination and face substantial suits for back pay, or not admit to discrimination and open themselves up to suits from the likes of Weber.

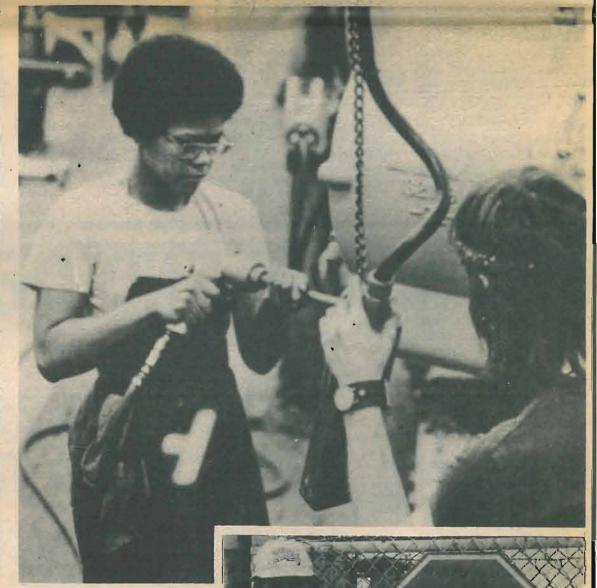
Some choice. Far easier to abandon the programs alto-

Affirmative action programs were not set up in either industry or education because administrators or management thought it would be a fair thing to do. Affirmative action programs were won by a black movement that demanded an end to discrimination in hiring and promotion programs.

tion practices.
Preferential hiring programs are actually a very small step toward breaking down racial barriers in education and industry. But without preferential treatment there can be no such thing as "equal job opportunities" in a racist society. It is simply not possible

# STEP

The Bakke decision was a big step backward from racial equality. The doors of professional schools had only been opened a crack for black students. Now that tiny opening has been made smaller.



Brian Weber (right)

Likewise, in industry there have been scattered programs allowing a small trickle of blacks to enter formerly all-white trades and departments. Weber seeks to shut that door as well, and with the help of a right-wing Supreme Court, he may well do it.

Page 4 Socialist Worker January, 1979

# CLEVELAND: THEY ROB THE POOR TO PAY THE RICH

by BEN BLAKE

"Cleveland Trust is ready to destroy this city." That's what Cleveland's Democratic Mayor, Dennis Kucinich, had to say about the refusal of the city's largest bank to go along with refinancing a \$1.45 million debt on December 15. Consequently, Cleveland became the first city to default since the Depression.

### BLAME

Kucinich puts the blame on the city's default on just about everybody but his own administration—the banks, the City Council, and Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, among others. In fact, combined with the long-term decline of the city, they have all played an important part in causing Cleveland's financial crisis.

Since the 1950s, Cleveland has lost over half of its jobs in heavy industry, the heart of its economy. Since 1969, industries representing about the problem of declining tax

In Cleveland, the vultures are picking over the bones of the city poor.

The banks and the politicians want the same thingto squeeze the last penny out of a destitute city.

city and moved to the suburbs. the sunbelt or overseas in search of cheap non-union labor and big tax breaks. Consequently, the city's working class is getting smaller and poorer and the city government is having a harder time raising funds through income

Kucinich pledged to solve 17,000 jobs a year have left the revenue by "cutting out the

fat" in the city budget with "no reduction of service" and no income tax increase." By the end of 1978, 1,000 jobs or more than 10% of the city's workforce was eliminated through attrition and layoffs. In 1977 alone, 126 firefighters, or one-sixth of the force, was axed. Kucinich's personnel director, Bob Weissman, explained how this was done without a reduction in services: "Firefighters work only 4% of the time at most, anyway.... So it may take a minute longer for a response to some fires, but it will make no significant difference. .

The City Council thought Kucinich's program of cutbacks was a great idea and chopped from the 1978 budget an additional \$2,122,000 earmarked for salaries and benefits for employees of the Parks, Recreation, Building, Housing, Emergency Medical Services, Maintenance and Manpower Development Departments. Four million was cut from the Fire Department.

According to Kucinich these measures were not sufficient to restore the city to financial health, and two days before the default he reversed himself and proposed a 50% increase in the income tax. This would allow the administration to issue new bonds that would put the city \$90 million farther in debt to the banks That's how Kucinich proposed to "save the city."

# **INCREASE**

The banks, led by Cleveland Trust, disagreed. Although they liked the idea of a \$90 million bond issue, they wanted a 100% increase in the income tax and the sale of the city's Municipal Light and Power Co. (Muny Light) to the private utility, Cleveland Electric Illuminating (CEI).

It's not that the banks could not afford to extend a little. credit to the city. During the first nine months of 1978, they cleared \$103,931,000 in profits over seven times what they are owed by the city.

What they want is to have Kucinich soak the city workers for another \$38 million in tax increases while the elite get off with only a token contribu-



Mayor Dennis Kucinich

The sale of Muny Light would give CEI a complete electrical power monopoly in Cleveland, allowing it to raise utility rates and thus increase its handsome profits (\$99.3 million for the year ending September 30, 1978) and bail out its nuclear power program (whose estimated cost for the three new plants in the Cleveland area over the next ten years has jumped to over \$926 million).

Increased profits for CEI would also benefit the banks who own large blocks of the company's stock. Cleveland Trust alone owns \$11 million in CEI stock.

The City Council sided with the banks and defeated Kucinich's plan, thus insuring default. Both issues-the tax hike and the sale of Muny Light—will be on the ballot in February, but the vote probably won't make any difference. The state could impose an income tax increase on the city to pay the \$7.5 million it owes the state employees pension fund, and the courts could order the sale of Muny Light to pay off the \$3 million CEI claims it is owed by the city.

# CRITICAL

The critical factor in the crisis is the city workers. One reason Kucinich cancelled the planned layoff of one-third of the city's workforce, including half the firefighters, was the threat of strikes.

The firefighters are militant and are angry about the cutbacks in their departments. A few days after the layoffs were announced, they voted 417-23 to authorize a strike in the event of the layoffs. This balloting was an important factor in Kucinich's retreat, despite the claim that "We won't tolerate any strikes called to dictate policy. Strikes are for collective bargaining only. They

are not for mob rule in the usurpation of an administra-

Right now, as a result of the default, 400 new layoffs are planned and an additional 66 are threatened. Before the default, Kucinich had planned to layoff hundreds of city workers in February, including 150 firefighters.

Unemployment and poverty are the roots of Cleveland's

The banks and the politicians—through tax increases and cutbacks, rate hikes and layoffs-will only make things

The banks blame Kucinich, and Kucinich blames the banks. Both are right, both are to blame.



Bob Weissman is a UAW bureaucrat when he's now working for the city.

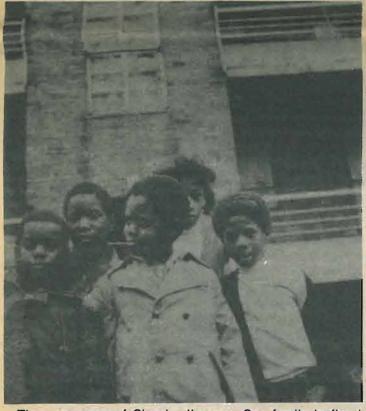
He is the City's Personnel Director and oversees the laying off of workers.

He was former mayor Ralph Perk's labor advisor as well.

Weissman says that the Kucinich administration is "the most pro-labor administration in the history of the city." Never mind the layoffs and the threats of more.

Weissman says any strike in defense of city jobs will be broken. "We have no intention of tolerating the attempt by the unions to dictate of governmental political policy.

# Cleveland's poor...



These are some of Cleveland's poor. One family in five in Cleveland has an income below the government's poverty level. There are 45,200 people who are unemployed.

One out of every six people in Cleveland recieves some form

37.4% of Clevelanders have not graduated from high school. And only 4.4% of the city's residents have graduated from

Thousands of people in Cleveland live in apartments and houses which have no central heating nor any plumbing.

These are the victims of the Cleveland crisis. it means for them-layoffs, fewer services, more taxes, worse schools.

There are the rich in Cleveland. Of course. But they live in the suburbs. There is no Park Avenue in Cleveland.

Still 86% of business executives interviewed on the merits of Cleveland said they were quite happy.

Karl Rudolph, the Chairman of the Board of Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, who makes \$171,797 in salary each year, lives in the little town of Pepper Pike, in Cleveland's eastern suburbs.

In 1975, the average house in Pepper Pike cost \$200,000. It was most likely to be on a plot of five acres or more.

Pepper Pike is proud of its services, its schools, and it's citizens. There are no Pepper Pike jokes.

# at causes the

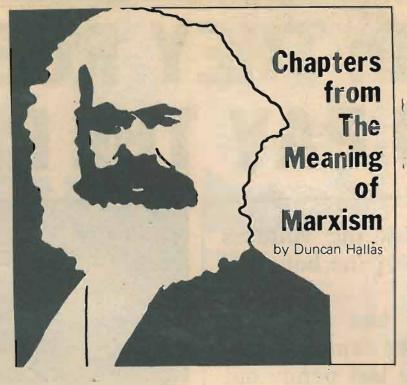
The reasons for Marx's that periodic and belief increasingly severe economic crises are inevitable under capitalism can now be considered.

The driving force of the system can be summed up as a compulsion to accumulate capital.

### **EXPAND**

Competition between capitalist concerns forces each firm to attempt to expand its share of production by converting surplus value into capital. This process of capital accumulation tends to increase the demand for labor and so to push up wages. To minimize wage costs more sophisticated and expensive capital equipment is introduced with the aim of increasing the productivity of each worker and hence the amount of surplus value extracted. An unwanted consequence of this increase in the amount of fixed capital per worker or "rise in the organic composition of capital" is a downward pressure on the rate of profit.

The immediate cause of slumps is not this long-term tendency but short run fluctuations in the rate of profit.



Of course every actual slump has particular causes of its own but certain general causes are always present.

In the course of a boom the demand for labor rises, output increases and so does capital accumulation and hence the demand for additional

machinery and equipment.

Unemployment falls and as it shrinks so does the most important check on rising wages. Earnings are pushed up and so the rate of profit tends to be diminished.

"But as soon as this diminution touches the point at

which the surplus value that nourishes capital is no longer supplied in normal quantity, a reaction sets in: a smaller part of revenue is capitalized, accumulation lags, and the movement of rise in wages receives a check," (Marx).

### RECESSION

The result is a recession, which is first felt in the heavy industries making "capital goods"—"Department I" as Marx calls them.

The loss of earnings of workers in this department due to lay-offs, reduced overtime and so on causes a fall in demand for the commodities that working people buy and so spreads the recession to the sector of industry making these goods.

Marx calls this sector 'Department II''. The effect is cumulative and the depression worsens. Whether or not wage rates are cut-and typically they are-actual earnings and hence demand falls progressively.

Unemployment rises until the wage gains of the boom have been cancelled out and the rate of profit starts to rise again. A new boom is then in the making.

This is a very much simpli-

fied picture which leaves out a number of features of importance, notably price fluctuations in the boom-slump cycle.

Nevertheless it represents the essence of Marx's crisis theory. Before comparing it with the actual history of capitalist development, three points have to be considered.

The first is that though the crisis appears as a crisis of comment of the comment of the comment of the crisis of the critical of the c such that is deficient. It is

purchasing power.
As Marx wrote, "The fina cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist produc tion to develop the productive forces in such a way that only the absolute power of con sumption of the entire society would be their limit."

### **SCHEMES**

This fact is the basis o various reformist scheme: that seek, in one way o another, to prevent or alle viate slumps by giving away purchasing power to workers.

The second point is why crises should tend to ge worse. This is where the long term tendency for the rate o profit to decline is important To the extent that it is real ized, it lowers the profit "ceiling," and so the "space" between that "ceiling" and the "floor" created by work ing class resistance.

Thus, in the absence of offsetting factors, crise should become ever more frequent and more severe.

This is the basic reason wh Marx believed that wage could not increase indefinitel in a capitalist society.

Finally there is the fact tha

there is a sector of production called by Marx "Departmen III", that makes neithe "wage goods" for sale to workers nor "capital goods for accumulation. It include both "luxury goods" for sale to the rich and more important. to the rich and, more impor tant, various goods for the state which are, strictly speak ing, not commodities in Marx's sense at all, since the are not produced for a market

This sector is relatively un affected by the factors making for boom and slump in Depart ments I and II. Its size is o great importance in modifying the boom-slump cycle. How does the theory measure up to reality?

The average length of the cycle is around 10 years Clearly the boom-slump cycle is built into capitalism. When the severity of the crisis is considered this picture is modified.

There was a general bu uneven tendency for crises to become more severe until the 1880's. Thereafter slumps became milder until after the first world war. The slumps o 1921, 1929 and 1938 were much more severe than those of the 19th century, though that of 1938 was interrupted by the second world war.

# Monopoly

Three main features of the system that have not yet beer examined have a bearing or the issue. They are the growth of monopoly and state monopoly capitalism, the export of capital and the expansion of Department III production.

Two of these have had, at various times, a medium run stabilizing influence on capitalist economies. None of them can permanently stave off the system's inherent tendency to crisis.



# A SILVER LINING

William C. Westmoreland, the retired army general, told the Dade County Medical Society in Miami Tuesday night that the Vietnam War produced advances medicine "that saved far more lives than were lost" in the fighting.

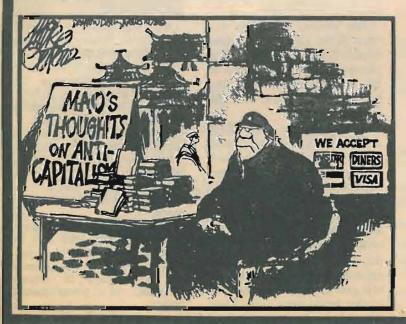
The general, an active

The 15th World Scout Jamboree, scheduled for next July in Iran, has been canceled because of political unrest there, a spokesman for the Boy Scouts of America said yesman on the lecture circuit these days, cited new ways to deal with "emersion foot" and a virulent strain of malaria and the use of whole-blood transfusions to treat traumas.

By PATRICIA GILMAN

An estimated 1.6 million people were killed in the Vietnam War, including 57,000 Americans.

Spokesman Barclay M. Bollas said alternate plans would be made for the 2,000 U.S. delegates due to attend the event. More than 20,000 delegates from 100 countries had been invited.



# THE ONLY COLA...

Things Go Better With Coke...(i.e. imperialism)

Jimmy Carter has announced the normalization of relations between the United States and China. Paul Austin (chairman of Coca-Cola) has just announced that a deal has been made with China making Coke the only cola sold in China. Mr. Austin is a life-long friend and campaign supporter of Mr. Carter...No comment.

By Coincidence...

Donald Kendall (Chairman of Pepsicola) reached a similar agreement with the Soviet Union while Richard M. Nixon was

President. Mr. Kendall and Mr. Nixon are known to be good friends.

Meanwhile—also China

The Chinese have consulted McDonald's executives about fast food techniques for use in China...

Pornography is back...A
Japanese X rated film about prostitution was a big hit. The Kwangming Daily said it "greatly enlightened and educated the Chinese audience."

And China, which still tests nuclear bombs in the sky, is paying France \$1 billion each to build two nuclear power plants.

(thanks to Mark Shaub)

### GREAT WHITE HOPE

Kallie Knoetze is white South Africa's favorite heavyweight. The World Boxing Association ranks him Number 2. He's now coming to this country as yet another "great white hope," with a match scheduled for Miami against Bill Sharkey, January 13, in Miami.

Knoetze is a former

Pretoria policeman. He is proud of his record which includes having shot a fifteen year old black youth in both legs—the youth was later found innocent of any charge, but Knoetze was never charged.

Jessie Jackson of PUSH is promising to picket the

# Socialism & the fight for independence

For Puerto Rican workers to be truly free, there must be independence.

For Puerto Rico to be truly independent, there must be socialism

This was the theme running through the talk given by the Puerto Rican independence activist Jorge Reyes at the I.S.O. rank and file conference held in Cleveland in November.

Companero Reyes described how "yanqui" unions in Puerto Rico try to repress workers' struggles. Why does Puerto Rico have U.S. unions? It has them because it is a U.S. colony.

### COLONY

Puerto Rico became a U.S. colony in 1898, after the Spanish-American War.

At first, it was subjected to direct "yanqui" military rule.

Then, in 1900, the U.S. Congress established an administration directed by a governor and council named by the U.S. President.

In 1917 the people were allowed to elect their own But the Chief governor. of the Insular Police continued to be a North American.

Puerto Rico

In 1952, Puerto Rico became a commonwealth with a little more autonomy.

Meanwhile, yanqui penetration into the island is so deep that most businesses are U.S. controlled, the schools are North American style, the culture is permeated with North American values, the large U.S. labor unions are entrenched there, etc.

The Puerto Rican ruling class would like things to continue this way. They either favor continued commonwealth status or statehood.

There are few "independistas'' among the bour-geoisie. They favor Puerto Rican complete nationhood, but they would continue to allow U.S. participation in the economy.

This would not be independence, Reyes explained. For

real independence, the U.S. imperialists must leave Puerto Rico. This would only happen under socialism.

### **UNIONS**

The struggle for independence is gaining momentum in Puerto Rico. One of the forms of the independence movement is rank and file Independent unionism. unions are growing in strength. Some, such as the militant electrical workers are pro-independence.

This growth in independent unions is occurring because the large U.S. unions such as the Teamsters and the AFL-CIO increasingly act in favor of U.S. imperialist interests.

For example, if a Puerto Rican local of the Teamsters votes to go out on strike the Washington headquarters will deny them permission.

Sometimes, an independent union will be in contract talks at a plant.

A large, powerful U.S. union steps in and petitions for elections. Until elections are held, the workers must forget their strike and go back to work. If the independent union doesn't want to go into elections because of the illegal procedures used, the strike is declared illegal and all its participants fired.

The "yanqui" union gets in, puts its strike breakers in and the place is declared a union shop!

Reyes explained that not only do Puerto Rican workers have to contend with corrupt, 'yanqui' unions but also with 'yanqui' anti-labor laws such as Taft-Hartley.

# DEFIED

A large, independent Puerto Rican union, the Union Nacional was declared illegal when it defied a federal court order to go back to work. This was the union which led the struggle for independent unionism.

After giving more examples of Puerto Rican workers' oppression, Reyes hastened to explain that Puerto Rican

independence supporters are not against all North Americans.

They are against the U.S. ruling class. In fact, he explained U.S. imperialism oppresses U.S. workers as

When a Westinghouse plant in New York goes out on strike production in the Puerto Rican plant is stepped up.

Or when a U.S. company finds paying union wages unprofitable it moves to Puerto Rico or to another country.

Companero Reyes empha-

sized that it is necessary for U.S. and Puerto Rican workers to work together to help each

If North American workers would like to help Puerto Rican workers in their struggle for independence, they can contact the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee.

# **EDUCATE**

This group will serve to educate U.S. workers on the economic and political situation in Puerto Rico, and why these have led to the independence

# BLOOMINGTON



BLOOMINGTON, IN—Lack of action by Indiana University Trustees on the South Africa issue brought a protest from the Bloomington South Africa Committee. Members of the Committee demonstrated at a meeting of the Trustees on December 9 in Bloomington.

In June the Trustees had decided to request that the corporations which Indiana University had investments in and which had operations in South Africa improve their employment practices in South Africa by following up on this weak decision. When asked about corporate responses to the University's request, one administrator said that the University wasn't that much concerned about what the corporations did.

The demonstration was called in response to this hypocrisy and to reemphasize the demand for divestment. One hundred people marched to the Trustees meeting.

After the demonstration, the Indiana Southern Africa Committee was founded. Anti-apartheid activists from various cities in Indiana participated in starting the state-wide group. The group will seek campus, labor, and community support, and it will back a demonstration against the Indiana University Trustees when they meet soon in Indianapolis.

The concrete goal of the Indiana Committee is to end United States involvement in Southern Africa. A resolution was voted supporting self-determination in Southern Africa and those fighting for it.

# Rhodesia gets U.S. choppers

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A federal investigation has found that 11 American-made helicopters were smuggled into Rhodesia last fall.

The HU-205 "Huey" helicopters were originally sold to Israel, which in turn shipped them out on a course marked Singapore, but which actually went to South Africa and then to Rhode-

The helicopters are made by the Bell Helicopter Co. of Fort Worth, Texas. They were used extensively in the Vietnam war, and now will be used by the Rhodesians against the Freedom Fighters of the Patriotic Front.

# Chinese protest: woman shot

SHANGHAI—A woman was shot when police opened fire after a group of workers from a silk weaving factory here demonstrated in protest against low wages and work schedules. The shooting began when police tried to disperse the demonstrators, made up of several dozen workers. The workers, according to witnesses, were protesting against the wages, which, they said, were "too low to allow them to eat enough to satisfy their hunger."

# THE FORMRELIGIOUS THE SPIRITREVOLUTION!

Iran is a fabulously wealthy country. It earns billions of dollars each year through oil. It earns millions more from natural gas, of which it holds the world's second largest reserves. Yet its people are among the world's poorest. The vast majority of Iranians have gained absolutely nothing from all that wealth.

In 1963 the Shah announced the 'white Revolution.' He claimed it would modernize and develop Iran, create a new and prosperous life for its people. He called it a "white Revolution" because it was supposed to occur without bloodshed. Yet scarcely six months after it started, massive demonstrations took place in Iran's major cities and 4,000 people were massacred by the army. Right from the start this bloodless revolution was a

bloody affair. And far from prosperity, it brought the people of Iran nothing but misery and poverty.

Millions of dollars were spent on industrialization. Huge new factories were built. One of the biggest, known as a 'monument' to the White Revolution, is the Aryamehr steelworks outside Isfahan. It was built by the Russians in exchange for supplies of natural gas. Foreign capital flooded into Iran.

The Shah of Iran's twin sister owns these two houses at exclusive 22-24 Beekman Place, New York, New York 10022. Why not drop him a line and say how sorry you are about his overthrow, and that he has to live in such poverty. Photo by Sid Scales.

Yet in these gleaming new factories, workers were scraping a living on an average wage of \$40 a week. In 1975 around three quarters of the working population were paid less than the statutory minimum living wage.

One of the pillars of this 'White Revolution' was land reform. The peasants, claimed the Shah would be freed from the clutches of the feudal landlords and the big estates would be redistributed. But many of the most powerful landlords found ways of avoiding the reforms and all received compensation from the government. Those that lost their land kept their power and their wealth.

It was a different story for the peasantry. Those that did receive land found they had too little to live on. The promised loans and assistance from the government never arrived and they found themselves in the clutches of money lenders or even their former landlords. Half the peasants received no land at all. They were forced either to scratch a living in the impoverished countryside or to migrate to the towns.

# SEARCH

So the population of the cities exploded, as the peasants left the land to search for work. But the massive building projects that had turned entire cities into construction sites, the luxury hotels and skyscrapers that littered the horizon, were not intended to house workers. They were forced to crowd into already crowded housing, provided they could afford the exorbitant rents.

So where has all the money gone? Into the pockets of the few. In the last ten years Iran's rich have become millionaires, with a motto of spend, spend, spend. It is they who have turned Tehran into a boom town, who fill the shops crammed with expensive foreign goods, whose cars block the broad avenues, whose lusts are catered to in the opulent brothels where a night can cost up to \$800, who fill to capacity the Iran Air Jumbo Jets flying West—last year 200,000 Iranians visited London, spending an average of nearly \$4,000 a head. Iran's new factories cannot keep up with their demands for washing machines, cars, refrigerators, television, and every other consumer good that money can buy.

# **POWER**

On the face of it Iran has developed into a major industrial power over the last ten years. The huge new factories, steelworks and oil refineries, the multi-million dollar transport contracts for roads and railways apparently bear this out. But even this much vaunted

evidence of the success of the 'White Revolution' has a hollow core.

The Shah's aim has been to

low core.

The Shah's aim has been to build up prestige rather than a sound industrial base. Highly advanced plants have been bought at vast cost from Europe, America and Japan without paying the slightest attention to their suitability for the country, or the need to develop an infrastructure to service them.

WHAT WE THINK The workers of Iran can overthrow the Shah. And they can do much, much more. They have the power to seize the newspapers and the radio and TV out of which the truth has been censored for so many years. They, workers in uniform, have the power to seize control of the army, and force their officers to obey orders.

The working masses of Iranhave the power to destroy utterly the society which has chained them to misery. They have the power to replace that rotten, corrupt, vicious sys-





# The role of religion

by TERRY POVEY

Because of the years of repression the current mass movement in Iran has to an extent channeled itself around certain of the leading clerics and through the national network of religious institutions run by them.

Figures like Ayatolla Khomeini have been able to say things against the monarchy that no other established personalities would have dared. The identification with Khomeini in particular is is one which allows even the humblest on the streets of Iran to feel that their opposition to the Shah is shared by others.

While there is widespread suspicion of other leaders whose record of double dealing is well known, Khomeini stands for the masses of the urban poor and the poorer bazzaris who either have not benefited from the Shah's modernization or have actually been made worse off by it.

### DEAL

He blocked an attempted deal between the Shah and the opposition National Front in the crucial week leading up to the formation of the military government.

Yet when it comes to giving the movement real direction Khomeini has little to say beyond vague statements about 'continuing the struggle in all its forms." He tends to bless events after they have taken place as if he had initiated them.

The strikes were something outside his reckoning. The strikers' demands were outside his vision of a classless world divided only between good and bad Muslims.

His utopian vision of an Islamic republic in which 'everything will be better'' is patently no real answer for the deep economic crisis that underlies the current political one.

The role of the urban poor is extremely important. In terms of lives lost they have given more than any other layer in the struggle with the Shah, yet unlike the workers and the other wage-earning classes they have yet to gain anything out of it in concrete terms.

Their spokesmen in the movement are the religious nationalists, who do not raise economic demands, only 'political' ones. So when a deal is eventually struck they will get the least out of it.

As the workers' movement develops it is important that it seeks to link its demands with those of the urban and rural poor.

An alliance of workers and peasants would be bitterly opposed by the religious leaders for they rely on an army of followers still condemned to what Marx and Engels called the "idiocy of rural life."

So to describe the move-ment as 'religious' is to miss the point. The masses are fighting for change, for an end to repression, but above all for a new life for themselves. Only by promising this do the religious leaders hold on to

But the traditional laws and practices of Islam cannot deliver the goods. Like everywhere else the masses will look elsewhere.

Millions have been squandered on boosting the regime's prestige. In 1971 the Shah celebrated the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian empire. His guests, a handful of the world's richest people, consumed eleven million dollars worth of food and drink in just two days.

"Empress Farah of Persia left Paris for home by air yesterday with a second plane carrying her luggage and

three tons of pink marble for the new swimming pool," reported one newspaper.

So the Shah's Iran is a country of utter contrast. A tiny handful surrounded by splendor and wealth for whom Iran is a paradise and who depend on the Shah for their glittering lives. And paying for them and the lives they lead, the vast majority eke out an existence of poverty and oppression.

very piece of plant down to smallest screw is import-The material processed in imported, and the skilled kers needed to operate the ipment are also imported. ead of reducing depence on oil, the industries have to rely on oil to pay heir losses.

orruption is rampant. So h so that the regime deed a campaign against corion a couple of years ago.

with a society that is or-

zed by the masses for the

ice and benefit of the

is much too early to tell

ther Iranian workers will

their power to destroy the

i's regime and set in its

e their own state. The

ggle for workers' power in

will be a long and diffi-

ugh their own spontane-

action, have brought the

me to its knees. But to de-

y the regime and set in its --

masses,

Iranian

process.

It was started, so the story corruption, just to warn the lower ranking officials and army officers who have been embezzling huge sums not to venture too far into the big league—the domain reserved for their bosses.

goes, when Empress Farah noticed a ring being worn by a mere admiral's wife, which she had seen in Geneva and turned down as too expensive. Its purpose wasn't to wipe out

ants' state will require more than spontaneous action. It will require an organization of revolutionary socialists based in the factories and workers' communities, a party dedicated to the establishment of workers' power in Iran. The failure of previous upsurges to topple the Shah was due, in large part, to the weakness and vacillation of the main opposition parties, the National Front and the Tudeh (Com-

munist) Party. Drawing sup-

port from the Iranian middle

place a workers' and peas-

classes, these parties have lacked the will for a decisive struggle for power. Out of the present wave of struggles a revolutionary workers' party can be built in Iran. The most urgent task of Iranian revolutionaries is to seize this opportunity.

But whatever the outcome, the last year's events have been a striking demonstration of the reality of workers' power. A raw, new working class, paid starvation wages, lacking organization and democratic rights which U.S. workers have won through 100 years of struggle, has brought the Shah to his knees and shaken the international economic system. Once again it has been shown that ordinary working people have the will and the power to take their lives into their own hands and remake society in their own image. That is the message from the oilfields, factories and streets of Iran.

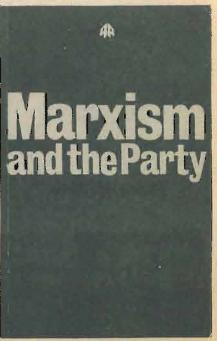
by JOANNA ROLLO

# ower to the Workers.

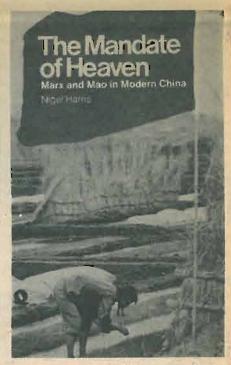
# **HERA PRESS**



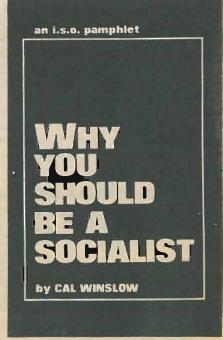
14 pages, 75¢



192 pages, \$5.95



307 pages, \$5.95



31 pages, \$1.00

Order from Hera Press, P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118.

# Letters

# On Jonestown

Dear Socialist Worker,

I missed seeing an article in the December SW on Jones-

The mass suicide/murder of more than 900 people in Guyana several weeks ago presents a challenge to revolutionary socialists. Religious belief, especially the deeply-felt beliefs of cult enthusiasts, is both a consolation and a protest against the oppression and exploitation of this society.

Many of Jim Jones' followers in Jonestown were black and poor. Very many of the victims were people who had been attracted to the movements for social justice of the 'sixties and early 'seventies.

They sold everything they had-not much in most cases—and gave the proceeds to the People's Temple. Like many religious group-ings, the Temple became wealthy out of the sacrifices of ordinary people.

Jones' followers believed they were joining a free, collective society, with no racism or poverty. But at Jonestown, they found a world of harshness, brutality, and oneman dictatorship—a world as miserable and repressive as the one they'd left.

Anyone who questioned or challenged Jones was subjected to savage beatings. Recruits worked 12 hours a day, 6 days a week, and were force-fed every night on rantings of a man who said he was God and Lenin in one.

Almost every day, more reports appear in the papers about Jones' connections with and encouragement by top American politicians. At the same time, the press doesn't miss a chance to describe him as a "marxist," a "radical leftist," a "socialist."

Revolutionary socialism means the direct ownership and democratic control of society by the working classthe rule of the majority in the interests of the majority. It is as far from Jonestown as it is from Washington, or Moscow, or London, or

Religious cults have existed for thousands of years. They have always grown at times of social and economic crisistimes like we live in.

The growth of the Peoples' Temple and similar groups among poor and oppressed people in our own time reflects above all the weakness of the socialist movement.

Most of Jones' followers would have been part of a movement to transform this country, if such a movement had existed. They wouldn't have ended their lives seeking a refuge in the wilderness with a madman.

We have to build the movement they didn't find.

> **Deborah Roberts** Cincinnati, Ohio

# DAYS OF

A conversation between Richard Nixon and his long-time admirer, Woody Hayes, the deposed coach of Ohio State University.

Nixon: Woody, is that you?

Hayes: Who's calling? Nixon: Dick.

Hayes: Dick who?

Nixon: Dick Nixon.

Hayes: Oh, I should have recognized your voice. It's darn nice of you to call.

Nixon: Well, I still remember the kind things you said about me when I had my,

Hayes: Meant every one of them.

Nixon: And I really appreciated them. You get to know who your real friends are

in such times. I hope you're not taking this too hard.

Hayes: I'll come out of it.

Nixon: I know you will. They didn't even give you a hearing, did they?

Hayes: No, they just landed me hard and fast, but I guess a lot of people were out to get me for a long time.

Nixon: I know how it feels.

had to.

Hayes: Well, you're still an inspiration to me. You never quit-I mean until you

Nixon: You can say the same for yourself. It's just too bad that people forget a man's good days so fast when he makes one, uh, mistake.

Hayes: I'm not apologizing to anyone. . . . That kid was asking for it with that smile on his face.

Nixon: You don't have to tell me about college kids. They gave me a lot of bad

days, but you can still be proud of your record.

Hayes: And so can you, Mr. President.

Nixon: It's good of you to say that. Have you got any plans?

Hayes: Not right yet, just take it easy for a while.

Nixon: Could I make a suggestion?

Hayes: I'd be happy to hear it. Nixon: You ought to write a book, tell your story from way back.

Hayes: I'm not much of a writing man.

Nixon: Oh, that's easy. You just get one of those pros to work with you. By the way, have you had a chance to read mine?

Hayes: I guess I have to admit I never got a chance.

Nixon: Of course, you can't get much time for reading, except for scouting re-

Hayes: That's really the truth, but I'll sure get around to it now.

Nixon: I'll get an autographed copy off to you right away. Hayes: No, you don't have to bother.

Nixon: Don't worry about that. I'd certainly like to know what you think of it.

Hayes: I'm sure it's a real classic.

Nixon: Well, you keep in mind what I said, I might even mention the idea to my literary agent. I know I'd want to read your story and I'll bet millions of others

Hayes: It's nice to hear you say that.

Nixon: And don't sign a contract without telling me about what they're paying. You should get a really big deal.

Hayes: I hear you didn't do too bad.

Nixon: That's a fact. I've even started a new one.

Hayes: I'll be looking for that, too.

Nixon: Guess you'll miss coaching a lot.

Hayes: I suppose it's the same about you and politics, when it's been sort of a whole life. Nixon: Well, you never know how the ball will bounce. After all this blows over

you might even end up coaching the Giants.

Hayes: That's real good of you to say, but I'm not exactly a kid any more. Nixon: Come on. You're only as old as you feel, and you sure didn't look old on

that field the other night. That was a pretty good right you threw. Hayes: I don't like to think about it too much now, but it's really cheered me up

to hear you talk this way.

Nixon: I'm only saying what I feel.

Hayes: A lot of us would like to see you back in the ring yourself.

Nixon: Well, of course, I don't have any political ambitions, but as I told the press the other day, I don't intend to keep my mouth shut.

Hayes: That's really fine news and I'd really like to get another chance to go out there pitching for you. You and General Patton were always my heroes

Nixon: I know you've said that before and it really made me very proud. Now

Hayes: Well, Ohio State won't have Woody Hayes to kick around any more.

Nixon: They'll regret it but don't let them get you down-you start writing that book right away. Maybe both of us can get together with George Allen one of

Hayes: That would be a real pleasure.

Nixon: Good luck, Woody.

Hayes: Thanks, Mr. President.

(Thanks to the New York Post).

### Whaling & **Native Americans**

Dear Socialist Worker,

The other night the 6 o'clock news gave me an account of the environmental movement's recent target to stop the slaughtering of whales.

The target of their campaign was the Alaskan village of Barrow. Every year, seeing their dried meat growing scarce from last year's kill, the Indians set out, festively, to kill another whale. The environmentalists

want the "practice" stopped.

I have been to Point Barrow. Following my high school graduation I got a job as a cook's helper on the North Slope oil fields. Point Barrow is the working headquarters of the drilling operation on the Slope. Right next to the airstrip is the Indian village of Barrow.

Destitute doesn't begin to describe life there. A lake of tin shanties in weather as cold as 75 degrees below zero is their home. The village's culture, economy and existence have been ripped from them by the great oil concerns.

Food, like in any other Indian village up there or down here, is not easy to come There is an honest dependence on what little the tundra and the ocean have to offer.

Every week at the camp where I worked we threw away gallons of milk, pounds of meat, vegetables—you name it—to make way for the new shipment. You can see the contradictions when the vast riches of Exxon, Standard Oil and Atlantic Richfield are comfortably settled next to the gross poverty of a few hundred Alaskan natives. That, if anything, is the real tragedy.

There is no doubt we all should stand firmly against the extinction of any life form. Understand, though, that the massacre of any species has only happened in the name of profit, not in the name of survival.

The environmental movement should keep its fingers pointed at the whaling industries of Russia and Japan. It is the lust for riches that seriously threatens that species, just as its American oil barons that have threatened and cheapened the lives of the natives of Barrow.

Dan Petty Cincinnati, Ohio

# PAPER

Dear Socialist Worker,

Your paper is consistently good, though the analysis is sometimes over-simple (eg, re Palestine, where your editorials have lacked subtlety).

I like your crowded, dramatic lay-out. Typos aside, Socialist Worker is a very visually appealing and readable paper.

Keep it up.

Best Wishes, **David Smith** Berkeley, CA

# Katherine Hyndeman: a working class fighter

by CATHY CROSSON

Katherine Hyndeman, a dedicated fighter of the working class movement, died last month in her home in Riverside, Illinois, after a long and full life. Known to many of us through her role in the documentary film "Union Maids," Kate was an inspiration and a

true heroine to generations of socialists. As a young woman working

in the garment industry, Kate became an organizer in the stormy and militant period of the CIO's formation in the 30s. During the Depression, as a member of the Communist

Party, she worked to organize the unemployed against the system which first created the mass joblessness and then evicted the jobless from their

Later the U.S. government tried to deport Kate as a for-eign-born "subversive." She

was eventually jailed for her radical activities, but succeeded in organizing the women prisoners so well that she was as much trouble for the established order in prison as out. She remained troublesome for that system throughout her

You won't find Kate Hyndeman listed in Time magazine's year-end obituaries, which are reserved for ruling class darlings. On the contrary, her life of struggle represents its own monument and she remains an example to those who carry on after her.

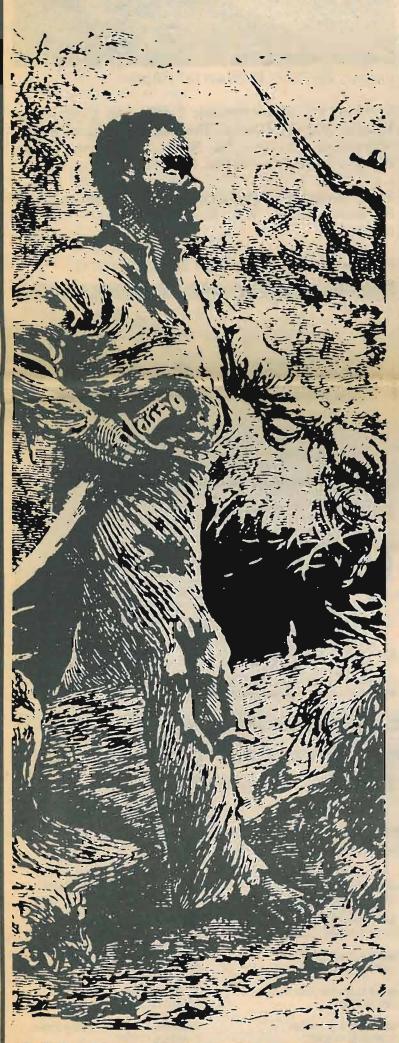
A PAGE FROM WORKING CLASS HISTORY

# "no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



# "He put the fear of God into the white slave master"



"I read about the slave preacher, Nat Turner, who put the fear of God into the white slave master. Nat Turner wasn't going around preaching pie-in-the-sky and "non-violent" freedom for the Black man...

"Nat Turner's example is said to have inspired John Brown to invade Virginia and Harper's Ferry nearly 30 years later with thirteen white men and five negroes..."

-Malcolm X

In 1831, Nat Turner and his slave army of 60 men cut a swath of blood through the sleepy slave county of Southampton in Virginia.

When the insurrection ended after two days, 57 men, women and children had been killed

# REVOLT

In the largest and bloodiest slave revolt in American history, Nat Turner made slavery the issue of his time.

After his insurrection, it was no longer possible for people to pretend that slavery was invisible, or that it would gradually and peacefully go away.

Nat Turner's rebellion opened a raging national debate which led ultimately to the militant abolitionists, John Brown and his insurrectionary raid on Harper's Ferry.

No one can understand Nat Turner, or the slave revolt, without understanding the reality of American slavery.

It was the cruelest and most barbaric social system ever known. Slavery was designed to destroy black people.

Slaves were owned—body and soul—by their masters. Brutality was built into the system. Only through violence could it be destroyed.

Fredrick Douglass, a former slave and militant abolitionist,

put his finger on the heart of the matter when he said, "Whatever rights I have against the master, I have equally against those confederated with him in robbing me of my liberty.

"Since society has marked me out as privileged plunder, on the principle of self preservation, I am justified in plundering in return."

Nat Turner was born into the human hell of slavery in 1800—the same year as the abortive Virginia slave revolt led by Gabriel Prosser.

Early in his life Turner came to believe that God had set him aside for "some great purpose." When he was a child, his father escaped to the North. This event made a lasting impression on Turner.

As a young man, Turner immersed himself in religion. Personal salvation was his way out of the barbarity of slavery.

# SHOES

Christianity, as it was practiced in those days, was used to justify slavery—the violence of the rich against the non-white poor. Slaves were promised shoes in heaven.

But the more Turner read of the Old Testament, the more he found proof that he was destined to lead his people out of slavery. Like Joan of Arc, he heard voices and saw visions. He saw "white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle."

He slowly became convinced of one idea—a war of destruction against slavery and the creation of a new society in America.

On August 13, 1831, Turner and four others, Henry, Hark, Nelson and Sam started their plan of attack.

At 10 p.m. they set upon the home of a particularly cruel slaveowner, Joseph Travis, and killed the entire family.

At the Travis home they captured some guns and ammunition. The rebels then proceeded to other slave owners' homes, killing everyone.

Only one non-slave owning family was spared. Soon, Turner's army had some 60 men "all mounted and armed with guns, axes and clubs."

They were within 3 miles of the Southampton county seat, Jerusalem, when Turner made a fatal mistake.

He allowed his army to wait too long at one farmhouse. An army of whites, which had hastily assembled, was able to disperse the rebellious slaves.

By this time, soldiers were flocking to Southampton County. Enraged by the boldness of 60 slaves, soldiers, militia men and other slave owners massacred hundreds of blacks.

A reign of terror was immediately instituted against all slaves.

Turner eluded capture for two months. He was finally seized, and taken to Jerusalem. He refused to plead guilty at his trial, claiming he didn't feel guilty about anything

# HANGED

On November 11, 1831, Nat Turner was hanged on a gallows in Jerusalem. But his ideas about rebellion against slavery and about black liberation could not be broken by any rope. The inspiration of Nat Turner lived on through the years—in Harriet Tubman, John Brown, W.E.B. Dubois, and Malcolm X. It lives today.



# **WORKERS' CONTROL**

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

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

### **REVOLUTION NOT REFORM**

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

### A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

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

### **FIGHT OPPRESSION**

Capitalism divides the working class. It pits men against women, whites against blacks. Capitalism fosters and uses these divisions to prevent the unity necessary for its destruction. As capitalism moves into crisis, oppressed groups—blacks, women, latins, Native Americans, youths, gays—suffer most. We support the struggles of these oppressed groups.

We oppose racism in all its forms. We fight segregation in the schools and housing and against racist firings and harassment. We demand freedom for all political prisoners.

We fight for women's liberation. We are for equal pay for all women workers. We fight for an end to forced sterilization and for free abortion. There should be free quality child care for all who need it. We fight for the opening up of jobs for women and an end to sexual harassment and firings. We are for an end to discrimir ation and harassment of sexual minorities.

We support the independent organization and struggles of oppressed people to strengthen the working class struggle for socialism.

# **RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION**

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

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

# INTERNATIONALISM

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

We champion workers' struggles in all countries, from Portugal and Spain to Chile and Puerto Rico, from Palestine and Eastern Europe to China and India. We support all genuine national liberation struggles. We call for victory of the black freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and South Africa. We oppose all forms of imperialism and oppose sending U.S. troops anywhere in the world to impose U.S. interests.

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

# **REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

The activity of the ISO is directed toward the initial steps of building a revolutionary party in a working class that is today fragmented and cut off from socialist ideas. Revolutionaries must be involved in the day-to-day struggles of workers and other oppressed groups at the work places, in the unions and in the communities. We build every struggle that will strengthen the self-confidence, organization and socialist consciousness of workers and the oppressed.

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

# Join the International Socialist Organization

For more information about the International Socialist Organization (ISO) please write to Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118

# ISO NEWS

# What's ON

### BERKELEY

"The Marxist Theory of the State," a talk by Colin Barker. January 26 at 3 pm, 271 Barrows Hall, University of California.

### CHICAGO

"The Chinese Revolution," a talk by Jean Maunder, January 28, 8 pm, call 477 - 7363 for details.

### CINCINNATI

"Revolution in Iran," speaker Ahmed Shawki, January 26, 8 pm, UCM, 2699 Clifton.

### CLEVELAND

"Revolution in Iran," speaker Ahmed Shawki, February 3, 8 pm, call 321-6143 for details.

### **PHILADELPHIA**

"A Socialist Perspective for America," a talk by Cal Winslow, January 19, 8 pm, call 662-5406 for details.

### PROVIDENCE

Discussion: "The Revolution in Iran," January 14, call 272-3617 for details.



# hats NORTHWEST PAY SCHOOL



January 20, 1979. 11:30 am to 9:30 pm

Speakers on—The Economic Crisis, The Fight in the Unions, Marxist Theory, The Seattle General Strike. Workshops on—The No Nuke Movement, Sexual Politics, Art and Revolution. Plus—Two Films!

Place: Prospect Congregational Church, 20th and East Prospect, Seattle, WA. Registration \$6.00—includes dinner.

For more information call 324-2302 or 524-0741.

BUTTONS 50¢
DISCOUNTS ON ALL
BULK ORDERS
HERA PRESS
BOX 18037
CLEVELAND 44118



a new pamphlet by John Anderson

# THE HISTORY OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

AVAILABLE FROM HERA PRESS

25c

Order from PO Box 18037 Cleveland, Ohio, 44118

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

- Karl Marx

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

Berkeley, P.O. Box 4580 Berkeley, CA 94704

Bloomington, P.O. Box 29 Bloomington, IN 47401

Boston, P.O. Box 104, Kendall Sq. Station Boston, MA 02142

Brattleboro, P.O. Box 64 Brattleboro, VT 05301

Charleston, P.O. Box 1748

Chieses P.O. Roy A 25310

Chicago, P.O. Box A-3698 Chicago, IL 60690

Cincinnati, P.O. Box 8909 Cincinnati, OH 45208 Cleveland, P.O. Box 18037 Cleveland, OH 44118

Dayton, Box 166, Wright Brothers Station Dayton, OH 45409

Detroit, P.O. Box 2596 Dearborn, MI 48123

Gary, P.O. Box 1941, Glen Park Station Gary, IN 46409

Indianapolis, P.O. Box 2191

Indianapolis, IN 46206

Los Angeles, P.O. Box 477 Lynwood, CA 90262

New York, P.O. Box 302 New York, NY 10011 New Haven, P.O. Box 2636, Yale Station New Haven, CT 06520

Northampton, P.O. Box 284 Northampton, MA 01060

Philadelphia, 3909 Spruce Philadelphia, PA 19104

rimadolphia, r.A. 19104

Portland, P.O. Box 03285 Portland, OR 97203

Providence, P.O. Box 3961, Brown Station Providence, RI 02912

Seattle, P.O. Box 9056 Seattle, WA 98109

Washington, D.C., P.O. Box 2115

Washington, DC 20009

# reviews

**CHRISTINA BERGMARK** 

"Humiliated here for years and laughing about it. . . . They've screwed us all our lives for a guitar and a song and we're still singing. We've been had. . . . It's time to wake up."

Marco Brusati's new film, "Bread and Chocolate," tells the story of Nino, an Italian worker seeking employment in Switzerland.

More than half of Switzerland's workforce is imported labor, with over half of that coming from Italy.

### STATE

Foreign workers in Switzerland, not unlike Mexican laborers in this country, can expect the worst jobs, lower pay than citizens, and a continual hassle with the state over work and residence permits.

They can also expect all the special treats awarded to an oppressed group including prejudicial stereotyping, public humiliation and harass-

And finally, insult is added to injury. Most of the foreign workers come to Switzerland to get jobs to better support their families. But then they must be separated from their families-many for years-living in workcamp barracks.

The story of Nino, one such worker, could have been hopeless and depressing. Instead the film shows a man continually faced with disappointments and setbacks who refuses to throw up his hands in

Franco Brusati's

the face of rotten odds-who **SENTIMENTS** 

with humor and pathos manages to remain a human being throughout.

The film begins by introducing the audience, through Nino, to the anti-Italian sentiments of the Swiss and the attitude of the state toward imported workers.

It moves on to cover the employment situation and the double bind facing Italian immigrants-the Catch 22 of maintaining employment, work permits, and residence permits.

A brief encounter with an Italian millionaire deals interestingly with the importance of class in relation to oppression. Nino has no trouble in seeing that though this man, like himself, must face anti-Italian sentiments in Switzerland, his being a millionaire, and a boss to boot, make him less than a brother.

"He closes down factories, fires 10,000 workers . . . Even when he's dying he's screwing someone. . . . For this he should have a life sentence."

# **OPPRESSION**

Most important in the film is the treatment of oppression. Throughout the film Nino's anger over his employment situation, his living situation, and the social attitudes he faces builds.

His anger grows to the point where the only alternative seems to be assimmilation. Nino's attempt to "pass"-pretending to be Arian, and, in . the process shunning a fellow Italian and participating in anti-Italian jeering, leads him to an even greater anger, and a far more conscious one.

His awakening to the depth of his dilemma leads him first to despair, but there is really no alternative but to keep plugging away.

"The sun and the sea," a "guitar and a song" are not enough. "They've screwed us all our lives for a guitar and a song and we're still singing. We've been had. It's time to wake up."

# Third-worldism": an idea whose time has past

A participant in struggles in Guinea-Bissau, Algeria, Vietnam, and Eritrea, Gerard Chaliand popularized "thirdworldism," the nationalist ideology of the 1960s.

REVOLUTION IN THE THIRD WCRLD, by Gerard Chaliand, 1978, Penguin, \$2.95, 202 pages.

"Third-worldism" was a set of ideas that said that the center of social change will be in the developing countries, because people are more oppressed there.

It also said that European and American workers had been bought off by the surplus of imperialism, so traditional Marxism had become irrelevant. So the role for western Marxists was to herald these nationalist revolutions.

Revolution in the Third World is a critique of these same ideas.

Chaliand begins the book by looking at the political strategy of armed struggle and the

record of the "anti-imperialist national revolutions"-Algeria, Peru, Egypt, etc.-in the context of Marxism. He concludes by looking at the economic crisis of the 1970s and its impact on liberation movements in the developing countries.

# **EXPERIENCE**

Chaliand looks at the experience of nationalism in the "third world"—a nationalism using socialist rhetoric—and finds that there is no automatic connection between revolution and liberation.

He finds large administrative aparatuses in the place of democracy. He also finds "peasant armies" without peasants.

Important too is the impact of the world economy for struggling governments trying to build "socialism in one country."

He focuses on the lack of class struggle within nationalist movements, and over-estimation of importance given to

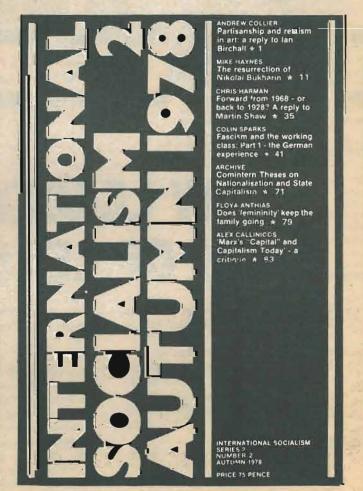
the guerrilla fighters.

He challenges the idea that poverty inevitably produces social change, that revolutions in the third world will produce severe convulsions in the Western capitalist countries, and that urban middle classes can break with their class origins.

The central role given to the "revolutionary ideology" of nationalist petty-bourgeoisies failed to "evaluate just what sort of society the ideology was to be grafted onto and under what circumstances." And by whom, one might add.

In his conclusion, Chaliand returns to his first questions. "The task remains to challenge the mythologies of the nation-state: the cult of work, the submission to authority, the imposture of groups and parties who claim to possess the truth—in short, to sift carefully through all established assumptions."

by KENT WORCESTER



International Socialism, the theoretical journal of the British Socialist Workers Party. Now available from Hera Press, Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118



Pulp and paper workers standing fast

by DAVE MOORE

ABERDEEN, WA-Now Jimmy Carter has joined giant forest products companies to try to break the 6 month strike by some 15,500 members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers (AWPPW).

Already faced with scabs, court injunctions, and fines, the workers have now been hit with a "wage restraint" letter from the President's Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS). The letter by Barry Bosworth of COWPS on November 14 advised that paper firms would be fueling inflation if they matched the ten contracts already signed and "leaned" on the strikers to reduce their demands to the current "final" company offer of 10.9 and 8% for a 3 year contract.

The AWPPW challenged the suit in Portland federal district court, but lost, returning to reliance on the picket lines and hopefully, increased outside support.

# DIVIDE

The point of this government/business negotiating strategy is revealed by the fact that settlements already reached call for 2 year contracts giving workers a

10.75% in the first year and 10.5% in the second.

The unions had wanted a 2 year agreement as a hedge against inflation and to match the end of contracts in the sawmill and logging industries, which many of the struck companies can rely on for income to ride out a strike.

Most of the very few contracts signed have been with the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU), which has only about 1/10th of AWPPW's 22,000 members on the West Coast.

The AWPPW was formed in 1964 when most of the West Coast locals broke away from old AFL-CIO internationals, protesting a lack of internal democracy and local autonomy.

### REBEL

The "Rebel" (also the title of the organization's newspaper) union has won wage levels 26% above the industry average since 1964, the year of a major strike in the West.

Unfortunately most of the industry's approximately 200,000 workers are elsewhere, many in the antiunion South.

The UPIU formed in the East when several old AFL-

CIO internationals merged following the AWPPW split, and the two unions remain bitter rivals. The companies prefer dealing with the UPIU, a backward union whose president recently pleaded guilty to embezzling \$300,000 from the membership.

Many of the so-called "salaried" employees scabbing for companies like Boise-Cascade and Georgia Pacific are from UPIU territory. Of around 35 mills on strike in Oregon, Washington, California, and Alaska about 14 are running, estimated at about 30-40% of capacity.

Port Angeles, Washington, ITT-Rayonier went so far as to rent a cruise ship to house scabs. Several companies are providing housing, food, liquor and entertainment for the scabs and paying them time-and-a-half for repeated 12 hour shifts. In Hoquiam, Wash., an ITT subsidiary, Grays Harbor Paper Company, chose to victimize 8 women clerks who belonged to the AWPPW, replacing them with scabs.

# **SHORTAGES**

Shortages of paper bags and some kinds of paper have developed locally, but most capacity is east of the Mississippi so overall paper production remains constant.

This points up the strategic handicap of a regional battle against multi-nationals like Georgia-Pacific, which is moving its corporate headquarters from Oregon to Atlanta, and Weyerhauser, which is cutting sawtimber in Indonesia and exporting whole logs from the Pacific Northwest to Japan.

Even though several are multi-nationals, the corporations coordinate bargaining through an organization called the Pacific Coast Pulp and

Paper Manufacturers Association, which has set up a mutual aid pact providing that the companies hurt worst by the strike will be reimbursed by the others.

Crown Zellerback, with around 6,000 West Coast pulp and paper workers is over twice the size of #2, Weyer-hauser. Crown-"Z" workers were the first to organize a boycott of the company's many consumer paper products like toilet paper and paper towels. A strike support effort by all Northwest unions seems like a necessity to be sure of winning this strike.



# An Opinion

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

# **UAW LEADERSHIP TAKES** PATH OF LEAST RESISTANCE

Douglas Fraser, President of the UAW, appearing on television and in news conferences gives the impression of a man lost in the wilderness.

He is waiting for the Oil Workers, the Teamsters and the Rubber workers to show him the way. The uncertainty of the economy in the coming year adds to Fraser's confussed state of mind.

There is wide spread support in the ranks for a shorter work week and a COLA clause for retirees' pensions.

Fraser refuses to commit himself in support of either. He makes vague

statements about "doing something to help the retirees" but he avoids mentioning COLA. Local leaders have been told the International has no intention of supporting COLA for the retirees.

Fraser speaks of a shorter work week coming eventually, but here too he avoids specifics.

He has recently spoken of reducing the duration of contracts to two or even one year. He is as vague on this issue as he is on the other problems facing the workers.

Without an organized opposition

with a program dealing with all of these issues the UAW leadership will take the road of least resistance. They will respond to the pressure of the Carter Administration and that of the employers. They will try to work out a formula that will avoid a revolt in

The UAW leadership will try to keep the ranks in the dark as long as possible. We must do our best to keep the ranks informed; to let them know what is going on and what to expect.

# PUBLISH PERISH

VALLEJO, CA-Eighty-eight workers representing five unions are in the eighth month of a strike againt Vallejo's Times Herald.

The strike began when the paper's owners, the Don Ray Media Group of Fort Smith, Arkansas, proposed to layoff 25 of the 47 printers and production workers. Despite an arbitrator's ruling in favor of the union, the company stuck to this demand, hoping to get rid of the union in the process.

The workers have responded by publishing their own paper, the Vallejo Independent Press, edited by striker Bob Lawson. The Press is published twice weekly and has a circulation of 30,000.

According to Lawson, advertising pays the costs of the paper, but no salaries. The strikers must exist on strike benefits alone.

The workers also deliver the paper. The editor's job, for example, in addition to picketing and editing the paper, included personally delivering the 240 copies door to door. [

# CARTER, DEREGULATION AND THE TEAMSTERS THE TRUCKING CONTRACT

LOS ANGELES, CA-The federal government has an April Fool's joke in store for over 300,000 Teamsters covered by the National Master Freight Agreement. Carter administration pranksters have chosen the April 1 expiration of that contract as the focus of their anti-inflation deviltry.

They want freight workers to be among the first to fall for the bad joke of sticking to Carter's 7% wage hike limits and at the same time agree to work themselves harder in order to raise productivity.

Included in the bag of tricks are threats to deregulate the trucking industry, legal hassles over Teamster pension funds and criminal investigations of almost the entire union leadership.

While government prying into pensions and corruption are big sticks to hold over Frank Fitzsimmons and the gang, it is deregulation which puts the biggest fright into the business unionists who run the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

If the trucking industry were cut off from the economic protection it now enjoys under regulation, it would also end the cozy relationship between trucking management and the union leadership.

### REGULATION

Since regulation duced in 1935, the motor freight industry has grown and profited immensely. The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) determines which commodities can be hauled to what parts of the country by which trucking companies. Some companies are restricted to hauling only one commodity such as meat, canned goods or machinery. Other companies can haul general freight, any commodity in any amount, between specific areas or to a large number of areas.

It is this last group of companies, the general freight companies, which dominate the industry. They are the most profitable and the most unionized. The biggies, Roadway Express, Consolidated Freightways and Yellow Freight System and others, have obtained ICC authority to operate throughout the country. These companies have a lock on transcontinental freight.

Deregulation will eliminate some or all of the government's control over rates, rights and routes. It will mean a partial return to the dog-eatdog competition pre-1935 when anybody with a truck could haul any load anywhere, if only for the price of enough fuel to keep rolling in search of another load.

With \$2,000 to put down on a \$40,000 rig and a contract for work, anybody can become a

regulation. After a short period of instability, most will emerge stronger than they are now. But for the thousands of smaller companies, deregulation will mean death.

Of course, regulation also helped the union. It brought stability to a chaotic industry by standardizing rates, setting a bottom line. It then became possible for the union to organize. Starting with the masstart under revolutionary leadership, was taken over by Beck, Hoffa and Fitzsimmons. They became rich because of their willingness to use their friendship with the companies before the ICC to win gains for the membership.

It was easier and safer to get a wage raise by agreeing to support the companies' request to the ICC for a rate increase than it was to mobilize the rank and file. All the comback to the bargaining table by these strikes.

It wasn't until the three-day April Fool's Strike in 1976 that the union made any pretense of using the power of a national organization to win gains.

But that strike was called to cool off an angry rank and file rather than to scare the industry. If deregulation happens, Fitzsimmons will have to get serious about striking and about organizing the nonunion companies which are making inroads in every Teamster jurisdiction and which will go on an all-out offensive against the union if the industry is deregulated.

### PANIC

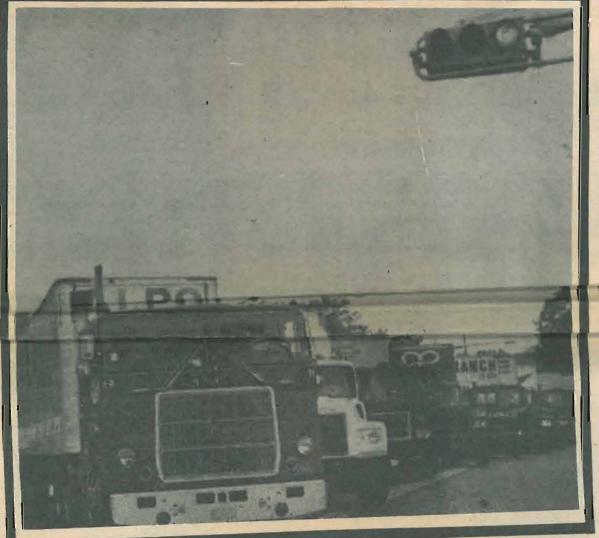
Frank is in a panic. He could propose a national strike against deregulation. He could, at the least, propose a national strike to guarantee income protection for union members if there is deregulation. He isn't willing to do that, though, because he can't see the difference between the interests of the trucking companies and those of his members. Since the union's biggest fear is the loss of members' dues, they will end up making substantial contract the companies in business.

The recently leaked union contract proposals say nothing about protecting the jobs of regulation. Although the leadership talks about getting as much as the miners got, there is no mention of wages in the initial bargaining proposals. It is almost certain the union will agree to some form of productivity clause.

In return for concessions on work rules and productivity, it is expected the companies will agree to a heavier than 7% wage hike in the first year of the new contract. Carter will probably accept this compromise because the wages paid will be offset by increased productivity.

Nowhere in the jockeying over the freight contract are the government, the companies or the union concerned over what will happen to the women and men who load and drive the trucks. Their concern is the profitability of the industry and the survival of the union as a dues collecting business.

# DUNCAN WEST, A MEMBER OF LOS ANGELES TEAMSTERS' LOCAL 208, EXAMINES ISSUES BEHIND THE TRUCKING CONTRACT



trucker. Most of the metropolitan movement of ocean containers and piggyback railroad trailers is done by these owner-operators or non-union companies. Often these drivers are barely able to make their truck payments, let alone a living wage.

The dominance of the major carriers, grown rich on government sanctioned rates and government-built highways, will not be challenged by desive strikes in Minneapolis and St. Paul and spreading regionally through the Central States, Western States and then throughout the country, the Teamsters used a host of direct actions to force a national organization on the thousands of competing trucking companies.

Once it happened, the companies found that organization to their liking.

The union, after a militant

panies asked in return was the union's cooperation in relaxing contract restriction on nonmonetary issues like working conditions, job security, workers' rights and safety.

From the signing of the first national freight contract in 1964 until 1976, there were no national strikes. There were local and regional wildcats over working conditions each time a contract expired and twice Fitzsimmons was forced

# TRIDENT CONVICTIONS

SEATTLE, WA-A federal court judge convicted 176 "no-nuke" demonstrators here. Five others were let off on technicalities. The convictions stem from demonstrations against the Trident

nuclear submarine base in nearby Bangor, Washington.

On May 22, 1978, 200 demonstrators climbed over the base fences, were arrested and then released. The next day 181 of these people went over the fence again, and were charged with re-enter-

The demonstrators argued that because Trident is a first-strike weapon, it is illegal under international law. They also argued that the potential destruction of Trident made breaking the law justifi-

Forty supporters also presented the judge with a petition of 1000 names, stating support and complicity. Sentencing will be on January 26.



□ I want to join I want more information about the **International Socialist Organization** 

Address\_

ISO PO Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118

# Socialist Worker

Paper of the International Socialist 25°monthly Organization



# GENERAL MOTORS SOUTH AFRICA

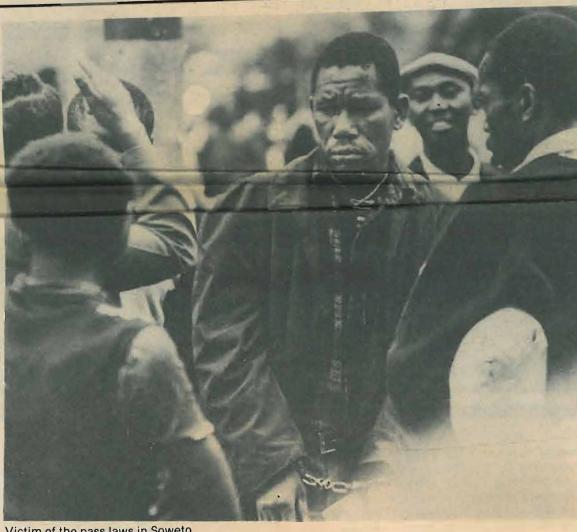
# BEN BLAKE EXPOSES THE MYTH OF LIBERAL IMPERIALISM

There is mounting evidence that General Motor's \$220 million operations in South Africa have consistantly reinforced that country's policy of general racial discrimination-apartheid.

G.M. claims that it "does not endorse" apartheid and that it "will remain in South be in the forefront of progressive change."

The cornerstone of G.M.'s "progressive" stance in South Africa is a set of principals formulated by the Reverend Leon Sullivan (who sits on G.M.'s board of directors) and endorsed by 103 U.S. corporations with operations in South Africa, and the apartheid regime itself.

Sullivan originally advocated a complete pullout of South Africa, but by 1975 he had changed hs mind and in 1977 authored a code for U.S. corporations in South Africa which includes a call for "Nonsegregation of races in all eating, comfort, and work facilities," "equal and fair employment practices," 'equal pay for comparable work," and support for unionwhites."



Victim of the pass laws in Soweto

The "Sullivan principles" basically represent what G.M. ization efforts by "non- claims its policies have been since at least 1972.

Results, however, have been less than spectacular as shown by data released by the company itself. In 1976, black South African employees in G.M.'s plants earned an average wage of \$224 a month. Whites averaged \$595 a month, over two and a half times the average Only three black wage. Africans were salaried employees out of a total of 1300.

When questioned before a U.S. senate subcommittee about these inequalities, A.A. Cunningham, G.M.'s Vice President for Overseas Operations argued that South African blacks were genetically inferior, "you have to understand, Mr. Chairman, that these employees have only recently entered the work force (note: over 30 years earlier) and that the white

employees have been there hereditarily and have been progressing up through the organization."

In line with G.M.'s racist policies in South Africa is its opposition to black workers union organizing efforts.

Last summer, 278 blacks signed papers to have union dues deducted from their pay.

Most of the workers were subsequently intimidated into withdrawing their request.

G.M. South Africa personnel director, Rodney G. Ironside, explained the company's opposition to the dues deduction in these words: "There are 114 ways a black can be relieved of his money and G.M. is not going to be one of them."

Under continuing pressure, G.M. announced on August 30th last year a \$4.5 million program to "desegregate" "some" of its facilities in South Africa.

One example of what this program involves was the replacement of "Non Whites Only" and "Whites Only" restroom signs with color and orange for blacks.

Detroit explained to Fortune magazine that this was aimed at "lessening the insult" of segregation.

# **FRAUD**

G.M.'s repeated violation of the code formulated by one of its own directors shows the complete fraud of the U.S. corporation's "step at a time" approach to reforming a system that dominates every aspect of the lives of South Africa's blacks.

The black liberation movement in South Africa realized this long ago and has advocated a complete boycott of the apartheid regime since the '50's.

Today, every major black South African political organization calls for the cutting of all ties the U.S. has with South Africa and the immediate destruction of the white minority government.

In "A Letter to the Workers of America" written in 1971 Mark Williams Shape, Gen eral Secretary of the banned South African Congress of Trade Unions explained the role that anti-apartheid acti vists in the U.S. can play ir bringing this about.

# **SUPPORT**

"The American workers can, through direct action against American companies investing in South Africa participate directly in the de struction of a socio-politica system that is fundamentally and essentially racist, bruta and immoral and inimical to every decent and human value."

Have Socialist Worker delivered to your door every month. Just fill in the form below and enclose \$5 for a one year (12 issues) subscription: \$10 for a supporting subscription; and \$10 for an institutional subscription.

Send to: Socialist Worker, Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118