

Socialist Worker

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THE WEEK THE WORKERS RAN SEATTLE

see pages 8 & 9

FEBRUARY, 1979

NUMBER 22

\$12 BILLION IN HEALTH AND WELFARE CUTS CARTER ATTACKS POOR AND AGED

HOW TO FIGHT LOW PAY



London nurses, above. Right, trucker pickets.

The British truck drivers have won a fantastic victory. They have smashed the 5% wage guidelines—and put the labor government in a panic—winning nearly all of their wage claim of 20%

They did it by ignoring the government—ignoring their own union leaders—and fighting for what they deserved. It was a rank and file strike, won by the massive use of pickets, in the ports, at the factories, on the highways.

The truckers' victory has given the lower paid workers new drive. One and a half million workers in public services—water workers, sewage workers, janitors, school cooks, grave diggers, garbage men, ambulance drivers—stopped work on January 22 in the biggest protest ever against low pay. Tens of thousands marched through the streets of London to protest at Parliament. Britain is now in the midst of its biggest wave of hospital strikes ever! □

Jimmy Carter as candidate for president promised the poor and elderly ever increasing aid and benefits. He promised a reduction in expenditures for arms.

Now Jimmy Carter, president, proposes to increase the military budget by \$10.8 billion, and the elimination of massive benefits to the elderly and poor.

Jimmy Carter's "state of the union" budget calls for cuts of \$12 billion in health, welfare, jobs and education.

JOBS

This includes a cut of \$1.5 billion in the CETA jobs program. 150,000 permanent jobs will be lost. 250,000 youth summer jobs will be cut. It is estimated that in Detroit 10% of all city jobs will be eliminated.

\$630 million will be cut from social security benefits in 1980—more in 1981. \$2 billion will be cut from Medicare and Medicaid. The \$255 lump sum death benefit will be abolished.

\$1.7 billion will be cut from HUD's low income subsidized housing program. More will be cut from aid to dependant children, environmental programs...

It is a budget for business—to say the least. It goes along with wage guidelines, tight money, productivity drives in industry—probably a recession this year.

It is a program of austerity for the working people and the poor—and a boon to business—and the arms industry.

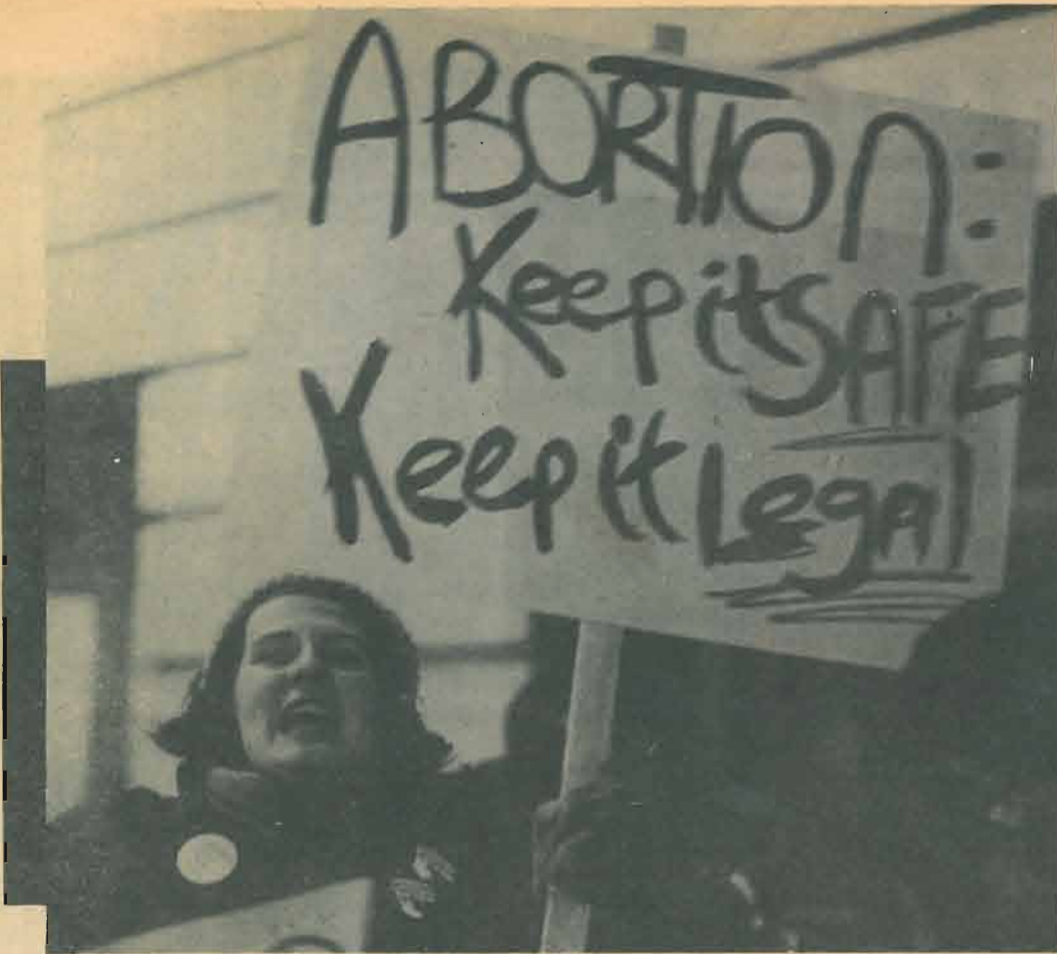
It's time to say 'No' to Jimmy Carter. If there is sacrifice to be done, let the rich try some austerity.

For the working people and the poor, it's time to stand up and fight back. □

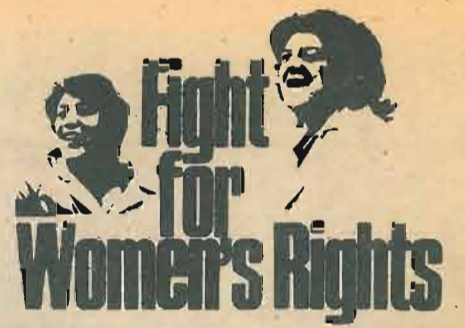
by JOHN ANDERSON

FIGHTING THE KLAN
see page 5





Pro-abortion demonstrators in Cleveland
Photo: Steve Cagan



Build the pro-choice movement!

CLEVELAND, OH—On January 22, 300 demonstrators confronted the Cleveland Right to Life organization—the first time the “Right to Lifers” have seen sizable and militant opposition to their anti-life and anti-woman stands in the city.

The pickets chanted “Not the Church, Not the State, Women Must Decide Their Fate,” and “Free, Safe Abortions; No Forced Sterilization!” The demonstration was called by the Cleveland Pro-Choice Committee, an umbrella group of many different organizations, including the International Socialist Organization.

CONTINGENTS

Contingents from other women’s organizations came from Oberlin and Akron, Ohio.

Earlier, the Cleveland State Pro-Choice Coalition had organized a commemoration of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. 300 people attended to see films, hear talks about abortion rights and other aspects of women’s and health care rights. A fund raising dinner netted \$1500.

In other Ohio cities—Akron and Cincinnati—pro-choice

groups picketed Right to Life meetings and clinics. In New York and Chicago, teach-ins and meetings were held to mark the anniversary of the legalization of abortion.

These demonstrations and meetings were held to build support for a pro-choice movement. It will be a difficult fight to keep abortions safe and legal. The Right to Life organization is growing.

60,000 demonstrated in

Washington, D.C. on January 22, with local Right to Life chapters having city-wide demonstrations.

In Cleveland, Basil Russo, a city councilman, is planning to introduce a resolution calling on the city of Cleveland to endorse the so-called “Human Rights Amendment.” This amendment would in fact make abortion illegal.

“Right to Lifers” have emerged as a strong political

force. They have already been able to defeat some congress-people and senators who support abortion rights.

In New York State, after polling 100,000 votes in the 1978 election, they are the third party after the Democratic and Republican parties.

In order to keep our legal right to safe abortions, the pro-choice movement must be built. In particular we will have to have a movement that

draws in working people, and especially racial minorities, who suffer the most from illegal abortions.

We have to fight for free, safe, legal abortions and an end to forced sterilizations. We also must counter the reactionaries in the “Right to Life” movement and expose them for what they are—anti-life, pro-forced pregnancy, anti-woman, anti-poor, anti-black and anti-gay. □

ROCKEFELLER

Nelson A. Rockefeller died in New York City of a heart attack. He died without achieving his one great ambition—to be president of the United States. But he never needed to be. He had more power and influence than any American president.

Rockefeller’s wealth was reported to be between \$600 million and \$10 billion. He owned homes in New York City, affluent Westchester County, Paris, Maine, a 17,000 acre ranch in Venezuela, as well as a home in Washington, D.C. He had his own air force. It is believed he owned \$20.5 million in art and real estate. Rockefeller Center sits on land worth \$1 billion.

BANKS

His financial empire included major holdings in the Chase Manhattan Bank, First National City Bank of New York, Chemical Bank of New York, First National Bank of Chicago, Metropolitan Equitable and New York Life Insurance.

Rockefeller interests include all the major mining, manufacturing and oil corporations. They dominate Consolidated Edison of New York and the New York New Jersey Port Authority.

Nelson Rockefeller didn’t earn his wealth. He was born into it. His grandfather was John D. Rockefeller, a deeply religious, punctilious, home-loving family man, who for 30 years presided over the most extensive and lucrative outlaw operation in the U.S.—the Standard Oil Company.

Nelson’s father, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. is best remembered for the Ludlow massacre, where 3 miners, their wives and children were either shot or burned to death during a bloody struggle for



REMEMBER HIM FOR ATTICA

union recognition. The Denver Press wrote at the time, “the dead will go down in history as the here victims of the burned offering laid on the altar of Rockefeller’s Great God Greed.”

Nelson fit into the footsteps of his father and grandfather. He extended Rockefeller influence to all corners of the world. He was responsible for 3 secretaries of state, including Kissinger, 8 cabinet members, 2 presidents of the world bank, 1 CIA head, 6 major ambassadors, 2 governors and one senator. He was four times governor of New York state and vice president under Gerald Ford.

Nelson Rockefeller paid \$685 in taxes in 1966. In 1970 after a yearly income of \$2.5 million he admitted he paid no

federal income taxes. He was in the below 25% tax bracket. He was generous to his friends, however. Henry Kissinger once received \$50,000 as a gift.

Because of his interest, and interests in Latin America, Rockefeller served on numerous governmental agencies for Latin American affairs beginning in 1940. The people of Latin and South America responded to him in kind—there were huge and violent riots protesting his 1969 “goodwill trip” to Latin America.

His full role in the overthrow of Chilean leader Allende in 1973 has never been explored. Rockefeller had large holdings in Anaconda Copper, one of the corporations expropriated by the Allende government.

When the CIA was helping to organize Pinochet’s reactionary coup, Rockefeller was the head of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, which supervised the CIA.

Rockefeller was a patron of some art. In 1933, he commissioned the great revolutionary Mexican artist Diego Rivera to paint murals on Radio City Music Hall.

The building was to be open to the public on May Day, 1934. Rivera, excited over the prospect of depicting the history of humanity, portrayed epic battles of the unemployed, May Day demonstrations, the superiority of socialism over the decadence and destruction of capitalism.

The central figure in this epic mural was Lenin—portrayed as the worker-leader. This was too much, even for an art lover like Rockefeller.

Though he promised that Rivera’s murals would not be destroyed, “only covered,” on February 9, 1934 the painting was smashed to powder.

As governor of New York state, he will be remembered for introducing residency requirements for welfare recipients and draconian narcotics laws which included mandatory life imprisonment for a person caught with two ounces of marijuana.

ATTICA

But most of all, the name Nelson A. Rockefeller will be remembered for Attica. There, in 1971, the inmates revolted against the inhuman prison conditions, taking guards hostage. Nelson Rockefeller called up the 1,000 state and local police who stormed the maximum security prison—resulting in the slaughter of 28 inmates and 9 guards—the New York state My Lai Massacre. □

‘EDUCATION’ IN UNIFORM

CINCINNATI, OH—As part of its “alternative education” program, the public school system here is planning to open a military academy next fall.

Complete with uniforms and drill sergeants, the program’s advocates offer “discipline” and “useful skills for today’s world” as incentives for enlisting.

With backing from the Pentagon, the Cincinnati academy is viewed as a pilot project. The military needs a reliable source of recruits for its volunteer army. What better way than to set up a recruiting farm system in the public schools.

A coalition of church leaders, pacifist groups, parents and teachers has formed to fight the academy. Petitions are being circulated and public demonstrations are planned. □

Carter wins round one

OCAW: NO BANANA

The Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers union negotiators accepted a settlement under Carter's guidelines. The contract, announced January 11, provides 13% over two years. The government guideline allows 7% per year.

The settlement, covering 60,000 refinery workers, was promoted as a key test of Carter's inflation policy. "If we would have lost that one," said a White House aide, "it would have been all over."

NOISE

The OCAW leadership made militant noises before the agreement. "OCAW to Defy Guidelines," declared the January headline of the union paper but the issue was barely in the mail before union president Al Gropiron announced the sellout.

Caving in was justified by union spokesman Jerry Ar-

chuleta. "It's awfully difficult to fight the government and the oil industry at the same time. We were in a weak position to fight them." A strike was rejected because, "we felt it would be a very long one and in the end we didn't think we'd be that much better off."

Carter's guidelines are a blatant attack on the living

standards of workers. As one OCAW representative put it, "The guideline had a profound effect, with the cost of living running at nearly 10% per year, our membership is the loser."

"Now it's up to the Teamsters and auto workers," says OCAW president Gropiron. This kind of buck passing isn't

going to save any money in this year's contracts, only a real fight can prevent the wage cut.

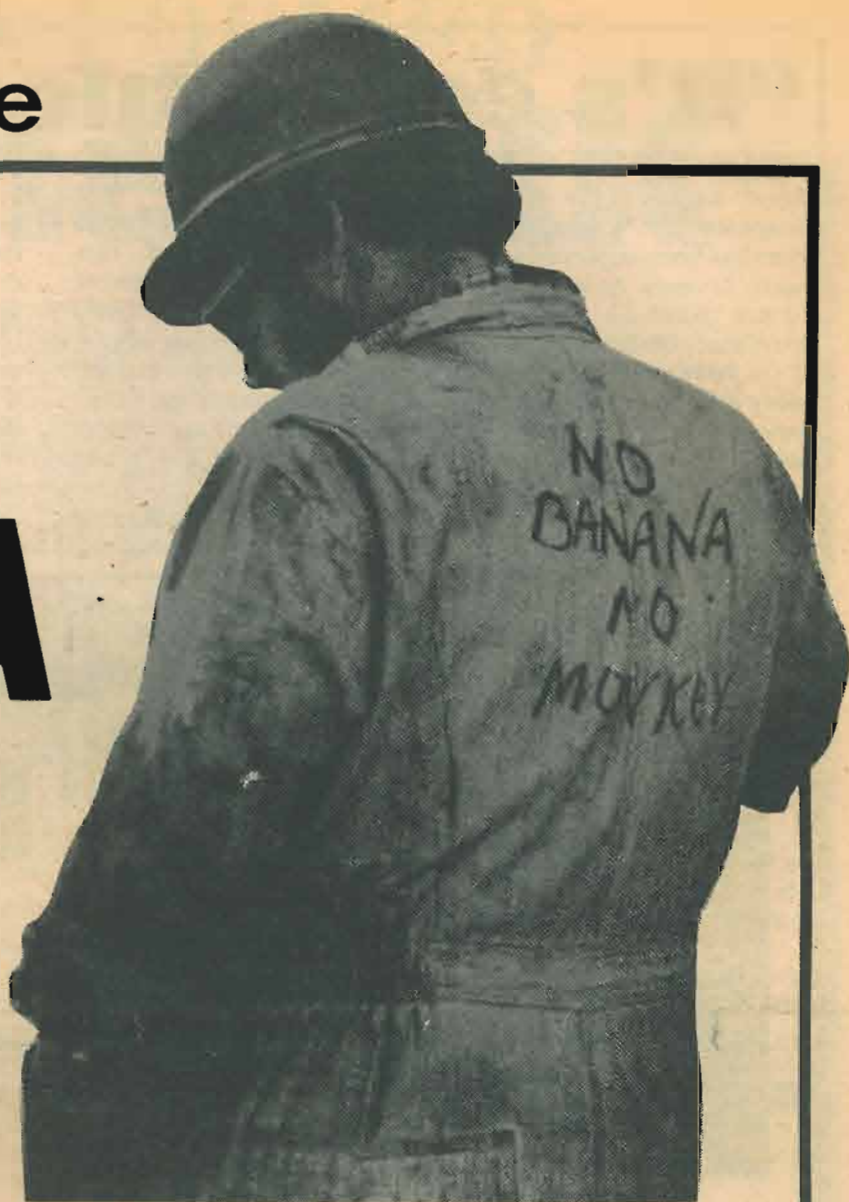
EXCUSES

The union bureaucracy has no interest in breaking the guidelines. They don't have to work under bad contracts. The leadership of the Teamsters

and auto workers' unions will try the same trick that OCAW got away with—talk tough but sign on the bottom line and make excuses.

The companies, backed by the government, are out for blood. The bureaucracy will not fight. It is up to the rank and file to defend themselves and break the guidelines. □

**Socialist
Worker**
WHAT WE THINK



THE TRAGEDY IN INDO-CHINA

by NIGEL HARRIS

In 1968 a gigantic battle was fought in Vietnam, known now from the time of the year as the 'Tet Offensive.'

It was the beginning of the rout of the American occupation forces by a band of ragged heroes, the National Liberation Front of Vietnam.

We are approaching the eleventh anniversary of the Tet Offensive—but now the occasion is terrible with tragedy. The hopes of all those years of liberation war have disintegrated.

Once more across the torn land of Eastern Cambodia, its soil already laced with dead shells, burnt-out tanks and

rusting rifles, advances another army, the lineal descendants of the National Liberation Front.

But the troops of the People's Republic of Vietnam do not advance over Vietnamese land against the American juggernaut—they invade another country against the vastly weaker forces of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (Cambodia).

The end of Tet could see Vietnam installing its puppet, the Khmer United Front for National Salvation, in Govern-

ment over the whole of Cambodia east of the Mekong River.

There can be little doubt that the new regime will be an improvement on the barbaric tyranny which masquerades as Kumpuchea 'People's' Republic.

The Mekong has always been a symbolic demarcation line. It is unlikely Vietnam will advance far beyond the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh which they took in mid-January.

To do so would be to throw

the whole of Indo-China into the melting pot again and to risk the intervention of Thailand, backed by the Association of South East Asian Nations and the United States. It would also push China into a direct attack on Vietnam's northern border (already China has been busy manufacturing a host of pretexts for such an attack).

If Vietnam does not go far beyond the river, it can aim to strangle Cambodia slowly; from the eastern bank it dominates Highway 4 that carries Chinese supplies to Phnom Penh.

The war has produced the

usual crop of xenophobias, honed by severe hunger in both countries.

The ancient anti-Vietnamese prejudices have been deliberately inflamed by the regime.

ANCIENT

The same ancient hostility towards China in Vietnam has led to the systematic persecution of Vietnamese Chinese, and to the terrible flight of those known as the "boat people."

There is nothing in this war for the mass of Cambodians, Vietnamese or Chinese.

Despair makes the poor kill each other—and keeps the world safe for the rich. □

Women and minorities: it's still 1900

Women and racial minorities are no better off than they were in 1900. These are the results of a recent survey taken by the Council on Interracial Books for Children.

The study concluded that while 60% of all Americans are women or members of a racial minority, white men still dominate in business, government, the media, education and health institutions.

Furthermore, the report says that the federal government and business are "rapidly retreating" from an alleged earlier commitment to redress racism and sexism.

Among the findings on racism:

- In 1970, the black family income rose to 61% of the white family income. In 1977, it fell to 57%.
- 9.3% of all U.S. families live below the poverty level. According to 1978 figures, other rates were: Mexican American, 18.9%; Puerto Rican, 38.9%; and Cuban, 15.1%.

- Blacks account for less than 4% of professions in medicine, law and engineering.
- Only 5.3% of those living in suburbs were black.

The report found these figures among the findings on sexism:

- Median weekly income of full-time women workers was 73% of men's pay in professional and technical jobs; 64% in clerical jobs and 45% in sales jobs.
- Median income for women college graduates was \$10,861, while male counterparts earned \$17,891.
- Women account for 2.3% of all executives earning \$25,000 or more annually.
- 60% of all working women were clerks, saleswomen, waitresses or hairdressers. Although women hold 25% to 35% of all jobs, only about 5% are in policy making.

The study on sexism concluded that "the rate of occupational segregation by sex is exactly as it was at the turn of the century, if not greater." □

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Signed articles do not
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"It's economics": workers evicted

FILLMORE, CA—Pablo Ramirez has lived on Rancho Sespe since 1929. Sotero Manzano has been employed at the ranch 23 years. Antonio Nolasco has raised his 12 children there since birth.

On February 16, they must leave their homes and jobs because the ranch has been sold and the new owners want to replace their homes with orange trees.

"It's purely economics,"

says Larry Harris, the new boss.

Strangely enough, when Harris bought the ranch, contract negotiations between the former owners and the United Farmworkers had just begun. Economic proposals had already been put on the table. Now, the workers are without a union, without a job and without a home.

There are 200 families at Rancho Sespe. The neighbor-

ing town of Fillmore doesn't have that many houses or jobs. If there were homes, they would cost far more than the \$20 a month most workers at the ranch pay for rent.

Being evicted is nothing new to Felix Arellano. It happened to him twice before in the early 1960s when he was organizing farmworkers in Delano.

"They are doing this to us because of the union," Arellano said.

"This time I will not go. I don't know how, but we are going to fight this."

The union has filed charges of unfair labor practice with the state agricultural labor board and promises more legal actions if that doesn't work. Harris, too, vows to do "whatever is legally necessary."

February 16 will come and go before a legal solution is found. And there is no guaran-

tee that solution will save the homes of 200 families. It is difficult to demolish homes people are still inside.

Three days after the eviction notices were filed, the new owners brought in contract laborers to replace the evicted. They were greeted with rocks and bottles and promise that the resistance will continue.

by M.J.



By Any Means Necessary

BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

Malcolm X on black history

Next month they'll come up to show you another trick. They'll come at you and me next month with this Negro History Week, they call it.

This week comes around once every year. And during this one week they drown us with propaganda about Negro history in Georgia and Mississippi and Alabama.

Never do they take us back across the water, back home. They take us down home, but they never give us a history of back home.

They never give us enough information to let us know what were we doing before we ended up in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, and some of those other prison states.

IMPRESSION

They give us the impression with Negro History Week that we were cotton pickers all of our lives. Cotton pickers, orange growers, mammies and uncles for the white man in this country—this is our history when you talk in terms of Negro History Week.

They might tell you about one or two people who took a peanut and made another white man rich. George Wash-



Malcolm X was deeply committed to black history, but he was also highly sceptical of official "Black History Weeks." This is an excerpt from one of his speeches, "on Afro-American History," published by Pathfinder.

ington Carver—he was a scientist, but he died broke.

He made Ford rich. So he wasn't doing anything for himself and his people. He got a good name for us, but what did we get out of it?—nothing; the master got it.

Just like a dog who runs out of the woods and grabs a rabbit. No matter how hungry the dog is, does he eat it?

No, he takes it back and lays it at the boss's feet. The boss skins it, takes the meat, and gives the dog the bones. And

the dog is going right on, hungry again.

But he could have gotten the rabbit and eaten it for himself. The boss couldn't even have caught him until later, because he can outrun the boss.

It's the same way with you and me. Every contribution we make, we don't make it for our people, we make it for the man, we make it for our master.

He gets the benefit from it. We die, not for our people, we die for him.

We don't die for our home and our house, we die for his house. We don't die for our country, we die for his country.

A lot of you all were fools on the front lines, were you not? Yes, you were.

You put on the uniform and went right up on the front lines like a roaring hound dog barking for master.

And when you come back here—you've had to bark since you came back.

So Negro History Week reminds us of this.

It doesn't remind us of past achievements, it reminds us only of the achievements we made in the Western hemisphere under the tutelage of the white man.

CREDIT

So that whatever achievement that was made in the Western hemisphere that the spotlight is put upon, this is the white man's shrewd way of taking credit for whatever we have accomplished.

But he never lets us know of an accomplishment that we made prior to being born here. This is another trick. □

NORTHEAST SOLIDARITY COALITION REFORMS

NEW HAVEN, CT—The Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA) steering committee met here at Yale University on January 27.

The purpose of the meeting was to put forward a number of organizational proposals

designed to end the sectarian wrangling that destroyed NECLSA's previous meeting, held in New York in November.

The aim was to limit voting participation in NECLSA to representatives of active anti-apartheid organizations on

northeastern college campuses, while limiting the participation of non-campus organizations.

The steering committee also reaffirmed NECLSA's original points of unity, including support for the freedom fighters in Southern Africa.

Reforming NECLSA (the resolutions were adopted) almost led to a split (and may yet), but almost anything is preferable to the sectarianism in New York, despite charges that political exclusion was at the bottom of the "Reform."

Now the test will be in prac-

tice. NECLSA is preparing for the National Week of Solidarity, April 4 to 11. The proof will be in the pudding—building a non-sectarian, fighting solidarity movement! □

BOSTON COALITION FORMED Fighting the KKK

BOSTON—The Ku Klux Klan is in Boston, but not without some militant opposition.

On December 2, 1978, 250 people representing a broad coalition of community, labor and left organizations marched and rallied against the Klan and against racism in Boston.

Socialist Worker talked with Louis Sheppard of the Citywide Anti Klan Coalition.



Louis Sheppard (above) was interviewed by Peter Lowber

Lately, there's been a great deal of organizing by the Klan here.

They've been going into schools in South Boston, Roslindale, Hyde Park and Cambridge.

They've been taking credit for attacking homes where blacks are living in East Boston.

They're here basically to organize against busing and against affirmative action. And they've been given the red carpet treatment by local politicians.

Mayor Kevin White, for instance, has condemned anti-Klan protesters, suggesting they should be prosecuted for federal charges. This gives the Klan an opportunity to take the offensive.

OFFENSIVE

He says the Klan's right to free speech is being attacked, and that the anti-Klan protesters were communists and organizing a conspiracy.

There was also the accusation from the mayor that they were from out of state, which is ironic because the Klan leaders came from Louisiana and Alabama, but there was no mention of this.

There was no advance notice of the Klan's coming to Boston. On the day they were coming, people got on the phone to call their friends.

At first, 15 people arrived at the Commons. Later, a busload arrived, bringing the total to 75.

It was a very vocal, militant group,

shouting chants, giving speeches with bullhorns. The crowd marched down to the City Hall Plaza.

At one corner there were about 200 junior KKK, Klan sympathizers, South Boston Marshalls, and Hell's Angels.

Then a Yellow cab pulled up and four men in business suits got out carrying attache cases.

They were escorted by the police toward the crowd, and they opened their cases and put on their robes.

At that point, a group of demonstrators attacked the Klan, and the government center erupted into a free-for-all. The police charged the anti-Klan demonstrators. One of them was on the biggest horse I ever saw, and trampled a couple of women.

A demonstrator pulled out a can of mace and sprayed the horse in the eyes. The horse reared violently.

Rocks were hurled at the police and the police quickly retreated. But the mace demonstrator was arrested.

Nine people were arrested. All except one were anti-Klan protesters. No Klansmen were arrested, but one member of ROAR was arrested.

He claimed he was just a passer-by, but what happened was, he threw a rock which hit a black woman. The anti-Klan demonstrators saw it happen and had him arrested.

Also, I was arrested. While the commotion was going on a City Hall, I was standing about ten feet away from the action. A white man attacked me, swinging at me with his fists. I hit him with a flag pole in self defense, and while trying to get away from him, five policemen attacked me, beat me, and arrested me.

I, along with seven other anti-Klan demonstrators were charged with assault and battery with a dangerous weapon, a felony.

ROAR, the Nazis, and the Klan have the same objective. But I think ROAR would definitely support the Klan in any of their activities, like anti-busing anti-affirmative action, anti-union, anti-abortion, pro-nuclear energy.

HIGH SCHOOLS

They've been going to high schools, leafletting, and they do have an application form. And in South Boston the kids go down to the ROAR headquarters after school for a couple of hours where they get propaganda about white supremacy.

There has been nothing going on by the Klan as far as factories and workplaces go. And the trade unions are against any kind of organizing by the Klan, which is anti-union.

In fact, one of the anti-Klan demonstrators is a bus driver and his union endorsed the demo. He also found a KKK robe in South Boston which was burnt at a recent anti-Klan rally.

I think the Klan ideology actually stands for institutionalized racism which should be actively dealt with on every front—in the schools, workplaces and through affirmative action programs.

One of the ways to combat racism is to organize defense groups, people who are dedicated enough to go to people's homes in East Boston, for example, and stand watch in a person's house; as well as organization where people work.

THE BUDGET: PLUMS FOR BUSINESS

President Carter's anti-inflation budget is surely not a budget for the poor.

It makes the poor, blacks, youth and unemployed bear the brunt of his fight against inflation.

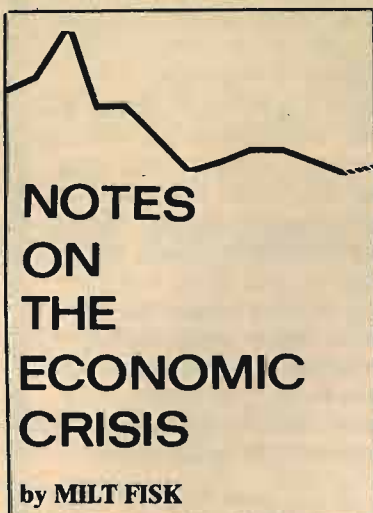
But with minor variations all budgets since World War II have been budgets designed to do the same thing—serve the goals of the big corporations.

And these goals are at odds with those of working people, blacks, youth and the unemployed.

CETA

Carter is asking Congress to trim \$1.5 billion from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program.

At the same time, \$500 million in tax credits to employers



by MILT FISK

hiring the chronically unemployed that Carter offers in return will fail to have a comparable effect if there is a general increase in unemployment caused by the anti-inflation program.

This budget, like its predecessors, puts hundreds of billions directly at the disposal of the big corporations.

The transportation budget, for example, will, when passed, help keep the banks and the contractors raking in enormous profits.

The \$17.6 billion called for transportation will go to pay for interstate highways, for aviation and for urban mass transit. All of this will be a stimulus to growth in various sectors of the economy.

The problem is that this growth can no longer be guaranteed by the corporations on their own.

Left to themselves they would lead us into deeper and deeper slumps. But by using the government's power to tax, these corporations can obtain the capital they need for,

in this case, a transportation network.

Almost every year there is a federal deficit—the difference between federal expenditures and income. The deficit is planned in advance and estimated along with the budget.

The accumulated deficits make up the national debt. Carter estimates that interest on the debt will cost \$57 billion in fiscal 1980.

INTEREST

This interest represents the way the corporate establishment makes money twice over from the government.

Government contracts with the aviation industry, for example, provide the demand that sends the industry to the same banks for loans that also hold part of the U.S. debt.

Again, only the state with

its mandatory power to tax can provide this boon to the corporations.

The \$57 billion in interest that will go mostly to the financial corporations is almost twice the \$30 billion budgeted for education and job training.

The price we pay as taxpayers for the inability of the big corporations to make their profits on their own without the state includes \$123 billion for military spending.

This military budget will be sold to Congress—give or take a few billion—by dusting off old cold war threats to national security.

There are real plums here for the large corporations. There is a \$1 billion land based missile, \$500 million for production of cruise missiles, a \$1.6 billion aircraft carrier, and nearly 400 new aircraft. □

THE MARCH OF THE GIANTS

Robert Owen, in his earlier years, was a typical big capitalist of the first half of the 19th century.

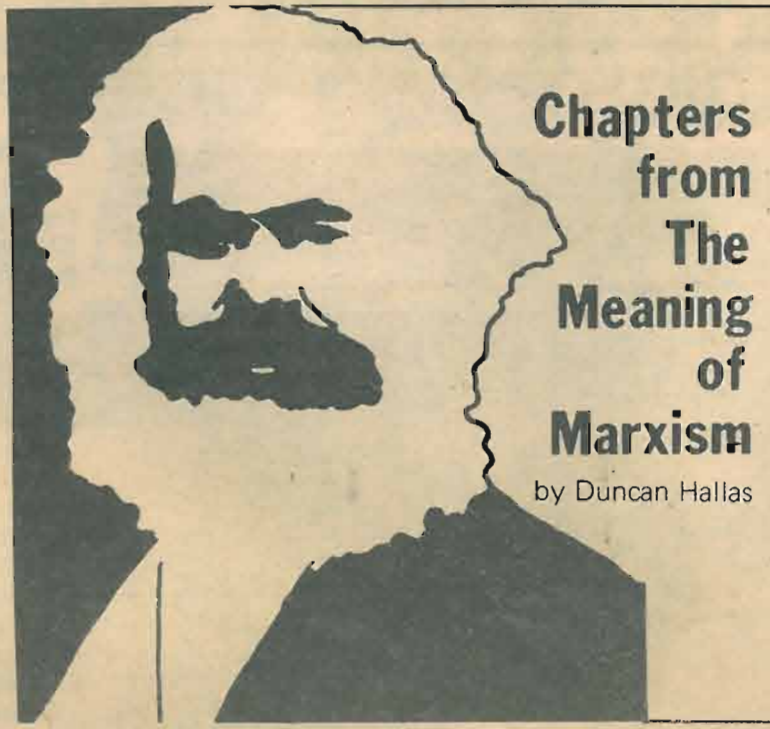
He was a self-made man, son of a small shopkeeper. Starting as a shop assistant he became manager in a Manchester cotton spinning mill, then a partner in the business and then, after only seven years, owner of the largest spinning mill in the world, New Lanark.

The New Lanark Company was first a partnership and then a one man business. Big as it was it produced only a small fraction of the total output of cotton yarn. Owen had no control over the prices he paid for raw materials and machinery, nor over the prices he could charge for his products.

FORCES

Impersonal market forces ensured that prices kept close to values. No one capitalist could seriously affect them. Competition ruled supreme and capitalists like Owen obeyed the dictates of the "invisible hand" or went bankrupt.

This world of tens of thousands of competing enterprises was the world of the economic theorists of all schools, classical, Marxian



Chapters from The Meaning of Marxism

by Duncan Hallas

and neo-classical. In fact the very idea of an economic law depends on the assumption that capitalists as well as workers are compelled to act in certain ways by forces over which they have no control.

The United States Steel Corporation is a typical capitalist of today. It is not a self-made man. It is not a man at all but a

vast complex organization. The men who control its policies are wealthy but they do not own more than a tiny fraction of the enterprise they control. The vast majority of the "owners"—the stockholders—have about as much influence on company policy as you or I.

Nor are actual controllers of

U.S. Steel in the same position as Owen in respect to price policy.

J.K. Galbraith summarizes the situation as follows: "The executives of the U.S. Steel Corporation, the longtime price leaders in the steel industry, do have authority to raise and lower the prices they charge for their own steel. When they exercise that power the rest of the industry normally follows."

"The same executives make decisions on where to build new plants and how much plant to build, what to pay in dividends and, subject to a periodic trial of strength with the union, what wages to pay."

"They have latitude on all these matters; they are not the automatons of market forces... as with steel so with the great core of American industry."

A comparatively small number of giant firms, many of them multi-national, dominate production and these giant firms do more than simply respond to the market. They can, and do, seriously influence it.

MONOPOLY

Now Marx, unlike the orthodox economists foresaw the inevitability of competitive capi-

talism developing into international monopoly capitalism. "One capitalist always kills many," he wrote. "Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develops... the entanglement of all people in the net of the world market and the international character of the capitalist regime."

The fact remains that Marx's economic analysis assumes effective competition between capitalists. Take that away and the whole structure collapses. The point was first made by the German Social Democrat "revisionist" Edward Bernstein. Bernstein drew attention to the simultaneous growth of giant firms and cartels and the increasingly mild character of the depressions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

He looked forward to the growth of an increasingly "organized capitalism" on a world scale which by planning and control of markets could eliminate the system's instability. He also pointed to the increasingly close connections between the big firms and the state.

The "night watchman" state of the mid-19th century was giving way to a state that was heavily involved in supporting and regulatory activities in the economy, a development particularly marked in his native Germany.

LENIN

The same facts were noted by Lenin. "This transformation of competition into monopoly," he wrote in 1916, "is one of the most important phenomena of modern capitalist economy... For Europe the time when the new capitalism definitely superseded the old can be established with fair precision: it was the beginning of the 20th century."

A year later he was writing of "the process of transformation of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism," of the state "becoming merged more and more with the all powerful capitalist combines."

Lenin drew the opposite conclusion from Bernstein. Monopoly and state monopoly capitalism, he argued, are no more but less stable than competitive capitalism. Economic crisis and wars—which Bernstein thought "organized capitalism" would abolish—would become more frequent and severe.

There is no doubt that the history of the first half of the 20th century proved Bernstein wrong and Lenin right. What ever else it did, the growth of monopolies did not ultimately stabilize the system. The reason is clear. In Lenin's words "monopoly, which has grown out of free competition does not abolish the latter."

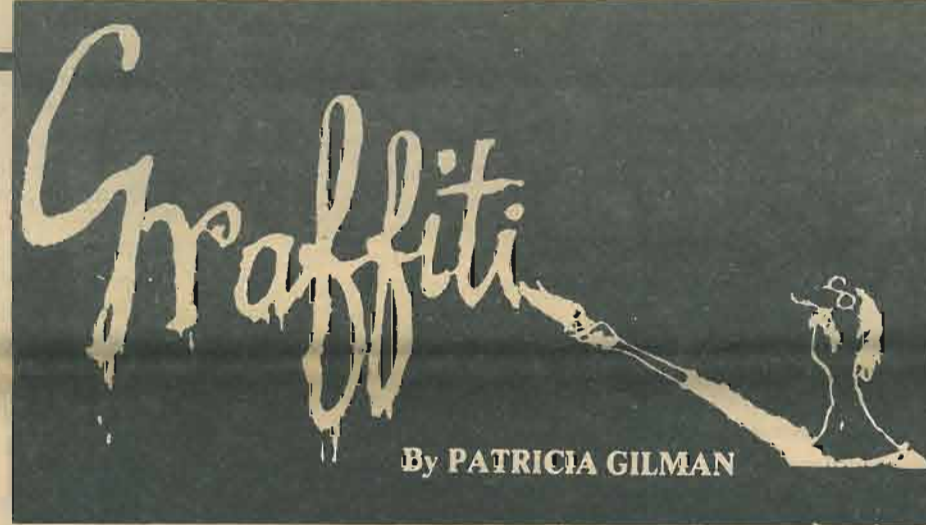
Though the giant firm is no longer a puppet of the market it is engaged in a constant struggle with other giant firms to amass more and more surplus value to expand its capital.

The penalty for failure is no longer bankruptcy—big firms rarely go bankrupt—it is take over. The controllers of the big combines have great power but not the power to opt out of this struggle.

Competition is reproduced on a higher level and because of this Marx's analysis is still relevant. Why then did the growth of monopoly coincide with a lessening of slumps? Lenin's explanation, the export of capital, has now to be examined.

OLYMPIC PRISONS

You might be wondering how New York is financing the building of the 1980 Winter Olympics site at Lake Placid. Never fear, the criminal justice system is here. The Federal Bureau of Prisons has generously donated \$20 million to build the Olympic village housing for athletes which will be converted to prison cells after the games. □



By PATRICIA GILMAN

"MIGHTY MAN" IN SOUTH AFRICA

Superman hasn't "saved the day" in South Africa. The champion of "truth, justice and the American way" was exported by a New York marketing firm to make propaganda for the South African government.

Superman's creator gave his character the new name of "Mighty Man" and designed a comic strip around a black super hero who wages a relentless war on crime, enemy agents, and

communists.

"Basically we are on the side of law and order," said the cartoonist. "Kids should stay in school and obey the law and the rest of the format that Superman follows."

"The blacks are going to lap this up," predicted one of the marketing executives. They didn't. The newsstands where "Mighty Man" was on sale were burned down. □



IT'S FROM JUNIOR... HE'S RUN OFF TO JOIN THE CLEVELAND CITY COUNCIL...



Chinese Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping is getting a taste of what its like to operate in the political big leagues. There are the lavish state dinners, meetings with VIPs, media interviews, and, of course, a demonstration of angry Maoists determined to "create an international incident."

This is all a long march from the caves of Hunan Province and Teng must be a little worried about image problems. After all what's a "socialist" like him doing in a place like Washington.

Teng knows how to cover his ass, in fact the politicians who are wining and dining him are probably envious. What Teng has done is declare a four-day weekend back home. Now

wouldn't Jimmy like to do that just before election day.

And to make sure that he is not accused of hogging all the "bourgeois decadence," Teng is televising his trip for the enjoyment of the Chinese people. When nothing earthshaking is going on, like Teng and Carter shaking hands, the Chinese can be entertained by another U.S. import. Over the four-day weekend, Chinese T.V. is featuring reruns of U.S. space shots.

P.S. I can't help noticing that Teng moves through Washington "like a fish through water" (to borrow a phrase). This is no surprise to international socialists—Teng is as much a capitalist politician as Carter is. □

IMPERIALISM PUSHES RIGHT-WING OFFENSIVE

JAMAICA: 'A TENSE CALM'

From January 8-11, Jamaica was in the grip of a right wing offensive. During the week before that the Daily Gleaner, the organ of the right wing, led with articles that the price of oil was being raised by nearly 25%.

Taking its cue from the articles, the Nationalist Patriotic Movement, an organization recently formed by the Jamaica Labor Party, the island's right wing party, called for widespread demonstrations against the increase.

However, the call did not just drop from the blue skies which shone throughout the days of protest.

Since the middle of 1975, U.S. imperialism has backed the JLP in their efforts to overthrow the middle class nationalist government of the People's National Party and the island's Prime Minister, Michael Manley.

The PNP, after winning the general election in 1972 on the platform of "better must come" in 1974, declared that it was against imperialism.

The U.S. ruling class and their local agents were not happy about the declaration and the subsequent activities. For the workers, small farmers and unemployed began to demonstrate and, by their activity, pushed the government into making some conces-

A REPORT FROM TONY BOGUES IN KINGSTON



sions. Certain democratic rights were restored and many reforms made in the island.

However, the government did not content itself with just internal reforms. It opened links with Cuba and then, in the eyes of the U.S. ruling class, committed the biggest sin of all. Despite warnings from the war-monger, Henry Kissinger, the PNP recognized the MPLA government. This fact was the signal for the imperialists to begin a massive campaign to get rid of the government.

CIA

In the campaign, the tactics used in Chile were followed. Middle class women went

on strike, factories were closed and businessmen fled the country taking millions of dollars with them. Frontline PNP youths who were known anti-imperialists were killed.

It is now well known that the CIA was involved in this campaign. They were exposed by Philip Agee. It was no accident that he was banned by the British government when he returned to England after leaving Jamaica.

When the violence failed to bring down the Manley government and the PNP won the elections in 1976, the U.S. imperialists tried a different tactic. Because the anti-imperialism of the PNP had mainly been words, the Jamaican

economy was still locked into U.S. imperialism.

With the economic crisis, the economy got worse. Negative growth rates were registered for two years running. Massive layoffs took place. Unemployment, officially at about 20%, grew to over 25%. Manley, instead of deepening the struggle against imperialism, backed off and went to the IMF.

Here was the chance the imperialists were looking for. The IMF gave the loan of \$22 million with strings attached. The major reforms were to be stopped in and in some cases cut back. Public spending was to be cut.

In the agreement the local and foreign employer class was to receive a profit margin of not less than 30%. At the same time the workers, 27% of the working population, were not to exceed wage limits of 15%.

With a monthly devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, it meant that workers were unable to take care of basics. With the average wage being about 25 dollars, for the vast majority of the population it meant very hard times indeed. It has been reported that since the agreement in May last year Malnutrition has increased again.

CONTEXT

But the U.S. ruling class was still not satisfied. They were still attempting to replace the PNP government with one that would be even more favorable to their interest and would lock up the left that had been growing. This is the context in which the recent protest has taken place.

Day one of the protest saw many working people in support of the demonstrations. Indeed the first day showed that workers and the oppressed were fed up with the situation in which the cost of living had risen by 40% in the year.

Led by the right wing, many roads were blocked and the capital in Kingston closed. On that day there were hardly any scenes of violence. The government, frightened by the massive support of the protest instructed the police and the army to keep a low profile.

It became clear to many that the protest was being used to overthrow the government. But the discontent among workers in particular was high.

The Bauxite workers, who are in the union which supports the PNP, went on strike in all the major plants. At the time of writing, all but one plant, Alpart, have returned to work. At the same time many local employers saw the chance they were waiting for.

At Tanners, a leather producing factory, the employer closed his factory in a bid to lock out the workers. Tanners has just been defeated by the workers in a wage claim that broke the 15% guideline. The strike of the bauxite workers showed that workers were fed up and angry with the present situation.

ALLIANCE

Because the major left party, the Workers Party of Jamaica, is in an alliance with the government and gives it critical support, it cannot defend and support the independent activity of the workers. In such a situation many workers who are looking for a way out of the crisis turn to the right. Such was the case of the bauxite workers.

By this time the police and the army began to shoot in the air and to tear gas the demonstrators. At the same time many workers began to draw back from support of the protest since it was being clearly led by the right. By day four, at the time of writing, things have arrived at a tense calm. The island has the appearance of normalcy. But the events of the last three days have demonstrated that the right wing will again have a go.

They will wait until more working people become demoralized by the IMF and the government's policies.

The revolutionary left is tiny. It has still to find the way to the workers dominated by the PNP and its politics of democratic socialism. As the pressure from the IMF increases, the right will again feel that they have support.

The struggle is not yet over. The bubble will burst again. When it does, the labor movement, the black workers, and all oppressed people in the U.S. must give support to the fight of the Jamaican workers, small farmers and unemployed against the U.S. ruling class and its local lackeys.

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Young Sandinista guerrillas continue the military struggle

Nicaragua: armed struggle

The armed struggle continues in Nicaragua. The U.S.-dominated mediation has gotten nowhere. Somoza still refuses even to hold a plebiscite.

On January 10, thousand attended memorial masses for opposition newspaper writer, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, murdered a year ago on that date.

The people's expression of outrage and sorrow was met by bullets and tear gas. In the southern town of Granada, the National Guard fired on a crowd leaving a church.

The people stood firm in their opposition, though, and continued their memorial to Chamorro with a general strike.

As the people continue the struggle in the streets, the Sandinist guerrillas continue their persistent military strategy.

Earlier in January they knocked out a radio station owned by Somoza. There were and are daily skirmishes with the Guard.

In late January there was heavy combat near the border with Costa Rica.

In the north guerrillas accused the U.S., Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador of being responsible for the landing of troops from those Central American nations in the Department of Chinandega. □

by ELIZABETH HAMILTON

The week the workers served notice on a terrified bourgeoisie

by MARY DEATON

In November, 1917, the workers of Russia dropped a gigantic boulder on the heads of the Russian ruling class, smashing the monster and setting up ripples of revolution which spread around the world. By February, 1919, those ripples reached Seattle, Washington.

Although the workers of Seattle did not smash their own ruling class monster, they served notice on a terrified bourgeoisie that they did, indeed, know their strength and were not afraid to use it.

From February 6 to February 13, Seattle's industry came to a halt in the first General Strike in the history of the United States. It was not a spontaneous explosion. Since before World War I, the pressures had been building.

In the logging camps of the great Northwest, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Wobblies, had been waging a fierce battle against inhuman working conditions and appallingly low wages. Thousands of lumber workers had heard the message of industrial unionism and revolution.

In the cities, the anti-war and socialist message of Eu-

gene Debs had been carried by a small, but enthusiastic Socialist Party. When war broke out and shipbuilding overnight became the single largest industry in Seattle, the shipyards were filled with workers already committed to militant unionism and familiar with the ideas of revolution and class war.

NATURAL

When shipyard workers went out on strike in January, 1919, it seemed only natural to other workers that they should be supported. On January 22, the shipyard workers requested a General Strike in support of their demands. On February 6, the strike began.

The goal of the strike was to win wage demands. But the real purpose was to show an increasingly belligerent band of bosses that the unions

would not sit quietly by while the end of war prosperity was used as an excuse to destroy their jobs and their organizations.

They didn't have to picket. Nobody tried to work. Not only did all 60,000 of the AFL union members go out, so did the Wobblies, the unorganized black workers, the Japanese and Chinese workers groups, the elevator boys, the gardeners and the school children.

Although the newspapers and the city officials screamed "Revolution" and told lies of huge arms caches in union halls, there was no violence.

An unarmed squad of former soldiers and sailors was organized by the unions to persuade workers to avoid police provocations.

The mayor could find no pretense for declaring martial law. Troops were brought in,

but kept hidden outside the city. The 3,000 special police called up stood idly by.

Culinary workers set up 33 feeding stations to serve two meals a day to union members for 25¢ a plate. Dairy drivers supplied free milk for children.

FREE

Union members worked free to supply linens and supplies to the hospitals. Garbage collectors took the refuse which might cause disease and left the rest behind.

Nothing moved in the city unless it carried a sign "Exempted by the General Strike Committee." This committee, 300 strong, was elected by the rank and file. It elected a 15-person body, including 2 women, to run the day-to-day affairs of the strike.

While the workers went peacefully about running the city and keeping the factories closed, the rich folks on Capital Hill sat barricaded behind their doors, larders full of supplies and shotguns across their laps.

Those who could, fled, filling Portland, Oregon's posh hotels to capacity.

Two attempts were made to defy the strikers. The mayor found a big, ugly scab stupid enough to try and bring a streetcar into daylight. Union streetcar men surrounded the vehicle and quietly refused to move. The scab ranted and raved for awhile, but soon gave up and put the car back in the barn.

The Seattle Star, once the self-proclaimed "friend of the working man," tried to publish on the third day of the strike.

They managed to get a stack of papers on the street, using armed guards to escort the delivery wagon, but nobody would buy. Rather than give



An IWW graphic

up, they took the paper to the better neighborhoods and gave it away.

The strike executive committee made one big mistake but the rank and file soon corrected it. Out of a naive sense of "fair play" it was decided not to publish the union-owned newspaper, *The Seattle Union-Record* (the only labor-owned daily in the country, enjoying a higher circula-

The Industrial ate but to fight talists own the workers use th

tion than all the bosses pa pers).

On the second day of the strike, 10,000 workers showed up at the paper's offices demanding publication of their paper. It appeared on the street the next day.

In spite of the rantings of the press, this was not a revolution.

IDEAS

But that didn't mean they weren't revolutionary ideas behind it.

The *Union-Record* had printed a speech by Lenin on workers management of industry and society.

The Russian Revolution was regularly discussed at the Central Labor Council. Seattle had been the first and only



One of the food kitchens provided by the strike committee for the strikers

GENERAL STRIKE

ve Fed You A Thousand Years



tion of the AFL to pass a resolution in support of the shevik Revolution and against U.S. intervention on the side of the reactionaries. Just before the General Strike, a Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council, loosely modeled on what Seattle knew of the Russian Soviets, was formed. It had the complete backing of the unions. Its job was to organize war

mayor, the federal troops or the bosses who caused the strike to end. It was the union leadership. Even before a tool had been downed, Sam Gompers, the George Meany of the time, and other international officials had packed off their cronies to Seattle with instructions to halt this insanity.

"You're violating your contracts," workers were told. "You're endangering our

workers is organized not to conciliate the capitalist class. . . . The capitalists they do not use, and the tools they do not own.

—EUGENE V. DEBS

trans in favor of unionism against being used as strike breakers. It published a paper, *The Forge*, which went beyond the trade union analysis of the *Union-Record* and gave a socialist perspective to current events.

When the General Strike came up for discussion, there were some labor council delegates who wanted the slogan "Workers of the World

te." They also wanted to carry the strike until every work-demand was met. They were defeated not because there was no sentiment for revolution, but because even revolutionaries knew that the little alone could not spark a workers' revolt at that time. It was not the blustery

good relations with the bosses" the toadies said.

They threatened to revoke union charters. They badgered the conservative local leaders into proposing a revolution to end the strike.

It took an all-night debate on Sunday, the 11th, before that motion was defeated by the General Strike Committee.

RETURN

Monday, however, the weaker unions began to return to work—streetcar drivers, Teamsters.

The ranks went back reluctantly. They had been convinced they would destroy their unions if they persisted. But they sent delegations to the strike committee asking them to set a final date for the

strike and saying they would come back out again so everyone could go back together.

Monday night, the strike committee voted to end the walk-out at noon the next day. Tuesday morning, all the unions were out again and at noon all 60,000 returned to work together.

What was gained? The shipyard workers did not win. Within months, the shipyards were closed down and massive unemployment began to spread throughout the city.

GAINS

That would have happened if they hadn't struck. War production was over and Seattle's economy was built on war production in 1919.

The gains were more intangible. The open-shop campaign which had begun before the strike was slowed down for another few years. Working people in Seattle felt a tremendous sense of solidarity and unity, greater, probably, than any other city in the country.

Anna Louise Strong, a socialist active in the strike, wrote in the official strike history, "They learned more than they ever knew before, more than they ever thought they'd learn. They experienced first hand the problems of management."

Nobody regretted the decision to strike. Arne Swabeck, a delegate to the General Strike Committee, remembers the mood of the strikers as jubilant, even when they went back to work.

They had flexed their muscles and found them powerful.

RUSSIA DID IT

SHIPYARD WORKERS—You left the shipyards to enforce your demands for higher wages. Without you your employers are helpless. Without you they cannot make one cent of profit—their whole system of robbery has collapsed.

The shipyards are idle; the toilers have withdrawn even though the owners of the yards are still there. Are your masters building ships? No. Without your labor power it would take all the shipyard employers of Seattle and Tacoma working eight hours a day the next thousand years to turn out one ship. Of what use are they in the shipyards?

It is you and you alone who build the ships; you create all the wealth of society today; you make possible the \$75,000 sable coats for millionaires' wives. It is you alone who can build the ships.

They can't build the ships. You can. Why don't you?

There are the shipyards; more ships are urgently needed; you alone can build them. If the masters continue their dog-in-the-manger attitude, not able to build the ships themselves and not allowing the workers to, there is only one thing left for you to do.

Take over the management of the shipyards yourselves; make the shipyards your own; make the jobs your own; decide the working conditions yourselves; decide your wages yourselves.

In Russia the masters refused to give their slaves a living wage too. The Russian workers put aside the bosses and their tool, the Russian government, and took over industry in their own interests.

There is only one way out; a nation-wide general strike with its object the overthrow of the present rotten system which produces thousands of millionaires and millions of paupers each year.

The Russians have shown you the way out. What are you going to do about it? You are doomed to wage slavery till you die unless you wake up, realize that you and the boss have not one thing in common, that the employing class must be overthrown, and that you, the workers, must take over the control of your jobs, and through them, the control over your lives instead of offering yourselves up to the masters as a sacrifice six days a week, so that they may coin profits out of your sweat and toil.

This leaflet (reproduced above) was written by a young socialist named Harvey O'Connor. Over 20,000 copies were distributed. O'Connor (pictured below) later wrote a history of the General Strike, *Revolution in Seattle*.

Eight months later, that power would be shown again when Seattle longshoremen refused to load guns headed for the White Armies in Russia.

It was shown when the entire labor movement organized the defense of the 25 Wobblies arrested and tried as scapegoats for the strike. They were acquitted.

In 1979, we can only speculate what would have been the result if Seattle's workers had done things differently. Should they have raised other issues? Should they have held mass meetings? Should they have occupied the shipyards?

We have the benefit of hindsight. We cannot deny, however, that what they did was a remarkable feat of working class solidarity. They showed it was possible.

Conditions are different today. A General Strike is not likely to occur in Seattle or any other city of this country—not in the near future probably.

We struggle day-by-day to reach one, two or three workers with the ideas of socialist revolution. Those ones and twos reach others.

FUTURE

What we do now, however, lays the foundation for the day when, like Seattle in 1919, the pressures have built up and the working class is ready to move.

Socialist ideas were an essential ingredient in Seattle. It is our job to see that those ideas stay alive for the future. □



James P. Thompson, Northwest IWW organizer, addressing strikers



CLASS STRUGGLE ALIVE IN LATIN AMERICA

Dear Socialist Worker,

On January 16, approximately 90% of the public transport system in Rio de Janeiro went out on strike until their wage demands are met and until their work day is shortened. This is just one small example of the constant economic struggles being

waged by workers all over Latin America. Latin America is experiencing a severe economic crisis. Workers' standard of living is being cut drastically.

The workers are so angered by their situation that they will stand up in public protest even when they face brutal mili-

tary governments. We've heard of the militant strikes by workers in Argentina and Chile. Also, in Peru this fall, students took to the streets of Lima to protest sharp rises in the basic necessities. They closed down their schools and marched day after day. At least one student was

killed and many injured.

Also last fall, the Guatemalan government okayed a 100% bus fare increase in the capital. This touched off more than a week of street fighting in which workers manned barricades so the busses could not pass. Fifty people were killed and many more wounded. A

national strike was called. Finally the government rescinded the increase.

Class struggle is alive and well in Latin America.

E.H.
Cincinnati, Ohio

THE CLASH TO THE RESCUE

Dear Socialist Worker:

I thought Socialist Worker readers would be interested in knowing about Larry McIntyre. In 1968, Larry went to Vietnam. The next year he stepped on a land mine and came home to Cleveland without any legs.

After months of medical treatment and rehabilitation, he began to put his life back together. It took a great deal of effort just to find an apartment complex that physically accommodate a person in a wheelchair. On the advice of his doctor, he began swimming regularly in the building's pool for exercise.

Unfortunately, Larry's recovery was blocked when other tenants complained about his swimming in the building's pool. They could not stand seeing his disfigurement. The apartment's management lined up with the tenants and prohibited him from using the pool.

Larry sued, but found the courts are as biased against disabled people as the tenants and management. The judge ruled that handicapped people are not entitled to a jury and then proceeded to throw the case out of the court.

Currently, Larry is appealing the ruling and is beginning to receive support. Lawyers Avery Friedman and Jeff Friedman have donated their services. A benefit concert is scheduled for February 13 at the Agora. Heading the bill will be the revolutionary punk rock band, The Clash, from Britain. Rock and roller Bo Diddley and local star Alex Bevan will also appear. A Cleveland radio station, WMMS, and the newspaper, Scene, are promoting the event. Everyone involved has donated their talent and all funds will go to Larry's legal defense fund.

Larry deserves your support and the benefit concert could be the beginning of the kind of support he will need to win his case.

Ben Blake
Cleveland, OH

Letters

How can Cyprus be free?

Dear Comrades,

The views and feelings expressed by the Cyprus Solidarity Committee of Boston in their letter (SW #19) are admirable and of course, no socialist would disagree with them. The letter, however, lacked substance: what can revolutionaries, especially in Cyprus, do? What sort of perspectives do we hold?

The CSC of Boston emphasize, quite correctly, the role played by the US, the CIA and NATO in the course of events in Cyprus. While it is important to do this, especially for a Western audience, this approach tends to attribute all evils to external factors and ignores what is most important, i.e. the class struggle in Cyprus.

Much as we deplore and disapprove of it, we have to face the fact that Cyprus is now, for all practical purposes partitioned. This of course serves the interests of Western capital (divide and rule) but it also serves the interests of both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ruling classes. Nationalism and chauvinism are propaganda weapons used consciously on a massive scale by both these classes against the working class.

Once workers are convinced that there is a "common enemy" across the border, that worker and boss are "on the same boat", that "national unity" comes before better wages and conditions, then the capitalists have it made. The best example of this is the Industrial Relations Act signed by the Greek Cypriot unions, which practically bans unofficial strikes and freezes wages. The signing of the act was accompanied by intense "bosses and workers united against the national enemy" propaganda. Profits have

since rocketed. Wages have stagnated.

A divided working class is a capitalist's dream. The fight must clearly be for working class unity. It is, however, easy to yell for a "humane and democratic Cyprus." This ignores another serious problem. We have to recognize from the beginning that prior to 1974, the Turkish Cypriots were an oppressed minority, economically and otherwise they were the underdogs.

We also have to recognize that right wing and fascist groups on both sides succeeded, in the period leading up to 1974, in making the two communities scared and suspicious of each other. When a village is terrorized by fascists a peasant does not think "fascists", he thinks "Turks" (or "Greeks"). These two facts, unfortunate as they are, were the reason why Turkish Cypriots initially welcomed the invading Turkish armies as 'liberators'.

The major consequence of these facts is this: While they now by and large resent the presence of the Turkish army, Turkish Cypriots will not agree to any solution which constitutes a return to pre-1974 conditions. It will thus take more than words and good will to unite the two communities once again.

If we agree that a divided working class can never win, then what is needed in Cyprus is clearly a revolutionary working class party which unites in its ranks Greeks and Turkish Cypriot workers. The Communist Party of Cyprus (AKEL) does not fulfill this role, as to a very great extent it gives in to the nationalism of the Greek Cypriot ruling class. (In this connection is must

also be mentioned that AKEL's implicit support up until recently for fusion with Greece, and its reluctance to work seriously among Turkish Cypriots much facilitated the work of those aiming to divide the island. This is also why AKEL could not aim to be a party of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, even if it intended to.)

A united working class party will not be built overnight, no simply by propaganda. Unity must be achieved in action. Unity that reestablishes trust between the two communities, that proves to workers on both

sides their common interests. Only when, for example, Greek Cypriot workers go on strike in solidarity with their fellow workers in the north will Turkish Cypriot workers believe in and fight for unity. This calls for a revolutionary party organized on both sides, showing, in action, that a united working class is the only way forward.

As Cypriot socialists, our first priority must be the creation of such a party.

Fraternally yours,
Ali Saffet
Cypriot Worker Group
SWP of Britain



Ben Chavis

Dear Socialist Worker,

Jimmy Carter has shown again that his idea of human rights is completely one-sided. He has let Patty Hearst out of prison, but continues to ignore civil rights activist Ben Chavis, one of the

Wilmington 10, who still sits in a North Carolina prison despite the fact that Carter's own Justice Department thinks Chavis was framed.

Ann Ross
Los Angeles

You were wrong on the Rideout case

Dear Socialist Worker,

You were wrong to play up the Rideout case. It was a media event from the start, not a movement issue.

The press tried to tie Greta Rideout to the Women's Liberation Movement, but Greta herself showed no interest. I'm not surprised

that she and her husband reconciled, judging by the stories they told of their own lives.

The tragedy is that this has

belittled the importance of the issues themselves—rape and assault in marriage. Women will be less likely to bring their husbands up on

charges—and feminist lawyers will be less likely to defend them.

F.T.
New York

The boat broke down far out at sea and in the dark. The refugees despaired until suddenly they glimpsed an approaching steel ship. Mrs. Ta Tich remembers, "We were so happy. We thought help was coming. My three brothers and husband went to hail the boat."

The steel ship came alongside, invited the men aboard

and then moved off, stopping some distance from KG 0729. From within the ship, about 30 armed men came and beat them up, tossing some into the sea and others into the hold. They robbed them of all valuables—when they could not get the rings off the fingers of one man, they cut the fingers off, clubbed him and dropped him overboard. Then

the ship moved back to KG 0729 boarded it and seized the women. Any remaining men were clubbed and thrown overboard. The women were stripped and thrown in the hold, the girls raped on the decks. The pirates threw any food and water overboard, smashed the engines, and then used their steel ship to ram KG 0729 so

that it would sink. They then left.

Miraculously, the survivors broke out of the hold before the boat sank, and by stuffing the holes in the hull with their clothes and continuous bailing, kept it afloat. They worked all night, and by dawn had repaired the engine sufficiently to limp to Malaysia. □

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW



THE BOAT PEOPLE

War uproots men and women by the thousands, sometimes millions. The appalling devastation which the United States inflicted on Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos was no exception.

Thousands fled from all three countries, clutching terrified children and pathetic bundles.

But even then there was no peace. The new war between Vietnam and Cambodia, backed by China, forced new massive movements.

By now there are over a million people who may never see their homes again.

OBSCENE

Vietnam's clash with China has led to an intense campaign by Hanoi against the million and a half Vietnamese Chinese. Most of these are not capitalists—they are coolies and hawkers, petty traders and shop keepers.

The rich have long since fled to safety.

The campaign was made worse when, in July, China closed its border with Vietnam. Vietnam retaliated by trying to herd the refugees over the border.

An obscene game of ping pong followed, with 150,000 men, women and children being banged back and forth.

In Southern Vietnam the panic swept thousands into tiny leaking boats. They tried to escape across the sea, but the waters are dangerous, infested with pirates and sharks, engulfed by monsoon storms. We shall never know how many thousands drowned.

Some refugees finally struggled through to Hong Kong, to

the Philippines, even as far as Australia. But wherever they arrived, the doors were closed. The milk of human kindness ran remarkably thin.

Of those who survived the two weeks at sea nearly 45,000 reached eastern Malaysia and were quickly shunted on to two barren islands.

Pulau Bidong was uninhabited. There are now over 25,000 people there. There is no shelter against the monsoon rains, no fresh water and no sanitation.

Once the rains began the island was cut off. Food had to be parachuted in to meet the minimum daily diet per person of half a pint of rice and a tin of sardines every five days.

The black market has flourished and a family bed space can fetch up to \$500.

Malaysia is ruled by a coalition called the National Front.

It is threatened by an extreme Islamic party that champions the Malays against the Malaysian Chinese. Many of the refugees are Vietnamese Chinese, so the government tries to prove how savagely it can treat them in order to win the Malay vote.

One leader proposed that mines be laid along the coast to complete what sea storms had left unfinished.

Like so many, the Malaysian government has invented a legal justification for barbarity.

"They are not really refugees at all, but rich people who have tried to enter Malaysia illegally. Since they are illegal immigrants, they must be interned and isolated."

In mid-December, representatives of 37 governments met in Geneva to see how best they could evade the

issue. It being nearly Christmas, however, they clubbed together to make an especially generous offer—a gift of extra "resettlement places" for the half million refugees.

The U.S., the state most responsible for the catastrophe as well as the largest and richest power in the world, will take a mere 51,000 of the refugees.

Japan made handsome profits from the Vietnam war, but refused to take any refugees. Australia, one of the vastest empty lands in the world, could only squeeze in 9,813.

But the really spectacular performance has been Europe. France will accept 2,669; Holland and Scandinavia none; West Germany 2,700. The British are pledged to accept all of 700.

Like the Malaysians, the British invented a legal cover. Refugees may be admitted for settlement only if rescued by a British registered ship.

At the moment 2,700 refugees are starving aboard the "Huey Fong" in Hong Kong harbor, stuck there since December 23. They cannot go ashore because unfortunately the "Huey Fong" is registered in Panama.

It is owned by a company in Taiwan, but the Taiwan government says it cannot accept refugees from a Panama-registered ship. And Panama has made sure it is in the clear by revoking the registration.

There are more than a thousand children aboard the Huey Fong. Oh, incidentally, this is International Children's Year. . . . □

"The boat people are learning this lesson... they no longer have a right to exist"

If you want to keep a dog, you have to have a license. If you want to leave a country, you need at least one license, a passport.

In some cases, you need several licenses—an exit visa, an entry visa, a bank statement and so on. These are permits from the ruling classes to leave and to arrive on their patches of territory.

Once in a while, there is a great exodus of people, driven by terrors even greater than that involved in not having a pass. In the 1930s the German

Jews were forced to flee, and found that none of the great Christian societies of Europe could find room for most of them.

The boat people are learning the same lesson. They are no longer people; they may be robbed, abused, murdered, with impunity. They do not have a license to exist.

The license is, of course, illusion. Laws do exist, but they are made and unmade by men and women.

Licenses are printed by workers, distributed by work-

ers; they can be abolished. Every time we accept the barbarity inflicted upon those called "stateless," we make it that much more likely that we also will be made stateless.

People try to escape that logic by saying the boat people are rich. Half a million rich in poverty stricken Vietnam? Even if they were, if you admit that barbarity may be inflicted upon people solely because they are rich, in a capitalist world, the same argument will be used to inflict barbarity on the poor because they are

poor. The earth belongs to us all, not to little local ruling classes. We must defend the rights of men and women to come and go as they wish, without regard to the petty divisions that rulers have imposed upon our earth.

In this country, we have to make all efforts to expose the shocking hypocrisy of the government. On the one hand it prattles of human rights. On the other it will sit by and watch as one million war victims go homeless. □

WHERE WE STAND



WORKERS' CONTROL

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

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

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

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

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

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

Supporting the present state apparatus is a vast network of propaganda—newspapers, radio, television, movies. 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 discrimination 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 rooted in the working class. Those who agree with our stand and are prepared to help us build toward revolutionary socialism are urged to join us now.

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

BOSTON

"The Working Class in Boston: Past and Present." Cambridge, February 19, 6 p.m. Call 876-7529 for details.

NORTHAMPTON

"Marxist Theory of the State," Colin Barker. Hampshire College, ELH, 7:30 p.m.

"Eastern Europe, Is It Socialist?" Ewa Barker. Hampshire College, ELH, February 26, 7:30 p.m.

CLEVELAND

"Eurocommunism," a talk by Milt Fisk. February 23, 8 p.m. Call 321-6143 for details.

CINCINNATI

"The Bosses Offensive," a talk by Dan Petty, UCM, 2699 Clifton, 8:00 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY MARCH 8, 1979



March 8 is International Women's Day. Since 1908, when March 8 was chosen to commemorate the heroic strikes of New York City's women garment workers, International Women's Day has been celebrated by socialists and working women. The first demonstrations demanded equal pay, the right to vote, an end to sweat shops and childcare for working mothers. Today only the vote has been achieved.

This year the ISO will be commemorating International Women's Day with meetings across the country—there will be films, talks, rallies.

If you are interested in joining us—in demonstrating your support to the struggles of working women—past, present and future—please contact the ISO—in Cleveland at Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118. Or watch this column in the March Socialist Worker for the details on meetings in your area. □

an i.s.o. pamphlet

WHY YOU SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST

by CAL WINSLOW

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"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
Charleston, W. VA 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
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New Haven, CT 06520

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Washington, DC 20009



MARXISM AND THE PARTY

by JOHN MOLYNEUX, Pluto Press, \$5.95

REVIEW BY SHARON SMITH



Marx

Gramsci

Luxemburg

Karl Marx laid the basis for a revolutionary socialist movement. Socialism he argued is the "self-emancipation of the working class."

While capitalism provides the material conditions necessary for socialism, the existence of a revolutionary party is a necessary link for its realization.

Since no real workers revolutionary parties existed during his time, Marx did not elaborate much further on his theory of the party.

ROLE

Left with the general outline, revolutionaries since Marx's time have concerned themselves with the task of clearly articulating the role of the party and the nature of the relationship between party and class. This has been a major preoccupation of Marxists for the last 125 years.

In his book *Marxism and the Party*, John Molyneux traces the development of Marxist theory of the party through its contributors: Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky, Gramsci. In his last chapter he applies the theory to the concrete conditions faced by a revolutionary party today.

Marx while not specifically addressing the functioning of the party recognized the necessity of an international revolutionary party if socialism was to be won by the working class. The major

weakness in Marx's theory of the party is his conception of the relationship between the party and the working class.

He argues that the party should represent the interests of the working class.

The experience of the Bolshevik revolution changed this. Lenin developed a different concept of the party. He argued that the party acts as the vanguard of the working class.

SEPARATE

Some have interpreted this view to mean that the party should consist of a tiny minority — separate from the working class.

Lenin actually called for a mass party made up of the advanced sections of the working class which leads the rest of the class.

Reacting against the opportunism of the Social Democratic parties, Lenin rejected the notion that proletarian class consciousness could simply develop from economic struggles — without the intervention of a revolutionary party. He articulated the dialectical relationship between the party and the class — a continuous interaction between the two.

On an organizational level, Lenin developed the concept of democratic centralism. He argued "freedom of discussion, unity in action", whereby discussion, criticism of the

party's program takes place until a decision is reached — then all members unite in the implementation of the decisions.

The contributions of Luxemburg, Trotsky and Gramsci,

the working class.

She reduced the role of the party to simply one of propaganda as opposed to political leadership. Her failure to organize advanced workers into a separate party left the

Gramsci attempted to deal with the central differences between Russia in 1917 and advanced capitalism — while maintaining a clear line between revolutionary theory and practice and reform.

CLEAR

Marxism and the Party is a very useful book. It is a clear presentation of the major theorists on the question of the revolutionary party.

In his concluding chapter, Molyneux lists general principles which can be applied to a revolutionary party today.

The party must be based in the working class.

Because of the uneven development of the working class, the party is made up of the advanced sections of the class — the vanguard.

The party leads the working class in its struggles, not as a tiny elite separate from the class, but as a mass organization based in the class.

The party must be active in the struggle and must be organized so as to be able to rapidly shift to a "military footing".

Democracy and centralism are essential, democracy because the movement is towards the self-emancipation of the working class, centralism, because a movement which is not united in action will be defeated.

The party must remain independent of non-revolutionary movements.

As the goal is unity of the working class, to reach workers, party members must participate in reformist activity, such as trade union and electoral activity.

SUPPORT

The party must integrate support for movements of specially oppressed sections of the working class, such as the black or women's movement, with fundamental organization of the working class.

The movement must be international.

Molyneux is quick to point out that the above generalizations apply insofar as they are adapted to concrete situations.

The party must unite theory with its practice—and not let theory dictate its practice. □

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK



Trotsky

while significant, did not alter the basic theoretical principles laid down by Lenin.

Luxemburg correctly criticized Lenin in his earlier years for underestimating the working class's capacity for spontaneous revolutionary activity. She faulted, however, in overemphasizing the independent, spontaneous role of



Lenin

revolutionary movement too disorganized and weak to take leadership during the German revolution of 1918-19.

Trotsky struggled against the increased bureaucratization of the Bolshevik Party and in defense of Leninist principles attempted to start a new international revolutionary movement.

THE ANGRY MAN OF JAZZ



"Don't call me a jazz musician. The word jazz means nigger, discrimination, second-class citizenship, the back-of-the-bus bit."

Charlie Mingus, a virtuoso bassist and composer, died January 15 of a heart attack. The 56-year-old had been crippled by Lou Gehrig's disease (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis) to the extent that performance was impossible for his final year.

Mingus came up in the Watts section of Los Angeles, where black church music inspired him to study first the trombone and then the cello. In high school Mingus began working with the bass. He spent five years studying with bassist H. Rheinschagen, a former member of the New York Philharmonic.

Mingus played with Louis Armstrong, Lionel Hampton, Billy Taylor, Charlie Parker, Duke Ellington, and Art Tatum, among others. For the last 27 years of his life he was on his own, heading up his own bands and composing and performing music which spanned an enormously wide musical spectrum.

Dubbed by his colleagues and critics "the angry man of jazz," Mingus was known for his support of the Black Power movement and his intolerance of racism wherever he faced it.

Mingus wasn't talking about the 12-bar blues form when he said, "It's time we Negroes quit crying the blues." □

TOP LONGSHORE OFFICIAL, ANTHONY SCOTTO, INDICTED

NEW YORK—Anthony Scotto, vice president of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has been indicted on federal racketeering charges.

He is accused of having accepted, over the four past years, \$300,000 in bribes from various stevedoring companies, the very companies that employ his union's members.

Mr. Scotto is president of the most influential local in the union, Brooklyn local #1814.

MERIT

What has Scotto been doing to merit this magnificent remuneration from the employers? The feds claim that the payments were made in return for Scotto's reducing the number of "fraudulent" accident claims made by longshoremen, and for generally expediting waterfront business.

This reveals only the tip of the iceberg. Scotto and ILA President Teddy Gleason have long been appreciated by the employers and the government for their "modern" approach to industrial relations. They were the main men responsible for forcing union acceptance of widespread introduction of containers in ports all across the U.S.

Containers are the biggest labor saving device in shipping history—savings for the employers next to which Scotto's \$300,000 is chicken feed.



But containerization has cost the longshoremen dearly. In the past 15 years, between 40% and 50% of longshore jobs have been eliminated. In that time, Scotto's local alone shrunk from 8500 members to 5100 members.

RANKS

Longshoremen have responded militantly. Since WWII hardly a new contract has not been met with a strike. Most of the strikes were hit with Taft-Hartley legislation, which almost invariably produced wildcats and resumption of a strike after the cooling off period.

Scotto and Gleason were ultimately able to squash this union opposition to job losses, work reorganization and other effects of containerization,

making the docks safe and profitable for the shipping companies, and accomplishment for which the bosses were obviously very grateful.

But this Federal attempt to "clean up" the ILA, long known for its close ties with the underworld and the companies, should be in no way construed as an altruistic attempt by the government to stop the victimization of longshoremen.

The government, and no doubt the companies too, are afraid that Scotto's mafia and company connections have become too blatant and so disgusting to the membership that he is increasingly losing credibility and will not be able to control the rank and file.

by SANDY MEREDITH

Cambridge: 600 jobs lost

Cambridge, MA—The Advent Corporation, a highly profitable manufacturer of hi-fi speakers, has announced that it is closing its Cambridge plant and moving to New Hampshire. Six hundred workers will lose their jobs.

The workers involved were the last to know.

MEETING

After listening to rumors for some time, 300 of them forced a meeting with the company's hip young president, MIT grad Peter Sprague, in the company cafeteria.

Sprague confirmed the rumors: "Yes, you're fired. No, you don't get new jobs."

Sprague was shouted down with a chorus of "Stay or pay," and the workers have vowed to fight back.

But Sprague, who bought Advent in 1976 and made \$2.3 million in profits in 1978 (up 50% from 1977) is just as

determined to go on to greener pastures. In New Hampshire, he says, he'll be able "to start workers at substantially lower wages."

Massachusetts has lost 100,000 manufacturing jobs in the past 20 years, so many that conservative governor Ed King campaigned to "Keep Jobs in Massachusetts."

PUP

King would not see the 200 Advent workers who visited his office, however—reportedly he was in New Hampshire. But his Secretary of Manpower Services came to Sprague's defence: "I've know him since he was a pup."

The workers responded, "We've known him since he was a dog," and said they'd keep fighting.

by Kent Worcester

FARMWORKERS STRIKE LETTUCE

LOS ANGELES, CA—2,000 farmworkers have walked out of the lettuce fields of California's Imperial Valley in the first major United Farmworkers' field strike since 1975. The strike has lowered lettuce production up to 50% in an area which produces 95% of the country's iceberg lettuce.

The union called the strike after growers insisted on keeping wage gains within

Carter's 7% guidelines, even though agricultural production is exempted from the voluntary controls. The union is demanding an increase for field workers from \$3.70 per hour to \$5.25 over 3 years and comparable raises for other classifications.

On the second day of the strike, an El Centro judge ordered 500 workers at the fields of Vessey & Co. and Mario Saihkon back to work, but the workers defied him, and the strike was spread to more ranches.

LAW

Since the passage of the 1975 state law setting up an Agricultural Labor Relations Board, the union has been primarily concerned with lobbying the legislature for improvements in labor laws and using the courts to halt the state's subsidy of experimental mechanization programs.

Sources within the union say this approach to farmworkers' problems resulted in a decline in membership and the loss of some small contracts. They accused the union of taking money and resources away from local union organizations in order to fund lobbying efforts.

When union officials attempted to organize a tent city in Sacramento to protest use of state funds to develop mechanized tomato pickers, union members refused to attend and plans for the demonstration had to be dropped.

The union claimed they could not negotiate job protection from mechanization into the contracts.

RETURN

Hopefully this current strike signals a return to the farmworkers' long tradition of militant action in the fields as the best means of winning their demands.

Growers' cries of poverty should go unheeded. Before the strike cut production, they were earning as much as \$15 a box for lettuce.

An Opinion

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

SOCIAL SECURITY: UNEQUAL AND UNJUST

By now everyone should have become aware of the nature of Social Security "contributions." They are a tax like the federal income tax collected by the Internal Revenue Service. Taxes so collected are not kept in a separate fund for the purpose of collecting interest. They are considered part of the federal budget and used like other federal tax revenue.

EXHAUST

In 1978 an estimated \$92 billion was collected in Social Security taxes; \$97 billion were expended. This deficit spending would have exhausted the fund in a few years had not the 1977 Social Security tax bill been enacted by Congress.

The Social Security trust fund that would have guaranteed payments in 1947 for 17 years can now assure payments for only 9 months. In 1973 Social Security paid out \$53 billion, 144% of its reserves. In 1974 benefits were 133% of its reserves.

A worker who retired in 1966 would have paid a maximum of \$2,263 in Social Security taxes over a 30 year period. In

the ten years from 1966 to 1977 the employee has paid a maximum of \$5,367.90 in Social Security taxes. During the next ten years the worker will have paid an additional \$21,457 in Social Security taxes. By the time the worker retires at the end of 30 years he will have paid upwards of \$40,000 in Social Security taxes.

Why this inequality in the payment of Social Security taxes? Because the Republican and Democratic politicians have been promising Social Security benefits to recipients who paid an insignificant amount in Social Security taxes. They have added millions of beneficiaries without an increase in taxes to pay for the additional cost of benefits.

The administrators of the fund projected a greater increase in the number of tax payers and an increase in their real wages than has occurred. They projected a greater increase in the birth rate and at the same time underestimated the increased life-span of those receiving Social Security benefits. In addition there has been an ever increasing number of people taking early re-

tirement.

In 1940 there were nine active workers for every retired person. Today the ratio is six to one; by the year 2030, there will likely be only three workers for every retiree.

Taking all of these facts into consideration one must ask: with the ever-growing inflation, what will Social Security benefits be worth by the time the young worker of today retires?

COSTS

No other nation taxes the workers to pay for their retirement. Most nations spend a larger part of their gross national product for their elderly. These costs are met by general taxation. The American workers must not only pay taxes on their gross earnings, they must pay the employers share which is written off as a cost of doing business, as a tax deduction.

The Democratic Party takes credit for having passed the original Social Security Act in 1935. A Democratic Congress have made all the recent changes. It must be held responsible for the injustices of the system.

GO-IT-ALONE STRATEGY FAILS

FASH STRIKE ENDS

PITTSBURGH, PA — The FASH strike is over. Pittsburgh U.S. District Judge Louis Rosenberg ordered it ended.

"It's off. The strike is over. It's at an end, absolutely, and the status quo must be restored immediately," said Rosenberg, as he threatened to jail the entire FASH leadership.

The FASH (Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers) strike began in November. FASH members parked their rigs and asked other steel haulers to do the same. Many did.

COURAGE

There was, in fact, a fantastic display of courage and solidarity on the part of the steel haulers—faced by state troopers and local police, the FBI, the giant steel producers, and Teamster goon squads.

They also met some opposition from non-FASH steel haulers, and during the course of the two-month strike, there was considerable violence along the turnpikes of the Midwest—in steel centers like Gary, Pittsburgh, Cleveland.

FASH pickets were shot at in front of Cleveland's Jones and Laughlin mill. FASH members responded in kind. They firmly believed their lives and futures were on the line.

FASH lost. Bill Hill, the Chairman of FASH, and other leaders, called the strike off, rather than go to jail—and rather than see the strike drag on and peter out.

The steel haulers were striking for two key demands. First, they wanted their national contract reopened—so that the rates could be adjusted upwards, giving them an increased income.

Second, they wanted out of the Teamsters Union, something the National Labor Relations Board has consistently denied them. They lost on both, gaining only a promise that a Congressional committee would hold hearings on their behalf.

GEORGETOWN STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST CIA: FOR FREEDOM IN IRAN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—250 students demonstrated January 30, outside the gates of Georgetown University here in protest of the presence of CIA recruitment on campus and CIA intervention in Iran. It was an unusual and, for many, a welcome change to the normal conservative atmosphere at Georgetown.

Present were Georgetown students and Iranian students from the Washington-Baltimore area carrying placards in English and Farsi with such slogans as "victory to the armed struggle in Iran" and "down with the CIA." This demonstration came in re-



FASH pickets in Pennsylvania

FASH was formed in the sixties by steel haulers fed up with no representation from the Teamsters. It has terrified the IBT bureaucracy from the start—in a way no other opposition has even approached.

FASH led strikes in 1967 and 1970 in addition to this year. FASH members were key in spreading the independent truckers strikes in 1973 and 1974, though Bill Hill himself played a very bad role in the final settlements.

FASH won significant gains for steel haulers, including in some places the right to their own locals, and the right to vote on their contracts, though this was taken away in 1976.

No wonder Frank Fitzsimmons hated FASH—it was a militant, fighting alternative to everything he stood for. It also proposed to take 10,000 dues paying members out of the IBT.

GOONS

Teamster goons attacked FASH organizers in Youngstown, Ohio in 1969. FASH faced them down, and an IBT business agent was shot and killed in the process. Paul Dietsch, a Gary steel hauler,

called FASH the "Black Panthers of the working class." In 1974, top Pittsburgh Teamsters led a goon squad of 300 to the FASH headquarters and burned it down.

This year, Fitzsimmons personally went to Attorney General Griffin Bell, pleading with him to charge Hill and other FASH members with criminal conspiracy.

Can FASH survive this defeat? The members, of course, insist that FASH will continue, but it's difficult to see where they can turn next. In many ways, they pinned their last hopes on this strike.

Now, more than ever, perhaps FASH members should reconsider their "go-it-alone"—leave the Teamsters strategy.

Certainly there is no guarantee that the huge, corrupt Teamsters can be changed.

CONTRACTS

There are major Teamster contracts which expire this spring in UPS, car haulers and freight, in addition to steel haulers.

Unfortunately, the reformers now active in the IBT did little in the way of solidarity with the steel haulers, but FASH itself can begin to turn this around.

In any event, FASH would bring considerable talents to the struggle inside the Teamsters—their unconquerable spirit and their willingness to fight—no matter what the odds. □

MINERS STAGE PROTEST STRIKES

ROCKPORT, IN—Sixteen hundred miners walked off their jobs in southern Indiana and Illinois in a one day sympathy strike protesting the jailing of two miners on charges stemming from last year's national strike.

The two miners were among 192 coal miners who were charged in a civil suit brought

by the owner of an Ohio River coal dock which was destroyed during the 110 day strike.

The two UMW miners, Addison Brock, Jr., 39, of Richland, IN, and Richard Hile, 25, of Dale, IN, were held in the county jail after being arrested on contempt charges.

BIG SHIPYARD STRIKE

NEWPORT NEWS, VA—17,500 shipyard workers here struck January 30, beginning a battle which will have significant impact on the unionization of the south.

The strike is for union recognition. The United Steelworkers won a representation election a year ago. Since then the shipyard, part of the giant Tenneco conglomerate has delayed recognition and a contract. Faced with delays and appeals which could last for years, USW local 8888 struck rather than see the election victory eroded by the courts.

BIGGEST

The Newport News shipyards are the biggest industrial workplace in Virginia and one of the largest in the south. The workers are half black and include several thousand women.

Winning a union at this shipyard is tough. The Machinists and Boilermakers have tried and failed. Company tactics during the successful USW drive included race baiting and the use of a company union, the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association. The PSA was found guilty by the National Labor Relations Board of intimidating and harassing USW organizers.

For the strike the company has supplied their armed guards with a water cannon and put the local and state police on alert. The Virginia National Guard has "contingency plans" for occupying the shipyard.

SOUTH

This strike is a strike for a contract and much more. Throughout the south, workers are looking to see if the union can win in Newport News. A victory for one would be a victory for all. □

by PAT MORGAN



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IRAN: THE WORKERS HOLD THE KEY



Khomeini

Khomeini is in Iran! Premier Bakhtiar, the generals, the Ayatollah Khomeini himself, and above all the crowds in the streets and the workers in the factories are being swept up in a new struggle to determine what sort of future regime will run Iran.

The existing government is living on a day-to-day basis making radical noises one moment and threatening those with "red flags" and hailing the monarchy the next.

OBSTRUCT

The minister of justice has resigned because he has been obstructed in pursuing trials of those many members of the old regime locked up on corruption charges.

Two days after the Shah's departure, mass demonstrations (2 million in Tehran alone) took up the chant "Death to Bakhtiar." Clearly the majority see him as the Shah's last throw of the dice.

Khomeini's return begs one question. Will he compromise? He has already announced the formation of a Revolutionary Islamic Council, the members of which are supposed to be operating underground in Iran.

Obviously they expect to de-

clare themselves openly as the provisional government. They will likely now await the virtual breakup of the Bakhtiar government before doing this—but at that point, will they offer the military a deal?

Khomeini has been told—make a deal with Bakhtiar, or face a military coup. The Shah still hopes for the latter, one reason why he has chosen to stay nearby in Morocco. He hasn't yet given up.

The main fact now, however, is that any new government that offends the generals is likely to face civil war and/or a military coup.

The army must be disarmed, and the generals dispersed.

While the politicians argue and deal, the workers must arm themselves—and not just with guns. You can't blow the Iranian army off the map with a few rifles.

The workers need to find their own leaders. They need to get rid of all the officers and disarm all the troops known to have acted against the people.

PACE

Only by forcing the pace of such a purge can the time be won to build a stronger and safer basis for popular power.

It is possible that there are now meetings taking place in all the factories of Iran.

The workers at the Mercedes Benz factory invited the



Demonstrators in Tehran

workers from all the surrounding factories to join them in a mass meeting. The first speaker was a woman worker who demanded free trade unions, a ban on firings, elimination of the SAVAK. On

Monday, January 29, 3 million workers marched through Tehran, demanding free trade unions.

But the pace must be faster. Bakhtiar unleashed a savage attack on the demonstrations

in the last week of January. Khomeini, who still has the respect of the workers, will soon be under the gun himself.

The workers must forge their own future. □

CAN HALF THE PEOPLE BE FREE...

Hamadin is a city in the north of Iran, traditionally conservative, more bound by the strictures of the religion than an industrial metropolis such as Tehran.

In January, a group of women, housewives and office workers went to the city headquarters of the newspaper Kayhan to protest at an unsigned leaflet that had been distributed in the city stating that women must not leave their homes unless they wore the veil—the chador.

"Those who have issued this leaflet," said the women, "have forgotten one of the purposes of the Iranian revolution—the liberation of women."

They called upon all women to join the movement on the streets, dressed however they wished.

Iranian women are on the threshold of a freedom denied them for years.

Thousands have been involved in the fight to overthrow the Shah. Women and children have been in the front line of the massive demonstrations.

Women have organized their own demonstrations, like the 3000 who marched to protest the killing of a 17 year old boy. And they too have suffered their share of the massive death toll.

Like the men they sweat and labor in the factories—for

wages even more meager.

But they suffer savage repression. At home the women of the working class and poor families lead lives of drudgery.

They have no rights whatsoever—ruled by obedience to their husbands, fathers or brothers.

"VIRTUES"

Khomeini would treat women no better than the Shah. He too upholds all the old 'virtues' that combine to oppress—the family and male dominance in public life, divorce and law.

Freedom for the women of Iran means much more than simply abandoning the black

veil.

It means the freedom to take part alongside the men, in organizing at work and on the streets.

It is a freedom that women themselves must fight for. As Lenin wrote over 60 years ago: "Laws alone are not enough...just as the emancipation of the workers must be effected by the workers themselves, so in the same way the emancipation of the working women is a matter for the working women themselves."

It is a freedom for which Iranian men also have to fight. For if one half of the population is enchained and enslaved how can real freedom be achieved? □

if the other half is in chains?