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see pages 10 and 11

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IRAN: THE FIRE THIS TIME



Iranian demonstrators carry a slain comrade.

Iran is in flames. The beginning of the Moslem holy month Moharram has signalled a new explosion of opposition to the Shah.

Hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets—defying the military rule and martial law, defying the curfews. There is the call for an all-out general strike—total opposition.

Reports from the first night of fighting say that as many as 500 oppositionists have already been killed by troops. Tanker trucks were seen washing blood from downtown streets. But still the movement grows.

Inside this movement, workers' power has exploded into being—the power of the workers of Iran. Sudden-

ly the rich and powerful throughout the world must tremble. Who will pick up the pieces if the Shah falls? Who will control the liquid gold?

Iran is fantastic. It can fuel the fires of workers' power and socialism. Down with the Shah! Victory to the workers!

(More on Iran: pages 14 and 15)

ECONOMIC FORECAST: RECESSION

The grim facts, pointing to a new economic bust, are piling up. Inflation has jumped to 10%. The government has announced a "slow down" in economic growth.

Carter, at a recent press conference stated, "Our growth rate will be reduced below 3%. Compared to many economists, Carter is an optimist.

The prospects are for a recession or a wage freeze, or both. Either way, unemployment is going to rise as production slows down.

Round one of the attack is Carter's inflation program. Under Nixon, wage and

price controls resulted in rising prices and falling wages.

It is not a question of fair programs, as George Meany and the AFL-CIO chiefs seem to think. Wage control programs can only fight inflation by lowering the cost of labor. Prices and profits are impossible to control—there are too many ways for business to cheat. Equality of sacrifice is a myth.

There is nothing to be gained by cooperation except more unemployment and falling living standards. The alternative is to strike back. Wage controls should be broken the same way the miners broke Taft Hartley. □

by PAT MORGAN

1,400 ATTEND NEW YORK MEETING Northeast South Africa Solidarity Conference Bombs...

BUT THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES



Three hundred and fifty people gathered on the Saturday morning of November 4 in front of the Frost Library at Amherst College in Amherst, Massachusetts.

The students chanted such slogans as, "Profits for Racism—don't square with education" and "Amherst stocks have got to go—Apartheid System, We Say No."

The demonstrators hope to pressure Amherst Trustees into supporting corporate withdrawal from South Africa. At present, Amherst College holds the astounding figure of \$21,000,000 worth of stock in corporations dealing with South Africa.

So far, the Amherst Trustees have not only refused to support corporate withdrawal, but also refuse to even place the South African issue on their agenda, or publicly discuss their policy.

A day earlier, students from the South African Support Committee of Amherst, met with the trustees, but the meeting was described by member Scott Busby as "very disappointing."

"They played the game of pretending to listen, but actually gave no solid response to our demands. Still, we plan to protest each time the trustees come to Amherst."

DEMONSTRATION

The climax of the demonstration came when students lined up in single file on each side of the path where the trustees had to walk to reach their cars. The crowd's indignation was expressed with intense silence.

The humiliation of the board members, from the cold and angry stares, was clearly noticeable. When the last trustee exited the building, clenched fists raised to salute the Black Freedom Fighters in South Africa: "A People United—Shall Never Be Defeated!"

by NAOMI WALLACE



New York NECLSA conference.

NEW YORK—On November 17-19, the second conference of NECLSA (Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa) was held at New York University.

The Conference was called to increase the tempo of the coordinated activities of the solidarity groups, and to further build the Southern Africa solidarity movement.

POTENTIAL

The potential was there—nearly 1400 people attended, scores of campus and non-campus groups were represented. Several unions sent representatives.

The beginning wasn't bad. The opening speeches and the first day's workshops pointed to the basis for an increasingly strong movement.

The main session—a disaster!

It began with an hour and a half debate on whether or not NECLSA should raise the slogan, "Victory to the Freedom Fighters," in its week of coordinated activities, now planned for April 4th to April 11th.

In spite of the fact that NECLSA itself was organized precisely to support the libera-

tion struggle (as its name implies), a motion against support was passed—so as, it was argued, not to "alienate" anyone.

This was a setback, politically on no small order, for the "victory of the freedom fighters" is in fact the only hope for the liberation of Southern Africa—however much divestment, economic sanctions, and moral condemnation, may help.

What followed was worse. After much heated debate, the conference steering committee recessed, then came back to announce that the conference was "split."

END

This marked the end of the conference—at least as a Southern Africa solidarity event.

The agenda was suspended and a sectarian free-for-all ensued. Maoists denounced Trotskyists and vice versa. Independents howled at non-independents.

When individual denunciations seemed insufficient, organized chanting was substituted.

The remainder of the agenda—primarily important organizational discussions—

was never discussed, despite numerous pleas to end the sectarian stupidity.

The conference left a bitter taste in the mouths of many activists who attended—people who have devoted considerable time and energy to building local solidarity movements.

There is no point in despairing, however. The struggle of the Southern African freedom fighters continues, and a solidarity movement in this country is now more important than ever.

NECLSA's principles of unity will have to be reaffirmed—and this must be done regardless of organizational affiliation. The sectarianism that ruined this conference will have to be fought and defeated.

CONTINUE

Most importantly, however, the local solidarity organizations must continue and set up the struggle, for it will only be on the basis of common activity that a united, effective, and strong movement will be built. And it is only on that basis that we in the United States will be able to play our part in the liberation of Southern Africa. □

by AHMED SHAWK

Meanwhile, in England...

Poor old Richard Nixon is being kicked around again. In Oxford, England, the ex-President was met by hundreds (probably more than 500) angry students, including scores of Americans.

The demonstrators surrounded Nixon's limousine, beat on it with picket signs, threw eggs at Nixon, chanted, and shouted him down.

Once he made it inside Oxford's cozy leather and wood student union building (thanks to hundreds of police) he spoke to conservative students, many of whom paid \$20 and up for what might be their last chance to hear old Tricky Dick.

The chanting didn't stop, however, and even inside poor Nixon was tormented. The man almost choked near the end of his speech—saying that "as long as I have breath in my body...I am going to speak out for peace, and for freedom." One last gasp...

The demonstration was organized by the Socialist Worker Student Organization—a group with fraternal ties to the I.S.O. Ten comrades were arrested.

WE SUPPORT THE—

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

At the November Conference of the Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA), it was argued that a slogan calling for the "Victory of the Freedom Fighters in Southern Africa," would, if carried, significantly limit the effectiveness of the solidarity movement.

The slogan, it was argued, would "alienate" many potential supporters of the movement, thereby severely narrowing its base. This argument carried the majority.

OPPOSE

Now, of course, there is some truth to the point. There are many people in the U.S. today who oppose white rule in Southern Africa, but who are not yet prepared to take up the banners of the guerrilla fighters in Zimbabwe.

Surely, however, this misses the point.

What is really involved is the kind of movement we want to build, and the best way to build it in the long run, as well as the short.

Today the United States is deeply involved in the struggle raging in Southern Africa—the U.S. supplies military hardware, U.S. corporations build plants, Universities invest, the CIA trains mercenaries.

This, quite rightly, has led significant numbers of people to call for an end to it. In particular, it has led to a movement of students demanding an end to university involvement—divestment.

These calls must be supported. We believe that any weakening, however small, of the South African economy is bound to bend and strain apartheid.

EXPOSE

We also believe it is very important to expose those corporations which deal in black slavery, and those university administrators who finance "liberal education" with profits from imperialism.

This cannot be the end of the argument, however. First, we are not simply concerned to see this or that university wash its hands of evil. Nor are we hoping to reform imperialism.

We want to see an end to white imperialist domination in Southern Africa, but there is absolutely no evidence that the liberal program of moral condemnation, economic sanctions and political isolation has any chance of success.

Take the example of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). There has been a worldwide opposition to the Smith regime for years.

The British government actually declared its existence illegal. The United Nations refused to recognize it. There has been almost every kind of boycott.

Has any of this stopped Western economic support for Smith. No. Has any of it helped create the situation today—



with Smith's days in power clearly numbered. No.

The fact is that it has been the struggle of the freedom fighters—and nothing else—which has put the end of white domination on the agenda in Rhodesia.

The same was true in Mozambique, in Angola—in every struggle against imperialism.

The Solidarity movement cannot, therefore, simply say "Hands Off," not if it is serious about its goals.

There is another question. What do the African people themselves want—are they fighting for a liberal solution—white rule without apartheid? Western investments without racism?

The answer again is no. We support the victory of the freedom fighters both because it is the only possible way of defeating imperialism and because it is what the Africans themselves want.

QUESTIONS

What kind of support? And to which freedom fighters? These are not simple questions to answer, but the movement cannot ignore them.

The first point is that it is not up to us to decide who is to rule in Namibia, or Zimbabwe, or in South Africa. That is the whole point of the concept of

self-determination. The Africans themselves must decide.

So the movement must take the position of unconditional support to all the genuine national liberation movements (as NECLSA originally did).

In so far as the ANC, BPC, SASO, PAC, etc. (black organizations in Southern Africa) are fighting apartheid, the national oppression of black Southern Africans, we support them. We need not list every group in a slogan.

There are, however, competing groups. This is why the movement must give unconditional, but not uncritical support.

There must be political discussion within the movement. Not so that sectarians can stand up and denounce representatives of the freedom fighters in solidarity meetings.

There must be political discussion so that the movement can sort out a situation such as that in Angola, prior to the MPLA's victory. Or in Eritrea today.

SUPPORT

In Angola, we supported the MPLA because they had the overwhelming support of the Angolan people. We did not support UNITA, because it was not a genuine liberation movement. It was a CIA front.

We supported the victory of the NLF in Vietnam for the same reasons. They were the organization leading the fight against the U.S. armies. The Vietnamese people supported them.

This principle—support for all genuine liberation movements—must be the foundation of any solidarity movement—especially one in the United States, the world's chief imperialist oppressor.

It must also be said that it is utterly stupid to confuse this principle with organizational affiliations. It is not a matter of Maoists against Trotskyists.

The truth is that the Maoists, for example, did not support the MPLA—agreeing with the Chinese that it was "populist fascist." This put them in the same camp with the CIA.

At the same time, the bulk of the Trotskyists also took the position of no support for the MPLA, even though the Cubans disagreed. Today, however, the Cubans, who for their own reasons (with the Russians) supported the MPLA, are helping the brutal Derg in Ethiopia crush the national aspirations of the Eritreans.

There is another aspect to the argument. Lenin, writing in the days of the Tsar, said, "We support the peasant

movement to the end, but we must remember that it is the movement of another class, not the one that can or will accomplish the socialist revolution."

We want a victory in Zimbabwe—but not simply because we wish to see yet another impoverished but "independent" black state.

The sad truth, for example, is that Mozambique may well be more dependent on trade with South Africa today—not less. Nor will ZANU end exploitation in Zimbabwe.

We support the victory of the freedom fighters because wiping the name of Rhodes from the map of Africa will enlarge the independence and confidence of black workers and peasants right across the continent, but especially in South Africa.

AGENDA

It will incalculably weaken apartheid and strengthen its opponents. It will also put the socialist alternative on the agenda.

Finally, we must remember that in the long run, the best support for Southern Africa is building a movement which can destroy its enemy at home. The corporations that exploit the black workers in South Africa have their headquarters in the capitalist heartlands of North America and Europe.

Today there are thousands of young people in the United States who are moving into opposition to the system. There is no point in filling them with illusions—there is no point in putting trade union bureaucrats and liberal politicians at the head of their movement (for these, in fact, are the very people who will be alienated).

Support for the freedom fighters of Southern Africa must be tied to building a revolutionary movement in the United States. The Southern Africa Movement will not be socialist, but the socialists and activists who lead it must understand the connection.

SAME

The oppression of the masses of blacks in Southern Africa, after all, is the direct result of the same system which oppresses black people in this country, and ordinary workers in every country. In the last analysis, it's all one struggle.

Victory to the Freedom Fighters! □

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Supreme Court stops Cleveland abortion clinic

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The courts have done to Cleveland what the firebombs of the right-to-life movement could not.

They have made it impossible to operate an abortion clinic on the city's West Side.

On November 20, the Supreme Court refused to hear a challenge to an appellate court decision which in effect made

it impossible to perform legal abortions on the West Side.

The case stems from early 1977, when the West Side Women's Clinic applied to the Cleveland City Council for a permit to open an abortion clinic.

The Clinic met the city's zoning laws, but after it signed its lease and set out to open the Clinic, the City Council

changed the laws—specifically singling out abortion clinics.

The American Civil Liberties Union filed the suit on behalf of the clinic, but lawyers lost an attempt to force Federal Court Judge Frank Battisti to issue an injunction backing the clinic. The appellate court supported him.

Now so has the Supreme Court. □



By Any Means Necessary

BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

An interview with Jamaican socialist Tony Bogue

NATIONALISM & SOCIALISM

Black nationalism is nothing more than the collective energies of black people coming together to fight their specific oppression, racial oppression in this country.

It can go either way. Black nationalism can lead either way. It can go into reformist channels, or it can be the basis of the development of revolutionary anti-capitalist ideology.

CLASS

I think that many good Marxists have said that the struggle is mainly a class struggle and have not taken into account the issue of oppression.

The struggle is both a race and a class struggle, what I call the dialectic between race and class. In my view the discussions between C.L.R. James [a Jamaican socialist who lived in the U.S. in the 1940s] and Trotsky in the 1930s were the best representation of how race and class affect each other.

This is what came out of that discussion: That the black struggle in this country had the rights of any nationality. Blacks had the right to self-determination.

At that particular point, one of the slogans of the Communist Party was "self-determination for the Negro Nation"—in the southern part of the United States, particularly the Black Belt.

I don't think black people at that time were a nation—not in the classic sense, anyway. But even if you didn't have self-determination in terms of a specific nation, the concept of self-determination means you have the right to independent organization as an oppressed strata in this society—against your oppression.

ORGANIZATION

And that was the point that came out very clear in the discussions of Trotsky and James. Blacks had the right to self-determination, they had the right to their own organization. The dynamics of such an organization, among the most oppressed in the black community—black women, black workers, share croppers—the dynamic of such a movement, as it fights for civil rights, for democratic rights,



Black Panther Party rally in Oakland California in 1968. Insert, Tony Bogue.

bourgeois equality, is that it oversteps the bounds of bourgeois society and has a dynamic which is anti-capitalist.

The other thing that came out of the discussion, the classical thing, is that the necessity for an all-black organization, an organization that encompasses the aspirations of black people represents a great national awakening of a serious political consideration. Trotsky insisted on this point.

The role of white revolutionaries inside the working class was to support this kind of activity.

If you look at the experience of the 1950s and 1960s, the

anti-war movement, the women's movement, all the various movements of that particular time, the catalyst was, in fact, the black movement.

LEARN

The white students, white radicals, learned inside the civil rights movement, and that demonstrates that the movements of the oppressed, particularly in this country of blacks, can have tremendous reverberations inside the entire society.

They can, in fact, help to radicalize a lot of people who would not necessarily be radicalized, but see that blacks should have equal rights and

begin to understand what the entire system is all about.

Internationally, the movement had tremendous ramifications.

In the Carribean, Black Power movements sprang up. We took a lot of inspiration from people like Stokeley Carmichael, Malcolm X, and the Black Panther Party, because even where we were in a situation where we were a majority black, a tiny white ruling class still controlled the society.

The demonstrations and riots and rebellions in Jamaica in 1968 were over the question of Black Power.

The ramifications of the

black movement in America touched off movements in every single part of the world where black people were, as far as I know.

If you look at some of the students today coming out of South Africa, the Soweto students, they drew a lot of inspiration from the Black Panthers and Malcolm X.

There cannot be any true emancipation of black people without the emancipation of the entire working class and the socialist revolution, of course. You start from that position.

But since the situation is a bit more complex, the struggle for a socialist revolution is not going to be a straight line. It is going to be a lot more complicated than that in American society, the coming together of forces for socialist revolution.

I would say to young blacks, black revolutionaries coming to socialism, one of the things they would have to do is be in a revolutionary organization.

They should be in a revolutionary organization with blacks, whites, Chicanos, men and women, and this does not mean you do not work inside the black movement and deal with racial oppression.

INSIDE

It is not contradictory. In my view it is absolutely essential that blacks in a revolutionary organization build inside the black community, build among those layers of people a movement that can take on oppression.

If there is already a movement that can take on oppression, then these people must have a relationship with it and pose the real questions and pose struggle.

I would say two things, especially for young blacks. Educate yourselves about socialism, about the history of the American working class, the history of the black movement.

Begin to be active in whatever sphere of activity you can. Join an organization and train yourself in Marxism and revolutionary politics, and at the same time, go into the black community and organize—for a movement that can fight racism and fight for an end to all oppression. □

CAUSES OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

CARTER'S POLICIES PROMISE RECESSION

by MILT FISK

Arthur Okun, former head of the Council of Economic Advisers summed things up this way: "It's a tragedy of the political situation that the only way to stop inflation is to put people out of work, stop building houses, and stop production."

The 1974 recession was an enactment of this tragedy, and Okun thinks it will be re-enacted in 1979 due to Carter's anti-inflation tactics.

Capitalism is the root of the tragedy; it must periodically purge itself of certain obstacles to growth, like inflation. It does this through the downswing of the business cycle, which is what is called a recession.

DOWNSWING

In other countries the downswing of the cycle is already underway. The French program of wage-price restraint has reduced inflation there 4% in two years. Unemployment, though, has increased 40% and the economy is growing half as fast. Welfare for the unemployed has created a huge state deficit.

Inflation can't be allowed to go unchecked. The interests of capitalists require anti-inflation measures. The reason is this. The capitalist investor is

unsure whether increased interest for borrowed capital and increased costs for labor and materials at present can be offset later by revenues from sales.

When inflation goes so far that domestic and overseas demand drops off, investors become even more reluctant to start new enterprises or expand old ones. Ultimately investment stops altogether and there is massive unemployment.

To avoid these dire consequences, the government tries to step in before inflation causes a collapse of demand. This time Carter wants to avoid the kind of damage done in 1974.

By wage restraint, welfare cuts, and high interest rates, he hopes to engineer a milder recession. The downswing of the business cycle would thus be controlled, but still sufficient to slow inflation and overcome the reluctance of investors.

BRINK

Carter has brought the economy to the brink of recession. The forces inside the economy will themselves carry it over the brink.

The debate between Federal Reserve Board chairman

William Miller and Okun is not really about this, but instead about how deep the recession will be. Miller wants to claim on behalf of the administration that its brinkmanship has been responsible enough to lead to only a mild recession. Okun, however, foresees a deeper recession.

The effects of inflation are widespread. For 1978 inflation will be around 8%. As a result the buying power of workers has fallen 3.3% this year. For the necessities—food, fuel, housing and health care—people are paying 11.6% more this year.

The steady increase in total corporate profits in 1978 is in part due to higher inventory profits. These profits are coming from increases in prices of raw materials between the time of purchase and the time of sale of the finished products.

Inflation has prevented significant increases in U.S. exports. Imports are growing faster than exports, and the resulting trade deficit is a drag on economic growth.

PRODUCTIVITY

Those who say capitalism can handle inflation without a recession urge increasing productivity in order to increase

the supply of products. In the past year productivity—which is output per person hour—has increased a measly .3%.

In the past eight years capitalists have squeezed whatever productivity gains they have made out of workers by incredible speed-ups. To get significant increases in productivity now, they need to make enormous investments in technology.

Where will these investments come from? Owners are reluctant to invest, not just because of the uncertainties caused by inflation, but also because of the lower rates of profit of the past decade. This leaves the induced recession as the capitalists' major tool for fighting inflation today.

Carter's anti-inflation tactics are designed to protect capitalist profits. They aim at less spending all around—less spending by workers, by government, and by entrepreneurs. Even Miller expects this to slow the growth of the GNP from this year's 3.75% down to 2.5% in 1979. Business Week expects capital spending to increase only 2% in 1979, down from this year's 15%.

Nonetheless, profit rates will be protected; labor costs can be expected to be lower

and the guidelines for price hikes are so vague as to make any enforcement impossible. Workers' incomes and jobs will pay for the healthier climate for investment.

LABOR

The AFL-CIO offers labor a contradictory response to Carter's economic brinkmanship. On the one hand, it tells unions to negotiate contracts that maintain the standard of living. On the other hand, it urges respect for profits.

You can't have it both ways. If you are on the capitalists' side, wages must be restrained and unemployment increased. These are the conditions for maintaining profit rates in 1979 and for the healthier climate for investment after that.

If you are on the workers' side, profit rates must be sacrificed to stop inflation and there must be no slump in capital investment in 1979. But only if workers collectively control capital can investment be continued at lower profit rates.

For the AFL-CIO to recognize this would require that it recognize that socialism is the only consistent policy for labor. □



It's not what it used to be

Government says set the "Ten" free

Six years ago the Wilmington 10, nine of whom are black, were convicted of arson and conspiring to shoot police during several days of black demonstrations in North Carolina in 1970. They were sen-

tenced to a total of 282 years in jail.

After a six year fight to free the 10, after several unsuccessful attempts to gain a retrial, in November the Justice Department asked the state of

North Carolina to either free the 10 or grant them a retrial.

Nine of the 10 were granted parole, but not cleared of the charges. Reverend Ben Chavis remains in prison and will not

become eligible for parole until 1980.

The Justice Department knows that the Wilmington 10 were framed. They were a party to the framing.

The nine paroled are out of

jail, but with prison records they will always carry with them, despite their innocence. Rev. Ben Chavis can look forward to at least 2 more years in North Carolina's prison. That's some justice. □

The system's driving force

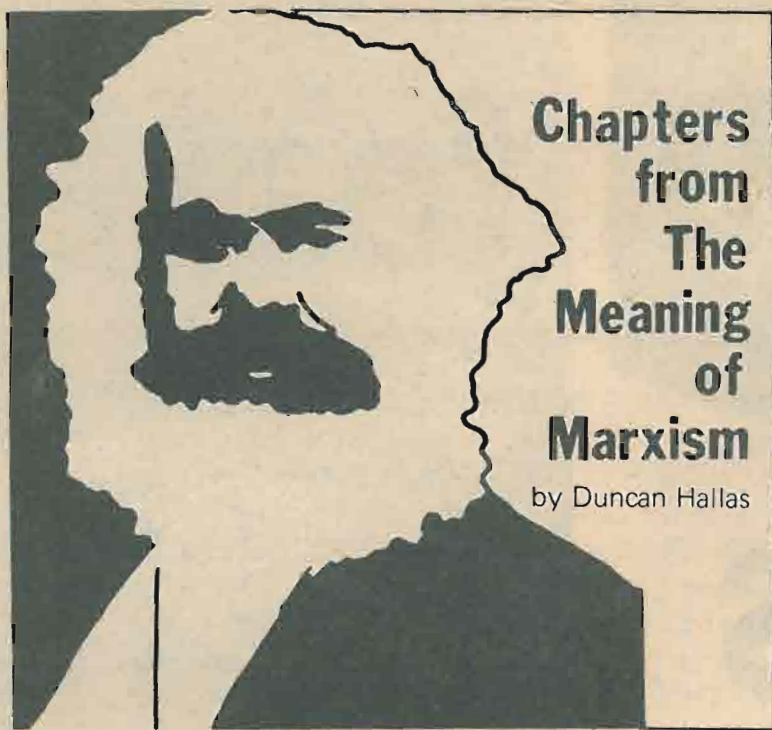
"Modern capitalist society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society which has conjured up such gigantic means of production and exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. . . ."

"It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodic returns put the existence of the entire capitalist society on its trial, each time more threateningly." Or do they?

At times the capitalist system has looked very much like Marx's picture. At other times, and notably in the last 25 years, it has looked very different.

It follows that either Marx's analysis of capitalism is wrong in some important respects or, as will be argued here, that the system does in fact have the tendency to increasingly severe crises but that this tendency has been modified by the action of certain other factors.

Marx believed that there were two basic reasons making economic crises inevitable under capitalism. First a periodic tendency to produce more goods than could be sold—



Chapters from The Meaning of Marxism

by Duncan Hallas

"overproduction"—second a tendency for the rate of profit to decline.

Imagine a capitalist society in which there is no accumulation of capital. Each year the same quantity and value of goods is produced. The techniques of production do not change because inventions are

not put to use. All the goods produced are sold at their values. Marx called this system "simple reproduction."

The total income goes, in the first instance, to the capitalists. They have to purchase, from one another, raw materials to replace those used in production and have to replace

the wear and tear on buildings and machinery (fixed capital). Then they have to pay wages. All the rest of the income represents surplus value.

It is the property of the capitalists and, provided that they spend all of it on consumer goods, there can never be any question of overproduction.

Now imagine, still under simple reproduction, that some of the capitalists do not spend all their income. This will immediately precipitate a crisis of "overproduction." The capitalists, having sold goods, no longer make the full equivalent purchases. The result is a slump in demand and a fall in the rate of profit.

Such a system never did or could exist. Yet it illustrates one of the central problems of capitalism. There is no overall plan of production and yet somehow or other, there has to be an "invisible hand" which directs production and consumption in such a way as to preserve an exact balance.

With the simple reproduction scheme this is not too difficult. But this scheme ignores the central driving force of the capitalists' system—the accumulation of capital. "Accumulate, accumulate," wrote Marx, "this is Moses and the prophets."

The capitalist, individual or corporate, has no choice in the matter. Competition compels each firm to attempt to expand by re-investing a major part of the surplus value available to it.

Surplus value is converted into capital. Some of it is used to pay additional wages (variable capital), much of it is used to obtain additional machinery and buildings (fixed capital). Also it will be necessary to buy extra raw materials and pay for extra depreciation.

Marx lumped together these expenditures, except wages, under the heading constant capital. Accumulation means a rapid growth of the constant capital employed in production.

DEMAND

This has a number of consequences, one of which is especially important. Capital accumulation must, other things being equal, drive up the demand for labor power.

The effect of this is summarized by the economist P.M. Sweezy: "Now when the demand for any commodity increases, its price also increases: and this entails a deviation of price from value."

"We know that in the case of an ordinary commodity, such as cotton cloth, this will set certain forces in motion to bring the price back into conformity with its value: cotton cloth manufacturers will make a normally high profit, capitalists from outside will be induced to enter the industry, the supply of cotton cloth will be expanded, price will fall until it is once again equal to value and profits are normal."

Having stated the general principle in this way we are once again impressed by a striking fact: labor power is no ordinary commodity.

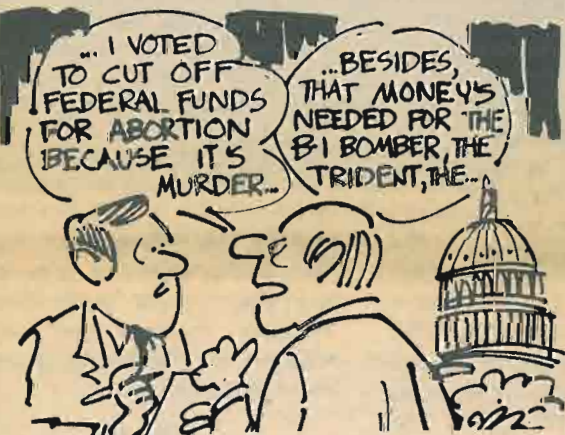
"There are no capitalists who can turn to produce labor power in case its price goes up; in fact there is a 'labor power industry' at work in the sense that there is a cotton cloth industry. . . . In capitalism generally, the equilibrating mechanism of supply and demand is lacking in case of labor power." Under some offsetting factors can be found, real wages must rise rapidly as capital accumulation proceeds, and, as a result, surplus value will be eroded until finally nothing is left of it.

Various offsetting factors have been important in the past. Immigration of labor on a massive scale has existed most times in the history of capitalism. Millions and millions of working men and women have been drawn into the capitalist heartlands.

DEAD

But most important is the substitution of "dead labor" for living labor, the raising of the productivity of labor through the use of more and more capital per man. This is the process in what Marx called the organic composition of capital. It is forced on the capitalist by the need to offset the falling demand for labor power in the course of accumulation. It has another important result.

The rate of profit—the ratio of surplus value to total (constant plus variable) capital—must tend to fall as more and more constant capital is employed. There is always a more or less proportionate rise in the productivity of labor.



oops

Three former officials of the FBI have been indicted in connection with "black bag jobs" or break-ins arranged by the FBI in the early 1970s.

The attorneys for one of the officials, W. Mark Felt, asked for dismissal of Felt's case on the ground that the incriminating files have been destroyed by the FBI. Up to 1,527 FBI files relevant to the case have been destroyed. □

When tax time comes around you are threatened with capital punishment or at least dire torture if you mess up your tax statements, let alone fold, spindle or mutilate the cards.

But for 1,500 California taxpayers, all the caution was for naught. They have been notified that the Franchise Tax Board accidentally shredded their 1977 income tax returns before they were fully processed.

NEVER TOO YOUNG

MORRISON, ILL.—Jeff Taylor is proud of his first settlement after organizing a strike threat against the Clinton (Iowa) Herald.

"We got all the demands that we wanted." But Jeff is eleven years old and organized the threat on behalf of 19 newspaper carriers. The 11 and 12 year old carriers refused to deliver a special Thanksgiving edition if management did not meet their demands for increased wages, holiday pay and earlier delivery of the newspaper.

They also won a \$1 holiday bonus and a pay raise after January first. You can't start too young. □

TAKE THIS JOB & SHOVE IT

Seen on the crankshaft line at Ford's Cleveland Engine Plant 2



NO COMMENT



SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL

In New York City if you want a taxi you jump up and down and wave frantically.

Not Rose Kennedy. Recently, coming out of Le

Cirque after lunch she hailed a station wagon full of nuns and said: "I'm Rose Kennedy. Will you take me home?" The sisters did—wonder what the tip was. □

LIFE IS TOUGH

According to Forbes magazine, graduates with MBA's from the top business schools have an average starting salary of \$25,000.

Consulting is a big business and some firms offer

"part-time" work for from \$1,000 to \$2,000 a month.

But it's not all rosy. One \$40,000 a year consultant claimed, "It's not as great as you think. You don't get a raise for six or nine months." □

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Wednesday, Aug. 16, 1978



Pepsi Cola, symbol of US imperialism attacked. date only one has been filled.

At one refinery in Abadan workers staged a sit-in. The army cleared them out with fixed bayonets, and 20 workers were injured. At another, workers were fired on, dozens were wounded and several killed. Troops have now been placed in all the oil installations. They say they are there "to protect the plants against"

sabotage." Strikes in the oil fields have already cost the regime \$300 billion. Although there is a lull in the strike movement most workers have won their demands. But inflation is rising sharply. The huge wage rises, in some case three times the previous level, will scarcely

see the workers through the next few months. Regimes, however, do not topple simply because they do not have the support of the people. But no regime can survive the active opposition of the masses, and in Iran that massive opposition is the one thing that makes the Shah's future uncertain. □

AGAINST THE SHAH

The ruthless SAVAK secret police have in the last 25 years destroyed any possibility of open political opposition—except during the rising in 1963. This has kept all opposition deeply underground and very feeble.

The man on everyone's mind is the 79-year-old Islamic leader, Khomeini. Khomeini has been in exile since 1963 the last time the people rose against the Shah.

Thousands were shot dead during three days of rioting. Khomeini was exiled.

Unlike today there was no mass working class actions. But the Shah was only able to maintain control by declaring the so-called White Revolution which led to land reforms and industrialization.

The British and American Governments have been keen to brand Khomeini as a reactionary in contrast to the "progressive" approach of the Shah. True, Khomeini is essentially a religious leader. But he has come to symbolize total opposition to the Shah in a country which has only recently been industrialized.

He has consistently demanded the Shah's removal as a condition for his participation in Government. He has refused all overtures from the Shah. He has denounced all the governments which have propped up the Shah in the past.

The British and American Governments for their control over Iran's oil, the Russian Government for their tacit support of the Shah and for the gas they get from Iran. He has denounced the Chinese leaders for the friendly diplomatic visit to the Shah.

Of course he is an Islamic nationalist who would like to turn the clock back to the "golden ages" of Mohammed. But there can be no going back.

Given the absence of any strong left-wing parties in the country the masses' support for him is entirely understandable.

They articulate their feelings in religious terms. Of course they do. This country was held in a vice of oppression and backwardness for centuries.

This may mean that when the Shah is overthrown Khomeini could restore calm for a while.

But not for long. The sense of power now felt by the mass of people will find no real satisfaction in a Government led by him.

There are two weak middle-class political parties also trying to take leadership.

JEBHE-MELLI (National Front) was the party that led the demonstrations against the Shah in 1963. They have tried unsuccessfully to persuade Khomeini to do a deal with them and the Shah.

Jebhe-Melli, under the leadership of Dr. Mossadegh was the Government in 1953 which nationalized oil. It was this that led to the CIA organizing the coup that kicked out Mossadegh and installed the Shah and the hated SAVAK.

The British and Americans gained directly by dividing up control of the oil through the oil consortiums. The National Front has been underground since this time. But they have repeatedly expressed willingness in recent weeks to take part in Government and try to find a compromise with the Shah.

The TUDEH PARTY is the pro-Soviet Communist Party in Iran.

It is incredibly weak, with very little support among the new working class of the country. It has a base among what few workers there were in 1953, so it has a little support among older workers today.

Its policies have always been notoriously unstable. In 1951 Tudeh opposed the nationalization of oil! Instead they demanded the same oil rights for Russia that the British Companies had assumed. But in the end, mass pressure forced them to change their line.

However weak Tudeh are today, they could still try to build a base in the country.

Finally there are two urban guerrilla organizations, Mojahedeen and Fedayeen.

Both believe in armed struggle. Both believed that the masses were dormant and had to be awakened by spectacular actions.

In the early 1970's they assassinated US military personnel, SAVAK agents and factory managers.

In the last two years they have been isolated as the masses moved into action.

Khomeini

None of these forces, either by themselves or in combination, represents a lasting solution for Iran. Workers' power can only be stabilized in Government when the working class have overthrown all the institutions of control used by the Shah's regime.

This requires a high degree of political organization. It requires nothing less than a revolutionary political party of the kind that seized power with Lenin and Trotsky in Russia 1917.

FOR THE SHAH

In the first week of November, Jimmy Carter was entertaining the Shah's son, mainly praising the boy's father and assuring him that "a strong and independent Iran is crucial" for U.S. security.

Meanwhile, in Iran, tens of thousands of people were marching in the streets of Tehran shouting "The American Shah must be hanged," while houses of key U.S. military and intelligence advisors were being firebombed.

This hatred springs directly from the U.S.'s military support for the Shah's dictatorship and the American oil

company's domination of the Iranian economy.

The Shah was actually put in power in 1953 by a CIA engineered coup that overthrew the democratically elected government of Dr. Muhammed Mossadegh. This operation was led by Kermit Roosevelt, who later boasted that he personally led the tank column that occupied Tehran. He was rewarded for this exploit with an appointment as vice president of Gulf Oil.

Today, the Shah's army, navy, air force, and terrorist squad, the SAVAK, are trained and equipped by the

U.S.—there are no less than 43,000 U.S. advisors. In the past six years, the U.S. Defense Department has sponsored \$19 billion in arms sales to Iran, \$2.6 billion in fiscal year 1978 alone.

This amounts to one fourth of all U.S. arms sales abroad. Currently, the Shah has another \$11 billion on order.

The U.S. government established and supported the Shah for two basic reasons. Iran is strategically important, with its 2000 mile border with Russia and its location off the oil tanker routes on which one-half of the world's oil supply flows.

(Russia also supports the Shah, benefitting from Iran's cheap gas. Russia recently built the Shah a new steel mill, a monument to his 'white revolution'.)

CONTROL

Iran is second only to Saudi Arabia in oil exports. U.S. companies control 40% of this production. According to Exxon, this arrangement cleared \$680,000 a day in profit—\$248.2 million in 1975 for the companies involved.

Exxon, Texaco, Standard Oil of California and Mobil have operations in Iran.

Jimmy Carter would like to continue this nice relationship, needless to say! The workers of Iran, however, have a different idea of how things should be run. They want an end to the brutal tyranny of the Shah and they want control of their country's resources. □

by BEN BLAKE



Seattle gay activists speak out

How We Defeated 13

Socialist Worker: Why do you think we won in Seattle?

Tom Richards: Seattle has more activists, and although there may have been organizations similar to Women Against 13 and the Seattle Committee Against 13 in other cities, the size and together-aspects in the community here were real important.

Jan Darger: And the history we all had—that was important—Women Against 13 and the Seattle Committee Against 13 working together and doing political work.

The thing about the gay community here—both men and women—is that it has been active, visible, and organized for years, certainly on a smaller scale, but for years.

Other things that had a big influence were the labor support and the fact that the church council ran its own campaign even within the churches.

Tom Richards: There's no one factor that did it all. A major thing though was the ineptness of our opponents. These people were just bozos. People were given a lot of reasons to vote no.

Support

Socialist Worker: What about the support from the city officials?

Tom Richards: There was support in other cities, but never in the entirety as here in Seattle. Anyway, in the



Tom Richards

November 7, 1978, was an important day in the struggle for lesbian and gay rights. In California, the Briggs Amendment, which would have allowed schools to fire gay teachers and supporters of gay rights, was defeated.

In Seattle, Initiative 13, which would have repealed civil rights protections for gays and lesbians in housing and jobs, was defeated—overwhelmingly, 63% to 37%.

These two victories came in the wake of a series of defeats for gay rights—in Miami, Wichita, St. Paul, and Eugene, Oregon.

Socialist Worker talked to two Seattle activists about how Initiative 13 was defeated. Jan Darger worked with Women Against 13, and Tom Richards worked in the Seattle Committee Against 13. They (with hundreds of others) helped organize a radical alternative to the right-wing sponsors of the initiative. They stressed grassroots organizing, demonstrations, door-to-door canvassing.

They publically helped counter the myths about lesbians and gays, and they made the connections between the anti-gay movement and the right-wing resurgence which now threatens not only gays, but racial minorities, women, trade unionists, and all working people.

case of gay issues, people don't listen to their city officials.

I wasn't jumping up and down saying, 'The mayor is on our side,' because it hadn't meant much elsewhere.

Socialist Worker: How many people were involved in Women Against Thirteen and the Seattle Committee Against 13?

Tom Richards: Hundreds.

Jan Darger: Many, many, many hundreds—thousands even.

Right-wing

Socialist Worker: The initiators of the Seattle anti-gay campaign were two right-wing policemen, Dennis Falk and David Estes. Falk is a John Bircher and Estes is a Mormon. They also supported Initiative 15 which gave police more discretion in shooting people, and Initiative 350 which tries to outlaw busing.

Both Initiatives 15 and 350 passed. Why do you think this happened, where Initiative 13 failed?

Tom Richards: There was no strong organization spearheading the campaign against Initiative 15. The vote was 70,000 to 89,000, a difference of only 19,000 votes.

But the effort to fight Initiative 15 didn't start until just a month before the vote. I believe that if there had

been an organization like ours working it would have gone down.

Socialist Worker: The Seattle Committee Against 13 and Women Against 13 took strong stands against Initiatives 15 and 350. Was this a problem?

Tom Richards: Some people were really afraid in the anti-13 camp of tying the issues together.

Jan Darger: They were afraid we'd lose votes.

Tom Richards: Some people basically didn't want to chance anything. Everything rested on beating 13 for them.

Jan Darger: But I don't think this fear was very widespread inside the Seattle Committee Against 13 and Women Against 13. It was in the more conservative elements in the gay community.

There the whole thing was wanting to trick the voters and not deal with the issues head on—that was the real difference.

Gay Rights

Tom Richards: Their speakers were told not to use the word "gay," and to avoid the whole issue if possible. They were trying to divorce the Initiative totally from gay rights.

I think the education around Initiatives 15 and 350, the educational work



Jan Darger

around the right-wing and the connections that were made, were real good, real strong. It helped us win and it will be useful in time to come.

Socialist Worker: How have people been affected by this campaign—and its success?

Humanness

Tom Richards: Well, the ordinance isn't necessarily the saving grace for gay people. In housing and jobs it only protects the most blatant violations. Landlords and employers can still get rid of people if they want to—but they can't come right out and say it's because they're gay.

But in some ways, Initiative 13 was a vote on our humanness. In a way it was like a popularity contest between us and the fanatics out there.

Jan Darger: Homophobia is like racism and sexism—it will take forever to beat. You just have to keep working on yourself and the people around you.

One thing was very exciting about beating Initiative 13. Most of those people in other struggles now know we're here.

Tom Richards: I think that gays feel more comfortable about speaking out as a gay person—politically, in their union and place of work. This will have a big effect in the long run.

Jan Darger: I know that right after the election I certainly felt more power—that Seattle had come out and said that I was protected and given me the stamp of approval.

Rizzo: the "tough cop" loses

PHILADELPHIA, PA—The proposed municipal charter amendment that would have allowed Philadelphia mayor Frank Rizzo to run for a third term was defeated by a two-to-one margin on November 5th.

Neither the sabotage of voting machines in black wards nor open intimidation at many polling places by the mayor's

henchmen prevented Philadelphians from turning out in record numbers to register their disgust with the strident racism that marked Rizzo's campaign from beginning to end.

Thus ended the political career of the "toughest cop in America."

Rizzo had always run chiefly on the strength of

his anti-black, law-and-order image.

In past campaigns, however, his appeals to white fear were at least thinly disguised (blacks were always designated by the code-words "criminals" and "hoodlums"), and coupled with other standard vote-getting promises (he sought to portray himself as an honest

citizen fighting corruption in City Hall, and pledged never to raise municipal taxes).

But Rizzo's eight years in office gave the lie to his populist rhetoric.

A steady stream of reports of graft, bribery, and patronage in City Hall exposed the law-and-order mayor as Philadelphia's number one law breaker.

A deepening fiscal crisis forced him to raise property and wage taxes.

By the time the issue of the charter change came up, the race card was the only one left in Rizzo's hand. He played it and lost. □

by JIM CREEGAN

Behind Amin's invasion of Tanzania

Last week Ugandan troops invaded Tanzania. What is behind Amin's killings and invasion? Quite simply, his thirst to stay in power.

Amin seized power after deposing the then President Milton Obote. Obote was making speeches against the British arms sales to South

Africa and thinking about nationalizing the British companies in Uganda. So the British and Israeli intelligence worked together and put Amin into power.

Amin consolidated his rule by first expelling all the Asians and then distributing their shops and industries to

his army officers.

In return, the army dealt with all opposition. They took over most of the farming land. The peasants were forced to work for a pittance.

Over the years, agricultural and industrial production have declined rapidly. Thousands have been thrown out

of work. Inflation is spiraling 300 per cent last year—and there is a shortage of basic food.

The only way Amin can hang on is through repression. Amnesty International estimates that 300,000 people have been killed since he took over.

There are a number of versions of events of the last few weeks. The most credible seems to be that a mutiny broke out near the Tanzanian border. The rebels took to the bush and were pursued.

Eventually the rebels crossed into Tanzania and their pursuers followed them. □

MILTON FISK ON THE CRISIS IN THE WELFARE STATE

SWEDEN: END OF THE DREAM

Sweden managed to combine economic growth and social welfare in the post-World War II period. Its growth rates were higher than those in most advanced industrial countries. Its social welfare programs gave individuals a basic security that was unparalleled in major Western countries.

MIDDLE

This led some to call the Swedish model as a "middle way" between revolutionary socialism and unregulated capitalism. They said it was possible to have the benefits of socialism by following this middle way without giving up capitalism. The necessity for a revolution that would overthrow capitalism could be avoided by following the Swedish way. The current economic crises shows just how limited these optimistic views are.

The situation in Sweden today is grim. Even the finance ministry predicts a deepening stagnation. In 1978 Gross National Product will drop 2.3%. The level of investment in the economy will drop 2.2%.

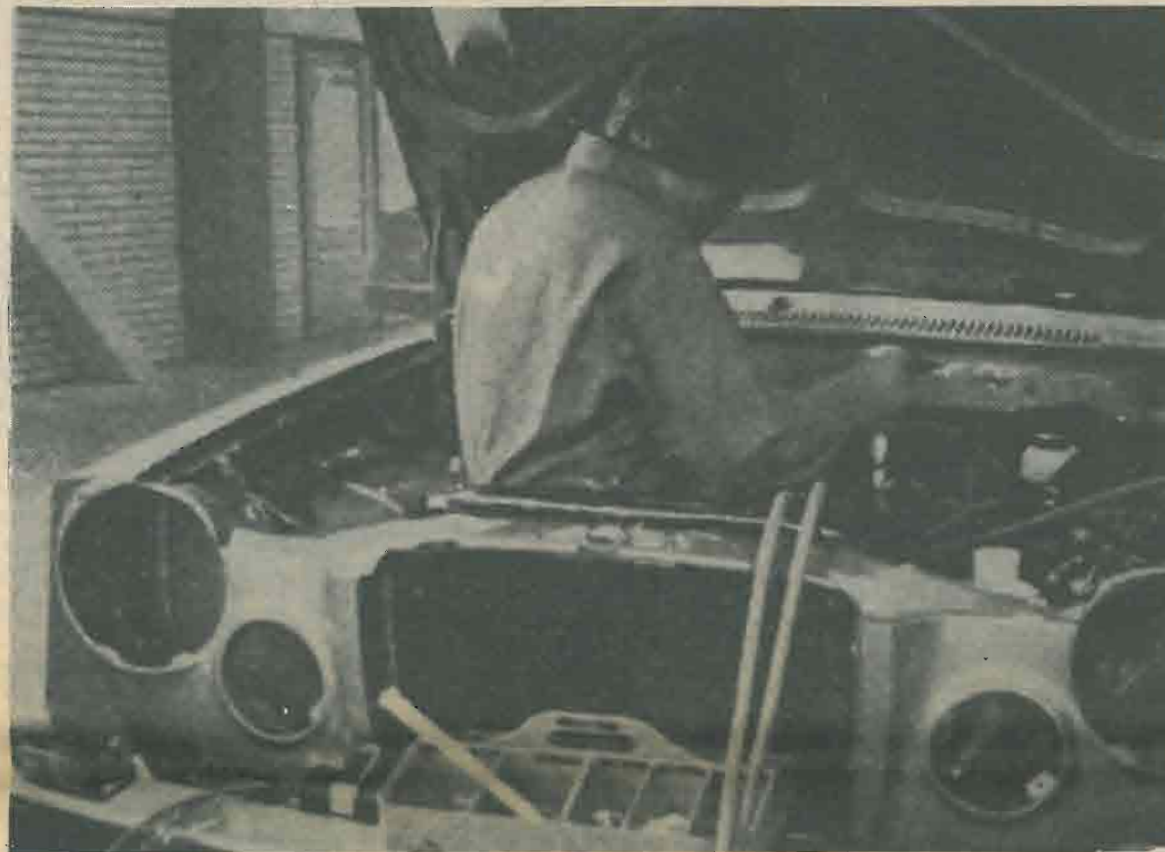
Exports, which are crucial for the economy, will drop 0.5%. With inflation of 12% expected, the living standards of workers will drop again in 1978.

Sweden's growth has gotten it accustomed to trade surpluses, but this year the government is looking for \$1 billion in credit in the U.S. alone.

ESTIMATES

Unofficial business estimates are for much larger drops in these important indicators. Swedish employers are exerting pressure for a reduction in taxes in order to create an incentive to invest.

Such cuts are inevitable and will require an erosion of the



Workers at Volvo factory at Kalmar.

social services that are such an important part of the Swedish model.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party was in power with little interruption from 1932 to 1976.

It instituted the groundbreaking programs of social welfare for the eight million Swedes. Its slogans were full employment, a just distribution, and efficiency and democracy in industry. The major measures of its programs were adopted when it introduced the "Twenty Seven Points" in 1944.

Unemployment has been held below 2% since the war. Infant mortality is the world's lowest, and life expectancy the highest. There are virtually no slums and little grinding poverty.

Though income is still far from equitably distributed, in 1977 Swedish employers paid

\$8.91 an hour, making Swedish employees the world's highest paid. There are maternity benefits, child subsidies, housing subsidies for lower income families, a national pension plan, and comprehensive national health insurance.

EXPORT

The welfare state was built on the successful export trade that goes mainly to Western Europe.

Exports have run 30 to 50% of the GNP. In the immediate post-World War II period, Sweden could export to the war ravaged countries. With a work force being led by the carrot of welfare and high wages, a highly productive industrial machine was built that could compete favorably with the large industrial countries.

With the coming of worldwide stagnation, the demand for exports slackened, as other economies suffered small increases in investment and hence large-scale unemployment.

And so in 1977, the profits of Swedish companies dropped 90% by comparison with 1976.

Shipbuilding lost a half a billion dollars in 1977 with strong competition from Asian yards. Pulp mills lost a quarter of their export position to less costly U.S. and Canadian mills. Steel and iron ore lost around \$400 million, with competition in ore coming

from Brazil and Australia.

With this failure of Sweden's basic industries to compete on the world market, the welfare state is faltering.

EXPENSE

Unemployment still remains low, but at an enormous expense for building up inventory and giving job training to underemployed workers still at work. The bill in 1977 for hiding unemployment by job training was nearly \$4 billion, which will have to be paid by the international banking establishment.

With the living standards of workers being eroded, with pressure for tax cuts that will reduce the level of welfare, and with the foreign banks demanding austerity in return for credit, it is clear that Swedish capitalism is not insulated from the problems of world capitalism.

In the period of world-wide boom after the war, it appeared that Sweden's success resulted from its own impressive combination of welfare and productivity. But now the truth comes out.

So long as Sweden's major trading partners remain capitalist, the long-term cyclical booms and busts that make those economies unstable over the long haul will affect Sweden too.

The gains of the Swedish working class have been impressive. From the comprehensive national health in-

urance to the relatively autonomous work teams that have replaced the traditional assembly line at the Volvo factory at Kalmar.

Of course, there is still a capitalist ruling class in Sweden that has found advantageous the high productivity of workers who enjoy the welfare state.

CONTROL

Fifteen families virtually control the private economy, which still controls 60% of total investment capital. This ruling class has no choice, given its reliance on exports, but to attack the working class when there is world-wide stagnation.

The Swedish middle way between socialism and unregulated capitalism has no mechanism to defend itself against the world capitalist crisis. Its promise of prosperity and security seemed true in a boom period, but it now rings hollow.

Unless there is an overthrow of capitalism in Sweden and elsewhere, the gains workers made in Sweden in the period of boom cannot be permanent. □

VICTORY FOR FORD WORKERS


57,000 Ford workers in Britain have won an important victory.

They forced Ford to give them wage increases amounting to 16.8 percent a year—triple the government's 5% wage guidelines.

Their victory was only partial, however. Ford workers wanted 20 pounds increase a week and an hour off the work day. They got only ten pounds, and no time off the day.

They also accepted attendance bonuses and wildcat penalties—bad news for militants.

The victory will mean more trouble for the Labor Government. Labor now plans to penalize Ford (which lost \$885 million in the strike) for giving into the workers! □



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WEST GERMAN STEEL MILLS IDLED



37,000 STAGE MASS STRIKE

FIRST STRIKE SINCE 1928

West German steelworkers are on strike for the first time in 50 years. 37,000 workers walked out of eight major plants in the Ruhr, and in the cities of Bremen and Osna-bruck.

The Steel Industry Employers Association responded by locking out 28,900 other steel workers.

The steelworkers are fighting for a 35-hour week, and a victory would have wide repercussions not only in West Germany, but throughout Europe, where unemployment lines are growing, and fear of a new recession, with even

more unemployment is increasing.

The struck mills are those that furnish steel to the automobile industry, and car makers expect to feel the effects of the strike within weeks.

The last time German steelworkers staged a union sanctioned strike was in 1928.

JOB

Today there are only 300,000 steelworkers in West Germany, and the industry is losing 1,000 jobs a month. A total of 120,000 jobs have been eliminated since the

1960's. Steel companies are operating at about 65 percent capacity, with new orders off 12 percent in the last month.

The steelworkers, represented by I.G. Metall, the steel and metalworkers union, fear loss of even more jobs if the workweek is not shortened.

The steel strike is only part of a wave of industrial action in West Germany. This year there have been two three-week strikes in metalurgy and printing, and there was a five-day walkout by long-shoremen, the first in 100 years.

There is also growing rank and file unrest in the unions, with workers increasingly dissatisfied with their union leaders. There is also disillusion in the co-determination laws—the laws which were supposed to allow union participation in management.

The West German strike will be watched closely by other European workers. Negotiations are now under way in the Dutch steel industry, where the short work week is an issue. Steelworkers in Belgium begin a 39 hour work week this month, and that is scheduled to be reduced to 35 hours by 1980. □



SOUTH AFRICA SCANDAL

by ALEX CALLINICOS

Last month a South African judge took the lid off the biggest scandal in the 30-year history of the Nationalist Party government.

He revealed that the regime had secretly supplied the funds to buy up the English-speaking liberal opposition press.

Louis Luyt, a Nationalist millionaire, two years ago made a highly-publicized takeover bid for South African Association Newspapers, which owns papers like the Rand Daily Mail and the Financial Mail with a long record of opposition to apartheid.

The decision to make the bid was made by Luyt and General Hendrik van den Burgh, head of BOSS (the secret police), at a rugby match.

APPROVAL

Finance was supplied by the government with the approval of John Vorster then prime minister.

Vorster and van den Burgh are old friends from the days when they were interned together during the Second World War for supporting Nazi Germany.

When Luyt's takeover bid failed, he launched a new pro-government daily paper, The Citizen. Once again the funds were supplied by the government.

When the scandal first began to break earlier this year, Vorster appointed van den Burgh, who had just retired as head of BOSS, to head the official inquiry!

Meanwhile, the strikes paralyzing Iran's oil production are a bitter blow to the apartheid regime. The King of Kings, true lover of democracy that he is, supplies South Africa with 98 per cent of its crude oil. □

MID-EAST 'PEACE' TALKS STALLED

It is almost a year since Egypt's President Sadat announced his "great mission for peace," set off for Jerusalem, and fell, literally, into his embrace with Begin of Israel. At Camp David the two announced a "full accord." Now, once again, the peace talks are stalled.

The reality is that there never was a "peace" agree-

ment. Camp David and the talks which followed were a fraud.

Israel gains everything from the deal, conceding almost nothing.

A vague formula agreed to would have the Palestinians imprisoned in a mini-state established in the West Bank and Gaza areas. Over a five year period Israeli troops in

these occupied territories will make the area "safe," then move back to "secure positions." All being well, the mini-state will then be granted autonomy, but under strict Israeli policing.

But even this is not the whole story. Israel may simply opt never to use the mini-state agreement. They have five years, which they can drag out

to 10 or 20, in which to lose the idea of Palestinian rights.

Nothing has changed. The "peace," even if ever carried out, is a fraud because it leaves the Palestinians still at the center of the conflict. And of course the Palestinians will not give up.



MORE DEATH IN BRITISH MINES

The seven miners killed at Bentley Colliery near Doncaster on Tuesday morning were among 70 workers travelling from the face to the bottom of the shaft at the end of the nightshift.

The last three coaches of the four-coach "paddy train" carrying the men were derailed as it moved down a

gradient.

Militants in the pits will be horrified by the Bentley Disaster, but sadly, they will not be surprised. Recent issues of The Collier, the rank and file miners paper, have featured warnings by several miners about such dreadful possibilities.

Since the introduction of

the productivity deals earlier this year, the Coal Board has cut back on the number of men employed on "non-productive" jobs—such as underground roadway maintenance.

SERIOUS

Fewer men employed underground, away from the

coal face obviously increases the productivity figures. It also increases the chance of disaster.

By the start of November this year 47 men had died in the pits. This compares with 38 deaths in the whole of last year. Serious reportable accidents are also up—there have been 418 so far this year.

And there are 6,000 fewer working in the pits than there were last year!

Such disasters don't have to happen, but the longer the murderous productivity deals continue, the greater the chance of the Bentley disaster being reported at other pits around the country. □

by BILL MESSAGE

Cancer a capita



A foundry worker in Rochester.



A victim of Union Carbide in Anmoore, West Virginia.

Bob Goldman, a specialist in industrial health and safety, explains how cancer is a class disease.

If a thousand people died every day of cancer, there would be a great deal of consternation in the media, government and industry.

But that many people die every day from cancer. Industry denies there is a problem, and the government is a jumbo to keep it that way.

Most people think that cancer strikes randomly without cause, both rich and poor, ruling class and working class, and that nothing can be done about it.

Some people even take out cancer insurance policies—if they can afford the premiums, if they don't work in a chemical plant, an insulation (asbestos) factory, near a coke oven, or a shoe factory, to name only a few, and if they don't live someplace like New Jersey or South Chicago or Gary or in any other industrial center.

The fact is that cancer has distinct, identifiable causes and it is not another degenerative disease that comes with aging.

POLITICAL

At least three-fourths of the cancer deaths could be prevented, but political and economic decisions have been made which hold back any effective attack on the disease.

These same decisions perpetuate a number of myths about cancer.

The most prevalent myth is that everything causes cancer, so there is nothing anyone can do.

There are about 4 million known chemicals, with about 33,000 in common use, and less than 500 are known to be cancer-causing.

The problem is that we are exposed to these substances in the air we breathe (due to industrial and auto pollution), in cigarette smoke and in the food we eat (to give it a "pretty" color or a long shelf life).

These additives to our environment could be removed, thus removing much of the threat of cancer.

EXPENSIVE

Industry won't do it because it is too expensive. To them, profits far outweigh the importance of our health.

The second myth attacks tests on animals by saying that

if you give a large enough quantity of any substance to an animal it will cause cancer.

Well, the bottom line in testing is this: "You can drown an animal in a pool of some substances, suffocate an animal under a heap of it, beat an animal to death with a sock full of it, but if it isn't carcinogenic, you can't give an animal cancer with it."

Once we get rid of the myths there is a new question—who is being exposed to these chemicals and why is it stopped?

STATISTICS

The statistics answer the question showing who has the greatest risk of getting cancer.

Industrial workers, as a group, have a 40-60% greater chance of dying from some sort of cancer as compared to the rest of the population.

In a recent study by the government, HEW (Department of Health, Education and Welfare) showed that at least 40% of the cases of cancer could be linked to working people exposed to specific substances including asbestos, benzene, coal tars, arsenic and petroleum distillates.

What all these statistics boil down to is this: about 30 to 40 million working people in this country will be responsible for close to 40% of the cases of cancer.

If you include people who live in high risk areas—the major industrial centers—the cancer clearly becomes much a class disease as TB.

The greatest risk is held



An Anmoore councilwoman who's fighting Union Carbide.

nd alism

*Living with
the steel
mills in
Mingo Junction,
Ohio.*



cialist in safety, shows s disease

smallpox or the plague, there would be great
ry (Remember the swine flu panic?).
r, and yet there is hardly a ripple in the media.
ment provides the red tape and the legal mumbo-

those people too poor to move
r unable to change jobs.

Given the nature of the dis-
ease, what is being done?

Industry, as in other health
and safety questions, tries to
maintain control over working
conditions. In this case they
also try to control and with-

hold the information on haz-
ards from workers and the
community-at-large.

Industry does not consider
health to be worth any signifi-
cant investment.

The government, through
OSHA and the Toxic Sub-
stances Control Act (TCSA),

has the power (on paper) to do
something, but hasn't.

The Occupational Safety
and Health Act was passed in
the early 1970s in response to
the increased militancy of the
labor movement and the in-
creased awareness of health
problems related to DDT and
asbestos.

This law could have been a
small reform but has been
made ineffective.

Initially it was used as a
political tool in Nixon's re-
election campaign.

It has rarely tackled serious
health problems in the work-
place, and it has never been
able to issue and collect fines
that could or would actually
hurt a company.

But for the ruling class,
even an ineffectual, weak and
powerless OSHA is too much.

Starting in 1972 and 1973
with Nixon and intensified un-
der Carter, an economic re-
view of all proposed standards
has been instituted.

What this means is that af-
ter years of hearings, public
testimony and research, any
OSHA-proposed control over
industrial exposure must be
reviewed and approved by the
President's "industrial ad-
visors."

MONTHS

Thus the cotton dust stand-
ard has been held up for
months and the standard for
lead was significantly changed
from the "final" OSHA pro-
posal by the President's Coun-
cil of Economic Advisors.

While thousands of workers
are constantly exposed to dan-

gerous levels of cotton dust
and lead, decisions are made
and delayed on the basis of
profit margins.

Recently the U.S. District
Court in New Orleans threw
out the standard on benzene,
a chemical which increases the
risk of leukemia for approxi-
mately one million workers.

It "reasoned" that OSHA
had not taken into account the
financial impact of the stand-
ard.

SENSELESS

There will be no stop to this
senseless wasting of lives and
environment short of ending
the system that puts profits

above all else, but the fight
must begin now.

Rank and file workers can
begin to force the companies
to clean-up the workplace. In
1969, a statewide wildcat
strike of coal miners in West
Virginia led to the first black
lung bill.

In 1973, 4,000 oil workers
struck Shell refineries nation-
wide, protesting cuts in the
workforce which would have
dramatically increased health
and safety hazards.

The fight won't be easy, but
a job that doesn't kill ought to
be a right—not a luxury.
Aren't you worth it? □



Miners demonstrating for black lung compensation.

1979 BIG RED DIARY

This 160-page diary is available for \$3.50 from Hera Press, P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118.

"The Cypriot problem is not exceptional"

Dear Socialist Worker:

The following letter is being submitted to Socialist Worker to provide information concerning the struggle of the Cypriot people.

The Cypriot struggle is the struggle of humanity. It is not simply a struggle between Greek and Turk, or between Greece and Turkey.

It is a conflict between the forces of imperialism and fascism against the forces of democracy in the eastern Mediterranean. For this reason, it is, at base, a struggle between the interests of

the United States and those of the people of that area.

The interests of NATO and the CIA, that, in order to maintain the strength of the U.S. and the NATO countries in the Near East, necessitate the destruction of the political self-determination and human rights of the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean.

The coup by the Greek junta of July 15, 1974, with the intention of assassinating President Makarios, and the subsequent Turkish invasion of Cyprus on July 20, 1974, are examples of fascist opera-

tions of the U.S. against the democratic forces in Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey.

It has been documented that in 1974 alone the CIA had spent \$60 million in Cyprus, before the fascist coup took place on the island.

Today in Turkey, there are many people who continuously demonstrate for the ideals of democracy and justice, and for the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus.

They pay for these ideas with death.

And in Cyprus, the Greeks and the Turks are, for the

most part, prepared to live together again, united and in "brotherhood." It is predominantly the foreign fascist and imperialist powers that prevent this, and work for the destruction of the democratic popular sentiments of the Cypriot people.

The Cypriot problem is not exceptional. It is another consequence of the worldwide attempts, mainly of the United States, to acquire and maintain its imperialist hegemony.

Other sacrifices for the political, military and business interests of the U.S. have oc-

curred through the imposition of fascist governments in Chile, Iran, the Dominican Republic, Argentina, Brazil, the Philippines, Nicaragua, Haiti, and many others.

In light of these realities, it is clear that the Cypriot struggle is the struggle for democracy and justice in Cyprus, and in all of the world, and this struggle will be maintained until victory.

In Solidarity,
Arthur Aloferis
Cyprus Solidarity Committee
of Boston

Letters

Write to Letters, Socialist Worker
P.O. Box 18037 Cleveland OH 44118

SUPPORT THE IRISH STRUGGLE

Dear Socialist Worker:

It is encouraging to read that the people of the North of Ireland are beginning to take to the streets again in large numbers to demonstrate their opposition to the occupying British Army and the Unionist ruling class whose interests (i.e. domination over the workers—Protestant and Catholic—as a means of guaranteeing tremendous profits for world imperialism) it upholds by means of fierce political repression and brute force.

Those of us in the U.S. who have followed the Irish struggle for self-determination since the civil rights movement of the late sixties have had a great deal of trouble obtaining useful information about the current situation in the north over the last few years. This is not accidental, nor is it due to a lack of effort on the part of those interested.

Unfortunately, the British Army is alive and well in the north.

Little has changed in the Orange State to make their presence unnecessary. Torture of political prisoners and harsh repression (particularly in the Catholic communities) are still in use.

Rotten living conditions are a reality for the majority of the working class. Systematic discrimination against the Catholic minority in virtually all aspects of life (housing, employment, education, etc.) are as entrenched in Ulster society as they were during the late sixties.



British soldiers in Belfast.

All of these exist—as strong as ever—because they are part and parcel of the British colonial project in Ireland; that is to say, the British province of Ulster could not exist if these features were removed from society.

Until that imaginary line dividing northern workers from their comrades in the south is removed from the map (and thus removed from the capitalists' "bag of tricks" with which they divide workers) the

struggle will continue.

These recent events give credence to this position—that 15,000 people can find it in themselves to rise up in protest against a colonial force which has, over the past ten years, demonstrated a brutal consistency in beating and murdering those who found it necessary to take some sort of action against the state is no small achievement.

Since we cannot depend on the bourgeois press to relate

these kinds of events to American workers, it is the duty of the socialist press to carry this out in order to begin to build a base of support in the U.S. when the Irish struggle again forces people around the world to consider its "legitimacy."

And it WILL!

Beir Bua!
(Until Victory!)
Brian O'Ceallaigh
Amherst, MA

MEXICO: HOW YOU CAN HELP THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

Dear Socialist Worker:

In Mexico, there are 367 disappeared activists.

Their anguished families don't know if they are dead or alive. Those that are alive are probably being tortured to extract confessions.

Under pressure from pro-amnesty groups, the Mexican government has passed a law giving amnesty to all those not accused of crimes of violence. This law is a farce as most political prisoners are held under (usually false) charges of kidnapping, hold-ups, murders and other crimes of violence.

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners has launched a large, militant campaign in favor of these people.

They ask that we write letters of protest to the President of Mexico demanding amnesty for all Mexican political prisoners and petitioning the Mexican government to reveal the whereabouts and conditions of the 367 "disappeared" people.

Address your letters to:
President Jose Lopez Portillo
Los Pinos
Mexico, D.F.
Mexico

For information on the Committee:
Comite Nacional Pro Defensa
de Presos Politicos
Pachuca 153, Depto. 306
Mexico 11, D.F.

E.H.
Cincinnati, OH

KEEP TOUGH AND KEEP PUSHING

Dear Socialist Worker:

I want to thank you so much for having Shelly and I at your conference. It was a very interesting weekend. I really enjoyed being with you all again.

I have got three of John Anderson's books in three of the largest plants in the area. I hope he gets orders for a thou-

sand more, it is really interesting. Most working people don't even know what Taft-Hartley is.

This last year and a half has been Hell and I know it is a long way from good but it is great to see a little gleam of light at the end of the long tunnel. If we can keep this get-

tough attitude and keep pushing, the company man will realize and have to offer something next time. It is like Kate Hyndeman told me, though you can't relax because every time you climb over a hill and stop for your breath you find another hill waiting to conquer. I wouldn't mind the hills

so much, but sometimes you get so tired they start to look like mountains. Well onward and upward.

I will let you know when I hear anything more on the arbitrations. We should know soon how many will be offered their jobs back. If they win back pay it will really be some-

thing to celebrate.

In struggle and solidarity,
Georgia Ellis
Elwood, IN

P.S. Carol Frye was thrilled with the money. It will help with Christmas, with two little kids and not much money.

"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



"I saw Mother Jones one time in Monongahela. She was trying to organize the mines.

"She came down Pike Street in a buggy and horse. Two company thugs grabbed the horse by the bridle and told her to turn around and get back down the road.

"She wore a gingham apron and she reached under it and pulled a 38 special pistol and told them to turn her horse loose, and they sure did. She continued on to the park and spoke to a large crowd of miners.

"She wasn't afraid of the devil."

LIFE

"Mother" Mary Jones devoted her life to organizing workers, especially miners, their wives and children. For thousands she was the symbol of working class militancy.

She was born Mary Harris in Cork, Ireland, sometime in the 1840's and moved to the U.S. when she was a small child. She married George Jones an Iron Moulder. When she was 37 her husband and her children all died in a yellow fever epidemic.

In the 1870's and 1880's she became involved in the labor movement, first in the Knights of Labor. She was deeply moved, like all political workers of the time, by the execution of the Haymarket martyrs and the violence in the Homestead and Pullman strikes.

She helped organize the socialist paper, Appeal to Reason. She was a founding member of the Industrial Workers of the World.

She suffered beatings, jailings. She was deported from Colorado. Mother Jones was in the thick of every major labor battle from 1890, to the great steel strike of 1919, to the coalfield wars of the 1920's.

In 1891 she first got involved in the coalfield wars of West Virginia, where she helped to organize the United Mine Workers of America.

Mother Jones organized strike meetings, spoke at rallies, but mainly she helped organize the women and children to drive away the scabs.

In the 1890's her message to miners rang from the coal towns hidden in the West Virginia hills to the drab mining camps of Colorado.

She would travel anywhere, wading creeks, facing machine guns and taunting company guards to shoot an old woman.

Her bravado was as legendary as her sharp tongue.

On the steps of the West Virginia state capitol Mother



"PRAY FOR THE DEAD, BUT FIGHT LIKE HELL FOR THE LIVING" Mother Jones

Jones told 5,000 striking miners, "I warn this little governor that unless he rids Paint Creek and Cabin Creek of these goddamned Baldwin Felts mine-guard thugs, there is going to be a lot of blood letting in these hills."

In the fall of 1917, in a strike in Raleigh County, Mother Jones told the strik-

ers, "You goddamned cowards are loosing this strike because you haven't got the guts to go out and win it.

"Why in hell don't you take your high powered rifles and blow the goddamned scabs out of this mine."

She was an able and effective organizer for she had intimate knowledge of miners'

lives and sorrows.

Her love for the miners was captured by a sympathetic reporter who heard her speaking to people in a West Virginia coal town in 1904:

"So the old lady, standing very quietly in her deep far reaching voice painted a picture of the life of a miner from his young boyhood to

his old age...And in an impassioned view she called upon them to awaken their minds. As she ceased speaking men and women looked at each other with shamed faces for everyone had been weeping."

Even though Mother Jones was in the forefront of the miners' struggles, she was more intimately involved with the wives and children.

Her speeches denounced the brutality of child labor, and the poverty of workers' lives. In almost every strike she organized women's brigades, which sometimes were even more militant than the men.

During one six week strike in Pennsylvania, in 1900, she formed a woman's auxiliary called the mop and broom brigade. When a carload of scabs tried to enter the strike area, the women started a stampede of mules which roused them.

Mother Jones described another women's action during the same strike.

"We marched over the mountains, fifteen miles, beating on the tin pans as if they were cymbals. We were met by the Crack Thirteen of the militia.

"They kept us there til daybreak and when they saw the army of women with aprons they let us pass. An army of strong mining women makes a wonderfully spectacular sight.

"The men joined the union, every last man of them and we got so enthusiastic that we organized the streetcar men who promised to haul no scabs for the coal companies."

WOMEN

Mother Jones organized not only wives and children of miners, but working women in dozens of other industries. While she admitted that she was no feminist (she was unsympathetic to the woman's suffrage movement), she dedicated her life to bettering the lives of working women. She had a class position on women, and she once shocked a meeting of respectable suffragists by saying "You don't need the vote to raise hell like me."

In the same meeting she said, "No matter what your fight, don't be ladylike. God Almighty made the women, but the Rockefeller gang of thieves made the ladies."

Mother Jones died in 1930. She was buried, as she had asked, at the miners' cemetery in Mt. Olive Illinois, facing a monument to five miners who had been killed by scabs in 1893.

Her philosophy is summed up in her famous slogan: "Pray for the dead and fight like hell for the living." □



THE REVOLT IN IRAN

Since the military took over on November 6, there has been a desperate attempt to stop news from getting out of Iran.

This silence was shattered by the general strike of bank workers, and the new eruption of street clashes late in November.

Now the military government has announced a total ban on "all processions in any form," beginning December 2—the first day of the Moslem holy month.

The government is terrified that traditional religious gatherings will turn into new waves of anti-Shah demonstrations. The latest restrictions came after nearly every opposition group announced that the beginning of the holy month of Moharram would be the occasion for huge rallies and general strikes.

A member of the National Front, has said that the restrictions "will not hold the people back," and predicted vast demonstrations.

There has been a reign of terror since the military took

command of Iran. In the first week of the military regime, demonstrations took place in every industrial center and hundreds were gunned down.

Press censorship has been re-imposed, with army officers in the newspaper offices. No daily papers are being published because of strikes by journalists and print workers.

SUPPORT

The release of the political prisoners was claimed to be an example of the Shah's commitment to human rights. It was only as a result of the massive strikes that he took this step, but reports now say that many of those released have been rearrested by the army and are now once again languishing in the Shah's jails.

It is impossible to say what the coming weeks hold, but the question on everyone's lips is "will the Shah survive?"

He has spent a fortune nurturing the army. He has kept it supplied with one of the best-equipped arsenals of the modern world.

But half of the armed forces are conscripts, 240,000 young soldiers recruited from the starving peasantry, who have nothing in common with their generals. Even the Financial Times testifies that "there have been a number of confirmed incidents during the period of martial law of guns being turned on officers and of soldiers embracing rioters."

The Iranian economy is deeply racked by crisis and

in the last few weeks the workers have dealt it a death blow. Huge amounts of money—about \$10 billion—have left the country as panic-stricken bosses sell up and leave.

The banking system is at a standstill as a result of the bankworkers' strike and the destruction of most branch offices in Tehran.

AGAINST

Schools and universities are still closed as teachers and

lecturers are on strike. The students have turned the campuses into "red universities," educational and organizing centers for opposition to the Shah.

But the worst damage has been done to the Shah's life blood—oil. The government claims that the strike in the oilfields is over, but only 20-30 per cent of the workers have gone back and they are on a slow-down. Fifty tankers are waiting to be loaded; to



Moslem women break from traditions to address workers' street demonstrations.

At 4:00 am daylight began to filter through the window. Slowly the shapes of the room emerged from the darkness.

The worker and his wife shared it with their two youngest children. The eldest daughter slept on a rug on the floor of their one-room mudhut.

The family woke slowly with the heavy leaden movements of an exhaustion which sleep cannot cure.

As the light grew stronger they began to hurry, washing quickly in cold running water in the yard outside, and then breakfast, enough bread to keep them going for the day, and tea.

All but the two youngest worked. The man had a job in a foreign car factory. The day before he has been 10 minutes late. He was fined a day's pay. This was a disaster for the family—their weekly income scarcely covered the cost of the bread, rice and stewing bones they lived on.

Most of their money was spent on the rent. And the youngest child was sick with a hacking cough that had kept the family awake most of the night.

They needed medicine that they could not afford. They were afraid the child would die. Three of their children had died before they were three years old.

At five they left for work. The man, who had farthest to go, travelled by bus. He would not return until 7:00 that night. For one month the factory had been on overtime—12 gruelling hours a day. Two of the men on his section had dropped from exhaustion already—one was dead. And the week before the man next to him had lost his hand. Tiredness had made him careless. He felt worry for the man. Who

A WORKING DAY IN THE LAND OF LIQUID GOLD

would feed his family now? He would become one of those who begged for a living in the tourist quarters.

Yesterday at lunch-time, a worker sitting next to him had talked of a strike, tried to persuade him that they must strike before they were all dead of exhaustion or hunger. He agreed, but had said nothing. He was afraid. Perhaps the man was an agent, a SAVAK spy—he could not be sure.

His brother had been betrayed like that: he had died under torture. He had seen the body in his parent's home, just before the burial. He would never forget it.

The mother and daughter walked five miles to the carpet workshop, walking quickly past the factories on the outskirts of Tehran.

She was 30, but looked twice that. Years of worry, undernourishment, childbearing and work had ravaged her. Since she was a child she had worked on the looms. It made her heart sick to think that her daughter, only a child of seven, faced the same life.

It is conditions like these that have driven Iranian workers to risk their lives. Risk their lives because in Iran, the bosses negotiate through the barrel of a gun.

For years workers have faced that brutality and fought. Out of the desperate battle to survive, to feed themselves and their families, magnificent and courageous struggles have been born.

Like that of miners of Shahrud who went on strike for better wages and blacked their faces with coal dust so that SAVAK could not recognize them. The agricultural workers of the Maghan plain who struck for the eight-hour day.

Like the workers of the Packing Factory of Iran whose wage struggle spread to the whole of the Behshahr Industrial Group. Their clandestine leaflet read:

"Only through uniting ourselves, isolating the spies of the employers, and a united strike can we achieve our demands.

"Therefore, comrades, strive to create a united organization for more longlasting strikes which is the only weapon of use to the workers and toilers.

"Long live the unity and solidarity of the toiling peoples of Iran. May the rule of thieves and plunderers be destroyed. Our solidarity guarantees our victory."

One thing has changed. Never again will Iran's workers feel the fear of isolation. Never again will they doubt their power and their ability to win.

The mass strikes mark the beginning of a new phase in a history of struggle that has been hidden for many long, dark years.

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

Forum: "Support the Palestinian Struggle." Speakers: Jeff Coulter, Houssif Shanshiry

and Ahmed Shawki. Saturday, December 9 at 7:30 p.m. 100 Arlington St., Boston. \$1 admission.

CINCINNATI

"Cancer and Capitalism" a forum by Bob Goldman. November 9 at 7:30 p.m. U.C.M., 2699 Clifton.

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Cleveland, Ohio 44118

Early reports are that people are spending more money than ever before on gifts for the holidays.

Why not help get some of that money into the almost empty coffers of Socialist Worker. What would make a nicer gift than a subscription to a revolutionary socialist newspaper—and one that costs a mere \$5.00 for a year.

So, buy a subscription for a loved one—even for a not-so-loved one. Buy a subscription for yourself.

Attention all branches—before the holiday fun gets out of hand, set your goal for new subscriptions—and set it high. See that Socialist Worker has many more readers in 1979!



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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

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New Haven, CT 06520

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Providence, RI 02912

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

Washington, D.C., P.O. Box 2115
Washington, DC 20009

Marx and Mao in modern China

reviews

by
CAL WINSLOW

There is turmoil in China again—demonstrations in the cities, new wars with giant wall posters, hints of purges, and the threat of violence.

"If the people who want to put up posters criticizing Mao Tse-tung gave us their names," reads one, "We would smash in their dog heads."

How are we to understand this—indeed understand any of the upheaval which seems to dominate the history of the People's Republic since its birth in the 1949 Revolution?

And what has it got to do with the fight for socialism?

Nigel Harris' new book, *"The Mandate of Heaven: Marx and Mao in Modern China,"* is the place to start. It is a fantastic book. It traces China's drive to break free from backwardness and its struggle for national independence—the two themes which tie the whole story together. It ranges from Maoist politics to the condition of the working class.

WORKERS

The single most striking thing about this book is its portrayal of the Chinese workers, the millions about whom so little is known, though everything in China is said to be done in their name.

They have no right to strike, they must carry pass books. They live with a harsh labor code—one which demands swift punishment for lateness, absenteeism, poor workmanship.

Workers are divided and paid according to skills and jobs. They are divided between permanent and temporary workers. The latter bear a striking resemblance to the "illegals" in the United States today. They receive no benefits, pensions or permanent housing. They work for less—they can be sent back to the countryside at any time.

STRIVE

Individual workers must strive to be the model—the Chinese equivalent of Stakhanov in Stalin's Russia, a coal miner who claimed to have produced 102 tons of coal in five hours, fourteen times the normal output.

In this country, we might call it rate-busting, the notorious method by which output is increased, by which worker is set against worker, the cruel system which ruins workers' health through exhaustion and accidents. The method which penalizes all but the most robust, especially affecting women and older workers.

Nigel Harris' *The Mandate of Heaven: Marx and Mao in Modern China* will be available in the United States in January, 1979. Order now. Copies are available from Hera Press, P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118 at \$5.95 a copy, including postage.



Nigel Harris (Socialist Workers Party - Britain) travelled throughout Asia and is the author of several books.

In China, it is called "socialist emulation." It transforms, as the Chinese leaders say, using Stalin's phrase, "labor from a degrading and painful burden, into a matter of honor, glory, valor and heroism."

Harris cites a chilling example. In a Shansi mine in 1971, the workforce recorded a record performance, while "cutting employment by 12%." More, a writer boasted, "the consumption of pit props declined by forty-two percent." It seems, Harris notes, "that Mao's thoughts can hold up the roof of the mine shaft."

COUNTRYSIDE

Inequality predominates in the countryside as well. A German journalist who visited China shortly after the Cultural Revolution reported this:

"There are ten categories of payment. A strong man at the height of his power is in the first category, which means he gets ten points for every working day no matter how much work he actually does. An unmarried woman gets seven; a married woman who has to care for her family gets six and a half."

When he questioned this, he was told: "But a married woman devotes much of her working energy to her family . . . Those chores are individual chores. Should the collective have to pay for work not done in the service of the collective?"

This is not socialism. In fact the Chinese emphasis on hard labor as itself the mark of socialism stands in stark contrast to the Bolshevik aim of the abolition of hard physical labor. The inequality has even less in common with the aims of the Bolsheviks—indeed the ideals and aims of any real socialist.

It is a system based—quite consciously—on inequality,



despite all the rhetoric to the contrary. Chou En-lai, quoting Mao, proudly explained this: "Some confusion still exists, and in many places egalitarianism has not been overcome."

"Egalitarianism is a type of petty-bourgeois backwardness and hinders progress. It has nothing in common with Marxism and a socialist system."

"It harms the growth of our economic construction. We must therefore oppose egalitarianism."

This is the real basis of the Chinese system—"economic construction," the drive by Mao and his followers to accumulate, to take China out of backwardness.

The leaders of China must industrialize China. They have no choice. They must do this or they will not survive. They are compelled to exploit the workers and peasants. This is *point one* of Harris' book, and it is in fact the only way of understanding China—today, in the Great Leap Forward, or in the Cultural Revolution.

In 1949, the workers were instructed not to let the revolution interfere with production. They were ordered to stay on their jobs.

The story of the People's Republic is not one of a great plan, of an unfolding strategy. The shifts, upheavals, represent instead "the pragmatic responses to China's industrialization program."

It is only in retrospect, Harris shows, that they form "a whole, the maintenance of the drive to build industry in conditions of great backwardness."

There is much more to the book, of course. The great achievements of the Chinese Revolution are also recorded. China is today no longer the famine-plagued, semi-feudal domain of war-lords, bandits, and the opium trade. It is no longer the victim of the imperialist. Chinese women must no longer bind their feet. (It is a pity there isn't more on women).

But neither is it socialist. Certainly it is not a model for the poor and oppressed of the world. China is still a desperately poor nation, struggling to survive in a world dominated by capitalism.

Its policies, domestic and international, are guided by this, and by this alone. Its con-

flict with Russia compels friendship with the U.S. and Japan—it must find trade and technology wherever it can—even with Iran.

This means praising the Shah of Iran, if necessary, even Chile's Pinochet.

In a recent official decree, the Chinese declared, "Iran is an independent sovereign state, and has the right and every reason to ensure her self-defense by strengthening national strength."

"As to the kinds and numbers of weapons it intends to buy and from where it buys them, it is the internal affair of Iran."

Today, these weapons are being used mercilessly on the people who fill Iran's streets, on the workers who have stopped the flow of the Shah's oil, on anyone and everyone who dares to stand up in the opposition to Chairman Hua's friend—the Shah, "the King of Kings." □

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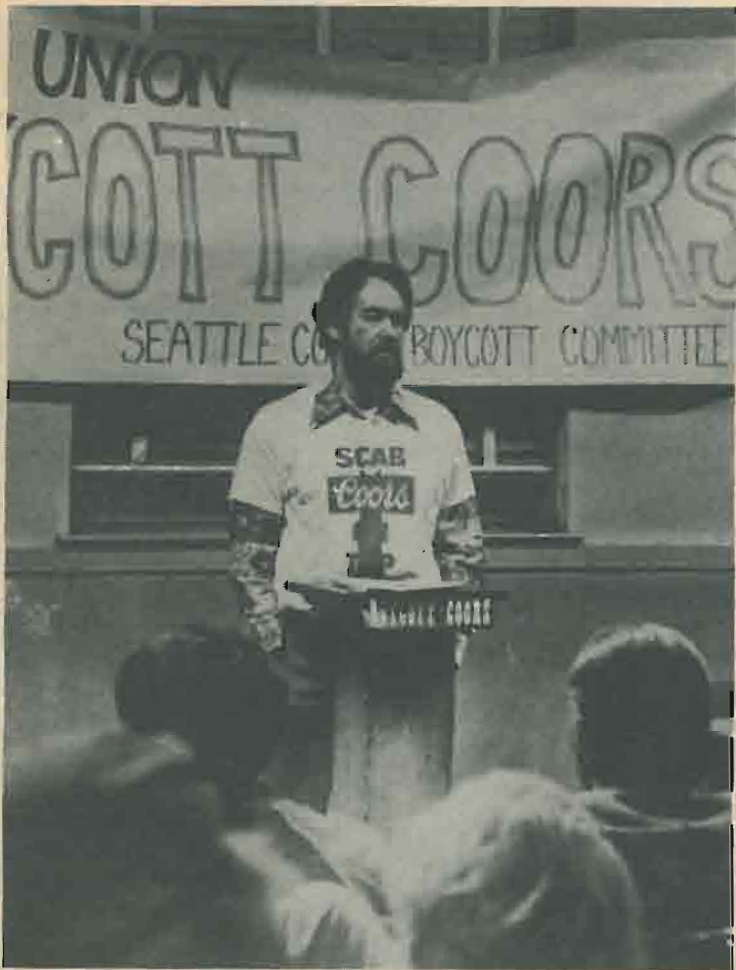
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BOYCOTT COORS BEER



SEATTLE, WA—A Coors Beer Boycott Committee was formed here as a result of a meeting held November 19. Members of six different unions, socialists, anti-nuke and gay activists, formed the committee in an attempt to slow down new union-busting plans by Joseph Coors.

Wayne Fullford (pictured above), who worked ten years for Coors in Golden, Colorado, gave those in attendance a history of the strike against Coors, and helped get the new committee going.

Coors beer has just been introduced in the Seattle area, partly to help make up for sinking sales as a result of the nationwide Coors Boycott. The Boycott was called by the striking Brewery workers in Golden. Coors has set up a non-union distribution agent in Seattle, and already Coors sales have put Teamster beer drivers out of work.

The Boycott Committee is planning several activities. The December 13 basketball game between the Seattle Sonics and the Los Angeles Lakers will be leafletted (Coors sponsors the Sonics' radio show). Two taverns have offered their facilities for fund raising. And a picket line is planned for one of the non-union distributors.

by SCOTT WINSLOW

Machinists on strike

"We're determined to win something. The company's offer will put us behind. The company wants us to accept a token raise, but we don't want to be forced to take two jobs."

MACHINIST

That's how a machinist at the Warner and Swasey turret lathe plant in Cleveland summed up the 12 week strike by 800 members of Local 1253 of the Aerospace and Machinist Union.

The company's second "final offer" was just below Carter's 7% wage guidelines,

while inflation for necessities in the Cleveland area has been running over the 11.5% national rate. As one machinist explained "they're trying to use the government to club us back to work."

But it hasn't worked. The second offer was voted down in mid-November after a group of rank and filers organized a rejection vote.

Earlier, the rank and file group organized a mass picket to stop salaried employees from entering the plant and sent flying pickets out to Warner and Swasey plants in New Philadelphia and Lima

where the workers struck for one day in solidarity with the Cleveland machinists. Five bulletins and one informational leaflet have been produced and plans are being made to send out new pickets to the other Warner and Swasey plants.

SPIRIT

One rank and file organizer expressed the spirit of many of the machinists as the strike continues, "I don't give a damn what it takes to win, we're going to do it."

BY BEN BLAKE



Big "Take Back Night" Demonstration

NORTHAMPTON, MA—On Saturday, November 18, 3,000 women from the Northampton area took part in a "Take Back the Night" march in protest against violence and sexual abuse in their lives.

The Northampton police ex-

pectation of several hundred was clearly shattered. Ten minutes before the march entered Main Street, the chant, "Women unite, take back the night," could be heard.

The march went through back streets and parks where

rapes have occurred. The women chanted, "We have the power, we have the right. The streets are ours and we'll prove it tonight." 500 men lined the streets in support of the women.

by BRAD WHITEMAN

An Opinion

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

An injury to one is an injury to all

Recently when I was passing out a handbill containing a letter I had written to George McGregor, Recording Secretary, a heavy set, elderly black worker (I didn't know his name), came to me to shake my hand. He said, "Anderson, you are the only real President we ever had."

Considering the fact I have not held office since 1949, that was quite a compliment.

During the 29 years since I was defeated, there have been 9 presidents. None of them were elected on their record. They had the sup-

port of the Company and the Region. They became tools of the Company and flunkies for the International Union.

I was known as a socialist. They were supporters of the Democratic Party. I believe, "An injury to one is an injury to all." They adopted a policy of, "good labor relations." They isolated a worker with a grievance. Having divided the plant into 22 districts, they have allowed the Company to divide and rule.

They have supported a policy of cooperation, productivity and stability—the program of the Company.

We kept the membership informed. Now the Local has a policy of secrecy. When I was President we had mass meetings of some 1,500. Today there are rarely 100 at a meeting of the membership.

In recent negotiations the Local officers have permitted bargaining to drag on for almost 3 months, so the strike deadline would be between Thanksgiving and Christmas—the most difficult period for the workers. This has served the interests of the Company not the interests of the workers. □

MICHIGAN OFFICE WORKERS DUMP UAW

ANN ARBOR, MI—Office and clerical employees at the University of Michigan's three campuses have voted against union affiliation.

The unofficial tally in the week-long voting on the Ann Arbor, Dearborn and Flint campuses was 1,335 for no union and 1,103 for affiliation with the Organization Committee for clericals.

Michigan Employment Relations Commission officials who supervised the election said a total of 2,489 ballots were cast.

U-M office and clerical employees voted in 1974 to be represented by the UAW. Two years later, however, they voted to decertify the UAW. □

UPSURGE: READY FOR THE NATIONAL CONTRACT

by ANNE MACKIE

"UPS is serious about making a buck—about squeezing it out of their workers—so we have to be serious."

Those were the words of Al Davis, Cleveland UPS feeder driver, as he explained the need for a national rank and file organization at the Nov. 4 national UPSurge contract conference held in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The meeting was called to prepare for the expiration of UPS contracts nationwide on April 30, 1979—Teamster contracts covering over 80,000 workers.

Over 100 UPS'ers turned out for the first national UPSurge meeting in two and a half years. They came from as far away as Denver, San Francisco, Rochester, and Minneapolis. There were representatives from throughout the midwest.

DEMANDS

18 key contract demands were voted on. "No contract, no work" was the Number 1 demand.

Others included: "a new

Pictures courtesy UPSurge.

grievance procedure—innocent until proven guilty," "no production standards," and "for an 8 hour day—no forced overtime."

There were demands worked out for part time workers including a guarantee for 5 hours work per day, the

right to bid on 100% of all full time openings, and equal pay for part timers.

The group voted to establish UPSurge as a membership organization, elect a national steering committee, elect an editorial board for the newspaper, and set up a monthly

pledge system to finance itself through the contract fight.

Already, the fight for the contract demands has begun. In late November UPSurge activists in Cleveland, Columbus, Minneapolis, and Denver presented their proposals

to the union contract meetings.

Plans are underway for regional and state-wide UPSurge meetings after the Christmas rush, as well as another national meeting to be held right before the contracts expire April 30, 1979.

STRIKE

Whether or not there will be a nationwide strike at UPS this spring is still not certain, although many UPS'ers believe a strike will be necessary to win a good contract. One thing is for certain—the Teamsters Union won't do a thing for the rank and file unless forced.

As one speaker at the national conference put it, "We've got to have leadership, unity, and a checking account if we want to get the union off their butts, and the company off of ours." □



Vince Meredith, chief steward, Louisville, KY.



Jennifer Stahi, Denver UPS package driver told about UPS's incentive plan.



Al Davis, Cleveland UPS feeders, urged the meeting to sign up new UPSurge members.



Jim Reeder, Indianapolis UPS mechanic, explained how he puts out a local HUB newsletter.



Ken Nieding, Elyria, Ohio, package driver said Elyria would be 100% UPSurge.

COAL MINERS MEET

BECKLEY, W.VA—Rank and file miners continue their drive to force UMWA president Arnold Miller out of office.

On November 11, 65 miners (representing six districts—5, 6, 17, 23, 29, 31) met here in another step toward bringing together a united opposition.

Thus far, two issues have predominated. First, the miners must prepare for the special convention Miller has called for September, 1979.

The meeting agreed to continue to demand that the con-

vention be held in the coal fields, not Miami (which is also in Florida, a right-to-work, non E.R.A. state), to concentrate on the issue facing miners, not candidates hoping to replace Miller, and to fight for more power for the districts and locals.

Second, the meeting spent considerable time discussing the need to rebuild the union's organizing department, so that the union's chief task—organizing the unorganized miners—can be taken on. □



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UPSURGE MEETS IN CINCINNATI page 19

Bernadette Devlin McAlisky tells why I'm still fighting

I was one of a family of five girls and one boy. My father was a joiner, he died when I was nine.

But I was protected from the harsher realities of working class family survival by the education system—despite our poverty it allowed me to go to grammar school and university.

Instead of being conscious of being a part of the Northern Irish working class, I was more aware of being part of the Catholic minority.

When the Civil Rights movement began in 1968 I was not really political, or even sure why I got involved in the first march.

Through activity on the streets I began to learn political lessons. I saw the behavior of the police.

Till then, I had looked on a policeman as someone to help you, but I learned very quickly what the police were really about. The law, the courts, the newspapers . . . they're not impartial at all, their interests are against those of working people.

It was through the struggles of ten years ago that I first became a socialist.

In 1969 I was elected to parliament. I got in on a coalition ticket.

The coalition put me forward because they thought I'd be a "good sell." I was young, 21, female, educated, "controllable."

But I wouldn't behave as a young lady should. They kept urging me to join bridge and golf clubs. Instead I mixed with international socialists and punched Enoch Powell.

I was no longer attractive to the middle class Irish. I was a disgrace. They decided to get rid of me.

At the next election I stood on a ticket of revolutionary socialism. They put a "Catholic Democrat" up against me, split the Catholic vote and let the Unionist in.

The fact that I was a revolutionary, that the middle class had disowned, never made the papers. The Press wouldn't print that . . . it might make people think: "Why has she become a revolutionary?"

So they used my marriage and my motherhood instead.

"There goes Bernadette Devlin. Came into Parliament a radical female, but got old and wise and married, and grew out of it all."

A woman journalist came to my house. That was the final straw. For a whole hour she took notes as I told her my political beliefs and why things were the way they were.

I opened the papers on Sunday and read about what my furniture cost, what color my curtains were and even the cost of the kids' toys under the chair.

That was when I stopped talking to the Press.

But the real Bernadette never dropped out. I never stopped working as a socialist in Ireland.

In my own mind I had progressed. From being an individual radical, I had progressed to being a member of a revolutionary organization, became more level-headed. I am now a member of the Independent Socialist Party. Yet I never really understood women's oppression until I started bringing up kids.

Up till then most feminists I'd met were middle class professional women. What they said made sense, but there seemed a hundred more urgent problems—like kids getting tortured and shot.

But in 1973 I had sorted out my own politics and had become part of the community through raising a family. Then I began to understand now women are kept down.

And there's a lot of women activists in Northern Ireland who only started seeing themselves as women, organizing themselves as women when internment started and their men went to prison.

When the British Government took away the right of prisoners to political status, labelling them criminals, the women of West Belfast or-



ganized to fight for the restoration of that political status.

They called themselves the Relatives Action Committee.

These women have become fighters . . . any one of their stories will do to show the change.

Mary Nellis from Derry started out a supporter of the SDLP backing John Hume for parliament and content to let him and "The Boys" see to it all.

Then one of her sons was imprisoned. Many of the young kids get involved with the Provos . . . you take sides when the troops kick you around.

That was when Mary found out that John Hume and the nice respectable SDLP just didn't care. Yes, they'd have her vote, but as far as her son was concerned:

"If he's in prison, he must be either a criminal or a terrorist."

Like many mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, Mary went out to fight for her own. She got other mothers and wives around her and went and banged on the councillors' doors and disrupted their meetings until at last the city fathers listened. These wives and mothers couldn't have spoken to five people three years ago. Now they speak to five thousand.

They organize demos, marches, meetings, tours. They are a political force in the land and they have given people hope.

Different groups now work together for political status for prisoners. That's an important unity, for it gives people confidence that something can be

built and won.

The Relatives Action Committee is independent. Of course it's close to the Provisionals, but they are nearly all male and elitist.

The women can—and do—tell the Provos to wise up and the Sinn Fein can't threaten to kneecap a hard-headed woman . . . she'd belt him around the ears!

The women of the Relatives Action Committee face another problem—when their men come out of prison they often expect the women to shrink back into the kitchen.

But that won't happen any more. These women, who wouldn't call themselves feminists and who are fighting the British Government are not going back to the sink. They will never be walked over again. □