

Socialist Worker

Paper of the International Socialist Organization 25¢ monthly



"THE BRETHERN" see page 9

JANUARY 1980



NUMBER 33

**STOP
IMPERIALISM:
EAST
AND
WEST**

THE EMPLOYERS' OFFENSIVE AGAINST STEELWORKERS AT U.S. STEEL

The key to the Iran and Afghanistan crisis is the competition between the world's two major powers—the US and the USSR.

The US installed the Shah and kept him in power as long as it could. Now, it is trying to reimpose its hold over Iran.

The Russians have invaded Afghanistan in a last ditch effort to prop up a crumbling regime—lest the US gain influence there.

Reports estimate the number of Russian troops involved as high as 100,000. It is the most important Russian intervention in any country since Czechoslovakia in 1968.

They intend to remain in Afghanistan for as long as it takes to control it.

HYPOCRISY

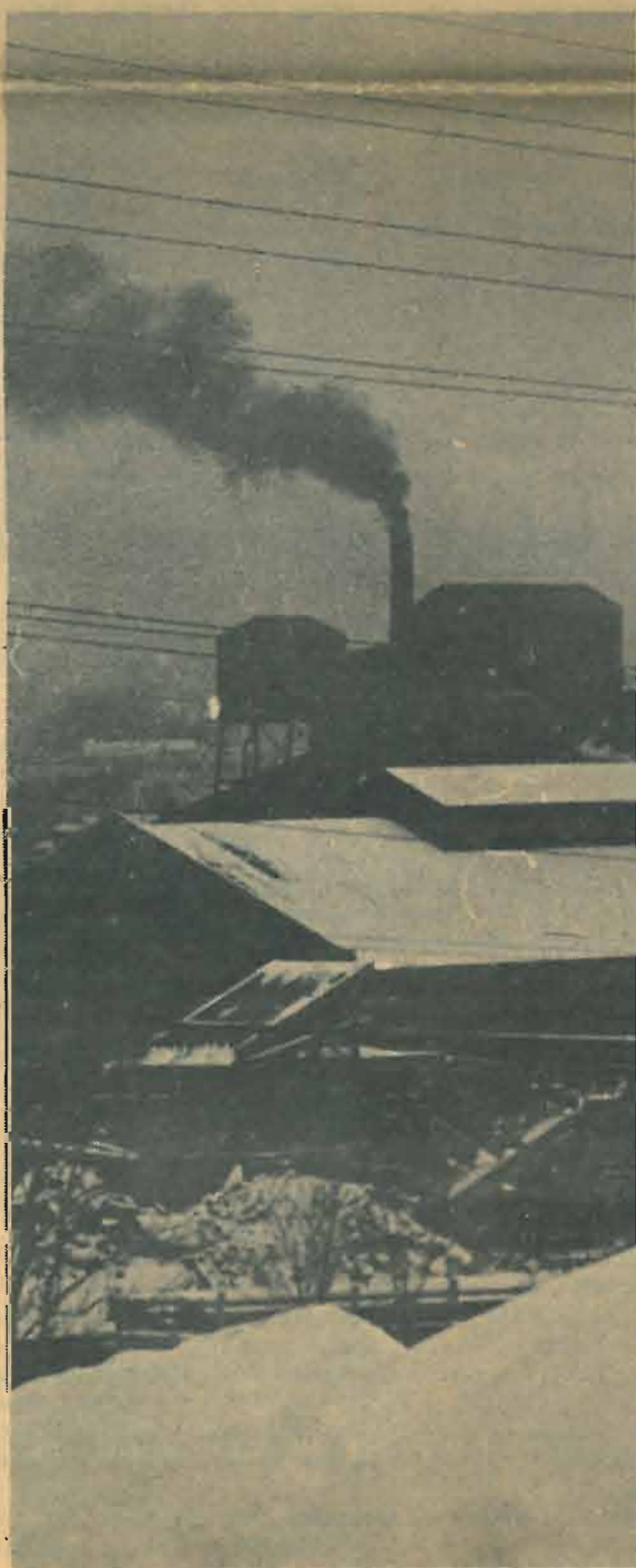
But Carter's denunciations of the Russians are simply hypocrisy. The US did exactly the same thing in Vietnam. In this the US and the USSR are no different.

The real cause of the invasion is competition. What influence the USSR loses, the US gains. At times the US and the USSR agree amicably to carve up the world, as they did after World War II. At other times they scramble for it.

The barbarity of it all is that the people of the countries they fight over have to pay—often with their lives—for their competition and their wars.

OPPOSE

We have no stake in supporting either. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan must be opposed—as must any attempt by the US to intervene in the region. □



Just weeks before Christmas, U.S. Steel greeted 13,000 of its employees with the announcement that they were to be fired this year—eighteen plants shut down, including the American Bridge Plant in Ambridge, Pennsylvania.

Now U.S. Steel has attacked its employees again, this time in a cynical move to shift the balance of forces sharply in its favor as the 1980 contract talks begin with the United Steelworkers Union (USW).

In November, U.S. Steel also announced that it was proposing that the workers in the American Bridge Division accept a wage freeze and a 75¢ per hour cap on COLA payments over three years.

The workers in the Gary, Indiana plant voted not to accept the substandard contract. The workers in Ambridge, however, having been told that their jobs were otherwise lost, voted to accept the company's offer.

REVERSE

So U.S. Steel reversed itself, and announced that the Gary plant would close. Ambridge would remain in operation.

U.S. Steel's message of course is quite simple and quite calculated: accept what we have to offer or say good-bye to your job. No negotiations. You are hostages, a pawn in our game.

U.S. Steel is not alone in its attack on the rights and living standards of its employees, and neither is the USW alone in capitulating.

The same thing is happening in every industry. The UAW has just accepted a substandard contract for 110,000 Chrysler workers.

CHARADE

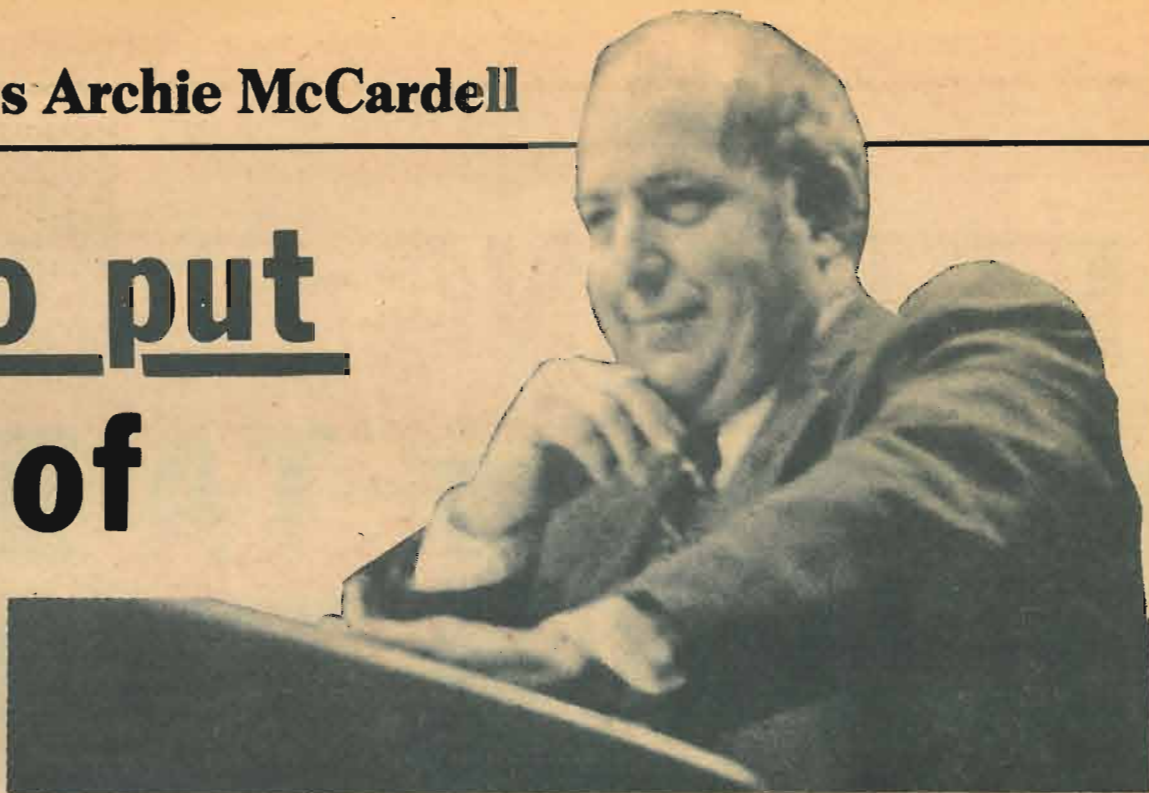
The meaning of all this? Clearly American workers are in for difficult days. They will be more difficult, however, as long as workers allow themselves to be swept up in the flag-waving, war threats, the charade of national unity.

What, after all, do we have in common with U.S. Steel, Exxon, Consolidation Coal, Chrysler? Nothing. Our enemy is here at home and it's high time we began to pay more attention to this simple fact and fight back. □

MORE ON STEEL CRISIS: PAGES 6 & 7

He's paid to put people out of work

by BEN BLAKE



Archie R. McCardell is Chairman of the Board and Chief Officer of International Harvester Corporation.

One of the major duties of his highly paid position is throwing people out of work.

McCardell is good at it. In 1975 alone, when he was president of the super profitable Xerox Corporation, McCardell oversaw the firing of 8,000 employees.

TALENT

This kind of talent caught the eye of Brooks McCormick (great grandnephew of Cyrus) who paid McCardell a \$1.5 million bonus to lure him away from Xerox in 1977.

Since moving into his office atop the twenty-seven story International Harvester skyscraper in downtown Chicago, McCardell has instituted a series of measures aimed at improving "labor utilization" (1) in order to "cut costs and increase "efficiency" and therefore profits.

McCardell's program has involved re-organizing Harvester management and hiring outside consultants to cut down the workforce by combining jobs, limiting union members' rights to transfer jobs, cracking down on "absenteeism" and trying to establish mandatory overtime.

The report went on to state that McCardell plans to step up his program in the coming months.

McCardell, of course, doesn't have to worry about the effects of his plans on his own job security. Documents on file with the Securities and Exchange Commission reveal that when Harvester hired McCardell they agreed that he could only be fired for "dishonesty, gross neglect of duty, willful failure to perform his duties or conviction of a felony."

If Harvester did fire him, they would have to pay him between \$250,000-\$750,000 for the privilege (depending on how long he had been with the company).

If McCardell decides to stay with the company he can count on an annual pension of over \$102,000 a year.

The personal wealth McCardell reaps as an executive of International Harvester illustrates who benefits from the day-to-day operation of the U.S. economy.

CONTRAST

In contrast to McCardell's wealth and philosophy are 35,400 production workers around the country who are members of the United Automobile Workers Union and average \$9.21 per hour. McCardell's salary works out to \$221.15 per hour.

These workers have been out on strike against McCardell's "labor utilization" drive since October. Their primary objective is to prevent the company from being able to require fourteen mandatory overtime Saturday's every year.

This requirement would allow Harvester to eliminate even more jobs and stretch out the work week for those who remained.

This in turn would create more misery for the Harvester workers and their families and add to the over six million

unemployed whose ranks have already been swelled by the beginnings of another recession and by "labor utilization" drives in other sectors of the economy such as the auto and steel industries.

Ultimately, the financial burden of supporting the unemployed created by the corporate drive for "productivity" and profits falls on the heads of those still employed through increased income taxes, while the rich, like Archie McCardell, escape responsibility through various tax breaks and loop holes.

FOLLOW

In addition, the more McCardell succeeds with his "labor utilization" drive, the more pressure is put on Harvester's competitors to increase "productivity" by eliminating jobs and the more likely other industrial and service corporations are likely to follow suit in an effort to maintain or increase their share of the profits.

This principal of competition at workers' expense is basic to the American economy, and that's why all workers have a stake in defeating McCardell's plans. Victory to the Harvester strikers! □

AN OPINION

Unanswered questions about the "right-to-life"

The recent visit by the Pope to America and the attention accorded him was a significant counter-revolutionary blow to the struggle of the "race" of women everywhere.

If my use of the word race astonishes you, don't be. I only wish to point up certain facts about words and how much impact they have on our lives.

by ALFRED FERDANCE

You and I have been subjected to a steady diet of words, both old and new, but it is only in these times that we find our lives hanging in the balance. Dependent not only on what we hear but also what is not said.

Let us take one slogan as a case in point. "The Right to Life." On the surface one can hardly find anything wrong with this concept. Yet, as a Black American male I can assure you that slogans and rhetoric such as "Civil Rights" and "Equality" mean absolutely nothing without the material life support and the political clout to assure the continuity of that support.

Small wonder women activists are enraged that the "right-to-life" forces are supported by men who never have to worry about having a baby, and in many cases are unwilling to support their own offspring. Small wonder that they are further incensed because the so-called "right-to-life" is not coupled to the right to a decent job with equal pay and minus the sexual harassment. Just why the "right-to-life" is not extended to all that life has to offer, such as female ordination, is something those who believe in religion will have to answer. Perhaps the Pope considers them (women) an inferior race such as Blacks are considered. If so, the Pope is not alone in this belief, since women are treated as inferiors in all nations governed by the "male race".

In closing, my brief examination of the words "right-to-life" still leaves unanswered questions for males. Some of you found out you had no "right-to-life" in Viet Nam, at least not any more than you extended to the Vietnamese. Who will demand that your "right-to-life" includes a safe, well-paid job for as long as you live, or need it? Who will fight for your life to be sustained by food and drink that does not poison you, or give you cancer?

CRITICAL

Should the "race" of men continue to look toward the Vatican for support in their struggles, when the "race" of women cannot? We would all do well to examine with a critical eye and ear, the words of any leader directing us along the paths of continued domination, and alienation of more than half the human race. □

DIVIDENDS

If this wasn't enough to tide him over until he could find another job "improving labor utilization" at another multinational, he can always fall back on savings from his \$460,000 salary or dividends from his 60,000 shares of International Harvester stock (valued at \$2,362,500), which netted him \$103,500 in dividends in the first nine months of 1979.

Flashback: Mashad, January, 1979

Why they want the Shah

In the hysteria whipped up in support for the hostages in Teheran, a great deal has been forgotten.

And Americans would do well to ask themselves a few questions, before they forget too much.

Why, for example, did the Iranians consider it such an affront when Carter, Kissinger, and Rockefeller brought the Shah to the United States?

UNITED

And why, exactly, do they want him back? If the Shah was a benevolent modernizer, guilty of at most mere "excesses"—as the press here would have us believe—why, are the Iranian people so united against the United States for harboring the Shah—now in Panama?

The answers are not at all difficult to find, nor do they require any complex analysis of the "Muslim mind."

Kurt Waldheim, the secretary general of the United Nations may have gotten an idea when he visited some victims of the Shah. American TV viewers got some of the same when Waldheim met a young boy, who had both of his arms cut off when barely more than an infant—a typical Savak crime—carried out in front of his father's eyes.

But there are countless such examples. Here is a report from a year ago, in the last days of the

Shah, written by Ali Ghanhani, and reprinted from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer (December 3, 1979):

"Demonstrating became the daily order of business during the rest of the month (December, 1978)..."

"In Mashad, a major religious center in northwestern Iran, women and children gathered on January 1, on the periphery of a demonstration, watching as the demonstrators chanted, 'The army of the world kills the enemy, the army of Iran kills its brothers.'

"Tanks moved toward the demonstrators and the young adults who had been holding the demonstration fled, but the women and children ran into a cul de sac. At the end of the cul de sac they backed up against the wall and threw up their arms in surrender.

ATROCITY

"But the soldiers did not stop. They drove the tanks into the crowd. The tanks rolled over the people, swung around and drove over more people again and again.

"The atrocity was the subject of a special BBC (British Broadcasting System) broadcast, and the sound of children's heads being crushed under the tank treads reverberated in the mosques across the country..." □

BRINGING BACK THE COLD WAR



Three years ago, the Carter administration was promising a foreign policy with the objective of promoting human rights, restraining arms exports, and limiting the spread of nuclear technology.

Today all that is past. Pointing to the fall of the Shah in Iran and now the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, Carter is shifting his policies openly to the right, and administration rhetoric today sounds much more like the cold war than detente.

PLEDGE

Carter's policies toward the Russians are the most indicative—and the most hypocritical—signs of the shift. The administration earlier pledged never to use food as a weapon, but now Carter has cancelled grain shipments, and moved

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

to curtail Russian fishing rights in U.S. waters.

Previously the administration had declined to link Soviet actions in Africa to progress in arms control, but now it has postponed the Senate debate on the nuclear arms treaty.

Carter is also drastically revising his policies in the Middle East. In 1977 he announced the goal of "demilitarizing the Indian Ocean." Now he is preparing huge increases in arms to Pakistan, Israel and Egypt, while at the

same time holding talks with governments in Somalia, Sudan, Oman, Kenya and of course Saudi Arabia.

NEW

Carter is proposing the creation of a new "rapid deployment force," 100,000 men capable of a full scale invasion on the Persian Gulf in less than three weeks. And permanent bases are being planned in Egypt, Israel and on the Indian Ocean.

We totally condemn the

Russian invasion of Afghanistan. It is a cruel adventure, no better than the American war against South Vietnam.

CONCERN

But Carter's actions are not based on the Russian invasion, and not even on concern for the lives of the hostages. Rather, he is concerned with the loss of Iran and the fears of more rebellion in the oil producing states on the Persian Gulf.

American foreign policy, following domestic policies, is shifting to the right. The "doves" of the Vietnam era are today all but silent, despite the danger of a new war—a war potentially far more destructive and dangerous than that in Vietnam.

We have to oppose Carter's

policies—in the Middle East and toward Russia. And we have to oppose the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. The issues are not defence by the United States of Afghani rights, nor Russian opposition to U.S. moves in Iran.

SCRAMBLE

Rather there is the scramble of the two giant imperialist powers to increase their influence—regardless of the rights or interests of any of the peoples of the Middle East.

But while we oppose imperialism, East and West, our main duty is here—in the United States, where we live.

We must organize to oppose the war threats! Send back the Shah! Defend the right of self-determination in both Iran and Afghanistan! □

RALLY FOR THE E.R.A.

"Discrimination is big business for Big Business," reads a resolution of LERN (Labor for Equal Rights Now). indeed it is, and the Equal Rights Amendment is important business on the agenda of women's liberationists.

LERN is sponsoring a rally on January 13 in support of ratification of the ERA in Richmond, Virginia. Backers of the rally include AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, ERA committees formed by AFL-CIO councils in Baltimore and Pittsburgh, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and numerous union locals and local union women's committees throughout the country.

Virginia is one of 15 states which has so far failed to ratify the ERA. It is no surprise that 12 out of those 15 are "right-to-work" states.

ISSUE

The ERA is not only an issue for women. It is an issue for labor—for all workers—as well. Including part-time workers, the American workforce

is now 52% women. Yet only one woman worker in ten is a union member, and on average, women make 57% to a male worker's dollar.

DRAG

Of course this hits women the hardest, but it hurts male workers as well. As trade unionists realize, lower wages for any one section of the workforce tend to drag down all wages. And divisions in the workforce, strengthened by wage differentials, weaken the ability of workers to fight for and win any gains.

And where do the pay differential go? Capitalists, not male workers, pocket the difference and make out like bandits.

The corporations would like male workers to believe that passage of the ERA would mean worsened inflation and increased unemployment for men.

In fact, the opposite is the case. The main opponents of the ERA, the corporations, are

the same people engineering the current anti-union busting campaign and putting increasing numbers of workers on the unemployment rolls. The interests of these people have nothing in common with the interests of any workers—male or female.

The Equal Rights Amendment is, actually, a very mild piece of legislation. It simply says that women should have political and economic rights equal to those of men. The fact that there is such a strong opposition to the ERA says a lot about capitalism's true view of women.

The LERN resolution states, "The employers also realize that ratification of the ERA would encourage women to assert more militantly their rights and would create a climate in the nation favorable to securing those rights."

BASIC

The agenda for revolutionary feminists, and all women's liberationists, is a full one. Abortion rights, child care, equal employment rights, including hiring, pay and advancement opportunities, all demand our attention. The fight for ratification of the ERA is one small step, a basic one, in the struggle for women's liberation.

Fight for women's rights! Rally for the ERA on January 13, in Richmond, Virginia! □

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

IRAN: THE CONTRADICTIONS SHARPEN

Internal conflict grows sharper in Iran each day.

A general strike was announced in Tabriz. The Kurds continue their fight for self-determination—as do the Baluchis. Unemployment keeps rising and shortages are becoming evident.

Khomeini cannot enforce his rule in many areas of the country. The central authority of the government—or what is left of it—is eroding rapidly.

And while Khomeini successfully rallied Iranians around him over the embassy takeover, this cannot last. He cannot and will not satisfy the demands and needs of the masses of Iranians—workers, women, national minorities. But the more repressive he becomes, the more resistance to him will grow.

CRISIS

A crisis situation of this kind cannot continue forever. It will have to be resolved—either from the right or from the left.

The right wing is organizing itself for such a possibility.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Due to the holiday break the January issue of Socialist Worker will be only 12 pages. We will return to the regular 16 pages in February. □

Not to mention the US—which, if it could, would return with a vengeance.

Only a socialist alternative can provide an answer to the social and economic problems facing the Iranian masses. But years of repression by the Shah retarded the growth of a socialist movement rooted in the working class. Building such a movement is imperative. It is the most urgent task facing Iranian socialists today. And it is not a question of choice but of necessity.

For American socialists our job is clear. We have to actively oppose any attempt by the US to regain control of Iran. Moreover, it is our duty assist and support the Iranian left in their efforts to build a mass revolutionary party, in every possible way. □

FIGHTING WORDS

No wonder Sam Johnson declared that "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." He must have had the Wall Street gentry in mind, or at least their prototypes, for in every age it has been the tyrant, the oppressor and the exploiter who has wrapped himself in the cloak of patriotism, or religion, or both to deceive and overawe the people.

—Eugene V. Debs
Canton, Ohio, June 16, 1918

Socialist Worker

January, 1980

Socialist Worker is published monthly by the International Socialist Organization, Box 18037, Cleveland Ohio 44118

Graffiti

by PATRICIA GILMAN

Free enterprise forever...

Florida republican candidate Richard Kelly summed up his economic philosophy this way: "I think the free enterprise system is absolutely too important to be left to the voluntary action of the market place." □

Mindless...

Over an article on the "danger" of government regulation, this month's Fortune Magazine ran this headline: "Mindless pursuit of safety." □

Great moments in science...

Scientists, oil companies and the Canadian government are planning to force feed polar bears capsules of crude oil. The bears will later be slaughtered.

The point of the experiment is to determine whether or not oil spills are dangerous! □

Best use of taxpayers' money award...

The Air Force recently flew a jet loaded with nuclear bombs 100 miles from Las Vegas and made it crash.

Right on schedule men in protective uniforms cleaned up the pieces of the nuclear weapons and radioactive debris.

The test cost \$1 million. The Air Force concluded that the radioactivity had "effectively" disappeared in 90 days. □

Screening...

Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) officials have concluded that plant operators were responsible for the troubles at Three Mile Island.

Therefore they are changing their own policies on the selection of operators. They have devised an IQ test for prospective employees.

Now if we could get an IQ test for them... □

Man bites man...

More people in New York City are bitten by fellow human beings than by rats, according to a news story.

People are blamed for 892 of the bites reported the Department of Health, compared with only 299 bites from wild rats. That put humans in third place behind dogs and cats. □

Class struggle banned...

"Class Struggle," Bertell Ollman's board game, has been banned from the Toronto branch of Canada's largest department store chain, T. Easton Co. The Toronto outlet outlawed the game after several customers complained that it was "subversive."

ANTI-KLAN MARCH CALLED

ATLANTA, GA—A call for a February 2 march against the Ku Klux Klan in Greensboro, N.C. was announced here in December by Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The announcement followed a two-day national conference called to plan ways to counter the Klan's increasing activity, particularly in the aftermath of the killings in Greensboro.

250 people attended the conference which concluded

with this statement:

"We call on labor unions, churches, civil rights organizations, political groups, and others to come to Greensboro."

The February 2 date was picked to commemorate the

twentieth anniversary of the birth of the civil rights movement, which began in Greensboro on February 1, 1960. □

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

"Why can't we love our country—and love justice too?"

Gibson Greeting Cards put out a new line of Christmas cards this year based on patriotic themes. One card shows a snowman holding an American flag. The message reads, "May the Faith of our Fathers be our Hope for the Future."

Now it doesn't say whose fathers it means, or which faith. But Old Glory on the cover leads me to think Gibson doesn't mean Eugene Debs. They're not talking about his belief in socialism.

Just a harmless bit of patriotic sentiment? A timely link between Christmas cheer and pride in the Fatherland? While it's not really harmless at all, it certainly is timely—a cute tidbit drawn from the foul, murderous bag called "Americanism."

RETREAT

US patriotism was forced into temporary retreat in the aftermath of Vietnam and Watergate, but it was never far from the surface. It is an important part of the forces which tie American workers to the US ruling class, against their own interests.

Like all other opportunists, Gibson is cashing in on the recent resurgence of patriotic ideas—"America First," "God Bless America," and "America is the greatest country on the Face of the Earth."

Other manifestations of Americanism are more ominous. They include increased arms spending, the Buy American campaign, attacks on the unions, revival of the draft, and the growth of such groups as the American Conservative Union and the Ku Klux Klan.

Most recently, American patriotism has taken the form of virulent attacks on Iran and Iranians in this country. Even in Panama, the person of the Shah stands for American "honor"—that is, American domination of the world.

Patriotism pretends to be classless, but who really profits from it? The defense industry, American capitalism in general, right wing politicians, the American oil companies—in a word, the ruling class.

Who is hurt? All the rest of us, and especially the working class, who finance and fight the wars that Americanism

prepares them for, whose interests are washed away in a flood of national unity.

ANGRY

One of my co-workers who was outraged by the takeover of the embassy in Teheran asked me if I didn't feel even a little angry that America—"my country"—was being attacked and humiliated.

He was incredulous when I told him that as a socialist, I don't think American lives are worth more than other lives—for example, those of the Shah's victims. Socialists don't think the Iranians are obliged to honor the rights of the CIA to gather information in their country, either.

I told him we share the Iranian students' sentiments about the role the US has played in their country and in the world. That we stand in solidarity with their fight against US imperialism regardless of their tactics.

But my co-worker was less concerned about the lives of the hostages than about the "humiliation" of America at the hands of "a bunch of Arab fanatics." This is what Americanism is really about, and we're now witnessing the rage of a bully when his victim starts fighting back.

Patriotism: standing up for the Shah!

by DEBORAH ROBERTS



To this way of thinking, a monster like the Shah has to be defended because he was loyal to "our" interests. Tying an American's hands is a worse atrocity than cutting off an Iranian's breasts or testicles, as the US-supported Iranian secret police did under the Shah. And the proper response to trespass on an American embassy is military intervention: we'll show them who's boss.

The mass media have played the role of pro-US agitators since November. It's hard to say if the American people are overwhelmingly unified on this issue, as the networks and newspapers claim. But it's clear that the old "my-country-right-or-wrong" crowd has a renewed respectability and vigor about it.

Many young men and women, including those who reluctantly fought the war in Vietnam, and those who gladly fought against it, now appear to be profoundly influenced by this revival of national chauvinism.

HARDER

It's harder to be a socialist right now than it was a year ago. We spend much of our time and energy trying to con-

vince other people to be socialists, and some of them have turned away since November. But others have come closer, because America's real role in Iran—and the world over—is clearer to those willing to see it.

We need to think more about ways of clarifying what we mean by imperialism. About the differences between the nationalism of oppressor nations, like the US, and that of oppressed nations and peoples. About the relationship between the American working people, who are themselves exploited and oppressed in this nation, and the US government, which needs to be overthrown.

Most of all, we need to think about what Karl Marx meant when he insisted, "The workers have no nation." We must raise the principle of internationalism wherever we can be heard, because American workers have infinitely more in common with the Iranian revolutionaries than with the rulers of this country.

Of course, few Americans realize that. The idea of international working class solidarity is not very popular right now. For that reason, if for no other, we must stress it again and again.

Twenty-five years ago, the liberal French writer Albert Camus opposed his government's war against the Algerian people. He said in despair, "I wish I could love my country and still love justice."

INJUSTICE

National chauvinism—Americanism—defines "our" government and "our" country as the same thing. American socialists know we can't love our country, because, just as we hate injustice here, we hate the economic and military domination of the world by the US ruling class and its government.

But unlike Camus, we aren't full of despair. Instead, we work for the day when American working people reclaim their proud history of struggle, kick the bullies out, make the country their own, and join hands with people like themselves around the world. □

Rebellion in the name of religion



Islam, the religion of Muslims, stretches all the way from Indonesia, next door to Australia, to Morocco, across the water from Spain.

NIGEL HARRIS ON ISLAM

Most of it looks pretty quiet. Why then do the newspapers talk about all these millions being in revolt?

Some of them are in rebellion, especially in Iran. A rebellion against the dominant world order, and its major power, the United States. But so are a lot of other people who are not Muslims.

Nicaraguans against Somoza, Zimbabweans and Black South Africans against white rule, Northern Irish Catholics against their British and Protestant rulers, and so on.

In Nicaragua and Zimbabwe, Christian rebels attacked Somoza and Ian Smith for being hypocrites in their Christianity, just as Iranians attacked the Shah for being a hypocrite.

REVOLT

What is important is the revolt not the particular form. The press describes nearly every form of revolt as crazy. And the nearer to home, the crazier it is.

The world we have, they say, is the best we can hope for. The ruling classes who run it are the best possible. Therefore all revolt is irrational. After all, the Shah was a lovely fellow and very modern.

It follows that rebellions against the ruling class become Muslim or Irish Catholic or whatever. To the media religion is just what the bosses say it is: saying your prayers before you kill people.

Of course, it is as well to know what you are doing when you take on the ruling class, otherwise you are likely to be defeated.

The rebels who last month seized the shrine of Kaba in Mecca's great mosque, the most holy place of all Islam, were rebelling against the obscene corruption of the local ruling class, the Saudi Arabian aristocracy. They did so in the name of god, and to establish a new spiritual leader.

POWER

They did not know that they would need vastly more mass power to make their rebellion successful.

The Saudi bosses could defeat them. They have more troops and their own version of god's wishes. After all, they say, we do all the right things—we obey the letter, if not the spirit of the law of Islam. We flog adulterers, veil women, and make alcohol illegal.



Above: the shrine of Kaba, most holy place in Mecca, under attack

If that was what Islam was about they would be right.

But Islam, like Christianity and all great religions, has thousands of faces, most of them far removed from the original teachings.

Most of the time it is the Islam of the rich which dominates and controls the Islam of the poor. That is why so many barbarities are perpetrated in the name of religion.

The pieties of the Saudi Arabian king did not prevent him expelling by force 200,000 Pakistanis, Muslims mind you, last year.

MURDER

It didn't stop the Shah and Khomeini practicing vicious discrimination against the Afghani construction workers in Iran, all of them Muslims. It doesn't stop Khomeini murdering Muslim Arabs in the south and Muslim Kurds.

But in revolt it is the Islam of the poor that drives back the pretensions of the kings. In the struggle against the Shah, all the faces of Islam, of the peasants, of the workers, of the small merchants and beggars, and even of the rich fused together behind Khomeini against the Islam of the Peacock Throne.

Once achieved, all the interests separated.

The revolution could only survive if the Islam of the poor came to be dominant and eliminated the rich. That Khomeini opposed.

He banned the workers



Armed Mullahs in Teheran

from seizing and running the factories, he did nothing to help the unemployed and possibly one in five Iranian workers are today without jobs.

Meanwhile, the rich continued shopping in the boutiques and many of the priests—the mullahs—moved into fashionable villas north of Teheran.

Last month, a minister wrote to the press, "People see that their desires and ideals are not realized. No real change has taken place. Exploitation still exists. People ask what is wrong."

No amount of talk of veiling women or flogging adulterers will still grumbling stomachs or end the oppression of Kurds.

Khomeini banned demonstrations, but demonstrating continues for it is all people have.

How fortunate for Khomeini that just before the referendum to nominate him as president, students seized the American embassy, for immediately he was able to rally all the discontent behind his authority.

It is an exercise necessary for Khomeini to stay in autho-

riety. It is also one extraordinarily dangerous for him.

He raises hopes he does not intend to satisfy. He invokes the spirit of mass action. Despite his boast that he is willing to let Iranians starve for the principle, he has not banned US food imports. Nearly all Iran's wheat and rice imports comes from the United States.

MACHINE

He needs the spare parts for Iran's military machine, or he cannot hold down the Kurds and all the others.

Khomeini's power depends on the United States, even though publicly he must be willing to go to the brink to secure mass support.

The same is even more true in Pakistan. The economy has collapsed. Inflation soared by 20-25% in the last two months.

A tinpot dictator, General Zia has just postponed elections for the umpteenth time.

Zia has used Islam, flogging, maiming criminals and banning alcohol to try to secure his popular support without success.

So he needs now to reach for weapons other than religion and pure violence. The rumor that the US was involved in the attack on Mecca's great mosque was a good opportunity.

Like the man Zia overthrew and killed Bhutto, the general needs the US for food and arms, but is willing to tolerate anti-Americanism to get domestic support. The students who sacked the US embassy last month were brought by bus, and it took a full five hours for the Pakistani military to rescue the beleaguered American diplomats.

Khomeini in turn was delighted that support came from Pakistan, and other actions that took place in Dacca, Bangladesh, and Ismir, Turkey. It all helps to convince the thousands in Iran that there is a real war between Muslims and pagans.

And the Western press obliges.

The world is full of paradoxes and nothing happens simply. Khomeini will not defeat the United States, even if he kills his hostages.

Masses may, in the struggle, go beyond the Islam of Khomeini.

When they do, the Islam of the poor will find its common links with the poor everywhere—Muslims or not. □

ECONOMY: NO SIGN THE TIDE HAS TURNED

The seventies began and ended in recession. At mid-point the decade suffered the deepest recession since the thirties.

This sputtering economy was the background for everything else. Politicians were haunted by continuing high inflation and by demoralizing unemployment.

There is no sign that the tide has turned. The erosion will run on into the eighties.

DECLINE

Domestic militancy, among both workers and oppressed groups, has declined with the economy. Instead, it has been the right wing that has had life blown into it by the sputtering economy.

Will this change? Will continuing economic decline bring people to the point of saying they've had enough and even carry them beyond that to action against the capitalist behemoth?

There are some strong signs that things may even get worse.

U.S. Steel recently laid off 13,000 workers, and every year there are 10,000 fewer telephone workers.

The labor not absorbed by these industries must be taken up elsewhere.

In the seventies, the number of jobs increased by a startling 25%, despite higher unemployment rates. The percentage of women who had jobs increased from 43% to 57%.

SCARCE

But the jobs in the service, trade, and clerical areas where there was growth are themselves getting scarcer. Job security will, one can expect, be a greater worry in the eighties than it has been in the seventies.

A great spurt in investment in plant and equipment could change this grim prospect. The goal of a micro-computer on every desk by 1985 could brighten the future. But even that goal could be realized with a modest labor force.

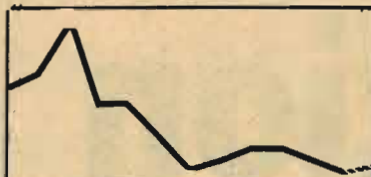
Overall, an expansion of investment appears to managers and boards to have some severe drawbacks. Between 1966 and 1976, interest payments quadrupled while before tax corporate profits increased only by half.

Expansion now would mean having to pay out even more in interest before shareholders could have a taste of profits.

It would, that is, be based on further borrowing by corporations. This would induce further inflation in order to have profits beyond interest payments.

We can, then, expect for the eighties a slower expansion of investment.

In the sixties investment increased 5.3% annually, in the seventies it increased only



NOTES ON THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

by MILT FISK

2.8% annually, and now in the eighties, when the pile of debt is already mountainous, what will it be?

EXPLOSIONS

There were explosions in Chile, Portugal, Iran, and Nicaragua as the effects of the stagnation of the seventies rippled across the globe.

In each case there were distinctive circumstances, but they led to revolution only in the framework of an oppression intensified by economic hardship.

The capitalist system isolated and smashed the Chilean revolution, and it absorbed the Portuguese revolution. It desires a similar fate for the other two.

Still, these explosions at the periphery show that imperialism has been weakened by the stagnation of the seventies.

That weakening has not been due merely to the domestic bouts of inflation and sluggish investment that have hit all the capitalist powers. It has also been due to the related fact of increased competition between those powers. U.S. merchandise imports have surpassed exports through the seventies, giving rise to whopping trade deficits. These deficits must then be subtracted from the GNP to get a true picture of the economy's growth.

With imperialism weakened, the possibility is opened up that not only will capitalism be unable to control the periphery but also it will be unable to control its own working classes.

Economics in isolation from special political circumstances is not a divining rod for revolution.

EXPLOSIVE

But with erosion deepening in the eighties, a confrontation with capitalism at its center is not to be ruled out on the basis of static views of working class cynicism or backwardness. Erosion of job security and welfare combined with continued uncontrollable events at the imperialist periphery and with exacerbated tensions between the competing capitalist powers could be explosive. □

Youngstown for 5,

"I'm bitter, and I think this whole situation here in Youngstown is a tragedy. And I think the corporations are responsible for it."

Ken Doran worked his last day at Jones and Laughlin's Briar Hill works in December, when the mill was all but finally closed down, ending one chapter in the fight to keep Youngstown a steel making center.

"This month I'd have thirty-one years in the mill. I'm forty-nine years old, and I'm not ready to retire."

"And I feel it's going to be awfully hard if I have to go out at my age without a trade and start again."

Doran estimated that ten to twelve thousand steelworkers have lost their jobs in the Youngstown area in the past two years—nearly four thousand alone when U.S. Steel announced it was closing the Ohio Works and the McDonald Works.

MORE

U.S. Steel announced the closings as part of a program which will cut 13,000 jobs nationwide and threatened more closings to come. The closings have been devastating to the steelworkers involved.

"There are very slim possibilities of me getting a job and I have four young children to raise, and I don't feel we can raise them with what the companies are giving us."

"Most of the people I know are just standing around waiting to see what happens, but the prospects of work in this area are horrible. A lot of people just can't face up to it. They're hoping they'll pick up something somewhere else—in Aliquippa or Chicago."

"I'm a chemical technician. I don't have the formal education to be what you call a chemist. I was a tester in a chemical laboratory. This is my trade, and now there aren't any steel mills left in the valley so there's no place for me to go."

HARD

Marcia Doran, who is enrolled in college, hoping that will help her get a job, says the situation is especially hard on the workers in their forties.

"I was in the unemployment office looking for a job. The employment counselor told me that despite the fact that there is supposed to be no discrimination—age discrimination—in this country, there was little hope for these people. 'Let's face it,' he told me, 'in their forties, they aren't going to find jobs.'"

"I think it's really sad," says Ken, "and it says something about this system which

Ken Doran, a steelworker, "thirty-one years in the mill, forty-nine years old, too young to retire," talked to Cal Winslow of Socialist Worker about the Youngstown steel closings.

is really rotten. These people are too young to be thrown on what I call the junk pile."

Ken Doran has been an active union member for many years, and in the sixties and seventies he was a leading member of RAFT (the Rank and File Team), an opposition group in local 1462 at the Briar Hill works.

ROLE

He says that the role of the United Steel Workers Union has been particularly "disgraceful."

"The role of the International has been to mouth the company line. Rather than do anything they have gone along with the corporation in laying the blame on imports."

"At no time has the International blamed the corporations—the ones who are not only shutting the plants but are also the importers of steel in this country."

"The only help we will get from the International, in my evaluation, will be when they come to preach not to resist the shutdowns, and when they explain to us the benefits—in other words, here are your benefits, your pensions, stand quietly in line, take them, and move on."

The steel corporations have tried to place the blame on everyone but themselves—Japanese competition, old plants, productivity problems, and environmental controls. Doran, of course disagrees. On environmental controls:

"This is an out and out lie, and it's an excuse, because the standards were relaxed. They were never enforced."

"I don't know what they really spent. They did put precipitators in, okay, and it was an improvement."

"They did put some money

in, but only when they were forced to. And, again, the international unions and people here themselves made a mistake. They objected the standards, they bought the corporation's line."

"They should have gone another way. They should have been more militant and forced them to live by the standards. Then the investment would have been made—the millions and billions they're always talking about—and they couldn't have shut the mill down, not with that investment."

On productivity: "Two years ago U.S. Steel approached the union at the Ohio works and told them they were in trouble and that if they couldn't turn a profit they would shut down."

CUT

"So the company—and the union agreed—set aside a lot of work rules, overlapped jobs, and the workers took adjustment in their income in their earnings. I believe it affected about 1,400 people and they cut their workforce from around 5,400 to 3,600. And since that time they made a profit, and U.S. Steel shut 'em down."

"They relaxed environmental standards and they shut down. They made a profit and they still shut down."

"So if anybody is angry in Youngstown, it's the U.S. Steel worker—he felt he had been promised a job if he worked along with them, if he worked harder. They lied."

Doran and others at Briar Hill works fought more than two years to keep the plant open—but in December's announcement Jones and Laughlin marked the end of the battle.

Down: a tragedy 10,000 families



Ken and Marcia Doran with their children, left to right: Kimberly, Victor, Marni Jo and Kevin. Ken Doran says, "I have four kids to raise, and I don't think we can raise them with what the companies are giving us."

"We probably had more militancy at Briar Hill than at any other place in a long time. There was resistance and as a result, the corporation sat down and negotiated an extension of the shut down."

"My personal opinion is that they should go farther at the Ohio works," and Doran says he and other workers in the Youngstown area will be prepared to back them up.

OPERATE

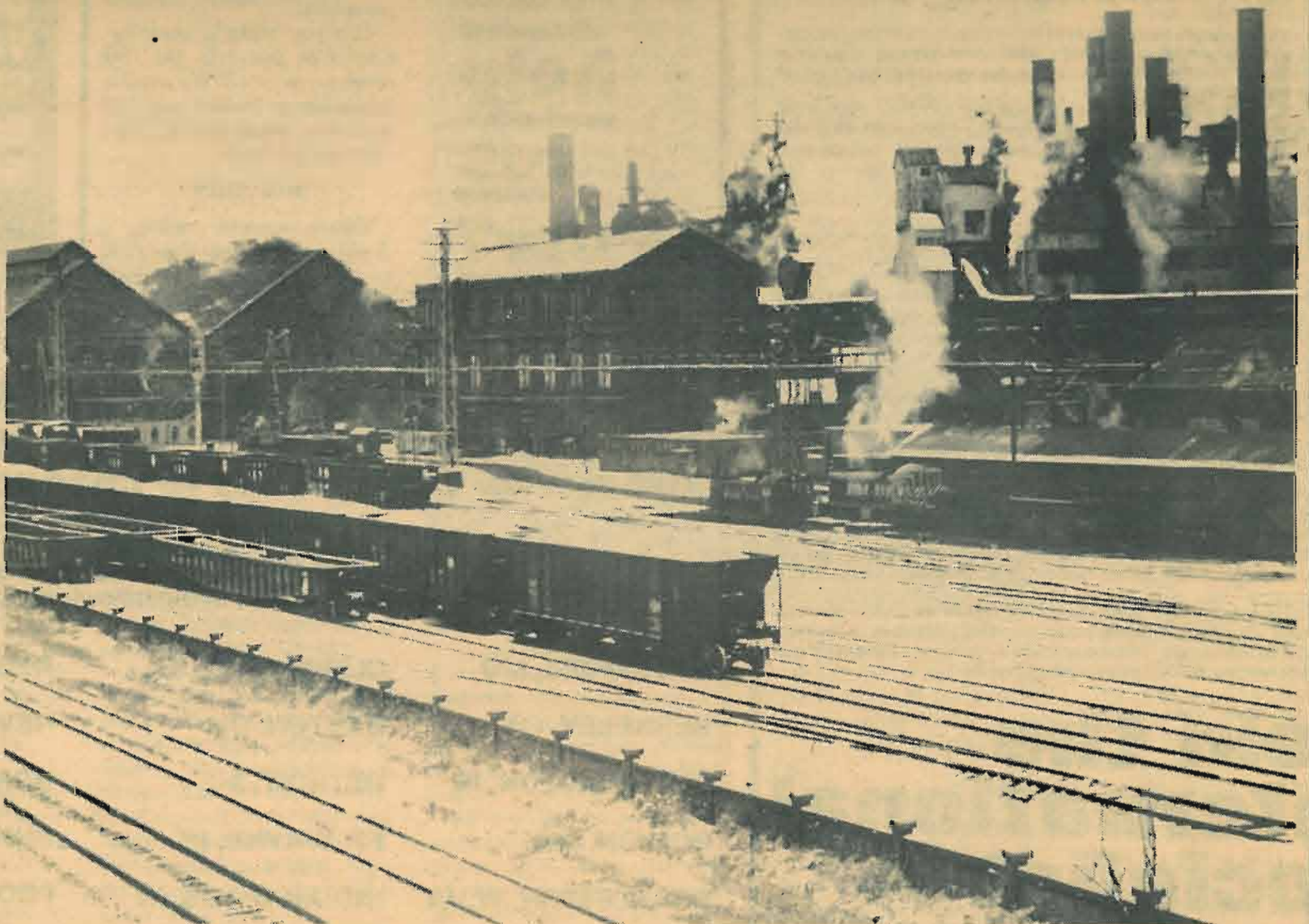
"They should go farther to the extent that the plant should operate. And if U.S. Steel doesn't care to operate someone else should."

"This isn't something happening just in Youngstown. It's happening everywhere. The corporations have the philosophy that they have no obligation to people other than to give them a day's pay for a day's work."

"This has to change. I hope Youngstown, maybe, will be a start."

"If U.S. Steel doesn't want to operate, it should sell the plant to the workers for a dollar. The employees should run it with the assistance of the government. I think the government should finance it."

"If U.S. Steel doesn't want the plant, the people of Youngstown want it. They built it, they worked in it, it's their livelihood. It's 10,000 families." □



This is the Ohio Works, owned by U.S. Steel in Youngstown, Ohio. Youngstown was once the second leading producer of steel in the nation, ranking second only to Pittsburgh.

Now there are virtually no mills left in the entire Mahoning Valley. 10,000 workers have lost their jobs in the last two years alone.

U.S. Steel claimed the mills were too old, too expensive to run. But the Ohio Works made a profit in 1979, and the predictions are already being made of steel shortages to come.

Crazy? Not under capitalism, where profit margins count for far more than workers and their families. □

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

BALTIMORE

Les Fields on **Nicaragua, an Eyewitness Account**. Monday, January 28, 7:30. Call 235-9630 for information.

BERKELEY

Ahmed Shawki on **Afghanistan/Iran: the Crisis of Imperialism**. Wednesday, January 23. Call 848-9465 for details.

BOSTON

Brian O'Kelly on **Report from Northern Ireland**. Monday, January 14, 7:30, 595 Mass Ave. Cambridge.

CHICAGO

Study series: January 10, **Crisis in Iran**; January 17, **British and U.S. Unions: a comparison**; January 24, **Crisis in Steel**; January 31, **the Politics of Cancer**. Call 477-7363 for details.

CINCINNATI

Judy Nusbaum on the **Permanent Arms Economy**, Sunday, January 13 at 11 a.m.
Bill Roberts on the **Theory of State Capitalism**, Sunday, January 27, phone 871-1371 for details.

CLEVELAND

Ahmed Shawki on **Afghanistan/Iran: the Crisis of Imperialism**. Friday, January 11 at 7:30 p.m.
Celia Petty on **The Fight for Reproductive Rights**. Saturday, January 26, 7:30. Call 932-6191 for details.

INDIANAPOLIS

Cal Winslow on **Why You Should Be a Socialist**. Wednesday, January 16, 7:30. Call 283-5947 for details.

NEW YORK

Bob Ginsburg on **Cancer and the Nuclear Worker**. Sunday, January 13, 8:30. 150 Thompson St. New York City.
Allyson Smith on **Russia: How the Revolution Was Lost**. Sunday, January 27, 8:30, 150 Thompson St.

SEATTLE

Ahmed Shawki on **Afghanistan/Iran: the Crisis of Imperialism**. Saturday, January 28, 7:30. Call 324-2302 for details.

HERA PRESS



Buttons 50¢
Discounts on bulk orders

SOCIALIST WORKER
POCKET PAMPHLET NO. 3

ISRAEL
—A RACIST
STATE?

50c

an i.s.o. pamphlet

WHY
YOU
SHOULD
BE A
SOCIALIST

by CAL WINSLOW

\$1.00

Hera Press
Box 18037
Cleveland, OH 44118

ISO FUND APPEAL

**Can
you
help
us
grow?**

We are having a special fund drive this January and February to help us cover the increasing costs of producing and distributing *Socialist Worker*, as well as to finance new pamphlets.

Can you make a contribution? Can you help the ISO continue to grow? We need a minimum of \$4,000, and ISO members alone cannot cover the total amount.

DONATION

Please consider making a donation—anything from \$100 to \$5. Send your contribution to: ISO, Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118.

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

- Karl Marx

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

BALTIMORE, MD

CLEVELAND, OH

NEW YORK, NY

BERKELEY, CA

DAYTON, OH

NEW HAVEN, CT

BLOOMINGTON, IN

DETROIT, MI

NORTHAMPTON, MA

BOSTON, MA

FT. WAYNE, IN

PHILADELPHIA, PA

CHARLESTON, W.VA

INDIANAPOLIS, IN

PROVIDENCE, RI

CHICAGO, IL

KENT, OH

SEATTLE, WA

CINCINNATI, OH

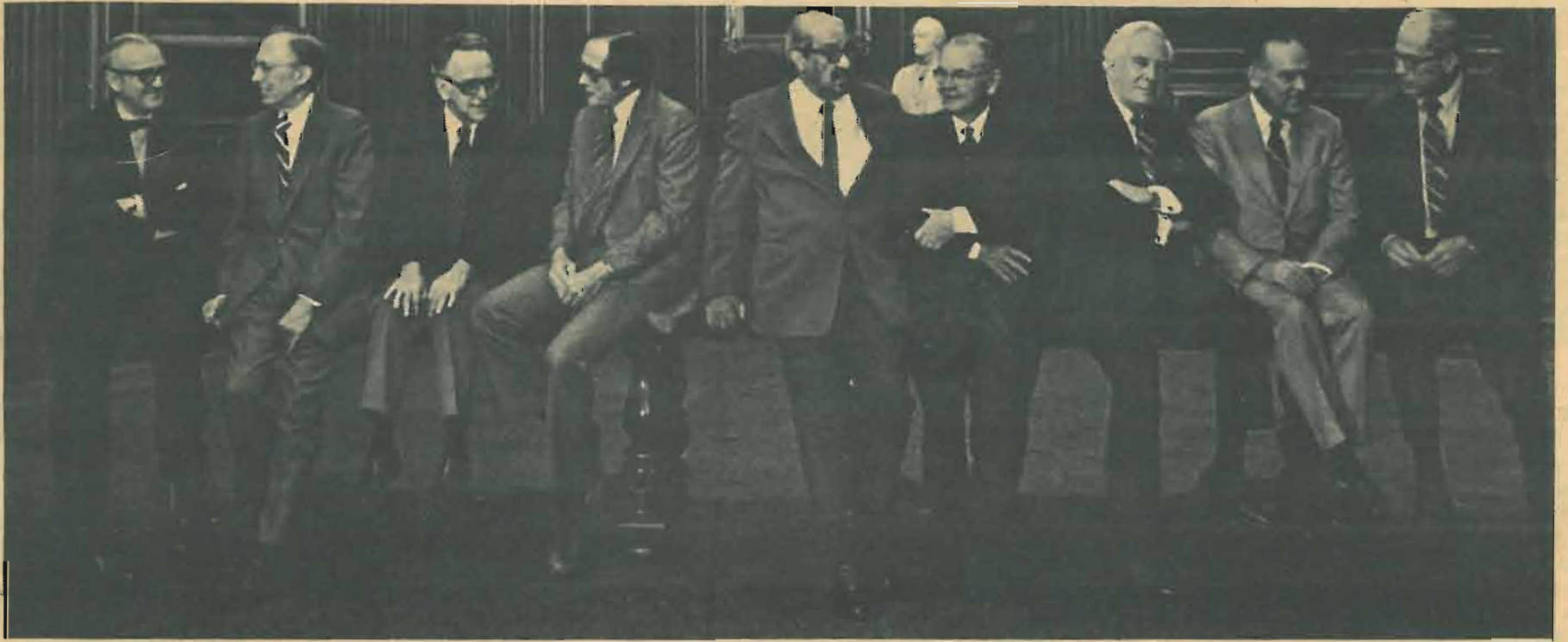
LOS ANGELES, CA

WASHINGTON, D.C.

I.S.O. National Office, P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118

reviews

David Gershom on Woodward and Armstrong's best seller



The Supreme Court posing

THE BRETHREN: NOT THE WISEST NINE MEN IN AMERICA

The Brethren is a gossipy, fast-paced book about what goes on behind the scenes in the U.S. Supreme Court.

THE BRETHREN, by Woodward and Armstrong, Simon and Schuster, N.Y., \$13.95.

It's well-written and fun to read. It gives us such stunning information as this:

- the justices of the Supreme Court aren't the nine wisest people in America;
- they do a lot of politicking about what goes into the opinions they hand down;
- they aren't neutral to what's going on politically in the country: it affects their decisions;
- Chief Justice Burger isn't very bright;

● a smart right-winger like justice Rehnquist often gets his way.

SURPRISE

And so on. It seems that the authors, Woodward and Armstrong, were the only two people who didn't know any of this.

But it's not the first time.

Woodward was one of the Watergate reporters who told us that Richard Nixon was a liar who used the FBI and the CIA against his enemies. Surprise! Surprise??

The Brethren, in fact just proves in detail what we all knew anyway. Amazingly, it kicked off an enormous fuss.

Some people thought that it was an expose of dirty doings in the court.

Others replied that it shows just the opposite—the Court

takes no bribes or kickbacks, it really is an honest institution, and so on.

In fact, what *The Brethren* shows is that corruption isn't the issue. When oppressive laws are interpreted by ruling-class judges appointed by ruling-class presidents, the least of our worries is whether the judges are stupid, or are picking up some cash under the table.

Honest justices don't change the real problem, namely, that the Court will be used to continue the subjugation of working people, Black and Hispanic people, and women.

Once in a while a decision emerges which seems progressive, such as the legislation of abortion, or the end of capital punishment.

We should remember two things: first, these are *rare*—progressive lawyers will tell you that they lose nine times out of ten, because laws aren't written to be progressive.

Second, "progressive" decisions are *arbitrary*—they can be reversed at any time. (What the Court giveth, the Court taketh away.)

ASSAULT

Indeed, the ten years of the Burger Court have involved non-stop assault on the rights granted by the "liberal" Warren Court.

The important lesson to learn from this is not to trust the courts at all. All too often a strike or other political struggle gets sidelined because it moves off the streets and into the courthouse.

The Court seems to promise an easy short-cut victory. Strikers or militants let themselves be talked out of direct action by the promise of the carrot at the end of the legal stick. Months later, when the court battle loses, it becomes clear: all we got is the stick.

An incident in *The Brethren* brings this home.

In 1974, Justice William O. Douglas, the most liberal member of the Court, suffered a stroke which soon made it impossible for him to continue work. Douglas refused to retire.

He said to a friend: "There will be no one on the Court who cares for Blacks, Chicanos, defendants, or the environment (p. 390.)

It's a nice sentiment. Just imagine! Douglas, fighting ill health to stand like the little Dutch boy with his finger in the dike, hanging in there until the next liberal president could appoint his replacement. (Needless to say, he didn't make it.)

I guess Woodward and Armstrong want Blacks, Chicanos, and defendants to feel all warm and glowy.

In reality, what can we think about a court system if its only hope for oppressed people was one ailing man? If Douglas really knew what he was saying, he should have denounced the Court as a hopeless farce.

HIGH

For oppression just *means* that the only hope people have is an occasional, unpredictable "friend" in high places.

Our battles are not going to be won in the courtrooms. Hopefully, then, we won't try to fight them there.

And just for the record: the nine justices of the Supreme Court aren't my brethren. □

Hallas on Leon Trotsky

On the centennial of Leon Trotsky's birth, Duncan Hallas, a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party (Britain) has written an important book about Trotsky's important contributions to Marxist theory.

TROTSKY'S MARXISM, by Duncan Hallas, Pluto Press, London, \$4.95.

Leon Trotsky was one of the prime builders of the October Revolution in 1917, and emerged as a leader of the world communist movement in the Communist International.

With the rise of Stalinism in Russia, Trotsky struggled, under extremely difficult conditions to defend the socialist tradition.

by SHARON SMITH

Hallas focuses on four major themes of Trotsky's writings:

THEMES

—his theory of permanent revolution: that in backward countries the working class alone can lead a socialist revolution, and that the revolution must be international.

—his sustained attempt at a materialist analysis of Stalinism and the new ruling order in Russia.

—his outstanding contributions to the strategy and tactics of revolutionary workers' parties in the Third International, both in the period of its rise and of its decline.

—his theory concerning the relationship of the revolutionary party and the working class, and the course of events which led to the isolation of the revolutionary movement from mass workers' organizations.

Hallas closes the book with a chapter covering Trotsky's later years—in exile, forced into isolation. His assessments suffered greatly because of isolation, but his revolutionary internationalism was uncompromised to his death.

READ

Comrade Hallas has made a very important contribution to our movement with this new book and every revolutionary socialist should make a priority of reading it. □



Leon Trotsky



on the picket line

Teachers win longest strike

The longest teachers' strike in U.S. history is over. 78 days after rejecting the Cleveland School Board's so-called final offer and going out on strike, 90% of Cleveland teachers have voted to accept the new contract proposal.

Because of their determination, the teachers were able to force a number of important concessions out of the School Board. In several ways the strike was a victory.

PAY

The contract provides four pay increases over the next two years: 10% raise immediately, 4% in September, 5% in January 1981, and another 5% in March 1981. A newly hired teacher with a BA will now be making \$10,876 up from \$9,887 before the strike. By 1981 this will have gone up again to \$12,471.

The contract also provides for improved medical coverage, and has an important 'no reprisals' clause.

But that's not the end of the story. Cleveland teachers—indeed the school system it-



Teachers go back to work

self—still face severe problems.

The School Board effectively stalled the negotiations with the teachers in a clear attempt to further sabotage Cleveland's limited de-segregation plan. Moreover, the School Board is using the teachers' wage increases as the excuse to launch a massive cuts campaign.

The expected cuts will be devastating: 350 teaching jobs

will be axed, 300 non-teaching jobs, 45 custodians and 45 principals and assistant principals. In addition 25 more schools will be closed, bringing the total number closed in the past two years to 51—the highest number of school closures in such a short period of time ever—even more than during the Civil War.

The Board also plans to sell off some choice real estate.

The cuts will literally deva-

state Cleveland schools. Already they are in shambles. Broken windows go unrepaired, textbooks and other materials are lacking, buildings are dilapidated. Before these latest cuts were announced, the State Board of Education had ruled Cleveland schools to be substandard.

BLAME

The Cleveland School Board tried and will go on blaming teachers for the cuts. But the teachers' wage increase is not the reason for the cuts. Rather, their low wages only reflect the general crisis in Cleveland schools. Further, many other cities are experiencing the same kinds of cuts in education. The real cause of the cuts has to do with the economic recession.

As the recession deepens, it is poor and working people who are made to pay. The first victims are the weakest. In this case, the education of inner city kids.

Support the teachers and stop the cuts. □

CHICAGO TRANSIT STRIKE

CHICAGO, IL—The scabbing started when six busses hurried down Clark Street under heavy police escort.

It was Monday night, the first night of the strike by bus drivers and EL (elevated subway) motormen against the Chicago Transit Authority. The moving busses signaled the intention of Chicago's bosses—break the strike.

"It's wage cutting," said a picket at the Clark Street barn, which moments before was blanketed by police as the scab busses went by. "They want to take away our cost of living."

LIES

"They are lying. We don't make 30 thousand! Look, here's my stub. See, I don't even make eighteen, and that's with overtime."

The pickets were angry at the Media blitz which claimed, among other things, that CTA drivers averaged over \$30,000 a year. For weeks the T.V. commentators, the mayor, and the CTA management were on the air telling the public that the CTA would not see the poor people of the city, who ride the busses, robbed by the greedy drivers.

It was not the poor who were hurt by the strike. It was downtown business.

"It's O.K. for us to have cost of living when we don't need it," said a striking El train driver, "but as soon as we do, they want to take it away."

Strikebreaking efforts, captained by Mayor Jane Byrne, succeeded in restoring partial El service the second day of the strike. Free rides on strongly policed trains lured some commuters to the El, but the busses weren't running and downtown looked like a supermarket parking lot during a half price meat sale.

ISOLATED

By the third day, the strike was isolated. The unions, which hadn't struck since 1919, failed to deal with the barrage of media and legal abuse whipped up against them. Chaos was still downtown, but the pickets weren't on the lines—they were listening to radios for news from the courthouse.

On the fourth day the judge, who "hadn't made up his mind, but had his mind made up," backed up his restraining order with an injunction. Friday morning the CTA resumed full service.

The drivers got 24¢ owed under the old contract's cost of living. The new contract is in binding arbitration where in the name of "fairness" the CTA will probably succeed in taking away half of what it wants.

by PAT MORGAN

TALKIN' UNION BY JOHN ANDERSON

IN DEFENSE OF THE RANK AND FILE

Ask any bureaucrat or those who run the local union why there is no life in the union. The answer one is most likely to get is—it's apathy and indifference of the rank and file.

This statement is repeated so often it is generally accepted as a truism. It is rarely challenged.

ELEMENT

Like every stereotype statement covering a large category of people, it contains an element of truth. What it fails to explain is why such a large majority of the workers is indifferent and apathetic toward the union.

There are many alert and intelligent workers who would be interested in participating in the union if it were not for the negative image they have of the union and its representatives. In the day-to-day activities in the shop they are impressed with the power and the authority of members of supervision. In their dealings with the union they are disappointed with its hesitancy and weakness in taking up a grievance.

The new employee, who is hired at 60 cents below the regular rate for the job, and is often pitted against the seniority employee in setting production standards, gets a bad impression

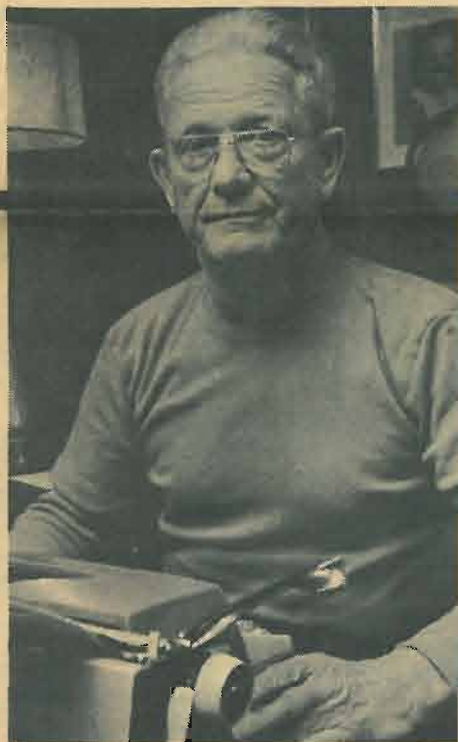
of the union. Being told the union can do nothing for them they learn to do without the union.

New hires soon learn that the less they depend on the union the better they are treated by supervision. The longer one is in the plant the more the worker is impressed with the fact the supervision is running the show. The union representative all too often acts like an assistant to the foreman. They help maintain discipline and support supervision in their efforts to speedup the workers.

NEGATIVE

There are hundreds of workers who attend one or two union meetings. Their impression of the union at these meetings is so negative they may never attend another union meeting. It soon becomes obvious to the alert worker that neither their representative nor the local union officers are anxious to have them attend meetings or to become active in the union. The only activity the union officers and committee members encourage is active support for them in the local elections.

The rank and file have something in common with their leaders. They have been indoctrinated with the idea that



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

capitalism, or the free enterprise system as it is called, is not only the best but the only viable economic system. They give no thought to changing the system.

Women and minority groups are becoming aware they are being discriminated against. In times of crisis and mass layoffs, when their jobs are threatened, workers may see the union as an instrument to be used in their defense. It is during such times that radicals and militants can introduce the class struggle and thus use the union for social change.

REASON

In such times the power of the workers can defeat the employers. Through their experience in strikes some workers have become socialists. At such times workers will listen to socialist ideas. There is often the problem of socialists not knowing how to present their ideas. Workers with socialist ideas have a reason to become active in their union. They want to spread their ideas. □



MINERS' CONVENTION: SAM CHURCH RULES

DENVER, CO—The 48th Constitutional Convention of the United Mine Workers (UMW) was held here, December 10-20—far from the coal fields of Appalachia. It effectively marked the end of an era for coal miners.

Ten years ago to the month, Jock Yablonski, his wife and daughter were murdered in their beds in their Washington County, Pennsylvania home. The murders were soon traced to Tony Boyle, the President of the UMW.

REFORM

Yablonski was an opponent of Boyle's, and his killing helped spark the Miners for Democracy (MFD), a reform organization that promised to return democracy to the corruption ridden UMW of Boyle.

In 1972, the MFD ousted Boyle, and in the next few years, the union was in fact made democratic. The rank and file took advantage of this and carried out an unprecedented campaign of strike action—both official and wildcat.

The man who presided over the 48th convention was Sam Church, a supporter of Tony Boyle's, a man who opposed the MFD. In 1977 he became vice-president of the UMW, and in November he replaced Miller, who retired for health reasons. And almost every observer concluded that the Denver convention was a personal triumph for Church.

Church won almost every contest. Most important was

the dues increase. After a heated debate, the delegates voted 1181 to 912 to increase dues from \$12 a month to \$26—an increase of 120%.

Church says the money will be spent on organizing, and organizing is certainly necessary. Today UMW miners produce less than 50% of the nation's coal, much of which now comes from non-union strip mining in the west.

But many rank and file miners were skeptical. Very little time was spent proposing how to actually organize the west (and Eastern Kentucky), and there was more than one hint that in fact the money will go to strengthening Church's administrative apparatus.

Church constantly appealed for unity, by which he clearly meant less democracy, in particular an end to debate inside the union. He did this in the context of flag-waving about the Iran crisis and the OPEC price increases. He also pointed to this year's contract negotiations.

Unfortunately, the majority of delegates went along, for while there were many courageous rank and file delegates, there was no organization to effectively oppose Church on the convention floor and in the committees.

COMPANIES

At the UMW conventions in 1973 in Pittsburgh and 1976 in Cincinnati, rank and file delegates somewhat naively demanded that no representa-

tives of the coal companies be allowed into the convention.

In Denver, Church actually met with top coal company representatives—and the meeting was an indication of things to come.

Church says that the companies are not his enemy, and is already promising "compromise" in the new negotiations.

All this in no way means the end for the rank and file, but "things will be much tougher for the next few years," in the words of a delegate from Ohio.

And they will be. Arnold Miller betrayed the hopes and dreams of the rank and file coal miners who elected him, but he was an ineffectual opponent in office.

Church will be tougher, especially on militants like those who fought to extend the national strike in 1978.

Church was Miller's chief bargainer in 1978, and the year before he actually organized an armed goon squad to break up a wildcat movement in West Virginia. He'll do it again.

So no wonder the companies are "hopeful." □

Health care key in OCAW strike

DENVER, CO—60,000 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) have walked off their jobs in the first national strike against the nation's refiners in eleven years.

The workers operate facilities representing 70% of the U.S. refining capacity and some 100 companies. They are most heavily concentrated on the Texas and Louisiana gulf coast.

KEY

Robert Gross, the head of OCAW, has called health benefits the "key" to the negotiations, which broke off January 8, with no new negotiations planned. The union is asking for uniform, fully paid benefits, including full medical and dental coverage.

The companies, led by Gulf of Pittsburgh, are said to have a "very strong position against" the union's health and benefits demands.

The companies have offered 9% a year for the two year contract, and are hoping to maintain production with managers and supervisors—



Robert Gross

who are showing up with sleeping bags for twelve hour shifts.

The major refineries are highly automated, but OCAW members say they are prepared to stay out until they win. They can also slow down with distribution by stopping tanker trucks on the picket lines. □

MEAT PACKERS FIGHT MONTFORT

GREELEY, CO—Meat packers employed at Montfort of Colorado's packing plant are in the third month of a strike marked by arrests and picket line violence, and now the fear that Montfort wants to become the next Coors.

Coors is the famous union-busting brewery of Golden, Colorado, and Montfort is following suit by going all out to break local 641 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

Montfort says it is losing money, but it is currently negotiating to take over Denver's third largest packer, Flavorland, which has a company union. Montfort has also recently purchased a packing plant in Florida.

The company is demanding virtually a total take-away—a three year wage freeze, with no COLA, the right to subcontract out work, and a reduction in vacation time.

CARAVAN

Other Denver unionists are backing the Montfort strikers, and on December 22, a car caravan took for the strikers' Christmas to Greeley.

Support for the strikers is urgent. Montfort is now operating the plant with scabs. Contributions can be sent to United Food and Commercial Workers, local 634, Greeley, Colorado. □

CUTS FOR CHRYSLER WORKERS

DETROIT, MI—The United Auto Workers Union has agreed to more cuts for its 110,000 members employed by Chrysler.

The UAW and Chrysler agreed early this month to reduce labor costs by \$243 million under the contract which runs until September, 1982.

Together with concessions granted Chrysler in negotiations last fall, this totals a gift to Chrysler of \$446 million from UAW members.

Chrysler workers will lose extra holidays and wage increases as a result. They will vote on the agreement in February. Canadian locals are already saying they will not go along. □



Getting the truth out isn't always easy. But it is still well worth it.



Join Us

- I want to join
- I want more information about the International Socialist Organization

Name _____

Address _____

ISO PO Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

ON STRIKE AT THE BILTMORE



Picketing Providence's centerpiece

PROVIDENCE, R.I.—The Biltmore Plaza is the centerpiece of Providence's attempt to upgrade its image and attract new business.

But the benefits of all the conventions and parties held in the hotel since it reopened in February have not made themselves obvious to the workers.

A week and a half before Christmas, they went out on strike.

Members of Local 217 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union, and of Local 134 of the Service Employees International Union are trying to negotiate their first contract with the Hotel.

ISSUE

A major issue, of course, is money. Tipped employees make \$1.95 an hour. Sixty-five percent of untipped employees make less than \$3.20.

Fifty percent of all employees (tipped and non-tipped) will get a raise on January

by VICKI LEWIS

1st, 1980—when minimum wage goes up!

Other issues include contract language, medical benefits, holiday and sick pay, protection from unfair treatment and on-the-job harassment and shop stewards. Management wants a limit of four stewards to represent waiters, busboys, bartenders, housekeeping staff, bellmen, doormen, and others—250 workers in all.

The strikers are up against some of the biggest corporations in Rhode Island. Textron owns fifty percent of the hotel.

The Providence Journal Co., which owns twenty percent, also owns the state's largest paper and one of the radio stations. The Outlet Co. owns another twenty percent, as well as another radio station and a TV station.

Hotels of Distinction, the company's management, has tried some pretty sleazy tricks, like offering free room

and board to any employees who would work through the strike—probably the only time they'd ever be able to afford to stay in the hotel.

Those who accepted only got a small taste of the high life, however. They were kicked out a few days later when someone pointed out that the hotel could hardly claim to be bargaining in good faith while there were scabs living there.

LOSS

The Providence Journal and the Outlet Co. have not used their newspapers, radio stations and TV stations to report a substantial loss of business at their hotel including the cancellation of reservations for a Blue Cross/Blue Shield convention, a basketball tournament and the auction of the Baltimore Canyon drilling rights.

But despite these and other losses during the busy Christmas season, there have been no negotiations since the strike began. □

UPS: POLICE RIOT IN JERSEY

PARSIPPANY, N.J.—One hundred police cars were called to disperse pickets here at United Parcel Service, January 4.

by ANNE MACKIE

UPS terminals all over northern New Jersey were shut down in a one day strike called by the Business Agents of Teamsters Local 177.

The Business Agents, on leave from UPS, had been told the night before they were being scratched from the seniority list—and fired. This action combined with other violations of the contract by UPS precipitated the strike.

As drivers and night loaders gathered in the parking lot at 9:00 am to hear the B.A.'s complaints, supervisors milled among the crowd taking pictures and trying to intimidate workers. Other supervisors began suiting up.

FORCE

Supervisors drove fifteen package trucks out the gate in mass, but not without casualties. One supervisor was cut by flying windshield glass and taken away in an ambulance.

A New Jersey state tactical squad was called in, complete with attack dogs. By this time the UPS workers were having coffee and wondering whether the cops were there to prevent a management riot.

This mass show of force on the part of the company and the police show UPS is willing to stop at nothing to keep production going. In fact production is what's behind this recent strike.

One driver in the Parsippany Hub described what it's like to work there: "Management is harassing the hell out of us. They want production. Everything is measured by the 'standard', and you have to beat that. They are using the overplan—bonus plan—and shoving it down our throats."

The bonus plan is not in the Local 177 contract. In fact the company has repeatedly violated the contract. One woman part timer was fired over the phone! A driver was fired for three accidents without proper written notice. □

UPS recently had two of the union Business Agents handcuffed, arrested and taken away to jail for supposedly interfering with their business. At UPS business means increased production, contract violations, harassment, and now arrests, attack dogs and cops.

If this sounds like all out war—it is. In 1980 UPS is out for increased profits and they will stop at nothing to get it if the recent incidents in New Jersey are any indication.

The strike action taken by the Local 177 Business Agents is the only language United Parcel understands. Unfortunately the International Teamsters won't be backing up Local 177. The International quit fighting UPS years ago when they allowed production quotas, standards, bonus plans and method evaluations to be introduced.

And this isn't all UPS has going for itself. UPS has the backing of the police—in massive numbers—to stop any strike actions. And they have the backing of the courts—an injunction against the New Jersey strike was granted the next day.

INGREDIENT

But what they don't have—that one crucial ingredient—is the backing of their very own employees. UPS workers everywhere are being hit by this company's drive for increased profits. And it will have to be the UPS workers themselves who finally say "no, we're fed up."

It can't be done by one or two Business Agents who are willing to go to jail, risk lawsuits, and get told to cool it by the International. It will have to be the rank and file workers themselves who stand up and act. □

ZIMBABWE: THE CEASEFIRE CHANGES NOTHING

The ceasefire announced in London and the arrival of British Lord Soames in Salisbury have changed nothing.

South African troops are still in the country.

The apparatus of terror created by Ian Smith remains intact. Martial law still applies to 80% of the country. There are now 18,000 political prisoners.

CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE!

The courts are still handing out death sentences to freedom fighters.

In signing the ceasefire the Patriotic Front may well be signing its own death warrant.

Leaving aside all the iniquitous provisions of the draft constitution, with the built-in

protection it offers to white power and privilege, the ceasefire proposals amount to little less than unconditional surrender by the guerrillas.

Initially only 16 centers will be set aside at which they will be allowed to assemble. Only one of these is in the indus-

trial and agricultural heartland of Central Zimbabwe.

The ceasefire means that the Patriotic Front must abandon areas that they won in battle and allow themselves to be herded into isolated camps where they will be easy targets for the security forces.

Meanwhile Bishop Muzorewa has already started his election campaign, backed

with massive financial support from South Africa—even though the parties of the Patriotic Front are still banned.

The best hope now is that the thousands of freedom fighters who have refused to turn themselves into British and United Nations soldiers can regroup and continue the struggle until victory. □