

Socialist Worker

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see pages 8 & 9



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WHY THE MINERS DESERVE YOUR SUPPORT



John Smith worked as a coal miner for 53 years in West Virginia. Today he is retired, but retired to poverty that is unchanged since the thirties.

Since the very beginning of the industry, coal miners and their families have lived in grinding poverty.

Tragedy, death, and relentless toil have always been with them.

Between 1890, when the United Mine Workers was formed, and 1970, 111,501 miners were killed on the job. Literally millions were seriously injured. Hundreds of thousands of others were consumed by the black lung disease.

This year, more than 100 more miners will die on their jobs.

Coal mining is 50% more dangerous than the next most hazardous industry—contract construction. It is 10 times more dangerous than working in a steel mill, 15 times more dangerous than work on an automobile assembly line.

DEPRESSION

In Appalachia, the depression of the thirties did not end. More than 2 million people were forced to leave their homes, because there was no work in the fifties and early sixties.

In the past ten years, however, the miners have fought their way out of the depression.

They have increased their wages, pensions, health and welfare. They have decreased productivity.

They have done this by fighting, and by striking. The strike statistics in the coal mines are unparalleled.

Now, the employers want to push them back. Arnold Miller, the UMW president calls the companies' proposals "a 1930's style contract."

ELIMINATE

They want to eliminate the wildcat strike, the source of the miners' strength.

They want to reduce health and welfare benefits and pensions. They want to drive up productivity—and with it the injury and death rates, which in this system inevitably follow production.

The coal miners strike, therefore, is important. The odds are against the miners. They have a weakened leadership. The companies have huge stockpiles.

The miners, however, know the importance of the issues at stake. And they are stubborn fighters. They deserve a victory. And they deserve your support. □

Racist Murder: New York to South Africa

IT'S ALL THE SAME

NEW YORK CITY—Robert Torsney, a white police officer, was found not guilty by an all-white jury on December 1 of shooting 15 year old Randolph Evans in the head. The reasons for his acquittal—insanity.

The murder took place on Thanksgiving day last year. Torsney and his partner were leaving a building in New York City. Torsney was approached by Randolph Evans and five other young men. Then, for no apparent

reason, Torsney shot the boy in the head.

Randolph Evans was black.

INSANITY

Torsney's defense was insanity. He argued he suffered an epileptic or psychomotor seizure at the exact moment of the killing. But testimony at the trial showed no past history of epilepsy or breakdowns of any kind.

May Jones, a cousin of Randolph Evans, said that she "wasn't surprised by the

justice that was done...It's a racist system and society." □

Steve Biko

PRETORIA—A South African magistrate ruled on December 2, that the police were blameless in the death of Black nationalist Steve Biko.

Biko died of massive head injuries after being in police custody for three weeks.

During the inquest police and doctors testified that Biko

had been kept naked in a police cell more than 2 weeks. He was kept chained hand and foot during his last days.

The day prior to his death he was thrown naked in the back of a jeep and driven almost 700 miles most of the time unconscious.

The Black population has already begun its protest against the legalized murder. On the court room steps, freedom fighters raised the clenched fist and shouted "Amanhla"—Power. □

Cleveland teachers out

Banks, racists cause school crisis

CLEVELAND, OH—Many Cleveland schools are now shut down. Cleveland school teachers have refused to teach until they are guaranteed a paycheck.

The teachers have not been paid since November 11. On Friday, December 2, the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that the teachers must continue to work without pay until a lower court Judge Frank Battisti decides whether the school board pays its \$15 million debt to Cleveland Trust and National City Bank or to pay the teachers.

DISAGREE

Furthermore, the Court of Appeals ruled that if the banks disagree with Judge Battisti's decision they may continue their appeals. This means that teachers' paychecks will be further delayed.

Board of Education president Arnold Pinkney has threatened that teachers who do not show up for work will not be paid.

The issue in the Cleveland schools is more than just financial bankruptcy. Opponents of desegregation hope to use this crisis to shut the schools and plead poverty to avoid busing.

The State Legislature is now planning to debate a bill that will bail out the Cleveland school system. But this crisis and the racism in the educational system means that problems in Cleveland schools are only beginning. □



Terry Abbot

Abbot "Coal miners are stubborn . . ."

"I think the big issues are hospitalization, the right to strike, and money. We're also asking for more holidays.

I'd just like to see the hospitalization we asked for in the last contract, 100% hospitalization like we had until last July. And dental and eyes.

I think that hospitalization should be guaranteed no matter what. Right now it's tied to tonnage and man-hours worked. The right to strike was the main issue but now I think it's hospitalization. Everyone wants their health benefits back.

But the right to strike is still a major issue. The grievance procedure takes so long. If you get a grievance to an arbitrator and back in eight to ten months you're lucky.

The companies don't mind paying the arbitrators. They've got the money.

I think District 17's arbitrator about three times as many cases as any other district in the United Mine Workers. The coal operators down here are hard. You know, to be quite frank with you, they don't even want to talk to you about a grievance.

'Go file your grievance, and we'll put it to you for eight to ten months,' that's the attitude.

And, with about 90% of the grievances, there's no penalty on the company. All the arbitrator does is tell the company not to do it anymore. There's no penalty on them. It doesn't hurt them any.

So I definitely would like to see at least the limited right to strike.

DIVISION

The biggest division in the mineworkers today is between the old coal miners and the young miners.

You know, in the fifties, in the fifties and early sixties, the mines were just about shut down. All the people in that age group just left and went out of state.

So today you've got either old coal miners, 45 or better, or 25 and younger. I'm 25. You have very few men working in the mines that are between 30 and 45. They just didn't work 'em that age around here.

YOUNGER

Now's there's more younger miners than there are older coal miners.

The old coal miners worked hard and everything, but the younger miners see things different. And they want things different.

The young miners feel like you work for eight hours and you're entitled to everything

the contract says you should get.

Some of the older coal miners feel like they owe the company something for giving them a job. Hell, I don't feel like that. I work my eight hours and I want everything the contract says I should get.

I think it will be a long hard strike. I know we're in a bad position—with stockpiles and western coal. There's no doubt about it.

But coal miners are stubborn. They're not going to sign just anything.

And we're not going to starve. Everybody's been preparing for this strike. You paid off your bills. I paid off my car this month. And you get food stamps.

So I mean, we're going to eat. But, it will be hard.

Forms "We want a lot . . ."

"When I talk about the contract, well, I have to be honest with you. You probably know more about it than I do. We're being shut off completely.

Miller's hired a damned public relations firm. We only get to hear what they have to tell us.

I know what we want though. I know what we brought out at the convention.

We've got a situation right now where we have to arbitrate safety. We might decide that we don't want to go underground because we don't feel it's safe. So they fire us and send it to arbitration. They bring in a man from Cleveland or Washington, D.C. to tell us whether it was safe or not.

I want the man to be able to, if he honestly feels that the conditions he is working are more unsafe, abnormally unsafe, that he will have the right to withdraw himself

to get a working right to strike in this contract, but it's still the issue. And I think that Arnold Miller and the operators ignore it, the shut just might hit the fan. It could be a real long strike.

I don't think wages will be a problem. They have the money. I do think we're underpaid—for the conditions we work in, if nothing else. Other workers make more. I'm an electrician. I make \$7.88 an hour. I feel that under the next contract the top pay after three years should be \$80 a day—plus cost of living.

Some say they won't even offer us a contract until February. They may just lay back for a couple months. It's going to be winter, and if it's like last year, it'll be bad.

My personal feelings are that they will offer us a contract, but they'll have to give us something. I know people want a lot.

A Euro scab is a scab



NEW HAVEN—Santiago Carillo, the leader of the Spanish Communist Party, showed what kind of communist he is when he crossed a picket line of striking hotel and restaurant workers at Yale University.

Carillo had been invited to speak by Yale University on the topic of Euro-Communism.

When he arrived he was asked not to cross the picket line by both the union and the Student Strike Support Committee. The picket line turned into a demonstration of 50 workers and student supporters.

Undaunted, Carillo crossed the picket line, even though the NBC camera crew honored the strike.

Inside, Carillo proceeded to denounce the American labor movement as right wing. □

by AMY TYSON

WE ALL NEED

The right to strike

Socialist Worker What We Think

The main issue in the coal miners' strike is striking.

This year alone wildcat strikes have cost the coal industry 2.3 million days of work, a lost time rate that is 10 times the average of other industries.

The companies have made these strikes the number one issue. "We are determined," says top negotiator Joseph

Brennan, "to eliminate the wildcat."

There are many reasons why the miners wildcat. The

most important is that they are often effective. Another is that it is nearly impossible to win a grievance in any other way.

In mining, as throughout industry, the grievance procedure is slow and decisions are left to the upper steps. The union/industry arbitration board accumulated 2,700 cases in the year ending in September. In the past two years, the board has settled only 116 cases.

This situation is the same, of course, in most industries, but unlike other workers, the miners do something about it. They wildcat.

The companies have responded by going to the courts. In the past three years, Federal Court judges have issued hundreds of injunctions against miners and levied millions of dollars in fines against the union.

Now, an Arbitration Review Board (ARB) decision appears to have undercut the only legal standing the miners had—the interpretation of the Supreme Court in the Buffalo Forge decision which allowed "stranger picketing."

FIRE

In October, the ARB, the top arbitration board, ruled that companies could fire wildcat strikers.

"The problem," it said, "is that the mine workers have demonstrated an excellent concerted discipline and it is so well-known as to be 'judicially noticed' that one man, known to be a member of the union and about whom information is gained that he has a grievance, can and does furnish ample signal to cause a work stoppage."

The ARB proposes to solve this "problem" by giving the

companies the right to fire strikers. "We lump picketing with strike instigation and other strike leadership manifestations as being of the same gravity. They constitute a capital offense by which we mean an offense which warrants discharges."

This decision has already led to numerous discharges in the southern coalfields.

At the same time, the Congress is getting into the anti-strike act. There is now a rider on the proposed Labor Law Reform Act of 1977 which would allow the NLRB to seek an injunction against workers engaged in a strike not authorized by their union.

NAMES

The rider specifically names "wildcat strikes" and "Stranger picketing" as targets for injunctions.

The trade union leadership supports limitations on the right to strike. Almost universally the union leaders are frightened by the rank and file miners.

They prefer "cooperation" with industry. The steel workers have actually signed away the right to strike almost altogether—even on national bargaining. Many public employees are legally forbidden to strike. In most industries, striking is in fact impossible, because the unions refuse to sanction strikes.

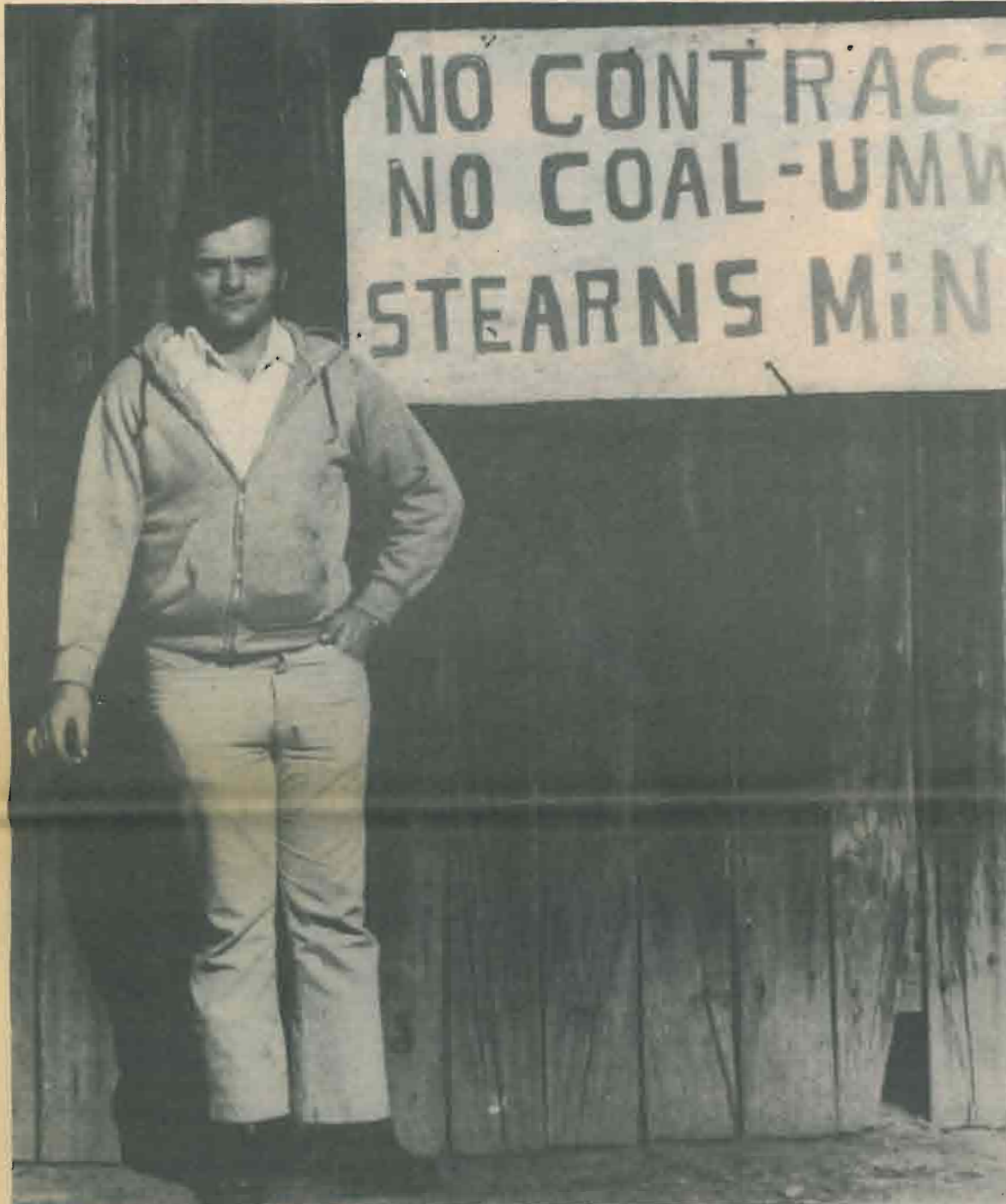
WEAPON

The strike, of course, is the rank and file workers strongest weapon. It should be a powerful weapon in the hands of the trade union movement. And this is why the government and the companies want to smash it.

This is also why the miners must be supported in their struggle to get the right to strike written in to their contract.

The strike is even more important for socialists. The miners movement in particular has renewed the traditions of the mass strike in a conservative period, when the labor movement is dominated by a collaborationist leadership.

The miners have shown that the strike is still the practical school of workers self-emancipation, the laboratory of workers control. This is also why we support the miners right to strike. □



The Stearns miners are striking for union recognition. They want the right to strike for safety.

SUPPORT THE MINERS!

Forms "It's not just the UMW..."

It's my feeling that right now the operators are making an all out attempt to break the strength of the United Mine Workers.

And if they can break the strength of the United Mine Workers, they're going to break the strength of every other union in this country.

I can't understand people taking sides with the corporations and the government, and to me the corporations and the government are one and the same. And if they're able to break down the UMW, it'll effect labor right through the country.

It's like these scab mines here. I've heard guys say, and I have had the same offer, 'They'll give you \$90 a day to work non-union.' These guys were saying, 'Well, why the hell shouldn't we.'

BACK

Well, leave the union and let 'em break the UMWA and find out if you're still making \$90 a day—\$25 a day will be more like it. And you'll be right back to your pay being directly proportional to your production.

I can remember my mother telling me about my grand-

father going to work and shooting down a seam of coal and spending seven or eight hours loading up rock and then going home and getting a couple hours of sleep and then loading up the coal. See, he didn't get paid for loading rock. The only thing he got paid for was the coal he loaded. So he put in 16, 18 hours work for four hours of production—and pay.

So I think people better realize it's not just the UMW. It's the entire labor movement under attack and it's just a one by one deal. They knock one of us down and then they go after another. And it will effect everyone.

People are getting pay now that I don't believe they ever dreamed that they could get. I talked to an old miner who worked for a dollar a day and now he's increased his pay 65 times in a matter of years.

But he didn't do it alone. He couldn't have done it on his own.

The labor force in this country makes up the majority of the people. And yes, I think they should all support us in this contract. Why take sides with the government and the corporations. Why take sides with these people. They don't have our benefits and welfare in their minds at all. No way.

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Talking about socialism...

...and how we get there

The basic ideas of socialism—the abolition of the class system, the abolition of the state as a coercive apparatus sitting on top of us—these ideas and similar ones have existed in the working class movement since the beginning of the industrial revolution.

The essential problem, however, has been, and is now, how do we get from where we are now to that objective?

It is worth looking at one or two aspects of the history of the movement internationally to illustrate this problem.

JACOBIN

One of the earliest socialist traditions was inherited from the Jacobin dictatorship of the 1789 French Revolution. According to this, what is needed is a small band of determined people who can somehow get power and use that power to transform society from above.

This tradition developed through Blanqui (the 19th Century revolutionary). Essentially it assumes that there are two sorts of people. One sort who know, and the other sort who don't know. You have to act on behalf of those who don't know; which inevitably turns out to be the majority of the population.

You gain your power through the use of the coup-d'état, and you use your power and your knowledge to transform society—irrespective of the masses of the people.

VARIANTS

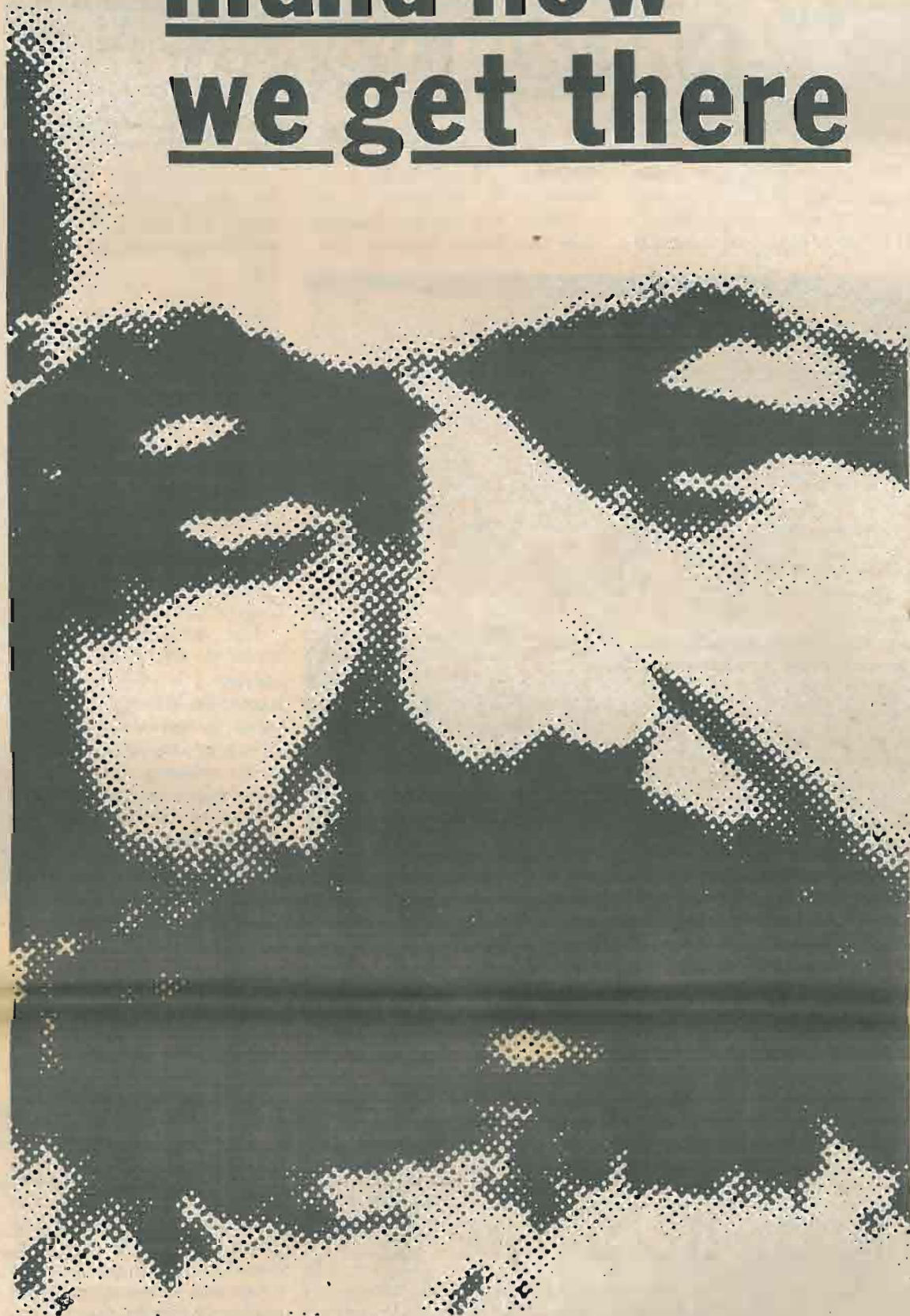
There are all sorts of variants in this tradition. Look at the British. We have the same essential notion that there are those who know and those who don't know.

The problem is the enlightenment of those who don't know—either with the gun, Blanqui's tradition, or by persuasion, the British tradition. After all Britain had its revolution 150 years earlier.

The idea in Britain was a society based on cooperation, not competition, abolition of the class system, everyone works, no parasites. Robert Owen was in this tradition.

According to Owen, man's nature is not made by him but for him and some superior people have to show the way.

Owen showed the way by setting up little socialist or cooperative communes in the vast sea of capitalism. The superiority of the communes would be so manifest that in the end, the islands would all grow, the sea will get shall-



This article is from the speech "Marxism and the Revolutionary Tradition," given by Duncan Hallas to the ISO New England regional conference, November 12, 1977.

lower and shallower, and in the end we would get the cooperative commonwealth.

In Europe, and in America, the cooperative movement did indeed create a series of islands of socialist production based on everyone works—no parasites—equality—and so on.

What actually happened of course was that the condition of survival for an economic enterprise was capitalist enterprise, because however democratic your constitution is, you must in reality act like a

capitalist because the sea was much larger than they thought. And the islands were much smaller.

UTOPIAN

Marx called these people the utopian socialists. Socialists who had the misconception that there are some enlightened people who know how to force their will on the whole course of historical development—through force, through persuasion, through all sorts of ways.

Marxism started with the rejection of this proposition.

Actually Marx wrote very early on that the educators must be educated. Those people who want to transform society must be educated.

In reality, either the development towards socialism is a process rooted in the whole previous historical development or it is a utopia. Marx said, "Man makes his own history but he does not make it under conditions of his own choosing."

In all pre-capitalist societies, the productivity of labor was so low that the development of classes was inevitable. That is, the only way a surplus could be produced was on the basis of coercion—slavery, serfdom. This could take many forms, but it was objectively necessary.

In other words, the whole course of human history is the story of class struggle, class conflict, and so on.

UNIQUE

But the second strand of Marx's argument was that capitalism is unique in the history of class society in a number of important respects.

First of all it is unique because of the nature of production under capitalism, competition between large numbers of competing units, where the units are compelled to innovate in order to survive and, consequently, the development of productivity was enormous.

In the Communist Manifesto, written as early as 1847, Marx wrote that capitalism had created greater productive forces than had been created in the whole previous course of human history. We look back at 1847 and see that the productive forces were diminutive, insignificant.

Capitalism, then, was immensely progressive, compared to what had gone before.

Capitalism did not abolish the class system. It did not put an end to war and exploitation. But it meant that they were no longer objectively necessary. Abject poverty for the masses of the working classes was no longer inescapable.

WORKING CLASS

Capitalism also produced the working class, the new exploited class. Any society depends on working people. This is obvious. We all stop working collectively and the whole show stops—and very, very fast.

But the working class under capitalism is unlike its predecessors. The working class cannot conceivably take power except collectively. And consequently, with the development of the working class, it is possible to reject the notion of the small band of determined men and women and actually think in terms of the democratic collective control of society.

Or, in Marx's own words, "Socialism is the self emancipation of the working class—the act of the working class itself." □

Seattle Metro drivers get the flu

by DIANE EGGLESTON Metro Driver

SEATTLE, WA—Over 300 of the city's Metro bus drivers called in sick the day after Thanksgiving—the biggest shopping day of the year.

This was the first time, as far as we know, that such

an action has been done in any transportation system in the country.

The sick-in came one month after the contract had expired and Metro had not yet presented us a written offer.

Members of the Amalgamated Transportation Union local 587 had heard only one issue in dispute—the hiring of part-time employees.

Metro management, produced by the Department of

Transportation, has been insisting that part-time employees are the key to saving the system money.

But at the union meeting in October, the membership

made its position overwhelmingly clear—we don't want part-timers!

Job security, bus safety, and working conditions and union solidarity are all at stake. □

SCENES FROM PORTUGAL

by KENT WORCESTER

The film "Scenes of the Class-Struggle in Portugal" is an attempt to describe on film the events that took place in Portugal between 1974 and 1975. Directed by two Americans who visited Portugal in 1975, the film relies heavily on television footage, interviews, and crowd scenes to portray the mood of the country, the feelings of the people.

What's surprising is how long ago those events seem. There is little mention of current events, whether in the U.S. left-wing press, or in the popular media.

This is partly because the press has ignored many recent events (such as recent fights of agricultural workers to maintain collective ownership of the fields), but partly because events have moved, in the last two years, from revolution to impasse.

The film gives the viewer a good feeling for the revolutionary period.

ADVANCES

Powerful advances were made: workers took over some 300 factories, there were massive occupations of the farms.

We see older Portuguese women articulate the needs of their families in neighborhood council meetings; we see thousands of workers in city squares all asking the same question: "How far can the revolution go?"

The organized parties of the Left played a large role in these events. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was the largest of these. The PCP was the only form of organized resistance to fascist power. But the film quite rightly shows the PCP to be reformist. Whenever workers independently organized, the PCP acted as a block, in their way.

Along with the Socialist Party (now in power), the PCP had the rhetoric of socialism, but the actions of scared middle-class liberals.

One of the good points of the film is how it shows people changing as events change. In a housing cooperative, we see people move from strict anti-fascism to pro independent worker's institutions.

The vision of people, en masse, moving themselves, and history, is very exciting. History is always more interesting in periods like these. The film presents this well.

The film has problems, though, some technical, some political. The directors have presented the situation in the more rural and Catholic North well, and present the different political urges of the people well.

Although the film was completed in 1976, it hasn't been widely screened in the U.S. It is an excellent introduction to international struggle, and a good film for those who followed events in Portugal. □

'Bridges' is revolutionary politics and funky jazz

reviews

by Todd Jefferson



Gil Scott-Heron

It's difficult to be both a revolutionary and an artist.

Your constant problem is to say something politically meaningful, but to do it well—as a part of your art—without sounding like a propagandist. Your message may be simple enough, but how you say it has to be reflected through the wide, complex range of human emotion.

It's especially difficult in this country today because revolutionary traditions and culture are weak here and remain isolated from the overwhelming majority of people. Much of the revolutionary art of the past is out of print or censored unofficially by not being taken seriously by critics.

GAP

So when any artist bridges the gap between art and politics, or between revolutionary art and popular culture, and does it well, it's an important event.

It happened recently with the release of Gil Scott-Heron's new record album "Bridges."

This is not Gil Scott-Heron's first album, not hopefully his last. But it's his most successful attempt so far to integrate his revolutionary politics with his funky jazz.

Human life and emotion is essential to good art, and especially to music which uses the rhythms and patterns of sound and movement to manipulate our emotions.

Scott-Heron and his partner Brian Jackson create their music out of Black urban experience. It is an experience they know well. Their lyrics are full of life, expressing the joy and despair and aspirations for freedom of Black people.

Their lyrics support the music like a skeleton. Their

music is the flesh and blood of all Black music. What you'll hear in it is the sound of rhythm and blues, jazz, soul, reggae, and the compelling rhythms and percussions of Africa.

"Bridges" adds a new dimension to this combination—the new urban sound of the young, jazz with an up-tempo and all the funky sweet city sounds of background horns and electronic percussion.

JOHANNESBURG

Scott-Heron's first successful attempt at this was actually on his last album with the song "Johannesburg." It was an incredible revolutionary song about the struggle in South Africa and it enjoyed long popularity on AM radio.

The sound of it was certainly not as maudlin as Disco often is, though the song enjoyed that kind of compelling beat. It was more the sound of pop jazz. And you could dance to it. And it was played at many a party just for that purpose.

The music of "Bridges" is a continuation of the new quality that began with "Johannesburg." It's more popular sound should guarantee it a wide audience. But this move to a more popular beat may actually disappoint some Scott-Heron fans who feel it's a sell-out of more traditional Coltrane-type jazz for commercial reasons.

It is not. His early style and influences are there, but they are reflected through the sounds of today.

The point of revolutionary art is to affect as many as possible, as profoundly as possible, and especially the young. Music in particular cannot do this if it ignores the sounds of today.

Gil Scott-Heron knows what he's doing with his new sound. He believes that music is the universal medium of expression for human feeling.

It is the kind of art that people in all cultures understand, regardless of language differences or national boundaries. "Racetrack in France" from "Bridges" explains this well. Even though the musicians spoke no French,

The people got the message from the music that we play.

It really shouldn't'a been no surprise that we all got down that day.

I was a long way from home, but those were good vibrations.

The song "Delta Man" is one of the more powerful revolutionary statements. It is the story of three different ways of life for Blacks in this country from slavery to the present. It too tells the story by using "places," from Mississippi delta country, to Nebraska farmland, to living on welfare in the heart of the city. The song is dedicated to "the brothers in the Caribbean and Africa," and he begins it by speaking these words:

This is a song about change, you see. We say many things about the changing aspects of our lives. We say that since change is inevitable, we should direct that change rather than simply continue to go through the change.

His vocal diversity on this song and the power of the final

chant,

Put a little revolution in your life and you'll understand where I'm coming from...

drives home the message that there are few alternatives left for blacks.

95 SOUTH

The final song is a touching ballad that explores Scott-Heron's feelings and memories about growing up in the South. It's called "95 South" which refers to Interstate 95 which connects the North and South on the East Coast. But it's only indirectly about a highway. It's really a tribute to Fannie Lou Hamer whose death he heard about on the radio while headed home on I-95. This is some of his finest poetry and it will shake you deep inside. He says elsewhere about fallen comrades: "We have debts to pay. In the interest of comrades who have contributed their lives, as well as in our own interest."

"Bridges" has narrowed the gap between politics and art. It has been honest and faithful in depicting human lives and emotions, particularly of Blacks. It's superb music too. This is why people are playing it and talking about it and why it's moving up the charts. This is why you should buy it too—"Put a little revolution in you life." Let's hope it makes it big and spreads the message far and wide. Because we need that.

And let's hope this is the start of a new kind of popular culture—a culture that is ours. □



Brian Jackson



John Anderson

An Open Letter to UAW President Doug Fraser



Doug Fraser

Dearborn, MI
Nov. 9, 1977

Douglas Fraser, President, UAW
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit, Mich 48214

Dear Brother Fraser:

I am prompted to write this letter to you because of what I learned from the strikers at the Essex Wire plant in Elwood, Indiana. This plant of 220 workers, 85 percent of them women, has been on strike since April 6, 1977—seven months.

The UAW won an election there on Dec., 11, 1969. Since that time—for eight years, they have been paying dues of two hours pay per month, while working for sweatshop pay under sweatshop conditions.

When they went on strike their basic pay was \$2.76 per hour. According to *Solidarity* of June 29, 1977, the company offered to increase their base pay so that by 1980 most of them would be earning \$3.38 per hour.

Regional Director, Dallas Selles and the International Rep., Johnson, have twice attempted to foist the Company's "take it or leave it" settlement on the workers. Twice the strikers have rejected it.

This strike can be won by mobilizing the forces of the UAW in their support. Notify all UAW members using the products made by Essex Wire. Let the workers take whatever action they deem necessary to win the strike.

In my 44 years in the labor movement I have not met a more courageous band of strikers—many of them grandmothers. They have faced gun fire and other forms of harassment from the Company and local police. These strikers deserve the support not only of the UAW but of the entire labor movement.

The conduct of Regional Director Selles in this strike, and that of other UAW leaders in signing agreements with the Triangle Plastics in Detroit and the settlement of a strike at Dunnsville, Ontario, leaves much to be desired in the practice of union solidarity.

Brother Fraser, I have known you for the past 30 years; as an opponent of Walter Reuther in 1947-48; as his Administrative Assistant; as Regional Director on the West side of Detroit; as vice-President of the UAW and Director of the Chrysler Department and now as President of the UAW.

Examining your record in leadership posts over the last 30 years I find no action on your part that would recommend you for the high post you now hold. You like your predecessors pay lip service to democracy while taking action to destroy it.

You like Woodcock were elected to that post because you like he were part of a well oiled, corrupt political machine, organized by the late Walter P. Reuther.

We read of the record profits of the Big Three auto makers as well as the high profits of United Technologies, owner of Essex Wire. These are the result of the speedup in the plants of these companies. You like Woodcock and Reuther before you have failed to face up to this problem of the workers. You are afraid it will result in the class struggle. There is no place for the class struggle in your policy of "good labor relations."

I ask you Brother Fraser, which side are you on? The auto workers are intitled to more than rhetoric for the \$47,000 they pay you each year.

Your's for a democratic and militant UAW
John W. Anderson
former President UAW Local 15
Detroit, MI

Whose side are you on?

Solidarity can help the Essex strikers win

Elwood, IN—The strikers at Essex in Elwood, Indiana, have been fighting the company's union busting tactics for eight months.

Now they have to fight on another front at the same time. Their union's sellout tactics threaten to end the strike without any gains and with a lot lost.

The UAW promised to pay the picket fines that were due on November 14. They now refuse to pay those fines, and they have suggested to the

members of Local 1663 that they use their own survival funds to pay the fines.

A strong picket line is essential for winning a strike. But while the UAW encouraged a strong picket, it has reneged on its commitment to support fighting unionism.

BALLOT

The staff representative for the international union has suggested that the international conduct a mail ballot.

Local 1663 has repeatedly

turned down the company offers. Now the UAW turns to undercutting local democracy by suggesting a mail ballot the local has not agreed to. This tactic is designed to divide the local and break the strike.

Local 1663 has seen the need for solidarity if its strike is to be won. Essex is a supplier to the big three auto makers. Local 1663 wants the UAW to back it in getting the big three to turn to alternative suppliers.

It wants a consumer boycott of Essex products, like heating pads and blankets. The local went to regional UAW director Dallas Selles to get his support in taking these steps toward developing solidarity. Selles poured cold water on its proposals.

THORN

Solidarity House, the UAW headquarters in Detroit, finds the militancy of the Essex women a thorn in its side. It wants to be done with the

strike.

These women make one-fourth what the big three workers make, and though once a fighting union, the UAW has no intention of trying to raise their wages to those of the big three workers.

Unionists and their supporters should contact people at Essex plants in their locality to help build solidarity with the Elwood strike. There are 150 Essex sweatshops across the country. □

by MILT FISK

Essex strikers get support at Detroit meeting

DETROIT, MI—On Nov. 29, an audience including workers from 15 different UAW locals listened to three Essex strikers tell the story of their eight month strike for a decent contract.

Anita Bell told how "scabs have run down pickets, strikers have been shot, beaten by hired thugs, and harassed by local sheriffs and judges."

Georgia Ellis, said, "Our base wage is \$2.76 an hour and we have no COLA and no pension. What we demand is that every UAW member have the same rights and

same protection."

\$175 was collected for the strikers and more support was promised. □

On November 30, the Essex strikers met with officers from the UAW international. At a hearing in front of the UAW executive board, the strikers were once again promised that their fines would be paid by the union.

22 of the strikers have been fined and face imprisonment for allegedly violating picketing injunctions. □

Gary Tyler Political Prisoner

Amnesty International has announced that it has taken up the case of Gary Tyler. Gary Tyler is the black youth framed on a murder charge in Louisiana.

Amnesty International is an international organization that investigates the cases of political prisoners and works for their release.

Tyler is now serving a life sentence at the Angola State Prison. He was accused and convicted of shooting a thirteen year old white youth when a racist mob, throwing bricks and bottles, surrounded a busload of Black students at Destrehan High School in 1974. □



NOTES ON THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

by MILT FISK

The economy is in the doldrums, and it's going to stay there

One sign of the lack of faith the Carter administration has in the economy is the new version of the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill.

This bill calls for four percent unemployment by 1983. That means reducing unemployment by only three per-

cent in five years. And the President can ask for even more time if he feels that pushing down to four percent by 1983 would be inflationary.

What this shows us is that the labor leaders and liberals who support the bill are agreed that the economy is in the doldrums and that it is

going to stay that way for the foreseeable future.

For working people there will be no relief from the conditions that have prevailed since the onset of the 1974 recession. The job market will remain viciously competitive, union busting in smaller and isolated shops will continue,

wages will remain where they have been, plant closings will become common occurrences, and of course there will be speed up.

The business community has been showing its lack of faith in the economy by holding on tight to its wallet. There is investment in plant and equipment by the business community when signs are good that a high rate of return on investment will be the reward.

DROPPED

In the 1974 recession, the amount of capital spending dropping off to well below pre-recession levels. This year the government is hoping for a big 10% increase in capital spending to bring the level up to the pre-recession level. Even if this increase is realized, it is not enough to create the jobs and the consumer demand needed to get the economy out of the hole.

Factories have been operating at 83% of capacity. With some room to expand into if demand increases, the owners see no reason to increase capacity with further capital spending. Much of the investment that is being made now is going into replacement of older capital goods and into equipment rather than into plants. There is little spending that goes for new long term investment that lays the basis for economic growth.

A sizeable chunk of the capital goods sold in the U.S. is going to the Department of Defense. These goods do not go into laying the base for further economic growth but are wasted as far as their potential for satisfying human needs goes.

CUT

Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps has been pushing hard for a tax cut in order to improve consumer spending and capital investment. A tax allowance in 1975 proved useful in beginning the recovery, but now the problem is the different one of making a full recovery.

A tax cut can edge up demand, but it cannot provide the conditions favorable for capital spending. For that the capitalists must be convinced that there will be a growing rather than a stagnating economy.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill and a tax cut will not solve the problem of overcapitalization. As the government and the business community seem aware, it will take at least five years before the conditions for a surge in capital investment are ripe.

Working people will still be paying with lower living standards for the crisis the owners have created.

It is not the needs people have that promote economic growth under capitalism, it is the expectation of high returns on investment by capitalists that will be needed for a return to economic growth.

Smart people need not apply

Last month, a New York judge ruled that a landlord can discriminate against smart people. Landlords can refuse to rent to "intelligent persons, aware of their rights who may give him trouble in the future."

And landlords can also refuse to rent to a person because of his or her occupation. Justice Edward said that landlords "may decide not to rent to singers because they are noisy or not rent to bald-headed men because he has been told they give wild parties."

No place to swim

Princess Anne of England is building a swimming pool. Of course most people of her class would be expected to have swimming pools. But this pool will not be for her, but will be built for her horses.

In the grounds of her \$1 million house at Gatcomb are enough stables for Anne and her husband Mark's best thoroughbreds but no place for the horses to swim. Too bad. So a new centrally-heated stable complex is in the works including a heated pool specially packed with mineral salts. Infrared heaters in the stables will ensure that the horses can dry off quickly and won't catch cold. The pool and heaters will cost around \$200,000.



By PATRICIA GILMAN

Avoid rashness, please

China's powerful Ministry of Public Security has warned provincial authorities that they are executing too many counter-revolutionaries and must become more selective in handing out the death penalty.

"Only a few should be

punished while the majority should be educated and remolded," according to the ministry. "Particularly in giving the death sentence, it is imperative to proceed with prudence and avoid rashness."



Jimmy Carter, human rights advocate shakes hands with the Shah of Iran after the Shah presented Carter with a hand sewn presidential seal and portrait of George Washington.

Don't be late, but...

The boss at Hoffman Industries, Inc., in Jackson, Michigan warned a UAW local officer not to be late for a grievance hearing. But when she showed up on time, the company suspended her for five days for "violating company policy by leaving her machine before a relief worker

showed up."

Testimony later brought out that Hoffman had been negligent in the past in providing prompt relief to workers. An arbitrator reversed the suspension and directed Hoffman to reimburse the grievant for lost pay.

The electric utility companies in Ohio have steadily increased their rates to consumers. Now, they're taking \$3 million from utility bill pay-

ments to buy ads over a three year period explaining to consumers why their electric bills are so high.

Here's a cottage for you



The most magnificent plantation in the Southeast... Cherokee Plantation is for persons who enjoy hunting and entertaining in surroundings of luxury and natural splendor. Approximately 4,000 acres of timber land, cropland and marsh bordering several miles of the Conchoe River, incomparable fishing, hunting of quail, duck, dove and deer. The beautiful 31-room Georgian mansion includes 1 master bedroom, 7 guest rooms, 6 maid rooms, all centrally air-conditioned, heated, to insure comfortable living. There is a heated pool, famous camellia gardens, large stables, kennels, 2 houses for managerial help, 200 head cows, plus calves, etc. Price: \$2,500,000 plus existing mortgage. Broker's commission invited.

Address inquiries to: Town & Country Magazine, Box 156, 717 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

BRITAIN

Firemen lead new wave of working class militancy

from SCOTT WINSLOW in London

A new wave of working class militancy has broken out in Great Britain.

In the past few weeks widely divergent groups of

workers have struck out against their declining standards of living.

● Power workers turned the lights out for up to three hours

at a time in selected areas to protest their working conditions and pay rates.

● The government TV station, the BBC, was shut down

during the Queens' address to Parliament by the BBC staff.

● The Fire Brigades Union has just called its first national strike.

Firefighters in Britain earn less than \$90 a week for 48 hours of work. Hundreds are injured each year, and many have died. A 40 hour work week was first demanded in 1918, but their action now is their first powerful attempt to win it.

TROOPS

In response to the strike, Britain's Labor government has brought in troops to fight the fires. They are untrained, unsafe, and ineffective. Already the cost of damages done by fires exceeds the firemen's entire wage claim for a year.

The press, who normally ignore the problems faced by the elderly, sick people and children, are now posing as their greatest defenders. They claim the firemen are selfishly putting money before safety.

Before the strike began, two firemen were killed on the job and the press didn't print a word. Not a single fire fatality has been pinned on the strikers yet. If the government and press were seriously concerned with saving lives, they would pay the firemen.

SUPPORT

Despite the daily barrage of anti-worker propaganda by the government and newspapers, the firemen are getting much support. The Socialist Workers Party, fraternal organization to the ISO in Britain, has launched an enthusiastic support campaign for the strikers.

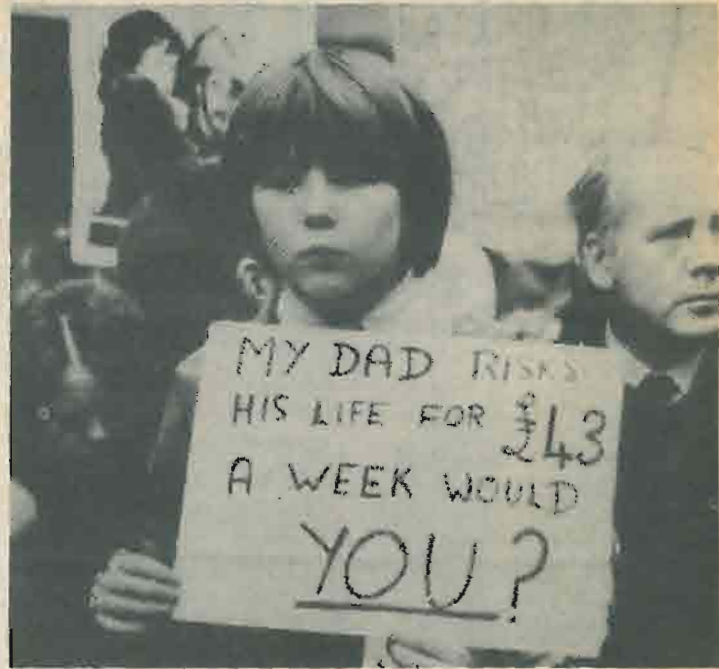
Since the firemen have no strike fund, the SWP is helping them raise money.

To counter the ruling class press they have printed 150,000 leaflets giving the firemen's case. To assist the firemen in running an effective strike they have opened their print works to them, printing a daily strike bulletin written by the firemen.

VICTORY

The firemen deserve a major victory. All signs so far point toward their success and toward a defeat for the governments policy of keeping wage increases down.

If they win it will mean a tremendous boost in confidence for British workers. □



Striking firemen

world
in struggle

RUMANIA

Troops occupy mining regions

2000 government troops continue to patrol the Jiu Valley, an area in rural Rumania that last month saw mass demonstrations and strikes by tens of thousands of miners.

The demands of the miners were improved work conditions, better food, housing and pensions.

Mine entrances were blocked, and several government ministers taken hostage. One of the ministers had food smeared all over his face in an attempt to show him the exact quality of the miners basic diet.

FEELINGS

Soon after the outbreak, textile and heavy machinery workers began to show their similar feelings toward the system.

The Rumanian government has offered no official comment but its actions speak louder than words. It filled the mining area with spies and tried to prevent news of the events from getting out. □

Australians protest uranium export

from TOM O'LINCOLN in Sydney

In October, about 50,000 Australians took to the streets in protest marches against the mining and export of uranium. The anti-uranium struggle has already become the most massive social protest movement in this country since the Vietnam War.

In the course of 1975 and 1976, environmentalists held small rallies and marches, and trade union bodies carried resolutions calling for a uranium ban. But the movement took off in May of 1976, when a railway worker in a small northern city refused to handle uranium ore.

The worker, Jim Assenbruck, was simply carrying out union policy. He was sacked, and it took the threat of a national rail strike to win his reinstatement.

Immediately, uranium was a national issue. Since then, feeling has been growing steadily.

Australia is one of a few countries that holds most of the world's supply of the ore.

Since it is politically embarrassing for most countries to buy it from South Africa, Australia has long been expected to be a key supplier. All political parties favored the idea.

But as the world anti-nuclear movement has grown, and the dangers of nuclear energy have become better known, Australians have become uneasy.

This year, two national mobilizations have brought tens of thousands of people into the streets in the major cities. Public opinion is now shifting rapidly. The Australian Labor Party has been forced to call for a ban on uranium export, despite the resistance of the top party leadership.

But the key to stopping uranium mining and export is the trade union movement. The unions in Australia have a long tradition of political action.

Trade unions have taken action in protest over the

bombing of Cambodia in 1972 and the apartheid policies of the South African regime. And in the early 1970's, building workers in Sydney imposed the famous "green bans" to stop building projects that damaged the environment.

If this power can be mobilized effectively, uranium export can be stopped for good.

BAN

A demonstration held on Melbourne's Swanston Dock, which led to mass arrests, led longshoremen in that city to permanently ban the export of uranium. More recently, a demonstration at Sydney's White Bay Container Terminal led to temporary bans.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions (our version of the AFL-CIO) has been much more conservative, however. It is becoming obvious that only patient base-building work among the trade union rank and file can ensure

success.

Anti-uranium activists have been holding workplace meetings for several months. In Sydney they have addressed meetings of metal trades shop stewards, printing workers at major newspapers, railway workshops, teachers and countless other groups. In many places, anti-uranium committees have been set up on the job.

Meanwhile, the efforts of the anti-nuclear movement in other parts of the world are important for Australians. The favorite argument of the ruling conservative government here is that "other countries need our uranium." The sight of thousands of people in the streets around the world calling for an end to nuclear power stations has helped us to expose this lie.

Nuclear power is a truly international issue. Building a world-wide movement against it is the only way victory can be assured. □

Stearns miners vow to fight on



Mahan Vanover and Danny Mathews in the McCreary County Jail.

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

WHITLEY CITY, KY—"We are not done fighting yet. And we won't be til they (Stearns Mining Company) recognize the UMWA as the union in this mine."

Mahan Vanover, president of the Stearns miners who has worked at the Justus Mine for 35 years, said this to me in the McCreary County Jail.

He and nine others are serving six-month jail sentences for breaking a restraining order limiting pickets. On October 12th and 17th there were way too many people on the picket line.

AWARE

The miners, wives and friends who broke the restraining order were fully

aware of what they were doing. The court had already let the company break its part of the deal. State troopers in riot gear had escorted three scabs into the mine.

If the court was willing to break its own order to help the company, the miners saw nothing left to do but resist the order.

120 miners were arrested. (The total employed at Justus Mine is estimated at 190.) All but 11 were released on \$1,000 bond each. The 11 held were those who had been arrested both on October 12th and 17th. One of them was released for medical reasons. Despite their confinement, those in jail still say, "The main thing is we didn't back

down. We stood right up to it."

Standing up to it has been no easy matter. The striking Stearns miners are veterans of a war going into its 17th month. This war for union recognition has seen gunfire initiated by company guards and returned by the strikers, and riot squads willing to beat men and women alike. Several strikers suffered head injuries, and Vanover is still nursing a shattered elbow—the work of the riot squad.

BACK

The Stearns strikers are looking to the UMWA contract negotiations and probable strike to end their battle. It is their hope that one of the conditions for acceptance of the new contract will be a provision that Stearns Mining Co. recognizes the UMWA in the Justus Mine. They hope that other miners, in solidarity with the Stearns strikers, will refuse to return to work until this condition is met.

The consensus of those in jail is that they will be out before their six months is through. They have served over a month now. They hope that when the new miner's contract is ratified, they will be UMWA miners, working under that contract.

If not, the fight will continue. Mahan Vanover says, "We'll keep fighting until we win. And I may be a very old man when this thing is over." □

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ALEX CALLINICOS AND JOHN ROGERS



HOUSTON WOMEN

Out of the into the r

HOUSTON, TX—They said it would be the most important women's meeting since the convention which started it all—the Seneca Falls convention in 1848.

They said it would be the most important event for women in the twentieth century. It would lay the basis for legislation to sweep away centuries of oppression.

They were wrong. Very wrong.

The National Women's Convention, held in Houston, the weekend of November 18 and 19 had more to do with the politics of the big parties than it did with women's liberation. It was a rally, a spectacle, primarily aimed at drumming up support to win approval for the ERA—Equal Rights Amendment.

HARNESS

It was an attempt to harness the passion that the demand for liberation has aroused—to

harness it and put it use of the Carter administration and the liberals gress.

36,000 women assembled in Houston. But 11,000 were there with Phyllis to protest "radicals, bians," the ERA, a "destruction of the American Family."

The other 15,000 establish a "National Action"—a charter women. The conference funded for this reason million worth. It was in to give Carter and the gress a representative of the needs of American women.

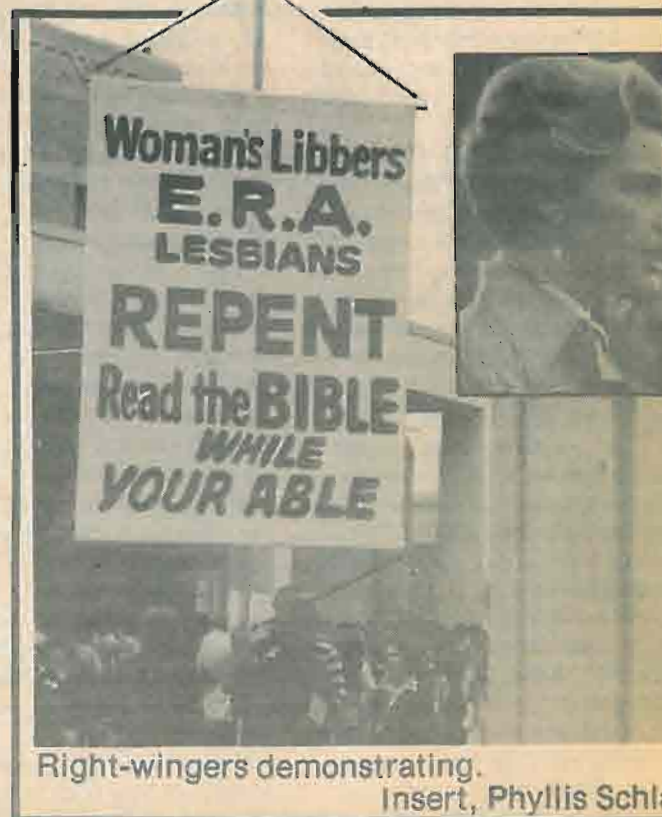
The convention was with celebrities.

Carter spoke. She her Jimmy and hoped don't think he sent a woman to do a man's job."

Betty Ford took the tunity to compliment h Jerry. Even Lady Bird



Betty Freidan and Bella Abzug welcoming w



Right-wingers demonstrating. Insert, Phyllis Schla

CONFERENCE

by Barbara Winslow

streets, mainstream

son made an appearance, and no doubt Lyndon Baines would have wanted her there.

WILD

Then for two days, the convention passed resolution after resolution—and each successful resolution, in particular the ERA, was greeted with wild cheering.

Women in the arts, women's health, women prisoners, you name it, it was there. When the resolution on minority women passed there was weeping—and singing "We Shall Overcome."

When the gay liberation resolution was approved balloons were set loose and a giant banner unfurled, "Thank you sisters."

It all went very smoothly of course. In the name of "sisterhood" and "unity" very little opposition was allowed. The tight control was justified, according to the organizers, because of the right wing

threat.

But this meant no debate was allowed, and certainly nothing that was critical of the resolutions, that wanted them strengthened, or that went beyond the appeals to congress.

GOOD

Now the resolutions passed were all very well and good. Of course every genuine feminist supports an end to discrimination against homosexuals, favors child care centers, shelters for battered wives, and massive federal funding for schools.

But these resolutions are being sent to the congress. Surely this is a little fanciful—it's like asking the fox to guard the chicken coop, or worse. It's the congress, with Carter's support, that is busy banning abortions for poor women and cutting back public welfare expenditures.

Nothing has ever gained by appealing to the oppressors—or to their political agents. Seneca Falls it was not.

MAINSTREAM

"We want to be part of the mainstream," said Adrienne Critchlow, a delegate from New York. "We are part of the mainstream."

Well, I always thought that "mainstream" America meant bigotry and prejudice, unequal pay and unequal work, racism, the war in Vietnam, a giant imperialist power beginning to decay.

Yet the truth is that the Critchlow's, the Gloria Steinems, and the Bella Abzugs do want women into this rotten "mainstream," into the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, into business, the courts, the establishment.

It just so happens that a good number of these women are candidates and also careerists as well, but never-

mind.

DEMAGOGUE

Schlafly is a slick right wing demagogue. Her organizations are not funded by bake sales. She has founded, been a member of or associated with the Cardinal Mindzenty Foundation, the Committee to Free Cuba, Americans for Law and Order, World Anti-Communist Crusade. According to Robert Welch, leader of the John Birch Society, Schlafly was a member as well.

The right wing's goal was to disrupt the IWY convention. "The Houston meeting will be the death knell of the women's lib movement," predicted Schlafly and organ-

ized a counter rally at the Houston astrodome of some 11,000.

The right hoped to counter the IWY rally with one of their own. They also resorted to attempts at physical violence and intimidation. They handed out anti-woman, racist, and anti-semitic literature. They beat up two gay women during an outdoor ERA rally.

A racist, KKK dominated convention in Mississippi elected an all white delegation including five Klan members. Shelton Hand, an alleged Klan member and delegate, said that "the women running this convention are totally ruining the Christian based fiber on which everything worthwhile

in this country is based."

As it happened, the right wing at the IWY convention could not actually disrupt any activities. While some delegates attempted to stall resolutions and voting, all the government sponsored proposals were rammed through. The so-called confrontation between the right and the moderates never took place.

Many people in the women's movement have argued that the major threat to progress on the issues of abortion, gay rights and the ERA comes from the right wing.

ERROR

This is a serious error. The right is a danger, but it is

not the Schlaflys who are responsible for the Hyde amendment which is cutting off federal funds for abortions. It is a Democratic controlled congress.

Anita Bryant is not responsible for the anti-Gay rulings of the Supreme Court. The successful cutbacks and other attacks on women's wages, working conditions, the decline of unionization is not the fault of the right wing, but the government and business.

At the same time, to blame the right wing for the setbacks in women's rights only gives Carter and the Democrats another excuse to not pass and fund programs promoting women's equality. □



Jubilant New York delegation after ERA resolution passed.

The convention was a well-organized and a carefully orchestrated media event, designed to channel the anger of women—into the two political parties, into the courts and congress—out of the streets, where our movement began, away from direct action.

Still it had some lessons. Here is just one. The convention was chaired by women, policed by women, run and organized by women. Yet this was done within the structure

of a legal and party system which is dominated by men.

So, in no way was it independent. It is tied to, oriented to, and subservient to the parties, courts and congress of this nation—institutions which are all inherently sexist, racist, and anti-working class.

DIFFERENT

The women who met in Seneca Falls were very different from those of Houston. They were radicals, aboli-

tionists, fighters.

The women who sparked the liberation movement in the sixties were also different—we took the movement to the streets, said to hell with respectability and challenged the whole system.

That's what we need again today. Our goals may indeed sound similar to some of those championed in Houston.

The difference will be in the fact that we will subordinate them to no one, and we will fight to get them. □



athletes.



"They didn't want me here"

"I came to Houston because I was concerned about the right wing threat. I wanted to be here to do whatever I could. I thought that lots of feminists should attend to show where they stand on women's issues.

"The International Women's Year planners didn't really want me around. That's because I am a lesbian. They didn't want me on the platform or on the floor as a delegate. I'm not respectable.

"This whole conference lacks passion. It's tacky. It's completely respectable. We need a new generation of women to build a new movement."

Kate Millett

Danger on the right...and in the middle

"Warning! Women!" According to the Phyllis Schlafly report, the IWY "is a front for radicals and lesbians."

"The IWY conferences serve as a front to give media exposure to radicals, lesbians, MSfits who want to agitate for their anti-family goals at the taxpayers expense."

Phyllis Schlafly is a leader of a right wing movement, which organized for the Houston women's conference.

Schlafly, who likes to pretend that she is just an ordinary housewife, working out of her kitchen, works with figures such as Anita Bryant and with the organizations Stop ERA, Save Our Children, the Right To Life, Happiness of Womanhood and the Eagle

Letters

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

**Don't
talk
to the
party
man**

We are concerned about violence against women

Dear Socialist Worker,

Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) is a national organization working to raise people's consciousness concerning the violent portrayal of women by the media, including record album covers, advertising, television, store displays, films, and book jackets.

We are concerned, in particular, about the use of images which glamorize and trivialize violence against women and which depict them

as eager, seductive, and helpless victims enticing violence.

For example, several record companies distribute album covers showing women beaten, bound, gang-raped, branded, and/or exposed. The terrible reality of physical violence is minimized and accepted as normal.

As a group, we are concerned with the abusive and discriminatory treatment of women, and not with obscenity and censorship issues.

We see images used by the media as a form of propa-

ganda influencing how people react and behave. Abusive portrayals of women increase violence against women, encouraging men into oppressive roles.

This is dangerous and unfair for both women and men.

WAVAW is a national organization, centered in Los Angeles. Each chapter works within its local communities to inform people about the dangers of distributing psychologically and physically violent images of women and

to suggest possible alternatives.

WAVAW has available a slide show concerning these issues. We would like to have the opportunity to present it to groups that your readers work with.

To find the chapter nearest them, they can write us at: WAVAW, c/o Feminist Women's Health Collective, 1112 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90019.

Boston WAVAW
Box 252
Chestnut Hill, MA 02167

Dear Socialist Worker,

I'm a dockworker for Atlantic Richfield in the Long Beach harbor. Recently, I was assigned work on a Russian tanker.

The guys at work heard this before me and were already laughing—they still refuse to accept the fact that all "reds" don't get their money from Moscow.

This has now changed. A couple of Russian sailors came down from the ship to ask me some technical questions. They found me (in my most often assumed position) reading—this time it was "State Capitalism in Russia" by Tony Cliff.

It has a picture of Stalin on the cover. This blew their minds so they went back to get their party man. One thing I learned before about Russians is that they don't talk politics without the party man.

The captain and two officers came down to have a look at the book and talk. But it wasn't a minute before he snapped the book shut, snarled "Trotskyists" and ordered the rest of the guys back onto the ship.

The guys I work with were impressed with this, and they noticed the upper-class demeanor of the captain. We also got a look at his lush office—antique navigational instruments, a healthy liquor supply, you name it.

I haven't recruited anyone yet, but have made my point on Russia. I've also started some pretty good discussions on real socialism—socialism from below.

No Klan

Dear Socialist Worker,

A reader asked, "Has the Klan been involved in the Essex strike?"

Reports are that Elwood has one of the largest Klan chapters in the state, but so far it has not been involved in any of the strike support work.

They did not attend or at least were not evident at the rally called in support of the strike.

On the other hand, trade unionists, left groups, women's groups, black groups and human rights groups came to show their support for the strikers.

And, representatives of all these groups spoke in support of the strikers but no voice of support has come from the Klan.

J.T.
Indianapolis, IN

Melody Lacey
Long Beach, CA

IRON CITY WOES

Dear Socialist Worker,

People in Pittsburgh are really worried about the steel mill closures in Youngstown, Ohio, and are asking, can it happen here?

The answer is, not yet. Although Jones and Laughlin has laid off about 300 white collar workers, neither J. and L. nor U.S. Steel, by far the biggest steel corporation in the Pittsburgh area, have laid off any production workers. This is not surprising. Figures just released indicate that 1977 will be the third biggest year, measured in output, for the American steel industry.

The problem isn't demand for steel, but profits, which for the industry as a whole are at their lowest levels since the 1930's. The fact that profits are not comparably depressed for the overall economy explains the steel bosses' hysteria.

They are joined in their hysteria by the daily papers here, the politicians and the

USW bureaucracy. All are mouthing pretty much the same line: tariffs, relaxed pollution controls (on a sunny day in Clairton you need to drive with your headlights on), and rationalization—for which read fewer jobs.

Against this powerful coalition, steelworkers will have to rely on their own strength and resources. As a beginning, some local rank and file activists in steel and socialists are working on a plan to put out a series of leaflets and pamphlets to counter the corporations' propaganda barrage.

The crisis in steel is a preview of the next general depression. If the steel corporations find they can get away with murder, the other corporations will try the same tactics on their workers. But the battle isn't over yet; in fact it's only just begun.

Joe White
Pittsburgh, PA



I wish they'd choked

Dear Socialist Worker,

I watched the television report of the Shah of Iran's recent visit to America.

I watched the demonstrators charging down on the White House ceremony, and I saw the Shah and President Carter and all their aides crying from the tear gas.

I loved it! Only one thing. I wished they'd all choked.

When he got round to his welcoming speech, Carter spoke of "enlightened leadership." I was born and grew up in Iran and I know all about the Shah's enlightened leadership.

It means tens of thousands of political prisoners rotting in jail and the savage torture of anyone who dares protest against the government.

So what is what Carter's "human rights" campaign means? It stops at a handful of dissidents imprisoned in Russia and Eastern Europe. The Shah can rot while Carter entertains their jailers.

Why was the Shah in America? To buy more arms. He managed to buy seven of the world's most sophisticated

radar warning and control systems.

He'll use these to make himself into an even bigger super-power in the Gulf. He'll also use them against anyone who dares to resist his government.

There's protest and resistance against this all this. Last week 2000 students at the Arymehr Technical University in Teheran occupied their campus and demonstrated against the brutality of the

police.

These were the largest public demonstrations since 1963, when, as I remember, the streets were left strewn with the bodies of the demonstrators.

The Shah needs to keep this protest down. So he's delighted to be promised continuing help from his democratic friend Jimmy Carter.

Elaheh Povey
London

IMPRESSIVE DEMO

Dear Socialist Worker,

Some comments on the anti-Shah demonstrations here:

The most impressive thing about the demonstration, apart from its size—9,000—was that it was extremely well-organized and maintained a high level of enthusiasm and militancy for two solid days.

Only a handful of the biggest anti-war demonstrations were larger. And back then, the militant contingents were smaller, anarchistic, and easily demoralized, and prone

to random, a-political violence. Like setting fires in trash cans and throwing rocks through drug store windows.

Apart from a sprinkling of Eritrean students and a few others, the demonstration was almost entirely Iranian. The *Post* provided a little comic relief by writing that the anti-Shah demonstrators were Latin Americans, Arabs, and Russians!

Kirk Lambert
Washington, D.C.



Workers' power is the only road to socialism in Africa

by Ahmed Shawki

In the 1950's and 1960's, many third world regimes, free of the shackles of colonialism, proclaimed themselves "socialist" and set out to build the new order.

It was a mixed bunch, including such figures as Nasser in Egypt, Nkrumah in Ghana, and Ben Bella in Algeria. New doctrines were developed as well, and, whether it was "Arab Socialism," "Islamic Socialism," or "African Socialism," the goal was to break with imperialism and backwardness, to develop modern industry, and to achieve prosperity in the new societies of Asia and Africa.

Today, this promise, and with it the hope and enthusiasm, has vanished. There is no socialism in Ghana, nor Egypt, nor Algeria, nor in fact in any place in the third world.

Ghana, with General Achaempong at the head of a repressive state machine, has recently banned all independent political parties, arguing that they create "unnecessary social divisions." The regime moves closer and closer to the U.S.

DEPENDENT

In Algeria, the corrupt government of Boumediene is thoroughly dependent on French capital. Egypt is more and more the total dependent of the United States, as Sadat's theatrics prove only too clearly.

At the same time, the dependence of these nations on the world economic system have been strengthened, not weakened. Poverty and inequality remain rampant. The big plans for industrialization have collapsed. All the problems that the "new socialism" promised to solve are

still there.

Despite this reality, however, many of the illusions fostered by these regimes remain. In Africa, for example, the rulers of Tanzania and Zambia, Nyerere and Kaunda, still parade under the banner of "African socialism." In Angola and Mozambique, successful national liberation struggles have revived the hope for an "African road to socialism."

I will argue here that these



regimes are not in any way socialist, but are in fact state capitalism. More, today they offer nothing to the vast majority of the workers and peasants in the backward countries, and that the first steps towards genuine socialism will be made when they are overthrown.

CENTRAL

For Marx, the working class was central to the

strategy for socialism, no exceptions. Socialism was the self-emancipation of the working class or it was nothing.

The regimes of Kaunda and Nyerere were created in the struggle against imperialism. The policies that were carried through by them represented the interests of the national middle classes, and/or the petty-bourgeoisie, that led the struggle for independence.

Their first goal was industrialization. Their aim was to close the gap with the industrialized nations. But, because of the uneven development of capitalism, and the impossibility, under modern conditions, of backward countries industrializing with the methods of "free enterprise," they reverted to the state.

They attempted to insulate their economies from the world market and the big multinationals. They hoped to industrialize on the basis of the planned economy.

This in part explains their anti-imperialist and often radical sounding rhetoric.

The objective, it should be clear, was not to emancipate the working class, but to bring the peasants off the land and into the factories. Industrialization was also synonymous with the strengthening of their own positions in relation to other nations, whether poor or rich.

PROBLEMS

However, they were met with serious problems. The poverty of the rural population meant that it could not feed the millions moved into the cities. The sheer scale of modern industry often simply ruled development out by definition.

Finally, they faced the constant battle with the balance of

payments. To industrialize, they needed machinery, equipment, and expertise. But these were to be found in the advanced nations. It proved a very expensive business to get into.

The demands of accumulation went before consumption, just as profits went before human needs. Nyerere, in a recent speech, put it this way, "The poor nations are told to invest more, to sacrifice present consumption for the sake of future development. Speaking for my own country, we try to do that."

That is, the needs of the system come before the needs of the workers and the peasants, best intentions aside. This is why in recent years, the "African Socialist" regimes have lost much of their verbal radicalism of earlier times.

In the developing economic crisis, they have been forced to try to make the workers pay more and more—cutting wages, social services.

The other side of the coin is increased repression. In 1974, copper prices fell by two-thirds on the world market. And copper had never taken up less than 90% of Zambia's export earnings. The result was that Kaunda viciously attacked living standards, smashed the strikes that exploded in the copper mines, and suddenly became a supporter of "detente" with South Africa.

TOLL

The same process took its toll on Nyerere. In the face of the world wide recession, he was forced to slash Tanzania's public expenditure's, fire 9,500 civil servants, and ban strikes.

Today, it is clearer and

clearer that there is no basis for "African socialism"—that is, the building of strong, self-reliant nations under the protection of the state. And, while state capitalism might have some advantages to colonialism and broken-backed private capitalism, it is certainly not an alternative. Nor is it socialism.

In reality, "African socialism" was the name given to justify the creation of new ruling classes. It had nothing at all to do with the working class and the poor peasants of Africa.

This does not, however, rule out the hope for socialism in Africa and the third world.

The workers of Africa have shown themselves to be a fantastic force in recent years—in Ethiopia in 1974, when Haile Selassie's regime was brought down, in the strikes in the mining belt in Zambia, in the rebellions in Egypt, and in the struggle for national independence in Angola. In South Africa, it is only the black working class which has the capacity to smash apartheid.

Neither, of course, does it mean that the peasants will not play an important role in the battle for socialism, nor that the struggle for national self-determination is belittled.

It simply means that there can be no lasting independence, no real self-determination, outside of the destruction of the capitalist system which dominates the world, including the third world.

International socialism is the alternative to domination, dependence and under development. It is the best hope for the masses of impoverished workers and peasants, and it is the only road to socialism in Africa. □

Smith starts negotiations with a massacre.

ZIMBABWE—In November Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith announced that he would meet with the moderate African Black leaders. He proposed to begin negotiations which would ultimately lead to one person—one vote rule in Rhodesia.

But the day before Rhodesian commandos, backed by helicopters and mirage jets, went into the border area of Mozambique in an attempt to wipe out guerilla settlements.

The massacre was described by the official Mozambique radio station as "the

biggest attack yet."

Most of the people slaughtered were women and children. The military commandos attacked schools, food stores and hospitals. In one village 20 school girls ages 10-14 were machine gunned as they sat in their school room.

Some moderate leaders like Bishop Muzorewa have indicated that they may negotiate with Smith. But the recent massacre shows Smith's true colors. His attacks will only strengthen the resolve of the Zimbabwe freedom fighters. □



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New members in New England

BOSTON MA—On November 12 and 13 the Boston IS held a New England regional socialist conference. 55 people registered for the two day meeting and heard speakers on the economy, the struggle in the mine, the growing attack on women, revolutionary perspectives for the third world and a talk on "Why You Should Be Socialist."

Duncan Hallas, central committee member of the SWP(GB), spoke to seven people Saturday evening on "Marxism and the Revolutionary Tradition."

There were also workshops on topics including state capitalism, nuclear power, South Africa, UPSurge and violence against women.

As a result of the meeting several people joined the IS giving the organization new members in Amherst, New Haven, Providence, Philadelphia and Washington D.C.



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FOR 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

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

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. These countries are not governed by workers' control but by a small bureaucratic class. A revolutionary movement must be built in these countries to achieve workers' control.

WHERE WE STAND

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.

FOR 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.

firings. We are for an end to discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities.

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

FOR 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 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.

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.

International Socialist Organization

- | | |
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SCENES FROM PORTUGAL

by KENT WORCESTER

The film "Scenes of the Class-Struggle in Portugal" is an attempt to describe on film the events that took place in Portugal between 1974 and 1975. Directed by two Americans who visited Portugal in 1975, the film relies heavily on television footage, interviews, and crowd scenes to portray the mood of the country, the feelings of the people.

What's surprising is how long ago those events seem. There is little mention of current events, whether in the U.S. left-wing press, or in the popular media.

This is partly because the press has ignored many recent events (such as recent fights of agricultural workers to maintain collective ownership of the fields), but partly because events have moved, in the last two years, from revolution to impasse.

The film gives the viewer a good feeling for the revolutionary period.

ADVANCES

Powerful advances were made: workers took over some 300 factories, there were massive occupations of the farms.

We see older Portuguese women articulate the needs of their families in neighborhood council meetings; we see thousands of workers in city squares all asking the same question: "How far can the revolution go?"

The organized parties of the Left played a large role in these events. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was the largest of these. The PCP was the only form of organized resistance to fascist power. But the film quite rightly shows the PCP to be reformist. Whenever workers independently organized, the PCP acted as a block, in their way.

Along with the Socialist Party (now in power), the PCP had the rhetoric of socialism, but the actions of scared middle-class liberals.

One of the good points of the film is how it shows people changing as events change. In a housing cooperative, we see people move from strict antifascism to pro independent worker's institutions.

The vision of people, en masse, moving themselves, and history, is very exciting. History is always more interesting in periods like these. The film presents this well.

The film has problems, though, some technical, some political. The directors have presented the situation in the more rural and Catholic North well, and present the different political urges of the people well.

Although the film was completed in 1976, it hasn't been widely screened in the U.S. It is an excellent introduction to international struggle, and a good film for those who followed events in Portugal. □

'Bridges' is revolutionary politics and funky jazz

reviews

by Todd Jefferson



Gil Scott-Heron

It's difficult to be both a revolutionary and an artist.

Your constant problem is to say something politically meaningful, but to do it well—as a part of your art—without sounding like a propagandist. Your message may be simple enough, but how you say it has to be reflected through the wide, complex range of human emotion.

It's especially difficult in this country today because revolutionary traditions and culture are weak here and remain isolated from the overwhelming majority of people. Much of the revolutionary art of the past is out of print or censored unofficially by not being taken seriously by critics.

GAP

So when any artist bridges the gap between art and politics, or between revolutionary art and popular culture, and does it well, it's an important event.

It happened recently with the release of Gil Scott-Heron's new record album "Bridges."

This is not Gil Scott-Heron's first album, not hopefully his last. But it's his most successful attempt so far to integrate his revolutionary politics with his funky jazz.

Human life and emotion is essential to good art, and especially to music which uses the rhythms and patterns of sound and movement to manipulate our emotions.

Scott-Heron and his partner Brian Jackson create their music out of Black urban experience. It is an experience they know well. Their lyrics are full of life, expressing the joy and despair and aspirations for freedom of Black people.

Their lyrics support the music like a skeleton. Their

music is the flesh and blood of all Black music. What you'll hear in it is the sound of rhythm and blues, jazz, soul, reggae, and the compelling rhythms and percussions of Africa.

"Bridges" adds a new dimension to this combination—the new urban sound of the young, jazz with an up-tempo and all the funky sweet city sounds of background horns and electronic percussion.

JOHANNESBURG

Scott-Heron's first successful attempt at this was actually on his last album with the song "Johannesburg." It was an incredible revolutionary song about the struggle in South Africa and it enjoyed long popularity on AM radio.

The sound of it was certainly not as maudlin as Disco often is, though the song enjoyed that kind of compelling beat. It was more the sound of pop jazz. And you could dance to it. And it was played at many a party just for that purpose.

The music of "Bridges" is a continuation of the new quality that began with "Johannesburg." It's more popular sound should guarantee it a wide audience. But this move to a more popular beat may actually disappoint some Scott-Heron fans who feel it's a sell-out of more traditional Coltrane-type jazz for commercial reasons.

It is not. His early style and influences are there, but they are reflected through the sounds of today.

The point of revolutionary art is to affect as many as possible, as profoundly as possible, and especially the young. Music in particular cannot do this if it ignores the sounds of today.

Gil Scott-Heron knows what he's doing with his new sound. He believes that music is the universal medium of expression for human feeling.

It is the kind of art that people in all cultures understand, regardless of language differences or national boundaries. "Racetrack in France" from "Bridges" explains this well. Even though the musicians spoke no French,

The people got the message from the music that we play.

It really shouldn't'a been no surprise that we all got down that day.

I was a long way from home, but those were good vibrations.

The song "Delta Man" is one of the more powerful revolutionary statements. It is the story of three different ways of life for Blacks in this country from slavery to the present. It too tells the story by using "places," from Mississippi delta country, to Nebraska farmland, to living on welfare in the heart of the city. The song is dedicated to "the brothers in the Caribbean and Africa," and he begins it by speaking these words:

This is a song about change, you see. We say many things about the changing aspects of our lives. We say that since change is inevitable, we should direct that change rather than simply continue to go through the change.

His vocal diversity on this song and the power of the final

chant,

Put a little revolution in your life and you'll understand where I'm coming from...

drives home the message that there are few alternatives left for blacks.

95 SOUTH

The final song is a touching ballad that explores Scott-Heron's feelings and memories about growing up in the South. It's called "95 South" which refers to Interstate 95 which connects the North and South on the East Coast. But it's only indirectly about a highway. It's really a tribute to Fannie Lou Hamer whose death he heard about on the radio while headed home on I-95. This is some of his finest poetry and it will shake you deep inside. He says elsewhere about fallen comrades: "We have debts to pay. In the interest of comrades who have contributed their lives, as well as in our own interest."

"Bridges" has narrowed the gap between politics and art. It has been honest and faithful in depicting human lives and emotions, particularly of Blacks. It's superb music too. This is why people are playing it and talking about it and why it's moving up the charts. This is why you should buy it too—"Put a little revolution in you life." Let's hope it makes it big and spreads the message far and wide. Because we need that.

And let's hope this is the start of a new kind of popular culture—a culture that is ours. □



Brian Jackson

Vote supports Coke strike

by DAVID NORRIS

BLOOMINGTON, IN—On November 16, students voted by four to one to remove scab Coca Cola products from the University of Indiana campus.

The Coke strike here is nearly 21 months old. It is between Teamsters local 135 and the Bloomington Coca Cola Co. 21 employees who average 16 years seniority struck in March 1976, after refusing to accept a 25% wage cut.

Bloomington Coke stated that they could not afford "expensive wages" but now are paying a larger number of scabs more money each to replace the strikers.

Nearly 4,000 students voted in the referendum which was organized to demand an end to the university's support for strike breaking activities.

MONOPOLY

The Bloomington Boycott Coke Committee, which organized the referendum, was formed by students and townspeople over a year ago. It has been successful in reducing the sale of Coke products throughout the town, but this has not been enough, because of the university's monopoly of Coke machines on the campus.

With the victory of the referendum, however, the removal of the scab coke from campus is not far off. And this just may send Coca Cola back to the negotiating table! □

Grocery strike over

by GLORIA PARK Teamster Local 206

PORTLAND, OR—Teamster grocery warehouse workers here have returned to work disappointed and demoralized, but not defeated.

The Local 206 contract with Portland's grocery warehouses expired on July 1, 1977. Three months later October 16, nearly 1,000 angry teamsters voted down the company's first set of proposals and walked off their jobs at seven major Portland Grocery warehouses.

DOWN

On October 25, a new set of proposals, no better than the first, was once again unanimously turned down. But then, on November 5, the strikers were back at work, this time having overwhelmingly accepted a contract they considered laughable just a few weeks earlier.

What happened?

Our demands were simple. They were decided by an elected negotiating committee. We did not want to be bought off with wages.

We wanted working conditions.

We wanted language in the contract that would make it unprofitable to hire casuals. If the disease called casuals continues to grow here we will soon lose everything that we have won in years of struggle.

We wanted an end to mandatory overtime up to 12 hours a day.

We were soldout but not defeated

We wanted contract language giving the union a say in setting production standards and who is used in setting them.

What we ended up with was \$1.65 an hour over three years and a 25¢ cap on the COL for the last two years.

NONE

We won none of our demands with the exception that mandatory overtime was re-

duced two hours a day—but with these exceptions—holiday periods, emergencies, peak work periods. Well, these are the only times we work overtime anyway.

Our union leadership did almost nothing to help us win the strike. There was almost total disorganization on the picket lines. The members received no news. Sometimes members would be alone for several shifts on

picket duty.

The Grocery Association launched a campaign to turn public opinion against us, but the union did nothing to counter it.

No wonder the membership, willing to fight at first became confused and demoralized. The only thing the union organized was the meeting to ratify the rotten agreement, and at that, they were highly effective.

I think the problem we face has its source in the employers' offensive. In the fifties, the Teamsters officials could deliver the goods without a fight, and the rank weren't needed. Today, this is no longer possible.

STONEWALL

The officials are up against stonewalling employers associations that want all the profits they can get. They are in a permanent offensive to cut costs and overhead and to drive up productivity.

The Local 206 officials are not prepared to fight this kind of offensive, something we learned here in Portland this fall. But I think it is true right across the country.

We are now organizing to see that this year's sellout is not repeated. We've planned meetings so that we can get the activists together.

We will have to turn this union around and only the rank and file can do it. □



Striking grocery workers.

Boston boycotts J.P. Stevens

BOSTON, MA—On November 19, New England members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and activists in the Boston women's movement were told that women "must organize to build a movement which recognizes their rights to equal pay, equal job access opportunities, and an end to employment policies which force them into low-skilled positions."

Diana Nanes, a vice-president of the ACTWU, speaking at the J.P. Stevens and Women Workers Conference, stressed that rank and file activity by women workers is the most

effective means of combating discrimination practices, both sexual and racial, in the textiles industry.

MARCH

At the close of the conference, which had speakers from a wide range of organizations, those attending joined together and marched to Downtown Boston to the Jordan Marsh Department Store to ask shoppers to boycott J.P. Stevens products.

This action ended a week long effort directed at Jordan Marsh, New England's largest advertiser of J.P. Stevens products. □

PORTLAND DEMO

"Ban the Kruggerrand"

PORTLAND, OR—Chanting "The Kruggerrand must be banned" and "South African gold must not be sold," demonstrators from Portland Citizens Against Racism began their second week of picketing local sales outlets for the Kruggerrand.

The Kruggerrand is a gold coin, minted in the South African mint, but not legal tender in South Africa. It is used solely for export in an effort to draw in foreign money.

In the past two years the South African government has been running a media blitz in the United States. Sixty second spots on TV try to impress the viewer with the safety of an investment in gold. The Kruggerrand is presented as "an ounce of pure love."

EXPORT

Why is the South African government so anxious to sell this "ounce of blood" to us?

Gold has been a major export of South Africa for many years. Fluctuations in the price of gold have led the government to try and secure a steady inflow of money for South African gold. The campaign has paid off.

\$100 million worth of Kruggerrands have been sold in the United States in 1977 alone. This money goes to South

Africa where it helps prop up the racist regime.

Many groups in the United States are outraged enough by this to try and stop this sale. Resolutions have been passed by the city councils of Denver, San Antonio, Dayton, Chicago and Madison urging people not to buy Kruggerrands.

The Denver resolution states "That the council hereby expresses its opposition to and boathing of the racial policies of the so-called Republic of South Africa; and urges the people of Denver not to buy the coins known as Kruggerrands, whose sales will help to reinforce the present government of South Africa

pursuing its repugnant and inhuman racial policies."

CONDEMN

Denver has since passed a second resolution condemning bank loans and corporate investments in South Africa. Currently picketing is going on in Boston and other cities protesting the newspaper and radio advertisements.

Portland Citizens Against Racism plans on presenting a resolution before the Portland City Council condemning the sale of the Kruggerrand to coincide with Human Rights Week. Similar actions are planned for Eugene. □

by KAREN WOODS

Crabshell meet

KIRKLAND, WASH—Over 100 members and supporters of the Crabshell Alliance met here on November 4 to demand answers about nuclear waste disposal from Chem-Nuclear Systems. Chem-Nuclear is the biggest low level nuclear waste disposal company in the U.S. and has its main office in Kirkland.

The demonstration coincided with one in Cimarron, New Mexico where Chem-Nuke wants to set up another radioactive garbage dump,

despite opposition from people in the area.

Chem-Nuke's "disposal" of waste would be funny if it weren't so tragic. It stores experimental animal carcasses, contaminated clothing, reactor equipment, etc. in 55 gallon drums or even plastic bags in unlined trenches only 30 feet deep. It is already covering an area of 260 acres in Barnwell, South Carolina with these trenches. The drums soon rust out and the bags break, leaking their contents into the earth. □

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Alltrans strike in 4th month

by DUNCAN WEST
IBT Local 208

LOS ANGELES—The ACME-Alltrans strike has entered its 13th week and half the seniority list of Teamsters are still actively picketing.

But the Teamster local leaders involved (locals 208, 357, and 495) have yet to get an official strike sanction, so the workers are still on their own.

No one in the union will deny that we got a raw deal when ACME threw us out of our jobs on Labor Day weekend. They put 53 people on the streets, and then gave the work to a new crew at \$4.60 an hour on the dock and owner operators on the street.

LINES

The only people willing to fight on the issue have been the Teamsters' rank and file. On almost every occasion they have honored our picket lines—either in front of the ACME terminal or when we have set up pickets in front of other freight barns.

We are hurting ACME but they still have the upper hand. They are part of an international transportation company which is planning to expand in the U.S., as soon as they can bring the union to heel.

They are now in the process of getting the rights of the defunct REA (Railway Express Association), which will enable them to move freight anywhere in the U.S.

If ACME is not stopped in L.A., there won't be a union member handling ACME freight whose job is safe.

SANCTION

We need the power of the union and the official strike sanction behind us. We want to send sanctioned traveling pickets to wherever ACME is operating—Northwest, Midwest, even the East.

But this will take more than the resolve of the L.A. rank and file. It will take the out-front support of the I.B.T.

We are fighting for that now. Our local officials say they support us, but they are locked into a network of bought-off and sold out local, conference and international bureaucrats.

When they do challenge the officers it's often just for show. So far, they want to put the blame for the union's inaction onto anyone but themselves. □

FRAMED AND FIRED

'I Don't accept the B.S. U.P.S. hands down'

by Anne Mackie

United Parcel Service in Cincinnati, Ohio has only hired four full time black employees since 1972. Recently they fired a black driver who has fought to reverse the company's racist employment policy.

Ed Walker, a package driver for nine years in the Cincinnati HUB, circulated a petition to get more blacks hired. 37 employees, black and white, signed the petition. A discrimination grievance was filed with Teamsters Local 100, but the union has refused to act on the grievance.

On Nov. 14, 1977 Ed Walker was fired from United Parcel. The facts behind the firing show that United Parcel will go to any length to maintain its racist employment policies.

COPS

On Friday, Nov. 11, Ed Walker was making his daily pickups. It was about 5:30 pm when two police cars approached his truck. Members from the Cincinnati vice squad pulled up in a Cadillac. A warrant had been issued to search Ed and his UPS truck.

The police found 2 football card stubs, 1 full card, and 1 top of a card. Ed was arrested and charged with possession of illegal gambling devices.

On Monday, Nov. 14, United Parcel fired Ed for dishonesty, soliciting, gambling, and failure to do assigned duties in a timely manner. Ed has filed a grievance with Teamsters Local 100 to be reinstated with full back pay.

SETUP

The evidence against Ed is weak, and his attorneys feel confident the case will be thrown out of court. One arresting officer said, "If you are a bookie, you aren't making any money at it."

Why the Cincinnati police department even bothered to make such a phoney arrest

was a mystery until it was learned UPS employs a member of the police force in its "Loss Prevention" department.

The real reasons why UPS had this man arrested and then fired are best explained in Ed's own words: "I was fired because I'm a fighter. I don't accept the B.S. UPS hands down."

Ed Walker has played a leading role in the fight for better working conditions at UPS. As a member of UPSurge, Ed helped organize the rank and file movement which played a leading role in the 1976 UPS Central States strike.

ATTACK

The fight at United Parcel is not only for black equality and black dignity, but it is a fight for all UPS employees who are unjustly fired and



Ed Walker

harassed.

Stop watches, time studies, and speed-up are used to keep UPS number one in trucking. Their personal appearance standards are stricter than the U.S. military.

UPS employs cops, narcotics agents, and ex-FBI agents to work undercover side by side with union members. They are there not only to enforce the law, but to intimidate and infiltrate the growing rank and file movement against the bad working conditions at UPS.

The firing in Cincinnati, Ohio is not an isolated incident aimed at one individual. It is an attempt by UPS to smash any movement anywhere for unity, equality, and self-respect.

We must stand together and defend ourselves, our brothers and our sisters. One person alone cannot take on the larg-

est trucking company in the country.

Teamsters Local 100 must be forced to win Ed's job back. The phoney criminal charges will be fought in court.

This will take legal help and that takes money. Socialist Worker readers are asked to make a donation to the Ed Walker Defense Fund as a show of solidarity.

Winning this man's job back means showing UPS we won't allow anyone to be victimized. It will show our fight against racism and our fight against speed-up and harassment is one we plan to win.

Send donations to:

Ed Walker Defense Fund
c/o Brown, Dennison,
Klayman Law Offices
216 E. 9th St.
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202



Ed Walker, third from left, with UPS supporters. (Upsurge photo).

Ford: Where killing is the 'better idea'

by PATRICIA GILMAN

DEARBORN, MI—On September 29, 1977, Leonard Leath died of an infection incurred after his right leg was crushed in an accident at the Ford Rouge complex. The Michigan Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) would not investigate and it was left up to the Federal OSHA to step in.

The accident occurred when an electrician working on an overhead crane pushed an

unmarked lever, and Leath's leg was crushed between the crane and a steel column.

The penalty for Ford? A \$350 fine and an order to put labels on crane levers.

SLIDE

The Michigan OSHA also let slide a death in August of 1976 when another Ford Rouge employee died of carbon monoxide poisoning while working on a blast furnace.

And there is yet to be any explanation concerning the 21 year old man who died this summer from heat exhaustion after working a 16 hour shift. Or Patricia Campbell, the first woman to work on the railroads in the Rouge who died on November 27, 1977 after being dragged under a train.

Most plants in the Rouge Complex are working a 7 day week. The mandatory overtime load is growing. With

the work overload comes the rise in accidents. In just one of the Ford Divisions, the Metal Stamping Division, there have been over 3,000 injuries this year. Over 8,000 first aid cases.

QUESTION

Whenever a new procedure or machine is proposed, the question asked is not "Is it safe for the people using that machine, or implementing that procedure," but "Is

it a cost saving device?"

Even a request to improve the plants this year has had to be justified by showing that fans "would reduce absenteeism and increase a greater long-term average profit rate."

The only way accidents can be reduced is by slowing down the line, and putting the safety of the workers before cost saving. This is one idea Ford isn't likely to put on wheels. □



Sadat and Begin

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The Trip to Israel

Sadat The Arch Appeaser

Why He Went

In the name of peace and brotherhood, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt has addressed the Knesset—the parliament of Israel.

Two thousand journalists were there to trumpet clichés across the world, and to pretend that his visit brought a 'glimpse of hope' to the Middle East.

For millions of Palestinian and Arab people in all Middle East countries, it has brought exactly the opposite.

A week earlier, the Israeli government had shown what it meant by peace. It unleashed its bombers to pulverize refugee camps in neighboring Lebanon.

Azziye, a small village of 400 people in Southern Lebanon, no longer exists.

Whole camps were destroyed by the bombs, thousands were made homeless, and 150 people killed.

Begin, prime minister of Israel, went on television to rejoice at the slaughter. "We have taught these savages a lesson," he said.

As for "brotherhood" and "love," all the actions of the Begin government have been directed to two aims:

- To tighten the discrimination against hundreds of thousands of Arab people who live in Israel and in the occupied territories of the West Bank of Jordan, the Gaza strip and Sinai.

This is one of the most brutal occupations in the world. Any sign of resistance is met with a standard punishment: the blowing up of the suspects' house, and their enforced removal to the



Lebanese village destroyed in Israeli raid.

nearest refugee camp.

Last year alone, there were 3 general strikes organized by Arabs demanding Israeli withdrawal. Instead the police opened fire on the demonstrators.

SUBSIDIZE

In the face of even the

American government's protests, Begin has announced a huge government plan to subsidize more Israeli "settlements" in the occupied territories, requisitioning Arab land.

- To continue harassment of the other two million Palestinian people most of whom still live in conditions of unspeakable poverty in the camps set up after their expulsion from Palestine in 1948.

The truth about Sadat's Israel trip is clear.

Sadat is the arch-appeaser. He is shaking hands and giving comfort to one of the most oppressive and racist regimes in the world.

The same is true of Sadat's latest moves. Now he has announced that he wants to hold a pre-Geneva conference in Cairo. Israel has expected the invitation and we can expect a similar charade to what we saw when Sadat went to Israel.

As for "hope," his appeasement, like all appeasement, will not harness the Israeli tiger.

With the Egyptian front secure, Begin will turn his forces with redoubled ferocity on Lebanon and on Syria, and above all on the Palestinians and on the Arabs in the occupied territories.

For years the hopes and aspirations of the Palestinians and the Arab workers have been pinned on the warlike noises made by Arab leaders like Sadat against the imperialism and racism of the Israeli government. Now those protests are shown for what they are.

Only one good can come from Sadat's posturing—if Palestinians, Arabs and Jews all over the Middle East cut loose from the regimes which have suffocated them for so long and begin to find a new strength and confidence in themselves. □

Sadat's visit to Israel was a lone venture, and an act of desperation. It was not, as the press wants us to believe, a heroic act of courage to open a new phase in Middle Eastern political life.

It was the act of a man who knows that his time is limited, and who is willing to gamble to win himself an extra breathing space.

For Sadat is a man who loves power. He is the man who has moved his family into the old royal palace in Cairo—from which the Egyptian workers' movement expelled King Farouk 25 years ago.

Sadat had always been almost hysterically anti-Communist and pro-American. From the beginning he threw Egypt fully into the Western camp.

DISPLAY

He brought in American advisors, and made a deal with President Nixon which he was told would at last set the crisis-ridden Egyptian economy on its feet. Nixon promised 2500 million dollars of investment.

The policy failed dismally hardly a penny arrived.

The Egyptian economy is now among the world's weakest, with international debts of 16 billion dollars, inflation still at over 30 per cent a year a huge military budget, a rapidly rising population and dreadful poverty.

Sadat's wealthy Arab "friends" in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf have done little to bale him out.

But the warning Egyptian workers gave Sadat last January has not been forgotten. Then, when he tried to raise food prices, they rose throughout Egypt in huge demonstrations of anger.

MORE

Sadat backed down, while the army watched closely, undecided whether they should move to take power. Sadat survived, just.

The visit to Israel was a desperate attempt to win further American support, to convince his "friends" that he, Sadat, is the strong man of Egypt, to reach a deal with Israel, "stabilize" the Middle East conflict, and attract to Egypt the cash Sadat desperately needs.

It will achieve nothing. It will create only more suspicion among Egyptian workers. □

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