

WORKERS' POWER

An on-the-spot report

Steel Workers' Convention

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What the Camp David Agreements Mean

THIS ISN'T PEACE - IT'S ROBBERY!

THE INK IS dry on the Camp David Middle East "peace accords." The statesmen of America, Egypt and Israel are promising a generation of peace.

At Camp David they worked out what they call a "framework," that dictates where and how the people of Palestine will live.

To be more accurate, the agreements were drawn up by the President of the United States, who then consulted with the Egyptian President and Israeli Prime Minister to gain their approval.

Then the three leaders went to Washington to consult the American Congress, which roared its approval.

This week, the Israeli Parliament and the rubber-stamp Egyptian legislature were consulted and gave their approval.

Now King Hussein of Jordan, the royal family of Saudi Arabia and President Assad of Syria are being consulted for their approval.

NOT CONSULTED

But the Palestinian people have not been consulted. No one has asked them for their approval of continued Israeli military occupation and settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza strip.

No one asked them whether Israel should be allowed to control which Palestinians can live in Palestine, and which ones must continue living abroad as aliens or refugees.

No one asked the Palestinians whether an Egyptian president has the right to give away the Palestinians' homeland in exchange for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty and billions in American aid for Egypt.

And this is no accident. When you are trampling someone in the dirt, you don't consult with them for their approval. And that is what the Camp David "peace framework" does to the Palestinian people.

AMERICAN SETTLEMENT

But the Camp David agreements do more than this. They are an American settlement. They are the very settlement which the Carter Administration swore it would not impose on the Middle East, because it knew the American people don't want to be responsible for policing the region.

And that is part of the reason why these agreements, despite all the euphoria and hoopla, represent a danger to the American people.

This peace settlement was written to deny Palestinian self-determination, and to split Egypt from the rest of the Arab world.

The only way to hold together

such a "settlement" is with the promise of American power. The U.S. is committed to building new Israeli military bases at a cost of up to \$2 billion.

The American military will also have to protect the Egyptian regime of Anwar Sadat whenever it is threatened, either from outside or by its own working class.

If the agreements break down at any stage, the ruling classes in the Middle East will call on the American government to enforce them.

So there are two reasons why American working people should oppose the Camp David so-called peace agreements. The first is simply that they are undemocratic—that they deny the Palestinian people's basic right to an independent homeland.

The second is that in the future—whether it's two, five, or ten years from now—these agreements may turn the Mideast into another Vietnam. □

Dan Posen



PICTURE: Palestinian villagers rally for freedom. The Camp David agreements were drawn up over the heads of the Palestinians to deny their right to self-determination.



Senator Birch Bayh [D-Ind.] addresses an emergency rally for the ERA on Capitol Hill September 26. The rally was called by the National Organization for Women.

8000 rally for the E.R.A.

NO TIME LIMIT FOR EQUALITY!

SIX THOUSAND WOMEN rallied on Capitol Hill on September 26, demanding that the Senate extend the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The rally was called less than a week ago by the National Organization for Women when the group got word that the extension would not get on the Senate floor for a vote during the final weeks of the session. More than 200 organizations were represented at the rally.

"It's a real show of grass roots support and strength that so many women would drop everything and go to Washington on a Tuesday afternoon with less than a week's notice," Darlene Ryniak, NOW Action Vice President of Macomb County, Michigan told Workers' Power.

"There were a lot of union women there. We put a lot of pressure on the conservatives who don't want to deal with women's rights. If the extension doesn't come up for a vote, they can dodge the issue. We don't want to let that happen."

Unless the March 22, 1979 deadline is extended by the Senate before recess, the ERA will be a dead issue. No more votes in state legislatures are scheduled before the deadline, and the ERA remains stalled just three states short of ratification. □

Why is the right wing attacking women's rights? — page 4

by Paul Broz

Contract fiasco: a postal mortem

* The words are Emmet Andrews', president of the American Postal Workers Union, admonishing wildcatting postal workers to end their walkouts. They could just as well be applied to his own actions during recent contract negotiations.

During the course of these negotiations top union leaders have disregarded numerous democratically-decided mandates from their memberships. They negotiated a three year, rather than a two year contract. They imposed an information blackout at the close of negotiations. They allowed changes in the no layoff clause, and they permitted final terms of the contract to be decided by an arbitrator.

As the contract now stands, assuming inflation of 6.5%, workers will make \$300 more over the life of the contract than they would have under the version which was taken into arbitration.

However, workers hired after September 15, 1978, who have less than six years seniority will be subject to layoff.

The postal service has plans to lay off large numbers of workers as a result of projects such as electronic message transfer. One estimate is that about 20% of the current workforce has less than six years seniority. The arbitrator supposedly gave workers hired before September 15 lifetime job security, but it is not clear what is to prevent postal management from attempting to re-negotiate this issue next time.

AMNESTY?

Nothing has been said about amnesty for those discharged during wildcats in New Jersey and California. Some fired workers in the Bay Area feel that their best bet is to try to pressure the postal service into re-hiring them, rather than pressuring union officials. Having seen their union leadership ignore numerous mandates, they feel that union leaders are immune to the sort of pressure they could bring to bear.

The American Postal Workers Union and the National Association of Letter Carriers have submitted the pact to the membership for approval, hoping for a positive vote. How they would handle a no vote is anybody's guess, although a strike—given events so far—is unlikely.

Ballots for union elections were sent out with the ratification slips. The hottest races will be for the president of the Letter Carriers. Vince Sombrotto, president of the New York local, is running against incumbent Joseph Vacca.

Sombrotto's strategy has been to lay low and count on the unpopularity of the contract to win the election for him. Sombrotto could have triggered a national strike at several pivotal points since the contract expired July 20. Locals in many major cities were waiting, willing to follow New York's lead.

Many postal workers feel that his refusing to take decisive action, to make a difference in this contract, is an indication of how he plans to act if elected. Sombrotto stands a good chance of beating Vacca.

DIFFERENCES

Events during postal contract negotiations raise questions about rank and file power within a democratic union. Postal unions are very democratic. Nearly all

* "Efforts to short circuit the will of the majority, whatever that will may be, are undemocratic and irresponsible."



Emmet Andrews gives the finger to elected representatives of the American Postal Workers Union at a recent convention in Denver.

representatives are elected, and delegates at conventions can pass resolutions directing the actions of their leaders. Yet, rarely have the stances of a union leadership and the rank and file been so far apart.

While Andrews and Vacca were hailing the agreement as a breakthrough, Letter Carriers, at their convention, July 31, overwhelmingly recommended a no vote. The Postal Workers were to do the same two weeks later at their convention, after a two and a half hour demonstration against Andrews, during which he flipped them the bird.

The APWU rank and file advisory

committee to union negotiators voted 29-15 against the contract.

Even George Meany, in an unprecedented statement, said, "I was a little disappointed. I thought they could have done better."

Rank and filers at many union meetings registered their disapproval, and when it was all over postal workers had rejected the contract by a hefty margin.

Now, after arbitration—a violation of rank and file mandates—postal workers have lost a substantial portion of the no layoff clause and have gained little in wages. A strike, which union leaders

twisted and turned to avoid, could have changed things around.

PAID OFF?

A nagging question in postal workers' minds is: *Why did union leaders do what they did?* Some speculate that they were paid off. Others consider them simply to be incompetent.

More likely is that they really believe the Carter administration's talk about inflation. They are deathly afraid of a strike, and they don't think that postal workers know what's good for them or good for the economy.

Top union officials move in higher social circles than the average postal worker. They eat better food and drink better wine. They don't put in 60 hours a week in front of a Letter Sorting Machine, spend hours walking a route, or endure harassment from postal supervision. Living the way they do, it is much easier to buy management's arguments.

Activists in Teamsters for a Democratic Union are attempting to build the sort of democracy that the mail workers already have. But what do you do when union leaders ignore democratic decisions of the membership?

The answer, as most TDU'ers know, is that democracy is not enough—that powerful rank and file movements are needed to ensure real democracy. And the bottom line, as in the miners' strike, is the union consciousness and class consciousness of individual workers.

LOOKING AHEAD

What are the prospects for a rank and file movement among postal workers? Most oppositionists have looked to New York for leadership, to Vince Sombrotto and Moe Biller (of the APWU). However, this time, their leadership was not forthcoming and they have lost much of their support.

A national rank and file group, the Postal Contract Coalition, had support from scores of local union officials and rank and filers, however its effect was minimal.

Postal workers have learned a lot about their union from this contract bargaining. And they have learned that they can't count on people like Sombrotto. Sentiment exists for the building of an ongoing rank and file organization that can change the unions. Activists in the Postal Contract Coalition are soliciting opinions from rank and filers on the next step forward.

This contract has not remedied conditions which postal workers most want changed. The workforce will be reduced further and mandatory overtime will continue to make family life difficult.

Accident rates will remain more than twice that of other government employees. The grievance procedure still offers workers little protection.

Harassment from supervision will continue unabated and casuals will be hired to do the work of regulars, at lower wages, with fewer benefits.

The feeling among most postal workers we talked to is that the contract is likely to be approved. The old tactic of "When in doubt, delay" has worked. Many just want to see the whole process ended. Others simply won't vote, because they don't think that it means anything. □



This cartoon, in harsh contrast to reality, is only slightly more extreme than most media coverage of postal contract negotiations.

Steel Worker Ranks Resist As McBride's Grip Tightens

"A Convention Of Kings"

by Candy Martin

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J. — The leadership of the United Steel Workers of America set a single theme for its annual convention held here September 18-22. That theme was the consolidation of its machine, whose victory in last year's International election came bitterly: against massive rank and file opposition and a pro-Sadlowski vote of 40%.

A convention of kings, as one delegate put it. But kings still insecure in their robes. Thus every maneuver by President Lloyd McBride and the International, every statement, every press release, every issue was part of an overriding goal: to rout the opposition.

And there is no doubt but that the empire was consolidated. Major financial obstacles to building any national rank and file opposition in the future were enacted into the union's constitution.

Yet, in the context of a game that was played in the king's court, with his rules and his equipment, the rank and file managed to hold its own.

It took some serious setbacks. But it also took the initiative, on issues like demanding the fundamental right of union members to vote on their contracts. (See accompanying article.) By so doing, it both forced some concessions from the bureaucracy, and helped to ward off even greater intrusions on other membership rights which the International had considered proposing.

MATURED

The opposition forces at this convention were small and disorganized. Unlike the last convention, they had no national figure around which to rally. Sadlowski refused to play any role—in caucus meetings, behind-the-scenes, or even on the convention floor when he was under public attack from the International.

Despite the fact that the caucus meetings of the oppositionists included many delegates holding official positions, from grievors to local presidents, perhaps their greatest weakness was this: a whole layer of reform officials, who voted with the opposition on the issues, had yet to be tapped—yet to actually see themselves as part of the opposition grouping.

Still, the maturity of the rank and file forces has grown. Though small, they were not merely local groupings. The main centers which came together to organize included the Chicago-Gary area, the Iron Ore Range, Canada, and Pittsburgh. Delegates from areas like Baltimore (Sparrows Point), Youngstown, Ohio, and others

gave their support although they did not become part of the active backbone of the opposition.

Perhaps the most important difference from the last convention were the brass tacks caucus meetings that were held every night. The discussions decided strategy and tactics for each day's floor fight, analyzed the convention proceedings, and evaluated the opposition's own performance.

It was through these discussions that many delegates became trained. Given its weakness, disparity, and lack of national leadership, the opposition made serious steps toward organizing itself.

They faced a massive staff machine and no end of underhanded tactics to control mikes and prevent delegates from speaking.

Delegates were constantly "advised" by their staff men... and district directors to sit down during standing votes. Despite the International's carefully repeated pretense of running the convention democratically, by the end of the week even the press and union public relations men were laughing at blatant mis-calls on votes by the chair.

Various ploys were slipped through with virtually no discussion, like extending officers' retirement age until 70—allowing McBride to serve two more terms.

VACUUM

It was not lack of votes that the International to resort to steamrolling. The reason was,

rather, a political one: the USW leadership has nothing to say on any of the major economic problems confronting its membership. In such a vacuum, any opposition can become a serious threat.

Steelworkers have been hard hit by loss of jobs (60,000 in one year alone), plant shut-downs, lack of investment and modernization by the steel corporations, long, non-basic sector strikes against hard-line company take-away contract demands.

But the only response of the USW bureaucracy has been to out-propagandize the companies on the need to protect corporate profits.

The urgent issue of jobs, for example, came up only once on the floor of the convention. That was when the International maneu-

vered around and against Ed Mann, President of Local 1462 from Youngstown, Ohio. Mann was speaking in favor of a proposal intended to save the jobs of 3500 steelworkers whose lives have been crushed by the closing of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube mill.

At a time when other labor leaders have officially recognized the offensive being waged against the union movement by America's corporations, USW officials are preaching still more cooperation with the companies. At a time when the likes of UAW's Doug Fraser are cloaking themselves in the mantle of class war rhetoric, the USW's McBride is still publicly clinging to the idea that any schisms with big business "will only hurt our own membership." □



OF THE TWO most important issues of the convention, one—winning the right for all members to ratify their agreements—came as an initiative of the rank and file of the union. The other comprised the offensive of the International—making it illegal for candidates running for top office to raise funds outside the steel workers union.

The momentum for the right to ratify began a few short months ago. While the majority of the 1,400,000-member USWA is currently allowed to ratify or reject contracts, many, including those in the strategic basic steel sector, do not share this right. Their contracts are ratified at the Basic Industry Conference, which consists of some 600 basic steel local union presidents.

MEMBERSHIP RATIFICATION

In June, a coalition of local presidents from basic steel locals in District 31 (the Chicago-Gary area) announced at a press conference that they would fight to win membership ratification at the convention. They had already picked up endorsements from presidents in other areas: Baltimore, Detroit, Youngstown, the Mesabi Iron Range.

Petition drives began and thousands of signatures were collected. District-wide union conferences called for ratification in California and the western region (District 38), West Virginia (23), Chicago-Gary (31) and Ohio (26), and some

District Directors came out in support.

The campaign was disorganized and localized. Despite its limitations, however, it tapped significant rank and file discontent. Some tremors began to be felt in the top levels of the international bureaucracy. The massive, unprecedented opposition in basic steel to the 1977 contract, from the membership and local presidents alike, had not gone forgotten.

Rank and file delegate forces were too weak at the convention to win the constitutional change they sought (only some 316 delegates—or around 10%—could be counted

on in the final vote). But the pressures of the previous two-month campaign forced a small compromise.

The issue of ratification was not killed. It will now be referred to the various industry conferences (basic, aluminum, non-ferrous) where local presidents will vote.

The outcome of that decision is a subject of speculation. Many local presidents will support membership ratification simply to take the heat off themselves. But the majority are unlikely to buck the International's machine unless significant grass-roots pressure is organized in the meantime.

CAMPAIGN FUNDING



"Any member who wants to run for office could be framed under these provisions and lose their rights as a union member."

—Linus Wampler
District 33 Director

From his opening press statement the day before the convention began, throughout every session during the week, McBride raised the specter of "outside interference" in the union's affairs.

Although he lumped together an interesting combination of communists, socialists, the steel companies, dissident steelworkers, the old-time union dues protest movement and the Rockefeller family, McBride was not simply engaging in any ordinary brand of red-baiting.

He was setting the stage for Thursday's vote on the issue of outside contributions to elections for top office.

The international USW machine has a well-oiled army of thousands of staff representatives. Their jobs depend entirely on remaining in the International's favor. In any given International election, they are each assessed a campaign contribution of anywhere from \$200-\$1,000. In addition to all his other advantages, the incumbent is automatically sitting pretty.

To overcome the disadvantage, rank and file contenders in the past have been forced to seek contributions from liberal foundations and other sources.

Not wishing a repeat of the bitterly contested 1977 election, the International machine voted to

outlaw contributions from any outside source—including one's own immediate family.

Rank and file delegates, who agreed that contributions should come only from within the union (thereby eliminating any potential corporate interference) proposed a change that would create a steelworker fund, with equal amounts and equal limits going to each candidate.

Instead, the bureaucracy came up with a set of strictures and accounting rules so stringent and complex that any candidate who could raise sufficient funds would still be hard-put to meet the requirements for accounting for every nickel and dime.

Rallies, for instance, must be advertised to admit only card-carrying steelworker members. No one can put more than \$5.00 in a hat without first vouching and signing for their donation. There are rules to follow for accounting for donations raised from selling beer. No check may even be cashed until the International Secretary verifies its source.

Rank and file members are



"The only thing missing in this proposal is that you need permission from the president in order to run against him."

—James Balanoff
District 31 Director

considering challenging the new strictures in court. □

The New Right vs. women

by Elissa Clarke

THE EQUAL RIGHTS Amendment and the right to abortion are the battlefronts of the women's movement today. But what has made these two issues key?

Other problems—finding day care for children, sexual harassment on the job, union representation, unemployment, job discrimination—all have a more immediate impact on women's lives than ERA and abortion rights.

But the right wing has chosen the ERA and abortion as issues to build a conservative movement in this country.

The right wing has drawn the battle lines; feminists are forced to respond.

ERA

When the ERA was originally introduced in 1972, no one expected it to become a storm of controversy. But a conservative movement has grown up to stop the ERA, and it has successfully stalled the amendment.

Stop ERA is an "ad hoc committee" of Eagle Forum. Eagle Forum, organized two years ago by Phyllis Schlafly, grew out of her conservative newsletter, "Phyllis Schlafly Speaks." Today, Eagle Forum claims 50,000 members, and organizes around "family" issues.

Interestingly enough, Eagle Forum cloaks itself in feminist rhetoric. "We consider ourselves to be a women's rights organization," says Elaine Donnelly, head of Michigan Stop ERA.

But what are women's rights? "The right for a wife to be supported by her husband. The right of girls to participate in athletics without competing against the opposite sex. The right to be exempt from the draft," says Donnelly. She claims that the problem is that the women's movement has "betrayed the best interests of family women."

Stop ERA has drawn thousands of women into activity by exploiting their genuine fears and confusions about the real problems that women face today.

Particularly for women who are financially dependent, the right has struck a real chord of response.

They claim that the ERA would

erode the "rights of family women" even further. The arguments they use to prove this assertion are false lies and distortions.

For example, they claim that separate athletic programs for boys and girls would be illegal if the ERA were ratified.

ABORTION

A second right-wing campaign, against the right to abortion, is raging through the country today.

This has also been highly successful—scoring victories in cutting off Medicaid funding for abortions, in the so-called "conscience clauses" stating that hospitals do not have to provide abortions, and in restrictive ordinances and laws like those passed in Akron, Ohio and Louisiana. Today, Medicaid pays for abortion in only a dozen states.

The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) is an umbrella organization that includes most of the anti-abortion groups and claims a membership of 11 million.

NRLC has an annual budget of \$3 million, and affiliates in all 50 states.

The Right to Lifers are joined by the powers of the Roman Catholic Church in their campaign to end abortion. The Mormon Church, some fundamentalist Protestants, and some Orthodox Jews are also against abortion, but none have been as active as the Catholic hierarchy.

In 1975, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops adopted the unprecedented "Pastoral Plan for Pro-Life Activities." It calls for "a systematic organization and allocation of the Church's resources of people, institutions, and finances at various levels" to work against the right to abortion.

Each cooperating diocese has a "pro-life coordinator" to oversee the work of the parish committees, which are organized by congressional districts in order to play a role in electoral politics.

The Catholic Church's role as a major financial backer of the anti-abortion movement is beginning to be documented.

Recently, documents leaked from the New York State Right to Life Committee reveal that the State Catholic Conference and Cardinal Cooke have been assisting the New



THE RIGHT WING uses lies and distortions like the ones in these signs to fight against equal rights for women.

York State Right to Life Committee in collecting money after mass on "Respect Life Sunday."

Last year, this one-day collection netted over \$77,000—68% of the New York State Right to Life Committee's budget.

TIES TO RIGHT MACHINE

Although the movement against the ERA and the movement against abortion are separate, they are closely tied to the growing right-wing machine in this country.

The right wing sees these movements as ways to build a conservative movement in this country.

Both the anti-ERA and anti-abortion movements make use of Richard Viguerie's conservative fund-raising machinery to collect tremendous amounts of money.

For example, the Conservative Caucus put out a fundraising appeal to defeat the ERA. "ERA would take away the basic rights and protection women have under

the laws of God and the laws of the states," warns the Conservative Caucus mailing. The Caucus organizes against the ERA in all the unratified states.

During the ERA votes in Florida and North Carolina, the Conservative Caucus sent 150,000 letters to voters in Florida, and 90,000 letters to voters in North Carolina, using Viguerie's direct mail facilities.

The mailing said the ERA would "give the Federal bureaucrats and judges large new powers over marriage, divorce and other areas now in state hands."

Howard Phillips, director of the Caucus, contends that his mailings were responsible for the defeat of the ERA in those states.

Other ties are beginning to emerge.

Phyllis Schlafly, long known as a leader of Barry Goldwater's election campaign, is now known to be a member of the John Birch Society.

Last year, the Ku Klux Klan

announced that it was directing conservative women in anti-International Women's Year activity, and the John Birch Society said that it had been active in every state where the ERA was defeated.

CHALKING UP VICTORIES

The right wing has won many victories in the last two years. As the crisis in capitalism deepens, Congress, Carter and the capitalist class join the right wing in their attacks against abortion, against affirmative action, against health insurance, against labor law reform.

These legislative victories have given the right even more confidence and strength.

The anti-abortion movement, for example, has in the last year moved beyond lobbying and demonstrations into violent attacks on abortion clinics.

They have vandalized clinics in Cleveland, Columbus, St. Paul,

Iran: "Enlightened" Ruler Murders Thousands



Wounded anti-Shah Iranian demonstrator.

AT LEAST 1200 people were massacred on the first day of martial law in Iran, September 8.

One eyewitness reported that soldiers were weeping as they opened fire with machine guns into the crowd.

This mass slaughter was the Shah of Iran's response to a movement that has swept the entire country against his rule. It is not only a movement against the Shah's dictatorship, but a national uprising against the domination of Iran by American imperialism.

The upheaval leading to the massacre began weeks earlier, after the theater fire in Abadan when 400 people burned to death.

The Shah and his trusted sympathizers, the western press, blamed this atrocity on "Muslim reactionaries."

But the anti-Shah opposition said the Shah's agents had set the fire.

Bigotry - by mail order

by Marilyn Danton

"THE BEST Viguerie Company Conservative Mailing List Can Now Be Rented for the 1978 Elections by Approved Conservative Candidates" reads the latest offer of right-wing direct mail specialist Richard Viguerie.

And for "approved" right-wing candidates, it's well worth it.

The AFL-CIO estimates that \$40 to \$50 million has been raised through Viguerie and the New Right to support radical conservatives—Democrats and Republicans—in the primaries.

The effort has paid off: Jeffrey Bell defeated liberal Republican

Clifford Case in the New Jersey primary. In the Minnesota primary, businessman Robert Short's conquest of Hubert Humphrey's old Senate seat was the first defeat for the state's liberals since 1946.

Incumbent Republicans Orrin Hatch of Utah and Jesse Helm of North Carolina also fared well. Helm is known as the Four-and-a-half Million Dollar Man, because that's the amount conservatives raised for his campaign.

Central to understanding the New Right is the effectiveness of its fund raising and lobbying efforts. Their success defeated the labor law reform and common situs bills

in Congress and reduced the minimum wage.

Key organizations of the New Right are on the offensive against unions and pro-labor legislation on the national, state and local levels.

In Missouri, for example, the National Right to Work Committee is campaigning for right-to-work legislation that would outlaw the union shop and make it harder to organize unions. Currently 20 states have right-to-work laws.

The American Conservative Union, headed by Congressman Philip Crane, is running a campaign to abolish OSHA, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Adminis-

tration.

The ACU is responsible for the recent proposed amendment to a Senate Small Business Administration Bill that would exempt from OSHA safety regulations all business establishments with ten or fewer employees. It sounds small, but it would affect nine million people, employed in 69% of all private sector workplaces! The bill was defeated, but the attack on OSHA will continue.

Crane just announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination in 1980. At his side at the press conference was Richard Viguerie.

The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC) is headed by Joseph Coors of the notorious union-busting Coors Brewery. CSFC rates Congressmen on a conservative to liberal scale. In their rating system, Senator Barry Goldwater only makes it into the "moderate conservative" category.

If there are no candidates to run against "targeted liberal" candidates, CSFC recruits them and requires them to attend training seminars.

TAKE BACK GAINS

The most visible part of the New Right, however, is the movements against women, gays and Blacks. Their real aim is to take back the gains these groups won through the movements of the sixties.

Some of the better-known examples are Phyllis Schlafly's Stop ERA and Anita Bryant's Save Our Children, as well as the anti-abortion organizations.

These groups offer reactionary solutions to real problems people face.

They are being used not just to attack women, gays and Blacks, but to mold a conservative consciousness in this country. A conservative political climate would produce more money and time to win legislation and build organizations that support the interests of the corporations.

This is the New Right—a collection of organizations and individuals who wish to turn back the clock to the days of the open shop, "women's place is in the home", gays in the closet and Black people as second class citizens.

The appearance of an ultra-con-

servative movement today is related to the ongoing crisis in the American economy.

Despite three years of recovery, unemployment remains at 6% officially, and inflation is growing again at 10%. Most economists predict a recession in the next one to two years.

PROFIT PROBLEMS

At bottom, this crisis is one of profits. Over the past 10 years, profit margins have fallen compared to the prosperous fifties and early sixties.

In response, the corporations have become politically aggressive in efforts to shore up these profit margins.

Businesses have moved from attacking workers on the shop floor through speed up, to an all-out offensive against the unions, health and safety regulations, and the rights of the poor and oppressed.

Yet the labor movement has responded only defensively to this offensive. Union membership is down proportionately and in actual numbers.

More organizing drives are lost rather than won. Most of the bills supported by labor—most notably labor law reform—have gone down to defeat in Congress despite a "veto-proof" Congress and a Democratic administration.

And only recently has there been any response to the attacks made on the gains of women, Blacks and gays, despite the fact that these attacks on the gains won in the 60's have been going on for 4-5 years.

VACUUM

Into the vacuum created by a defensive labor movement and a practically non-existent movement for social change, has stepped the right wing forces.

They are busy organizing a movement against the social reforms of the past and present. They are not a collection of kooks.

The New Right is well organized, well financed and determined. It's backed by big bucks from big employers like Joseph Coors.

But this "New Right" is not really new. What's new is its seriousness and effectiveness.

Defeating it requires building a movement that includes labor, Blacks, women and gay people that can match these dinosaurs in commitment and effectiveness—nothing else will do the trick.



WORKING WOMEN are well aware of the need for equality in wages and opportunities.

Burlington, Omaha, Des Moines, Cincinnati, and elsewhere. Sit-ins and intimidation of women seeking abortions is even more widespread.

Today the right wing has the offensive, and feminists are just beginning to respond.

If we are to win on the ERA and defend the right to abortion, we will have to rebuild the women's liberation movement.

Feminists who marched for the

ERA in Washington on July 9 learned an important lesson about the strength of numbers and the power of unity. Just ten days after that march, the House passed an extension of the deadline on the ERA.

On September 26, the National Organization for Women called another emergency demonstration to demand the extension from the Senate too. Although the demon-

stration was called with less than a week's notice, 6000 women traveled to Washington to force the Senate to act.

This is the way forward for the women's movement. We have to rekindle the movement of the 60's, marching in the streets with visible, militant demonstrations that can win not only on ERA and abortion, but on the many problems that confront women today.

pointing out that it had deliberately been set in a working class neighborhood. It became clear that the entire population believed the Shah was, in fact, responsible.

HOW MOVEMENT GREW

An Iranian revolutionary socialist who recently arrived in Britain describes how the anti-Shah demonstrations grew:

"The demonstrators tried to win over the troops and police. The regime seemed paralyzed. The prime minister was fired and replaced.

"Following the general strike more than three million people joined protests across the country. In Tehran, the capital, three separate demonstrations, each joined by 250,000 people, wound through the city.

"Instead of the usual stones they

threw flowers to the police and troops. A new slogan was added to the chants 'Death to the Shah' and 'Americans out'... 'Soldiers are our brothers.'

"This shook the regime more than anything else. So on Friday morning (September 8) martial law was introduced in a desperate bid to stop the weakening in the army and the growth of mass support for the opposition.

ENLIGHTENED?

The Shah of Iran is portrayed as a great enlightened modernizer. Those rioting against him, we are told, are extreme right-wing-Islamic fundamentalists who want to force veils back on women.

But the fuel for this revolt is the inequality, the poverty, the destruction of the livelihoods of peasants and small merchants by

the rise of Iranian capitalism under the Shah.

Moslem religious leaders are at the head of the movement because, at this time, the left is too weak to challenge their leadership.

At the largest cemetery in Tehran, the bullet-riddled bodies of anti-Shah demonstrators included at least 400 women.

So much for the myth that the anti-Shah opposition is fighting for women to stay at home, behind veils, out of political life.

For the time being, the anti-Shah revolt in Iran has been eclipsed in the headlines by the death toll and hideous destruction of the recent earthquake.

"DIG OUT THE DEAD"

But even the survivors of the earthquake catastrophe have demonstrated their disgust for the

Shah. When the Queen walked through the stricken city of Tabas, showing off her sympathy to the world press, they stood in the streets screaming at her, "Help us dig out the dead!"

The reason over 10,000 people dies in Tabas alone, is that they lived in structures that collapsed with the first shock. The oil money which has made Iran's ruling families into fabulously rich businessmen, has not touched the landless rural poor.

The Shah has been able to head off previous opposition movements by announcing grand packages of social reforms. But now, there is no new money to pay for them.

And the growing militancy of Iranian workers, including two million industrial workers, means it is not long before the working class puts its own full force into the struggle to bring the Shah down.

Workers' Power

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The Socialist View: Is Labor "Isolated" - And Why?

THE CASE FOR A LABOR PARTY

THIRD
IN A
SERIES

by Sandy Boyer

The first two articles in this series were about the Democratic Party—how big business controls it and why all attempts to reform it have failed.

Our alternative to the Democratic Party is a labor party. A new party organized by the unions and involving all oppressed people.

The reason for a labor party is the same as the reason for unions—workers need their own organization to defend themselves against the employers. This is just as true in politics as it is on the shop floor.

Even United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser is saying that business has launched a class war against working people in congress as much as at the bargaining table. Working people need their own party to fight back against this attack. It's clear by now that the Democrats aren't going to do the job.

IN THEIR POCKETS

As long as the Democrats have labor in their pockets they will continue to make concessions to business and the New Right.

A labor party would move the whole spectrum of American politics to the left. The Democrats would have to make a big show of being liberal and pro-labor or risk losing massive numbers of votes. A labor party could appeal to people who are fed up with high taxes and inflation who are not being taken in by Proposition 13 and the New Right.

Labor would suddenly be a force to be reckoned with in American politics. Politicians would have to worry about running against labor not the New Right. And business would think twice about pushing through policies that could drive the majority of Americans to support the labor party.

George Wallace's American Independent Party was an example of how a new party can change the



AFL-CIO President George Meany [left], and UAW President Douglas Fraser [right] have been talking tough recently. But their determination to keep labor in the Democratic Party will mean continued isolation and defeat for the American working class.

political balance. Even though Wallace was never serious about a new party he forced both Democrats and Republicans to move closer to his right wing positions.

A labor party would change American politics even more because it would be a real threat to big business and the two business parties.

All this seems so obvious that it's worth going through some of the reasons the labor leadership gives for continuing to support the Democrats instead of starting a labor party.

We already went through in the last article the ideas about reforming the Democratic Party which come from labor leaders like Douglas Fraser and William Winpisinger.

CAN'T GO IT ALONE

Perhaps the most used argument against a labor party is that organized labor—representing less than 20% of the workforce—can't go it alone politically. In the Democratic Party it can unite with other liberal and progressive groups to get pro-labor candidates elected.

It is true that any successful independent political action by labor would need support from people who aren't union members. But labor has never had trouble finding allies when it was willing to stand up and fight for the rights of the oppressed.

The farm workers and Farah strikers got active support from Black and Chicano groups, women's groups, students and even liberal churches. The CIO inspired millions of working people who weren't yet union members. The Black community actively supported the CIO because the new unions proved they would organize and fight for Black workers.

If labor is isolated today it is the fault of the labor leadership. They have been unwilling or unable to even mount an effective campaign to organize the unorganized. They have gone a long way toward alienating Blacks, women, Chicanos and others who should be labor's closest friends. Now the labor leaders turn around and say the unions are too weak and isolated to launch a labor party.

Today when all the gains of Blacks, women and minorities are coming under a vicious political attack a Labor Party could quickly attract massive support. A labor party that was willing to fight for the rights of all the oppressed would have no trouble involving millions of people who never belonged to a union.

ELECT REPUBLICANS?

Another common argument is that a labor party would help elect Republicans. If labor ran its own candidate against Carter in 1980 it might wind up helping to elect a Ford or a Reagan.

We hear this at every election. The Democrats may not be much good but the Republicans are even worse. So we have to support the Democrats as the lesser of two evils.

Two years ago that was the reason to vote for Jimmy Carter. Ford, you see, was against national health insurance, against affirmative action, against guaranteeing full employment and lukewarm in his support for the ERA. The results of this strategy speak for themselves.

The Johnson-Goldwater election of 1964 was the clearest test of voting for the lesser evil. Union leaders, civil rights leaders and even the Students for a Democratic Society told everyone to vote for Johnson because Goldwater would step up the Vietnam war. Johnson won a landslide and proceeded to escalate the U.S. involvement in the war.

CAPTIVE

This lesser evil philosophy would tie labor to the Democrats permanently. There will always be a lesser evil. But labor will continue to be a loser in politics until it has its own party.

The present labor leadership isn't going to break with the Democrats. To them it is inconceivable that labor could lead millions of people in a political crusade much less in organizing a new party.

A labor party will be built out of the whole movement to reform the unions. It won't be built by the Meany's or the Fraser's but by new leaders emerging from the rank and file movement.

A labor party will have to be organized from the grass roots up. It won't be able to sit back and wait for the machine to deliver the votes. It will only win gains by mobilizing ordinary working people who've never been active in politics before.

FED UP

There won't be a labor party tomorrow or the day after.

But more and more union activists are becoming fed up with the old political strategy of supporting Democrats. As the employers' political attack continues and intensifies more and more people will be open to the idea of a labor party.

In the next few years we may see the beginnings of a movement for a labor party. There could be independent labor candidates at the local or congressional level. Such campaigns can help make the labor party an immediate political option, not just an idea for the future.

Many people we work with say they're for building a labor party. But until it is formed they want to go on supporting at least some liberal Democrats. The next and last article in this series will take up that question.

Quick action averts TV disaster

THE WHITE HOUSE made a terrible blunder last Monday and only the last-minute intervention of the Speaker of the House averted a potential nasty international incident.

Jimmy Carter scheduled an address to Congress on the Middle East summit conference for 9:00 pm. It was a grand spectacle, similar to a Roman Emperor announcing peace between two grateful vassal states.

The only problem is that particular time slot in American life is already filled by another pseudo-Roman ritual called "Monday Night Football."

Considering that Carter has put a full-time paid media relations expert, Gerald Rafshoon, on his staff, it is incredible that such a blunder could be committed.

Imagine the dilemma for ABC. Either snub the President at the moment of his most hailed political victory—or leave the Gaffer, Howard and Dandy Donderoo cooling their heels along with 60 million or so outraged football maniacs.

There is little doubt that ABC would have gritted its teeth and run the football game. They'd already seen how CBS and NBC got burned by carrying the Papal coronation 90 minutes into NFL Opening Day.

Of course, Carter's speech would still have been available on CBS and NBC. But that's not the point. The real embarrassment is that Carter would have been slaughtered in the ratings by Monday Night Football.

Enter Speaker Tip O'Neill to the rescue. O'Neill, whose world his-

toric vision extends approximately to the borders of his extensive district patronage machine, got on the line to the White House in a hurry.

His constituent, Billy Sullivan, happens to be the owner of the New England Patriots who were playing the football game. Couldn't the President find some way not to risk robbing Sullivan of the chance to have his team on national TV?

No sooner said than done. The address to Congress was hastily re-scheduled for 8:00, allowing plenty of time for the speech, an orgy of applause and a whole 10 minutes of network instant analysis before the pre-kickoff commercials.

And by that narrow margin, the honor of the American Presidency was saved.

D.P.

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward



Various government officials are scrambling to, as Labor Secretary Ray Marshall put it, "assure you the interests of the labor movement will be well protected in any anti-inflation program.... We have no intentions of making some sectors of the economy bear all the sacrifices to make this program work." But all this rhetoric contrasts sharply to the administration's maneuvering around the upcoming **Teamster contracts**. Marshall's statement, made at the Steelworkers convention, came just a few days after the Interstate Commerce Commission told trucking companies they should not count on automatically getting rate raises to pass along cost increases. The action was described as an attempt to stiffen trucking management's resistance to contract demands from the Teamsters.

A huge percentage of trucks was found unsafe—endangering both truck drivers and other motorists—in two spot checks. In Pennsylvania, the Department of Transportation found more than one-half of those trucks stopped on a highway to be "in an imminently hazardous conditions." Brake defects were most common. A similar check by New York State authorities concluded that one-third of all trucks in that state "may be so **dangerously unsafe** that they should be immediately ruled off the roads."

Joseph Brennan, president of the **Bituminous Coal Operators' Association**, claimed in a major speech last month that one of the top bargaining priorities of the BCOA during the coal strike was to "increase safety." Brennan also said that "much of the bitterness during the strike evolved from the mistaken belief amongst the rank and file that BCOA was out to 'bust the Union'."

The NLRB has certified the **North American Soccer League Players Association** as official bargaining agent for the league's professional soccer players. Contract negotiations are expected to begin shortly. A source close to one NASL team said the players "really need the union."

The **Communications Workers of America** was trying to raise money for its lobbying activities. The union decided on a test: it sent a mailing to 5,000 union members. In half the mailings, the union enclosed a photo of CWA president Glenn Watts with President Carter. The response was three times greater from those who did not get the picture.

At least 20% of all **cancer** in the U.S. is caused by exposure to dangerous substances at work, according to HEW Secretary Joseph Califano. Traditional estimates had been that only 1% to 5% of all cancer was caused by the workplace.

Quote of the Week: "I once thought we were moving away from adversarism and toward cooperation in the steel industry. But now it's evident that business smells blood and wants confrontation instead of cooperation, and so I have joined the militants."—**Bruce Thrasher**, director of United Steelworkers District 35.

Thrasher's statement may be more rhetoric than reality. But top Steelworkers officials are still proclaiming the virtues of cooperation. **USW President Lloyd McBride** plans to be co-chairman, with **National Steel Corp. Chairman Stinson**, of the First Annual International Labor-Management Prayer Breakfast. The affair will be held in Pittsburgh, December 2.

Animal House: a lot better than being there

Animal House is a nostalgia trip for anyone who went to college in 1962.

In those dear dead days it was considered perfectly normal for the average university to be a petty-minded dictatorship.

Most students lived under conditions that are nowadays tolerated only by Mormons.

Life on campus was shackled by curfews, dress-codes, visiting hours, codes of conduct and other regulations. Human nature being what it is, some students fought back.

GET SMASHED

In 1962 there was very little in the way of dope, sex or politics on campus. There was, however, a great deal of drinking.

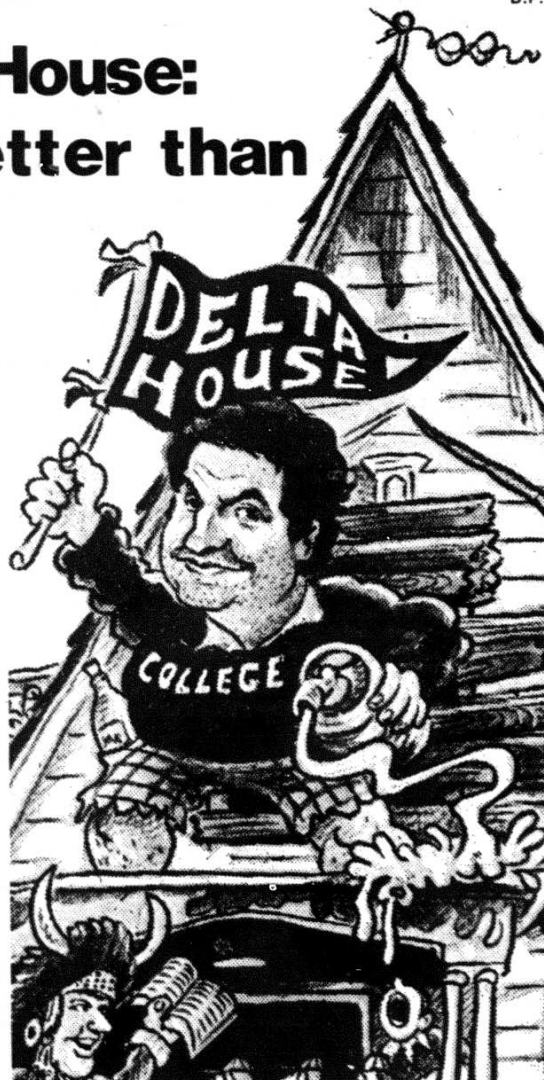
The customary way to alleviate boredom was to get smashed on horrible cheap booze, (Iron City beer, Red Mountain wine, and, on special occasions, laboratory alcohol cut with pineapple juice) and think up a new and ingenious way of raising hell.

If you couldn't defeat the Dean, at least you could give him ulcers. Food-fights in the cafeteria were a favorite, as were massive snowball wars and dumping Tide in the fountain.

Other famous stunts involved releasing thousands of biology lab hamsters, building obscene snow-sculptures, and stuffing a dead sheep down the faculty club chimney.

FRATERNITIES

Traditionally, the most outrageous pranks were pulled by the fraternity houses. Animal House is the story of one of these, the Deltas, the most degenerate assemblage of boozers, lechers and



class cutters ever to break the tension of Finals Week.

The epic of their doomed struggle against the administration and their final glorious confrontation will gladden the heart of anyone who ever stood in a registration line all day.

The movie was produced by the National Lampoon, a magazine which pokes fun at the ideas and institutions of capitalism. Unfortunately the otherwise entertaining film also had a number of racist and sexist incidents which were not the least bit funny or entertaining. □

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NICARAGUA:

'THE WHOLE TOWN IS A CEMETERY'

by Joel Geier

"The whole town is a cemetery," said Ronaldo Arguello of the Red Cross in describing Esteli, the last of the rebel strongholds to fall in Nicaragua. The city of Masaya was in ashes.

Eight other cities were also bombed and strafed by the military dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. To save the country for himself, Somoza was destroying it.

He burned and bombed every urban center, killing 3000 civilians to hang onto his dictatorship, and the \$500 million fortune he has extracted from the people during his reign.

CIVIL WAR

For two weeks civil war raged in Nicaragua, as freedom fighters armed only with hunting rifles and pistols, stood up to a U.S.-trained and -armed National Guard.

Over 100 U.S. mercenaries joined the Guard in machine gunning, strafing and bombing the civilian population with all the latest in U.S.-supplied arms, ammunition, planes and equipment.

The dictatorship was installed by U.S. Marines 45 years ago. Somoza is often called "the last Marine." And in his genocidal war against his own country, he was not abandoned by American imperialism which has forced his rule on Nicaragua.

Massive numbers of the urban population, particularly teenagers from the working class, joined the insurrection. In Leon, a city of 80,000, the Sandinist Front, as it did elsewhere, captured Guard headquarters, seized guns and distributed them to the people.

Six thousand men and women in Leon joined the insurgents and fought the Guard for 10 days until they were bombed into submission. Teenagers seen on the street after the fight were indiscriminately shot by the Guard, which is Somoza's private army.

DESPERATE

The bombing and terror unleashed by the Guard, under the command of Somoza's son, was a desperate act of terrorism by a dictatorship which no longer has any popular support, and felt it had nothing left to lose.

Reports that there were revolts in the Guard, with hundreds going

over to the popular forces, has led observers to speculate that the indiscriminate murder was a strategy of the Somozas.

The massacres were staged to terrorize the ranks of the Guard into staying in line, to draw a line of blood between them and the people, and as a warning of what would happen to them if they deserted.

While the general insurrection has failed, it is only a matter of time before Somoza falls. The general strike against the government still continues, more than 80% effective with an economy already in shambles.

Large numbers of Nicaraguans have joined the Sandinist Front in its continuing battle to bring down Somoza.

REVOLUTIONARY

The Sandinists have proposed a three-point reform program. But given the social structure of Nicaragua, if these reforms were implemented they would open up a social revolutionary process.

• They are demanding that Somoza's land holdings, 20-25% of the country's land, be distributed to the peasants who work it.

This agrarian reform could not help spilling over to other peasants of the big landlords, who were Somoza's associates in the brutal dictatorship.

• They have called for nationalizing Somoza's factories, banks, press and TV stations, which are estimated to be over 20% of the country's capital.

This would stimulate working class calls for further nationalization, and workers' committees to run the factories.

• Lastly, they have demanded the dismantling of the National Guard.

The dismantling of the hated Guard would be a body blow to the capitalist state machinery. It would open up a process where Nicaragua's workers and peasants could push through their demands without fear of the terror machine that has been the instrument of control for imperialism and Nicaragua's capitalists.

TENDENCIES

The future direction of the Sandinistas after the failure of the insurrection is not yet clear. The



A Nicaraguan National Guardsman rounds up the enemy. Below, the Red Cross cremates the Guard's victims.

Front is composed of three tendencies.

The Populists stand for a prolonged people's guerrilla war against the dictatorship.

The Proletarian Tendency has called for a working class revolution to set up a socialist government. It is the group most active in the factories and workers' neighborhoods and grew dramatically after the general strike last January.

It calls for the formation of a revolutionary workers party, has organized rank and file oppositions in the unions, and revolutionary workers' committees in most factories which do not have unions. It expects these committees to develop into unions when the dictatorship falls.

The Terceristas, the third tendency, is the leading group in the Front. It has stood for an alliance with the business community, limiting the struggle to overthrow Somoza and restoring democracy, and putting off to the future any talk of socialist revolution.

Many businessmen would like to form an alliance with this more moderate wing of the Front to form a new government.

The United States, Somoza's last prop, could quickly signal his demise by withdrawing its ambassador and all aid to the regime. Its continuation threatens American imperialist interests now in all Central America as instability and radicalism sweep across the Nicaraguan borders.

Washington may attempt to replace this gangster regime with a government composed of businessmen and moderates. But the U.S. fears that any government which includes the Sandinists, no matter

how moderate, could not repress the radicalism of Nicaraguan workers and peasants, and the Proletarian Tendency.

And well they may fear. The fall of Somoza and the struggle to

implement even the moderate demands of the Sandinist Front for agrarian reform, nationalization, and dissolution of the Guard, will open up a social explosion in Nicaragua and Central America. □

Women Protest Anti-Abortion Law

AKRON, Ohio—More than 800 demonstrators marched here September 10 to protest a new city ordinance which seriously limits women's right to choose abortion.

Signs and chants proclaimed: "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate" and "Keep your laws off my body."

The marchers were protesting an ordinance which, if upheld in the courts, will be a blueprint for conservatives across the country.

It does not outlaw abortion—that would be illegal—but rather makes abortion as restrictive as possible. Included are waiting periods, notice to parents, and mandatory warnings from the doctor.

After the march demonstrators gathered for a rally featuring speakers from a number of national pro-choice organizations. The tone of these speeches was much more militant than it would have been a year ago.

As Valerie DePriest, chairwoman of Akron NOW, put it: "We are learning that we can't depend on the courts, on the legislators, or on the polls that say human reason is on our side."

Other speakers agreed. Lee Novic, co-ordinator of the Justice Fund of Planned Parenthood, said:

"We cannot place our hope in the court—we must place it in ourselves. The pro-choice movement must be visible, audible, unified."

The American Civil Liberties Union has filed a suit on behalf of the three Akron abortion clinics challenging the ordinance's constitutionality. The demonstration should increase the ACLU's chance of winning, since the judge is well aware of the massive opposition to the ordinance.

The Akron demonstration showed one thing for sure: more than 800 people were tired of sitting on their hands during the past year while the right wing bombed abortion clinics, harassed patients, and tried to pass restrictive ordinances. And they were willing to turn to more militant tactics to counter the conservatives.

Although the march in Akron was still mostly white and middle class, its size and solidarity showed that the women's movement is beginning to fight back against the right wing offensive which is directed at minorities and working people as well.

The attacks seem separate," said Valerie DePriest, "but the fight is the same." □

Carolyn Green

