

# Socialist Worker

Paper of the International Socialist Organization 25¢ monthly

## In This Issue:

Wash. Post .....	5
Zaire .....	6
Slavery .....	7
PBB .....	8
China .....	11

NUMBER 2

MAY, 1977

### CARTER SAYS SACRIFICE, BUT....

# THE RICH WON'T SUFFER!

Carter's prescription for the nation's energy woes is a bitter pill for most working people.

Under the sugar coating, his solution is to raise the price of all forms of energy. This means swallowing higher prices when energy costs are passed on.

#### SAME THING

The Carter plan is the same as the energy proposals of the old Ford administration, but with some stage effects. He is demanding sacrifice from us in a situation which is "the moral equivalent of war." Even the CIA has a bit part in staging the crisis. Somebody "leaked" an intelligence report predicting \$40 a barrel for oil by 1985 and gas at \$2 per gallon—in spite of the current oil surplus!

The CIA report bases its "prediction" on oil company figures of known oil reserves, figures which have been disputed for years. Further, the amount of oil reserves is based on the amount of oil which can be profitably extracted.

The amount of known reserves is estimated to be 600 billion barrels, but the Department of the Interior predicts that there are one trillion barrels yet to be discovered.

A recently released U.N. study disputes Carter's data.

#### CRISIS

So what is the crisis? The crisis is a crisis of oil company profits. The oil companies want more.

Thornton Bradshaw, the president of Atlantic Richfield, and energy advisor for Carter's campaign, put it like this: "The government must provide incentives to industry to produce

energy in appropriate amounts. The basic incentive is profit."

Carter's message is a blackmail note from the petroleum industry. Estimates are that paying it will lower real wages by 2-3%. Large cars will become even more the private luxuries of the rich, who can afford any amount of gas guzzling.

The hidden cost is environmental damage as coal is substituted for natural gas, causing more air pollution and the rape of the West through strip mining.

#### ENERGY

There is an energy crisis; fossil fuels cannot last forever. But Carter has nothing to say about solving it. Alternate energy technologies are the long term answer. However, the oil companies are not about to develop them. The oil companies even gripe about the cost of improving the techniques for extracting fossil fuels.

They demand tax money to support research for exploiting the vast supply of natural gas in the Gulf of Mexico or the oil in Western oil shales. The energy industry is not about to pay for research when there is money to be made by trumping up scarcities that don't exist.

#### IRRATIONAL

The oil crisis is only an example of the increasing irrationality of the world economic system. The energy is there in one form or another; we have the ability to develop the technology to solve the real long term energy crisis, but we are prevented from doing so by the few who benefit from capitalism. □



## SOUTH AFRICA

## SOWETO

# RISES AGAIN!

SOWETO, April 27 — The people of Soweto, a black South African township, have taken to the streets again. This time they are protesting the government's doubling of their housing rents. A recent demonstration of 5,000 carried banners saying, "We Will Not Pay" and "Down With Capitalism."

Black unemployment in South Africa is nearly 20 percent as this country goes deeper into its worst recession since the thirties. White unemployment is under 2 percent. Unemployment insurance is almost non-existent for black workers here.

The South African government is once again trying to squeeze an economic solution out of the black working class. □

The "Buy American" Hoax

See Page 10

# UPS - Pity the Poor Stupidvisor

Believe it or not, United Parcel Service (UPS) is crying to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for sympathy. They claim they are being harassed by UPSurge, the rank and file UPS workers' paper.

Listen to this, in the words from a legal brief filed by the UPS attorney:

"Just imagine what it must have been like during those fourteen months to have been a UPS supervisor in Cleveland.

"Daily, these individuals were presented with a newspa-

per that categorized them as stupid, as pigs, as jerks; that analogized their jobs to that of Gestapo members, Water-gate Burglers, prostitutes, narcotics pushers, and even murderers.

"Every day, for fourteen months, this newspaper insulted the company.

"It accused supervisors, often by name, of incompetence, stupidity, and derided and laughed at supervisors; it even boasted of acts of vandalism to Company and private property.

"If, in the face of such con-

duct the newspaper managed to provoke a few supervisors into making anti-UPSurge remarks, or maybe even threats, how can its authors now run to the Federal Government crying 'foul'?"

Now, UPS is the largest trucking company in the world. It is organized by the Teamsters Union.

Like the rest of the industry, UPSers get relatively high wages but their working conditions have gotten worse and worse. On-the-job harassment, speed-up, excessive overtime

and the elimination of full-time jobs are only a few of the grievances.

## ROTTEN

The company has had it easy because the Teamsters do a rotten job of protecting its rank and file members.

The NLRB filed suit against UPS in Cleveland in 1976 because the company violated so many labor laws. When the rank and file newspaper UPSurge was distributed on company premises, employees were intimidated, their jobs

threatened and surveillance was used against participants as part of the company's attempts to smash UPSurge.

Similar cases with the NLRB are pending in Minneapolis, Seattle, and New Jersey. The events in Cleveland hardly represent a few "isolated anti-UPSurge remarks," as their statement says.

They represent a pattern by UPS to destroy any rank and file organization which stands up for the employee's rights.

Anyway, imagine — they want pity for their poor supervisors! Not quite.

\*\*\*\*\*

Most UPS employees think the company and the union are working hand-in-hand, but proving that is difficult. A quick look at one individual, however, reveals some interesting connections.

Mr. Bernard S. Goldfarb was the attorney who represented United Parcel at the NLRB hearing in Cleveland. Goldfarb had been an employer representative on the Teamster Central States Pension Board, until he was forced to step down last fall during the early stages of the pension fund scandal and shake-up.

## SERVICES

For his services, he received \$13,420 "allowance" and \$4,053 in expenses from the fund in 1974.

Besides representing United Parcel Service, Goldfarb represents the Cleveland Drayman Association and the Northern Ohio Motor Trucking Association. He is a well-known company lawyer.

The law offices of Goldfarb and Reznick are located in The Illuminating Building in Cleveland. Located in this same office is the Teamster Local 407 Insurance Fund — which UPS workers are members of.

Mr. Goldfarb is, in fact the Administrator for the union's insurance fund. In 1974, he received \$222,202 for office, salary, rent, utilities and maintenance of funds.

This is on top of an unknown amount he gets from UPS and other clients.

For employees of United Parcel, these interesting legal connections can be a bit disturbing. When UPS is taken to court by the NLRB and forced to defend its violations of Federal Labor laws, it is represented by the same person who administers union members' insurance funds.

## TROUBLE

When the members start fighting back against UPS, the company turns to the union for help. The union then tells the workers to stop causing trouble.

And just to see that there is no trouble, the company and the union both have their legions out snooping to see that there is no rocking the boat.

In this case, the Bernard Goldfarb case, it looks like they're both feeding the same dog. □

by Anne Mack

## Servant Problem

Town & Country reported with dismay that while there are more millionaires than ever before, at the last count the number of servants was down one fifth from 5 years ago to 735,000. Poor Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney has 8 houses and has to "keep her help hopping around." Socialist Worker sends condolences to Mrs. Whitney.

## Culinary Politics

They prefer the finest wines, eat paté and caviar and drink the finest whiskey. They shun the "tourist" eating places like the restaurant atop the Eiffel Tower. Their favorite restaurant is Denis, where two could dine for about \$400

By now you're thinking of all those hot dogs last week and want to bash these rich aristocrats. Wrong again. Denis is the favorite hangout of top offi-

cialists of the Communist Party of France; also a favorite of the local bosses. A Survey of French eating habits by culinary experts Henry Gault and Christian Millau turned up this choice tidbit.

## War goes better with Coke

"Coke adds life to everything you do..." goes the song. Soon, President Mobutu of Zaire hopes it will put life into the Zairian troops. After a long hard day of hunting Katangan gendarmes, as one U.S. State Department official puts it, "They have to drink something and the water isn't too good."

So \$60,000 worth of Coke is on its way to Zaire. Mobutu had even asked that the cost be born by the American taxpayer, but the request had been denied. Of course, if one considers that ads are being run seeking American mercenaries to fight in Zaire, perhaps the State Department is only looking after its own.

# G R A F F I T I

by Patricia Gilman

Available now at a Cleveland bookstore at 35 cents each; post-cards of the headquarters of the United White People's Party.



The friendly face of white rule in Rhodesia. Send him a coke - or maybe a Tab.

## Travel tips

For all of you planning exciting tours to South Africa this summer, a special treat.

Marie Aveni and her partner own a catering firm in Cleveland. Aveni recently spent \$40,000 of a local Steel company's money on an entire weekend outing for 300 people. She found hotel space, set up a golf event, clambake, and Sunday brunch.

For 35 cents each you and your family can be taken on a tour of one of the De Beer Consolidated mines. Mom, dad and the kids can see the final stages of separating diamonds from

"Things have come to a pretty pass when somebody of our type murders his nanny. They're so hard to come by these days." (Princess Margaret of England commenting on the case of Lord Lucan, accused of murdering his children's nursemaid.

sludge and other recovery processes.

Later, one can see museums exhibiting diamond processing machinery and replicas of the world's largest diamonds.

Too bad the exhibits are incomplete. The real diamond recovery process starts with the black South African miners who average 3 deaths per shift.

Tourists are advised to "visit the mines and museum during the day and catch the famous Blue Train in the evening to Capetown." Have a nice trip.

# What Does a Teamster Bureaucrat Do When He is Voted Out of a Job?

Seattle — What does a Teamster bureaucrat do when he finds himself voted out of office? He just continues to do up front what he used to do behind our backs— work for the employers.

William H. Simmons, former secretary-treasurer of Teamster Local #174 in Seattle (7,000+ members), has started a consulting business for employers called EASY. EASY stands for Employer Association Serving You and is designed to handle contract negotiations and "difficulties arising from Union organizing activities."

Simmons' sordid background reveals excellent qualifications for his new enterprise. He was a Seattle Municipal Court judge until he was disbarred for soliciting sexual favors from women in exchange for dropping charges on traffic

violations. He then tried his luck at boxing, bartending (non-union) and driving cabs (again, non-union).

## EMBEZZLER

He had reached the bottom, working for the Seattle/King County road crew, when he was discovered by George Cavano, then secretary-treasurer of #174 and a suspected embezzler of union funds. Cavano hired Simmons as the union lawyer and upon retiring, appointed him as the new secretary-treasurer.

While in office, Simmons continually sold out members in contract negotiations, allowed grievances to pile up, winning a few of them, and made two unsuccessful attempts to raise the dues.

Two days before he officially left office, he had lunch with

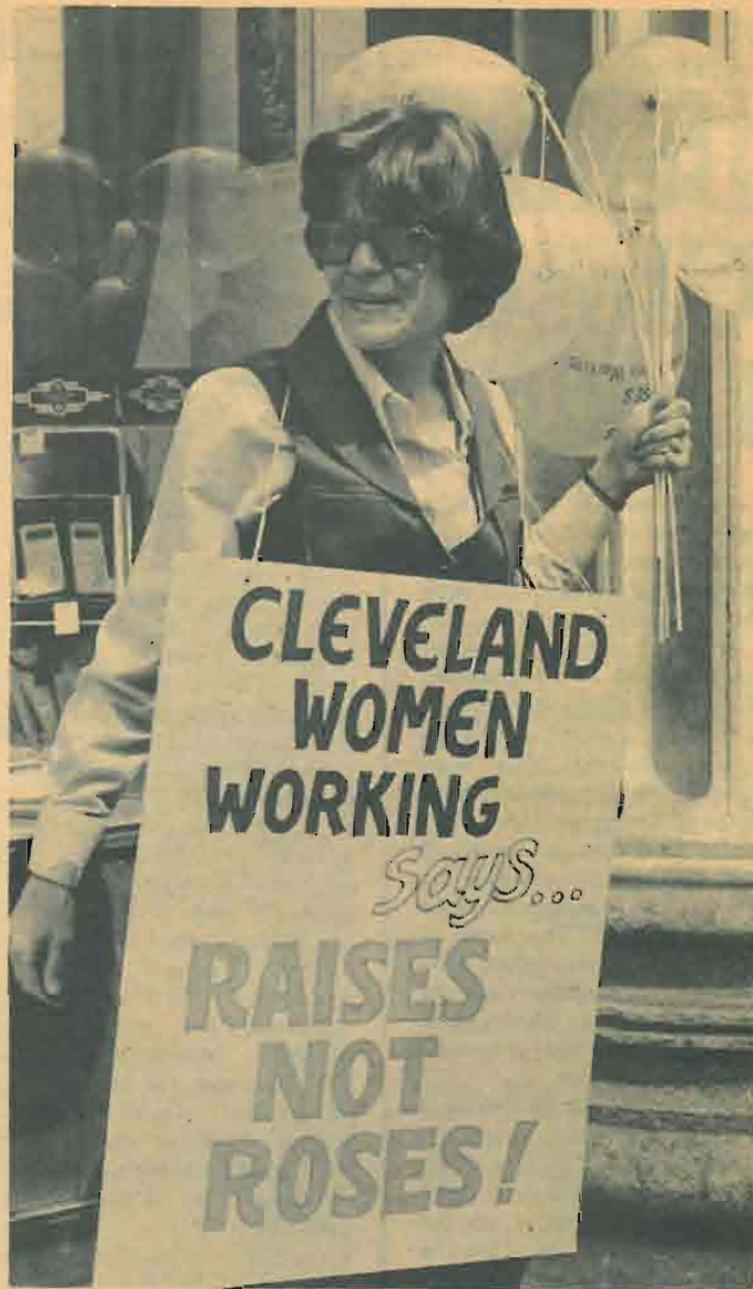
Jack Casey, District Manager of United Parcel Service, and offered his services in future contract negotiations. Most UPSers, including Casey, would agree he did a good job for the company in the last contract!

In addition to negotiations, EASY includes consulting on "the counseling of recalcitrant employees and drafting and serving warning, suspension and discharge letters." Simmons goes on to say "Employers not having the inclination, experience or time to negotiate or administer contracts or discipline employees or process grievances, should not have to assume these responsibilities and frustrations." His slogan is "EASY Does It."

As experience, Simmons lists the industries covered by Local #174; Private and common carriers, United Parcel Service, Soft Drink, Dairy, Lumber, Produce and Grocery houses, department stores, beer and wine, Seattle school district, Port of Seattle, etc. Union members working in these industries know his experience comes from selling out the members with bad contracts, doing nothing while working conditions deteriorate and stifling any rank and file initiative and organization.

But William H. Simmons, always a humble man, shows his dedicated concern for employers in the final sentence of his "EASY Does It" brochure—"No employer is too small." □

by G.E.



The last week in April was National Secretary's Week. This Cleveland secretary was part of a demonstration against the tokenism of yearly flowers and luncheons. Office workers in several major cities have formed organizations to fight for higher wages and better working conditions.

# 'Hijacked Again'



## Otis Elevator Strike.

BLOOMINGTON, IN. — "We surprised ourselves," said Joyce Halstead, shop steward for IUE Otis Elevator local 826 in Bloomington, Indiana.

"We hadn't been together in the plant. But after the strike vote we were hanging together. When we went out, it was solid."

And it stayed that way for two weeks until an International union representative stood up and went through the old hell-fire and brimstone stunt. He said if people wouldn't go back in now, it would be another four to five months before the International would settle the dispute.

"Is it worth it?", he asked. The union then voted 221-183 to accept the new contract and return to work on April 18. "We've been hijacked again," said Halstead.

Otis Elevator Company has four plants in the U.S. and one

in Canada, as well as plants scattered through the rest of the world. For two years it has been a subsidiary of the giant United Technologies conglomerate. "United boasts about how wealthy it is," said a picketer, "but they have no reason to boast. They've made every cent of that wealth from people in the plants."

Bloomington was the only Otis plant that struck over the contract. "They thought we were a bunch of dumb hicks who would take anything but now we're showing them," said one striker. Bloomington's new contract runs for 40 months rather than 36.

## SECRETS

Secrecy about the proposed contract was a big factor in the strike. When Local 826 president Lester Flynn read the proposed contract on March 30, al-

most everyone was put off. Only a summary was distributed and the language in it was vague.

There was a reference in the summary to an attached sheet explaining some of the provisions but that sheet is yet to be found. There was supposed to be plant-wide seniority but at a closer look there wasn't any.

On top of that, a lot of resentment built up because, as one striker put it, "The union doesn't bring stuff back to the union hall." This attempt to hide the inadequacy of the contract backfired.

"Next time, we will be more concerned about the team we elect," said Halstead. "By being together on this strike, we know what's needed to make a stronger union. The way to get things done is to hang together as workers."

by Milt Fisk

# TDU Case Locked in Courts

Detroit, Mi.— Teamster dissidents Pete Camarata and Al Ferdnace won a temporary restraining order April 1 preventing their expulsion from the union, Local 299.

The case has been locked in the courts since that time. Teamster union officials have been granted extensions on the decision whether or not to continue the restraining order, or grant Camarata and Ferdnace a new trial.

This month the courts are supposed to decide whether the two militants have to exhaust inter-union procedures in fight-

ing to remain in the IBT, or whether a new trial will be necessary.

Ferdnace and Camarata were to have been expelled from the union March 25. They had been charged with "conduct unbecoming to a union member." They had also been leading members in Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), the real reason for the attempted expulsion.

On April 2, a crowd of about 175 picketed the Local 299 hall in Detroit showing support for the two militants and for TDU. □



Demonstrators in Detroit.

## SUBSCRIBE NOW

Have Socialist Worker delivered to your door every month. Just fill in the form below and enclose \$5 for a one year (12 issues) subscription; \$10 for a supporting subscription; and \$10 for an institutional subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Socialist Worker, PO Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118

# Behind Closed Doors

**Gary Ind.**— On April 9th, a new 3-year contract for 340,000 steelworkers was signed in Washington, far from any mills or rank and file members. The contract was settled under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) without even a threat of a strike and nearly four months early. There is no membership vote of ratification in the Steelworkers' Union.

The new contract stinks. It falls far short of providing the wages and conditions which members need. The issue of lifetime job security which dominated the negotiations was hailed by retiring USWA President Abel as the contract's major achievement.

But the new job guarantee is a farce. Extended unemployment benefits (SUB), which affect only workers with 20 or more years of seniority, are the only new provisions. There is nothing for younger workers and average USWA seniority is less than 9 years.

## ATTACK

The contract is a continuation of the companies' attacks against steelworkers' standard of living and working conditions. Since the early 60's, steelworkers have fallen from the highest paid industrial workers to 14th. During the past contract, wages have fallen almost 4% to inflation. The 80 cent an hour raise over the next 3 years means steelworkers can expect to fall even farther behind rising prices.

The contract failed to settle anything dealing with coke plant safety and health. The contracting out of work to non-USWA members was turned over to a joint company-union task force for recommendations. And insurance and pensions remained basically unchanged. Steelworkers can still look forward to trying to retire after 30 years on less than \$400 a month.

## NO-STRIKE EXTENDED

Despite clear rank and file opposition, the no-strike ENA was continued through 1980. This one fact served to highlight the extent to which the top Union leadership works hand in hand with the companies against the membership. During the entire negotiations, the Abel-McBride team demonstrated again and again they are more concerned with the steel companies' sob stories about falling profits and rising imports than with what their own members need to live.

The key to winning better contracts will not come by selling your right to strike. It will come by smashing the ENA and taking the companies on. Only when the rank and file effectively organize themselves can they expect a contract which suits their needs and not the handouts of the companies and their union representatives.

by Tom Freeman

# 2,000 CINCINNATI TEACHERS

# "It's up to us to force a change"

By Bill Reed

**CINCINNATI, OH** — "I never dreamed I'd be on a picket line. But there wasn't much choice. I can't do a lot of the things I used to do for my students. Thirty kids in a first grade is not teaching; it's low quality babysitting." These are the words of a Cincinnati elementary teacher as she joined two-thirds of the public school teachers on strike here April 13.

The Cincinnati Federation of Teachers (CFT) is leading a well organized strike under difficult circumstances. Besides a callous school board that refuses to bargain, the teachers are divided by rival unions.

The Cincinnati Teachers Association, which claims 800 members, does not support the strike. Nevertheless, Many CTA members are in favor of the walkout. In all, approximately 2,000 of the nearly 3,000 teachers in the system are out in support of the CFT's demands.

## ISSUES

The CFT has been bargaining with the board since it won a representation election in December of last year. Since then, the board has completely ignored the 24 demands put to it by the union, thus forcing the strike.

While money is a key issue (11% now, 5% in September retroactive to January 1) there are other equally important ones. For example, large classes threaten teaching quality. The union wants classes limited to 15 students in the first three grades and 25 students in grades 7 through 12.

Class size is directly related to the quality of education. A high school chemistry teacher told Socialist Worker he was afraid to conduct even the simplest experiments in his overcrowded lab class.

Besides the poor teaching conditions in many of the city's schools, teachers here are among the lowest paid in the country for a city the size of Cincinnati. Starting pay for a full-time teacher is \$8,900.

Some argue that teachers can make up pay during the summer period, but with 8% un-

employment, jobs are hard to find. Also, many teachers return to school in the summer, at their own expense, to improve their skills. The 16% raise the union demands is far below the 27% inflation rate of the last three years.

The school board, of course, is claiming they have no money. But they do have money for their priorities such as more administrators and lawyer's fees to fight the teacher's union. They have offered 6% in the next 3 years if they "find the money."

Tom Mooney, a CFT strike coordinator told Socialist Worker that since 1969, the teaching staff has been cut by 21%, but the administrative staff is up 8%.

The CFT estimates that there is one administrator for every seven teachers. "It's up to us to force a change in priorities," said Mooney.

## CONFUSION

A lot of confusion exists about the district's real revenue potential. For 5 years the board has consistently underestimated income by \$2-\$7 million per year. Still, it failed to honor a 3% raise promised last spring.

On the eve of the strike the board tried to manipulate public opinion against the teachers by proposing an increase in homeowner's taxes to pay for schools. At a parents' meeting

one mother asked, "What happened to the state income tax and lottery money that was supposed to go to the schools?"

Another source of revenue is the over \$600 million in corporate property tax valuations that have not been collected by the county in the past. Money is available to finance better schools.

To date, the board has been unable to force a court order enjoining the CFT from striking, and has lacked the confidence to invoke the notorious Ferguson Act which provides for firing of public employees who strike.

A confident and informed union stance on these board options has played a large part in forestalling either move. The board has filed an appeal on the injunction ruling, and it's probably only a matter of time before they find the right judge.

## PARENTS

In an effort to back the teachers, a group of 100 parents met last week to plan support activities. Besides circulating a petition in support of the strike, parents are walking the picket lines and organizing others to keep the kids out of the buildings. It is no surprise that the harder pressed inner-city schools are the best organized in terms of teacher and parent solidarity.

The morale of the teacher is good. Most teachers interviewed by Socialist Worker are prepared for the long haul. An elementary teacher told Socialist Worker, "I love teaching, but I won't teach here if we lose. I'm in this fight until we win. I've never felt stronger about anything."

## WEAKNESS

There is an important weakness in the strike, and that is the absence of an organized student presence. In fact, many teachers seem opposed to involving students in any way. This attitude by some teachers resulted in initial confusion on students crossing picket lines.

Teachers who attended a strike benefit showing of "Harlan County USA" should not miss the lesson of the miners' strike. All who have a stake in better schools should be organized to actively support the strike. Already four students at West High have been suspended for pro-strike activity. Students like these must know that the support they extend to the teachers will be returned.

The board is banking on a protracted strike to bust the union. Teacher picket lines reinforced with parents, students and members of other unions could win the strike in a shorter time.



Cincinnati teachers on the picket line

# Markley and Suares Sentenced

**Springfield, Mass.** — April 14: Court action came to an end concerning the controversial Markley-Suares case in which these two union organizers were framed by an Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent.

They were sentenced to eighteen months for Markley and one year for Suares for allegedly selling several toilet paper bombs to the agent.

Attempting to persuade Judge Freedemen to give stiff sentences, prosecutor O'Neil labeled Markley an opportunist and "not an advocate for the working class." This charge was offset by at least 100 letters from Springfield area workers and supporters who praised

Markley's work and urged leniency.

The jury was not given evidence about the real violence that occurred during the strike — assaults on pickets by scab truck drivers and threats of assassination against union leaders.

"We're sure we're going to win on appeal," says Markley, a United Electrical Union organizer. "And in the meantime, we're going to work twice as hard to clean up some of these lousy working conditions around the valley."

David Cohen, president of UE local 264 emphasized that the defense committee is con-

tinuing its drive for a congressional investigation into the labor spying activities of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau, which infiltrated the

1975 Worthington Compressor strike in Holyoke, Mass., to ensnare Markley and Suares. □

by Randall Howarth

## Revolutionary Feminism



By BARBARA WINSLOW

A pamphlet that traces working women's struggles for liberation and socialism.

Order today from Socialist Worker. Send 75¢ to P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118.

# The Plan That Broke Local 6

Reduced Charges

## Post 15 Plead Guilty

The management at the Washington Post planned its attack on the workers in its pressroom for fully two years.

Local 6, International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, was the strongest union at the Post. It had survived the disastrous Newspaper Guild strike of 1974. More than anything else, Local 6 symbolized what Publisher Katharine Graham so despised — "archaic union practices."

In October, 1975, when the pressmen's strike began, the Post was well into its plans to fully automate its production. The management, led by Lawrence Wallace, a hard-line labor negotiator hired specifically to deal with the expected strike, had already laid-off 160 of 760 workers in the composing room.

### STRICT RULES

The problem for the Post was that strict rules prevented an all-out attack on the pressroom. In 1974, the management had laid-off 36 pressmen, and then offered to rehire them as part-timers not entitled to benefits and overtime pay.

This was ruled a violation of the contract, so the pressmen were reinstated. Nevertheless, the campaign continued, mainly in the form of psychological warfare against the pressmen, and constant, petty attacks on their rights and conditions.

The Washington Post is the most profitable of all American newspapers. Its owners also control Newsweek Magazine, Sports Illustrated, several TV and radio stations, as well as considerable holdings in real estate.

Still, the management was alarmed that returns on the Post had fallen to a "paltry" 9% in 1974 (\$28.1 million in profits) — down from 15% the year before. The drive against the pressmen was explained simply in these terms by the owners of the nation's most liberal major

daily. It was a drive to bring profits up "to a reasonable level." In Katharine Graham's words, it was management's responsibility to "maximize profits."

Too bad for the pressmen. They could join the lines at the unemployment offices. At the time there was 8% unemployment in Washington, D.C.

The plan to break Local 6 began two years before the strike at the Newspaper Production and Research Center in Oklahoma City.

This operation, also known as the "School of Scabs," trains newspaper executives and other non-union personnel so that they can substitute during a strike for typesetters, pressmen, and photo-engravers.

The Center is financed by nearly 200 American and Canadian newspapers. It exists to destroy unions.

The Post also secretly set up alternate composing equipment in its executive offices. It publicly declared that it was prepared to operate without unions, and set the stage for the 1975 contract negotiations by saying "strike if you dare" — "we'll do it without you."

Perhaps some of the pressmen considered these preparations in the first hours of the strike, for there was minor sabotage of the presses. As the prosecutors noted in the trial, key parts were removed from each press — though little if anything was destroyed.

The strike began militantly but victory would have been difficult, even with the best of circumstances. As it was, the first blow was struck by the journalists. Only 50 of the 300 members of the Newspaper Guild honored the picket lines.

Some of the nation's best known liberal writers, including Woodward and Bernstein, the smart young authors of *All the President's Men*, simply scabbed. And for those who preferred not to cross picket lines directly, the Post provided helicopter rides to its roof.



Pressmen picketed nineteen months

The grand jury's witch hunt style investigations — thousands of gruelling hours — helped to break the spirit of the strikers. So did what the ACLU called "a system of blacklisting and guilt by association" used against pressmen who sought other jobs.

The strike never officially ended. In December 1975, the Post made its "final offer" and then began hiring permanent scabs. Since then the rights won over years by the workers and the union have virtually ceased to exist at the paper.

On March 23, 1977, the scab

pressmen and stereotypers voted to decertify Local 6 as their official bargaining agent. The defeat at the Washington Post was a terrible conclusion to what began as "the labor story of the year." It was the result of everything that is wrong with the U.S. Labor movement today — disunity among the workers, indifference by the trade union leadership, and impotence on the part of the socialist left.

This all must change, for the price — now chiefly to be paid by the 15 pressmen — is too high, far too high. It cannot be paid indefinitely. □

by Cal Winslow

## Violence Continues at Stearns Strike

**Stearns, Ky.** — Violence continues on the picket lines at the Stearns Mining Co. Justus mine in eastern Kentucky, and now 31 strikers have been indicted by a Grand Jury.

The trouble began in March, when riot gear clad state troopers began escorting armed security guards back and forth across the miners' picket lines.

Since then, the security guards have been regularly shooting into the miners' camp and the miners have been shooting back. In the latest incident, two security guards have been seriously wounded.

### ARRESTED

The 31 indicted miners have been charged with kidnapping, attempted murder, and armed robbery. The whole core of the

active miners have been arrested and now released — on \$15,000 bond each.

The alleged incident occurred, according to conflicting reports, when three armed security guards went to the door of one of the strikers' home, late in the night of April 13. The fighting, then the shootings, followed.

The mass indictments, the serious charges, and high bail are another attempt to break the strike in this fiercely anti-union section of Kentucky.

The miners are still fighting, however, and they have scheduled a rally of miners and supporters for Stearns, May 5. They deserve the support. Contributions can be sent to: UMWA Organizing Relief Fund, 900 15th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. □



Publisher Katharine Graham

**"The first order of business at The Washington Post is to maximize the profits from our existing operation . . . . Management does not intend to overlook any reasonable means of improving profit. We are doing it both by cutting costs and by generating new sources of income. Some costs resist more stubbornly than others. The most frustrating kind are those imposed by archaic union practices that deprive the company of the savings we ought to achieve from modern technology. This is a problem we are determined to solve. We hope it can be solved in an amicable, constructive spirit. In any event, we fully intend to deal with it."**

**Katharine Graham at a meeting of Security Analysts in January, 1972.**

**Washington, D.C.** — On Thursday morning, April 14, fifteen former Washington Post pressmen entered guilty pleas to misdemeanor charges in Superior Court here, thereby all but ending the long, bitter dispute between the Post and Local 6, International Printing and Graphic Communications Union.

### CHARGES

The charges stemmed from the pressmen's strike which began October 1, 1975. In the first hours of the strike, the Post's presses were disabled, there were scuffles with foremen, and there was a minor fire in the pressroom.

The Post responded with an onslaught of hysterical charges, including the accusation that the pressmen had caused "millions of dollars in damage," that there had been a "riot" in the pressroom, and that Local 6 was "conspiring to destroy the Post."

As a result, the government convened a Grand Jury, and for nine months Local 6 was investigated, in a costly and exhausting campaign against the union.

In the end, fifteen pressmen were indicted on felony charges — charges with penalties which could have amounted to a total of 268 years in prison for the pressmen.

The guilty pleas in Superior Court were entered in exchange for the government's agreement to drop the felony charges and press only misdemeanor charges which could result in fines and up to a year's imprisonment for the strikers.

### VICTORY

Everett Forsman, the president of Local 6, called the development "a great victory for the pressmen, their families and supporters."

"What happened in Judge Bacon's courtroom proves what we have been saying all along. There was no "riot" at the Post. There were no "millions of dollars in damage" done to the Post. There was no "conspiracy."

The government's prosecutors responded that they were satisfied, because "the main people responsible for the violence at the Post have now come into court and admitted their part in it."

The date for sentencing was set for May 20. One pressman, James Palmer, requested immediate sentencing. Judge Sylvia Bacon issued the maximum penalty of a \$250 fine and ninety days in prison, but suspended the prison sentence, on condition that Palmer spend one year on supervised probation in Alabama, where he now lives. □

C.W.

# The Battle Inside Zaire

Over the last two months, an explosive situation has developed in Central Africa. An uprising that began on March 8, in the southern part of Zaire (Katanga), has since spread. Western powers are now making a desperate attempt to prop up the regime of President Mobutu.

The uprising is led by exiled Katangan gendarmes, driven out of Zaire's southern province in 1963. For ten years they served the Portuguese rulers in Angola fighting against the freedom fighters.

## HATRED

Still, they retained their hatred for the Mobutu regime, and during the Angolan war when Mobutu attacked the MPLA, the gendarmes changed sides.

The gendarmes aren't fighting directly for the Angolans, but it's clear they couldn't have invaded without tacit support. Angola is naturally hostile to Mobutu for his active support of the CIA-backed FNLA used to attack the freedom fighters in 1975-76 from bases inside Zaire.

## TRIGGER

From their history it's obvious the gendarmes aren't a progressive movement. But their intervention could trigger a wave of hostility to the hated Mobutu regime, revive some of the progressive movements, and bring Mobutu down.

Conditions in Zaire have severely deteriorated in the past few years. Workers' wages have been cut; the buying

power of Zaire's workers is now half of what it was in 1963. Since Mobutu seized power in 1965, massive repression of any opposition has been characteristic of the regime.

Mobutu is a close ally of the United States government and to business interests in Africa. It is estimated that in the past ten years, Mobutu has received \$50 million from the CIA.

The internal conditions combined with the attack of the gendarmes have western governments on the edge of their seats as they nervously watch a

clear threat to their investments take shape.

But these governments do not just get anxious. They have also set in motion their counter-attack. Thus, the U.S. has already sent Mobutu just under \$15 million worth of military and medical supplies.

France and Belgium have also rushed aid to Zaire. Fifteen hundred Moroccan troops were flown into the country a few weeks ago. South Africa has made it clear it supports Mobutu.

Material aid is matched, if

not outdone, by a barrage of propaganda about Cuban and Russian intervention. Direct Russian involvement is highly unlikely. Only western powers have ever been directly involved in Zaire.

The conditions for a Vietnam situation developing are all there. The U.S. state department and western capitalists are worried sick that Zaire might turn into another Angola — that their influence and control in Africa might be undermined yet again.

Two weeks ago, a rally in support of the Mobutu regime

was called in Kinshasa, the capital of Zaire. The turnout was very small and many were school children. The police had to close the doors to the stadium where the rally was held to stop those who had shown up from leaving.

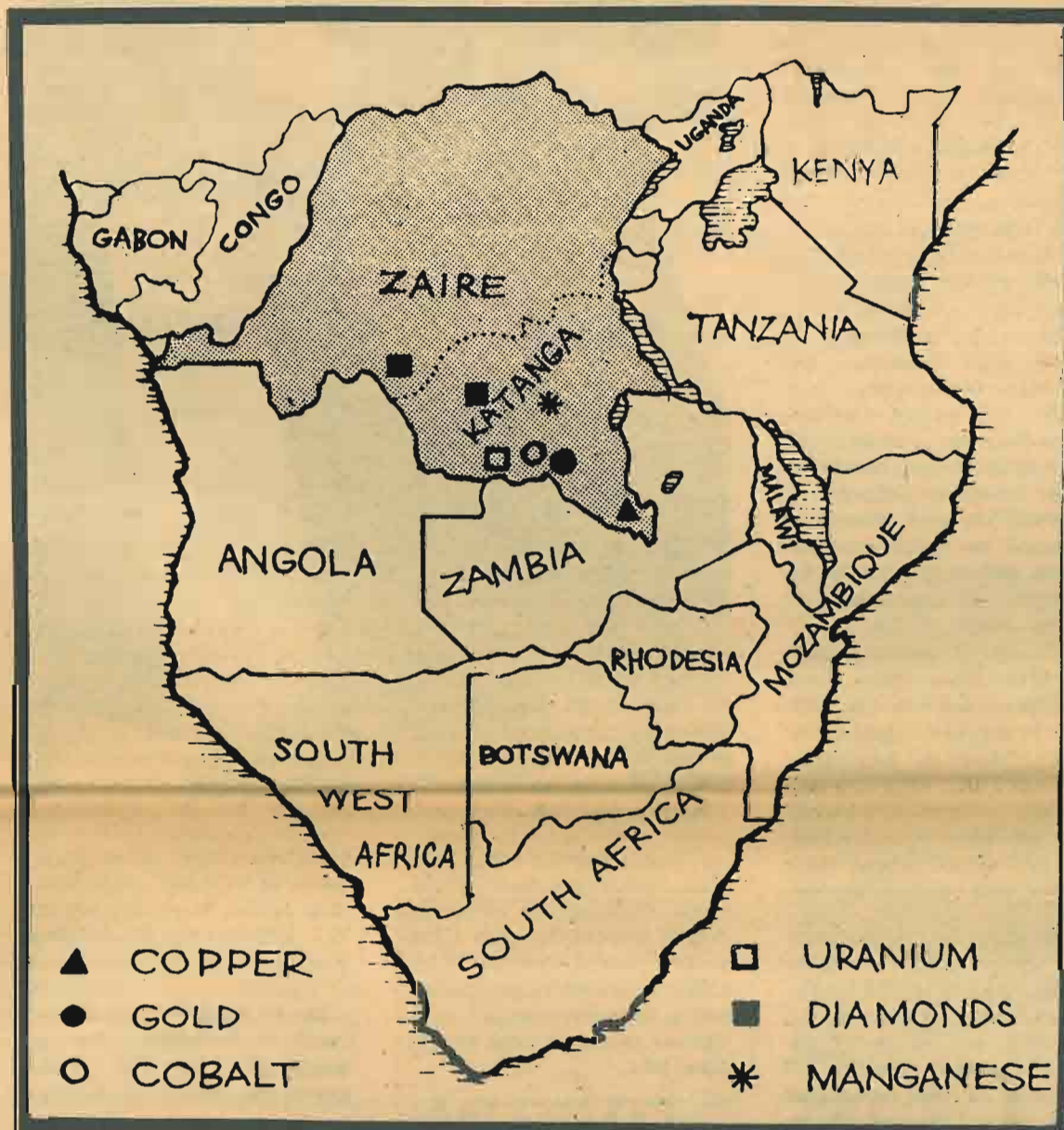
## TOTTERING

The rulers of black and white Africa join the western powers in denouncing the Katangan uprising. They are terrified of internal opposition and will do their share in helping stop the revolt. A victorious movement in Zaire could further upset the stability of other tottering African regimes.

The Katangan gendarmes may be a reactionary movement, but they could be the key to a wave of popular unrest, and further open the road to socialist revolution throughout Africa.

Socialists in the U.S. must take a clear stand: NO INTERVENTION IN ZAIRE!

by A.S.



## Mercenary Recruiting

"I'll continue to do whatever I can in the states to support Mobutu and the National Liberation Front of Angola. I am still loyal to the Front," said David Butkin, a Fresno, California crop duster and mercenary with CIA connections. He was referring to a CIA backed force defeated last year in the Angolan civil war.

Butkin was one of the mercenaries fighting against the national liberation forces in Angola. He was one of the few not killed or captured.

Today, Butkin is placing ads in California papers advertising for mercenaries to fight for Mobutu in Zaire. He claims he has a budget of \$80,000 to recruit 80 to 100 Americans for \$2000 a month to fight in Zaire.

Butkin refused to say who was paying him, but did admit that the CIA knew about his activities.

Butkin claims to have fought in Zaire in the '60's (then known as the Congo), and also in the Nigerian/Biafran civil war.

He does not plan to fight in Zaire today. "I plan to stay home. I have done my duty. I have a wife, three children and a home. I think they need me here."

Having lost so badly in Angola, he apparently prefers sending others for the dirty work in Zaire.

## Western Imperialism from Congo to Zaire

Zaire, formerly the Belgian Congo, gained independence on July 1st, 1960. Patrice Lumumba, a radical nationalist was elected prime minister. His rule, however, was short lived.

Five days after independence was declared, soldiers in the "Force Publique" (the army) rebelled against their Belgian officers. The rebellion spread to a number of areas in the country. Belgium responded by sending soldiers into the Congo, and backed a secession movement in Katanga Province.

### TSHOMBE

Katanga was the richest province in the Congo and was vital to the economy. It is rich in copper, gold, cobalt, and diamonds. The secession was led by a right-wing politician — Moise Tshombe — who had the total backing of western capital. Fighting soon broke out.

What was then referred to as

the "Congo Crisis" came to a head. Lumumba asked for U.N. troops to help him. With some prodding from the CIA, the president of the Congo, Joseph Kasavubu, dismissed Lumumba as prime minister. Lumumba refused to step down, and the army, led by General Mobutu imposed temporary military rule, and in Mobutu's words, "neutralized" Lumumba.

In January, 1961, Lumumba was kidnapped, taken to Katanga, and murdered. The CIA had intervened in strength to stabilize the situation for foreign capital, and had a hand in the overthrow and assassination of Lumumba.

### U.N. TROOPS

Less than one month later, a new government was formed under President Kasavubu. By 1963, the Katanga secession was ended, and a semblance of order was brought by U.N. troops.

This, however, was illusory. By January, 1964, another rebellion broke out, this time directed against Kasavubu and his regime. In response, Kasavubu invited his supposed enemy, Tshombe, to become prime minister.

Tshombe's ties with "western capital" made him a useful ally. Tshombe and Kasavubu received support from the CIA and mercenaries.

The rebellion was savagely put down. Many oppositionists to the regime were tortured and executed publicly; 20,000 were killed. Despite the massive repression, neither Tshombe nor Kasavubu could stabilize the country enough to please either foreign capital, or the Congolese ruling class. As a result, in 1965, General Mobutu again led a coup and seized power.

The man who had been "discovered" by the CIA was again in the saddle.

by Ahmed Shawki

The American press loves to ridicule Idi Amin. Let's see what they don't say about President Mobutu.

In his campaign for "African authenticity," Mobutu became Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Waza Banga — "The all powerful warrior who, because of his endurance and inflexible will to win, will go on from conquest to conquest."

Mobutu's conquests are tied to U.S. investments of at least \$200 million in Zaire. In 1977, Zaire will get \$47 million and has been promised another \$47 million in 1978. This is more than all the rest of Black Africa gets in aid from the U.S.

Most of the money goes into Mobutu's pockets. He has amassed a huge personal fortune, with foreign bank accounts, luxurious palaces in Zaire and villas in Europe.

He's built a 40 mile expressway from the capital to one of his eleven palaces. More Mercedes Benz's are imported than tractors, while large areas of the country have returned to subsistence agriculture. His picture is seen everywhere in Zaire, even on tee-shirts.

A recent issue of the International Herald Tribune described Mobutu as "one of the world's richest men" who "has created a super-rich class of underlings with lavish taste."

Belgium and France also have sizable investments in Zaire. French president, Valerie Giscard D'Estaing is concerned about Zaire not continuing to be pro-west: "Subversion in Africa would have consequences for both France and Europe."

Yes, it would. France, Belgium and the U.S. might lose out on a friendly dictator, and also lose out on making a profit from the riches of Africa — profits that should be controlled by the African workers and peasants who create that wealth.

# The Roots of American Slavery

by Michael Long

When the first Africans were unloaded from the ship in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619, the institution of slavery was brought to North America. Americans have always known slavery existed, but it was the impact of ROOTS which brought the horrible reality of slavery to 80 million Americans.

The question remains why? Why did such a brutal and inhuman system exist? Did it have to do with the inherent racism of Europeans? Or did it have to do with the development of society at the time. Why did people who considered themselves "decent Christians" fight for a system which degraded, exploited, enslaved, tortured, maimed and murdered millions of Africans.

The answer lies with the development of capitalism in England and in North America. Capitalism, and the foundation of our society has its "roots" in slavery.

The trade in African slaves began in the 1660's with the commercial exploration of Africa, Asia and the Western hemisphere. All the European nations — England, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium and Portugal were involved.

By the 1700's England triumphed as the dominant slave trading nation. By 1763, she was the major political power in North America. England was

the first European country to set up permanent colonies.

The problems facing English merchants in setting up colonies was the scarcity of labor. The native population — Indians — could not be made slaves. Instead they were driven off their land, and eventually exterminated. White indentured servants were not numerous enough to make up for the labor scarcity.

Africa provided the solution,

would load their ships with finished products to be unloaded in Africa and the New World.

The immense profits from this "Triangle Trade" made England the wealthiest commercial nation. These profits were then invested in manufacture and machinery. These profits from slavery helped make England the strongest industrial power.

Capitalism developed as a result of slavery, yet ironically,

**in black and white**

and it was on the backs of the black slaves kidnapped from Africa that the wealth of America and its English masters was built. Malcolm X estimated that in the quest of the rising capitalist economy for cheap labor, millions of slaves were brought to the shores of America (other millions dying on the passage).

The cargo of humans, Black Gold as the slaves were called, would be unloaded in Annapolis, Baltimore or Charleston, South Carolina; the merchants then loaded their ships with raw materials — lumber, tobacco, pitch and indigo — and sailed back to England where they

as capitalism developed, the need for slaves in the capitalist countries declined. In France, slavery was abolished in 1832 but not the profitable slave trade.

When Kunte Kinte was brought to Maryland in 1765, the institution of slavery was not fully entrenched. Yet it was outlawed in the Northwest territory in 1793. A few northern states ended slavery in the 1800's. A tiny number of slave owners in the South considered getting rid of slavery as well.

Slavery was not abolished because capitalists in the northern states or in England



were somehow less racist, or more humanitarian. Capitalism cannot use chattel slaves. It needs a mobile "free" labor force. Furthermore, the productivity of slave labor is very low compared to wage labor. Capitalism requires a highly productive labor force. Slavery as a system would not reap high profits for capitalism. And the capitalist system is based, first and foremost on profit.

in submission, families had to be broken up, children, grandparents sold at the whim of the slave owner; rebellious and subservient slaves alike, whipped and tortured at will; thousands of slave women like Kizzy were raped; and hundreds of thousands of others tortured and murdered.

## RACISM

In order to justify slavery, Southern planters and northern merchants who brought the slaves from Africa, had to find a justification. This became the ideology — or set of ideas — of racism. Since Africans were legally "cargo" "chattel" or "property" the rationale developed that the Africans were not humans. Africans preferred being slaves than free men in "savage Africa." They were like children, and needed their civilized white masters to care for them.

The white race was superior to the black race; therefore racial purity must always be preserved. However, racial purity only had to do with white women; Southern white men sired hundreds and thousands of children of Black women.

Because of the ever present danger that Blacks would revolt against slavery the ideology developed that Blacks were lazy, untrustworthy, and ultimately dangerous — they would "turn" on their benevolent masters.

All these ideas evolved and grew with the expansion of slavery. In turn, racism developed a dynamic of its own. Racism today pervades every aspect of American society and its origins are found in the institution of slavery.

The television show ROOTS ended with the abolition of slavery and the end of the civil war in 1865. Yet, it was the institution of slavery, which began with the development of capitalism which brought the most horrible poisons of racism to the working class, the wage slaves of a new era. □

## EDITORIAL

### The Washington Post Strike

# Working Class Defeat

Everett Forsman, the President of Local 6, the pressmen's union at The Washington Post, called the results of the plea bargaining in Judge Sylvia Bacon's court "a great victory."

Certainly, it must have been a relief for the 15 pressmen, for their families and their supporters, to know that the felony charges had been dropped. And there is no doubt at all that the government prosecutors and the Post management would have liked to have seen the pressmen locked up for years.

The real point, however, is that the conclusion of the strike was a terrible tragedy for the pressmen. They have been fired. Their union has been smashed. They are being blacklisted out of their trade, and 15 of them still face possible jail sentences.

Only a few strikes have received more initial publicity. In the first days of the strike, the pressmen were called criminals and Luddites. The Post compared them to "Belfast snipers" and "airline hijackers."

The truth was simply that they took some parts to the presses on which they worked. They tried to stop the Post

from printing without them. And they were not even fully aware of the lengths to which the Post was prepared to go to smash them. They were only, in Forsman's words, "defending their jobs, standing up to union busting, and fighting to protect themselves, their fellow workers and their families."

The pressmen fought on for some nineteen months, but alone there was little chance that they could win — not with the Post campaigning against them, and not with the government backing the newspaper up.

The picket lines at the Post were just a short walk from the giant palace of the AFL-CIO, but there was no help from George Meany and the great majority of the labor "leaders." The picketlines were just a few miles from the Capitol Building, but there was no help from labor's "friends" in Congress. In fact, the labor leadership was embarrassed by the pressmen, while the liberal establishment openly praised Katharine Graham, the publisher of the Post.

The pressmen were defeated by a cynical, calculated, and conscious plan to destroy their

union — all to "maximize profits." They were smashed by the symbol of liberal establishment in Washington, D.C. — the nation's most prestigious newspaper.

A defeat such as this is a defeat for the whole working class, for it means that every employer who wants to get rid of a union, or to victimize a militant, or to push back working conditions into the nineteenth century will be emboldened.

It will not help the pressmen much to say this, but surely the strike must show the folly of workers depending on the Democrats — even the most liberal. Defeating the Post strike was an exercise in naked, liberal power.

Forsman also said that a task of pressmen and their supporters was "to use what we have learned from this bitter struggle to teach others to organize and fight back against a system that puts profits before people."

Certainly this is true, but it will take more than good intentions. The alternative to the system that has crushed the pressman is socialism. And it will only be achieved when workers have rejected capitalism, and organized to replace it.

## KING COTTON

The South developed differently from the North. With the invention of the Cotton Gin, cotton became "king" in the South. Cotton, and the slave labor needed to pick and process the cotton spread rapidly throughout the South as far west as Texas.

The southern planter class became more and more dependent upon cotton, and in turn more and more dependant upon the slave system. African women were brought over in larger numbers after 1830. The larger scale importation of African women came at the same time that Northerners began passing laws curbing the African slave trades. The planter class needed more women for breeding purposes, especially if the supply from Africa was going to be cut off.

Slavery was the foundation for the southern cotton system, and was at the root of all economic, social and political relationships. If slavery was ever going to be abolished then every Southern institution would be destroyed as well.

That is why the Southern planter had to do everything in his power to maintain slavery; why Kunte Kinte could not speak his own language, worship his own religion and keep his customs. Why his foot was eventually chopped off. Slaves had to be kept ignorant. That was why it was dangerous for Kizzy to learn how to read and write.

In order to keep the slaves

## All of Michigan Poisoned

# PBB: THE CANCER TIME

Over the last three years, hundreds of farmers in Michigan have been forced to slaughter tens of thousands of dairy cattle, sheep, steers, pigs, and millions of chickens. All because of "one mistake." Mixing PBB with cattle feed.

Most of the cattle died slowly, after becoming hunch-backed, bald and sterile, scarcely able to walk from monstrous overgrown hooves, sometimes a foot long. Before dying, the cattle invariably passed on the poison through their milk, and on slaughter, their meat usually sold as hamburger further infected the food chain.

One of the first farmers hit was Rich Halbert of Battle Creek. In September, 1973, the disaster hit his prize-winning herd. There was no explanation—they just became sick. He inspected his cattle feed, specially mixed for him by the Farm Bureau, his local farm supply organization. After inspecting nearly everything with no success, he began experimenting with some of his calves.

A dozen young calves were fed only the one feed. After a couple of weeks, they couldn't eat it, so he began feeding them other things, but about six weeks into the experiment, the calves began to die, and within two months, nearly all were dead.

Halbert told the Michigan Department of Agriculture. They weren't concerned. He told the State University. They didn't care. So then he spent six months and five thousand dollars commissioning independent research into his suspect feed.

It was the WARF institute in Wisconsin which finally gave him the clue which led to solving the mystery. They discovered an industrial chemical, bromine, in his feed.

Michigan Chemical, the suppliers of a nutritional supplement, they discovered, had mixed Firemaster, PBB—a fire proofing chemical. The substances look the same and the sacks are almost identical.

Unfortunately, by the time Halbert's detective work was successful, he had discovered that despite assurances to the contrary, he wasn't the only farmer with problems.

As cows died and were ground down into more feed, they poisoned other animals. Horses, chickens and even farmyard rats began to die on contaminated farms. The farm families themselves, drinking their own milk and eating their own eggs, began to be poisoned as well.

Tom Buttler, a farmer near Coopersville with a herd of cows sick with a leukemia-like disease was having financial problems. He sold his animals to market and inspected them at the slaughter. He discovered that some of them had livers "the size of wash tubs."

Butler found he was so exhausted for no apparent reason that he called a doctor. He would be lame for painful periods.

The doctor told him, "Well, you're getting older, you know, past forty." Butler didn't

believe him.

No one told Tom Butler about PBB, but he noticed his cattle's grotesque symptoms resembled those of himself and his family.

"Some of them had their toes turned up, hooves turned up, you know and all. My fingernails did the same thing, so that was another thing why I was saying I had the same disease the cows had, 'cos their hooves were turned up; my fingernails were turned up. I don't know if it was any proper analogy but that's what I was using."

### FUTURE EFFECTS

Nobody really knows what will happen to all the people poisoned with PBB. The investigations are really just beginning, prompted in part by the suits of farmers and the activities of groups like the Action Committee. It may well be fifteen to twenty years however, before the whole story is told.

According to Dr. Tom Corbett, "the Michigan Department of Agriculture since they could not diagnose the problem

allowed the continued sale of these animals and their products for human consumption."

"Well, you don't have to be a doctor or a scientist — common sense dictates that you should not eat anything from a sick animal — much less the animal itself.

**"And so for a nine month period, they allowed these sick and dying animals to go to market, and because of this decision, most of the people in the state of Michigan now have measureable levels of PBB in their body."**

### COVERUP BEGINS

The coverup began at the same time the poison began to take its toll. One interest after another defended the next—Michigan Chemical, the Farm Bureau—then the Agriculture Department, the State University of Michigan, and the Governor's office.

Even after angry farmers trucked sick cattle to the State Capital in Lansing to literally drop them on the doorstep of

the governor, Rep. William Milliken did not despite the fact that the state's nine million people were poisoned. Even today, most milk in Michigan contains traces of PBB.

Many of these people are sick. The latest animal tests show conclusively that PBB in microscopic doses is capable of causing cancer, birth defects and genetic changes. The coverup has just begun.

### STATE MOVES TOO LATE

By the time the state began to quarantine the poison, it was too late. It was everywhere. A PBB tolerance level was set for meat and supposedly safe for human consumption. And farmers' animals showing PBB traces above one part per million were forbidden to move or sell. They were sent for destruction and thousands of animals were killed, many shot and pushed into deep trenches.

Some farmers, however, reported sick cattle which



Dead cows on the Leonard Rehkopf farm; Chippewa Lake, Michigan — March 1976.

### FEED MILL WORKER

## Fired For Checking Contamination Level

Stanwood, Mi.—Mike Creighton was fired for taking one half-cup of dust from the Michigan Farm Bureau's Stanwood Mill.

Until March 23, Creighton worked at the feed mill operated by the Farm Services Bureau, the company that sold the PBB poisoned feed to farmers throughout Michigan in 1973 and 1974.

The result of the PBB contamination was the destruction of thousands of farm animals, the ruin of many farmers, and the contamination of nearly everybody in Michigan with the cancer causing chemical.

The Stanwood Mill was reportedly cleaned, and therefore safe, along with all the other Michigan feed mills.

But Creighton took the dust

so that his brother Ron, a member of the PBB Action Committee, an activist group of farmers concerned about PBB, could have it tested.

"I wanted to find out—I was curious," he explained. "They were saying the mill was clean. I thought it would clear a lot of things up. I figured I would only get chewed out pretty bad," if Steve Carr, the mill manager, found out.

On March 21, the Action Committee notified Steve Carr that the dust had been tested at an Ann Arbor laboratory and found to contain PBB—.023 parts per million.

Two days later, Mike Creighton, who has a wife and two sons, was fired. Carr said he fired Creighton because he be-

lieved "pressures from the Action Committee" would affect his work. He also said there was no proof that the dust had come from the Stanwood Mill.

"If it wasn't their dust, how come I got fired for it?" asks Mike.

The Stanwood Feed Mill is only one of the scores of Farm Bureau outlets that sold poisoned feed. Tons of feed was buried, and many mills had to be cleaned, some repeatedly, to remove all traces of PBB.

Today, the State Agricultural Department says there is no danger in such "environmental contamination" and that feed being sold in the state is clean.

The Action Committee disagrees and is attempting to continue its investigations. The

coverup, however, continues, even when it means firing a man who really should get thanks for public service.



Mike Creighton

## The Fact Makes t

The poison that got into the body of every Michigan resident comes from a ramshackle factory in St. Louis, MO.

It's the headquarters of Michigan Chemical Corporation—a little factory that pollutes the air and has killed life for thirty-five miles downstream on the Pine River.

The conditions inside the plant are as bad as on the outside, and it was here that bags of Firemaster, a flame retardant containing PBB, were confused with Nutri-master (nutritional additive), and sent to the Michigan Farm Bureau feed mill. It had been assumed at first that the PBB disaster had involved just one ton of Firemaster, sent out instead of one ton of Nutrimaster. H



# OMB

# MAY DAY

Barbara Winslow

**shoulder  
to shoulder**

tested to be below the tolerance level. Gary Zuiderveen's cattle were found officially 'healthy'.

"They just wouldn't grow," however, he told investigators. "They were terribly thin and in many cases the hair came off their backs, and they had runny noses, and they had ulcerated eyes. They were just a mess, they were just a physical mess. Economically, there were impossible to take care of."

Some sold such cattle to be slaughtered and eaten, usually processed as hamburger. The Zuiderveens didn't.

"Well, we shot our cattle. I mean it hurts me to say this. I mean it was an awful day. I'll never forget that day as long as I live. We dug a big hole about two hundred and fifty feet long and twenty five feet wide and we'd run the cattle in there, eight to ten at a time, and my son and a neighbor boy stood on the side and they destroyed the cattle. They were done painlessly, the cattle did not suffer. But it's a dark day in my life, to have to shoot our own cattle."

The PBB scandal was no mistake. It began like so many "environmental and safety problems, in a company's filthy warehouse, Michigan Chemical in this case. The company was not willing to pay for safety and the government was not willing to enforce it.

Once the damage was done, the whole web of business and government enmeshed those who tried to do something — to uncover the crimes, or to prevent future disasters.

Every element in the system moved in to protect, cover and defend the profits and prerogatives of a company that surely must qualify for the charge of murder. There is no justice, not in Michigan, and once again, it was when the dollar is involved.

Even now, it is only the tenacity of the farmers that keeps the issue even alive. Still, the cancers spread so ruthlessly by Michigan Chemical, just like all the cancers of the system continue to grow, silently, and almost no one knows where.

## y That Poison

ever now it is known that there are nineteen tons of it missing and unaccounted for.

Given the conditions inside Michigan Chemical, it's surprising that the disaster did not happen long before. The entire plant is filled with frightening levels of PBB and the sacks containing Firemaster are stored right along side sacks containing chemical salts destined for human consumption.

It was three months before the deadly mistake was noticed. Two Farm Bureau Employees noticed a different label on a sack. However even then they were told by a manager that the sacks "were the same thing" and were told to "inventory them as one."

The first May Day, that is the first workers' May Day, took place in the United States in 1886.

On May 1, 1886, 350,000 American workers went on strike. They struck for the eight hour day. It was a massive protest against the system of 12, 14 and sometimes 18 hour days.

The biggest demonstration was in Chicago, where according to the daily papers, "Every railroad in the city was crippled, all the freight houses were closed and barred and most of the industries were paralyzed."

25,000 workers marched in New York City, carrying red flags, and singing in German and English. 11,000 marched in Detroit. In Grand Rapids, MI, and Milwaukee, WI, there were armed clashes between strikers and state militias. In other cities—St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati—there were large, peaceful demonstrations.

Today, if people think of May Day at all, it is usually because of the news of Russian tanks and missiles parading through Moscow's Red Square, or in some connection with the rites of spring.

The fact that May Day was first and foremost the holiday of workers and socialists, and that it began in the fantastic struggles for the eight hour day is forgotten.

May Day, like so much working class history, has been buried—buried by the people that want us to believe that socialism has nothing to do with American workers. To make things worse, Jimmy Carter has now signed a bill making May 1, 1977, "Loyalty Day."

But it won't work. Real traditions don't die.

### GENERAL STRIKE

Shorter working hours was one of the major objectives of the labor movement in the 19th century, but by the 1880's very little had been done to win this demand. In 1884, a dying labor organization, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, passed a resolution calling for a general strike for the 8 hour day. In 1884, their call was ignored.

But, in 1885 and 1886, when the working class was involved in mass strikes, demonstrations and boycotts—including armed conflict with the capitalists and the state—the idea of the general strike captured the imagination of thousands.

At the time, the major labor organization was the Knights of Labor. In the strike wave of 1885-1886, its membership grew from 70,000 to 700,000. While the leaders of the Knights were opposed to the call for the general strike, its members were busy organizing 8 hour labor clubs. In February, 1885, over 515 clubs were organized.

As the movement grew, it was decided that a general strike would be called for May 1, 1886.

Chicago was the center of the agitation. The city was also a center of the socialist and anarchist movements, which had influence among workers. Many of the leading anarchists were instrumental in organizing Chicago's May 1st demonstrations.

At the same time preparations were being made for the march, 1400 workers at the McCormick Harvester plant had been locked out. The company attempted to bring in 300 scabs. The locked out men fought the police with bats and bricks. The police fired into the crowd, killing four.

Outraged at the police brutality, the anarchists called a meeting for May 3 at Haymarket Square. It was a relatively small meeting. About 1200 showed up. When the crowd finally dwindled to 300, a contingent of 180 police showed up and demanded the crowd disperse. Just as the police were lifting their clubs, a bomb exploded among the police. The police immediately fired into

the crowd, killing 5 and wounding 200.

### THE RED SCARE

Hundreds of workers were rounded up and arrested by the police. Eight anarchists were arrested for throwing the bomb and tried, convicted and sentenced to death.

The men were hanged, but not because they had thrown any bomb. In fact, the trial of the Haymarket defendants was a total travesty, and recent evidence points to the fact that a police agent probably threw the bomb.

The Haymarket martyrs became international symbols of the working class movement. There were demonstrations held in their memory in nearly every nation where workers were organized. In 1889, the Socialist International (then the international socialist organization) made May Day a working class holiday.



HAYMARKET MASSACRE

## MAY DAY 1932

May 1, 1932 I witnessed my first May Day demonstration. I was walking down Woodward Ave. in Detroit. As I approached Grand Circus Park I noticed a large mass of unemployed workers with their signs entering Grand Circus Park from John R St.

At the same time I saw a mass of mounted Detroit policemen riding up Woodward Ave., toward the demonstrators. The mounted police lost no time in riding into the mass of demonstrators, beating them brutally over their heads and destroying their banners.

The demonstration had been organized by the Communist Party. With more than 25% of the workers unemployed in Detroit, there was a fertile field for radical organization. The CP had become a powerful force among the unemployed, many

of whom had no means of support.

Knowing the demonstration was led by the CP, the Detroit police felt free to break up the demonstration, beating them up and arresting some of their leaders. Among those wanting to demonstrate was a group of

students from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. They were beaten up and treated just like the unemployed demonstrators by the police.

What happened to those demonstrators in Detroit on May 1, 1932 took place in other American cities. The American ruling class didn't want American workers to celebrate a workers' holiday with other workers throughout the world on May 1.

To discourage such demonstrations, Congress passed a law making the first Monday in September the "American Labor Day." The leadership of the AFL and the CIO gave their support to this maneuver on the part of the American ruling class to prevent the American worker from demonstrating their solidarity with the workers of other continents.



by John Anderson

# Higher Prices - No Guarantee on Jobs

## THE UNIONS

Mid-April — Thousands of workers in major cities demonstrated for it. Meany confronted Carter because of it. United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel interrupted negotiations with the steel companies to show support for it.

"It" is protectionism — the tariffs, import quotas, and "Buy American" campaigns that union leaders are telling us will save jobs and reduce unemployment. Protectionists claim that imports produced by cheap foreign labor ruin the market for American products and consequently reduce employment in American industries. Their solution is to stop imports so that the domestic market is saved for American companies, who (it is rumored) will expand production and create jobs and prosperity.

### PRODUCTIVITY

The American steel industry has been the focus of protectionist pressures for years. A decade ago, the response of United Steelworkers' I.W. Abel to cheap foreign steel was to set up productivity committees with management to make the steel industry more competitive. The result of company-union collaboration is that 100,000 fewer steelworkers now produce more steel.

In spite of the union's success at helping the companies increase production, the "foreign menace" scare continued. The companies and the USW bureaucracy next agreed that foreign steel gets its hold on the American market when domestic suppliers can't meet demand. To beat the foreigners it was necessary to stabilize the industry. "Stabilizing the industry" meant eliminating strikes. In 1973, I.W. Abel

signed the Experimental Negotiating Agreement which gave up the USW's right to strike in basic steel.

Loosing 100,000 jobs and the right to strike was still not enough. Today, French sheet steel in Ohio is \$50 per ton lower than U.S. prices. German steel in Chicago is \$90 lower. Most of the West Coast market is Japanese steel. I.W. Abel's solution is to give the American steel companies even more of what they want.

### HIGHER PRICES

During the final days of negotiations of the steel contract, the USW negotiating team disappeared. Where did they go? They went to lobby for import restrictions on shoes. Several days later, a bad contract that, with inflation, amounts to a wage cut, is voted down by the local union presidents. Abel decided to do some arm twisting to win on another vote. What is said? Abel told the local presidents that they couldn't get more without pricing American steel out of the market because of imports.

The contract passed, including a provision which gives the steel companies \$500,000 of union money to "educate" new hires on the issues of productivity and imports. In the USW protectionism means sellout.

Protectionism also means higher prices. You can't buy that cheap Japanese T.V. anymore, you have to buy the more expensive American made shoes and shirts, the sheet steel in your car or appliance costs more. Who benefits? The corporations do.

Raising profits is what protectionism is really all about. There is no guarantee that those profits will be invested in expanding domestic produc-

tion, and create jobs and prosperity. Investments have no national loyalties, they go where they can find the highest return. That can very well be overseas where there is cheap labor to be exploited.

The union bureaucrats sell protectionism as an act of solidarity — Buy American and protect American jobs. It is a phoney solidarity. Real soli-

darity is with those "cheap foreign workers." Why should they get less for their labor than we do for ours? Instead of penalizing us with bad contracts and higher prices, the bureaucrats should be organizing an international federation of working people which could support each other's struggles.

The money wasted on add campaigns to "Buy American",

give-aways for company propaganda on productivity, and arm-twisting for tariffs in Congress could do us some real good if it was spent to organize textile workers in Taiwan, electronics workers in Spain or Mexico, and garment workers in the South. Protectionism isn't for you, it's protection for your boss.

by Pat Morgan



Thousands of American garment workers poured out of their factories and textile mills in New York City, New England, throughout the Midwest and on the West Coast on April 13. In Cleveland, pictured here, the garment workers' protest was joined by steel, shoe and rubber workers. 10,000 rallied in New York City, 2,000 marched in Chicago with police escort. San Francisco garment workers demonstrated after getting time off from their employers.

This was all part of a 40 state protest against clothing imports. Why all the uproar? The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) say that 145,000 jobs have been lost in the last ten years due to garment imports. The answer the unions and industry are giving to unemployment is "Buy America" or protectionism.

## In the Tradition of Reuther and Woodcock

Detroit— This year, Douglas Fraser takes over the presidency of the United Auto Workers, one of the biggest and most powerful unions in the United States.

As a delegate to the 1947 Michigan State Convention of the CIO, I voted for Douglas Fraser for President of the State CIO. He was running against Gust Scholle, then President of that body.

Fraser at that time was part of the Thomas, Addes, Leonard caucus. They were the leaders of the opposition in the UAW to Walter Reuther and his right-wing forces. I and other militants supported this opposition to Reuther because we were against the right-wing dictatorship Reuther was creating.

That Convention passed a resolution calling for a labor party. If acted upon, this resolution would have given a real alternative to workers across the country in fighting the companies and the sell-out politics of the Democratic and Republican parties. But Fraser, like his opposition Gust Scholle, was more interested in getting elected than he was in organizing a labor party. Once the Convention was adjourned, the labor party resolution was quickly forgotten by both Fraser and Scholle.

### REUTHER MACHINE

After Reuther finally gained complete control over the UAW in November 1947, leaders of the opposition soon got on the Reuther bandwagon. Fraser



Douglas Fraser

was to become Walter Reuther's assistant. He became a flunky for Reuther in his campaign to silence all dissent in the UAW. Reuther rewarded Fraser by supporting him for Regional Director on the west side of Detroit after the death of Ed Cote. As Regional Director, Fraser lent his support to the thoroughly corrupt leadership elements in Local 15, Fleetwood Fisher Body.

From Regional Director, Reuther supported Fraser to be-

come a Vice-President in charge of the Chrysler Department of the union. Excessive overtime, dirty and unsafe working conditions and the failure to take up the legitimate grievances of the workers became the rule in most Chrysler plants.

### STRIKEBREAKER

Douglas Fraser played a leading role in the breaking of a legitimate strike at the Chrysler Mack Avenue stamping plant in August, 1973. He and Emil Mazey recruited 1,000 International Representatives and Local union officers to act as goons in the breaking of that strike. Upwards of a hundred members of Local 212, Mazey's home local, were either fired or penalized as a result.

Fraser has also exposed himself when in 1971 he took special care to smash the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), an organization of militant black trade unionists.

It is clear that Fraser has acted and will continue to act in

the traditions of his mentors Walter Reuther and Leonard Woodcock. Presently Fraser is Director of CAP, the political arm of the UAW.

Recently, Jimmy Carter has shown his contempt for the workers who got him elected. This will make no difference to Fraser as President of the UAW. This bureaucracy has more in common with the Democratic politicians than with the UAW membership in the shops. The auto barons have shown nothing but elation with Douglas Fraser. In fact, he should probably get a lot of credit for Chrysler's record profits in recent years.

His election should carry a different signal to the rank and file in the UAW. It should be a signal to organize an opposition concerned with a program and principles dedicated to their class rather than the interests of the bosses or those union bureaucrats whose only real concern is their own power and privilege.

by John Anderson  
former president of UAW  
Local 15

# The Working Class in People's China

An Interview  
with Nigel Harris

**Is there democracy in China today?**

“To get into a Chinese city from a rural area you need five separate passes and the police control the area around the cities so that no one can get in. When these controls break down, as they did in the Cultural Revolution, then hundreds of thousands of people move back to the city.

There are two senses of democracy. One is a regime that consults people, in which people are able to participate in some level or other. The other sense is majority control.

With majority control, there must be institutions of majority control, whether they're workers' councils or what have you, unless such institutions exist, there's no way in which majority control can be exercised.

In the absence of information, people can't make decisions anyway. How can you make decisions about what ought to be done in the Chinese economy next year, how much should be spent on hospitals, railroads, etc. if you don't have the figures.

There are no institutions, no national elections, and even if there were, there is no information available by which people can make sensible judgments.

**In a Chinese factory the labor cost is set by the government. That means that all the workers would be able to do is possibly redistribute the wages within the factory, but they cannot influence the total.**

In the sense that the party is susceptible to mass pressures there is democracy, but that's the same everywhere else in the world. Really, in the orthodox sense there is no democracy in China, meaning majority control and voting, etc. ”

**But doesn't the Communist Party say it rules in the interests of the working class?**

“Well, there's the 64 thousand dollar question! How could they rule in that respect? There

are maybe 80 million workers in the Chinese working class and only about 1½ million of them are in the party. There are no institutions by which the rest can influence the party at all.

Those people in the party are not elected by the working class, so how can they represent them? When we say the dictatorship of the proletariat, there must be instruments of power, like the Soviets of 1917 in Russia or the Commune of Paris in 1871, by which the class can exercise power over the state. There are no such institutions in China.

## RHETORIC

Indeed, the regime itself shows no particular attachment to the working class other than in the rhetorical sense, in their propaganda. Particularly, when they refer to the working class, they're referring to the party. ”

**What about the gang of four? Were they fighting for the working class?**

“The ‘gang of four’ were the people fighting hardest for cuts in wages, so in no way could they be seen as representing the interests of the working class.

One of the reasons the gang of four was demolished so quickly in 1975 is that nobody in the working class would support them. The ‘gang’ was opposed to anyone receiving even the very low level of wages which they receive in China today.

It was essentially a fight within the party about what the pace of exploitation of the Chinese working class would be. In that conflict, it was clear that the ‘gang of four’ was in favor of higher levels of exploitation than the established leaders were.

## URBAN WORKFORCE

In China the industrial urban workforce is the main force that finances the state, the de-



**Nigel Harris, author of a forthcoming book on China, recently completed a speaking tour for the ISO. Harris is a member of the Socialist Workers Party of Great Britain.**

fense program and everything else. There's been continual pressure to decrease real wages while increasing the work output. There was an attempt to institute compulsory overtime work without overtime pay.

I suspect that had the gang of four come to power, though, the policies they would have followed would not have been much different than those of Chairman Hua. The fight itself was the product of the failure of the Chinese economy to grow as fast as it should. Industrial output has increased but without substantially increasing the amount of industrial jobs. ”

**What are some of the main economic pressures on China?**

“In 1950, 75% of the people were employed in agriculture and it's the same today. That is the source of endless friction and tensions within the society because it imposes upon such a large number of people a life prospect which is hopeless in terms of their own advance.

In order to overcome this, they are driven into importing. As a result of this, the government ran right into a balance of payments crisis in 1974.

This led on the one hand to selling a lot of gold, on the other hand trying to move into medium term bank credit, the beginning of borrowing. This also explains the importance of relations with the West, including the United States.

## DEFENSE

There is another very long term, and powerful economic influence on China and that is the defense budget. Defense is one sector where you can't choose the technology.

The technology is imposed upon you by the Pentagon. The Pentagon imposes its technology on Moscow. Moscow imposes its technology on China.

That means that China since the present regime came to power has been obliged to spend a gigantic proportion of its income on nuclear weapons and on maintaining the second or third largest army in the world in order to withstand the impact of a possible American invasion, or a Russian invasion.

Defense expenditure affects all the basic industries of China directly. It also absorbs enormous amounts of highly skilled labor. This limits the amount of power that China has to reshape its society. ”

**What about the working class in China today?**

“There's an enormous amount of information available on what the condition of workers in China is today. We know, for example, about the big labor disputes in the middle 1950's, the very big labor disputes in 1966-67 in Shaing Hai.

## DISPUTES

In the northern industrial areas and of course the big rash of disputes in rail, coal, steel and so on in 1974-75 when they were attempting to cut wages by cutting the bonus and overtime pay. In some cases they've actually seized factories as in Hang Chow in 1975. The Chinese working class is moving toward the establishment of independent institutions of the working class opposed to what one of those organizations call the ‘red Capitalist class’.

## NEW PHASE

We are entering a phase all around the world now of intensive working class activity. At this stage there is very massive militant defensive opposition to the system. You can see this in part by the Russian strikes, in the movement of strikes in the U.S. over the last 5 to 10 years.

**You can see it in Asia, the Indian railway strike in 1974, events in Ethiopia and Thailand. It is impossible under the present circumstances for an individual state to be able to reshape its domestic life in any national way that would allow it to create an emancipated society.**

In that context, the way in which the Chinese working class has reacted against the regime in China is enormously important because it shows that underneath all the bull-shit, all the hypocrisy, all the lies, the Chinese working class, which in the 1920's played a decisive role, will once again respond to the idea of an international workers revolution. ”



**“I know we don't have much of a case against them, but they're the only ones we could come up with,” confessed a deputy involved in the case. These five young Georgia men (ages 17 to 21) are charged with murdering a white man. The storeowner's testimony on which they were arrested in January of 1975 is confusing and contradictory. The five young men have never been in trouble with the law before. Despite this, the State of Georgia intends to put them in the electric chair if they are convicted.**

## Dues Cheater

General President Frank Fitzsimmons and the International Executive Board of the Teamsters were requested to pay union dues on the same basis as the rest of the IBT membership by Los Angeles Local 208.

At the April 17 meeting, the local freight drivers overwhelm-

ingly passed by a voice vote a motion calling on all Teamster officials to voluntarily follow the monthly dues structure adopted at the International Convention last June in Las Vegas.

In Local 208, dues have gone from \$12 to \$14 a month and will go to \$16 a month in October with no end to the dues raise in sight.

If Fitzsimmons adopts this proposal, his dues, based on a salary of \$150,000 (over the table) a year will amount to \$150 a month payable to Detroit Local 299.

Right now, Fitzsimmons pays the same amount as a casual dock worker, that is, the lowest paid members of the union.

**Socialist Worker No.2  
Editor: Cal Winslow  
Published Monthly  
Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinions of Socialist Worker.**

# Letters

## BLACK SCHOLAR

Dear Socialist Worker:

Yes, we would enjoy exchanging subs with you. As you can see from our April issue, we are having our problems with the KKK as you mention in your April issue.

Perhaps you would like to join us in protesting to the government that "whites only" organizations are allowed to meet and organize on government installations.

In solidarity,  
Eunice Massie, BLACK SCHOLAR

## K.C. Teachers' Strike

To the editor:

The teacher's strike here in Kansas City is disgusting. The school board is trying every union-busting tactic in the book. It went from threats, to firing non-tenured teachers, to injunctions, to contempt of court citations, to contempt of court convictions and jail terms for teachers and now they have a scab campaign going to finish off the union.

One of the most notable scabs is a former president and organizer of the Kansas City Federation of Teachers. Can

you believe that? He applied for a job as a teacher to replace the striking teachers he had helped organize.

When the president of the striking teachers, Norman Hudson, was asked to comment on this scabbing of the former president his reply was, "You couldn't print it." Hudson seems to be one of the few dedicated union leaders around. Four years ago during the last teacher's strike he went to jail for contempt of court. Can you see a Teamster leader going to jail for a strike?

At the beginning of the strike, Teamster officials were asked if they supported the teachers. Their reply was, "the strike is illegal." A few days ago, Roy Williams (Teamster Vice-President) was contacted in Las Vegas (where else?) and he pledged support in "every way possible." He disagrees with the teachers but he also is not pleased over the school board's union-busting tactics.

Thanks for the copy of Socialist Worker. It seems to have a wide range of articles. I'd like to see socialist interpretation of contemporary news stories and a permanent "letters to the editor" section.  
Sincerely,  
Randy Stanard, Kansas City, Mo.

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

McKeesport, Pa. After the USW bureaucrats rammed an increase in dues and officers' salaries down the union's throat at the convention, Rarick and a small group of rank and filers organized the Dues Protest Committee.

The dues protest sparked a revolt against the bureaucracy which led to the Rarick candidacy for USW president.

Opportunities for vote fraud in the union were even greater at that time than they are today, so a breakdown of the voting is meaningless, but 60% of the union showed up at the polls.

Sadlowski's turn out, with his advantage of control of the largest district in the union and a slick campaign, demonstrates his failure to prove himself to be more than just another bureaucrat.

Pat Morgan, Gary, Ind.

## Steel Elections

Dear Socialist Worker:

Your readers may be interested in how the recent Sadlowski campaign in the steel workers' union compares to past elections.

Sadlowski's results are closest to the '69 campaign of Emil Narick against I.W. Abel. Narick was a USW staff lawyer who campaigned on weekends between refereeing college and professional football games. The total vote turnout for Abel-Narick was 35% compared to the Sadlowski-McBride turnout of 40%. Both Narick and Sadlowski won basic steel by 2 to 1 but lost the election 3 to 2.

The most important comparison, however, is to Donald Rarick's campaign against David "tuxedo unionist" MacDonald in '57.

Prior to the '56 convention, Rarick was an unknown grievance committeeman from

# ISO Members Attend International Rally

Six members of the International Socialist Organization attended a weekend rally of the British Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists) from April 8-11. The rally, held in Skegness, England, was attended by 1,500 people, including 300 children.

The rally is a yearly event, providing educational talks, workshops and entertainment as well as an opportunity to discuss the trade union work of the organization. During the day, talks were given on subjects ranging from rape, India after the elections, and Eugene V. Debs to Egyptian workers' struggles, Marxism and medicine and Tom Paine and the Rights of Man. One of the ISO members gave a presentation on Black women in the USA.

In addition, there were films and slide shows. The children put on a great play about the Paris Commune of 1871 and the British group Belt and Braces performed their rock musical "Not so Green as it's Cab-

bage." At night there were reggae bands and an Irish folk music group playing.

At Skegness, the ISO members met with people from other revolutionary socialist organizations and delegates from many countries including France, Turkey, Jamaica, Germany, Denmark and Cyprus. One of the students involved in the struggles in Soweto spoke on the events leading up to the demonstrations and about conditions in South Africa.

ISO members also visited branches of the SWP in Sheffield, London, Leeds, Glasgow, Manchester and Grimsby. We met with branch members and people from the various rank and file groups.

Both the rally and visits to different branches were very inspirational, and we all returned to the United States with a better idea of the world political scene and renewed confidence in building a socialist organization in this country, in building the International Socialist Organization.

by P.G.



Skegness Rally



Tony Cliff

### 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.

\*\*\*\*\*

## ISO

National Office	P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland OH 44118
Atlanta	P.O. Box 1943, Decatur GA 30032
Amherst	P.O. Box 446, Amherst MA 01002
Bloomington	P.O. Box 29, Bloomington IN 47401
Chicago	2111 N. Kenmore, Chicago IL 60614
Cincinnati	P.O. Box 8909, Cincinnati OH 45208
Cleveland	P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland OH 44118
Dayton	617 Salem, Dayton OH 45406
Detroit	P.O. Box 19105, Detroit MI 48219
Gary	PO Box 1941 Glen Park Station Gary, In 46409
Indianapolis	P.O. Box 41802, Indianapolis IN 46241
Louisville	1334 So. 3rd, Louisville KY 40208
Los Angeles	3345 Louise, Lynwood CA 90262
Madison	P.O. Box 725, Madison WI 53701
New Haven	P.O. Box 2636 Yale Station New Haven, CO
Portland	PO Box 6743 Portland, OR 97211
Providence	Box 3961 Brown Univ., Providence, RI 02912
Seattle	P.O. Box 9056, Seattle WA 98109
Toledo	P.O. Box 4023, Station E, Toledo OH 43609

# Why You Should Be A Socialist

Bill Reed Reviews a new book by Paul Foot.

Whether you are a committed socialist, or you are interested in finding out what socialists stand for, you will do yourself a service to read **Why You Should Be A Socialist**, by Paul Foot. This book is a refreshing, straightforward approach to the case for a socialist alternative. It is about what socialism is, and what it is not. Most important, it conveys the inspiration so necessary to the socialist struggle and so absent in much of what passes for socialist writing today.

The case for socialism begins with the way the world is now for a growing number of people. Although Foot writes for a British audience, what he describes is easily grasped by Americans.

"The thirty years dream is over. Since the end of the second World War, people have imagined that things will get better. Now they are not getting better. They are getting worse."

Certainly, the welfare mother in New York City, the disabled miner in West Virginia, the unemployed youth of Chicago's west side, know something about the shattered dream. But the developing world crisis has also made itself felt in the very heart of the system.

The massive layoffs in the auto industry in 1974 is a clear sign that no section of society is safe from the economic forces that shape our world. So, when Foot tells us that potato acreage has fallen by 80,000 acres in Britain over the last five years, while potatoes are

scarce and expensive, we can recall a similar example with wheat and bread prices in America.

We are told by the profit makers that prices are up and supply is down because we are living beyond our means. Foot emphasizes, however, that "It's not that we're living beyond our means. The problem is that we're not making full use of our means." It is the profit system that stands between people's needs and means to meet those needs: "The crisis, then, is their crisis. It is caused by the wealthy class which has the economic power."

The struggle for a new order based on people's needs rather than on a few rich people's profits is also a struggle over ideas. Foot points out that one important way the rich argue for their ideas is through a series of myths. The rich "don't of course argue anywhere that it's right and proper that a few should own all the means of production and exploit the many. They arrive at that conclusion, of course, but by mythologies which sound much more attractive."

There is the myth of "my country right or wrong", which is used to pit workers of one country against those of another. There is racism that is used to divide white workers from black workers. There is sexism that is used to divide women from men. As Foot notes, these myths are accepted by the majority of the population, and therefore, must be

aggressively fought by socialists at every opportunity. Foot's book is a weapon we can use in our fight.

Convincing people that things are bad and getting worse is not the most difficult task for socialists. Even identifying the source of the problem — the wealthy class — is not as hard as the task of convincing people that the only alternative is a new system they can and must create themselves. In Chapter 3, "What would you put in its place?", Foot takes up the challenge.

All socialists and prospective socialists will want to read this section carefully. For here you find a handle to many of those questions thrown back at socialists: "What about human

---

**Why You Should Be a Socialist**, by Paul Foot, Socialist Worker Press, 93 pages. Available in the U.S. at \$1.00 per copy, ISO, P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118.

---

nature?", "But will it work?", and "Won't we all be just the same?"

Foot cautions that socialists don't present a detailed new world, only the broad outlines: "the necessity for public ownership, for equality, for a worker's democracy." He also poses the serious choice that will face people as the crisis of the present system deepens: the choice between socialism or barbarism. This point is summed up in the story of the man

who would not come out of his burning house because it was raining outside and he didn't know what unknown prospects awaited him. He, of course, burned along with all of his possessions.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the very important question "What about Russia?"

"Nothing deflects working people more from the idea of socialism or communism than what they see or read about Russia and Eastern Europe today. Very few workers show the slightest enthusiasm for exchanging our system of society for the system which exists in Russia.

And quite rightly so. Because Russia and the Eastern European countries are tyrannies. Workers are exploited. There is less freedom, not just for writers and musicians but for all working people in any of those countries than there is in capitalist Britain."

Foot does a good job of disentangling the Russian Revolution — "the most exciting moment in all history" — from what is today thought of as socialism or communism.

The chapter on "The Challenge of the Rank and File" is full of inspiring examples of ordinary people working together to determine their own destiny. The point of this chapter is to help socialists challenge the idea that workers are not interested in doing anything about their own condition. "There's plenty of evidence from history, to show that rank and file working people are not

always passive, and when they do move together there is no power on earth that can stop them." Of course, the whole point of this book is "Why you should be a Socialist." The last chapter, then, presents the case for "a new socialist party." A socialist organization plays many roles: it is international, serving the interests of workers in all countries, it is also the memory of the working class, keeping alive the history of working people.

But as Foot notes, the main argument for a strong socialist party rests on the strong coordination of the capitalist class: "Capitalists quarrel from time to time. They argue about tactics and squabble over their ill-gotten gains. But in the face of workers' resistance, they join ranks and coordinate their forces. If the workers are to break that machine, they too need a centralized and disciplined organisation."

Though Foot's book was written for a specific task — the building of the Socialist Workers Party of Britain — it also speaks to socialists here. After all, if a revolutionary organization of the kind outlined in this book is not built here in the heart of capitalism, all is for naught in Britain or anywhere else.

That is why the SWP of Great Britain has done us all a great service by publishing an American edition for the ISO.

Read it, pass it on. It is a valuable tool for serious revolutionaries and should convince others to become serious.

## The Hundred Points

An underground song sung by the Plastic Peoples Band in Czechoslovakia.

1. They are afraid of the old for their memory.
2. They are afraid of the young for their innocence.
3. They are afraid even of school children.
4. They are afraid of the dead and their funerals.
5. They are afraid of graves and the flowers people put on them.
6. They are afraid of churches, priests and nuns.
7. They are afraid of workers.
8. They are afraid of Party members.
9. They are afraid of those who are not in the Party.
10. They are afraid of science.
11. They are afraid of art.
12. They are afraid of books and poems.
13. They are afraid of theaters and film.
14. They are afraid of records and tapes.
15. They are afraid of writers and poets.
16. They are afraid of journalists.
17. They are afraid of actors.
18. They are afraid of painters and sculptors.
19. They are afraid of musicians and singers.
20. They are afraid of radio stations.
21. They are afraid of TV satellites.
22. They are afraid of free flow of information.
23. They are afraid of foreign literature and papers.
24. They are afraid of technological progress.
25. They are afraid of printing presses, duplicators, and xeroxes.
26. They are afraid of typewriters.
27. They are afraid of phototelegraph and telexes.
28. They are afraid of automatic telecommunication with abroad.
29. They are afraid of letters.
30. They are afraid of telephones.
31. They are afraid to let people out.
32. They are afraid to let people in.
33. They are afraid of the left.
34. They are afraid of the right.
35. They are afraid of the departure of the Soviet troops.
36. They are afraid of changes of the ruling clique in Moscow.
37. They are afraid of detente.
39. They are afraid of treaties they have signed.
40. They are afraid for the treaties they have signed.
41. They are afraid of their own police.
42. They are afraid of the spies.
43. They are afraid for their spies.
44. They are afraid of chess players.
45. They are afraid of tennis players.
46. They are afraid of hockey players.
47. They are afraid of gymnast girls.
48. They are afraid of St. Venceslas.
49. They are afraid of Master Jan Hus.
50. They are afraid of all the saints.
51. They are afraid of gifts to the kids on St. Nicholas.
52. They are afraid of Santa Claus.
53. They are afraid of knapsacks being put on the statue of Lenin.
54. They are afraid of archives.
55. They are afraid of historians.
56. They are afraid of economists.
57. They are afraid of sociologists.
58. They are afraid of philosophers.
59. They are afraid of physicists.
60. They are afraid of physicians.
61. They are afraid of political prisoners.
62. They are afraid of the families of prisoners.
63. They are afraid of today's evening.
64. They are afraid of tomorrow's morning.
65. They are afraid of each and every day.
66. They are afraid of the future.
67. They are afraid of old age.
68. They are afraid of heart attacks and scirrhus.
69. They are afraid even of that tiny trace of conscience that may still be left in them.
70. They are afraid out in the streets.
71. They are afraid inside their castle ghettos.
72. They are afraid of their families.
73. They are afraid of their relatives.
74. They are afraid of their former friends and comrades.
75. They are afraid of their present friends and comrades.
76. They are afraid of each other.
77. They are afraid of what they have said.
78. They are afraid for their positions.
80. They are afraid of water and fire.
81. They are afraid of wet and dry.
82. They are afraid of snow.
83. They are afraid of wind.
84. They are afraid of frost and heat.
85. They are afraid of noise and peace.
86. They are afraid of light and the darkness.
87. They are afraid of joy and sadness.
88. They are afraid of jokes.
89. They are afraid of the upright.
90. They are afraid of the lowest.
91. They are afraid of the educated.
92. They are afraid of the talented.
93. They are afraid of Marx.
94. They are afraid of Lenin.
95. They are afraid of all our dead presidents.
96. They are afraid of the truth.
97. They are afraid of freedom.
98. They are afraid of democracy.
99. They are afraid of human rights charters.
100. They are afraid of socialism.

So why the hell are we afraid of them?

# General Meat Drivers Strike

SEATTLE, WASH. — Two weeks ago drivers at General Meats in Tukwilla, Washington, (IBT Local #174) struck over the use of scab drivers. The company replaced a union driver on the California run with a scab and was planning to put on more scabs.

During the first week one striker was beaten up by the police. He was hit by a scab truck while trying to stop it to explain the strike. After his wife arrived to take him to the hospital the police stopped his car. They proceeded to beat him up, cracking his ribs and then arrested him for "obstructing traffic".

So far no negotiations have been held. Local #174 is refusing to negotiate because Bill Simmons, the local's former Secretary-Treasurer, is now a labor consultant for General Meats. The union says this is a violation of labor law.

Most of the butchers in the

warehouse are respecting the strike even with the heavy use of scabs. General Meats' business is markedly down and their schedules are off.

## DETERMINED

The company, however, seems determined to beat the union. It plans to use more and more scab drivers at far below union wages (\$5 per hour versus \$8 plus). They are clearly willing to suffer a cut in profits to maintain the right to use scabs.

The union is keeping up 24-hour picket lines and has called on other local #174 members to lend support. So far, though, it has not shown any interest in organizing mass pickets which could effectively shut down the company.

General Meats is a local company that runs from Seattle to California and Oregon. Shutting down the warehouse would force the company to think twice about its attempt to bust the union. □

by Jack Pallet

## OUR NORMAN



AND SO ON...

# Students Demonstrate

AMHERST, MA — Two hundred University of Massachusetts students braved heavy rain April 5 to protest the university's investments in South Africa. The march across campus to picket the university administration building climaxed two days of meetings and workshops.

The university owns stock in sixteen corporations with holdings in South Africa. As of December 31, 1976 the stock was worth more than \$600,000. Holdings include 400 shares of Eastman Kodak — the firm which designed the photo ID system of South Africa's notorious "pass laws" for Blacks. In addition, the university owns

200 shares of IBM, the firm responsible for computerizing the pass system.

Students are demanding that

the university's trustees, who have the final say in stock holdings, divest the campus of its holdings in these firms. □



# Seattle Bus Drivers Face Cuts

What does Jimmy Carter's energy message mean for public transportation? Americans are supposed to use private cars less and save gas. So public transportation should be in for a boom.

In fact, calls for route information to the Seattle area transit company, Metro, jammed phone lines during the week of Carter's speeches. Even Friday nights, normally a quiet period, found operators unable to leave the phones for a whole shift.

Metro immediately added video tapes of Carter's speech to its advertizing campaign, as well as homey signs in the buses — "Thank you for saving energy," signed Jimmy Carter.

## SECURE

So Seattle bus workers might rest easy, thinking that business is picking up and that their jobs are secure. Metro management might even add

service — more drivers, mechanics and phone operators, expanding service to take advantage of this interest in bus riding. Makes sense? Not to Metro, it seems.

On the same day as Carter was addressing Congress, Metro transit Director, Charles Collins revealed his idea of how to run a transit system.

His plan included a ban on overtime pay, bonus time, and other "loop holes" in the union contract which compensates drivers for irregular hours and split shifts.

## CUTS

Recent cuts on mechanical crews have already stranded passengers when buses have run out of fuel and transmissions have dried up. Now Collins is proposing to extend cutbacks to the driving work force.

Collins' plan was intended as a Halloween trick for Local 587 of the Amalgamated Transit Union when its contract expires October 31.

Carter's energy saving plan evidently has little to do with expanded public transportation. In fact, it has prompted at least one transportation director here to squeeze the present set-up, rather than expand it.

The union and the public are forewarned. A.T.U. Local 587 must prepare now to fight the proposed cutbacks. □

# Gay Rights

New Haven, Conn. — The gay rights movement took a small step forward in New Haven, as the week of April 4-8 was designated Gay Rights Week. The idea of a week of activities, speakers and the circulation of a petition to support the Connecticut sexual orientation bill started with two gay student groups at Yale University.

The week was sponsored by a large coalition of groups, including Asian student groups, black, Puerto Rican, and womens' groups.

One fact which was publicized was that homosexuals in Nazi concentration camps had been forced to wear a pink triangle instead of the yellow star forced on the Jews, and that the Nazis had murdered some 250,000 gay men and women.

## SUPPORT

The coalition asked everyone to show their support of gay rights by wearing the pink triangle that week; little by little, pink triangles began to appear, and by the end of the week, many people were wearing them.

The demands of gays are for

# ASHBY LEACH JAILED

Cleveland, Oh. — On Wednesday, April 6, Ashby Leach was found innocent of kidnapping, the most serious of the charges leveled against him by Chessie Systems, Inc. the Cleveland railroad concern.

One juror's response following the trial was "...he's got a just cause, he got the shaft." He was found guilty, however, of extortion, assault, and possession of criminal tools.

The charges stem from the August 16 occupation by Leach of the Chessie Systems main office in Cleveland. Frustrated and angry, Leach had broken into the main office,

armed with a shotgun and held 15 people hostage for a matter of hours. He had spent literally years trying to get Chessie to register the apprenticeship program he was working under so he could collect the extra wages promised him under the G.I. Bill.

Leach was sentenced to 5-15 years in prison, where he is now on a hunger strike. His demands are the same as when Chessie ignored them the first time; to register the program, so that at least other veterans might get the wages entitled them. □

# Militant Framed

NORTHAMPTON, MASS. — Henry Skrok has worked as an attendant for over seven years at Northampton State Hospital (NSH), a mental institution in western Massachusetts.

He has consistently been a critic of the hospital administration. And, just as consistently, an adamant supporter of workers' rights and rank and file unionism.

In February, the hospital administration, with the help of the state police and the local courts, combined to frame him on a trumped-up charge of assault and battery on a mental patient.

The first Skrok knew of the charge was when the state and local cops arrived at his

house with a warrant for his arrest. Although confused by what was happening, Skrok cooperated fully with them. They did not return in kind.

Skrok asked for permission to call his wife who was at work. The cops replied, "No, you're in custody." He was then handcuffed and searched on his front lawn. When Skrok asked what he was being arrested for, one cop snapped back, "Don't resist. You're under arrest."

Skrok testified that he was struck from behind by the patient. He turned, with his arm raised to protect himself and his arm merely made contact with the patient's arm. All other witnesses corroborated his testimony.

The patient, represented by her own attorney, even denied that Skrok had ever struck her in any way and agreed with the testimony he had given. But the complaint was brought by the state, not by the patient.

Nevertheless, District Court Judge Alvertua Morse ruled that Skrok's reaction to the patient who slapped him did in effect, constitute assault and battery. Noting that assault and battery can technically be no more than the unauthorized touching of one person by another, the Judge found him guilty.

Immediately after the ruling NSH Assistant Superintendent William Goggins (at \$30,000 a year) rushed to the prosecutor to pump his hand and gleefully pat him on the back. Later Goggins stated to the press "The hospital is not trying to be vindictive, we are merely trying to protect the patient and uphold the law."

Many Northampton State Hospital workers were present for the entire trial. They know the hospital administration worked hand-in-hand with the courts to frame Henry Skrok because he was a militant. They also know who was protected and who's law was upheld. □

by Wayne Standley

Corrections: Two names were left off pictures in issue #1. The picture on p.6 is of Pete Camarata, Detroit TDU. The picture on p.13 is of Vladimir Borissov and his wife.

# BEDINGHAUS STRIKE IN THIRD MONTH

Cincinnati, Oh. — "This company is out to break out union. We wouldn't let them dictate to us, so now they want to break us."

These are the words of John Bass, member of Local 508 of the Graphic Arts International Union (GAIU). He is one of a hundred strikers at Bedinghaus Business Forms, a subsidiary of American Standard Company.

The strike is entering its third month. It has turned from a contract dispute into a question of the union's survival at this plant.

Striker Ron Oldendick explained to Socialist Worker how the company quit negotiating over wages and benefits.

"The company told us this was no longer a contract dispute. We're going to try to break the union."

American Standard, which purchased Bedinghaus seven years ago, is one of the largest conglomerates in the world. The company is using the Bedinghaus strike as a test case in its campaign to bust its union shops.

Strikers here have received

## Oilworker Report

LONG BEACH, CA. — Unemployment is a way of life here. When oil workers see each other they say, "Have you been working? Heard of any shut-downs?"

Most of the labor required to refine oil is for maintenance and repair of the refineries. A unit of the plant is shut down, the pipes opened and the crud scraped out.

The unit doesn't make money during this operation. So the company hires an army of human plumber snakes to get the job done quickly.

The work is, incredibly dangerous because of the huge weight of the sections of pipe and machinery that are moved. Plus, there is the danger of fire or poisoning from the gases and chemicals that can escape or be trapped in unexpected pockets.

The layoffs, dangerous conditions, and poor sanitation are natural to the industry, we've been told. But what's "natural" is that the oil companies put profits before our safety.

We have accomplished some things in the past. We were instrumental in getting our hiring hall established and opening up the oil industry to women. We have roots in our union and community with an active though disorganized communications grapevine.

So we have some things going for us even if we are fighting the strongest capitalist monopolies — like Standard, Gulf, Texaco and Arco — with only a weak and undemocratic union between us and them.

So wish us luck, co-workers and comrades. □

Melody Lacy  
Local 1-128 OCAW

some support from workers at other American Standard companies. These workers expect to be next if the Bedinghaus workers lose.

The company isn't the least bit subtle about its drive. Early on, it notified the union that it was taking the "union security" clause out of the contract, thereby making Bedinghaus an open shop. Furthermore, the company made it clear it planned to press charges against individual strikers and indicated it might not recall some people once a settlement is reached.

Approximately 100 of the 126 employees are holding strong in

the face of court injunctions, police harassment, and professional union busters.

Striker Dale Winkler explained how. "We were talking to people crossing the picket line. We were trying to convince them how it was against their interest to go inside. One of the scabs pushed a striker. The striker retaliated. Nobody was hurt."

"We were hit with a permanent injunction limiting the number of picketers and it is strictly enforced by both the city and county cops."

"It doesn't make sense", said Winkler. "If someone steals your car, cops will run after them, but if someone steals your job and you try to defend yourself, you become the criminal."

On March 21, the company sent letters to the strikers informing them they had been permanently replaced. The company even got the leading daily paper, the Cincinnati Enquirer, to report that the strike was over.

American Standard has also hired a security firm, Knuckles and Associates, to coordinate their union busting plan. This firm helps scabs across the line. They spy on and harass strikers and their families.

Terry Oldendick expressed a common sentiment among the strikers, "We're going to beat them even if it takes years."

### SUPPORT

These workers need support. They are standing up to one of the giant corporations that is determined to break them. Union members and socialists in the Cincinnati area should see that active support is given to the Bedinghaus strikers.

It is clear that union-busting is on the agenda of big business. That makes this fight all workers' fight. Resolutions of support from your local and contributions to the strike fund would be appreciated. Contact Socialist Worker. □

by Ellen Donnolly

## "Lousy as Hell"

EAST CHICAGO, April 19 — Local negotiations between Inland Steel Co. and Local #1010 are deadlocked. Last week union negotiators rejected the company's latest proposal. A union spokesman called Inland's offer, "lousy as hell."

More than 500 items, ranging from in-plant bus service to job classifications remain unresolved. Union officials have promised to put any agreement to a vote of the membership.

Local #1010 with over 18,000 members is the largest USWA local. Inland is the 7th largest steel producer with '76 profits in excess of \$25 million. The ENA outlaws a national steel strike. But anger and frustration over the national contract sellout has fueled rank and file discontent and a local strike seems likely.

### Dayton Power and Light

# Lean Years Are Setting In

Dayton, Oh. — On April 9, 1977, 2200 workers at Dayton Power & Light (DP&L) returned to work following a difficult three-month strike.

In the four days before returning to work these members of the Utility Workers Union of America, Local 175 had participated in a Labor Council march through downtown Dayton. They voted on a close and disputed contract ratification proposal and witnessed the signing of what can only be described as a sell-out contract.

The Utility Workers went out on strike on January 10, after working for two months without a contract.

At stake, in the strike DP&L forced through its intransigence, were two key clauses in a contract that had been in existence since 1944: Article 20 prohibited the contracting of existing jobs to outside non-union contractors. The company had already gotten around this clause, through the creation of a wholly DP&L owned subsidiary to which construction is contracted.

Article 12, (a job classification clause) provided for a mutual consent process in which company officials had to obtain union agreement before they introduced new jobs, relocated jobs from one department to another, or combined or altogether eliminated existing jobs.

It was this clause that was the cornerstone of the union since it provided workers with some strength in maintaining job security.

One worker told us, in his department (customer services) employees voted company proposed jobs up or down. It was this clause DP&L attacked, an attack that constituted an effort to weaken and ultimately to break the union.

### MOTIVES

As monopolies providing the fuels necessary to run the economy, private utilities such as DP&L wield enormous political power. In the past they've legislated themselves a privileged position. Their profit margins, called a "fair return on invest-



Demonstrators supporting Dayton power workers.

ment", are guaranteed by law.

Profits are tied to the reinvestment of previous years earnings (especially in the construction of new plant facilities). The constant expansion of plant facilities which characterizes all private ("investor-owned") utilities is necessary to secure and boost their profit margins.

To expand, however, requires tremendous amounts of capital and makes borrowing from large lending institutions inevitable. As the national economy has slowed down, lending institutions, such as the New York based banks from which DP&L borrows (and one of the major investor-owners of DP&L), are less willing to lend.

Yet, DP&L, and other such companies, must continue to borrow, at increasing interest rates, to reinvest in plant expansion in order to secure profits.

A middle manager at DP&L put it this way: "From 1945 until the 1970's were the fat years. Everything was expanding. Profits were good, no shortages existed, the company could absorb regular wage gains without problems. A lineman was a lineman, a pipefitter was a pipefitter, and nobody worried about changing operating methods."

But in 1977, the situation is different. The world economy is no longer expanding. The lean years are setting in. For DP&L,

the lean years mean shortages are developing and fuel and materials costs are rising.

### CRUNCH

So DP&L finds itself in a crunch: increasing materials costs, shortages and skyrocketing interest rates on huge sums of borrowed money threaten to produce a fall in the company's rate of profit. And according to the same manager, a fall in the company's rate of profit means "changing times". It means a lineman is no longer just a lineman.

It means DP&L is intent on changing its operating methods in order to run a tighter, "less costly and more efficient" operation. It means breaking the strength of a union standing in the way of the introduction of

technologies capable of instituting new jobs, or eliminating or combining already existing jobs.

It does not mean, though, the company will take on its supplier, Columbia Gas and Transmission; nor even less does it mean DP&L will take on the multinationals (Exxon, Gulf, etc.) standing behind its suppliers.

No, the lean years, and the consequent squeezing of the company's profit margins, means attacks on utility workers at their jobs and on their union. It also means, to be sure, continuing attacks on all working people through increasing and exorbitant rate charges. It's time to fight back. □

by Bruce de Voze  
and Ellis Jacobs

I want to join

I want more information about

the International Socialist Organisation

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

# It's Up Against The Wall Now!

**Socialist Worker**  
Paper of the International Socialist Organization 25¢ monthly

Atlanta, GA, April 20—  
“We’ve got our ideas and our minds made up that we’re going to continue. We’re going to continue what we’re doing,” said Cleveland Chappell, president of AFSCME local 1644.

**Black Democratic Mayor Maynard Jackson had just fired over 1,000 striking city employees represented by AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees). The workers were primarily from the Department of Sanitation, and 80% Black.**

They were demanding a 50¢/hour wage increase, more stewards, better liability insurance, and an increase in the payroll check-off to cover union dues.

## WAGES

Wages were the big issue though. Their average wage is only \$3.55/hour and they have received no cost of living wage for 2½ years.

Jackson had pleaded sympathy for the workers, even as he fired them, but claims there just isn't the money in the city's treasury, and that the city charter doesn't allow wage increases after March 31 anyway.

**The truth is, Jackson has been waiting for his chance to bust the union and set an example for other city workers.**

His strategy in this strike was to continually threaten, refuse to negotiate, and line up as much business, community, religious and media support against the union as possible.

When workers defended their strike by beating up two scabs who crossed the picket line, Jackson assigned more Police Department personnel and provided special protection for scabs.

When the union refused to go back to work with no concessions won, Jackson asked for a Fulton County Superior Court to grant an injunction. Luckily, the ruling did not end the strike, but just put restrictions on pickets.

When the strike was holding, in spite of an Atlanta Constitu-

tion (the daily paper) smear campaign against AFSCME, Jackson fired all the strikers and appealed for them all to re-apply for their jobs again as new workers with no seniority.

But a Jackson aide explained that not all the strikers will be hired back. “It depends on who they are. We’re going to be selective in who we re-hire.”

This means the strike leaders, the most militant, the last to come back, will not be re-hired. This was the same tactic used successfully by Democratic Mayor Harvey Sloane in busting the '74 Louisville, Ky., sanitation workers' strike.

Those workers who are the least sure of themselves and the strike, the most financially pressed, begin to trickle back in when they see scabs being hired into their jobs.

Unfortunately, this tactic has had some success here. The number of strikers has slowly and steadily decreased since the firings. The public pressure Jackson brought to bear on the strikers has been strong.

The Atlanta Constitution called for blood in its lead editorial, “Fire The Strikers,” two days before the firings.

Television media gave Jackson a special program to explain the firings, but none was offered to the union.

As strikers met the scabs on the first day of scab hiring, a new coalition of neighborhood, community and religious organizations issued a statement of support for Jackson and an attack on “the tactics of this union” which is “using these same workers in a cynical power play aimed at taking over city government.”

Even the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., one of the members of this coalition said, “If you do everything you can and don't get satisfaction, then fire the hell out of them.” Ironically, King, Sr.'s comments were made near the ninth anniversary of the death of his son, King, Jr., who was killed while supporting the striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tenn.



## Atlanta



Because of the number of strikers dwindling down to 500-600, and the effective propaganda job done on the public, the union was forced to make a new proposal to the mayor on April 18. The union would drop all salary and benefit demands and end the strike if Jackson would hire all the strikers back.

## SCABS

Jackson's answer: he can't hire all back because some scabs have already been hired in their places. But he will give them top priority consideration for other city jobs. In other

words, this is no concession at all. There is no guarantee of anything.

Jackson has the cops, the courts, the media, and the money. The only thing that beats this combination is the power, organization and militancy of the rank and file unionists.

The verbal war between AFSCME and the city may go on for some time yet. It's highly unlikely the union will win anything other than a meaningless promise.

Meanwhile, the city will continue to bust up the union. Those who have returned to work will be told how lucky they

are to have broken from a power hungry union that has lost hundreds of jobs for its members.

This will be a tragedy, if it occurs, and not just for Atlanta. All over the country, public service workers are striking and organizing unions as social service expenditures are slashed by the local governments.

And as James Farmer of CAPE (Coalition of American Public Employees) explained at an AFSCME strike rally: “If Mayor Jackson can get away with busting a union, other mayors may be emboldened to do the same thing.”

—Todd Jefferson

# 1,000 Workers Fired



“This is the most painful and the most unpleasant task I have had to perform in my 7½ years of public service. It is particularly distasteful to me because many of the persons who are affected are the most needy, the lowest paid of our employees. My lot and my sympathies always have been and always will be with them and their families.”

—Mayor Maynard Jackson

Maynard Jackson, the Black, Democratic Mayor of Atlanta has fired over 1,000 striking city employees, and is hiring scab replacements for all strikers who refuse to return to work.

But in 1970, during a bitter 36 day strike by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) city employees, Maynard Jackson sang a different tune. The then Mayor Sam Massell claimed that the city charter prevented raises after March 31, and he fired the 1,400 striking workers.

Back then, Vice-Mayor Jackson interpreted the charter differently, saying that it only banned changes in base-pay, not merit raises. He called the wages of the strikers “a disgrace before God.” He called for a special judicial panel to in-

terpret the charter. He marched in the street with AFSCME strikers, and helped with the settlement that included re-hiring the fired strikers and concessions made on wages.

And later in 1973, he was elected Mayor, with the help of AFSCME, as the working peoples' candidate.

But in 1977, Jackson is on the other side of the barricade. AFSCME workers picket city hall with T-shirts reading, “Maynard's Word is Garbage,” and they plaster his Lincoln Continental with bumper stickers saying the same thing. Because this time it's Jackson who's fired over 1,000 AFSCME members.

How did Maynard Jackson end up doing this? Because he's in the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party

represents the interests of big business and capitalism, just like the Republican Party does.

The difference is, the Demo-

cratic Party lies about who it really for, and claims to represent the working class, Blacks, and other minorities.

**ATLANTA, Ga., April 27 —** Sixty of the Atlanta AFSCME strikers forced their way into Mayor Jackson's office determined to have their demands heard.

After police unsuccessfully tried to stop them, they made their way into the reception room. But Jackson was nowhere to be seen. Police reinforcements then arrived to disperse the workers. There was some resistance and a few fights broke out between strikers and police. Six cops and four workers were treated for minor injuries.

Five workers and three AFSCME leaders were arrested on charges ranging from simple assault to criminal damage to government property. Two were charged with “inciting a riot”. Their bonds were set at \$200 to \$12,600 which AFSCME has since put up.

The union leadership proposed that the strikers accept the City's offer, which met loud rejection. In response, Dor McClure, National Spokesman for AFSCME said, “The International's role in this strike is over. Any active role at this point would be counterproductive.”