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by Jim Woodward

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I.W. Abel...doing his dirty work in Detroit.

RUNNING SCARED

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Abel said that one of Sadlowski's campaign contributors is a man named Reid Briggs, who is general counsel for Nissan Motor Corp., which also is the majority stockholder in two of the Japanese steel corporations which are importing steel and automobiles into this country taking our jobs.

"Now I ask you," Abel continued, "are these people contributing because they have a keen concern for the United Steelworkers of America, or are they contributing because we've been down to Washington... getting laws passed to protect the jobs of American steelworkers and the American steel industry?"

All of this from the man who has allowed the steel industry to eliminate 70,000 jobs since he became president.

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- What it's like to work in a "bucket shop," and why these members of the USW need a big change, too. Page 5.
- A federal court delays implementation of coke oven health and safety standards at the request of the steel industry. Page 3.
- Where you can hear Ed Sadlowski speak in the final days of the campaign. Page 3.

ZIMBABWE: These are the faces of freedom



Zimbabwe's freedom fighters aren't fooled by Washington's so-called peace deals. Liberation News Service

by Dan Posen

THE SO-CALLED peace talks on the future of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) have collapsed.

Ian Smith, Prime Minister of the racist Rhodesian government, announced Monday that he will not accept a British-sponsored plan for a transition to a black government over a 14-month period.

Instead, Smith insists his government will take no steps to give up its power, unless the "white racists are allowed to control army and police forces for at least two years."

A deal along those lines was rejected by Zimbabwe's freedom fighters.

The deal was negotiated between Smith and Henry Kissinger with the support of the South African government. The freedom fighters saw that it was an attempt to install some black figureheads, but leave power with the white regime.

The tens of thousands of guerillas of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and ZIPA (Zimbabwe People's Army) refused to give up the struggle that thousands of Zimbabweans have died for.

BRITISH PLAN

The British government attempted to save the American government's position by stepping in with a new plan. The British plan called for immediately removing power from the Smith regime and replacing it with a British administrator.

The failure of these imperialist deals shows that there is only one solution to the problem of Zimbabwe: victory to the liberation war.

Smith is holding out in the hope of getting military support from the U.S. government. That is the only thing that can save his dying regime.

Washington is reluctant to take

this step, which would be as unpopular as restarting the Vietnam war. It is stalling for time, hoping to pull another negotiated solution out of its diplomatic hat.

Washington wants to give the Smith regime more time to try to discredit and undermine the liberation struggle.

For example, last month Smith's racist army massacred 27 tea plantation workers and blamed it on the guerillas.

This week, the regime assassinated one of Zimbabwe's finest leaders, Jason Moyo. [See page 4.]

OUR JOB

Our job is to do everything we can to help the Zimbabwean freedom fighters win the most rapid and complete victory possible.

Above all, we have to build a movement that can stop the American government's undercurrent support for the dying, racist colonialist regime that has already lasted much too long.

Victory to the Freedom Fighters!

[To find out how you can help build a movement of support for the southern Africa freedom fighters, see page 2.]

200 Years Of Struggle

"ROOTS"

See Review, page 11

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Support The Freedom Fighters! New York City

Detroit

DETROIT—Eddison Zvobgo, Deputy Secretary-General of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), spoke here on January 23. The meeting began with a minute of silence in honor of Jason Moyo, a leader of the struggle in Zimbabwe, who was assassinated January 22 by agents of the Ian Smith government of Rhodesia. Zvobgo's speech summarized much of the history of Zimbabwe and the recent struggle for its liberation. Here are some sections of his remarks.

COMMERCIAL COLONIALISM

"We were the first country in southern Africa to be invaded by a commercial company. We were founded, or 'discovered' as they say, not by a metropolitan government, but we were invaded by the British South Africa Company!

"This was a chartered commercial company which was given special powers, not just to come in and exploit the people, but to establish governmental structures and rule the country. It was a commercial company with an actual board of directors, of which four were in Britain and two in South Africa....

"In 1923 we got a government of settlers, elected by settlers, dedicated to the preservation of their interests. Today, they make up only 3% of the population. They control the police, the armed forces.

"The most important and difficult thing in Zimbabwe, in South Africa, is to make people understand that it's not the white man who is the enemy, but it's the capitalist system behind it.

"It so happens that the problem here is compounded by the fact that the settlers as a race also allow themselves to be a political clique. So if you're not careful you wind up waging in fact a racist war.

"That is a difficult thing to communicate to peasants, who are terribly angry. Theories are fine, but after all is said and done they still say: hey, that guy who took our land from us, that's the enemy.

"Now that kind of political education was difficult to communicate but nevertheless it was important. The result was that when the revolution broke out again on December 22, 1972 (after being interrupted since 1969), it was an entirely different ball game....

"So effective were we that by 1973 Kissingner and others were terribly worried. They wanted that revolution sabotaged. They came up with the so-called southern Africa detente....

REVOLUTION

"One of ZANU's proudest accomplishments has been building a liberation army in which women are full participants, as freedom fighters for Zimbabwe, equal with any man. I know at least one case where a woman was elected commander by a unit which is 90% men.

"This means a complete revolution in social relations. When men and women fighters have gone on a mission together, fought together, shed blood and shared the smell of

death together—there is no way when they come back that the man can say, 'Mary, make me a cup of coffee.'....

"Once it was clear the CIA agents in Angola were collapsing, Kissingner wanted a coalition government, he wanted negotiations.

"When imperialism has its back to the wall, there will be calls for negotiations. That is the time to remember that the revolutionary must wage the revolution to the end.

"Only then can you get true sovereignty, with gun in hand, because that's the only way it's going to be done at least in southern Africa.

"We know there is a bunch of black bourgeois bureaucrats who want to run Zimbabwe on the basis of the New Testament. But we also know that now, when we have 30,000 men and women under arms, every day our people become more and more determined they are going to wage the revolutionary struggle to the end." □



Brooklyn demonstrators in January.

Cleveland

CLEVELAND—Seventy people attended a forum here on the liberation of southern Africa, sponsored by the Cleveland branch of the International Socialists and Red Tide.

Davis M'gabe of ZANU spoke about the history of imperialist domination of Zimbabwe, first by the British and then by the present white settler regime of Ian Smith.

He explained that a victorious liberation war will destroy South Africa's so-called detente policy. This detente is South Africa's attempt to establish its control over the front-line black African states.

Speaking for the IS, Larry Smith emphasized that the struggle in Zimbabwe has to be seen as part of the rising revolutionary current in the world today. He stressed the role which the working class in South Africa has to play in the liberation of southern Africa.

Paul Coscin, speaking for the Cleveland Coalition Against Racism and Oppression, told what the Coalition has done in Cleveland to build support for the struggle in southern Africa.

To date this has included picketing against the Krugerrand, showing the film Last Grave at Dimbaza at community centers and schools, leafletting at plant gates and shopping centers in the black community.

For more information about what you can do in Cleveland, contact: Cleveland Coalition Against Racism and Oppression, PO Box 1085 Lee Road Station, Cleveland, OH 44102.

Atlanta

ATLANTA—On Saturday, January 22, 65 people came to a showing of the film "Last Grave at Dimbaza" in Atlanta. The program was presented at the West Hunter Baptist Church, whose pastor is Rev. Ralph Abernathy.

The featured speaker was Skosi M'ji, a South African woman and member of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), who was in the Soweto student rebellion of last summer. She was forced to flee the country or be subject to the severe repression of the government.

M'ji told the audience that we must fight to get U.S. corporations out of South Africa. As long as they are there, any time there is resistance they will have a stake in repressing it.

Hard work was done to turn out the crowd, including door to door leafletting; going to church services and inviting people; and shopping center leafletting.

The film was also shown to an audience of 85 people in Carrollton, Georgia, 40 miles west of Atlanta, the site of West Georgia College. A third showing was scheduled for Wednesday, January 26, at Atlanta University.

BROOKLYN—The Republic National Bank of New York is one of the main distributors of the Krugerrand in this country. Seven people from the Committee to Stop the Krugerrand demonstrated in front of its downtown Brooklyn office last Friday.

It was the Committee's third successful march in downtown Brooklyn.

The fun started when three demonstrators went inside to ask why the bank was selling the coin. Two officials asked them into a room for a "conference." According to Steve Burns, "Both of them were real nervous and kept saying things like 'we don't know anything about the sale of the coin,' 'it's not our responsibility, it's not our job,' 'only the owner, Edward Saffer, can make decisions.'"

"We kept pressing the point that the coin's profits were propping up the racist scum in South Africa who were shooting down students and workers. And we were pointing out how the bank is giving material support to South Africa.

"They were quite upset. Finally one promised that he would call me on Monday and set up a meeting with the big shots in Manhattan."

"We felt nothing more was to be gained so we left."

So the next day 25 people showed up for another demonstration. We had a short picket in front of the bank, chanting slogans and handing out leaflets.

At one point Van, from the South Bronx, would shout sentences like "Victory to the Freedom Fighters—We're marching for the Freedom Fighters—The Freedom Fighters are dying for us." The rest would all answer each time with "Smash Apartheid."

The Committee's worked hard to bring the solidarity campaign to one of the largest black shopping districts in New York. Each time a number of people have joined us or stopped to talk and thousands have

taken leaflets, and they've kept them.

RALLY

We ended with a short rally, where Big Ed and Tim from the South Bronx got up. They said that it's not just a matter of smashing racism in South Africa, we've got to do it here too. "The living conditions in the South Bronx are bad, like South Africa, and they're both caused by racism.

"We're here because of the way that we're forced to live. Because when we're fighting to get heat and hot water in our building and the rats out, we know that it's the same fight as our brothers and sisters in South Africa fight!"

It's obvious just from the little work that we've done so far that people are very aware and concerned about what's happening in southern Africa. In addition, the powers-that-be are real scared about this too. We've shown the film "Last Grave At Dimbaza" to an overflow crowd in the South Bronx, a high school in Brooklyn, telephone workers in Manhattan, young people in Queens and four colleges in New Jersey.

In two demonstrations we forced Abraham & Strauss, one of the largest retail stores in New York, to stop selling the Krugerrand. Also NBC sent a letter to us agreeing that before they sell any more air time for the Krugerrand that they will contact us first for negotiations.

Now these powers-that-be are not just scared because the black movement might arise again. They're really scared because there's a war on in South Africa, we're winning it, and we're building a strong support movement here.

And you know, they've got a good reason to be scared! □

David Dugan

Southern Africa Committees Form

Meetings in several cities last weekend marked the start of a campaign to build solidarity with national liberation movements and the struggle for socialist revolution in southern Africa.

Members of the International Socialists, Red Tide and supporters of Workers' Power are joining other individuals and groups, to build Southern Africa Liberation Committees.

The work of some of the Committees is already getting underway. Activities of the Southern Africa Liberation Committee chapters will be regularly reported in Workers' Power.

The Committees are open to all individuals and groups who want to work together around three basic principles:

- Victory to the freedom fighters in southern Africa.
- American imperialism and its investments out of southern Africa.
- Support for the struggle against racism and exploitation at home.

GETTING STARTED

Here is a brief report on work being started by the Southern Africa Liberation Committee.

In Detroit, Isabel Nelson announced the Committee will be raising money and supplies, as well as holding demonstrations, boy-

cotts and other actions in support of the liberation struggles.

The first priorities of the Committee in Detroit will be collecting shoes for Zimbabwean liberation forces. Eddison Zvobgo of ZANU emphasized that there is a special need for shoes during the rainy season. Without shoes, guerrillas must walk barefoot and often catch very painful infectious foot diseases.

Frank Runninghorse pledged that the Red Tide, the revolutionary youth organization of the IS, would campaign to raise 500 pairs of shoes to support the Zimbabwean revolution.

In Atlanta, at the meeting where Skosi M'ji spoke, over a dozen people including several South Africans signed up for the Southern Africa Liberation Committee. When "Last Grave At Dimbaza" was shown in Carrollton, 32 more people signed to join the Committee.

In New York, the Committee to Stop the Krugerrand has already held several demonstrations. It is going to be carrying on activities around the same goals and ideas as the Southern Africa Liberation Committee in other cities. For further information, call 724-7045.

This is just the beginning, as further activities and new chapters of the Committee will be established shortly. □

CARTER'S FAKE AMNESTY: ALL FOR SHOW

by Kate Stacy

About 14,000 Vietnam draft resisters have been pardoned by President Carter. Well over 800,000 military resisters remain criminals.

The pardon was a flashy act designed to start Carter off with a good image to liberals. But it's all flash and very little action.

"Military" resisters are those who did not begin actively opposing the war until after they became servicemen.

"Draft" resisters are those who never entered the service at all. Many fled to Canada; only 3000 were being sought for prosecution at the time of Carter's action.

The group Carter did not pardon is extremely overbalanced with black and working-class men.

It includes 30,000 deserters and 790,000 veterans with less than honorable discharges. Many vets were charged with such "crimes" as distributing anti-war literature or discussing the war with other GIs.

Many are men who could not stomach the incredible horror of the US war machine in Indochina. They simply left.

BAD RECORD

A bad discharge is carried through life, however, and affects job and education opportunities drastically.

Carter ordered a "case by case" review of these resisters, which means no pardon at all.

War resisters' organizations continue to push for complete and unconditional amnesty for all, as they have done consistently.

It is not simply because Carter is a racist that he refused to pardon the military resisters. Black and working-class men remain the backbone of the US military. Only strict and swift discipline can make them an effective army, both at home and abroad.

With the possibility of US intervention in Southern Africa on the side of white minority regimes increasing, the discipline has to be

protected.

The Pentagon wants no return to the days of Vietnam when ground troops had to be withdrawn because the soldiers were likely to turn their weapons on their officers rather than the Vietnamese.

STATEMENT

A statement calling for total amnesty was issued by AMEX/CANADA, a major resisters' group. It highlights the extreme inequality of Carter's action.

The main difference between draft resistance and desertion is one of timing, and that difference results from class and race.

"The white middle class, deferred by college and jobs, learned about the war in their twenties with access to counselors and lawyers, and could avoid being drafted.

"Working class, poor and minority people faced the draft at 18 and learned about it once in the military, either from returning GIs or from seeing it with their own eyes. They could then resist only by leaving or protesting within the military."

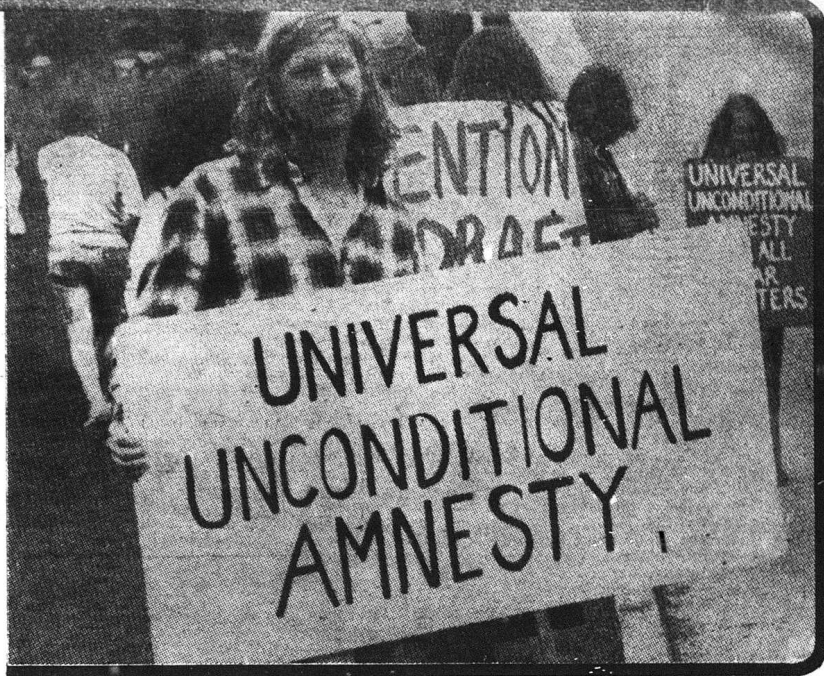
Refusing to pardon these resisters also continues the vicious lie that the US had any legal or moral right to be waging war in Vietnam to begin with.

As AMEX/CANADA says: "Volunteers have been written documenting the war crimes committed by the US in Indochina. The entire population there was the enemy and US policies reflected that fact.

"Search and destroy missions, free fire zones, massive bombardment of nonmilitary targets, defoliation of vast areas of the countryside, anti-personnel weapons, torture and execution of civilians—all of these were officially sanctioned and all were violations of international law.

"Beyond the specific offenses, the very nature of the war—aggression against a national liberation movement—was inherently a crime."

The group calls for support for the fight for universal and unconditional amnesty. "We cannot allow the label of 'criminal' to remain on the heads of those who acted correctly. We must place that label where it belongs: on the war and its makers."



Health Care Workers Want Contract; Nix Sterilization

BOSTON—Workers at Preterm, a gynecological and abortion clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts, have been on strike for over three months. They want a union contract, and drastic changes in the clinic's administration of health care. Preterm is the largest abortion clinic in the state. The 50 striking workers are all women. Most of them are abortion counselors, though some have secretarial or other jobs.

The workers voted in Hospital and Health Care Workers Local 1199 as their bargaining agent as early as May 1975, but Preterm has consistently refused to agree to a contract.

At this time bargaining is stalled. While 1199 heads up the bargaining, the strike itself is being led by the strikers, and their supporters in the Preterm Strike Support Coalition.

Preterm has continually charged violence on the picket lines, but the only complainants have been Brookline police paid by Preterm to maintain order and intimidate the strikers. Close to 30 strikers and supporters have been arrested so far.

Picket lines have been successful in turning away patients to other clinics. Strikers estimate that they have cut Preterm's operations in half.

OTHER ISSUES

There are other major issues besides a union contract. The

SUPPORT
THE
PRETERM
STRIKERS!

Boston, Massachusetts:

Feb. 5, 1 pm, March and Rally

Assemble 1 pm at the playground at Cleveland Circle. March along Beacon St. to Boston University, Hayden Hall, 685 Commonwealth Ave. Indoor rally at 3:30 pm.

Sponsored by: the Preterm Strike Support Committee

strikers demand the clinic put increased emphasis on full gynecological care, including post-abortion counseling, rather than primarily emphasizing just the abortions themselves.

They also want a full public accounting, and curtailment of the work of the Preterm Institute.

The Institute is a population control center. It stresses a program of sterilization for third world women overseas. The family which runs Preterm has close connections with the so-called "Population Council," which is heavily funded by Rockefeller-Mellon money.

Preterm was supposed to be set up as a first-rate abortion clinic. Instead, it is an organization that channels liberal money into programs to impose sterilization of women in Latin America.

The struggle to win the right to abortions was part of a larger movement aimed at winning women's control over their own bodies, their right to choose whether to have children. The Preterm strikers are carrying on the struggle for these goals.

The Preterm strikers need the help of everyone in the Boston area. Picket lines are up Mondays through Saturdays, all day, at 1842 Beacon Street in Brookline. Join us!

Delay On New Coke Oven Rules

The Third U.S. Court of Appeals has delayed implementation of sections of the new federal health and safety standards for coke oven workers. The standards, which were supposed to have gone into effect January 20, were suspended until the court can conduct a full hearing on the matter.

The delay was requested by the American Iron and Steel Institute, an industry group which has been challenging these health and safety regulations ever since they were announced by the Department of Labor last October.

The sections suspended include: provisions for checking emissions from the coke ovens; respirator protection; washing protective clothing; and installation of new lunch rooms and locker rooms with air-filtration systems.

The companies claim these requirements are not "practical," and that they were unable to meet the January 20 deadline because of "equipment delays and personnel shortages."

Another section of the regulations, a section which is now in effect, is a stark reminder of why these standards were necessary in the first place. Signs are being put up around the coke batteries warning: "Danger—Cancer Hazard—Authorized Personnel Only—No Smoking or Eating."

Current facilities for coke oven workers are generally miserable. At U.S. Steel's Clairton (Pa.) Coke Works, lunchrooms are dirty and cramped and located on the coke batteries. Because of a shortage of normal locker rooms, some men have been forced to dress underneath the batteries, which is really a filthy area.

If new standards go into effect, situations like these will have to be cleaned up. The American Iron and Steel Institute is doing everything it can to prevent that.

David Katz

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Copyright © 1977 by I.S. Publishing Co. Editor: Gay Semel. Production Editor: Karen Kaye. Circulation Manager: Tom Dougherty.

Subscriptions: \$10 for one year; \$5 for six months. Introductory rate: \$1 for eight issues.

Published weekly, except the first two weeks in July and the last two weeks in December. Second class postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to: Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of Workers' Power, which are expressed in editorials.

Workers' Power is a subscriber to Liberation News Service and a member of the Alternate Press Service. It is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and microfilmed by University Microfilms. International Standard Serials Number (ISSN): 0019-0535.

HEAR SADLOWSKI

As the campaign for the presidency of the United Steel Workers union enters its final ten days, there are two opportunities for the general public to hear the candidates.

• On Sunday, January 30, both Ed Sadlowski and Lloyd McBride will appear on NBC's "Meet The Press." The program is scheduled for 12:30 pm, Eastern Time.

• In the Detroit area, Ed Sadlowski and his running mate Oliver Montgomery will speak at a rally and benefit, Saturday, February 5 at 8:00 pm. The place is Wayne County Community College on Greenfield Road between Joy and Tireman.

Everyone is invited. Admission is \$1 for steelworkers and their families; \$2 for friends.

ZIMBABWE LEADER KILLED IN LETTER BOMB MURDER

Southern Africa News

The South African government is on a collision course with the Catholic Church over the issue of private integrated Church schools.

The Catholic schools have begun admitting a limited number of black children. In all, probably fewer than 100 black children are involved out of the 20 million black people in South Africa.

But even this minuscule degree of integration is a direct defiance of the laws of the apartheid state. Since 1956, any mixed schooling, public or private, has been outlawed.

Church schools may be forcibly closed by the government, and parents participating in the integration program are likely to be arrested. This repression could weaken the government's base among English-speaking whites.

The English-speaking section of the South African press is strongly backing the Church's stand for integrated private education. Many white businessmen hope that this will be a vehicle for starting to introduce carefully controlled, minor modifications of the apartheid system.

For decades the Church and English-speaking businessmen have enjoyed the profits and privileges of the apartheid white-supremacy system. Now they are afraid the black revolution, against that system, will destroy them along with it.

If the apartheid system could save itself by introducing a few token reforms like integrated private schools, it would be a fantastically cheap price to pay. The overwhelming majority of black families, who don't have the money for tuition, would still be trapped in the all-black schools which train black children for lifetimes of exploitation.

But the Church and liberal business-sponsored reform schemes are much too little, and many years too late, to stop the black rebellion.

And the South African political structure, which is controlled by the hardest of the hard-line segregationists, the Nationalist Party, will not tolerate even the most tokenistic reform movements anyway.

Zimbabwe's freedom fighters lost one of their most outstanding leaders and comrade-in-arms Saturday.

Jason Z. Moyo was working at the office of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in Lusaka, Zambia when a package which had been mailed to him exploded.

The powerful parcel killed Moyo instantly and destroyed the office.

There is no doubt who the assassins were. This crime was unquestionably the work of the racist government of Ian Smith and its imperialist backers.

The package was mailed from Botswana (an African state where the South African secret police have extensive connections and operations). It was routed through Rhodesia on its way to Zambia.

The loss of Jason Moyo robs both ZAPU and the entire Zimbabwean



Jason Z. Moyo

struggle of a tremendously dedicated and respected organizer.

Eddison Zvobgo, Deputy Secretary General of the Zimbabwe

African National Union (ZANU), told Workers' Power:

"This murder will be felt as a heavy blow by Zimbabweans of all political parties.

"For all those waging the armed struggle, whether they are of ZANU or ZAPU, there was never any doubt that Jason Moyo was a close and respected comrade.

"For over twenty years, from the beginning of the organized nationalist movement, he was a full-time worker who devoted every moment to the movement. It is a loss we will feel for a long time to come."

Jason Moyo was an outstanding organizer of the first trade unions among Zimbabwean workers in the early 1950's. Both in the district of Bulawayo and elsewhere he organized unions of black railroad and garment workers.

He was influential in creating a working class base for the independence struggle and bringing it into the nationalist party that was founded in 1956.

The white regime threw Moyo in prison but was forced to release him because of his tremendous base of support in the black township councils. While in prison

he organized a mass 19-day hunger strike of prisoners, until the authorities put him in solitary confinement.

While the nationalist movement split into competing parties in the 1960's, Moyo was held in esteem by all. He was recognized by ZANU fighters as one of the true revolutionaries in ZAPU.

SECOND FRONT

He was also the organizer and backbone of ZAPU's external wing, its freedom fighters. At the time of his murder he had just succeeded in opening a second front for the liberation war, in northern Zimbabwe.

It is probably no coincidence that Jason Moyo was murdered the same week that the white regime was getting ready to drop even the pretense of negotiating a peaceful settlement.

The murder of Jason Moyo is the latest in a long string of atrocities by the racist, western-backed settler regime of Rhodesia. Fortunately, the time they have had to commit these acts is rapidly coming to an end.

Quebec: Who Pulls the Strings?

THIS WEEK, critical economic and political decisions are being made that could shape the future of both Quebec and Canada.

These decisions may determine whether there are jobs for hundreds of thousands of Quebec workers.

They may determine whether the people of Quebec will be allowed to decide if they want national independence from Canada. The same decisions may dictate how, and on what terms, that choice must be made.

However, this week's crucial decisions are not being made by the people of Quebec—or, for that matter, the people of Canada. In fact the decisions are not being made in Quebec or Canada at all!

The decisions are being made in the corporate boardrooms and lavish hotel corridors of New York City. That's where the United States bankers and businessmen, who own the real economic power that controls Quebec, are meeting with the new Quebec government this week.

RAW POWER

The Quebec Prime Minister, Rene Levesque, went to New York this week to address the powerful New York Economic Club.

Levesque is the leader of the Parti Quebecois, Quebec's large pro-independence party. It became the government of Quebec in a landslide election victory two months ago.

Since then investments by American corporations in Quebec have come to a jolting stop. Unemployment among Quebec workers, already 10%, stands to get even worse. The budget deficit is approaching \$1 billion.

In order to float bonds to pay its debts, Quebec must now pay a full one percent higher interest than the neighboring Canadian province of Ontario.

American corporations directly control 30% of Quebec manufacturing shipments and one-quarter of its manufacturing jobs.

The American ruling class has the power to strangle and starve Quebec. That's just what they are

threatening to do.

Both New York State and Ontario have made it clear they would welcome corporations who decide to pull out of Quebec. And the province's ability to continue borrowing money from U.S. bankers is up in the air.

Many American businessmen, and sections of the Canadian federal government, hope to force the Quebec government to call a rapid referendum on independence before the effects of their anti-independence economic scare campaign wear off.

PROMISES

Rene Levesque's speech to New York's corporate and banking power was a deliberately conservative and reassuring one.

He reaffirmed the Parti Quebecois program of Quebec independence, saying that "independence is as natural—and as inevitable—as the independence of your 13 states was in 1776."

But Rene Levesque was not in New York to talk about a revolutionary war for independence. Quite the opposite.

He pledged that there will be no attack on the profits and privileges of U.S. corporations in Quebec.

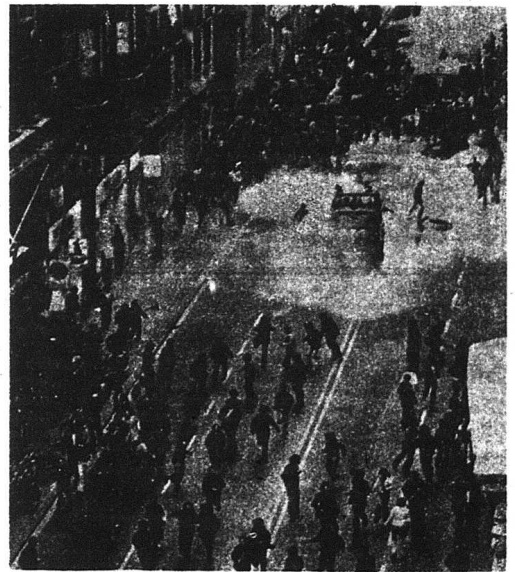
He promised that Quebec would not nationalize anything, except for the asbestos industry which he says should be state-owned to control its poisonous working conditions.

In short, Rene Levesque argued for Quebec independence on terms that would mean little threat to American businessmen.

The problem is that independence on these terms, even if the Parti Quebecois could win it, would also mean no answer to the exploitation and mass unemployment suffered by Quebec working people.

Levesque himself is a liberal capitalist politician, who has no intention of letting the independence movement become a struggle for workers' control or socialism.

But this doesn't mean the banks and corporations will take Rene Levesque's word, or give up their economic offensive. On the contrary, they are likely to crack down even harder.



This was the scene last year in Vitoria, Spain, as workers fought to free political prisoners. Now the struggle is sweeping the country.

SPAIN: Workers Against The Terrorists

THE POLITICAL CRISIS in Spain sharpened dramatically this week.

On Wednesday, tens of thousands poured into the streets of Madrid in a massive demonstration for the funerals of eight lawyers and unionists assassinated by fascist terrorists. It was a tremendously impressive turnout.

Three hundred thousand workers, at least, also struck in protest. The government has been helpless to stop the fascist gangs, who openly promise to murder more left-wing leaders. Instead, the government's response to the protests is to restore special police

powers to round up and brutally interrogate people without charges.

The government is making these concessions to the right-wing terrorists at a time of mounting struggle. In the southeastern Valencia over 100,000 workers have struck over pay, including workers at a giant new Ford plant.

Large-scale demonstrations have continued in the northern Basque country and Madrid, where several more young people have been shot dead by police for demanding the release of political prisoners.

An all-out confrontation between Spanish workers and the mobilization of fascist terrorists may not be far away.



"I'd like to see that place busted!"

That was what a former U.S. mercenary in Rhodesia, Lawrence Meyer, has to say about a place called the Rhodesian Information Office in Washington, D.C.

Meyer, who defected from the Rhodesian army when he saw what the war looked like up front, revealed that the Rhodesian Information Office is an underground recruiting station for mercenaries.

It operates illegally, and underground, but with the full knowledge of the United States government which does nothing to stop it.

"Blues" Turn To Anger In Steel's Bucket Shops

When you think of the United Steel Workers union, you generally don't think about low-wage sweatshops. But that's the reality for close to half the union's membership, who work in the so-called "bucket shops."

Eric Redson learned about the bucket shops by working in a scrapyard organized by the USW. Workers' Power asked him to tell us what it's like, and why a victory for Ed Sadlowski in the union's February 8 election is critical for

workers in these small shops. Here's his story.

“You want the ‘Steelyard Blues’? Try this version. You are one of the 700,000 ‘steelworkers’ who hold every kind of job from grocery clerk to warehousing. You work in a ‘bucket shop’ outside the national contract patterns set by the big basic steel mills, the non-ferrous

metals, aluminum and container industries.

There might be five workers in your shop and 100 members in your local.

The shop across the street may very well be in the same local and even the same business, but your contracts expire at different times, never allowing you to exercise any solidarity in bargaining.

Your employer may also have other shops that might or might not

be steelworker-organized, also with different contract expiration dates.

So when you strike at contract time, they just shift the production and shove the contract down your throat. That keeps pay scales at the subsistence level, anywhere from just above the minimum wage to \$5 an hour if you're lucky.

The International union still takes its per capita dues money out of your local every month. But your local is too poor to send a delegate

to the conventions, so you are represented by your appointed Staffman. He picks up your local's credentials and votes for that good old salary increase for the officers and the dues increase for the members.

Otherwise, it's business as usual. When you file a grievance, it very likely gets turned down or handled reluctantly, no matter how valid it is. The reluctance is nothing compared to the resentment if you go past the union to the Department of Labor and prove the company is clearly violating state or federal laws.

But if the lack of bargaining power and poor representation make you blue, the conditions you work under are sure to make you both black and blue. And these are the real steelyard blues.

The equipment is so old and run down that safety standards don't even cover it. The hoist cable on the crane breaks once a week, but it is cheaper to buy new cable than a crane.

And much cheaper yet to send a card of condolence to the bereaved when old Jim, the quiet black guy who always smoked his pipe upside down in the rain and never got a chance for a job better than one step above laborer, gets the life squeezed out of him by six tons of cold metal.

You're blue when the lead builds up in your veins and the fiberglass coats your eyes so thick that you can't see clearly. Or you're blue when they tell you asbestos is a killer after you've worked in it for years with no protection.

Things seem rough, too, when you're up to your ankles in crude oil and you're crawling in it to do your work while the sun beats down at a cool 100°. And you can't help but catch the oil on fire with your torch.

At the same time you're trying to figure out how you're going to get your extra 25c per hour “dirty pay” for working in “excessive” oil when the foreman determines what is excessive and he hasn't noticed a drop of oil in weeks.

ANGER

But just then the owner wheels up in his \$20,000 Mercedes and, dressed in his silk shirt and panama hat, gets out to inspect the six tons of brass he bought at 10c a pound and will sell for 40c a pound. That's when your blues turn to anger.

And it's when that anger is used to organize and fight back that things can start changing. The benefits may come slowly at first, and it may cost a few jobs and more blue times for some when the union reps work hand in glove with the bosses. But nothing good comes very easy.

For steelworkers in the “bucket shops,” this election coming February 8 is real important. It opens up the possibility of breaking the stranglehold the Staffman have on these small locals that make up half the union.

The appearance of Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate on the USW ballot is a threat and a challenge to the existing cozy relations between the employers and the union officials.

Sadlowski won't change things for us. But his victory will make it easier for us to do the job ourselves. Though we may have sung the blues in the past, “bucket shop” steelworkers have the opportunity to change to a better tune.

ABORTION RULE ANNIVERSARY MARKED BY ORGANIZING

JANUARY 22 marked the fourth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision that made abortion legal in the U.S., wiping off the books state laws that forced women to seek dangerous illegal abortions.

The occasion was marked by meetings and demonstrations in several U.S. cities by both pro-abortion and anti-abortion groups. The activities reflected the state of the organized struggle around women's rights.

"RIGHT TO LIFE"

So-called “right to life” (anti-abortion) groups have been organizing steadily in the past four years.

Anti-abortion organizers gathered 35,000 to march in Washington DC in support of a constitutional amendment to ban abortion and to urge an end to the use of federal funds for abortion.

Groups that defend abortion rights exist mainly in coalitions dominated by the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Early in January these coalitions held meetings across the country supporting passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The ERA would not in itself protect abortion rights, but would merely prohibit discrimination against women. It will take separate court battles to then determine what laws the courts consider

discriminatory.

Least visible were actions by militant women's liberation organizations, which have dwindled in size and number since the early 1970's. There were scattered demonstrations observing the anniversary however.

REPORT

A correspondent from Seattle writes:

Italian Women Gain Major Abortion Right

by Karen Kaye

ITALIAN WOMEN are about to win one of the most advanced abortion laws in the world. Italy's Chamber of Deputies passed a bill that will give women over 16 the right to free abortion on demand in the first 90 days of pregnancy. The Senate is expected to pass the bill also.

Under the law, a woman with an unwanted pregnancy will ask her doctor to authorize an abortion. He could either agree, or sign a dated paper requiring her to wait seven days. If she then still wants the abortion, for reasons of health, or jeopardy to her social or economic position, she will simply go to a hospital or clinic with the paper and obtain the abortion. The operation will be free under Italy's national health service.

The law will make abortion more accessible to Italian women than it is to U.S. women (see accompanying article). Italian women also won the right to free abortion in a country that is poorer than the U.S., where women must pay for abortions privately.

These victories were accomplished despite Pope Paul VI's reminders that the church views abortion as the killing of unborn children.

FASCIST LAW

But Italy's present abortion law was passed in 1930, under the fascist regime. The law that calls abortion “a crime against the race” is defended by the church, and the neo-fascist party.

Women have organized a network for underground abortions.

But they have been pressing for legal abortion for years. The movement is so strong that last year the political fight over abortion brought down the government.

The movement has also pushed the Communist Party to full support for the new law. Last year the CP favored a more limited abortion law.

In Italy, the Communist Party represents a large working class base. Because the Italian working class is organized into political parties separate from the capitalist parties, they have been able to win victories like this abortion law and the national health service, which we do not have in the U.S. In the U.S., the capitalist class has been more successful in hanging on to the nation's wealth.



Italian women demonstrated against anti-abortion laws passed under Mussolini.



“On Saturday, January 22 over 120 pickets marched through downtown Seattle, marking the fourth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision of 1973 that established the right of women to have abortions.

The picket signs and the mood of the marchers showed that the struggle for safe, legal abortions in the U.S. is far from over.

“The coalition of many women's, civil rights and socialist organizations that sponsored the march focussed on the issue of a ‘woman's right to choose.’

“Speakers and chants highlighted the fact that most women in the U.S. still do not have access to abortions even for medical reasons, either through restrictive medical policies or the expense involved.”

RESTRICTIONS

Anti-abortion groups have done more than merely seek a future constitutional ban.

Last year, Congress passed a law forbidding the use of Medicaid funds for abortions. The Supreme Court also ruled that private hospitals receiving public funds do not have to perform abortions.

It appears that the Carter administration will further, not reverse the trend.

Carter's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Joseph Califano, stated at his confirmation hearing that he will work actively to bar federal funding for abortions under all government programs.

At the same time that abortion reform is under attack, federal funding of birth control research was cut in 1976 by \$3 million.

Cutbacks in childcare mean that working mothers find it more difficult to hold their jobs. The recent Supreme Court ruling that companies do not have to cover pregnancy in disability plans further threatens women's ability to both hold a job and raise a family.

The report from Seattle continues:

“In discussion following the march, the issue of abortion was tied to the right to obtain safe birth control without the threat of forced sterilization, and to obtain decent childcare and pregnancy leave, as a way to win freedom of choice.”

A LIBERAL PAPER — THAT CRUSHES UNIONS

FIFTEEN pressmen, on strike from the Washington Post, will go on trial next month. They are charged with destruction of property. If convicted, they could get 41 years in jail.

When the pressmen walked off the job on October 1, 1975, they removed or damaged parts of the presses in an effort to prevent scab production.

The pressmen are left without jobs, they are blacklisted, and they face a possible prison term. The Washington Post has accomplished its objective: it has smashed the union and proceeded to boost its profits by using non-union labor with inferior wages and benefits.

The Post has a liberal reputation, acquired by breaking the Watergate story. But behind the public image is a management as cruel and calculating as any. The Post chose to go after the pressmen, members of Local 6 of the

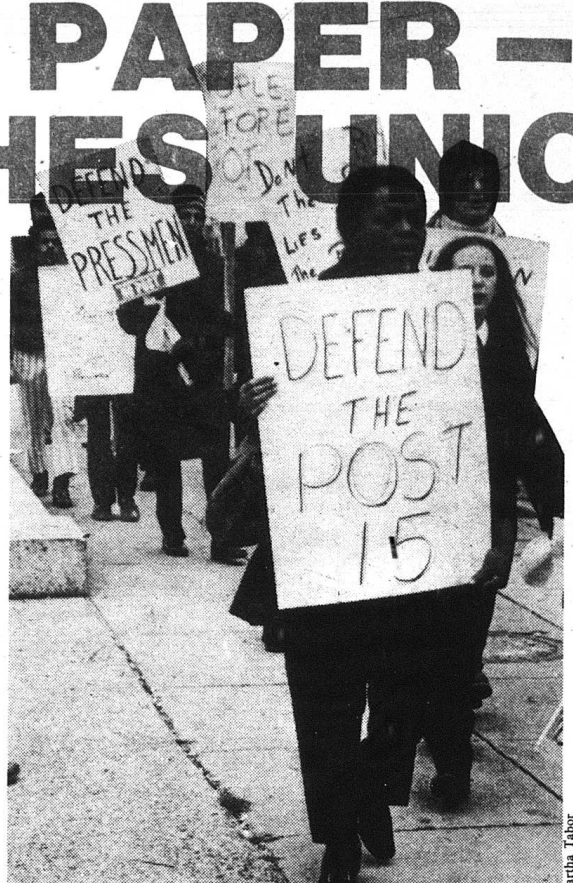
Newspaper, Graphics and Communications Union because it was the most militant local. They realized if they could break the pressmen, the rest would fall into line.

Katharine Graham, publisher of the Post, said, "Some costs resist more stubbornly than others. The most frustrating kind are those imposed by archaic union practices. . . This is a problem we are determined to solve."

By "archaic union practices," Graham meant the jobs, wages, and benefits of the paper's 2000 employees.

Typical of the plan the Post had for ending its "archaic union practices" was a layoff in 1974 of 36 pressmen. It wasn't that the workers weren't needed. The Post wanted to rehire men as part-timers without benefits. A judge later ordered the men reinstated.

Workers' Power spoke to Gene O'Sullivan, one of the fifteen defendants in the trail.



Martha Tabor

Demonstrators support the indicted pressmen. The pressmen's case was due to come to trial on December 6. But on December 5, Judge Sylvia Bacon dismissed the entire panel of 182 jurors. One juror had mistakenly been approached and questioned about her attitudes towards the defendants. When the defense attorneys found out that Frank Somenyo, business agent for Local 25 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees had discussed the case with a prospective juror of the same union, they immediately reported the mistake to the Judge. The juror was removed. But later Judge Bacon ordered the entire panel dismissed. The effect has been to delay the trial even further and generate even more prejudicial publicity against the pressmen.

"THEY TRY to crucify you to increase profits," Gene said. "It's been real tight. My car has been repossessed and I'm facing 41 years in prison. but I'm not sorry I went on strike.

"You could see it coming for a long time. They start by harassing the young guys who don't know what a union's all about yet. They ignore the grievance procedure and send everything to arbitration and tie you up with legal fees. They let the safety go. There are lots of injuries.

"One young guy, 26-years-old I think, they put him in charge of a press right out of apprenticeship. That is unheard of. He got his hand caught in the press and couldn't reach the cut-off button. He lost the hand. The guy next to him was only maybe ten feet away, but it's so noisy he couldn't hear him screaming. They told us that's what we've got compensation for."

The Post was prepared for a strike. They had a campaign to train scabs to take over in case of a strike. It was called "Project X." Fifty-five employees were sent to a scab training school in Oklahoma called the Southern Production Program. The school is run by leaders of the so-called "right to work," or anti-union movement.

As the strike deadline neared, it was clear to the pressmen that the Post wanted a strike.

"There was a lot of pressure," Gene said. "They broke off negotiations at 9 PM on October 1. We knew they were going to run without us and some of us wouldn't be coming back. It had happened before.

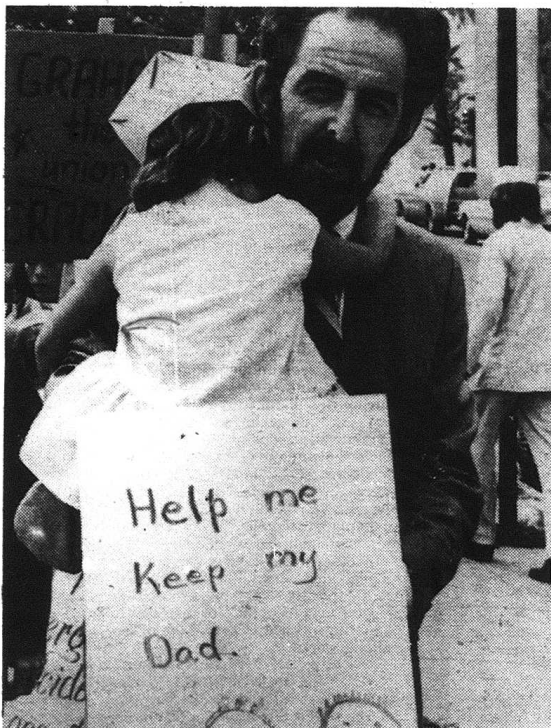
DEMANDS

"But we couldn't live with what they wanted. We were trying to maintain our job security and improve the cost-of-living clause we had won. We had a 4 3/4% qualifying clause. That amount was deducted from whatever the cost-of-living increase was. If the increase was 5%, we'd get 1/4%!

"We had some ridiculous demands too, but that's what we wanted. You know, everything gets paired off in negotiations.

"The problem was they wanted their ridiculous demands. They wanted to do away with the whole grievance procedure except for arbitration. They also wanted to do away with seniority rights for job bids."

One of the worst aspects of the offer established a job classification of "floaters." Floaters would not have a regular shift, but would be on call 24 hours a day. "If you



Gene O'Sullivan carries daughter Patty on a picket line.

turned one down," Gene told us, "they wouldn't have to offer you any more work that week."

"I'm glad Gene went on strike," said Gene's wife, Ilona O'Sullivan. "I don't think anyone should have to work at a job without dignity, just because they have kids. I wouldn't want him to go back there tomorrow unless it was a contract he could live with."

The pressmen are charged with "rioting" in the pressroom the night of the strike. Gene explained what happened:

"The pressure was coming down. It was about 25 minutes before the strike was called. A lot of guys knew they wouldn't be coming back. About \$13,000 worth of parts were removed. Some of the parts were even found hidden around the room later.

"We're talking about a room with nine presses, equipment worth \$13,000,000. And they call \$13,000 a riot!

"Then there was the fire on one of the presses. Fires aren't

uncommon in a pressroom. Some of the guys probably saw this one on their way to the door but they figured they were on strike.

"There was a fire about a year and a half ago that you never heard of. The Post was trying to cut corners by hiring an outside



The 15 Washington Post defendants.

contractor to clean out the ducts over the presses instead of paying their own clean-up crew.

"They gave this guy a ladder, a light and a can of Varsol [cleaning compound]. He climbs up in the duct with all that dirt and ink and stuff. The bulb pops and sets the Varsol on fire. He falls out burning and lands on a press and sets it on fire.

"The guy died the next day, but nothing gets said.

"But this time, they get out a 21-page white paper the next day and have a walk-through by press people from all over calling us 'rioters' and 'animals.'"

Gene said, "Because of Watergate, the Post is the biggest liberal paper in the country. I expected more from the liberals. Katharine Graham is their goddess. They just stayed away from us. I guess I'm a

lot more left than I thought."

"You know," said Ilona, "I will find it very hard to sit down with a big newspaper and believe just what I read. And if I knew anyone else who was in trouble with law, I would have to go and help them, whether they were innocent or guilty, even if it was just to babysit. They deserve a chance."

Gene added, "You know, there are only two parties in this country. Those that have and those that don't. This Republican and Democrat stuff is bullshit."

Ilona said, "I don't think the government is in the hands of the people of this country. I think it's controlled by corporations and people like Katharine Graham.

"I've been reading some labor history. All you see is the corporations getting stronger and bigger. It's got to be stopped."

The Post charged Local 6 with racism and argued that the pressmen didn't deserve public support.

Gene answered the charge: "It's true there aren't many blacks in the union. But the company does the hiring. The union didn't press the company hard enough to hire blacks, but the Post had been refusing work to blacks that the union had accepted. The company turned down the blacks we accepted and then they pointed the finger at us.

"I can't say I was proud of the pace. If I were a black in my union, I'd have blown my cool a long time ago.

"If the union had been more militant about fighting for black jobs, we could have gotten more

ON LABOR



Scott Cummings

The Post has used its access to the media to slander the pressmen. The Post made violence the pass-word of the strike. But this picture shows the violence on the other side as police arrest the strikers. The National Jury Project recently conducted a survey about the pressmen in the Washington area to discover if they could receive a fair trial. They found that 68% of those questioned felt they could be fair and impartial jurors, but 57.2% of the same group also admitted they thought they pressmen were guilty of destroying Post presses.

The media slander against the pressmen has been so heavy that 24% believed that the strikers bombed the car of a Post executive. Such a bombing never took place, by either party.

support. I felt that we needed to go to other workers to win. I wanted to go to the black community. A lot of people agreed, but also thought we had to trust the liberals."

The Post was not happy just to smash the union, refuse to bargain and hire permanent replacements for the strikers. They went to court to use the legal arm of the government to grind the union into the ground.

GRAND JURY

U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert began a grand jury investigation of

pressroom damage. The investigation dragged out for nine months. Later, one prosecutor admitted that the investigation was "excessively long" due to a decision "from above."

Eighty-eight pressmen were subpoenaed. The grand jury indicted 15 on charges of riot, inciting to riot, destruction of property, grand larceny and assault.

"You've got to understand the indictments, how political they are," Gene told us. "It was always the people who wouldn't take shit. The foremen picked who they

wanted to indict and the prosecutor did the rest."

The pressmen tried to get support from other unions. "Meany's office is one block from the Post," Gene said. "We gave up begging him, so a bunch of us went and occupied his office. We still couldn't get a statement of support."

Iona added, "I think the union leaders have gotten too far away from what is happening with the people. They mingle too much with the upper classes and live too much like them. They've forgotten where they came from."

"I don't know too much about how to do it, but maybe the International President shouldn't make any more than the top paid members."

UNIONS

"One of the reasons the Post was able to cut us up," Gene said, "is because the union bureaucracies won't get together and support each other's members. Each of them wants to protect their little power. The workers are going to have to take the unions back."

"Many of the women helped in the defense campaign and picketed with our husbands," Iona said. "Our youngest child, Michael, was four months old when the strike started. He's been on a picket line most of his life. We've also been picketing Katharine Graham's house."

"You know, I can't see her as a woman. I don't think she remembers what it's like to be a woman or a person. Once you get to the top of the heap, you're just part of the organization."

"From what I can see," Gene said, "we're going back to the '30's. The government works hand-in-hand with these corporations. If a scab hits a picket, it's self-defense. But if a picket hits a scab, the injunctions are right there and the picket is in jail."

"There's going to be one big change in this country in the next 30 years, and I'm going to be around to see it."



Calling All,
Phone Workers:
Know Your Enemy!

For Bell, The Speedup Is The Solution

by John Greene

A.T.&T. IS NOW the biggest corporate money maker in the world. Last year the company made slightly less than four billion dollars in profits, an all time world record. There were three reasons for Bell's success.

First was rate increases. All across the country the Bell System has been increasing its rates. In many states the company is now charging for directory assistance. They have been increasing the cost of pay phones from 10c to 20c. Rate hikes mean millions in extra revenue for A.T.&T.

The second reason is that the Bell workforce is shrinking. With the introduction of new equipment like T.S.P.S., the number of telephone workers needed is declining. By 1980 T.S.P.S. will eliminate 33,000 jobs, saving Bell about \$390 million a year.

Finally and perhaps most important is that while telephone workers' wages have remained low, their productivity has skyrocketed. In 1939 Bell workers were the 7th best paid workers in America. By 1968 they had dropped to 47th place. Meanwhile worker productivity exceeds earnings by 23%.

In other words Bell has fewer people doing more work at lower wages. Bell's profits are not the result of "good management" or luck. These super-profits are squeezed out of telephone workers.

COMPETITION

The squeeze is likely to get tighter, because competition is returning to the telephone industry. Every Bell employee has heard this. The company has been spending thousands of dollars on propaganda about the "One Bell System, It Works."

A.T.&T. is of course the biggest, tightest monopoly in the world. But there are many other companies that would like a piece of the pie. For instance, there are many companies which would like to manufacture switchboards, automatic dialers, answering machines and switching devices that are widely used by different businesses.

Many of these companies would like to see Western Electric, A.T.&T.'s manufacturing arm, broken off from the Bell System and established as a separate, competing company.

New technology, like satellites and micro-wave transmission, now makes it possible to establish communication networks totally separate from the Bell network. Many big companies like I.B.M. and Aetna Life and Casualty are fighting tooth and nail with A.T.&T. over who will control this new technology.

International competition is beginning to heat up also. Traditionally there has been a division of labor

between A.T.&T., which controls the domestic market, and the multinational I.T.T. I.T.T. is a completely separate company which provides much of the telephone equipment for countries outside North America.

What has happened in the last few years is that the domestic residential market has become saturated. In many parts of the United States there are already more than one telephone per person. But the overseas demand for telephones is growing at twice the domestic rate.

Thus A.T.&T. has set up a new Bell company, American Bell International, which will "compete vigorously abroad." I.T.T. is retaliating by increasing its domestic competition against Bell.

Recently the British business magazine "The Economist" reported, "A.T.&T. has what is admired in Washington as 'clout.' It gets a lot of what it wants. Already its company presidents have been lobbying Congress to protect its monopoly with legislation and to drive back competition."

But while A.T.&T. is powerful enough to stop some inroads into its monopoly, a certain amount of competition seems inevitable.

LOSS OF PROFITS

Competition is an enormous pressure on a company. In order to survive the company must spend more and more of its money on new technology and equipment. Every time one company introduces new, more efficient equipment, its competitors are forced to introduce similar equipment if they are to compete effectively.

This process causes profits to slip. A loss of profits is the one thing above all others a company like Bell cannot stand. Instead of accepting a reduction of profits, Bell will try to bleed its losses out of its employees.

This means that Bell will tighten the screws on telephone workers. We can expect more harassment, more speed-up, and even more layoffs. We can also expect that Bell will do just about anything to keep our wages from rising.

That's what phone workers can expect... and there is really only one way to deal with this situation. With the union leaders pretty much sitting on their hands, the way forward is to build a rank and file movement that can revitalize the union and take on the Bell System.

Bell may be aiding in that process. The company's offensive against phone workers will make each and every employee feel the pressure. And then fighting back becomes a necessity.



The publicity against the Washington Post pressmen said that they rioted and damaged millions of dollars of equipment. In fact, the Post is taking them to court—and hopes to convict them—for damages totalling \$13,000.

Recently, certain other individuals left the Post, too. And they left with a lot more than \$13,000 in their pockets.

Larry Israel, president of the Post's parent corporation, resigned last weekend. John S. Prescott, Jr., the last President, left in July. Israel's resignation paves the way for publisher Katharine Graham to consolidate her control of the corporation.

Both Israel and Prescott had an

"employee agreement." This means that besides the six-figure salaries they received, they got six-figure sums in Washington Post stock—and huge severance settlements when they resigned.

Larry Israel, in particular, is getting over \$100,000 in contract termination payments.

These sums make a pitiful contrast to the \$13,000 in damage to the presses done by pressmen trying to defend their right to make a living.

But after all, parasites like Israel and Prescott aren't ordinary workers at all. Indeed, they and their six-figure bonuses are symbols of what the "free press" in America is all about.



steelyard blues

DECISION TIME FOR THE UNITED STEEL WORKERS

The Issue Is Equality

AT LAST SEPTEMBER'S United Steel Workers convention, I.W. Abel brought the first black onto the International Executive Board. To do this he created a special Department of Human Affairs and then appointed a black staffer, Leon Lynch, to be the vice president in charge of this department.

Presumably the department is to deal with the struggles of blacks, women and minorities in the union. But Lynch himself was remarkable only in that he had not been involved in these struggles.

Faced with Ed Sadowski's challenge for leadership in the union and a history of opposition from black union staff, Abel was maneuvering to pull away Sadowski's potential black support.

Abel had no real program for the newly created department, nor did Lynch, who is now running for the position on the McBride slate. When asked at a rally in the Gary, Indiana area what he would do as vice president, Lynch replies, "Whatever the president tells me to..."

Abel and Lynch's Department of Human Affairs is to be simply a token concession to the long struggle for adequate representation of blacks in the union.

But it could be more than that. It could be a real organizing center in the mills, shops and union for the struggle against discrimination.

CONSENT DECREE

Discriminatory hiring and promotion practices were supposedly ended in basic steel when the Consent Decree was signed in April 1974 by the union, steel companies, and federal government. Minority workers had for years been given the lowest paying, dirtiest, hottest and most dangerous jobs. In many plants there were dual seniority systems, one for blacks, one for whites, with blacks having the least access to higher paying jobs.

In 1976, for example, when a group of black steelworkers filed suit against Bethlehem Steel at Sparrow Point, Md., 75% of all coke workers and 99% of the sinter plant workers—workers in some of the worst areas of the mill—were black.

Neither department offered jobs above job class level 7 or 8, far below the highest skill and pay level of 32. Eighty-one percent of the plant's black workers were in 14 all- or predominantly-black departments.

The Consent Decree was to establish plantwide seniority to allow blacks and minorities to get out of their low-paying, dead end jobs. It was also to bring more women and minorities into the industry by filling quotas for new openings.

NOT MUCH CHANGE

Now, close to three years later, the situation remains not much different than it was. As one steel worker put it, "All you have to do is look around you to see whether discrimination is still a problem."

In basic steel, blacks and Latinos are moving very slowly into some of the better departments.

But the dirtiest departments, such as coke plants or general laborer, are still overwhelmingly black."

Many women workers hired under the decree found themselves first laid off in the recent layoffs. Others were hired and then fired before they were off probation because "they could not do the work."

A major reason the Consent Decree has not changed conditions



Leon Lynch (left), on the McBride slate, has not been involved in struggles against racism in the USW, while Oliver Montgomery, running on the Sadowski slate, has.

is the limitations of the decree itself. For example, while it establishes plantwide seniority, it sets up procedures that are stacked against workers transferring departments.

The Decree requires that jobs be posted plantwide only after they have first been posted and left unfilled in their unit, and then their department. This means that only the lowest rated jobs end up being posted plant wide.

Further, while workers trans-

ferring retain their plant seniority, if they transfer to a lower rated job they can keep their old rate of pay for only two years.

During that time, if they cannot work their way up step by step through a fixed line of progression, they risk ending up with a lower rate of pay than they originally had.

The Consent Decree in fact was never meant to be a solution to the

problems of minorities and women in steel. It was really meant to be a solution to the problems blacks were causing the companies and the unions.

The decree was initially signed—without consulting the groups affected—in order to head off a growing number of anti-discrimination suits filed by black workers in the late sixties and early '70's.

In 1973 a federal court ruled on a key case at U.S. Steel's Fairfield,

Alabama plant. It ordered limited plantwide seniority, and cash back pay damages to black, Spanish, and women workers to compensate for discrimination. Both the company and the union were defendants in this and other suits.

If the Fairfield pattern were applied to the whole steel industry, minority and women steelworkers would have received \$500 million damages. Instead the companies and the union working together—as they had five months, earlier when they signed the no-strike deal—went to the federal government and came up with the Consent Decree which cost only \$30 million.

McBRIDE'S ATTITUDE

The real attitude of the present union leadership toward the Consent Decree and the fight against discrimination was shown recently by Lloyd McBride himself. While campaigning in East Chicago, McBride joined a picket line at Inland Steel, protesting a Consent Decree closely following the one Abel negotiated three years earlier!

The reason for this was to attack the campaign of Jim Balanoff, president of Inland Local 1010 and Fight Back candidate for District 31 director, who signed the agreement.

When McBride wants to prove he is willing to fight discrimination, he'll defend the Consent Decree. But when it suits other political purposes, such as defeating Balan-

off, he's against it. For the McBride-Abel leadership, the fight against discrimination is a fight they've manipulated every step of the way.

The task for the Human Affairs Department is to end this type of manipulation and to expand the fight against discrimination.

Oliver Montgomery, the Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for Vice President for Human Affairs, has for years been a part of that fight. Since 1964, he has been a leader of the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, a black caucus fighting for better black representation in the union.

EXPANDED GOALS

But Montgomery has only spoken of the Department of Human Affairs in general terms. To be effective, the Department will have to expand its goals beyond the specific limitations of the Consent Decree, including:

- Seniority must be plantwide, with all jobs posted in all departments;

- There should be no limit in retaining a current rate of pay in transferring to a new department. After transferring, a worker should not be limited to bidding only on jobs immediately above him/her in a line of job progression;

- Companies must pay full damages for the discriminatory hiring and promotion practices;

- The apprenticeship programs must be expanded to produce a higher percentage of minorities and women in the crafts, and apprenticeships should be filled by in-plant workers before there is any hiring off the streets;

- Layoffs should be on the basis of plantwide seniority, with voluntary inverse seniority to allow higher seniority workers with SUB benefits to choose to be laid off if they wish instead of new hires without SUB. □

Fighting Racism 27 Years

by Paul Ryan and Eric Bernard

BEN LYONS has worked in the Pittsburg, California U.S. Steel mill for 27 years. Chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of USWA Local 1440, he is also a member of the local Fight Back committee.

Ben recently talked with Workers' Power about racism at U.S. Steel, the Consent Decree, and the conditions that led to the Sadowski movement and the Pittsburg Fight Back committee.

I'VE BEEN IN this mill for 27 years, and I've seen that U.S. Steel is a racist company. A long time ago I passed a test for skilled clerk, but they wouldn't take me.

They said "we just can't take you." I said, "you mean you just don't want to see my face in that office," and they said, "we just can't take you, that's it."

Since the Consent Decree, you can go anywhere and bump anyone if you got the most seniority. It used to be that an individual's department seniority would supercede your plant seniority. In that way the Consent Decree was effective.

Some few got paid back for past discrimination at the time of the Consent Decree. Only certain categories got it, for discrimination going back to 1972. There should be more compensation.

SADLOWSKI

My opinion about why the men



Ben and Maryan Lyons

like Sadowski's stands is that they feel that under this present contract, they have no chance, they have no protection. In case something happens, you file a grievance, but it don't help any, if you don't have the right to strike.

Like what happened here some years back in 1960 or '61. We had three grievancemen actually fired. So we walked off the job. The general superintendent said if the men don't come back on the job, they won't have a job when they come back.

We told him we weren't coming back till they decided to put the men back to work. So they put

them back. If we didn't have a strike clause, those men would have been gone.

Now Sadowski, he wants to get the right to strike clause back in the contract. That's what we can fight with. That's why a lot of 'em want to change to Sadowski. Now we have no weapon to fight with in case anything happens.

CONTRACT

If he gets elected, he'll break it down so the local men have the right to vote on the contract. We need that turned back to the membership of the union.

If he wins, I think he'll have an effect on the contract this year. There must be something behind it if management's getting all upset about him, too. It's the first time I've ever known that management be dictating the affairs of union business.

The secretary and grievance chairman and some others here are pulling for McBride. We had some run-ins with them. They tell us that Sadowski is nothing but a Communist, and McBride's the one that's going to get the job done. We say we don't want to be on Abel's machine anymore. They just get mad and walk out.

The black guy on McBride's slate hasn't done nothing. He's just here for a sham, to pull the black vote. He has nothing to say. There's a gang of us here that feel just like I do about this. We've talked it over.

We've never had anything this strong before. All the other fellows that have run before for national president seemed to be one way, they agreed with the other fellow.

The leaders we have here, they'd tell us, "this man here is the best man for the job, we better get together." We believed what they said. But now, there came a time when we sprung away from them. We found out it wasn't so, so we pulled away.

If McBride wins, we've got no right to stop doing something. And if Sadowski wins, we'll keep it together, too. □

Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You! Write: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203

“Mistakes” such as this one are part and parcel of the way industry operates under capitalism.”

Dear Workers' Power,
As a Michigan resident and a woman I am obviously concerned about the recent findings on PBB. While the recent centerfold in Workers' Power discussed many of the problems of PBB, I'd like to point out some of its shortcomings.

There was a major point missing. The State Dept. of Health and the Selikoff team discovered traces of PBB in mothers milk. Not only are meat and dairy products from contaminated cows dangerous, but even pure mothers milk. What is left for our next generation?

What was most disturbing was the tone of the article. Knowledge of PBB is bad enough. What we have to make clear is that "mistakes" such as this one are part and parcel of the way industry operates under capitalism. The very cover-up shows how far this system will go to put profits before the health and safety of millions.

It is understanding situations such as these in our daily lives that people begin to understand how evil capitalism is. From there it is one step closer to building a movement to overthrow capitalism and build a system that puts people before profits. This is the only way to prevent the PBB's of the future and make the world safe for all our children.

In struggle,
Enid Eckstein
Detroit, MI

“What cowards they are.”

Dear Workers' Power,
Right on for the article about Carter's Attorney General, but you didn't condemn the black politicians enough.

When one U.S. Representative testified against Bell he told many stories of other blacks who wouldn't oppose the Attorney General.

One thing he said was that black attorneys in Washington and Baltimore also opposed Bell but wouldn't go public. Their reason: "the chances of us getting jobs in the justice department would be in serious jeopardy."

At least one black mayor wouldn't testify because "Bell is a part of the Administration and funds for my city may not be forthcoming."

These guys are "leading" us, all right. Right back to the days of open racism and segregation that were supposed to have been eliminated two decades ago. Especially the guys that are

worried about not getting jobs under Bell! They'll be the lawyers preparing legal briefs to halt school integration, open housing and affirmative action!

And the fact that they are black will mean the government will be able to get away with saying it's not being racist.

What cowards they are.
K.I.
Detroit, MI

“You exist in a constant state of surveillance.”

Dear Workers' Power,
Right on for your article on the Bell System. "Ma Bell Pulls All Wires." You caught the enormity of the monster, something that strikes all of us who work for it. The way you feel that enormity on the job is through the number of supervisors, phone taps, and the "Bell System Image."

I work in an office with nine supervisors but only twelve workers! Not only would they be a ready-made scab force, but from day to day their presence allows us no privacy. You exist in a constant state of surveillance.

Phone taps are another method of surveillance. They call it "monitoring." Operators know this well—but it extends to just about every phone on the job.

Off the job you can expect to hear funny clicking noises on your home line if you've been involved in a wildcat, as I was.

Bell swears up and down that they don't wiretap, but the recent award of one million dollars in damages to a former Bell executive in Texas for a tap on his home line pretty much blows their lie.

But it may be the "Bell System Image" that's most powerful. It's what they promote in their propaganda and what they use to hire, promote, and in cases of deviation, to fire.

It's the fantasy world of a white middle class America where there are no problems, a world where everything is in order except for a rare rate increase denial or a disturbing FCC ruling.

It's also the fantasy world where "The System is the Solution." Those of us who have not been blinded know otherwise.

B.D.
St. Louis, MO

“There can be no serious plan to reduce crime that does not begin with jobs for all.”

Dear Workers' Power,
Why are legal executions being re-introduced in America today? Are we sinking into a new era of reaction and paranoia?

Economic stagnation always takes a heavy toll. Part of this toll is a fertile social climate for appeals to racism and "law 'n

We Want Our Union Back!

Dear Workers' Power,
Your reader who expressed surprise that American Bridge was owned by U.S. Steel will be interested to hear how U.S. Steel uses American Bridge workers against steel workers inside the big mills.

Thousands of steel workers are on layoff, and yet U.S. Steel brings in an "outside contractor" to do jobs in the mill that are steel worker jobs. Who is this outsider? Why, U.S. Steel, disguised as American Bridge.

American Bridge workers are not in the steel workers union and do not receive the benefits, SUB, or health and safety protection won by steel workers.

They are brought in and taken out of the mill, making it difficult to develop the solidarity it takes to stop work on an unsafe job, or have a common cause with their

order" through repression. There can be no serious plan to reduce crime that does not begin with jobs and a decent standard of living for all. But what are the priorities of the government today?

Many of us are being convinced to accept military build-up, legions of cops, and now even firing squads! Firing squads!

Who will the courts be electrocuting, gassing, shooting, and strangling at the end of a rope? Will they be twisted butchers like Gary Gilmore? Or will some of them be innocent victims of racist frame-ups like Joann Little, Hurricane Carter, or Gary Tyler?

Look at the quality of the magazines and newspapers available at any grocery or drug store. Does anyone, for one minute, really feel confident that media-induced hysteria will never play a role in sending innocent people to the gallows? Does anyone really believe that racism or political meddling will never dictate the outcome of a capital case?

After some of the things we've experienced in the last few years, I'm surprised that so many Americans are still so naive.

Frank
Cleveland, OH

“I refuse to give up.”

Dear Workers' Power,
I am writing to thank you for taking the time to print the article you did on me. Words alone can not express the deep sense of appreciation I feel. It goes without saying that in a position like this, you find very few people that are willing to help. Presently, my appeal is being heard in the Ohio Supreme Court,



fellow steel workers.

Why is the outside contractor in the mill in the first place? Well, company and union work these things out and it's a sellout from start to finish. It's not fair to American Bridge workers or steel workers. And only U.S. Steel profits.

Abel sold away steel workers right to strike, without our consent and we're fighting a losing battle with the companies as a result. It's not just a question of the strike, it's the day to day conditions we face on the shop floor: incentives, grievances,

apprentice programs, contracting out, discrimination, health and safety.

Steel workers and union members around the country should understand that the elections for international officers on February 8 gives us the chance to say, "We want control of our union back from company men like McBride. And we want back our right to strike so we'll have a fighting chance against companies like U.S. Steel."

D.L.
USWA 1014
Gary, IN

after being denied in the first appeal court.

What is so absolutely depressing about this is the fact that there was absolutely no concrete evidence to convict me when I went to court. I even presented five alibi witnesses in my trial to prove that I was at home in bed at the time of the crime. Yet I was sentenced to death, along with another guy and my mother.

In spite of all this, I refuse to give up. I have to keep fighting in order to have any chance to live. And, with your and others' help, I will be able to prove my innocence.

In struggle,
Carl Osborne
Death Row
Lucasville, OH

“They are singing quite a different tune about democracy.”

Dear Workers' Power,
Congratulations on a great scoop about I.W. Abel's belief in doing away with democratic elections for top officers of the steelworkers union!

For several years I have read in Steel Labor (the union's official paper) that "democracy is alive and well" in the USWA because we have a referendum vote on our top officers. Now, when it looks like the machine might get toppled, they are singing quite a different tune about democracy.

The other point the article made, about the need to rewrite the constitution, is absolutely

correct. Win or lose, the real democratic forces in the union—those behind Ed Sadowski today—are going to have to get organized to totally eliminate "machine" domination and machine politics from our union—and replace it with real membership control!

Yours,
Tom Michl
Cleveland, OH

“How is a paycheck like a sunrise?”

Dear Workers' Power,
Thanks for the most enjoyable crossword puzzle I've ever worked. Would you like to have a riddle column? Here's some for starters:

1. What's the longest walk to the shortest stay?
2. What's cold, told, and sold?
3. What's black or white and red all over?
4. How is a paycheck like a sunrise?

Answers:

1. The ten minute bathroom break.
2. The Texas Public Utilities Commission, who granted Ma Bell a huge rate increase in spite of record SW Bell profits.
3. All those people who are waking up to how they were used by Carter.
4. Almost as soon as you see it, it's gone.

Yvonne
Austin, TX

Where We Stand

WE OPPOSE

- **CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION**
We live under the capitalist system. The wealth produced by working people is stolen from us by private employers. They prosper from our labor.
- **CAPITALIST CONTROL**
Capitalists use their profits only to make more profits. When they need fewer workers, they create unemployment. When they need more money, they speed up work, downgrade safety conditions, and raise prices. The capitalist system spends little on health care, a clean environment, or social services, because these things make no profit.
- **OPPRESSION**
Capitalism needs inequality. Because it needs profits, it can't provide enough for all. So it gives some groups of people worse jobs and lower pay and labels them inferior. In particular, capitalism locks black people into the bottom of society, and spreads racist ideas to keep them there and justify it. Capitalism keeps women responsible for taking care of the home when it is not at work, including children, who are too young to work. Women who work for wages have two jobs.
- **CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT**
The government serves the capitalist class. Its only purpose is to protect the private profit system. It protects its interests abroad through economic control of other countries, spying and wars.
- **BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNISM**
Russia, China and other countries with economies like theirs are also oppressive class societies, run by a privileged ruling class of bureaucrats. They are not socialist and must be overthrown by the working class of those countries.

WE SUPPORT

- **THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT**
The unions protect workers from their employers. But today's unions are run by privileged officials who sell out because they support the capitalist system. They want labor peace, not labor power. We support the struggle for rank and file control of the unions.
- **LIBERATION FROM OPPRESSION**
We support the struggles of every oppressed group to end its oppression; the struggle for equality and justice by blacks, women, gays, latinos, native Americans, and all oppressed people. Support from the entire working class movement will make both these struggles, and that movement, stronger.
- **SOCIALISM**
Socialism should be run by the working class. The wealth produced by those who work should go to fill people's needs, not to private gain.
- **WORKERS' REVOLUTION**
But the capitalist class will not give up their rule and profits voluntarily. Socialism can be created only when the working class seizes control of the factories and makes their own government. The working class will rule democratically because it can own society's wealth only together.
- **INTERNATIONALISM**
The struggle for socialism is world wide. Nations fighting to throw out foreign rulers must have the support of the international working class. So must every struggle of working people to end their oppression, as in Portugal today, and in Russia and Eastern Europe.
- **REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**
The most class conscious members of the working class have the responsibility to lead the struggle toward socialist revolution. To do this they must build an organization to put their consciousness into action and make their leadership effective.
- **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS**
The I.S. is an organization of revolutionary socialist workers. We are open to all who accept our basic principles and are willing to work as a member to achieve them. Join with us to build the I.S. into a revolutionary party, to build the movement to end exploitation and oppression and to create a socialist world.

Workers' Power
313-869-5964

Yale Resists Organizing Drive

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Yale University is doing everything in its power to keep its clerical and technical employees from organizing a union. There is now an organizing drive at Yale, in an attempt to affiliate with OPEIU (Office and Professional Employees International Union). Two previous attempts to organize a union failed because of threats and illegal intimidation.

The University has set up its own "information service" on the union, which consists of meetings for workers during working hours which are closed to union representatives. The University has refused to debate the union during these meetings.

Starting salary for a clerk-typist is \$5000 a year—below the poverty level in 1969, the government ordered Yale to submit an affirmative action plan regarding the fair hiring, wages, and promotion for women and minorities. Seven years later, they still haven't submitted an acceptable plan.

Eighty-three percent of the clerical and technical workers at Yale are women. Throughout the U.S., women make 56c for every \$1 earned by a man, but at Yale the differential is even worse. In the New Haven area, women make 48c for every dollar earned by a man. This is because Yale is the largest employer in the area, and its salaries are below the national averages.

GRIEVANCE

Yale employees do not have a fair or efficient grievance procedure. An employee with a grievance must go alone to his or her immediate supervisor. If the problem cannot be solved, it is taken to the personnel department, then to a university grievance committee. The procedure is time-consuming; the shortest case takes about one month. It is also intimidating to the employee, who has no representation and no job protec-

tion. Yale is doing everything it can to smash the union drive. There have been unfair promotions, victimizations, and threats to union organizers. Yale is not about to give up. Employees will only be able to fight back when they have won the fight to have a union. □

SAGINAW AUTO PLANT BACK TO WORK

Workers at the Saginaw Steering Gear Plant went back to work Monday, January 24 after striking over the local agreement the previous Thursday. The 8600 skilled and production workers approved the new contract by 88% and 92% margins.

The major gains were plant-wide transfer agreement and an agreement on seniority rights, whereby higher seniority workers cannot be moved out of their classifications before lower seniority ones.

The local also won company paid safety shoes for 300 workers in dangerous jobs.

PRESSURE

The local was under pressure from both GM and the UAW International to end the strike quickly, as the Saginaw plant is GM's only producer of steering components. A strike of five days could have shut down GM. A week to 10 days would have shut down much of the auto industry. Ford and Chrysler buy from the Saginaw plant too.

The Chevrolet Metal Casting Plant, also in Saginaw, had a Monday, January 24 strike deadline which was extended till Thursday. Forty-nine of GM's 143 bargaining units still do not have new local agreements.

Chrysler's Fostoria Foundry, also a critical plant, had its January 24 deadline extended indefinitely. □

Hospital Workers Demand Promised Raise

ATLANTA HOSPITAL workers are presently getting a big run around about their five percent cost of living raise. Workers at Grady Memorial Hospital, Atlanta's largest public charity hospital, are members of AFSCME Local 1644.

They were promised a 5% cost of living raise by the hospital management in December, effective January 1.

Hospital management is now hemming and hawing and there has been no raise yet. They say they can't grant a raise because tax money allotted to run the hospital doesn't stretch far enough.

Meanwhile, hospital administrators drive around in free cars, furnished to them by the hospital, on free gas. Expensive drapes and carpets are bought for administrative offices.

There are no plans to cut back on the top-heavy administrative and supervisory staff of 1500 people that the hospital feels it needs to supervise the 1800 workers at Grady. Yet the average Grady worker makes less than \$3 an hour.

Workers attended the recent hospital board of trustees meeting on January 24 to protest the cut in their wages and to demand that the hospital make good on its promise for a raise. The board told the workers to go make their demands on the County Commission, which grants public funds to the hospital.

But Grady workers are not fooled by this run-around. They know that the hospital administration decides how to spend its money and that there is money for a raise. Several active rank and file union members are making plans to organize some militant action to get the raise since the AFSCME union officials are doing nothing. □

Louisville Rally Supports Jeffries Moody

LOUISVILLE—On January 25, thirty people came out during a snowstorm to a support rally for Jeffries Moody. The rally was called by the American Standard Workers in Defense of Jeffries Moody. Moody has worked at the company for 26 years.

The case grows out of a shooting incident in the early morning hours of May 21st while Moody was driving home. After a near collision, Arthur Alvy, the driver of a blue Volkswagen, forced Moody to the curb, repeatedly called him a "nigger," and fired a shot which hit the cab of his truck.

Alvy was a cop, but never identified himself as such. Moody returned the fire and wounded Alvy. Moody then drove off to find a cop to report that someone had

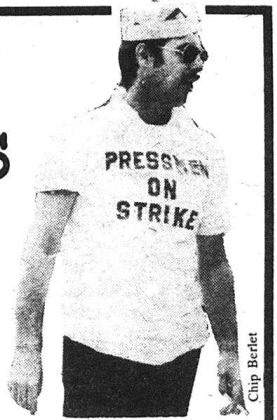
tried to rob him. For this, Moody was arrested, beaten by two white officers, and charged with first degree assault.

Alvy claims that Moody, tried to kill him as part of an assassination plot by illegal tavern owners in the west end. However, he admitted that he never reported that theory to either the city Safety Director, to the Police Chief or to homicide investigators. Alvy was also unable to explain why he thought it was so important to get rid of the beer cans inside his car after he had been shot.

The trial continues. The courtroom and the seats outside have been filled with supporters who are wondering why Jeffries Moody is on trial instead of a drunken racist. □

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward



Chip Berlet

Last year, General Motors tried to get auto workers to pay part of the cost of health care provided for in GM-UAW contracts. The union resisted that demand, but GM hasn't given up. "In 1976 we essentially failed in our cost-sharing objective," says Victor M. Zink, a top GM official. "But there will be other opportunities in other years." Zink says the virtue of "cost-sharing" is that the patient would be more cautious in determining what health care is to be received if he or she had to pay for part of it. Undoubtedly true. Which is why there are a lot of really sick poor people in this country.

The Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH) is backing Ed Sadlowski for president of the United Steel Workers. FASH members are independent truckers who transport steel. William Hill, FASH president, said, "Our people are hauling into the mills all the time and we feel Ed's leadership will do us a lot of good." Some FASH members are taking Sadlowski literature with them into the mills.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) whose job is handling cases of employment discrimination, has been found guilty of discriminating against one of its own employees. A federal judge ordered the EEOC to give Michael Hernandez back pay, legal fees, and the promotion which he was denied in 1971. Gives you a real feeling of confidence in the EEOC, doesn't it?

Ohio Bell is running around showing its employees a new disaster film. It's about the financial collapse of the telephone company, which occurs in 1984. The film is a productivity ploy, laying the blame for the Bell System's collapse in part on waste, theft, and sloppy work. The cure, it concludes, is "a full day's work for a full day's pay." But the film's producer worries about what scare story he can peddle next. "Once you've collapsed the corporation," he says, "it's very difficult to come up with an encore."

According to the federal budget drawn up by President Ford just before he left office, the Labor Department expects to receive 18,000 claims for black lung compensation this year from miners crippled by the disease. But it expects to approve only 1200 of them! Maybe Carter's budget will be better, but don't hold your breath. During the primaries, Carter privately told an aide he opposed an expanded black lung benefits plan because it was too expensive and anyway "they chose to be miners."

Workers' Power rarely has anything good to say about businessmen. But we want to hand out a word of praise to the Business-Professional Advertising Association for hitting one on the mark. The Association gave Edgar B. Speer its "Business Communicator of the Year" award. Speer, who is chairman of United States Steel, was honored for a series of ads in which he threatened to move his company's operations out of the Pittsburgh area if city and state governments insisted on strict enforcement of anti-pollution standards. Blackmail, right? Blackmail is what "business communication" is all about.

What's happening where you work? Send items for this column to: Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203. Or phone 313-869-5964.

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"ROOTS" THAT RUN 200 YEARS DEEP

by Kate Stacy

There are 25,000,000 people of African descent in the United States. Alex Haley wrote his "Roots" for all of them. The dedication comes in the last line of the book. There, he says that the purpose of his work was to produce a history that was not written by or for "the winners."

Throughout this massive and richly detailed work, Haley explores the development in this country of a captured people who are not white but were no longer African.

Kunta Kinte was 17 when stolen away by the toubab—white slavers—and the slatee traitors—the toubab's African hirelings.

Becoming a slave of an African was a temporary condition brought on by crop failure, or disease, or family death. But being stolen away by the toubab was another matter entirely. It is assumed the toubab eats his slaves.

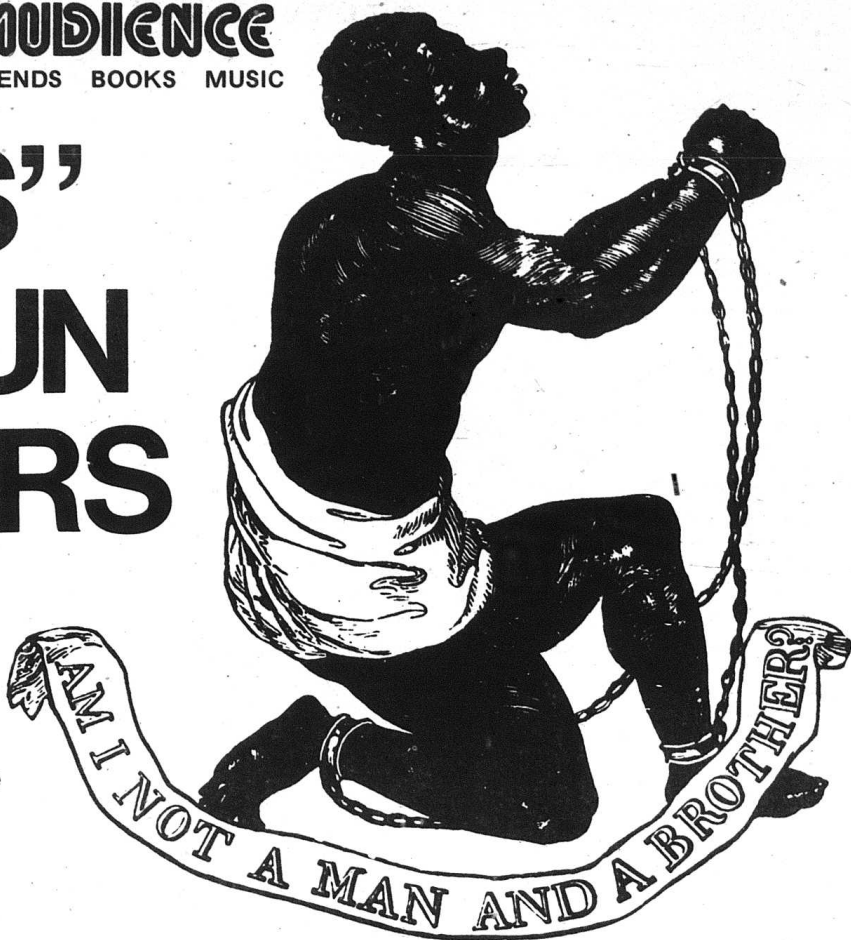
This is all that Kunta knows, as he and the other captured Africans begin their 85-day nightmare across the ocean.

In the book, the voyage and life in America is told through Kunta's struggle to make sense out of this new world and its peoples—both the toubab and their slaves, the niggers.

Kunta cannot understand slaves that do not need to be chained when they are so brutally mistreated. He cannot understand these people who call themselves "niggers," and who do the toubab's bidding. And they, in turn, do not understand Kunta.

"Roots. The Saga of an American Family." by Alex Haley. Published by Doubleday & Co., Inc.

Kunta runs. And he keeps running until, on his fourth escape, half of his foot is chopped off by slave catchers.



Finally, Kunta is forced to live among his fellow slaves. He discovers, shamefully, that they too despise their condition. They too hunger after freedom.

Kunta's first friend, Fiddler, finally cries out, "What put me out with you African niggers, you git over here figgerin' niggers here ought to be like you is! How you expect we gon' know 'bout Africa? We ain't never been dere, an' ain't goin' neither!"

The story lines, explore the different responses the slaves have to their condition.

THE BEST

Bell, Kunta's wife, is obsessed with her master's family line and accomplishments. She strives to make the best of her servitude.

Fiddler has a different view: "Niggers here say Massa William a good master, an' I seen worse. But ain't none of 'em no good. Dey all lives off niggers. Niggers is the biggest thing dey got."

And Kunta has a third view. He has been a free man, and in his mind he will never be a slave. His personal battle is fought over he raising of his daughter, Kizzy.

He teaches her African words and traditions. Bell teaches her to be a good housemaid. The Massa's niece makes a toy out of her, a "nigger doll." Among other things, the niece teaches Kizzy to read and write—a practice forbidden to niggers.

When her ability is discovered, Bell's "good Massa William" sells Kizzy away from her family.

LOST FOREVER

As Kunta finally understood that he would never see his beloved Africa again, Kizzy understands that she has lost her family forever.

After her new master rapes her repeatedly, she has a son. She teaches him about the African and his strange words. She counsels

him not to forget, to pass their heritage along. And never to trust the white folks.

Kizzy's son, George, has eight children. Eventually they too are sold away from her to another plantation. But the story of the African remains alive.

Matilda, George's wife, listens as George "tells their rapt grandson the story of how his African great-great-gran'daddy had said he was not far from his village, chopping some wood to make a drum, when he had been surprised, overwhelmed, and stolen into slavery by four men, "den a ship bring 'im crost de big water to a place call 'Naplis.'"

The Civil War ends slavery, the family moves to Tennessee, and the generations continue. But it is here that Haley's book begins to thin.

When he begins to actually know the ancestors he can no longer invent the imaginative but fictional stories that bring the family history breath-takingly alive.

In addition, Haley's family becomes quite prosperous. The ability of their lives to express the traditions, the trials and the triumphs of blacks in America is lost as well.

There is no Great Migration north to industrial and urban slums in "Roots." Nor is there a civil rights or black liberation movement.

But the thread returns in the final pages, as Haley begins to tell his own story: the quest to document the family's oral history.

"When I had been thoroughly immersed in listening to accounts of all those people unseen who had lived away back yonder, invariably it would astonish me when the long narrative finally got down to Cynthia. . . and there I sat looking right at Grandma!"

The quest ended years later, when Haley finally locates Kunta's village. And "Roots" is the final

expression of that goal.

It is a fine book, worth all 580 pages of reading. Haley's writing is flowery, but the content is fascinating. And he is an excellent story-teller.

The book is now enjoying brisk sales in hardback because of the television drama. But with a \$12.50 price tag, it should soon be out in paperback to keep sales going. In the meantime, you'll have to get on the reserve list at your local library. It's worth it.

"ROOTS" ON TV

After viewing the first half of it, ABC's twelve-hour dramatization of "Roots" looks like solid, exciting television. Although at times extreme stereotypes set in, the show basically explores the same themes as the book.

The horrors of slavery have been the essence of the first four chapters. There is absolutely nothing good to be said about that period, and ABC doesn't try to pretend that there is. The treatment of slave traders, slave owners, and the society they exist in is scathing.

More efforts have been put into developing the relationships between the white people than appear in the book, perhaps to broaden the appeal of the television series beyond a solely black audience. But most of these characters are very shallow.

The cast is so far quite good, particularly Lou Gossett as Fiddler and Madge Sinclair as Bell.

LeVar Burton and John Amos do admirable performances with the difficult role of Kunta Kinte. Unfortunately their shared role suffers the most from the screenwriters' attempt to romanticize the character.

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LOOK WHO'S JOKING ABOUT FUEL CRISIS!

by Kate Stacy

"HOUSTON OIL EXECUTIVES joked to each other that it was amazing what a good cold winter could do for cooperation." That report appeared in the New York Times along with headlines of record earnings, profits and stockholders' dividends for gas and oil companies.

Now President Carter is going to help them make more money. Under legislation announced by Carter Wednesday, unregulated

gas can be sold in "emergencies," at unregulated prices, through so-called regulated interstate pipelines. That will send prices and profits right through the roof.

Even without this new bonanza, Exxon reported a profit rise of 5.5% for last year. To the nation's largest industrial corporation, that means \$2.6 billion dollars in profits.

While consumers' budgets reel under rapidly mounting utility bills, Consolidated Edison Company quietly increased quarterly

dividends 25%, on its way to a record profit year.

NOT EMBARRASSED

Con Ed apparently does not find it embarrassing that it already has the highest rates in the country. Nor does it seem to be bothered by its \$250 million rate increase request now pending. And Con Ed is not alone.

The General Public Utilities Corporation reported earnings gains of 67%. Large numbers of companies are posting similarly

record-breaking earnings. And every penny is coming out of consumers' pockets.

The companies are lying about their inability to find and produce energy supplies for their customers. They created this shortage purposely over the last decade to end federal price regulations and conservation efforts that get in the way of their "healthy" profits.

Mobil Oil complains about the "Antiquated price system which has made it uneconomic to explore for new natural gas" in its massive advertising campaigns.

In 1972 domestic gas was regulated at 29c a thousand cubic feet. After five years, the federal regulation put the price of "newly discovered" gas up to a mere \$1.44 per thousand cubic feet. That's 500% of the 1972 price.

The industry admits that it follows production practices that limit market supply.

Not enough profit incentives, the energy monopolies complain. The result is fuel shortages, which they then blame on Washington's interference.

BLACKMAIL

The federal government has practically rolled over and played dead in the face of the industry's blackmail.

President Carter claims he's submitting emergency energy legislation that is neutral on long term issues like deregulation. His plan gives him the authority to ration supplies and to "temporarily" ignore price ceilings.

In December, the Federal Power Commission authorized \$1.5 billion worth of "temporary" price increases for gas producers. The largest recipient was Exxon.

But the industry smells complete victory in the cold blast of the winter's chill. Victory means the ability to completely dictate government energy policy.

One of their U.S. Representatives, Robert Krueger, has the nerve to say, "We have been held hostage so long we have to act when we can."

The good Representative will introduce amendments to eliminate federal price ceilings entirely.

Besides the high fuel bills, working and poor people are suffering even more in this crisis. There is the loss of jobs in a time of extreme unemployment. Layoffs in Ohio alone are expected to hit 200,000 in two weeks if, as expected, the weather remains very cold.

ILLNESS

Illness and death will increase as greedy utilities cut off service, forcing residents to keep fires going in charcoal burners, and stoves lit all night. Old people, welfare recipients, and others on fixed incomes will have to choose between food, medical care, and other essentials or heat.

And there is no way that it is going to get better very soon.

Administration energy officials say pipelines serving the east have used up gas reserves planned for February and March already.

And still the industry wails that Americans have gotten "soft," used to "cheap energy," and are unwilling to pay the real costs of capitalist competition.

And oil executives are joking about the value of a good cold winter.

Racist Court Denies New Trial For Gary Tyler

On January 24, the Louisiana Supreme Court confirmed the conviction of Gary Tyler, 18, for first degree murder. Tyler was framed when a white youth was killed during an anti-busing riot in Destrehan, Louisiana in November, 1974.

Gary, his family and supporters have been waiting since last November for a decision from the Louisiana court. The court waited until the last day legally possible to present their decision. They could have decided for a new trial.

The court sent Gary's case back to the district court for sentencing.

The judges instructed the district court to sentence him to life imprisonment without benefit of parole, probation, or suspended sentence for a period of 20 years.

Within approximately three weeks the district court will sentence Gary according to the guidelines set down by the Supreme Court of Louisiana. Gary will probably very shortly be returned to Angola State Prison.

There was little dissent among the Supreme Court judges. One judge will write a concurring opinion, indicating that he agreed with the result of Gary's case, but for different reasons. Gary's lawyer had argued for a new trial on the basis that the jury was all white. But the State Supreme Court said that because the original defense counsel did not object to the jury selection, they would not review it on appeal.

Jack Peebles, Gary's present defense attorney, considers this question one of the most important of the case. He said, "It may be one of the issues we are going to take to the federal Supreme Court. Because we feel that there is a federal Constitutional issue involved in this jury charge, we would like the U.S. Supreme Court to review this case."

Mr. Peebles said further that sometimes the court has, on its own motion, reversed the decision of a lower court in cases involving jury charges. So there is a precedent for this.

A second issue which may be appealed to the federal Supreme Court is the right of the Louisiana Supreme Court to impose the penalty of life imprisonment, no parole, probation, or suspended sentence for a period of 20 years without any statute to base it on.

WITNESS LIED

The only witness for the prosecution, Natalie Blanks, has admitted in a signed affidavit that her testimony was lies that police forced her to tell. But the court said that it was in the discretion of the district court to decide whether Blanks was lying the first time or the second time she testified.

The judges, loyal to the court



Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother.

The Committee to Free Gary Tyler is beginning a campaign to send thousands of postcards to the judge in Gary's case, demanding a new trial and showing widespread public support. There will also be demonstrations on the day of the next hearing. Contact: Committee to Free Gary Tyler, P.O. Box 18017, Cleveland, Ohio 44118 or your local Red Tide or IS chapter. Your support is needed. Free Gary Tyler, fight the racist system!

Juanita Tyler told Workers' Power, "I'm not giving up. I just set up a new office in New Orleans for the Gary Tyler Defense Committee. I have a bigger fight now than ever. We must all push for a bigger effort and go forward."
The address of the new office is: Gary Tyler Defense Committee, P.O. Box 52223, New Orleans, LA 70152.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION BLOCKED FOR INDY

INDIANAPOLIS.—The United States Supreme Court ruling of January 25, striking down the Indianapolis school busing plan, is a serious blow against legal equality for black people.

The new ruling stipulates that for court-ordered busing to be enforced there must be clear proof of intent by authorities to create segregated schools.

Busing is not a cure-all for the racist society we live in. However, this case shows that busing is a method by which education for black children can be improved.

This ruling is an especially clear case of the courts deliberately protecting the racist structure. The

city's political powers have set up separate "city" school and "county" school systems, even though the city and county governments are actually one and the same.

This court decision means that Indianapolis blacks will not get a chance to use the richer facilities of Marion County schools—even though the city of Indianapolis legally includes all of Marion County!

If preserving two separate school systems in Marion County—one white and one black—isn't proof of "intent to discriminate," then what kind of proof could there ever be?