

WORKERS' Power

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS March 20, 1978 #246 25c

CALL NO TO TAFT-HARTLEY HIGH CLASS STRIKE BREAKERS SAFE LABOR ORGANIZATION

MORE ON THE MINERS:
 BCOA takes a licking ... 6-7
 Pensions ... 10
 Solidarity Grows ... 6-7
 What We Think ... 8

"The Miners Showed Us How To Fight"

by Jim Woodward

"It's already a partial victory, but we want a complete victory."

That's what Greg Hawthorne, an Ohio miner, had to say about the latest proposal to end the 15-week coal miners' strike.

But a partial victory does not mean a good contract. The plain fact is that—again—the tentative contract is worse than the 1974 contract which expired in December.

This latest contract is a partial victory according to Dave Lamm, a West Virginia UMW member, because "you gotta look at what [the coal operators] were trying to do in the first place. They were trying to destroy the union."

"Because we were able to fight as well as we did, we beat back two really bad contracts—the first one just basically nothing but a union-breaking contract, and the second one not too much better."

TWO STEPS BACK

The latest proposal, although clearly better than the rejected contracts, contains two big steps backwards from the '74 contract.

The major objections are:

- It allows companies to set up incentive schemes if they can get the agreement of the local union. The idea is to pay bonuses for higher productivity. Miners fear this would tempt someone to take short-cuts with safety, which would endanger them all.

- "We can't work under incentives," Hawthorne said. "It's just like a death warrant for coal miners."

- The proposed contract institutes a \$200 deductible for health care which was completely free

under the last contract. Although \$200 may not hurt a working miner too much, it could be a big burden for a pensioner living on \$275 a month.

In addition, medical care is slated to change over from one centralized health fund to private insurance companies like Aetna or Blue Cross. Miners feel this could seriously damage the non-profit health clinics which provide much of the health care in the coal fields.

- The new contract gives pensioners only a token raise, and does not even begin to equalize pensions for different groups of retirees. This was a major contract demand from the beginning.

"The old guys—they're really the ones that built the union, and they're the ones that are getting screwed by this," Hawthorne said. "They don't have the right to vote on the contract so we gotta vote for them."

For these reasons, the new contract just might be rejected by the rank and file. Its approval by a 22-17 vote of the UMW bargaining council is much closer than the 25-13 vote the last time around.

What's clear is that if the miners vote it down, they are perfectly justified in doing so.

They really aren't asking for that much. A contract which kept the same conditions as the 1974 agreement and included some real progress towards equalizing pensions would sail through.

The rest of the labor movement

has an obligation to keep up its fund raising and food collection efforts to help the miners. The miners should not be starved into voting for an inferior contract.

Whatever the miners decide about this contract, their long strike has been an inspiration to the rest of the labor movement.

"They showed us how to fight," said one Detroit auto worker.

That's important, because sooner or later, other unions are going to be faced with the same kind of employer aggression the miners saw this year.

Dave Lamm put it this way: "I think [it's very important that] the momentum that's been created by this strike among the more activist orientated rank and file members of other unions is followed through."

"They have a task to organize in their unions and prepare for this kind of a strike, because I really don't think that what the employers did to the coal miners is anywhere near what they plan to do to other sections of the American working class."



HARTLEY-TAFT GETS THE SHAFT

The labor movement used to call it the "Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act." In the years since the law was passed in 1947, labor officials' passions have cooled a bit.

But not the miners'. Out of 180,000 strikers, the employers counted only 60-100 back at work under the Carter Administration's Taft-Hartley injunction. What's more amazing is that this near-unanimous sentiment was achieved virtually without picket lines.

A group of women, pre-

sumably miners' wives, showed up to picket one Amax Coal Co. mine, but no one tried to cross their line.

John Mendez, a local leader in West Virginia, put the Taft-Hartley issue in its proper perspective:

"The President came out and said that he was invoking the Taft-Hartley Act in order to protect the health and safety of the American people. Did he stop to think that the coal miners—aren't they American citizens?"

"Who is protecting their health? What's he saying? He's saying your health is not worth protecting because you're a coal miner."

Robert Payne, a Black miner, returned to the old labor theme, when asked about Taft-Hartley.

"The pressure should have been put on the coal operators, not on the men," he said. "That's trying to put the men under what they call a bondage, you see. And ain't nobody going to go back to no more slavery laws no more."

Nickel candy - as obsolete as capitalism!

Inflation, inflation, the plague of lives, Prices go up while the dollar dives. Imports cost more, but there's a catch— Domestic producers raise prices to match. Wage increases get eaten away, And now inflation seems here to stay. Even recessions don't wipe it out, And that is what this article will tell you about.

by Karen Kaye

If your grocery bills this month have left you with a pain in the pocketbook, blame February's jump in wholesale food prices, which made their biggest leap since November 1974.

In February's mere 28 days, wholesale food went up 2.9%.

And if it seems that inflation's been going on for too long, that's correct.

I remember many years in the 50's when my major purchases always stayed the same price: comic books ten cents; five stick packs of gum, a nickel; and the quart of milk I picked up for my mother were always a quarter. But anyone ten years old or younger today has never known this price stability.

Things used to be named by their prices: the nickel candy bar, the two-dollar watch, or the ten cent, twenty cent, twenty-five cent size.

Inflation also used to stop during economic recessions.

This is one of the laws of capitalism they teach you in school. "When there is a recession, many people lose their jobs and the prices go down, because with higher unemployment there is less demand."

SEEDS OF INFLATION

The seeds of today's inflation lie in World War II. Arms spending lifted the country out of the Great

Citibank Pulls One Foot Out of South Africa

The second largest bank in America has decided to stop making loans to the South African government or government-run companies.

Apparently Citibank decided that the cost of doing business with South Africa was becoming just too high.

In the last few months more and more unions and union pension funds have been joining churches



Depression so effectively that the government maintained a huge arms budget ever after as a cushion against the depressions that are a regular part of capitalism's business cycle.

However, arms spending is inflationary. It's waste spending.

The economic effect is the same as manufacturing millions of toasters, rugs, TV's, laundry baskets...and dynamiting them instead of selling them.

Prices of the toasters, rugs, TV's and laundry baskets that were left would rise.

The arms budget also adds to the government deficit. This year the arms budget is \$117.8 billion and the deficit is \$61 billion. The deficit is the amount of money the government spends that it doesn't have. It achieves this by printing more money, which is perhaps the classic way to create inflation.

But until about ten years ago, the arms economy filled its mission of leveling off recessions without causing too many problems. Then the increased arms spending for the Vietnam war began to send inflation up.

And foreign capitalist countries had finally built up their economies from the devastation of World War II and became competitive with the

U.S. again.

Since the U.S. could no longer call all the economic shots, problems began to resurface here.

When the recession of 1974-1975 didn't halt inflation, puzzled economists coined the word "stagflation" to describe the situation.

PRICES AND WAGES

While textbook capitalism says that in a recession, prices fall, the large size and small number of today's major businesses means that they can impose monopoly pricing during a recession: manufacturers agree to keep prices high and profit off a smaller market.

For example, the recession of 1974-5 did not prevent American automakers from raising the price of their products an average of about \$1000 between 1974 and 1975.

For the wage earner, inflation is a hidden wage cut.

The stated amount of pay goes up, but inflation wipes out its buying power. In the U.S., real wages have gone back to 1973 levels.

A worker with three dependents who took home \$127.41 in 1973

took home \$176.95 in November 1977. Looks like a big raise. But while the value of the \$127.41 was \$95.73, the value of the \$176.95 is only \$95.44. (Figures from the U.S. Department of Labor.)

While the press tries to blame inflation on greedy workers who make outrageous wage gains, it is clear that just staying even with rising prices is the main economic battle for working people.

Even cost of living arrangements in union contracts are not designed to fully keep up with the cost of living.

CAUSES SPEED-UP

Inflation is also causing speed-up at work. Inflation discourages the capitalist from investing in new equipment that would raise the productivity of his business and give him the competitive edge.

So, many employers today are raising productivity by working employees harder on the old equipment.

The falling dollar is the final major cause of inflation today.

The dollar is falling in value compared to foreign currencies because the U.S. economy is growing faster, importing more and exporting less than Germany and Japan, the U.S.'s main business competitors today. With the dollar low, imports are more expensive. But since domestic producers raise their prices to match the imports, we don't save here either.

The new surge of inflation indicates that the business recovery is coming to an end. Government economists now expect 7% inflation this year, instead of the White House's 6% prediction. If current trends continue, inflation will be double digit.

RICHMAN'S GAME

All these things show that the basic cause of inflation is capitalism itself.

It's simply part of the profit race of the world's millionaire minority. While they don't like inflation, you can't have capitalism without it.

Socialism on the other hand, has no built in need for inflation, since in a system of workers' control, production will be to fill human need, not to win a private profit race.

The High Profits Of Sugar Addiction

by Elissa Clarke

DOES it bother you when your four-year-old sings "Give me the Campbell life...?"

When you're shopping with your youngster, can you resist his/her demands for "Cookie Crisp," the cereal that "can change your dish into a cookie jar"?

Are you driven to distraction by your children's demands for the toys they see advertised on TV?

For more than a decade, parent and consumer groups have been fighting against the huckstering of the young.

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) is finally responding. New guidelines about advertising aimed at tots will not free your child's mind from the dictatorship of the television—but they may give kids a fighting chance.

The new proposals include:
• A ban on all advertising on television programs with "substantial" audiences of children six or under.

That will liberate Captain Kangaroo and Romper Room anyway.

• A ban on TV advertising of highly-sugared foods to older children by limiting such spots to after 9 p.m., when the so-called family hour is over.

The worst offenders here are the breakfast foods, which hook your kids on sweets for life. Particularly insidious are such cereals as "King Vitamin" which appeal to mommy with the healthy-sounding name, and appeal to baby with 69% sugar!

If your kid filled his/her bowl half-full of sugar, then topped it off with a few corn flakes and some milk, you'd probably snatch it away. But many of the breakfast cereals on the grocery shelf are 50% sugar—and more.

Later in life, your children will go on to join Americans who eat 102 pounds of sugar a year—each!

• The third FTC proposal would let advertisers sell other products (like toys) to the 7-12 age group only if the advertiser also finances commercials with safety, health, or nutritional information about the class of products involved.

Big deal. U.S. corporations spend more than \$600 million annually for commercials aimed at children. They are threatening the death of kid-vid if the ban goes into effect—who will pick up the production bill if there are no commercials?

No great loss.

BUSINESS FIGHTS BACK

However, the corporations are on the offensive. Kellogg (whose sugar frosted flakes are gggggreat) is taking out newspaper ads to rebut charges that pre-sweetened cereals are not nutritious. Says Kellogg president W.E. LaMothe: "We have reversed our low-profile policy at Kellogg's... We must shout out in defense of our right to communicate with our audiences."

The corporations are up in arms. They plan to challenge any FTC ruling in court.

Exactly how much time is taken up with commercials? A speaker at the recent Association of National Advertisers (ANA) Television Workshop reported on a one-night monitoring of the three big networks during prime time. ABC had 19.6% non-programming material per hour, CBS had 18.9% and NBC 18.1%. Most "non-programming" material is commercials. Of course, there is a much higher percentage of commercials at other times.

The ANA itself recommends 15% non-program material each hour.

Workers' Power 246

Copyright © 1978 by U.S. Publishing Co. Editor: Marilyn Danton. Production Editor: Karen Kaye. Circulation Manager: Tom Dougherty.

Subscriptions: \$10 for one year; \$5 for six months. Introductory rate: \$1 for eight issues. Institutional: \$15. Foreign surface: \$15. Foreign air mail: \$20 for six months.

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.

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

WORKERS' POWER

Subscribe to Workers' Power. \$10 per year. Six months: \$5. Introductory sub: \$1 for 8 issues.

I enclose \$..... Please send me a subscription to Workers' Power.

Name

Address

Trade Union

14131 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan 48203

SUBSCRIBERS: If you're moving, notify Workers' Power of your new address four weeks in advance. The Post Office will not forward weekly publications to your new address. Undelivered copies are returned to Workers' Power and cost us money.

Sandy Boyer

What's Behind the Battle Over De-Regulation?

by Mike Kelly

If you're a Teamster, they claim it could take your job . . . maybe even your life. It's so serious that trucking employers are having workers fill out petitions against it. And Teamster officials are asking every Teamster in the country to send a telegram to Carter urging him to kill it. Yet, other big companies claim it will lower the prices you pay on almost everything you buy. And save energy. And even break up the monopolies. It has already had an impact. It has shaken up the government

It is a fight over who is going to profit by making the American people pick up the tab for increased transportation costs—shippers or trucking companies.

Industrial manufacturers feel that they have been carrying the burden of higher shipping costs too long.

They have to attach these higher costs to the price of their products, which is hurting them more in a more competitive market.

Trucking companies don't have to compete when their costs rise, because their control over routes and prices is a government protected monopoly. The U.S. government is the mediator between these big business interests in the current dispute.

JOB IMPACT

But most important for the Teamster rank and file is what will happen to jobs, prices and safety if the government no longer supervises the trucking industry and free competition should govern instead.

Almost all parties admit that with deregulation, hundreds of smaller trucking companies would

bureaucrats. It has weakened the stocks of the largest trucking companies. It has forced some smaller truckers to sell out or go out of business. And it has a lot of Teamsters worried about their jobs. The issue is deregulation of the trucking industry. And it has caused a war of propaganda and lobbying between two branches of American industry—on the one hand industrial shippers who favor deregulation, and on the other hand trucking companies, which are against it.

fold. And most agree that larger trucking companies would continue their drive to monopolize the industry.

This would mean tens of thousands of Teamster jobs lost and more in jeopardy. Increased competition would also mean an intensified employer attack on working conditions, which would lead to more unsafe conditions, and yet more jobs lost.

And following a competitive price war among the trucking companies—a monopoly peace would be declared over the ruined lives of hundreds of small businessmen and thousands of drivers and dock workers, with the spoils going to the victors in the form of even higher monopoly prices.

THE SIDES

For continuing this system of "regulation"—called by its right name it's price fixing—is the American Trucking Association. The ATA represents some 16,000 employers claiming to employ over 9 million workers.

The ATA has had a movie against deregulation produced at a

cost of \$40,000, and is spending thousands more to have some 200 prints of the film promoted across the country.

Also on the ATA's side are the officials of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, representing over 2 million Teamster members.

They are opposed to virtually any changes in the ICC or the rate bureaus.

Behind the fight for deregulation are the big industrial manufacturers—Carnation, General Mills, Green Giant, Whirlpool, a number of national trade organizations and individual companies, and national chambers of commerce and ports. Sears, Roebuck and Company is one of the organizers of the fight.

President Carter is for some form of deregulation, and consumer advocate groups like Nader's raiders, and political "reformers" like Kennedy—also call for deregulation.

But the real powers are the manufacturers who want to be able to use their economic power to demand special low rates from an unregulated trucking industry.

It was big shippers' ability to control the railroads through demanding special rates and rebates and kickbacks that led to the original ICC legislation in 1887. Now it seems that the so-called reformers of the Congress, like Kennedy, and consumer protectionists, like Nader are prepared to plunge the transportation industry back into the era of the robber barons.

Only Teamsters for a Democratic Union has spoken up for an alternative to control of the transportation industry by either shippers or truckers.

TDU called for labor and consumer representation on the ICC itself. TDU pointed out that an ICC with labor and consumer advocates would strive to protect jobs, prices, and safety.

Drivers testify at Senate hearing

Two truck drivers, members of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, called for sweeping reforms of the Interstate Commerce Commission in testimony they gave against deregulation of the trucking industry before a Senate sub-committee on March 13.

Doug Allan and Norm Rosen, from the Los Angeles and Pittsburgh chapters of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, spoke before the Senate Sub-committee on Anti-trust and Monopoly hearings on freight rate competition in the motor carrier industry.

They called for labor and consumer representation on the ICC. They said that the ICC's first task was to protect jobs, keep prices down and promote safety.

ISSUES FOR RANKS

"Unemployment, inflation and safety—these are the most important issues for us as rank and file members of the union and as workers in the industry.

"As the ICC is organized today, it is dominated by the transportation industries, among them the trucking industry. We have no faith that it will regulate the industry in the interest of workers and consumers.

"We believe that organized labor and consumer groups should have representation on the ICC.

"We believe strongly that there should be representation by the union men who actually move the freight in the trucking terminals—and we don't simply



Doug Allan

mean the officials of the Teamsters (who in our opinion are often out of touch with the rank and file members' viewpoint)."

DIFFERENT VIEW

TDU spokesmen distinguished their position from that of the American Trucking Association and the officials of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—both of which have also organized against deregulation.

TDU characterized the ATA and the IBT as supporting the "price-fixing" by the rate bureaus." The rate bureaus are industry boards which set shipping prices.

TDU pointed out that the ICC was dominated by the trucking industry, that it had a policy which fostered monopolization of the industry, reaping excess profits for the largest of the trucking companies.

"There are no commissioners who are experts in truck safety, the concerns of consumers, or the labor movement. Most importantly—there are no workers, especially truck drivers or railway workers on the Commission."

Inflated Costs to Consumers: How Carrier Monopolies Regulate the Regulators

Interstate trucking companies which are available "for hire" to transport goods are regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) under the Motor Carrier Act of 1935.

The commission determines how many trucking companies will be granted ICC authority to operate [called "rights"], what routes they will travel, what commodities they will carry and at what rates.

While some commodities and some carriers are exempt from regulation, there are over 15,000 trucking companies regulated by the ICC.

The cost of shipping is determined by industry-dominated rate bureaus, which are exempt from federal anti-trust laws under the 1948 Reed-Bulwinkle Amendment.

The ICC and the rate bureaus are

dominated by the trucking industry.

A Ralph Nader study said that "Most appointees are quietly 'cleared' by industry groups before selection.

"In effect the clearing process means prior approval by the American Trucking Association and the Association of American Railroads, sometimes by other carriers' associations, and on occasion relevant labor interests."

ICC commissioners typically come out of big business or out of party politics.

ICC Commissioner Charles L. Clapp, for example, was formerly the lawyer for the National Association of Motor Bus Owners.

Some commissioners have even left the ICC in med-term, while considering rate increases or the

granting of ICC authority, to take jobs in industry.

Commissioner Charles Webb, for example, left to become President of the National Association of Motor Bus Operators.

The largest trucking companies regulate trucking in their long-term interest, which is monopolization. Between 1935 and 1978, the number of regulated trucking companies fell from 20,000 to 15,000.

Industry journals called 1976 the "Year of the Bankrupt." More recent studies predict further bankruptcies in the coming year.

RACKET

For the more than 40 years that trucking has been regulated in this way, it has run a racket on the

American people.

Whenever trucking companies' costs went up, whether due to increased costs of equipment, fuel, or labor, the companies appealed for a general increase from the ICC. The ICC has usually granted the general rate increases which often more than compensated the trucking industry for its increased costs.

As shipping costs rose, those costs were passed back, first to the shipper—usually some industrial manufacturing company, like Whirlpool—then back to the consumer, who paid a higher price for the product he purchased.

This racket had an effect on the Teamsters union.

When the union asked for higher wages and bigger employer contri-

butions to the Health and Welfare and Pension funds, the trucking companies were willing to pay them. They could pass the cost back to shippers and consumers with the ICC's approval.

But in return, the companies wanted more productivity. To get that, they wanted less Teamster interference with working conditions.

The grass roots organization that once protected Teamsters working conditions in the barn, was traded away to the employers for increased wages.

While employment in the trucking industry has dropped 7.7% from 1973 to 1977, output per worker has gone up 38%, due to inflation, real wages have fallen \$2.44 a week since 1972.

Invasion - Israeli Gov't Unveils "Final Solution" For Palestinians

by Dan Posen

DETAILS OF the enormous Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon are just emerging as Workers' Power goes to press.

It's already obvious, however, that the drive against Palestinian refugee camps and resistance forces has little real connection with last weekend's Al Fateh attack inside Israel.

Israeli plans for this blitz war against Palestinians and Lebanese left-wing forces in the South were drawn up long ago.

The deaths of 33 Israeli civilians in the battle on the Tel Aviv-Haifa road only gave the Israeli government a pretext to stage the invasion now.

Many hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians have been killed. Perhaps thousands more will be homeless again as refugee camps and villages are smashed.

BALANCE

But beyond this, Israel's intention is to change the whole balance of forces in Lebanon and the Middle East. The Israeli campaign aims, in its own words, to "mop up" all Palestinians in southern Lebanon. Israel undoubtedly launched this campaign after being assured of unofficial U.S. government approval.

If successful, the Israeli mission would put Lebanon south of the Litani River under control of the Israeli military and the Lebanese far right, the Phalangists.

The Phalangists want to do to the Palestinians in Lebanon what Hitler did to the German Jews in the 1930's—drive them out or slaughter them.

Israeli military aid to the Phalangists escalated during the Lebanese civil war.

Arms funneled from Israel to Lebanese rightists were a major factor in the rightists' seige of the Tal al-Zataar camp in Beirut, where Palestinians were starved out and then gunned down by the hundreds.

Palestinian survivors from the Tal al-Zataar massacre have been living in the coastal town of Damour. On Wednesday, the Israeli air force made the Damour refugee camps one of its major targets.

The battle raging in southern Lebanon now is far more than what commentators call "another episode in the Middle East cycle of violence."

Israel wants a military "solution" once and for all to crush the Palestinians' struggle for a national homeland. Those are the only

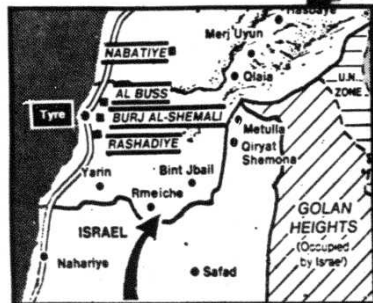
terms on which it will withdraw from the Lebanese territory it has seized.

For socialists, these is only one choice in this struggle. We are on the side of the

Palestinian resistance fighters against the Israeli invasion, no matter how Israel's aims are disguised in the rhetoric of "protecting innocent families against terrorism." □



[Left] Black squares on map show major Israeli targets. [Above] Palestinian children in a refugee camp. Many of them are the newest victims of massive Israeli air strikes.



Highway Raid Set Back Struggle

LAST SATURDAY'S raid on the Tel Aviv-Haifa highway was organized by Al Fateh, the largest political grouping inside the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), possibly without the knowledge of the PLO as a whole.

Apparently, the purpose of the raid was to demonstrate that the Palestinians have the ability to resist any Israeli-Egyptian-United States peace agreement that denies the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

It is clear from newspaper accounts that over half of the 33 Israeli victims were killed after the Israeli army opened fire on the bus carrying the Palestinians and Israeli passengers.

Regardless of what actually happened, every newspaper and television station in America has broadcast Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's speeches branding the Palestinians as "Nazi murderers of innocent Jewish women and children."

REAL TERRORISTS

It was Begin who masterminded the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem in 1946, and ordered the massacre of the peaceful Arab village of Deir Yassin in 1948.

The latter raid, by Begin's terrorist "Irgun" organization, all by itself claimed eight times as many civilians as the total number of Israelis who died Saturday.

Begin's denunciation of the Palestinians was echoed by the

President of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, who said "I have condemned this and any other action against civilians."

This same Sadat filled the streets with the bodies of Egyptian workers, shot dead as they demonstrated against the price of food two years ago.

Ever since his trip to Israel, Sadat has been using Egypt's powerful radio transmitters to denounce the PLO all over the Arab world. And the government-controlled Egyptian press has whipped

up a hate campaign against Palestinians living in Egypt.

Sadat bears as much responsibility as anyone for the fact that the PLO has seen no alternative to actions like last weekend's raid.

CATASTROPHE

None of this, however, changes one basic fact. The consequences of the attack on the Tel Aviv-Haifa highway are a setback, and possibly a major catastrophe, for the Palestinians.

It has given Israel the pretext for its long-planned invasion of Lebanon, which Israel could not politically afford to launch without such an excuse.

And in fighting back against overwhelming Israeli firepower from land, air, and sea, the Palestinians stand alone. The major Arab states are simply watching—no doubt even hoping the Palestinians suffer such heavy losses that a sellout can be forced on them.

For 30 years, the real Middle East terrorists have been the rulers of Israel and their international backers who deny the Palestinians' simple right to live as a nation.

But the Zionist political and military machine has never been weakened by attacks against ordinary Israeli civilians.

Attacks like the Tel Aviv-Haifa highway attack offer no solution—they only serve to give the Israeli government a cover for its murderous policies.

The latest case is no exception. □

BEATING, TORTURE, FALSE CONFESSION AT ISSUE IN SAMI ESMAIL TRIAL

The trial of Sami Esmail—an American-born U.S. citizen accused under Israeli law of "membership in an unlawful organization" for political activity on an American college campus—opened in Tel Aviv March 14.

Esmail was arrested in Israel on December 22 when he arrived on a trip to visit his dying father in the occupied West Bank territory.

He has been an active supporter of pro-Palestinian activities at Michigan State University, where is a graduate student.

The critical issue in the trial is whether a confession by Esmail will be admitted into evidence. This "confession" was signed after Esmail had been beaten, tortured and deprived of sleep for seven days.

In Israeli security trials, confessions obtained through beatings

and intimidation are routinely admitted—after police officials simply deny that any mistreatment took place.

The campaign in this country for Sami's release has been spearheaded by the National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail, which has established chapters in many cities.

The efforts of the Committee have succeeded in breaking through some of the American press' silence on Sami Esmail's arrest.

At a March 12 meeting in Detroit, Abdeen Jabara, a legal advisor to the National Committee, explained how support has been organized.

"In Sami's case, many people who are not attuned to the political dimensions of the Palestine-Zionist conflict, have been prepared to

speak out.

"Even supporters of Israel should be prepared to come forth and say that it is beyond the limits of admissibility for Israel, through its laws, to undermine the right of American citizens to speak out in the United States."

The first important victory was a ruling in Israel that Sami Esmail's trial would be open, not held in secret. A gag order on his attorney, Felicia Langer, was also lifted.

Jabara noted: "Representative Bob Carr (a U.S. Congressman from Lansing, MI) said this was because of concerns voiced by the Jewish community in East Lansing. And this may well be true.

"It was the mobilizing of people who didn't know Sami, as well as others who did, that pressed forces like the Jewish community in Lansing to act in a way they would

not have done otherwise."

The Committee has also waged a major campaign on the U.S. State Department to allow an American official, Mark Davidson, to testify in Sami Esmail's behalf.

Davidson, who visited Sami several days after his arrest, noted the effects of severe beatings on Esmail's body. By this time, Esmail was seriously considering suicide to end the torture.

Davidson's testimony against Esmail's "confession" is crucial to his defense. □

LATE NEWS: At press time, Workers' Power learned that the hearing on Sami Esmail's confession has been recessed. It is scheduled to resume March 26.

J.P. STEVENS: FIGHTING FOR A UNION

The Case Of The Runaway Stockholders

by David Katz

YOU'VE HEARD ABOUT runaway plants — companies which pack up their machines and run to the South or to another country where wages are cheaper and unions scarce? Usually the corporation executives and stockholders stay in Chicago or New York or wherever the action is for folks like them.

Now, though, there are run-away stockholders.

These fleeing financiers own the J.P. Stevens Company—the large textile company which is resisting the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' (ACTW) organizing drive.

Almost all of J.P. Stevens' plants are in the South. The company's headquarters is in New York City. Since 1949, the J.P. Stevens annual stockholders meeting has always been in New York City.

Until this year.

DEMONSTRATION

Last year and the year before, angry union members and their supporters held big demonstrations at the Annual Meeting.

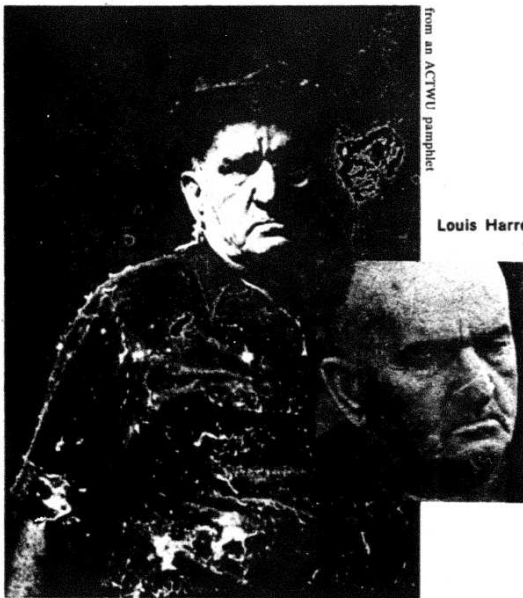
They pointed out that J.P. Stevens has been found "guilty of tax evasion, discriminatory employment practices, the firing and threatening of pro-union employees and the coercion of employees through interrogation."

They added that "thousands of workers in [Stevens] textile mills have been disabled by the dread disease byssinosis (brown lung) caused by cotton dust levels almost three times as high as national minimum health standards allow, while wages in Stevens plants average 31% below the average national factory wage."

Much publicity. Highly embarrassing.

This year, the coupon clippers assembled for their Annual Meeting in Greenville, South Carolina, which is much closer to being a company town than the Big Apple.

A small group of well-selected



from an ACTW pamphlet

Louis Harrell, a J.P. Stevens worker.

"I started in the mills when I was 13 and I been workin' there ever since.

Been havin' a breathin' problem for quite a while. And it got so every time I went in there I near stifled to death.

The doctor told me I couldn't go back there no more.

I just had to quit."

J.P. Stevens employees showed up to welcome the stockholders. Perhaps their purpose was to remove any lingering guilt feelings the Northerners may have felt. One of the signs carried by the all-white group assured: "J.P. Stevens Fair to Blacks."

RESIGNATION

Despite this pro-management atmosphere, however, Stephens Chairman James Finley was forced to announce a major psychological victory for the union.

Finley announced his resignation from the Board of Directors of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., a major New York bank.

The ACTW has put considerable pressure on the bank to force Finley's resignation.

More than 90 unions, plus religious and community groups, had threatened to withdraw their deposits if Manufacturers Hanover didn't remove Finley and David Mitchell, another J.P. Stevens director, from their board.

The bank initially tried to ignore these threats, but it soon became apparent that the unions were in a position to withdraw \$1 billion, including some union pension funds. Finley and Mitchell were privately asked to resign.

Publicly, Mitchell attributed his resignation to "business-time conflicts," while Finley was more honest. "I don't want to be where I'm not wanted," he said.

The union intends to put similar pressure on other companies where Stevens officials serve as directors. These include: Avon Products,

New York Life Insurance, Seamen's Bank for Savings, Goldman Sachs, and Furman Realty.

ORGANIZING DRIVE

Such tactics, while serving as a well-deserved harassment of Stevens executives, will in the end succeed or fail as the organizing campaign at the company's 85 plants succeeds or fails.

That organizing drive, begun in 1963, was stepped up a year and a half ago with the beginning of a boycott of J.P. Stevens products.

So far the ACTW has won elections at a seven-plant complex in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina.

It has also signed up a majority at 11 more plants and says it will petition for elections there when it feels fair elections can be held. □

Helms Workers Won't Let Company Rewrite Contract

by Tim McDaniels

IRWIN, PA. — 150 Teamsters and their spouses gathered here on Saturday, March 11 to protest production standards at Helms Express IBT Local 30.

The rank and filers from several barns and locals throughout Western Pennsylvania expressed their support for the Helms workers who have been fired, suspended, or received letters because of illegal production standards that have been imposed by Helms.

Also in the crowd were several workers from Jones Motor Co., IBT Local 249 in Pittsburgh. They have been undergoing similar attacks, without getting any support from the international union.

CONTROVERSY

The controversy arose last summer when Helms Express announced new production standards and started suspending those workers who didn't meet them.

The Master Freight Agreement

prohibits the imposition of production standards without the approval of the local union.

Since Local 30 had not agreed to the standards, the suspended workers filed grievances for back wages and an end to harassment.

The Eastern Conference Joint Grievance Panel reinstated the suspended workers with full back pay, but announced that from now

rank and filers from Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), put pressure on Local 30 and a suit was filed against Helms Express and the Eastern Conference of Teamsters.

The suit charges that the panel has no authority to change the contract and that the Eastern Conference, which participated in the decision, also failed to give fair

representation to its members. In hearings on the suit, TDU lawyer Paul Boss charged: "What this court is deciding is whether its book [the Master Freight Agree-

ment] is a binding contract, or just a bunch of pages with writing on them."

The attorney for the Eastern Conference, who argued for the company said, "The international Union has no obligation for fair representation of its members" and made a motion to dismiss.

Judge Barron P. McCune ruled in favor of the Eastern Conference and Helms Express and dismissed the suit, but an appeal has been filed.

Since the dismissal, Helms Express has fired two workers and suspended many others. One of the fired men, Steve Pawlak, has nine children and has been with Helms for 17 years.

When Helms heard about Saturday's demonstration, they hired Steve back and offered overtime for the day of the demonstration to the entire first shift workforce.

... The attorney for the Eastern Conference Joint Grievance Panel, who argued for the company, said:

"The International Union has no obligation for fair representation of its members."
He made a motion to dismiss...

on the arbitrary standards, based solely on weight and not load size, would be legal. In effect, they are rewriting the contract.

Helms workers, with the help of

representation to its members. In hearings on the suit, TDU lawyer Paul Boss charged: "What this court is deciding is whether its book [the Master Freight Agree-

United IBEW Workers On The Move

by Mike Kingston

CHICAGO—Local 1031 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) has, for the past 30 years, been a grotesque example of un-democratic, pro-company unionism.

The local has decreased in size from 47,000 members in 1947 to 15,000 members in 1978.

The question on the agenda is: Can the United IBEW Workers, a rank and file caucus, change Local 1031 from a slowly dying, pro-company union into a democratic vigorous and progressive union?

Originally formed by the IBEW as a local of industrial shops to combat the rise of the CIO unions, Local 1031 experienced tremendous growth due to its unethical raiding practices.

By 1947, it had 47,000 members, and was presided over by Mike Darling, who turned union meetings into entertainment extravaganzas. All discussion of union business was effectively prevented, strikes were rare, and contract sell-outs familiar.

Of course, there was always an occasional militant who served as a steward or a member of the contract negotiating committee, but these individuals lacked any organization that could unite their separate struggles.

REMEDY

In 1973, this weakness was remedied through the formation of the United IBEW Workers of Local 1031 which pledged to fight for union democracy and a more militant stance towards the company.

Originating from the Stewart-Warner Corporation's main plant in Chicago, this new group quickly won a number of "advisory elections" for steward positions. From this vantage point, they successfully ran a recall petition to oust the old chief steward and replaced him with a popular steward, Neil Burke.

Realizing that the local leadership was preventing them from serving the best interests of the workers, the United IBEW Workers eventually decided to run a slate in the April 1977 Local 1031 elections.

The caucus pulled 30% of the vote—despite a number of tricks on the part of the local, including holding the elections on a Sunday near O'Hare airport, miles from the homes of most of the workers in the local.

The campaign has been characterized by intense red-baiting and company collaboration in spreading anti-caucus literature.

On the day of the election, the Riley Company in Skokie, Illinois, fired one of the candidates—on a Sunday, no less!

One week after the election, seven stewards, including chief steward and presidential candidate Neil Burke, were dismissed from their union posts for alleged incompetence. Under the IBEW's constitution, the business agent of a local has the authority to dismiss any steward, even if he was elected.

Today, the United IBEW Workers are continuing their fight, and have already managed one impressive victory, the defeat of a proposed dues increase by a hefty margin. □

NEW YORK—A Manhattan criminal court judge found a man guilty of sexual abuse in the third degree for touching the buttocks of a woman without her consent while they were riding the subway during rush hour.

The defendant moved to have the charges dropped on the grounds that a little pinching is not a crime.

Well, now it is—and punishable by up to three months in jail.

The judge said that the touching of a woman's buttocks without her consent is not treated so cavalierly in this country.

Obviously, the judge doesn't ride the subways, but he has contributed to making them a little more pleasant for women. □

How Miners Beat "Hard-line" Coal Operators

THE MONOLITH CRUMBLES

by Kim Moody

The 100-day United Mine Workers' strike has been more than a fight for a decent contract.

It has been a major test of strength between the miners and the corporate giants that run the coal industry. It has been a battle in which the objectives of both sides go beyond the provisions of any collective bargaining agreement.

The aggressors in this battle are the employers, the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA). Behind this innocent sounding association are corporate names like U.S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Continental Oil, Standard Oil of Ohio, Pittston, Peabody. A list of billion dollar giants and conglomerates representing the pinnacle of Big Business.

And behind these corporation names are the names of billion dollar families that reads like a who's who of robber barons—Rockefeller, Mellon, Hanna.

BCOA'S OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of the BCOA leaders was to break the growing strength and independence of the coal miners. Characterized most visibly by ten years of massive wildcat strikes, the organization and militancy of the miners has meant a degree of control in the work place that exists in few other American industries.

One product of that control, itself won and enforced by the willing-

ness to strike, has been a steady decline in deaths and injuries in the mines.

Since the Farmington disaster of 1968 ignited a rank and file movement in the UMW, the miners have won a series of contractual, governmental, and informal practices that have saved lives.

In the wake of this growing movement came Black Lung legislation, the democratization of their union, and growing, hardening organization in every mine and bathhouse.

DECLINING PRODUCTIVITY

But the employers of the BCOA don't see it this way. To them the enormous accomplishments of the miners mean only declining productivity—a drop of over 26% from 1967 to 1975; a 300% increase in labor costs per ton since 1969; and, worst of all, lost profits.

In a little booklet prepared by the BCOA just before the expiration of the UMWA contract, they argue that the union is losing control over the share of total U.S. production under its contract because of these growing costs:

"Much of the attrition that has taken place in UMWA tonnage has come about for one simple reason, i.e., the instability of labor relations between the UMWA and the coal companies under contract."

Investors in the coal industry, the BCOA says, shy away from areas of UMWA strength. If the union is to hold on to its share of the industry, the BCOA argues, it

"must establish a record of labor stability and must return to the past growth pattern in productivity."

Thinly veiled behind this apparent concern for the UMWA is the threat that if the union and its members will not heel, then in one way or another the union will be broken.

The object of the employers in this contract fight was to tame the UMWA and to break the spirit of the miners. While the numerous takeaway demands presented by the BCOA were important in themselves, it was division, defeat, and humiliation that the operators wanted.

To end the wildcats the operators

needed more than a contractual clause, they needed a defeated UMWA membership.

STAND AS A MONOLITH

In April, 1977, BCOA chief Joseph Brennan had issued a call to arms:

"We must come to grips with the cancer of the wildcat strike or we will assuredly face the inevitability of continuing chaos and, more tragically, lost opportunity."

"To do this, BCOA must stand as a monolith in the upcoming negotiations."

"We must, as a unit, tell our union counterparts that the time has come for mutual responsibility

to achieve totally effective contract terms. And having said this, we must hold fast until it is done."

Across the field of battle the BCOA saw what it believed to be a rag-tag army of miners led by inexperienced and divided officers. Unable to see the power the miners had achieved over the years as anything but chaos, the BCOA under-estimated its enemy.

The leadership of the UMWA was divided and, for the most part, weak. A united leadership with half the guts and vision of the rank and file of the UMWA could have driven a much harder bargain.

As it turned out, the only monolith in this battle was the membership of the UMWA.

The symbol of the unity and organization that they have achieved was the fact that all but 100 miners out of the 160,000 strikers defied Taft-Hartley, successfully, without even having to put up picket lines.

MONOLITH CRUMBLES

In the face of this unity, the employers' "monolith" began crumbling early in the strike.

At first Brennan was deposed as chief bargainer. The "heavies" from U.S. Steel regarded him as too soft.

In the end, however, the companies that produce coal to sell on the market turned to a palace coup. Steel was deposed and concessions were made to the union.

The big coal producers that iced big steel in the first week of March

are not softies. Consolidation Coal is responsible for some of the most horrible mine disasters. Farmington, Mannington, names that bespeak massive death, belong to Consolidation.

But companies like Consolidation, Peabody, Pittston, Westmoreland, and others, although many are owned by bigger oil and metal mining companies, make their profits from selling coal—not steel. The miners' ability to hold out against enormous forces hurt these companies.

While most people thought it would be the miners' ability to turn off the power in the mid-west that would decide the strike, it was their ability to hurt the majority of coal companies that broke the BCOA "monolith."

NO REGIONAL CONTRACTS

The unity of the miners also destroyed the Carter administration's plan to settle the strike by "Balkanizing" the national contract. Carter and his aides had suggested that with Taft-Hartley in effect, they would begin seeking separate regional agreements.

The miners made it very clear, however, they would not accept the destruction of their contract or the unity that backs it up. There was no indication that any section of the miners would accept or return to work under a separate agreement.

The miners were able both to divide the employers and to maintain a national contract. This, in itself, is a victory.

The Media and The Miners

We don't know who wrote the March 7 Wall Street Journal editorial (above) that said, "If we were a coal miner we'd have voted against the proposed contract too."

Whoever he is, his head must be rubbing a week later the Journal took it all back (below) saying, "...we see no alternative but to eat crow like a man."

The Journal, the most prestigious organ of American business, now says: "About the particular problems of the coal miners, we now retreat to being mystified as we ever were."

One observer speculated that the original editorial must have been written after the editors returned from a three-martini lunch.

The Miners Have a Point

Everyone is wondering what's bugging the coal miners, who just voted down a 2% wage and benefits increase. But the more we look at it, the more we think that if we were a coal miner we'd have voted against the proposed contract too.

Now that President Carter

Eating Crow

(A Correction)

Last week we had a perfectly marvelous editorial saying we too would have voted against the proposed coal contract, on the ground that it was weighted toward wages, which are eaten away by taxes, and against fringe benefits, which are also eaten away. In putting The Wall Street Journal on the side of the miners, attracting a lot of attention and so on. The only problem with our editorial was that we had the facts wrong. We see an alternative but to stand up and eat crow like a man. In fact, the coal packers rejected

SOLIDARITY: "The miners brought

by Marilyn Danton

"The miners have brought us together," is how an organizer for a miners' support rally in Detroit put it.

"I'm a union man. The miners are my brothers. I'll support them to the end even if I get laid off," is how a rank and file auto worker put it.

All across the country, in a massive outpouring of support and solidarity, rank and file workers, local unions, international union leaderships and official labor organizations joined hands to back the miners' heroic struggle.

Actions and words of support have ranged from thousands of rank and file auto and steelworkers to other unionists and even up to

and including AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Meany, who three weeks ago stated he "would not object" if President Carter used the slave labor Taft-Hartley act against the miners, recently said the AFL-CIO would work to ensure that the UMW reaches a fair contract "at the bargaining table" and is not "starved into submission."

He called for a "massive nationwide effort to collect food for miners and their families," and promised that the AFL-CIO would go to court to prevent the government from withdrawing food stamps from miners on strike.

So far over three and one-half million dollars has been donated to the UMW relief fund. Two million from the UAW, one million from

the USWA and hundreds of thousands from local unions and rank and filers at plant gate collections.

Tens of thousands of trade unionists, community people and students have participated in meetings and rallies supporting the miners in the past three weeks.

Unions, community groups, and striking farmers have driven hundreds of carloads of food in numerous caravans to the coal fields.

WAKE UP

The miners are forcing the labor movement to wake up. Nowhere is this more clear than in Baltimore.

On February 16, Dave Wilson, President of USWA Local 2609, the

huge Bethlehem Sparrows Point local, and Clarence Hicks, president of USWA Local 14019, addressed the Baltimore Central Labor Council in support of a resolution expressing solidarity with the UMW, opposing Taft-Hartley, and setting up a Central Labor Council Miners' Relief Committee.

Three weeks later at a Baltimore rally endorsed by 26 local unions, one thousand unionists, students and community people heard miners and other trade unionists speak.

A striking miner who works in a Bethlehem Steel mine told the rally:

"It's a lie that coal miners are putting you out of work. Bethlehem is, Bethlehem has set up a system

to try to divide workers. We can't let them do this."

Bethlehem Steel laid off 500 workers in February, and blamed it on the miners.

STEELWORKERS

In another inspiring demonstration of support, USWA Local 1938 in Virginia City, Minn., donated \$2000 to the strikers. The local, composed of iron ore workers, has just won a long strike, one that had depleted their treasury.

Joe Samargia, president of the local, explained why:

"When we went on strike they tried the courts and everything else to try to stop us. I guess you could say they put up with labor unions, but they don't want them to have



Solidarity Forever

"In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold. Greater than the might of armies multiplied a thousand fold. We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old, for the union makes us strong."





Coal miners confront West Virginia Governor Jay Rockefeller.

But there is something more important in the miners' victory.

DIVIDED AND CONQUERED

The employers entered the field united, hoping to divide and conquer. But when the smoke

began to clear it was obvious that far from being defeated, the miners were more united.

Their local organization was strengthened and hardened by yet another test, and regional and national contact and networks made more durable than ever.

The BCOA has lost the battle. The war, however, will continue. The one thing that there is not likely to be much of in the coming months and years is "a record of labor stability."

There will be fights over changes in the grievance procedure, over

local attempts to introduce productivity plans, over interpretations of the "memorandum of agreement" concerning the company's right to fire strikers, and over the countless old unresolved issues like seniority and safety.

The incredible determination of the miners and the movement they have built in the coal fields has increased their ability to fight the coming battles in this war.

...t us together"

the right to strike."

Actions like this on the part of steelworkers in Baltimore and Minnesota put the heat on USWA President Lloyd McBride. The Steelworkers donated a million dollars to the UMW relief fund.

In another major action, the International Executive Board of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union authorized the officers to call a 24-hour work stoppage in solidarity with the striking miners. A date was not set for the work stoppage.

SOLIDARITY

The miners have done much more than just beat back the coal operators. They have inspired the entire labor movement. Solidarity, and a sense of union, once limited to the UMW, is being reintroduced to a whole generation of American workers.

The isolation of the miners in the rural areas of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio has meant that this tradition of solidarity has been kept away from the rest of the American working class.

But no longer. Week after week, hundreds of thousands of auto workers, steel workers and other unionists have heard miners speak first-hand about their conditions.

The national news media have taken millions of Americans into the coal fields to hear the miners' side of the story.

And many rank and file workers from various unions have traveled hundreds of miles to the coal fields to deliver food and clothes.

"We love you. The miners love you. Today we stretch out our hands to you," is how Lewis Burke

of Harlan, Kentucky told a five-mile long caravan bringing several tons of food and clothing from Baltimore.

And the miners gathered to collect the needed supplies heard Thomas Bradley, president of the Baltimore AFL-CIO, argue:

"We have come not only to bring food to the miners and their families, but also to deliver a message that working people of this country are dissatisfied by the decision of the President to come down on the side of the giant energy conglomerates."

Referring to Carter, he continued: "If you're going to sell human rights around the world, you have to provide them to the miners here first."

A giant step forward has been taken. Around the country a new type of politics is being born out of

the strike of 160,000 mine workers.

This solidarity extends beyond rank and file workers and trade unionists to Black organizations.

Parren Mitchell, Chairman of the Black Congressional Caucus, told the Baltimore rally that striking miners were showing the way. He said they were laying the foundations for a new solidarity among all workers in the face of concerted attacks against poor and working people by the corporations.

This growing mass of support has not been lost on the rank and file miners.

West Virginia miner David Lamm put it clearest when he told Workers' Power:

"The main reason that the union came out of it stronger is that the labor movement came out of it stronger—not just the UMW, but the whole labor movement." □

SOLIDARITY

The miners' strike has unleashed another force the BCOA and its billionaire members did not count on—massive outpouring of solidarity actions from other unions. This solidarity will further strengthen the resolve of the miners in future fights.

Unwittingly, the hardened steel and coal barons have helped to kindle a new spirit of solidarity and militancy in much of the labor movement.

The miners have shown other workers that you can fight back. And since more and more workers find themselves under attack from their employers, they are listening to the miners.

The billionnaires and corporation giants that led the BCOA into battle will regret the day they decided to defeat the miners in 1978. □

GIVE TO MINERS' RELIEF FUNDS

Striking miners have set up relief funds in the major UMWA districts to distribute the money and food that is being raised for them by other unions. The money goes where it is most urgently needed—to prevent evictions, foreclosures, or utility cutoffs.

Much more is still needed—urgently. Even if the latest contract is ratified, miners will not receive a paycheck until two weeks after they go back to work.

One miner associated with the District 6 relief fund urged that donation should be sent to the

district funds, rather than to the International union headquarters.

"The reason that we have our own relief fund is that all this money that's coming into the International isn't getting funneled down to the rank and file," he said.

What's happening to it? "We have no idea," he replied. "They're advertising to sell the contract, Millier's running around in a Cadillac, I don't know. But we're not seeing any of it. So we had to start our own relief fund just to keep guys

alive."

Contributions for the relief funds of three major UMWA districts can be sent to the following addresses:

Dist. 6 Miners Relief Fund
Attn: Ron McCracken
RD 1, Dilles Bottom
Shadyside, Ohio 43947

Dist. 29 Miners Relief Fund
Box 430
Beckley, W. Va. 25801

Dist. 17 Miners Relief Fund
Box 1313
Charleston, W. Va. 25325

Speaking Out

What We Think

The Miners Have Taken A Giant Step For Labor

"Steelworkers learned as much in the strike as coal miners did. And so did auto workers. What they learned was that the days of give-aways for labor union members is gone," said UMW member Dave Lamm.

"There's some hard times ahead and people are going to have to start thinking about how they're going to prepare their unions to carry on the kind of fight that the mine workers just carried out."

And thinking they are. An entire generation of American workers is learning the most basic principles of unionism from the miners.

Ten years ago, as the international economic crisis began to unfold after 20 years of prosperity, the capitalists began an offensive against American workers to maintain their profits.

As the employers pushed, the unions gave. Wages and working conditions eroded. Union membership fell. Today only 22% of American workers belong to unions, down from a high of 35% in 1954.

This year unions lost 54% of the representation elections for organizing new unions.

After throwing literally millions of dollars and hours and hours of leg work into electing a Democratic Congress and President, labor watched its programs go down to defeat—minimum wage, national health insurance, jobs.

Now the labor law reform bill, legislation that could make it easier to organize new unions and break into the right-to-work South, is given only a 50/50 chance of passing.

This is the political context for labor as the miners' struggle developed into a national confrontation with the government over the right to strike and the right to work under a contract.

As rank and file support for the miners grew, the national leadership of the labor movement began to understand that here was a chance to win something from the employers and the government.

And so from the unlikely quarters of George Meany's office came statements of support. Other union presidents, not previously known for their solidarity with rank and file union members joined in.

This support strengthens the entire labor movement. It can begin to turn things around.

No matter what else happens, workers have learned a vital lesson from the miners: if you stick together, are determined and gain real support, you can win.

As a result, Taft-Hartley is worthless; the government and the employers are the losers; the miners the heroes.

Class consciousness—the understanding that workers and bosses have different interests and need different politics—is being reborn in America after 30 years.

The job now is to build on this understanding and unity.

The lessons learned in this contract fight must be carried into the contract fights in the future, and to Capitol Hill.

The miners, backed up by a united labor movement have won a victory against some of the biggest and toughest employers in the country.

If working people carry this unity and determination into the streets through marches, demonstrations and even work stoppages, we could win labor reform, higher wages, national health insurance.

This is the road to victory. And the miners proved it can be done.

Countdown For Equal Rights

Three hundred and sixty-five days and counting. March 22, 1979 is the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. If three more states do not ratify by that date, the ERA will go down in defeat.

If the ERA is to win, women across the country will have to be mobilized. Demonstrations, marches, rallies—that is what will convince the politicians that they have to line up on the side of equal rights for women.

The strategy of groups like ERAmerica and the National Organization for Women (NOW), who have been leading the fight for the ERA, has been to put pressure on state representatives, pressure on the President, and to boycott convention hotels in states that haven't ratified.

This strategy will guarantee defeat. Already, leaders of these groups are publicly admitting defeat.

Sheila Greewald, director of ERAmerica, said, "It doesn't look like we are going to win any more states."

And Eleanor Smeal, President of NOW, said, "Let's face reality. This is the bottom line. The time limit must be extended or there will be no ERA."

Extend the deadline—that is being touted as the key to winning the ERA. But the support for extension does not exist in Congress.

U.S. Rep. Don Edwards (D-Cal.), chairman of the House subcommittee investigating the extension question, said, "I would like to be able to say that we can report it out of our subcommittee and get it through the House. In all candor, we just don't have the votes yet."

Whether the ERA is passed in seven years, or 14 years, or 21 years is not the issue. An extension would be welcomed, but the way to win it is not by more Congressional lobbying. With only a year left, now is the time for action!

The states that have not ratified the ERA are concentrated in the south and south-west (although they include Illinois). However, the Equal Rights Amendment is not only an issue for women in these states. It is an issue for every woman.

If the ERA is defeated nationally, it won't make one ounce of difference whether the state you live in passed it or not. Women across the country have to hold demonstrations showing their support for the ERA.

Recent polls indicated that a majority of Americans still favor the ERA, though support has dropped from 56% to 51% in a year's time. Now is the time to translate that support into political action.

A year is left. Let's not sit around wringing our hands. Let's get out there and show the politicians that equal rights for women is an issue that they must support.

As I See It

Ali: A Name To Remember

by Toni Hawk

Muhammad Ali could box better than anyone alive today. Whether he is the greatest boxer who ever lived is a question that can never be answered, but many believe he very well could be.

As Cassius Clay in the 1960 Olympics, he was outstanding from the beginning—for his Louisville Lip as well as his flying fists and his incredible dancing feet. He made boxing back into a respectable, interesting sport.

The powers-that-be didn't mind his flamboyance and his mouth as long as he just stuck to building up the gate for upcoming fights: "If he even DREAMS of beating me, he'd better wake up and apologize."

But they got down on him when he joined the Muslims and took the name Muhammad Ali.

In the 1960's, the Muslims were billed in the media as a scary Black separatist group which had spawned such evil articulate beings as Malcolm X. Ali was too much of an idol with the youth, damn it, why couldn't he just get rich and blow his money on houses and cars? Why, this one was worse than Jack Johnson!

Sportswriters continued to refer to him as Cassius Clay until he forced his new name into everybody's consciousness, making people answer his "What's my name?" with a grudging "Muhammad Ali," even the most racist of them. He was The Greatest, much as they hated to admit it.

But the worst was yet to come. Not only was he cocky, a

Muslim, an irritating symbol who couldn't be beat or even have his handsome face touched by another boxer, he could think. And he could talk—very eloquently, too, for those who say Black English cannot communicate. When the government tried to draft him into the Army, Ali refused induction, saying, "I ain't got no fight with no Vietcong."

Well, they couldn't take that. They not only convicted him for draft evasion, they took the Heavyweight Championship title away from him.

For the duration of his late twenties, Ali fought court battles, didn't train, didn't fight. When his conviction was overturned by the US Supreme Court after five years, Ali did something his enemies couldn't believe: He won back his title. He was The Greatest, much as they hated to admit it.

Well, finally, a few weeks ago, at the age of 36, Ali was defeated, by a much younger man. Even though it was a close fight, he lost. Leon Spinks, the new champion, behaved like a real champion when he said, "He's still The Greatest. I'm just the latest."

ALI'S VOW

Ali has vowed that he will be the first boxer in history to win the heavyweight title three times. If anyone in the world could do it, we're betting on Ali's talent and his powerful will.

Some sportswriters have written that they don't want to see Ali decline in his last years, that they'd prefer to remember him as he was in his prime.

But the tragedy and the greatness of Ali's boxing career lie in the fact that magnificent as he was, because of the government's preventing him from fighting for those five crucial years, NOBODY EVER SAW MUHAMMAD ALI IN HIS PRIME.

Where We Stand

Workers' Power is the weekly newspaper of the International Socialists. The I.S. and its members work to build a movement for a socialist society: a society controlled democratically by mass organizations of all working people.

Because workers create all the wealth, a new society can be built only when they collectively take control of that wealth and plan how it is produced and distributed.

The present system cannot become socialist through reform.

The existing structures of government—the military, police, courts and legislatures—protect the interests of employers against workers.

The working class needs its own kind of state, based on councils of delegates elected at the rank and file level.

The rank and file of the unions must be organized to defend unions from employer attacks, to organize the unorganized, to make the union effective. Today's union leaders

rarely even begin to do this. The rank and file must organize to return the unions to the members.

The struggle for socialism is worldwide. We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against workers of other countries, including racism and protectionism.

We are against the American government's imperialist foreign policies, including its support of racist minority regimes in southern Africa.

We demand complete independence for Puerto Rico. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The so-called "socialist" or "communist" states have nothing to do with socialism. They are controlled by a privileged ruling class of bureaucrats and must be overthrown by the workers of those countries.

Black and Latin people are oppressed national minorities in the U.S. They have the right to self-determination—to decide their

own future. We support the struggle for Black Liberation and the self-organization of Black people. We also fight for the unity of Black and white workers in a common struggle against this system.

We support women's liberation and full economic, political, and social equality for women. We demand outlawing all forms of discrimination against gay people.

Socialism and liberation can be achieved only by the action of a mass workers' movement. The most militant sections of workers today must be organized to lay the foundations for a revolutionary socialist workers' party.

This is why the International Socialists exist—to create that party. We are open to all those who accept our main principles, and who accept the responsibility of working as a member to achieve them.

Join with us to build a movement to end exploitation and oppression and to create a socialist world.

The Socialist View

Socialist ideas: where do they come from?

by Dan Posen

In 1845, a young German revolutionary wrote an appeal called, "To the Working Classes of Great Britain." He stated:

"Having ample opportunity to watch the [factory owners, manufacturers and other businessmen], your opponents, I soon came to the conclusion that you are right, perfectly right in expecting no support whatever from them.

"Their interest is diametrically opposed to yours, although they will always try to maintain the contrary and to make you believe in their most hearty sympathy with you . . .

"Be their words what they please, the middle [capitalist] classes intend in reality nothing else but to enrich themselves from your labor while they can sell its produce, and to abandon you to starvation as soon as they cannot make a profit."

The author of these lines, Frederick Engels, has gone down in history along with Karl Marx as one of the founders of the basic theories of revolutionary socialism, or Marxism.

But at the time that Engels wrote this article, he was not yet a Marxist at all. He and Marx barely knew each other.

ENGLAND

Engels had just spent nearly two years writing a book called "The Condition of the Working Class in England." His time had been spent studying the actual conditions in which the workers of England worked, lived and died.

The industrial revolution had come first to Britain. Industry, mining, and transportation were expanding more rapidly there than anywhere else in the world.

Within a generation, capitalism had developed an industrial ruling class and an industrial laboring class.

Engels studied how the English working class emerged and suffered as the capitalist class expanded and prospered.

Like those of Marx, all of his ideas and theories were based on a painstaking and detailed study of living conditions.

Besides reading every government report he could get his hands on, Engels visited workers' neighborhoods, found out about the factories, looked at what was happening to workers' families and to their children in particular.

He found out, for example, how in one particular London district, nearly 1500 families were living in one room each.

He discovered another neighborhood he never knew existed, hidden under a railway bridge: "small one-storied huts, in most of which there is no artificial floor . . . privies [toilets] are so rare here that they are either filled up every day, or are too remote for most of the inhabitants to use."

Most important of all, Engels found that a growing number of workers, not just in the industrial cities but in the mines and agriculture, were becoming more bitter and rebellious every day.

They were discovering revolutionary ideas from the same roots—the misery and exploitation of the growing capitalist system.

NO REFORM

Meanwhile, all the ideas for reform in surveys and reports paid for by the government were piled up "among heaps of waste paper on the shelves of the Home Office."

So when Engels wrote his article to British workers—the introduction to his book "The Condition of the Working Class in England"—he could claim, and prove, that the system would never be reformed by the good will of the bosses.

The only way workers' lives would improve would be when the workers themselves were able to threaten the whole system, when the employers made concessions and accepted lower profit margins to avoid losing their factories completely.

Three years later, when Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto, this idea had become the most important principle in all of Marxism: "The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

Between 1845 and 1848, Marx and Engels began to make a serious, scientific study of how capitalism had developed and how it works—a study they carried on for the next 40 years.

And in those same years, a number of major European countries, including France and Germany, entered the period of crisis that led to the revolutions of 1848.

This was why in the Communist Manifesto, for the first time in history, revolutionary socialists not only exposed the evils and exploitation of the capitalist system, but gave a clear explanation of how it would be overthrown.

1978

No one would imagine that the world of 1978 is the same as it was a hundred and thirty years ago. But the way in which revolutionary socialist ideas develop and grow has not really changed.

Socialist ideas grow not merely from nice thoughts, but from a study of forces, conditions, and conflicts that force the world to change.

Socialist ideas also grow out of action—from coming up against class conflict in the fight for survival.

Socialist ideas are about changing the world—about how to get from the system of profits, racism and war we live in today, to a world that meets the material and creative needs of human beings.

To do this, we have to begin by carefully studying the world as it



Child labor in the U.S. in the early 1900's. Situations like this started people thinking: there has to be something better for ordinary working people.

is—not as propagandists and apologists for the system tell us it is.

For example, every American high school student learns that class struggle, confrontations between workers and bosses, went out of style in this country shortly after the Great Depression.

But by looking at why 160,000 coal miners have been on strike for

over three months—and what they are striking for—we can see that the miners, like English workers a century ago, "are right, perfectly right, in expecting no support whatever" from the good will of the employers.

Perhaps the biggest change from 1848 till today is that Engels and Marx may have been over-

optimistic in expecting that the working classes of Europe were strong enough to carry out a socialist revolution then.

Today, not only in Europe, but in America, and throughout the world, socialism is not just an idea of a better world in the distant future. It's a necessity whose time is long overdue. □

Letters

Violence from the Catholic Church?

Dear Fellow Workers,

On page two, column one of your 6 March issue you seem to allege that the Catholic Church condones and encourages violent opposition to abortion. You then refer readers to an "accompanying article." I assumed I would find something in the article which referred to the Catholic Church, but found nothing. I hope this was merely an error or editorial omission and not a deliberate and unfounded attack on the Catholics or the church hierarchy.

The rest of your paper was its usual terrific self.

Fraternally,
Jim Woods
Alpena, Michigan

Editor's note: The statement in question followed a sentence reading, "William A. Baird, founder of the Abortion Freedom League, stated that the attacks are part of a national campaign of violent opposition to abortion, encouraged by the Roman Catholic Church." The "accompanying article" contained more information on the "national campaign of violent attacks" against abortion clinics. We apologize to readers, who from the placement of the statement, reasonably expected information also on church involvement.

Union man has a suggestion for the paper

Dear Workers' Power

I am a union man, and I like all your articles on the striking miners, especially the one—"Who are the Coal Operators?"

I think it is great because it tells me who they are and what the BCOA really is—Bloody Coal

Operators' Ass'n. I totally agree with you.

Also, you should add, "When you burnt coal; you didn't burn coal, you burnt blood."

Andy Simson
Chic.go, Ill

Theft, scandal, bribes in Oklahoma prison

Ms. Danton,

Our former warden, Mr. Richard Crisp, recently turned down a job with the Arizona Department of Corrections to return to Oklahoma to face allegations of stealing seventy-two thousand dollars in food money.

And according to newspapers this same Mr. Crisp is going to run for state government office. But if he's elected, it won't be any surprise to me, because any white collar job these days is where the money is at.

And former Governor David Hall took an unexpected trip to Safford, Arizona, at the expense of Uncle Sam to pay for his part in trying to steal ten million dollars.

But any white collar thief knows one thing. If he gets caught with his hand in the cookie

jar, the money he can steal compared to the risk of getting caught is well worth it.

And after my being returned here to the Main Prison. After attempting to bribe State Prison Guard Mr. Tommy Lampkin to help me escape, with a bribe offer of fifteen hundred dollars, at Stringtown Okla. trusty camp.

All I had to do to go back out trusty was testify the way Mr. Richard Crisp wanted me to, in front of the Federal District Judge Luther Bohanon concerning conditions here at the prison. Where six million dollars was appropriated for the State Penitentiary.

But men like Mr. Crisp seem to be the only kind people want in office today.

Sincerely yours,
Ralph Thompson 83994
McAlester, Oklahoma

Miners' Pensions: Why It's A Hot Issue

"The only way to treat a miner is to treat him equal."

by Jim Woodward

The early 1920's were hard times for union coal miners in Raleigh County, West Virginia. The United Mine Workers struck for three years, trying to organize the county.

As soon as the miners walked off their jobs, they were evicted from their company-owned houses. Many of them spent the three years living in tents. Those who couldn't afford to buy food ate a watery grava made from meal three times a day.

In the end, they lost the strike. Those who could find jobs returned to work without the union.

This scene was all too common in the long struggle to build the UMW. Sometimes it was worse, when gun thugs shot up the strikers' tents or chased them out of the country.

Miners and their families sacrificed a great deal for the union those days, and that's why many miners are angry about the raw deal the old timers are getting today.

1974 CONTRACT

Pensions in the coal industry have always been a disgrace. While the 1974 contract raised pensions, it also managed to make a bad situation worse.

That year the negotiators split the pension funds into the 1950 Trust Fund and the 1974 Trust Fund. The 1950 Fund paid \$250 a month, or \$225 if the pensioner was also drawing black lung benefits.

The 1974 Fund covered anyone who retired after January 1, 1976 and pays much larger pensions—averaging \$450, based on age and years of service.

This division has been one of the issues which concerned the UMW membership most and the contract negotiators least.

Last December when the 1974 contract expired and the union went on strike, virtually all miners questioned by Workers' Power put equalizing pensions as one of the top contract priorities.

Typical was Elmer Webb, leader of a District 17 pensioners group, who said when they split the pension fund, "they divided our membership. We don't need divisions; we need unity. I believe it's a conspiracy so they can bust us and weaken us."

"I know the young get a lot of

blame for the predicament that the older fellows is in," he continued. "But I don't blame those young men, not one bit, because they are our sons, our grandsons, our nephews, and they don't want to see us treated that way."

After more than three months on strike, the miners still see it that way.

EQUAL

John Mendez of Chapmanville, West Virginia, has worked in the mines for 36 years and has been a union activist for most of those years. He's now recording secretary of Local 5921.

In a telephone interview, Mendez explained his view: "I feel that the man who put 36 years under the '50 pension plan, his years is worth as much as mine under the '74. That's why we argue that the only just way to treat a miner as a miner is by treating him equal."

"Now naturally we do have a great problem here," Mendez said. "It's been four or five years here that these people have been separated. We're going to have to resolve this problem by bringing them up, possibly in one or two steps."

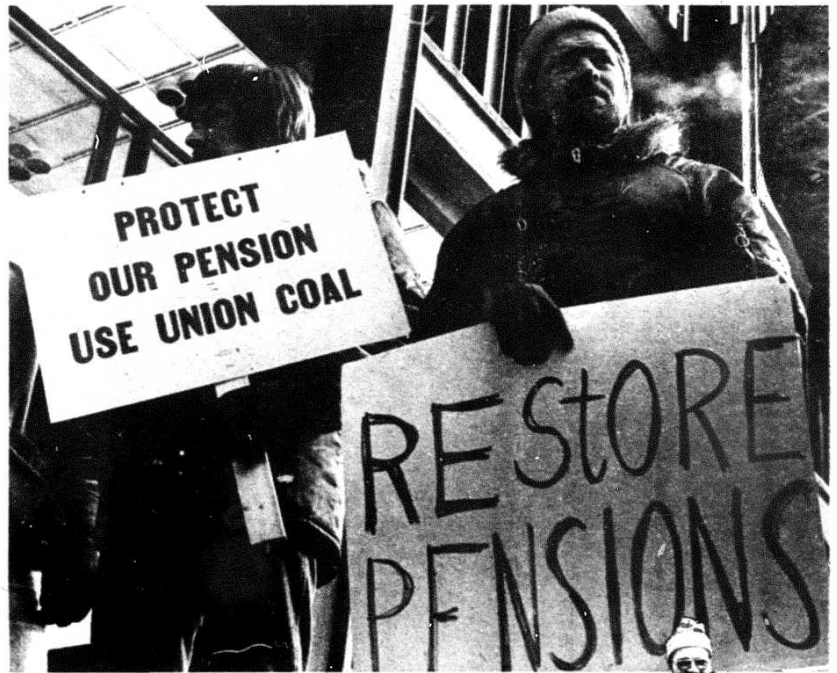
"But our ultimate goal is to insist that we bring them up as soon as possible, and preferably in this contract, in order that the man who worked in the period prior to '74 would have the opportunity to have the same income for the same type of work."

The latest tentative contract, however, doesn't even attempt to equalize pensions. Retired miners covered by the '50 Fund will get a flat \$25 a month increase—not even enough to keep up with inflation. (Those drawing black lung benefits will get \$50.) Retirees covered by the '74 Fund will get about the same increase—\$1 a month for each year of service.

DISABLED MINERS

Mendez said another problem with the 1974 contract is that it gave any miner who becomes totally disabled as a result of a mine accident only \$125 a month until age 55, when the miner becomes eligible for a regular pension.

"Now many of our miners are young men, in their early 20's, so they're a victim of this," Mendez said. The new pension proposal raises this to "a measly \$137.50.



That's another area of the pension that we want adjusted."

Robert Payne is one of those disabled miners. He has a lifetime disability from a 1967 mine accident. As president of the Disabled Miners and Widows of Southern West Virginia, Payne was a leader of the rank and file movement that fought for pension and black lung reform, and which overthrew the corrupt Tony Boyle leadership of the union.

Payne says that the younger miners are sticking with the pensioners on the issue of equalizing pensions. "They ain't going to go back to work until that thing is done," he said.

"The way I look at it," Payne added, "if one man has got 20 years, if he can get [a certain] amount of pension, the man that retired way back should get the same amount. I've talked with thousands of miners and all of them say the same thing I'm giving you now."

RIGHTEOUSLY ANGRY

That sentiment goes a long way towards explaining why the UMW bargaining council has vetoed one tentative contract and the rank and file has shot down another one.

It explains why many will object to the latest proposal. If they accept it after 15 weeks on strike, you can be sure it's not because the miners like what it says.

Even if this contract is accepted, the pension issue could come back to haunt the coal operators. Many old timers will be righteously angry.

In the second month of the strike, one retired miner predicted: "They're trying to cut us old men completely out, and they're not gonna do it. There ain't nobody going back to work if we get cut out."

"We'll be at the drift mouth. We'll have our guns with us, and there ain't nobody gonna get in that mine. My wife can shoot, too, and she'll be out there with me."

Even allowing for a certain amount of rhetoric, it's unlikely that the old timers will let this issue die peacefully. □

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

United Auto Workers Local 736 at GM's Hyatt Roller Bearing plant in New Jersey voted a \$50 contribution to the **Carol Frye Fund**. Frye is a UAW member, disabled last July when shot on the picket line at the Essex Wire plant in Elwood, Indiana. Additional funds are urgently needed.

Contributions from individuals, union locals, or community groups should be sent to: Carol Frye Fund, Security Bank, 125 South Anderson Street, Elwood, Indiana 46036.

The AFL-CIO's boycott of **Coors beer** is having some success, according to the company's annual report. Coors' sales were down to 12.8 million barrels in 1977, which is 721,000 barrels less than a year earlier. Coors workers have been on strike since last April, over seniority issues and the company's demand to use lie detector tests on its employees.

Quote of the week: "Half of American is built by hand. We build cars and contribute to the economy. I'm damn proud to work in a factory."—Richard S. Cummins, the top boss at Volkswagen's new Westmoreland plant in Pennsylvania. Someone should tell Cummins to be careful not to get grease from the cars he builds on his clean white shirts.

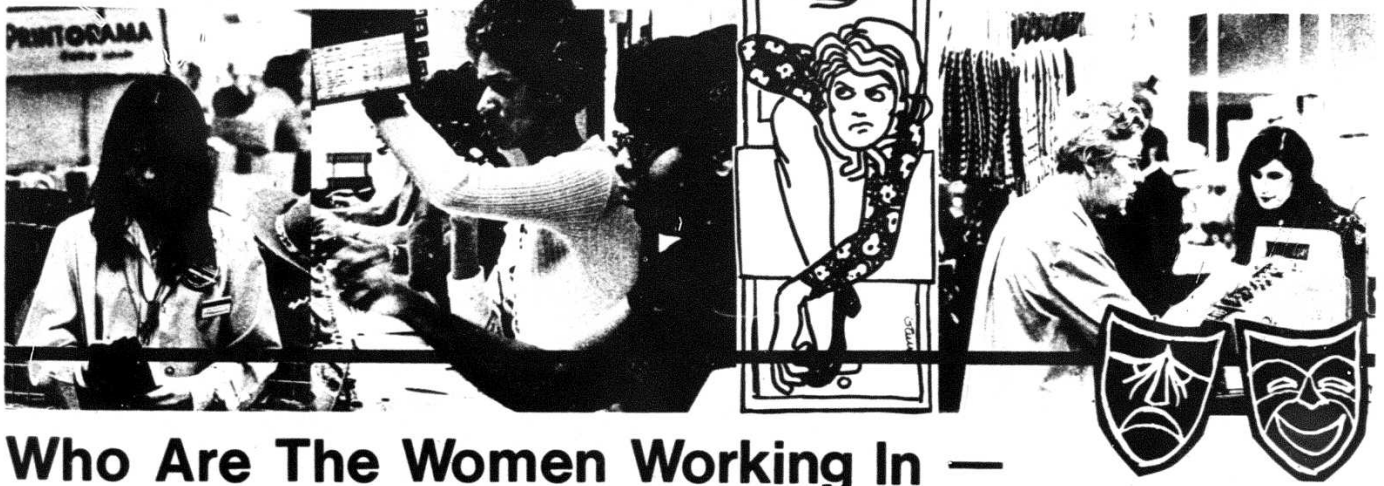
Cleveland readers may wonder why the morning newspaper there is taking such a hard line against the coal miners. On February 21, before Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley act, the **Cleveland Plain Dealer** said: The Administration has failed to "take off the kid gloves and do real battle with the issue of ending the miners' strike." The editorial should have been signed by the **Island Creek Coal Company**. Island Creek's former president (and still a director of the company) is Herman L. Vail. Vail is also the Plain Dealer's retired president. His son Thomas is currently the Plain Dealer's editor and publisher.

Governors of some states may call out the **National Guard** against striking coal miners, but **West Virginia Gov. Jay Rockefeller** is likely to think twice before doing so. Because the state has over 1400 widely-scattered mines, calling out all 5000 Guardsmen would put only 3 1/2% at each mine. Rockefeller's bigger problem, however, is that 10 to 15% of the Guardsmen themselves are striking coal miners.

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

I.S. BRANCHES

National Office: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203
 Atlanta: P.O. Box 11016, Atlanta, GA 30310
 Austin: P.O. Box 8492, Austin, TX 78712
 Bay Area: P.O. Box 132, Oakland, CA 94604
 Boston: P.O. Box 8488, JFK Station, Boston, MA 02114
 Chicago: P.O. Box 11268, Fort Dearborn Sta., Chicago, IL 60611
 Cleveland: P.O. Box 03336, Station B, Cleveland, OH 44103
 Detroit: 16155 Meyers, Detroit, MI 48235
 Gary: P.O. Box 426, Gary, IN 46402
 Los Angeles: P.O. Box 1545, Lynwood, CA 90262
 New Jersey: P.O. Box 897, Chestnut Station, Union, NJ 07083
 New York: 30 E. 20th St., Room 207, New York, NY 10003
 Pittsburgh: P.O. Box 466, Homestead, PA 15120
 Portland: P.O. Box 4662, Portland, OR 97208



Who Are The Women Working In — PINK COLLAR JOBS?

by Elissa Clarke

After you look beyond the "firsts"—the first woman to install a telephone line, the first Chairwoman of the Board, the first woman police officer, the first woman to direct traffic on Hollywood and Vine—what is going on with women today?

That is the question that Louise Kapp Howe attempts to answer in "Pink Collar Workers."

Pink Collar Workers.
By Louise Kapp Howe.
G.P. Putnam's Sons.
1977.

This book is more than the usual pile of statistics, the usual survey of history. Instead, Howe went out and talked to women. Through this book, you get to know the women she got to know.

She worked as a sales clerk; she tells you what it was like. She spent a month sitting around a California beauty parlor, getting to know waitresses in New York, office workers in Chicago, and homemakers in Wisconsin.

The stories of these women are sometimes painful, sometimes courageous, sometimes familiar. Never boring.

Some of the women's stories reflected the emptiness of their work:

Bonnie, an office worker: "But then there are days when you feel, well, it's all right, everyone's nice, but I'm not really getting anywhere, am I?"

Jeanne: "But I know guys who started out when I did, maybe in some crummy job like messenger, and they were making much less than I, but then their jobs led to all kinds of other things, they've moved way up, and waitressing just sits there."

Alice, a sales clerk in coats, ten years seniority, bosses everyone around. But she's still in the same job in the same department as when she started.

Women who find reservoirs of strength within themselves.

Faye: "I was going through

The Oklahoma state legislature has defeated a bill that would have required a man and woman, before having sexual intercourse, fill out a form that he had obtained her consent and informed her of the possible consequences.

Times sure are changin', ain't they? □

emotional hell, scared to death of what would happen to me and the kids, drinking heavily, taking Valium all the time.

"After the divorce, you hit rock bottom, and then you start to build."

Women who never take chances, just simply endure.

The sales workers who keep their jobs because it's a "one-fare job." Who say patiently, "You get used to it." Who line up outside personnel before Christmas, so desperate for a job that they don't even ask what the pay is.

Women trying to juggle too much: supporting themselves, their children on an inadequate income, no childcare, keeping house. Someone loses.

Avis: "My only problem is Johnny. He's destructive, he tears everything up. Look, ha, ha, he's rubbing his butt. He got a spanking last night that just wouldn't quit, didn't you?"

"Tell her. Tell Louise about the bruises that Mama put on your leg last night. Yeah, I'll give you some more if you don't behave tonight."

TRAGIC

These are the women behind the statistics. The women who bring home "\$9c for every dollar a man earns." The women who work in the "top ten jobs for women." The women who head the "single parent families." The women who struggle to go back to college just in time to join the ranks of the educated unemployed.

Somewhere in the back of your mind, there is a sense of tragedy as you read this book. Is it the sad stories? The low pay? The lack of promotions? The children who get the short end?

Finally it is clear. In the concluding chapter of this book, Howe quotes a designer: "My strong belief is that probably at this moment eighty percent of the potential of most workers is not being used."

That is the tragedy. Not that the boss is not getting the potential from his workers, but that people are asked to waste their lives on boring, petty, meaningless work.

Taking pajamas out of boxes all day.

Selling things people don't need. One woman reports wanting to say: "Lady, you don't need this junk."

Looking busy when there's nothing to do.

Nowhere does the tragedy of

work under capitalism shine through more clearly than when you examine women's work.

BRIDGE A GAP

There is a lot more in this book than stories and descriptions. This is a book to read if you want to understand why "pink collar workers" are not enthusiastic about unionizing.

Hopefully, this book can also help to bridge a gap that has existed for too long between the majority of working women and the

women's movement. Howe laughs at herself for the way she used to write before getting to know the women in this book.

For example, she'd write: "It is time to give all women a chance at self-fulfillment and a choice of ways to define it..."

Then she imagines saying this sentence to the many women she has met with and written about.

"Peggy, it is time to give all women a chance at self-fulfillment and a choice of ways to define it."

Peggy, working in coats, struggling to supplement her family's

income, standing on her feet all day.

Ingrid, balancing five plates on one arm, three on the other.

Women who are working, dealing with real lives, real problems, struggling to survive.

The words, so good in the abstract, ring empty, silly, meaningless when you say them to real people.

That is the value of this book. The real people. As well as the insights, and hard-hitting research that Louise Kapp Howe should be credited with. □

Right To Choose A PRIME TIME MOVIE LOOKS AT ABORTION

by Elissa Clarke

Muffy. 16. Adolescently awkward. Senior year. Bright. Going on to college.

And pregnant. "Death of Her Innocence," a NBC movie aired last week, deals with Muffy's dilemma of being pregnant in the 50's.

Death of Her Innocence.
NBC Monday Movie.
Starring Pamela Sue Martin and Betsy Slade.

Of course, abortion was illegal. Ten years before the women's movement, it was not even acceptable.

Muffy argues far more eloquently than I for the right to abortion. Her future ahead of her, all the potential in the world. Is Muffy supposed to drop it all to marry someone she doesn't even like, to raise a baby before she is even grown herself?

Today, it is easy to forget what it meant for women before abortion was legalized. Today, abortion clinics advertise in the papers every day. You can forget how hard it was, how frightening it was, how unacceptable it was.

"Death of Her Innocence" took me back to the late 60's. My

roommate was pregnant. Like Muffy, it was her "first time." Like Muffy, she didn't see what all the fuss was about.

Unlike Muffy, Betsy didn't believe in abortion. She married. She gave up a life-long dream and dropped out of college after one semester. She "shamed" her family. She gave up a career as a singer.

While Betsy and her husband debated whether they would keep their infant or not, new-born Jossie died in a foster home.

"Death of Her Innocence" brings it all back. It's easy to forget that sometimes there are no alternatives. That it took a lot of courage to seek an abortion before the Supreme Court ruling. That you were "shamed" if you bore an illegitimate child, and a murderer if you didn't.

Muffy summons her courage and never sways. She says: "I want to make a choice. I want to be in control of my life, just once."

It's easy to forget what a difficult decision this was.

BACK ALLEY ABORTIONS

Muffy's abortion takes place before the women's movement set up an informal, underground network to help women get abortions. In the 50's, all abortions were "back-alley" abortions. You had

one contact, you traveled somewhere, maybe blindfolded, switched cars, traveled some more.

You didn't know where you were going, or who would perform the abortion, or what that person's qualifications would be.

Unrealistically, Muffy's doctor is set in an antiseptic doctor's office (though it is located in an old warehouse) and is performed by a medical student. In reality, few medical students would put their lucrative careers on the line to perform illegal abortions.

Much more often, your abortion would take place in a dirty motel room, or an abandoned apartment. By a nurse or a former nurse, or a doctor whose license had been revoked. The methods were crude, not sterile, and if something went wrong, you were left to die. Like Muffy, women were afraid to report complications. You could not go to a hospital. Minor complications escalated. Many women died.

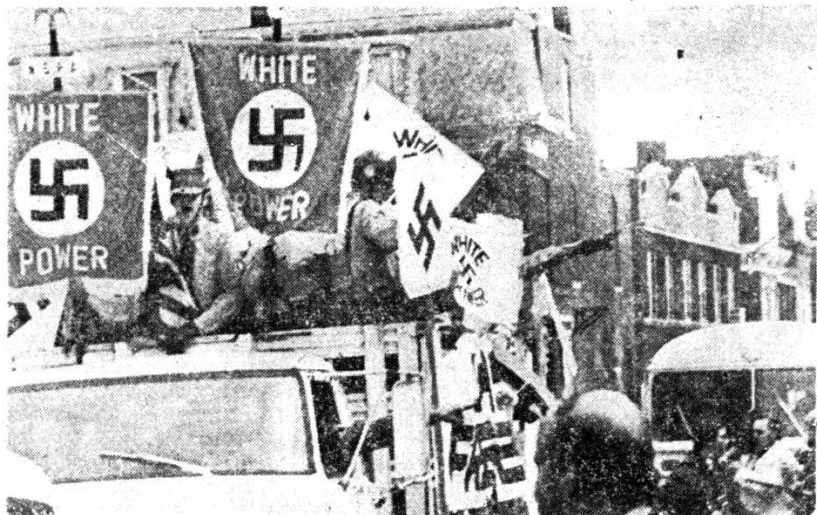
DEBATE

Today, the right to abortion is again being debated. The anti-abortion movement is busy bombing abortion clinics. Congress has cut off federal money to pay for Medicaid abortions. They all claim that they are defending the right to life.

What about Muffy? What about her right to life? □

WORKERS' POWER

DRIVE THE NAZIS OUT!



Nazis, afraid to march, ride truck through South St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS:

by Candy Martin

Strong anti-fascist protest forced the Nazi "National Convention," held last weekend in St. Louis, to adjourn to a secret location.

Only 41 Nazi supporters showed up for the convention, despite earlier media reports of an expected 150-200 delegates.

The fascists were unable to march, as they had planned, through an old German neighborhood because of the hostility of hundreds of demonstrators.

Instead, despite a bus and two vans loaded with policemen, a motorcycle escort and foot patrolmen along the route, the fascists decided to travel on a flat-bed truck.

One policeman explained that "it would have been suicide to march through there."

But even on the truck, the Nazis stayed away from their planned destination in Gravois Park when they learned that several hundred anti-fascists were waiting for them there.

As it was, the 41 uniformed Nazis were pelted with snowballs, rocks and bottles. They tried to use shields painted with swastikas to

fend off the barrage before retreating to their headquarters, which had been opened in St. Louis only a few days earlier.

All entrances to the Nazi headquarters were blocked by a heavy police cordon, which some observers say extended for as much as two blocks. A half-dozen arrests occurred when angry protestors tried to get through the cordon.

The Nazis were taken to police headquarters where they were able to change into street clothes before moving off to an undisclosed location.

Enabled by police protection to continue their convention, the Nazis announced on the following day that they had formed a new national umbrella organization. The "National Socialist Party of America" will include different fascist splinter groups from around the country.

Let us organize to ensure that the future of this group fares no better than the attempts to found it—forced into secrecy and routed, by massive anti-fascist protest, from the streets.

SKOKIE:

"Everybody knows about the Nazi Party now," said a St. Louis spokesman for the fascists after they were put to rout last weekend. "That's all we wanted."

"We're trying to defend white St. Louis. We'll have more when we go to Skokie."

The Nazis are planning to use the occasion of Hitler's birthday, April 20, to march through Skokie—a mainly Jewish suburb of Chicago.

Living in Skokie are many survivors of Hitler's death camps.

But if the Nazis expect to have more than the 41 intimidated

Hitlerites they gathered in St. Louis, anti-fascists expect to rally thousands.

Jewish and community leaders are planning a massive counter-demonstration. Estimates of those expected to march against the Nazis on April 20 run as high as 50,000.

DETROIT:

HONK... SCREECH...
BEEP BEEP...

Over 100 cars wound along W. Vernor Highway—horns blowing, lights on, covered with signs, their occupants shouting, "Get The Nazis Out!"

As the car caravan passed the Nazi headquarters the horns grew louder, the noise more insistent. "Get Out!" "Get the Filth Out!" people shouted from car windows at the 10-15 Nazis marching back and forth in front of the Nazi hate-quarters, protected by Detroit police.

Detroit's Southwest Community supported the caravan. "Yeah, you're right...get them out," shouted an onlooker.

"Where can I get a sign?" asked the driver of a car coming in the opposite direction. "Join our Coalition," was one response. "Here," said another as he jumped out of his car to hand the other driver a sign.

The car caravan marked the conclusion of a rally held at the United Autoworkers Local 600 hall March 12, and called by the Labor-Community-Interfaith Council A-against the Nazis.



100 car caravan gathers to "Drive the Nazis Out" of Detroit's Southwest Side.

The Council's formation had originally been called by the leadership of Local 600. Its efforts have since been endorsed by the Jewish Community Council, the Catholic Arch Diocese, the NAACP as well as other unions, other groups and individuals.

Well over 600 people attended the rally. Speakers included prominent leaders of Detroit's Trade Union movement, the Black community, the Jewish community, a survivor of the holocaust of Nazi Germany, and representatives from the City Council.

Most important was the Council's call to action. A mass rally and march was planned for April 30th.

Contingents, to be organized from unions, schools, neighborhoods and organizations to "March the Nazis Out!" were planned.

EVICTED

Three days later, Judge Henry J. Szymanski ruled in an eviction

hearing that the Nazis have ten days to vacate the headquarters they rented on W. Vernor Hwy.

The Judge's decision came at the end of a long day of testimony by landlord Eddy S. Bullock and numerous neighborhood residents and shopkeepers, all testifying to the disruption and terror caused by the Nazi presence in their neighborhood.

Bill Russell, the head Nazi who had signed the lease, acted as his own lawyer throughout the trial. He offered no evidence, had no witnesses, and got nowhere when he tried to cross-examine.

When Russell himself was called to the stand to testify, he desperately tried to make a play for sympathy: "No lawyers will defend us. Every organization in Michigan has come out against us. Everyone's against us. We don't stand a chance," he whined.

"We have no defense," he admitted; "we are offering none."

Russell's own words, much more than the judge's ruling, are the real victory. The extensive and persistent anti-Nazi demonstrations, which began within 24 hours of the headquarters' opening in late December, and culminated in the 100-car caravan last weekend, had had their desired effect—Russell was beat and he knew it.

Get The Nazis Out! had become the slogan of the day in the neighborhood and the Nazis collapsed under the pressure.

There is a small chance that the

Nazis will appeal the ruling and try to stick it out on Vernor Highway. Or they may try to open shop in another neighborhood.

Actions like the mass rally and march planned for April 30 if they do, will continue so long as the Nazi scum attempt to surface anywhere.