

The East European Dissident You Never Heard About — P. 9

Workers' Power

THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS #261 JULY 27 - AUGUST 10, 1978 25c

POSTAL CONTRACT: 'THE WORST EVER'



Thousands of postal workers march in front of U.S. Postal Service headquarters in Washington, July 12.

A lot rests on what 600,000 postal workers do in the next few days.

U.S. Postal Service management says their contract offer is a real cost-saver. President Carter figures a cheap settlement by postal workers will help him put the squeeze on other unions

when their contracts expire. Top leaders of the three major unions of Postal Service employees say it's the best they can do.

But the growing consensus among postal workers is that this contract is unacceptable. Local after local is urging union members to vote "no" on this offer. And, as we go to press, the post office is teetering on the edge of a

national strike.

Wildcats in New Jersey and the California Bay Area have sparked debate in union locals elsewhere. However, so far, no others have followed their lead.

It all depends on New York, and on New York-Metro Area Postal Workers Union President Moe Biller. Should postal workers there authorize a strike in a vote scheduled for Monday, and should Biller approve a "yes" vote, workers in many large cities across the

country would go out.

Says Pittsburgh Mailhandlers Shop Steward Edgar Payne, "I think that Moe Biller realizes that he is the key—he probably has federal marshalls on him—and he just doesn't want to trigger things off."

"We debated last night. A lot of people wanted to go out, but it seemed almost like suicide to go without a strong commitment from New York. They could really kick things off."

For the story, and an analysis, see pages 6 and 7. □

THOUSANDS FACE LAYOFFS IN PHILLY

PHILADELPHIA — Nineteen thousand city workers returned to work on July 24 after an eight-day strike.

By a vote of 5937 in favor to 4000 opposed, the city's blue collar workers ratified a two-year contract which provides for a 7% pay hike in the first year and a cost of living increase in the second. A one and a half percent increase in fringe

benefits will take effect on January 1, 1979.

Two thousand white collar and supervisory employees also voted to accept a contract with the same wage and fringe benefits.

Earl Stout, the president of the largest city workers union, District Council 33 of AFSCME, claimed: "It's the best contract we've ever negotiated."

But Stout's assessment of the contract was not shared by many union members, as the large no-vote indicates.

In exchange for the small wage increase, the city administration demanded and won the right to lay off up to 4500 city workers in order to balance the budget.

Six hundred workers will be laid

off almost immediately, followed by several thousand more in August.

Although Mayor Frank Rizzo has promised to distribute the layoffs evenly throughout all city departments, the city's large number of political patronage employees will almost certainly be spared.

Also unlikely to face major cutbacks is the Philadelphia Police

Department, despite the fact that there are more cops per capita here than in any other city except Washington, D.C.

The attitude of many city workers, especially those with low seniority, was summed up by a young sanitation worker who said, "I guess I'll be driving the truck again Monday, but I might be walkin' again before long." □



A few of America's political prisoners. From left to right: Joan Little; Indian militant Leonard Peitler; political activist David Rice; Soledad Brother George Jackson, killed by prison authorities in 1971; Puerto Rican nationalist Andres Figueroa Cordero; Gary Tyler, victim of anti-busing mob; Black militant Hurricane Carter; Attica Brother Dalou Asahi, killed by police 1978.

ERA Extension Gains; More Pressure Needed

On July 18, the House Judiciary Committee approved by 19-15 an extension of the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by an additional 39 months. The resolution now goes to the full House, and then to the Senate.

It is no coincidence that this victory occurred just nine days after the July 9 ERA demonstration when 100,000 women marched on Capitol Hill to make their demands for equal rights heard.

Huge numbers of women in this country feel that the Equal Rights Amendment is something they are willing to stand up and fight for. Obviously, they got their message across.

An amendment that would allow states to rescind their approval of the ERA was defeated by the Judiciary Committee, 21-13. If such an amendment had passed, four states would have already rescinded their approval and more would undoubtedly try it, making ratification of the ERA virtually impossible.

Still up in the air is whether Congress can pass the extension by a simple majority vote, or by a two-thirds vote. The extension stands a pretty certain chance of passing by simple majority, but it is unclear whether it would pass by two-thirds, especially in the Senate.

The leadership of the women's movement should take a lesson from this victory.

It is clear that the July 9 demonstration convinced the Judiciary Committee to move. If there is a filibuster in the Senate, or if states are reluctant to ratify, we know what to do! How do you think they'd like it in Springfield, Illinois if 100,000 women visited? □

E. Clarke

Workers' Power

Copyright © 1978 by I.S. Publishing Co. Editor: Marilyn Danton. Production Editor: David Katz. 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 airmail: \$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 to: Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

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

Printed in a 100% union shop.

Why Andy Young Wasn't Fired

by Dan Posen

FOR SEVERAL DAYS after Andrew Young's statement to a French newspaper that there are political prisoners in American jails, the air was full of outraged calls for his firing, resignation or impeachment.

The incident reveals several interesting facts about American politics and the Carter Administration.

But the debate over whether Young should be fired had very little to do with what he actually said.

According to one side, Andrew Young undercut the American government's effort to take a strong stand against the dissident trials in Russia. Those who believe he should have been fired for this realize he won't be, which to them is more proof that the whole Administration is too cowardly and soft on the Russians.

The Wall Street Journal's June 14 editorial expressed it this way: "UN Ambassador Andrew Young has finally generated more embarrassment than even the Carter Administration can stomach... It is impossible to imagine such sabotage being tolerated by any other President from any other Ambassador... Yet we will be astonished if Mr. Carter finds the courage to dismiss Mr. Young."

"The whole episode is a telling counterpoint to the indignant chorus that greeted Alexander Solzhenitsyn's Harvard charge that the West has lost its moral courage... Barring a reversal of direction that would start with Mr. Young's resignation, it seems that Mr. Solzhenitsyn certainly does understand the kind of people that man this administration."

PLANS FOR AFRICA

Other capitalist papers, moderate or liberal, argued against Young being fired. But none of them defended the truth of his statement about political prisoners—all of them deplored it.

Their reason for Young to keep his job is that he is crucial to the success of the United States' plans for ending southern African liberation wars.

They believe that Young's standing with Black African governments and the Namibian liberation movement is the key to carrying out the proposed Namibian settlement and extending it to Zimbabwe

(Rhodesia).

The same sentiment was voiced by Carter himself at his July 20 press conference:

"At almost the same time Andy made that unfortunate statement he had been remarkably successful in bringing about a conclusion of the Namibian question, which could have exploded into a very

unsatisfactory conflict in southern Africa."

CARTER POLICIES AT STAKE

Obviously, neither side of this debate has anything to do with human rights violations and political prisoners in the United States. For that matter, it has

nothing to do with the fate of Soviet dissidents either.

It is a debate over the entire policy of the Carter Administration, which is coming under increasing attack from the right.

Andrew Young, who represents the left-wing face of this Administration, is the most vulnerable to that attack.

By making a very moderate remark about people victimized for protest activity in this country, Young was breaking the internal discipline of the Administration as it tried to strike its high moral pose against the Soviet trials.

But the breakdown in Carter Administration cohesion and teamwork is hardly new. In fact, some of Carter's top men have been sniping at his policies in public, and getting away with it—as long as they do so from the right.

At the same time that a scandal was being created around Young's remarks, other Administration officials let it be known to right-wing Democratic Senator Moynihan that they were pressuring Carter to cancel computer and technology deals with the Soviet Union.

None of them were censured or attacked for this, even though the leak portrayed Carter as an incompetent weaking out of control of his own policy decisions.

Carter's National Security Advisor Brzezinski was not fired or reprimanded when he called for a so-called "get-tough," confrontation policy against the Soviet Union in Africa, directly contradicting Carter and Secretary of State Vance's public position and strategy.

IMPERIALISM NEEDS YOUNG

Andrew Young will not be forced out either—at least, not right now.

The African policies Young has developed are the United States' last chance to force African liberation movements to accept neo-colonial settlements.

Many of his right-wing attackers would have liked to see those policies scuttled in favor of stronger ties with South Africa and the Rhodesian Ian Smith regime.

But the Smith "internal settlement" is disintegrating so rapidly that it may have saved Andy Young's job again.

For the time being—even though it may be just a short time—American imperialism needs Andy Young at least as much as it needs Jimmy Carter. □

Political Prisoners In U.S.—True Or False?

Here is what Andrew Young really said about political prisoners in his Le Matin interview:

"...One never knows what will become of dissidents. After all, in our prisons as well there are hundreds, perhaps even thousands of people whom I would call political prisoners. I myself was sentenced ten years ago in Atlanta for having organized a protest movement. And three years later I was representative for Georgia..."

What Young was really saying was that just as some civil rights leaders went on to become successful politicians in the American South, the same thing will eventually happen in Russia.

As he has repeatedly said elsewhere, he also believes that the same peaceful process of reform, only through enlightened business leaders, will bring civil rights and equality to South Africa.

It is difficult to say which proposition is more absurd.

UNDERSTATED

But what about Young's remarks about political prisoners in America? Are they true or false?

Not only are they true, they are understated. The Wilmington 10, Gary Tyler, Joan Little, Leonard Peitler, the Attica Brothers, Johnny Harris—all these names only scratch the surface of people who have been imprisoned for political reasons. Five Puerto Rican nationalists were imprisoned in the 1950's; four of them are still there.

Some of these victims of racism and repression could be called activists or political dissidents, others not. But all of them have been imprisoned not for crimes, but because of political decisions by state or federal officials. None of them, Andrew Young's rhetoric notwithstanding, will become members of Congress.

Comparisons of repression under different systems are misleading and dangerous. For example, it is easy to show that in Russia, on the whole, dissidents are subjected to much heavier sentences, psychological torture and exile simply for speaking out.

NOT JAILED—MURDERED

But on the other hand, what about oppositionists who aren't jailed—but murdered, by police or government agents?

The Puerto Rican Teamster organizer Juan Rafael Cabellero, Indian activist Anna Mae Aquash, Fred Hampton and other Black Panther Party leaders and members. Attica Brother Dalou Asahi. The Kent State 4 and Jackson State murders. The list goes on. Not to mention the "unsolved" murders of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

The Soviet system of mock trials and Gulag camps is indeed horrible. But for outright murder of political and human rights activists, it is doubtful if the KGB can match the record of the "democratic" U.S. in the 1960's and 1970's. □

STEARNS STRIKE ENTERS 3rd YEAR



Miners, their families, and friends marked the second anniversary of the Stearns strike with a rally July 15.

STEARNS, Ky.—Nearly 500 persons gathered at the 4H camp here July 15 to mark the second anniversary of the Stearns miners' strike. Sponsored by the Stearns Women's Club, the rally drew miners' families from the surrounding area, a number of union officials from other districts, and out-of-state supporters.

One of the speakers was Kenneth Dawes, president of UMWA District 12 in Illinois. "I know a lot of you are Vietnam veterans," he

told the crowd, "and this war is just as bad as that one."

The Stearns "war" began on July 17, 1976, after the company's 150 miners voted in the United Mine Workers. The mine's owners, the Blue Diamond Coal Company, would not agree to a union safety committee, and that has been the main issue throughout the strike.

The Stearns strike has generated considerable support throughout the union from miners who favor an aggressive organizing campaign to

meet the growing challenge of non-union operators.

Miners from other districts and local unions have contributed generously, including over \$6500 raised at this rally. But the commitment from the International level of the union has been lacking.

MILLER ABSENT

The highest ranking International official attending the second

anniversary rally was Jim Varney, director of organizing. He apologized for the absence of UMWA Arnold Miller, saying the union's leader "has once more been interrupted by those who place greed above" the best interests of the UMWA.

Varney went on to tell a bizarre story of an alleged assassination threat against Miller. He said that "the media" in Bluefield, W. Va. had heard that someone identified only as "Morgan" planned to kill

Miller at a public meeting the same day as the Stearns rally.

"I do not bow to Mr. Morgan," Varney quoted Miller, but added: "This is the reason President Miller couldn't attend this meeting today. We are taking precautions because of that [assassination] statement."

The absence of top International officers was only one sign—and not the most important—of their lack of commitment to the strike. They had apparently done very little to organize for the rally. None of several union activists contacted in Ohio and West Virginia several days before the rally knew of it.

There have been no mass marches mobilizing the whole union. There has been no massive publicity campaign. And there have been no threats of a nationwide miners' strike. The International union did all these things in winning the 13-month Brookside strike in 1973-74, and it has done none of them at Stearns.

What the International officers have done is play politics with the strike, by removing organizers thought insufficiently loyal to Arnold Miller.

UPHILL FIGHT

The Blue Diamond Coal Company is said to be one of the toughest of all 'non-union outfits. The company is not publicly owned, making it more difficult to apply outside pressure. And the owner has reportedly said he would rather die than recognize the union.

Whether that is true or not, the Stearns strikers must be judged to be in a steep uphill fight until the International union puts all its resources into the struggle.

But the spirit at Stearns is holding strong. One miner's son, asked what he wanted to be when he grew up, replied: "I want to be a striker, just like Daddy."

His Dad, it was noted, looked real proud. □

Jim Woodward

How Miners Wives Support Strike

by Enid Eckstein

STEARNS, Ky. — "When us women got involved in this strike, some of the men liked it, and some of them didn't. That's the natural thing. But I think the women have made the men even stronger.

We're all pulling for the same thing; you just naturally get stronger," Judy Taylor told Workers' Power.

Taylor is the Treasurer of the Stearns Women's Club, which sponsored a rally here for their striking husbands on July 15.

Taylor explained how the Women's Club began, and what it has meant to the women who are active in it.

"In May of '76," Taylor said, "after about eight months on strike, they brought in security guards on the picket line, shooting at us.

"When the men started to defend themselves, [the company] started getting restraining orders, bringing them into court.

"A bunch of us women got together and started a protest march in front of the courthouse. The first day it was 14, the second day 30—until nearly every miner's wife was out there in protest of what the courts was doing.

"We protested until they closed the courthouse down, and more or less threw the complaints out of court.

"We realized we had done something pretty good!"

STAY TOGETHER

The miners' wives formed the Stearns Women's Club, rented an office to hold their meetings, and began to work at supporting the strike. "We pay rent on the union hall, pay the electric bill, pay prescription drug bills," Taylor explained. In addition, the club organizes rallies like the one held in Stearns on Saturday.

"But when the strike's over, we



Judy Taylor

all plan to stay together," Taylor told Workers' Power. "Because we've come to realize that it is very important that all union people stick together. We think we might be able to help other people when this is over; at least we're gonna give it a try."

The women in the Club have not only helped their husbands. They have also helped themselves.

"I've become more independent and I stand up for myself more," Judy Taylor said. "I think I actually feel better inside than I ever felt before in my life." □

Detroit Hospital Workers Battle Low Pay

DETROIT—For three weeks, 1800 members of SEIU local 79 have been on strike against Harper Grace hospitals. The strikers include food service, laundry, maintenance and janitorial workers.

The main demand of the strikers is an increase in wages. The hospital had offered 25¢ an hour every year for a 3 year contract. The employees, whose average wage is in the \$3-4.00 range, want cost of living and complete medical and dental coverage.

Another big issue of the strike is subcontracting, according to Richard Cordtz, President of Local 79. The hospital wants to subcontract out some of the work in the hospital to outside agencies, a move which would rob employees of any job security, and would put people of 25-30 year seniority out into the street.

Most of the strikers are women— young, old, Black and white. They have been the most active in the strike. Walking the picket lines from early in the morning to late at night, trying to keep the scabs out. They understand what's at stake.

As Dorothy Powell, picket captain said "Black women have always been strong; we've always had to be. We have always supported our families. The women out here on strike are here through economic necessity. We need more money."

IN WITH THE UNION!

Money isn't the only issue of the strike. According to Powell "The attitude of the employer toward employees here at Harper Grace is atrocious. They can fire you whenever they feel like it."

The hospital claims to be operating at 75% of capacity despite the



fact that the strike seems quite solid, with only 150-250 recently hired scabs crossing the lines. Many management and professional personnel are doing scab work according to reports from insiders.

In an act of solidarity 30 supporters from Detroit General Hospital and several AFSCME locals joined the picketers. The supporters chanted "Out with the scabs, In with the Union!"

The strikers have also been attempting to get support from the community. A week before the strike started, leaflets were posted in the community telling about the strike and urging people to a support rally. □

—R.H.



Entertainment at the Stearns rally was provided by the New York Street Theatre.



NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT

This Is Independence, South African Style

by Sandy Boyer

THE FREEDOM fighters in Namibia (South West Africa) have apparently been forced to accept a Western plan that will create an "independent" Namibia almost totally dependent on South Africa. The plan was worked out by the five Western members of the UN Security Council. Andrew Young has played the leading role in selling it to the Namibians and the African countries that support them.

While the Western plan calls for free elections leading to an independent Namibia by the end of the year it will leave South Africa in control of Walvis Bay—Namibia's only deep water port.

This will give the South African government a stranglehold on the Namibian economy. Without Walvis Bay none of Namibia's vast mineral wealth can be exported, and no industrial or agricultural products brought in from abroad.

One of the potentially richest countries in Africa could be reduced to near starvation any time the South African government might chose.

As Workers' Power goes to press, there is still a chance that the deal could fall apart over the Walvis Bay issue. If the U.N. recognizes Namibia's right to Walvis Bay, South Africa has threatened to withdraw its acceptance of the whole deal.

FRONT-LINE PRESSURE

As long as South Africa controls Walvis Bay no Namibian government, however good its intentions, can afford to displease the white South Africans especially. They won't dare give any effective support to Black South Africans fighting apartheid.

SWAPO (South West African People's Organization), which has been fighting for an independent Namibia for sixteen years, initially rejected the Western plan which South Africa accepted.

While SWAPO knew they could win any honest elections they didn't want an "independence" that would leave South Africa in control of their country.

SWAPO seems to have reversed itself after pressure from the front line states—the independent African countries bordering on South Africa. SWAPO depends on these countries, especially Zamiba, Mo-

zambique, and most of all Angola for arms, finances, and bases of operation.

If they withdraw this support SWAPO can't continue its guerilla war against South African occupation of Namibia.

SWAPO apparently felt the all out pressure from Angola and the other front-line states left them no choice but to accept the Western plan.

EX-FIGHTERS

Some of the African leaders who forced SWAPO to give in were leading guerilla wars for independence themselves just a few years ago.

But now their countries' economies are in a shambles. They desperately need economic help from the West and South Africa. In return for forcing SWAPO's acceptance they are hoping to get loans, investment, and favorable prices for their exports.

Angola is particularly anxious for peace with South Africa. South African troops have made repeated raids into Angola to strike at SWAPO bases.

The South Africans are arming and training UNITA, a right-wing guerilla force which has severely disrupted the economy and government administration in southern Angola.

The Angolans feared that this disruption would intensify unless there was a settlement in Namibia.

ZIMBABWE NEXT VICTIM?

The Zimbabwean liberation movement could be the next victim of the front line states' desire for an accommodation with the West and South Africa.

Already Andrew Young has

declared that "The region of Africa is certainly going to tip one way or the other before the end of the summer. With a settlement in Namibia, the violence will be stopped and the whites of South Africa and Rhodesia will see that it works."

The threat implied in this statement is much more significant than Young's more heavily publicized remarks, in the same interview, about American political prisoners and Russian dissidents.

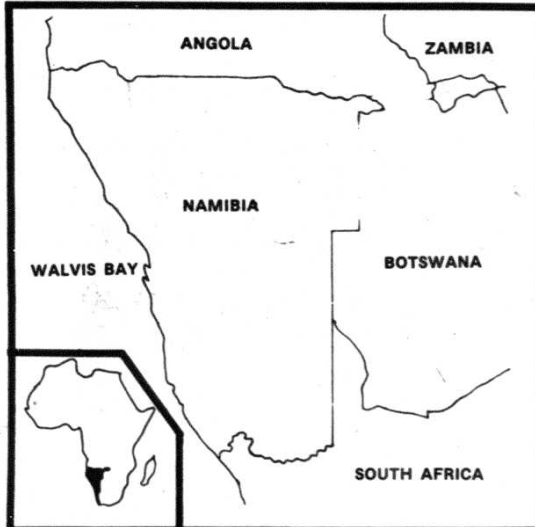
The Patriotic Front, like SWAPO, depends on Angola, Zambia and Mozambique for arms, finances and bases. They are vulnerable to the same kind of

pressure that has apparently forced SWAPO to capitulate.

Right now the freedom fighters are having their greatest success ever on the battlefield. Smith's internal settlement has failed miserably either to stop the war or attract any international support.

But the U.S. and Britain are still looking for a solution that would install a pro-Western Black government but leave economic control in the hands of the four per cent white minority.

Soon they may demand that the front-line states make the Patriotic Front accept the same kind of "compromise" that was forced on SWAPO.



[Above] SWAPO women guerrillas in training. [Left] 60 years of South African occupation have created poverty for the Black majority in mineral-rich Namibia.

In Brief

Spain:

EACH YEAR in the Basque country the bull fighting season is kicked off with a festival.

This year the fascist Fuerza Nueva (New Force) and Spain's national police turned that festival into a bloody shootout, resulting in a massive general strike.

Demonstrators had peacefully marched into the arena demanding amnesty for jailed members of the armed Basque national organization, ETA.

Without warning, the fascists and the police turned the demonstration into a riot, firing indiscriminately and killing the stadium of 200,000 with tear gas. When the gas lifted, 150 had been injured, and a young revolutionary had been killed.

In response Basque workers—the most militant in Spain—launched a general strike that spread from Pamplona throughout the Basque country to every major town. It was the strongest action by Basque workers since the Basque people won some form of supposed autonomy from Spain's central government earlier this year.

The two unions dominated by the Communist Party (the Workers' Commissions) and the Socialist Party (the General Union of Workers), as well as the union dominated by the Basque nationalist party PNV, called for a return to work and refused to help spread the strike.

But inside the unions, the revolutionary left has a very powerful base. That support, plus workers' outrage and their knowledge of Spain's police, produced the massive and militant action.

The struggles in the Basque country affect all of Spain. The Basque working class is the most militant in Spain. Besides mass strikes against political repression, large-scale battles have been fought against layoffs at shipyards and major factories.

Bolivia:

THE FIRST ELECTIONS scheduled in Bolivia in 12 years were cut short. When the ruling military junta was caught stealing the election, it simply allowed its candidate to stage a coup.

General Juan Pereda Asbun supposedly had 50% of the vote at the time of the coup. But the Election Court declared the result null and void due to widespread fraud, including in some districts stuffing ballot boxes with more votes than there were people to vote.

With the words "Communism will not triumph," Pereda arrived at the capital to take charge of the government. He accused his main opponent, Hernan Siles Zuazo, a former president and the candidate of the liberal and left wing parties and the trade unions, of being financed by subversive organizations and a "tool of international communism."

Pereda promised a government where the people will "ratify the popular decisions." But his first actions speak much louder than his words.

Over 100 arrests of union and student leaders have taken place in an obvious attempt to head off any serious opposition to the right-wing coup.

Yet, as Bolivia heads again down the path of right wing terror, the possibility of civil war is clearly on the horizon.

The militant tin miners' union and other workers' and peasants' organizations are not likely to quietly accept the repression.

COKE OVENS



Steelworkers face grave health hazards — and a belligerent company

by Craig Fleming
United Steel Workers Local 1010
Coke Plant #2

EAST CHICAGO, IND.—Across the country, steel mills are pouring thousands of tons of wastes into the air, water, and surrounding communities each day. In the Pittsburgh area, and in Northwest Indiana, steel mill towns have a death rate from lung cancer twice that of the national average.

Preliminary studies show that, in Indiana, the closer you live to the mills, the more chance you have of getting lung cancer.

The problem is its worst in the mills themselves. In the steelmaking process, coke plants are the biggest, most dangerous polluters of all. It is here where coal is charged into tall, narrow ovens and baked at high temperatures.

The coal releases tars and gases, which are drawn off, leaving a chunky residue, coke, which is fed into blast furnaces along with iron ore to make pig iron.

Most coke ovens in the U.S. are 20 years old or more, and almost all leak a thick, brown smoke which contains hundreds of chemicals, many of which have been found to cause cancer.

HAZARDS LONG KNOWN

The first recorded observation of the link between cancer and coal products was made over 200 years ago, when it was noted that cancer of the scrotum occurred with unusually high frequency among London chimney sweeps.

Since then, this connection has been made over and over again. In 1936, a comprehensive Japanese study linked lung cancer and the making of coke.

Other studies, in the 50's and 60's confirmed this link beyond a doubt. A 1950's study, according to one government report, "found an excess number of deaths from lung cancer in non-white coke production employees and... a small excess of lung cancer for white employees."

This difference is accounted for by the fact that steel companies have consistently assigned Blacks and other minorities the most dangerous, health-threatening jobs.

Working near coke ovens can cause respiratory, kidney, skin, gallbladder, spleen, reproductive, and gastrointestinal cancer.

Workers on the topside of the ovens are ten times more likely to get lung cancer than other steelworkers. Not only are workers on the oven "batteries" affected, but also workers in the by-product section, where the tars and gases are processed into dangerous chemicals like benzene, carbon disulfide, and hydrogen cyanide.

COMPANY ATTITUDES

Despite extensive knowledge of the effects of coke products on humans—facts the steel companies don't dispute—steelworkers still suffer very high health risks. Companies refuse to take even some of the simplest steps to reduce health hazards.

OSHA has established standards, which, if enforced, would be a step in the right direction, however, enforcement is rare, and the penalties light.

The steel companies argue that, "It's too expensive to clean up—we'll have to shut down the plant. We can't afford to clean up unless we raise our prices on steel, and the technology to clean up is too new to really do the job."

The solutions to steelworkers' problems will not come from the presidents of the steel companies, or from Congressmen, or top union bureaucrats, all of whom breathe filtered air, but from steelworkers themselves—organizing in their union to protect their own lives, and the welfare of their families. □

During last summer's negotiations with Inland Steel, Local 1010's Environmental Committee drew up its own health and safety demands. They were spurred by OSHA's lack of enforcement of its own coke oven standards.

The union's proposals included larger crew sizes, voluntary overtime, conditioned and filtered air on all battery machinery, revision of incentives to reward safety, regular inspections by the Local Union Environmental and Safety Committees, four hours relief time for all battery workers, and an improved system of rate retention.

Unfortunately, although coke plant workers overwhelmingly supported a strike authorization vote, the plant-wide margin in favor wasn't big enough to force major concessions from Inland.

INTERVIEW



James Ross

Workers' Power recently talked with James Ross, grievance committeeman at the #2 Coke Plant at Inland Steel's Indiana Harbor works.

He's also a member of United Steel Workers Local 1010 Environmental Committee, which is working on the coke oven problem. (See Workers' Power, December 5, 1977.)

Ross participated in the hearings of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) when OSHA was forming standards for health and safety on the ovens. Ross works as a spellhand, relieving different workers on the oven batteries for breaks or lunch.

He's worked the ovens for 12½ years.

Workers' Power. What are some of the hazards of working at the coke plant?

Ross. There's quite a few diseases, but the only trouble is the government is only working on one—cancer. And they won't deal with any place else but the "regulated area," the battery and screening station, that is it. And the conditions on the battery, they're not getting better.

Workers' Power. What kind of exposure does a topside worker get?

Ross. Well, from the monitoring results we got from the company [the union doesn't take the readings], it ran as high as 18,000 to 22,000 micrograms of emissions per cubic meter of air. [The standard is 150 micrograms.]

Workers' Power. Has OSHA done any inspections of the plant?

Ross. The Indiana state OSHA is the only one to come in since we sent our last complaint in. The federal OSHA is

supposed to come in again, but we don't know exactly when.

We've never had a federal inspection since 1974. They came in then on #9 battery and cited them for \$650.

Workers' Power. The OSHA standards look weak in a lot of ways—little enforcement power, small fines, not enough inspections, etc. What improvements do you think need to be made?

Ross. One: rate retention. [Rate retention is a provision for workers who are forced to transfer after developing health problems to retain their former pay.] Two: add the standard that when they come in with engineering controls on pollution, that they add more men, instead of overloading the workforce. And having an inspector on hand that comes in once a week to see that standards are kept up.

Workers' Power. What has Inland done about the coke oven problem?

Ross. At the OSHA hearings on the coke oven standard, the American Iron and Steel Institute's witness was Phelps. Phelps used to be superintendent of the coke plant here at Inland Steel. And when he talked, he always said, "What Inland had done: what Inland had done."

This is when I became involved in the coke oven standard, because he kept bringing up, "Inland is clean; Inland is doing this; Inland is stopping pollution."

Inland hasn't stopped pollution as of today... ain't been no pollution stopped out there... Inland isn't going to do anything until they are forced to do it.

And when they are forced to do it, they'll be on it in court for the next 10 years. They got the best lawyers, and they got the big money.

Workers' Power. What has the International Union been doing?

Ross. Well, they had a coke oven committee, but as far as I know it's been disbanded. I think they should start that Coke Oven Emission Committee back up again and see where we stand right now after the standards—look at what the company's doing, and what we can do.

As we're standing now, we're all off individually, don't know what nobody's doing and these standards affect everybody in the coke ovens, no matter if it's Inland, U.S. Steel, Republic, or what. □

Why Postal Workers' Anger Is Boiling Over

by Paul Broz

Union negotiators have presented 570,000 postal workers with a contract decidedly worse than the one under which they are now working. It solves no long-standing problems, and its wage increases are not likely to be great enough to keep up with inflation.

As this is being written, wildcats are going on at Bulk Mail Centers in Richmond, California, and Jersey City, New Jersey. As a result of these and other job actions across the country, about 150 workers have been fired.

Monday, workers in New York are expected to vote on whether to strike. 90,000 national guardsmen stand ready to act should a strike occur.

The workers' anger with the proposed contract has deep roots. According to Edgar Payne, Pittsburgh Mailhandlers Shop Steward, "The grievance procedure, wages, and mandatory overtime was never resolved. Management didn't relinquish any of their rights, in fact they tried to take some more. The people want to know who got the payoff."

"Even the most passive people are saying that we've been screwed. We pointed out to them that we aren't even getting as much as we had in the last three years, which was minimal. They see that everybody's being pushed for more production and want us to work for less money. They don't want to hear that, because a lot of people already be breaking their ass."

In Portland, Oregon, letter carriers voted unanimously in a meeting with 671 present against the contract. During the last contract vote only 190 showed up.

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

President Carter has focussed attention on postal negotiations hoping for a low settlement which would be a pressure on smaller contracts still to be negotiated this year, and major contracts, of Teamsters and auto workers next year.

From the beginning of the negotiations, the press has generally presented management's point of view and omitted the workers'. These distortions have helped shape public opinion against postal workers.

A few days before the contract expired, a group opposed to the unionization of federal employees, backed by wealthy right-wingers, filed a motion in federal court in Washington calling on the Postal Service to dismiss any worker who chooses to strike. It masqueraded as a "citizen's group," and the press gave its actions wide play.

THE BARGAINING

When union and management squared up at the bargaining table no one could predict the outcome.

Management was talking tough about eliminating the no-layoff clause. Pressure for a low wage settlement came from the Carter administration.

Union negotiators quickly limited strikeable issues to two: elimination of the no-layoff clause; or a severe cut in the cost-of-living. They made noises about contract language limiting route lengths, ending mandatory overtime, improving the grievance procedure, and other problems, but disarmed themselves by signaling in advance that they would not strike to win their demands.

Real negotiations did not begin until shortly before the contract deadline.

Despite union promises of open

negotiations, little information was forthcoming from the union leaders to the rank and file. Last Monday, Portland letter carriers censured national officers for their unwillingness to keep them informed.

THE CONTRACT

When it was over, workers were presented with a nightmare. Two, three, and five per cent wage increases over three years. Of this wage package, one worker said, "It screws the younger employees... The raise wasn't across the board, it was by per cent. Once you're level 10, 11, or 12, you'll realize something, because the amount is higher."

"That isn't right, I don't believe in that. We want straight across the board. We didn't get it. I don't understand why they would settle for something like that. They crumbled under pressure. I say if we've got union leaders like that get rid of them."

A cap on the cost-of-living virtually guarantees that workers' pay will lag behind inflation. There were no significant improvements in the contract, although carriers will have one more 10 minute break and a slightly different route-averaging system.

CONTRACT COALITION

A postal workers' group, the Postal Contract Coalition, has been trying for months to organize a rejection of any contract without significant improvements.

Although it has endorsements and support from many rank and filers and local officials (most of whom are also full-time postal workers), the group has had only a small impact.

Its biggest achievements have been the publishing of a widely-circulated national contract newspaper with accurate up-to-date information, and the establishment of a national communications phone network of about 400 workers.

Edgar Payne says of the PCC paper, "It kept them informed along with our union work and so forth. I get 150-200 papers. I take half downtown and let the guys down there get rid of them and the other half at the Bulk Mail Center." He thinks that the paper helped get a negative vote on the contract.

The PCC paper was widely circulated in both the New Jersey and Bay Area Bulk Mail Centers where wildcats occurred.

WORKERS' REACTION

Reaction to the contract was swift. Besides the walkouts, workers in many areas passed resolutions calling for rejection and criticizing union leadership.

Workers also expressed concern for those disciplined during the walkouts. Bob Funge, President of the Portland National Association of Letter Carriers said, "If we're going to be a union, all three of us, then there is some sort of strong action we're gonna have to take, because we should make it loud and clear to the Postal

Service to give those people amnesty. Period."

But other areas were afraid to walk out. Edgar Payne commented, "We're held up by New York. Our people are resolved that if New York goes we go automatically. If we'd had some of the people in the APWU (General Post Office) downtown, we'd been gone."

Similar scenes have played themselves out around the country. Some workers in big cities, generally greatly dissatisfied, are fearful that the contract may be approved with a heavy favorable vote from rural areas.

Others are not so sure. Says Funge, "There's a lot of indication among the small locals in Oregon that they're not going to buy it. We've had five small locals call in here and say that they'll do what we do."

"My branch is normally conservative. If we got the sort of resounding rejection that we got, I think it signifies that the contract will probably go down."

Early in the game Moe Biller, President of the New York-Metro Area Postal Workers Union, affiliated with the American Postal Workers Union, expressed dissatisfaction with the contract.

When the wildcats broke out, many were hoping that he would lead New York workers out. Instead he dragged his feet, delaying a vote until the completion of injunction hearings on the New Jersey strike scheduled for July 31. Some feel that he is waiting for the anger to cool and the wildcats to sputter out, a formula for defeat.

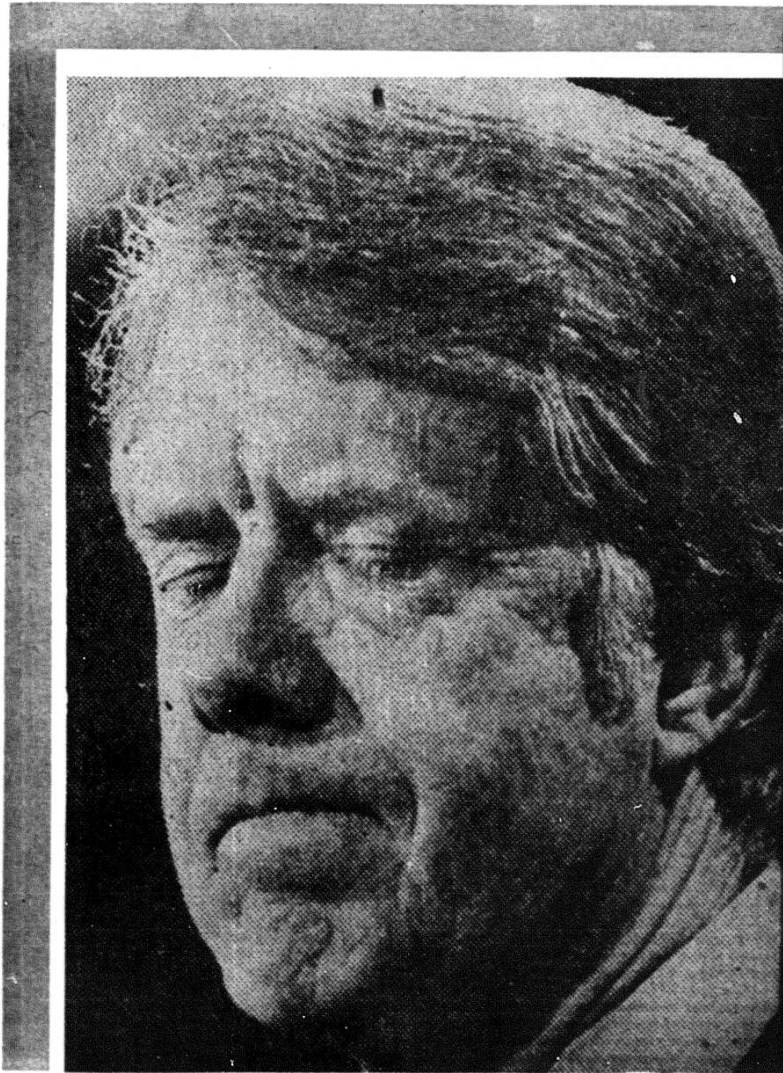
Some argue in defense of Biller, saying that he was in favor of an immediate strike vote, but was overruled by the Executive Board.

Other areas wait on New York. Washington D.C., Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Portland, Oregon, Chicago, Detroit, and Seattle could follow their lead.

A National Association of Letter Carriers convention begins in Chicago July 31. Resolutions there are expected to call for a rejection of the contract and a shake-up of union leadership.

It's too early to predict the outcome of this struggle around the contract. But its importance to other workers is often overlooked.

We can only hope that postal workers improve their lives, for if they do, their example will inspire others to do the same. □





Postal workers demonstrate for a good contract earlier this month in Washington D.C. [left] When they didn't get one, workers at the Bulk Mail Center in Jersey City, New Jersey walked out. [below]



The "free" press - which side are they on?

During contract negotiations, and when a "settlement" was reached, followed by wildcat strikes, the press has consistently co-operated in the general effort to screw postal workers.

Public workers are more vulnerable to attempts to whip "public opinion" against them than other workers. The class bias of the capitalist press against working people becomes readily apparent as they accept management's versions of events often without attempting to check them out.

Here are some examples of press distortion:
 • During negotiations a report was widely quoted which "showed an 86.9% rise in postal wages since 1971—far exceeding the gains of most other workers."

It implied that postal workers are better off than other workers—are getting fat. Nowhere was it mentioned that postal workers were making nearly poverty level wages in 1971, and today are about average among unionized workers.

• Many articles were filled with anti-inflation rhetoric, implying that postal workers were respon-

sible for inflation.

Nowhere was it argued that workers needed wage gains adequate to keep up with inflation.

• The union's early wage proposals were reported as 14% per year, without explaining that included projected cost-of-living allowances. In fact, the real wage increases proposed were about 6% per year.

• When wildcats occurred on Saturday, of great importance to postal workers, and which could spark other wildcats, in many areas, they were not reported until Monday.

One postal worker in Miami phoned a radio station to find out if there had been wildcats. He was told that stories had come in, but that they were marked "not to be released."

• During the wildcats, the figures reported for people crossing picket lines was much higher than the actual figures. At one point a figure of 80% was given for the Bay Area wildcat, when in fact it was nearer 30%.

So much for the "free" press. □
 Paul Broz

Carter's Economic Plan: Postal Workers Pay

by Kim Moody

Postal workers are confronted with a disastrous contract, a contract that is a disgrace to postal unionism, and a contract which, if ratified, could bode ill for workers in other industries, particularly public workers.

The proposed settlement is worse than the existing contract. Workers are being asked to pay for the problems of the capitalist system by cuts in standards of living, by working harder and longer, by sacrificing their health, and their family lives.

In the coal miners' strike, the vicious role of the coal operators and the corporate giants that stand behind them was brought to light.

This "employers' offensive" has been felt just as strongly by public workers, as, in many cities, workers are settling for contracts worse than existing ones—so-called "take-aways."

At the federal level, the Carter administration signed up for the employers'

offensive by drawing a line on wage increases for federal employees at 5.5%. They then demanded the same of postal workers.

The government feels the pressure of inflation, as government programs cost more to maintain. And defense spending, to back up an increasingly adventurist foreign policy, adds to the bill. The federal deficit will be over 60 billion this year—interest on the debt about 40 billion.

POSTAL REORGANIZATION

For postal workers, the squeeze began back in 1971, with Nixon's Postal Reorganization project. The Postal Service

became a semi-independent corporation. Automated mail sorting, the establishment of a network of Bulk Mail Centers across the country, and a series of speed-up campaigns changed the lives of postal workers.

Since 1975, 75,000 jobs have been eliminated. To compensate for these jobs, those workers who remain have been forced to work long hours of mandatory overtime. This year, overtime is expected to make up the equivalent of 42,000 jobs.

Health and safety on the job has eroded so much that now the accident rate for postal workers is 2½ times that of all government workers. To add insult to injury, management has refused to pay some accident claims.

An ever-larger portion of workers have become "part-time," often working 10 hours a day, six days a week.

The increased use of machinery without allowing for human fatigue and stress has caused nervous ailments.

From management's point of view, these changes had some positive effects. While the number of workers dropped, the number of pieces of mail handled increased.

Overall, in financial as well as human terms, the whole experiment has been a flop. The annual expenditures of the Postal Service practically doubled from 1970-76, although the volume of mail grew only 6%.

Government subsidies have grown during that period, as has the Postal Service debt.

COMPUTERIZED SYSTEM NEXT

Now postal management is contemplating drastic action—replacing most mail with a computerized system of electronic message transmission. They figure to be able to cut the workforce by 300-400,000. The Bell System is already hovering around, offering its phone lines as the route for this new kind of mail.

But there's an obstacle in the way of their plans, a no-layoff clause already contained in the existing contract. Attrition will continue to reduce the workforce, but not nearly fast enough for their purposes.

Management knew from the onset of negotiations that the no-layoff clause was the one thing which postal union leaders, under pressure from the ranks, would not give up. Union leaders even stated publicly that trying to eliminate the

clause would result in a national strike.

THE DEAL

With pressure from Carter, management used the threat to take away the no-layoff clause as a balance against a large wage increase. Union leaders bought their arguments.

Carter was concerned about the "bigger picture," how to make workers bear the brunt of economic difficulties, by holding down wage increases in both public and private industry.

When postal negotiators—union and management—complained that Carter was botching things up, he formally withdrew, but the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service interceded in the negotiations and pushed his line to the end.

In the back of Carter's mind was the threat of a postal strike. He did not want a repeat of the miners' strike. While no one imagined that postal workers had the unity, traditions, or organization to pull off anything like the miners' strike, a postal strike is still a highly visible and effective action.

FIGHT POSTPONED

In the end, postal management gave up the hope of getting rid of the no-layoff clause and postponed until 1981 the fight over dropping hundreds of thousands of postal workers into the unemployment lines.

The top leadership of the three major postal unions were not prepared to fight for much of anything. A serious attempt to take away the no-layoff clause might have forced them into a defensive fight, but pressure from the ranks was not great enough to make them fight for real improvements.

Now, however, with wildcats in New Jersey and the San Francisco Bay Area, and with widespread dissatisfaction among the rank and file and local union leaders, there is still a chance that they will be forced to go back for more.

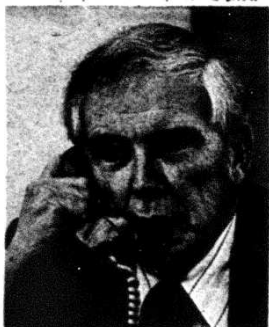
Should that not happen, Carter will hail the settlement as a victory. He wouldn't mean a victory for postal workers, however. And it wouldn't be a victory for workers in other industries, either, who will feel the pressure of a low postal settlement when their own contracts are up for grabs. □

Speaking Out

What We Think

Fraser Discovers Class War

"I BELIEVE leaders of the business community, with a few exceptions, have chosen to wage a one-sided class war today in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle class of society."



Doug Fraser:
What's behind the rhetoric?

So said United Auto Workers President Doug Fraser as he announced his resignation from President Carter's "Labor Management Group. At the same time, Fraser condemned Carter's administration as "ineffective" and the current Congress as "an abysmal failure."

The fact that Fraser has publicly attacked Carter and the Democrats is a change, but is hardly remarkable. For nearly a year AFL-CIO labor leaders have openly expressed their disappointment with Carter and Co. For good reason. Since Richard Nixon became President in 1968, labor has been on the defensive. The union movement has been awaiting the

day when the Democrats would again be in power and America would get back on the road of progress, back to golden years of Kennedy and Johnson, back to the New Frontier and the Great Society, back to prosperity, rising wages and full employment.

A RADICAL PICTURE

Yet, labor has seen it—and what they hoped was the Democratic Party's—program of labor law reform, national health insurance, minimum wage, tax cut, tax reform, common situs picketing, full employment legislation, etc. stalled, amended to death or defeated. A public outcry by Fraser was belated and no real surprise.

What is noteworthy is the picture Fraser paints of American today, a picture *Workers Power* has been portraying, of a society divided into social classes, of haves and have-nots, of class war in which the "business groups are tightening their control over American society" of a society that "squeezes" the have-nots. This is a view of society that is much more radical than what is normally expressed by America's labor leaders.

The question is, why is this happening now? Labor is in trouble, for just the reasons Fraser outlined. After years of collaboration with the employers they are now faced with the fact that the employers refuse to collaborate. Labor hoped that the Democrats in power would bail them out. But instead things have gotten worse.

No matter how firmly entrenched the labor leadership may seem at the moment they know that their power is

eroding. Contract settlements are getting leaner, their influence in Congress and the Democratic Party is evaporating and their credibility with the rank and file is falling. Prodded on by their own self interest, the labor leadership is fumbling and groping for a way to reestablish its clout and force the employers to again collaborate and play fair.

A PROGRAM TO MATCH

Fraser's response is an analysis of society that sounds almost radical—but a weak and ineffectual program to change things. He ruled out as impractical the idea of a break with the Democrats and the establishment of a Labor Party.

But, by being forced to simply lay out the facts about what is happening to the American working class today, Fraser is helping to legitimize a search for solutions—not just analysis.

Those solutions lie in taking a point of view that puts workers' interests first. It is up to socialists, militants and rank and filers to come up with and fight for a program to match Fraser's rhetoric. Fraser and his cohorts in the AFL-CIO won't do it.

This program must deal with the problems of inflation, health care, union organizing, discrimination—in short the fall-out of a system in which the "business groups are tightening their control over the American society."

This program must include the necessity of breaking once and for all with the Democratic Party, and taking the only practical alternative—a party of the labor movement. □

Letters

WIFE BEATING: Just a "marital problem"?

Dear Workers' Power,

Last week I had to go to court. Behind me was sitting a woman with a black eye and her face all swollen up. She looked about eight months pregnant.

When she walked up to the front she supported her belly with her hands.

Her husband was brought before the judge for beating her up.

The judge set the trial for two

weeks away and asked her if she had any place to go in the meantime. She said no.

Then the husband volunteered to move out for the two weeks. The judge agreed.

She said, "Please, can't you do something, I'm afraid of him." (husband: "Aw, sweetheart...")

The judge replied, "I can't solve all your marital problems." Too bad for you, lady.

The judge didn't think of this

case as he would another assault case. It was just a "marital problem."

As long as the courts and the police treat wife-beating as a problem between two individuals, rather than as an assault on one by another, women can't expect any help there.

Meanwhile, he knew where to find her and how to get even.

J.S.
Detroit

Let's cure it!

Dear Workers' Power,

I have been doing some reading on cancer research, and I tell you, it really makes me mad.

Do you know that one in four Americans can expect to get some form of cancer? And do you know

that 90% of cancers are now considered to be "environmentally caused"—that is, by carcinogens in smog, food additives, workplace pollution, radiation from TV sets, and increasingly, nuclear industry?


And capitalism keeps on getting away with it, in the name of profits?

There are some promising stars on the horizon. Some unions, such as the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) have even gone on strike against workplace pollution. Some new treatments (e.g., the Simontons' in Ft. Worth, Texas) have shown surprising success by reducing stress. But most of all, because people like me (and I hope, you) are getting fed up.

Trying to cure cancer is backward. It can and must be prevented by humanizing life and work.

The old expression about capitalism being a cancer was wiser than we knew. Capitalism IS cancer. Let's cure it!

Toni Hawk



Psychophysicist

The GENERAL FOODS TECHNICAL CENTER is seeking to fill a newly created position for a Ph.D. in Experimental Psychology with a strong background in psychophysics. Candidates should have up to 3 years of post-doctoral or similar research experience; food related research preferred.

The successful candidate will be able to design and implement a broad based psychophysical research program using foods as stimuli. Some research emphasis will be directed at the interactions among sensory modalities. The ability to perform as a member of an inter-disciplinary team is a must. This is a stimulating and challenging position in the Nutritional and Clinical Sciences area.

Our location in suburban Westchester County offers a choice of urban or suburban living in an area just north of New York City. Salary commensurate with experience, and the benefits are outstanding. Please send resume (please do not phone) with salary history and requirements in confidence to:

PERSONNEL ASSOCIATE, Dept. SI-PP
GENERAL FOODS CORPORATION

Food For Thought Control

Dear Friends,

I thought Workers' Power might be interested in the enclosed ad I found in the journal "Science."

It looks like our pals at General Foods are cooking up a devious scheme of sorts. The old saying was "You are what you eat."

Perhaps thanks to General Foods it should be "You think what you eat."

All kidding aside, the implications are disgusting. Just another example of capitalism limiting individual freedom and privacy to increase corporate profit.

Keep up the good work,
Ron Citkowski

I.S. BRANCHES

National Office: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203
Austin: P.O. Box 8492, Austin, TX 78712
Bay Area: P.O. Box 132, Oakland, CA 94604
Chicago: P.O. Box 11268, Fort Dearborn Sta., Chicago, IL 60611
Cleveland: P.O. Box 03336, Station B, Cleveland, OH 44103
Detroit: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203
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

The Socialist View

Where Socialism Is Treason

The conviction of Russian dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky and Alexander Ginsburg met with strong outbursts of protest from western governments.

But there are other dissidents in Russia and Eastern Europe—socialist dissidents.

Like Shcharansky and Ginsburg, dissidents who call for socialist democracy and workers' rights are victims of persecution and imprisonment for their ideas. But unlike those whose cases are protested by the U.S. Congress, the socialist dissidents are not supporters of the west.

Unlike Alexander Solzhenitsyn, they don't get applauded by audiences at Harvard for demanding that the United States prepare for a holy war against Russia.

The following article by Joanna Rollo is from the British revolutionary paper Socialist Worker. It describes the case of one of Eastern Europe's imprisoned socialist dissidents, a man whose name is barely known to the western press.

He was sent to prison almost exactly 25 years after the first workers' uprising in a Stalinist state—an event which showed the potential for internal socialist revolution.

But the ideas which will eventually help the workers of Eastern Europe to take control of their lives will come from socialists like Rudolph Bahro, far more than the much-celebrated right-wing dissidents like Solzhenitsyn.

by Joanna Rollo

RUDOLPH BAHRO joined the East German Communist Party when he was 18 years old.

He is now 43. He has been a socialist all his life. Last week he was sentenced to eight years in jail by the East German authorities.

He was tried by a secret and closed court.

He was accused of "espionage and traitorous activities." No one, even in East Germany believes that. All know that Bahro has been locked up because he opposes the East German variety of "social-

throughout Eastern Europe.

It was in East Germany, 25 years ago, that the first great uprising against the East European regimes took place.

On June 15, 1953 sixty building workers on the Friedrichshain hospital site in East Berlin stopped work. They held a meeting and decided to demonstrate against demands for higher productivity.

Professor Havemann, another socialist under surveillance in East Germany today, described it: "I was just about to go when the procession reached Unter den Linden in front of the university. It had grown mightily and apart from building workers many young people who were not wearing working clothes were to be seen on it.

"They had enthusiastically joined the protest march. They shouted in chorus: 'We are workers and not slaves! Put an end to the extortionist norms! We want free elections!'

"And, always loudest of all, the sentence, 'We are not slaves!'

This movement exploded into a workers' uprising against the government. A general strike paralyzed the country. Mass demonstrations were held in every city.

The authorities were powerless. They had lost control of the factories. In the streets, where workers were joined by unemployed, housewives, students, and youth, the police had lost control. Some were discussing with the workers, others had joined the demonstrations.

So the East German regime called on the Russians for help. 25,000 Russian troops and 300 tanks rolled into East Berlin.

The workers fought back heroically. Armed with no more than bottles, crowbars and sticks, they tried to force the tanks back. But against such overwhelming military force their resistance was doomed. The rising was crushed and its leaders executed.

UPRISING

Ever since there has been opposition to the regimes in Eastern Europe. In Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, Poland in 1970, mass workers' uprisings threatened to seize control. Each time they were smashed back and savagely crushed.

Still the resistance continues—from workers and from intellectuals like Bahro.

As Bahro himself wrote: "The socialism which Marx and Engels foresaw, and which Lenin and his comrades undoubtedly hoped for, also in Russia, will come. It must be the goal of our struggle, as it is more than ever the sole alternative to a global catastrophe for civilization. But it is evident enough that Soviet and East European society is incompatible with the goals set by marxism."

Workers' rebellion in the so-called communist states of Eastern Europe, where to mention the revolutionary socialist alternative amounts to treason:

[Below] East Berlin, June, 1953: Workers throw stones as the Russian tanks invade.

[Right] Budapest, 1956: In workers' revolt, pictures of Stalin are heaped onto burning flames.



As Bahro himself wrote

"The socialism which Marx and Engels foresaw, and which Lenin and his comrades undoubtedly hoped for, also in Russia, will come.

It must be the goal of our struggle, as it is more than ever the sole alternative to a global catastrophe for civilization. But it is evident enough that Soviet and East European society is incompatible with the goals set by Marxism."

Cleveland: Cops Strike City Smolders

by John Green

CLEVELAND—The 15,000-member Police Patrolmen's Association struck the city of Cleveland for 19 hours on July 14.

The police were protesting the firing of 13 patrolmen who refused to patrol predominantly Black housing projects.

One former Black policeman described the situation this way: "Some white officers are scared as hell to go onto the estates because of fear of reprisals for acts of violence against Blacks.

"Enough people know that Black heads are getting beat in station houses for no valid reason, and the guys that have to walk the beat know that they are the ones that are going to pay the piper."

The Cleveland Police Patrolmen's Association, the official bargaining unit for the Cleveland police force, was formed in 1969 by

white officers as a reaction to the ghetto rebellion of that time.

The strike ended when Common Pleas Judge Daniel O. Corrigan ordered a stay of the firings of the 13 policemen and threatened the CPPA with heavy fines.

The Call and Post, Cleveland's Black newspaper, and the Black Patrolmen's Association have condemned the strike as racist. The Call and Post pointed out that many white cops refer to the projects as "the jungles."

Conditions in the projects themselves have deteriorated considerably since they were built in the 60's. In fact there have been no new projects built or major improvements in existing projects since Carl Stokes was mayor. The projects that were intended as low cost housing for the poor have become ghettos within ghettos.

But Cleveland's most influential Black politician, George Forbes, President of the City Council, came out in favor of the police strike. Forbes is tied politically to business interests which are behind the recall drive against Cleveland Mayor Kucinich.

It is not surprising that the police strike has become a political football in Cleveland's leadership crisis.

Forbes supported the racist policeman's strike because it was anti-Kucinich.

Meanwhile, as Kucinich is fighting for his political life in the recall election, the city is on the brink of financial collapse.

And in a climate of aggressive white racism intensified by the patrolmen's strike and emboldened by the vacuum of political leadership, busing is set to begin in September.

ism."

He criticized the regime in an interview televised live in West Germany last year, and was arrested immediately afterwards. Since then his book, *The Alternative*, has been published in West Germany. Bahro has been jailed for writing this book.

In *The Alternative*, Bahro attacks the system throughout Eastern Europe. He describes the "Communist alternative" to "the political and bureaucratic dictatorship which holds our society's work and life processes in fetters."

He is not the first socialist to be persecuted in East Germany. Many others are living in exile—such as the writer Jurgen Fuchs, the singers Kunnert and Panach, and the poet Wolf Biermann.

DISSIDENT

But Bahro has received the most severe punishment of all. He is paying, for daring to criticize, with eight years in jail.

Locking Bahro up will not stop his ideas spreading. It will not stop the growth of the dissident movement in East Germany and

ACCEPTANCE OR LIBERATION

Gay Teacher Organizes For Rights

by Elissa Clarke

RECENTLY, Don Mager submitted a letter of resignation to CALL Together Day Care Center, where he has taught for five years. "Each of us belong to some minority within this diverse society," he wrote. "The minority community to whom I feel the greatest call to serve at this time is the Gay Community which, like many others, is involved in a bitter and frightening struggle for survival against a vicious backlash of hatred and bigotry..."

"I have been invited to take the position as Project Facilitator for the Michigan Organization for Human Rights... The invitation to work full-time towards justice and equality for Gay persons is both an honor and a challenge to me..."

"After long deliberations with my own conscience, with my lover and children, I am decided to take this position; therefore I am submitting to you my resignation as a teacher..."

TABOO BROKEN

In an interview with *Workers' Power*, Don Mager spoke about gay oppression and the movement that is fighting for gay rights. The Michigan Organization for Human Rights (MOHR) is a coalition of 50 gay, women's, socialist, and other organizations, as well as many individuals.

"In one sense a real revolution has taken place in the last decade," Mager said. "Our society, our whole culture, from its European roots, has had a very severe taboo around the subject of homosexuality. Not only was homosexual behavior censured, but even talking about it, even the dissemination of information, was not permitted. The taboo enforced a total silence."

"How many high school kids of our generation — back when — if they had raised their hands in a health class and asked a question about homosexuality would have gotten an answer? They would have been told this is not an okay question."

"How many children got information from their parents? How many parents had information to give? The enforced silence was all-pervasive."

"That has been totally broken now. There's information available through churches, through all sorts of agencies, books available in libraries, the media is constantly discussing it now."

"I feel that acceptance for gays is achievable within the next couple decades, in the same way that other minorities can be accepted. But I don't feel that acceptance is a real liberation."

"Although we've dealt with

some of the discrimination, we haven't solved racism. Blacks, women, minorities, still experience repression even where equality has been achieved. Sometimes these forms of repression are even more painful than the overt ways. It's easy to get angry and deal with job discrimination. It's harder to deal with prejudices.

"On a deeper level, I think, the gay movement—in the same way as the women's movement—is really confronting some of society's most deeply ingrained attitudes about people."

"If that confrontation accelerates enough, it's going to lead to revolutionary changes because it's really saying to people that every-



"Each of us belongs to some minority within this diverse society..."

thing we're taught about how men should be one type of thing and women should be another, doesn't make any sense. All of those contradictions that we're taught to somehow cope with are being questioned by both the feminist and gay movements."

"At some point there will be enough people questioning enough things that they're going to look for different solutions than the type of society we have now."

TURNING POINT

JUNE 7, 1977 MARKED a turning point for the gay movement. On that day, Dade County, Florida voters repealed a gay rights ordinance. It was the first reactionary victory of Anita Bryant's "crusade" against gay rights.

Although it was a stunning defeat for all lesbians and gay men, it sparked demonstrations numbering in the hundreds of thousands in both New York and San Francisco. MOHR was formed at this time. Last month, a quarter of a

million marched through San Francisco during gay pride week.

Don Mager feels that Anita Bryant's crusade has helped to reinforce the new gay consciousness. "I think there is definitely a right-wing resurgence going on in this country. They are using whatever issue will attract people—whether it's anti-ERA in one locality, anti-abortion in another, anti-gay somewhere else."

"But the anti-gay movement is losing its battle by winning a few conspicuous victories. What it doesn't realize is that everytime it carries out a campaign it gives more people a chance to get better information. The thing the anti-gay forces had going for them was the taboo of silence. They are engaged in breaking that just as much as gay people themselves. They're leading to their own defeat."

"More and more information is coming out. More and more people will realize that just as they had to learn—slowly and painfully as it was—that Blacks are not really lazy, that that was a myth, they will slowly learn that gay people are not child molesters, that that is a total myth."

"And they will learn that the other stereotypes that they have just cannot be supported."

BACK IN THE CLOSET?

IN MANY WAYS, the anti-gay forces are trying to reinforce the taboo of silence that Mager describes. That is the idea behind their campaigns to repeal gay rights ordinances in Dade County, Florida; in St. Paul, Minnesota; in Wichita, Kansas; and Eugene, Oregon. They are trying to force gays back into the closet if they want to protect their jobs, homes, and even their children.

Today, the gay movement in California faces a threat from the Briggs Initiative which seeks to prohibit gays from teaching, and keep information about homosexuality out of the schools. California voters are predicted to pass this initiative in the November elections.

"People who are threatened by homosexuality are hoping to somehow turn back the clock to a time when they didn't have to deal with this. I think that's why the Briggs Initiative is significant. It's an initiative to enforce silence on the school system," Don said.

"It disturbs a lot of people to realize that 10% of the population behaves in a way that they were brought up to believe is utterly disgusting. It may be your best friend. It may be your neighbor next door."

"But the taboo has been broken. It'll never go back. It's impossible to go back."



Teacher Don Mager will soon work full time for gay rights with the Michigan Organization for Human Rights.

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

Truck drivers and warehouse workers at **Overnite Transportation Co.** are set to vote August 2-4 on whether they want to be represented by the **Teamsters Union**. A victory for the Teamsters is critical, since Overnite is the largest non-union trucking operation in the country, and is continuing to expand rapidly.



At the same time, a decertification election at the **Coors brewery** in Colorado has been postponed. The AFL-CIO has been on strike since April 1977, and many observers feel the company is on the verge of busting the union entirely. This is especially true since the National Labor Relations Board has ruled that strikers are not eligible to vote in the election.

About 150 **Mexican farm workers** in Texas were successful in raising their wages from \$2.65 to \$2.97 after a one-day strike at the **Bill Bishop melon ranch**. The grower also agreed to provide cold drinking water and toilet facilities. During the strike, police arrested five members of the **United Farm Workers** who were trying to talk to the strikers.

Members of the **United Mine Workers union** are still on strike at the **Jerico mine** in Glenbrook, Kentucky, nearly four months after the national coal strike ended. After 31 years as a union mine, the operators are trying to go non-union. Among other proposals, the company wants the right to appoint the safety committee. Five other coal companies in nearby St. Charles, Va. are also refusing to sign the national coal contract.

The city of **Ottawa, Canada** has agreed to give six-month **paternity leaves** to new fathers among its 125 professional employees. The same is expected to be extended soon to 1600 blue collar workers. The leaves will be without pay.

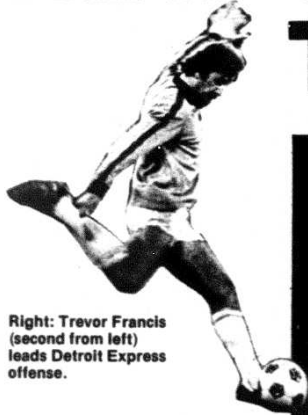
The recent indictment of **United Paperworkers President Joseph Tonelli** for embezzling \$360,000 in union money was not the case of just another two-bit corrupt union official. This man was Mr. Big. Among his activities outside the union are the following: appointed to the Adirondack Park Agency and to the New York State Racing Commission by former New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller; appointed chairman of the Racing Commission by Governor Hugh Carey; appointed to the Social Security Advisory Board by President Lyndon Johnson; appointed to the Air Quality Advisory Board of the Environmental Protection Agency by Richard Nixon; appointed to the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations and to the White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals by Gerald Ford; dubbed a Knight of Malta by New York's Terrence Cardinal Cooke; and invested with knighthood in the Order of St. Gregory the Great by Pope Paul VI. Tonelli was apparently never appointed to anything by Jimmy Carter, but investigators think two prominent Atlanta lawyers—one a "close personal friend" of Carter, the other a friend of Attorney-General Bell—tried unsuccessfully to get the indictment blocked.

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

VIEW FROM THE BLEACHERS

THE WORKERS' POWER CAVALCADE OF SPORTS THE WORKERS' POWER CAVALCADE OF SPORTS THE WORKERS'

NEW SPORT GIVES AN OLD TOWN A WINNER



Right: Trevor Francis (second from left) leads Detroit Express offense.



Photo: Jim Woodward

DETROIT—For the first time in six years, this city (or at least its major suburb) has a division champion in a major professional sport. And around here, that means something.

It was 1972 when the Detroit Tigers won the American League East title. Since then, only one team even came close—the basketball Pistons in 1974.

The Lions are annual mediocrities, and the Red Wings were unmentionably horrible until their renaissance last year.

It took an expansion team in an "expansion" sport, the Detroit Express, a soccer team, to bring actual winning pro sports back to Detroit (The Pontiac Silverdome, more exactly).

This week the first-year Express clinched the regular-season title in their division of the North American Soccer League, and if luck and health hold out they could look even better for the playoffs.

OWNERS' SYNDROME

Being a soccer club, promoting a sport which outside New York and a few Sun Belt cities still has a precarious foothold as a major league attraction, the Express started off with a disadvantage, or perhaps an advantage depending on how you look at it.

Namely, they were not laboring under the Detroit Sports Owners Syndrome, the delusion that all you

have to do is rent a stadium and loyal fans will tear the gates off the hinges trying to break in to see your team.

The Express recognized that to make it they had to spend actual money to get actual talent to be more than another .500 Detroit mediocrity.

After organizing a credible nucleus, built mostly around first-division English players, they then paid more money to borrow the services of a genuinely brilliant star, Trevor Francis, from his English team, Birmingham City.

It is no exaggeration to say that Francis does with a soccer ball what Guy Lafleur does with a hockey puck. In any sport, there are maybe two percent of all players who are worth paying money to see performing, just in their own right.

As far as soccer goes, Francis stands out at the top of that two percent. In the whole NASL there may be two or three players of his caliber.

In Detroit, right now, the only athlete who stands out in a comparable way to Trevor Francis,

is Mark Fidrych. And the last one before him was probably Dave Bing of the Pistons in his prime, a decade ago.

The apparent success of the Express is quite important for the future of the NASL. Although the league has 24 teams, Detroit would be only the second successful franchise in the Midwest, following Minnesota.

And there are grounds for skepticism concerning the NASL's claims for the future. I have trouble believing it can triple or quadruple the budgets of its teams within five

years, as it plans, without bankrupting a third to half the franchises.

The fact remains, however, that professional sports is about building a winner—and the Express have done more towards that in one season than the rest of the teams in this city for a decade.

Not only as an International Socialist, but also as a sports fan, I don't care if the talent is imported from England, or Austria, or Peru.

In this town, if it wins, watch it. □

D. Posen

CONVOY: Star Wars meets truckers



by Nell Chacker

CONVOY is the story of a movement that gets started by accident, grows spontaneously to a position of power, and then finds that it's got nowhere to go.

It begins with a feud between the Rubber Duck (Kris Kristofferson) an arch-typical Johnny Cash type trucker, and Dirty Lyle (Ernest Borgnine) a nasty and corrupt highway sheriff.

MASS MOVEMENT

Having gotten themselves into deep trouble, the Duck and his buddies decide to form a convoy and run for the state line, with the

State Police in hot pursuit.

As they go along, a few hundred other truckers who've heard the story over their CB's decide to join in for the ride.

Pretty soon there's an 18-wheeler mass movement heading down the road with no idea where it's going or what it will do when it gets there.

Further complications arise when the Governor of New Mexico decides to support the truckers in hopes of boosting his political career.

Several pitched battles later, having made the whole U.S.A. too hot for him, the Duck decides to run for Mexico, not even considering what the Mexican police are

likely to do to him. And who should be waiting for him at the bridge but Dirty Lyle, behind an armored flak-truck mounting twin 20 mm automatic cannon and an M-60 machinegun.

I won't disclose the ending except to say that it's in complete harmony with the rest of the movie.

Ali McGraw spends most of the movie riding with the Rubber Duck, but she doesn't get to do much except show her legs and give the duck a chance to talk about himself.

DEMOLITION DERBY

The truckers in this movie are not Teamsters. They are gypsies,

independent owner-operators.

Most real independents have everything they own tied up in their heavily-mortgaged rigs. They hustle themselves into an early grave trying to make their bank payments, and are not likely to drop everything for a spur-of-the-moment joyride.

Also, most rigs are built as lightly as possible to save weight and fuel, offering little more protection than a paper bag. They are highly unsuitable for playing demolition derby.

In contrast, the truckers in this movie are in no special hurry to deliver their loads and worry not at all about totalling their tractors.

The trucks themselves never

seem to run out of fuel. Even a load of hogs gets by without food or water. Everyone just keeps on truckin' without a care in the world.

Independent truckers have plenty of real problems, including the 55 mph speed limit, high diesel prices and police harassment.

They've fought back before and they'll do it again; a lot better that the actors in *Convoy*.

Convoy is the kind of movie you can enjoy only if you keep in mind that it has nothing to do with the real world.

There are no lessons to be drawn from it. Just think of it as something that happened in another galaxy long ago and far away; and enjoy the action. □

Senate Nods To Rhodesia

by Dan Posen

THE UNITED STATES Senate has voted to give conditional support to the racist government of Rhodesia.

The action was taken in a vote Wednesday on an amendment to a foreign aid bill, submitted by

liberal Republican Senators Javits and Case.

United States participation in the international economic boycott of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) would be unilaterally lifted, if the President decides that the so-called internal settlement government created by the 4% white minority has staged a "fair election" and is committed to negotiating with Zimbabwean guerrillas.

A COMPROMISE?

An earlier amendment, proposed by far right-winger Senator Helms of North Carolina, called for immediately lifting sanctions against the Rhodesian racists.

The Carter Administration, which pretends to support the Black struggle for majority rule in southern Africa, welcomed the passage of the Javits-Case measure as a "compromise."

But this bill represents anything but a compromise. It is the first time the white rulers in Rhodesia have had any good news in two years.

Their economy is disintegrating. Widespread areas of the countryside have been abandoned by wealthy landowners and the government's security forces. This is especially true in the eastern sector where thousands of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) soldiers operate openly with the support of rural villagers.

The U.S. Senate action gives the racist minority with their "internal settlement" an excuse to fight on.

It gives them an incentive to carry on with the force of an election to be staged in December, where Zimbabwean Blacks will be force-marched to the polls with the votes to be watched, counted and certified by white-controlled security forces and election officials.

The vote in Washington enables white Prime Minister Ian Smith's chief Black puppet, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, to pretend he has real political influence in the Rhodesian government and the U.S. It is also only the opening in a major right-wing campaign in this country for lifting the boycott of Rhodesia.

The Javits-Case amendment will, not end the Zimbabwe liberation war. But by its show of support to the disintegrating white regime, it ensures that thousands more Black Zimbabweans will be killed by that regime in its death agony.

(In a closely related event, the United States has put together a shaky neo-colonial peace deal for Namibia. See page 4.)

WORKERS' POWER

NAACP to fight Bakke . . . with no weapons

DETROITERS MARCH FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION



On July 22, Detroiters rallied against the Bakke decision and for affirmative action. The NAACP, meeting nearby to discuss the Bakke case, endorsed the march but sent no delegation. In this article, Larry Smith explains why NAACP approach to defending affirmative action programs for minorities and women suffers from serious weaknesses.

by Larry Smith

DETROIT—Faced with the implied threat that the Bakke decision represents, the NAACP called and organized an emergency conference on affirmative action that was held here July 20-22.

The invitation-only conference brought to Detroit the gamut of elected and unelected middle class Black leadership. For several days, the crisis in affirmative action and a "game plan," a course of action, was discussed.

MANIFESTO

Out of the conference came a "Manifesto for Action."

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, said of the manifesto, "We are declaring war on all attempts to weaken or destroy affirmative action and civil rights enforcement."

The manifesto is a two-part strategy or "offensive" that will be mounted by the NAACP this year.

One part is a massive lobbying effort to be mounted on both a local and national level.

In theory, every elected and some appointed officials will be lobbied on the importance of continuing affirmative action programs.

The second part of this "grand strategy" involves Jimmy Carter. There are two parts to the Carter part of the manifesto.

One is a meeting with Carter to

discuss the general attack upon the gains that Black people have made. The other is to call a special White House conference on affirmative action.

While the NAACP recognition that the Bakke decision represents an attack upon the gains that Blacks and others have made is a progressive step for that organization, the strategy put forward by that organization is a no-win strategy.

From the beginning there were weaknesses. The conference that produced the manifesto was by invitation only. Few of the leaders who over the last year involved thousands of people in rallies, marches and conferences against the Bakke decision were invited.

None of the leaders of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) were invited. The NCOBD on April 8 mobilized over 20,000 people for a march on Washington, which was one of the largest anti-racist demonstrations of the 70's.

The NAACP conference on Affirmative Action was jointly sponsored by Wayne State University, which is guilty of racial and sexual discrimination. At the time of the conference, Latino law students had a law suit against the school for discrimination against Latinos.

The Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision, which has been actively building pro-affirmative action anti-racist support in the Detroit area called a demonstration

for July 22, the last day of the NAACP conference. The NAACP endorsed the demonstration but refused to build it.

They even turned down an invitation to a joint news conference. The demo and the conference could have complemented one another. The demonstration, which could have numbered in the thousands, was reduced to a few hundred.

A WEAK PLAN

The "Manifesto for Action" put forward by the NAACP is a "Manifesto for Defeat."

While attacking the Bakke decision, it asks Carter to put forth his views on affirmative action. The Bakke decision, however, is Carter's position.

The manifesto asks for a commitment to be given.

The manifesto does not have a plan for mobilizing the millions of Blacks, women and other minorities that are affected by the Bakke decision. That is the critical problem with the "Manifesto for Action."

Hooks talks about waging a war against racism and sexism but he sends the NAACP off to battle without any weapons.

The "Manifesto" does not come to grips with the fact that the Carters, Henry Fords, etc., are part of the general attack that is being waged against the gains that

Blacks and other minorities have made in the last period.

It takes the destiny of Blacks and others and puts it in the hands of the racist, sexist, and boss-dominated Democratic Party.

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.