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THE BITTER FIGHT IN THE MINES

Miners face winter without paychecks or strike funds.



BELLAIRE, OH—The strike of 160,000 coal miners is now in its second bitter month. Arnold Miller, the president of the UMW, says it may last six months.

In the first weeks of the strike, thousands of rank and file coal miners have taken to the highways in an attempt to shut down the production of coal.

Car caravans of hundreds have gone into the mountains and through the narrow valleys of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

In southern Ohio, miners patrol the highways, forcing truckers to dump loads of non-union coal: In Gallipolis, they even helped poor people carry the coal home.

In Kentucky, the nation's largest coal producer, miners are picketing non-union mines. In Pike County, nearly 1,000 miners were attacked by state troopers, who broke up the pickets with tear gas. In Wise, VA, 100 picketers were arrested.

In Indiana, 500 striking miners stormed a loading dock on the Ohio River, where coal is shipped from three non-union mines. 200 miners were arrested by Indiana state riot police and marched to the Spencer County courthouse.

The coal companies still have months of stockpiles. They are convinced they can win provisions in the contract that will help them break the strength of the rank and file miners. They say they will break the United Mine Workers union if necessary.

The rank and file miners are determined to prove them wrong. Hundreds have already been jailed, thousands fined. They have already gone through the Christmas holidays with no pay checks and no strike benefits.

The struggle will continue. Victory to the miners! □

—Ludlow—
When Workers
Fought the Soldiers
to a Standstill



see
pages
8 & 9

"I cried at the announcement of the settlement. I felt like I had been carrying a baby for nine months and then I gave birth and someone strangled it."

Georgia Ellis

A bitter defeat for the Elwood strikers

"We gained a lot of strength and self respect. We learned the strength of being together—a closeness we never had before. Our values changed. Before, for most of us our own personal lives were the most important thing—and that paycheck.

Now we know that our only strength is in each other. We learned respect for each other and dignity. We learned a lot about other people's problems in the labor movement.

We learned we can't trust the union officials, but we have to trust the union of each other.

I still believe in the principles of unionism. I want to say that. But the UAW made no real effort at bargaining for us. They accepted each offer

as it came along.

They made no effort to keep scabs out or to give us an idea of the real meaning of a strike. Everything we learned we learned on our own—but we learned it.

We went to Detroit because we felt that the Region wasn't giving us enough support. Fraser told us the International would make every effort to support us, to help us in any way they could.

Instead they came down and started negotiating practically behind our backs. Always before when negotiations went on there were announcements on the radio and TV and in the papers. This time no word of it.

They negotiated late Tuesday night and then called a meeting for Wednesday

morning. There was no way to get in touch with everyone.

I think it's a certainty that eventually Essex will try to get rid of the union altogether. But they don't know what they're up against.

Now we're stronger than ever. If they go after one of us, they'll have to take us all on. What's left of us will stand together.

We're determined to save this local and build it with the unity that we got through this strike. We've learned a lot and we know what we're up against and we've got a better idea of how to fight it now.

The main thing is we have nothing to be ashamed of. We didn't steal from the company, they stole from us. We can stand together and look them in the eye."



Georgia Ellis of Elwood (above). Celia Petty of the ISO asked Ellis about the strike—what was lost and what was won.

The union isolated the strikers, then settled

ELWOOD, IN—After an eight month strike, members of UAW local 1663 ratified a new contract with Essex in Elwood, Indiana, by a vote of 70 to 44.

Georgia Ellis, the spokesperson for the strikers, said the "settlement was the biggest sellout in history" but that "the local was not beaten."

Only 117 of the 181 strikers were present to vote. Members were not notified that there would be a vote either by the media or telephone. Negotiations ended in Indianapolis on Tuesday night,

December 20. The vote was taken at 10 a.m. the following morning.

LOWERED

The 62¢ hourly increase offered by Essex when the strike began was lowered to a 61¢ hourly increase, the other penny going to health benefits. At the end of the contract period, the base pay will be 2¢ above statutory minimum pay. The new contract calls for a small change in the grievance procedure.

Finally, in 90 days 110 of the strikers will have been called back. For the re-

maining 70, who had low seniority, there was no guarantee of work.

Carolyn Forest, a UAW staffer, was sent in from Detroit to sell the contract to the predominantly woman local.

When asked by the strikers if the UAW would do more than provide them with strike pay if they stayed out, Forest replied that the UAW could not help them. Trustees of the local felt they had been taken in by the promises they were given by the UAW International Executive Board when they met with the Board

at Solidarity House in Detroit in November.

There was a sense of shock among the strikers at the ratification. Union leaders were brought to tears by the isolation they were placed in by the international.

By the settlement, the international had a conspiracy charge dropped against it by the company. But the plight of the eleven strikers against whom charges are pending is uncertain.

SHOT

Carol Frye, who still has a bullet shot by a goon for the

company lodged in her back, has ironically been one of those called back to work.

She is unable to work, and the UAW legal staff has shown no signs of pursuing an investigation against the company. □

By MILT FISK

Socialist Worker urges unionists to publicize Carol's situation and send funds to CAROL FRYE TRUST FUND, SECURITY BANK, ELWOOD, IN 46036.



An Opinion

John Anderson is a lifelong militant and socialist. He was formerly president of UAW local 15 in Detroit.

We could have won

The Essex Wire Group, a subsidiary of United Technologies, has 155 plants and facilities scattered over the US and Canada. Its principle product is "electrical products (auto wiring harnesses, control devices, wire, cords, cable, wire insulated and magnetized products, etc.) related supplies."

For forty years it has been in conflict with the UAW and other unions. More often than not it has been the victor in these conflicts. It resorts to every form of violence and legal stratagem known to the anti-union employer.

An important reason for these defeats of labor is the fact that most of its plants are located in small towns. Few of these plants employ more than 500 workers. A majority of them elderly women who can find no other employment.

DEFEAT

The UAW recently suffered one of its defeats by this company at its Elwood, Indiana plant where 220 workers were employed—85 per cent of them women.

The strike began on April 6, 1977 over the ques-

tion of wages. After 8 years in the UAW their basic wage was \$2.76 per hour. There was no pension plan, COLA or other fringe benefits found in most UAW agreements.

Working conditions were bad and the UAW officers and shop committee were treated with contempt by the management.

The story of this strike was well reported in the UAW's paper Solidarity for April, June, September and October. These reports should have brought the support from other UAW members needed to win the strike.

Unfortunately few UAW members read this monthly magazine. Neither the International officers or those in the locals made an effort to mobilize the UAW membership in support of the strike.

WARNED

Visiting the UAW Regional office in Indianapolis I was warned not to publicize the wage rates paid at the Elwood plant. A union spokesman said, "If the workers learn what these wage rates are we will never be able to organize another plant."

There are some 20 other Essex Wire plants in the state of Indiana, but the UAW made no effort to mobilize these workers in support of the Elwood strike.

While this strike was in progress the UAW signed agreements with the Company plants in Detroit and Dunnville, Ontario. Each of the 18 UAW Regions operate independently of the others.

In addition to the UAW there are 14 other unions recognized by one or more of the Essex Wire plants.

COST

Essex Wire with 26,000 employees has already cost the jobs of thousands of Big Three employees whose wages are three times those paid at Essex Wire plants.

Mr. Harry J. Gray, President of United Technologies draws a salary of \$1,662,000, the highest paid executive in the U.S. This company boasts of being the 12th largest employer in the country with sales of \$5.2 billion and profits of \$157.4 million last year.

The 62 cents per hour granted the Elwood strikers will bring their basic wage up to \$3.38 per hour by 1980. □

Rank and file miners can still win coal strike

The contract talks between the UMW and the nation's coal operators are stalled, and there is as yet no end in sight to the nationwide coal miners' strike.

Arnold Miller, the president of the UMW, now says that the coal operators "have seriously misjudged the determination of the miners" and that the strike "may last as long as nine months."

Company and business circles, however, are quite pleased with the situation. The **Wall Street Journal** recently featured a story reporting that coal "stockpiles were still adequate."

BROKER

One coal broker actually boasted that "It would be just as well if the strike went on for several months. The only ones hurting now are the miners. Reducing the stockpiles will help us on the prices."

The key issue in the strike itself remains the right to strike—or as company spokesmen put it, "labor stability."

They continue to insist on contract clauses that would go far beyond the normal language of no-strike clauses.

They want provisions that would effect not only miners who initiated wildcat strikes, but that would cover those miners who honored the picket lines as well.

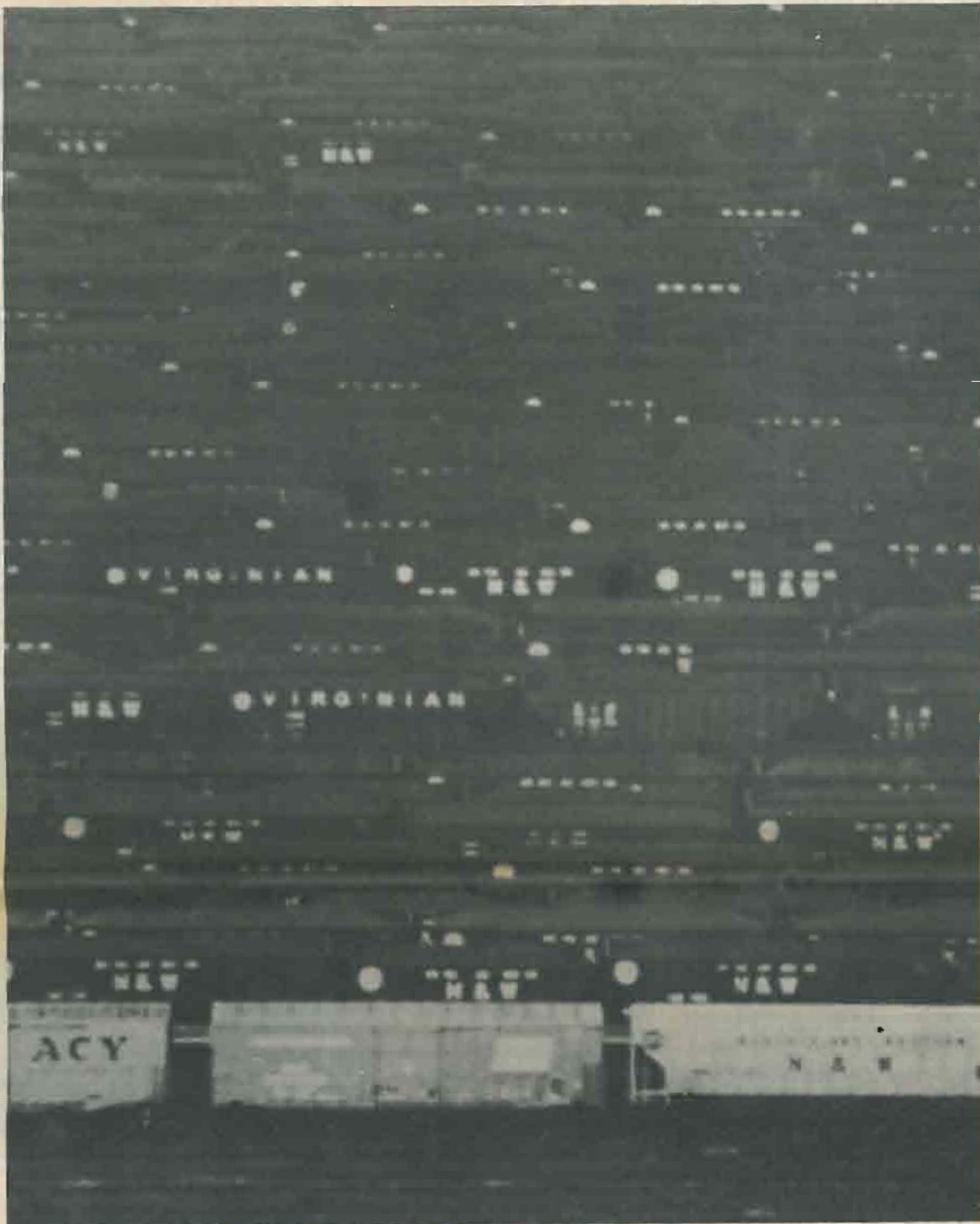
In other words, they want to smash the miners' tradition of respecting picket lines. In the company's proposals they would have the right to discipline, "including discharge" striking miners.

"There's nothing mysterious about our proposals," said a company spokesman, "We're going to get stability one way or another."

The companies also want a 90 day probationary period for new miners, compulsory overtime, and the right to work around the clock, seven days a week.

It is not surprising then that

Socialist Worker What We Think



Coal consumers have massive stockpiles of coal

the rank and file miners are furious—and that thousands are involved in Kentucky, West Virginia, Ohio and Indiana in attempting to stop the movement of any and

all coal.

There should be no doubt, however, that Arnold Miller will accept a new contract which will include the disciplinary clauses.

In fact, the reports are that he already did accept the company proposals, but that an avalanche of dissent from the districts forced him to back off.

Nevertheless, the pressure on Miller, from the operators to the government, is just beginning. As the stockpiles dwindle, and they will, the pressure will increase.

The next steps for the rank and file, therefore, are clear enough. The new contract must be rejected. The miners must stay out until a real shortage of coal forces the operators to rethink their plans.

SACRIFICE

This will take great sacrifice, but the issues deserve it.

The miners should also consider taking their struggle to the industrial centers of the east and the midwest. Picketing the scab coal mines of Kentucky is important in making the strike solid, but it does not effect the major consumers.

Detroit Edison still has 6 to 8 weeks of coal on the ground. The steel makers have 70 days of metallurgical coal.

Picketing the power plants and steels mills in Pittsburgh or Cleveland would, of course, be a giant step for the miners—perhaps more than is possible now. It should be considered, however.

The alternative is continuing to fight alone. In Britain in 1974, it was the solidarity of other workers, respecting the miners picket lines at power plants, that brought down the government and won the strike.

WIN

This strike must not be lost.

The coal operators do not want to bust the UMW. They do want to force it to act like other unions—like the Teamsters, or the steel workers union. They want the UMW to help them discipline the workers—to be the cop on the shop floor.

The rank and file miners can still stop this offensive.

The truth is that the UMW is not weak. It is strong. That is why the miners have improved their wages, working conditions and benefits in the past years.

It is the leadership that is weak and that is what the companies don't like.

The miners could be even stronger, despite their reduced numbers and the increasing use of non-UMW western coal. But only if they win this fight.

Stearns Report



Louisville workers give support

LOUISVILLE KY—On December 2 and 3, six Stearns strikers stood at the gates of Louisville's largest factories to inform workers of their situation and to raise money. Louisville workers gave \$1,200 to help support the strike for union recognition in Stearns.

The Stearns miners have been on strike against the Blue Diamond Coal Company for 17 months now, in a struggle for union recognition.

On December 17, Louisville's Support Committee held a Christmas Party for the strikers.

Nineteen miners, miners' wives and children came up from Stearns to celebrate Christmas and to share with some 70 supporters

a videotape of the events of October 17—the day when the state riot squad assaulted 120 men and women for standing their ground on their own property near the picket

site.

At the party 100 toys and games were collected to make the Christmas party merrier than the last one for the strikers' children. □

Strikers released

STEARNS KY—On December 22, Circuit Judge, J.B. Johnson released ten striking coal miners from Stearns Kentucky.

The ten men who considered themselves "hostages" and "political prisoners" were jailed on October 26 for refusing to honor the court's decision to limit picketing at the Blue Diamond Mine to six pickets.

68 other strikers had also been found guilty but were not jailed.

The strikers were allowed to go home to be with their families at Christmas but only if they agreed not to picket or go near the mine. Other conditions were "good behavior" and "compliance with the law."

The release of the strikers was a welcome victory. However the struggle must continue for the number of scabs going into the mine has risen to 20 and Blue Diamond Coal still refuses to bargain with the union. □

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Two explosions rock Millstone nuclear plant

By JOHN BAXTER

NEW HAVEN, CT—Two explosions at Northeast Utilities' Millstone Nuclear Plant in Waterford, CT. blew an 80 lb. steel door off a building at the plant and released a "puff of radiation" on Dec. 12.

A worker at the plant was hospitalized for radiation contamination, a concussion, and lacerations on both legs.

Already labelled one of the ten most dangerous nuclear

power plants, the Millstone station was rocked by two explosions three hours apart. A combination of hydrogen and oxygen waste gases ignited at the base of a 370 foot exhaust stack that also contains radioactive gases.

There was a time lapse between the explosions of 3 hours which was indicative of Northeast Utilities' inability to control the hydrogen leak in that interval of time. This

same type of explosion has occurred in other nuclear plants across the country many times.

Company officials are not required by law to immediately report any mishap at the power plant. A "voluntary compliance agreement" is in affect between government officials and the company.

N.U. obtained construction permits simply on the "promise" that the plant design

would meet safety requirements. The Millstone and other nuclear plants with the same design have not kept these "promises."

The federal and safety authorities, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, all under the influence of big business, not only know about serious safety deficiencies, but tolerate them as well in

the interest of expanding the nuclear program and because safety is too costly to big business to make improvements.

The decision making process on issues affecting everyone's well-being are left to a small group of "experts" and policy-makers whose major concern is profit, not safety. Nuclear power is big business and safety is too important to be left to a few "experts." □

Why you should be a socialist

WE ARE THE MAJORITY



Without thinking too much about it, most of us think of ourselves as middle class.

If we're not on welfare, if we have a job, if we think we make an average income, we say we are middle class.

In school we are taught that America is the land of the great Middle Class majority, or was it that America is the Democratic Classless Society?

In any event, while the poor will always be with us, the majority here are doing fine, thank you, and phrases like "working class" only belong in 1930's newsreels or in descriptions of other countries.

Sociologists have launched academic careers on studies that "prove" America has a middle class majority. They sent out questionnaires asking people, Are you (check one) upper class middle class or lower class? And, surprise! Most people check the middle box.

DIVIDE

Economists commonly divide out those of us making the top 20% of income and those of us making the bottom 20% income and call the rest middle class.

In the face of all this, why do Marxists persist in stubbornly declaring the majority to be working class, and what is the importance of the distinction anyway?

This is the only country in the world which claims to have a middle class majority. Our government uses this claim to back up the idea that while in other countries the majority is exploited by a tiny minority, in America, the majority rules.

One strong argument in their favor is the fact that the U.S. does have one of the highest standards of living in the world. By using the term middle class, they hope to convince us that because we are better off than say the Euro-

peans, we have a completely different form of society—Egalitarian, the land of the free, etc.

Unfortunately, a look at the distribution of wealth and power in this country shows that we have one of the most hierarchical societies in the world, in spite of the fact we are kept well fed.

Paul Samuelson, the Nobel prize winner in economics, and a staunch supporter of capitalism, puts it this way:

"If we made an income pyramid out of child's blocks, with each level representing one thousand dollars of income, the peak would be higher than the Eiffel Tower, and most of us would be within a yard from the ground."

Even the government's figures on income show that the top 5% get 20% of the income, and the bottom 20% of us get 5% of the income.

And remember that the government figures are just based on income reported to the IRS. Last year's yacht or the country home in France do not show as income. Property is not declared as income, and income from property, if the property is big enough, can be called a corporation or business, and corporations don't pay income tax—only individuals do.

Distinct from personal property like homes or cars or boats is another kind of property. The motor force behind today's industrial society is the productive property: factories, offices, banks, and farms. This property is the means of producing wealth and value in (but not necessarily for) society.

Since this property also creates our jobs and the products we need, much of our lives revolve around this section of the economy.

Think for a minute about the hold these properties have



Kadi Sprengle who works at U.S. Steel Gary Works writes about class and work in America.

on our lives. If Boeing leaves Seattle, if a steel mill closes in Gary or Pittsburgh (as one did in Youngstown, Ohio), if auto pulls out of Detroit.

In all the controversy about why our cities are dying, everyone admits that they are dying because businesses are pulling their money out of the cities. The big debate is over how to convince big business not to destroy the cities...only a few of us question their right to do so.

There is an old man in Indianapolis who is considered

senile because he demands that companies pay us for using our TV air waves for commercials. Everyone knows big business owns the air waves, don't they?

The owners of agribusiness, coincidentally determine who will die of famine every year, as they hold enough grain in storage to wipe out hunger world wide. No, they are not evil men, they just have a job to do...make a profit off our food.

One percent of the population determine (quite by

accident, by the demands of their businesses), which cities will fold, which countries will suffer famine, how many of us will die in industrial accidents, and how long our cars will last.

Only one percent of the population owns (at least) 70% of all productive property. Now, if you are part of the one percent, maybe owning a few trucking firms and a chunk of Exxon, you probably own your own Congressman as well.

If you own your own corner grocery store, or your own semi-truck, or if you are a doctor with a private practice; then you truly are middle class—somewhere in the middle between the owners and the rest of us. And if Daddy is personnel director at General Mills or mummy is a stockbroker, or you are a lawyer, you can call yourself middle class, too.

SELL

But the rest of us, even those of us who like our jobs, have nothing but our bodies and our minds to support ourselves with. We sell ourselves by the week or by the hour to those who do own the offices and factories and schools.

It doesn't matter what color your collar is, whether you are assistant to the assistant manager in charge of nylon stockings at K-Mart, or whether you work for the local pimp on the street corner.

The only thing we have to bargain with in this great free market economy is ourselves.

Now in the '30s trouble-makers called the system wage slavery, and they said we were in the working class, as opposed to the owning class. The distribution of wealth and power has not changed since the '30s, so what should we call it today? □

Bus drivers fight to keep full-time jobs

SEATTLE WA—Seattle's bus drivers fought a running battle with the Metro Transit Authority in December and almost won.

After turning down two Metro contract offers, the bus drivers called in sick for four days, forcing the cancellation of up to 150 bus runs each day.

They forced the union leadership, Amalgamated Transit Union local 587, to

call a stop work meeting at midday, December 20. All but a handful of drivers left their runs, and parked their buses in the yards, despite management threats of discipline.

BAN

At that meeting, the drivers demanded and won an overtime ban which put Metro in the position of cancelling

hundreds of runs, with no recourse to punishment.

A rank and file group, called "Concerned Transit Employees," leafletted transit riders, organized communications for the sick out and led the floor fights in the union meetings.

"It was very good," said driver Judy Fisher. "We got a large percentage of the drivers involved. We gained confidence, and despite the fact that we lost the last vote, we discovered that we can wage a fight to prepare this union to take Metro on."

The Metro drivers voted in early January to accept a new contract, but only after the union leadership had totally given in—and then only by the slim margin of 725 to 606.

The central issue was Metro Transit's plan—backed by the Federal Transportation Authority—to use part-time bus drivers for the peak rush hour periods.

These drivers would quickly provide Metro with a pool of hundred of marginal union members—people who get no benefits and who would probably have jobs elsewhere.

The part-time drivers



Vic Rivera, Seattle bus driver

would clearly have interests different than those of the full-timers and they would threaten the job security and rights of all those now working for Metro.

STRIKE

The union leadership "prepared" for this contract fight by working three years to convince the membership that a strike or any direct action could not win anything from Metro.

When Metro announced its 3rd and "final offer," and threatened to cancel the existing contract, the

union collapsed.

"The drivers were able to act up 'til then, but the majority had not been prepared to seriously take on Metro with a strike," said Fisher.

Still, the fight against part-timers is far from over. Angry union members denounced the settlement as a "sellout" and called for the leadership's resignation.

"We are more confident than ever," said Fisher. "A large percentage of the drivers have shown they will not accept the union leadership's logic of defeat." □



Metro drivers at union meeting

Cincinnati: the newspaper monopolies

By BILL ROBERTS

The Cincinnati Post (evening daily newspaper) is about to be sold to the Cincinnati Enquirer (morning daily).

There is nothing unusual about a larger company swallowing a smaller competitor, except that in the case of something as public as the daily newspaper a question is raised as to whether "freedom of the press" is threatened in a sale of this kind.

TREND

The contradictions of capitalism have faced the newspaper business for years. The trend of the larger media chains buying out the smaller papers has been accelerating over the last twenty years forcing Congress to pass a "Newspaper Preservation Act" in 1970.

Under this Act the Attorney General can approve exemptions from Federal antitrust statutes.

In Cincinnati this means that Attorney General, Bell can approve the takeover of the Post by the Enquirer under the "single facility,



separate voices" formula. In other words, the two dailies would be published under the same roof, but would retain "separate" editorial staffs. This is capitalism's formula for "maintaining" freedom of the press in Cincinnati.

The only reason to continue publishing a paper with the Post masthead on it is to continue the pretense that two papers equals freedom of the press.

The important question, which was there before the takeover was made public, still remains: freedom for whom?

A look at what has been happening in the newspaper

business is instructive. Of the 42 daily papers in this country with a circulation above 300,000, thirty are owned by 10 large media chains.

Twenty-three cities (above 80,000) are served by "single facility, separate voice" papers under government supervision.

Behind these statistics are the companies that shape the news and ideas we receive daily.

influence on 16 smaller dailies, several T.V. stations, a couple of book companies and several magazines.

Behind the Times media chain stands the Morgan

group of financial institutions. Similar large financial groups back the other big media companies.

For example, the Dow Jones Company, which owns the Wall Street Journal and nine other dailies, is tied to the Rockefeller banks. The Washington Post is controlled by Morgan money. And the Times-Mirror Co. (LA Times, Dallas Times-Herald) is controlled by the Bank of America group.

Leaving aside the importance of being at the controlling point where ideas are shaped and presented to people, these news chains are also money makers.

The New York Times Co. has assets in excess of \$150 million (1974 figures). The Washington Post tops this with over \$170 million. The Cincinnati Enquirer, part of Combined Communications Company holdings, brought its owners \$8,743,951 in profits in 1976.

While direct ownership by the giants represents only 25% of the daily papers in

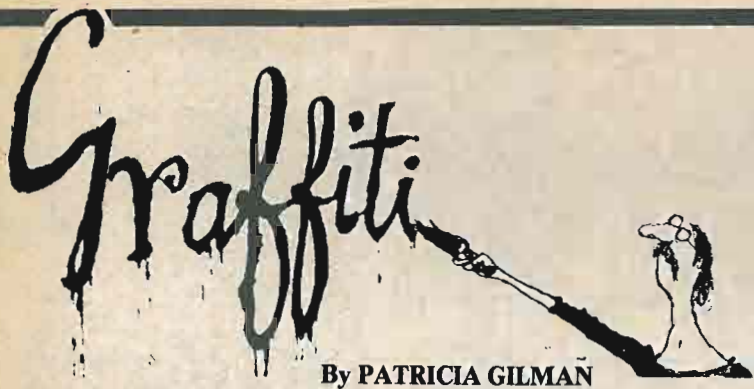
this country, their resources give them the ability to influence the other 75%. Through their vast globe-encircling apparatus, these giants feed "news" and interpretation to most of the country's papers through syndicated columns, wireservice inputs, and even editorial positions.

SURVEY

Even the conservative Hearst chain of papers relies heavily on the "liberal" New York Times. A random survey of the front page of Hearst's Seattle Post-Intelligencer for three days found five N.T. Times bylines to two from Hearst sources.

Hearst papers also rely heavily on Times and Washington Post cartoonists and even borrow editorial comments.

What is happening in Cincinnati is a small part of what is happening to the newspaper business in general—a concentration of resources in fewer and fewer hands. □



By PATRICIA GILMAN

Made in USA

For the Record—Over 10 million American-made cars were recalled in 1977 because of manufacturing defects. □

Crime in the Suites



"By being a criminal you have disgraced yourself, disappointed your family, and made a lot of people think of you as a very rotten person. I feel that you've suffered enough."

If you're a corporation executive convicted of ripping off consumers, your chances of a light sentence are good.

During the fiscal year ending June, 1976, 75 U.S. business executives were convicted of anti-trust violations. Only two were given jail sentences (a total of two and a half months combined).

Recently, R. Harper Brown, president of the billion-dollar-

a-year Container Corp. of America, was sentenced along with 46 other executives of cardboard manufacturers on charges of price-rigging. Brown drew a 60-day sentence, 15 others drew 4-to-5-day sentences (they can work during the day but must report to jail at night), and the rest got off with light fines of \$1,000 or \$2,000. □

Day dreaming is a crime and will not be tolerated

TORONTO—"Time theft is the biggest crime of all," says Robert Half, a Canadian personnel expert.

He argues that the Canadian economy will lose \$8 billion this year as a result of workers that "waste or abuse time on the job."

Mr. Half cites the most

common examples of "time theft" as "getting to work late, leaving early, office socializing, reading novels and magazines during working hours, and taking sick days off unnecessarily."

He also cites "excessive personal telephone calls, on the job day dreaming, and eat-

ing lunch on the job—then taking a lunch break."

Half says that the problem is even worse in the United States, where a study shows the average "time thief" was guilty of stealing three hours and 45 minutes each week. Not Bad! □

Very friendly

One of the reasons that the United States played a large part in deposing the social democratic regime of Salvador Allende in Chile was that Allende had nationalized the copper industry of Chile.

U.S. companies were paying higher prices for the copper and profits were beginning to slump.

The Pinochet dictatorship is very friendly to the U.S. now. So friendly that Exxon Minerals International Inc. has bid over \$100 million for 87% of Chile's state owned copper firm. □

Judge of the month

A new Judge Archie Simmons award can be given to another judge this month.

In a case in Colorado, District Judge Dean Mabry dismissed a sexual assault charge against a man accused of breaking into the home of a 20-year old widow falling on top of her on the floor, kissing her, breaking the zipper on her pants and placing his hand inside.

The judge termed it "an attempted seduction." □

"I could have bought a Lear jet"



Arnold Miller

Five years ago, when Arnold Miller led a rank and file movement to an election victory in the United Mine Workers union, he ordered the sale of the ousted leadership's fleet of three union-owned Cadillac limousines.

"You couldn't tell the union



Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick selling union Cadillacs.

from the coal companies," said Miller at the time, "because the officials of both were living off the miners."

Now Arnold Miller is leasing a new, black, nine-passenger, \$400 a month Cadillac limousine—at the miners' expense. He says

he "doesn't want to be forced to hitch-hike to the White House when he gets called to meetings."

Miller also says that the Cadillac will allow union officials to travel with "proper dignity" to appointments. And he has a new way to

differentiate himself from the coal bosses.

"We don't have Lear jets and they got them," he explained. "Some of them got several." □

Kojak in a cage

An orangutan named Alexander, who loved watching TV, has died at Edinburgh Zoo at age 28.

He was found slumped in his cage a few feet from his TV set.

Television was installed in his cage, presumably to help him forget his homeland in Borneo.

Some animal lovers complained that television was doing him harm, especially

programs like "Kojak" and "Starsky & Hutch."

When he viewed TV cops in action, he hurled objects about his cage.—From *Variety* newspaper, no kidding. □

Planning

Oil companies have few equals when it comes to seeing new ways to make money. Today, oil companies produce about 25% of the nation's uranium, mine 17% of its coal and own four of the top dozen or so copper concerns. □

A search for the perfect soldier



(Thanks to the newsletter, *Citizen Soldier*.)

General, your tank is a mighty vehicle. It shatters the forest and crushes a hundred men. But it has one defect: It needs drivers.

General, your bomber is awesome. It flies faster than a hurricane and bears more than an elephant. But it has one defect: It needs a mechanic.

General, a man is quite expendable. He can fly and he can kill. But he has one defect: He can think.

—Brecht

ANDALUSIA-ONE MILLION DEMONSTRATE

The worst violence in Malaga since the civil war. That was how the respectable Spanish daily El Pais described the scenes which shook Andalusia—southern Spain—last month.

On December 11 there were massive demonstrations throughout the region for regional autonomy, with a million people taking part.

The regional Andalusian flag flew from most government offices.

Except in Malaga. There a massive guard stood in front of the civil government building. It was made up of police and members of the fascist gangs, the FN.

The tail section of the 150,000-strong demonstration tried to scale the building to hoist the Andalusian flag. The police response was "the most violent ever seen in Malaga."

First they used tear gas and rubber bullets. Then live ammunition. The police claimed they had "run out of rubber bullets."

Meanwhile the rest of the demonstration had returned to the building and were also fired upon. Everyone, including the many children present, dived to the ground.

Several people were wound-



Demonstration in Malaga

ed and a 19-year-old building worker, Jose Manuel Garcia Cuparros, was killed.

The next night 30,000 people turned out for the funeral. Barricades were thrown up in various parts of the city, the fascist party's HQ was burnt down and various shops and banks were attacked.

On the Tuesday there was a total strike throughout the Malaga region. In the city there was not a single store or factory open.

In the nearby tourist complex of Torremolenos, for example, the waiters in every hotel and bar struck. In other

cities of southern Spain workers responded to the call for a one-hour sympathy stoppage by striking for the whole day.

The metal and building industry was shut down.

WILD

The two biggest working-class parties, the Socialists and the Communists, called for calm. But in city after city workers fought with the police.

In Malaga rioting continued all day. The police went so wild that they were hitting each other!

Crowds attacked the offices of the civil government and the police. There were barricades throughout the city.

Journalists witnessed numerous cases of police brutality. A Socialist Party MP was beaten up while showing the police his parliamentary credential.

A group of police broke into the National Youth Radio station and beat the station editor on the head. Police broke into private houses and fired tear gas and rubber bullets at the inhabitants.

The next day the walls of the city were scrawled with the slogan "The police are the real criminals."

The government, which boasts about its "commitment to democracy," responded by banning all demonstrations for autonomy throughout Spain, unless called by parliamentary parties.

The demonstrations in Malaga have as their background massive unemployment, with the only way most people can get jobs being through emigration to northern cities 600 miles away or more.

The battles show how the state apparatus that maintained Franco in power remains intact, with only a thin veneer of "democratic" government. In Madrid, for instance, police with machine guns guard the quarters of the fascist FN, while its young rich thugs openly carry iron bars and beat up trade unionists.

PORTUGAL: THE TEST

The Portuguese government of Mario Soares has fallen. On December 9 the right-wing Socialist Party leader was voted out of office by a majority of the country's MPs.

The fall of his government is proof that "moderate," "social democratic" policies cannot solve any of the basic problems of an impoverished, half-developed capitalist country such as Portugal.

Soares came to power two years ago after spearheading the attack on the revolutionary gains made by Portugal's workers. These gains had been possible because of the disorganization of the state and because of left-wing ideas among rank and file soldiers after the overthrow of fascism in 1974.

Soares claimed that the country was facing economic difficulties because of "anarchy" in the army and in industry. He argued that if only there was a "moderate socialist" government, with

the workers accepting orders in the factories and the soldiers obeying their officers, the country would move rapidly along the road to recovery.

This claim was backed in election campaigns by massive sums of money given to Soares by Western governments through the various Labor and Social Democratic parties.

Soares' government succeeded, with the help of the president and former head of the army, Eanes, in restoring the power of the officers in the armed forces.

He promised compensation to parasites whose property had been nationalized by previous governments. He carried through a law that deprived agricultural laborers of some of the estates they had occupied.

He used the police, manned by thugs who look to fascism with nostalgia, to shoot at workers who resisted his demands.

But the economic crisis his "moderate" methods could not solve. Unemployment and prices have kept rising.

LOAN

To try to "stabilize the economy," Soares had to go to the International Monetary Fund. Their price for giving Portugal a loan was the creation of more unemployment and more price rises.

Faced with these facts, growing numbers of people have turned against the government.

In the south of Portugal, with long traditions of workers' struggles, this had meant



Portuguese farmworker

increased support for the Communist Party.

In the north, where the small farmers have much more reactionary traditions, the rightwing parties have gained increased support by demagogic attacks on the conditions laid down for international loans from powers they back.

Hence the fall of the government. But that does not mean that the crisis has fully matured, yet.

The right have ousted the Socialist Party from government. But they do not yet feel confident enough to take on the strong working-class organizations in Lisbon and the South. In all probability the government crisis will drag on for months to come.

But the belief that there is some "moderate," intermediary stop between revolutionary socialism and capitalist reactions has received a harsh blow.

Rhodesia

Ian Smith's plan to give the Black majority a vote in Rhodesia does not mean Blacks will rule. In fact, Smith's plan guarantees that the seven million Blacks would still be ruled by the 220,000 whites.

Although whites are only 3% of the population, they would be given one third of the seats in Parliament. This means that a white vote would be worth more than ten Black votes.

world
in struggle

Dissident miner

MOSCOW—A miner who told Western journalists that abuses of workers' rights by management were widespread in the Soviet Union, spent a week in psychiatric detention but is now free, dissident sources said.

Vladimir Klebanov, 45 years old, was released near his home in the Ukraine's Donets Basin on Wednesday after being picked up by the police on Dec. 20 in Moscow, the sources said.

He was one of a group of workers who said just over a month ago that they had been dismissed from their jobs and barred from other employment after standing up for workers' rights.

Chile vote

Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet recently staged an electoral show of confidence with a national plebiscite in which the only candidate was—himself.

Claiming 75% of the votes, Pinochet called the election a victory for "authoritarian democracy," his term for one-man rule. At his victory rally, Pinochet announced there would be no new elections before 1986.

War in S.E. Asia

There is now heavy fighting on the border of Cambodia and Vietnam—the two "socialist" nations of S.E. Asia.

Reports of division strength troop movements signal a new stage in the sorting-out process following the ouster of the American imperialist armies.

At stake are the strategic borderlands, plus the rich rice-growing areas along the Mekong River in Southern Cambodia.

The fighting means more destruction and death for the poor peasants of Cambodia and Vietnam.

It also means disappointment and confusion for those who hoped that the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese would lead to a new socialist state.

As socialists, we gave unconditional support to the national liberation movements of Southeast Asia in their struggle against the French, the United States, and their puppets.

But it was always clear that the national liberation struggles would not lead to socialism, not without the conquest of power by the working classes. That victory is yet to come.

Company towns have persisted in the mining regions of the Rocky Mountains. Now, however, they are of little use to the modern robber barons of mining, as the poor people of Lark have learned only too well. Here, Barbara Winslow, recounts an earlier period, when mining families chose to live in tents and fight, rather than submit to John D. Rockefeller and the Colorado coal companies.

“For eight days it was like a reign of terror. Armed miners swarmed into the city like soldiers of a revolution. They tramped the streets with rifles, and the red handkerchiefs around their necks singing their war songs. The mayor and the police chief fled, and we simply cowered in our houses waiting.

No one was injured here—they policed the streets day and night. But destruction swept like a flame over the mines.”

—a Catholic priest in Ludlow, Colorado, 1914



Colorado miners who organized to avenge the Ludlow Massacre

Class war in

In September, 1913, 9000 Colorado coal miners went on strike.

In the 15 months that followed, the miners and their families fought a bloody war against the despotism of John D. Rockefeller and his Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.

Colorado was then an important coal producing state, and Colorado Fuel and Iron was the largest mining company.

Rockefeller and his company ran the state. They stopped at nothing in depriving the miners of their rights. They openly flaunted the US constitution.

The Colorado mining towns were like concentration camps. They were ringed with barbed wire, and patrolled by armed company guards. The miners' homes (built by the coal companies) were described as “hovels,” “shacks” and “dugouts.” Reporters often called them “unfit for human habitation” and “little removed from pig stys.”

There was no sanitation in the camps. Toilets consisted of a few boards and a gunny sack tacked together in a hole two feet deep.

BANNED

The people who lived in the camps had no rights. Freedom of speech, assembly, and the press simply were not tolerated.

The company library banned Darwin's *Origin of the Species* and Harper's *Weekly* as “subversive.”

The miners shopped in

company stores, worshipped in company churches, went to company schools and doctors. There was no free choice of anything for the mining people of Ludlow.

Rockefeller wanted to keep the union out. He had union organizers arrested, deported and even shot. The company used espionage and the black list.

Mining in Colorado was deadlier than anywhere else. The number of miners killed in Colorado was double that of the US total. Colorado Fuel and Iron also owned the coroners. 98% of all deaths were ruled as due to the victims' “negligence” or “carelessness.”

There were bloody strikes in 1883, 1893 and 1903, all of which had been suppressed through the expulsion of strikers and the importation of scabs.

In 1913, the United Mine Workers union sent organizers



into Ludlow, and in September the strike began.

The issues were union recognition, wages and the 8 hour day. They also demanded that Colorado Fuel and Iron agree to obey the existing laws of the state of Colorado!

Immediately, the company sent in its own armed guards. An armored tank, called the “Death Patrol” herded scabs into the mines.

When there was shooting between guards and miners, the state militia was called in.

Then killers like Major Pat Hamrock, with his uniform still bloody from the massacre at Wounded Knee, and K.E. Linderfelt, fresh from the slaughter of Huks in the Philippines, were summoned by Rockefeller to preserve his order.

The militia men were drunk most of the time. They sexually attacked the miners' wives and the young girls. They committed numerous robberies. And they arrested and shot strikers.

In April, 1914, there were rumors that the militia intended to wipe out Ludlow. They were true.

On April 20, machine gun fortifications were set up. Then the tent city, set up by the strikers, was shelled for 12 hours. The next day the militia men poured coal oil on the tents and set them on fire.

“In the holes which had been dug for their protection against the rifles, women and children died like trapped rats when the flames swept over them,” wrote one newspaper reporter.

33 people—miners, miners' wives and children were either burned or shot to death that day.

This was not enough for

Linderfelt. He personally broke a rifle stock over head of the miners' leader Louis Tikas, and then shot him. Three other men were murdered this way.

AVENGE

The story of the ten day slaughter at Ludlow spread throughout Colorado and the miners themselves and marched to avenge the slaughter.

For ten days, thousands of miners took control of mining areas, terrified Rockefeller and his supporters—including the cowardly priest of Ludlow.

The rebellion soon spread to the coalfields of North Colorado.

The miners held their own against the militia. In fact they more than held their own, so much so that President Wilson was forced to send Federal troops into Colorado and hastily arrange a truce.

Max Eastman, the editor of the revolutionary journal *The Masses*, went to Ludlow in “Class War in Colorado.” Eastman wrote that the war in the coalfields was “a little America.” It showed the utter contempt of the Rockefellers for human



Evicted by the copper bosses; company town closed

LARK, UTAH—591 people, residents of the tiny town of Lark, are being evicted from their homes by the giant Kennecott Copper Company.

Just days before Christmas, Kennecott announced that it was closing the company town. The residents of Lark either rent company apartments, lease company homes, or own their homes but lease the land underneath them.

POLICY

Kennecott says it has a "policy against operating company towns." Too bad for the people. Roy Ortega says his house is now worth nothing. "No one would buy it—not without a place to put it."

Lark sits in the foothills of the Oquirrh Mountains, just 22 miles south of Salt Lake City. It was originally built for the workers at the nearby copper mine. But the mine was closed in 1971. Now most of the residents are elderly, many of them retired miners and miners widows. Half are Chicanos.

"It kind of took Christmas right out from under us," said Marie Sandbeck, a 48 year old widow. "The spirit is gone. They took all the hope away."



Merle Watson says "old timers that are retired will find moving extremely hard."

The residents have formed a committee. They are discussing whether to resist Kennecott or at least to fight for compensation. The biggest problem may well be the high cost of housing in the Salt Lake City area. A three bedroom home in Lark rents for less than \$100 a month.

Kennecott has given the people of Lark until August 31, 1978 to move. They will not pay for relocation. The company plans to make the land into a dump. □

Colorado



Mother Jones with Ludlow survivors.

ings. But it also showed the potential of the working class. "Is it a thing to regret or rejoice," he wrote, "that unions all over the state voted rifles and ammunition, that militia men mutinied, that train men refused to move

reinforcements, that armed miners flocked into Trinidad, supplanted the government there, and with that town as a base, issued into the hills?"

"Once again, since the days in Paris of 1871, an army of the working class has fought

the military to a shivering standstill and let them beg for a truce.

"It would have been a sad world had that not happened." □

The monster that is killing Lark

Kennecott is to copper what General Motors is to cars.

Along with Anaconda and Phelps Dodge, Kennecott controls 86% of domestic copper production capacity. It has assets of over \$2 billion.

RICHES

Kennecott was set up by the robber baron Daniel Guggenheim in 1915, with the help of J.P. Morgan, and after a battle with John D. Rockefeller over who would win the riches of the Rocky Mountains.

Kennecott explores, mines, refines, fabricates, transports, and markets copper. Its major mines are in Bingham, Utah (another company town recently shut down by Kennecott); Ruth, Nevada; Ray, Arizona; and Santa Rita, New Mexico.

Kennecott had extensive copper holdings in Chile until 1968. After the Allende

expropriation, Kennecott disrupted the sale of Chilean copper in Europe, and thus did its share in bringing the barbaric Pinochet regime to power in 1973.

DIRECTORS

Kennecott's directors tie the company to the major industrial and financial sectors of the US economy. Walter Page, for example, is President of Morgan Guarantee Trust. Robert Hatfield is the Chairman of Continental Can. Russell de Young is Chairman of Good-year Tire. J. Peter Grace is President of the international conglomerate W.R. Grace.

These directors oversee the company, its 16,000 employees, and its one billion dollar annual sales.

They are the men who are now evicting the poor people of Lark. □

'No!' to a sister city in Chile

Dear Socialist Worker,
Members of non-intervention in Chile (NICH) which include people from many progressive organizations, attended a city council meeting in Long Beach to protest a sister city delegation to Valparaiso, Chile, headed by Long Beach Mayor Tom Clark.

Mayor Tom Clark told a Los Angeles Times reporter that he knows nothing about Chilean torture or suppression of human rights. This was after several speakers addressed the city council giving facts about people who have disappeared, who have been tortured and who have been arbitrarily detained. Speakers also pointed out that the mayor's visit would give tacit approval to the military junta.

The mayor denied this saying that the sister city program was formed 20 years ago to form bonds between people, not governments. Another speaker inquired if the mayor would have approved keeping up a sister city relationship with Germany during the Nazi era.

The mayor tried to cut off further speakers by asking if anyone wanted to speak on another subject, no one did, and rudely asking further speakers if they had "new information." When that ploy failed, the mayor announced an adjournment for lunch—at 10:40 a.m.

A spirited picket line was formed in front of City Hall and leaflets were passed out denouncing the mayor's trip to



Pinochet

a country where 30,000 people have been killed, 1/2 million people exiled, 100,000 arrested and 25,000 disappeared.

The mayor did not cancel the trip, but local newspaper

coverage of the protest brought Chile back to the attention of the people, some joining further protest activities.

Susan Doan
Long Beach, CA

More on Humphrey-Hawkins

Dear Socialist Worker,

I liked December's issue of the paper again.

I am writing with respect to Milton Fisk's article on the economy.

I agree with what he has to say and especially his comments on the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. But it needs exploring further for what it is.

The idea I guess is to cut the level of unemployment—down to 4.3% by 1983. However there is no authorization

in the Bill for the creation of one federal job for the unemployed and further there is no authorization for money to be spent on wages to reach the goal of a cut in unemployment.

Incidentally, is it not true that since 1940 (earlier?) every year that unemployment has been down to 4% has been a war year?

This Bill also brings out the collaborative nature of the trade unions. 38 organiza-

tions—a coalition of unions and other organizations involved with labor—said they were satisfied by this Bill.

For the first time since the depression the average working family's income (\$9600 for a family of 4) is less than the official poverty line for a family of 4 (\$10,000). This Bill does not speak to the issue of wages (or real wages in the light of inflation), nor does it deal with which sectors of society will receive the great-

est benefit from any cuts in the total level of unemployment—even if the motivation to do that were sincere—where currently the unemployment rate is on average 7% (officially) and 7.1% for women, but 14% for blacks, 15% for teenagers and 41% for black teenagers.

David Jaggar
Cincinnati, Ohio

Markley, Soares lose appeal

Dear Socialist Worker,

Alex Markley and Tom Soares, two trade union activists convicted on explosive and conspiracy charges in April, 1977, have lost their first appeal to a higher court. They were arrested in July 1976, after a strike at Worthington Compressor, Holyoke, Mass.

The case has generated widespread concern. The two men were originally arrested for an alleged plot to blow up trucks crossing the picket lines during the strike, and for possessing "explosive bombs."

However during the trial it emerged that the "bombs" were no more than toilet paper tubes containing a black powder. When set off they gave a soft "whump" and threw out a lot of smoke. The explosion was so feeble that the toilet rolls weren't even scorched. In the words of a defense attorney, the devices were "like the ones set off on stage when the devil appears."

No evidence was introduced to show that the devices were ever used.

On the other hand, there was considerable evidence to show that the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms bureau of the US Government deliberately set out to entrap the two labor leaders. An agent of the ATF was dispatched with instructions to get Markley and Soares. He urged them to get some explosives for use against scab trucks. When they came up with the fire-crackers used against them in the trial, he encouraged them to do better. Nothing, however, was ever done to produce a more effective "bomb."

The ludicrous conspiracy charge was thrown out of court by the judge. The judge even threw out the charge that the fire-crackers were dangerous. The jury, however, found that the tubes were "perilous weapons," and on this basis Markley got 18 months and Soares one year. The Government has admitted that under existing statutes even a book of matches could constitute a "perilous weapon."

The Markley-Soares case now goes to the US Supreme Court.

Michael Egan
Amherst, Mass.

Letters

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

Tragedy at American Bosch

Dear Socialist Worker,

After months of slowly building tensions, the Springfield, MA, plant of the American Bosch Co. exploded in violence that resulted in the death of one foreman and the wounding of another. William Cole, 31, has been charged with the shooting of his supervisors.

In the aftermath of the inci-

dent, many workers at the truck parts plant have come forth telling a sordid tale of company-planned racial discrimination, union weakness, and terrible working conditions. Even before the shootings, local labor activists were very much aware of the tensions existing. Now a wide range of complaints have been made by a great

number of workers, black and white, young and old.

Apparently, Bosch only started to hire blacks in the first place due to federal Affirmative Action requirements for military manufacturers.

In the period since that time, blacks have been subjected to arbitrary and discriminatory practices including denial of classification upgrade training, denial of voluntary overtime even in cases where blacks have seniority, black pieceworkers are denied access to tools or issued faulty tools to execute repairs, and blacks are often subjected to harassment while taking breaks.

These company attitudes were reflected by the two management personnel that were shot in the incident. Thomas Coppola, the general foreman killed in the shooting, had been described by both black and white workers as a "total company man," and had reportedly once said that "no worker is worth more than \$5 an hour."

Another major factor leading to the incident is rampant weakness among the union leadership. There have been numerous reports that the steward in Department 198 (Cole's section) actively discouraged workers from filing grievances, even in cases such that the legitimacy of the com-



William Cole

plaints were not in doubt. The general attitude of the union leadership is to carry out a policy of appeasement towards management, which, naturally, management saw as a means to coerce workers to accept degrading working conditions.

William Cole is a victim of a tragedy in his own right, a victim of the violence perpetrated by racist and brutal management, and a victim of ineffectual, timid union leadership.

The great tragedy at American Bosch is that workers' hopes had been so crushed by the policies of management and union alike, that William Cole finally came to see the only hope gleaming in the barrel of a gun. For Cole's action, and any similar individual acts, are the cry of desperation, when the only true solution is the collective organization of the workers at Bosch and the whole of the working class.

Larry Howes
Holyoke, Mass.

But what about the system?

Dear Socialist Worker

I recently attended an evening in solidarity with Iranian students and as part of the evening, along with a film and speakers, there was a small theatre group. The group was lively and I enjoyed most of their sketches, except for one.

In this small sketch they presented the problems of three working married women. They were badly treated at work and at home and the play was effective enough to make me wince at the obvious pain in their lives. Unfortunately I winced more at the solution they resorted to. They all went to learn karate so that when their respective husbands tried to brutalize them they fought back by knocking them out.

But what sort of solution is that. Will it stop one of the

men taking drugs and the other getting drunk (both out of work). Will it stop their harassment on the job?

I could sympathize with their action and the audience, it is fair to say, cheered enthusiastically. But nothing was said about a struggle beyond hitting out at the person next to you. Nothing about struggling towards winning a life where you don't have to fight for self respect.

If I learned something from the play, beyond understanding a little better how hard it is being a woman, it's how hard it's going to be to win people to the belief that despite their feelings about each other we need to fight together against a system that makes all our lives intolerable.

Peter Court
New York, NY

A face in a Palestinian refugee camp.

The article here is an extract from the new pamphlet "Israel—a Racist State?" now available from the International Socialist Organization.



Why socialists support the struggle of the Palestinian resistance

Israel is no paradise. It is founded on racism and is dependent on massive foreign aid which flows into the pockets of a small group of politicians, trade union bureaucrats and businessmen isolated even from the vast majority of Israeli Jews.

Since the first Jewish settlements the thrust of Zionism has been towards constant military expansionism at the expense of the indigenous Arab population. There is no sign of any end to this expansionism.

DENIAL

This is not very surprising. The very existence of the Israeli state is founded on the denial of any rights to the Arabs who made up the majority of the population of pre-1948 Palestine.

A genuine socialist is faced with a choice between two alternatives. On the one hand there is the racist, expansionist, imperialist-backed Israeli state. On the other hand, there is the Palestinian resistance which for the last ten years has fought a bitter armed struggle for the rights of their people.

There are three main objections to supporting the Palestinian resistance. The first is that a Palestinian victory would mean the destruction of the Israeli Jews.

But the Palestinian resistance is committed to replacing Israel with a secular and democratic Palestinian state in which neither Arab nor Jew is discriminated against.

Racism also divides Israeli Jews. Israeli society is dominated by a minority of Ashkenazim, Jews of European origin who made up the bulk of the pre-1948 settlers. The majority of Israeli Jews are Sephardim, or Oriental Jews, who emigrated to Israel from various Middle East countries after 1948. These "black" Jews are subject to systematic discrimination in jobs, housing, education, wages. In recent years there has grown up a movement of Oriental Jews, the Israeli Black Panthers, in opposition to the Ashkenazi-dominated establishment.

How much stake do the Oriental Jewish majority in Israel have in a society where they are systematically discriminated against?

Moreover, the surest way to bring about the destruction of the Israeli Jews is to allow Israel to continue on its present course.

The country's rulers are committed to a state of permanent war with the Arab world in which more and more Israeli lives will be squan-

dered to defend the profits and privileges of the Zionist establishment and the interests of American imperialism. There will be no peace in the Middle East while the State of Israel continues to exist.

The second objection to the Palestinian resistance is its ties with reactionary Arab regimes like Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Are feudal oil rulers who cut off the hands of

The dominant powers in the Arab world, most notably Egypt and Saudi Arabia, are close allies of American imperialism.

The oil revenues of Saudi Arabia are invested in Western banks while the Sadat regime in Egypt is anxious to attract foreign investment to build up its desperately poor economy (hence its recent deals with Ford and Coca Cola). Their aim is a settlement with Israel at the expense of the Palestinians, who will at best receive a ministate on the West Bank of the Jordan, probably under close military supervision by both Israel and the Arab states.

There is a basic conflict between the Palestinians' fight for their homeland and the Arab states' alliance with imperialism.

The third objection arises from this situation. How can socialists support the Palestinians when they resort to terrorism—hijackings, kidnappings, assassinations?

These methods certainly do nothing but harm to the Palestinian cause. They do not involve the mass of workers and peasants in their own liberation, leaving them to applaud from the sidelines. But they arise from the despair which many Palestinians feel because of the repression they have suffered at the hands of the Arab regimes.

In September 1970 the army of King Hussein of Jordan launched a full-scale offensive against the Palestinian forces based in that country. Refugee camps were bombarded and the guerillas massacred while the Israelis looked on gleefully. The Palestinians were forced to withdraw from Jordan.

Out of that defeat came the Black September group which carried out, for example, the

massacre of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972. Terrorism was fuelled by despair.

Again, in June 1976 the Palestinians' last stronghold—in Lebanon—was threatened. Syrian troops invaded the country to prevent the Palestinians and their allies in the Lebanese left from defeating the militias of the Christian fascist parties, which had provoked the war with its attacks on refugee camps. Under the settlement which ended the war the Palestinians are confined to southern Lebanon where they have been under attack from the Christians and their Israeli backers.

Once again defeat gave rise to terror. A new group called Black June emerged, and attempted to assassinate various Syrian leaders. The group responsible for the hijacking which led to the German raid on Mogadishu reportedly included a survivor of Tel al-Zaatar, the Palestinian refugee camp in Beirut which was wiped out by the fascists during the Lebanese civil war.

LIBERATE

The Palestinians cannot liberate themselves unless a socialist revolution overturns the Arab world's present

rulers and replaces them with workers' and peasants' governments pledged to a genuine fight against Israel and against imperialism. The struggle against Zionism in the Middle East is therefore inseparable from the struggle against the Arab regimes.

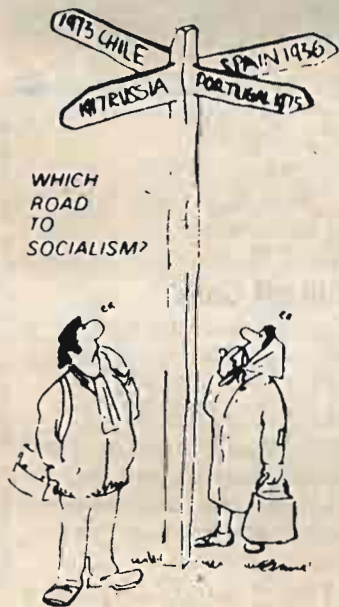
The Middle Eastern conflict is not a confrontation between two races—the Arabs and the Jews—or a struggle for the survival of the Jewish people.

What is at stake is socialist revolution throughout the Middle East.

The future of the Palestinian resistance depends upon its ability to link with the struggles of Arab workers and peasants—for example, the Egyptian workers whose demonstrations in January 1977 forced Sadat to withdraw price increases ordered by the IMF.

The task of socialists in the United States is more modest. We must campaign against the links between the U.S. government and U.S. firms and the racist Israeli state.

And we must campaign in support of the Palestinian resistance. In the Middle East and in the U.S. the enemy is the same—the multi-nationals who feed off the racism to increase their profits. □



thieves and deny women any rights somehow superior to the Zionist state, whatever its shortcomings?

STRATEGY

This objection arises from the strategy of the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

They believe, rightly, that the Palestinians cannot defeat the might of the Israeli state. They conclude, wrongly, that the only way in which they can succeed is through an alliance with the rulers of the Arab world.

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FOR WORKERS CONTROL

Workers create all the wealth under capitalism. A socialist society can only be built when workers collectively seize control of that wealth and democratically plan its production and distribution according to human needs instead of profit.

The working class is the key to the fight for socialism. Freedom and liberation will only be achieved through the struggles of workers themselves, organizing and fighting for real workers' power.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The capitalist system cannot be patched up or reformed as some union leaders and liberal politicians say. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of workers. No reforms can do away with this exploitation. The only way workers can

FIGHT OPPRESSION

Capitalism divides the working class. It pits men against women, whites against blacks. Capitalism fosters and uses these divisions to prevent the unity necessary for its destruction. As capitalism moves into crisis, oppressed groups—blacks, women, latins, native americans, youths, gays—suffer most. We support the struggles of these oppressed groups.

We oppose racism in all its forms. We fight segregation in the schools and housing and against racist firings and harassment. We demand freedom for all political prisoners.

We fight for women's liberation. We are for equal pay for all women workers. We fight for an end to forced sterilization and for free abortion. There should be free quality child care for all who need it. We fight for the opening up of jobs for women and an end to sexual harassment and

INTERNATIONALISM

The working class has no nation. Capitalism is international and that is why the struggle for socialism must be world wide. A socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation.

We champion workers' struggles in all countries, from Portugal and Spain to Chile and Puerto Rico, from Palestine and Eastern Europe to China and India. We support all genuine national liberation struggles. We call for victory of the black freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and South Africa. We oppose all forms of imperialism and oppose sending U.S. troops anywhere in the world to impose U.S. interests.

Russia, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe are not socialist countries. These countries are not governed by workers' control but by a small bureaucratic class. A revolutionary movement must be built in these countries to achieve workers' control.

WHERE WE STAND

come to control society and create a system based on freedom and a decent life for all is by overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with revolutionary, democratic socialism.

FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

The present state apparatus (federal and state governments, the courts, army and police) was developed to maintain the capitalist system. This apparatus cannot be taken over as it stands and converted to serve workers. The working class needs an entirely different kind of state based upon mass democratic councils of workers' delegates.

Supporting the present state apparatus is a vast network of propaganda—newspapers, radio, television, movies. Workers are bombarded daily from all directions with capitalism's point of view. The working class needs its own sources of information. To help meet this need, we are dedicated to building a newspaper that the working class can trust and use in their fight against the present system.

firings. We are for an end to discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities.

We support the independent organization and struggles of oppressed peoples to strengthen the working class struggle for socialism.

FOR RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

The unions today are largely business machines that long ago stopped fighting seriously for the interests of the working class. Business union leaders either act as brakes on workers' struggles, or as police, delivering workers into the hands of the bosses. We fight to change this.

To make the unions fight for workers' interests, power must be built on the shop floor. This can only happen if the rank and file organize themselves independently of the union bureaucrats. We work to build rank and file organizations in unions and companies wherever we are employed.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The activity of the ISO is directed toward the initial steps of building a revolutionary party in a working class that is today fragmented and cut off from socialist ideas. Revolutionaries must be involved in the day-to-day struggles of workers and other oppressed groups at the work places, in the unions and in the communities. We build every struggle that will strengthen the self-confidence, organization and socialist consciousness of workers and the oppressed.

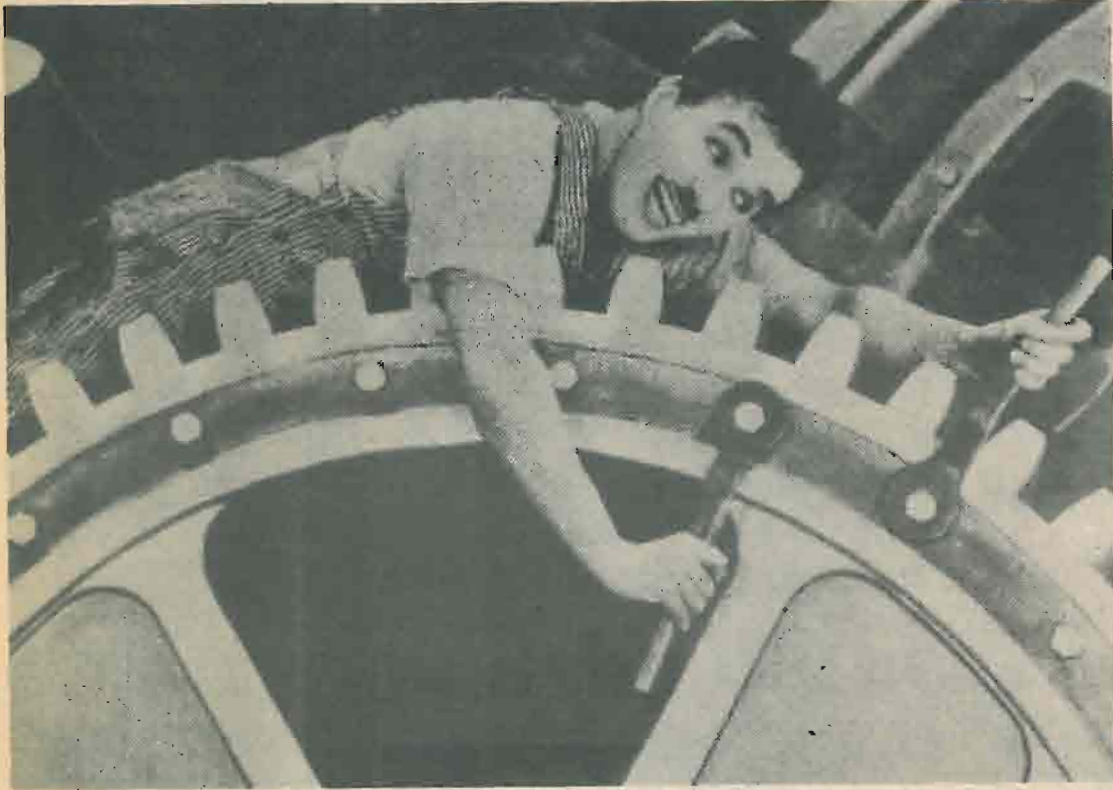
As the working class movement gathers strength, the need for revolutionary leadership becomes crucial. We are part of the long process of building a democratic revolutionary party rooted in the working class. Those who agree with our stand and are prepared to help us build toward revolutionary socialism are urged to join us now.

International Socialist Organization

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- Amherst P.O. Box 446, Amherst MA 01001
- Bloomington P.O. Box 29, Bloomington IN 47401
- Boston P.O. Box 131 Kendall Sq. Station Boston, MA 02111
- Chicago 2111 N. Kenmore, Chicago IL 60610
- Cincinnati P.O. Box 8909, Cincinnati OH 45210
- Cleveland P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland OH 44118
- Dayton 617 Salem, Dayton OH 45402
- Detroit P.O. Box 19105, Detroit MI 48219
- Gary P.O. Box 1941, Glen Park Station Gary, IN 46402
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- Pittsburgh P.O. Box 41253, Pittsburgh PA 15211
- Portland P.O. Box 6743, Portland OR 97212
- Providence P.O. Box 3961 Brown Station Providence, RI 02901
- Seattle P.O. Box 9056, Seattle WA 98111

reviews

Modern Times



Charlie Chaplin died in Switzerland on Christmas day, at the age of 88. As the Little Tramp and other characters, Chaplin was for half a century the favorite movie clown of millions.

He was also a brilliant film writer, director and actor. The Little Tramp, his most famous film characterization, was begun by Chaplin in dozens of the earliest silent pictures, further developed in "The Gold Rush," "The Idle Class," and "Modern Times" and then turned to a sharp satire on Hitler in "The Great Dictator," in 1940.

GENIUS

Chaplin's genius rested on his ability to make the Tramp, the lovable and bumbling clown, into a character with whom millions of ordinary people identified. Especially in "Modern Times" and "The Great Dictator," Chaplin used the Tramp to express direct social and political criticism.

The Tramp was the little man, the victim who never lost his humanity and who occasionally got back at his rulers—by making people laugh at them.

"Modern Times," made in 1936, is about a worker on

THE LITTLE TRAMP

Deborah Roberts on Charlie Chaplin

a Detroit assembly line who is driven into a nervous breakdown by the frantic, inhuman pace of the machine he operates. The boss even tries to introduce a "feeding machine" to make lunch breaks for the workers unnecessary. Denounced by several leading newspapers as "communistic," the film was nevertheless one of the great box office hits of the century.

Ironically, Joseph Stalin

was a great Chaplin fan. He saw "The Great Dictator" in 1940, and laughed uproariously until the last speech of the film, when Chaplin criticized all dictatorships. Stalin stopped the performance abruptly, announcing "We don't need Chaplin here."

McCARTHY

During the McCarthy period, Chaplin was summoned to testify at the House Un-



The Great Dictator

American Activities Committee, as were many film actors, directors and writers. He was persecuted not only for his friendship with Communist and radical artists, but because his films were both wildly popular and highly political.

He stated in his response to HUAC, "For your convenience I will tell you what I think you want to know. I am not a Communist, neither have I ever joined any political party or organization in my life. I am what you call a 'peacemonger'." At this point HUAC backed off, and he was never forced to testify.

By the early Fifties, Chaplin had worked and lived in America for several decades, but was still a British citizen. In a press conference during this period, he stated, "I see no reason to change my na-

tionality. I am a citizen of the world."

Harassed by right-wingers, film censors and tax collectors, Chaplin was eventually run out of the country by the U.S. Immigration Department. Many major newspapers ran headlines like "Kick the alien out of the country," "Chaplin, the ingrate and Communist sympathizer," and "Send Chaplin to Russia."

BARRED

On a trip to England in 1953, Chaplin was informed by the ship's captain that he was henceforth barred from the U.S. and that before he could re-enter the country he would have to go to the Immigration Department to "answer charges of a political nature." He never returned to the United States to live, although he made a short visit in 1972 to receive the Oscar.

Charlie Chaplin, of course, was far from being a conscious or consistent revolutionary. His great gift was that he helped us see that even in chains we are still human, and that we deserve better than we get. The Tramp, with all his foibles, is never the butt of the joke—the Millionaire is.

"The Great Dictator" ends with a speech that reveals one reason Chaplin was so popular—and so much hated by those in power:

"We all want to help one another. Human beings are like that."

"We want to live by each other's happiness—not by each other's misery...Soldiers! Don't fight for slavery! Fight for liberty!"

"You, the people, have the power—the power to create happiness, to make this life a wonderful adventure. Let us fight for a new world." □

"JULIA"—THE FRIENDSHIP OF TWO WOMEN

"Julia," based on Lillian Hellman's autobiography, *Pentimento*, is a well-made, well-acted and interesting film.

Set in the 1930's, "Julia" explores the friendship between two women, Lillian Hellman's rise to distinction as a playwright and film writer, and her relationship with Dashiell Hammett, well-known novelist and radical.

Julia was the daughter of one of America's richest families. As a child, she was repulsed by the opulence of her surroundings. She meets Lillian at boarding school. Then Julia goes to Oxford University in England where she becomes a Marxist.

Julia goes to Vienna to study with Freud and becomes active in the anti-Nazi movement.



Vanessa Redgrave as Julia.

In 1937, Lillian visits Julia in Vienna, after she is savagely beaten by the Nazis in a raid on the university. Later in Paris, Lillian agrees to smuggle money into Germany to bribe guards and free political prisoners. Julia

is eventually murdered by the fascists.

One of the strongest parts of the film is the portrayal of the intense friendship between these independent and intelligent women. This is unique, for most women in

films are shown as incapable of trust and intensely competing with each other for the attention of men.

The one real flaw in "Julia" is the absence of any evidence of Hellman's and Hammett's radical political ideas. Dashiell was a Communist who went to jail in the 50's for his political views. In the 30's, Lillian Hellman had worked in support for the anti-fascist forces in the Spanish Civil War.

In the mid and late 30's, many Americans were naive about fascism and ignorant of the imminent world holocaust. But this was not true of radical intellectuals like Hellman and Hammett.

Reading Hellman's books *Pentimento* and *An Unfinished Woman* adds to this very rewarding film. □

THE UNIONS

Clerical workers win

AMHERST, MA—More than 1100 clerical and technical workers at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst—most of them women—voted in a new union on December 9.

The vote is a real victory for campus workers as a whole, since for the first time clerical and technical staff are now in the same union—the Massachusetts Teachers Association (MTA)—as the teaching faculty.

Fear of this united front led the University management, under the leadership of Chancellor Randolph Bromery, to adopt union-busting tactics in the course of the election.

Technically, clerical workers at UMASS have been represented since 1973 by the Massachusetts State Employees Association.

PRESSURE

In reality, however, pressure was building on the MSEA to take some defensive action on the part of its members in the face of a management offensive. MSEA was distinguished for doing nothing beyond collecting dues.

Recently five clerical workers applied to the state for appropriate upgradings. But instead they were down-graded, resulting in a serious loss of pay.

Other applications have been simply refused. MSEA did nothing.

Carolyn Canty was recently refused an upgrading. She has been a grade 3 for three years. She actually does the work of a grade 6. Because she was denied the upgrading, she was on the verge of quitting.

Members of a rank and file clerical workers group called 12 to 1 encouraged her to appeal the denial. Canty is clearly a victim of extreme discrimination.

"I'm tired of the way women workers on this campus are systematically and consistently discriminated against," said Canty. "If we all get together, and get organized, we can start winning for a change."

MAJORITY

The action of the campus workers, together with the anger of other staff workers, got MSEA decertified and the MTA voted in by a crushing majority of 372 to 33.

The 12 to 1 Organization played a crucial role in the election. Because of the history of MSEA and management intimidation, there was a strong threat of the "no agent" vote gaining a majority. It was through the efforts of 12 to 1 that the "no agent" alternative was crushed.

Members of 12 to 1 have emerged as the leadership of the new local. Election of union officers will be held in January, 1978.

By SUSAN HAMMOND and MICHAEL EGAN

Hospital workers organize to fight cut-backs

NORTHAMPTON, MASS—Northampton State Hospital (NSH) is the largest mental health facility in western Massachusetts.

As a state institution the overwhelming majority of its patients are from working class and poor families who cannot afford the exorbitant costs of psychiatric care at a private facility. Needless to say the conditions for both patients and employees have always been bad.

But during the past few years, as the state has tried to balance its books by cutting back on human services, it has been getting progressively worse with no end in sight. It has been the lowest paid workers who have had to pay the price of the budget cuts through the deterioration of working conditions and attacks on their rights.

PATIENTS

Of course, in the end, the patients also suffer. For the past year these attacks have become more frequent and systematic.

In January 1977, the administrators at NSH instituted a massive reassignment of all direct-care non-professional employees, i.e. attendants and L.P.N.'s. Everyone's jobs and positions were reposted and up for bid.

According to the hospital administrators, this was done to alleviate the shortage of staff on certain wards and shifts.

In the process many workers lost their regular days-off and some were even forced onto different shifts against their will. Instead of hiring more help to fill vacant positions, the administrators' solution was to make all the workers suffer for their mismanagement of hiring.

The latest scheme of the Department of Mental Health and the hospital administration is the "consolidation plan," scheduled for implementation in March 1978. It means a total re-organization of the present ward-structure of the entire hospital. An "executive committee" and four sub-committees have been established. The membership of these five committees is made up almost entirely of top-level hospital bureaucrats.

According to an administrative memorandum, under the consolidation plan "it is essential to reduce the number of nursing stations (wards) from 23 to 17." Thus the same number of

patients will be squeezed on to fewer wards. This will mean an even higher patient to staff ratio and severe overcrowding.

Even now, due to lack of adequate staff, proper therapeutic care is virtually impossible.



"Many brothers and sisters fail to realize the full potential of our numbers."

—Leonard Thurman
union steward



"We can look forward to overcrowding patients and the shortage of staff to care for them..."

—Pennie Korenberg
attendant

In some cases the wards are physically dangerous to both patients and workers.

To achieve "consolidation" there will have to be another massive re-assignment of all the direct-care ward staff. According to one source they are already "looking over the union contract" to figure out how they can get away with another reshuffling of the workers. As a consequence many workers will lose their present days-off and/or shift assignment. Exactly what happened only a year ago!

The administrative memorandum clearly spells out the "overall objective" of consolidation: "More equitably distributing and organizing the existing **limited resources** of the hospital."

In the face of all this the union "leaders" have been noticeably silent.

In the past they have only relied on the weakest defensive maneuvers: they file a grievance and then wait months, or even years, for a settlement. This has proven almost totally ineffective against similar administrative attacks on workers in the past.

The only way to stop the cut-backs and attacks is for the rank and file to take direct and militant action. We have the power to stop the administration's "consolidation plan" and to win back the rights that have been taken away from us.

We must organize and fight back now.

by WAYNE STANDLEY

Bus drivers strike broken

CINCINNATI, OH—On Dec. 30, the Cincinnati bus company (METRO) was successful in breaking a 23 day bus drivers' and mechanics' strike.

On that day the members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 627 voted to accept a contract that was fundamentally the same as four other contracts they had overwhelmingly rejected.

The key to breaking the wildcat (Ohio law makes it illegal for public employees to strike) strike was the arrest of six ATU members for violation of a court injunction ordering the strikers back to work.

The rank and file stood strong throughout the strike, sending their leaders back to the bargaining table four times for a better deal.

The "illegal" status of the strike meant that the international union would not sanction it, thereby cutting the Local off from strike funds. It also meant that the rank and file had to organize the strike themselves with no help from their local leaders and with active obstruction from the international.

ISSUES

Among the issues that the rank and file fought for was a contract expiration date of early December. This issue was lost as the business community with the help of the young liberal Mayor, Gerald Springer, whipped-up a public outcry against the union for spoiling the Christmas shopping downtown.

The combined establishment forces of business leaders, the courts, the police and the press pulled together to end the strike. Also adding to the strikers' difficulties was the absence of even one public word of support from organized labor.

Despite not winning all their demands, ATU Local 627 did prove that public employees can strike. At no time did management dare invoke the anti-labor Ferguson Act, which outlaws public employee strikes.

PRESS

The Cincinnati press demanded the Act be invoked from the beginning. The union members also proved that court injunctions can be fought. They managed to hold out for nearly a week before the injunction was enforced.

The main lesson and inspiration though is that the rank and file made the strike work. The one important thing the rank and file was not able to do this time was to make links with other unionists. Strong links with other unions could have made the difference between what was a good strike effort and a total victory.

Political Prisoners USA

Dawson 5

DAWSON, GA—On December 20, charges against the Dawson 5 were dropped. The 5 Black youths had been framed on charges of murdering a grocery store owner in January, 1976.

The "evidence" against them consisted entirely of confessions obtained through threats of castration, electrocution and murder. Now two years later, the judge was forced to throw out the forced confession of one of the youths, Roosevelt Watson.

Without the confessions, the prosecution had no case and so dropped the charges.

Joan Little

BROOKLYN, NY—A New York State Supreme Court judge in Brooklyn refused January 6 to set any bail for Joan Little, the 23-year-old Black woman who escaped from a North Carolina jail last October and was captured in Brooklyn last month.

Four years ago, Little became a focus of the Black and women's liberation movements when she was tried for killing a white prison guard who tried to rape her. She is being held at Rikers Island pending an extradition proceeding by North Carolina.

At the time of the attempted rape she was serving time for breaking and entering. Following her acquittal on the murder, she was forced to return to prison to finish out her sentence. She is presently under medical treatment for tuberculosis.

Little has stated that she would rather die than return to the North Carolina prison. William Kunstler, her attorney, will present arguments later in January, why Little should not be extradited.

Wilmington 10

RALEIGH, NC—The Wilmington 10, a group of civil rights activists imprisoned seven years ago in Wilmington, NC, have lost their last attempt in North Carolina courts to overturn their convictions and gain their freedom.

They were arrested after two nights of demonstrations in Wilmington February 5 and 6, 1971. A group of 150 people had gathered at a neighborhood church February 6 to call attention to a school boycott and to observe Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday.

The 10 maintain that there were many irregularities, such as perjured evidence, in the 1972 trial at which they were convicted of conspiracy to commit arson. Key prosecution witnesses have since recanted their testimony. The prisoners are serving 20-29 year sentences.

Supporters of the 10 have flooded North Carolina Governor James B. Hunt with petitions for pardon, held demonstrations, and urged the U.S. Justice Dept. to press for the pardon.

AFL-CIO CONVENTION

George Meany declares war on Japan, surrenders at home

By PAT MORGAN

LOS ANGELES—George Meany has declared war on Japan and Western Europe. Speaking to the twelfth biennial convention of the AFL-CIO in December, Meany strengthened his call for protectionist legislation by declaring that, "Foreign trade is the guerilla warfare of economics."

"Free trade is a joke and a myth," said Meany. "The

answer is fair trade, do unto others as they do to us—barrier for barrier—closed door for closed door."

TEPID

The trade union bureaucracy's advocacy of a trade war to save jobs aroused the most fervor in a tepid convention. Predictably, the 83 year old Meany was re-elected to the presidency of the AFL-CIO, a post which

he has held since 1955. Yet another insubstantial resolution calling for the organization of unorganized workers was passed.

This year's convention occurred against a background of failure for the trade union movement. The big statistic is that in spite of well advertised organizing campaigns, AFL-CIO membership dropped by 500,000 in the past two years. The recent decline is an acceleration of the falling percentage of unionists in the workforce which peaked at 30% in the early 50's and has fallen to 19% today.

SUBSTITUTE

The union bureaucracy's substitute for militancy—lobbying the government—has met with similar failure. Carter retracted the \$50 tax rebate last year. The Democratic congress that the bureaucrats worked so hard for trimmed the minimum wage bill and failed to lift restrictions on building site picketing.

The cause of the trade union movement's problems are political and not accidental. The economic crisis of the 70's has produced conditions which should have broadened the union movement—high unemployment and a decline in real wages. The failures of the movement underline the bad leadership of the trade union bureaucracy.

BUSINESS

The policies of the union bureaucracy are motivated by business unionism, the idea that the welfare of the worker depends on the health of Business, and not on the organized fight of the unions. For over twenty years, Meany and his friends have discouraged militancy and reduced labor's cause to electing Democrats. For this, American Capitalism owes Meany a debt that characteristically it will never repay.

The price is paid by the union members that Meany pretends to lead—in lower wages and misspent dues.

It is paid by women and minorities, who labor cannot organize because the bureaucrats sometimes faintly supported them, sometimes opposed them but never championed their struggles. It is paid by the super-exploited workers of the sunbelt and other parts of the south. The price is also paid by the unemployed in the declining industrial cities of the North.

We pay.



George Meany at 83

"Kroger's" — the new name for union busting in Louisville

LOUISVILLE, KY—Kroger's is making a name for itself in Louisville—Union Busters Unlimited.

Local 227 of the Meat Cutters Union—representing 3,500 workers in 68 Krogers stores in the Louisville marketing area—has been on strike for a new contract since November 19.

The funny business started before the strike even began. On November 9 Kroger's presented its "final offer." When the union bargaining team rejected the offer, the company met individually with union members in an attempt to get the membership to sidestep their negotiating team and ratify the contract.

Once the strike began, Kroger's attempted to secure union resignations from bargaining unit employees. Management informed workers that a non-union employee could cross the picket line, so if they wanted to work they should resign from the union. On December 1 Kroger's sent its workers a letter advising them how to cross the lines

without being subject to union penalties.

Right before Thanksgiving Kroger's offered a \$100 bonus to all employees if they would accept the December 9 contract offer. As Carolyn Lasley, a union steward and part-time worker for nine years, said: "They come in and offer us a \$100 bonus at Thanksgiving, when they've never given us a bonus before. That's not a bonus, that's a bribe...Now I feel like I can't trust them. I feel like I need a union more than ever."

UNION

Having a union—one with legs to stand on—is what this strike is all about. In this contract Kroger's is trying to grab away all that unions have won in the grocery industry, living wages, decent working conditions and job security.

But Kroger's isn't satisfied with the gap in wages, hours and benefits that already exists between its full and part-time workers. It is determined to widen that gap.

In its December 9 offer, full-

time employees would be making \$7.77 an hour in 1980. Part-timers hired on in 1980 would start at \$3.00 an hour. Current part-timers would do better, but already the hours granted to part-time employees are shaky at best. There are no guarantees for weekly hours for part-timers.

With new part-time workers starting at only \$3 an hour, workers fear that Kroger's would hire on more part-timers and work the older part-timers very short hours.

TRANSFERS

Automatic scanner equipment at the checkout lines is now being introduced. As the cashiers' jobs will now be less demanding, workers expect that the company will put \$3/hour employees on these assignments.

To pull this off, Kroger's has slipped a new provision into its contract offer. If, after trying to train an older employee on the new equipment, management decides that that employee isn't efficient, they would either transfer that worker to another store within 50 miles or give that worker severance pay and walking papers.

As Sally Denkler, another union steward, said: "I'm 61 years old. I can't drive 50 miles each way to work. Always before in our contracts, they said if you can't do a job, they'd transfer you to another job in the store."

"That (part of the contract offer) made me mad and I've been mad ever since. They're not going to push me out."

SUPPORT

Of the 68 Kroger's stores in the Louisville marketing area, 48 are now open, staffed by managers and scabs. 24



Carolyn Lasley
Kroger picket

hour pickets at each of the stores has kept Kroger's business down, but too many people are still crossing the picket lines.

Fortunately, though, community support for the strike appears to be on the rise as Kroger's makes its union-busting schemes ever more obvious. Members of other unions have written letters to the major city newspapers as well as to neighborhood monthlies expressing their solidarity with the Kroger's strikers.

Solidarity is what it will take to win this strike.

- I want to join
 I want more information about

the International Socialist Organization

Name _____

Address _____

send to: ISO PO Box 18037 Cleveland, Ohio 44118

Back UPS Down

Defend Ed Walker

Ed Walker's fight to get his job back has been stopped again by United Parcel.

Ed's grievance for reinstatement was deadlocked in Chicago at the Teamster-UPS Joint Area Committee in January. Ed, a UPS driver in Cincinnati, Ohio with 9 years' seniority, was fired two months ago. He was fired for allegedly "gambling."

In a clear set-up by UPS, Ed was arrested and charged with possession of gambling devices when the cops found 2 football card stubs, 1 full card, and 1 top of a card on him.

The real reasons why Ed was fired are that he is a fighter. Ed has been organizing to force UPS to hire more Blacks in the Cincinnati UPS terminal. The company has only hired four full time Black employees since 1972.

Ed is also a leading member of UPSurge—the rank and file organization of UPS workers.

His fight to be reinstated now goes to the highest level of the Teamster-UPS grievance procedure—a two man committee. But the Teamsters' record on fighting UPS is not good. This is why UPSurge is organizing to force the union to get Ed's job back. We know they can do it if they want to.



Ed Walker

In Chicago, Ed felt that "when I walked out of the hearing room I would have to win. The company's case is so weak. They presented no written documentation, but they've deadlocked me again just to punish me."

To support Ed, UPSurge publicized his case and is raising money for his legal defense. A \$50 donation was made by Louisville, KY-UPSurge. Over \$100 was collected at a fund raising party in Cleveland, Ohio.

Over \$400 has come in to the Defense Fund from many cities across the country. Akron, Ohio pre-loaders; Owensboro, KY; Seattle UPS'ers; Boston area supporters and a small suburban Philadelphia UPS center have all contributed. Minneapolis, Detroit, Los Angeles, and New York City UPS'ers have sent in money too.

Even though UPS'ers have shown widespread support more money is needed. This case may drag on through slow court procedures and NLRB channels. Your support is needed and *Socialist Worker* readers should send donations to:

Ed Walker Defense Fund
c/o Brown, Dennison, Klayman
Law Offices
216 E. 9th St.
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

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Israel's plan to keep the West Bank

All the "peace in the Middle East" hysteria of the past few months has now boiled down to this: that the Israeli government intends to tighten its grip on the Arab lands which it seized by force in 1967.

That is the meaning of the "Begin plan" which the prime minister of Israel, Menachem Begin, put to the Egyptian government.

Begin was the man who dictated the "scorched earth" policy of 1948, by which Arab farmers and peasants were burnt out of their land in Palestine by terrorist gangs.

Now he is continuing with what he sees as the "historic mission" of the Jewish people—to drive the Arabs right out of the Middle East altogether.

In 1967, the Israeli forces invaded Jordan, Syria and Egypt. They carved out a slice of each country.

The richest and most populated of the conquered areas is the West Bank of the River Jordan—Judaea and Samaria, where the people are Arabs from the former British colony of Palestine, many of them evicted by Begin and his terror gangs in 1948.

CONTROL

Since 1967, Israel has ruled these territories by force of arms. The Israeli government has ignored a United Nations resolution to withdraw behind its old boundaries.

The Begin plan proposes to institutionalize its military power by pretending that the Arabs are governing themselves. In South Africa, the racist government has tried the same policy with its "homelands" for black people.

The "black councils" in the homelands have no meaningful power. All the real control is still in the hands of the South African government and army.



Begin has proposed the same for the West Bank and for the Gaza Strip.

The administrative council that would be set up won't control anything. It won't be able to pass any laws. It won't be able to have its own police or army to enforce any orders it makes.

All the things which matter will be decided by the Israeli army of occupation.

Paragraph 11 of the Begin plan says: "Security and public order in the areas of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be the responsibility of the Israeli authorities."

That means the same police and the same army which now bullies and harasses the Arabs in these areas.

Paragraph 19 says: "A committee will be established of representatives of Israel, Jordan and the administrative council to examine legislation in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district and to determine which legislation will continue in force, which will be abolished and what will

be the competence of the administrative council to promulgate regulations. The rulings of the committee will be adopted by unanimous decisions."

In other words, the Israeli government will retain a veto not only on all laws for the area, but even for all regulations which the elected Arab council may wish to pass!

SIMPLE

The Begin plan is for annexation, pure and simple. It is the legalization of the military control which the Israeli government has forced upon the Palestinians and other Arabs of those areas since 1967.

And this is all that the glamorized Sadat talks produced!

The truth is becoming clearer and clearer. There can be no peace in the Middle East as long as Israel is controlled by men who see it as their destiny to control and rob the Arab people of Palestine, Jordan and Egypt. □