

Miners back to work... and 5 killed

Hardly had the nation's coal miners gone back to work after their 110-day strike when the grim slaughter began anew.

Five men were killed April 4 in a Pittston Company mine in southwestern Virginia.

Two of the dead were among a group of five miners building a new

mine shaft. When the shaft broke into an abandoned mine, they were engulfed in what miners call the "black damp"—air that does not contain any oxygen.

Three of the five managed to escape. The other two were asphyxiated, along with three persons who tried to rescue them. One

of the dead was a federal mine inspector.

In Detroit, this incident was judged worthy of mention in section 4, page 14 of the daily paper. It probably got that only because miners had been on strike so recently.

Usually the 140 or so miners who

are killed each year are killed one or two at a time—events that are given absolutely no news coverage.

But the deaths in West Virginia show—to anyone who needed to be convinced—that when the miners said safety was a major issue in prolonging their strike this year, there was every reason to take them seriously.

Does the United Mine Workers' union have a future? That's a question that's been frequently asked before, during, and after this year's strike. Kim Moody takes a look at it in this week's Workers' Power. Page 3. □

Workers' Power

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WHO WANTS THE NEUTRON BOMB?

by Karen Kaye

THE PLANS FOR World War III are suddenly being discussed in the daily press.

Here's how it goes: Russia invades Western Europe with its fleet of the most numerous and modern and best armed tanks in the world. But NATO has U.S.-produced neutron bombs stored in West Germany. NATO explodes the nuclear devices at the Russian tanks.

The tanks remain intact, but the soldiers inside spend several days dying in great agony. No one will

come to help them because of the radiation.

But in a few days, the radiation is gone. Western soldiers climb over the bodies and take the tanks. They occupy the country.

No buildings were damaged in this nuclear war. Everyone can go back to work and keep making money for their bosses.

A SNAG

On April 3, word leaked to the press that President Carter had decided not to allow production of the neutron bomb, ever. Many

people became very upset, including:

Defense Secretary Harold Brown, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, Supreme Commander of NATO Gen. Alexander Haig Jr., West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, the U.S. military establishment and Britain's Labor Party Prime Minister James Callaghan.

When the uproar began, the President reconsidered. He might someday produce the bomb to scare the Russian government, but

won't send it to West Germany. People are starting to call him names.

The New York Times pointed out in an April 6 editorial that "he has encouraged his Administration to work toward getting other members of NATO to agree to its deployment as a deterrent against Soviet tanks."

About his change, they delicately imply the President is stupid. "Mr. Carter may never have grasped just how much momentum he had, perhaps unwittingly, imparted to the people..."

Carter wanted West Germany

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to make the decision to send the bombs to his country which borders the Soviet bloc.

But Schmidt wanted the U.S. or NATO to make that decision, because his own political party, the Social Democrats, is divided on the issue. Its left wing is against having this horrible weapon sitting around in their country.

The ordinary people of West Germany are against it too. They have held many demonstrations against it, and also against other nuclear devices. After all, who knows of a war where "only" the soldiers get killed?

Small consolation that your TV set would live on after you, due to the "humane" neutron bomb.

ROUTE TO PEACE?

The New York Times echoed the feelings of all disappointed parties when they said that "Neutron weapons are a good bargaining chip in arms negotiations with Moscow," to get them to cut back their arms production.

So the world's rulers say the route to world peace is to produce ever more horrible weapons and use them as "bargaining chips." Moscow agrees; the Russian Ambassador to East Germany said on April 4 "The neutron bomb should be made the subject of negotiations" between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

This is no route to world peace. If it is, why are they writing the scenario of World War III while they discuss peace? How can they call a nuclear bomb humane?

The reason is because the neutron bomb saves things, military hardware, factories. The things they own. The things they want more of out of each other's countries. The things that ordinary people all over the world, east and west, produce every day at work.

But people who work do it to get paid and build a decent life. The German people are right to oppose the neutron bomb. World War III will not help any ordinary person. For us, it's not Communism vs. the West. The rich and powerful, east and west, fight each other to become more rich and powerful.

We don't want to fight their wars any more. □

ATTICA BROTHERS SHOT

TWO FORMER DEFENDANTS in the 1971 Attica prison rebellion were shot, and one killed, in a battle with two New York City policemen Sunday.

Mallano Gonzalez, who was known at Attica and in the defense movement as Dalou, was shot to death. Cleveland Davis, who was also called Jomo Eric Thompson, was wounded and has been charged with murder.

Both police officers, Norman Cerullo and Christie Masone, were killed.

Police accounts of the shooting, which they claim to have reconstructed from witnesses, are extremely suspicious.

POLICE WEAPON

Allegedly, the struggle began when officer Masone, while sitting in a patrol car, brushed Dalou's coat and "felt a gun inside." Dalou had been standing on the sidewalk.

When Masone got out of the car and ordered Dalou to put his hands up for a search, Dalou allegedly grabbed him and Jomo opened fire on Masone and Cerullo.

Police say this account was given by witnesses in a fifth-story apartment.

Monday's New York Times quoted one of Masone's fellow

police as praising him as an officer who pulled people off the street for searches, simply on suspicion that they "looked wrong."

Although remaining charges against Attica defendants were

dropped 15 months ago under a pardon by New York Governor Carey, Dalou was still considered a fugitive because he jumped bond before trial.

The pardon was announced at

the same time Carey said there would be no discipline or charges brought against state troopers or guards for the murder of 40 Attica prisoners.

The men who rebelled at Attica in September, 1971 waged one of the most heroic struggles against racism and intolerable oppression this country has ever seen.

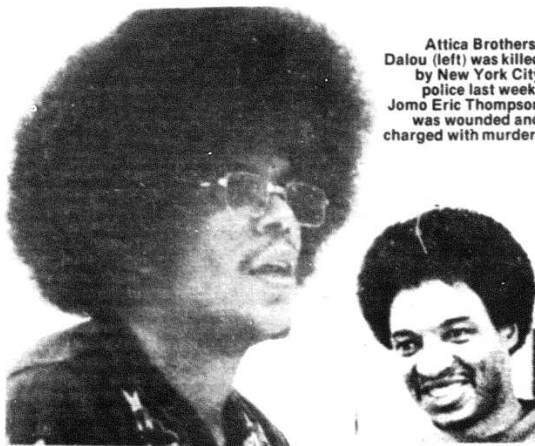
The raw military power which then-Governor Nelson Rockefeller unleashed to suppress them caused the biggest single bloodbath in the United States in this century.

ON PAROLE

At the time of the shooting, Jomo was on parole from an earlier conviction. Police say he would have been sent to jail immediately upon arrest for carrying a weapon.

A lawyer who worked in the Attica defense movement has indicated to Workers' Power that there has been a pattern of harassment and "extra close surveillance" of parolees from the Attica struggle.

It may take a long time to find out what really happened. But previous incidents have already shown the lengths to which the police will go to take their revenge on the prisoners who rebelled at Attica. □



Attica Brothers: Dalou (left) was killed by New York City police last week. Jomo Eric Thompson was wounded and charged with murder.

CLEVELAND SCANDAL SHAKES "DENNIS THE MENACE" ADMINISTRATION

by Eric Harper

Four months after he swept into office on an anti-establishment platform, Cleveland Mayor Dennis J. Kucinich is facing a recall drive which threatens to paralyze his administration.

Kucinich, at 32, came in with a radical, populist image—the youngest mayor of a major American city.

Four short months have already shown that business interests, which want Kucinich on a leash, have kept the upper hand.

With the help of the media it controls, business is taking advantage of a recent city scandal to go after Kucinich's chief political aide—former UAW Local 122 President Bob Weissman.

Kucinich's progressive image is taking a beating in the raging controversy that has erupted over the Hongisto affair.

Richard Hongisto, the crusading Police Chief from San Francisco, was imported by Kucinich to clean up the local police department.

But the new Chief got the axe at

an impromptu press conference where he refused to produce evidence to substantiate charges leaked to the media by his supporters that Kucinich and his staff had pressured Hongisto to perform "unethical acts."

After his firing, Hongisto released a statement which accused the Kucinich administration of being "anti-humanistic," of creating a "Tammany Hall patronage system," of keeping an "enemies' list."

Hongisto further charged that he had been pressured by the Mayor to ease off on an investigation of City Councilmen accused of getting kickbacks from an illegal gambling

operation.

Kucinich responded by calling Hongisto a "pathological liar" and an "incompetent" who was unable to produce any evidence to substantiate his charges because none existed.

The Hongisto affair, coming as it did on the heels of an after-hours break-in and search of the office of former Economic Development Commissioner Joseph Furber, Jr. by City Hall employees, led to speculations that Cleveland was in the middle of a Watergate scandal of its own.

Hongisto became an overnight hero—the moral man among sleazy politicians. Disgusted citizens de-



Cleveland Mayor Kucinich and former Police Chief Hongisto.

luded newspapers and television stations with calls for Kucinich's ouster.

Kucinich's political opponents seized the opportunity to launch a recall petition drive. Of those who voted in the last election, 37,000 must sign petitions within 30 days to put the issue on the ballot.

Democratic and Republican machine politicians are staying in the background—waiting to see if the recall drive takes off.

With the exception of the UAW's Region 2, support for Kucinich has been almost non-existent.

AIDE IS TARGET

The big corporations and the daily press aren't so much interested in dumping Kucinich as in putting him on a leash. They intend to do it by forcing Kucinich to dump his executive secretary and chief political advisor, Bob Weissman.

Weissman, former President of the Twinsburg Chrysler UAW Local 122, is seen as the political godfather of a cabinet which is being called the "kiddie korps" because of its youth and inexperience.

Weissman himself has been the subject of an orchestrated attack in the press over the past several weeks.

He has been accused of being "abrasive," "vindictive," "arrogant," "a communist," "a government informer," and of having the personality traits "of a social director at Auschwitz." (Weissman is Jewish.)

Hongisto laid many of the problems at City Hall at Weissman's feet. So that no one would miss the message, the Cleveland Plain Dealer in an editorial declared that, "Weissman must go ... for the good of the city."

REAL ISSUE

The Plain Dealer doesn't really give a damn about the good of the city, it is and always has been a voice for big business. If Weissman were just an S.O.B. the Plain Dealer wouldn't care.

The Plain Dealer knows that Kucinich and Hongisto are both ambitious politicians who had a falling out over who was going to run the show.

They know it, but that's not the issue for them. They want a city administration that will continue to favor business interests.

The Kucinich inner circle actually believes that they were elected to call the shots, to make decisions that up until now have been made in the board rooms of corporate headquarters.

It didn't matter that Kucinich and Co. aren't very effective at carrying out their programs. They don't know their place.

Kucinich came into office promising to return city government to the neighborhoods, to eliminate government waste, and put an end to the cozy relationships between big business and City Hall.

REAL RECORD

In the four months since he has been in office, Kucinich has created a lot of worries but little motion.

The centerpiece of his election campaign was a promise to keep MUNY Light as a city-owned operation in the face of a takeover bid by a larger privately-owned monopoly, Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company (CEI).

So far, CEI seems to have the upper hand, with the city recently being forced to sell property to pay the interest on MUNY's debt to CEI.

Kucinich hasn't gotten very far on any of his other campaign promises either:

Pro-business tax abatement legislation remains on the books. The city budget is no more than a hope for better days. Federal aid has been slow in coming and with it the programs needed to create jobs for inner city youth.

Rather than forging ahead, the Kucinich administration has been lurching from one political crisis to the next, all the while predicting that help is on the way.

But now the Hongisto episode and the recall campaign have de-railed Kucinich's drive to sell himself as a national spokesman for the cities.

And the voters who thought that Dennis Kucinich was the Boy Wonder who would save Cleveland, are finding that it will take a lot more than "Dennis the Menace" to solve the city's problems. □

Chrysler exec pay slashed—join skidrow crowd

by Woody Grimshaw

It's a grey day in Motor City. Lingering traces of snow and a chill wind remind us of a merciless winter.

In a vacant lot surrounded by deserted, crumbling buildings, four tattered figures huddle around a trash can fire.

They slap their arms to warm themselves. One fellow, for want of shoes, has bound newspapers around his feet with a length of clothesline.

They share a can of beans which has been heated over a sterno flame. Not an elegant meal, but it keeps body and soul together.

A jug of wine passes from hand to hand. They all tell the same story—a story that rips bare the heartless underbelly of this society.

Each had once been a high-rolling executive at Chrysler Corporation. One by one their fortunes had taken a turn for the worse.

THROWN INTO POVERTY

First was John J. Riccardo, who had seen his pay plummet from \$691,733 to \$327,652. Then it was E.A. Cafiero, who had stood helplessly by as his salary was chopped from \$620,050 to \$386,613. The two remaining unfortunates, G.H. Gillespie and R.K. Brown, told similar tales of woe.

Riccardo spat into the fire and rubbed his whiskered chin. "It's a hell of a deal," he said, as he took a hit of wine. "All those years of faithful service, and this is my reward."

E.A. Cafiero was more philosophical. "I've lost my wife, the kids, the house—I don't know where the next meal is coming from—but what goes up must come down. Such is life."

As they were draining the last of the wine from the bottle, I retreated and left them to their own meditations.

There is a sad story, but one that needs to be told. It's so easy, in this hustle-bustle world, to forget about those less fortunate than ourselves. □

DOES 'THE COAL MINERS' UNION HAVE A FUTURE?

by Kim Moody

"If the UMW cannot supply the industry with a stable workforce, non-union coal will take over the market..." That's what E.B. Leisenring, Jr. told the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) just before the coal strike began. His remarks, described by Coal Age magazine as "sabre-rattling," strongly hinted that the destruction of the United Mine Workers was on the agenda.

From an entirely different point of view, a pamphlet entitled "The Threat of Western Coal," endorsed by several UMWA militants, draws a similar conclusion:

"The less coal which is being mined by the UMWA members, the weaker is the position of the union at the bargaining table and during strikes and other industrial actions. The profiteers who own and control the energy industry know that in a weakened position, they can bust or manage the UMWA."

The danger pointed out in both these statements is real. It has become fashionable to say that the United Mine Workers is a declining union.

ANTIDOTE

But the evidence that points to the decline of the UMWA's power has tended to mask another dynamic—a dynamic that, in part, carries with it the antidote to declining power. For while the enormous expansion in coal production has cut the percentage of UMWA-mined coal, it is also substantially increasing the union's membership.

It is undeniable that the proportion of non-union, and particularly Western surface-mined coal is growing. Coal Age estimates that by 1985 about 50% of all coal will be mined west of the Mississippi.

Most western states lack the strong union traditions of the older eastern coal fields. Outside of Colorado, the UMWA lacks all but the youngest, most fragile roots. Thus it has proved difficult for the UMWA to organize in the newer western fields.

The combination of these facts has led many to draw gloomy conclusions about the future of the UMWA.

But there is another side to the story.

The UMWA is not shrinking. It has grown from 150,000 in 1965 to

280,000 members before this year's strike. And the average age of its members has dropped from 48 in 1965 to 31 presently. These trends will continue.

EXPANSION PLANS

In an exhaustive study of the investment plans of the coal industry, the Keystone Industry Manual shows that plans for expansion and new mines will increase production by 750 million tons a year—more than doubling current production—by 1986.

In terms of tonnage this will bring the share of western coal to slightly under half. But in terms of where the new mines will be located and the vast majority of jobs created, the story is somewhat different.

Of the 391 planned sites included in this survey, the majority, 207, will be in areas of traditional UMWA strength. The greatest concentration will be in West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The New York Times estimates that this new investment would create as many as 157,000 new jobs in coal mining. Because the large western strip mines use much less labor than eastern underground mines, which will be the majority among the new mines, most of this new employment will be in the eastern coal fields.

In fact, the biggest concentration of this new employment will occur within the most militant districts of the UMWA—17, 29, 6, and 5. And most of the new mines in these areas are being planned by operators already under UMWA contracts.

CONTINUED GROWTH

There can be little doubt that the UMWA will continue to grow, and the members will feel themselves part of the growing concern.

Complacency, of course, is not the answer. Rather, the answer is to direct the militancy and dynamism of the UMWA in the past several years toward the task of organizing these new mines—and carry that dynamism from east to west.

In fact, the biggest danger to the UMWA, at the moment, comes from the growth of non-union coal in the eastern fields. Last December the Charleston Gazette carried an article showing that the percentage of UMWA coal in the eastern fields had dropped from 75.3% in 1973 to 68.8% in 1976.

In West Virginia, the drop was from 92% to 88%. In Kentucky, from 52% to 43%. In Pennsylvania from 69% to 63%.

New non-union mines are opening, but the UMWA has not been organizing them at a fast enough rate. The union is growing, but not as fast as the industry.

The 110-day strike by the UMWA has probably ended any attempts by the coal operators to break the union for a while. But if the union is not able to organize new production, east and west, at a faster rate than in the past few years, they will undoubtedly try again.

OPTIMISTIC VIEW

But a number of things points toward an optimistic view of the situation. If, as seems likely, the

labor law reform bill finally passes Congress this year, it will grease the tracks for organizing new mines—particularly in some of the "Right-to-Work" states of the west.

There is also the likelihood of help from those unions and union-

ists that supported the miners during their long strike. A new mood of solidarity and of fighting unionism, while just beginning, will help as well.

The biggest and best boost to organizing new coal production is certain to come from the hundreds

of local officials and rank and file activists that have built the UMWA's numbers and power in the last several years.

The problems faced by the UMWA are serious. But the prophets of doom had better take a closer look. □



During this year's strike, the UMWA leadership warned that the union was doomed if miners rejected various tentative contracts. Many miners, like those shown here, said the union was doomed if these contracts were accepted. Several factors, however, point towards a more optimistic view of the union's future.

CANADIAN IRON ORE MINERS ON STRIKE

Some 8,600 steelworkers who work Canada's iron ore mines are on strike over a new contract.

Last year, the longest major strike in the history of the United Steel Workers of America took place when 16,000 iron ore miners in Michigan and Minnesota struck against take-away demands by the major steel corporations.

After 137 long days, the strikers backed the industry down and won

many of their own demands.

This year, many American steel companies are involved in the same kind of dirty work north of the border. One industry demand, for instance, has been that wages be frozen.

The U.S.-dominated producers include Hanna Mining Co., Bethlehem Steel, and National Steel Corp.

Health and safety is the other

important issue in the strike that began on March 9th. It appears that no settlement is yet in sight.

Hopefully, Canadian USW members will not be forced to remain out for as long as their American brothers and sisters were. Hopefully as well, their strike will come to a similar, if not even more victorious, conclusion. □

C.M.

"The problems faced by the UMWA are serious. But the prophets of doom had better take a closer look."

BUT YOU'LL FOOT THE BILL!

U.S. Company Fined For Illegal Arm Sales To South Africa

"These violations reflect on the credibility of the United States in the eyes of the world. As a result, every citizen of this country suffers."

Federal District Judge Robert C. Zampano was stern and somber as he passed sentence on Olin Corporation of New Haven, Connecticut.

Olin pleaded no-contest (no defense) on a 21-count indictment of criminal conspiracy and falsifying records to sell over 3000 firearms and 20 million rounds of ammunition to South Africa.

The sales were in violation of United States regulations, which prohibit all exports to South African military or police forces. Olin was allowed to plead no contest and claim its executives were somehow unaware of the illegal transactions.

Still, however, the company faced fines of up to \$510,000.

Judge Zampano then gave the case a unique twist. After delivering his stern sentencing statement, he placed the company "on probation"—and ordered it to establish charity programs in the New Haven area to the tune of at least \$510,000, the amount of the maximum possible fine.

These charity programs, he told the astonished courtroom, would be Olin's "reparations" for the damage it had caused the community.

The United States Attorney in

the case and most of the media described the Judge's decision as "creative."

WOULDN'T YOU KNOW

Unfortunately, there happens to be one small hitch in the Olin Corporation charity program. Namely, Olin Corporation won't actually have to pay for it—you will.

That's right. The judge's order stipulates that Olin can have its own legal staff establish the charity programs, taking advantage of any "tax advantages" that are involved.

That means the arms merchants will be able to write off their program as charity, meaning they'll just pay that much less in taxes!

Perhaps the judge said more than he meant by that statement, "Every citizen of this country suffers..."

If the judge really wanted to be creative, he could have ordered the corporation to pay the fine to southern African liberation movements—the people who really suffer from U.S. arms sales to South Africa.

If he just wanted to enforce the law, he could have simply revoked Olin's arms manufacturing licenses.

Instead, he delivered his pious lecture and then gave South Africa's arms suppliers their biggest "community relations" gimmick ever. □



Scenes from South Africa. South Africa is a racist police state where an 80% Black majority is held down by armed force. Fifteen years after the U.S. supposedly banned arms sales to South Africa, the traffic goes on.

AMERICAN CITIZEN ON TRIAL IN ISRAEL — U.S. GOVERNMENT WITHHOLDS EVIDENCE

by Dan Posen

DETROIT—When an American businessman was arrested in Nigeria for currency violations, on the eve of Jimmy Carter's recent state visit there, Administration officials were publicly "dismayed" by the Nigerian action.

But when Sami Esmail, an American citizen of Palestinian descent, went on trial in Israel—charged with perfectly legal political activities which he carried out in the United States—there was no sign of similar U.S. government concern.

In fact, the American government is actually withholding testimony that is critical to Esmail's defense.

THE DIFFERENCE

At a rally here last Saturday to defend Sami Esmail, attorney Abdeen Jabara explained what made the two cases different: "Sami Esmail isn't a businessman."

Jabara also pointed out how the American press has reported on the Esmail trial.

While two columns in a New York Times article were devoted to the death of a giraffe in the Tel Aviv zoo, the trial of Sami Esmail was mentioned briefly, at the end of a long article on a different issue.

In a setback to the defense effort, attempts to pressure the State Department to allow U.S. vice-consul Mark Davidson to testify at

Esmail's trial were unsuccessful.

Davidson is the official who visited Esmail in prison, while he was undergoing interrogation, and witnessed the effects of police beatings and mistreatment.

By refusing to waive his diplomatic immunity, the American government has blocked his testimony.

Esmail has testified in court that during questioning he was strip-

ped, forced to hold a chair above his head with one leg in the air, deprived of sleep, and had his hair and mustache pulled.

After this treatment continued for seven days, Esmail signed three "confessions," which are now the basis of the Israeli prosecution's case against him.

He is charged with "membership in an unlawful organization"

and "contact with an enemy agent"—charges resulting from his legal, pro-Palestinian activities at Michigan State University and his trip to Libya, also perfectly legal, in 1976.

At the conclusion of Esmail's testimony, the Israeli prosecutor was called upon to sum up the case.

She rested her entire case by simply claiming that Sami Esmail was lying.

The prosecutor saw no need to reply to the fact that defense attorney Felicia Langer established page after page of contradictions in prosecution witnesses' testimony.

The prosecution announced that Sami Esmail's purpose was to "blemish the reputation of Israel's democracy and Israel's courts."

Because the American government withheld Mark Davidson's testimony corroborating Sami Esmail's mistreatment in prison, the way is clear for the court to rule that Esmail's extorted "confessions" are admissible evidence.

A ruling is expected around April 10th.

CITY COUNCIL

The Detroit rally was also addressed by Clyde Cleveland from the Detroit Common Council.

The Council had passed a resolution supporting Sami Esmail's human rights, until pressure from the Zionist lobby caused a majority to vote to rescind it.

Cleveland told the rally it was the first time, to his knowledge, that Common Council had ever rescinded a resolution.

Four of the Council's nine members—Cleveland, Mahaffey, Cockrel and Macfadden—stuck by their principles and voted for upholding the resolution.

According to Cleveland: "In 20 years in the civil rights movement, all I've ever done is fight for human rights. I felt that a President who's talking about human rights should be willing to defend the rights of an American citizen." □

Italy, Spain, Belgium, Greece 15 MILLION STRIKE FOR JOBS

OVER FIFTEEN MILLION workers in major European countries have come up with an answer to multinational corporations and multinational unemployment.

On Wednesday, they carried out a multinational strike.

It is the first co-ordinated international work stoppage of this scale.

The strike, called as an "Action Day" against rising unemployment by the European Trade Union Confederation, was more a symbol of workers' anger than a full-scale strike. But the important thing is

the number of workers and countries involved.

Stoppages up to four hours were reported in Belgium, Italy, Greece and Spain.

The most powerful centers were Italy, where over 10 million workers shut down industry and agriculture for four hours, and Spain, where seven million workers took part.

They were joined by Belgium steel workers, Greek industrial and service workers, and others. In Belgium, radio workers delayed some broadcasts, in solidarity with

a sit-in at government offices.

European workers are outraged by the over-all unemployment rate of 5.9% in the nine major European "Common Market" countries. In Italy, where the strike was strongest, it is officially 6.9%.

If you think about it, however, these figures are not much different from the official 6.1% unemployment rate in the United States.

Perhaps the real difference is that European workers are getting closer to doing something about it.

George Meany, Doug Fraser, are you listening? □

"SHE PAYS THE DUES THAT SOCIETY DEMANDS."

Why Prostitutes Are Demanding Their Rights

by Elissa Clarke

"I SPENT NINE months working as a prostitute, a call girl. Nine months of selling my body for money — renting out my body, vacating my feelings."

That is how one ex-hooker wrote about her life in the newspaper COYOTE Howls.

If prostitution makes women feel this way, why do they do it?

High unemployment, low wages. The chance to make a lot of money, fast. The same woman wrote: "I made more money than I had ever made in my life, and at first it seemed so easy."

"No more waitressing, no more factory work. Free drinks, fancy clothes, make-up, anything that money could buy."

Last week, Margo St. James was in Detroit speaking about her work organizing prostitutes. Margo speculated that nine out of 10 hookers would leave the business if good jobs were available.

Four years ago, Margo, an ex-hooker, formed COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics), a national advocacy group for prostitutes which works for the decriminalization of prostitution.



Margo St. James, founder of COYOTE, speaking in Detroit.



THE LIFE

They call it "the life." It is punctuated by violence, drugs, disease, hypocrisy, arrests, prison. The money you earn is taken away from you, and society regards you as an outcast.

Prostitution exists because there is a market for it. Women sell sex—but men buy it. Often the same men who claim to find prostitution low and disgusting, who say it should be a crime.

Margo St. James points out that many of the worst aspects of "the life" are in fact caused by the very fact that prostitution is illegal.

"The abuses are not inherent in the occupation, they come in when the criminal justice system is involved in regulating and controlling prostitution," Margo claims.

"The whore can't—even if she wants to—detach herself from the criminal culture."

"The illegality encourages people to commit crimes against each other because they don't think their victims will dare report it."

COYOTE estimates that a hooker spends half her time in prison. But tricks, pimps, and massage parlor owners almost never do any time.

EXPLOITED

Women turn to prostitution because they can't get jobs, or because the money is so much better than they are used to.

But soon they find out that the pimps, the Mafia, the police, the massage parlor owners all want a piece of the action.

"Hookers are among the few women who are well paid in this society. She gets a dollar a minute, \$25,000 a year," Margo said. "But because it's an illegal occupation, anybody who knows what she's doing can ask for a piece of it. It's an informal tax that's collected."

"By the time all the folks get their little bite, she's lucky if she gets 20%."

COYOTE is working to decriminalize prostitution. "But we don't

want to make the cops the pimps," said Carol Ernst, a member of Alleycat, a Michigan group connected with COYOTE.

Alleycat points out that formal legalization would mean that the state would license and control the business of prostitution. Instead, they would prefer to see the laws making prostitution a criminal activity simply dropped from the books, or de-criminalized, putting the woman in charge of her own work.

Margo added: "In Nevada, where prostitution is legal, it's extremely exploitative. The women are locked up in a brothel. They work 14-18 hours a day. You sleep in the same little cubicle where you do your business. You sign in for three weeks at a time. You're allowed to go to a bar or store for two hours a day."

"And the landlord gets more than half the money you earn."

In this country, everyone knows that massage parlors are the

modern day brothels. But the police look the other way.

"They all pretend it's not prostitution," Margo commented. "They call it massage, or adult entertainment; that's a euphemism —it's prostitution."

"The usual way it works, you come in the door, the sign says 30 bucks. The house gets most of that—sometimes they just take half, but usually they take it all, or the woman gets \$5."

"If she's going to make any more than \$5, she's going to have to do 'extras' and that's her tip. Some of the parlors even take some of that."

"And if any busts come down, she's already signed a slip absolving the owner. She pays her lawyer, she pays the bail. She pays the dues that society demands."

"And the owner keeps making his two grand a day off the top. What you have is de facto legalized prostitution where the men get the money and the women don't have any rights."

Prostitution is an issue that women's groups have hesitated to support.

But prostitution is not the fault of individual women.

At fault is our society which both creates a market for sex through sexual repression and the oppression of women—and then condemns the women who supply this market.

In many ways, prostitution reveals the oppression of women in its rawest form. Sure, we all sell ourselves to the boss for a number of hours a day—but suppose you had to sell your very body?

SISTERS

The fact that prostitutes are beginning to organize today, to demand an end to exploitation, hypocrisy, harassment, and violence, is a tremendous step forward.

It means that hookers have to look to each other for strength and

support, not to pimps. It means they have to see each other as sisters, not competition.

The writer quoted at the beginning of this article says: "I learned fast. I said to myself, This is what girlfriends do for their men for free—pour their drinks, light their cigarettes, look pretty, make polite and interesting small talk, and fuck."

"And wives do much more besides, without the glamor, for longer."

"I became a feminist in the broadest sense without ever hearing the word."

Prostitutes are organizing, and they need the support of all women.

"One of the bravest things a woman can do today is to stand up for her whore sister," Margo commented.

And then together, we can go on to win the kind of society where sex is not a crude commodity, but a manifestation of our humanity. □

JAPAN: THE BATTLE OF THE AIRPORT THAT WON'T FLY

Violent battles between Japanese police, students and farmers have indefinitely blocked the opening of the new Tokyo international airport.

But what is the background of these battles? Why are not only radical Japanese students, but thousands of ordinary farmers willing to risk their lives to stop this airport?

Workers' Power spoke with Ikou, a former student activist in Japan, who now lives in the United States. He told us that the movement to stop the airport had a long history, beginning when the government decided to locate it in the midst of a farming area.

MONEY AND FORCE

"By money and force—at the beginning, especially, there was a lot of protest—farmers were forced

to surrender their land to the government.

"If you were living in a town, and the local traditional political boss was working with the government, there would be very great pressure on you to sell the land."

"If 60% in a village, let's say, have agreed to sell it makes it very difficult for others to resist."

"In Japanese politics, the government is very closely connected with dirty money, and very much related to the local bosses. It was such relationships that gradually forced the people to sell the land for the airport."

WIDE SYMPATHY

Most television and newspaper reports have also failed to point out the widespread support among the Japanese working class for the anti-airport movement.

"Many people just watch the

battles without taking a clear position of their own. But still, there is a lot of sympathy for the struggle against the airport."

"Japanese unions have taken official positions against forcing people off their land, although basically they have not been active in the movement."

SOCIALIST

In addition to the far-left students and the farmers' organizations, the Communist and Socialist Parties have taken part in protest activities.

However, the Communist and Socialist Parties have separated their own student organizations from militant activities.

The Communist Party in particular, which has a big student group, "is more interested in talking about its program of peaceful

changes. It has not been nearly so active against the airport as the extreme left." □

Workers' Power 249

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1928

THE 50-YEAR

Seven Sisters Rule the World

"Unless and until the real nature of the crisis is understood and profit levels become such that the industry is confident that its investment will bear fruit, the supply of energy will not be forthcoming."

—Allan Hamilton
Treasurer, Exxon

The "energy crisis" we face today is a true picture of the extremes to which capitalism can rip off the many for the benefit of the few.

Seven key giant international companies control not only 80% of oil production outside the U.S. and 90% of Middle Eastern production, but a growing monopoly over all other sources of energy.

COAL AND NUCLEAR ENERGY

By 1969 the top 15 oil companies controlled 53.3% of U.S. coal production, and two-thirds of the coal market.

In nuclear energy, by 1970 the oil companies accounted for 40% of U.S. uranium milling capacity

(uranium is the basis of nuclear fission plants), and 45% of all uranium reserves. Two oil companies, Kerr-McGee and Atlantic Richfield, control key stages of uranium production—refining and processing.

WHERE THE PROFITS ARE

These companies also hold patents to every other conceivable form of energy including solar power, producing oil from coal and on and on. Moreover, they hold in secret, the maps of all known reserves of oil and gas under the ground. They maintain the right to keep them secret as private business information.

But of all the energy sources, oil is where the profits are. And because the major firms own or have exclusive concessions to the major oil fields, the price of crude oil is arbitrary—it has almost nothing to do with the cost of production.

At the production stage the oil giants have a major tax loophole—

the notorious oil depletion allowance of 22% (until recently 27½%). This allowance exempts 22% of the profits from taxation on the basis that the oil is being used up.

The seven corporations fixed the price of oil for the entire world. The price was determined by the price of crude oil in Texas, of all places, plus freight charges from the Texas ports to the port of destination. This set the price at about \$1.75 per barrel, in the late 1920's.

What's really amazing is that the price of producing a barrel of oil in Texas is more than double that of producing a barrel in the Middle East. So, the companies protected their oil interests here and received phenomenal profits on the Middle East oil which only cost about 10c a barrel to produce.

NOT ALONE

The companies couldn't do it alone. They had the full cooperation of their governments as well. Whenever trouble arose, as it did in the 50's and 60's, the American and British governments were always ready to step in and deal with the latest energy crisis, even if it meant military intervention.

And in 1956 for Britain, France and Israel, it meant just that over the Egyptian blockade of the Suez Canal.

In 1958 it was the Americans along with the British who went

by Marilyn Danton

Remember when the speed limit was 75 mph, and citizen band radios were something only truck drivers used? Remember when gasoline only cost 30c per gallon? Remember when you could set your thermostat at 72 degrees in January and not worry about having to take out a bank loan to pay your heating bill?

Seems like heaven—and a long time ago—"the good old days." But it was only five years ago that the so-called energy crisis changed our lives.

In fact the roots of this crisis began fifty years ago when seven oil companies got together and divided up the world's oil resources.

Today meetings of OPEC make headline news. Carter tells the country in his state of the union message that energy legislation is the number one priority.

Economists tell us that we must reduce our oil imports or face serious problems with the falling value of the dollar.

What is the energy crisis? Are we really running out of gas? Are the Arab countries holding the industrial world up for ransom for their own selfish reasons? Is there a sane way out of this "crisis"?

into Jordan and Lebanon following the Iraqi revolution.

But there were other more subtle ways to take care of energy crises. "The corporation argued that American domestic reserves were running down and American self-sufficiency in petroleum was a thing of the past."

Sound familiar? It should. This

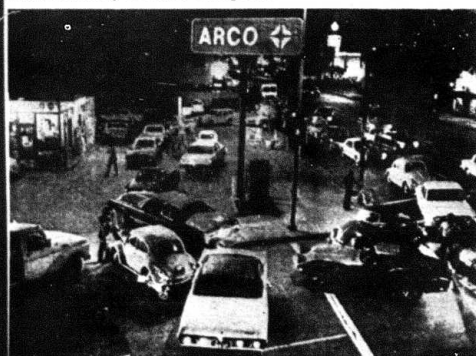
argument was made in 1943, not in 1973. But it was as effective then as it is now.

Aramco, a joint operation of Texaco and Social in Saudi Arabia, wanted to insure that Saudi Arabia's oil fields remained safe for "vital American interests" and, of course, its own.

So Aramco argued that America



[Above] In 1943 cars lined up for gasoline during an "energy crisis." [Below] In 1973, 30 years later, the American people faced the same crisis, caused by the same monopolies.



Carter's Energy Prices, The Short

"The price of oil ought to rise 10% or more a year, at least at the rate of inflation and a couple of points besides."

This statement was not made by the Shah or Iran or the treasurer of Exxon.

It was made by a Carter administration energy source.

The statement is key to any general understanding of what's happening with Carter's energy legislation.

The real goal of Carter's energy program is to raise prices sufficiently to get the energy monopolies to produce more.

That's not what's printed. And that's not what Carter said last fall when he called his energy program "the moral equivalent of war."

Key stated parts of the legislation are a larger reliance on coal as a source of energy, conservation, gradual price increases for natural gas with continued regulation and a tax on domestic crude oil to be rebated to consumers.

BILL CREEPS

As the bill creeps through Congress, one thing becomes quite clear. Energy conservation, fuel rebates and continued price regulation are "out."

"In" are gas de-regulation, no crude oil tax—unless it is rebated to you—guessed it—the producers as an incentive to produce more!

As Congress went into Easter recess the bill was still deadlocked. The main question yet to be resolved was how fast to deregulate the natural gas. The House of Representatives' version would continue controls six months longer (until June 30, 1985) than the Senate version.

This is on so-called "new" gas, meaning gas not yet drilled. This is the gas that Exxon and Mobil will drill for as soon as they get the price they want.

655 TRILLION CUBIC FEET

No one knows for sure how much there is, but an independent government survey estimates the total undiscovered natural gas resources to be between 322 trillion and 655 trillion cubic feet.

According to David H. Foster, Executive Vice President of the Natural Gas Supply Committee, a Washington based lobbying group for the oil producers:

"There are 7,000 natural gas producers out there waiting for a signal that will provide them with the incentive to get rigs and lease the land."

And Barrie M. Dawson of New York, an oil and gas operator, says he would move two rigs into Louisiana "within 24 hours" of decontrol and "could put gas on the market in about 45 days."

Current interstate prices regulated by the Federal Power Commission (FPC) are \$1.42 per thousand cubic feet. This is up from an earlier 9.52 ceiling.

However, inside Texas, where the FPC has no regulatory power, the going price is between \$2.00 and \$2.50 per thousand cubic feet.

There's little doubt that sooner or later the oil companies will get what they want—deregulation.

REBATES TO PRODUCERS

It's also likely they'll get their way on the crude oil tax. Exxon, Mobil, Texaco and Social will continue to roll in \$150 billion in profits a year, instead of the projected \$100 billion under Carter's original plan for continued regulation and crude oil tax with rebates.

For the American people it will mean that our fuel bills will go up, up, up; gasoline prices will go up, up, up and the world's biggest ripoff will continue.

For the government and the capitalist class, the energy program must be okayed. Oil imports have risen from \$4 billion in 1972 to \$45 billion in 1977. A serious program might allow the U.S. to cut back on oil imports since the companies would have the necessary incentives to produce more domestically. Cutting back on oil imports could

RIPPOFF

1978

was running out of gas during the war, and Saudi Arabia must get aid. The company won the debate, the Saudis got the necessary funds, and Aramco kept Saudi Arabia safe for American interests.

PROFIT SHARING?

Early on in 1950, the major companies worked out a 50/50 profit sharing formula with the producing governments.

Standing side by side and helping them at this step was the U.S. government.

The government stated that if these payments to the producing countries were called income taxes, the payments would be credited to the companies against any income tax owed to the U.S. government.

Naturally, all these payments became called income taxes.

The result: These corporate giants actually got tax refunds from the government because they'd paid taxes to another government.

In cold cash it looked like this. Between 1948 and 1960 oil company profits in the Middle East came to \$12.8 billion. Payments to local governments with profit sharing included came to only \$9.4 billion. And on top of this these companies got this \$9.4 billion back in tax credits granted by the U.S. government.

Overall for these years the seven sisters had a rate of return on their

capital that rose from 61% to 72% by 1960—these really were super profits.

All went well and smooth. Even the formation of OPEC in 1960 wasn't taken seriously. But, by the early seventies, events shifted and the current energy crisis began.

SMUG OIL COMPANIES

On December 22, 1973 during the Arab oil embargo, OPEC met in Teheran, Iran and raised the price of crude oil by 128% to the posted price of \$11.65/barrel. In fact this was a price hike of a whopping 370% in one year's time. OPEC officials described the new price as "moderate" in view of the prices of alternative sources of energy.

While governments around the world reeled in a state of shock, the oil companies hid their smugness behind false expressions of surprise. For, after all, the oil companies—those seven sisters as well as the larger independents—had nothing to lose and a lot to gain by the price increase. In New York, prices ranged as high as \$27 per barrel. And the companies were making over \$1.00 per barrel or about triple the profit rate of the past few years.

Oil stocks rose to an all-time high, as did the value of domestic oil reserves in the ground. Domestic prices rose more than \$5 a barrel for "old" oil and \$10 a barrel for

"new" oil, even though the costs of producing the oil had basically not changed.

What really happened in the intervening years is that the balance of power between the oil producing states and the oil consuming states shifted. In the early seventies the world demand for oil increased by 8-9%. The Middle East was producing 41.3% of the world production.

Meanwhile here at home, the U.S. oil companies were deliberately holding back production. Production of oil actually fell in 1971 and rose only 0.1% in 1972 despite an increase of 7% in demand.

KUWAIT OR TEXAS

The balance of power shift gave the producing countries the ability to make serious demands which the oil companies had to agree to.

The Arab forces in OPEC used the Middle East War and U.S. support for Israel to cut back production and actually stop all Arab oil from reaching the U.S.

Eventually, at the right price production was restored. There never was any oil shortage then or now.

And the oil monopolies had everything to gain and nothing really to lose. As long as they make their profits, they don't care where they come from—Kuwait or Texas. □

Oil Giants Get A Friend



Reporter: "Mr. President, how do you stand on the question of deregulation of natural gas prices?"

President Carter:

September 28, 1977:

"The lobbying efforts of the oil and gas industry on deregulation (of natural gas prices) itself show how the special interests are trying to block enactment of the entire energy program. The special interests should not be allowed to jeopardize our energy future."



October 13, 1977:

"If we deregulate natural gas prices then the price will go up to 15 times more than natural gas prices before the oil embargo."

"These billions and billions of dollars are at stake—whether that money should be given partially to the oil companies to encourage production and partially to the American people in a fair way or whether it should all be grabbed by the oil companies at the expense of the American consumer."



Reporter: "Mr. President, are you willing to accept energy legislation that in a few years would lead to the deregulation of natural gas?"

President Carter:

"Yes I am. This was a campaign statement and commitment of mine—that I thought natural gas should be deregulated." □

Formula - Raise Stage Vanishes!

turn around the balance of payments deficit and shore up the sagging dollar.

OIL IMPORTS AND DOLLARS

And in true Catch 22 fashion, if the sagging dollar is not shored up, OPEC will increase prices again to make up for billions in lost revenues taken in cheap dollars.

For the capitalists a lot rests on

the energy bill, and there's no doubt that Congress, sooner or later, will give the oil industry what it wants.

For working people, poor people, consumers everywhere, a lot rests on the energy question as well. Like can we afford to drive our cars and heat our houses?

If it wasn't clear in 1974, it should be now: these oil companies have held us all ur for ransom.

There is no energy crisis, there is no Arab blackmail, there are only energy hoaxes to force us to pay the industrial pied pipers.

A resource as important as energy cannot be entrusted to the profit hungry hands of a few.

This government will do nothing to curtail the oil industry's power. It's goal is the opposite—more profits and more power to the oil monopolies. □

OPEC: How the Puppets Started Talking Back

OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) did not always have the power it has today when each meeting is carefully watched by nervous heads of state fearing another hike in the price of oil.

When it was formed in 1960, oil industry spokesmen called the organization "this so-called OPEC." They thought that by ignoring it, OPEC would go away. They couldn't have been more wrong.

Oil producing countries, primarily in the Middle East formed OPEC in an attempt to restore declining oil prices on the world market.

OPEC consists of Saudi Arabia,

Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, Venezuela, Algeria, and Libya.

In the twelve years prior to 1960, the international oil companies made \$15 billion in profits from the oil producing countries outside of the U.S. and Russia. The producing countries wanted a bigger piece of the pie.

HARD LINERS

Inside OPEC there are the hard liners and the moderates. The hard-liners are not to be confused with being radical, socialist, or any thing of the sort.

Their hard line talk about oil price increases and the Shah of

Iran's tough line against western governments and consumers is based on the fact that their oil revenues are necessary to the support of growing populations.

Unlike Saudi Arabia or the small sheikdoms, who use their immense wealth for personal investment in the west, these leaders must keep their people satisfied or face rebellion at home.

That, and not political radicalism is what makes up the difference between the Shah of Iran and King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. Beyond that they are the same: extensions of the west, armed and paid by the U.S., with no real interests in the welfare of their populations. □

Speaking Out

What We Think

Ten Years After King: Is Racism A Thing of the Past?

Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated ten years ago. A common theme runs through most of the tenth anniversary remembrances of his life on television and in major newspapers.

In its basic outline, the theme runs like this: since the 1960's, the problems facing American society have changed in a basic way. The major issues of racism—segregation, job color lines and whites-only voter rolls—have been solved.

We are given examples to show that Black Americans now enjoy the rights of integrated facilities and political opportunities. The strength of the Black vote in Mississippi has forced Senator James Eastland, the national symbol of Jim Crow, to announce his retirement—certainly a welcome event. And in the South there are now about 2200 elected Black officials (although this is only three percent of the total of 79,000 offices).

The theme continues: today, instead of the "race problem" of the past, America has "economic problems."

Average income for Black families is still much lower than it is for whites, we are reminded. In 1975, the most recent year for which statistics are available, figures show that income for Black families (\$7,696) was only 62% of that for white families (\$13,078). In the South, the rate was lower still—59%.

A third of Black families today are said to belong to the vaguely defined "middle class," with incomes over \$15,000. But those Blacks who have somehow been left behind, the 40% of Black teen-agers without jobs, the residents of inner

cities where manufacturers and industries are deserting, need help to overcome the economic results of the racism of earlier generations.

In short, the message goes, now that the system has "solved" the problems of racism it has to move against economic problems like unemployment and the urban crisis. This message is easy to explain and popular. But it is radically wrong.

INSEPARABLE

It is true that economics has always been one major component of racism in America. But the idea that the economic position of the Black community can somehow be viewed apart from racism, in all its aspects, is misleading and dangerous.

As one Black community activist put it in an NBC interview: "Half the problem is that our youth are not prepared or educated for jobs. The other half is that when the youth get prepared, there are no jobs."

How does this happen?

The cities which investors are leaving to die, are the same places where tax bases are disappearing, the same places where school budgets are left with no money for books, or programs, or even school buses.

There is as much racism built into the economic structure as there ever has been. The fact is that every downturn in the economic leaves a greater percentage of the Black

community further behind than ever before.

In the Detroit area today, for example, the percentage of Black workers in skilled, high-paying construction craft jobs has actually declined since 1973-74.

The myth that racism is a thing of the past in America has had dangerous consequences. This myth has fueled the Bakke case, which claims that affirmative action for Blacks and other minorities means "reverse discrimination" against whites.

The same myth has allowed much of the Black leadership to retreat from the mass actions of the Black Liberation struggles of the past, to argue that the Black community can advance by getting Black spokesmen into corporate structures or Jimmy Carter's Cabinet.

Those strategies are completely irrelevant to the needs of the vast majority of Black workers in America.

No Black politician, businessman or executive board member can change one basic fact: when it is profitable for major industries to desert a Black city, or to put their new plants away from urban Black work forces—in short, to profit from racism—there is nothing the capitalist system will do to stop them.

The private profit system can never solve the problems of unemployment, inequality and poverty in America. And Martin Luther King's dream of a society without them, without racism, will not be realized until capitalism is abolished. □

As I See It

Police and Affirmative Action

by Larry Smith

DETROIT—Before Mayor Coleman Young took office in this predominantly Black city in 1973, the Detroit Police Department was overwhelmingly white. With new minority hiring programs, the proportion of Black police officers has more than doubled. As of January 1978, 30% of the officers and 15% of the sergeants of the Detroit Police Department were Black.



On Feb. 27, Federal Judge Kaess overturned the city of Detroit's affirmative action program for the promotion of police officers. Judge Kaess ruled that the city failed to prove that discrimination existed in the police department prior to the affirmative action program.

The mass movement of Black people during the '50's, '60's and early '70's was responsible for the creation of a less racist society.

Those gains are an important part of the building blocks of a just, non-racist society—a socialist society. In the process of creating that society, a less racist society is preferable to a Jim Crow society.

• • •

Just as it is true that affirmative action for the Detroit Police Department did not come about in a vacuum, it is also true that the attack upon that program is not isolated either. It is part of the general racist offensive being mounted against Black people and our gains in the last period.

The cut-backs in education, employment, and city services along with the rise in the right wing, the KKK, the Nazis, etc, are part of that racist offensive. The attack upon affirmative action in the police department is part of the attack upon affirmative action in education and employment.

Unlike Judge Kaess, we understand that discrimination existed in the police department prior to the affirmative action program and it still does. Unlike Judge Kaess and the racist movement he represents, we do not want a return to or a continuation of the days when armed white racist thugs—cops—roamed the streets of Detroit.

We understand the role of cops in society. Black cops are going to have to come to grips with the contradiction of being Black and being a cop. There is no middle ground.

Cops have one of the most ruthless roles to play in society. More ruthless than that of the foreman on the shop floor.

But understanding this, and more, the socialist welcomes the progressive context of the integration of the Police Department. We see the attack upon affirmative action as part of the general attack upon Black people.

While it is not the duty of socialists to defend cops, whether Black or white, it is the duty of socialists to be in the forefront of the movement that has arisen to defend the gains of the movement during the last period. □

On the surface the information above does not belong in a socialist newspaper. The police in America are armed agents of a system that is both racist and capitalist. Racism is so intertwined and fed by the system, capitalism, that it will only be wiped out in the ashes of the system itself. So in reality, cops, whether white or Black, serve the interests of racist capitalism and the class, the rich, that controls it.

• • •

All of the above is true, but there are other truths that must be dealt with. The affirmative action program for the Detroit Police Department did not come about in a vacuum.

It came about because of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements that have forever changed the surface of the nation. Those two movements have all but put the last nails in the coffin of Jim Crow.

Now the system is faced with finding more sophisticated means for the exploitation and oppression of Black people.

While it is true that the movements didn't achieve complete freedom for Black people, real gains were achieved on the road to freedom at all levels of society.

As socialists we are for the elimination of racism at all levels of society. We are for affirmative action across the board because Black people are oppressed not only as workers, but also as a national minority.

Where We Stand

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

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

The present system cannot become socialist through reform.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This is why the International Socialists exists—to create that party. We are open to all those who accept our main principles, and who accept the responsibility of working as a member to achieve them. Join with us to build a movement to end exploitation and oppression and to create a socialist world. □

The Socialist View

When Plants Close While Millions Go Hungry

second of a series



by Michael Urquhart and Paul Broz

On Thursday, October 24, 1929—"Black Thursday"—the American stock market collapsed. It was a signal for the greatest economic crisis in the history of capitalism. During the years 1929-33, over 35% of the entire workforce was thrown out of work. Those working found that their wages were cut. Many could only find part time jobs.

Breadlines were common sights. Whole families were evicted from their homes, their belongings thrown into the streets. Factories lay idle.

With millions near starvation, meat packing plants closed. Children were dressed in rags while clothing factories remained silent. People shivered without heat, as coal mines shut down.

Never has the senselessness of capitalism been made more clear.

In earlier economic systems, a crisis occurred when enough could not be produced to clothe, feed, and shelter all the population. This was a problem of underproduction, usually caused by some natural disaster, such as drought.

But in a capitalist system, the problem is one of overproduction. More is produced than people can buy.

From a social standpoint, it's hard to conceive of an overproduction of either finished goods or of the machines which produce them. Humanity is far from having all its needs met. But capitalism's primary purpose is not production for human consumption; it's production for profits.

CAUSES OF DEPRESSION

A depression is a sudden loss of profitability throughout industry. Up until World War II, depressions were common. In fact, from 1790 to 1925, there was one year of depression for every one and one-half years of economic growth.

There are underlying reasons for depressions, forces which affect the cycle from prosperity to disaster—from boom to bust. We will talk about a few of the most important. Strangely enough, one is tied to technological progress.

Capitalists, when it is profitable to do so, will replace workers with machines in an attempt to make more goods with fewer people.

When machines replace workers, there are fewer workers to produce profit for the boss. Profit, if you remember from last week, is unpaid labor. Since there are fewer workers, profit will fall—unless the added efficiency of new machinery causes the unpaid labor produced by each worker to rise enough to offset the decline in the number of workers.

But even if the total amount of profit remains the same, the rate of profit will fall if the expense of the new machinery raises the costs of producing products. The rate of profit is total profit divided by the costs of production.

So in order for the capitalist to maintain the same rate of profit, he must get enough extra unpaid labor from fewer workers to make up for both his laying off of some workers and the costs of the installation of machinery.

MONKEY WRENCHES

During a boom—a time of economic prosperity—this happens. The system expands, profits rise, capitalists invest in new machinery, incomes rise, and markets for goods increase.

But problems develop as a boom matures. Eventually, the costs of new machinery begin to outweigh the benefits. New investment in machinery doesn't create large enough increases in productivity to cause the capitalist to decide to invest. It becomes more profitable for him to restrict rather than expand production.

Capitalists, at this point, begin to talk about a "capital shortage." This means that profits aren't great enough to pay for investments in machinery sufficient to keep productivity rising.

Other things happen during a boom. Unemployment drops, and, because fewer people are out of work competing with each other for jobs, the price of labor rises. Expensive labor cuts into profits.

Everything added together signals the start of another recession.

first felt in the heavy industries which made "capital goods"—the raw materials and machines bought by capitalists in the course of production.

Loss of workers' wages in these industries, due to layoffs, reduced overtime, etc., causes a fall in demand for products produced by other parts of industry.

So the recession spreads to the industries making these products.

Eventually, things turn back around again. Unemployment rises and capitalists can buy labor cheaper. Also, the price of raw materials and value of machines drops. Production becomes profitable again, and soon a new boom is in the making.

"THE FINAL CAUSE"

We talked earlier about a "crisis of overproduction." Everyone is familiar with scenes of parking lots full of unsold cars. We know that farmers are paid not to grow food, and that factories are closed because the products they make cannot be sold.

Marx put it this way: "The final cause of all real crises always remain the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses."

This is because workers cannot buy back all that they produce. They do not receive all the income from the sale of products they produce because capitalists take out part in profits.

One solution to this problem it would seem, would be to raise wages, so people could buy more. Increased wages, however, cut into the rate of profit—making a crisis worse.

Capitalists are caught on the horns of a dilemma. To keep profits high, they must pay workers as little as possible. But in order to sell their products, they must pay their workers as much as possible. They can't do both.

RECOVERY

One way out of a depression is war.

It is widely believed that the Great Depression was overcome by Roosevelt's New Deal programs. According to this view, government manipulation of the economy provided a basis for future expansion.

New Deal programs had an effect, and revived the economy to a small extent after 1933. But, by 1937, the economy was again on the skids. The depression was not over. Its end came later, with World War II.

What about the future? Since the Second World War, large increases in military and social spending have changed the face of the capitalist system, but not its basic underlying workings.

Capitalists still have to wrestle with the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. And we can expect that over the long term, the system will be forced into greater and greater crises.

Next week, we will talk about capitalism since World War II, in: Guns and Butter—The Permanent Arms Economy. □

Letters

A FUNNY THING HAPPENED TO THE COAL CATASTROPHE

Workers' Power:

Seven weeks ago, at the height of the coal strike, Ohio newspapers were predicting disaster.

Front page headlines sounded ominous warnings of massive layoffs and widespread blackouts. Governor Rhodes declared that Ohio was on a "countdown to catastrophe." Streetlights were turned off. Air pollution laws were suspended.

Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company (CEI) called on its customers to conserve energy by

making do with less. CEI also announced that electricity bills would be increased 13% because CEI was forced to pay more for scab coal, fuel oil, and purchased power. We were told that as soon as the strike was settled, our electricity bills would return to normal.

Now it turns out that CEI had so much surplus power it was able to re-sell more than half of the power purchased during the strike to other utility companies for 32% above the original cost.

CEI didn't stop there. The other day, CEI Board Chairman Karl Rudolph announced that the company would seek a permanent 12% increase.

He gave the increased cost of coal and declining earnings as the reason. Yet company profits have increased 73% since 1975. So the next time someone tells you that the miners were holding the country for ransom, ask them about their utility bill.

E.H.
Cleveland

THE PIE'S NOT IN THE SKY, IT'S ON THE BOSSES' TABLE

Dear Fellow Workers:

I have no wish to engage in an extended debate, but I feel sister Zeluck misunderstood me.

I did not hope that the charge against the Catholic Church was in error.

I hoped the fact that documentation to substantiate the charge was missing from the place I was led to believe it would be found was an error. (What a sentence!)

My cursory study of the Church in particular, and organized religion in general, makes it easy to view these groups with suspicion.

The antics of individual members or even ordained priests or ministers do not necessarily mean the group involved approves or condones such antics.

I merely felt it could be a tactical and/or strategic error on I.S. part to attack an organization that powerful without having all their ducks in a row.

Nothing the Catholic or any church does upsets me any more and I am resigned to the opinion that they are all, in large part, hierarchy and members alike, either class collaborationists or dupes thereof.

It is, however, difficult to convince people who for centuries have been scanning the sky for pie that it's right there on the bosses' table for them to take whenever they decide they are hungry enough.

As far as using my influence, I should be happy to do so. Do not look for sweeping reforms soon, though, as I have as little influence as Stalin, Ingersol, Menken, etc.

Fraternally,
Jim Woods
Alpena, Michigan



Redgrave invades awards playland

SPEECH BRIGHT SPOT IN OTHERWISE DULL PROCEEDINGS

by Candy Martin

This year the Academy Awards were a lavish extravaganza, decked with glitter and glamor—not the sort of place you expect intrusions from the harsh world of realities and politics.

But intrude they did. Demonstrations and counter-demonstrations by Zionists and pro-Palestinians took place outside the plush Los Angeles Music Center while the gala ceremonies proceeded within.

The protests topped off a heavy campaign which had been waged by extreme Zionist groups against Best Supporting Actress nominee Vanessa Redgrave, who gave a brilliant portrayal in "Julia." As the character for whom the movie is named, Redgrave plays a sacrificing and courageous fighter against fascism in the '30's.

But Redgrave is a committed political figure not only on screen. She is a socialist, supports the struggle for Palestinian liberation, and is currently making a film about the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization).

For this reason, the American Zionists, trying to claim Redgrave was anti-Jewish, lobbied in Hollywood against voting her the acting award.

To their credit, the Academy members of the film industry recognized the actress' right to free speech as well as



Vanessa Redgrave. She made a speech.

her outstanding talent and voted Vanessa Redgrave the Oscar.

In doing so, they resisted one of the most powerful lobbies in this country—the Zionist lobby—which has had the force to destroy jobs and lives of people who have solidarized themselves with the Palestinian struggle.

Redgrave publicly saluted them for their stand in her acceptance speech. In a tradition where acceptance speeches are innocuous strings of "Thank You's" and gleaming smiles, Redgrave had the courage to make a fiery political statement, which, after all, merely recognized reality.

She denounced the attempted blackmail of Zionist hoodlums, calling it an insult to "Jews all over the world and to their great and heroic struggle against fascism and oppression."

"I salute that record and I salute all of you for having stood firm and dealt the



Diane Keaton. She got an award.

final blow against that period when Nixon and McCarthy launched a worldwide witchhunt against those who tried to express in their lives and their work the truths that they believe in."

And she pledged to continue her fight against all forms of racism, anti-Semitism, and fascism.

Though in the end she stepped down to thundering applause, Redgrave's speech was met with occasional gasps of horror and dismay from the lavishly dressed and be-jeweled audience.

DENUNCIATION

Many, like previous Award winner, playwright Paddy Chayefsky who de-



Woody Allen. He stayed home and played the clarinet.

nounced Redgrave for her speech, would have preferred that the actress ignore the blackmail against her and the attacks on the struggle for liberation, and exit quietly instead, with a simple, ladylike "Thank You."

But like the courageous Julia she plays on screen, Redgrave was not intimidated by the ugly attacks of organized racists.

It was a pleasant relief in an extravagant spectacle which, otherwise, was remarkably devoid of content. □

Thoughts on the start of another baseball season

SPRING, IN DETROIT, begins when winter blizzards give way to overcast, gray, 38-degree days with 25-mile an hour winds and the threat of freezing rain.

Actually, that's not spring. It's the first week of April. Which is also, by the way, the opening of the baseball season.

As this is written, three days before the great ritual of Opening Day, Tiger Stadium is completely sold out—a guaranteed turnout of 55,000 people to watch The Bird pitch against the Toronto Blue Jays, of all things.

CONFIDENT PREDICTION

Based on this, I can confidently predict the game will be played, even if it snows, and even if pitching in that weather threatens permanent damage to pitchers' arms.

Why? For the same reason that on a Saturday night in October, during a torrential downpour in Philadelphia, NBC television and

Bowie Kuhn gave us the game that decided the National League championship.

Stretching the season to 162 games, filling up almost every open date from April through September, and stretching the league championships and World Series through half of October has become one of American sports' more profitable ripoffs.

In all probability, the only thing that will bring in more money is when the 1978 pro football season starts the first weekend in September.

But why not? Everybody does it. Ice hockey's Stanley Cup may be won on a muggy night in early June, with ice melting in Boston Garden or Long Island, or maybe dense fog rising from the ice surface as it did in Buffalo three years back.

QUALITY?

What about the quality of the product, you ask. You must be joking.

Do you think that most of the owners, who charge major league ticket prices to watch attractions like the Oakland A's, could care less about things like quality?

Which brings me back briefly to Detroit, and the case of a basketball team called the Pistons.

The Pistons, who are now one week away from leaving Detroit, deserting the majority-Black city and moving to a suburban football stadium for next season, finished the season with eight exhausted, limping players.

The owners, it turned out, were too cheap to spend a few thousand dollars to pick up a few free agents to help the injury-stricken, short-handed team in its last effort to make the playoffs.

What a fitting final obscene gesture to Detroit fans. Why do I mention this, aside from being mad about it? Well, all of a sudden it seems like opening the baseball season, freezing rain or not, isn't such a bad idea after all. □

D.P.

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Workers' Power

NEWSPAPER UNION-BUSTING: IS NEW YORK NEXT?

NEW YORK—Several unions are negotiating with the three major New York City papers: the Times, the Daily News and the Post.

Recently, newspapers elsewhere in the country have gone in for outright union busting.

The Washington Post sent 55 people to a "scab school" in Oklahoma before a long bitter strike began in 1975 that broke the pressmen's union.

Michigan's Oakland Press hired 100 security guards and brought in out of state scabs to replace reporters and pressmen still on strike against vast takeaways.

The New York papers are taking a hard stand in the bargaining, too. They are demanding "takeaways" on work rules so that they can automate people out of jobs. The New York Post may actually be attempting to break the unions.

Recently, the drivers' union reached a tentative settlement with the Times and Daily News. The Newspaper Guild and other unions are still bargaining. No strike deadline has been set yet. But the Post demands a contract by April 14.

Workers' Power spoke with a Guild member named Bob.

"The drivers' contract has not been signed yet, and some issues are still not settled. They did reach a wage agreement of about 7% a year, about the same percent they got three years ago."

One issue still not settled concerns paper deliveries to vending machines. Bob told us, "The companies want to take this out of the drivers' union jurisdiction. In this way, they hope to weaken the union. Then, during a strike, some papers would still get distributed."

The Post is threatening to print a scab paper and is negotiating separately with the drivers. Bob commented on the importance of drivers in a strike.

"In the past all unions have agreed not to cross each other's picket lines. If the drivers won't cross, then no papers can be delivered and there would be no sense in printing a scab paper."

POST WEAK

"The Post is in the weakest position and is losing money. It would be hurt most by a strike."

"It is possible it's negotiating separately with drivers because it fears a strike by the drivers if negotiations broke down with the Daily News and the Times."

"The drivers could shut down production more easily than other unions. The other unions remain confident that the solidarity between all unions will continue and that the drivers will honor any picket lines."

"But the financial weakness of the Post also makes its management the most hard-line."

"[Rupert] Murdoch, the Post's publisher, seems determined to



weaken or destroy the unions. Everyone who works there is scared. It's also possible he will threaten to close down the paper unless he gets concessions."

Murdoch, an Australian millionaire, bought the Post in 1976. He has been buying up a string of papers around the country.

On March 26, he used workers from another of his papers, the San Antonio Express News, to print an "experimental" edition of the Post produced entirely with non-union labor.

The stereotypers union and printing pressmen's union filed unfair labor practice charges with the National Labor Relations Board after the "experiment," accusing the Post of "provocation, harass-

ment, and intimidation" and refusal of "good-faith collective bargaining."

THREATENS SENIORITY

At the Post, Murdoch is demanding the right to fire anyone he considers incompatible with his "publishing concept."

Murdoch's special assistant Martin Fischbein said recently that the Post "could not let inverse order of seniority be the exclusive criteria for determining" who would get hit by the 25%-30% Guild job cuts Murdoch seeks.

"If he wants a strike," Bob told Workers' Power, "that is one issue that will definitely force one."

"The Newspaper Guild has been adamant for over 20 years that any

layoffs be based on seniority. They have always fought on this issue. Murdoch could only win his demand by breaking the union."

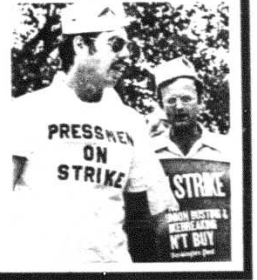
"It's very difficult [to put out a scab paper] in New York. In Washington, the drivers of the Washington Post were not unionized like they are in New York, and if Murdoch tries to use scabs to deliver the paper there's likely to be war in the streets."

"Also, the supplies are delivered by Teamsters. If they honor the picket lines, then no papers could be printed."

"If Murdoch is desperate, he may try it."

"But if the unions stick together, they should be able to stop any scab paper."

Major union-busting drives have occurred at the Oakland Press (above) and the Washington Post. Is New York next on the hit list?



Affirmative action under attack

by Larry Smith

ALLAN BAKKE, a white engineer, charges he was denied admission to the University of California medical school because of an affirmative action program developed to increase minority enrollment.

The Bakke case is now before the U.S. Supreme Court and a decision is expected this spring.

IN DETROIT, a federal judge has overturned the affirmative action program of the Detroit Police department (For more about this case, see "As I See It," on page 8.)

FROM THE SOUTH comes Weber vs. Kaiser Aluminum. In this case a white worker, Weber, has charged that a program agreed to by Kaiser and the United Steel

workers is "reverse discrimination."

The program was meant to upgrade minority representation in the skilled trades at Kaiser's plants.

Weber, working at Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana plant, filed a class action suit against the company and the union.

A lower federal court agreed and the 1974 affirmative action plan has been shelved for his plant.

Like Bakke and the Detroit police suit, the Weber case is being appealed and is sure to reach the Supreme Court.

DEFINITIVE RULING

The Supreme Court this spring will also decide whether or not it

will hear a case that could have the same affect on the construction industry that the Bakke case has on higher education.

The case will decide if a 1977 Congressional act, requiring that 10% of public works contracts designed to increase employment must go to minority businesses, is constitutional.

If the court hears the case a decision will come in 1979.

It appears that Bakke vs. the University of California is just the tip of an ever increasing iceberg.

It seems certain that the courts will have to make the definitive ruling on affirmative action either this year or next.

The outcome of that decision will have far-reaching effects for

Blacks, women and other minorities.

The cases around affirmative action affect all levels of American life—and could determine the outcome of a generation of civil rights struggles.

MISSING

Yet in all the courtrooms where the cases on affirmative action are heard, there is a missing element. What's missing are the real defendants: Blacks, women and other minorities.

They, and not the universities, government and corporations, will suffer the effects of the overturning of the affirmative action programs.