

Workers' Power

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Cleveland: 1000 Unite To Welcome the Buses

by LARRY SMITH

Cleveland, one of the most segregated cities in the country, is slated to begin a massive school busing plan in September.

Racist organizing on Cleveland's predominantly white west side has led to large meetings over the summer with as many as 2000 in attendance, vowing to defy the busing order.

The American Nazi Party, the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society are all actively involved in building the racist hysteria.

If Cleveland is not to become another Boston or Louisville, cities where racists physically attacked school children when busing began, it will be because of groups like WELCOME.

MARCH FOR UNITY

WELCOME—West Siders and East Siders Let's Come Together—is a pro-desegregation group that has been organizing events and meetings all summer to lessen the racial tension between Blacks and whites.

On Sunday, August 20, WELCOME held a march and rally in support of the peaceful implementation of the busing plan.

Nearly 1000 Blacks, whites and Latinos took part in a symbolic show of unity, with a walk over the Detroit-Superior High Level Bridge, which connects the east and west sides of the city. The east and west division reflects the general racial division in Cleveland.

A mainly Black group started from the east side of the bridge, at the same time as a mostly white group began walking from the west side. The groups met in the middle and then marched together to a nearby mall for speakers and entertainment.

The bridge walk was the largest pro-desegregation event in Cleveland since the controversy over busing began.

WELCOME plans to organize other events for the busing program this fall, including welcoming committees to greet the children at the various schools.

Meanwhile, because of the current political and economic turmoil in Cleveland, it is not at all certain that the scheduled busing program will actually begin this fall. The president of the school board recently resigned, and three weeks before the schools are scheduled to open, there are not enough buses.

However, WELCOME's efforts are indeed necessary to insure the safety of Cleveland's school children when busing begins.



Black and white Clevelanders met on this bridge and marched together in support of peaceful school busing for integration on August 20.

Cleveland mayor wins recall, faces city crisis. . . see page 5.

Czechoslovakia, 1968: We Remember

August 21, 1978 was the tenth anniversary of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. "Normalization" was what it was called.

Why? Because a movement had developed in the Czechoslovak Communist Party to allow a degree of cultural freedom and political criticism—and people had begun to exercise that freedom, inside and outside the Party.

Ten years later, Russian troops still occupy Czechoslovakia to keep the country "normal."

Hundreds of Czechs, both intellectuals and workers, who signed the dissident manifesto "Charter 77" have lost their jobs and live under permanent police surveillance.

It was revealed recently by a former Czech Communist official that Soviet leader Brezhnev notified U.S. President Lyndon Johnson of the invasion plan two weeks in advance. Johnson assured him there would be no interference in

the Russians' sphere of influence.

It was a fair enough deal. 1968 also happened to be the year of the heaviest fighting and highest numbers of U.S. troops in Vietnam.

The rulers of East and West weren't about to let the struggles of Czech workers and Vietnamese villagers disrupt the stability of their empires.

RESISTANCE

For a brief period after the Russian invasion, a tremendous working class resistance swept Prague and other cities. Factories became the focal point for secret meetings of Czech Communist Party leaders, in hiding from the Russians and their local puppets.

But it was an unequal battle. Without an effective leadership, without guns, without communications, groups of factory workers

could not stand up against Russian tanks.

It may be many years before Czech workers get another chance to engage in open resistance and struggle for socialist freedom. On the surface, 1968 was a victory for the raw power of Russian domination in Eastern Europe.

But 1968 was a year when a generation of revolutionaries around the world began to understand how much Eastern and Western imperialism resemble each other.

The impact of Czechoslovakia shook the pro-Moscow Western European Communist Parties to their foundations. In front of their own working class, they could no longer defend the Soviet Union as a guardian of socialism.

Despite Russia's military victory and the decade of repression that has followed, the tanks in Prague, 1968 marked a turning point in the crisis of the Stalinist social system. □

FLASH! TO OUR READERS

Beginning with our next issue, Workers' Power will be appearing with a new schedule and different format.

As the publication of a political organization, the International Socialists, Workers' Power must change and adapt when the needs and the work of I.S. members require it.

At the I.S. Convention in November, the I.S. membership will decide on the future format of the paper.

Between now and the Convention, Workers' Power will appear as a monthly newspaper with a larger number of pages.

We can assure our subscribers, readers and supporters that we will continue to produce the best and most attractive publication on the left in America, and that our subscribers will receive more than the full value they paid for. Our next issue will contain details on new subscription rates and extension of old subscriptions.

Marilyn Danton, Editor for the I.S. Executive Committee

We have received an update on the story GROCERY STRIKE: SAVE WORKING CONDITIONS. See PAGE 3 for the full story.

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CALIFORNIA—On August 21, one picket was killed and another injured seriously by cars driving without lights on the left hand side of the road, driven by scabs.

After this, the Western Conference of Teamsters leadership and management negotiated a quick settlement, granting amnesty to both the workers and the company. But Local 315 officials organized a demonstration in opposition to the contract of about 150 people, and the settlement was withdrawn.

Lucky workers organized a memorial demonstration today at Lucky's headquarters. Wearing black armbands and carrying signs, they held a rally of 400 people at a park afterwards. □

The Labor Law Reform fiasco was not the last blow labor could expect to receive from the present Administration—despite the fact that for many years labor leaders regarded a “veto-proof” Congress, and then a “Democrat-in-the-White-House” as the labor movement’s salvation.

Not long after the labor law defeat came Carter's direct slap in the face to the UAW's Doug Fraser on national health care.

And in mid-August a three-day binge by the House of Representatives produced a stunning display of right-wing legislation—in a remarkably short period of time.

- For starters: the largest defense bill in history (the largest bill, for that matter, at \$119.2 billion) including \$2 billion for a nuclear aircraft carrier that is widely recognized, by the President among other, as an absurdity.

- For an encore: the adoption of an anti-abortion rider, which says that these funds shall not be used for abortions for military women or wives, unless the woman's life is at stake.

- The House went on to slash 100,000 federal CETA jobs, and cut wages in those remaining. It voted to increase the unemployment level at which federally-subsidized jobs can be created; from 4%, as proposed by the Administration, to 6.5%.

- With the support of many a member of the “party of the working man,” the House of Representatives altered Carter's tax proposal to give immensely greater benefits to the rich.

None of the much-touted but minimal reforms aimed at business and high incomes remain in the House version, including the “three martini lunch” and various existing tax breaks.

RICH GET TAX BREAKS

About 25% of the bill's individual tax reductions (compared to less than 1% in the original proposal) would now go to the tiny group in our society who make over \$50,000/year (about 3% of the taxpaying population.)

The same share (25%) would go to the majority of taxpayers—about 69%—who earn under \$20,000/year. That figure was pared down substantially from the administration's original proposal.

It should be remembered that each of these pieces of legislation must now go to the Senate. There, some, like the tax bill, are likely to be weighted even more heavily in



DEMOCRATS GIVE LABOR “THE BUSINESS”

by CANDY MARTIN

favor of corporate interests and the rich.

One Congressional compromise was reached last week in answer to yet another right-wing House vote—lifting U.S. sanctions against Rhodesia as soon as elections in December are over.

The compromise allows for the elimination of sanctions when and if the Patriotic Front is brought into negotiations for a new government.

COALITION FORMS

But the burst of reaction on Capitol Hill was not limited to legislation.

One hundred and forty-eight dedicated Congressmen — members of the House and Senate alike, of the Democratic Party no less than the Republican—formed the ultra-conservative “Coalition for Peace Through Strength.”

Its main principles are military superiority over Moscow, and the “use of positive non-military means to roll back the growth of Communism.”

Its co-chairmen include many of the same men advising Illinois Republican Philip Crane. Crane recently announced his right-of-Reagan candidacy for President in 1980.

CORPORATE CONCERNS

What was responsible for this frenzy of activity in the halls of Congress last week? Some rare, right-wing micro-organism, perhaps, entering the ventilating system, causing an outbreak of reactionary contagion to take hold of otherwise sane and sober-minded gentlemen?

Hardly.

The votes in the House, like Carter's action on national health care and the routing of minimal reforms in labor legislation, are pattern pieces in a new dimension in American politics.

That new dimension is the political reflection of an already-existing trend: the employers' offensive against labor that has been escalating in the economic arena for some years.

Driven by the increasingly serious trouble that capital is in, big business is now extending its fight from the shop floor, and the

bargaining table to the legislative front.

Behind the “New Right” stands, not your local neighborhood kook, nor any handful of highly visible Nazis, but the American corporation.

The Business Roundtable, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, GE, PepsiCo, General Motors Corp., the Continental Group, General Telephone and Electronics, DuPont, U.S. Steel: all have been pouring a lot of money into a new corporate strategy recently.

Lobbying heavily on legislation is one aspect of that strategy. Forging a staunch united front is another—just as big capital did with smaller, non-unionized business to defeat labor law reform.

GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZING

But an equally important component of the capitalist strategy is the generation of a grassroots political movement in the corporate interest.

As the Detroit Free Press puts it, “the U.S. Chamber of Commerce . . . is singing a populist song these days.”

This comment followed a visit to that city by Shearon Harris, the Chamber's chairman, and a director of GM. Harris was sent out by the Chamber of Commerce as a sort of field agitator.

Detroit was one stop of many on a cross-country tour to “drum up grassroots support” by meeting with community organizations, local governments, and business.

The tour follows a spring program by the Chamber of Commerce in which eight sessions were offered around the country on how to organize corporate political action programs for employees. More than 1,000 companies sent representatives.

Though they vary widely, many such company-sponsored political action programs have recently come into existence.

John J. Meehan, public affairs vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, described their general thrust for the Wall Street Journal:

“A company organizes political education or discussion groups for its employees;” the Journal ex-

plains, “management gives its views on issues that concern the company and urges the employees to study the matter further. The corporate hope is that the employees will then ‘begin to reflect their opinions to Congressmen and Senators’ as well as to state and local officials.”

PRESSURE PROGRAMS

These programs are not just second-rate operations. Arco's runs on a budget of \$750,000/year. It has a membership list of 50,000, recruited through a mailing to the company's shareholders, employees and retirees.

Across the country there are 45 committees, which hold an annual convention and have quarterly meetings for the national steering committee.

The issues these committees “study further” are predictable: Arco's program was set up because of company concern that legislation could force the oil companies to divest themselves of other energy properties like coal.

Along with the mounting “educational discussion” and “civic action” groups goes “company-sponsored fund-raising.”

Twisting political contributions from employees was illegal before 1975. But in the last three years, the number of company fund-raising committees has more than quadrupled, to nearly 600.

All of these devices—the committees, the programs, the mailing lists—are used to bring pressure to bear on issues like the tax “reform” bill the House voted in last week. And as on the tax issue, a large number of Democratic “representatives of the little people” have yielded to the corporate influence.

That pressure will escalate, not decline, as the crisis of capitalism itself increases.

The capitalists, the diplomats, the labor leaders realize it, and in recent months the public language of American politics has become, increasingly, the language of open class warfare.

The participation by labor's so-called Democratic party “friends” in this class warfare will increase—but on the side of the bosses. And many in the labor movement will be forced to come to terms with building a true defender for themselves in the political arena.

TEAMSTERS LOSE OVERNITE

IN A MAJOR defeat for the Teamsters Union, the 5,000 employees of Overnite Transportation voted 2,451-1,565 early this month to remain non-union.

A Teamster statement attributed the results to a “systematic campaign by Overnite management to deny its employees their right to freely vote their wishes.”

A Teamster who worked as an organizer on the Overnite campaign had another reason for the outcome:

“There's nobody to blame but the union,” he told Convoy, newspaper of the Teamster for a Democratic Union.

They [Overnite drivers] eat at the same coffee shops as our Teamster drivers. They hear about our lousy grievance procedure and figure they're better off without one. They hear about Teamsters with 15 years being re-completted 500 miles away and the union gives it the OK. . . .

The Teamster lost even though Overnite workers are more than \$2 an hour under union scale. The results suggest that the Teamsters may not be able to do much serious organizing in the trucking industry as long as Frank Fitzsimmons and his gangster friends control the union.



Workers' Power

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GROCERY STRIKE: SAVE WORKING CONDITIONS

by Michael Blair

OAKLAND, Calif. — Over 20,000 grocery workers in the Bay Area are supporting the Teamsters' strike against four major grocery employers.

The 3500 Teamsters are striking for working conditions, not wages. This is a result of a major offensive by the grocery employers in the past several years.

The contract expired on July 11. On July 18, over 1000 Teamsters at Safeway's Richmond Distribution Center walked off the job.

After a year of harassment under Safeway's MTM (Minutes Times Motion) program, all in violation of the contract, the workers were anxious to take their issues to the streets.

The International refused to sanction the strike because while the Western Conference of Teamsters wanted an area-wide contract, Local 315 members (Richmond) refused to give up power-of-attorney.

Joint Council 7 first refused sanction, then granted it for Local 315's jurisdiction only, then rescinded it, then granted it once more. For almost a month, Richmond strikers were out alone.

LOCKOUT FORCES STRIKE

When workers from Alpha-Beta, another grocery chain, went out, other grocery employers in the area began locking out their employees, hoping to put the union on the defensive.

Instead, they forced an area-wide strike, and began one of the biggest labor struggles in the Bay Area in a long time.

This is part of the grocery employers' strategy to break working conditions and increase productivity.

This employers' offensive was evident in Lucky Stores' move to Vacaville last year. Ninety miles away from the old one in San Leandro, Lucky opened a big,



California grocery workers are on strike to defend working conditions from employers' assault. The outcome of this strike could set a precedent for the Teamsters national freight contract next spring. Employers are attacking working conditions nation-wide.

modern warehouse, which can hold 60 boxcars at a time on its rail docks, and is totally automated.

Accompanying this move was first the refusal to sign a transfer agreement for the old employees and an attempt to force through a substandard contract before the majority of them arrived. Both attempts failed.

But the undisputed leader is Safeway, the largest grocery employer.

It has been implementing the MTM program up and down the west coast, leaving a series of long and bitter (and with one exception) unsuccessful strikes in its wake.

Safeway began its production program in Richmond over a year ago. Since then, production standards have doubled, almost 50 people have been fired or suspended for production, and at the time of the strike, over 80 people were on disability.

Before that, Safeway had already gotten MTM written into the

contract in Los Angeles. They met very little rank and file resistance there because of the lack of a militant tradition.

In Phoenix, Arizona, after almost two months of bitter struggle, including extending pickets to L.A., the strike was smashed and MTM was written into the contract.

Safeway is well-prepared for strikes. They have a trained army of 300 supervisors who can run a warehouse, drive trucks and run the stores. In the Bay Area, they began interviewing applicants several months before the strike.

NO HOLDS BARRED

The grocery employers have not limited themselves to a simple strike or lockout. They are taking their attack into the affected communities, using racism to divide the workers and the police to contain them.

In a recent Sunday edition of the San Francisco Chronicle/Examiner, the Northern California Food Employers Council printed a full page ad titled, "Shop Where the Pickets Are."

Calling the strikers greedy, and the union irresponsible, they asked patrons to cross the picket lines and blamed the employees for the strike.

Though the shelves in the supermarkets are bare and crossing the picket lines will have little effect on one's ability to buy food, the tactic is aimed at gaining public sympathy for the employers and demoralizing the strikers.

The role of police has been to defend private property. Since the strike began at Safeway, Richmond police have had at least one car and a paddy wagon at the warehouse around the clock.

Safeway goons at one of the retail stores dragged a striking driver off the picket line and roughed him up. Then one goon stuck his knee in the picket's back and broke his shoulder. Following that, they broke his arm, handcuffed him and continued to beat him.

Shortly after they left him, a cop who had spent the last 1 1/2 hour

talking to the security guards in the store arrested the picket. His attackers were never found.

Off-duty Oakland police are riding shotgun in Safeway trucks. Safeway also has armed security guards doing the same thing. Carloads of goons follow every truck.

RACISM

When the strike began, Safeway sent trucks into Richmond's Black ghettos, telling people there were jobs at \$11 per hour if they wanted them. They did, of course.

This is a common tactic of the employers. First they refuse to hire minorities and women. Then when a strike hit, they invite them in to scab at high wages.

This heightens racist and sexist attitudes among the strikers, and increases anti-union sentiments among Blacks because of the lack of effective affirmative action programs on the part of the union.

The Western Conference of Teamsters has been laying the groundwork for an area-wide contract for the last year.

Except for local 315 in Richmond, every local in the Bay Area has given up power of attorney. But the militancy of the 315 officials seems to have been nothing more than a gambit to hand power of attorney over to the International.

One week after the contract expired, they led the workers into the streets. They talked big about taking on the International and Safeway, but did little to organize the strike.

Finally, after several weeks on the line, the ranks agreed, at their officials' urging, to hand over power of attorney to the Western Conference on all issues except production. What this means in practice will not be seen until the strike is over.

The ranks have good reason to be suspicious of the International. When Phoenix workers went on strike they were told, "If you don't have an acceptable contract in two weeks, we'll extend the picketing to Los Angeles."

After six weeks, strikers went to

L.A. on their own and received sanction after the fact. Two days later it was pulled, and a rotten contract was shoved down their throats.

But now, with most of the industry out, rank and file activity is increasing and becoming more organized.

More and more "incidents" are occurring. Reports come through the grapevine about damage to trucks and stores, scabs being confronted.

A recent meeting of grocery workers to give some real direction to the strike and form rank and file leadership is calling for a demonstration in the near future. Their main objective will be to shut down one of the warehouses and bring the case to the public. They also hope to draw in grocery workers from all the affected companies in the area.

IT'S YOUR FIGHT TOO

The battle in grocery, the introduction of production standards and the blatant attacks on the union, are a forewarning of what's to come in next year's freight contract.

For years the San Francisco Bay Area has had some of the best contracts in the country; not only in freight, but in grocery and many other industries as well. Hiring halls are common practice. The shop steward system here is stronger than in most places.

The outcome of the current grocery strike will help set the basis for the freight contracts in the Bay Area. If the employers are successful, it will lay the basis for breaking the contract in freight. This in turn could set a precedent for the rest of the country.

Already, at Jones Motor and Helms Express in Pennsylvania, workers are fighting brutal production standards.

Acme Alltrans in Los Angeles went non-union last year by changing their name and hiring owner-operators. Incidents like this are increasing at an alarming rate across the country, along with an increase in non-union freight companies.

If the Bay Area employers are defeated, it will not make them any less vicious in their attacks. But it will put freight workers in a stronger position to fight back.

Winning this strike will take more than competent negotiators, more than solidarity. It will take shutting down every major distribution center in the area, completely. It will take fighting the employers as hard as they are attacking.

The employers have declared war: it is time for the ranks to give it back to them in double doses. This is the only road to victory. □

WHAT IS MTM?

MTM "is science's contribution to the warehouse. It employs the use of bend, stoop and grasp ratios to compute the minute standards for the 'average' worker. Using this system, Safeway now has its employees averaging 200-250 units per hour as opposed to the old 'unit' standard of 176 units per hour."

—From Grapevine, paper of Los Angeles TDU

FACTS ABOUT GROCERY INDUSTRY

WHY THESE MILITANT MOVES by the grocery employers? Because, like the rest of the country, they are part of an ailing economy. Though the numbers may be big (Safeway had over \$2 billion in sales in 1977), the overall rate of profit, after taxes, operating costs and labor costs, is 1-2%.

Though the return on investment is somewhat more respectable, about 8%, it is still below most other industries. Grocery chains make their money in their vertically integrated operations: company-owned operations that are steps between the raw material and the final product it sells. In the grocery industry it means owning milk and meat processing operations, bakeries, farms, etc. This is the case with the large chains and most smaller ones as well.

A gas station makes very little money selling gasoline, but takes it in on oil, fanbelts, radiator hoses and of course, mechanical repairs. But without selling their gas, none of the rest would be possible. Likewise with grocery. Though the retail operation is marginal, without it, none of the more profitable ones would exist. And it is retail sales, not the secondary operations, that are the measuring stick of profitability.

But this doesn't mean that the grocery industry is really healthy and is just playing sick. It is in trouble. Labor costs, which account for half the operating costs, continue to rise. With consumer buying power going down and food prices rising at an alarming rate, people are becoming increasingly frugal with their food budgets. And that is the heart of the problem. □

Puerto Rico: Behind The Frame-up of Miguel Cabrera

Miguel Cabrera, a Puerto Rican Teamster militant and revolutionary, is facing murder charges in a trial scheduled to begin in October.

In September, Cabrera will be making a tour of the United States which will include New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Much of the information for this article, with much more detail, appears in the Puerto Rican magazine Pensamiento Critico, June-July 1978.

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TOWARDS THE END of April the judge of San Juan District Court, Mrs. Blanca Iris Bonilla, found probable cause against the trade union and socialist leader, Miguel Cabrera.

Cabrera is charged with the murder of Allan H. Randall, a prominent anti-labor corporate lawyer in Puerto Rico who was also probably a CIA agent.

This same judge, Mrs. Bonilla, some years ago found innocent a policeman who was accused of murdering the student revolutionary Antonia Martinez, despite abundant evidence. Bonilla is also expecting to be nominated Superior Judge by the Puerto Rican colonial administration.

ALLAN RANDALL

About 7:20 a.m. on September 22, 1977, Allan H. Randall, a 45-year-old New York lawyer working in Puerto Rico, was surprised outside his garage by two unknown people who forced him back into the garage and killed him with two shots from an automatic pistol, possibly equipped with a silencer.

Two communiques were issued by "workers' commandos" following the killing. The colonial Department of Justice originally claimed that the fingerprint of Miguel Cabrera had been found in the second communique, left in a telephone booth.

Later, in order to adjust it to the prosecutors' theory, the fingerprint was claimed to have been found in the first communique, which had been left inside Randall's briefcase.

Allan Randall, besides being President of the Association of Labor Lawyers of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands (1968-69) and holding numerous other positions, was the author of various anti-

union pamphlets such as "Preparing for an Undesirable Strike."

He organized several employer seminars with the purpose of destroying gains and advances of Puerto Rican workers. From the NLRB, Randall obtained some so-called "Broad Orders" that practically illegalized union organizing in some sections of Puerto Rican workers.

CIA CONNECTION

Randall had also organized a Federal Lawyers Convention with the principal theme of "terrorism."

The scheduled participants in that convention included representatives of the CIA, FBI, the Office of Investigations of the Pentagon, and the government of Israel.

As one of the "worker commandos" communiques pointed out, the U.S. government's response to Randall's death strongly suggests he was working directly for the government:

"Since when are police federal agencies, like the FBI and the Secret Service, intervening in the death of a simple private lawyer? Isn't it perhaps that this individual was a federal policeman...?"

Soon after the "workers' commandos" claimed that Randall was a CIA agent, reporters for the San Juan Star called CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

The CIA's response was that it would neither deny nor confirm that Allan H. Randall had been a CIA agent.

REPRESSIVE TERROR

Within a week of Randall's death, the government launched a campaign of hostile attacks, kidnapping, torture and murder against the Teamsters Union in Puerto Rico.

The attack began after the Teamsters leader, Luis Enrique Pagan, refused to condemn Randall's execution. Pagan stated that

"Randall was not a friend of the workers" and that his death was a product of the institutionalized violence of the employers in Puerto Rico.

The Teamsters Union in Puerto Rico is one of the most militant, democratic and politically conscious unions on the island. It is no accident its militants were picked out to be attacked.

First, a Teamster leader, Luis Carrion, and a secretary, Benita Vazquez, were kidnapped by police. They were taken to a police firing range for questioning, and Carrion later was placed in a police line-up.

When the illegal arrest of these unionists became known, the police had no choice but to release them.

A few days after Carrion's arrest, the alarm rang out that Juan Rafael Caballero, a Teamster organizer, had disappeared. Caballero closely physically resembled Carrion.

Caballero's body was found four

days after his disappearance became known. But according to the Coroner's report, Caballero had actually died ten days earlier.

This meant he had been kidnapped even before the arrest of Luis Carrion.

There was evidence he had been tortured before his death.

MURDER AND FRAME-UP

The Teamsters Union has provided detailed evidence pointing to the conclusion that Caballero was kidnapped and murdered by a Death Squad operating within the uniformed police.

Among other facts, Caballero's body was found less than a mile from a building known to be used by the police for "unofficial" tasks.

Twenty-four hours after the Teamsters Union turned over its evidence to the Department of Justice, the Secretary of Justice Gimenez Munoz was already exonerating the police.

And then, because it was totally unable to find those who had killed Allan Randall—and because it was faced with increasing accusations that the police were directly responsible for the murder of Caballero—the regime began to prepare the frameup of Miguel Cabrera.

About this time a notorious murderer known as "Black Tanco," Angel M. Hernandez, conveniently "escaped" from Bayamon jail and began meeting with prosecutors.

They fabricated a story that Miguel Cabrera, and two other people in a Mafia-type plot, had not only killed Allan Randall, but also Caballero!

It was later that the prosecution claimed it had found Cabrera's fingerprints in one of the "workers' commando" communiques.

Two weeks later the supposed fingerprint had miraculously jumped to the other communique, the one place in Randall's briefcase.

This is now part of a "chain of evidence," which also has the testimony of the murderer Hernandez as one of its missing links, on which Miguel Cabrera is to stand trial.

As one commentator, Guillermo Villablanca wrote in Pensamiento Critico: "We are dealing with nothing less than the most precipitous breakdown of capitalist and colonialist Justice in the country." □



Puerto Rican workers are the backbone of the militant pro-independence movement. This is why the colonial regime is determined to frame up Teamster activists.

Telling half the truth on Rhodesia

LESS THAN six months ago CBS-TV's highly regarded "60 Minutes" aired a feature on Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) that strongly supported Prime Minister Ian Smith's "internal settlement."

So it might seem surprising that a Black journalist, Carl Rowan, could not only produce a documentary clearly supporting the Zimbabwe armed liberation struggle and exposing Ian Smith's scheme for maintaining white rule with Black puppets, but get it shown in network prime time.

Rowan's documentary, "Race War in Rhodesia," was aired by NBC August 13. Its message was that the so-called "bi-racial internal settlement" or "internal settlement" in Rhodesia is dead. Not

only that, it is nothing but a racist farce aimed at deceiving the outside world.

Rowan interviewed the liberation movement leaders, Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) and Robert Mugabe of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union), about why the internal settlement is a pack of lies.

WHY?

Then Rowan took his cameras to Salisbury, Rhodesia, and shot enough film and took enough interviews to prove beyond any doubt that Mugabe and Nkomo were absolutely correct.

What made such a program

possible?

Carl T. Rowan has a large Black audience for his nationally syndicated radio "Rowan Report," sponsored by Chrysler Corporation which also sponsored "Race War in Rhodesia."

He is also closely connected with the CIA. Rowan was Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA) when the CIA made massive use of USIA as a cover in its foreign operations.

With his extensive government, corporate and intelligence connections, Rowan is a perfect voice to reflect the thinking of American government foreign policy makers.

Those policy makers, especially the State Department and many

corporations with multinational interests like Chrysler, realize that Ian Smith's Rhodesian settlement is a loser.

They are convinced that a deal must be made with Joshua Nkomo. Nkomo is well connected with the British investment firm Lonrho. He is considered far less radical than Robert Mugabe and ZANU, and has a long history of attempted compromise settlements.

The Carter Administration's Zimbabwe strategy is to split the Patriotic Front, by making a deal with Nkomo.

It was no accident that Carl Rowan's message heavily tilted to Nkomo. Without the agreement of Nkomo, he stressed, the war

cannot be ended.

And this is also why Rowan grossly distorted the relative military roles of ZAPU and ZANU. While showing considerable footage of Nkomo making speeches in ZAPU camps, Rowan did not mention that ZAPU has committed far fewer soldiers than ZANU to the actual armed struggle.

"Race War in Rhodesia" was a very effective exposure of the fraud of the "internal settlement."

It was also an extremely well-planned and subtle piece of propaganda, both for Joshua Nkomo and for the Carter Administration's strategy for Zimbabwe. □

Cleveland Mayor Scrapes By, But Crisis Worsens

by Caroline Greene

LAST NOVEMBER, Dennis J. Kucinich became mayor of Cleveland, Ohio in an upset victory over Ralph Perk, the Republican incumbent and Ed Feighan, the Democratic machine candidate. His margin of victory was about 3000 votes.

Last week, after a scant nine months in office, Kucinich escaped being axed in a recall election by the tiny margin of 236.

Kucinich had run for mayor as a reform candidate in a city riddled with corruption and on the verge of financial collapse.

The ruling class of Cleveland had maintained complete control over the city with no serious challenges since the turn of the century. They saw—and still see—Cleveland as a consumer market and as a service city for downtown corporate headquarters; they could care less about neighborhood deterioration since they live in the gilt-edged east suburbs, and their policies have resulted in a city which has become a national joke.

PROMISES

During his mayoral campaign, Kucinich promised to "return city government to the people," to end corporate tax abatement ripoffs which were draining millions per year from the tax base, to eliminate corruption in city government, and to restore essential services to the neighborhoods. He claimed to speak for the interests of the people of Cleveland against those of the business establishment.

When he was elected, Kucinich brought in a young staff, committed to his program who did not play the usual establishment ball game.

In February, Kucinich entered a power struggle with Richard Hongisto, the liberal he had brought in as chief of police. Kucinich flubbed it badly, losing his cool in front of the press and laying himself open to charges of dictatorial behavior.

Supposedly, this is the incident which outraged people enough to warrant a recall, and it did provide the initial impetus for the recall campaign.

DISCIPLINE KUCINICH

The business community, with its interlocking ties with both city newspapers, the political machines, the labor union bureaucrats, the city council, and the leadership of the Black community, saw its chance to discipline the mayor.

They had believed that Kucinich would calm down when he gained office and drop his anti-business programs.

Surprisingly, Kucinich did not: fights with city council erupted over his opposition to tax abatement, opposition to sale of the municipal light plant which a powerful private utility company, CEI, wanted to acquire, his refusal to go along with a huge subsidy to Republic Steel in building a new iron ore dock, and over Cleveland's escalating financial crisis and the city's resultant loss of credit rating.

Suddenly, both daily papers, the Press and the Plain Dealer, were lambasting the mayor for immaturity, for inexperience, for arrogance, for incompetence.

The press accused Kucinich of being under the thumb of Bob Weissman, his executive secretary, who was cast as the abrasive and

sinister mastermind behind the scenes. (Weissman is former president of UAW Local 122, and the UAW was the only important union to support Kucinich.)

Kucinich was also attacked by the Republican editor of the Black weekly paper, the Call and Post, the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters Union, Democratic and Republican Party organizations, Black politicians and ministers, and, most importantly, business leadership.

That Kucinich managed to stay



Police Chief Richard Hongisto

in office at all with such massive opposition is surprising.

Why did he win the recall?

Probably because many voters felt he hadn't been given a fair chance to prove himself, because of the indifference to the election in the Black community, and because of racism in the white wards.

In the final stages of the recall, the question of race became central. Kucinich's base has always been the white ethnic wards of Cleveland's west side. From the days when he attacked Black mayor Carl Stokes to the present, he has accommodated to the racism of his base. For example, he has been

IN LOUISIANA:

ABORTION RIGHTS SLASHED

by Elissa Clarke

SUPPOSEDLY, the Supreme Court guaranteed women the right to abortion in 1973.

But last month, the Louisiana state legislature passed a law that severely restricts that right.

The legislation was quietly signed into law by Governor Edwin Edwards. It passed the state house unanimously, 88-0, and was approved in the Senate 35-1.

Although press releases were sent out when the bill was introduced, no newspapers publicized the pending legislation, and so there was no organized opposition to it.

"Most women hardly knew about it," said Pat Evans, director of the Louisiana Bureau for Women.

But women's health clinics and the American Civil Liberties Union have vowed to challenge the law. "I'm sure we'll be filing suit," promised Peggy Cottle, director of the Delta Women's Clinics in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

The new law requires that women under the age of 15 and unmarried women under the age of 18 must get parental consent or a

very quiet about school desegregation.

George Forbes, President of the City Council and other Black politicians tried to nail Kucinich on the issue of racism, not because they objected to working with racists, but because they opposed his program, and because they believed their position in the Black community was jeopardized.

Forbes set the election for a Sunday, and instructed Black ministers to encourage their congregations to vote for recall.

Kucinich tried to use the issue too: in leaflets distributed in the white wards, he insinuated that if he were removed, that Forbes or Forbes' choice would become mayor, a clear scare tactic.

Voting in the east side (Black) wards was extremely light. The voters did believe Kucinich was racist, but then that was nothing new, and he didn't seem any worse than most of the other city officials.

Forbes and the politicians didn't have enough authority to bring out the vote. Apathy seemed the best policy.

BACK TO ZERO

However, opposition to the recall campaign does not call for endorsement of Kucinich or for victory celebrations. Basically, the situation is back to zero.

Kucinich may have won the recall, but his problems are hardly over. City Council can still veto the mayor's programs—as it has done consistently since he assumed office.

Kucinich cannot solve the basic problems that plague Cleveland. The city doesn't have enough money to pay its bills, to maintain necessary services, or to avoid layoffs. There is no good angel in Washington to bail Cleveland out on the New York pattern.

Big business still wants Kucinich out, and since it failed to eliminate him through the recall, it will use



Mayor Kucinich sports new wardrobe.

its financial power to strangle his efforts.

Desegregation is still a morass in one of the most racially divided cities in the country, and Kucinich will be caught in the middle if things explode.

The failure of the recall campaign was, it is true, a defeat for the machine hacks and for big business. If Kucinich had been the way would have been clearer for the ruling class to resolve the crisis of the city at the direct expense of poor and working class people. Kucinich at least refuses to participate in dividing up the plunder.

Unfortunately, Kucinich thinks of himself as a savior, rather than trying to organize people to fight for themselves. He depends on personal charisma and on maneuver. His program is only for limited reforms, for making business carry its share of the city's burdens.

Kucinich's reforms are no solution for the city. The entire system is in crisis, and there is no solution to the crisis under it. Kucinich's reforms do not challenge the system. He will be forced to lurch from one reform attempt to another until business makes him accommodate or go under. □

expensive procedure.

In addition, clinics and doctor's offices where abortions are performed must pay annual license fees of \$1,000 plus \$500 for each physician performing abortions.

RIGHT WING

The measure was written by Michael Connelly, an attorney for the Baton Rouge Right to Life organization and Citizens Against Abortion. It was modeled on an Akron, Ohio ordinance, but it is an even more restrictive law. The Akron ordinance is temporarily enjoined because of legal challenges.

Right wing groups are opposed to abortion because they are opposed to women's liberation. The Louisiana legislature is so extreme that it proves that they have no concern for life. Is it better for a 12 or 14-year-old child to give birth because she is afraid to ask her parents' permission for an abortion?

The right to control of one's body is a fundamental issue for women's liberation. Abortion was one of the key issues of the women's liberation movement of the '60's. Today

that right is threatened. If women are to maintain the freedom to choose abortion, women will again have to organize to defend the right to choose.

AROUND THE COUNTRY

IN MICHIGAN, an attempt by the state legislature to limit Medicaid payments for abortion to \$1 was vetoed by Governor William Milliken. The controversy is not over, however. The appropriations bill will return to the state legislature, where abortion is again expected to be a rider on the bill.

IN BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY, Marla Pitchford faces 10-20 years in jail for performing an abortion on herself with a knitting needle. She is charged with violating a Kentucky statute that prohibits anyone but a licensed doctor from performing an abortion.

"The statute was intended for quacks, not for young girls caught up in this kind of trauma," objected attorney Flora Stuart. Women's groups, including the National Organization for Women, have offered to aid Ms. Pitchford in her defense. □

FIGHTING THE MENACE

by Paul Braz

LOUISVILLE, KY.—The anti-nuclear power movement in this country is barely two years old. Yet, in that time it has grown from a few scattered environmental groups doing small isolated actions to a movement which rallied 20,000 at the Seabrook nuclear reactor construction site in New Hampshire.

We attended a national meeting of anti-nuclear activists in Louisville August 16-20. On these pages is presented some of what they said.

Three hundred delegates, representing most of the major anti-nuclear groups in the country met for the

first time to share ideas and resources. Although there are problems, the conference was a big step forward in building the movement.

The arguments against nuclear power are many. It's unsafe. Tens of thousands could be killed in a nuclear accident. There is no adequate way of disposing of radioactive wastes, which will be with us for millions of years.

Reactors leak radiation and damage the health of those people working and living around them.

Nuclear power is also expensive. The capitalist economist, Saunders Miller, an investment counsellor,

in a recent book wrote, "Based upon thorough and in-depth analysis from an economic standpoint alone, to rely upon nuclear fission as the primary source of our stationary energy supplies will constitute economic lunacy on a scale unparalleled in reported history, and may lead to the economic Waterloo of the United States."

Nuclear power also provides very few jobs, a fact which many unionists are now waking up to.

The anti-nuclear movement could become the next major political movement in this country. Its organizers are serious and dedicated—but they are not a typical cross-section of the public. Most are middle class and white. Many of them will tell you that they are afraid to talk to workers.

For the movement to grow and win it must reach out—bridging the gap between environmentalists, workers, the unions, the poor, and minorities. People at the Louisville conference recognized that this is one of their most important tasks.

A step in this direction was the attendance at the conference of Joe Frantz, a representative of the United Steel Workers Local 1010 in Gary, Indiana, the largest local in the steelworkers union. He was also

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Views of the struggle:

Joe Frantz
United Steel Workers
Local 1010
Bailly Alliance

"A lot of people listening to the leaders of some of the unions might think that there's not a lot in common with the struggle of the trade unions and the struggle against nuclear power. But they couldn't be more wrong.

"We didn't know about the studies now coming out of communities around nuclear reactors having dramatic increases in cancer rates. For workers, members of our union. Radiation doesn't make distinctions.

"What we found out as we started to read was that nuclear power doesn't create jobs, it destroys jobs. The utilities want to soak up 25% of the investment capital in this country to put into an industry that is going to provide very few jobs.

"The cost of electricity has gone up radically where nukes have gone into operation, because of the increase in construction costs, costs of fuel, and the unreliable operation of the nuclear power plants.

"We've realized how the energy policies of this country are tied up with a whole system of things that are wrong with this country.

"One thing we as environmentalists have to learn is how to build coalitions with people who don't understand all that yet. We have to both keep the vision that we have of a new society and of the energy policies that that society will have and at the same time build a broader coalition around things that can actually turn the energy policy of this country around. If we do that, even the corporations can't stop us. □

Barry Commoner
author, professor of
environmental
science

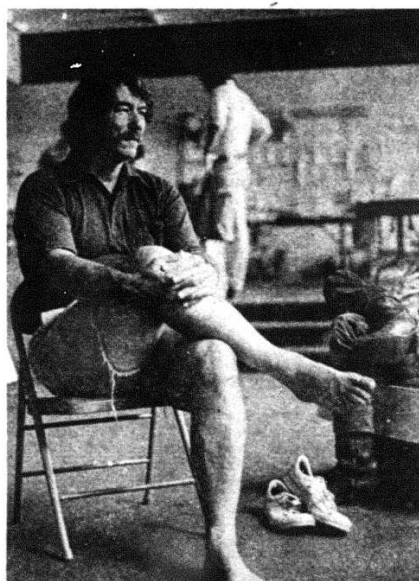
"No one ever asked if we wanted nuclear power. There has never been a debate in Congress or anywhere else. Well, it's time we had one.

"They've got all their wheels turning, supposedly to create an energy policy, and what have they got? Higher gas prices! The establishment has had its chance and it's failed.

"Raising the price of natural gas, exactly the one fossil fuel that ought to be kept down in price so it can be used as a bridge to solar energy. We should fight just as hard against the deregulation bill as we are against nuclear power in our own neighborhoods.

"Most people who are on fixed incomes are now worried about paying their utility bills. Utility bills are becoming larger than mortgages, larger than rent. Most people with limited incomes now worry more about the cost of electricity and heat than they do about anything else. This is the most rapidly rising aspect of inflation.

"In the last two years we have seen a fantastic historic development from gut feelings about nuclear reactors to local activities, to an understanding that we need allies, and now, I hope, to an understanding that it is our responsibility to go to the people and learn how to build, for the first time, a people's energy policy." □



Interview with Guy C

Workers' Power. How did you come to be against nuclear power?

Chichester. I got a call from the legal interveners of the Seacoast Anti-pollution League. They were trying to prevent an environmental bomb, but not the actual construction of the nuclear plant. They expected they could minimize the environmental degradation. They asked me if I could come down and be chief cook and bottle washer.

We grew up with the sugar pill of clean, safe nuclear energy. It was the first thing put into our mouths when we were born. It was something that everybody swallowed.

I read a report on the catastrophic effects of a melt down. An AEC [Atomic Energy Commission] report. Took about a month before I really snapped out. When I did I was properly horrified.

Workers' Power. So you began organizing a movement?

Chichester. I accepted the job and broke out of the historical way in which they had been operating. I took great liberties that the board didn't care for.

I'm kind of a rogue in the state of New

Guy Chichester is one of the founders of the Clamshell Alliance, one of the most successful and visible of the anti-nuclear groups. Their demonstrations at a New Hampshire nuclear power construction site, Seabrook, have grown from a few hundred in 1975 to 20,000 in June of this year.

In this interview he discusses, among other things, civil disobedience, "consensus" decision-making, local "affinity groups," and the future of the anti-nuclear movement.

Chichester is a carpenter who resides in Rye, New Hampshire. An expatriot of New York, he says, "The land shark drove me off Long Island. I

Hampshire. I drink too much. I have trouble with the police if they don't treat me decently. So I was a perfect foil for the public service companies who started spreading malicious rumors about people being pushed to do things by someone who,

OF NUCLEAR POWER

representing the Bailly Alliance, a northwestern Indiana anti-nuclear group.

Frantz talked about jobs, work, safety, and the economic irrationality of nuclear power. In an address to the conference he said, "Some unions still have their blinders on. They think they can rely on the private utilities to set the energy policies of our nation. They're in for a big surprise."

"They're going to find out that the goals of those companies are not jobs and cheap energy but the opposite. They want to increase their profits as much as they can. They want to reduce their workforce and drive up the price of energy, and gain control of the whole energy system in this country."

Anti-nuclear activists, whose rallying cry is "no nukes," have started looking beyond the stopping of nuclear power, to the creation of what they call a "people's energy policy." As activists become more involved in the fight against nuclear power they discover that they are confronting the system itself. Many move towards radical solutions.

In these first articles we try to give readers a broad picture of the present state of the movement. We feel that it has many weaknesses, among these its use of

"consensus" decision-making, its "affinity group" structure, its fear of any centralized leadership, and its isolation from ordinary working people. But we believe that as the movement grows, matures, and faces challenges many of these problems will be worked out.

A second series of articles in the next issue of Workers' Power will outline the case against nuclear power and present a socialist view of the energy question.

Anti-nuclear conference participants.



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What is the anti-uke movement? by Chichester

Workers' Power. How did you go about organizing the movement?

Chichester. I have confidence in people. Our first demos were in the Fall of 1975. We linked up with other organizations. We found people who would go out on a picket line. Later we started a group in the university. Wherever we could find a little rump of a group.

We wouldn't let (the power companies) get away with a lie. Every time that they would lie, we would come back and say, "You're lying." "These people are lying." At this point it was all local people.

The first hearing of the NRC (Nuclear Regulatory Commission) license I didn't have enough people in New Hampshire, either knowledgeable or in terms of numbers, to really put on some sort of a heavy confrontation.

I went to Boston and scouted out people from things I had gotten in the mail. I realized that the whole thing (licensing procedure) was bogus, and I found two or three others who realized this and who were thinking in terms of heavy direct action, who wanted to start a movement that people could identify with—that is, a real fight.

We got four or five hundred people in action. Marched across the state. Local bands. Tabloids. Met them with clam chowder.

Workers' Power. At this point, the organization was still the Seacoast Resistance. How was Clamshell born?

Chichester. The week after the announcement of the license we got together in Rye. There was all kinds of elements there. The Quaker movement. The non-violent arrangement. The left-over experience of the war days. It was a wonderful bunch of people who started out with the first consensus, that this movement has to go beyond this issue.

What we are able to build has to be lasting, has to be centered on local strengths, on local organizing, and that was our first premise. The thrust was action. Among some people the cruz was coming at capitalism—the crown jewel of capitalism.

Workers' Power. Who were the group's leaders?

Chichester. There were no leaders, there are no leaders, there still are no leaders. There are no offices. That was a conscious arrangement, in order to overcome the problems of leaders.

Some people believe in them. Some people believe that you've got to have leaders or some group of leaders to speak out to a wider constituency on behalf of the whole. But we didn't buy into that idea.

There's a rotation of spokespeople. I did it for awhile, then someone else did it. For Clamshell, there's a constant turnover of

spokespeople, as far as names in front of the public, the media and so forth.

Workers' Power. You make decisions by consensus. Everyone must agree on something, or the decision is not made. How well does this work?

Chichester. The consensus arrangement was something that may be conscious with some people, but it wasn't spoken of. It was something that this group, which only numbered about 30 people, knew each other well enough that we worked in a consensus way.

We weren't happy unless everybody was together. Theoretically, although it has problems in its practical application from time to time, we strive for the whole organization—every person in it—to take part in the decision.

The reason we are having trouble is that everybody wants to take part in deciding the color of the poster. But people are finding an appreciation that it can't be done, and there's a continual refining of the process and criticism of it.

The best vibration will draw agreement. Their numbers will increase. Those who can't buy in can't buy in, and that's ok too, because others will.

We had a serious problem in the spring. A lot of energy is going into straightening out the problem.

Workers' Power. You are organized into affinity groups, as are almost all other anti-nuclear groups across the country. How do these work?

Chichester. We have an emphasis on local, decentralized organizing and we emphasize people joining together in a basic building block for the movement—the affinity group.

An intimate group of 15 or 20 people. Neighbors and co-workers and friends, who can operate independently in their own neighborhoods and their towns in their own way. The affinity group experience is a great training ground because not only do they have to come to agreement, they have a kind of loyalty and intimacy that you can't get in any other way.

Everyone steps off on the same foot, once they've made the decision. We see this as the way to develop the individual and collective energies of the movement.

Non-violence is the other side of the coin—the formation of a non-violent army in a sense.

Workers' Power. Many people, many workers in unionized industries, for instance, are not willing to risk jail and the loss of their jobs to participate in some of these actions. Is there a place for them in this movement?

Chichester. The unions have to straighten out their own house. I think that the rank and file of the unions are trying to do that. I think there's some real good ideas being floated around and worked on in the unions. Rump movements.

That's very healthy. We identify with that crowd and they with us. But identifying with and having a spiritual unity we are still only starting to make the hard connections—like Frantz being here, and some of our folks who are union members introducing this into their unions.

The rank and file in the unions I think have learned the lessons quite clearly by now that the paycheck is not where it's at, that the paycheck will never be enough. I think you'll find people who'll take their paychecks and go along, but they're really not happy with what's happening. The whole rank and file, by and large, is moving away from the paycheck toward social solutions.

Workers' Power. The anti-nuclear movement was formed largely around safety issues, but there are strong economic arguments against nuclear power also. Which, do you think, will be most important in building the movement in the future?

Chichester. The heaviest consciousness that exists is that we're breathing in death. All of us. Nobody has to teach about the economic fallacies that exist. People feel that every time they write a check out to Exxon.

Workers' Power. What sort of future do you see for the movement?

Chichester. This is a revolutionary movement, because the way this revolution will be manifest is that each person will have their own unit to bolt on a sunny window that will provide their own energy needs.

There will be a kind of independence for the individual, for the family, that we haven't known since the family farm. You can't push around a self-sustaining farm family.

Workers' Power. But someone would still have to work in the steel mills, make buses...

Chichester. Those people should still have their physical needs guaranteed by the technologies available, and under their own control. If they want to work in steel mills, that's fine, but they're not going to be pushed around. They'll have a job that is a dignified and fairly-paid job, because if that's not the kind of job they have, they don't go to work.

Workers' Power. How do you think these changes can be made?

Chichester. Put two or three pieces of legislation before the Congress. Then bend that f---king Congress.

Stop nuclear power plants, and get this sort of machinery I'm talking about into people's hands. And if it has to be mainstream, through the capitalist system, that's fine. Folks will be happy working on stuff like that at General Motors.

was totally unacceptable to do anything but drink in this society.

It helped stimulate the fight that I wanted to have happen. The board was eventually won over to an anti-nuclear position in August 1975.

Speaking Out

What We Think

George McGovern: Anti-War Liberal Turns Warmonger

Even the most battle-hardened, cynical observers of American capitalist politics—and we consider ourselves about as cynical as they come—had to sit up in amazement at the antics of former liberal anti-war Democratic Senator George McGovern this week.

There he was, right on the evening news, calling for a military invasion to overthrow the government of Cambodia. This is the same George McGovern who was the Democratic Party candidate for President on an anti-war platform in 1972. He persuaded thousands of anti-war activists that he was the true champion of the struggle against the Vietnam war.

According to McGovern today, the government that took over Cambodia after the fall of the pro-U.S. military dictatorship is "worse than Hitler's operation" and should be overthrown by an international military force on "humanitarian" grounds.

Viewed in the light of history, McGovern's apparent switch becomes less surprising. It is well-known that liberals who are "doves" on one issue, like Vietnam, could be military hard-liners on another, say the Middle East. McGovern himself was an example of this, combining his speeches against the Vietnam war with demands for stepped-up U.S. military hardware shipments to Israel.

And it was no less than the liberal hero, President John Kennedy, who initiated the massive direct U.S. military intervention in Vietnam.

So in purely political terms, McGovern's idea of sending the Marines to overthrow the government of a sovereign state in Asia is steeped in a long, rich history of American imperialism and liberal imperialism in particular.

But in moral terms, for pure debauchery and total, unrestrained intellectual hypocrisy, the anti-Cambodia crusade raging in this country today may never be equalled.

According to figures quoted by McGovern, compiled on the basis of guesswork by self-appointed Cambodia watchers from outside, two million people have died since the new regime came to power. There is no way of knowing whether these guesses have any foundation in reality.

But it happens, by coincidence, that two million is approximately the number of Vietnamese, overwhelmingly

civilians, who were killed in the course of the American occupation of Vietnam. They died under American napalm, fragmentation and cluster bombs, from chemical defoliants causing hideous diseases and birth defects, and other techniques.

According to the kind of logic used by the anti-war hero, George McGovern, any country with the power to do so would have been perfectly justified to invade the United States, and take over the American government to stop the war in Vietnam. Had anyone tried this, of course, it would have meant World War III—and if McGovern's proposal to invade Cambodia were attempted, it would probably have the same effect.

WHO'S REALLY RESPONSIBLE

But it was not only in Vietnam that American imperialism was responsible for destruction and slaughter. If anyone in the world should know where the actual blame lies for the deaths in Cambodia, including those they piously weep over today, it should be the political leaders of the United States of America. It was they who dragged Cambodia into the escalated Southeast Asia war.

It was their war machine which, in the course of 1970-1974, reduced Cambodia to a state of physical ruin and the verge of mass starvation. Refugees from the carnage in the countryside, caused by the American military and its Cambodian puppets, had swollen the capital, Phnom Penh, to six times its normal size.

Now, looking from the outside at the destruction and suffering they created, America's warmakers denounce the new Cambodian regime as cutthroats and international outlaws. And George McGovern rushes to join the bandwagon. It is perhaps his most disgusting performance in a none too savory political career.

□ □ □

Our outrage at the spectacle of George McGovern and other political figures, posturing with mock horror over Cambodia, does not make us supporters of the Khmer

Rouge [Communist Party] government of Cambodia today.

For many on the left, it is all too easy to assume that since the Khmer Rouge waged a successful anti-imperialist struggle, their policies in power are oriented toward the well being of the Cambodian people. But this is not the case—and endless repetition of the crimes committed by American imperialism, as necessary as it is to emphasize these crimes, does not change the reality of Cambodia today.

When the Khmer Rouge liberated Phnom Penh and took over Cambodia, they faced a choice. If the Khmer Rouge leadership were a socialist or working class force, their first priority would have been the survival and well-being of the working class, refugees and peasants.

Among other things this would have meant seizing abandoned homes of the wealthy, and demanding emergency massive food aid from the Khmer Rouge's allies, the Soviet Union and China.

A DIFFERENT CHOICE

The Khmer Rouge leadership made a different choice—to evacuate the capital city, seal off the country and adopt a program which they call "self-reliance" in a shattered and desperately poor nation. No matter how desperate the situation in Phnom Penh had become, it is clear such a policy could not be implemented without enormous suffering and brutal regimentation.

We do not pretend to know how many have died. But it is difficult to imagine how the forced march of the entire urban population, and other measures needed to take control of the countryside, could be carried out without deaths in at least the hundreds of thousands.

None of this occurred because the Khmer Rouge leaders are brutal men. It happened because their aim was to consolidate their power as a new bureaucracy. To do this, since they could not effectively control the cities, they decided to liquidate all the urban classes—workers, capitalists and everyone in between. Such a strategy is the complete opposite of socialism, and is completely alien to anything socialists can support. □

As I See It

The Last Traffic Jam; or, When The Lunatics Take Over, They Call It "Civil Defense"

by Dan Posen

If you think the world is going crazy, a government agency called the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency is not likely to make you change your mind.

This outfit has come up with a plan to create, quite literally, the traffic jam to end all traffic jams.

The reason I say "quite literally," is that when this traffic jam is over, there probably won't be any traffic left, and if there is, there won't be anywhere left for it to go.

Aided by local officials, the geniuses at DCPA have planned the mass evacuation of the entire population of the major urban centers of the United States, in the event of impending nuclear war.

I am not making this up.

72-HOUR EXODUS

The plan for Detroit, for example, as reported by a Detroit newspaper last Sunday, calls for a 72-hour motor vehicle exodus of the entire city and suburban areas to rural counties in northern Indiana, Ohio and parts of Michigan.

There, the thinking (if that's what you call it) goes, 180 million people would somehow survive nuclear war in motels, cottages, basements or wherever.

Forget about the fact that food and water supplies would be poisoned with radioactivity, that industry and manufacturing would be obliterated, that fuel would run out and transportation break down and soon there would be no medical supplies to treat people dying of radiation disease. Only 40 million Americans would die, they say, and 180 million would be left to "rebuild."

Just exactly how do they expect people to live through

such a catastrophe, anyway? That's an interesting question, and we'll get back to it.

But first a word from our local sponsor, in this case the emergency services division of the Michigan State Police, who have worked out details for evacuating Detroit far in advance of the sketchy plans of those slow-moving civil defense bureaucrats in Washington.

CLIP 'N SAVE

It's a feat of engineering design for which they deserve a lot of credit. Depending on which part of Detroit or which suburb you live in, they have figured out which interstate you would be herded onto and which direction you would head into the countryside for shelter.

It's an article which I and no doubt hundreds of thousands of civic-minded folks will clip out of Sunday's Detroit Free Press and post in a strategic spot in our kitchens alongside the emergency phone numbers to call for fire or ambulance service.

The plan is to be implemented on 72 hours notice. Figuring, no doubt accurately, that equivalent war and "civil defense" planners in the Soviet Union have similar plans for mass evacuations, our defense directors and local police would take any sign of massive movement out of Russian cities as the indication to trigger their own people-removal operation.

So you see, then the peoples of the USA and USSR could huddle in caves in the Ural mountains or small towns in rural America while the war machines blasted their abandoned cities into radioactive dust.

By how you're probably thinking that people who design

plans like this are lunatics who ought to be locked up, and instead are turning the whole world into their asylum.

But it's not so simple. Sure it's insane, but there's a purpose to it.

A statement made to a reporter by the Michigan police top nuclear protection officer, Ted Zale, let the cat out of the bag. When asked about how food and shelter shortages would be dealt with, Zale replied:

"We just want people to get by for two weeks. We're not gonna give everybody three square meals a day."

Two weeks. Not two years or two months, but two weeks. During that time, Zale went on to explain, negotiations could go on with the Russians to prevent the impending war, without having to declare martial law in American cities.

Now we know the answer to our earlier question: how do they expect a nation to survive a full-scale nuclear war without food, water or an economy?

The answer is: they don't. They know almost everyone would die, either immediately or slowly and hideously.

WAR, BUT NO RIOTS

But if it comes to a showdown between the United States and Russia at the brink of nuclear war, the American and Russian governments would not have to deal with their own people rioting in the streets of New York, Detroit, Leningrad and Moscow.

They are afraid that despite all their technology, their ability to wage a Third World War might be blocked by popular revolt. So they want the people herded into caves, while the fate of all-civilization since humanity emerged from caves is decided. □

The Socialist View

THE DEMOCRATS, PART 1: HOW BIG MONEY CALLS PARTY'S TUNE

by Sandy Boyer

Recently even George Meany and UAW President Doug Fraser have been complaining that labor's political strategy of electing Democrats isn't working.

In fact, the last unequivocally pro-labor legislation in this country was the 1935 Wagner Act, passed in the middle of the sit down strikes and the CIO upsurge.

When a political strategy fails so totally for so long it can't be just an accident.

We think the reason for the failure is that the Democratic Party is a party of business and the rich. They control it and it serves their interests. That is why we say the Democratic Party is a capitalist party.

Big business controls the Democratic Party through money, through ideas and through its economic power.

MONEY

Any serious campaign for public office is fabulously expensive. The more important the office the higher the price tag.

The candidate must cover the cost of a full time staff, campaign travel often by plane, a myriad of offices, TV, radio and newspaper ads and a whole host of other expensive things.

Running for President costs tens of millions of dollars. Running for the Senate from a big state will cost over a million. Even a hotly contested Congressional race will cost over a hundred thousand dollars.

If you want to raise that kind of money you have to go to the people who have that kind of money—big business and the rich.

There is a liberal myth that the Campaign Reform Act removed the political clout of the rich by limiting the size of contributions and providing federal matching funds for Presidential elections.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

What the Campaign Reform Act did do was force candidates to rely on computerized direct mail operations to raise money.

But it takes money to raise

money—especially by direct mail. The Democratic National Committee estimates that 40 cents of every dollar they raise by direct mail goes for fund raising costs.

A candidate needs "seed money" to start a direct mail campaign. Before a single dime comes in the mailing lists have to be rented (often for around \$50 per thousand names), the computer costs and the postage have to be paid. And that's assuming the fund raiser is working for free.

It is big business executives and the very rich who help candidates raise that kind of "seed money." Only they can put together a recep-

larger number of rich people rather than one or two large backers.

IDEAS

The Democratic Party accepts and promotes the same key ideas about society as American big business.

There isn't a single Democratic leader who doesn't proclaim allegiance to the "free enterprise system," the "national interest" and similar ideas.

What these ideas mean in practice is that business not only has the right to run the economy but to dictate the key political

decisions as well. For example, the Lykes Co. recently closed down Youngtown Sheet and Tube throwing 4,200 people out of work and threatening to make Youngtown a ghost town. Obviously the capitalist owners of Lykes Co. do not have the same interests as their employees.

Another example is Carter's energy bill. Saving energy is in "the national interest." So working people are going to pay much higher prices for gasoline and home heating oil while oil companies make super profits. All courtesy of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress.

Democratic Party not only through money and ideas but through its economic power.

It can wreck any government it seriously dislikes just by refusing to invest and bringing on a depression and economic collapse.

No Democratic administration dares to try to control inflation, stimulate the economy, raise or lower taxes or take any other serious economic decisions without clearing it with big business.

The Carter administration has become so alarmed about the state of the economy that they have given business a total veto over all new federal social programs.

Once we understand that the Democratic Party is controlled by business, there's no mystery about why the Democrats forget their campaign promises to working people as soon as they get in office.

The Democrats make only the reforms that business encourages or permits. And then only when there is enormous popular pressure like the Civil Rights movement or the women's liberation movement.

The Democrats are enormously useful to big business. We have already seen the way they popularize the business ideology.

They become especially important in times of crisis or economic difficulty.

It is much easier to get people to make sacrifices when "their own" party is in power. Sometimes we're only asked to sacrifice our standard of living to save the economy. Other times we're asked by Democrats to go to war and sacrifice our lives.

There are some people on the left who while agreeing with almost everything we've said about the Democratic Party still feel it can be reformed. They say socialists and radicals must work inside the Democratic Party to transform it into a workers' party.

The next article in this series will examine their arguments and what has happened when this strategy has been tried.



tion or cocktail party of fifty or a hundred people each of whom will give the legal maximum of \$1,000.

The alternative is to find a wealthy or well-funded sponsor who already has their own mailing lists and computer facilities.

Richard Viguerie, the much publicized right wing fund raiser, specializes in providing these services to ultra-conservative Republican candidates.

In Presidential campaigns the federal matching funds for each dollar the candidate raises increase the impact of "seed money."

A reception or cocktail party that raises \$100,000 actually earns the candidate \$200,000. This can be applied toward the huge cost of starting a national direct mail fund raising effort.

The Campaign Reform Act hasn't ended the rich's financial stranglehold on American politics. All it means is that the successful candidate must be able to appeal to a

decisions as well. "Free enterprise" has to do with the right of the Rockefeller family to own Standard Oil and the Chase Manhattan Bank, not your right to open a corner grocery and compete with the A&P.

It is the "right" of 1.6% of the American people to own 80% of all stock and thus completely control American industry.

What this adds up to is that the Democratic Party is committed both by its words and its actions to allowing big business to continue to run the American economy for the benefit of 1.6% of the population no matter what the other 98.4% wants or needs.

Another very important idea the Democrats help big business popularize is "the national interest." The idea is that everybody in the country, rich or poor, management or labor, has the same interest in solving the country's problems.

But management and workers

These are some of the crucial ideas that make up American capitalism's ideology. Capitalists use these ideas to justify their own existence and operations.

From the point of view of big business, one of the most important things about the Democratic Party is that it can sell these ideas to working people far more effectively than the Republicans. After all, everybody knows the Republicans are a big business party.

These ideas try to explain away the injustices of this society. That is why it is so important to big business that working people accept them.

ECONOMIC POWER

Big business controls the Demo-

Letters

Build State Capitol On PBB Burial Pit

Dear Workers' Power:

The deformed babies of Niagara, New York should be a warning to Michigan residents.

In 1973, Michigan's cattle were poisoned with the fire-retardant PBB. This dangerous chemical has poisoned every man, woman, and child living in the state.

Today, the PBB cattle are being buried in Mio, Michigan in a clay pit that sounds similar to the one that leaked poisonous chemicals into the backyards of the residents of Niagara.

The people of Mio are frightened and angry. They have protested and demonstrated. Governor Miliken has traveled to Mio to assure

them that the pit is safe.

The Governor is sure it's safe. Unfortunately, he was so sure it was safe that he didn't do anything about the "accident". That is why PBB has become a nightmare that Michigan may never wake up from.

PBB has destroyed the central nervous systems of the farm families who handled it. Michigan residents have consumed it in their hamburgers and steaks. Mothers nursing their infants have fed them PBB. And now PBB is turning up in the sheep that have grazed on the land that has been contaminated by this poison.

I have one good idea. Let's build the state Capitol on top of the burial pit. Maybe if these politi-

cians were affected directly, they would find a more satisfactory solution to the PBB nightmare.

In struggle,
Emily Sharpe

'Excellent'

Dear Workers' Power:

Please send me an extra copy of the August 10-23 issue of WP, which contains the excellent analysis of the Women's Movement. That article should be printed as a separate pamphlet.

Frank Marquart
Albuquerque, N.M.

JOIN US!

If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and would like more information, or would like to join the International Socialists, then send this form to: INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.

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"No Locals, No Contracts, No Picketing, No Strikes"

When Bosses Form A Union

by Jim Woodward

Q. "Did you and Mr. Hall go into this for the purpose of making a profit?"

A. "Oh, yes, yes."

And there you have the reason for the founding of the American Independent Lithographers Union, straight from the mouth of its

Secretary-Treasurer, John W. Brown, Jr.

The A.I.L.U., you see, is not a typical trade union. Besides being a profit-making operation, its members are employers, not workers.

It's set up quite openly as a way for small printing companies to pretend they are union shops, using a union label, while in fact

remaining non-union.

For an initial \$10 fee and regular "dues" of \$5 a month, any printing employer can join the A.I.L.U. In return, the employer gets to use the A.I.L.U. label on his printing. The dues go into the pockets of W.E. Hall, a Tennessee businessman who calls himself union president, and Brown, a lawyer.

"NO LOCALS, NO CONTRACTS"

Hall and Brown each own 50% of the stock, and, according to the A.I.L.U.'s constitution, "Government of this corporation shall be vested in a President and a Secretary-Treasurer selected by the stockholders of the Corporation."

To make matters perfectly clear, the constitution adds, "Members do not vote for officers or exercise management of the corporation." They do, however, have a right to submit suggestions.

But while Brown and Hall may be freely scooping up their members' dues money, they carefully

explain that businessmen have nothing to fear from joining their "union." "There are no Locals, no Union contracts," Hall pointed out in one letter.

In another letter to a Detroit print shop operator, Brown expanded on this theme:

"A.I.L.U. could probably be better defined as a business association because it is a 'union' of owners and managers rather than an organization which seeks to represent workers thru collective bargaining..." he said. "I can assure you that A.I.L.U. will never subject you to picketing, strikes, etc."

This is not exactly what self-righteous business executives mean when they refer to "union bosses," but it's not a bad term for the A.I.L.U.

"OPPORTUNISTS"

Contacted by Workers' Power, Brown confirmed the outlines of the A.I.L.U. scheme, but refused to say how many members the

"union" has. "Oh, off hand, I don't have a recent count," he said.

One member is Joseph Lesnau, who runs a print shop in Detroit. He told Workers' Power he joined because he thought it "would do us some good in times when somebody needed the union label on [their printing]."

Legitimate printing unions are outraged. "There is apparently no limit to what opportunists will do to profit from the good reputation of union workers and the union label," wrote Doyle Worley, president of the Allied Printing Trades Council of Detroit.

In an article in the Michigan AFL-CIO News, Worley noted that the A.I.L.U. label was being used on election material distributed "by candidates who thought they were getting the Allied Printing Trades Label."

The Printing Trades Council, which is composed of a number of printing unions, issues a legitimate union label which can be used by shops where the employees—not the bosses—are in the union. □

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

The United Mine Workers executive board has set the next UMW convention for September 23-29, 1979 in that well known mining town, Miami, Florida. According to UMW President Arnold Miller, an executive board commission studying the problem "believes that the selection of Miami will insure a smooth-running convention." Among the issues Miller hopes to smooth over will probably be an attempt to remove him from office. But Miller hints he may try to roll back some of the democratic changes written into the union's constitution in 1973: "I believe our membership is ready to consider those Constitutional changes necessary for the UMW's continued growth and prosperity." A UMW spokeswoman would not elaborate, other than to say information on specific constitutional changes would be forthcoming later.

In related news, Arnold Miller has threatened to put two West Virginia UMW locals in trusteeship. Both locals are considered hostile to Miller. They include Local 1776, which is leading a drive to recall the union president, and Local 1759, which was the focus of a 1976 nationwide wildcat strike. Miller is demanding to inspect the books of both locals, apparently hoping to find some financial irregularity.

Leaders of the Teamsters Union like to claim they are one of the few American unions which is growing. Yet in the trucking industry, the union is clearly on the decline. A recent article in Business Week points to this trend: "The decline of the unionized segment of the trucking business is being cited by both management and labor officials as they start preparing for the 1979 talks," the magazine says, adding that this "could have a moderating influence on bargaining." But, Business Week adds, "Teamsters dissidents such as PkOD, Inc. and Teamsters for a Democratic Union are forming a coalition to push for their own contract priorities. They could make it politically difficult for union President Frank E. Fitzsimmons to be moderate...."

Other Teamster news comes from PROUD, which has published an analysis of the union's 15 biggest pension funds. Most of the dirt on the Central States Pension Fund and other funds which serve rank and file members is well known. The Central States Fund has most of its money tied up in real estate deals, with many loans nothing but outright gifts to gangster buddies. The Fund wrote off \$77 million in loans as uncollectible in the last 1½ years. By contrast, the Teamster Affiliates Pension Fund, serving only union officials, is expertly managed. It has no real estate loans; instead Teamster Affiliates invests in blue chip stocks and similar securities. Teamster Affiliates' administrative costs are 3% of employer contributions, compared with 5.8%—nearly double—for the Central States Fund.

The dismantling of the United Mine Workers Health Fund, forced into the current miners' contract by the coal operators, is beginning to have its serious effects. On August 15, the Appalachian Regional Hospital (ARH) at Man, W. Va. closed all its facilities except the outpatient clinic. In the last year, since miners were required to pay hospital deductibles, the number of UMW members and dependents admitted to the hospital has dropped by more than two-thirds. Some observers feel the ARH hospital at Williamson, W. Va. may be next to close. The two hospitals are among 10 built in West Virginia, Virginia, and Kentucky by the United Mine Workers while John L. Lewis was president.

Kenneth Jernigan, president of the National Federation of the Blind, says he is pleased that employees at a so-called "shelter workshop for the blind" have joined the Teamsters Union. "The very governmental and private social service agencies established to help us often have exploited us," Jernigan said. He noted that blind workers in such establishments are sometimes paid as little as 50 cents an hour, while top management salaries run to \$50,000 and more. Key to unionizing efforts is a recent NLRB ruling that these blind workers are part of commercial operations, not rehabilitation programs.



THE GREAT RIVER RIP-OFF

Pretty, huh?

It's the Au Sable River, one of the most beautiful in Michigan. You can canoe down the stream, but if you stop to camp on shore, you might be trespassing on someone's PRIVATE PROPERTY. And the someone controlling that property could easily be a judge, or Congressman, or important state bureaucrat.

What's more, this bureaucrat is leasing his prime vacation land for the rock bottom bargain basement price of \$150 a year.

The way it works is this: the land—more than 70,000 acres on the Manistee and Au Sable Rivers—belongs to Consumers Power, one of Michigan's major utilities.

In the 1930's the utility began leasing part of this land. A 20-acre parcel went to multimillionaire Calvin Bentley for \$25 a year.

Philip Potter got a tract for \$10 a year. Potter was responsible for auditing Consumers Power's books for the state. (Annual rentals were later raised to the \$150 figure.)

William G. Turney, head of Michigan's environmental protection department, has 12 acres on the Manistee River. Turney makes decisions on anti-pollution regulations which are very important to the utility.

Other lease-holders include a federal judge, vice presidents of two major Michigan banks, a top Ford Motor Co. official, and several legislative lobbyists.

Altogether, some 500 persons are leasing 8,000 acres.

FOR SALE

In the early 1970's, when the utility needed to raise cash, it announced it would sell all 70,000 acres.

Government and private conservation officials saw an opportunity to preserve a large, unspoiled semi-wilderness area. The state and federal governments said they would buy almost all of Consumers



"It's their land and they can do what they want with it."

Power's land.

Fine, said the utility, except for the 500 private leases... which happen to be in the best fishing and canoeing areas.

It's not a legal problem, because all the leases can be cancelled on 90 days notice. It's just that in a society founded on the basis of money and power, Consumers Power cares more for its rich and influential friends than for the poor working guy who wants to canoe or fish on an unspoiled river.

The utility said it would allow the

private lease-holders to buy their land outright or extend their leases for 30 years.

As a result, state and federal officials have had to greatly reduce the amount of land they're planning to buy.

One state official said he was disappointed at the utility's decision not to sell all the land together. "But we have to be realistic," he said. "It's their land and they can do what they want with it." □

David Katz

'Black, Brown and Beige'

HOW ELLINGTON'S MASTERPIECE WAS RECORDED — AND BURIED

by Sandy Boyer

In January, 1943, the greatest American composer recorded his most important extended composition.

Thirty-five years later the record has finally been released.

That's as if Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was never published and never played for thirty-five years after he wrote it.

This neglect would have been impossible except for one thing. The greatest American composer, Duke Ellington, was Black. And his music was Afro-American music—jazz.

For the critical establishment that was enough to decide that his music wasn't "serious."

Ellington wrote about Black life in America. A Harlem airshaft, a New Orleans funeral, the subway train to Harlem, the blues, and Black church music were a few of his themes.

Ellington was the first composer to create a uniquely American musical language to write about American themes. Other American composers had used European musical styles to describe American life.

Ellington was doing for American music in 1943 what Mark Twain had done for American literature 65 years earlier.

BLACK, BROWN AND BEIGE

In the January, 1943 Carnegie Hall concert on this album he recorded in full his most important work, "Black, Brown, and Beige," for the first and last time.

"Black, Brown and Beige" is a musical history of Black people in America from slavery to World War II, when, as Ellington says on the record, "We've been struggling for solidarity and just as we're about to get our teeth into it, our country's at war again..."

The first movement, "Black," is about slavery. A work song theme is intermingled with the "Come Sunday" theme representing slave religion and the spirituals.

Johnny Hodge's two-minute alto saxophone statement of the "Come Sunday" theme may be the most intensely beautiful saxophone solo anyone's ever recorded.

"Brown," the second movement, begins with Emancipation—both the exuberant joy and the despair of old people who can't work and have nowhere to go.

The last movement, "Beige," describes Black life in the 20's, 30's and World War II.

TOP BAND

Writing about "Black, Brown and Beige", you inevitably focus on Ellington the composer. Listen-

THE DUKE ELLINGTON CARNegie HALL CONCERTS January 1943

Prestige Records P-34004

Personnel:

Duke Ellington: leader, piano, arranger

Rex Steward, Harold Baker, Wallace Jones: trumpets

Ray Nance: trumpet, violin

Tricky Sam Nanton, Juan Tizol, Lawrence Brown: trombones

Johnny Hodges, Ben Webster, Harry Carney, Otto Hardwicke, Chauncey Haughton: reeds

Fred Guy: guitar

Junior Raglin: bass

Sonny Greer: drums

Betty Roche: vocal

Billy Strayhorn: assistant arranger

Fred Guy: guitar

Junior Raglin: bass

Sonny Greer: drums

Betty Roche: vocal

Billy Strayhorn: assistant arranger

ing to it you also hear the incredible Ellington orchestra.

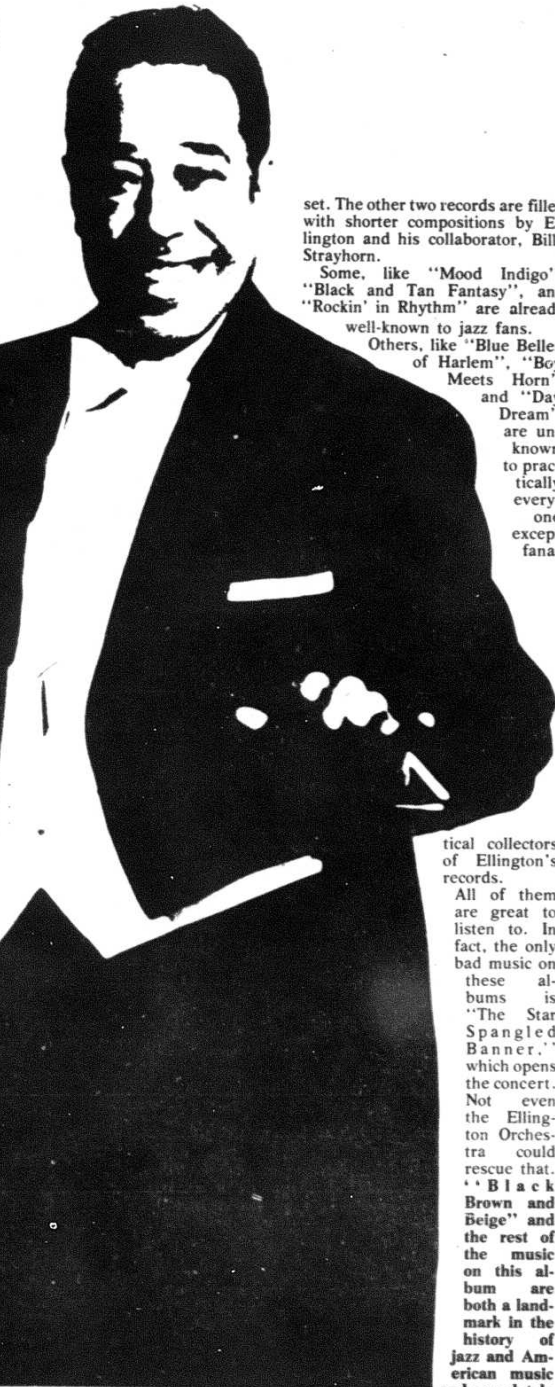
The Ellington orchestra of the 40's was probably not only his best, but the greatest jazz band ever.

Soloists like Johnny Hodges, Ben Webster and Harry Carney are major figures in the history of jazz, independent of Ellington.

The tones and colors of the ensemble passages and the exchanges between soloists and the orchestra are what give the Ellington band a sound that has never been duplicated.

Musicians like Rex Stewart, Tricky Sam Nanton and Lawrence Brown who were never as well known as Ben Webster or Johnny Hodges each added a unique sound to the Ellington orchestra.

Often the whole band would take part in developing a new composition. After a performance, Ellington would play a theme for the saxophone section or the



set. The other two records are filled with shorter compositions by Ellington and his collaborator, Billy Strayhorn.

Some, like "Mood Indigo", "Black and Tan Fantasy", and "Rockin' in Rhythm" are already well-known to jazz fans.

Others, like "Blue Belles of Harlem", "Boy Meets Horn" and "Day Dream" are unknown to practically everyone except fan-

tical collectors of Ellington's records.

All of them are great to listen to. In fact, the only bad music on these albums is "The Star Spangled Banner," which opens the concert.

Not even the Ellington Orchestra could rescue that.

"Black Brown and Beige" and the rest of the music on this album are both a landmark in the history of jazz and American music and completely fresh and modern sounding today.

Anyone who knows and enjoys the music of Charles Mingus, Thad Jones and Mel Lewis, Toshiko Akiyoshi or Cecil Taylor will immediately feel at home with this music.

Even if you're not a jazz fan try listening to this record. The power and the beauty of the music might just bowl you over.

trumpet section on the piano, and one musician after another would rework it in his own way.

Out of this give-and-take, Ellington would shape the composition.

SHORTER WORKS

"Black, Brown and Beige" takes up only one record of a three-record



MADAME ROSA

by Steve Bedworth

Egyptian-born director Momo Mizrahi's film "Madame Rosa" touches on the issues of anti-semitism, racism, poverty and ageism. Madame Rosa, superbly portrayed by Simone Signoret, is 67.

A former prostitute who gave up the business for "aesthetic reasons," she now survives by taking care of prostitutes' children — whom she protects from the Welfare authorities by forged papers.

Yes, Madame Rosa has learned the value and the ultimate futility of papers—papers to prove that one is not a Jew...

MOMO

The central relationship in the film is between Madame Rosa and the young Arab boy, Momo. Momo has been blessed with sensitivity, which, while giving him a certain strength, has made him painfully aware of injustice.

In an act of defiance against the power of money, he sells his most cherished possession, a dog, to a passing motorist, and then throws the money down a gutter.

Madame Rosa, forced to give up most of the other children because of advancing age and hardening of the arteries, comes increasingly to depend on Momo.

Throughout the film Mizrahi stresses the connection between Rosa and her neighborhood—Paris' Belleville quarter, a working class district where Algerians, black Africans, Jews and gentiles live in a harmony dictated by necessity.

In her old age and ill health, it is being removed from that neighborhood—removed from her home and from her lifetime's memories and friends—that becomes Madame Rosa's greatest fear.

For the hospital is a place where people are tortured by keeping them alive when they should be entitled to die with dignity.

When the ambulance sirens finally call for her, Madame Rosa in her illness confuses them with the Gestapo, who came at another time in her life and took her away to Auschwitz.

The film comes to a powerful conclusion with Momo reaffirming his allegiance to the memory of Madame Rosa—who taught him survival with dignity.

Letter Carriers Reject Pact



American Postal Workers Union President Emmet Andrews was prevented from speaking by a tumultuous demonstration until well into the first morning of the union's convention. A sharp-eyed Denver Post photographer caught Andrews' gesture at his unruly constituency. Later in the day, conventioners made their opposition to the contract formal, recommending by a five to one margin that the ranks reject the offer.

APWU Delegates Denounce Sellout; Postal Strike Ahead?

TWENTY-SEVEN HUNDRED DELEGATES from the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) opened their convention in Denver on August 14 with an hour-and-a-half demonstration against their top union leadership.

Angered by the recently negotiated contract with the Postal Service, delegates marched in columns around the convention floor, overturned a table, and banged cans together. "They sure are giving him hell!" said one postal worker, referring to APWU President Emmet Andrews. "Well that's what he gave us!" replied another.

VOTED DOWN

The scene in Denver may be a preview of what management of the U.S. Postal Service is in for.

The contract negotiated by Andrews and other postal union leaders stands a very good chance of being rejected. In the first results, members of the National Association of Letter Carriers voted it down August 23 by 78,000-56,000.

The APWU and the third major postal union, the Mailhandlers,

were scheduled to report their ratification results a few days later.

If the contract is rejected, the stage will be set for a confrontation. Postmaster General William Bolger says the government will not reopen negotiations with the unions.

Both the Letter Carriers and the APWU (should it also reject the contract) have mandated a strike deadline five days after the rejection vote if the government refuses to reopen talks. For the Letter Carriers, this deadline is Tuesday, August 29.

A strike by postal workers would be illegal. If they go out, it would be their first-ever authorized walk-out. The only other major work stoppage was a nationwide wildcat in 1970.

ANGRY

Postal workers are especially angry about this contract for a

number of reasons. For one thing, it guarantees an annual 4% cut in purchasing power if inflation remains at the present rate. The 19.5% wage and cost-of-living package over three years is barely half the 37% won by the coal miners.

A letter to the San Francisco Chronicle from workers at that city's bulk mail center points out that other issues are even more important than wages:

"For three years we have been told to wait for this contract for solutions for an accident rate three times higher than comparable industries and working conditions which often resemble 19th century sweatshop practices.

"Routine 60-hour weeks. Disciplinary action for accidents caused by undermanned and unsafe equipment. A ban on union safety consultants. Illegal and unhealthy noise levels...."

The contract is so bad that George Meany recently took the unprecedented step of publicly calling it "inadequate." (Delegates to the APWU convention passed a resolution supporting Meany's sentiments and wishing him "happy birthday." Meany is 84.)

Meany's opposition to the postal contract points out that the contract is extremely important for more than just postal employees. It is a critical part of Jimmy Carter's so-called "anti-inflation policy."

Carter knows that the results of the postal workers' contract will have an influence, one way or another, on many other labor agreements, including next year's critical Teamster freight contract.

At the APWU convention, delegates indicated that they were not about to take the blame for inflation, when all they are trying to do is keep their wages from falling behind. By unanimous vote, they adopted a resolution opposing any bid Carter might make for re-election. □

Postal Convention Pledges Support To Fired Workers

Sixteen workers who had been fired from the San Francisco Bulk Mail Center were on hand at the Denver APWU convention to tell delegates their story. The 16 were among 200 fired in San Francisco and New York for wildcat strikes after the contract expired July 20.

The fired workers said they felt their walkout had "helped to expose the unacceptable provisions of the proposed contract."

The convention delegates agreed, and gave their support. When the hat was passed, \$8,304 was collected for a relief fund. And another \$35,000 was pledged from individual locals. □

Romeo Ford: Strike Vote To "Bring 'em Back"

ROMEIO, Michigan—Workers at Ford's Romeo Tractor Plant voted overwhelmingly "yes" in a strike vote held by UAW Local 400 on August 11.

The tally was 1234 "yes" and 93 "no". What is remarkable is not only the 13 to 1 ratio for a strike, but the large turnout. Over 1300 workers voted, out of about 1900 eligible.

This strike vote should come as no surprise to Ford Motor Company. Last May the workers at Romeo wildcatted for eight days after management harassed a worker in the welding department. Like many wildcats, this one was the product of years of intolerable conditions, management arrogance, and ineffective union representation.

The strikers came back to work after Region 1B Director Ken Morris admitted that the union had neglected the problems in the plant and promised that he was going to



Fired workers from Ford's Romeo Tractor plant. Seventeen workers were fired after an eight-day wildcat strike last May. Workers at the plant voted 13-1 to strike Ford.

make the procedures work. Seventeen workers were fired in the course of the strike.

BRING 'EM BACK

A number of workers, however, did not simply wait for Morris to do his duty.

The "Romeo Committee to Bring 'Em Back" was formed to press for the reinstatement of the fired workers and to push for action on the in-plant conditions.

The Committee sold over 800 buttons with the message "Bring 'em back to Romeo. It could have been you." Button sales raised money for the fired workers and their families.

When it looked like the Union was dragging its feet, the Bring 'Em Back Committee circulated a petition which got nearly 1000 signatures demanding that the Local hold a strike vote.

The committee can take some credit for keeping the membership informed, the issues alive and effectively pressuring the Local to take a more militant posture toward the company.

Meanwhile, Ford has not budged on the grievances of the seventeen fired workers. The grievances have worked their way through the procedure and are now going to the umpire. While the contract limits strikeable grievances to health and safety and production standard issues, strike action can be used "unofficially" to make Ford bring back the seventeen fired workers.

It's up to the Romeo workers to let Ford know that they would not return to work unless the seventeen are going back with them. □

Detroit Rally Boosts ERA

DETROIT—Downtown was flooded with brown paper bags that read: "Support ERA. Brown bag it at the Women's Equality Day Rally."

About 400 office workers and supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment ate their lunches in Kennedy Square on August 22 and listened to speeches and music.

Lavada Connelly, chairperson of the United Auto Workers Region 1 Women's Council, told the crowd: "100,000 women marched together in Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment. We stood in the hot

sun for two-and-a-half hours. "But the enthusiasm of the women could be felt by everyone. We were there for a purpose. We want the ERA. We will continue to fight until the ERA is not a dream, but a reality."

Because Michigan was one of the first states to ratify the ERA, downtown Detroit has seen only a couple of rallies and marches for the amendment. But today, women are organizing demonstrations again because they are determined that the ERA will not go down in defeat.

The women who marched in Washington on July 9 saw that their demonstration resulted in swift action in the House of Representatives in passing an extension for the ERA. The one demonstration accomplished more than the countless months of letter writing and lobbying.

The rally was called by the Detroit Human Rights Commission which is sponsoring a forum for Women's Equality Day on August 26 to commemorate women's suffrage.

E. Clarke