

WORKERS' Power

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS MARCH 28, 1977 #200 15c

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FITZ WOULD GO — MOB SAYS NO!

by Kim Moody

TEAMSTER PRESIDENT Frank Fitzsimmons is caught between two offers he can't refuse.

On one side, the government appears to be keeping up its pressure to dump Fitzsimmons as President of the 2.2 million member union.

On the other, Fitzsimmons' underworld pals are telling him to keep his job as union President so he can continue to deliver the goods from pension fund pork barrels.

On March 22, Washington columnist Jack Anderson reported that reliable sources say Fitzsimmons wanted to resign as union President.

Facing with investigations by Congress, the Justice Department, and the Department of Labor which could lead him to jail, his "Desperate hope, according to our sources, is that the feds would leave him alone if he made a discreet exit," Anderson said.

With new scandals breaking out—this week the severance pay-insurance fund fraud—government pressure is likely to increase. Rumors have it that Fitzsimmons would like to go late this spring.

LOAN COMMITMENTS

But according to Anderson, Fitzsimmons' Mafia associates don't want him to go.

There are too many loan commitments to Mafia leaders and their shady business deals.

So long as Fitzsimmons runs the union, they feel, he will have the power to meet these financial commitments—which run into the hundreds of millions.

Anderson says the Mob has "suggested, with quiet menace, that he shouldn't let go of the pursestrings until the commitments are met."

As threatening and powerful as Fitzsimmons' Mafia pals are, there are other forces that would prefer Fitzsimmons to resign before things get out of hand.

The government wants Fitzsimmons to go so they can cover the tracks that link organized crime to top elements in the Democratic and Republican parties.

EMPLOYERS SILENT

While the trucking employers have been silent during this whole affair, it is more than likely they would prefer an orderly end to the turmoil surrounding the Teamsters Union.

To be sure, the employers owe a great deal to Frank Fitzsimmons. In the last three contracts, and regularly through the grievance procedure, Fitzsimmons has led the Teamster officialdom in giving away workers' rights.

Traditional working standards have been swept away, the power of the shop stewards is virtually eliminated, countless sweetheart contracts have been signed, and rank and file influence has been eliminated from the hierarchy of the International Union. Indeed, Fitzsimmons has done a record of

great service for the employers.

But the scandals and investigations throw doubts over the stability of the union's leadership. The employers need friends in the union leadership who are in control of the situation. Fitzsimmons appears to be losing control.

At a time when rank and file movements, such as the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, are growing and gaining influence in important local unions, the employers cannot afford instability at the top.

The employers would certainly prefer to sacrifice one or two friends in the Teamster hierarchy before scandals and jail terms leave a power vacuum at the top.

At the moment, there are no forces among reform-minded local leaders or rank and filers strong enough to challenge for power at the top.

It is almost certain the employers approve of Labor Secretary Ray Marshall's attempt to strike a deal with the Teamster leaders that would put Fitzsimmons in a peaceful and profitable retirement and set things up for a peaceful

transition.

Fitzsimmons seems to have prepared for this possibility by sacking away \$698,000 from the Teamster treasury into a private bank account.

But arrests, defections, and disunity on the International Executive Board could return the Teamsters to the days of fragmented local baronies.

This, in turn, could open the way to local-based rank and file rebellions. Neither the employers nor the government, nor for that matter the Mob, would like to see that develop.

SMASH APARTHEID!



CLEVELAND—Eighty members and supporters of the Coalition Against Racism and Oppression marched through downtown here Saturday, March 19.

They were demonstrating in memory of 69 black protesters killed by the South African police at Sharpeville on March 21, 1960, and in solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa today.

The marchers chanted "America—South Africa—We will win! Cleveland—Soweto—We will win!" and "Sharpeville was the darkest day—Soweto's children show the way!" Students in Soweto township began a nationwide uprising against the racist apartheid system last June.

Thousands of leaflets were distributed both before and during the march, telling about black people's struggle against the white regime in South Africa and the role of US corporations in supporting the racist government.

The largest and most spirited part of the demonstration was the Red Tide contingent. The Red Tide is the youth section of the International Socialists.

The Red Tide had spent the week before the demonstration leafletting the schools and building Southern Africa Liberation Committees.

A spokesperson for the Red Tide, Sandy Poe, urged demonstrators to help collect shoes and clothing for the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Rufus Sims, speaking for the Coalition, summed up the feelings of those at the rally. He said Sharpeville and Soweto showed that, "They can kill freedom fighters, but they can't kill freedom."

CARTER'S SMILE



The President made news by eating a cheeseburger in West Virginia.

ployment is 19% and for black youth 37%.

WHO RECOVERS?

Will we get to recover under the Carter Administration's plans? Take a look at what he's got in the works.

If you're young and unemployed, you may be one of 80,000 who will be sent to a youth Job Corps camp to maintain national parks, forests and recreation areas. While the administration admits this will train you for nothing, it will "enhance self-esteem" according to the New York Times.

Or, you may be one of 30,000 youths who will stay home and work on "community improvement" projects. From this you would "learn to arrive at work on time and work a set number of hours each day," again according to the New York Times.

Now the House has passed a bill that would reduce the maximum number of weeks you can get unemployment insurance, from 65 to 52.

If you're a businessman, on the other hand, the government will pay you handsomely just to hire workers. Congress is currently haggling over if companies should get \$1,680 or \$903-\$315 in tax credits for each worker hired.

Companies that buy new machinery will get a 12% tax credit for performing that act. Funny how we get taxed for buying, but companies get un-taxed.

MILK & MILITARY

We all get a \$50 tax rebate, but Carter chose this instead of a proposal from the AFL-CIO for a public works program that would

cost the government less and create more jobs.

If you drink milk, eat cheese or butter, your grocery bill is guaranteed to go up, because Carter just increased price support to the milk industry by nine percent.

Price supports are what the government pays milk producers to give farmers the same buying power they had in 1910-1914 when costs and income were said to be in balance. What will happen to your cost and income balance, when milk, currently \$1.66 a gallon, goes up again?

It's not all so bleak though, especially if you happen to be a supplier of military hardware.

The part of the defense budget that goes to buying big weapons has increased under Carter by 26%. That's a total of \$35 billion of a \$110.1 defense budget, a budget increased 12% over last year's. For instance, Boeing gets \$338.3 for the Minuteman Missile. The defense industry made a 13.5% return on investment last year.

WOMEN'S HARDSHIPS

What does Carter propose for the nation's women? Despite the fact that 48% of American women work outside the home, and that increasingly women must work to make ends meet, Carter made no challenge to the Supreme Court's recent ruling that companies don't have to pay maternity benefits. In addition, he vowed to do every-

thing he legally can to restrict access to abortion.

How about the unions? Headlines in the daily press would have you believe the government is cleaning up the Teamster's union leadership.

But the resignation of Fitzsimmons from the Pension Fund was just part of a deal to cover up the extent of corruption and its links to the Democratic Party and other respectable American institutions.

The Labor Department is also trying to keep the Abel machine in charge of the Steelworkers Union. The labor department is filing suit to overturn the victory of an anti-Abel local president. Jim Balanoff, Local 1010, is an associate of Ed Sadlowski who recently challenged Abel's machine for the USW presidency.

Carter approves of the substandard contracts union bureaucrats like Abel and Fitz accept for employees.

On energy, a major bite in everyone's budget, Carter plans to increase coal as a source of fuel. Part of his plan is to deny black lung benefits to miners (see page 11 for full story on this.)

In brief, Carter's policies are thoroughly anti-labor and pro-business. He has no recovery in store for working people.

The only way he can get the recovery to continue for business is by squeezing it out of working people, and while business profits, we get... peanuts, phone calls and fireside chats. □

by Karen Kaye

PRESIDENT CARTER is still smiling after two months in office, and why not? Recent polls show that 71% of the American public approve of his job performance, following his phone-in, his appearance at a town meeting and his sending Leonard Woodcock to Vietnam to find the MIA's.

Now, it's true that town meetings have as much impact on American politics today as dinosaurs have on zoos, and that the main thing about telephones is how the rates keep going up while phone workers get laid off and that Vietnam vets are having trouble finding jobs.

But Carter knows that it takes more than good PR to get his real job done. In fact, the folksy image is just a sop to all the working people who are going to get screwed by his policies, or as he would say it, who will be "asked to sacrifice."

The government is in charge of keeping the capitalist system running at a profit. This is difficult, because capitalism is unruly, composed of competing companies. The corporations have no real interest in whether they provide goods and services, or adequate employment or wages, or whether they must start wars to solve their problems.

Each company looks out for itself—the government looks out for their collective interest.

UNSTABLE

Just now, Carter is engineering the continuation of the economic "recovery." We saw how this works in this winter's energy crisis.

The government let them raise prices even though it was ruinous to the public, because the companies threatened to let us all freeze otherwise.

We paid for their greed, and that's what Carter is going to try to make us do for the rest of his term.

For the last two years, corporate profits have been rising after two and a half years of depression - but at a cost to working people. The recovery brought record profits to both GM and Ford last year, while their employees got stand-still contracts. AT & T hauled in \$1 billion in profits from December through February.

For working people, recovery has meant an unemployment rate that has remained above 7%, and continuing inflation. Youth unem-

an extension of the ENA into any new contract.

RIGHT TO STRIKE

Some Committee members felt that a campaign against ENA might cost them support among workers who feared that winning the right to strike might make the union "strike happy."

But all the members of the Committee felt that without the right to strike, we have no real union.

Confusion among the steel workers about the right to strike stems partly from the failure of Sadlowski to explain in his campaign why we need the right to strike.

Not having explained the importance of the strike weapon, Sadlowski also did not explain that you do not need to go on strike every day for no purpose. Like any weapon, the strike must be used skillfully.

The District 15 Rank and File

Committee plans to back up its leaflet campaign by encouraging workers to pass resolutions in their locals, this month, requiring their local presidents and negotiators not to sign any agreement that includes extension of the ENA.

The Committee will also encourage resolutions that local presidents not sign any local agreement without membership ratification.

Local issues for contract bargaining must be settled by the end of April.

FIGHT FOR UNITY

While the ENA is the central issue facing steel workers in the coming weeks, the Committee meeting also discussed issues that threaten rank and file unity—red-baiting and racism.

Red-baiting was used extensively against Sadlowski, and the Committee can also expect to face red-baiting.

International Socialists (I.S.) members are active in the Committee. They are open about being socialist steel workers, and how this helps them build the rank and file movement. At the conclusion of the meeting, the group unanimously agreed that the company and the union bureaucracy must not be allowed to divide us with red-baiting.

At the meeting, the Committee added another important point to its program: "We oppose any form of racial or sexual discrimination on the job or in the union."

The Committee will back up this point by resisting any racist opposition to the Consent Decree. While the Consent Decree is inadequate, the opposition to it is meant to destroy those gains that blacks have won in steel.

Hopefully, the decisions made by the District 15 Committee are only the beginning.

A national Fight Back movement will have to campaign on ENA and

other issues. In particular, it will have to defeat efforts by the union machine to take away the right of members to vote directly for their national officers. □

Workers' Power 200

Copyright © 1977 by I.S. Publishing Co. Editor: Kim Moody, Production Editor: Karen Kaye. Circulation Manager: Tom Dougherty.

Subscriptions: \$10 for one year; \$5 for six months. Introductory rate: \$1 for eight issues.

Published weekly, except the first two weeks in July and the last two weeks in December. Second class postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to: Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of Workers' Power, which are expressed in editorials.

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

"MY TWO SONS"

How Frank Fitzsimmons Cut His Sons In On Teamster Fund Rip-offs

by Kim Moody

It doesn't tickle, it hurts, when the Fitzsimmons family and their friends put their sticky fingers in your pocket. This time it hurt rank and file Teamsters some \$3 million.

On March 20, a Senate staff report revealed that Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons and his two sons, Donald and Richard, helped peddle a phony life insurance plan.

The plan was attached to a severance pay insurance fund which had been designed by convicted insurance swindler Louis Ostrer.

Ostrer's plan allowed his family and friends to skim off over 76% of the premiums paid by workers and employers in fees and commissions.

Between 1970 and 1975, Ostrer and his pals took \$3.3 million of the total \$5 million collected in premiums. In Local 299, \$123,064 out of a total of \$157,915 in premiums went to Ostrer and his associates as commissions.

Ostrer worked with Donald Fitzsimmons and Alan Dorfman, for many years the chief chiseler of the Central States Pension Fund, to promote the plan.

In 1972 Frank Fitzsimmons, then Vice-President of Detroit Local 299, helped his other son Richard, now Vice President of 299, to sell this plan to that local.

DICK'S FUR, RANKS' FURY

Richard Fitzsimmons is now under indictment for stealing \$5000 from the Local 299 Severance Trust Fund. Richard, it seems, cannot resist getting his hands in the cookie jar.

A couple of years ago it was revealed that he had purchased a fur coat on his union expense account. He was saved from prosecution only by the statute of limitations.

Ever since the fury of Local 299 members erupted in a wildcat strike and an explosive union meeting last spring, Richard has

stopped attending union meetings.

Donald has not done too badly, either. He told the Senate investigating committee that he received \$25,000 from one of Ostrer's business fronts.

Daddy Frank also provides Donald with a couple of "honest" jobs. At Frank's bidding in 1974, the International Union paid Local 614 a subsidy of \$11,000 to hire Donald as an organizer.

Donald's total official salary and expenses from Local 614 for that year were \$17,371. Donald is also an auditor for the Teamsters at \$37,000 a year.

At one time, Donald even owned his own trucking company, Don Cartage. But that was just too embarrassing—even for the Fitzsimmons clan.

WATERGATE LIVES

According to the Chairman of the Senate investigating committee, the staff report does not indicate that Frank Fitzsimmons has broken

the law. But the Justice Department said it had not yet cleared Fitzsimmons or his sons.

Only last week a deal between the Teamsters' top leaders and Labor Secretary Ray Marshall forced Fitzsimmons to resign as a trustee of the Central States Pension Fund. Rumors were flying that the Labor Department was pressuring to get Fitzsimmons to

resign as Union President as well.

Fitzsimmons responded in the tradition of Richard Nixon by saying, "There is no way I'm going to resign."

But as new scandals unfold, job security for the Fitzsimmons family appears shaky. You can be sure that thousands of Teamsters are keeping their fingers crossed. □

Women Dumped Plan

Last year, before Senate investigators made the latest fund fraud national news, women workers in Teamster Local 299 organized to dump the Ostrer plan.

When the women learned that their money was going into the pockets of grafters like Ostrer, they put the pressure on the Local to take the plan out of their contract.

The women got up a petition and got over 400 signatures. The Local 299 leadership, already on the run from the Teamsters for a Decent Contract, gave in and the plan was scrapped. □

TDU Builds A Movement In Detroit

by Pete Camarata

More and more Teamsters are turning out for union meetings in Detroit's Local 299 these days.

Usually, a 299 meeting of local drivers and dock workers will draw no more than 200 members. But in February, 500 attended.

In March, 700 showed up. And carhaulers are also attending in growing numbers at their monthly 299 meetings.

The reason? TDU, Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

BY-LAWS REFORM

Last December the Detroit TDU initiated a campaign to change the By-Laws of Local 299. In particular, we wanted elected Business Agents (BA's).

As it is now, the local Executive Board appoints the BA's, which means they appoint their friends. These BA's don't fight for the members and don't represent us.

In Local 299 there are no general membership meetings. All meetings are by craft—local cartage, carhaulers, road drivers, office, and others. We were successful in getting the by-laws amendments presented at some of the January meetings.

The Executive Board decided they weren't going to let TDU members attend any craft meeting but their own, as a way of keeping the members from getting together to discuss the changes.

In February, the Executive Board took the stand that they weren't even going to let us near the halls where the meetings were being held.

ARMED GUARD

At the February Carhaulers



Detroit TDU steering committee members at a recent news conference.

meeting, three BA's and an armed guard met members at the front door and would not allow those from different crafts on the second floor where the meeting was being held.

This was not only meant to keep us apart, but to discourage us from attending any union meeting.

At this point I filed charges against Local President Bob Lins for the role he played in keeping me out of the January Carhaulers' meeting.

Three days later, I got a notice from the Executive Board. They had set up a trial in "honor" of me and Al Ferdnance concerning the Carhaulers wildcat in August, 1976.

At the February meetings Secretary-Treasurer Otto Wendel refused to read the by-laws amendments. In order to be voted on, by-law amendments must first be read at three membership meetings.

At the carhaulers' meeting, Wendel said the By-Laws had been sent to the lawyer for his approval.

Which was bunk.

At the Local Cartage meeting, the 500 rank and file members present proposed and unanimously passed a motion that the changes be read at the March and April meetings and voted on in May.

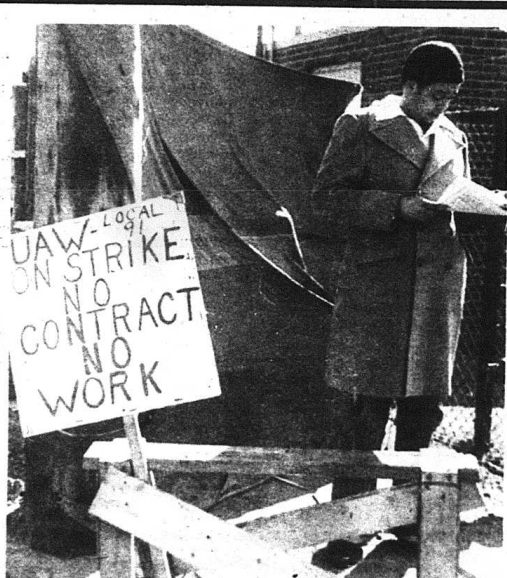
Seven hundred rank and file members showed up at the March Local Cartage meeting to make sure that Wendel and Lins kept to that motion.

Wendel did read the changes at all the March meetings, but he allowed no discussion. TDU's next move will be to put a motion forward at the April meetings that the By-Law changes be discussed.

It takes a two-thirds vote to amend the Local 299 By-Laws. But the way things look right now, they are sure to pass.

Local 299 members are tired of poor representation and tired of being pushed around by a pack of crooks.

That is why they are turning out for union meetings now, and that is why the rank and file is going to win this fight. □



Crankshaft Workers Getting The Shaft

by Eric Harper

CLEVELAND—Members of UAW Local 91 have been on strike over a new local contract for eight weeks. Management at the Ohio Crankshaft Division of Park Ohio Industries is demanding that all job classifications be eliminated!

Workers on the picket line told Workers' Power that this move is part of a speed-up and harassment campaign that has resulted in many unresolved grievances. The union is demanding that these grievances be settled in the union's favor as part of any agreement.

Lousier conditions and possibly a wage cut for many mean the union will have trouble selling this contract. Chances are the strike will be a long one.

For the present, management is making no attempt to run the plant. They seem to be counting on the other divisions of Park Ohio Industries to finance their operation.

If the union is taking any action to spread the strike they are keeping it a secret from the membership. In particular, the strikers are wondering what is being done about Park Ohio's crankshaft operation in Jackson, Mississippi. □

"WE'RE SORRY"...

U.S. Diplomat Brady Tyson



A scene from Santiago, Chile, September 11, 1973—the U.S. State Department isn't sorry.

... "NO WE'RE NOT" Jimmy Carter

Southern Africa News

LAST WEEK, President Carter signed a bill which ends United States imports of chrome from Rhodesia.

For five years, under the Byrd Amendment passed by the Democratic Congress, the U.S. bought chrome from the racist Rhodesian minority regime in violation of United Nations regulations.

By repealing the Amendment and stopping the imports, the Carter Administration has made a gesture toward black Africa.

However, this action does not mean the United States government supports real majority rule for Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Over the past 15 years, total U.S. trade with independent African countries has grown twice as fast as trade with South Africa and Rhodesia.

American businessmen complained the U.S. imports from Rhodesia made it harder for them to establish relations with independent African nations.

In addition, in 1976, U.S.

imports of chrome from Rhodesia dropped sharply because the U.S. has ample reserves on hand. The cutoff of the imports this year will not have a major impact on the white Rhodesian economy—much less than the major disruptions caused by Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

But that's not all. Before the bill repealing the Byrd Amendment was passed, a section was added that allows the President to resume the imports if he feels this

will "help bring peace to Rhodesia."

This means that the U.S. will use its economic clout to try to force Zimbabwean liberation forces back into negotiations with the Rhodesian government. If they refuse, Jimmy Carter could threaten to lift all economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

Every time the U.S. government claims to take a stand for African freedom, it really proves it has more dirty tricks up its sleeve than anyone could have dreamed.



For 20 million black South Africans, South Africa already has all the basic features of a totalitarian police state.

Now the South African government is pushing through a press code, under which it will be allowed to close or financially ruin any newspaper or reporter from printing facts the government doesn't like.

The government is furious because both black and white reporters for some South African newspapers show considerable courage in reporting facts about black protests, strikes and police brutality.

Among other things, facts which damage South Africa's reputation internationally will be banned from print.

In addition, measures are being enacted to give the Prime Minister dictatorial powers during six months of the year, when the all-white Parliament is not in session.

(P.S. In case you didn't know, South Africa is part of what is called the "Free World.")

OUR HONESTY-GETS-YOU- Nowhere award this month goes to a minor American diplomatic official named Brady Tyson.

At a United Nations Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, Mr. Tyson apologized for the U.S. government's role in bringing down the elected government of Chile with a fascist military coup in 1973.

Mr. Tyson is sorry now in more ways than one. He was immediately called back by his superiors, who want to "make sure he understands the ground rules."

Tyson lived for four years as a missionary in Brazil and is an expert on Latin America. He knows that U.S. policy starves millions of people in Latin America, and that the military dictators who have slaughtered tens of thousands of Chilean workers were put in power by Washington.

What he didn't know is that U.S. government officials aren't getting paid to discuss these matters in polite society.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Tyson must have read Jimmy Carter's pronouncements about the new honesty of the American government. He also knew Jimmy Carter's stated policy of supporting human rights around the world.

So what could be more natural for Brady Tyson than to honestly and sincerely regret the fact that his own government created one of the bloodiest dictatorships in the world?

However, as the State Department was quick to remind Mr. Tyson, his expression of regret was not according to the "ground rules."

The ground rules, Brady, are that you can't stop the crimes of a system by apologizing on behalf of the men who run it. You have to overthrow it.

150 RALLY FOR GARY TYLER IN DESTREHAN, LOUISIANA

On March 19, 150 people met in Destrehan, Louisiana, in support of Gary Tyler.

Gary, 18, is in Louisiana's Angola State Prison, sentenced on March 8 to 99 years.

He was convicted for murder in the death of a white youth, killed during an anti-busing riot that surrounded Gary's school bus in October, 1974.

The young people at the meeting, both black and white, heard the driver of Gary's school bus reaffirm his statement that there was no way the fatal shot could have come from inside the bus. Driver Ernest Cojoe is an army combat veteran of 25 years.

Shortly after Gary's arrest, Mr. Cojoe was dismissed from his school bus driving job. He was subsequently hired onto the police force, but lost the job when he refused to change this testimony about Gary.

MRS. TYLER

Other speakers at the rally included Mrs. Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, and Terry Tyler, his brother. Mrs. Tyler has been campaigning to free Gary since the day of his arrest. Terry, as well as other family members, has been harassed by police repeatedly since the incident.

Gary was convicted by an all white jury. He was originally sentenced to death, but Louisiana's death penalty was overturned by the Supreme Court last summer.

At the meeting, a teacher from Booker T. Washington High School in New Orleans reported that supporters are getting petitions signed demanding a new trial for

Gary. Harmon Charles, now a college student but formerly a classmate of Gary's at Destrehan High School ended the meeting. He urged young people everywhere to get involved in the movement to free Gary Tyler.

Many "Free Gary Tyler" buttons and T-shirts were sold.

At press time, Mrs. Tyler did not know if Gary had been removed from Death Row yet.

Lawyer Jack Peebles is continuing efforts to obtain a new trial, but public support is needed to make the courts listen.

Send contributions to: The Gary



Tyler Defense Committee, P.O. Box 52223, New Orleans, LA 70152. Send messages of support to: Gary Tyler, Death Row, Angola State Penitentiary, Angola, LA 70712.

ITALY PROTESTS SPREAD

Massive student protests in Italy have shown how rapidly the political crisis there is deepening.

Tens of thousands of students in Rome, Turin, Naples and other cities organized demonstrations in recent weeks after a student in Bologna was murdered by police.

In Bologna police used tanks to smash a student occupation protesting the murder.

The student demonstrations originally began to oppose attacks by fascist gangs. They also protested government policies which aim at reducing the number of students.

For fighting back against police violence, the students were condemned by the Catholic Church and the Italian government. In addition, the Italian Communist Party and its youth leaders denounced them as hooligans and delinquents.

The Italian Communist Party wants an alliance with the Christian Democrats, the governing party of Italy, which called out the police to smash the students.

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARIES GAIN VOTES

A lot of publicity has been given to the gains made by the French Socialist and Communist Parties in the municipal elections. These results show that the SP-CP "Common Program" alliance may be able to challenge for national political power in the 1978 national election.

However, on a smaller but quite significant scale, real gains were also shown by the French revolutionary left. The results show a growth of radicalism and influence of revolutionary ideas among French workers.

The three main revolutionary

organizations, Lutte Ouvriere (Workers' Struggle), LCR (League for Communist Revolution), and OCT (Communist Workers' Organization), formerly called Revolutionary, ran joint slates in a number of important cities and districts.

Unlike the Socialist and Communist Parties, which want to prove they can run France in the interests of capitalism, the revolutionary groups campaigned on the program "For Socialism—For Workers' Power."

In Paris, where the SP-CP got 32% of the vote, the far left polled

2.9%. But the real significance of the vote for the revolutionary slate was in the working class districts and suburbs.

In four working class districts of the Paris suburbs, the far-left vote was 5.9%. In a number of provincial cities the revolutionaries got anywhere from 5% up to 15% of the vote.

In many areas the vote for the revolutionary left was approximately double the percentage obtained by the two revolutionary left candidates who ran in the last Presidential election.

V-P Race Shakes The Power In UAW Local 869

Dave McCullough, a long-time member of the International Socialists, is running for Vice-President of UAW Local 869 at Chrysler's Warren, Michigan Stamping Plant. Elections will be March 29-30.

The "Progressive Slate" was formed to run for UAW Convention delegates on the same platform.

Workers' Power talked to Dave and his campaign treasurer, Benny Mason. We asked how the slate came about and what the joint campaign hopes to accomplish.

Dave said, "We got smashed in

our national contract this year. And by coincidence three issues came up at the same time—the local contract, an opening for vice-president, and the delegate elections.

"We started putting out newsletters, giving people information about their rights, what was going on in the plant.

"It was obvious that something had changed in the local. It had always been a very conservative local, the chump local, the laughing stock of Chrysler.

"Apparently people were pissed off enough about the national

contract that they were willing to get a change in the local leadership."

SIX-HOUR STRIKE

Benny added, "I think what really brought the people to the fore was the strike that we had. I think it lasted six hours exactly.

"No one could say why we went out on strike, and to this day I still don't know, and I don't know why we were called back."

Before the local strike February 22, the leadership would not tell the membership what demands they were going for. Afterwards, they would not tell what was won—until "the best union meeting in years" forced them to postpone the ratification vote until the changes were published.

Dave said, "That union meeting was a turning point. The people told the leaders what to do, told them to go jump in the lake, basically. They felt good about it.

"The Administration came back with crap and demanded that we ratify it. At that point the V-P campaign mushroomed, because I was the most visible person arguing against the contract.

"There was a lot of other people too, the whole movement that developed in the plant depended on a lot of people being active, but I got the credit or the blame for it."

The members didn't like what they saw in the contract, so they voted it down—not once but twice. The local administration has so far refused to go back to the bargaining table.

PLATFORM

We asked Dave what his campaign platform was. "I haven't really promised to do anything," he replied, "except what you expect of a union official: fight the company, use the power that the people have.

"I want to set up a communications network—which is really a matter of setting up a new caucus or a new slate.

"The Administration in there now is in bed with management. Their token opposition is built more on constituencies—production vs. skilled, black vs. white, day shift vs. night shift, rather than any



An example of red-baiting. This unsigned leaflet was put out by Dave McCullough's opponents during Local 869's vice-presidential race.

political policy."

Benny said, "David is saying if there's any hanky-panky going on, you will know about it. If you want to go on with it, cool. If you want to do something about it you got that option."

Dave is an active and open socialist. He feels that his socialist class struggle views help make him a better unionist.

He sells Workers' Power and tries to get people interested in issues like freeing Gary Tyler or helping the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe. As Chairman of the local Fair Employment Practices Committee, he has fought discrimination against blacks and women.

RED-BAITING

We asked if Dave's opponents had tried red-baiting.

"We knew that it was supposed to happen, because it always does in the UAW when you're about to upset the applecart.

"Red-baiting's just the lowest common denominator of everybody who is afraid to flex their muscles a little bit."

Benny added, "Fear is the common factor in red-baiting. They're saying if you vote for this man you'll lose your jobs, your cars, your homes. To me this is

belittling the intelligence of the people there."

Dave continued, "The reason red-baiting works with some people is that in our local they've never exercised their power before, the way they did at our last union meeting. They felt good about it, but a bit shaky too.

"It's the kind of thing that takes a group of people to do, working together. When you are there in the plant by yourself with the boss hanging around, you don't feel the power of people being united.

"Then the guy feels maybe he overstepped himself, thinking he could make somebody up there tremble, some respected figure, whether it's the boss or a union official.

"Especially if someone feeds him a bunch of lies saying that, 'You never really did have any power in the first place. It's just this one asshole duping you with promises and gimmicks, like they teach him to do in Russia.

"Really you're just a dog turd and if you realize that you'll be better off. At least the Dog Turd Society will take care of you, so vote for us."

UP FRONT

"We're going to say, we've got nothing to hide. People are trying to scare you with the unknown, and we're the known. What you see is what you get.

"Do we have some kind of concealed program? No. And why not? Simply because nothing's going to work unless the people stick together and nobody can make you stick together.

"We're going to clobber the Administration with even more issues than we've brought up in the past. We're putting out a leaflet showing what another Chrysler stamping plant got in their local agreement this year, to show how our leaders sold us out."

Dave has a network of "campaign coordinators" throughout the plant. They have the literature, the buttons, the answers to the questions people have about the campaign.

Dave's slogan from the beginning has been that he is running as an organizer, not as a savior. He and the Progressive Slate want to build a caucus that continues past the election, and eventually takes over the local.

"Most people now recognize that they want a change in the union, and it's going to come about.

"But I think we've also pretty well made the point that it's not going to come about through an individual.

"It's only going to come about if everybody looks in the mirror and decides to take the effort to find out what's going on, and help make the change himself. That's the basis of our slate.

"If there's a single motivating issue in our local, it's that we got sold out in the local contract. The dynamo in the Progressive Slate is—those guys sold us out, we can clobber them back. We have a weapon and the weapon is the Convention."

Benny summed it up: "What comes out of this will depend on the people who feel this is a cause, who believe they should be highly vocal, expressing their views, keeping it on the front burner with or without the election.

"We want to let the power structure know that the sheep are not always sheepish."

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

The Police Benevolent Association, the union representing New York City cops, is discussing a possible merger with the Communications Workers of America (CWA). In 1970, Local 1101 of the CWA was on strike for seven months against the phone company. Based on their experiences with the New York City cops during that strike, we predict that if given a chance, Local 1101 members would soundly reject a proposed CWA-PBA merger.



A federal judge has ruled that under the Freedom of Information Act, employers are entitled to see who has signed union cards in NLRB elections. If the employer was given access to these cards, it would tend to discourage workers in non-union shops from signing them. And indeed, some lawyers are already telling non-union companies that this ruling is another weapon to use against an organizing drive. The NLRB is appealing the ruling, asking that the cards be kept secret.

"We have very much tightened up our relationship with mine operators," says Frank O'Gorman, spokesman for the federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration. No, he's not admitting that mine safety inspectors are in bed with the coal operators. He's trying to explain why the injury rate for coal miners shot up last year. Disabling injuries in 1976 totalled 13,800, up from 10,904 in 1975. Non-disabling injuries rose from 8,252 to 11,440. O'Gorman says there are not more miners being injured—only that the mine operators are now reporting more accurately.

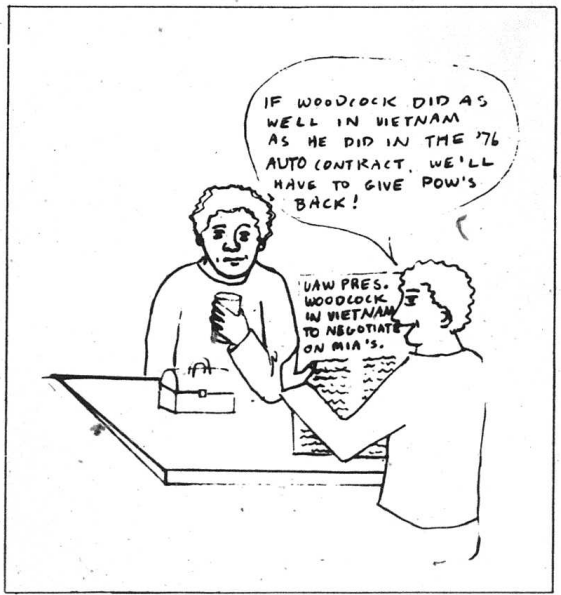
I'm "shocked and distressed," said Labor Secretary Ray Marshall. Mr. Marshall's state of mind was the result of an Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) survey of its own offices. The survey turned up numerous safety violations, including blocked exits and poorly maintained fire extinguishers. OSHA is part of the Labor Department, and the agency's survey also turned up safety violations in other Labor Department agencies.

The Virginia Supreme Court ruled in January that it was illegal for local governments to bargain with their employees' labor unions. So far there have been only scattered cuts of wages and benefits in the previously-legal union contracts. But public employee union leaders are afraid of serious cutting when the new school year begins in the fall. Already 7,000 union members have marched on the legislature to demand that collective bargaining be legalized.

Tony Boyle was released from prison on \$250,000 bail last week. Boyle, the former president of the United Mine Workers, was convicted in 1975 of ordering the murder of Jock Yablonski, who ran for election against Boyle and lost. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has ordered a new trial, because it said the judge in the original case had acted improperly.

George Meany is asking you to boycott the circus. Just the Ringling Bros.-Barnum & Bailey Circus. All other circuses are OK. Seems Ringling Bros. has refused to come to terms with the musicians union, and has hired on scabs to take the musicians' place in most cities.

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



From SHARPEVILLE

South Africa, 1960

by Dan Posen

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, MARCH 21, 1960: "The police opened fire today on thousands of Africans besieging a police station at Sharpeville, thirty miles north of Johannesburg. Official reports said 25 Africans had been killed and 50 wounded. Unofficial reports indicated about 50 had been killed.

"The Africans were demonstrating against South Africa's laws requiring Africans to carry passes at all

times. The police arrest any African found without his pass. The demonstration followed a call by the Pan African Congress for all Africans to leave their passes at home, and to go to police stations to surrender to the police for not carrying them....

"A senior police officer said: 'I don't know how many we have shot.' He was reported to have added: 'My car was struck by a stone. If they do these things they must learn the hard way.'"

That was the beginning of one of the first reports to reach the world about the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960.

That morning, a massive non-violent demonstration of at least 20,000 black South Africans converged on the Sharpeville police station. One official said the demonstration "must have included every African in the township."

Their tactic was the same as hundreds of civil rights marches and sit-ins in the American South. They were trying to overturn a brutally unjust law, simply by breaking it in such massive numbers that the authorities could not arrest them all.

As the crowd waited behind barbed wire, the police hurled saturation quantities of choking tear gas at them. They didn't move.

A trigger-happy cop fired a shot and a black man fell dead. The protesters stood their ground, getting angrier.

Then police sent armored cars to break up the demonstration. The blacks fought back by throwing stones at the tanks.

They did not disperse even when half a dozen South African Air Force Sabre jets dove to within 100 feet over their heads.

reports said the death toll around South Africa had reached 90. The final recorded deaths from the Sharpeville massacre alone rose to 69.

USA

The day after Sharpeville, the U.S. State Department issued a statement which said:

"The United States deplores violence in all its forms and hopes that the African people of South Africa will be able to obtain redress for their legitimate grievances by peaceful means. . . It cannot help but regret the tragic loss of life resulting from the measures taken against demonstrators in South Africa."

It looked as if the American government was putting itself on the side of peaceful, but sweeping, reform for South Africa.

But every word of it was a lie.

If there was ever a time when the West could have pushed for South Africa reform, if it wanted to do so, that time was right after the Sharpeville massacre.

The white-ruled economy went into crisis. In four days, gold stocks on the Johannesburg exchange fell by \$250 million.

In the following year, South African gold and foreign exchange reserves fell by \$150 million. Businessmen took \$200 million in capital out of the country.

The value of the giant Anglo-American Corporation's holdings fell by 23% in 1960, because of the economic and political turmoil caused by Sharpeville.

It was the massive flow of Western, especially American, investment from 1961 on that saved the racist system of South Africa.

POLICE STATE

A huge revolving-credit loan to the South African government, organized by the Chase Manhattan Bank and Charles Engelhard's American-South African Investment Company, revived the confidence of South African businessmen and foreign investors.

As a result American capital poured into South Africa to build electronics, chemical, computer, pulp and paper, advanced engineering and other industries.

These investments gave South Africa a huge economic surplus which it used to build a military machine and a totalitarian police state to crush black dissent.

So why did the American government pretend to sympathize with the black struggle?

The very day the Sharpeville massacre occurred, the U.S. government was finalizing plans for a \$20 million aid program. It would establish ties with newly independent black-ruled states in Africa.

Washington had to make the record against apartheid in order to ensure its new African relations. Or, as one reporter put it:

"Diplomats of many countries in Washington chuckled over the strong U.S. moral stand on racial discrimination, just at the moment when mass demonstrations against racial discriminations are taking place in the United States."

That is exactly the same game the United States government is still playing with African liberation in 1977.

Today, with U.S. investment in South Africa at an all-time high, Jimmy Carter and U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young are assuring African nations that Washington is committed to full black majority rule in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Meanwhile, the U.S. government has promised a \$2 billion trust fund to protect the economic interests of the 4% white ruling minority in Zimbabwe.

American promises of support for racial justice in southern Africa are as big a lie today as they were 17 years ago.

1977

The Sharpeville massacre meant the end of 50 years of non-violent civil rights protests in South Africa.

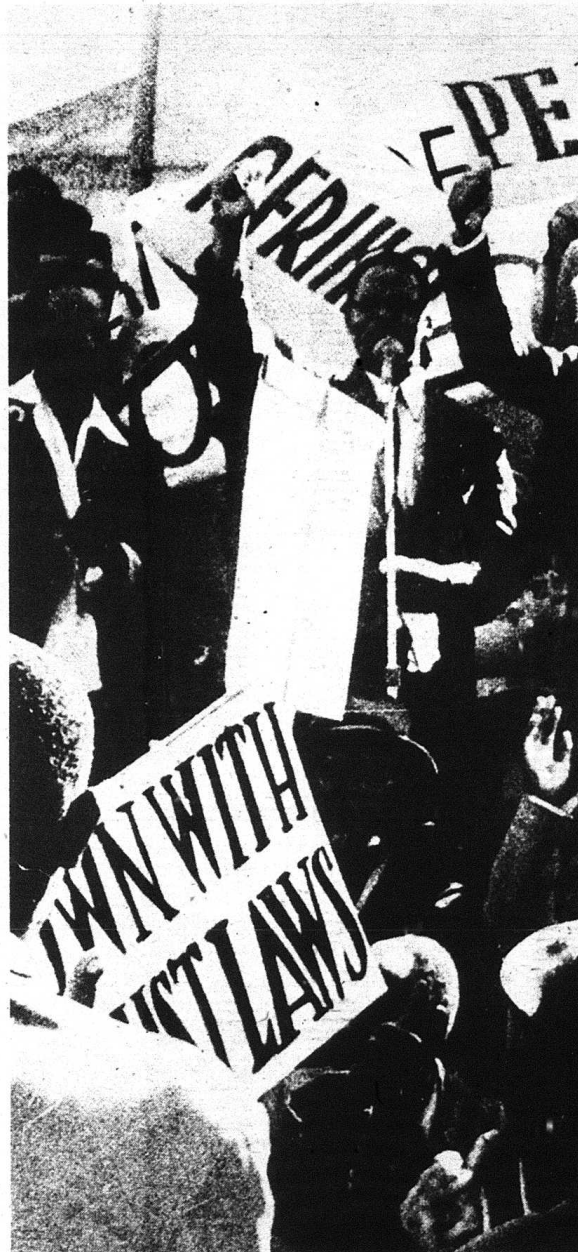
In the weeks and months after Sharpeville, black South Africans fought heroically to keep the movement alive.

Immediately after the massacre, strikes shut down the nearby industrial areas of Vereeniging and Vanderbijl Park.

Black workers' strikes also crippled the Cape Town docks. The entire African population at Cape Town struck for three weeks.

Later in the year emergency rule was proclaimed in the Transkei to put down a popular revolt against thebantustan (tribal reservation) policies.

But the African nationalist movements—the Pan African Congress (which organized the Sharpe-



1960—A rally kicking off the massive Defiance Campaign.

ville demonstration) and the older African National Congress—were outlawed and driven underground.

REPRESSION SUCCEEDS

Without any organized leadership or mass organization, the black movement could not withstand savage repression.

• Almost 20,000 Africans were arrested and thousands went to hard labor after secret trials.

• The white regime banned all meetings, except government rallies where the regime called for all whites to unite for white supremacy.

• Police raided thousands of homes in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Port Elizabeth and elsewhere. Many of those arrested simply disappeared.

The South African government was totally unaffected by the crocodile tears shed by Western

powers for the victims of Sharpeville.

The success of its repressive terror was guaranteed by hundreds of millions of dollars in American investments in South Africa's booming economy of the 1960's.

REVOLUTION

Until June 16, 1976, the businessmen of South Africa were convinced they had created a system that would last forever.

The insurrection begun that day by students in Soweto Township ended that dream.

The Sharpeville massacre was the end of a generation of peaceful protest for justice in South Africa. The Soweto uprising is the beginning of a new generation—the generation of South Africa's black revolution.

Since June 1976 thousands of Africans have been shot down by

...LLE To SOWETO

ATLANTA AFRICA COMMITTEE GOES AFTER DEL MONTE

ATLANTA—On March 19 the Southern Africa Liberation Committee (SALC) began its campaign to drive South African goods out of the area.

Fifteen members and supporters of the SALC, half black and half white, picketed White's ABC Super Saver grocery store, demanding that they take Del Monte sardines off the shelves for good.

Within half an hour the sardines were removed. And more sardines, in other stores, were soon to follow.

DEL MONTE

Why the boycott of Del Monte sardines?

Del Monte buys \$1.4 million worth of sardines annually from Overstone Ltd., a South African corporation.

The directors of Overstone are prominent members of the Nationalist Party, the ruling party of South Africa which instituted the apartheid system. Overstone pays \$4.9 million in taxes to the South African government each year.

Workers in the Overstone cannery, where sardines are processed for Del Monte, make the equivalent of about \$30 a month, well below the poverty line.

Most of the black workers at Overstone are "contract laborers." This means that eleven months of the year they live separate from their families, in Overstone's dormitories.

These dorms consist of small rooms where 16 men sleep on eight two-tiered concrete bunks.

BEGINNING

The first victory against Del Monte in the Atlanta SALC's campaign was only the beginning.

After SALC visits to two more stores, part of the Thrift Town chain, sardines were again removed from the shelves. Both stores are located in the black community.

The SALC plans to continue until all South African products are out of the Atlanta area.

The Committee is also co-sponsoring a showing of the film "There Is No Crisis Here," about the Soweto uprising, along with the Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The movie showing is Saturday, April 2 at 551 Houston Street, at 7:30 pm. Admission is \$1, or 50 cents for students and unemployed.

Larry Hamilton and
Dwayne Hammill



(Photographer unknown. From International Defense and Aid Fund exhibition of South Africa photographs.)

PASS LAWS KILL

The issue that triggered the mass protest campaign that culminated at Sharpeville was the pass book system, imposed on Africans by the white regime in South Africa.

When dozens of blacks are shot down all at once, it makes headlines. But the pass book system itself is an act of brutal violence still committed against 20 million black people every day. It is a far more systematic kind of violence that any single police massacre could be.

Pass books were invented in South Africa in 1807, when the black labor force was primarily rural. It was designed to force most blacks to remain poor farm laborers.

All black South Africans must carry pass books at all times. Every year an estimated half million blacks are arrested on pass book violations and serve hard-labor prison terms.

The pass book gives a person's entire work record, indicates where he or she is allowed to live, and must be signed and validated by the worker's employer every month.

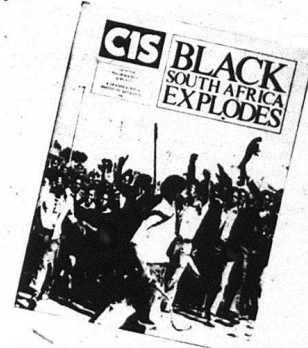
The system is administered by a huge all-white civil service, assisted by sophisticated computer equipment supplied by the American corporation IBM and the British firm ICL.

The pass book was invented as a system of total control over

the African labor force. It robs the black worker of any right to move, to change jobs or even to live in urban areas without permission.

Today, when the black working class in industry and the mines has grown into the millions, the pass book system is central to South Africa's whole economic and legal structure.

Sixty-nine people died at Sharpeville, trying to force an end to the pass book laws. Today, people in South Africa are still being murdered by the apartheid system which the pass laws protect.



THE ONLY detailed account of events since the Soweto uprising began last June. Day by day description from original sources and photos.

San Distribution, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203. \$2.25 postpaid.

LABOR LEADERS LOSE IN CONGRESS

by David Katz

Last month, Dennis Dearing, president of Louisville CWA Local 10310, told a stewards meeting that getting good legislation passed is more important than collective bargaining. With AT&T being the monster it is, he said, power is in Congress, not at the bargaining table.

Dearing added that meetings such as a Washington trade union legislative conference he was about to attend are the most important events of this whole year. And this is a year in which the CWA's national contract with the Bell System comes up for renewal. Dearing's sentiments are not the

words of some isolated local official who's looking for an excuse to avoid taking on the company. Rather, his words reflect the thinking of the top leadership of the labor movement.

This year the AFL-CIO, with the cooperation of the United Auto Workers, has launched a major legislative lobbying campaign, the likes of which have not been seen in years.

The campaign reflects the labor leadership's belief that more can be won in Congress than through collective bargaining. In other words, that more gains can be made by lobbying the wealthy lawyers, businessmen and peanut farmers who inhabit Washington

than by using the labor movement's economic muscle—its power to shut down industry.

WHAT THEY WANT

There is, to be sure, plenty of labor legislation that needs to be enacted into law. Here are the major features of the AFL-CIO's shopping list:

- The Common Situs picketing bill. This would allow construction unions to picket an entire building site, rather than just one entrance. It would allow one construction union to close down an entire project.

- Repeal the Hatch Act, which prohibits federal employees from engaging in political activities.



Carter takes AFL-CIO's Meany for a ride.

- Raise the minimum wage to \$3.00 an hour. The AFL-CIO notes that prices have risen 36% since 1972, when the current minimum of \$2.30 was adopted. In addition the AFL-CIO proposes an automatic adjustment each year by matching the minimum wage to 60% of the average hourly wage for manufacturing workers.

- Repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to pass so-called "right-to-work laws, banning the union shop.

- Expansion of federal labor legislation to cover public employ-

ees and farm workers.

- Major revision of the National Labor Relations Act to: speed up union representation elections; expedite enforcement of NLRB decisions; deny federal government contracts to consistent employer labor law violators; and provide better compensation for workers who are victims of unfair labor practices.

TRADE-OFFS

Not every item on this list is a priority for the AFL-CIO. They are willing to make certain trade-offs, if necessary.

The biggest potential trade-off is the 14b repeal. The repeal of 14b would wipe off the books "right-to-work" laws which outlaw the union shop in some 20 states.

In recent years, the AFL-CIO's commitment to repeal of 14b has been more rhetoric than anything else. This year, they're making more noise about it. But as Business Week magazine says, "the AFL-CIO leadership seems generally prepared to use the right-to-work provision as a bargaining gambit, if it has to, in exchange for passage of the [Labor Relations Act] reform proposal."

FROM GOONS TO LAWYERS

George Meany has argued for this legislative program by noting that in the 1930's, employers used goons to intimidate workers. Today, he says, "instead of using goons, they're using high-priced lawyers" who work you over with legal technicalities.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council is backing up its legislative drive with an \$800,000 public relations campaign.

But the one thing which hasn't changed since the 1930's is that you can't fight the employers—whether they're using goons or lawyers—with speeches, billboards, and newspaper ads. What counts is power.

Already the AFL-CIO's strategy has fallen on its nose. The first test was to be the Common Situs picketing bill, which was passed by Congress last year only to be vetoed by President Ford.

Labor leaders were so confident their Democratic friends would get it through this year that they didn't bother to lobby very hard for it. Jimmy Carter promised to sign the bill, but he didn't lift a finger to prevent it from going down to defeat in the House of Representatives March 23, 217-205. With that the picketing bill is probably dead for this year.

The next day, the President took aim at the AFL-CIO's minimum wage demand. He proposed a 20c raise to \$2.50, far short of the AFL-CIO's \$3.00.

It looks like George Meany's legislative strategy is on its last legs already.

How Labor Won in '30's

by Kim Moody

George Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council say they are out to win the biggest legislative reform package since the Wagner Act of 1935. But to get it they propose only to throw around a little more money.

To back up the usual lobbying efforts, the AFL-CIO Executive Council plans to spend \$800,000 on publicity and public relations.

The fact is that significant reforms have never been won with newspaper ads, TV spots, or well-reasoned research reports. In the U.S., as elsewhere, the major legislative reforms have been the results of mass movements.

The eight-hour day. The Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Equal Rights Amendment. The Wagner Act. All of these laws were preceded by mass movements.

THE WAGNER ACT

When Franklin Roosevelt became President in 1933, the U.S. was in a severe economic crisis. Twelve million were out of work. Industrial production was down by half. Something had to be done to save American capitalism from itself.

By 1933, discontent was rising among both employed and unemployed workers. So Roosevelt proposed a plan to get the economy going and, at the same time, make some concessions to the working class.

The National Industrial Recovery Act put forward a program allowing the employers to work with the government in planning a way to get production going again. One part of this plan, Section 7a, stated that workers had the right to organize unions.

In practice, Section 7a was used by the employers and the Roosevelt Administration to foster company unionism. But the workers were not



Strikers in 1930's. Significant reforms have never been won without mass movements.

fooled. In the summer of 1933 strikes hit the auto industry as workers fought for unions.

From 1933 to 1934 the membership of the American Federation of Labor grew by a million workers. In 1934, the country erupted into a virtual strike wave.

STRIKE WAVE

In 1934, three strikes in particular shook the confidence of the employers and the politicians. In San Francisco, a waterfront strike turned into a general strike under the leadership of Communist Party members.

In Toledo, auto workers, supported by thousands of unemployed workers, terrorized the wealthy of that city. The Toledo strikers were led by socialists around A.J. Muste.

And Teamsters turned the once non-union city of Minneapolis upside down for months, under the leadership of revolutionary socialists.

In steel, auto, rubber and

electrical, at the local level it was communists and socialists of various stripes that led the workers. Most employers responded with repression and violence. But some labor leaders and politicians understood that concessions would have to be made.

Labor leaders like John L. Lewis and politicians like Robert Wagner, Senator from New York, argued that if an orderly and effective way of allowing workers to unionize were not found, then revolutionaries would lead the workers in their struggle for unions. And, if that happened, the very future of capitalism, of private ownership of industry, would be threatened.

AWESOME ACTION

Congress responded by passing the Wagner Act. The response was not to the clever arguments of a public relations campaign. It was a response to the awesome action of the workers and the specter of revolution.

Within a year, the Social Security Act, unemployment compensation,

and other reforms we now take for granted were passed. The truth is, these reforms were not "granted," they were taken, forced by an angry working class.

George Meany will not call to action the growing anger and discontent of the workers in 1977.

Instead he will repeat the farce of 1965, when the AFL-CIO spent millions on publicity, raised many of the same demands, and lobbied the newly-elected Democratic President Lyndon Johnson to no avail.

The fact is, most of today's labor leaders would not dream of going outside the channels or breaking the rules set up by the Democratic Party and the big corporations and employers it represents.

They have just about given up fighting in the field of collective bargaining altogether. Now they claim these pathetic efforts at pressure politics are supposed to replace industrial action.

Most likely this year's legislative hoopla will turn out to be just another reason why these fools have got to go.



Peltier Trial Begins

by Candy Hamilton

FARGO, N.D.—“Sometimes circumstantial evidence is all there is.”

That was what prosecutor Robert Sikma, in so many words, told a jury of ten women and four men in his opening argument in the murder trial of Leonard Peltier here.

Twenty-one months after two FBI agents and an Indian man were killed in Oglala on the Pine Ridge Reservation, Leonard Peltier is the last of four men to be tried for the deaths of the agents. No one has ever been charged with the death of Joe Stuntz Killisno, the Indian.

Co-defendants Dino Butler and Bob Robideau were acquitted last July in Cedar Rapids, Iowa by an all-white jury, and shortly after their trial charges against Jimmy Eagle were dropped.

In the 21 months since the June 26, 1975 incident, Leonard Peltier, a 33-year-old Chippewa-Sioux, has been underground, arrested in Canada, had an 18-day extradition hearing, been returned to the United States, and spent 15 months in prisons and jails, most of it in solitary confinement.

HARASSED

Peltier is an activist member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), many of whose members have been harassed, attacked, beaten and even killed by the FBI and hired gangsters in the past four years.

However, Judge Paul Benson has told the defense there's nothing political about Peltier's case as far as he's concerned. "It's just another criminal trial," he maintains.

Yet in discussing possible trial locations, the prosecution ruled out every city or town where AIM members have been tried and acquitted.

The trial is expected to last four to six weeks.

In the opening defense statement, attorney John Lowe warned the jury to expect lies from government witnesses. He said at least one would admit to being bribed by the government to give false testimony.

Lowe insisted, "There is not one shred of evidence to link Leonard Peltier with the deaths of FBI Agents Williams and Coler."

After its first seven witnesses, the government still has not connected Peltier with the time or place of the agents' deaths. Some of the witnesses themselves seemed baffled as to why they were on the witness stand.



Leonard Peltier

STOP U.S. AID TO ZAIRE WAR!

The Carter Administration is beginning direct intervention in Africa through the war in Zaire.

Military interference by the U.S. in Africa is a sensitive political issue. Most people in this country would—and should—oppose it. As a result, the government is doing its best to hide how deeply it is already involved.

Press releases carefully state that Washington is sending Zaire only military equipment. No arms—yet. Carter is leaving it up to allies France, Belgium and West Germany to openly rush in weapons and ammunition.

The fighting is in Zaire's mineral-rich southeast corner—right next to Angola. The target is control of Zaire's plentiful copper, cobalt and uranium mines, located there. Without the wealth that the minerals produce, Zaire's economy cannot hold together.

And without Zaire, Washington loses its best ally against the struggles for national freedom going on throughout Southern Africa—in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

BUY POLITICIANS

For years the CIA has tried to purchase African leaders. Or it tries to make national leaders out of the politicians they had already bought. The CIA's biggest success story thus far is its hired-hand, Zaire's President Mobutu. In exchange for Western support and CIA funds, he helps keep southern Africa safe for U.S. investment and profit.

Washington needs African client states to arrange phony peace talks and push the US's point of view, for instance. (As if Rhodesia's tiny white minority and Zimbabwean freedom fighters—both battling for control of the same country—could horsetrade their differences away



over tea.) So, Washington cannot afford to let the Zaire government go down the drain.

Carter will spend as many tax dollars as he can find to assist Mobutu in regaining control of the country—as much as the U.S. press and public allow him to. And foreign aid to the ailing Zaire economy is already set to increase tenfold next year.

For the present, both Washington and Zaire are claiming that Zaire is being invaded by military forces backed by Angola. The two governments give different stories on who is doing the fighting. Cuban troops, says Zaire. No,

probably former residents of the Katanga (now Shaba) province, where the copper mines are located, says the U.S.

(In the early 60's the Katangese formed a separatist army with U.S. backing. They were beaten and driven out of the country into Angola.)

Angola totally denies that it is involved. President Agostinho Neto says the fighting is strictly an internal struggle inside Zaire, against the Mobutu regime.

UNDERMINING ANGOLA

Whatever the truth behind these conflicting statements may be, it is certainly true that Zaire and the United States have waged a long and continuing campaign to disrupt and destroy Angola.

Zaire was the U.S. government's main base against the Angolan national liberation movement, the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), during the Angolan war for independence.

To win that independence, the people of Angola had to defeat two armies heavily backed by Zaire and the U.S.

The victory of the MPLA in Angola gave a huge forward thrust to the forces of national liberation spreading throughout southern Africa. The U.S. wants to slow that process down.

So Jimmy Carter is determined to undermine Angola in any way he can. His Administration's policies will include stepping up its aid to Zaire. Mobutu will then prepare for new actions against Angola.

To justify this kind of intervention, the American government makes heavy use of the Cuban troops issue. Those forces helped the MPLA win Angola's national liberation war. The government wants American workers to believe that the presence of Cuban troops makes Angola a puppet country dominated by Russia.

In fact, the U.S. wants its own people to believe that all the genuine liberation movements in southern Africa are Russian puppets. This is how it hopes to get

popular support in this country for its efforts to crush them.

NOT SUBSERVIENT

The truth of the matter is that Angola is an independent African country which is not subservient to the demands of any foreign power.

Russian arms and Cuban troops helped the MPLA win its war against American and South African forces. But what the MPLA fought for, and won, was national independence.

Moscow aids some liberation movements and African governments for its own political and military purposes. Russia is no more a champion of national liberation or freedom than the United States. But African freedom fighters have the right to accept arms, ammunition and support from any source. They lose their independent character only if they become subservient to a foreign power.

Angola is not subservient. That is exactly why the Carter Administration, just like Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger, is committed to destroy it.

That is why Carter is escalating both official and secret aid to Washington's African partners, like Zaire. These countries and officials, unlike the MPLA, are paid off precisely because they are willing to be Washington's agents in Africa.

Every dollar of U.S. aid to Zaire strengthens the American government's long-term commitment to violent political and military intervention against African liberation. Everyone who believes in the liberation of Africa, in freedom won by the African peoples, should fight to stop this intervention.

DEFEND ANGOLA!

The U.S. strategy is to maintain economic, political and military pressure against Angola. It hopes to prevent Angola's independence from leading to similar successful liberation struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Supporters of the freedom struggle in southern Africa must defend independent Angola from these U.S.-sponsored attacks.

This doesn't mean that Angola itself is a socialist or revolutionary state. Since winning the war of liberation, the government of MPLA led by Agostinho Neto has moved against strikes by Angolan workers.

They have also acted to put the community-based Popular Power movements, created during the liberation war, under firm government control. Some of the internal repression in Angola has been carried out by the same Cuban troops who helped MPLA win the war against colonialism.

But further gains for the people of Angola will come from their own struggles, and from the victory of other movements for national liberation in southern Africa.

The more decisively American imperialism is defeated, the better conditions will be for African workers to organize their battle for socialism.



Between 1960 and 1964, the American CIA helped recruit and pay mercenaries to fight against the nationalist government of the newly independent Congo (now Zaire). Their aim was to rip off the copper mines of Katanga (Shaba) province for Belgian mining interests. Today, a neo-colonialist military regime is in power in Zaire—and the U.S. and its allies are rushing arms and supplies to help to keep control of those same mines.

Where We Stand

WE OPPOSE

• **CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION**
We live under the capitalist system. The wealth produced by working people is stolen from us by private employers. They prosper from our labor.

• **CAPITALIST CONTROL**
Capitalists use their profits only to make more profits. When they need fewer workers, they create unemployment. When they need more money, they speed up work, downgrade safety conditions, and raise prices. The capitalist system spends little on health care, a clean environment, or social services, because these things make no profit.

• **OPPRESSION**
Black people are an oppressed national minority in the United States. They have the right to self-determination—to decide their own future.

The struggle of every oppressed group for equality is a just struggle—Blacks, women, gays, Latinos, American Indians. We are for the independent organization of oppressed peoples to fight for their freedom.

Support from the entire working class movement will increase the struggles of both—the oppressed and the class movement—stronger.

• **CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT**
The government serves the capitalist class. Its only purpose is to protect the private profit system. It protects its interests abroad through economic control of other countries, spying and wars.

• **BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNISM**
Russia, China and other countries with economies like theirs are also oppressive class societies, run by a privileged ruling class of bureaucrats. They are not socialist and must be overthrown by the working class of those countries.

WE SUPPORT

• **THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT**
The unions protect workers from their employers. But today's unions are run by privileged officials who sell out because they support the capitalist system. They want labor peace, not labor power. We support the struggle for rank and file control of the unions.

• **LIBERATION FROM OPPRESSION**
We support the struggles of every oppressed group to end its oppression, the struggle for equality and justice by blacks, women, gays, latinos, native Americans, and all oppressed people. Support from the entire working class movement will make both these struggles, and that movement, stronger.

• **SOCIALISM**
Society should be run by the working class. The wealth produced by those who work should go to fill people's needs, not to private gain.

• **WORKERS' REVOLUTION**
But the capitalist class will not give up their rule and profits voluntarily. Socialism can be created only when the working class seizes control of the factories and makes their own government. The working class will rule democratically because it can own society's wealth only together.

• **INTERNATIONALISM**
The struggle for socialism is worldwide. We support every fight of the working class against exploitation, and every struggle by nations fighting for independence from foreign rulers. We support every struggle for freedom—from the people of southern Africa against racism and western colonialism, to the struggle against bureaucratic rule and Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe.

We demand complete independence for Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial rule.

• **REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**
The most class conscious members of the working class have the responsibility to lead the struggle toward socialist revolution. To do this they must build an organization to put their consciousness into action and make their leadership effective.

• **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS**
The I.S. is an organization of revolutionary socialist workers. We are open to all who accept our basic principles and are willing to work as a member to achieve them. Join with us to build the I.S. into a revolutionary party, to build the movement to end exploitation and oppression and to create a socialist world.

Workers' Power
313-869-5964

Uncle Sam Wants YOU ... Dead?

by Jim Marshall

THE ARMY NOW ADMITS what we already knew: that it conducted germ warfare experiments in the US.

It is reported that the Army has conducted more than 200 germ warfare tests in 93 different cities around the country since 1942.

The Army apparently insists that it has no evidence linking the tests to any deaths or epidemics, as previously charged.

The Army will admit in Congressional testimony, according to "reliable" sources in Congress, that some persons have been seriously sickened when exposed to biological warfare agents. These persons are reported to be mostly Army personnel (mostly).

REPORT RELEASED

The Army report on its biological warfare activities was released last week in connection with Senate health subcommittee hearings chaired by Edward Kennedy. But it is virtually impossible to find out what the report actually says.

Army medical officials will testify before the health subcommittee this week.

They will confirm that the Army developed a number of biological agents to be used against crops, cattle and people. They will also

insist that the tests were conducted under "controlled circumstances."

The Army, of course, is lying. News reports late last year linked Army germ warfare tests with pneumonia outbreaks in Arkansas and Florida in 1952, and the death of a 75-year-old man in San Francisco in 1950.

The man died of a heart infection caused by a bacteria called Serratia Marcescens, a man-made bacteria that the Army was testing that year.

The bacteria was secretly released over heavily populated sections of the country.

WITHHELD INFO

The Army withheld information of their "test" from Stanford University doctors who were investigating an outbreak of the disease that began four days after the Army released the bacteria.

In 1966 the Army struck again. They dropped a lightbulb full of this "harmless" bacteria in the New York subway system.

They are studying the dispersal of the agent for effective slaughtering of "unfriendly peoples."

But that's just part of the scandal. The bigger part is that the Army can just go around and poison, contaminate, and, yes, kill, with but a shrug of their shoulders. □

Fannie Lou Hamer 1916-1977



Fannie Lou Hamer was one of the best known and most effective leaders of the civil rights movement which swept the South in the 1960's. She died of cancer March 15 at the age of 60.

Fannie Lou Hamer did not join the movement to fight somebody else's battles. She was one of a number of local women who took up the fight for freedom early on and rose to become one of the movement's most powerful leaders.

Her life reflects the story of Southern blacks. She was born on a Montgomery County, Miss. plantation, one of twenty children of Jim and Lou Ella Townsend, who were sharecroppers.

At age 6, she went to work in the fields. She could go to school only when there was no work in

the fields. There wasn't enough food to go around.

In 1962, at age 45, she started working with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee registering voters. It wasn't easy, because most attempts to register were met with arrests or beatings.

As soon as she began this work, she was evicted from the shack her family occupied on a plantation near Ruleville.

Because 94% of the blacks in Mississippi were denied the right to register and vote, the civil rights workers formed the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). In 1964, they took their case to Atlantic City, where the Democratic Party Convention was nominating Lyndon Johnson for President. Their hope was to find justice and recognition there, but there was none to be found.

REJECT

The MFDP asked the Convention to reject the segregationist policies of the regular Democrats and to seat their delegation instead.

One of the MFDP's most forceful speakers was Fannie Lou Hamer. She told the Convention how she lost the job she had held for 18 years because she tried to register to vote. She urged the Convention to seat the MFDP delegation. If not, she said, "I question America."

The Convention turned its back and rejected the MFDP's challenge. The Democrats preferred Mississippi's cross-burners instead of its freedom fighters.

You don't have to agree with Fannie Lou Hamer's subsequent decision to support the Democratic ticket anyway to say that she was one of the greatest grass roots leaders the movement ever had.

When a reporter once asked her why she continued to live in tiny Ruleville, even though she had gained national attention, she replied: "Why should I leave Ruleville and why should I leave Mississippi?... I want to change Mississippi. You don't run away from problems, you just face them."

David Katz

Stop The Stall

by Eric Harper

CLEVELAND—U.S. District Judge Frank J. Batisti recently told School Board officials here to quit exploiting racial fears, misleading the public, delaying school desegregation and trying to make political profit from the court's order to integrate Cleveland's schools.

The city is racially divided, and feelings about school busing run high. Surveys show that the overwhelming majority of the black community believes that their children are not getting as good an education as white children.

The papers, school board and local politicians have shown that they are opposed to seriously changing this situation. Instead, by blocking the court's orders, they are creating an atmosphere where racist forces can easily organize and grow.

GUILTY

Judge Batisti said "some board members have not yet acknowledged that they have been found guilty of violating the constitutional rights of black children."

The judge was referring to two unacceptable plans for desegregation submitted by the School Board. One was based on an approach that has been uniformly rejected in similar cases throughout the country.

The other, which paired majority-white and majority-black schools, was so poor that it seemed purposely designed to be unworkable.

As the Judge said, "The board has acted to resist at every step both the letter and the spirit of the court's orders."

Supporters of busing and equal education for all children will have to begin organizing soon. Otherwise, when busing begins, they will face the same city officials, organized and leading the fight against them and their children.

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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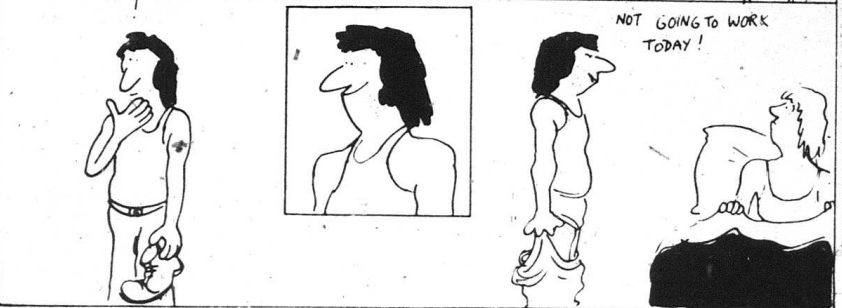
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OUR NORMAN



SUPPOSE SHE'S RIGHT THOUGH - IF WE DIDN'T WORK, THERE'D BE NO PROFITS, AND ALL THE BOSSES WOULD STARVE.



"You ought to be out raising hell!"



Mother Jones

Carter Says 'No' To Black Lung Reform

by Jim Woodward

Jimmy Carter has come up with his energy plan for America. It's spelled c-o-a-l, and that spells trouble for this country's miners. Speaking in Charleston, W.Va. March 17, Carter indicated the general outlines of the energy program he will present to Congress next month. The key feature will be increasing the use of coal to lessen dependence on oil and natural gas.

The Carter administration will aim to increase domestic coal production from the present 600 million tons a year to one billion tons a year by 1985. As this announcement was made, coal and mining equipment stocks shot up on the New York Stock Exchange.

Certainly Carter's energy program will mean a new profit orgy

for the coal companies. And it will also have the virtue of making some more jobs available in the coal fields. But what else?

More miners, crippled by the killer black lung disease, spending their final years in pain and poverty. That's what.

NO COINCIDENCE

It's no coincidence that on the same day Carter announced his new energy policy, his Administration also announced its opposition to the United Mine Workers' (UMW) black lung reform proposals.

Under the present black lung compensation program run by the Labor Department, 106,000 claims have been received since 1973. Only 4,000 of these have been approved, while 52,000 have been

rejected. Another 50,000 claims are tangled in red tape.

Because of this difficulty that so many obviously-disabled miners have in collecting black lung benefits, the UMW has proposed a simple reform: anyone who worked in the mines for 20 years before federal dust standards were passed in 1969 would be presumed to have black lung and would be automatically eligible for benefits.

Congressman Carl D. Perkins, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, has introduced a bill to this effect. Carter Administration spokesman Donald Elisburg opposed this concept in testimony before a Congressional subcommittee. Too expensive.

COMMITTED TO REFORM?

Jimmy Carter was elected with the enthusiastic support of this country's labor leaders. The UMW Journal told its readers in September: "The Democratic Party platform is committed to black lung reform. Jimmy Carter says he will move quickly to implement the Party's platform if he is elected President...."

"If you want changes in the black lung laws, support the candidate who can make it happen."

The Democratic Party platform and Jimmy Carter's promises were so much paper. When Carter decided the national interest required a fantastic increase in coal production, he said, "Screw the miners."

Next to the huge piles of coal Carter's energy program will produce, he could just as easily stack up huge piles of worn out miners his black lung policy will create. The miners who can't take more than a few steps without wheezing and coughing...the miners who have to walk up the stairs backwards because that's the only way they can manage it....

It's a pretty picture, Mr. President.

"God Almighty made the women, but the Rockefeller gang of thieves made the ladies." —Mother Jones

by Caroline Greene and Anne Foster

God Almighty must have made Mother Jones, because she certainly wasn't a lady! "Mother" Mary Jones was a fighter. She devoted her life to organizing coal miners into labor unions.

Mother Jones became a socialist in the 1890's. She helped found the famous socialist newspaper, "Appeal to Reason" in Kansas City.

Mother Jones, Woman Organizer. by Priscilla Long. Red Sun Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976. 40 pp., \$1.25.

Using the newspaper as an organizing tool, Mother Jones went to the Pennsylvania coal fields. For most of the rest of her life, she was a paid organizer for the United Mine Workers—though she often clashed with its leadership and sided with the rank and file.

When Mother Jones spoke, she would shout, stamp, gesture, and raise hell. She could bring an audience to its feet—even when none of them spoke English. Here's a sample of her style: "I warn this little governor that unless he rids Paint Creek and Cabin Creek of these goddamned Baldwin Felts mine-guard thugs, there is going to be one hell of a lot of blood-letting in these hills."

A new pamphlet has been published about Mother Jones. It is written by Priscilla Long. Titled "Mother Jones, Woman Organizer," this pamphlet discusses this legendary figure's life and her relations with miners' wives, working women, and the suffrage movement.

WOMEN

Because of her sex, Mother Jones stood out among male miners. But she realized that during a strike it was just as important to organize wives as well. She helped coordinate women's strike activities and organized the mop and broom brigade which fought off scabs during the six-week anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania in 1900.

Sometimes women could get away with back talk, jeering, whipping scabs, throwing bottles and rocks, when the men would have been killed.

The women kept up morale and helped the miners stick out the strike. Mother Jones stood along-

side the striking miners and their families, facing bullets and threats of prison from the bosses—she was jailed several times.

In her lifetime, she also helped child textile workers, street car men, steel workers and metal miners in their struggles to organize.

CRITICIZE

Feminists criticize Mother Jones because she didn't take part in the suffrage movement which was fighting to win the vote for women at the time. "You don't need a vote to raise hell," she said. The lives of working class women were so grim that they were less concerned about the right to vote than were the "ladies."

A working woman of the time faced low wages, inadequate child care, child labor injustices, poor health, terrible working conditions, and lack of union representation. These seemed to be more important issues than the vote. Mother Jones never forgot the class struggle.

But she did forget that women were workers too, even though they were entering the work force in growing numbers. Feeling that women "should stay at home and tend to their children," she made few attempts to organize women workers, and was happier in the company of men. Her reputation depended partly on her character as mother to "her boys," and not as sister to other working class women. She wasn't a revolutionary feminist.

In 1916 Mother Jones supported Woodrow Wilson for President. Her commitment to socialism faded and she supported the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is the graveyard of many a radical. "Increasingly Mother Jones came to rely on the good will of individuals to correct isolated wrongs, rather than working for a change in the whole system," says author Priscilla Long.

All the same, Mother Jones is a working class heroine we all should know about. "That vulgar old lady" was a fighter. She was an organizer.

And her words are still true today: "You ought to be out raising hell. This is the fighting age. Put on your fighting clothes."



"Mother Jones, Woman Organizer" is available from Sun Distribution, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203. \$1.25 postpaid.

Photo: Mother Jones with striking Colorado miners, 1914.

WORKERS' POWER

A revolutionary socialist weekly, published by the International Socialists.

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Workers' Power

CHRYSLER

STRIKERS BATTLE

"THE CRUNCHER"



Spring Training?

The date is March 2nd, and the man you see here is George Meany. He is speaking at a banquet honoring the National Labor Relations Board. He is telling the audience that the AFL-CIO plans to get many pieces of significant labor legislation passed this year, with a Democratic-controlled Congress and a friend in the White House.

By March 24, there were still a full two weeks left before baseball season opened. Yet the AFL-CIO's legislative program already had two strikes against it. First a major picketing bill went down to defeat. Then President Carter proposed a minimum wage bill that offered only 30% of what the AFL-CIO was demanding.

How is it that the leadership of the labor movement made such fools of themselves in Washington? See page 8 for the story of what the AFL-CIO wanted from Congress and why they're not likely to get much of it.

by Steve Burns

INDIANAPOLIS—Workers on the second shift at the Chrysler Electrical plant walked off the job Friday night, March 18.

Chief steward Ed Raymer had been assaulted by general foreman Marvin "The Cruncher" Crutcher the night before. When Raymer showed up the next day in a back brace and Crutcher was still on the job, the workers walked, demanding that Crutcher be fired.

The picket lines have held solid since then. The local union leadership (UAW #1226) says that although they didn't call the workers out, now that they're out, the leadership will represent them. The UAW International in Detroit told Workers' Power the strike was unauthorized and they were trying to get the workers to go back.

Although representatives of both the UAW and Chrysler have come down from Detroit, the company is refusing to talk until the wildcat is ended. Chrysler has filed suit for damages and asked for an injunction to halt the strike.

Plant Manager "Fish Lips" Wisman sent a letter to all employees. He said that the electrical plant had the worst strike record of any Chrysler plant in the last year. This, he claimed, was interfering with his efforts to get more of Chrysler's production assigned to the plant—and more job security for his employees.

"Work is available for anyone who is willing to return," the letter said.

MILITANT HISTORY

Local 1226 has a history of militancy. Last October a wildcat defeated Chrysler's attempt to have the plant cafeteria taken over by a catering service. The cafeteria workers are Local 1226 members.

The local also struck for two weeks over the local contract in January, beating back Chrysler's take-away attempts. Their local agreement is one of the best in the corporation.

"The Cruncher," who is 6'8" and has a reputation as a brawler, is black. Chief steward Raymer is white. The company has been trying to insinuate that the assault was a racial incident. But the workers, black and white, have been united in demanding that the foreman be disciplined.

One Local 1226 member believed that management might have provoked the strike, hoping it would backfire against the popular local leadership in elections scheduled for May. But so far the strikers have held solid. □

AT N.Y. UPS, THEY'RE AFTER YOUR JOB - IN ADVANCE!

NEW YORK—United Parcel Service workers, members of Teamster Local 804, have just voted to accept the company's offer "to negotiate a new contract with Local 804 in advance of the June 30 expiration date."

In making the offer, UPS Vice-President Charles R. Buckridge wrote, "As you are aware, we concluded our negotiations with all of the Teamster locals in the Eastern Conference in December of 1976. The agreement arrived at was a uniform collective bargaining agreement for 15 states effective December 13, 1976."

New York UPSers are not part of the Eastern Conference.

The first problem with this letter from UPS, which Local 804 President Ron Carey didn't bother to tell the members, is that there is no Eastern States contract.

The company still has not signed that agreement and has refused to make it "effective" except for the wage increase.

ELIMINATE FULL-TIMERS

In particular, the company has refused to agree to a clause which protects some full-time jobs.

UPS is on a nationwide campaign to eliminate full-time inside work.

They prefer to hire part-timers who have less stake in their job, thus minimizing the chances for shop floor organization.

In some areas, part-timers have lower wages and benefits than full-timers.

The clause in the Eastern States agreement that UPS is stalling on would guarantee that all full-time inside workers who leave will be replaced with other full-time workers.

Such a provision is very important for Local 804, which gave the company the right to phase out 180 full-time workers per year after losing a seven-week strike in 1974.

Even this was not enough for UPS. For some time, they have been offering a \$9000 cash payment to anyone who would give up their full-time job.

This would be an additional loss of full-time jobs beyond the 180 allowed in the contract.

RETROACTIVITY?

Buckridge's letter continues, "If you are willing to meet promptly we are prepared to discuss the question of retroactivity. If we do not have your answer within thirty days from this date (February 23), we shall assume that negotiations

will take place in the usual manner and it will be impossible for us to discuss retroactivity."

In agreeing to "early negotiations," the Local 804 membership accepted President Carey's interpretation of "retroactivity." Carey wrote, "The company's letter gives us an opportunity to begin negotiations immediately, and thereafter demand retroactive pay, going as

far back as possible."

But some 804 members are asking, "If that's what 'retroactivity' means, why didn't the company spell it out?"

They also want to know why the company should make such an offer. Is the company using retroactive pay to induce the union to give up job rights or let working conditions deteriorate further?

Why didn't President Carey even ask these questions?

People are rightly suspicious. UPS never gives something for nothing.

REDUCE LOCAL CONTROL

Most likely the promise of retroactivity in the 804 contract is the signal that UPS, and possibly the International Union, want the New York contract brought under the Eastern States Agreement. Both sides want one national contract by 1979, to further reduce local control over bargaining.

In virtually every city under the Eastern States agreement, the hold-up in signing the contract is over the number of full-time jobs.

That and UPS' job-buying campaign in New York both point to a further attack on full-time work under the new contract. □

