



# Korean Cash Flowed In U.S. — Napalm Fell On Vietnam...



by Dan Posen

Ever since 1970 the government of South Korea has been bribing U.S. Congressmen and other officials for aid from the U.S. It worked through the South Korean CIA.

Isn't it amazing how a foreign government could pull off an operation like that right in our own back yard, without our American government knowing anything about it?

Well, not quite. It turns out that a few U.S. government agencies did know South Korean money was flowing.

Namely, according to the New York Times: "information accumulated in the files of the Central Intelligence and National Security agencies, the National Security Council, the State Department, the

FBI and the Justice Department, the Dept. of Defense, the Department of Agriculture, the Agency for International Development, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, the Internal Revenue Service, the Comptroller of the Currency, the Customs Service and the United States Treasury."

Between 1970 and 1975, all these agencies knew U.S. officials and politicians were on the take from South Korea's right-wing dictator, Park Chung Hee.

What did they do about it? Nothing—until the husband of Betty Ford's chief of staff killed himself. He was afraid his connections with South Korean bag man Tongsun Park were about to be exposed.

It was a bigger cover-up than

Watergate—and it could be even more politically damaging if all the facts are exposed, which isn't likely.

## BIGGER THAN WATERGATE

You see, unlike Watergate, the South Korean scandal implicates both political parties and the CIA.

• The tiniest tip of the iceberg is \$25,000 in campaign contributions and other cash gifts to Congressmen, most of them Democrats. Some received "going-away presents" of plain envelopes stuffed with \$100 bills.

Besides those already implicated, dozens more Congressmen may be exposed if they are forced to respond to a questionnaire asking if they had connections to South Korean operatives.

• While the Republicans have been chuckling over the Democrats' "Congressional Watergate," the government has leaked information that high Republican officials are also subject to the investigation.

Nixon's attorney-general, Richard Kleindienst, Congressional liaison William Timmons, and former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird were prominent at Tongsun Park's lavish Georgetown social club.

President Nixon himself knew of the South Korean bribery net-

work as early as 1971. He kept it quiet, so the South Korean regime would keep its troops in Vietnam fighting for the U.S.

## FORD, TOO

But the Republican side of this scandal involves more than the already-disgraced Nixon Administration.

It extends to the Gerald Ford Administration, which supposedly cleaned up the mess and restored honest government to Washington.

Quoting the New York Times again: "The Justice Dept. is seeking to determine whether senior United States government officials deliberately covered up the alleged illegal lobbying scheme during the Republican Administrations of Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford."

In newspaper language, "senior government officials" means cabinet heads, White House staff and the President.

• Finally, the scandal is embarrassing to the American CIA. The

CIA obtained much of the evidence of the payoffs by bugging President Park's residence in Seoul!

What will America's other allies think of that?

## NO LONGER USEFUL

Unfortunately for Park Chung Hee, who the U.S. put in power, he and his fascist dictatorship are no longer as useful to Washington as they once were.

Endless reports of the most horrible tortures in South Korean prisons, and Park's efforts to embarrass the Carter Administration over troop withdrawals from Korea, have made him a nuisance.

The Carter Administration is not about to push for any real reform in South Korea. But it is going to use the bribery scandal to cut Park himself down to size.

However, the more is revealed about Park, the more the corruption of American politics will be forced into the light as well.

American imperialism has tentacles everywhere—and Park is one of them. But he also filled the mouths of a lot of home-grown U.S. politicians.

It is impossible to cut one off the tentacles of American power abroad, no matter how rotten it is, without cutting off a few limbs at home, too.

# Miracle! Energy Crisis Is Over

by Kim Moody

Remember a couple of months ago? How the world was about to run out of fuel?

Disaster lurked around the corner. The shiny new President of

the United States said he had this complicated plan to save the day.

But, he warned, if it didn't become law—every last bit of it—he couldn't guarantee the future of humanity.

A few suspicious souls wondered. Maybe this was just a ploy to give the energy monopolies the price increases they were asking for.

Well, as this energy plan now worms its way through Congress that is what is happening.

• The tax on gasoline was decapitated by the House Ways and Means Committee.

• The rebate for small cars met a similar fate.

• And the "gas guzzler" tax was postponed until 1979.

But down the hall, at the House Sub-Committee on Commerce, the Congressmen were approving a motion to remove any price ceilings from newly discovered natural gas.

## HIT THE NAIL

The Wall Street Journal hit the nail on the head when they wrote:

"The petroleum industry won the key opening skirmish in what will be a long and contentious fight over federal regulation of natural gas prices."

Carter had only asked for a 55c increase in the controlled price. The House sub-committee decided the sky was the limit for natural gas prices.

Most remarkable is that nobody seems to give a damn.

The President is displeased, but there have been no veto threats and no speeches about the end of our energy supplies.

Shrugging off this defeat, Carter said last week, "I don't say we've got to have the program just as we put it forward. We're not inflexible."

Well, guess what. We didn't run out of fuel. The world didn't end. We turned that corner—and disaster wasn't lurking there.

Carter was right about one thing... the future of humanity hasn't been guaranteed. But the profits of the corporations have.

# FORD: FROM CAMPAIGN TRAIN TO GRAVY TRAIN

Good news. There's one unemployed person who won't be hurting for the next few years: Gerald Ford.

Mr. Ford, who has been out of work since January, stands to make close to \$3 million in the next few years.

Technically, of course, Ford is not registered as unemployed, since he receives both a Congressional and a Presidential pension—together totalling nearly \$100,000 a year. But that's only the start.

For writing the world's two most boring books, their personal memoirs, Jerry and Betty Ford will get \$1 million from Readers Digest and Harper & Row publishers.

For one or two TV appearances a year, Gerald will get another million, while Betty will receive \$500,000.

Still another cool million will come from some 10 campus speaking engagements sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute.

## HUSTLING

This information was disclosed by Ford's former press secretary, J.F. Terborgh. Terborgh was upset that "all this huckstering and hustling and merchandising of the Presidency—with Ford's eager assent—robs the office of something fine and decent."

When a jerk like Jerry gets \$3 million for a couple of books and a few speeches, you can bet that something more than the office of the Presidency is getting robbed.



Vietnamese children fleeing napalm attack. Richard Nixon covered up the Korean bribery scandal to keep South Korean troops alongside the U.S. in Vietnam.

# WELFARE RECIPIENTS LINE UP FOR CARTER'S JOBS

Despite the continual publicity about welfare rolls swollen by "chiselers" most recipients want jobs.

This was proven—once again—when applications were taken for the 400,000 new public service jobs the Carter Administration is creating.

So many welfare mothers applied that Washington is setting aside 25% of the new jobs for them.

The main reason for the high number of applications is survival. For many, the extra income means meat on the table. Or milk. Or paying the gas bill. But it won't be much.

Under Carter's new welfare

proposal, recipients will only be able to add \$2100 a year to their income before their benefits begin to drop.

And working always adds to expenses: childcare, transportation, laundry, lunches. The net increase in income for recipients who get the public service jobs will be small.

But obviously it's enough to make a difference in living standards for many welfare mothers. That's why they're out there competing with young and other unemployed people for the few jobs that the Carter Administration has seen fit to grant.

## Workers' Power 212

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# What is the penalty for passing out leaflets?

by Dan LaBotz

"The employer evidently took retaliation against me." That was the conclusion drawn by Aaron Kesner, a driver for Glendenning Motorways in Chicago and a member of Teamster Local 705.

What happened? Kesner explains:

"My car was parked on Pulaski June 6. I came in from work at 5:25 and I was told that my car was

worked over.

"My windshield was smashed, my driver's window was knocked out completely, and all four tires were side punctured."

Why was it done? No one knows for sure, but this is what Aaron thinks. "I passed out a leaflet of The Grapevine informing other employees as to the method that Glendenning Motorways was using against its employees, with threats and harassment and claiming

they're losing money when they're not."

The Grapevine is the Chicago newspaper of Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

## THREATS

How was the company threatening the employees? Kesner told Workers Power, "The company had threatened them not to check their loads, not to check their

equipment, their lights, their tires for defects, for damage on the trailers whether new or old damage.

"They just want them to hook up and get out of the yard. They threaten to discharge them if they don't follow instructions and get out of the yard."

**It is standard safety practice for drivers to check their equipment before taking it out.**

"I've been threatened quite a number of times and received letters of reprimand for it," said Kesner.

It wasn't only the TDU Grapevine leaflet that had management angry. Kesner was also going after about \$100 in overtime pay that the company had cheated him out of.

"On June 3, I was told to go home at almost 5 o'clock, and a few minutes later another driver came in, punched out, and he was asked if he wanted to continue working. The assistant terminal manager, Mondo, scratched the time off his time card and permitted him to work beyond midnight.

"The rule is first in, first out. I'm making a claim for over seven hours overtime, which is a lot of money. Evidently the employer took retaliation against me."

Around the country trucking companies are trying to save time and money by cutting corners on safety. That's what's going on at Glendenning.

There's only one way to stop them. It's the way Aaron Kesner has chosen. You organize, you fight back.

He intends to continue passing out the Grapevine, to continue filing grievances, to continue fighting management. □



Katherine Graham (above) received an award last month for her "contributions to humanity." Among her contributions is vicious strike-breaking against the Washington Post's pressmen (at right).

## The Post Won: One Worker Dead, One In Prison, One Union Broken

Jack McIntosh, one of the press operators who nearly two years ago struck the Washington Post, has been sentenced to a year in prison for allegedly hitting a scab. The paper was struck by the International Printing and Graphics Communications Union Local 6.

Five other strikers have been given work release sentences and nine more were given one year probation.

Only McIntosh was to go to jail. But in an act of pure harassment, authorities held several of the

others in jail over a weekend, saying it was too late to process them for work release.

When the sentence was read by Judge Sylvia Bacon, the courtroom filled with family and friends of the strikers, exploded in anger and indignation. The judge was jeered out of the court.

Iona O'Sullivan, wife of Gene O'Sullivan, one of the convicted strikers, told Workers Power, "She sat there in her robes looking so dignified. It's such a mockery. I'm glad we didn't allow her to

dismiss the court with any sense of dignity."

Fred Soloway, a worker for the Local 6 Defense Committee, said of the proceedings, "It was a green light for employers to go ahead and do what they feel like."

McIntosh wasn't the worst victim of the strike. Last year one of the members of the Local 6 committee committed suicide.

So now, two years later, the Post has won the strike. Won it the way employers like to win—with the total defeat of the union and its members.

One dead, one in prison for a year, several on work release, a number on probation. Many out of work. Scabs hired to replace the union workers. A decertification election held and won, driving the union out of the shop.

It's what the boss wanted—a total demoralizing defeat.

The business community awards its leaders for accomplishments like these. Last month Katherine Graham, owner and publisher of the Post, was given an award by Georgetown University for her "contributions to humanity." □

## McBride Moves To Consolidate USW Machine

by Susie McCarthy

PITTSBURGH—Lloyd McBride, the new president of the United Steelworkers of America, has requested letters of resignation from all union department heads and their assistants pending a review of their job status.

About 70 employees of the international union are affected, mostly involving those working at the international headquarters in Pittsburgh.

It is the first time in the 40-year history of the Steelworkers' union that such a massive review of high-level personnel has taken place.

Unions sources said that the intent of this move is to reevaluate the qualifications and records of the union's executive personnel, as part of a move to consolidate the headquarters' staff into a unified "McBride Team."

More likely this action is directed at eliminating political opposition to the newly elected International officers.

The resignations will presumably be accepted from Sadowski supporters in particular, as well as from assorted others who have fallen out of favor with the new administration.

One of the affected staff members said, "This affair is not the business or concern of the rank and file, it's just the juggling at the top."

This is not completely true. In fact, this rearrangement of the top staff does have an effect on the union membership.

This is the first step to building a new machine for the international officers: McBride, Odorich, Lynch, McKee and Williams.

It means that the International is starting early to consolidate its forces against the opposition which is sure to run against the International machine at the next election. □

## James Earl Ray: Unanswered Questions

by Kate Stacy

WHILE JAMES EARL RAY spent two and a half days at large last week, the FBI, the CIA, and the Justice Department held their breath and didn't let go until he was back in custody.

There are not a hell of a lot of people left these days who believe that Ray acted alone in the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Most believe that at least one and possibly all three government bodies were involved in some way.

### LOOPHOLES

If Ray had died, been killed, or successfully disappeared, the ranks of the outraged and non-believers would have been swelled by the hundreds of thousands.

There are simply too many

loopholes in the government's case that Ray acted alone. Too many suspicious developments over the years.

Although few believe the whole truth will ever be told, most still want a thorough and open investigation of the murder of a major civil rights leader of a

movement of millions.

Especially because the government seems to be involved.

People—in particular millions of Blacks—want the locks off the file cabinets, the secret reports published, the testimony told in public.

The government—even if it were completely innocent, a rather

unlikely occurrence—will never do that.

One secret told always leads to another.

And the whole history of the FBI and Justice Department's role in destroying the Black movement is one they want to keep securely under wraps. □

## Where did the members' money go?

DETROIT—United Auto Workers Local 47 is broke.

It had to borrow \$3000 from the New Member Orientation Fund to send seven members to the UAW Convention last month. Only three of the seven were voting delegates.

### WARNING

The International has put Local 47, which represents Chrysler's

Detroit Forge, on warning for fiscal mis-management. It has 90 days to clean up its act.

What happened to Local 47's treasury?

According to a leaflet put out by "The Coalition," a group of militant rank and filers, "We was ripped off by Evans Ray [local president] and the Gravy Train Gang, with an orgy of Lost Time vouchers, pork chop dinners for the Bargaining Committee, and testi-

monials for our union officials' wives...

"Union officials have abused Lost Time like it was their personal Mastercharge card."

A second leaflet documents \$194 worth of meal expenses for the Bargaining Committee, for just two days.

The Coalition is demanding that the union officials tell the membership what is being done with its money. □

# HUMAN RIGHTS, EAST AND WEST

by Dan La Botz

There, picking up his papers, the man in the fine suit, is the spokesman for the Polish government's delegation.

The government he represents just had Stanislaw Pyjas thrown over a bannister and down a flight of stairs, smashing his skull in, because Pyjas was a member of the Workers' Defense Committee.

Across the table, the delegate from Great Britain fiddles with his pen. His country is attempting to drive the newspaper Socialist Worker out of existence by fining it to death.

The spokesman from Russia leans back in the padded arm chair and looks at the crystal chandelier. Right now in the insane asylums of his country, political prisoners are being injected with sulfa to give them high fevers and convulsions and shock.

## HUMAN RIGHTS?

The representative from the United States consults his notes. Back home ten political prisoners from Wilmington, North Carolina are sitting in prison framed for crimes they never committed.

A printer from the Washington Post is serving a year in jail for being on strike. Gary Tyler, 19 years old and Black, is in prison for life, framed for murder.

A fellow from Czechoslovakia delivers a speech on human rights. Very nice too. His country has thrown dozens of dissidents in the clink for signing a petition.

Each gives a lovely speech full of terms like "human rights" and "dignity" and so on. Each left his country with blood on his hands.

It's a conference on human rights in Belgrade, on the Helsinki Agreement of 1975. They call it diplomacy. We call it hypocrisy.

Between wars, these pompous liars sit around tables like this and talk about peace and freedom and humanity.

That's when they're not at war.

## JAPAN, KOREA, VIETNAM

Thirty years ago the men around this table and the countries they represent sent millions of men to their deaths in war.

They fire-bombed enormous cities burning thousands of civilians to death, and then in a final orgy of destruction they dropped two atomic bombs on Japan.

Twenty years ago these well dressed, well fed, fine-mannered, slick-talking fellows were shipping arms and ammunition to Korea where two armies fought over mounds of frozen bodies.

And ten years ago some of these delegates were dropping bombs of flaming gasoline on the people of Vietnam.

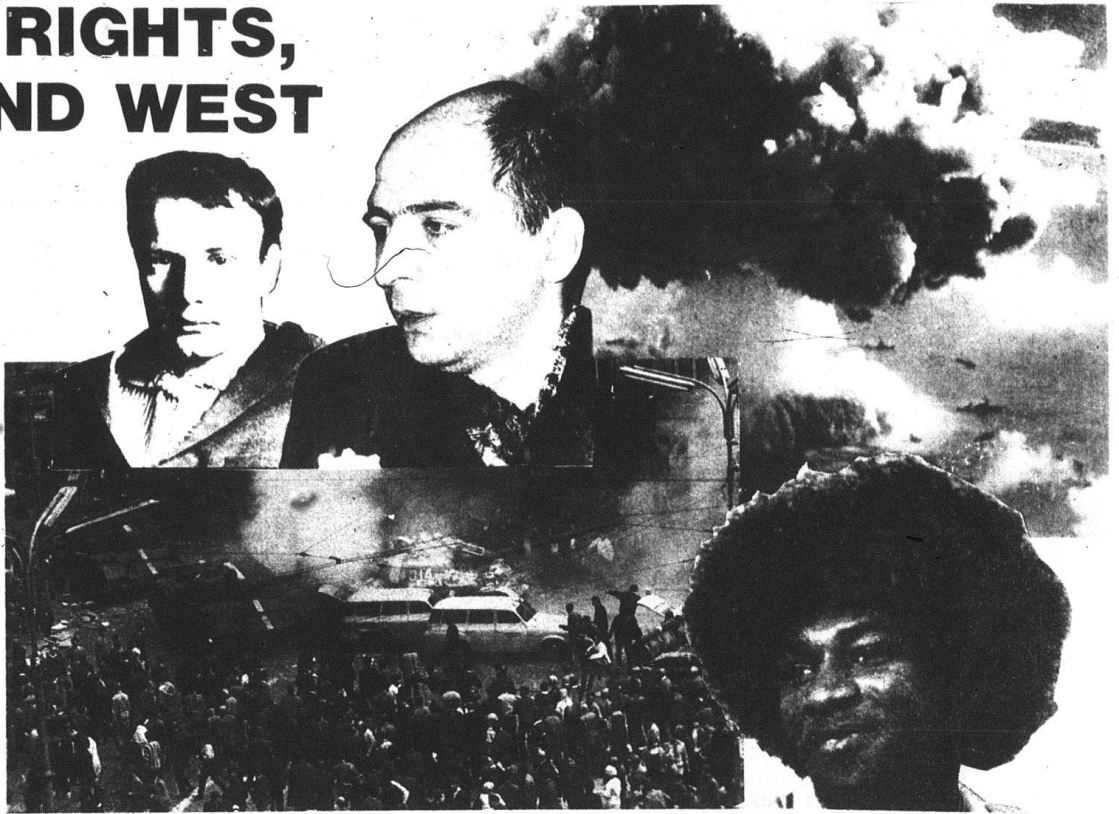
But now it's between wars. And from East and West they come. In limousines and chartered aircraft. To the finest hotels. To the grandest of meeting rooms. To talk about "human rights."

Back home, in each nation, the papers and the TV are broadcasting the crimes of the other. Izvestia and Pravda are talking about the Wilmington 10. While the Trib, the Times, the Post and the Press are talking about Czech dissidents and Polish rebels.

Occasionally, between their insincere and ambiguous remarks, these men point accusing fingers at each other.

Then they retire to have a little wine and some pate. And perhaps to go out and look at the "girls."

The real struggle for human



Victims of the way today's ruling classes treat human rights, East and West. The people of Czechoslovakia, crushed by Russian tanks in 1968. Vladimir Bukovsky and Leonid Plyusch, tortured in Russian

psychiatric prisons. 100,000 people incinerated in the atomic holocaust at Hiroshima. Gary Tyler of Destrehan, Louisiana, in prison for murder because of a racist frame-up.

rights is going on elsewhere. In an apartment in Cracow, Poland, a few students pull the shades and write a leaflet against the government.

In Detroit some Blacks gather to

discuss the framing of Gary Tyler.

In the shipyards of Sczenin in Poland the workers lay down their tools to talk about the price raises.

And in a small house in a town

called Soweto the Black workers gather and plan to overthrow the racist government of South Africa.

In those small meetings the fight for human rights is going on.

And when that fight is raging it will throw over that table in Belgrade and spill the water and send the paper flying, and the pompous hypocrites of East and West will go scurrying for cover. □

# Franco man wins vote in Spanish election

BEST ELECTION SLOGAN of the year so far comes from Spain: "We want bread, We want wine. We want to see Fraga hanging from a pine!"

This healthy sentiment, written on a subway wall in Madrid, refers to Manuel Fraga Iribarne, a former top official of the fascist Franco dictatorship.

Fraga is also the leader of the Popular Alliance Coalition, the most right-wing of the major slates in Wednesday's general election in Spain.

According to early returns reported by the Spanish government, the top spot in the voting was won by the so-called "Union of the Democratic Center", led by the current Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez.

This is not surprising, since the Suarez forces have controlled the public spotlight, the television, and access to results of pre-election opinion polls.

The striking fact of the election, however, is the strength of the working class vote.

The main socialist party, the Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) ran a very strong second. Another large chunk of workers' votes were cast for the newly legalized Spanish Communist Party.

A number of revolutionary groups which have gained strength in the working class, are still considered illegal and were barred

from running.

## SPANISH DEMOCRACY

In some ways, the Spanish election was at least as democratic as an American election, maybe more so. There was a wider range of political choices and a lot more discussion of basic issues.

But the electoral system was deliberately rigged by the hand-picked Franco-men who organized it, to make the government much more right-wing than the balance of popular votes.

The system favors certain conservative rural districts over the cities where there are left-wing workers.

In recent weeks, it became clear that the strength of the PSOE on the left would swamp the rightwing Fraga forces. The last few weeks of the Suarez campaign were directed not against the Fraga right, but against the left.

Suarez, in repeated television speeches, said he was the only candidate who represented stability, moderation and democracy.

But this so-called moderate democrat was, just like Manuel Fraga, a prominent Franco official and leader of the fascist National Movement.

## POLICE POWER

While Suarez has been talking

about democracy, his actual power rests on the old fascist structures.

The Spanish police, the army and the other institutions of the fascist dictatorship are still almost entirely intact.

Under Suarez's government, the Ministry of the Interior has allowed police and Civil Guard forces to run amok, shooting down workers and Basque nationalist demonstrators.

# Attica Massacre Comes to Holland

Six South Moluccans and two Dutch hostages died when Dutch commandos stormed their hijacked train last weekend.

What would you call the principle that puts a politician's job above the lives of people who never should have died?

Let's call it the "Attica principle." It is the principle that New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller applied in 1972, when he ordered state troopers to storm the Attica prison.

He caused the murder of 39 prisoners and three prison guard hostages in order to solve the political problem of the Attica takeover.

The train wasn't stormed because the hostages were in any imminent danger, and the government never claimed they were.

Just a month ago, police attacks on demonstrators in San Sebastian led to a general strike in the Basque country, including clashes with the national guard and the total shutdown on industry.

The growth of left-wing support among workers is rapidly stripping the snail's pace of political change desired by Franco's heirs. □

Rather, negotiations had broken down and there was no early end to the situation in sight. It was a growing political problem for the Dutch government.

Without a powerful show of force, they were afraid of a right-wing backlash against them in the next election.

So they stormed the train, knowing that people were certain to die. It was just chance that only two hostages and six South Moluccans died in the hail of gunfire. It could have been many, many more.

The violent end of the crisis has created more tension in Holland. The South Moluccan community is afraid the racists will see the storming as a go-ahead for more attacks on their community.

But no white Dutch politician will lose a job over that. □

# Gay Rights: A Question Of Freedom

by Tim McDaniels

Last night a friend who was visiting me was paging through Workers' Power.

When he came to the article on Anita Bryant versus the gay rights movement, he wrinkled his nose and said, "They ought to keep this kind of stuff out of the paper."

When I tried to discuss why Workers' Power supports gay liberation, he stated that being gay was a private matter and shouldn't be dealt with in a public forum.

Unfortunately, this is the attitude a large sector of the population. How glad so many gay men and women would be, if society left them free to live as they chose.

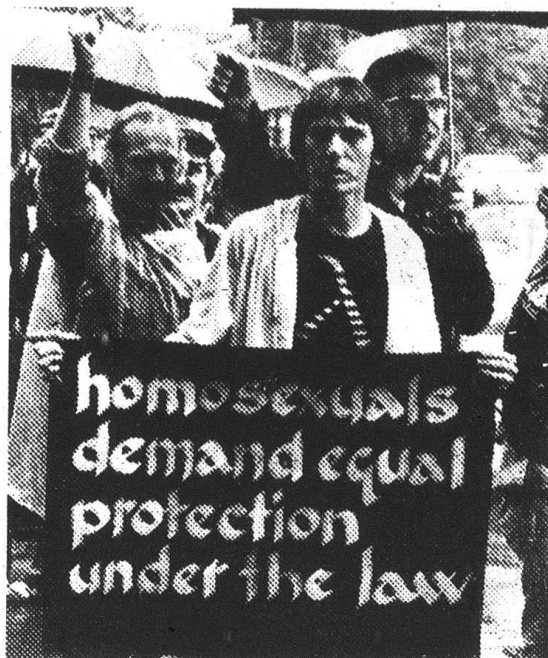
But in a capitalist society, that is no more than a dream.

The fight in Miami has once more brought the question of sexual freedom out of the back room and put it on the front pages of newspapers across the country. Gay activists are organizing intensely, as are anti-gay groups. People are being asked to make a decision.

## TWENTY MILLION

What is the decision basically about? Whether ten percent of the people in this country are going to have to continue to hide their lifestyles. It is a question of basic human rights.

An estimated twenty million practicing gay men and women in the U.S. are subjected to tremendous sociological, psychological, and sometimes physical abuse from



the first day that they discover themselves as homosexuals.

They live in a constant fear of "being found out," knowing that their jobs, housing, and possibly even close friendships and family ties are in danger.

I remember still the tremendous anguish I went through trying to come to grips with the fact that I am gay.

I thought long and hard about what it meant in the ways that I related to my family and friends, and I wanted to run from it. But I had no more choice in being gay than a Black man has in being Black.

It then came to realize that it was not being gay that I hated but rather gay oppression.

My first reaction was anger towards all straight people, but I soon realized that they were as much victims of our society as I was.

It's extremely difficult to overcome an idea that has been drummed into you since your earliest memories.

It was this realization that led me to become a socialist. The fault of gay oppression was not with individuals, but with the society that has taught the individuals to think the way they have.

How can one speak of human

rights in a system that has been responsible for the slavery of Blacks, the oppression of women, and the terrible conditions and wages for workers throughout history?

The fact is, capitalist society is dehumanizing by its very concept. Human beings are no more than markings on a balance sheet, as expendable and replaceable as machine parts, if not more so.

The ruling class must maintain as many divisions as possible in order to control the working class.

The more conscious of human rights we become, the closer we come to unity and the realization that we should control our own lives and destiny: the closer we move to a socialist society.

When Puerto Ricans rise up against police brutality in Chicago, it is a gain for gays. When Blacks march against the racist regime of South Africa, it is a strike for working people.

It is through respect for each other's dignity and worth that we will attain the unity that will bring us to the overthrow of capitalist society.

Then we will have the freedom that we all strive for, freedom from sexism, freedom from racism, freedom from control by business and government bureaucrats. □

## Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward



Michigan's Governor William Milliken recently expressed reservations about the United Auto Workers' proposed reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO. "The merger could virtually bring the country to its knees," he said. "Such a large organization would not be offset by a comparable economic force within private business." Both AFL-CIO and UAW officials hastened to assure one and all that they had no such thing in mind. UAW President Doug Fraser said, "there is no evidence suggesting reaffiliation would result in an imbalance of economic forces." Fraser's right. There's no evidence suggesting either he or Meany will do anything at all to tip the balance in favor of the workers unless someone lights a fire under them.

The same business lobbyists who defeated the construction picketing bill in Congress earlier this year are now thinking of bigger and better things. To counter the AFL-CIO's proposals for revision of the National Labor Relations Act, the businessmen are preparing their own, pro-business revisions of the law. These would include making it easier to get anti-strike injunctions and setting stricter procedural requirements for strike votes.

At its May union meeting, UAW Local 47 (Detroit) voted to send \$100 to the Texas Farm Workers union, and two delegates to a demonstration the TFW is planning in Washington. The demonstration will be at the end of a march through the South, from Texas to Washington, to dramatize their struggle against so-called "right-to-work" laws.

Depending on your age, one of these news items should bring some cheer into your life. First, George Meany has announced that the AFL-CIO's boycott of the Ringling Bros.-Barnum & Bailey Circus is over since the circus has signed a contract with the musicians union. The older set will be glad to hear that an international union boycott of all Seagrams products was called off only nine days after it was announced by the International Union of Food Workers. Seagrams ended a two-year lock out by agreeing to reopen its two British Columbia, Canada whisky distilleries and raise wages 56%.

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

## What We Think

### Anita Bryant - Warden of America?

JOHNNY CARSON said the other night, "I think Anita Bryant has political aspirations - she'd like to be warden of America."

It was more than a joke. Bryant's victory against gays in Florida meant that American citizens' rights are being taken away—their right to hold a job, to work for the government, to live where they want.

Bryant is part of a movement. It's the same movement that fights against abortion, against the Equal Rights Amendment, against civil rights for Blacks, and against unions. It's a right wing movement.

These groups have a political program for this country. It's simple: gays back in the closet, women back in the kitchen, Blacks back to Jim Crow and lynch law. And everybody else is supposed

to put their nose to the grindstone and their shoulder to the wheel.

If warden Bryant slams the cell door on gays today, the door will shut on your freedom tomorrow.

#### REPRESSION

A lot of working people get involved in these movements. It's a shame. Because their program, repression and productivity, only hurts us and helps big business and corrupt politicians.

If you work for a living, if you're Black, if you're a woman, you should be on the side of the gays in this fight. The attack isn't on them alone, it's also on you. That's why it's important to do everything you can to defend gay people's rights. Speak out, post this article, attend rallies and demonstrations. Don't let Anita Bryant become warden of America. □

## Cleveland Cab Strike Continues

by Dan LaBatz

CLEVELAND—A wildcat strike by Yellow Cab drivers, members of Teamster Local 507, continues into its third week.

About 60 drivers led by the Rank and File Taxi Workers Alliance and with the support of Teamsters for a Democratic Union went on strike. A number of other drivers quit over the introduction of leasing.

Yellow, the only cab company in town, has introduced "day by day" leasing. Drivers must pay for the cab, gas mileage and bonding fee. Since leasing is day by day, the company can change the terms of the lease at any time.

Local 507 has given the men no representation, despite strong rank and file protests. Over a month ago a rank and file meeting of 100 cab drivers organized to take the fight against leasing to the union meeting.

Over 175 drivers showed up and passed a resolution to fight leasing and call a special meeting about leasing in one week.

William Presser, Local President, never called the meeting. Presser claims that the cab companies are in trouble and that leasing is one solution. Under leasing the men would "have more independence," he claims.

And, he adds, the union doesn't represent independent business people—which, he claims, the lease drivers are.

Presser continues, however, to accept the dues of these so-called "businessmen." The drivers' contract with Yellow expired 17 months ago. A one-year extension was given. So far there is still no new contract.

The money which the company is supposed to pay into the pension fund has not been paid for 17 months. The government has found the plan delinquent under the pension reform act of 1974.

#### NO BENEFITS

While the majority of the men support the demand to end leasing, they are afraid for their jobs. The union refuses to sanction the strike and those who are out are getting no benefits.

Behind the scheme to introduce leasing is a coalition of big business, local politicians, and some of the country's most corrupt union bureaucrats.

Cleveland Mayor Ralph Perk and the City Council are for leasing, allegedly to improve service and perhaps reduce fares. Behind the City Council is Yellow Cab owner Arthur McBride.

McBride wants leasing in order to cut costs and weaken the organization of the drivers.

And right with Perk and McBride is William Presser. Presser and McBride are old friends.

Six months ago the Ohio Teamsters, of which Presser and his son Jackie are the powers, dissolved Local 555, the cab drivers' Local, into 507.

William Presser then got his nephew Harold Friedman to resign from the presidency of 507, and got his son Jackie, the vice-president, and his other nephew, Allen Friedman, the treasurer, to appoint him President.

This way he could keep his position in the International Teamsters, of which he is vice-president.

The Taxi Workers Alliance has suggested that the cab company be made a part of the Cleveland public transportation system.

The Alliance felt that a strike was the only way that Perk, McBride and Presser would respond to them—if at all. Teamsters for a Democratic Union has been giving all the help and support possible.

The problem is Yellow Cab and its defender William Presser. The solution is to expand the fight into the other Cleveland locals and oust the corrupt and incompetent union leadership. □

# Workers' Struggle Is

by Jack Bloom and Marilyn Danton

**ATLANTA—Upheavals and confrontations between opposing classes in society often show us how things really work. People must choose sides and we see where they really stand. The lies, distortions, treachery of years are suddenly exposed for what they are.**

**This was the case in Atlanta 1977.**

The strike of Atlanta garbage collectors, 90% Black, drew a hard class line last April.

**Atlanta's Black mayor, Maynard Jackson, and most of the city's Black establishment were on the other side of that line—and more. They also played the key role in breaking the strike.**

The conflict was class against class—an integrated business community and city administration against the majority of Black city workers.

Nine years before Martin Luther King Jr. had been assassinated after leading a march in support of the Memphis sanitation workers. His father, Martin Luther King Sr. had a different opinion on the Atlanta strike.

When Jackson decided to fire the 1000 striking workers, "Daddy" King said, "If you do everything you can and don't get satisfaction, then fire the hell out of them."

Jackson and the city's Black leadership accomplished what the city's white power structure had not: defeat the city workers' strike. And it was possible precisely because Maynard Jackson was Black.

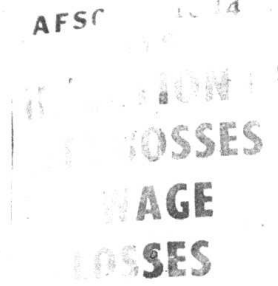
## WHO'S TO BLAME?

Much of the blame for this treachery goes to Mayor Jackson, elected in 1973.

Leamon Hood, area director for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), put it bluntly:

**"There used to be doors marked 'colored' here in City Hall, and white men sat upstairs in the mayor's office. Now Maynard Jackson is acting the same way as the men who sat up there when the signs were still up."**

Jackson claimed that the strike was really a power play by AFSCME's national leadership to organize the South. In fact it was caused by the outrageously low wages (\$3.55/hour).



To isolate the strike's leaders, Jackson pushed the idea that AFSCME was after a victory in Atlanta to spur organization elsewhere. And Jackson accused the union of picking on Atlanta because it has a Black mayor.

"My theory is that AFSCME saw Atlanta with a mayor, a Black mayor, a liberal mayor, and felt that this mayor would take their violations of promises without much resistance.

"Black mayors may be viewed as particularly vulnerable, particularly sensitive about their reputations, [as liberals] and may become paranoid about having them attacked."

## BLACK ESTABLISHMENT

The city has a powerful and well-developed Black establishment. It boasts of the city being the Black capital of the United States.

Atlanta is the headquarters of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and was the home of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the most militant civil rights organizations of the 60's.

A whole grouping of national Black figures hail from Atlanta, including Ralph Abernathy, Martin Luther King, Sr., Hosea Williams, Julian Bond, John Lewis, Andrew Young, and Coretta King.

These people and others who are prominent locally were absolutely crucial to the outcome of the strike.

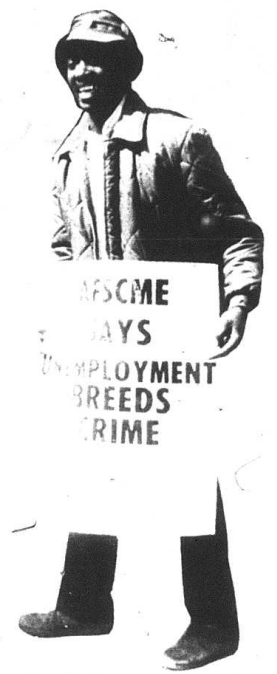
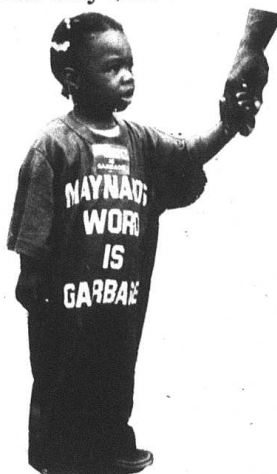
Many of them had been active, militant and key supporters of the strikers in 1968 and 1970. In 1977 they joined with Jackson against the workers.

An unholy alliance was made early in the strike between the Chamber of Commerce (a significant section of it is Black), the Business League, the Georgia Baptist Ministers Union, the Urban League, the NAACP and other groups.

The deal was arranged by the Chamber of Commerce, but its spokesperson was Martin Luther King, Sr.

## DAYS OF BLACK UNITY

During the civil rights movement and several years later things were quite different.



The Black movement and Black leadership were generally united. By attacking the system of public segregation in the South the movement was raising and fighting for the needs of all Blacks.

Inevitably the fighting spirit of the movement went beyond anti-segregation demands into broader efforts for a better life. Some Blacks, middle-class and professional Blacks, were already much further along that road than most Black people would ever get.

By the late 1960's many Blacks were using their newly-won rights, confidence, and their movement to organize unions and fight for better job conditions.

Particularly in the South, the least unionized section of the country, they met with great

# ATLA

## 1970

The five week strike of AFSCME Local 1644 garbage workers in 1970 was both militant and effective. Close to four weeks went by before garbage collection approached normal.

It was a month to the day before those trucks went out without police escorts for protection. City vehicles were sabotaged as well, but there were not enough police to protect any but the garbage trucks.

## SCABS

Mayor Samuel Massell, who was white, tried to recruit scabs. The union organized a picket of the personnel office. And the union sent people in with phony applications to tie up the office.

These measures, combined with few applicants because of high employment, made the scab effort fall flat.

Massell grew more desperate and recruited city prisoners to clean up downtown, promising shortened sentences as their reward. They were literally driven off the streets.

## CALL OUT OTHERS

The union threatened to callout more of its members to support the strike. Those who worked for the school board, the airport and the huge Grady public hospital.

The union refused to abide by the court-ordered limitation on pickets.

Behind this militancy lay the clear support of the Black community, organized by Atlanta's civil rights leadership.

Supporters included Abernathy, Williams, "Daddy" King, Atlanta University President Dr. Benjamin Mays, wealthy and powerful Jesse Hill, state and local officials, ministers, social leaders.

Partially as a result of this they received support from the

Central Labor Council, the Atlanta Firefighters and the Seafarers International.

## FILTHY NOW

Abernathy proclaimed his support, stating: "I realize that the city is filthy now with uncollected garbage and we all want Atlanta to be beautiful."

"But filth is not only measured in terms of garbage. It is also measured in terms of man's exploitation of his brother and the destruction of human dignity."

SCLC began to organize marches and threatened to call out students of Atlanta University to support the strike.

One Reverend led a group of supporters through the riot squad to dump their trash on the steps of City Hall. Massell was reduced to meekly stating: "I hope their right of petition was protected."

A Coalition of Concerned Citizens was formed, headed by Abernathy. It announced that it would begin using marches, demonstrations, family jail-ins, economic boycotts, and PTAs.

It organized a march on the mayor's home by the strikers' wives, and daily marches downtown.

## OUT OF MOUTHS

Hosea Williams led daily downtown marches of 200 and more. "Everytime you shop downtown now you're taking food out of the mouths of hungry children," he stated.

It was in this context that then-Vice-Mayor Jackson proclaimed his support for the strikers. Even then it was not until a month after the strike began.

Nevertheless, the militant, organized support of the Black leadership and Black community, using the tactics of the civil rights movement meant a victorious strike.

resistance.

Anti-union forces, including the KKK, the police and the employers had workers threatened, beaten and jailed.

Many of these struggles were fought in the spirit and tradition of the civil rights movement. Important sections of the leadership, especially SCLC, began to play an active role in these drives in the late 60's and early 70's.

Two of the most significant struggles during this period were the Memphis sanitation workers' strike in 1968 (at which King was assassinated), and the Charleston, South Carolina public hospital workers' union organizing drive in 1969.

During both of these the Southern Christian Leadership Conference brought in the tactics and techniques and the prestige of the civil rights movement with great success.

In Memphis, King led a march of some 6000 through downtown. Business sales dropped more than

35%. The struggle waged led James Lawson, Jr., a Memphis minister and a founder of SNCC, to exclaim:

**"This is a significant turn in the civil rights movement and a new chapter in labor history. Never before has a union been backed by a whole community like this!"**

In Charleston, the SCLC organized in the entire region to win support. They got television time with press conferences to spread the issues. That won the strike a national audience.

The hospital workers alone could not have done this.

They leafleted workers in other industries in the city. Abernathy and Hosea Williams led a prayer meeting downtown. They were arrested and charged with inciting to riot.

The NAACP provided bail for the numerous arrests. Boycotts, curfews and the air of tension led to high economic losses to the city.

The cooperation of the longshoremen made possible a threat to

# Freedom Struggle

## ANTAT

### 1977

In 1977 the four week strike of AFSCME Local 1644 was isolated and defeated.

Within two weeks garbage collection was back to normal—a combined result of the scabs who were hired and the workers who were frightened back to work.

The high unemployment meant that when the city started hiring scabs literally hundreds of jobless people flocked down to get the jobs. Police to protect the garbage trucks were needed for no more than a few days.

#### MORALE DOWN

Once the trucks were rolling the strike was lost. Other departments could and did stay out, but morale was broken and people began drifting back to work.

At the end desperation made the union more militant and bold.

It called a mass march through downtown and tried to hold a sit-in which the police refused to permit. The sit-ins were violently ejected within minutes.

The labor movement provided no support. There were no attempts to raise money and no meetings to win support for the strike.

There were no invitations for AFSCME to send representatives to the locals and no efforts to turn union members out to the rallies called to support the strike. Nor did the AFSCME union leadership ask for these things.

#### A MOTION PASSED

The Central Labor Council did nothing but pass a motion of support. The UAW, unaffiliated with the CLC, also kept quiet.

There was a large reservoir of support in the working class community. But it was unorganized. AFSCME did not have much independent contact with

it and made little effort to develop the contacts it did have.

It wasn't until the strike was almost over and had already been pretty much lost that a public appeal was made to people to turn out to a rally. It was too little, too late.

This time those Black leaders who did not openly join Maynard Jackson in opposing the strike remained silent.

Abernathy said nothing. John Lewis did the same.

So did Hosea Williams, who was busy arranging his "Poor People's Festival."

SCLC remained silent until the strike was over. Then it issued an even-handed statement that refused to take sides on any of the questions involved.

As a result community support was very sparse. Garbage was once again dumped on the steps of City Hall. But this time it was by a few students from Atlanta University, and they were arrested. It caused little stir.

Turnout to the few public rallies was small. No community support group formed.

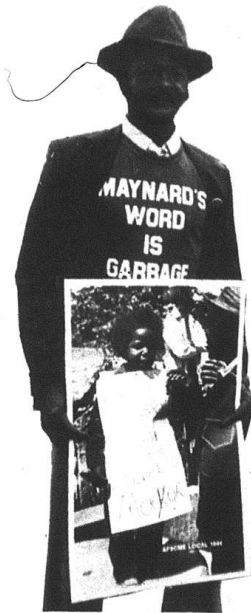
No boycott was called on downtown businesses and virtually no marches through downtown were held.

When Mayor Jackson tried to recruit scabs the union was unable to mount any effective program to stop him. The picket line they put up was easily brushed aside by the police.

AFSCME abided by the court-ordered limitation on pickets. It did not threaten to call out its members in the school board and Grady Hospital.

Given the public opposition of the Black leadership and no community support, AFSCME was not willing to try to organize general labor support. And the rest of the labor movement was not offering any support either.

As a result the strike was defeated, the union set back and many lost their jobs.



man, stated recently that there was no candidate who could oppose Jackson with the blessing of the business establishment.

Jackson can cozy up to the business interests, but the Black workers he left behind cannot.

The civil rights movement had expressed the needs of all Blacks, no matter what their position within the Black community. That made unity possible between the middle class Blacks, who generally were the movement's leaders, and the masses of Black people.

But once those victories had been won, and many of the leaders had attained positions in business and government and education, unity was no longer possible. The majority of Blacks were left high and dry.

Maynard Jackson and the others around the country no longer represent the masses of Black people in most cases.

Improving the conditions of Blacks in the country (today is a struggle over both class and race, not simply over racism).

The civil rights movement was based in part on the rising prosperity of the 60's.

Black people wanted a piece of the pie, and a small piece was available. Hundreds of thousands were involved in that fight.

Many of the immediate goals were achieved: legal segregation ended, job opportunities opened up, the right to vote was granted, Blacks were elected to important offices.

#### MOVEMENT COLLAPSED

As the movement collapsed in the early 70's, Black people expected those elected officials to carry on the struggle for Black equality. That's why the community elected them.

People expected a better shake at jobs, higher wages, better working conditions, social services for the community.

But without a movement still fighting for these demands, it was inevitable that the middle class Black officials would take the path of least resistance.

This is all the more true with the change in economic conditions. There are fewer jobs, employers are fighting to keep wages and working conditions down, the government is spending less money on community services.

The prosperity of the 50's and 60's has long turned into the crisis of the 70's.

Jackson understood this: "... the union's insistence on clinging to impossible demands [a 50 cent/hour wage increase] has left the city of Atlanta no choice, unless, of course, the City of Atlanta undertakes deficit funding for the first time since 1937. There will be no deficit while I am Mayor."

In addition, Jackson, like most Black politicians, is part of the Democratic Party.

The Democrats, like the Republicans, are responsible for making the system work—for keeping profits up and wages down.

But the Democrats have developed a special weapon. Black Mayors who can't be branded as racists to keep Black folks from demanding too much.

#### A BIG HOUSE

The Democratic Party is a very big house. It includes racists like Senator James Eastland of Mississippi and George Wallace of Alabama. Millionaires like the Kennedy family and Averill Harriman.

Without a fighting movement in the streets, the elected officials, Black or white, work with the very people they only recently opposed.

Maynard Jackson understands this too.

He was quoted at a luncheon with the Chamber of Commerce as saying: "I don't need you guys to get elected, but I've learned recently that I certainly need you to govern."

AFSCME members were left high and dry by these changes.

In the past the union had had the support of both the Black leaders and the movement. Without this support, it was unprepared to mobilize the Black community on its own.

And without community support, without a movement to bring pressure on the city, the union was defeated.

What happened in Atlanta is not an isolated case. In Detroit, Mayor Coleman Young is faced with the same problems. So is Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana.

Continuing economic instability means an increasing squeeze on city workers. In order to win improvements these workers—many of them Black—will be forced to wage more and more militant struggles.

They cannot rely on elected officials who have different class interests to do it for them. Often they will have to fight the Black city administrations to win better contracts. Black politicians are forced to choose which side they are on: the workers or their friends in the Democratic Party and the Chamber of Commerce.

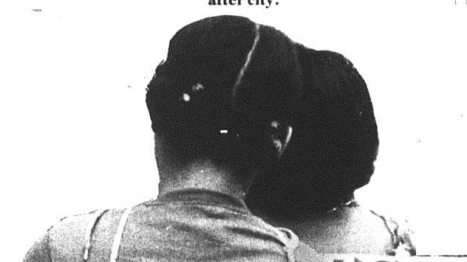
In Atlanta they failed Black people.

There is a clear way forward. Black workers have to build a new movement—one that fights for their needs both as workers and as Blacks.

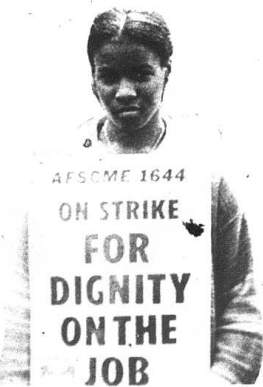
This movement has to be ready to take on their former leaders. If it doesn't it will be sold out over and over.

With a movement a few leaders will return and lend their prestige to the struggle. Most will not.

But without any movement there is no way forward. Atlanta 1977 will be repeated year after year, in city after city.



close down the Charleston port. Pressure intensified when attention turned to the textile manufacturers—the largest industry in the state and the ones behind the hard anti-union line.



Picket lines at their headquarters raised the specter of the strike extending to a textile organizing drive. Within two days the strike was settled.

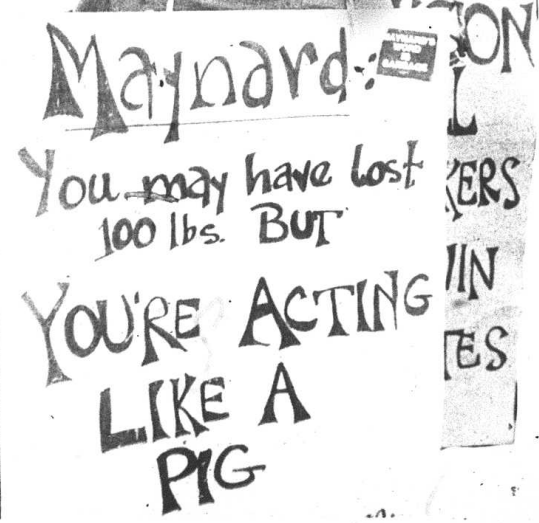
Some of these methods were used in the Atlanta garbage strike of 1968. Rallies were held and a broad spectrum of support was built which included Julian Bond, John Lewis, the Atlanta NAACP and the SCLC.

Abernathy, Hosea Williams and Andrew Young, among others, were arrested while trying to stop the garbage trucks from rolling.

#### TIMES HAVE CHANGED

But the times changed. Today the Black leadership which once led militant, mass struggles against the white power structure, has come to terms with that power structure. Black workers, however, must still struggle and strike for a living wage.

The president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, a Black



# Black And White - Working Women Unite!

## Talking About Women's Liberation By Elissa Clarke and Margaret James

"I live a treadmill life. I see my own children only when they happen to see me on the street..."

"You might as well say I'm on duty all the time—from sunrise to sunrise, every day in the week."

"I am the slave—body and soul—of this family."

"And what do I get for this work... the pitiful sum of ten dollars a month!"

"And what am I expected to do with these ten dollars?... Pay my house rent, which is four dollars... and also feed and clothe myself and three children!"

This is how a Black woman described her life in 1912—47 years after the Civil War.

The history of the oppression of Black women in America began with slavery—and it continues today.

Black women face three kinds of oppression—as Blacks, as women, and as members of the working class.

Today, Black women have the worst position in the workforce. They are the worst paid, and suffer the highest unemployment. They are concentrated in the worst paying, least desirable jobs.

During slavery, the largest number of Black women worked alongside men in the fields—raising and harvesting cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice and hemp.

The second largest group of Black workers did domestic work and personal service for their white masters.

Many Black women still work as servants for white women—and this has had a significant bearing on Black women's consciousness and their hostility towards white women.

### MOVEMENT DOMINATED

When the women's liberation movement of the 60's swept the country, Black women sat it out. The women's liberation movement



"Black women work cleaning other people's homes. Most of them are women who have kids and are on welfare."

"But welfare don't know that they're working. That's why they can't organize."

Anita

was dominated by white, middle class women. The issues that it raised emphasized personal liberation—consciousness raising, developing a liberated relationship with your man, breaking into professional jobs.

But these issues did not appeal to white working class women either.

The women quoted here spoke at a class on Black Women sponsored by the International Socialists.

ISABEL: "I remember in the 60's when the whole women's liberation thing was starting. I wasn't enthusiastic about it at all. All I could see was a bunch of women burning their bras."

"What the hell were they doing it for?"

"Now I see women's liberation is the answer to many of my problems—like childcare, and jobs, and all that."

YVONNE: "The women's movement was all these young women who wanted abortions and didn't want children. It was really hard for a lot of women to relate to who had children and saw it was a really important part of their lives."

### AT HEIGHT

At the same time, the Black Power movement was at its height. In spite of all the positive things that the Black Power movement did, its attitude towards women's liberation was very sexist.

When Stokely Carmichael, the leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was asked, "What is the position of women in the movement?", he answered, "Prone." Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver raised the slogan, "Pussy Power."

While not everyone in the Black movement agreed with those opinions, the idea was clear. Black women should stay at home and raise the future generation of Black revolutionaries. Black women were supposed to support their men—so the men could go out and build the movement.

RETHA: "I can hardly remember the women's liberation movement because I was so young, but I do remember a teacher who tried to get us to discuss it at school."

"I went to an all-black school. We really couldn't relate to the women's movement. We looked around, and our mothers were working, our sisters were working."

"And then the Black Power movement was coming down in our neighborhood, saying that a Black woman should be with her man and help him fight for equality, staying behind him and supporting him."

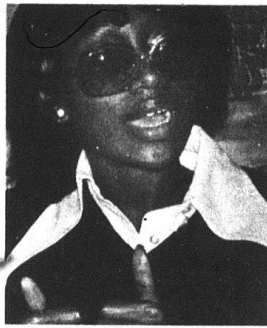
"That's what I believed in, that's what we all believed in."

What the Panthers and other groups did not see is that women don't have to be weak in order for men to be strong.

### MANY BENEFITS

Even though the women's movement was middle class, Black and white working women reaped many benefits from it. The women's movement won many gains for working women.

It forced the unions to take women seriously for the first time. Improvements were made in equal



"The Black Power movement was coming down in our neighborhood, saying that a Black woman should be with her man and help him fight for equality, staying behind him and supporting him."

"That's what I believed in, that's what we all believed in."

Retha

pay for women. Women were hired into new jobs as a result of fights against sexual discrimination.

Working women may have sat out the women's liberation movement, but if you talk about getting equal pay, or getting into the skilled trades, Black and white working women say, "Right on."

If you talk about a third or half your pay going for childcare, or getting up two hours early to get your kids fed and ready for school, or driving them all hell and gone to childcare, working women want to fight for better lives.

In fact, Black women have a big stake in women's liberation. Today, Black women are at the bottom of the workforce. Only another movement will change that.

### HISTORY SHAPED

The history of Black women in the workforce is shaped by racism and sexism. Black women have gotten the jobs that no one else would take.

After the Civil War, when Blacks migrated North, they found their lives hadn't improved all that much.

Black women would gather at street corners and hire themselves out for the day, hoping to earn enough money for supper. Certain corners were even referred to in the terminology of slavery—"Auction blocks" or "slave markets."

White women entered the factories in the early 19th century, during the industrial revolution. But Black women were not considered "qualified to do factory work."

Black women didn't get into the factories until World War I. When they were needed, they were suddenly "qualified."

Between 1910 and 1920, more than 48,000 Black women entered

factory work. The largest group was employed in steam laundries.

Once Blacks got into the factories, they considered it a far superior job. The feeling in the Black community was that once a person had gotten laundry work, they didn't want to go back to being domestics.

During World War II, Black women worked in war industries, auto, textile, electrical, and transportation. They also got into hospital work and schools, and other institutional jobs.

But after the war all women—Black and white—were driven back to their old occupations.

Today, white men earn an average of \$12,343; white women—\$7,025; Black and minority women make only \$6,611.

Black women with young children are more likely to work than



"The women's liberation movement was all these young women who wanted abortions and didn't want children."

"It was really hard for a lot of women to relate to who had children and saw it as a really important part of their lives."

Yvonne

white women with children—49% of Black women with children under five work, 32% of white women.

However, the rate of unemployment for Black working women is much higher than white working women—10% for Blacks, 5% for whites in 1973.

If you look at where Black women work today, you will find that their jobs are shockingly similar to the work they did 100 years ago.

Forty-one percent of all women who work in laundries are Black. Seventeen percent of women who work in industrial jobs are Black. Eighteen percent of women farmworkers are Black—one of the worst jobs in the country.

Thirty-four percent of women who work in cleaning services are Black. Fifty-two percent of all women who work as maids are Black.

Since Black women are 11% of all working women, they are over-represented in these job categories.

The pay for domestic work is terrible. In 1935, maids made \$3 a

week. Now they make \$18-\$20 a day. There are no benefits.

Numerous attempts to organize domestic workers have made little headway. Unionizing domestic workers is extremely difficult because of their isolation and because of the vast number of employers.

ANITA: "Black women work cleaning other people's homes. Most of the women are women who have kids and are on welfare. Welfare don't know that they're working. That's why they can't organize."

YVONNE: "You don't make enough working and you don't make enough on welfare. You can't organize because you're on welfare, but you can't only be on welfare because you don't have enough money. It's a hard system to beat."

VAL: "I had a job in a hotel once. It was a big fancy hotel on the east coast. I was a waitress."

"The whole staff was white—the bellboys and the waitresses—all the people who were out front working with the public."

"The whole kitchen staff was Black—the cooking and washing up. And the whole janitorial staff was Puerto Rican."

The women's movement finally died out because it did not attract the working and Black women that could bring it new vitality.

Many women agreed with the important issues. But many Black women felt the women's movement was asking them to join this racist society in putting down Black men.

The movement lost out by excluding these women. But Black women lost out too—because the movement improved the conditions of all women.

The need for a working women's movement—Black and white—is as strong as it ever was. Women can only hope to move ahead by organizing it anew.



"I had a job in a big fancy hotel once."

"The whole staff was white—the bellboys and the waitresses—all the people who were out front."

"The whole kitchen staff was Black—the cooking and washing up."

Val



# "Black women have to take more of a leading role."

By Celeste Taylor

WHY I JOINED I.S.

"I first got interested in the IS through working with the Southern Africa Liberation Committee. I talked with IS members who were part of the SALC and I wanted to know more and more. I wanted an organization I could identify with.

I became really interested in the women's question. I read a lot on women under apartheid. I could relate it to the things I've had to go

through as a Black women in the U.S.

**I was thinking about how the Black family is set up, that there aren't too many Black men around. Either they've been killed off in war, or sent to jail, because I know the majority of prisoners in jail are Black.**

It's a little different from South Africa where the women have to be separated from their husbands and their families for 11 months out of the year, but it comes down to the same thing.

It seems like we're getting out of the whole family structure and I know it's because of the society, the whole capitalist structure. I think it has to be changed. Black women have to take a more leading role.

**But the system hooks you. I've been on welfare since I was 18. I'm a student and if it takes three years to finish, you have to be poor all that time.**

## SOMETHING WAS WRONG

You can't work because you're studying and in my case raising a kid, too. Of course, they tell you this will make you so much better than where you're at. But you have

to be so poor all that time. It's crazy.

When I started studying socialism, I could see something was wrong in the past movements. It's a mistake to take one group of people and say they're really messed up.

We're never going to get ourselves together if you walk around saying, we shall overcome. Just what good does it do?

I thought, there has to be more to it than that. And that's why a lot of these movements failed, because they represented just one type of people.

**I knew it had to come from the people in general, from the working people, the people who make the country run. That's where all the power is.**

My family is working class and it's easy for me to identify with that

concept. Somehow I knew that the movement had to come from there, but I didn't know how.

**Mainly when the truckers went on strike last year, that's when it hit me. I said, wow, look at all the power they have. That will be the next revolution.**

That's when it hit me. I just knew there had to be an organization that would work for it.



Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You! Write: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203

## No Merger For Miners', Steel Unions!

### Revolutionary Greetings:

In Workers' Power of June 6, Candace Cohn of USS Clairton Coke Works, Local 1-57 said: "The rank and file forces behind Sadlowski haven't given up or gone away. That's why the International is going after us in locals all over.

"But all they did at Linden Hall was to cement together those of us they wanted to scare off. And they started something in the mills all over this valley. What they've done has just brought a lot more of us together."

Her words reach out much further than just the USW/SSU rank and file. Her words should be chiming in the halls of the UMW locals that are against the shyster-sell-out-slob, Lee Roy Patterson.

Patterson must really be underestimating the intelligence of the Mine Workers in even giving the thought of allowing the Mine Workers' union to be gobbled up by the Steel workers hypocritical and tyrannous International.

The Mine Workers know their grandfathers, fathers, grandmothers, mothers, sons and daughters built and organized an independent United Mine Workers Union to represent them. And they will run Lee Roy Patterson out of town for even considering the UMW being taken over by the USW.

**What does this all have to do with Comrade Cohn's statement?**

First of all, you and I know the McBride-Odorich machine has sold out the rank and file. The incident at Linden Hall only served to bring the issue out in the open.

Her words should be ringing in every UMW local in that if there is going to be any merger between the two, then let it be SSU and the Mine Workers rank and file who oppose such a merger.

**A show of solidarity between SSU and UMW rank and file will put the unions back in the hands of the workers.**

Solidarity and Revolutionary Love, Carlos "Cienfuegos" Soto

## What About The Rich Folks' Quotas?

Dear Workers' Power,

Alan Bakke is the white man who has a case before the US Supreme Court charging "reverse discrimination" because the University of California reserves a certain number of medical school slots for minority students.

**One of the most interesting points to me is that Bakke went after minority students rather than the college officials who were admitting rich students because they had friends in high places.**

When Bakke's med school application was originally turned down he found out that two groups of students were able to get preferred treatment.

One group is minorities. Sixteen of 100 openings are set aside for them. The other group is the children of politicians and people in high places. People who normally would not qualify.

**Every year that med school gives about a dozen of the 84 openings left to the sons of the well-to-do. And that college isn't the exception. It's closer to the rule.**

When Bakke went to court he should have gone after the privileged—that would have benefited minority students as well. But I guess that's too much to expect from an aspiring doctor.

B.P. Detroit, MI.

## He Didn't Mean Any Harm...

Dear Workers' Power,

**There ain't no limit to what you can get away with if you're a rich doctor.**

Dr. Ron Krohn, chief of obstetrics and gynecology at Providence Hospital in Southfield, Michigan, got drunk at a business meeting.

He left the meeting, and broke into two houses.

At the second house, he attempted to rape a woman. The woman struggled and freed herself, attracting neighbors.

Dr. Krohn slugged the neighbor, and drove away just as the police arrived.

Krohn was caught after a high speed chase.

After hearing the case for two weeks, Oakland County Circuit Judge William Beer acquitted Krohn of all charges.

Beer ruled "lack of intent" because Krohn was drunk and claimed not to remember the incident.

Could a bank robber get off by saying he was high and didn't know what he was doing?

**Lots of men don't seem to consider rape a crime. It is a crime! And if the courts won't stop it, women will!**

S.G.C. Detroit

## No Jobs or Snow Jobs?

Dear Workers' Power:

**The Pittsburgh area saw an impressive burst of hiring in the steel industry this spring that made a substantial change in the employment statistics. But now there is nearly as impressive lay-offs that won't show up until the 4th quarter statistics come out.**

Few of the people affected by the hiring and lay-offs are fooled by the maneuverings of the steel corporation's executives.

One steelworker pointed out to

me my second week on the job, that they were trying to make things look good after concluding the rotten new contract.

But remember this is the start of Jimmy Carter's term and he also needed the pay-off of increased employment to maintain his image as a friend of labor.

The hirings accomplished another illusion besides increased employment for the 2nd and 3rd quarters. It allowed the steel companies to fill their hiring quotas for minorities and women

without any guarantees of permanent employment.

**At the Homestead Works, US Steel's third largest, many of the new employees were hired only to glamorize the plant for the June 12 visit of the United Nations delegation to Pittsburgh.**

Continuing to work for the revolution that will iron out the capitalists' disregard for people.

Sincerely, E.R. Pittsburgh

## LETTERS

# 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**  
Capitalism needs inequality. Because it needs profits, it can't provide enough for all. So it gives some groups of people worse jobs and lower pay, and labels them inferior. In particular, capitalism locks Black people into the bottom of society, and spreads racist ideas to keep them there. Capitalism keeps women responsible for taking care of the work force when it is not at work, including children, who are too young to work. Women who work for wages have two jobs.
- **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**  
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 make the struggles of both—the oppressed and the working class 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 world-wide. 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

# Support Black Southern Africa

## AUSTIN

"Black people in Africa got the blues." So said an Austin, Texas grandfather as he gave the only pair of shoes he could spare to the Southern Africa Liberation Action Committee.

Black people in America got the blues, too. In Austin, most Black people are confined to one side of town (East Austin).

While East Austin has no areas of housing as dense as most Northern ghettos, there is some terrible poverty along streets the city fathers have never bothered to line with sidewalks or in some cases, even pave.

But in the Committee's drive to collect supplies for the freedom fighters in Africa, we found that the poorest people gave the most, gave not of their surplus but of their provisions.

Two families gave us the hand-stitched quilts off their beds.

The Southern Africa Liberation Action Committee (SALAC) was formed three months ago. We are a multiracial group with a mailing list of over 200.

We have shown films and slides. We fought successfully to have South Africa's gold Krugerrand condemned by Austin's City Council. We co-sponsored some talks by the freedom fighters' UN represen-



tative, Tapson Mawere. And during May, we conducted a campaign to collect shoes and clothing for the freedom fighters

## JUNETEENTH CELEBRATION

Black people in Texas and some other parts of the South will be celebrating Juneteenth this week.

Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation in January of 1863, but Texas slaveowners didn't tell the slaves anything for months.

Finally on June 19, Union soldiers marched into the fields and told the slaves they were free.

The following narrative is from the book "To Be a Slave," by Julius Lester:

"Granma used to tell this story to everybody that would listen, and I expect I heard it a hundred times.

"Granma say she was hired out to the Randolphs during the war. One day while she was weeding corn another slave, Mamie Tolliver, come up to her and whispered, 'Sarah, they tell me that Massa

Lincoln done set all us slaves free.'

"Granma say, 'Is that so?' and she dropped her hoe and run all the way to the Thackers' place—seven miles it was—and run to ol' missus and looked at her real hard.

"Then she yelled, 'I'm free! Yes, I'm free! Ain't got to work for you no more. You can't put me in your pocket now!'

"Granma say Missus Thacker started boo-hoing and threw her apron over her face and run in the house. Granma knew it was true then."

Ever since June 19, 1863, Juneteenth has been celebrated like the 4th of July, with large picnics and gatherings of families and friends.

Yvonne

and refugees of Zimbabwe.

We had collection points for shoes in many East Austin churches, and also in and around the University of Texas.

Our campaign consisted of posters, leaflets, press releases to sympathetic radio programs and newspapers.

On two weekends we went door to door in East Austin collecting shoes and clothing. We leafleted beforehand, which we found gave people time to gather shoes.

SALAC collected 5000 pounds of clothing, including 1500 pairs of shoes, for the refugees and freedom fighters.

We are currently raising money to ship what we have, and are planning events to commemorate the first anniversary of the Soweto uprising and the Juneteenth celebrations in Austin.

An African member of SALAC said, "Before all this started, I was very hungry in this place."

Yvonne

## PITTSBURGH

PITTSBURGH—A truck hung with banners and equipped with a bullhorn led an SALC freedom caravan through North View Heights June 11. The Southern Africa Liberation Committee was collecting shoes and other supplies for the African freedom fighters in Zimbabwe.

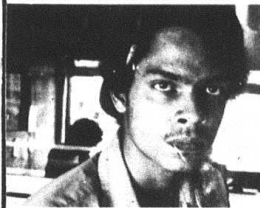
The SALC has been showing films in North View Heights over the past several months. Door-to-door leafleting for the "shoe campaign" was done in the days before the collection.

The response was spirited and quickly filled the truck with supplies and the collection cans with contributions to aid the struggle of the freedom fighters against Ian Smith's Rhodesia.

Besides this collection, the Pittsburgh SALC has been receiving clothing from interested people all over the city as word of the campaign has spread.

The Committee is planning to raise funds to ship the supplies, and to hold activities which will educate and involve more people in support of the liberation struggles.

# Why I'm Going To The Black Conference



**THE WORKING CONFERENCE** on Black Liberation, which is to be held in Pittsburgh on June 25-26, to me will show the working people of the I.S. and Red Tide that we all have something in common—the need for a better life in industry and society itself. This conference will surely untangle all the misconceptions that threaten the existence of unity. The conference should be a direct hit and will thoroughly educate everyone. Most important of all, everybody will get together and come to a meeting of the minds. Solidarity is essential while constructing the weapon to dismantle capitalism. All the members and friends of the I.S. and Red Tide will greatly benefit from this conference in more than one way. I think everyone will leave educated, satisfied, together.

From the heart,  
Butterfly

**For more information, contact your Workers' Power seller.**

## Yvonne Wanrow Silenced

Yvonne Wanrow is on trial for second degree murder. But she is not allowed to talk about her case. Her lawyers are also prohibited from discussing the merits of the case.

The prosecution, however, is not affected by the gag order. Wanrow is a Colville Indian. Last year she was convicted of the murder of William Wesler, a known child molester. Wesler broke into her house in 1972 and threatened Wanrow and her three children.

### NEW TRIAL

In a surprise move, the Washington Supreme Court ordered a new trial for the Indian woman. The court stated that the judge in the first trial had not properly instructed the jury about self-defense.

The State Supreme Court said, "In our society women suffer from a conspicuous lack of access to training in, and the means of developing, those skills necessary to effectively repel a male attack without resorting to the use of deadly weapons."

Wanrow's second trial is scheduled to start September 27.

The case generated wide support when first tried. The gag order, however, effectively prohibits the growth of a support movement during the second trial.

If Wanrow is not allowed to speak out in her own defense and build support for herself, her second trial should be declared a mistrial too.

# How the law aids rapists VICTIMS ON TRIAL

Imagine if a robbery victim had to undergo the same sort of cross-examination on the witness stand that a rape victim does:

Have you ever given money away?

Yes, of course.

And you did so willingly?

What are you getting at?

Well, let's put it like this, Mr. Smith. You've given money away in the past. In fact you have quite a reputation for philanthropy. How can we be sure you weren't contriving to have your money taken by force?

Listen, if I wanted—

Never mind. What time did this holdup take place?

About 11 pm.

You were out on the street at 11 pm. Doing what?

Just walking.

Just walking? You know that it's dangerous being out on the street that late at night. Weren't you aware that you could have been held up?

I hadn't thought about it.

What were you wearing?

Let's see—a suit. Yes, a suit.

Af expensive suit?

Well—yes. I'm a successful lawyer, you know.

In other words, Mr. Smith, you were walking around the streets late at night in a suit that practically advertised the fact that you might be a good target for some easy money, isn't that so?

I mean, if we didn't know better, Mr. Smith, we might even think that you were asking for this to happen, mightn't we?

[Dialogue reprinted from the American Bar Association Journal.]

Mr. Smith, you were held up at gun point on the corner of First and Main?

Yes.

Did you struggle with the robber?

No.

Why not?

He was armed.

Then you made a conscious decision to comply with his demands rather than resist?

Yes.

Did you scream? Cry out?

No, I was afraid.

I see. Have you ever been held up before?

No.

## 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.

Name .....

Address .....

Union .....

# Zimbabwe - The Politics Of Black Liberation

Southern Africa News



The growing power of the Zimbabwe freedom fighters in areas of the countryside is getting clearer all the time. Catholic Bishop Conal Lamont, deported by the Rhodesian government after a year in prison for refusing to report Black guerrillas, revealed that many white farmers are giving freedom fighters food and money to avoid having their farms destroyed. Lamont says he has absolutely reliable information that many of the big white farmers are paying protection money to freedom fighters in the hope that they will be allowed to remain on their estates when independence comes.

The Rhodesian Central Statistical Office reported that 1500 white settlers left the country in March.

In the first three months of 1977 the net loss in white population was 2544 (about 1% of the total). In the same period last year, the loss was 59.

More and more settlers appear to be taking the excellent advice offered by the ZANU Liberation Army: "Be smart. Don't die for a lost cause. Leave the country for a while. We want you alive after the revolution." Some whites call Rhodesian emigration "the chicken run." We call it good sense.

The U.S. Treasury says it cannot prove whether or not Mobil Oil is supplying fuel to the Rhodesian government, in violation of U.S. law and international sanctions.

Oil from western firms enables the racist government to survive.

Mobil executives claimed they can't find out from their South African subsidiary whether it supplies oil to Rhodesia, because it would be against South African law to reveal such information.

They were embarrassed when it was pointed out there is no such law in South Africa.

The U.S. government is still co-operating in Mobil Oil's blatant cover-up of its Rhodesia pipeline. But they aren't fooling anyone.

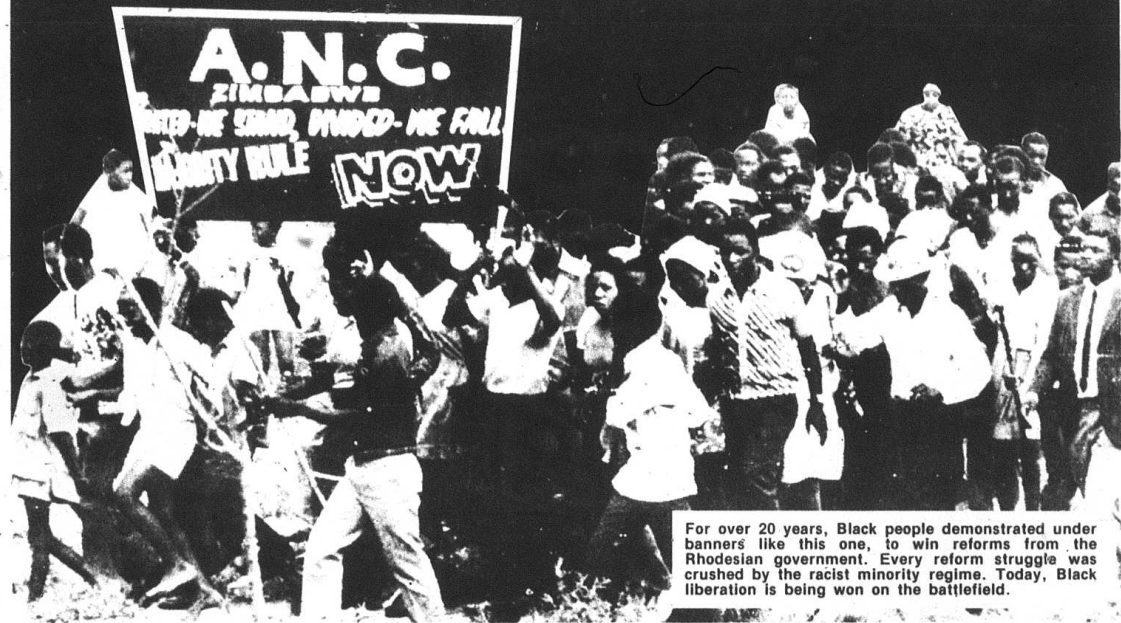
The Sunday News of Tanzania asked: "If the U.S. could put pressure on Canadian and Argentine subsidiaries of U.S. companies to stop dealing with Cuba in order to enforce an unpopular unilateral blockade, how can it claim to be incapable of putting pressure on the multinationals in South Africa to enforce a sanctions program which has worldwide acceptance?"

Two United States industrial giants, Boeing and General Electric, have refused to join any trade boycott against South Africa.

A Boeing spokesman told a pro-government South African newspaper: "Our policy is to keep trading. Trade is international and is not connected with politics."

Like hell it isn't. Boeing supplies 95% of South Africa's commercial planes. In 1976 it sold South Africa six Boeing 747's for a total cost of over \$175 million.

Boeing could be forced to break these ties with South Africa if the U.S. government threatened to stop its huge military contracts with Boeing. That won't happen, and Boeing knows it.



For over 20 years, Black people demonstrated under banners like this one, to win reforms from the Rhodesian government. Every reform struggle was crushed by the racist minority regime. Today, Black liberation is being won on the battlefield.

"Zimbabwe—The Key to Southern Africa" is a new pamphlet which has just been published by the International Socialists. This pamphlet explains why there is a struggle for Black freedom and majority rule in white-ruled Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) today.

The following article is an abridged chapter from the pamphlet. It is called "Black Politics and the Zimbabwe Liberation Struggle." It explains why years of efforts for peaceful reforms by the Black majority in Zimbabwe have failed, and how they realize that they can be liberated only by using their own power.

"The question of whether this conflict could be settled by peaceful negotiations could have been answered in 1966. We began this war in 1966. We are fighting for our country.

"We are at war just now, and this war shall continue until the settler regime surrenders. This means agreeing to turn over power to avoid further bloodshed. Until then we shall negotiate with them on the battlefield."

This statement was made to CBS news recently by Robert Mugabe, Secretary-General of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

ZANU believes the only way to end the oppressive system of Rhodesia will be through a victorious armed struggle.

This means complete dismantling of the whites' ownership of the land, their control of the army and police, their power in government and civil service, their ownership of factories, transport, and so on.

All this must be totally taken

apart before Zimbabwe can win its national freedom.

For decades Blacks in Rhodesia tried to organize for improvements by peaceful means such as petitions addressed to the British Crown.

They marched and demonstrated to demand their rights. Many believed that Britain would give them the same democratic rights the whites enjoyed.

Their civil rights marches were broken up by the police. Black leaders were arrested and imprisoned. Most of today's Black nationalist leaders spent time in prison.

All the organizations that organized these campaigns for democratic rights were outlawed. Britain gave the white settlers more and more power to run Rhodesia as they pleased.

## NKOMO AND ZAPU

ZAPU, (Zimbabwe African People's Union), is the successor to these civil rights organizations of the 1950's. Joshua Nkomo is the leader of ZAPU. He is still the best known political figure among Zimbabwean nationalists.

Nkomo has a great deal of respect and popularity among Black Zimbabweans because of his leadership of the civil rights struggle.

For years Nkomo has believed that someday the white regime would be persuaded to arrange free elections. Power would be transferred to the so-called "moderate" (pro-western) Black politicians.

Nkomo hopes to become the first Black Prime Minister of an independent Zimbabwe. His Administration would build strong ties to the western countries. ZAPU has

been built up as a possible electoral machine for Nkomo. Beyond that its members have a wide range of political ideologies.

But the white regime has not moved an inch toward granting Blacks freedom or political rights. It has done exactly the opposite. Life under white rule has become even more unbearable for Black Zimbabweans.

The lack of any progress toward civil rights has forced ZAPU to move in a more militant direction. It has even taken up armed struggle. Today any nationalist group that doesn't carry out at least some armed resistance is soon discredited in the eyes of the Zimbabwean people.

Some sections of ZAPU are now thoroughly committed to armed struggle. They are moving politically closer to ZANU.

## ZANU LIBERATION ARMY

ZANU was launched in 1963. A section of ZAPU separated to form a new, more militant, and left wing liberation movement. The new organization had learned from the past: pressuring Britain or the white settlers to grant concessions was futile.

ZANU's slogan became, "We are our own liberators."

The great majority of the Zimbabwean guerrillas belong to ZANU. They are by far the best organized and most effective military forces.

ZANU has built a liberation army of tens of thousands of trained fighters.

This army has been called at various times the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) or the Zimbabwe African National Army (ZANLA). Its bases are in Mozambique.

The ZANU military forces are the greatest concern of the Rhodesian government today. They operate freely in widespread rural areas of the country. There are large areas where the Rhodesian army cannot go except in heavily armed caravans travelling only by daylight.

The Rhodesian army admits to losing several dozen soldiers a

month. This is by far the heaviest losses it has ever acknowledged.

The liberation army is steadily growing. Since the beginning of the current school year and from one region of the country alone, 25,000 students have abandoned school and fled to Mozambique to join the freedom fighters.

## ZANU PROGRAM

It is no accident that ZANU is the leading organization of the liberation struggle today. The ZANU program is not based on the idea of negotiations, compromises, and deals between the white rulers of Rhodesia and a few Black politicians.

Ever since 1969 ZANU's central concern has been to create an effective and politically educated liberation army. Since it began a major armed offensive in 1972, ZANU has been the effective organizer of the armed Zimbabwe liberation movement.

ZANU is not a working class revolutionary party. It views radicalized peasants, rather than organized workers, as the most important base for the national liberation struggle.

Its program does not call for a socialist revolution led by workers. Instead it advocates a "national democratic revolution" which would result in a single-party ZANU government.

However, ZANU does represent the militant left wing of today's national liberation struggle.

It is the only party which recognizes, without any doubt or waffling, that liberation will be won only through armed action and the dismantling of all the privileges and racist property rights of the white rulers.

Any other kind of solution would mean leaving the same masters in power under new masks.

For this reason, supporters of Zimbabwean liberation in the US are committing themselves to active solidarity with ZANU. We are organizing to help supply the ZANU freedom fighters with shoes, clothing and other items which are desperately needed for the liberation struggle.

**ZIMBABWE - The Key To Southern Africa**

**ZIMBABWE NOT RHODESIA**

**New From Sun Distribution**

Zimbabwe—Key to Southern Africa  
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Order from: Sun Distribution, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.

# Workers' Power

## Miller Victory Settles Nothing In Miners Union

by Jim Woodward

Arnold Miller has won re-election as president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). But his victory in the June 14 contest settles nothing.

It means the wildcat strikes will continue, the lack of leadership in the union will continue, and the coal operators will keep tearing their hair out over the "unruly" miners.

According to unofficial returns, Miller had about 40% of the votes with more than two-thirds of the locals reporting. Lee Roy Patterson was running second with 35%, and Harry Patrick had 25%.

Patterson, once the leading candidate, was badly hurt by revelations that he had received heavy campaign contributions from United Steel Workers officials. Miller campaigned on his record in the 1974 contract, which won a 54% increase in wages and benefits.

With at least 40% of the union membership sitting the election out, Miller's campaign was most effective, despite his massive unpopularity among many miners.

### INSTABILITY

The results add up to continuing instability in the coal industry for several reasons.

First, rank and file miners will continue to battle the operators, courts, and occasional politicians with wildcat strikes. As in his first term, Miller will neither provide the leadership necessary to make the wildcats shorter and more successful. Nor will he be effective in stopping them, try as he may.

In a candid statement June 15, Miller acknowledged this fact of life. "I have no authority to control wildcat strikes," was the way he put it. In reality, neither of the other candidates would have had this "authority" either.



Arnold Miller (left) has just been re-elected president of the United Mine Workers.

Miller's victory, however, insures instability in another way. More than likely, the election will be challenged and re-run. That may interfere with negotiations for a new contract to replace the one that expires December 6.

### PATTERSON CHALLENGE

As the votes began to come in, Harry Patrick conceded defeat and said he would not contest the result. Patrick said he would return to his old job as a West Virginia mine mechanic. He called for all factions to unite against the operators in the contract negotiations.

In contrast, Lee Roy Patterson hinted strongly that he would challenge the results. "The only reason I lost this election is because it was stolen from me," he asserted.

If Patterson decides to challenge,

he has enough support on the union's International Executive Board to get a new election. Fifteen of the Board's 21 members support Patterson. A Wall Street Journal survey June 15 showed that at least eleven Board members would approve a Patterson request for a new election regardless of the final vote count.

The UMWA tellers are scheduled to give their final report to the Executive Board no later than July 15. Presumably the Board could call a new election after that date.

The Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the employers' group, is wringing its hands over this situation. They're unhappy enough about bargaining with a union

## Steel Union Locals Hold Strike Votes

GARY, Ind.—Four major United Steel Workers (USW) locals in the Chicago-Gary area, District 31, have scheduled strike authorization votes this month. Their local contracts expire July 31.

The four are Local 1033, Republic Steel; Local 1011, Youngstown Steel; Local 1010, Inland Steel; and Local 6103, Midwest Steel. They are among some 50 locals across the country holding such votes as the 1977 local contracts run out.

This represents a new willingness to fight in the USW. When the 1974 local contracts expired, only two locals in the whole country requested strike authorization. In both cases, the local membership voted against striking.

In most cases this year, the fight for decent local contracts has been led by the people who organized the campaign of Ed Sadlowski, the reform candidate who ran for USW President in February.

### INLAND STEEL

The job was made much easier by the fact that the national agreement, recently negotiated by the Abel-McBride International leadership, was so poor. Many steelworkers were forced to turn to local negotiations as the only way to

make gains.

Perhaps the most important battle is at Inland Steel in East Chicago, USW Local 1010. This is the home local of James Balanoff, new District 31 Director, and the biggest local in the union.

Balanoff has been a leader of the opposition to the ENA no-strike deal and is a major leader of the Fight Back reform forces in the union.

Throughout its history, Inland Steel has been one of the toughest and cheapest companies in the industry. It has both the highest rate of profit on sales and the lowest percentage of labor costs.

Inland's conditions are among the worst, and it ranks next to last in incentive payments.

Inland was the only major company to pull out of the consent decree negotiations. To this day, Inland has not paid a cent for its past discrimination.

Instead of negotiating this contract, Inland management has resorted to intimidation.

Balanoff revealed in a press conference last week that the company has sent its guards to riot training school. Money that could be used to improve local conditions is being spent, instead, on preparing to physically beat workers at 1010.

leader who cannot control his own membership. The specter of starting negotiations with an official who might be unseated in another election is driving them up the wall.

In any case, a major coal strike seems inevitable December 6, primarily because of the miners' demand for the right of local unions to strike.

### HEALTH FUNDS CUT?

A more immediate confrontation may be in the works, though. Four days before the election, Patrick charged that trustees of the miners' Health and Retirement Funds planned a major cut in benefits.

Patrick said sources inside the Funds told him the announcement of a cut would be delayed until after the election to avoid hurting Miller. Harry Huge, chairman of the Funds, contributed \$1000 to Miller's campaign.

Reportedly, miners will have to pay the first \$250 of all hospitalization charges and the cost of all perscriptions.

If these cuts are made, major wildcat strikes throughout the coal fields are a clear possibility. Health and Retirement Funds officials said cuts in benefits have been considered, but that no final decision has been made.

The last strike against Inland was in 1959, the national strike that lasted 116 days and ended in a defeat for the workers.

### 1959 STRIKE

Most people came away from 1959 believing it was impossible to win anything. Even today, 18 years later, many members still believe that is the case.

The truth is that the 1959 strike was provoked by the companies. It took place in the middle of a recession, after the companies had built up large stockpiles. It didn't prove that strikes were losers.

But this year, the backlog of orders and lack of stockpiles has given the advantage to the union. As the strike vote approaches, large numbers of workers, both young and old, have decided to take on the company.

A big "yes" vote will mean Local 1010 negotiators will be able to force concessions from the company.

A victorious settlement at Inland will go a long way to showing steelworkers throughout the country that the way to better their lives is not through no-strike deals. It is through standing up and fighting together.

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