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State High Court To Rule On Gary Tyler's Fate

IT WILL TAKE close to two months for Louisiana Supreme Court judges to decide Gary Tyler's fate, sources in that state disclosed Wednesday.

The court heard both the state's argument that the 18-year old youth should be resented to death, and the defense motion for a new trial, at a session November 10.

Gary Tyler was taken off Death Row in June when Louisiana's death penalty was declared unconstitutional. It has since been rewritten to comply.

Gary Tyler's freedom has been the goal of thousands of people across the country in the past year, as the facts of his case began to reach the public. Two years ago the black youth was charged with the murder of a white student who died during an anti-busing riot.

Gary's supporters, this newspaper among them, believe that Gary Tyler is the victim of a racist frame-up.

The fact that the state's only witness signed a statement saying that police forced her to lie and testify against Gary was cited by his lawyer in arguing for a new trial.

The lawyer, Jack Peebles, also argued that Gary should be freed altogether, on the grounds that he was a juvenile (age 16) at the time of the incident but had been tried as an adult. He also cited other discrepancies in the state's case.

If the state's request for death is turned down, the court could rule either for life imprisonment, or for a new trial.

Sources in Louisiana told Workers' Power that based on the questions the judges asked, the defense believes that there is a good chance the court will rule in Gary's favor.

But a spokesperson for the defense committee emphasized that it is crucial at this point for Gary's supporters to continue activities on his behalf, and let the judges know that people are determined not to let the KKK take Gary's life.

Join the Committee to Free Gary Tyler in your city. Contact your local IS branch or write Workers' Power for more information.

Send all contributions to: The Gary Tyler Defense Fund, c/o Mrs. Juanita Tyler, 736 Mockingbird Lane, Destrehan, Louisiana 70047. Write to Gary Tyler at St. James Parish Jail, Convent, Louisiana 70723. □

S. KOREAN CIA WHO'S BRIBING WHO?

Can you tell the difference?

"The station seems to have turned into a Santa Claus operation in the last few days. At Noland's house all the wives with their servants have been wrapping bonbons, cartons of cigarettes, boxes of cigars, bottles of whiskey, cognac, champagne and wine—and dozens of golf-balls. These are operational Christmas gifts to agents and to 'contacts' (friends who might eventually be useful agents)."



They "are greeted by dignitaries of equal or higher rank and by women,

usually in traditional dress, who pin fresh flower corsages on their lapels. Their hotel rooms are festooned with flowers, fruit baskets, bottles of liquor, and small wrapped gifts such as cigarette boxes or small lacquer trays... At nightly parties in traditional kisaeng houses or private Westernized clubs called salons, levels of propriety vary but guests are always encouraged to frolic with the hostesses... After three or four days of this, visitors are presented with larger and more expensive gifts such as antique chests, mother-of-pearl inlaid lacquer tables or cabinets, and other ornate handicrafts."

Obviously, in both cases bribes are flowing, and favors are being bought and sold on the open market. But which is which? Who's bribing who? Can you tell?

The first account is from Philip Agee's book "Inside the Company: CIA Diary." It describes a Christmas scene at CIA headquarters at Quito, Ecuador, where presents are being wrapped to use as bribes for local officials, politicians, and businessmen who work with the CIA and promote its interests there.

The second account is from the New York Times, Nov. 7, 1976. It

describes how the South Korean government showers fabulous bribes on American politicians and officials visiting South Korea. Meanwhile, the same thing goes on right at home in the United States. Agents of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency, using business fronts, regularly shower thousands of dollars of campaign contributions, club memberships and other

goodies on U.S. officials from the President on down.

Is the South Korean CIA simply imitating its American counterpart? Yes and no. The methods are much the same. But after all, the South Korean CIA and its bribery network are really only an extension of the American CIA in the first place. It's all one big happy family...

For more coverage on the South Korean CIA connection, see page 6.



SADLOWSKI WINS KEY NOMINATION

Local unions of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) began nominating candidates for international office last week. By majority vote, each local can choose to nominate either Lloyd McBride, supporter of the incumbent Abel administration, or Ed Sadlowski, the opposition candi-

date. After the first few days, Sadlowski was reported doing quite well in basic steel locals outside his home District 31, as well as within that district.

Meanwhile, McBride suffered an embarrassing setback in his home area. In St. Louis Local 67,

the nomination went to Sadlowski by a vote of 127-22, according to Clem Balanoff, director of Steelworkers Fight Back, the Sadlowski campaign organization. McBride had served as staffman of Local 67 for 19 years. "That's where they know him best," Balanoff told Workers' Power.

As part of Workers' Power's continuing coverage of the Sadlowski campaign, this issue contains a special four-page supplement of the USWA's activities: the candidates, the issues, and why we feel that every steelworker should support the Sadlowski slate. The supplement starts after page 6.

whatever happened to the great AMERICAN DREAM?

Klan Attacks Women

Black women and students, peacefully protesting racism in the Louisville schools, were confronted and nearly attacked October 25 by heavily armed Ku Klux Klansmen at a Jefferson County Board of Education meeting.

Only the intervention of two carloads of black men prevented the situation from escalating to the point of bloodshed. They rushed to the scene from the King Solomon Baptist Church after being notified of the lynch-mob atmosphere.

City police on the scene failed to lift a finger. One police officer told a school security official that the Klan "obviously got a lot of hardware (guns) in here, but without probable cause I can't touch them."

This occurred while white men wearing Ku Klux Klan buttons were surrounding black women outside the meeting, calling them "monkeys and baboons," and saying "we would rather fuck a dog than have you suck our dicks."

One of the women refused to tell the press what else the Klansmen said because it was "so nasty and vile."

Can you imagine how police would have responded if obviously armed black men surrounded, harassed and physically threatened a group of white women?

PARENTS UNITED

The anti-racist protest was organized by the United Black Protective Parents (UBPP). They were opposing the fact that no action of any kind was taken against an assistant principal at Moore High School, who referred to a group of black students as "niggers."

The UBPP were supported in the protest by some white students and parents, as well.

While they were walking outside the school board building with signs they were confronted by the Klansmen. White men wearing Klan buttons were also inside the building, patrolling the halls while the school security patrol looked on, doing nothing.

A school security official said, "You had to have been there. You felt that any minute one of the whites would pull out a Gatling gun and start shooting blacks."

The Board of Education meeting was being held at the Van Hoose Education Center on Newburg Road, in the heart of Klan territory.

SELF-DEFENSE

After the meeting, the black women were afraid to leave the scene. It was obvious that the Klansmen were getting ready to follow them in their cars.

When black men arrived, the Klansmen slunk off. The blacks left in a convoy of cars for self-protection.

Louisville, a city with a modern liberal new-South image, once would never have thought of allowing an open Klan presence. Now city administrators and police do nothing as armed Klansmen openly attack small, outnumbered, unarmed groups of black people.

The black community has to be organized for self-defense against the Klan, even in order to exercise the most basic right to peacefully demonstrate and protest official racism. □

Who Does Jimmy Carter Party With?

In every political campaign there is the candidate's public posture, and then there is who he really is; there are the people he hugs for the cameras and then there are the people behind the scenes.

Knowing who the candidate lets his hair down with will tell you a lot more about who he represents than will his campaign literature.

Nixon vacationed at La Costa with Mafia kingpins.

Ford plays golf regularly with lobbyists for big business.

Who does Jimmy Carter party with?

Last week while you were at work, Jimmy Carter and his family were vacationing on St. Simons Island off the Georgia coast.

The Carters stayed at Musgrove plantation. Musgrove is not a hotel, motel or resort. It is a private vacation retreat owned by one man named Smith Bagley.

Who Is Smith Bagley?

Smith Bagley and his wife Vicki have been described by Jimmy Carter as "warm friends," people Carter feels "very close" to.

Smith Bagley is the grandson of R.J. Reynolds and heir to the Reynolds fortune. Bagley is a very wealthy man.

Although Bagley worked briefly (if one calls sitting behind an empty desk work) for Reynolds Metal Co. and then for Reynolds Tobacco, he is now retired.

For him, "30 and out" means at age 30 he was out.

The Carter Connection

But the Smith Bagleys are more than just the Carters' very rich hosts. In Washington, D.C. they are the Carter connection.

One year ago the Bagleys moved to Washington from Winston-Salem, N.C. to become Washington's Carter people. At first Washington's inner circle had barely heard of Jimmy Carter or the Smith Bagleys.

But as Carter rose so did they. Now they are the people Washington's social set must go through to get to the President-elect.

How They Live

As soon as the Smith Bagleys arrived in Washington they rented the extremely chic, expensive, furnished Peter Belin house in fashionable Georgetown.

Previous renters of the same house include Teddy Kennedy.



Smith and Vicki Bagley

Once settled they bought one of the biggest, most expensive houses in Georgetown, the old Frelinghuysen mansion. Price: \$500,000.

"We are looking for a major property," Smith Bagley told friends.

They hired the most exclusive and expensive interior decorator to furnish their new house.

What Do Carter People Do to be Carter People?

Being the Carter connection in Washington meant cracking Washington's top social circle, getting around, getting known and getting Carter known. The Smith Bagleys did very well.

In no time at all Smith Bagley got on the Board of the Kennedy Center and joined the Board of the Corcoran Gallery of Art. Both Smith and Vicki became members of the American Film Institute.

Vicki Bagley joined the Board of the Washington Performing Arts

by Gay Semel

Society and she got on the Committee of the Meridian House Ball (very important!—according to the society page of the Washington Post).

Being "retired," both Smith and Vicki Bagley had a great deal of time to party... whoops!, we mean work, for Carter.

Soon they could be seen everywhere, at small but very important dinners called by Washington's elite, charity events, opening nights and political fundraisers.

They, of course, reciprocated, inviting people to their house in Southampton, complete with butlers and maids, and to their vacation hide-a-way on St. Simon's Island.

Their name appeared regularly in the society pages of Washington's newspapers.



He's Still "Mr. Jimmy"

These are the people Carter vacations with.

Somewhere it is written that a good test of a man is who his friends are. These are Jimmy Carter's friends.

He may carry his own luggage for the camera, but when the public isn't looking, he's still "Mr. Jimmy." □

IRELAND: STOP THESE HANGINGS!

Two Irish Anarchists, Marie and Noel Murray, are waiting to be hanged in Southern Ireland. They are charged with killing a policeman during a bank robbery.

The only evidence against them is "confessions" obtained by torture and since repudiated. They were not even allowed a jury trial.

According to Noel Murray, he was hung upside down over a toilet while police repeatedly flushed it and urinated into it.

This kind of torture was kept up for over eighteen hours. His wife, Marie, was kept in the next cell, where she could hear Noel being tortured.

Their trial was a travesty of justice. They were refused a jury trial. Instead they were tried before Ireland's infamous Special Court set up solely to try political prisoners.

When they protested the frame

up, they were removed from the court. They had to listen to the last two thirds of their trial, including the death sentences, over the court loud speaker system.

SOLITARY

Since their conviction, the Murrays have been held in solitary confinement in separate prisons. They are allowed no visitors except Noel's parents, who are over 70 and too sick to visit.

The Murrays cannot associate with other prisoners, and are allowed no books, newspapers, magazines or letters.

This week the Murrays' final appeal to the Irish Supreme Court will be heard—in secret. If the court refuses the appeal they can be hanged on ten days notice, unless the government commutes the sentence.

The Irish government is using the Murrays to see if there are mass protests when they try to execute political prisoners.

The Murrays, anarchists who don't belong to any organization, are easy targets. Unless there is a big protest movement, the death penalty will soon be used against militants of the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

In fact, the Murrays are just guinea pigs—it is the IRA members the government really wants to hang.

So far the government shows no sign of cancelling the executions. It has already hired a hangman in England. Irish newspapers that criticized the trial have been seized and fined.

It will take world wide protests to save the Murrays' lives. There have already been demonstrations in Dublin, Belfast, London and Manchester.

Send telegrams to demand the death sentences be cancelled, to The Minister of Justice, 72-76 St. Stephens Green, Dublin 2 Ireland or the Irish Ambassador, Embassy of Ireland, 2234—Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008. Send copies to Murray Defense Committee, 155 Church Rd., Celbridge Co. Kildare, Ireland. □

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CARTER'S ALL-WHITE CHURCH

by Kate Stacy

THERE'S BEEN SOME FUROR, mainly in the press, about the black Republican who had Jimmy Carter's church door slammed in his face.

And there should be some anger about that. The next President of the United States belongs to an officially segregated church.

The very first black, and one of the very few ever to attend services at the white Baptist Church in Plains, Ga., was one of Carter's secret service agents.

Some of the controversy today is over what this campaign "dirty trick" proves about Jimmy's attitude towards black people.

Officially, segregation was outlawed after the civil rights movement, but every Southerner knows that's just the official line. Vilely racist attitudes among most whites are still socially acceptable. And the color bar is enforced and protected despite the law as much as possible. "Nigger" is a more than common word.

Carter's comment that eliminating that church by-law would rid his hometown of a last "remnant of segregation," is no more than pure politicians' talk.

One local shopkeeper discussed "this nigger thing" with a reporter, while an elderly black woman swept his floors nearby, well within hearing distance.

"Nigger" continually peppered his comments. "The preacher is trying to push this nigger thing too hard," "local niggers," and on and on. The church by-law is no "remnant"—it's part of the South, New or Old.

Churches and towns like Plains are probably least touched by the changes in black-white relations over the last decade. But the changes, even where they are deeper than in Plains, are not very deep at all. And Jimmy Carter is the favorite son of all the South's institutions.

So the question people ask is: which South does Jimmy Carter belong to? The New or the Old? And what's the difference?

...or, the politics of "ethnic purity" in Plains, Georgia

The New South casts its racism in much the same mold as the North. Politicians get points for being "forward looking" when they talk of the "disadvantaged conditions" black and poor people must deal with from Day One. But it is all talk.

It is absolutely not polite for a New Southerner to be a public racist or segregationist. It is, however, quite acceptable to describe oneself as an "ex-segregationist (wink)."

And these New Southerners are somewhat self-conscious, like liberal Northerners, when caught in some racist remark or act that reveals their true roots and feelings. Like Jimmy is embarrassed about his church.

It's all too similar to the way that Democratic Platform Chairman, and Rhode Island Governor, Phillip Noel was embarrassed when newspapers printed his comment about black fathers being drunks and black mothers being prostitutes.

Or just like Vice-President Rockefeller, noted liberal Republi-

can, was caught with his mouth flapping and the Senate microphones on, making racist remarks about the Senate's sole black member, Edward Brooke.

NEW SOUTH, OLD NORTH

The New South learned a lot from the Old North—like moving the racism off of center stage. And cultivating some nice black politicians who will cover for them when caught up in exchange for favors later on.

Remember Carter's "ethnic purity" remark? Andrew Young, prominent black rich kid and US Representative, and Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. covered up that one for Carter early on in his campaign.

During the primaries, long-time Carter backer black Detroit Mayor Coleman Young criticized competitor Morris Udall for once having belonged to a church—the Mormons—that "wouldn't even let blacks through the back door."

Yet Young turned around and excused Carter of any responsibility



This man was excluded from Jimmy Carter's church two Sundays in a row. While Carter said he abhorred the exclusion, his mother was more honest. Lillian Carter said, "If you ask me, I'm glad they didn't admit him." She further supported the exclusion saying, "this man is an activist who shouts from street corners."

ity for his church's refusal to hold "integrated" services just before the election.

Even previously independent Julian Bond joined the massive last minute push for Carter when the election began to look too close to call.

Why did all these black Democrats close ranks to protect Carter's image as a "man of integrity without discrimination," when it was becoming increasingly obvious that all he wanted and needed was the black vote?

They did it because delivering that vote is their only power inside the Democratic Party. If they don't deliver, they're nowhere. Young Mayor Daley's. The candidate doesn't owe them a thing, and they are washed up in national politics until the next election. Then they get a chance to "prove, themselves" again.

The black leadership knew this, and proved itself this time around. More black people—2.4 million—

voted in this election than ever before. Their votes accounted for almost all of Carter's popular vote margin.

MACHINES

They voted because the new black machines got them out—from Mississippi to Detroit to Cleveland to New York City boroughs. When the election looked really tight, a traveling caravan of prominent blacks criss-crossed the country, getting out that vote for Jimmy. They called it "Operation Big Vote," and he won with it.

So now he'll make big reforms. Like announcing that his daughter Amy would attend public school in Washington. Isn't that big of the Carter family?

Wonder if it had anything to do with the fact that back in Plains, on the same weekend, the First Baptist Church cancelled services again, rather than let a black attend. □

Fight Apartheid!

End U.S. Support to Racism!



Demonstrate Against GM
Sat., Nov. 20 at 2:30 p.m.
GM Building, Grand Blvd & 2nd.
Sponsored by Workers' Power
and the Red Tide

Detroit

HUNDREDS IN RALLIES NATIONWIDE TO SAVE GARY TYLER'S LIFE

Hundreds of Gary Tyler supporters turned out over the weekend to protest a hearing that could sentence Gary to death or life imprisonment, for a crime he did not commit.

During a white riot against school busing in 1974 a white student was shot to death. Even though all indications are that the youth was murdered by a fellow rioter, Gary was framed for the crime.

People from various cities set up demonstrations, sponsored by local Committees to Free Gary Tyler, demanding his freedom.

FREEDOM NOW!

Over 80 people demonstrated in front of the Old Federal Building in Cleveland marching and chanting

for Gary's freedom.

Hoppy, a Red Tide member, spoke at the demonstration saying: "The street isn't big enough to hold the number of people needed to free Gary. So bring out all your friends and spread the word about Gary."

In Pittsburgh the speakers described the Tyler defense movement this way: "We are here today to stop the kidnapping and murder of Gary Tyler by the State of Louisiana."

Other cities involved in the demonstrations were Boston, Louisville, Chicago and Newark.

In Chicago, Bobbi from the Free Gary Tyler Committee, urged 50 supporters to get as much support as possible from their communities where serious individuals will work together to free Gary.

The Newark demonstration was followed by a march through the downtown shopping area to the Courthouse. It was a small march, but it was the first activity in New Jersey around the Gary Tyler case. There was lots of leafletting, speeches and plenty of interest in Gary's case by the people attending the march.

Marches and meetings in defense of Gary are being planned in the next few months in other cities. For more information contact your local Gary Tyler Committee; the Detroit Committee, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203; or Mrs. Juanita Tyler at the address below.

All money collected to free Gary Tyler should be sent to: Gary Tyler Defense Fund, 736 Mockingbird Lane, Destrehan, Louisiana 70047. □



Cleveland Committee demands Gary's freedom.

Southern Africa News



CHRYSLER CORPORATION is getting together with some other companies to form a larger industrial conglomerate in South Africa.

Chrysler is selling its \$35 million subsidiary, Chrysler South Africa, to the Anglo-American Corporation. Chrysler South Africa will be merged with an Anglo-American subsidiary, Illings Ltd., to form a new company called Sigma Ltd. In return Chrysler will get 25% of the shares, three out of eight seats on the board, and 35% of the profits of the newly formed Sigma corporation.

Sigma will not only produce cars in South Africa but will also import items like Mazda cars, Hitachi cranes and Mack trucks.

The parent corporation, Anglo American, is the corporate god-father of all South Africa. Anglo American controls a vast network of gold and diamond mines, industries and investment companies.

Gold and diamond interests alone accounted for 60% of South Africa's assets in 1973, and Anglo-American controls the major section of those interests.

Chrysler South Africa has been experiencing hard times recently. Sales were down 16% this year, and its share of the market from 1974 declined from 7.3% to 5.6%. Chrysler South Africa has laid off over 20% of its work force. This reflects Chrysler's own weakness and the slowdown of the South African economy.

However, the cheap black labor, and the lack of union rights assured by the apartheid police state, make South Africa too profitable for Chrysler to just get out. Instead, Chrysler has actually deepened its involvement in South Africa by joining Anglo-American, the most vicious conglomerate of them all.



CHRYSLER ISN'T THE ONLY outfit looking to re-organize its South Africa operations. Corporations and lending institutions throughout the world are getting edgy about the future of the apartheid state.

There are a number of reasons why.

- The price of gold, South Africa's major foreign exchange asset, fell from \$175 to a recent low of \$104 per ounce. This, along with higher prices for imported oil, has worsened South Africa's already serious foreign debt.
- Not only is inflation running at 11.5%, but the rate of economic growth has dropped to zero. This year GNP may actually fall 2%, largely because of the slowdown in the recovery of world capitalist economies.
- This means soaring unemployment among black workers. The economy must grow by 6.5% a year just to absorb new workers. As it is now, black unemployment may reach 2 million.

Blacks who are working are already paid, in most cases, less than the so-called "poverty datum line" level of subsistence. Rising unemployment can mean starvation for workers' dependants living in the Bantustans.

But this crisis comes at a time when black workers have not been defeated, when they still feel the strength they gained in this summer's uprisings. They are learning they have the power to destroy the system.

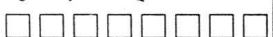
International bankers are afraid of a major revolutionary explosion inside South Africa. So they are cautious to extend new loans.

However, the New York-based Citibank Corp. just put together a new \$110 million loan. This covers about a third of the \$300 million in immediate loans which the South African state wants to maintain the system and the whites' confidence.

Every dollar of new foreign investments and loans to South Africa makes the apartheid state stronger. It helps to maintain the profits of American corporations, and buys more guns for the South African police and military.

This is why everyone who supports the black struggle against apartheid in South Africa should demand that all U.S. investments and loans in South Africa be stopped.

By making it harder for American companies to prop up South Africa, we are helping black South African workers build a struggle to seize the wealth that is rightfully theirs.



REPORTS filtering through the western press show that the fighting on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border is becoming all-out war.

Raid by Rhodesian forces into Mozambique are now commonplace. One Rhodesian force was reported cut off inside Mozambique and engaged in a major battle to fight its way out.

Mozambique villagers are now being subjected to the kind of terror, from the air and on the ground, that was inflicted on Vietnam.

This won't prevent Henry Kissinger and Jimmy Carter from denouncing the government of Mozambique for "taking grave provocative action against American interests" when it gets arms from Russia, Cuba or Eastern Europe to defend itself.

Zimbabwe - The Issue Is Power...

by Dan Posen

DEAD AS A DOORNAIL. That looks like the final verdict on the conference which U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, British Prime Minister James Callaghan, and racist leader Ian Smith hoped would end the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

The conference has been meeting for over two weeks in Geneva, Switzerland. It has failed to agree on an agenda, procedure, what role Britain (the former colonial power) should play in the future of Zimbabwe, or anything else.

If you believe the daily papers, what divides the white rulers from the black nationalists is how long the transition from minority to majority rule should take.

We're told that the black leaders demand majority rule in 12 months, the whites are holding out for 23 months, and both sides have rejected Britain's compromise offer of 15 months.

However, everyone involved in the conference knows this issue is a phony one. No major political initiative by Henry Kissinger would be scuttled over the technical question of a timetable.

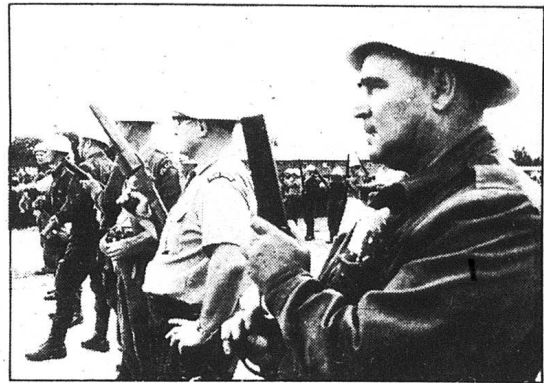
The issue that has really destroyed this conference is the question of power—who will hold the real power in the future of Zimbabwe.

POWER

Ian Smith says the white settler state will keep control of the army and police for two years, while black faces are phased into government and civil service offices.

What would this kind of transition mean for the people of Zimbabwe?

The answer is given by a report



Racist "security police" hunt down freedom fighters.

called "Civil War in Rhodesia," which was secretly compiled and smuggled out of Zimbabwe recently by the Rhodesian Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace. This report reveals:

• Ian Smith's security forces have forced many peasants to leave their homes and live in protected villages, under armed guard, to stop them making contact with guerrilla liberation fighters. They have to travel miles to tend their crops.

If caught outside the village after six in the evening, they can be shot on sight. Over a hundred Africans have already died this way.

• Many more have been killed for allegedly "mingling with terrorists." The report explains:

"Mingling with terrorists does not necessarily mean being found in the company of insurgents. There is a widespread belief in the Mtoko area that the Security Forces are liable to open fire on people found near the place where a land mine has just exploded. The

phases can also include people suspected of being present at meetings called by insurgents."

Ian Smith says these atrocities will continue until the liberation movement in the countryside, and the bases across the border in Mozambique, are exterminated.

Henry Kissinger wants a slightly different version of the same arrangement, presided over by some kind of High Commissioner to be appointed by Britain.

The people of Zimbabwe will accept none of this. There will be no freedom for them until the white racist regime, its army and police, are disarmed and destroyed.

That is the real issue. But the U.S. and Britain have blocked the question of power from even being discussed at Geneva.

The conference has turned into a total farce. Everyday it continues, from now on, gives U.S. imperialism more time to try to divide the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. And it gives the racist regime more time to kill more black villagers as it prepares for its desperate last stand.

...WHILE U.S. MUSCLE KEEPS TALKS GOING - BUYS TIME FOR RACIST REGIME

If this conference is such a charade, with no discussion of the basic issue, then why is it still in session at all?

That is where American money and political muscle come in.

It has become obvious that the black Zimbabwean delegations at Geneva are under intense pressure from some African States, including Tanzania, not to pull out of the deadlocked conference.

The pressure is especially intense on Robert Mugabe, the leader who has the closest ties to the guerrillas. The African states are demanding he stay at Geneva, even though this might destroy his relations with the freedom fighters he represents.

This pressure on the Zimbabwean leaders is being transmitted, in fact, by the U.S. government. Washington, using the power of its purse strings, is pressuring the African governments to force the Zimbabweans to

keep talking at Geneva.

On his tour Henry Kissinger promised several billion dollars in aid and credits to poverty-stricken African states like Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique if they would support his plan for Zimbabwe.

Even though the independent African Presidents now declare that war is the only way to liberate Zimbabwe, they still hope to gain U.S. aid.

Every black leader will be forced to choose between his loyalty to Zimbabwean freedom and his hope for U.S. friendship and western aid.

U.S. INTERESTS

What is the U.S. government actually trying to accomplish in Zimbabwe? Why is it so anxious to keep the Geneva conference alive?

For one thing, Washington has already begun an intense drive to

encourage corporations to invest and boost U.S. influence there.

Over a month ago, in early October, U.S. banks and mineral companies attended a New York meeting. They heard Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, William Rogers, urge them to prepare to invest as soon as an interim government is created and economic sanctions against the white minority regime are lifted.

The meeting was chaired by liberal Republican Senator Jacob Javits.

One of the major corporations attending the meeting was Citibank, which just arranged a badly needed \$110 million loan to South Africa.

Others included General Electric, ITT, Allegeny Ludlum and Union Carbide. Union Carbide already owns mines in Zimbabwe that produce chrome, which is imported into the U.S. in violation of international sanctions.

Meanwhile, Henry Kissinger has re-organized the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs, specifically to deal with the southern Africa crisis.

The Bureau is now loaded with so-called "experienced trouble-shooters," mainly career CIA operatives and similar scum.

At least two of them, Jeff Davidow and Robert Parry, worked for the State Department in Chile.

Three others, Frank Wisner, George Moose and William Eaton, played major roles as intelligence or economic aid officers in Vietnam during the war there.

These men have been assigned to turn Zimbabwe into another Angola, where the U.S. gave massive support to puppet movements and created a bloody civil war.

This is how they hope to produce an obedient government that takes its orders from the United States and the entrenched white racist settlers.

UPS EAST SELLOUT NEAR?

**November 15
Return to
Work Rumored**

Information is hard to come by these days concerning negotiations on the eight-week-old strike at United Parcel Service by Teamster employees in 15 eastern states.

As we go to press, there is mounting evidence that UPS expects the strikers to be back on the job by November 15.

Federal mediators reported on November 11 that progress was being made. Talks resumed on Nov. 10 after a four day recess.

Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons did not appear for talks on the 4th and 5th as was expected, but he did attend the Nov. 10th and 11th sessions.

THREATS

UPS has stated that if employees are not back to work by the 15th, the company will not resume operations in the 15 states until after the holiday season.

In Washington, D.C., UPS management has called non-union clerks who were laid off early in the strike and told them to report for work on the 15th.

In Baltimore supervisors have called drivers to make sure that their ICC licenses are up to date, stating they've heard the strike will be over on the 15th.

A major Pittsburgh department store was notified that UPS expected to resume operations by mid-November.

UNION RESPONSE

What does the union have to say about all this? As usual, it depends on who you speak to.

In one eastern Pennsylvania local, a special union meeting is called for Saturday, the 13th. A union representative there said, in his opinion there is a "99%

"WE'RE ON STRIKE and we feel swell; UPS can go to hell!"

So shouted 175 striking United Parcel Service employees demonstrating in front of the Pittsburgh hub November 5. Despite rumors of a settlement, these strikers made it clear to the company and the union that they are united and willing to stay out as long as necessary to win their demands.

Following the demonstration, an UPSurge activist addressed the group with an up-to-date report on negotiations and rank and file activity. All present cheered the idea that if November 15 comes and goes without an acceptable offer, roving pickets must be sent to the working UPS hubs in the south and midwest.

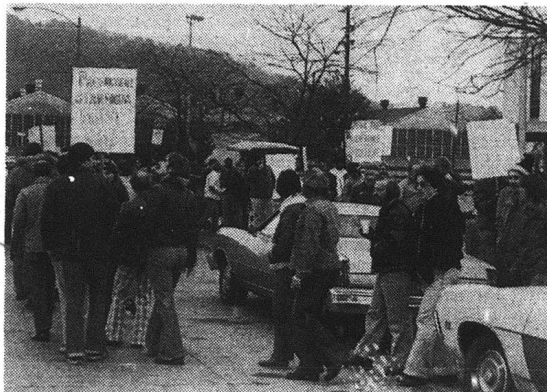
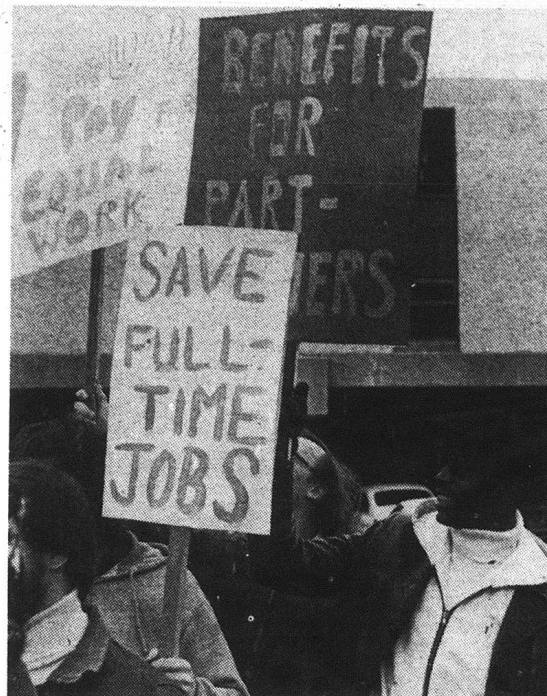
Similar demonstrations were held November 3 in DuBois and Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and Anderson, S.C.

"chance" that employees will be back to work on the 15th.

Yet other union officials across the region state that the two sides are too far apart to reach a settlement and present it to the members by that date. As we go to press, no other union meetings have been called for the weekend of the 13th.

Suspicion is running high among the ranks. It is evident that November 15th is UPS's deadline.

It is UPS's deadline for one reason—they still want to salvage some of their Christmas business. So management is quite anxious to



settle before it's too late.

At this point there are two options. The union leadership can give in and send everyone back to work on the 15th. If they do this, it will most likely be on UPS' terms, certainly on the critical part-timer question.

The other option is to make the company hurt—a little more by extending picket lines into the central and southern states. That would bring a halt to UPS' Christmas business there, and would certainly be enough to achieve a decent settlement. □

NY Postal Workers Win Steward

NEW YORK—Until last week, parcel post workers at the Murray Hill Station here never had their own steward to fight for them. But after just a few signs of militancy—beginning with a call for a petition to the union—parcel post has won the right at last to have one of their own represent them.

A steward was sorely needed because parcel post workers have been forced to bear the brunt of management's response to the UPS strike—speed-up and increased overtime.

Said one activist, "Speed-up around here has been ridiculous—they expect more and more work from us, and yet there's a freeze on hiring. A lot of people see what crap that number is!"

NOT UNIQUE

Another parcel post leader didn't see his problems around speed-up as unique. Asked if he thought other postal workers elsewhere would be as angry as he was, he replied, "Why not. The same shit's happening all over the place."

The quick victory of the parcel post workers shows how worried the union leadership is over the potential militancy of its rank and file.

GAY RIGHTS THREATENED

PORTLAND—The first public meeting of "Parents Action Team Against Gay Influence" (PACT) was punctuated by outrageous anti-gay slanders by speakers, and angry responses by the thirty gays among the 200 present.

The meeting featured ministers quoting anti-gay passages from the Bible, and claims that "homosexuals prey on 10, 11 and 12-year-old boys" in downtown Portland among other total fabrications.

Its purpose was to raise funds for the anti-gay cause. A so-called "Parents Ballot" endorsed right-wing legislators pledging to vote against extending civil rights laws to cover sexual preference.

The civil rights legislation will come up in the state legislature and the US Congress in the 1977 session.

After listening to slanders for an hour and a half, a pro-gay priest finally demanded to be heard. The anti-gay listeners then tried, but failed to eject the pro-gay element.

Anti-gay leaflets passed out prior and during the meeting warned that homosexuals would teach children if the bills passed.

In reality, many gays already teach children. They and other gay workers now lack any kind of protection against unjust discrimination and dismissal for their personal life. Moderate and radical gay groups in Portland are now organizing campaigns to defend and extend gay rights and liberation. □

Harry Black

TRAILWAYS STRIKE

LOUISVILLE — Amalgamated Transit Workers of Continental Trailways (Local 1531) struck here Friday morning in support of fellow workers in Charlotte, North Carolina over wage disputes.

One of the strikers told Workers' Power that he makes \$4,000 less loading buses than he did when he loaded trucks in freight. The loaders in freight are covered by the Master Freight Agreement of IBT.

He said that even workers at Greyhound, right next door, doing the same work, make higher wages.

Other grievances included no paid holidays unless you work them, and then only at one and a half, and no sick pay.

Just like in UPS, Trailways splits the workers into four divisions, which diminishes the power of strikes. □

CALIF. GROWERS BUY ELECTION

by Steve Westerman

California Proposition 14, the Farmworkers' initiative, went down to defeat in the recent election.

The fiercely contested initiative would have guaranteed the farmworkers the right to secret ballot elections, funding of the State Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) and the continued implementation of many favorable rules already passed by the Board and through the courts.

Proposition 14 would have changed one major part of the existing law. It would have made it impossible for the grower-influenced State Legislature to paralyze the ALRB by cutting off funds. They did that last year.

The growers and their business allies went all out to beat 14. They spent approximately \$2.5 million (to the UFW's \$600,000) to defeat the measure.

Their extensive media campaign focused on the "access rule." This section guaranteed union organizers the right to enter fields and sign up workers one hour before



Growers spent \$2.5 million to defeat Proposition 14; farmworkers rights, in recent election.

work, during lunch breaks, and one hour after work.

The UFW saw this right as essential to free elections because farmworkers often live on the growers' property during harvest season. There is no other way the union can sign the bulk of workers as California "ranches" often run into the thousands of acres.

Although the access rule is part of existing law, it can't be effective without the funds Proposition 14 would have guaranteed.

The growers distorted the access question, hauling out a few small

farmers to say Proposition 14 is a violation of everyone's property rights. "No one's home would be safe," they told city dwellers.

[Ironically, some of the small farmers who went on the air against 14 were Japanese-Americans. During World War II they had been put in "relocation" camps, with the enthusiastic support of some of the same wealthy white landowners who were behind the anti-14 campaign.]

The UFW countered this campaign with an energetic one of their own. They registered almost

300,000 voters, campaigned door-to-door throughout the state, used their "human billboards" technique and mounted an exhaustive effort to get out the vote on election day.

But the big money prevailed in the end, and Proposition 14 lost by a 3-2 margin.

WHAT NEXT?

So what will happen now? There will be further attacks on the Agricultural Labor Relations Board in the California Legislature.

It is almost certain, given the defeat of 14, that the powerful farm interests will renew their efforts to gut the access rule and continue to deny funding to the ALRB when they don't get their way.

The UFW for its part will likely redouble its efforts in the fields. To win its struggles it will have to rely more on strikes and boycotts and less on Democrats and Republicans.

Farmworkers have met setbacks in other years but nothing has stopped them yet. The Proposition 14 defeat will be no exception. □

The Adventures of Tong\$un Park

IF YOU LIKED WATERGATE and the White House Plumbers, you're going to love Tongsun Park and the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

The biggest political scandal since Watergate is breaking loose, with Democrats, Republicans, and U.S. businessmen all deeply involved.

Preliminary investigations have already revealed bribes paid by the South Korean government to U.S. Congressmen, a \$20 million yearly swindle of the U.S. military, and terror inside the Korean community inside this country.

Much of this information became known to American intelligence through their secret bugging of the Presidential "Blue House" in Seoul, South Korea.

All this is only the tip of the iceberg of an international secret police network that includes the U.S., South Korea, Iran, Taiwan, Chile and other places.

THE SOUTH KOREAN dictatorship is well known as one of the most repressive in the world. It owes its existence entirely to the support of the U.S. government.

Mr. Park Tong Sun (in this country he is called Tongsun Park), 41, is a wealthy South Korean businessman. He has very close ties with both the South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee and with the upper circles of power in Washington.

For example, Tongsun Park owns the land and buildings of the George Towne Club, described as "a fashionable supper club that includes President and Mrs. Ford among its members," and where "club memberships are provided free to the President, Vice President, and members of the Supreme Court and the Cabinet."

Clearly, young Mr. Park is going places fast and is a man worth watching.

Among the people who have been watching him is the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department.

In December, 1973, returning from South Korea, Mr. Park was discovered by U.S. customs officials to be carrying a list of 90 names—names of members of the United States Congress.

Customs officials' interest was stimulated when Park tried to snatch the list away from them. They found that beside each name was a figure, written in Korean, indicating amounts of money.

The list was, in fact, a memorandum on who the South Korean government planned to bribe in exchange for favored treatment.

The list of 90 was sent to the Justice Department. There, for unexplained reasons, it simply remained in a file, until recently, when obtained by the FBI.

PLOT THICKENS

Interviews with Mr. Park and some of the listed Congressmen have already established a network of bribery that probably rates as one of South Korea's biggest growth industries.

Here is a small sample of what is now publicly known:

- Between 1971 and 1975, the South Korean government spent between \$500,000 and \$1 million a year on bribes of Congressmen alone.

Examples: \$10,000 paid in 1973 by Tongsun Park to Louisiana Representative (now Governor) Edwin W. Edwards, \$4900 to Indiana Representative John Brademas (Democrat), \$1000 to Michigan Representative William S.

...And His Friends\$



Tongsun Park

Bloomfield (Republican), \$22,500 to California Representative Richard Hanna (Democrat), and lots more. All this is according to Tongsun Park's testimony.

- Among the organizations which work with the South Korean CIA in this country are: the Korean Cultural and Freedom Association, the Korean-American Marine Association and (the big daddy of them all) the Unification Church headed by the millionaire crackpot, Sun Myung Moon.

STARRING: the South Korean CIA, Gerald Ford and his Cabinet, one Governor, 90 U.S. Congressmen...

And a Cast of Probably Thousands by Dan Posen

- Ever wonder what happens to American officials who make a patriotic trip to South Korea to visit U.S. troops and tour the DMZ? It turns out that the South Korean government plies them with fabulous parties, unlimited numbers of women, liquor, and honorary degrees, often topped off with plain envelopes filled with \$1000 bills.

Oh yes, each honored American guest (especially politicians and military salesmen) also receive a

priceless Korean antique, produced the week before at a factory set up especially for this purpose.

- Of course, the gravy flows in both directions.

South Korean President Park Chung Hee solicited a contribution of \$4 million from Gulf Oil for his last election campaign (not that anyone was allowed to run against him), and Tongsun Park alleged that one of his businesses received \$1 million a month from Gulf, too.

- The South Korean government



Louisiana Governor Edwards and wife.

runs a racket which controls the bids that South Korean contractors make for American military equipment. By rigging the bidding, it's ensured that low bids are made. One estimate is that the U.S. military loses about \$20 million a year this way.

- In communities like Los Angeles, where there are many Koreans, known opponents of the South Korean dictatorship are intimidated and sometimes disappear.

The South Korean CIA infiltrates karate clubs and uses martial arts experts as enforcers inside the community. In more than one case, people have disappeared, and the word was put out that they were put back on a plane to South Korea.

- U.S. intelligence obtained much of this information by bugging the Blue House mansion of Chung Hee Park, the President, who turns out to be the mastermind of the whole bribery network. This is embarrassing to both governments, but the U.S. government has pointedly refused to deny it.

JUST THE BEGINNING

They haven't even started getting to the bottom of it yet. Along with the U.S. Congress, the Agriculture Department and a whole raft of other officials are evidently on the take from South Korea.

Henry Kissinger has also admitted that not only the South Korean but also the Iranian secret police are allowed to operate in this country, to spy on Iranian opponents of the Shah.

So are the secret police of Chile, who recently pulled off the assassination of former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier in Washington D.C.

It remains to be seen whether Jimmy Carter will have the investigation choked off when he takes office, to prevent implicating some of his friends.

As the scandal unfolds we will see many newspapers exclaiming in outrage over how the South Korean CIA, the agency of a foreign government, can penetrate and corrupt the political institutions of the United States.

But the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency is nothing more than a branch office of our very own Washington-based CIA. That's where it gets its training, techniques, and probably lots of its money and cover.

The South Korean bribery scandal is just an example of the American CIA's own methods. The American CIA has penetrated the politics of this country just as they have every other nation in the world.

Wiping out foreign bribery will have to start by rooting out the source—the American CIA and the capitalist interests it serves.



Ethiopia: Revolutionary Workers' Movement Grows

A revolutionary left wing movement has become a strong force inside Ethiopia's working class. This is a picture of a recent strike demonstration by industrial workers in the capital, Addis Ababa.

Ethiopia is extremely underdeveloped. Even here, however, workers are a significant force. Since the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, they have become increasingly radical and conscious of their power.

The country has been in a state of permanent crisis because capitalism is much too weak to control and re-organize the economy.

The revolutionary organization in Ethiopia is called the EPRP, or Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party. The EPRP has led strikes and demonstrations of up to 20,000 workers against the

government.

The military regime that currently runs Ethiopia also claims to be left wing. But this government has compromised with feudal landlords, and continued its attempt to smash the national liberation movement in Eritrea. It has murdered over 1200 of its socialist opponents and driven many more into concentration camps.

In August alone, 20 young people passing out leaflets were assassinated by government murder squads. Just two weeks ago, 23 EPRP members were executed supposedly for inciting sabotage, meaning organizing strikes.

The Ethiopian regime gets arms and support from the United States. Washington wants a strong Ethiopian army, to guard the Red Sea for western interests.

The U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia is a man named Godley. From 1969-73 he directed U.S. bombing raids against Laos and North Vietnam. He spent the last two years in Lebanon, helping fascist Falange forces.

Another US officer, named Robert Perry, won a Foreign Service award for his work in Asmara (capital of Eritrea). Perry is one of the troubleshooters just appointed by Kissinger to the Bureau of Southern African Affairs to halt the liberation of Zimbabwe.

However, the Ethiopian government's hired killers and U.S. advisers cannot stop the growth of revolutionary opposition inside Ethiopia. The military has nothing to offer workers and peasants except semi-feudalism, war, slow starvation and repression.

WORKERS' POWER

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

November - December 1976

Special Steelworkers' Supplement

STEELWORKERS

ORGANIZE, ELECT SADLOWSKI!



On February 8, the United Steel Workers of America will elect a new International President. For the labor movement, the results of this election will be much more important than the recent Ford-Carter contest. Here are the alternatives:

Lloyd McBride



- **McBride** is for the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) that takes away our union's right to strike.

- **McBride** believes in Joint (company/union) Productivity Committees where the union cooperates with management to produce more steel with less workers.

- **McBride** defends the Abel machine's policy of holding back the membership while letting management get away with crew-cutting, worsening

health and safety practices, poor conditions and fewer workers.

- **McBride** supports the cozy relations between the union and the companies on every level. His concept of labor-management partnership benefits only management and stands in the way of the tough union protection the membership wants and deserves.

- **McBride** does not want the membership to have the right to ratify or reject contracts by democratic vote.

McBride is supported by the International Executive Board, most of the Staffmen, and a big majority of union officials. He runs as the candidate of the I.W. Abel machine. If he wins, that machine will hold on to its tight grip on union affairs.

There is greater discontent among USWA members now than at any time since the union was built. A McBride victory February 8 would mean no fight against the problems and conditions steelworkers face every day. It would mean no fight to change union policies that have held the membership down.

Ed Sadlowski



- **Sadlowski** promises he would never sign a contract that includes ENA, and condemns the "no strike" agreement for tying the union's hands.

- **Sadlowski** promises he will never sign a contract unless the majority of the members have voted to ratify it.

- **Sadlowski** says the union's job is to stand up for the membership, not to help the companies make more money.

- **Sadlowski** urges the membership to organize themselves

to fight back against management abuse. He proposes membership action for safer conditions, better treatment, and more manpower.

- **Sadlowski** knows the relation between the company and the union is antagonistic, and he argues that the union should struggle with management to get the kind of wages, fringes, job security, and conditions the membership deserves.

Sadlowski is the rebel director of USWA District 31. He is pitted against the I.W. Abel machine, and his victory will break the tight grip the machine holds on the union and its membership.

Sadlowski can win February 8—but only if union members rise up, organize, and take their union and their futures into their own hands. A rank and file steelworkers movement that succeeds in electing Sadlowski will open up a new era, not just for steelworkers, but for all of American labor.

What Victory Can Mean

Ed Sadlowski is not the first person to make a lot of beautiful promises running for union office. Nor is his record as a local union president, as a staffer, and as District 31 Director above criticism. Why then is Workers' Power so enthusiastic about this campaign?

How You Can Help Organize

Ed Sadlowski will be elected USWA president only if rank and file people throughout the union take it upon themselves to organize the campaign.

And the greater the level of rank and file involvement, enthusiasm, and activity, the more his election victory will benefit the steelworkers union membership.

Here are some pointers:
• Don't wait for anyone to tell you what to do. Start campaigning immediately on your own initiative. Use your imagination. You don't need permission to campaign for Sadlowski in the best way you know how.

• The most important place to campaign is inside your own mill or factory. You can campaign by word of mouth; you can get people to put campaign stickers on their hard hats; you can distribute literature; you can organize meetings or parties outside of work.

• Join up with your local Sadlowski campaign organization, or start one if none exists. This organization should be open to the widest possible participation, and should include everyone who can agree on how to organize support for Sadlowski.

It is best for such campaign organizations to deal not only with the election campaign, but also with local mill or factory problems and issues. You can get your best support by showing that it is the same people who are fighters on day to day issues who are also the most vigorous Sadlowski campaigners. The Sadlowski campaign is a good opportunity to bring people together to fight more effectively on local problems.

• You should seek to put out your own factory, mill or local literature on the campaign. This shows people that this is a grass roots movement and allows you to tie this campaign to the issues that most affect your membership.

• You should look for activities that can involve the greatest number of people like gate rallies, meetings, mass pickets, etc. The most conservative and cautious people will oppose Sadlowski anyway. We will have to kindle people's imagination that Sadlowski's election will lead to an active, involved union.

• Get to know other Sadlowski supporters in your area. If you don't know how to find them, get in touch with the national Steelworkers Fight Back committee, 9271 South Chicago Avenue, Chicago, IL 60617.

If you would like help or advice from Workers' Power write the Workers' Power Steel Committee, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203.

What will electing Sadlowski accomplish?

In recent times, most union elections have been little more than a squabble over who gets to put their snout in the trough. This campaign is different.

In his bid for the presidency of the USWA, Ed Sadlowski is running against Lloyd McBride... and against the bureaucratic machine that controls the union.

Getting Ed Sadlowski elected will do more than change the union at the top. It will be the first step in breaking up a machine that for years has cooperated with management to tie the steelworkers membership down.

High paid union officials and staffers have stopped looking at the world through the eyes of steelworkers. They see the union as a business, and themselves as businessmen.

For them it's been easy to get infatuated with the good money, the fancy cars, the prestige, and the status. They like wearing sharp clean clothes every day. They like not having to get funky or dirty, or take shit from a punk foreman.

It's no wonder that these officials became more and more sympathetic to the problems of management, and less and less sympathetic to the problems of steelworkers.

MACHINE

When union officials get out of touch with the membership, they stop fighting for steelworkers' rights, and start siding with management instead. Rank and file resentment starts building up.

In order to squash resentment and keep their power, the union officials put together a machine. And their friends in management have been more than happy to give them all the help in the world.

After having fought and lost bitter battles to keep the union out, the steel bosses are now delighted with this new arrangement. The big shots all benefit. Only the membership suffers.

Usually, it's hard for any individual to buck the machine. For example, many times local unions elect new presidents or top officers on a program of cleaning house on the local level.

All that usually happens is that the International union and its staffers join together with management to put the squeeze on those individuals. Within six months, the new officers usually start behaving very much like the old politicians the membership just kicked out.

Where the local union leadership tries to keep up the good fight, staffers move in and start politicking in the local, grievances start getting messed with, and management gets more and more hardnosed. Finally, the International can move in and place the local in trusteeship, or management steps in and fires local officials or their friends.

The machine is based on privilege and corruption. It has grown too fat to fight, and needs a cozy relationship with management just to survive.

That's where the no-strike deal comes from. That's where we get Joint Productivity Committees. That's why, if you have a problem, and if you succeed in finding your grievance, chances are he says he can't help you.

ABEL'S CAMPAIGN

In 1965, when Abel was elected USWA president, defeating the old president McDonald, Abel was not running against the machine. He already had majority support on the corrupt International Executive Board, whose members were all machine politicians.

The staffers were all confident that if Abel came into office, he would protect the machine and their privileges. His campaign and his issues were designed to challenge McDonald for control of the machine—like two Mafia Chiefs fighting it but not to challenge the machine itself.

Sadlowski's campaign is different. He got elected District 31 Director in the Chicago-Gary area, running against the machine in its most powerful district.

Joe Germano, working closely with the Mayor Daley Democratic Party machine, ran a tight ship. Not a single opponent could be nominated against Germano in 25 years of elections in the union's largest district.

Sadlowski ran in 1972 against Germano's hand-picked successor, Sam Fweit. The staffers opposed Sadlowski, as did most local leadership.

Everyone was surprised when Sadlowski got the nomination. He lost a close election marked by massive vote fraud. But his campaign opened up a rebellion in the ranks that continued through 1974 when the courts ordered the election re-run.

In a new court-ordered election, Sadlowski beat Germano, 39,000 votes to 21,000. This victory left the Germano machine in shambles.

Today, the old staffers in District 31 remain at their jobs. Only the International president can hire or rehire staffers. But the

staff can no longer dictate to the membership the way they used to.

In seven out of the eight big District 31 mills, Sadlowski states have taken over the locals. In three of those locals, 65, 1010, and 678, it is rank and file militants that have been swept into union office.

Sadlowski's candidacy, and his victory, provide an opportunity for the steelworker membership to organize itself and to build up the fighting strength of the rank and file.

Learn From The Miners

Only a few years ago, the United Mine Workers union (UMW) was controlled by a corrupt, bureaucratic, union machine—one of the worst in the country. In the UMW, like in the Steelworkers union, top officials are elected by a vote of the whole membership.

Jock Yablonski, himself a bureaucrat, saw there was unrest in the union membership. In 1969, he challenged Tony Boyle for the presidency of the union. Yablonski lost an election filled with fraud, and Boyle had him murdered for his trouble.

At the funeral, Yablonski supporters formed an organization called Miners for Democracy (MFD). They put out a rank and file newspaper called "Miners Voice," and held an MFD nominating convention for new court-ordered elections.

Arnold Miller and the MFD slate won a decisive victory in 1972, and took control of the UMW.

DEMOCRACY

The MFD victory brought democracy to the union. Elections were run in every district for district staff, organizers, and safety men.

The union convention was run by the rank and file without the staff domination that steelworkers know so well. It wrote a new union constitution with democratic guarantees for the future.

More union democracy always means improvements for the workers.

In the 1974 contract, mine workers won: sickness and accident

insurance, sick days, a cost-of-living clause, the right to refuse unsafe work, and the addition of two safety men to most underground production crews.

Rank and file organization and local union autonomy have made it possible for miners to increase job security by striking against discharges, for safer conditions, and to increase management respect for the workers.

These benefits were not won by a few officers, but by the hard work and sacrifices of thousands of miners.

SEPARATED

But once in office the Miller leadership allowed itself to become separated from the rank and file. They dissolved the Miners for Democracy. They became increasingly fearful of leading fights with the coal bosses. Finally they ended up opposing the rank and file activists.

Even so, the UMW today is far more democratic and more responsive to pressure from rank and file miners.

And the struggle continues, rolling past its earlier leaders. Mine workers today are better organized and stronger against management than workers in any other US industry.

They will need new national leaders and new national organizations to make more breakthroughs. But without the campaign of the bureaucrat Yablonski and the timid reformer Miller, none of this would have happened.



The Sadlowski slate — from left: Andrew Kmec, treasurer; Ignacio Rodriguez, secretary; Oliver Montgomery, vice president for human affairs; Marvin Weinstein, vice president for administration; and Ed Sadlowski. Kmec was president of the Staffman's Organizing Committee. Rodriguez was president of American Can Local 1549 until the plant closed July 30. The local was then placed in "administratorship," with Rodriguez as acting president. The International fired him from that job—shortly after he joined the Sadlowski slate. Montgomery is a staffer in the union's research department, and Weinstein is a staffer from Youngstown.

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Don't Scare This

The Abel machine is using an old management tactic called "red-baiting" in their effort to defeat Sadlowski. They begin with the well known fact that Sadlowski's candidacy is being supported by various liberals, radicals, communists, and socialists.

They add the equally well known fact that Sadlowski, himself, holds many radical views.

And then, based on these facts that are denied by no one, the Abel machine thinks it can frighten fully grown steelworkers with tales that Sadlowski is part of some deep dark, boogymon-monster conspiracy that wants to gobble-up everything that anybody holds dear.

The Abel machine has set up a front group called Steelworker Members Against Radical Takeovers (SMART) to carry out their anti-Sadlowski smear campaign. They try to make SMART appear independent of the McBride campaign so that the machine's man won't have to wear any of the garbage being tossed about.

But nobody is fooled. Steelworkers have a clear choice this year between candidates that represent two basically different paths for the union to follow.

The membership will ignore all attempts to confuse and divide, and will cast their votes according to where they stand-on the issues.

BUILDING THE UNION

Radicals, communists, and socialists have been active participants and supporters of all the



Why Steelworkers Should Back

Sadlowski

Workers' Power believes that Sadlowski's candidacy, like any other union reform campaign, can achieve, by itself, only limited improvements for the workers involved.

Still, all of our members who are steelworkers are campaigning for a Sadlowski victory with all the energy they can muster.

We don't think the results of this year's U.S. Presidential race were very important—Carter's victory won't change much. We believe Sadlowski's victory over McBride in the steelworkers' union will be much more significant, that it will play an important part in setting American labor on a new course.

The steelworkers' union is one of the few American unions where the top officers are elected directly by a vote of the membership. Because

of this, membership disgust with the union's leadership is more quickly expressed.

In all unions, if the policies of the leadership continually fail to meet the basic needs of the membership, sooner or later the discontent of the ranks will find expression. Ed Sadlowski's candidacy is such an expression.

It may come a bit more slowly in some other unions, but Sadlowski's campaign is an indication of what is coming throughout the labor movement.

THE MOVEMENT— NOT THE MAN

We do not support this campaign out of great faith in the personal qualities of Sadlowski himself.

In his campaign speeches, he

takes fine stands on most of the issues facing steelworkers—better than those of any major labor leader in this country for the past 25 years. For example, he calls for elected staffmen at workers' wages.

But rarely does Sadlowski get down to specifics; rarely does he step off the high ground of principles to the more practical matter of what he will do about these principles once he takes office.

Sadlowski calls upon the membership to organize, to put their faith not in McBride, not in Sadlowski, but in themselves. He tells them even if he wins, they've got to be able to "put their shoe up his ass" if he doesn't deliver.

These are fine words. But they would be more convincing if the

Sadlowski campaign organization put more effort into actually helping the ranks organize.

So far Sadlowski is putting too much stake in efforts to win over or neutralize sections of the staff and of the secondary leadership, instead of aiming his campaign directly to the membership. His choice of staff running mates like Kmeck, Weinstock, and Montgomery is part of this strategy.

SHIFT TACTICS

Nor has he yet put out decent,

hard hitting literature for mass distribution—only an uninspired brochure that he couldn't possibly be proud of.

But Sadlowski will have to shift tactics if he hopes to win. Practically the whole staff, and most of the secondary leadership, feel threatened by a candidate like Sadlowski. He'll get support from that quarter only if he looks like a sure winner.

But he can win only by unleashing the enthusiasm and the militancy of the membership. If he holds back from doing this in fear of frightening off support higher up, he's a loser.

To be elected next president of the USWA, Sadlowski's candidacy will have to launch a high level of organized rank and file activism in the steelworkers' union. It will have to boost enormously the self-confidence and involvement of thousands and thousands of USWA members. Once this happens, the union will never be the same.

PRESSURES

Like all union reformers, once in office Sadlowski will come under enormous pressure to compromise. These pressures will come from the giant corporations, anti-labor laws and government policies, many contract provisions, and perhaps most important from what will be an overwhelmingly hostile International Executive Board.

This is why the role of rank and file is so critical. Pressure from the membership can counteract and overcome these conservative pressures.

An organization of rank and file steelworkers which puts Sadlowski in office can continue to exercise some control over him afterwards, if it can maintain a high enough level of organization.

The alternative would be tragic, as it was in the United Mine Workers. In the UMW, Arnold Miller—a disabled miner and leader of the Black Lung movement—became separated from the ranks after he was elected president. That led to a steady conservatism, until Miller ended up opposing and trying to break nationwide miners' strikes.

Workers' Power fully supports Sadlowski for president of the USWA. We do so not because of any great faith in Sadlowski personally, but because we feel his campaign can organize and mobilize the ranks of the union. And once mobilized, rank and file steelworkers will move the union forward—with Sadlowski or, if necessary, without him.

To Contact the Workers' Power
Steel Committee, Phone:

Bay Area 415-836-1210
Chicago 312-648-0542
Cleveland 216-431-0342
Detroit 313-869-8656
Gary 219-938-3852
Los Angeles 213-639-3684
New Jersey-New York 212-473-6846
Pittsburgh 412-461-2975
St. Louis 314-645-4196

How Smart Is "SMART"?

Let 'Red' e Destroy Movement

bitter struggles that went into building a Steelworkers Union.

The first major steel strike was at the Homestead Works in 1892. It was broken by the Pennsylvania National Guard. The commander, General Snowden, would not allow his troops to associate with strikers or enter town in fear they might be influenced by the "communism" of the workers.

The great 1919 steel organizing drive was led by the communist William Z. Foster, while conservative leaders of most established unions gave only half-hearted support.

And in the organizing drive that finally succeeded in building the USWA, the backbone of rank and file activists were largely the radical, communist, and socialist workers.

The scabs and the company-men raised the boogymen of a red scare against the union. They played on the prejudices of the most timid and conservative workers.

But they failed because the workers saw that a basic issue was at stake: the right to a union, the right to strike if needed against an arrogant management. And despite the red-baiting, the majority of workers chose unionism.

RUSSIA

In the conservative, cold war years of the 1950's, red-baiting was used successfully in the Steelworkers and other unions. There were many reasons for this.

The saddest of these was the fact

that at the time, large numbers of the most militant and radical workers mistakenly believed that Russia was a workers' paradise and a friend to all oppressed and exploited people throughout the world.

When the truth came out that Russia had a rotten exploitative and oppressive system, every bit as bad as capitalism, large numbers of these militants became disillusioned and demoralized.

Big business and their conservative friends in the union took advantage.

First, those workers who actually had been members of the Communist Party and who had actually been supporters of the Russian government, were fired, black-listed, and sometimes jailed. Then anyone who protested this got the same treatment.

Finally, any worker who even dared open his or her mouth in favor of a fighting union policy, or against conservative union officials would be labeled "communist" or "communist dupe."

Pretty soon, workers learned to keep their mouths shut. Conservative elements took control of the unions. They started preaching that the union's job is to cooperate with management, not to fight management.

With help from the companies, they built up a machine to keep themselves in control of the union, and to keep the workers in line.

They have now gone so far as to even give away the right of the Steelworkers Union to strike. It's

Blacksmith

BALLOT

IRON & STEEL WORKERS

The Union Committees are now seeking to get higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions from the steel companies. Are you willing to back them up to the extent of stopping work should the companies refuse to concede these demands?

William Z. Foster, the main organizer of the 1919 steel strike, with "Mother" Jones. Ninety-eight percent of the workers voted "yes" on this strike ballot.

VOTE YES OR NO. Mark X in square indicating how you vote

Yes No

National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers
WM. Z. FOSTER, Secy-Treas. 303 Magee Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.

no wonder that year after year the union gets weaker, management gets bolder, and the membership suffers.

RED-SCARE OVER

But the old red-scare days are over. In the 1970's, no one can honestly believe that a man like Ed Sadlowski is only faking it as a union leader—that he's secretly the agent of some foreign government in an underground plot to destroy us.

Steelworkers will support Sadlowski because they understand the time has come to fight back.

Workers' Power is a revolutionary socialist paper. We give our

allegiance to no government in the world today. Our only allegiance is to the working class.

We support, and our members participate in, every struggle and every movement that strengthens the working class and increases its power. This is why we support Sadlowski in his bid for the USWA presidency.

Our goal is to win the best working class militants and fighters to our banner. We want to build a revolutionary socialist working class party that can do more than just fight the employers. We want to build a party that can smash capitalism, abolish the rule of the rich, and establish a just and equal society based on workers' power. ☐

Why There's A Sadlowski Campaign In The USWA

Steelworkers Lose Jobs

During the 20 year period from 1955 to 1975, 200,000 jobs have been lost in the American steel industry.

Production for both those years was exactly the same, 117 million tons. In 1955 that steel was produced with 520,000 workers, while in 1975 they needed only 320,000 workers.

Union Helps Management Eliminate Jobs

USWA publications tell us that in 1971, the union "re-examined its position of a traditional time honored refusal to collaborate with management to operate production facilities more efficiently."

To do this, "the Union had to overcome rank-and-file aversion to 'productivity' because this term has always been equated with speed-ups, job elimination, and other ruthless management tactics which wage earners deeply resented." The union has succeeded in this double dealing, and since then, "the rate of productivity in steel has risen sharply."

[Quotes all from USWA pamphlet, "A 10-Year Record of Progress, 1965-1975."]

Productivity Up; Conditions and Safety Get Worse

When they set up the Joint Productivity Committees, the local union was turned into a management tool used against the membership. Members felt they were not getting the representation they deserved. They saw conditions

It's Been Years Coming...

Ed Sadlowski's candidacy for USWA President did not spring up from nowhere. It's been years in the making.

For years and years, the present Steelworkers leadership has been letting the membership down. They promise to "guarantee job security," and yet the membership has seen a shrinking workforce and mass layoffs.

Everyone knows that unless action is taken, this trend will get worse. But instead the leadership has signed away the right to strike and pushed a policy of Joint Union/Management Productivity Committees.

In mills, mines and factories throughout the U.S. and Canada, steelworkers are angry.

Every day on the job, they experience some aspects of management's attack.

Most local union leaders go along with this sellout. Even those who try to stand up to management have their hands tied at every step by the International union machine.

The steelworkers membership has been forced to fight back on its own. For every big example that gets reported in the press, there are thousands and thousands of fights that go on every day on the factory and mill floors and in the union halls.

The membership is fighting for change—and that is what makes Sadlowski's candidacy possible and viable.

getting worse, safety problems ignored, work crews getting smaller, and jobs eliminated.

In the 1973 elections for local union officers, the membership expressed disgust with what was happening by voting 33% of all local presidents out of office. In 1976, 43% of all local presidents were voted out.

Sparrows Point Wildcat

The Sparrows Point plant of Bethlehem Steel is the largest mill in the world. In 1973, workers there went out on a wildcat strike over health and safety conditions. They won their immediate demands.

Then in 1974, these same workers chartered buses to Washington, D.C. and barged into a session of the union's Basic Steel Industry Conference that was deliberating over negotiations. Over 100 angry coke workers protested scandalous safety and health conditions.

No-Strike Agreement (ENA)



In 1973, I.W. Abel signed the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), promising in advance that the union would not strike during 1974 contract negotiations. All unresolved issues were to be submitted to binding arbitration.

Abel was unwilling to submit this no-strike agreement to a vote of the membership for approval, even though he had earlier promised to do so.

Local 6787, Bethlehem Steel, Burns Harbor, Indiana, passed a motion resolving: "That members of Local 6787 protest the sellout agreement between I.W. Abel and the steel companies." District 31 and 37 conventions passed resolutions against the ENA.

In 1974, Abel extended the no-strike deal through 1980, still with no membership approval.

Strikes for Jobs

In February 1975, Youngstown Sheet and Tube in Campbell, Ohio eliminated eight jobs in the blooming mill. The membership protested that it was a breach of contract. Six thousand workers hit the streets. The jobs were reinstated, and there were no reprisals against the strikers.

In March 1975, workers at the Steubenville, Ohio plant of

Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel wildcatted, again over job elimination. A combination of court injunctions, union inaction, and a breakdown in solidarity led to a defeat.

In the Seattle, Washington Bethlehem mill, 800 workers struck on August 11, 1975 over crew cuts. The strike lasted three days.

Defense of Union Activists

In 1975, Bethlehem Steel Burns Harbor fired Paul Kazocha. It was a frameup drug bust. But everyone in the plant knew the real reason was union activity. Stickers saying: "Don't Stall, Rehire Paul" appeared on hard hats all over the plant. The shop floor campaign reached such proportions that Kazocha was reinstated. He has since been elected local union president.

On July 9, 1976, 2600 workers walked out at Bethlehem's giant Lackawanna works near Buffalo, New York. Steward Gerry Wallace had been fired for invoking the safety and health clause of the contract. On July 14, Wallace was reinstated, and the workers went back victorious.

Mass Layoffs

In 1975, nearly 20% of all steelworkers were laid off, and the rest experienced short weeks.

demotions, and short pay. At Bethlehem and Republic, SUB funds were slashed.

John Johns, USWA vice

president, stated in August 1975 that 100,000 workers in basic steel were on layoff. The promise that ENA would protect job security and prevent layoffs proved a fraud.

Women Fight Back

In the last few years, large numbers of women have been hired into the mills for the first time, as a result of civil rights legislation. The government keeps records on how many women are hired, but not on how many get through probation.

As a result, management uses large scale discriminatory firings and layoffs of probationary workers as a way of getting rid of women. In the past contract, the Abel machine cooperated with this by extending the probationary period from 260 hours to 520 hours.

Women workers in the mills have been forced to organize themselves against the discrimination they face. At U.S. Steel Gary Works, women banded together to force management to provide adequate washhouse and toilet facilities.

Both in the Gary area and in Pittsburgh, women have begun organizing against the discriminatory discharge of new hires. The contract permits a grievance to be written on discrimination, even for probationaries. But in most cases, women have had to apply lots of pressure to get any kind of results at all.

Black Workers Fight Discrimination

Black steelworkers have long fought against racial discrimination, both in the mills and in the union. In the early 1960's, Steelworkers for Equality at Bethlehem Sparrows Point led job actions against discrimination in the mill, and participated in the civil rights movement in the community.

In June 1968, 48 black staffers met with USWA Vice President Maloney demanding the union push for plant-wide seniority. They wanted this so black workers could exercise seniority to transfer into departments and jobs from which they had been excluded by discrimination. Maloney agreed.

At the 1968 USWA Constitutional Convention, 350 black delegates met to discuss problems of discrimination.

In 1973 and 1974, black workers filed anti-discrimination suits against U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, and Republic. The court ruled on the U.S. Steel Fairfield plant case, ordering plant-wide seniority and money damages to black workers to compensate for discrimination.

If the pattern established at Fairfield were applied to the whole industry, black steelworkers would have received \$500 million damages. Instead, management and the union came up with the consent decree, costing only \$30 million and establishing limited plant wide seniority.

In June 1976, 50 black steelworkers met in Washington, D.C. to demand a black USWA vice president. As a result of pressure from black workers, both the Sadlowski slate and the McBride slate are now running black candidates for vice president, a first in USWA history.

Workers' Power

A revolutionary socialist weekly newspaper. Published by the International Socialists.

A special offer...to help you keep up with the Sadlowski campaign and other developments in the Steelworkers Union. Twelve issues of Workers' Power, from now through the February elections, for only \$1.00.

In addition to steel coverage, you'll read what rank and file workers are doing in other unions. Also, a working class point of view on the new Carter Administration...continuing coverage on the important freedom struggle in southern Africa and the revolutionary developments in Portugal...the movement to free Gary Tyler...plus much more.

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- Please send me more information about the Workers' Power Steel Committee

Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203



"First Take 20 years and learn this intricate tool"

WHAT'S IN THE CHRYSLER DEAL?

Chrysler workers win a little and lose a little in the 1976 tentative Chrysler-UAW settlement. Beyond that, it is the 1973 agreement warmed over.

MONEY:

- The 3% Annual Improvement

Factor plus 11c (10c of which is catch-up for the money diverted to the Dental Plan).

- Loss of 6c COL as part payment for retiree bonus.
- Up to \$600 one-time bonus next Christmas for retirees; nothing for those who retired after Sept.

15, 1976.

• The old cost-of-living formula, which according to UAW figures, loses 10c per year against the current mild rate of inflation.

JOB SECURITY:

- The Supplemental Unemploy-

ment Benefits Fund (SUB) will receive Chrysler contributions at a faster rate.

• But the maximum funding level (when contributions stop) was lowered... as an "incentive" to the corporation.

• Most workers have less than 10 years seniority. Their protection is reduced to shore up the Fund for workers with 10 or more years seniority. Only workers with 20 or more years receive maximum protection.

• \$4.5 million in an old SUB Reserve Fund was taken to help pay retiree bonuses.

• So-called reduced work time will have no effect on unemployment. Chrysler will be allowed to use casual labor, at lower rates, no benefits and few union rights, to fill in on the extra days off won in this agreement.

• Foremen will cease accumulating seniority, while they are bosses, for the purpose of "bumping" workers out of jobs when the bosses decide to go back into the workforce. But it will take 40 years before all current foremen—who retain the seniority they presently have—die off or retire.

YOUNGER WORKERS:

• New hires will work three months with no benefits.

• There will be no safeguards of Short Work Week Benefits for those with under 10 years in the plant.

RIGHTS:

• There are several changes in seniority rights as applied to transfers within the plant. The language here gets tricky.

• "Inverse seniority" will allow the oldest workers to opt for layoff before some younger workers—but only when Chrysler announces layoffs for a specific period. With the change of a word—"Temporary" to "indefinite," Chrysler can evade this provision.

• The fraudulent "voluntary overtime" from the 1973 agreement takes further blows. More exceptions have been permitted.

ADDS UP TO LITTLE

The rest adds up to very little. Compared to the Ford contract, the clearest winner will be a worker who votes this contract in and then dies. His spouse will get 5% more of his pension.

Workers' Power readers are alerted to a special provision applying to a handful of plants. These plants may choose to try, on an experimental basis, a special accelerated arbitration procedure in cases of firing and suspension. It

would be possible to reach an arbitrator's decision within days from the time a grievance is filed.

With a progressive local leadership, this could be an advance for workers. More likely, it will be used to help the corporation get rid of radicals.

Here's the hooker:

If the union and Chrysler agree to special arbitration.

• the case is argued by pre-designated representatives of each side;

• no written depositions are taken;

• no transcripts are allowed;

• the decision is irreversible.

An outspoken worker can be railroaded out of the plant in record time under this procedure, if the UAW and Chrysler collaborate. Without records, he will have virtually no chance for vindication through outside agencies.

On all major fronts, the Chrysler agreement is a disaster for Chrysler workers.



Detroit, November 4, 1976. Demonstration in front of United Auto Workers' headquarters, Solidarity House, called by the Independent Skilled Trades Council. The demonstration warned the UAW bureaucrats that Chrysler and GM workers wanted more than the Ford pattern. More than a thousand workers picketed. Solidarity House called out the police—a graphic example of the distance between the leadership and the ranks.

Is This Man A Labor Leader?



by Enid Eckstein, UAW Local 51

The job of selling the Chrysler contract to 118,000 Chrysler workers belongs largely to Doug Fraser. Fraser is head of both the Chrysler Department and the Skilled Trades Department of the UAW. He is known as the most "liberal" of the UAW leaders.

His record, however, speaks for itself. Fraser's history shows that he cannot be trusted to negotiate a decent contract for the rank and file.

Where does he stand on the key issues?

• **Contract Negotiations.** This year Fraser promised extra money for the SUB fund and came back with nothing. In 1973, he sold the contract on the basis that it gave Chrysler workers the right to voluntary overtime. All they got was the 54-hour work week.

• **Skilled Trades Rights.** In 1973 Ford skilled tradesmen voted down the proposed contract. Fraser, as head of the Skilled Trades Department, over-rode their veto. The UAW leadership ruled it had the ultimate right to determine whether a contract was ratified or rejected.

• **Rank and File Action.** In 1973 two workers at Jefferson Assembly seized the plant's power station in an attempt to get rid of a racist supervisor. The action shut down Jefferson for two shifts and resulted in the firing of Supervisor Woolsey.

Fraser stated that Chrysler lost its manhood by giving in to the workers' demands.

• **Health and Safety.** In the summer of 1973, workers at Detroit Forge walked off their jobs over deadly working conditions. Fraser ordered them back.

When it became clear that no one would return until the plant was cleaned, he toured the plant. He promised to authorize a strike, then adjourned a meeting that voted to



Detroit, August 1973. Auto workers at Mack Avenue Stamping plant held a sit-down strike to demand safe working conditions. Here supporters gather outside the main gate to converse with strikers inside. Doug Fraser organized a goon squad of 1000 local officials to break the strike.

stay out.

People were ordered back to work despite 15 firings and no visible improvement in working conditions. Three years later some of the strike leaders are still fired.

• **Strike Breaking.** For months workers at Mack Stamping Plant had fought to improve working conditions at the plant. Finally, in

August 1973, they sat down to demand action.

Doug Fraser led a force of 1,000 UAW officials to bust the strike and help the company clear the plant. The famous UAW flying squadron had been revived by Fraser as a goon squad.

Would you buy a contract from this man? □

Don't Settle For Less!

- SUB guaranteed by total Corporate assets, available equally to all workers.
- Cost of living protection for retiree pensions.
- Revision of the COL formula to meet inflation cent for cent.
- Enough money up front to compensate for past losses to inflation and "diversions" of benefit money. That amounts to an additional 76c an hour, conservatively estimated.
- A 4-day, 32-hour work week to create new jobs, at 40 hours pay. An end to compulsory overtime and no overtime where there are layoffs.
- The right to strike over working conditions without waiting for Solidarity House approval.
- The right to shut down unsafe jobs immediately.
- Union controls over production standards, ending speedup.
- An end to sub-contracting UAW jobs to other places.

Reform Teamster Local By-laws Rank and File Push For Control

BY-LAW REFORM was one topic of discussion at the national convention of Teamsters for a Democratic Union in September. TDU published a pamphlet for Teamsters who wanted to change their local's by-laws, suggesting what changes can be made and how to build a campaign to do it.

Several by-law campaigns are now beginning in Teamster locals around the country. One of these is in Detroit Local 243, which covers employees of UPS, Sears, Wards, Bankers Dispatch, and a number of smaller companies.

JENNY VAIL is an employee of UPS and a member of Local 243. She is a leader of the by-law campaign. Workers' Power asked her to tell us what they are doing and why.

Rank and File Push For Control

Changing the by-laws is a first step to make your local a little bit more democratic. One of the first things we're going to push for is elected business agents.

Like right now, being appointed business agent, the only one he has to please is the president of the local. If we had elected business agents then we could say, "If you don't do a good job, then hang it up next year."

Another thing we're going to push for is more stewards. We have countless numbers of workers with only one steward. Perhaps the steward works a different shift and then you're at the company's mercy.

For example, in Livonia the package car steward goes home at 5:00, and yet there's people he represents that don't get off until 11:00.

There was an employee that was called into the office and she said, "Well, lookit, you'll have to wait till my steward's here," and they said "No, come on in now." She was out of luck. We want one steward per every 25 people.

ELECTED COMMITTEES

Another thing would be to have elected committees, because as it stands now, only the president has the power to appoint committees.

For example, when we first started making noise in the local about by-law reform, he appointed a by-law committee, so he could



Jenny Vail of Teamsters Local 243, holding a leaflet supporting the by-laws campaign. The local officials put out a counter-leaflet attacking the campaign, calling TDU and UPSurge members liars. And Local 243 President Bob Coy charged that "not one member from UPS has responded" to his invitation to serve on the local's official by-laws committee. Yet Vail had written Coy, volunteering for that committee and has a return receipt from her certified letter to prove it. So who's the liar here?

control it!

Local 70 in California started this campaign a few years ago, and they were quite successful in it. Their business agents are elected now and they have practically the same reforms that we're asking for. So it's not outrageous for us to ask for it.

We're getting in touch with all the members of Local 243. We're passing this leaflet around explaining why we need by-law reform and how we can go about getting it.

We got a pretty good response, people have been calling up and saying, hey, we didn't know we had

a right to change our by-laws, we want to start getting involved.

We tried to work with the local. In November of last year we told the Local President that we can only change the by-law in the month of January, so we want to start working on it. He said, all right, fine, I'll get back to you.

Well, December came, January came and pretty soon January was over, he never got back to us and it was too late to change the by-laws.

So whether he allows us to form a committee or not, we're going to form a committee and start educating the people.

Scabs Won't Come Thru Picket Lines Here!

by a member of USWA, Local 1066

INDIANAPOLIS—On Thursday, November 4, striking members of United Steelworkers Local 1150 organized mass pickets to prevent scabs from entering two FMC plants here.

Pickets had successfully stopped the strikebreakers until police moved in. They jailed 66 steelworkers, 50 men and 16 women, for "obstructing the entrance to the plant." Most were held in jail for the day.

The company promptly got a court injunction limiting picketing to four per gate.

This attempt by the police, city government, and company to break the six-week old strike failed. The strikers threatened a second mass picket in defiance of the court order and forced the city government to meet with the Local's leaders Monday.

The meeting won a special police permit allowing two parked cars and the construction of windbreaks at each of the gates of the plant.

"WE'LL DO IT"

At a union meeting Tuesday members cheered the local President's announcement of the results of negotiations with the city.

Later the local's vice president received applause and cheers when he stated, "Sixty-six of us went to jail. If it takes 1,066 of us to win the strike, we'll do it."

Lloyd McBride, Abel-backed candidate for president of the USWA, showed up at this meeting. He expressed "interest" in the

strike, and supported the idea of a master contract for all FMC locals.

McBride's appearance at this fabricating mill strike completely contradicted his support for the "no-strike deal" in basic steel, and was viewed by many strikers as a "publicity stunt."

The international machine, which McBride represents, has failed to give strong support to the strikers. Strike benefits have been inadequate. None were received until the strike's third week.

From the beginning, rank and file members have led this strike, without much help from local officials. The ranks organized Thursday's mass picket and additional picketing at warehouses being used to ship out scab products. Their militancy and determination have forced the company back to the bargaining table.

One striker said, "If we stick together we'll get what we want."

Teamster Local Buries Solidarity in Cemetery Strike

CLEVELAND—Forty-six steelworkers, members of Local 14290, walked off the job October 29 in an official strike against Lakeview Cemetery.

The primary issue is Cost of Living Allowance. The company refuses to give up anything other than the present sub-standard allowance. The workers want the "right" to keep up with inflation penny for penny.

Tom Yafanaro, committeeman and striking steelworker told Workers Power, "whatever they're offering—it's all tied up." For instance, "if our health and welfare goes up over the amount allowed then the company wants the right to take the remainder from out cost of living allowance."

Pointing inside the picket line, Yafanaro stated, "They got an 11

million dollar project in there and they say they can't afford our demands."

Local 14290 officials have been somewhat secretive in handing out information about the negotiations. Less of a secret, however, is the fact that they did nothing when Sam Buscarra, president of Teamster Local 436, escorted his own construction workers through the picket line.

The 436 workers are working on a different project under a government contract. The fact that it was a government contract supposedly gave Buscarra the right to scab.

"It's a cat and mouse game," Yafanaro said. "We'll be here a long time."

Daniel Pearson

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

To help elect Jimmy Carter, the United Auto Workers spent \$35,000 on peanuts. Local officials and UAW-CAP members passed out bags of peanuts at plant gates just before the election to urge auto workers to vote for Carter. Perhaps it was also a warning of what auto workers were expected to get in the Chrysler and GM contracts.

Marvin Weinstock, candidate for vice president of the United Steel Workers union on the Sadlowski slate, spoke in Pittsburgh recently about the health hazards coke oven workers face on the job. While the Sadlowski slate has called for a shorter work week at no loss in pay for all steelworkers, Weinstock said an immediate effort should be made to win a six-hour day for coke oven workers. Their exceptional occupational dangers include ten times the risk of lung cancer as other steelworkers face.

Here's the most critical difference between the two candidates for president of the Steelworkers Union, from an interview on National Public Radio:

Lloyd McBride: "I don't think that anyone who is an implacable enemy of industry can competently represent the best interests of our membership."

Ed Sadlowski: "I don't find anything compatible with the Steelworkers union and United States Steel, nothing whatsoever, nothing whatsoever."

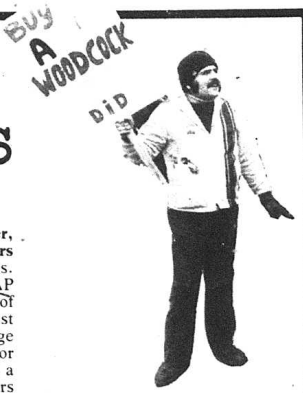
Here's another warning not to believe a word of the pro-business propaganda put out by the Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS), a government agency. Recently, COWPS said that the average \$382.30 price increase in 1977-model cars did not keep up with the industry's production costs. COWPS used figures supplied by the auto industry to tell us that. A week later, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the value of changes and new equipment on 1977 cars is worth only 15.5% of this \$382.30.

The effort to repeal Arkansas' so-called "Right to Work" law was defeated at the polls November 2, by a margin of 462,905-258,999. A spokeswoman for the Arkansas AFL-CIO told Workers' Power the Chamber of Commerce and other business groups had used the "Big Lie" technique to defeat the labor-sponsored proposal.

Several women have been given substantial back pay awards by the Kentucky Human Rights Commission because they had been discriminated against in hiring by coal mine operators. One woman is to get almost \$20,000 from the South-East Coal Co., and International Harvester will pay another woman almost \$10,000. Both companies have agreed to hire a substantial number of women for future job openings.

The United Auto Workers won only a few extra days off instead of its goal of a shorter work week during negotiations with Ford. But some employers in other industries are already getting apprehensive about shorter work week demands. An employers' organization, the Research Institute of America, suggests that management try at all costs not to give in on the principle of the shorter work week. The Institute suggests that if the employer has to make concessions, he should give additional holidays, longer vacations, or tie time off to a good attendance record, rather than shorten the work week.

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



LETTERS



(Above) Cartoon drawn by Fred Wright, specially in response to the Markley case. U.E. News. (Below) Springfield, Mass. October 30. Demonstration in support of Markley and Soares.

GUILTY OF CONSPIRACY - TO RAISE WAGES

Dear Workers' Power,

I just got home from a great rally here in Springfield, Massachusetts. The rally was called in defense of Markley and Soares. Markley is an organizer for the United Electrical Workers. They are being framed by the federal government because they refused to become labor spies.

I have no idea how many people showed up, but the line of marchers was four or five abreast as far ahead and as far back as I could see. Unity among workers

was the theme.

Speeches were made about the Wilmington 10, the Washington Pressmen, and the need for all of us to struggle on questions of racial, sexual and class oppression.

I don't have time to write a long letter because I'm on my way to work. A shit job for shit wages (\$2.00/hour plus tips which come to about \$1.50 a night), but if today's spirit grows and spreads, as it must, we'll get ours someday.

This rally is the tip of the iceberg. Nothing but sympathy and solidarity showed on the faces of

marchers as we marched to the slogans "Investigate ATF" and "No More Spies, No More Jails!"

Like one speaker for the union said, "And what is this conspiracy that AI's been in that threatens our government? For 11 years he's conspired with us for better wages and working conditions!"

So I ask, is it "our" government that's threatened?

In struggle,
Dottie Donuts
Springfield, MA

P.S. Tip your waitress! She's your comrade, too!



"Gary Tyler...going to get burned unless we defend him."

Dear Workers' Power,

I am a U.S. steelworker. I got interested in a very important situation—the Gary Tyler campaign—by talking with some members of the I.S.

It's about a young black man in Louisiana who was made one of the unfortunate victims of a racist offensive which goes on in this country every day, but it's never heard about.

Well, this is why I'm writing this letter because I think this is something everybody should know.

This particular young man that I'm referring to is going to get burned unless we organize to defend him.

He was first put in prison at the young age of sixteen. He hasn't

had a chance to finish his education in high school. All he has learned as far as his life's education is concerned, is how prisons are run and how to deal with hard criminals.

And he's not a criminal. He was framed up.

Unless people like me put a stop to things like this—even though it is in another state now—it could happen here. So let's give him support.

For more information in Pittsburgh, or to get involved in the movement to free Gary Tyler, contact: PO Box 83, Hamstead, PA 15120.

Deeply Hurt, Concerned
Steelworker
Pittsburgh, PA.

Won't Settle For Ford Sellout

Dear Workers' Power,

Our contract with Chrysler expired at 6:00 pm, Friday, November 5. Ten minutes before the deadline, the UAW announced a settlement.

But my plant walked out anyway. Our steward came along and put up five fingers and told us we were walking out at 5:00. People started leaving the line, congregating at the time clock.

People were feeling good because they felt the union was behind them. They were ready to strike because they had no definite

word about what was in the contract.

Picket lines were set up at both gates. We were turning trucks away. Someone started a bonfire. Thirty or forty of us stood around, all feeling really good. We looked down the street and saw that Dodge Truck was walking out also.

Then the union miraculously settled. We still don't have the terms of the agreement, but this is one auto worker who won't settle for what Ford workers got.

S.P.
UAW Local 869
Detroit, MI

WORKERS' POWER: NO ROSE-COLORED GLASSES

Dear Workers' Power,

Hey now, at last a newspaper that tells it like it is—Workers' Power. I happened across the paper a couple months ago and it hit me like dynamite. Out of it explodes the cold, hard truth.

One only need to look around and common sense will enable you to see that Workers' Power, unlike other daily newspapers, does not give you the news through rose-colored glasses.

Our government is to the poor and middle class people like our International Steelworkers Union is to the rank and file—ripping us off and using us to the extreme for financial purposes only. Both keep the water level between our lips and our noses. Try rising up to independency and they take their feet and ram your head right back down.

Workers' Power seems to be a newspaper sincerely concerned for the people, enlightening us that we must unite for our very survival and welfare. We must fight like hell the establishment that for so long enslaved the poor and middle class.

Keep on, Workers' Power, telling it like it is for the truth that explodes from your paper shall win, endure, and eventually set us free.

R.J.
Clairton, PA

Prisoner Wants Workers' Power

Dear Workers' Power People,

Greetings in the hopes that workers' power here in America jumps off like workers' power did October 14 in Canada. That's the kind of power all workers need.

I am a "poor, greasy, incarcerated, black-and-proud-of-it, dirty field nigger" who would like to pop from you and yours any old or used or slightly abused or messed up and unsealable but still readable Workers' Power newspapers. When and if you'll come through, it will be warmly received and greatly appreciated, I fully assure you and yours.

Yours, no shucking and jiving,
Bro. Sunni Ali Ber
Huntingdon, PA

Editor's Note: Workers' Power offers free subscriptions to prisoners. Write to: I.S. Publishing, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.

Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You

Autoworkers: The contract fight is winding up in the UAW. Workers' Power says the contract stinks. We say the UAW bureaucrats won't fight for the membership. We say that in a year when the auto companies are making record profits, the workers who sweated for them should get more in their own pockets.

Skilled workers at Ford nearly rejected the contract, and large numbers of Ford production workers also voted against it. Dissatisfaction with the contract is widespread.

What do you think? Do you think the contract is adequate? Do you think the UAW leadership got as much as they could have? GM and Chrysler workers: will you settle for a similar deal? Write to: Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.

Indians' Fishing Rights Protested

Dear Workers' Power,

Something happened here of deeper than usual implications which I'm eager to share as you may not have access to the "Port Townsend Leader." The "Leader" ran a six column headline: "Gillnetter, State Fisheries, Coast Guard In Armed Showdown."

A gillnet is a method of fishing using a net.

Seems the gillnetters are upset by a state ruling to protect a species of salmon. They are also upset with the George Bolt federal decision that Indian tribes are entitled by treaty to half of the harvestable fish in Washington waters.

So the gillnetters fish the hell out of the Puget Sound anyway for a capital buck. They ran the following ad to express their feelings toward the Indians.

Makes me wonder what is going on and what species will be next. Makes me want to make it fall...hard.

Michael
Anacortes, Washington

NOTE

In order to assist all those citizens who are sincerely staggering under a guilt load due to past suppression of Indians by Non Indians, the following contract has been prepared, which when properly signed before a notary becomes legally binding. Why not end your lifetime guilt trip and sign this document? Send it to your favorite Indian Tribe where it will be gratefully received and honored. After all, shifting the burden of payment on to others will not really assuage your own guilt, so sign up today or forever shut up!

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

WHEREAS I am of sound mind and consider myself to be fair-minded and impartial in my judgment, and

WHEREAS I believe the White Man in the past has committed many crimes against the Indians, and

WHEREAS I consider Judge Bolt's decision to be a good ruling which at least partially restores to the Indians that which is rightfully theirs, and

WHEREAS Past mistakes were committed not by only Non Indian fishermen but rather by the White Man per se, and

WHEREAS I am a fair-minded consistent individual, I believe the burnt of the Bolt Decision should be borne by ALL Non Indians equally - not just the fishing industry

I therefore do agree to donate 50% of my net income starting from Feb. 12, 1974 and for the rest of my life to the Indian people.

Signed _____

WITNESS _____

WITNESS _____

NOTARY _____

Notary Seal
Filed for by the Port Townsend Gillnetters, Assoc.
Jim Morris, Treasurer

Ad placed by gillnetters shows their callousness towards Indians.

Red Tide Ready To Meet

The Red Tide, youth group of the International Socialists, will hold a convention for its members and friends the weekend of November 21 and 22.

In a few short months, the Red Tide has quickly grown to a national organization with a membership of 80 in five cities.

Young people today are looking for the answer to the decaying system that oppresses them. The Red Tide shows the way to that answer.

The upcoming convention will deal with the needs of the membership, and the structure of the organization. It will also be valuable educational experience for the members.

RESOLUTIONS

Five resolutions will be introduced by the National Executive Committee. If accepted by the convention the resolutions will set the perspective for the next period.

Two deal with the Red Tide's work in spreading its politics to young people: Building a Base in the High Schools, and Building Cam-

paigns.

Other resolutions cover work within the Red Tide: Building an Education Program, and Building a Leadership.

The Education resolution deals with the best way to politically develop members. The Leadership resolution discusses the need for a leadership, what kind of leadership, and how best to set up that structure.

The final resolution is on Building a Multi-racial Organization.

It discusses the need to have an organization of all races, and how that makes the organization more effective. The goal is to build an organization of Latino, Asian, Native American, Puerto Rican and white working class youth.

There will also be five educational discussion sessions which include The Capitalist Crisis and Imperialism; The Only Solution: Revolution; Smashing Sexism; What It Means To Be a Revolutionary; and Why You Should Join The Red Tide.

Two films will also be



shown: "Ten Days That Shook the World," and "High School Rising."

the Red Tide and what it stands for.

ATTEND!

The convention will be a good way for members to get a sense of the Red Tide as a national organization. It will also be a good way for newer people and friends to check out

All members will have voting and speaking rights. Friends who wish to have speaking rights must clear their request through the convention steering committee. Everyone is encouraged to attend.

Wendy Casper

Africa Film Draws Big Seattle Crowds

SEATTLE—The I.S. here held two well-attended meetings last week on the situation in South Africa. The film Last Grave at Dimbaza was shown at both.

The first, at the University of Washington campus, was attended by 65 people. Speakers from the I.S. sketched the role of U.S. involvement in the apartheid system and what can be done to overthrow it.

The film marked the first of the I.S. film series, which will continue weekly into December (see ad this page).

The second meeting, held at the Central Area Motivation Program (CAMP) Firehouse drew 130.

Those present included some people who had been involved in the takeover of Cascadia by the Puyallup Indians, several former residents of South Africa, and a dozen people who attended the first showing and wanted to see it twice!

To help build the events, and for distribution at them, Seattle I.S. produced a pamphlet on the struggle in South Africa and an introduction to our organization. Over 250 were distributed.

Several people requested that the movie be brought back for more showings. The branch will try to arrange that.

SEATTLE FILMS

- Thursday, November 11 Blow for Blow
- Thursday, November 18 The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner
- Wednesday, November 24 Animal Farm
- Thursday, December 2 Double feature: Finally Got the News, and Work.

The films will start at 8:00 pm, in the auditorium of Gould Hall, Room 322, 40th and 15th N.E.

Sponsored by Seattle International Socialists.

Buttons—50c each. Ten or more, 40c Postpaid.

Poster—\$1.00 each. Ten or more, 60c. Postpaid.

Order from: Sun Distribution, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.

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

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 and justify it. Capitalism keeps women responsible for taking care of the workforce 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 the 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 classes of those countries.

WE SUPPORT

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

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

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

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

• **INTERNATIONALISM**
The struggle for socialism is world wide. Nations fighting to throw out foreign rulers must have the support of the international working class as in Angola today. So must every struggle of working people to end their oppression, as in Portugal, today, and in Russia and Eastern Europe.

• **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.

I.S. BRANCHES

- National Office: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203
- Atlanta: PO Box 11016, Atlanta, GA 30310
- Austin: PO Box 8492, Austin, TX 78712
- Bay Area: PO Box 132, Oakland, CA 94604
- Bloomington: PO Box 29, Bloomington, IN 47401
- Boston: PO Box 8488, JFK Station, Boston, MA 02114
- Chicago: PO Box 11268, Fort Dearborn Station, Chicago, IL 60611
- Cincinnati: PO Box 8909, Cincinnati, OH 45208
- Cleveland: PO Box 02239, Cleveland, OH 44102
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- Gary: PO Box 2713, Gary, IN 46403
- Indianapolis: PO Box 631, Indianapolis, IN 46206
- Los Angeles: PO Box 1871, Lynwood, CA 90262
- Louisville: PO Box 70449, Louisville, KY 40270
- Madison: PO Box 725, Madison, WI 53701
- New Jersey: PO Box 897, Chestnut Sta., Union, NJ 07083
- New York: 30 E. 20 St., Rm. 207, New York, NY 10003
- Philadelphia: PO Box 8262, Philadelphia, PA 19101
- Pittsburgh: PO Box 466, Homestead, PA 15120
- Portland: PO Box 4662, Portland, OR 97208
- Seattle: PO Box 9056, Seattle, WA 98109
- Springfield: PO Box 795, Springfield, MA 01101
- St. Louis: PO Box 24135, St. Louis, MO 63130

"Gone With the Wind" Revived — New Myths for Old

by Marilyn Danton

"TOMORROW IS ANOTHER DAY"—so spoke Scarlett O'Hara, heroine of "Gone With The Wind." The southern epic was televised Sunday and Monday night on NBC. And so it is another day. In fact, it is 37 years after the four hour film was originally released.

NBC paid MGM five million dollars for a once-only showing. It's estimated that over 110 million watched it.

"Gone With The Wind." Starring Clark Gable as Rhett Butler and Vivien Leigh as Scarlett O'Hara.

The timing was perfect for this legendary film on the fall of the Old South. It was less than one week after Jimmy Carter was elected President. Carter is the first Deep Southerner to win the Presidency since the Civil War.

Carter's candidacy and election has brought with it rash of publicity about the South. 1976 is being heralded as the year that the wounds of the Civil War were finally healed.

The proof? Carter's election. The South is once again a real part of the country. This is the New South, however, where blacks and whites live in harmony.

But, is this real? About as real as the film.

BEAUTIFUL WORLD

As "Gone With The Wind" flashed across the screens of America's TVs, its message was clear: cotton plantations and southern belles, slavery and gallant southern gentlemen were all part of a beautiful world destroyed. Gone

with the wind.

The entire film is geared to create nostalgia for an elegant and gracious era that never existed.

The period covered by the film

stretches from 1859 to the 1870's—from the end of the ante-bellum South to the end of reconstruction. Beneath the overall defense of the racist southern way of life, the film is about the conflict between the dying southern ruling class—the plantation owners, and the emerging southern ruling class—the capitalists.

Ashley Wilkes, (Leslie Howard) is owner of the Twelve Oaks Plantation. He represents the southern plantation gentleman—aristocratic, cultured, softspoken—but a man who has outlived his time.

Captain Rhett Butler (Clark Gable) is the new breed of southern rulers. He's the millionaire businessman—crass, no manners—who puts money above sentiment. He made his money speculating on cotton and stashed it in England to preserve it from the die-hard Confederacy.

Caught in the middle—and representing both worlds is Scarlett O'Hara. She is played magnificently by Vivian Leigh.

In the beginning, Scarlett is the the beautiful southern belle—sought after by all the men, except Ashley Wilkes, the one she wants. Her only apparent role is to be beautiful.

But underneath Scarlett is no genteel southern lady. She is a fighter, spoiled to the core, but tough and strong and determined to make it in a new world.

The masses of people—blacks, slave and free; white sharecroppers and workers have no place in this film. They only form the background of conflict and change as the slave system is violently destroyed, and the South is forced into the modern world.

The clash presented is not for the



Rhett Butler and Scarlett O'Hara flee burning Atlanta.

freedom of the slaves, but for the freedom of business and enterprise over aristocracy.

All of the myths of the Old South are preserved, the main reason the film is rightly condemned for its racism. According to GWTW, the slaves really loved their masters—loved them more than freedom itself.

Mammy, played by Hattie McDaniels, sticks with Scarlett through thick and thin. All the time she disapproves of her ways, but sticks nonetheless.

And there is Big Sam, once the black slave foreman at the Tara plantation. He saves Scarlett from being raped by poor whites during a ride through a shanty town. Blacks are presented as children who need to be protected because they can't make it on their own.

YANKEES

The villains are the Yankees. These carpetbaggers, as they were called during Reconstruction, and their southern supporters—scalawags—are portrayed as rotten, crass people who have no interest in helping the newly freed slaves become full citizens. They are only interested in punishing the old white southern society.

The romantic love story of Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler overshadows everything else. But in telling this love story the struggle between the aristocratic slave-owning society and the emerging capitalist society unfolds. Scarlett's love for Ashley Wilkes symbolizes her unwillingness to

break from the old for the new. In every other way she does break with her past.

Upon returning to her beloved Tara after Atlanta is burned to the ground, she struggles to keep the plantation during war-time. One of the most dramatic scenes in the film is a gingham-dressed, straggly-haired Scarlett standing in a desolate field with a dirt-caked carrot in her hand shouting, "God is my witness; I will never be hungry again!"

After the war, to keep Tara, she goes into business, openly and crassly marries an old man for his money, and for her efforts earns the contempt and hatred of the old society.

GREAT LADY

Her only defender from the old days is Ashley's wife, Melanie (Olivia DeHaviland), who is the real great southern lady of the story. Melanie holds Ashley's life together. Her death is the crisis that precipitates Scarlett's real tragedy. For when Scarlett is free to go after Ashley, she realizes that he isn't what she wants at all. But, like for the South, it is too late.

Butler is through, and walks out on her with his final words, "Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn." Scarlett's a fighter and the film ends with her determination to get him back by returning to Tara.

When I was young and growing up in the South, this film was bigger than life to me—as it was for all of the white folks I knew. We

used to argue and debate whether Scarlett got him back or not. Margaret Mitchell, author of the book from which the movie was made, promised a sequel to answer this question. She was killed before it was written.

NO ROLE

But the real tragedy is of those who had no role in this spectacular film: the slaves, the freedman, the poor whites on whose blood, sweat and tears the Old and New South was built.

The pretty South of gentlemen of courage and beautiful southern belles and happy childlike slaves was a myth, one that much of the white South would still like to believe.

The reality of slave auctions, of incredible violence and cruelty, of white women whose only role was to be ornaments, of poor white sharecroppers only one step above the black slaves is never shown.

No, "Gone With The Wind's" South never existed, just as separate but equal didn't exist. The movie is only cover for the incredible poverty and oppression that did exist.

Today we are victims of a different myth. Capitalism is the way of life and the myth is one of happy workers and of a non-racist government. But this myth is just as destructive as the myth of the Old South.

And believing it prevents us from seeing the daily violence, human destruction, exploitation and oppression of a system that has outlived its time. A system that should be 'gone with the wind.' □

WORKERS' POWER

A revolutionary socialist weekly, published by the International Socialists.

Subscriptions: \$10 per year. Six months: \$5. Institutional: \$15. Foreign Surface: \$15. Foreign Air Mail: \$20 for six months. Introductory subscription: \$1 for 10 issues.

I enclose \$..... Please send me a subscription to Workers' Power.

Name

Address

Trade Union

14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.

VOTE NO!

SEND THEM BACK FOR MORE

Chrysler workers can reject the UAW settlement in balloting on Monday and Tuesday, November 15 and 16. If they do, it's a whole new ball game. UAW negotiators will have to return to the bargaining table.

Chrysler workers can also accept the agreement. If they do, they're screwed until 1979.

This year Chrysler has the money—loads of it—to satisfy Chrysler workers' minimum demands. But the UAW didn't ask for it, so Chrysler didn't give it.

That leaves only one way for Chrysler workers to get what they need: Vote No, Send 'Em Back for More. Rejection is a long shot, but it is the only shot auto workers have.

Why did tens of thousands of Chrysler workers walk out November 5—knowing that a settlement had already been announced? Because they didn't like it.

The economic package is exactly the same as Ford's:

- 1¢ per hour in new money.
- "Reduced work time" of only 8 new days off over three years.
- No cost of living for retirees—just a one-shot bonus.

WALKOUTS

In Detroit, two shifts at Dodge Main and Dodge Truck walked out. Lynch Assembly workers took a hike for the first time in memory of the local.

There were also walkouts at Warren Stamping, Huber Foundry, Twinsburg Stamping, and three units in Windsor, Ontario.

At Doug Fraser's home Local #227, the Export Division was still on strike Monday, November 8. A

strike at Trenton Engine continued through Saturday.

In some cases, the wildcats were organized by shop officials to put pressure on management for local bargaining.

On November 11 and 12, the Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC) and the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) staged meetings to explain the contract terms to rank and file workers and prepare for a No vote.

Approximately 1000 workers attended, arming themselves with facts to answer the hype UAW officials will be pushing at ratification meetings. They took leaflets to spread the word in the plants.

The UAW called its own meetings in Detroit for all the Chrysler stewards and committeemen in the country. The UAW does a hard sell on the shop floor leadership in order to counteract those who are organizing rejection.

Meetings for Detroit stewards were held on Friday and for the rest of the country on Thursday, to avoid infecting out-of-towners with any possible dissatisfaction.

A BIG NO VOTE

It is the militancy shown by the walkouts and the mass meetings which makes a contract rejection movement real. A rejection would break the political situation in the UAW wide open.

No matter what the national results, when a local goes for rejection it puts some steam behind the local bargainers. Organizing a large No vote could be the first step towards getting rid of the types who negotiate contracts like this once and for all. □



What's In the "New" Auto Pact?

See Page 7

The SUB Fund Ripoff

The UAW leadership claimed that 1976 was to be the year of job security. They had no real program, but they promised some protection for auto workers' jobs, in place of any real gains in money or working conditions.

What did they actually come back with? In fact, the proposed Chrysler agreement will do nothing to increase the job security of most Chrysler workers.

In the bargaining blooper of the decade, Doug Fraser announced to the world in September that Chrysler had "raped" the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit Fund (SUB). In December 1974, Chrysler had jimmied layoffs to prevent thousands of workers from

drawing holiday pay over Christmas. This had to be made up from SUB funds, draining off more than \$30 million.

Fraser first announced that he would demand \$32 million "up front" in this contract to compensate the SUB fund. Later he changed the charge from "rape" to "unarmed robbery" and said he was going for \$4 million.

The final Chrysler settlement had exactly zero, however, for hourly workers, and only \$1.2 million for salaried workers.

ROBBING PETER TO PAY PAUL

The UAW leadership is making a big deal about changes in the way

the SUB is funded. What these add up to is greater protection for those with over 10 years seniority, and less for those with less. Only workers with 20 years receive maximum protection.

Lower seniority workers' payments will run out sooner to make the Fund last longer for older workers. A new "Guaranteed Benefit Account" will protect those with over 10 years.

The catch is, these are not the people who get laid off most often.

There is one more SUB rip-off—the financing of the one-shot retiree bonus. At Ford, it will come out of working members' COLA. At Chrysler, it will come out of working members' checks and

by a \$4.5 million payment from the SUB Reserve Fund.

UAW members resented the company practice of replacing hourly workers with foremen during layoffs. So the UAW's big gain towards saving members' jobs is that foremen's seniority will be frozen in March 1977.

But they will retain what they have; a foreman with 20 years can still bump a worker with 19 years. The benefits of this new rule will not take full effect until all current foremen have retired.

The best way to provide job security for auto workers is to shorten the work week to four days and spread the work around. But

the new agreement is the equivalent of shortening the work week by 24 minutes.

If any job openings are created by the new "Reduced Work Time Plan," they will be filled by temporary part-time workers.

Cost-of-living on the pension would have encouraged older workers to retire and pushed everyone else up the seniority list. Instead, workers who waited till after this contract to retire will not even receive the measly \$600 bonus.

Once again, the UAW leaders succeeded in proving that if you demand practically nothing, you get exactly what you ask for. □